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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS
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The papers in this issue were read at a seminar on development in the Asmat, held in Agats June 21st to 24th, 1972. The seminar was sponsored jointly by the Institute for Anthropology, University of Cenderwasih, and the Crosier Catholic Mission, Agats. Those who participated in the seminar are listed on page 102.

The holding of seminars of this type where prepared papers are followed by open discussion is common enough in university circles but is not the normal practice of a Christian mission. The readiness of the Crosier mission in Agats to admit fallibility and the concern to seek new approaches to overcome problems is laudable.

Those who participated in the seminar felt that it was highly successful. It remains to be seen whether the mission's hope to foster development in the Asmat can be realized whatever policy changes might be adopted; it is likely that the matters will be overtaken by events over which neither they nor the mission will have any control. However, whatever the eventualities, the papers read at the seminar and the discussions which followed reveal the overriding concern of the mission to safeguard the interests of the Asmat people while, at the same time, facing up to the future in a realistic manner.

Seminars of the type held at Agats are not a common occurrence in West Irian. It is to be hoped that the success of this seminar will encourage other mission groups to hold such meetings in cooperation with government officials.

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dalam lingkungan Universitas dimana paper 2 itu sudah dipelajari oleh para pemanggungnya sehingga dalam pembahasan langsung memaksu secara diskusi terbuka, tetapi hal ini merupakan sesuatu yang baru bagi seorang misionaris, sehingga tampaknya akan mengalami kesulitan. Tetapi atas berkat usaha yang patut dibanggakan dari Uskup Katolik di Agats dalam usaha mencari pendekatan baru, maka kehadiran ini telah teratasi. Para peserta seminar meraakan ini sebagai suatu usaha yang sukses dengan geiselang. Ini menunjukkan bahwa harapan para misionaris untuk memajukan perkebunan di Asmat dengan menyusun polis apa saja yang bertujuan membawa perubahan disera ini, dapatlah dimengerti, hal ini bukanlah berarti bahwa orang Asmat akan begitu saja menerima semua hal yang baru, karena sebelumnya telah diselidiki oleh para misionaris hal2 mana saja yang bisa diterima. 

Walaupun dominikan paper 2 itu dibacaan pada seminar dan disebutkan, dan akhirnya kehadiran 2 para misionaris untuk melindungi minat orang2 Asmat dapat dipercayakan, dan berbebrangan dengan itu didapat juga cara2 yang realistis untuk menghadapi masen depan orang Asmat.

Seminar yang diselenggarakan di Asmat ini merupakan suatu hal baru di Irian Barat. Dipaparkan Seminar yang telah berlangsung dengan sukses ini dapat memberikan dorongan kepada para misionaris lainnya untuk menyelenggarakan seminar2 yang serupa dalam kerjasama dengan pejabat2 pemerintah.

INTRODUCTION

The Asmat Area

Those who are at all familiar with New Guinea know of Asmat. This land of twisting rivers, tidal floods and rain forests hardly needs any extensive introduction. Letters arriving in Agats, the mission and government headquarters for the larger portion of the Asmat area sometimes have the words Kota Lumpur ("city of mud") written on the back of the envelope. Kota or city is a euphemism but the mud is certainly a reality.

Asmat is the name the native inhabitants of the central south coast of West Irian use of themselves. Translated it means the Humans, and thus the Asmatters distinguish themselves from all other people. The Asmat people were made famous in reputation by both their savage headhunting and their prolific art; the latter is discussed in the symposium by Jacque Hoogerbrugger of FUNDWI who has directed an attempt at the rehabilitation of the rapidly disappearing art forms.

Although several American oil crews are presently preparing for offshore and inland exploratory drilling, there are few known natural resources in the area. Before contact, as Dr. Lang points out in the introduction to his paper, this was of no importance in that the people were able to obtain from the resources available all that they desired. Food was abundant (primarily sago, fish, wild boar and many fowl) and clothing was neither needed nor used. Stone was obtained by trade for the all-important stone axes; there was bone for knives and shells provided sufficient materials for carving. The verdant rain forest and the vast network of large rivers provided well for the Asmat people.

Change and Development

After early and superficial contacts with the Asmat people the Catholic mission attempted to make permanent settlements in several villages; World War II frustrated these efforts. By early 1953, however, Fr. G. Segward, m.s.c. had opened a neutral post near the village of Sjura on Flamingo Bay. He
named the post Agats after the Amat word akat, which means "good". In November of the following year the Dutch Colonial Government had also made a permanent settlement in Fr. Zegwaard's "Good Place". Agats has remained the government and mission centre of administration.

Contact quickly brought an end to headhunting raids (the last major headhunting incident in the area under control occurred in 1963, perpetrated by the village of Mumi) and arrested the semi-nomadic pattern of Amat life. Contact also brought into the area churches, schools, teachers, ships, aeroplanes, stores, police and soldiers. The presence of the outsiders and the goods they brought also created new wants. The natural resources of the area referred to before now seemed unimportant because they could return no money to enable the increasingly acquisitive population to obtain outside goods. Coconuts were planted in several places. These pleased the outsiders aesthetically but they had little market value. Crocodile skins were of value but the Amatters could not compete with hunters equipped with rifles and nylon rope with large metal hooks.

Co-operatives in Amat

Early in 1954 Fr. Zegwaard M.M. initiated the local lumber industry when people from Ajam and Sjuru worked in Agats cutting lumber for the mission house; the house was completed the following year. Other villages under the direction of the mission then began producing lumber for mission and government buildings. The lumber was used to build schools, houses for missionaries and teachers, government buildings, and so on.

In 1962-1963, the Indonesian Government replaced the Dutch Administration of West New Guinea. A temporary vacuum was felt throughout the territory. In Amat the missionaries (now American Crosier Fathers) began to re-evaluate their role as missionaries and to study their obligations toward the social and economic betterment of the Amat people. Bishop Sowada, who hosts this symposium, discusses this critical reappraisal and the policy changes that ensued.

Hopes centred around lumber because it was believed that this could prove to be a most valuable natural resource on which the Amat people could base a solid economic future. It was decided that a system of co-operatives would be the best way to encourage self-reliance and to free the villagers from dependence upon outside help.

The Government was pleased with this turn of events and gave much support. At the same time the idea of co-operatives was amenable to the whole missionary approach in that the responsibility and integrity demanded for successful co-operative enterprises could be based on the Christian principles of social justice and charity. The co-operative movement in the area could, the missionaries reasoned, become a "school" no less than the elementary or catechetical schools which they had introduced into the Amat in earlier years.

At the present time there are co-operatives in the following villages. Their basic activities are also noted:

1) Jamasj (lumber and coconut oil production)
2) Eraa (lumber)
3) Konor (lumber)
4) Ajam (lumber, garden and store)
5) Agats (coconut oil production)
6) Waroo (lumber)
7) Amborep (lumber)
8) Jacokor (lumber)
9) Dassen (lumber)
10) Ataj (lumber and garden)
11) Basiea (lumber, garden and pig raising)
12) Bajun (garden)
13) Pimasi (lumber)

Currently, the estimated active membership would be between 450-500. Ajam is the largest co-operative with a membership of 81 and Ataj is the smallest with only 30 members. The average age of the membership is approximately 32 years. There are a few younger members in their early twenties who are mainly in administrative positions. Some of the older members approach 50 years of age.

The Symposium

Throughout this symposium, in papers and in discussions, the co-
operatives and their future are explored. At the present time most of the larger central villages have a more or less successful co-operative in operation. If outside interests do not deplete the natural resource in ironwood (a danger which is pointed to in the paper by Sir. Omerep), the co-operative venture still seems to offer the best hope for developing leadership and ensuring economic stability for future generations of Asmat people. The shortcomings of the present school system and how the mission can best help in this important area of concern is also given attention in the paper by Fr. Grosje.

This symposium, a joint effort of the University of Tjenderawasih and the Diocese of Agats-Asmat, reflects the concern of the missionaries to learn and to grow with Indonesian society. Dr. Lang has long been associated with the Asmat mission work as its main anthropological advisor. His presence at the symposium is most fitting. At the same time the international character of the small gathering of thirty men to evaluate our Asmat work is impressive in itself. Americans, an Australian, Dutchmen and Indonesians from many areas of the Republic have come together to clarify ideas and to suggest how future work might proceed. The results of the symposium, it is hoped, will be a more vigorous development in the Asmat region and the realization of the integrated mission development plan envisaged by Bishop Sowada.

A MISSION'S SEARCH FOR AN INTEGRATED POLICY

Alphonse A. Sowada

ICHTISAR:

Sejarah Misi dari Serikat M.S.C. sampai 0.S.C. didasah Asmat ini dimulai sedjak tahun 1952. Sedjak pertama hingga saat ini perjuangan Misi tidak lain dari pada membawa khabar gembira, khabar keselamatan bagi masyarakat didesah ini. Mulai mula titik tolok kerdja para Misioneris membawa khabar ke-

selamatan itu dititik tolakkan pada perkembangan agama dengan djalan sempurna—diken orang orang sebanyak mungkin dan setiap mungkin. Pada hali sedikit se-
kali orang2 yang dapat menjelami tentang agama karena bisa bagi mereka dan berlainan dengan adat-istiadat mereka, meskipun pengembangan agama itu diser-
tai pula dengan pendidikan disekolah sekolah.

Pendapat beberapa teolog menganggap bahwa keselamatan manusia itu penuh melalui beberapa bidang, oleh sebab itu Misionariss mengubah tjarra dalam mengembangkan khabar keselamatan itu.

Maka tiba-tiba suatu pertanjamian ditunda Misionaris: Apakah melalui bi-
dang bidang bidang itu agar dan pendidikan disekolah akan membawa pengertian kepada masyarakat untuk keselamatan manusia? Beberapa Misionaris berpendapat tadi akan tertjepai hanya melalui 2 bidang tersebut.

Jang lain berpendapat: Kalian kita memahai abda Kristus, maka kita akan mengerti bahwa keselamatan dija itu harus ditjepai melalui segala bidang. Berdasarkan pengertian persendian tersebut diatas, maka Misionaris di Asmat mulai berdjungu dalam bidang sosial-ekonomi disemping agama dan pendidi-
kan. Tjdjuan Misi memisik masyarakat Asmat agar mereka dapat self-standing dalam kehidupanja jajutu, self-standing didalam segala bidang yang seberamsa dikebendaki Tuhan bagi tiap manusia. Dengan kata lain; Supaya mereka akan be-
tul mengikut perkembangan Indonesia bagi umumja dan karena itu akan meraa bangga dan tetep akan menilai diri dengan penghargaan.

This year marks the twentieth of the Catholic mission’s presence among the Asmat people. The missionaries of the Sacred Heart arrived in 1952; the Croisiers in 1950. Based upon the mission’s theological view points and the knowledge accumulated throughout these years, mission policies and methods have been changed and modified. In this paper I wish to provide a broad view of the theological and practical considerations which have inspired changes in
mission policies and programmes in Assam. Three time periods may be recognised although in actual fact the divisions are not that clearly separable with definite dates marking cut-off points for specific policies. Rather, what has passed was gradual and evolving; as a consequence, policies and programmes have tended to overlap. It is for the sake of convenience, then, that I divide the periods into:

1. The Initial Period, 2. The Period of Re-evaluation and Reconstruction, and, 3. The Period of Integration.

1. The Initial Period:

During the initial years of the period, the theological viewpoint held by the majority of mission personnel was one which demanded quickly bringing Christ's message of salvation to as many people as possible. However, many missionaries understood salvation in terms of eternal life only; man's fortuitous lot on earth was to be accepted as God's will. If one faithfully suffered on earth, he was assured of a greater future reward. Of course, as Christ helped the sick and was compassionate to the poor and destitute so, too, were the missionaries to the people of Assam. Medicines were supplied and a few jobs created so that some of the people at least would be able to obtain desired items from the outside world. However, the general view was that it was necessary to care only for immediate needs; little consideration was given as to how to inspire the people to overcome and master their problems through their own initiative and creativity.

The pressing need that was felt to bring salvation to all of Assam precluded the possibility of intensive concentration on specific areas, or devoting time to prompting total human development. Catechetical schools were opened through out the area. The pastors were obliged to contact as many people as possible through constant patrolling. Baptism to grant freedom from original sin, was of primary importance. People were prepared minimally for baptism but in that they apparently understood at least a portion of the beliefs to be held if salvation was to be assured, salvation was considered possible.

Normal schools, too, were opened. Education was not only valued because it developed the minds of the children to the point where communication between the missionary and the people became easier, but also because a few of the more fortunate graduates might obtain jobs as government or mission staff members. However, the vast majority of school leavers found no such opportunities for employment and were condemned to return to village life. This factor did not seem to be of great concern at the time because it was considered that schooling necessarily fostered advancement and would set the stage for continued development. However, this proved not to be true. The initial enthusiasm of the people soon waned in many villages. There was growing frustration because the expected supply of desired goods from outside was not forthcoming. The missionaries also experienced frustration because of the declining and mediocre response of the people.

Over-extension had led the mission into a trap. Inputs had been spread so thinly as to be ineffectual for lack of intensive follow up. The effects of over-extension are still acutely felt today. Just recently a number of missionaries asked: "What do we do for the young people who have left school?" The problem is most severe in villages in which education in school has been a fact but no corresponding total human development has taken place.

During this period, too, the roots for future socio-economic development feebly took hold with the initiation of a few lumber sawing projects.

2. The Period of Re-evaluation and Reconstruction:

This period was marked by greater group participation in criticizing and re-evaluating the policy of the previous period. The period was one of painful search which created considerable unease among the mission personnel. At this time, too, Vatican II issued its decree on religious freedom stating that salvation is possible to all God's people regardless of cult or creed. Further, and more important, it stressed that religious freedom demanded respect for justice.

Vatican II indicated that the function of the priesthood was not only limited to the area of spirituality and sacramentality. In the case of the
Amat, it was taken that the theological framework to be employed would be pragmatic. The conviction was that in order to develop a true and vibrant Christianity among the Amat, practical measures were demanded to make Christian principles an experience in daily life. Socio-economic development was viewed as a necessary means to attain this end. The search prompted a better programme which promoted the following more salient changes in mission policy.

A. The mission attempted to respect the essential dignity of the Amatter as a free, self-determining individual. It attempted to respect all that was culturally his. It cannot be denied that previous to any outside contact the Amat people possessed a dignity and a sense of pride, although much of the pride was based upon prowess at headhunting. With the demise of headhunting, a vital feature in Amat culture passed; it was through this activity that one achieved fulness as a human being and a sense of pride. A major prop in the culture had been withdrawn. The mission recognized its responsibility to search for ways to maintain the pride of the people, or aid in restoring it in those instances where it had deteriorated.

B. The former view that the act of baptising individuals who had only a limited understanding of what was involved necessarily brought about a liberation become rightfully suspect among the missionaries. Through repeated experience the mission realized that this practice instead of freeing often enslaved. The enslavement consisted essentially in the belief among the Amat—especially the elders—that baptism afforded them a magic key by which they would be able to obtain cherished materials imported from the outside. When these were not forthcoming disappointment ensued and a sense of depression permeated village life. In some instances, incipient cargo cults arose. Because the mission had inadvertently promoted this misconception among the people, now it was duty bound to correct the situation. If such a misconception was permitted to go unchecked it would only serve to hamper an ongoing and deeper understanding of Christianity and frustrate any progress at all. Further, to insist that a people who are laboring under a delusion as to what Christianity is all about, be obliged to follow its tenets, is to negate freedom and respect for man's dignity and integrity—basic rights we profess to uphold.

An appreciation of the situation was to recognize that it had to be rectified. Clearly, our belief that in three or four generations hence the Amatters would blossom into mature Christians had been naive and in all fairness the present generation demanded our attention. Understanding had to be fostered to the point where individuals could freely accept or reject Christianity. Upon accepting it, they, in turn, would be in the position of agents inspiring change among their brothers. Only in this manner could true and lasting change take place for Christian idealism would then have been assimilated as integral parts of Amat culture. But, in order to accomplish this goal, and time was at a premium, a policy of concentration was adopted by the mission. A great number of fringe area village stations were closed in view of our concern for those already baptised. The policy of extending baptism to all those possible for us to contact was stopped out of respect for the spiritual welfare of the people themselves.

C. Our school policy also demanded re-evaluation. As it stood, the school system served to divorce the youth from their society. It prepared them to be—come selfishly individualistic in the sense that it killed personal social responsibility. The education provided in no way prepared the students to take charge of on-going development at the village level but actually alienated them from their peers. Education was supposedly preparing them for sophisticated jobs outside their society. A diploma was thought to guarantee position and income—not a responsibility taken on because of it. However, only a few attained jobs outside the village confines; the 99% who were doomed to remain in the village felt their hopes shattered as the fantasy world to which they were led to aspire did not materialize. But neither did they wish to live in the manner of their parents. Because they could not leave the village they were forced to live in a vacuum no longer having solid roots in the society of their elders but also being unable to partake in the affairs of the society they had been taught to hope for.
It is not surprising, then, that some of them became terribly depressed, became village problems and were near the point of debilitating anomic. Upon realising this situation, the reaction of the mission was to refuse to open additional schools. The reaction of some individual missionaries was to disassociate themselves from the problem.

D. Socio-economic development had been neglected in favour of proselytism and providing schooling. But the accomplishments brought about through religious instruction and education were meagre and in many aspects our endeavours appeared to have been futile. An appreciation of Christian ideals (perhaps because in the way they were presented they were too bound up with Western ideals) seemingly had not taken root, notwithstanding the many years of contact. A new approach had to be found if these ideals were to become part of Amat life and character. The mission felt that somehow these ideals and values required concretisation - to be experienced in daily life- before there could be any hope of their taking hold as an integral part of Amat life and character. Further, the very presence of the government and the mission meant that the Amat were now confronted by new structures and by a way of life larger than the village, and further reaching than local Amat society. Here, too, was a threat to Amat identity. To preserve their sense of identity and for the sake of their pride the people had to be encouraged to participate in the new.

These needs then, to concretise Christian ideals and to involve the Amat people in the mainstream of society really prompted the mission to initiate the Amat co-operative system. The ramifications of this decision were manifold. Through working in close collaboration with one another mutual respect was developed and wider horizons were fostered. In the co-operative venture considerations narrowly familial or parochial could no longer be permitted if the co-operative was to continue to exist at all. Through the workings of the co-operative, men from different village sections and even from different villages were brought together in a common effort which demanded mutual respect and trust if they were to remain together at all. The co-operative partially fulfilled the Amat need to share in, and productively participate in, the larger society. They were challenged. But, that challenge automatically brought with it the responsibility to work, to deal with one another in honesty and to exercise leadership. It also helped develop a sense of accomplishment and a pride in excellence. These ideals of great value and thus the co-operatives set the stage for an education through experience. Through the co-operatives it was hoped to bring about an appreciation of new ideals, and, as well, to enable the people to participate in the new situations confronting them, thereby developing a sense of self determination.

The period of re-evaluation and re-construction brought about much needed changes in mission policy. It was fortunate that the mission recognized this need and was prepared to adopt new policies even though this meant abandoning what had been the traditional approach to mission work. Development had lagged and because development was considered essential for the success of our work among the Amat, a real urgency was felt among some of the mission person nel to aid the people in rapid development. Time was thought to be short. Consequently, pressures were put on the people to take new steps as quickly as possible. They were challenged to rapidly become more sophisticated in the operation of the co-operatives. More responsibility was turned over to them in line with the goals we had defined. As most of the co-operatives were situated in villages where a pastor resided (under the policy of concentration) he was always present to rectify matters—to actually take charge if the members were straying from the set goals. Corrective measures in some instances were stringent. If the goals decided upon were not met by the co-operative members the pastor's threat to close the co-operative (and at times this was actually done) soon brought the members into line. A close watch over co-operative affairs seemed to assure a continuity in rapid development.

This intense supervision actually brought about progress to the point that in a few villages members of a co-operative were apparently able to organise the operation on their own, take care of financial arrangements, keep fairly accurate books and run their co-operative store. Nonetheless, problems
were encountered. If pressures were mitigated, and, sometimes even if not, the members slackened their pace of work and seemed to become indifferent to the goals set for them. At these low periods pastors felt it necessary to be on the scene in order to regenerate spirit. If he was not able to accomplish this, then the prolonged lack of a regular supply of tobacco and other items certainly did.

Despite the tremendous strides made in development the period of re-construction manifested certain ominous tendencies. My belief is that these were a consequence of extremism. This second period—the period of re-construction—was a reaction to the policies that had come before. But in criticizing these policies a negative attitude developed among some of the more vociferous members of the mission community in respect to the work actually accomplished during that period. These attitudes were apparent in the following ways:

1. On the part of some there was an indifference to the schools and the conviction that any measures that might be taken to improve the situation were bound to fail. Some of the missionaries rarely visited the schools apparently in the belief that by disassociating themselves from the problem they were not responsible for it. Corrective measures that might have been initiated were not taken. The attitude was that the schools were the problems of the teachers, however faulty the schooling might be. The pastor's concern was with the adults. The result was that an already bad situation became worse; the quality of education further deteriorated. Some of the teachers were puzzled by this neglect and indifference and gave voice to their concern.

2. In the area of religious education, a hopelessness toward any efforts that might be taken gained ascendency among some. Because these attitudes were voiced the effects were detrimental for they permeated the attitude of the mission in general. Criticism was necessary and so was change, but the challenge to improve was not really met. The need to meet the people on their own level with respect to religious education and liturgical change was not appreciated. As in education, in the area of religion the challenge for creative approaches was missed; today we are suffering from the effects of this neglect and have let a marvelous opportunity slip by.

3. In the area of development, perhaps either the authoritarian and/or paternalistic over-protective methods employed in some villages for the sake of achieving rapid growth may prove to be detrimental to the future development of Assam. Just as the first period's method of rote catechetical drill proved inadequate in that what was taught was not really understood, the drill methods of the second period in respect to the co-operatives may, in some instances, lead to their collapse. With such an approach adaptation and assimilation has not taken place. It now remains our duty to attempt to ascertain what has really been understood and to establish whether the steps taken by the people are authentically their own or simply prescribed from above. If not, a vacuum has been created which demands rectification before more sophisticated development can happen.

3. The Period of Integration

The mission programme is far from being integrated. I consider integration the challenge of the present and the immediate future. The extremes of the second period must be modified. Our programme must be directed towards the whole man and it must be designed to meet his needs at any stage of his development. Theologically, this approach is totally relevant and the only realistic one. As Christian ministers basing our work on Christ's own ministry, we have an intimate role to fulfill in helping to effect redemption in every aspect of man's life. If we as Christ's ministers have helped the Assam to free themselves from inhibiting factors such as superstition, and have helped them to clarify their relationship with God, we will have become the agents of redemption and have fulfilled Christ's call.

What I have said implies that we must accept the people where they are at present in their understanding and in their needs. Since contact, these needs have multiplied considerably in all aspects of their lives. Failure to
meet these needs will bring problems at both the spiritual level and on the more mundane levels of human existence. Our task is to promote human fulfillment and understanding. To concentrate on one area of existence alone (the religious, for example), would be to cause an imbalance which would preclude full development. Our programme must be an integrated one designed to develop the whole man.

Consequently, we cannot afford to entertain indifferent attitudes toward the school situation; nor do we dare consider our venture in religious education hopeless. Changes, adaption and creativity are demanded for improving a poor situation. Recently, new inroads have been made in the area of liturgy by slowly attuning it to the mentality of the people.

The schools demand a positive outlook on our part. Wherever possible innovations should be made but with due respect to the programme of education specified by the Department of Education. Hopefully, the educational symposium to be held at the University of Tjundera will bring about changes in school policy. Greater freedom for experimentation should be permitted. A system catering to the needs of village life is called for but at the same time it should be possible for a number of children to pursue higher education. Because the pastor lacks the time to accomplish effective educational changes on his own, he needs to act as a catalyst upon his teachers and other village leaders. This in itself will demand much time and patience and perhaps produce minimal results. Nonetheless, the challenge posed by the schools must be met.

For our part, we must realize that society is an integrated whole with each aspect having influence and ramifications on the other. Human existence is not a piecemeal affair, especially in non-industrialized societies. Hence, we cannot afford the risk of dividing up development of the Asmat into definite but mutually exclusive areas of human existence. Religion, the place of the school in the village, economic activity, political activity and the exercise of leadership call for integration. The development of Asmat to date in each of these areas seems to have run along independent lines thus precluding real integration. It should be possible to draw all these elements together to form a unified whole. To achieve this integration is our task for the future.

DISCUSSION

Walker: Exactly how is this integration you speak of to be achieved?

Sowada: I think it must begin at the school. At the present time the co-operatives for instance, are separated from the schools; the children don't know what they are all about. In all teaching there should be a stronger attempt to relate lessons to the village situation.

Settitit: The schools are not really related to village society. Parents feel that the school is a thing of the teachers but now that parents are being called upon to help pay for books etc., this may change.

Lang: Of course, the school system is an unfamiliar element to the Asmat. Have the schools tried in any way to reach out to the parents?

Settitit: This is a slow process. The parents are beginning to take some responsibility but so far all the initiative has to come from the teachers. Before we were like "lords" over the people. Now we are trying to work with the people.

Sowada: Are all the teachers consciously trying to establish closer relations with the people?

Settitit: I would say that about one third of the teachers have good relations with the older people and in these villages the schools are more successful. The response of the children is better. The older people visit the teacher and absenteeism is less.

van der Wouw: The Bishop's paper lacks any reference to the need to examine the culture of the people. All these activities, schools, co-operatives, and so on, must connect with the old society.

Sowada: I agree but I did say we would have to move the people forward from where they are at present. The connection will come if people can see the value of the things we are trying to teach them—learning Math, for instance, in order to buy and sell items.

Adrian: Our attempt to achieve some integration is only in its second year. For example, in the churches we are trying to find a liturgy the people can understand. This also applies in our approach to co-operatives and education. We are still trying to find new kinds of answers.
Hoogerbrugge: Getting back to Fr. van der Wouw's point. What is the position about feasts? Are they forbidden? Can the school close for a few days for a sago feast? What is the government policy regarding feasts?

Omberep: The government has no objection to using any good features in Asmat society that would bring about development. There would be disapproval if bad features in Asmat life were revived.

van der Wouw: They could have a feast at the beginning of the school year when the parents bring the children; there are other occasions when feasts could be held. Such feasts would help to integrate the school with the village. The co-operatives could also be involved. This sort of thing would need to be regulated; a constant succession of feasts would mean the people were everlastingly away gathering sago.

ABSTRACT:

Asmat has changed considerably from the time of initial contact. Originally the people were untouched and were free from any influences from outside. At the time of first contact the people were naked. They lacked education and lived in fear of their brother villages. The Asmat lived from hand to mouth without concern for the morrow. Much of the time was spent in feasting.

Contact by the Government and other interested groups such as the missions, brought much of this to an end. With Government control peace was soon realised. Education brought about a new understanding and a wider view of life. Because the contact efforts were co-ordinated and the changes introduced were carried out slowly, the Asmat were able to absorb these. It was fortunate for the Asmat that contact agencies were present to help them distinguish between the desirable and undesirable within their culture.

Asmat today shows considerable advance. In many areas of human existence the people now have achieved a better understanding of what is expected of them. However, the fact that insufficient control has been exercised over the many individual who have been permitted to enter the area has meant that a number of unwholesome influences have begun to affect Asmat life. Such influences need to be checked. Further, many unfair advantages are being taken of the Asmat people by some outsiders. This is particularly true in the exploitation of the people through the logging industry - an industry which does not greatly profit the Asmat people. Proper steps need to be taken on behalf of the Asmat people. The people must be taught in a pragmatic fashion how to do things. It is nonsense just to talk at them about development.


Di-mana2 masih terlihat pada waktu itu kaum merepung dewasa yang
menggunakan tjawat sedang kaum laki2 belum merasakan kebutuhan untuk berpaka'-an. Pekerjaan mentjari naikah yang hasilnya banjir tujuq untuk kebutuhan satu hari, banjak hal diliputi perasaan takut karena denda darah diantara kampung iengan kampung. Sangat ketjil ciumah orang tjang telah mendapat pendidikan sehingga pengaruhnya tidak begitu mampak. Banjak waktu dan tenaga diberi kan untuk membuat ukriran2 kaju ang berbentuk manusia, burung, buja, dsb. Ukiuran2 kaju itu se-nata2 untuk digunakan sendiri terutama dalam pesta2 adat yang sangat digemari oleh orang2 Asmat, seperti pesta patung, pesta Roh, pesta ulet sagu, pesta perahu dll.


1. Arus perubahan perlu dikendalikan karena orang lebih tjepat meniru yang tidak baik daripada jang baik.
2. Pembinaan daerah jang baru dan mudah terpengaru seperti Asmat ini membutuhkan orang2 jang djadjar dan berjawa tjinta kepala penduduknya, baik pembina itu seorang putera daerah ataupun seorang jang berasal dari luar.

3. Peristiwa seperti jang terjadi di kampung Aman distrik Pirimagun dimana penduduk menutut untuk mendapat daes terendiri, walaupun ada terdapat gedjala2 bahwa hal itu ditubel oleh kasatan orang2 t尊tu, akan tetapi mendjadi tanda bahwa orang2 Asmat telah mulai mengerti tentang hal menjatakan pendapat.

4. Untuk kemajuan daerah Asmat tidak perlu terlalu teoritis, tetapi memang harus lebih banjak dengan tjiontoh2 jang praktis, karena orang Asmat suka alat pintar meniru.

**DISCUSSION**

Sowada: You say in your paper that some people are coming here and taking advantage of the Asmat people. How can this be checked? By educating the Asmat people or through stricter controls?

Ombrep: At this stage I don't think the people can correct the situation because they do not understand their rights. The government is here to help and to protect the people.

Walker: It is said that some of the stores that have been opened by newcomers take advantage of the local people. Is there any way to stop this? Could the Asmat people themselves be helped to open their own trade stores?

Ombrep: The stores are necessary. There is nothing wrong with outsiders coming here to open stores unless they take all the profits. The people have to learn how to operate stores and it is the duty of the store people to teach the local people how to run them.

Greive: Isn't there a law on the regional level to the effect that outsiders need permission to come here?

Ombrep: On the provincial government level each merchant or crocodile hunter must have a letter of approval to come here. In some cases the approval has expired and others are here without approval. A check on these cases is being made now. It has been brought to my attention that many of the Asmat people are dissatisfied with the situation.

Greive: I have heard that on the regional level many have applied for
permission to come but there have been few approvals.

Omberep: True. Few get permission to become merchants here but there are others who hide behind the merchants who have permission and then start stores on their own.

Walker: If the mission became involved in the business of sponsoring trade stores would there be criticism?

Omberep: Perhaps like the social centres the people would feel that they were not their own and the storekeepers too probably think these stores belonged to the mission. If this were not the case perhaps the mission could sponsor stores.

Sowada: It is my view we should stay out the business of stores and storekeeping. As a matter of fact some of the co-operatives already have stores to sell goods to members. We hope they will develop to the point where they can sell to anyone in the village.

Lang: How do the co-operatives propose training people to be storekeepers or managers?

Sowada: Now the local pastors teach men in the co-operatives to run the stores; they teach them Math, how to make a profit and so on. Perhaps more needs to be done here. It may be necessary to send some away for training.

Lang: Do you see the centre being started here in Agata as a training ground?

Sowada: Perhaps later on it might develop into this.

Trenkenschuh: The Bishop is wrong. We only have one store and this is in Aman. It is not really run on a profit basis. I have tried to supply them with tobacco which they can sell on a profit basis to demonstrate this but there has not been much success. Also, I have tried to get the storekeepers to lend help so the co-operative store could be run on a sound basis.

Adrian: Erma started co-operatives with much enthusiasm and made much profit on lumber but now enthusiasm has dwindled and they are making no profit.

van der Wouw: A lot of this is through misunderstanding of money.

Trenkenschuh: It is partly our fault because we keep dealing in the old currency and not in the new rupiah.

Lang: Does the government have any particular plans to facilitate the flow of money into Amat? It seems there are two currencies. There is the subsistence economy but tobacco functions almost as a currency and then there is cash.

Omberep: None.

Walker: What would the objection if a missionary in a village started a trade store with an Amatari and then stepped aside when he was able to manage things himself?

Sowada: It wouldn't look good.

Adrian: So far as the co-operatives are concerned, in my area only two or three people can read and write. The problem now is to give basic training. We all agree trade stores run by the local people are necessary but to move into this now would be premature.

Lang: All this talk really concerns skills. The skills having to do with trades like carpentry and maintaining the boats have already been learned but skills on the managerial or entrepreneurial level have not been developed. Why not?

Adrian: It goes back to the matter of integration. Only two years ago we began working on the managerial level of the co-operatives. Previously in the workshops this aspect was neglected because the need then was to learn how to saw timber. Now a need at the managerial level has arisen. Similarly, at one time we stressed co-operatives but not the schools. Now we have seen the mistake in this and recognize the need for integration.

Trenkenschuh: This matter of teaching trade skills as opposed to administrative skills needs to be discussed. If we do not have people in the co-operatives who can read and write we are not going to get anywhere.

Sowada: It is not true that we have only just started on teaching administrative skills. On the local level in some areas there has been a long history in this.

McGuire: There are people around who are capable of doing administrative work. We just need to identify them.
AN EVAJUATION OF PRESENT-DAY ASMAT WOODCAVING

Jac. Hoogerbrugge

INTRODUCTION:

Dengan makruu untuk menilai kedudukan dari ukiran kaju Asmat pada dawasa ini saja sarankan agar kita melihat persoalan tersebut dari dua sudut:

1) Dilihat dari dalam, bagaimana ukirannya Asmat dewasa ini dibandingkan dengan ukiran di masa jang lalu.

2) Dilihat dari luar, bagaimana ukirannya Asmat dibandingkan dengan ukiran dari daerah lain.

Dengan mempelajari koleksi di museum jang lalu yang dilakukan oleh expedisi ilmiah antara 1904 dan 1913 terdapat bahwa mutan dari ukiran tersebut, dengan beberapa pengawal dan dalam besar dari pedana bermutu baik. Tidak lama kemudian terlihat pula bermainan yang kurang baik mutan.

Mungkin hal ini terjadi karena pembelian2 yang kurang tehil dan juga disebabkan oleh karena penggarap yang belum punya kemahalan, tu-tur membuat patung.

Dibandingkan dengan koleksi2 dari waktu jang lalu, mutu dari ukiran 2 yang dihasilkan sekarang masih jauh lebih baik.

Beberapa barang kecil yang fungsinya sebagai alat kepangan se-harinya 2 dan lebih higaskan dibuat sebagai ukiran untuk hijaan. Misalnya piring kaju yang dulu dipakai untuk tempat makan sekarang dibuat sebagai hiasan dinding.

Dibandingkan dengan daerah2 lain di Irian Barat termasuk juga didasih daerah tersebut sudah tidak ada lagi kerajinan tangan yang mengesankan.

Tradisi asli kala-asal ukiran 2 tersebut seperti yang terdapat di Asmat. Oleh sebab itu perlu adanya pembinaan, protokol dan pengembangan oleh Pemerintah terhadap ukiran 2 Asmat.

Dibandingkan dengan daerah lain seperti daerah Sepik di Irian Timur termasuk bahwa daerah2 juga ada ukiran2 kaju yang sama nilainya dengan ukiran Asmat. Akan tetapi disana terdapat pula batuk2, seperti topeng kaju, tenut menggantungkan barang2, likan kfit kaju, gresah diukur di., di Asmat tidak dikenal.

Adalah sangat penting pula untuk dikesukai, bahwa barang 2 Asmat dibuka didijual kepada pembeli2 yang bisa membeli barang2 ukiran dari daerah Sepik, dengan demikian terjadi pertamaan dalam penanaman. Dengan adanya perdasih-angan itu mutu ukiran 2 Asmat perlu dipertahankan supaya nama Asmat di luar negeri tetap dikenal.

In order to determine the position of present-day Asmat woodcarving I suggest we look at it from two different angles. Firstly, as seen from the inside, from the historical point of view. How does present-day Asmat woodcarving compare with that of former days? Secondly, from the outside, from the marketing point of view. How does present-day Asmat woodcarving compare with woodcarving being produced in areas comparable to Asmat?

Present-day and Former-day Asmat woodcarving

By present-day Asmat carving I mean the carvings produced since early 1950 when the Asmat Museum Project started. By former-day Asmat carving I mean, in the first place, the carvings collected between 1904 and 1941, and in the second place, the carvings collected between 1955 and 1963. The first group, the collections brought together before 1941, were collected during the following five expeditions:

1. the South-West New Guinea expedition in 1904,
2. the three South New Guinea expeditions from 1907 to 1913,
3. the military exploration expedition of Col. Goossens, from 1908 to 1913,
4. Paul Wirs of the Basel Museum, in 1922,
5. Lord Hope, whose collection went to the British Museum in 1935.

I have been in a position to study each of these collections and to read the reports. Quite clearly, I remember reading the report on the first contact between foreigners and the local people of the Flamingo Bay, probably Sjuru villagers. It was the first time ever a ship, actually two ships, the "Flamingo" and the "Anna," entered the bay, which at the time was still named "East Bay." It was 1904, October 10th, Monday morning between 8 and 9 hrs.

When the two ships, the small "Anna" in front, steamed into the bay, the chief of the expedition, noticing the wild excitement that had broken out in the village situated ahead, this must have been Sjuru village, decided to drop anchor in the western part of the bay far away from the village. The panic and excitement caused by the arrival of these huge metal ships can perhaps best be described in terms of what would happen today were a huge UFO to appear above
One may question that the information resulting from such a superficial first contact is rather limited in value, and perhaps I would agree. Still, it is of great importance to note that the first Asmat shield ever collected is of a rather poor quality—a shield which at this moment would be difficult to sell to a collector. The same is true of the two poorly carved bambu horns.

The three South New Guinea expeditions, each spending five to six months in the area did a better job although contact with the Asmat was confined to those living on the borders of the North-West and Lorentz river and remained somewhat superficial. The main objective of this expedition was to reach the Snowy Mountains and not to study the Asmat. The collection of ethnographic objects and carvings brought back by these three expeditions, for the main part, are still in the Netherlands. I have been able to see these objects now kept in the store rooms of the museums at Leyden and Amsterdam.

Not counting the several hundreds of ethnographic objects like belts, ornaments, bags, arrows, etc., these collections contain approximately the following carvings: fifty oars, only five of which have a decorated top; ten bambu horns, most pieces only coarsely or partially decorated; forty spears with a-jouss blades—these are perfect; twenty shields, several of good quality, others however poor with irregular and confused ornamentation; ten drums, not one with a really beautiful handle and four, only four, human statues, one squatting and three standing stiffly upright. They are rough and coarsely carved. The collector, at the time of buying, noted down that he could not understand that the same people who were able to carve such perfect a-jouss spears turned out such poor human statues. As far as I could learn not one carved bowl or canoe head was collected during these expeditions.

Looking back at these early collections one is inclined to say that the quality of the authentically old carvings is in no way as exceptional or exciting as might be expected. It is probable that only a limited number of these early carvings would today be selected for display for other than purely historical reasons. What also struck me is that during these four official trips nowhere is mention made of carved house poles, ceremonial houses, uramon—
prahu's or abia-poles. Two more interesting facts are worth mentioning. Firstly, one of the carrying bags collected around 1910 contained among other items, two chisels with metal blades. Secondly, in 1908 a few quite small shields were collected their sizes being only about 30 cm x 80 cm.

The somewhat disappointing impression conveyed by these first collections changes for the better when we take into account the objects collected by Col. Goossens of the military exploration team, Paul Wies of the Basel Museum and Lord Moyne whose collection went to the British Museum. Col. Goossens collected a number of good shields and expressive squatting figures; Wies collected the first abia-pole and canoe prow and also several figures. Lord Moyne in 1935, collected the first carved house post and a series of carved prows. These collections brought back by the above three private collectors are more interesting and contain a larger number of very fine carvings than the collections brought back by the scientific expeditions.

This is the extent of the collections brought back before 1941. Now, if we look at the collections the Dutch Museum bought in the period 1954 to 1963, we are struck by the appearance, especially during the first years, of large numbers of carvings many of which are of high quality; often they are better than the average quality of the carvings collected before 1941. During these nine years at least fifty abia-poles were collected as compared with only one during the thirty-seven years before the war. Hundreds of human figures were collected as opposed to approximately thirty before the war. The same is true of shields, bowls and prows. This leads me to believe that the increasing demand for carvings after the establishment of a port at Agats in 1954, combined with the fact that metal chisels had become more easily available (often made out of war scrap metal) have, in the first instance, exercised a favorable influence both on quality and quantity. It seems, however, that the improved quality could not be maintained because rather soon, I would say, in 1960, an increasing number of carelessly made carvings appeared, probably as a result of indiscriminate buying and also because of the fact that now many people had started to carve who actually had no creative skill. The collections in the Dutch Museum and also the Michael Rockefeller collection show a number of examples of this decline in quality.

Now, how does present-day Asmat carving compare with the former-day carving as just described? What are the changes? Let us consider the shields first. Here we see that the former-day war shields are now smaller in size and have become what I would call a type of "dance shield", or a "carved shield panel." The ornamentation on these new shields however, has remained genuinely Asmat although incidentally a new motif may appear.

Looking at the recently made abia-poles, for example, like those from Pad and Jew, we note that these have also been scaled down to more manageable sizes, without loss of quality. As to the human statues, it is to be noted that an increasing number are being carved out of ironwood; before 1940 this occurred only incidentally. As is the case with the Abia, the shape of the human figure gradually tends to become more and more naturalistic—a development that in the art world is being regarded with mixed feelings. However, the appearance of double human figures and human figures combined with birds, snakes or crocodiles, like the types originating from Pibuar-laut and Omaneseep, will, I hope, make up for this change.

The carved bowls that were made during the last years are, in many cases, far more interestingly carved and decorated than in the early times. The more functional bowl of earlier times has changed into an attractive carving that may be hung on the wall. The bowls originating from Omaneseep, Otajanep, and Basab are good examples of these. Also the bamboo horns that last year were produced in Sauwa-Emu compare favorably with the best horns that were ever collected.

From these examples I would conclude that present-day Asmat woodcarving represents a healthy continuation of the traditional arts and crafts. Comparison with former-day carving reveals that the present-day carvings (notwithstanding adaptations and minor changes) have succeeded in maintaining their Asmat identity and have preserved a character of their own.

Asmat Woodcarving Compared with that of Comparable Areas

Such a comparison involves many factors but if we consider only
the area of West Irian the question is not difficult to answer. The former-
day rich cultures of Sentani, Humboldt bay, Teluk Tjendermwasih, Minaika
and Marind-Anim are dead and gone. The mountain tribes do not have much of a ma-
terial culture. Thus it appears that in West Irian the Asmat is the only area
left where a traditional art has survived in the form of present-day woodcarv-
ing activities. This, in itself, should be sufficient reason for the Government
to maintain and promote these activities.

If we look a little further it seems obvious to make a comparison
with the present-day woodcarving produced for instance, in the middle Sepik
river area in Papua, New Guinea. There we find a similar type of swampy area,
a basic subsistence economy, few resources for economic development but with
a very wide range of interesting woodcarving activities. There, also, the pre-
sent-day woodcarving developed from the traditional arts and crafts of these
Sepik tribes. Initially this development was backed and fostered by the pur-
chases and publications of overseas ethnological museums and by primitive art
dealers from all over the world who came to visit the area. Nowadays, however,
these buyers have disappeared from the market because one of their criteria of
good quality is that an object must be old and must have been used. Their
place is now being taken by another category of dealers who cater to a less
sophisticated group of collectors and also to the souvenir and tourist market.
Also, the Government has become involved. In both Angoram and in Papoi,two
villages in the middle Sepik area, the Local Government Councils are acting as
buying and selling agents for woodcarvings.

Now, in comparing what is being produced today in the middle Sepik
with what is being produced in Asmat, one is hesitant to come to any quick
conclusions. In the first place, the Sepik carvers produce a much wider range
of objects. In this regard one may consider the wide variety of wooden masks,
an item unknown to the Asmat. This is also true of the Sepik suspension hooks
and bark paintings. Consider also Sepik decorated pottery and the well painted
clay masks on turtle shells and on cassowary bone daggers. Not only do Sepik
carvers produce a large range of objects and have more variety in each group,
they also have more colour and apply colour in a more refined way.

This is not to say that present-day Asmat carving is poorer in qual-
ity than present-day Sepik work. I would even say that the Asmat quality is
probably better. But Asmat is in an unfortunate position seen from the market-
ning point of view. Look at the number of exhibitions, books and catalogues
published on the Sepik in contrast to those on the Asmat. The ratio is proba-
bly twenty-five to one. Of course, the Sepik area, including the Malek, Ramu
and upper river areas is so much larger than that of Asmat and its population
is perhaps eight times as great. A comparison of the two then is hardly fair.
Nevertheless, Asmat and Sepik carvers are, to a certain extent, selling to the
same dealers and collectors and therefore I want to make it is that
even though the quality of present-day work in Asmat in general is good, we
have to realize that Asmat is not the only area in the world where traditional
woodcarving is being promoted and developed. On the contrary, it has to be
appreciated that many countries of the third world are trying to re-activate
and promote their traditional arts and crafts all for export to the same mar-
ket.

Returning to our subject, I repeat that I am satisfied with the qual-
ity of what has been produced since 1969 and I have based this view on care-
ful comparison of what is produced now with what was produced before. However,
seen from outside, it is important to realize that the Asmat carvers, in find-
ing their overseas market, have to compete with carvers in quite a number of
other areas—areas, moreover, that usually will have a much more favorable loca-
tion with respect to the market in that communication and transportation do
not pose great problems.

In order to survive in this market one will have to be taken to en-
sure that Asmat carving maintains its own unique character and identity. The
sales abroad are based on the established image that has been built up over
the years through exhibitions, catalogues and books. Too quick or too far
reaching deviations from this image will immediately be reflected in a deca-
ese in demand. Naturally it is recognized that Asmat arts and crafts, as every-
where else do change, in accordance with or in opposition to a changing en-
vironment and new ideas. In this context I am pleased to say that in my
opinion Asmat carving during these last three years has proven to be fully alive. Local styles and individual carvers clearly can be recognized. Although an inferior carver tends to copy the master carver, there is no sign of clear imitation or standardization. On the contrary, new ideas that have come to the carver have incidentally been absorbed and been expressed in new but genuine Asmat style carvings. Let me offer two intriguing examples of this. The first one is the Chinese Naga. This figure was seen on Hongkong matchboxes and was interpreted by an old carver to be the real Asmat legendary snake that once, long ago, the old man had really seen. The flames around the Naga's head were interpreted to be a feather headdress, "just like we used to wear during our dance feasts", he added. This illustrates how a carver in the village of Mbwar-Laut, under the influence of the Naga, changed his traditional style. The rather stiff crocodile from before, usually carved in combination with a human figure, suddenly became more alive with a twisting body and a wide open mouth with a threatening tongue sticking out. And only last year, in the same village, I saw a first-class canoe head carved in the shape of a coiling Naga with an ancestor figure on top of it. The other example is the Indonesian Garuda, the emblem of Indonesia, which by certain carvers in Suwa-Ema had been recognized to be their bird of prey. The Garuda was depicted on carved panels in the style of an Asmat bird with the beak of a hornbill; the inscription the bird holds in its claw was interpreted by one carver to be a branch on which the bird was sitting, and by another carver to be a fish the bird had caught! Such foreign concepts, coming from outside but absorbed and translated, a better word perhaps is 're-created,' by the carvers into genuine Asmat style, I feel, are welcome. However, it would be quite different if these changes had been imposed on them from outside. This would have caused confusion and resulted in a hybrid style with a loss of creativity, and last but not least, loss in demand.

One idea that has sometimes been advanced is that Asmat woodcarving can and must be developed by introducing to the carvers ideas, examples, styles and techniques from more developed areas. This is to equate the making of a carving with the making of, for instance, coconut oil where indeed the use of better tools will result in a better quality oil. However, we are not dealing with coconut oil but with woodcarvings as the life and genuine expressions of the carvers. The developments and changes that will occur in this field should, as explained before, come forward from the carvers themselves.

Instead of introducing foreign examples and tools what we have been trying to do during these years is to build up the prestige of the master woodcarvers, the "row-ipta," to raise consciousness of good quality and a pride in local styles. By critical and selective buying, which many a time has meant that 50% of what was offered had to be refused, as explained earlier we feel that we can come to the conclusion that present-day Asmat carving constitutes a healthy development from the former-day traditional arts and crafts.

DISCUSSION

Adrian: There seems to be a difference in the two papers as to whether the adoption of the Chinese Naga into some Asmat carvings was a welcome feature or not.

Hoogerbrugge: We have to consider the outside market. We have been trying to build up an outside market with a reputation for traditional art, but if new elements blend in with the traditional this is fine. What the people do themselves in their art work is one thing; if they are told to do something, this is not good. This is an important distinction.

Walker: From what has been said and written about Asmat carving the prestige of the master carver is very important. Has any consideration been given to bringing carvers into the schools to teach the children woodcarving?

Sowada: In Koror we already have this plan. One of the carvers comes to the school and the children watch him at work. While he is making a particular piece, for example, a shield, he is considered to be a teacher.

Trenkenschuh: We plan that our new museum will have a teaching function not only for children but also for the older people. We hope that the museum will help the children appreciate their traditions.
Lang: This is very good. So often in development the traditional culture is pushed under the rug as something objectionable and then is lost. People need a sense of identity. Perhaps you should bring story-tellers into the schools and people who can teach the traditional songs, as well as woodcarvers. There have been experiments in American Indian schools along these lines and they seem to have been very successful.

Hoogerbrugge: Now there are no longer any ceremonial houses. The position they used to have in ceremonial life could perhaps be taken over by the schools. Any way in which the schools can become the centre of village life is to the good.

Sowada: In some villages we are building social centres. Could we build these in the form of ceremonial houses? Perhaps the older people could be in one area where they could have their fire places and sing songs; the young people could use the other end for playing their guitars.

Hoogerbrugge: This is all very well but we need to know the government plans for the villages. There has been talk about modern villages with single family housing and so on.

Omberep: I can only repeat the statement I made before. All good elements in Amat culture, that is, elements that work for progress and development should be encouraged. With regard to ceremonial houses there are elements that are not good and should not be encouraged.

van der Wouw: There is nothing bad about bachelors' houses. At the present time the villages are dead. There is nothing for the men to do. They need a place to go to make their shields and other things.

Hoogerbrugge: Every Javanese village has its special house for various activities.

Trenkenschuh: The problem is not the name—whether you call it a bachelors' house or a social centre—but where you decide to build it. If it is built in the mission area its not really theirs. The fact is the social centres we have built are not much used. The people prefer to use the shed of the lumber co-operative where they can sit around and have a fire.

van der Wouw: There is a difference between the long house or bachelors' house and a social centre. The former was where the bachelors lived, ate and slept. We have made a mistake with the social centres.
ABSTRACT:

The purpose of this UNDP project is to revive Asmat woodcarving, an art that was fast disappearing because of various modern influences that had entered the area.

The task was to identify the real artists (wospitaj) and persuade them to resume carving. A store was established at Agats and here carvers were able to sell their work for goods or cash. Picture books and photographs of old Asmat carvings were shown to the artists to let them see examples of the best Asmat work. Only woodcarvings that are in the genuine Asmat tradition are encouraged; carvings depicting figures wearing hats or spectacles or smoking pipes are not purchased.

The woodcarvings purchased by our store in Agats are sent to Djajapura where some are sold. Most of the woodcarvings are sent abroad where they can obtain the best prices from museums and collectors. The profits that accrue from this project are returned to the Asmat in a special fund. This money is expended on various projects to assist in the advancement of the people and the region.

Beradja menambah ukiran2 kaju menurun dan kesenian Asmat pada umumnya sedang menghilang dengan tempat sebagai akibat dari pengaruh2 modern yang masuk di daerah ini.

Untuk menghidupkan kembali kesenian Asmat, Projek UNDP/18 mendirikan di Agats sebuah toko. Tugasnya pertama2 menemukan pengukir yang asli dan mengajak mereka untuk membikin ukiran2 lagi. Pada toko ini pengukir2 dapat langsung menukarkan ukirannya dengan barang atau menerima bahan uang. Pihak ketiga yang bukan pengukir tidak dilajari oleh toko ini. Dijuga pada toko ini para pengukir dapat membelajari baku Asmat Art, melihat foto2 dari benda2 Asmat yang berada di luar negeri dan melihat ukiran2 hasil beradja dari kam-pung kampong Asmat yang lain.

Dari pertunjukan yang diadakan langsung dengan pengukir, petugas toko dapat mengetahui keterang2 mengenai ukiran tertentu serta ragam hiasan. Tja-tatan keterangan2 ini merupakan bagian penting dalam pertumbuhan semi ukir. Agar terpelihara kosaianja ukiran, toko ini hanya nebeli ukiran yang dibuat semurut tradisi Asmat tulen dengan ragam hias Asmat tulen pula. Djadi tidak...
The topic of this symposium is the development of Asmat and its villages in relation to the provincial and national context. It is a most appropriate topic because it provides an occasion on which one can take a look at both the difficulties and the opportunities for the development of Asmat. The difficulties derive largely from the fact that development has already begun, that parts of Asmat are more developed than others, and that in the larger regional context, parts of Irian Barat as well as Indonesia too have developed at different rates and to different extents. As Myrdal has pointed out (reprinted in Dalton 1971:390), the expansion and development of one locality may have serious "backward effects" in other regions: that is to say that even inflows of capital, labor, goods and services do not necessarily and of themselves counteract the tendency towards regional inequality, rather they become the channels for such movements so that lucky regions become wealthier, and less endowed regions become poorer, with a concomitant increase in population.

For a newcomer to Asmat, like myself, this danger appears to be very great indeed because flow of capital and services is surely going to be directed to those regions of Irian Barat which have mineral wealth or other natural resources which provide a high yield both to the government and to the investor. And this is at a time when Asmat has just begun to be integrated into the regional, provincial, national and international network of social, economic and political relations. Yet in all these three spheres of social relationships Asmat at present appears to this observer to be receiving many more inputs from outside than it contributes outputs. In fact, it is probably not too rash to argue that Asmat villages on the whole continue to maintain themselves as more or less independent socio-economic systems which survive at a relatively comfortable subsistence level. This is no way implies a slighting of the Asmat traditional economy; on the contrary, in comparison to East African peasant subsistence systems with which I am familiar, Asmat is, to use Sahlin's (1968) phrase, "the original affluent society." Natural resources in food, materials for housing, canoe making, even tools are on the whole plentiful and sufficient in most places, given the current level of living.
are bound to change as a result of the presence of external agents of change. Culture contact in some parts of Assam has been intense; in other areas it has been relatively slight for at least the last 20 years. With contact have come new wants and aspirations, which Lerner in The Passing of Traditional Society and McClelland in The Achieving Society consider so important a motivating force for development on the individual level, and through it on the societal level. But whether or not agents of change or casual culture contact will produce development is not at all certain. The numerous case studies and reports on development projects may be taken as data for the study of the development process. Before proceeding any further and here I am on uncertain ground because empirical data on the Assam are not sufficiently abundant to support a developmental conceptual framework, it will be necessary to clarify the term development and give it more precise meaning.

Customarily, economists seem to have had relatively little trouble in defining development—even "successful" development. This is so because their unit of analysis is a nation state and their standard of comparison is the developed, usually the western world. Their measures are impersonal consisting of yearly percentages of growth rates in GNP and/or income, the distribution of that income, and the utilization of a modern technology at least in major sectors of production. But as Dally Seers of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex recently pointed out, these measures are most inadequate, although not useless in evaluating developmental progress. In accepting the concept of development one is, of course, taking a position in regards to values. And values we must choose, wherever their source. The value position that I am taking here is that which has not only been voiced in international bodies, but which has been around for at least several thousand years and has been rediscovered even by the social sciences in the past several decades: to help individuals realize their potential as human personality, to help them achieve a mature and positive evaluation of self (Seers, p.2, Greeley 1969:155-287). This can, however, only be accomplished if there is enough food, if there are jobs or work which gives them a sense of independence so that they can maintain their self-respect and equality in the sense of a just distribution of income. The criteria by which developmental change may be judged are then simply these: to what extent has poverty been brought under control, to what extent has unemployment been brought under control (including dependency), and to what extent has inequality been reduced. These criteria apply to individuals, no less than village communities, areas, provinces, nations, and the world.

So conceived, we may perhaps venture to suggest that development is not inevitable, while indeed socio-cultural and economic change is. What we need to distinguish is its directionality. Following Dalton's categorization of change we can distinguish between 1) degenerative change, 2) growth without development, and 3) socio-economic development (Dalton, 1971:214-222).

Degenerative change implies "...severe disruption of the traditional life of a community over several generations with accompanying indicators of novel sorts and frequencies of personal and social malaise." It is due to rather severe incursions from the outside causing cultural decimation manifesting itself behaviorally in fantasy, aggression, withdrawal and escape, and culturally takes the form of such movements as cargo cults, institutionalized alcoholism or abortive movements like the Paamne Ghost Dance. Furthermore, no substitute patterns or alternatives are provided by the intruder; on the contrary, traditional forms of social organization are destroyed as well as cultural meanings are belittled and social distance between the "conqueror" and the "conquered" are increased.

In growth without development, the change is distinct from the former in two ways: 1) the "incursion is not severely disruptive of traditional society" and a people become "engaged in new cash earning activities" (such as selling labor, or producing ironwood for an external or local market). But this is presumably the only important innovation that has been adopted. In other words, the traditional socio-cultural system stays largely as it was. It means that the income of a community does increase, but at this stage in the change process it brings with it certain kinds of "typical" responses such as: (a) the use of the new income for old status prerogatives, (b) the creation of new conflicts over the use of resources and (c) the undermining of traditional
arrangements such as reciprocity and thereby sharing, which increases individualism, and hence effects a decline in social security. Several writers have pointed out, including Bohannan (1959), how the introduction of cash may produce severe moral ambivalences. The exchange of prestige goods, like the stone axes in Asmat brideprice, when they become easily interchangeable for cash, or other non-valuable consumer goods, tend to upset traditional values and undermine social relationships.

Socio-economic development involves nearly a total transformation of the local community or area. There is no development in this sense which is independent of larger economic and cultural units of which it is a part. It means the development of greater diversity with a concomitant need for greater integration with groups and institutions external to the local community, however we choose to define that community. For sustained growth to take place in economic, political and cultural spheres it is first necessary to increase income. This means production for sale in order to pay for the inflow of consumer goods, capital goods, and social services such as schools and health facilities. We are told that this is possible only with increasingly efficient technology, which includes technological knowledge, which initially, like some of the other goods and services have to be brought in from outside as a means of prizing the pump of development, which I shall discuss in more detail below. Political development can and must take place as well through taxation (but not in excess of the new incomes produced, otherwise it will act as a counter-incentive), and through it provide vital services in economic, educational, security and health spheres. Finally, cultural integration involves the learning of a new language, new skills, development of literacy, new health practices. Here experiences increase so that rational choices can be made among alternatives and providing information about events and institutions beyond the bounds of the local community. If such development occurs, social costs in this transformation can be kept at a minimum; and with maximum local participation they can nearly be eliminated. It will also assure the preservation of an ethnic identity. In a society such as Indonesia this is fostered because there is a belief in the vitality of cultural pluralism.

And it seems, as judged by the bitter experience of American Indians and detribalized Africans, that some modicum of ethnic identity is necessary to help shape and maintain the individual as a unique personality.

To the extent that all of us here are interested in the third form of cultural change: socio-cultural development, we are forced to seek out new ways, new approaches that guide both the people and the change agents in producing behaviour changes at minimal social cost. Models of socio-economic change that have been produced in the industrialized nations turn out to be of little value in the developing nations and their communities. While in a country where individualism and income is high, and risks in the adoption of innovations are cushioned by reserves and insurances, and where an effective communications network is already in existence, a western model of the adoption of innovations is no doubt valid. This model holds that any item of behaviour, or any material innovations, if it proves advantageous in a more or less economic sense, will eventually be accepted. Research by Rogers (1962, 1971) and others shows that the pattern of the diffusion of such innovations follows a typical S-shaped curve, where some "early adopters" are courageous enough to try anything new; and provided communication is adequate, others will soon follow these leaders. But in communities where there is strong egalitarianism, this model does not hold. It also does not hold where there are pronounced norms of reciprocity among kin and neighborhood groups. This is not to deny that steel axes are readily accepted and that the only limiting factor to their acceptance in Asmat are their availability. But steel axes also do not in any sense alter, at least not at first, the ongoing socio-cultural system; nor is their introduction part of a plan that guides development. If so-called extension methods tried and proven elsewhere are not immediately applicable, as we think they are not, we must search for a strategy for development in the sense defined above that helps, rather than destroys development of self, through the transformation of the community. This implies that the change agent must focus his efforts not only on changing individuals, but also groups and clusters of groups as they exist in any community so that they can genuinely help themselves as well as the region and nation of which they are a part.
According to many analysts and professional development workers, two crucial questions have to be decided almost at the outset when designing a change strategy (Choldin, 1968; Bennis, 1966; Niehoff, 1966; Batten, 1967, 1969). One has to do with the locus of decision making. Shall it be at the local level or shall it be with the change agency? By a change agency I mean all outside personnel, usually organized into groups such as government departments, schools, medical teams, missionaries, community development teams and the like. A second question has to do with the amount of material inputs that are to be invested in the development process. These two major areas, the loci of decision making and the material inputs to be invested, provide us with a preliminary classification of the development strategies that can be used, and indeed have been used in various parts of the world. We may refer to this as "Strategies of Induced Change," represented in Figure 1.

Each of these approaches has its advantages and disadvantages. This depends on (a) the kind of innovation introduced into a community, (b) the nature of kind of community it is (size, complexity, etc.), and (c) its past history with change agents. Perhaps a discussion of each of these strategies will help clarify the meaning, advantages and disadvantages of these strategies. In discussing them, we must be aware that like all typologies, they are aids in understanding a matter conceptually, and that reality is rarely so classifiable. But they provide a beginning for ordering our understanding of the bewildering amount of materials describing change strategies.

In the type A strategy, the decision making function rests almost totally with the change agency. The change agency decides what changes are necessary in the target population; it tells the "natives" what is best for them in moral behaviour, in clothing, in working and believing. We call it paternalistic because it tends to treat target populations in a condescending way, and since its relationship is essentially that between father and child, the concomitant stereotyping of all the "natives" as child-like is inevitable. Although this approach has often been associated with an older tradition of missionaries, it is by no means limited to them. Extension workers and "experts" of very modern change agencies frequently engage in this kind of strategy as well. Its attractiveness lies, of course, in the fact that it calls for only minor material inputs and so costs are low (at least in the short run). It is assumed also that superior knowledge and expertise of the change agent will be received gratefully since the target population is "backward."

This approach has limited applicability as a survey of 50 case studies we conducted several years ago at the University of Colorado suggests. Half the cases analysed used a variant of type A strategy, and all of them failed. The failures seem to be caused by change agents' perception and definition of the problem to be solved.

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**Fig. 1. Strategies of Induced Change**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Inputs Invested</th>
<th>Locus of Decision Making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low amount of investment in material inputs.</td>
<td>In change agency (&quot;Directive Change&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In local community (&quot;Non-Directive Change&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High amount of investments in material inputs.</td>
<td>&quot;Patriarchalistic Approach&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Superior knowledge &amp; skill of change agent forces acceptance of new teachings and changed habits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Engineering-Physical Infra-structure Approach&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Build new facilities needed for development and allow people to figure out how to use them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Facilitative Assistance Approach&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local group defines own problems, sets own goals. Outside organization (change agency) helps achieve goals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What the change agency sees and what the target population sees, in these un-critical strategies, are always two different things. Thus, if there is little congruence between the change agent's perception of problems to be solved and those of the target population, the probability of failure is very high. One may call this strategy also a "directive approach" and we will say more about it later. It is sufficient to note here, that most instructional teaching methods are of this directive nature. But, this is not to say that there is not a place and time for their use, for instance in the use of machinery or keeping records; that is, in strictly technical and scientific procedures this approach is probably the best we have. But if there are alternative ways of doing things, especially if they involve several people or communities and there is not yet consensus on the nature of the problem, chances are that this strategy will not work. Furthermore, if a target population has had a large dose of instructional or directive changes imposed upon itself in its culture contact history (as during the colonial periods), this will usually preclude the type A strategy from being acceptable even if it would otherwise be called for because we have already reached a situation that resembles degenerative change.

In type B strategy emphasis is clearly on democratic decision making at the local community level, and the development of indigenous leadership is a primary goal. There is emphasis on developing the ability to solve problems with locally available resources. "Self-help" means the voluntary contribution of labor and local resources as means to community improvement and self-reliance. Like type A strategy, it calls for low outside inputs and hence costs are minimal.

This strategy has been widely used in India, Tanzania, and many South East Asian countries and continues to have wide appeal especially when outside resources are in short supply. But the successful projects have been limited, even though in the short run they may "look" like successes. One of the limiting factors of the approach is that the local village economies are very close to subsistence level. For effective development to take place people re-quire, but usually do not have a surplus of either labor or other resources to maintain development projects. In Assam, for example there is up to a point a labour surplus. The question is, how long will this last? Food resources will become scarcer near the permanently located villages and it will be necessary for people to go further afield to find food resources. A second limiting factor to this approach, at least in the past, has been the fact that the community development worker has been an educated outsider, a member of the elite, identified with government which collects taxes (see Sudra Datt Singh in Spicer, 1952:61). This has been the experience especially in India, but also in Tanzania where for some time the extension worker was a member of the elite. As such he found it easy to interact with the "progressive" farmer, but failed to reach the rest of the community. The singling out of modernizing or progressive individuals who are easy to work with has the effect of increasing inequality, and at the same time destroying the effectiveness of the project with a concomitant loss of face in any future attempt to introduce another innovation. Cynicism is not an unknown result that the community development worker finds where this has been the past history of development. In other words, failure to live up to expectations tends to destroy trust, and without trust between change agents and villagers there is practically no possibility for development.

The type C strategy emphasizes high capital investment but local decision making is either absent or only at a bare minimum level. It may be called the "engineering-infra structure" approach because it usually involves the construction of large structures planned by engineers which serve the region or nation as a whole. Because they are large projects such as dams and roads and harbor facilities, they often also call for high capital outlays in part obtained from abroad. The projects are initiated generally by the central government and the assumption underlying them is that roads, transport and other capital intensive facilities will provide the economic and social opportunities and over time the local populace will use these for their own benefit and that of the country. This happens often, but it would be dishonest not to point out that it is not quite as automatic as is often assumed. Particularly
dams have sometimes not been utilized, and costly irrigation works have been permitted to lie idle because the "human factor" has not been considered in adequate detail. If these gigantic projects require new forms of co-operation among the affected people, or new forms of land tenure systems, or new forms of usufruct rights as in fishing domains, careful preparation of the population for these changes is mandatory. Similarly, large projects have a tendency to aid only a limited proportion of the population; and if there is a history of preferential treatment, for instance, large plantations, the chances for the ordinary citizen to accept such large scale innovations are rather small. And again, we have to ask if a local population can maintain large scale projects once they have been constructed.

Now, in the final type D strategy which may be called the "facilitative assistance" approach, the emphasis as in type B is on local decision making. But as in type C above, it also emphasizes relatively high capital inputs, but not in the same large amounts as in type C. We hasten to add, however, that part of the inputs also involve considerable non-material inputs (though they have costs) which may be called information. Information inputs are, as we shall discuss below, of equal or greater importance than capital inputs. It also assists in developing new skills and in mediating between target populations and the larger society.

Type D strategy emphasizes local community decision making; this constitutes a special problem to the change agency. The problem derives from the fact that in effect, control is given to the target population, at least over some aspects of a development project. On the psychological level, the change agent experiences difficulty because he lacks control in the capabilities of the clients, especially if he is overly concerned with their illiteracy and lack of experience with new ways of doing new things. It also derives from the fact that change agents find it easier to resort to a stereotype such as "the people are lazy." This, like all stereotypes is based on an observation in this case, little work. But we should ask ourselves the question here, why little work? Rather than dividing mankind into "good people" and "bad people" (the lazy ones), it is more fruitful to look at the context, the situation in which people manifest certain kinds of behaviour. When we adopt this view it commonly turns out that people behave the way they do because the situation in which they find themselves is frustrating, or, more importantly, they lack the requisite information that would allow them to consider appropriate alternatives. If people refuse a new practice or an innovation, it is because they are rational beings whose experience has been their teacher. But it is also true that experience may have been limited by lack of information inputs which could help a people in changing circumstances. If this reasoning is correct, and information theory and empirical evidence suggests that it is, then the big problem that confronts the change agents in the proper transmission of information. Can this be done in terms of type D strategy where much of the control for the development process is at the local level? There is evidence that it can be done if we take the experience of a number of development projects in Peru, Bangladesh, and East Africa (Bolmberg in Dalton 1971: 519-555; Vasques in Dalton, 1971: 556-565; Lear in Niehoff 1966: 60-67; Dobyns et al in Niehoff 1966: 67-76, Choldin 1968; Lang and Entfield, m. a. and Lang, Roth, and Lang 1970). But I would like to emphasize here that demonstrating the feasibility of an innovation is not enough to produce development as we have defined it. It is also not enough to provide capital, and even services of "experts" if at the same time people who are affected by the new inputs do not participate in the decision making process and thereby learn the use as well as the organisational structure of behaving in changing circumstances which an innovation entails. Demonstration, lecturing, admonishing, scolding, pressuring are of no avail if the innovation, however beneficial it may appear to the change agent, does not at the same time meet a felt need of the client population.

The problem then becomes one of bridging the gap between the client population and the change agents through appropriate teaching and demonstration methods on one hand, and simultaneously build an institution on the other, that in the course of time makes the outside "experts" obsolete. The first problem may be restated as one of providing an appropriate climate or situation in which mutual teaching and learning can take place; the second
one may be stated as being one of building a self-maintaining, self-respecting social organization. I will try to discuss these two problems in turn in the remainder of the paper.

Before I tackle these two problems, it is necessary to review some general principles about the adoption of innovation process (Rogers 1962, 1971; Niehoff, 1966, Erasmus 1964, Barnett, 1953). This is so because both the teaching-learning process as well as the building of a institutional structure can be viewed as cumulative and hence evolutionary and emergent. Thus, first of all, if an innovation meets the needs of a people, if they see a problem to be solved, that innovation is more likely to be accepted by them. Second, if the innovation promises an immediate or short-term reward which is also a highly visible benefit and it need not be just material, it may be social as well, such as recognition or prestige, that innovation will be more likely accepted and integrated into their life. Finally, if an innovation, however complex, such as a lumbering cooperative which has both material and organizational aspects, can be broken down into its component parts, and one or at most a few parts can be adopted at a time, that innovation (given the first two conditions) will be accepted. This is so because it spreads the risks involved in accepting something new, and allows the adopters to gain confidence in the use of the innovation on the one hand, while on the other it builds trust in the credibility of the change agents. Taking these generalizations into account in a development program does not imply that there will not be any conflicts or disappointments. It is precisely because of the inevitability of stresses and strains in the development process that special attention must be given to the teaching-learning process and the formation of an adequate organizational structure in which this can take place. To those problems I now turn.

The first problem, that of evolving an adequate process for both teaching and learning, if a facilitative assistance strategy is to be applied, has we have said, been labeled a "non-directive" approach. It has been explained by an experienced community development worker, T.R. Batten, who contrasts it to the "directive approach." In the latter, heavy reliance is on instructional techniques, techniques we are familiar with. We have experienced them through most of our early schooling and beyond, even into graduate work. The essence of this approach, as we have seen in what we called the " paternalistic" type A strategy is "that the agency and its workers think, decide, plan, organize, administer, and provide for people. Always the main initiative and the final say, remains with "the outside agency." (Batten, 1969). There is no doubt that in some instances this approach is effective, perhaps even necessary. Perhaps in the teaching of technical skills where there is a close and predictable connection between cause and effect such directive or instructional teaching is appropriate. More precisely, I suggest some criteria or conditions when the directive approach is especially appropriate: 1) In the eyes of the learner, the ideas, information, and skills of the teacher are considered relevant to the job to be done. Learning how to saw a log, for example, becomes relevant at the moment to a learner when it becomes the means to obtain some other good such as tobacco. 2) It follows from this that the learner must want the training offered by the teacher because he sees its relevance. Seeing the relevancy for learning a new skill is far from easy for the change agents, and therefore a more non-directive approach which makes us apparent may be called for in the first instance. 3) Most important is that the teacher makes sure that the training objectives are such that they can be achieved by instructional methods. One may instruct an Asmat in the marketing procedures of lumber, but this, without a trip to the market is meaningless, not to mention the entire concept of marketing and markets in a society in which the principal node of economic transaction continues to be some sort of barter, based on face to face relations.

But when other conditions prevail, especially when attitudes are to be changed, when perceptions are to be changed, when the target population is expected to take on responsibility and making sound judgement for themselves, it is then that the non-directive approach seems more appropriate. This is not an idle and fanciful suggestion. Both the cases in applied anthropology, as well as the increasing body of empirical work in organization research point in this direction, even though all the evidence is not yet in. The change agency in this approach provides a structure and organization through which
the people decide what their needs and wants are, what they are willing to do to meet them, how best to organize and plan, and how to carry out their solution to a satisfactory conclusion. The interaction process involved can perhaps be best illustrated by a diagram (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 INTERACTION PROCESS PHASES LEADING TO ACTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Members of a target population (a committee, or other representative group)</th>
<th>Members of a change agency (initiates process by asking questions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Vague dissatisfaction; passive reaction.</td>
<td>Stimulates people to think about their dissatisfaction; with what, and why.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Are now aware of certain needs and problems (increased specificity).</td>
<td>Stimulates people to think about what specific changes would ensue if needs and problems were met.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Are now aware of wanting changes of some specific kind.</td>
<td>Stimulates people to consider what they might do to bring such changes about by taking action themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Decide for or against trying to meet some want for themselves.</td>
<td>If necessary, stimulates people to consider how best they can organize themselves to do what they want to do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Plan what to do and how they will do it.</td>
<td>Stimulates people to consider and decide in detail just what to do, who will do it, and when and how they will do it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Act according to their planning.</td>
<td>Stimulates people to think through any unforeseen difficulties or problems they may encounter in the course of what they do (he may again need to help them work through each of the preceding five stages in deciding how to tackle each problem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Satisfaction with result of their achievement.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Adopted from Batton, 1969)

There are, of course, limitations as well as advantages to this non-directive approach. First, as already mentioned, the change agents cannot dictate the course of events, he can only influence its course. But, if he is skilful, he will help people to arrive at decisions which are theirs, and thus the goals of development can more readily be achieved because the input of the local people is due more to their greater commitment to "their" project. Second, the client population not infrequently dislikes the non-directive approach, especially when they have not been accustomed to handling responsibility. But it is precisely at this point that the potential of a people can be developed by encouraging decision making and independent thinking within their group. Third, there are rules of procedure which must be established and especially in the beginning of a change process, people are unfamiliar with them. Perhaps, also, particular tasks call for strict technical skills, like weighing, measuring, operating a machine etc., all of which call for an instructional approach. But to the degree to which even procedure and rules are agreed upon by the non-directive approach, this tends to create a "we-feeling" and tremendously increases the morale of the group, as so many management studies have shown. Fourth, the users of the non-directive approach must be experienced or have been trained in the technique. This implies, indeed it is essential, that he is convinced of the validity of the approach, in short, believe in himself. But to the extent to which he is committed to such a non-directive approach, it provides nearly unlimited opportunities for educating and influencing people in a lasting way, again because it has become their own project, their own way of handling problems.

In applying the non-directive approach one needs to be not only convinced of its effectiveness and utility, but one must have an understanding of the conditions or the situations in which this approach is most likely going to be effective. It appears that the conditions for this approach are most propitious when the following two criteria are present:

1. The needs of the people (the target population) are greater than the ability of either the people themselves or the change agency to meet these needs and wants by themselves. This seems to be eminently the case as the Amat people move into an area of greater involvement with the outside world—a corollary of which is a change in their wants.
2. For self-sustained growth to take place one of the greatest needs objectively speaking, is for a people to build confidence and competence in thinking, deciding and implementing their efforts towards the achievement of new goals. Therefore, as new opportunities become available, as indeed they will with increasing education, new jobs, new commercial ventures and the like, there arise new problems to be solved which require new interactions that can become opportunities for self-learning, experiencing, and self-realization.

This brings me to the second problem, of creating structures and organizations which provide opportunities for and promote interaction, self-learning, and self-realization. Furthermore, this involves building an organization that is self-maintaining, lasting yet flexible so that it can cope with changing circumstances and problems. This involves, I think, a way of conceptualizing organizational structures in a new way—a way that is different from more static organization charts, more in conformity with a dynamic systems approach, that not only emphasizes channels of command, but also speaks instead of channels of communication with appropriate feedback loops between the various components of the organization. Fortunately, the social sciences are able to help us in this regard. We can obtain valuable insights from the Cornell-Peru Project at Hacienda Vicos, from the Cosila Project in Bangladesh, and from the students of the sociology and social psychology of organizations. While one may certainly object to these cases and studies and generalizations derived from them on the grounds that they do not fit the Amat situation, they nevertheless show us processes of organizational structuring which are widely applicable, just as physiological processes are applicable in many different physical types of mankind.

While it is not possible nor desirable at this stage of my knowledge of Amat to spell out what the specific nature of these organizational structures should be, I can at least suggest what they are supposed to do if their purpose is to facilitate development as we have defined it, that is to promote employment, prevent poverty, and assure equality. But we need remind ourselves that the fulfillment of the human potential requires much that cannot be expressed in economic terms alone. This then means that the objectives of such a structure should promote also education, health, freedom of movement and expression, and a sense of belonging to a local, regional and national citizenry. If these are legitimate goals, that is economic development and the development of a whole person, then it seems to me that the organization of human interaction must be so structured that it meets the following requirements, no matter what its specific structural arrangements are in civic and political processes, in co-operatives, in health services, in educational services, in commercial transactions and in services provided by missionaries who are primarily concerned with increasing the worth of the individual as a fully autonomous, responsible, concerned person.

First, and perhaps most importantly there must be a structure that provides for the maximum flow of communication. Not only downwards flow to the lower echelons of groups and communities, but especially attention must be given to arranging structures that facilitate upward flow. This entails a willingness on the part of the change agency or the agents of change to listen—a capacity which is not "natural," but one which has to be developed by change agents, especially those in authority positions. Although there are many "master plans" on how to improve communications, most of them are not worth much because they have been drawn up without reference to the reality of the local situation. Therefore, what is called for is slow and careful experimentation in this most critical area and an evolution of a viable communications network that maximizes as much as possible all existing channels of communications. From my short experience in Amat, I would say that there are already in existence a number of separate and independent communication networks, but they are not articulated. For instance, there is one on the level of the village, perhaps least utilized and listened to by agents of change; there is one within the various mission groups, and overarching all these are the government administrative communication networks. But I am not as yet persuaded that beyond a minimal level they articulate to any great extent. These remarks are not intended to be negative criticisms, but rather an identification of a problem that needs experimental attention in restructuring this aspect of a total
organization for development.

So that the two-way communication process that was suggested does not become a mere system for giving orders on the one hand, and opportunities to informers on the other, it is equally important that the broadest possible participation in decision-making is achieved. This refers not only to the usual democratic processes of election of public and corporate officers, but also the establishment of some regular bodies for consultation. Those in authority in particular, cannot make relevant decisions that have the support of the people affected without their co-operation; and their co-operation cannot be obtained without consulting them. This is not to say that force cannot produce results, certainly in the short run; but in the long run unmitigated force tends to produce counter-pressure at precisely those points in the history of groups when free co-operation is most essential. Increasingly, studies tend to show, even for highly structured corporate bodies, that increased participation in matters pertaining to members of the corporate bodies increases their productivity, proportionate to an increase in their morale.

Organizations must be so structured that they promote an experimental attitude towards new situations. What is needed is a willingness to be open to different ideas, however different they may be. This is so because without a large number of different ideas, as well as behaviour patterns, the possibility of becoming involved in creative behaviour is severely limited. Instead of being afraid of diversity, diversity must be actively encouraged because the whole process of modernization itself is creating more diversity. And with the creation of greater diversity it becomes critical that integrative institutions, integrative behaviour are also found. Thus a change agency together with the client population must be concerned with creating an environment that is geared to and concerned with the identification of problems and their solutions through participation in the decision-making process.

This cannot, of course, take place if there is no trust between change agents operating through their diverse structures, and most of all between change agents and the target populations. A trust relationship implies that one person or group will give some other person or group something before he takes it, and that the two sides of the relationship are open to another's suggestion, and put aside aggressive barriers. It seems to me that trust is very highly developed in Africa among family groups in villages, within change agencies themselves, but what needs to be worked out is a structure and organization that can coordinate and extend this trust beyond the boundaries of these small social groups. This of course might be effected only if face to face relationships are built. Such face to face relationships need not imply that there is agreement, on the contrary, they provide the mechanism to establish the fact that there is diversity, and through the pooling of diversity a new consensus can be created, which, as we have suggested above, is the stuff of development. Creativeness, and innovativeness so conceived is not something that is reserved to the genius or the team or experts, but rather becomes the way of operating among all people who are involved in the development process. And creativeness and innovativeness come about, psychologists tell us only after a problem has been identified.

So in order to bring problems to light, an organization must have as part of its functioning structure a mechanism for self-evaluation. This might be a committee or a permanent group which engages on the level of the change agency as well as on the community level in self-study and self-criticism. Organized change agencies through this mechanism may be able to avoid the "iron law of oligarchy" through which means become ends, through which the organization forgets what it was created for and becomes an end in itself.

The change agencies dare not forget that in accordance with the United Nations Charter, and also in accordance with the precepts of most world religions, they are concerned with the promotion of human rights. Missionary effort, no less than the specialized agencies of the U.N. have been founded for the increase of this most precious right of all of man-kind. Yet, in the day to day struggle to survive, to cope with bothersome detail, it is so easy for change agencies to lose sight of this. And the larger the change agency is, the greater it would seem this problem looms as the Jackson Report so aptly documents. But again, the degree to which the organization promotes communication and feedback, participation in decision making, and an experimental
stance in solving problems, to this extent it will further human rights and freedom through the encouragement and—where only incipient—the development of leadership and responsibility.

Change agents will accomplish this only when they take their leadership seriously as co-workers in the development process. More specifically, when they avoid acting as a privileged caste or an elite that is capable of being either intimidating through the arbitrary use of force in the name of some authority, or patriarchal and patronizing in the name of its special social position made possible by greater resources than available to the target population. Rather, the style must be, as Nazrul (1971) the African political scientist recently put it, capable of mobilizing the members of the target population through his ideological stance no less than his charismatic abilities that can stir the imagination of his colleagues and those for whom he works and serves. Or, at times it must be reconciling in the sense that leadership is tactically able to accommodate when the situation seems irreconcilable by discovering common ground and thus achieving compromise and/or synthesis. Or put another way, leadership style must be task oriented where tasks are clearly defined, and membership oriented where the problem is neither well defined nor the participation of the people involved is called for. This means that where policy has been agreed upon tasks have to be carried out by competent professionals, and if they do not exist they have to be trained. But where policy is in the making, a membership oriented leadership style in the sense in which we defined it as non-directive, is more likely to obtain participation, co-operation and through it, development. The attitude of the change agency and its members clearly calls for a service orientation rather than that of the colonial masters. The image of the colonial master is dead, but his behaviour patterns linger on.

It is this service orientation that should be the objective of any development organisation. And if it is not so oriented, it should organise itself in order to achieve such a functional goal. But if service is to be the goal of change agents, and if organising their technical skills, however scarce, they may be, has high priority, it implies that they should be "all things to all men." And clearly, this has been the most frustrating part of our lives in so far as we have been active as change agents. How is one to be educator, mechanic, economist, navigator, historian, carpenter, psychologist, accountant, community development worker and storekeeper without far exceeding the capabilities of any one person? The answer, of course, is that one cannot competently master all these roles. Our developing world is much too complex and it is high time that even in Anmat we understand the complexities of development. The problem, rather, is that while we have a very complex technology at hand, and while we can solve nearly all technical problems quite adequately, we are only beginning now to understand the more important aspect of development is organizing ourselves, developing appropriate structures which facilitate, rather than hinder development. This clearly means that the first requirement of a change agency must be its openness and accessibility to the people who seek development. It means secondly, that the nature of the problems brought to the agents of change can be extremely varied. Hence change agents must be wary of the immediate temptation providing quick answers. Instead, there must be interaction that not only clarifies the multitude of problems brought up, but sorts them out as to priorities; furthermore, instead of providing a part or a wrong answer, the change agent has something to offer by virtue of his much larger network of communication so that he can get the clients and "experts" together for the purpose of their solving problems together. This is, then, what we mean by a facilitative strategy, and one that can lead to development.

In Anmat, as elsewhere culture change is well under way at an ever accelerating rate. The question that is far from clear, however, shall it be degenerative change, shall it be growth without development, or shall it be socio-economic development? The strategy and the organisation of change agencies will probably determine which one of these changes will take place.
REFERENCES


Introduction

The Diocese of Agats - Asmat has evolved a mission programme aimed at helping the Asmat people achieve a sense of responsibility for their own welfare and a restored sense of pride in themselves and their way of life. If we are to succeed in this programme, the Asmat Catholic School system and all those we train in Agats or the outposts, be they carpenter crews, boat-men or members of the co-operatives, need to be incorporated into an all embracing plan designed to reach this goal.

Perhaps our most talked about means to achieving this end of independence and pride in the socio-economic sphere is our gradually evolving system of co-operatives. At this stage we have helped the people start nine co-operatives which are, in various degrees, working toward official recognition by the Indonesian Government. We also have other work projects started which will soon enter into the co-operative pattern.

In this paper I would like to offer what insights I have gained through my experiences in working with the Asmat co-operatives as an advisor. The paper is practical rather than theoretical and I hope to conclude with some concrete areas of concern. I will use the co-operatives as my prime example, but what I have to say can just as well be applied to the carpentry crews in Agats, the education of our boat men, or to working with village chiefs or leaders.

When we first introduced the co-operative movement to the Asmat people it was a foreign concept which was, in many ways, beyond their understanding. Such "simple" ideas as keeping time schedules (i.e. starting work at 8:00 and continuing until 2:00) seemed unreasonable to the people and they could not see the need for it. Time has never been appreciated in this manner. The Asmat people, traditionally, did not use time as we do. They ate when they were hungry, slept when they were tired and fished when they felt like fishing.

The amount of work required in our sense of the word, was minimal. The roof over their heads was good enough until the rain came in. At that time they would carry out whatever repairs were necessary. The men were always free to sit around the fire and tell their stories. The women did most of the
arduous work. The Amnat were simply a food-gathering people and this, together with their casual approach (in our terms) to time handicapped them when they came into contact with the outside world and were forced to compete with other peoples.

For these and other reasons which can be explored in theoretical papers I suggest that the introduction of the co-operative movement was a foreign concept to the Amnat people which had no parallel in their past. It follows then that before co-operatives are able to become a real part of the Amnat way of life, the Amnat people themselves must come to understand that the co-operative is not just a job which will provide a salary. They will have to appreciate that the co-operative can answer their social and economic needs. They will have to realize that through their co-operatives they can arrive at a sense of achievement experience. The future must be determined by the people themselves and the co-operatives can assist in this determination but only if they realize that the co-operatives are "theirs" and not "ours".

Levels of Education

1. Technical Skills:

There are at least three phases or levels of education called for in the introduction of the co-operative movement. In actual fact these levels may be said to coexist rather than to form a sequence through time. The first level is that of technical skills, the second the introduction of administrative skills and the third (to my mind the most crucial), the acceptance of social discipline and the basic leadership patterns required for socio-economic growth.

Because at this juncture in our work efforts have been aimed mainly at lumber co-operatives, the points made concerning skills to be learned will focus only on lumber activities.

If the people wish to initiate a lumber co-operative they must first learn how to use the tools required for lumber production. Before the mission and government appeared on the scene, the people knew only how to use simple tools of non-metal materials. Lumber production, however, requires saws, planes, metal axes, saw sharpening tools etc., and there is very little flexibility in the way that these tools can be used and cared for.

It is our responsibility to teach these mechanical skills. Initially these skills are just as foreign to the people as the basic idea that the co-operative is owned by the members.

Teaching these skills is the easiest task we face (because it is the most practical) and I should add that it is simple enough to enter a village, observe the product (finished lumber) and the process of production (sawing, chipping and finishing) and note whether these skills have been properly taught or not. My impression is that in various co-operatives the members expend at least five times the amount of work actually needed to saw and finish a single log. This is probably because the members have never learned the correct way to use the saws.

There are various reasons for this. The most obvious is that not each pastor who desires to open and work with a co-operative knows these skills himself. This is partly the responsibility of the bishop who should try to provide such training for mission personnel. A more important factor, however, is that of time available to the pastor who works with the co-operative. The pastors in the villages also try to promote native crafts, art, folk-lore etc., At the same time the pastors have their primary religious obligations both personal and to parish members and they must also spend hours each day in giving medicine to the sick. They have many administrative tasks for both government and diocese. They care for two to seven villages in addition to their main posts, oversee projects, schools and so on. They keep all of the records of births and deaths, and also provide some basic store goods for the people and the teachers.

With so many demands upon his time it is hardly possible for the pastor to offer training in lumber skills even if he himself is an expert which, in most cases, he is not. Perhaps, then, we have to ask ourselves as agents of change whether we need other experts who can assume this responsibility for teaching the necessary skills. Such teachers could be provided by the government, by FUNDWI, or by lay missionary organizations. Whatever the
solution may be, we are forced to admit that this level of education will demand much more time and fairly constant presence. It should also be realised that a co-operative is unlikely to function efficiently if the members do not have an adequate grasp of the basic skills of lumber production.

2. Administrative Skills:

The second level at which education must take place is that of administration. Here I include everything from reading the metre stick accurately to general book-keeping and the administrative reports to the Co-operative Central Office in Agata, and the Government's offices in Kereweke and elsewhere. Now, in this regard literacy is absolutely fundamental. To have all the membership literate would be the ideal but for the time being this is impossible. We have to depend largely upon the schools to provide younger men who know how to read and write and to work with figures.

Once we have found men who know how to read and write and who are willing to enter the co-operative system, our task as educator just begins. Many long hours will be required to teach uniform administrative procedures, basic arithmetic, simple accountancy, how to calculate wages and salaries and to pay for logs which are brought by non-members for sale to the co-operative. This education will be a slow and on-going process but it is a necessity if one day the Amat co-operative system is to become totally self-sufficient and competitive.

The problem of providing education on this level has yet to be fully faced in our efforts to establish an independent system of co-operatives. Perhaps the new central co-operative office (Pusat Koperasi) in conjunction with the educational materials provided by the Museum of Culture and Progress in Agata, will be able to offer some of the basic training required in this crucial area. Again, however, we must ask ourselves whether we have the time or the know-how to provide such training with the present manpower available to us. At all events, we must recognize our deficiencies in this area and search for more adequate means of providing skills in administration. In that the new Pusat Koperasi is staffed, in part at least, by Amat co-operative members, these men could also become some of the staff of educators enabling another step to be taken towards self-sufficiency.

3. Social Discipline:

Having worked for several years here in Amat it is my belief that teaching basic skills and administrative ability will prove to be our easiest job with the co-operative system. The most difficult problem will lie in the area of "social discipline". But this I mean "the personal responsibility that each co-operative member must take not only for the well-being of the co-operative itself in his own village, but for the co-operative movement as a whole. Each member must learn to pull his weight in the co-operative. Each man must carry out his assigned tasks to the best of his ability realising that he is working not just for himself but for the good of his fellows.

What I am discussing is not simply "personal responsibility" or self-discipline, although certainly this is part of it. In stressing "social discipline" I am indicating that Amat society itself, as manifested in local villages, must begin to support such personal discipline in its individual members and to ensure those who do not strive to achieve these personal qualities. It must be our goal that the members of the co-operatives themselves take this first step and gradually communicate the need for these qualities to the other members of the village society. This is a crucial area where we, as an agency for change, gradually turn over the responsibility for change to the Amat people themselves.

A first step in this direction might well be the making of a clear statement of what is actually expected or required. This could be accomplished if each co-operative would have its own and agreed upon written by-laws which would spell out clearly what is expected of the membership. Such by-laws should point out how money is used, salaries set, payment made, etc. They should also include how penalties for failure are arrived at and enforced. The co-operatives already elect their own chairmen and other officials such as secretaries. These leaders will have to assume increasing responsibility for the enforcement of these by-laws. This is really possible only if the members
understand that the bylaws do not come from the mission or from their elected leaders but from each of them. From this we might hope that the people will gradually know that the members of the co-operative are actually in control of their own future and progress. It is their co-operative and their personal responsibility. We are present as outsiders only to help and to advise and not to administer or to dictate decisions. It is the membership which bears the responsibility to elect leaders and to abide by decisions.

It seems to me that often, although with the best of intentions, we outsiders have usurped the role of leader. We have tried too often to make the co-operative "our co-operative" by running it "our way". Several months ago, for example, we sat in this very room with one silent Ammat and drew up the bylaws of the co-operative centre here in Agats. This took responsibility and decision making out of the hands of the members to whom the Pusat should be responsible. This indicated that it is not their co-operative but ours, just, in fact, as was the case fifteen years ago. This is the quickest way to kill any spark of leadership on the part of the co-operative members. It seems to me that the best way to develop a leader is to simply let his lead. This has to be done in all matters and from the very start of a project. If the co-operative members know that they can (or must) turn to us for their decisions, they will never be able to be independent of our leadership. They will always turn to us when there is a decision to be made.

Corporate Areas of Concern

1. Decision Making:

Such a simple matter as receiving a letter from the Central Co-operative Office rather than from the pastor can be important. The leaders should receive the letter, read it, and explain its import to the full membership. From such letters member co-operatives will learn of the basic needs from the central office. They must then themselves decide what action to take. After such a letter, for example, they will probably come to us with the problem. We may try to clarify ideas and present different options for action. The crucial point is that they must make their own choice. We may feel, after they do choose, that there may have been a better solution to the problem. It is my conviction, however, that the best choice will always be theirs rather than our decision. This is simply because in the long run they are learning to become responsible—and that is our agreed upon goal.

There are now seven "preparatory co-operatives" here in Ammat (i.e. non-official so far as the government is concerned). These are in the villages of Erma, Komor, Janas, Ataj, Pirimpun, Basir, and Jiaukor. Each of these villages also has a resident pastor. He is present as advisor and educator. There is one official co-operative in Ajaq, a village with a resident pastor who also acts as advisor. Three villages have preparatory co-operatives but do not have a resident pastor; the pastor acts as advisor only on his once-a-month visits of one or two days. These are Wase, Amborep and Damen.

It is my impression that if we examine the co-operatives of Wase and Amborep (without a resident pastor) we find that these two co-operatives have advanced more rapidly than some of the co-operatives which have the "advantage" of a resident pastor. These two co-operatives have been forced by circumstances to be far more independent. They have been forced to take responsibility and to make their own decisions. These people know that the co-operative belongs to them and they are proud to be members. To be fair, it should be added that these two villages are very close to each other and traditionally are in constant competition. This factor is partly responsible for the drive and spirit which keeps the co-operatives alive and progressive.

2. Realistic Demands:

There is a danger that in the demands we make we move from one extreme to the other. There is danger of our placing demands on the people before they have had proper preparation to meet these. We cannot, for example, expect the co-operative to give its own yearly reports until we have taken the time to teach basic administration. We cannot demand that the co-operative make its own decisions until we have provided the opportunity for understanding that the co-operative is really theirs and that they are fully responsible for it. The other extreme, equally as dangerous, is that we would not ask enough of
the co-operatives. This could happen if we begin to provide a buffer for the
members at every point of stress.

3. Continuity in Policy:

There is a need for far greater rapport between one co-operative and
another as well as between the individual co-operatives and the Central Office
here in Agata. As an advisor on the scene I can explain to the members that
they will have to put more effort into their work if they are producing a low
quality product. This is wasted, however, if later on the Central Office
accepts inferior quality lumber from the co-operative.

4. Avoiding Paternalism:

As educators, we have to be careful in our dealings with the people.
Our actions, too, communicate a great deal. We dare not attempt to relate to
these adult men in the same way we would teach children. At the same time all
adults need some sort of recognition for achievements and work. We have to
praise them and encourage a sense of pride in their own work. It is very im-
portant for this to be a realistic possibility that we view the co-operative
not from our vantage point but rather from theirs. In doing this I feel that
we will more quickly find means of praising achievement and encouraging de-
velopment.

5. Co-operatives as Centres for Social Activity:

One final point can be made concerning how the co-operatives can
serve to meet the social needs of the people. Every village needs some excite-
ment, some sense of play, some opportunity for social activity. This might
range from football to Saturday night dances and full scale feasts. Basically,
the co-operatives have failed to answer these needs. If a co-operative is to
survive it will be because it is part of the total village which supports it
and because young people are attracted to the co-operative. In this sense, I
think that a co-operative social centre or playing field are just as important
if not more so, than co-operative stores in the village.

The co-operatives could easily become centres for such social
activity. They could help organize village feasts. They could also attempt to
hold inter-village feasts, one co-operative inviting another to its village
for a celebration. This could be extended to the new co-operative centre
which could organize an Asmat co-operative feast in Agata or in another
village. This would offer opportunities for the various co-operatives to dis-
cuss common problems, to learn from each other and to benefit from the healthy
competition which could arise from such gatherings.

Conclusion

It is appreciated that many of the points made in this paper are easy
enough to state but difficult to implement. I have already mentioned our
limited time and, in some areas, limited ability, no matter how good our inten-
tions or how well defined our policy. We need to recognize this and the Bis-
hop and the government and others have to recognize our personal and financial
limitations. Nevertheless, we must keep the goal clear: an independent and
self-sufficient system of co-operatives here in Asmat.

The entire co-operative system must be seen as a process of education
for the Asmat people. The system will mean nothing to them if it does not
bring the benefits and opportunities for which the people hope. We cannot ex-
pect that this will be accomplished in just a few years. It will take time
because growth and change always demand this. However, if we choose to follow
the role of advisors and present options, rather than seek to impose
change, there is real hope that as it grows the co-operative system can become
the centre of the Asmat way of life —spiritually, socially and economically.
It can be the answer for tomorrow.

DISCUSSION

Walker: How much ironwood is there?

Adrian: There has been no adequate survey but we know the people now have to
go further afield to find supplies than they did three years ago.

Djohan: Last year 2000 cubic metres of logs were taken out not including sawn
timber. According to the head office at Manuk there are supposed to be
supplies for another twenty-five to thirty years. But there supplies will
be totally finished because ironwood rarely replants itself. I am told
it takes about sixty years for an ironwood to mature. The head of forestry at Nurauke also says the people are cutting young trees.

Omberep: At the rate of cutting over the last two years there may be no ironwood left ten years from now. The government will talk to the Forestry Department to see what can be done.

Adrian: There are many trees other than ironwood.

Tirenenschu: True, but outside the Asmat area they have no commercial value and do not bring in any money.

Sowada: In some areas of Asmat there is no ironwood and the co-operatives cut other types of lumber. It is true though that the outside demand for lumber (other than from the mission) is only for ironwood.

Lang: I think you will have serious problems if the co-operatives just concentrate on ironwood. Is there likely to be any problem over marketing ironwood in the future?

Hoogerbregge: The answer to this is dismal as the experience in Djajapura shows. The price for ironwood there in one year fell from Rp.36,000,- to Rp.30,000,-, probably as a result of overproduction. The prospects for the timber industry in West Irian are poor. Have you considered encouraging entrepreneurship and individual trading in the co-operative? What about family owned saws? In Papua, New Guinea individualism is being encouraged. Here I don't think you are making any provision for the man of enterprise to get ahead. Also, I don't think any attempt is being made to make use of the former traditional social groupings.

Adrian: The whole aim of our co-operatives is to bring men together, not to divide them into sections. Our aim is to have people understand that it is their co-operative and not to encourage the idea that one person should try to get ahead of others. This is not to say that if a pair of savars wish to cut more timber they should not earn more money. But the point to be made is that our stress is on the village level organisation.

Hoogerbregge: Which is the better for development—the co-operative approach or the individualistic approach?

Effendi: In West Irian the village situation is such that the people are bound together socially. It is important then that they work as a social unit; through the co-operatives they can do this. In the course of time perhaps individuals can move ahead alone.

Hoogerbregge: In Java, all the co-operatives have failed.

Lang: Why did they fail? In the U.S. we don't throw out the school system because people say it has failed. With co-operatives a basic matter is organization. They must be multi-purpose. Now, in the case here this is not so; not enough thought has been given to this. There must be preparation made so that if the ironwood fails the co-operatives can turn to other things—perhaps crocodile skins. If a co-operative is profitable people will want to belong. In the U.S. co-operatives arise when money is to be made by this means; they fail when it is not.

Sowada: The co-operative at Ajam tried coconuts and crocodile skins but this did not work because there was no profit to be made.

Tirenenschu: Its all very well to talk about diversification but this calls for capital. We began a co-operative garden at Ajam years ago but there was little profit in the bananas, coconuts and other things we grow—not really enough to pay the wages of the workers.

Lang: Diversification is not just in terms of producing but perhaps also in consuming. The co-operatives could become consumers co-operatives as well, in which the whole village participates.

Djohan: Before they can move to consumer co-operatives here there are many basic problems to be overcome. At the present time there are not really enough people involved in the co-operatives. A basic problem is to find a way to get rid of the middle men who take the profits. The co-operatives need to find their markets directly. The Pusat should provide the co-operatives with consumer goods.

Sowada: We are looking for some source of funds to enable the central office to import goods from other parts of Indonesia rather than West Irian where prices are much higher. The central office could then sell goods to the co-operatives at a profit and the local co-operative stores would then be able to compete price wise with the storekeepers.

Lang: Many of the merchants sell logs to the Forestry Department. Could the co-operatives not do this?

Djohan: The co-operatives could do this. There is a tax involved but this money which is collected in Nurauke is divided up and sent back to the various districts to help with development. The only problem is that the Forestry Department will buy logs only, not sawn timber.

Effendi: Have your co-operatives asked for help from the co-operative office in Nurauke and, if they have, has any help been given? Have people been sent to Djajapura to learn technical skills or have teachers come here to teach these skills?

Kasiran: People from the head office in Nurauke have come here and given
courses. Three men from here were sent off to do a course in fishing co-
operatives. Nothing has been done about training in administration.

Sowar: If the Department of Small Industries could send people to offer
training on the technical side, use of saws and so on, the mission would
provide housing and cover transport costs and wages.

KESAN SEGERAAN ANUGAUTA KOPERASI ASMAT

Daniel Jorpiraj

ABSTRACT:

When the co-operative first began in Amborep the pastor had all the
authority; this has now changed and the pastor acts as an advisor.

One good effect of the co-operative has been to stimulate the flow
of outside goods and inter-village trade. The village of Bivar Laut, for
instance, has few opportunities to secure manufactured goods from outside.
These village people now trade for manufactured goods with Amborep giving in
exchange such items as oars and feathers.

The children and young people of Amborep favour the co-operative and
feel the need to learn more about co-operative operation methods. Some people
question why the pastor guards the co-operative so closely when it is supposed
to be owned by the members; others recognize that there is still a need for
guidance. The opinion of the speaker is that there is less need now to lean
on the pastor; the greatest need is for capital. The co-operative has demon-
strated to the people that they can work together to obtain the goods they
desire.

Waktu koperasi baru mulai dikampung Amborep- tempat kelahiran saya
banak orang ragu2, terutama karena kelihatannya pastor jang berkua2 dan ne-
gatur segala sesuatu. Lama kelamaan kegunaan koperasi dapat diterima djuga,
sebab memang bantu membantu adalah suatu kebiasaan jang lama dideraeh ini se-
djak turun temurun. Misalnya dwaktu seseorang hendak menjualkan perahu jang
telah dia buat dihub. Semua orang laki2 dikampung itu akan turut membantu
menolak perahu itu sampai keair. Sebagai balas djana, sipamlik perahu mejadi-
akan makanan setjukunja untuk semua orang jang menolong dan biasanja disiap
kan berbejian, sehingga bahan makanan benjak jang dibawh pulang. Demikan
pula dwaktu seseorang akan membangun rumah. Semua orang pne dikampung akan
menolong dalam membangun sedang wanita2 bergotong-royong menjadiakan makanan
selama pekerjaan berdjalan.

Djadi maksud koperasi dapat segera difahami oleh orang2 kampung di-
daerah Asmat ini. Jang mendjadi pertanjaan bagai orang2 bukan angsuata isalah
mengapa pastor masih mengawasi koperasi, kalau koperasi itu memang milik
rakja sendiri. Menurut hemat saja pribadi, kami masih membutuhkan nasehat dan
bimbingan dari orang yang telah banyak berpengalaman dalam hal berkoperasi. Terutama dalam bidang pengaturan keuangan serta adakan yang terus menerus supaya anggota bisa tetap giat.

Beberapa bukti yang terasakan dengan nyata disini adalah koperasi itu melantikk dari pengalaman barang2 kebutuhan ke-kampung2 dan menghidupkan perdagangan antar kampung, seperti halnya yang terjadi antara kampung Bivar Laut yang mendjual dagangan, kulit kakis, buluh burung kakatus, bulu kasuri, sagu dan ikan kekampung Amborep dan kemudian dapat membeli disana barang2 yang mereka butuhkan seperti sabun, pakainan dan tenbakau.

Dengan tjaran berkoperasi pula beberapa kampung telah berhasil memperbaiki gedung sekolah dan mengumpulkan balok2 yang baik untuk membangun rumah geredja.

Senantang kenajasaan yang lain ialah bahwa koperasi mempun perasaan persatuan, baik diantara anggota2 maupun orang2 yang bukan anggota. Sekarang di Agats sudah ada Pusat Koperasi.

Pada Pusat Koperasi ini semang masih ada pastor2 yang bertindak sebagai panasahat dan menurut kekajian saja mereka tidak ingin mempertahankan dirinya terus menerus. Pada saat sudah ada tshiputut maka daerah yang sangat mendalakan koperasi dengan baik, mereka akan mengundurkan diri. Sekarang ini yang perlu dipikirkan ialah bagaimana mendapat sediaan yang jitu agar koperasi dapat lebih giat dan mendatangkan manfaat bagi lebih banyak orang dikampung kampung Agats.

Demikianlah keesokan kelahiran Asmat yang telah mendapat khor-

mata mendjadi sebagai Bendahara pada Pusat Koperasi di Agats.

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**AKTIVITAS DARI KOPERASI DI ASMAT**

Nobert E. Kasiran

**ABSTRACT:**

The hand sawing and finishing of lumber on the village level was initiated in Asmat during the year 1958 in the village of Ajum. Soon after, identical projects were initiated in other villages. It was not until 1966, even though the previous years prepared the people for the step, that real efforts were made by the mission to hand over the full responsibility of these projects to the local people through the establishment of co-operatives. In 1967, the co-operative of Ajum was given official status by the Head Office at heraka.

On January 4, 1972, a central co-operative office was established at Agats. Its duties and areas of competency in relation to the village co-operatives are:

a. to aid the local co-operatives at understanding the co-operative system;

b. to act as an agency for the sales of the lumber gathered from the village co-operatives;

c. to purchase tools and other goods in behalf of the co-operatives;

d. to co-ordinate the administration of all the co-operatives;

e. to be a center of education for both technical and organisation aspects for members of the village co-operatives.

Each village co-operative, even though the pastors presently function as advisors and, at times, as coordinators, is to become self-determining. Being a member of a co-operative entails a totally different life pattern from that traditionally followed. To make adjustment easier for members a system has been adopted whereby two distinct groups of members rotate the co-operative work every three weeks. During the three weeks of work a member is able to earn an average of $5.00-

Even though great advances have been made, problems which hamper more rapid development are encountered constantly. These are both internal and external to the co-operatives.

Internal: Because the members are illiterate and fail to understand new ways of doing things, the process of learning is slow. Also, an ordered day of work and responsibility is felt to be a burden to many of the members; consequently, their performance is often unenergetic.

External: In the recent past outsiders and even some Government personnel occasionally have taken unfair advantage of a number of the co-operatives. Naturally, the enthusiasm of the members quickly dwindled because of this interference.
Pendahuluan

Dengan kesempatan ini, ingin kami berikan gambaran sepihats kilos tan-tang pengertian berkoperaasi bagi orang2 Asmat. Demikianlah karea dalam uraian ini tidak kembali setiap statistik yang longkap, tetapi hanya tajara -kerja serta pengembangan anggota disamping kesulitan-keuskulitanja. Djadi bukan merupakan sebuah paper yang longkap, namun demikian tulisan ini kami harapkan akan dapat mendjadi bahan pemikiran, merupakan salah satu unsur dalam meninjau dan menepaladi kehidupan rakjat Asmat dari segi perekonomianja. Lebih dari itu kami harapkan agar segala apa yang mendjadi rintangan dan kesulitan dapat kami atasi, karena kami yakin bahwa dengan berkoperaasi berarti kami menunjang program Pemerintah dalam Pembangunan Lima Tahun dan Chusunnya da-lam meningkatkan kehidupan rakjat Asmat.

Semangat Berkoperaasi

Orang Asmat yang bermampu tinggal di-pinggir2 pantai serta dipinggin sungai yang berdaerah rawa dan lumpur dengan mata pentjahan, tajara yang tidak meninju, ketjua imian diman tinggal berkurang dan mengembal sagu. Sedang ber-kebun kurang dikerjakan rakjat mungin karena daerah rawa berlumur disam -ping kurang pengertianaya dalam hal bertjotjok tanan. Djelasnya kehidupan rakjat Asmat masih serba primitif. Ditegah2 asanarak jang primitif ituah Missionaries o.s.c. membawakan kabar keselamanj yang keumum pelaksanaanja di-tjurakan dalam sosial-ekonomi.


Sebenarnajah pengertian berkoperaasi bagi orang2 Asmat sangat sulit untuk mengerti, sebab sebaran besar orang2 desana konjataannya buta huruf dju-ga pengertian beransejarat masih rendah. Sebab itu para Rohanivan Ordo Salib Sutji di Agata tidak harap memberi bantuan dari segi keuangan sadja melainkan langsung memberi bimbingan dalam usaha penggeradjan tersebut.


Peresmian Koperasi


Tata Kerdja Koperasi

Berdasarkan pengelaman tahun2 pertama, maka kegiatan kerja koperasi kami tertipkan dan diatur sbb.:
80

Tiap2 koperasi kami bagi mendjadi 2 kelompok. Kelompok I bekerja ber-
turut2 selama 3 minggu berikut selama 3 minggu djuga, adalah hari istirahat
dari regi 1 disamping mereka akan men-ve hasil kerjadian jam berupa balok2
ke Agota sebagai koordinatorja. Sedang regi II akan bekerja masa istirahat
bagi regi I. Dan masa istirahat bagi tiap2 regu adalah kesempatan untuk men-
tjari kaju yang kemudian akan mereka kerjakan pada waktuja.

Setiap anggota yang bekerja akan langsung menerima gadji rata2 IB.
Rp.5 sehari menurut hari kerdja. Apabila keadaan normal yang kami maksumkan
ekau mereka rajin bekerja maka setiap anggota akan menerima gadji IB Rp90.
selama 3 minggu. Pengaturan kerdja yang demikian itu perlu agar mereka tidak
merasa berat atau dejau, lagi pula mereka bisa usaha lain selama istirahat mi-
selma : peneliharaan rumah dan kebun.

Bidang Keuangan

Sebagai pemodal dari semua koperasi tersebut diatas adalah dana
bantuan dari Misi Katolik di Agota melalui Pastor setempat. Mengingat pengetah-
uan para anggota masih rendah apalagi sebagian besar dari anggota buta hu-
ruf, maka selisipan tiap koperasi ada pengurus lengkap yang terdiri dari orang
orang kampus yang mendjadi anggota maha Pastor itu sebagai koordinatorja.
Demikian maka koperasi dapat berjelala tertip dan lancar.

Sisa dari hasil pendjualan papan/blok adalah merupakan keuntungan
koperasi, uang itu diallp sebagai titik tolak modal mereka bersama.

Djelas apabila para anggota koperasi itu rajin terus maka koperasi tersebut
akan memanajal modal yang ber-tembik seihingga mendjadi besar. Tetapi sebalik-
nya, jika para anggota melaksana pemodal koperasi akan menurun. Pengalaman
jang sudah2 bisa Kas Koperasi itu kosong. Inilah merupakan suatu kesultatan di-
alam menentukan uang simpanan pokok dan simpan wajib bagi tiap anggota kope-
rasa itu.

Administrasi

Karena pengetahuan para anggota koperasi masih rendah sebagiranya ka-
-si sebutkan diatas, maka penelenggaraan administrasi tidak dapat diadaklan se-
-bagaimana mestinya. Neka hanya mengai daftar kerdja sebagai buku absen,

sedang pengendiaan administrasi yang sebenarnya dipool oleh koordinator ja-
ng berkedudukan di Agota.

Koordinator

Meskipun kehidupan Koperasi 2 itu tinbul tenggelam sebagaimana kami
sebutkan diatas tetapi biar bagaimanapun koperasi 2 itu tetap kami giatkan.
Djuatu karena nauna Pusat Koperasi jang mendjadi induk semua koperasi primer
belum dapat djuga kami dirikan/namun demikian mengingat keanggunan kami jang
mendapat mandat dari Dinas Transkop (dulu) tetapi semina kehidupan koperasi 2
primer tersebut dengan istilah koordinator jang berkedudukan di Agota.

Adapun tugas kewajiban koordinator di Agota sbb.:
- Menampung dan selandjutnya mendjul hasil dari semua koperasi pri-
mer yang berupa papan atau balok.
- Nengusahakan bahan yang diperlukan bagi semua anggota koperasi.
- Mengadakan pembukuan untuk bahan statistik dan mengerdikan admi-
nistrasi bagi semua koperasi primer.
- Mengadakan pengembangan pengertian tentang administrasi bagi semua
koperasi primer melalui pengurus jang.
- Pusat sebagai centra pendidikan dalam hal tehnik dan pengetahuan
lanjang jang ada hubunganja dengan perusaha koperasi.

Awal th.1969 pedjabat Kepala Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten Merauke(Sp.
Juari Sajuti) berkundjung ke Agota mengadakan penindjulan koessel koperasi
primer. Kadangkala beliau itu djuga bermaknud menjawab menganadakan kursus ka-
der koperasi, maka pada bulan April 1969 kursus tersebut dapat dilangsungkan di
Agota selama satu bulan yang dilukit oleh 20 orang peserta dari 10 kampung.

Pembentukan Pusat

Berdasarkan petunjuk dari Kepala Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten Merauke,
maa pada tgl.4 Januari 1972 terbentuklah Pusat Koperasi Pengguradjan Kaju
dengan nama DARAS - jang berkedudukan di Agota.

Pembentukan pusat ini setjarea spontan diakui oleh Kantor Koperasi Ka-
bupaten bahkan langsung ditjatat untuk mendapetkan badan hukumja
Ditindjau dari jumlah angguta, sumunun pengurus serta anggaran dasar dan anggaran rumah tangga, maka Pusat telah memenuhi ajarkat sebagai induk Koperasi jang berpenghasilan kaju balok. Tetapi sebenarnya Pusat tak ubahnya tahun pertama jatu sebagai koordinator karena kenjatan koperasi 2 primer belum dapat berjalan lancar baik dalam bidang administrasi maupun tekniknya perusahaan koperasi.

Mengingat hal 2 tersebut diajar, maka atas perestujuan Kep. Kantor Koperasi Kabupaten, Pastor 2 dikampung sebagai penasihat koperasi jang ada di daerahnya. Demikian juga permodalan baik pusat maupun primer adalah dipereoleh dari fons keusupan Agama.

Meskipun besar bantuan jang dipereoleh tetapi kehidupan koperasi primer tersebut belum bagitu lancar karena hasil produksi dari semua koperasi primer itu pun belumセリバ。Sebagai timage; Achir th.1968 hasil balok dari 6 koperasi primer kurang dari 10003 metahan. Sedang, th.1970 hasil produksi 15003 metahan. Angka 2 tersebut tidak terhitung pendjalan balok dari koperasi setempel untuk pengembangan, timage rumah 2 sekolah, gerdja, halai peremuan dan dari instansi pemerintah setempat. Demikianlah karena hambatan 2 jang merupakan kesulitan untuk kenadjaran koperasi 2 itu.

Kesulitan-Kesulitan

Ada 2 hal jang merupakan kesulitan bagi perkenban koperasi di daerah Amat:

1) Kesulitan jang ita datang dari dalam:
   a. Pengetahuan mereka jang rendah itu sehingga segala sesuatu berjalan lebat.
   b. Pengertian berorganisasi dan administrasi masih sedikit.

2) Kesulitan jang ita datang dari luar:
   a. Beberapa pedjabat pemerintahan kurang menanggapi tentang koperasi dengan kata lain koperasi tidak mendapat bantuan dari pedjabat pemerintah daerah.
   b. Sebagai timage: Disuggest kampung selalu menerima perintah setjara nasakn sehingga koperasi dikampung itu terganggu karena-

nja, ada jang sampai negok ber-bulan2, ditempat lain angguta bubar. Sal ini terjadi disesua koperasi primer dikampung.


Untuk mengatasi kesulitan tersebut Pusat selalu beursa dengan tja-rake. Mengadakan penindjauran serta memberi bpayangan dan petundjukkan para anggota koperasi primer di-kampung 2, ini untuk nenanggulangi kesulitan jang datang jang dari dalam. Sedang kesulitan jang datang jang dari luar ini merupakan hal sulit.


Sebagai timage: 5 thn jang lalu kaju besi itu terdepat banjat dibinggir2 kali dekat kampong, tetapi sekarang dhanc jadah kedaerahpaldalam baru o-rang orang kampong mendapatkan kaju besi.

Dalam laporan kami kepada Bapak Wakil Bupati kami usulkan agar diadaikan penerbitan mengenai pemotongan kaju besi serta mengadakan peremuan.


Penutun

Kiranja belum begitu terang untuk mengahiru uraian kami ini sebelum kemukakan faedah dan keuntungan koperasi bagi rakjat Amat.
Meskipun kehidupan koperasi itu titih tenggelam sebagaimana kami sebutkan diatas tetapi sedikit demi sedikit ada membawa bukti kemanfaatan bagai angguta dan manajerat umumnya. Karana bukan se-au2 koperasi hanya mengusahaan peningkatan hasil produksi, tetapi lebih diutamakan kesedahan dan pentjarian yang tetap bagai orang2 kampung itu. Dengan berkoperasi perekonomian rakyat teratur disamping tanah pengetuan2 yang lain.

Selama ini koperasi tidak sedikit memberi bantuan untuk perkebangan dan kemajuan kampung, sebagai tanda dapat kami kemukakan disini:


2. Koperasi di Ataj: Gereja dan rumah sekolah bahan2nya diperoleh dari koperasi setempat, juga pembangunan2 kampung Ataj (pembuatan Djembotani) yang ditingkat oleh Kepala Distrik.


Dengan halah apa jang kami sebutkan diatas sebagian sepiasat kias atau selajang pandang mengenai kehidupan koperasi didaerah Amat ini. Kacik lain wajar ini diuah dari pada langkap dan sepihara, apa lagi tidak ternunat setarmera astatic dan setarmera staticship sehingga hanja merupakan suatu penberitahuan data2 tentang perkoperasi di Amat.

Harapan kami mudah2an akan dapat membawa manfaat bagi perkebangan koperasi dimase mendatang.

DISCUSSION

van der Wow: The basic problem is that the co-operatives must become more efficient in the marketing of lumber.

Kasirani: There is efficiency on the central office level and the price paid is good, but there are problems in communication between the co-operatives and the central office. At the village level there are many factors causing inefficiency. Often the cutting and sawing is inaccurate and much timber is lost because edges are chipped from the logs instead of being sawn and sold as scrap. There are other problems as well. For some of the village co-operatives there are no statistics. The educational level of the members is very low. Also it is very difficult to get the members to understand that they own the co-operative so that they will take more responsibility.

Lang: In Tanzania education in running co-operatives is given much attention. It is very important that members understand they are the owners of the co-operative. As to statistics, it is vital these be kept on both the local and central office level. Without this there will only be a vague idea as to fluctuations in production and prices.

Walker: Do you have any idea as to how much lumber is marketed through the co-operatives?

Sowada: In 1969, 100 cubic metres was sold through the Pusat; in 1970 it rose to 150 cubic metres. As well as this there is a lot of timber sold directly by the co-operatives to schools, churches etc.,

Walker: I am told that members of the co-operatives earn only about Rp.100,- per day. Is this correct? It seems very little.

Sowada: This is the normal wage for this type of work. It is also the official government wage. Some members earn up to Rp.120,- or Rp.140,-. Out of the Rp.100,- a member earns Rp.20,- goes to the co-operative to accumulate capital.

Walker: Could more money be earned by the co-operatives if they sold logs directly to the storekeepers or other buyers?

Kasirani: Not usually because these people don’t pay enough for the logs. Another problem is that the men handling the sales of each co-operative cannot add up large sums. We found big quantities of lumber going out for very little money. When timber is sold through the Pusat the correct price is always paid. Sometimes they might earn more money by selling logs directly to the storekeepers but potentially the co-operatives have an educational role. The co-operatives are to make money but also to teach members how to run a business.

Sowada: More money could be made but there is such inefficiency in cutting. Out of 100 cubic metres of logs they only get about twenty-five cubic metres of sawn timber.

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1 At the present rate of exchange Rp.415,- = US.$1.00
Djohan: Has research been done to find out why this is so?

Adrian: There is too much wastage in practically every aspect of the operation. We still have a lot to learn even about pit-saving. We have considered bringing in some Macassar men to help teach their methods.

Sowada: Getting back to the financial returns. The selling price for logs from the co-operative is Rp. 30,000,- per cubic metre of sawn timber. Traders will only pay about Rp. 2,500,- for one cubic metre of logs. The fact that the co-operatives are involved in the sawing creates employment. Even if only Rp. 100,- a day is earned it is better that a large number earn this than if the money for the logs just goes to a few. If a trader buys 100 cubic metres of logs the people receive Rp. 250,000,-. If the co-operative saws this quantity and produces twenty-five cubic metres of timber the return is Rp. 750,000,-

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASMAT

Edward Greive O.S.C.

INTRODUCTION:

Pendidikan harus merupakan usaha untuk kemajuan demi pembangunan dan perkebangan masarakat, daerah dan negara umumnya. Melihat pada sekarang ini, pendidikan mengalami kemutukan besar yang boleh disebabkan oleh hubungan antara pembangunan dan pendidikan terlepas dari rangka dan susunan seluruh masarakat. Maka pendidikan membawa bahaya, bahkan bentjana kepada masarakat dan negara.

Supaya binary mengerti keadaan pendidikan pada saat ini, perlu ditindak kekabali pada zaman yang lalu. Dengan demikian dapat mengerti apa sebabnya adalah pendidikan di daerah Asmat pada saat ini.

Seringkali terdengar bahwa pendidikan adalah djalan, kusti atau jatah bagi pembangunan. Dengan semirinja utjapan ini tidak benar/Segala-galana tergantung dari orientasi atau tujuan pendidikan/Persebsaan yang menjabarkan kolesman pendidikan pada saat ini, karena salah orientasinya. Belum ada kebutuhan akan pembangunan semesta pada sebagian besar rakyat dan sekarang terdapat pertentangan antara kelaguman dan kebuthan. Djadi pendidikan atau sekolah yang tidak berorientasi kearah pembangunan masarakat, menghambat pembangunan dan mengantum masarakat.

Seal pendidikan dipedalaman belum dapat asuk kedalam hati masarakat, chumusnya daerah Asmat. Untuk ini sangat penting adanya hubungan antara pendidikan dan pembangunan yang sesuai dengan kebutuhan masarakat umum.Supaya dapat tertarik tujuan ini, maka hendaknya kita harus mengambil dan mengerti be-tul, apa sebab sampai terjadi keadaan sekarang ini, Situasi sekarang ini dapat berubah, kalau dari segala pihak, baik guru-guru maupun instansi lain, tutur mengambil bagian dan menjalurkan kepada masarakat, apa yang perlu dalam pendidikan dan pembangunan.

Introduction:

This paper concerns one aspect but a very fundamental aspect of development—that of education. Any consideration of education in relation to development in the area must take into account the fact that Asmat is now part of a wider society.

The Asmat area has been opened to the world community for about twenty years, the first ten years of this period being during the time of the Netherlands control. Since 1962, Asmat has been a part of and has joined the
Indonesian community. These historical factors are pertinent to a discussion on the educational situation in which Anmat finds itself today. Before proceeding further then, some remarks are offered concerning this historical background.

Under the colonial government a new elite from among the Indonesian people was formed. The elite who entered the new world of education and technology was kept small; the avenues to liberating knowledge and skills was limited to this small group. Nevertheless, this elite was able to influence and change the traditional, static character of indigenous Indonesian society into a unique and dynamic national community, comprising a variety of regional groups. This set the atmosphere for the revolution against the colonial government and independence in 1945.

One of the revolutionary trends in Indonesian society since independence has been the rapid expansion of education. During the colonial period education was possible only for a privileged few. The census in 1930 revealed a literacy rate even lower than 10%. Now a revolution in education has taken place. Education has been opened to the masses, compulsory education laws have been set up, the educational system revised, and higher education expanded. Consequently, education has assumed an increasingly important role as an agent in the Indonesian society for social and culture change. Gaps caused by the previous neglect of education are beginning to be filled.

There has been a rapid and far reaching change in traditional norms, ideals and values. The traditional world view and ways of thinking and living have been abruptly altered. The community has been enlarged by new philosophies and ideologies; as well there has been the impact of science and technology. What has been happening is the massive process of transformation of regional societies and cultures into a nation. In this process of abandoning the old and building something new, there are conflicting ideas, values and principles—all competing for acceptance. As a result of these conflicts, there is a lack of balance in the forces working for the transformation of the society and in the exercise of leadership. There is sometimes a lack of clear orientation.

Indonesia has experienced in the last ten years, the most rapid expansion of education in Asia. The number of pupils in elementary schools rose from 5 million in 1950 to seven million in 1959 and is at present fifteen million. Students of secondary schools total one and a half million compared with half a million ten years ago. The total number of universities climbed between 1957 and 1967 from 56 to 412 and in that time span university students increased from 50,000 to 360,000.

The Problem in Education:

Corresponding to this rapid expansion of education is the other side to the coin of expansion—that of scarcity of properly trained teachers, low standards and poor facilities. As a result, in the field of education there is a tremendous cultural lag and education does not have an organic function in building the nation. Instead of being a primary tool for the development of the society, it is providing a large semi-intellectual class at the expense of needed vocationally skilled personnel. The present education system over-populates the society with lawyers, politicians, public speakers, artists, office clerks, teachers, and so on. The system represents a tremendous national investment each year but is not providing for national needs. The science and technical skills that are needed for the development of contemporary Indonesian society are absent.

The root problem is improper orientation. A misdirected social orientation permeates the whole field of education and the wider the expansion, the more disastrous the effects. There is an unhealthy disproportion between the academic choice of the students and the needs of the society. Some percentages are available from general surveys which illustrate this improper balance and orientation. At present only 30% of the students in the universities are science graduates compared with the 70% who are arts graduates. A further breakdown of the above 30% reveals that only 7% are technical graduates and 1.5% are agricultural and biology graduates. To make matters worse, of the last two named small percentages few are dedicated to their field but seek, rather, administrative work.
There is an awareness of the situation and attempts are being made to rectify the situation. In an article in *Kompas*, 19th November, 1966, Professor D.S. Santoso stated:

"Until now the society is only capable of requesting more education and only passively receiving the effects of education. There must be a remedy against the catastrophe of expansion in education. If there is proper planning, it is possible to have a balanced educational program. Without an educational program that is realistic, the educational situation will only worsen."

That same year the Kasi Conference, educationalist Dr. Winarno Surachmad commented:

"Let it be true that other fields of Indonesian activities are in a process of transition, this is not true for education; this is definitely in decline and the present national education is a national calamity."

During an intensive evaluation concerning the relationship between education and development in the countries of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, economist Gunnar Myrdal drew the following conclusion:

"It would be more justifiable to halt the increase, or even to contract enrollment in secondary and tertiary education. The enormous amount of miseducation at these levels is caused not only by the scarcity of properly trained teachers, but the wrong orientation of schooling."

Not only has there been an awareness of the situation on the national level as is frequently attested in seminars and conferences, but also a growing awareness of the need for change among the teachers on the local level. About three years ago the teachers of Bandung, just before the annual Indonesian Bishop's Conference, urged upon the bishops that a fundamental change in the educational system is necessary so that education will be more adapted to, and more integrated within Indonesian life. Education, it was believed, needed to be brought more in harmony with the present day requirements of socio-economic and cultural situation of the nation.

**The Situation in Asmat**

Viewing the general situations as to education in Indonesia as a whole provides us with a background for understanding the present situation in Asmat.

What Asmat has inherited is probably fairly typical of other emerging and transitional societies. In the initial stages (1952-1950) goals were superficial. Looking back at those years it seems that the primary goal was to bring "civilization". The people were gathered together, attempts were made to stabilize society and the tremendous task of bringing about peace within the villages and between the villages was begun. Considering the general situation in the Asmat at that time, perhaps these were the only reasonable steps that could have been taken.

This initial stage provided the foundation for the development that was to follow. But here, we as missionaries must be more self-critical because we completely failed to examine the needs of the indigenous Asmat community. Rather, in the arbitrary manner in which we proceeded to open primary schools we seemed to have considered only our view of Asmat needs. Goals should have been more clearlyetermined and school policy given a greater sense of direction. It should be added, however, that our lack of foresight was understandable once we view the general educational situation in Indonesia.

Asmat was trapped. Primary schools were opened following the traditional system of the West. There was no concern for the indigenous Asmat culture and society in the education program. Nor was there any attempt to adapt schooling or the school itself to Asmat life. During this stage, too, much priority was given to schools as such with little or no concern for the whole man—the whole society in relationship to social, economic and cultural development. This created an improper balance in the society. Each day some 3,000 students from recognized and non-recognized primary schools in Asmat returned

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1 Pelita Pendidikan No.1: Analisa Situasi di Indonesia.
home to a traditional environment. The traditional environment provided no opportunities for the students to make use of their newly acquired knowledge. On the contrary, foreign elements were provided by the schools and the schools in no way aided the child to adapt to his society. All this indicates the improper structure of education during this stage. But a further lack of balance began to reveal itself—the over concentration on the younger segment of the society who, in fact, have very little influence, prestige or status, and the corresponding neglect of the adults. The rapid expansion of schooling during the period 1957 to 1967 also resulted in a shortage of trained teachers and lowering of standards as well as a lack of basic facilities.

Confronted with this situation we have moved into the third stage—that of re-evaluation. We are attempting to give a new direction to our educational system so that it might be brought into line with our goal of total development. Fortunately, this comes at a time when on the national scene high level talks and planning are taking place among educators, community development planners, economists and sociologists who are critically evaluating the present situation of education and its role in development. There is a genuine search for solutions to bring about a balance and realistic orientation in education to meet regional developmental needs. On the provincial level in Djaja-pura, the University of Tjenderawasih together with UNICEF are uniting their efforts to bring about an awareness of the situation and are initiating concrete programmes to change the situation. Last year, a stance was taken on the provincial level to halt expansion. The need to upgrade the quality of teachers and schools is recognized and general education has now been extended to six years of primary schooling and three years of secondary.

On the local level the Diocese of Amsat has already initiated new policies. In 1968, because of a shortage of teachers and lack of adequate facilities, only nine of the seventeen primary schools continued with the six year programme; these schools were in villages where the degree of development justified the longer period of schooling. The other eight primary schools which were in villages where less development had occurred were reduced to a three year programme. At the same time, for the upper three classes a policy of screening and selection was implemented to provide opportunities for more capable and promising students. Greater concentration on the adult segment of society was also stressed together with the provision of vocational training on the youth level. For the future, primary schools would be opened in villages only on the basis of corresponding development.

Conclusion:

It is our responsibility to keep aware of the changes that are taking place in education and to communicate these to our teachers. At the parish level there is a need for regular meetings with the teachers so that problems may be discussed and schools achieve a greater integration with the programme of overall development. School and society should not be divorced; in this regard our orientation should stress the following:

1. a concern for the values of Amsat culture and society,
2. a concern for the needs of Amsat society today and the importance of providing basic vocational training,
3. a concern to bring about an awareness which encourages the Amsat people to participate more fully at the regional level so that they might have a greater voice in determining their own affairs and future,
4. a concern for character building, leadership and self-reliance,
5. a concern for the rights of the individual and the community with justice for all.

Education can play a primary role in society in a programme towards total development. However, for this to be a reality it is essential that channels be kept open between teachers and parents so that schools be kept relevant to the changing needs of a developing society. In this regard, and as a first step, we would hope that the proposed museum of Amsat and the print- ing press will provide media of communication to achieve an integration of the traditional and contemporary currents of Amsat life.
DISCUSSION

Hoogerbrugge: Is there tension between the villages that have schools and those that do not?

Greive: Yes, there is some tension. The people in villages without schools feel that they are lagging behind in development; they feel that they are second class citizens. There are many requests for schools.

Sowada: In the villages I don't think people look to schools as a factor in village development. Schools are seen as a means of getting jobs, such as becoming teachers and escaping from the village and earning money.

Greive: That is very true but it's not just the young people who feel dissatisfied with the way things are in the village. It often happens that many people disapprove of the government appointed village chiefs because they cannot speak Bahasa Indonesia well and are illiterate. They want younger men appointed who can communicate with the outside and get them the things they want.

Trenkenbach: It is evident that in some of the villages where schools have been reduced from six to three grades due to shortage of teachers there is much distress. In one village after much urging by the head teacher, teachers have given extra lessons to the older pupils so that they might continue their education without the formal fourth, fifth and sixth classes. The fact is, that after three years of schooling children can read and count a little but nothing more.

Greive: There are avenues for further education. Children in village schools with only three grades can continue their schooling in another village where six grades are available.

Trenkenbach: This is true enough for children from the Kei Islands, for instance, but the Amat people cannot really send their children to other villages because of mutual hostility between the villages. Who could the children live with when they go to another village?

Kasiram: The assumption that children go on for higher education just for personal gain is not really true. Most of those who have become teachers have really tried to get down to the village level and help the people.

Preston: If we consider education in relation to development and village needs the situation is bad. Education is not related to the village. How can this be corrected?

Greive: I think the first step must be a general awareness of the situation among missionaries, teachers and government people. Unless we have this the situation cannot be corrected. Young teachers in particular do not see any connection between education and the needs of the village, although I would not deny that many of them try to help the people in various ways.

Kasiram: The teachers have problems because the curriculum is not geared to village life. If we have to follow this type of curriculum there is not much hope. A good idea is to bring the teachers in for upgrading every so often and show them how to get around the syllabus.

Trenkenbach: Two years ago we ran a questionnaire in the schools to find out if they were conveying any sense of present needs but at a realistic level; we were afraid of promoting cargo cults. The results of the questionnaire were computerized at the University of Colorado. The results seemed to show that the children had respect for the cooperative leaders, for instance, but no more so than they had for the traditional song and feast leaders. As to occupational choices, of fifth and sixth grade children only two wanted to enter the co-operatives. This implies that they saw no personal future in the co-operatives. Apparently there is a gap between the mission development programme and where the children see their future.

Langi: You were dealing with young children. Young children everywhere have unrealistic ideas as to future jobs.

Trenkenbach: But we put so much time and effort into the co-operatives and yet only two out of 200 saw any future in them.

Adrian: The educational system here is geared for pupils to become teachers or officials of some sort. With the new policy of dropping pupils who cannot keep up we have very few entering the SKP or JMF. This is reinforcing the idea that education is for the select few who will get jobs outside.

Setiti: We have often discussed the shortcomings of the primary school system but in my visits to schools I feel the real need is for departments to work together. For example, one department tells the people to cut so much ironwood; the people then disappear into the forest and the school virtually closes. Another problem is the low respect in which teachers who are Amat matters are held. We are trying now to get the Amat teachers to leave the area for two or three years and teach elsewhere; teachers from other areas come here. When the Amat teachers return they will have had outside experience and will not be treated like children by the villages. The high drop-out rate is largely because of the nature of the system and we cannot interfere with this.

Adrian: The high school drop-out rate is often because of a language problem. This could perhaps be solved.

Greive: Language is a problem in the early grades because the children don't
know Bahasa Indonesia and the teachers from other areas do not know Asmat. In several areas throughout Indonesia grades I through III use the vernacular. Could this be done here?

Setitit: A good idea but our new Asmat teachers are too young to be able to give a good foundation in the first grade. One of our older teachers does use the vernacular in the first grade and his class seems to make better progress than others.

Easiran: If it were possible it would be good to use the vernacular in the lower grades but I notice that even in the high school the language used is often more like a "market place" Indonesian. In tests or in dealing with other Indonesians the children are confronted with a more sophisticated form of the language and are at a loss. The teachers themselves periodically need upgrading courses in Bahasa Indonesia.

THE FUTURE OF THE ASMAT

Malcolm T. Walker.

It is no easy task to conclude a seminar of this type where papers have been presented on a wide range of topics covering Asmat woodcarving, problems confronting the co-operatives and the inadequacies of the school system. Virtually all the papers deal on development and the need to assess mission policies in the light of old and emerging problems. In these remarks I shall refer to some of the major problems that have been recognized and the solutions that have been proposed. Much of what will be said will concern the lumber co-operatives.

There is a recognition on the part of all that traditional Asmat society is undergoing dramatic change. There is also the often repeated concern that the "good" features of traditional life (no one has really specified what these are) and the "best" of the old values (again, these are left unstated) should somehow be preserved. Some have spoken of the need to restore dignity and pride to the Asmatters — their need to achieve a sense of identification such that in the midst of rapid social and economic change they can learn to stand on their own feet. The ultimate hope is that the Asmatters will learn to take responsibility for their own future and not merely be passive acceptors of decisions made on their behalf by others.

No one would question that these are worthy aims. The question is, how are they to be accomplished? There are two factors to be considered here. Firstly, the current directions of change in Asmat socioeconomic life and in what path this is likely to follow in the future. Secondly, what resources are available to the mission to encourage change along the lines deemed desirable. In this latter regard we also need to consider the options open to the mission as perceived by the mission itself.

At the present time there is a pressing demand for trade goods among those Asmat villagers who have had considerable contact with outsiders. Tobacco is greatly desired but so too are items such as fishing lines, hooks, knives, axes, pots of various kinds and, on the part of many, clothing.
There is also a growing demand for cash. In the future it can be anticipated that the desire for trade goods and cash will become greater.

It is also apparent that some villages are more advantageously situated than others with regard to obtaining cash and trade items; economic disparity among the villages has already begun to appear and in all probability such disparity will increase. It is also evident that within some of the villages certain individuals have more than others and there is a growing tendency to hide wealth in various ways so as to avoid giving or sharing with others that which one has managed to acquire. This tendency can be expected to increase as more goods become available and as inequalities increase.

These trends are not perhaps irreversible but experience has shown that once apparent they are likely to accelerate. Experience also teaches that once trade goods begin to find their way into an area such as the Asmat, frustrations result if the supply of goods or the cash to acquire them is not maintained at an ever increasing rate. It commonly happens that frustrations of this sort lead to cargo cults. Compared with certain other areas of the Province, cargo cults in the Asmat are not posed great problems. However, frustrations over the inadequate supply of goods and cash certainly exist and it is said that there are many misconceptions as to the sources of supply of goods. The point to be made is that the flow of goods into the hands of the people not only must continue but ways will need to be found to increase this supply.

A number of the papers and much of the discussion centered on the cooperatives and their future. It is evident that the mission has great hopes for the cooperatives and sees these as the primary means by which social and economic development will be achieved. The cooperatives are to provide not only a source of income for members but also foster a spirit of cooperation and a concern for progress within the village.

Cooperatives are commendable and it may be, as Professor Lang tells us, that they have enjoyed much success in Tanzania. But this has not been the case in Papua, New Guinea which is closer to home. Similarly, fishermen's cooperatives that have been initiated in Jayapura over the years have not endured. This is not to say that they will not be successful in the Asmat but, as has been candidly admitted in the papers and discussions, these cooperatives face serious difficulties. The foremost problem of how to develop an efficient management system could probably be overcome by intensive training programmes, but this assumes that suitable candidates are available and there is some doubt about this.

Two serious problems have been raised in the discussions. It seems that young people are indifferent to the cooperatives and that the future supply of ironwood, the main resource upon which the cooperatives rely, is uncertain.

We are told that young people of the Asmat do not see any personal future in the cooperatives. The nature of their schooling is such that it has caused them to look not to the village but outside where opportunities are seen to lie. Yet, except for the fortunate few, opportunities outside the village do not exist and the vast majority have to reconcile themselves to a permanent village existence. The fact remains, however, that the cooperatives have yet to take any sort of a hold in village life. It seems that those who play a leading part in the cooperative are not accorded significant prestige.

It is hoped that this will change when the plans the mission has for the cooperatives materialize. Should the cooperative come to assume a leadership role in village social and economic life it could well be instrumental in galvanizing the villagers to work for development; it could have a revitalizing effect on the village as a whole. At this point, though, it might be appropriate to ask whether the cooperatives, in the manner in which they are organized and the age group which make up the membership, match any significant element in traditional village social organization. Certainly the Asmat people have the tradition for collective effort in such endeavours as house building, the building of the men's house, canoe making and so on. But individual talent was also given recognition in areas such as woodcarving, story telling and head hunting. If the "co-operative approach" embracing as it does a wider group which cuts across the extended
kin group is not matched by any traditional segment of Assam society, people
may find the basic concept bewildering.

Assuming that the co-operatives do develop along the lines envisaged
the most serious problem to be faced in the future would seem to be the lack
of lumber. We are told that the only known resource the co-operatives can
exploit is lumber - in particular, ironwood. We are also told that the sup-
ply of ironwood will not be everlasting; on the contrary, one estimate is that
the supply may be exhausted within ten years. Already villagers have to go
further afield to obtain the lumber. To tie a programme of development to
co-operatives is risky at best; to have those co-operatives wholly dependent
upon a resource which is likely to peter out within a few years hardly seems
wise. It is also said that the price of ironwood has begun to fall. It could
be that the problem in the Assam area will not be a dwindling supply so much
as the lack of a market.

Whether or not the future for ironwood is as dubious as some have
suggested the search for alternative resources should be initiated now. It
is said that bananas and coconuts are not economically viable and that the
numbers of crocodiles have become so depleted that hunting them is hardly
worthwhile. Perhaps crocodile breeding farms such as are being introduced
in some other parts of the Province would be a possibility for a minor co-
operative project. Assam waters appear to be very rich in shrimp. Perhaps
the Government could be persuaded to undertake a survey of shrimp resources.
If shrimp are present in sufficient quantities it may be possible to esta-
blish a number of small freezer plants in more centrally placed villages to
which fishermen could bring their catch. There is also the possibility of
putting Assam woodcarving on a more commercial basis; this could be done
while at the same time safeguarding quality. The point to be made is that
no time should be lost in exploring every possible resource that might assist
in development. This, of course, must be the responsibility of the government
but the mission, notwithstanding its meagre resources, could probably help a
great deal.

If I have given the impression that I believe the programme in the
Assam of development through co-operative to be misguided this was not the
intention. The fact that co-operatives of the type being encouraged in the
Assam have probably more often failed than succeeded is not the point. If
only a few of the objectives the mission hopes to achieve through the co-
operatives are realized the programme will have been worthwhile. What I
would suggest is that in fostering the co-operatives the mission should not
close its eyes to the possibility of encouraging entrepreneurial skills among
those who may show some business acumen and have the motivation to move ahead
of their fellows. Encouraging Assamites to open trade stores in their vil-
lages is one way of beginning such a programme. Perhaps, too, it is time
that the mission itself in dealing with the local people moved wherever
possible to a monetary economy and began dealing in cash rather than in trade
goods.

Before concluding, a few words might be said on the question of the
schools - a topic which received much attention in the symposium. It is true
that the question of educational reform is receiving much attention in high
level circles but drastic reforms are not likely to take place overnight.
It is necessary to seek ways within the confines of the present school system
and the syllabus to enliven education and make it a more meaningful experience
for children most of whom are going to spend their entire lives in a village
environment. In the course of the papers and discussions many valuable
suggestions as to what can be done have been made and it is clear that all
who deal with the schools are aware of the problems and have given thought
to possible reforms. I cannot improve on the suggestions that have been
made except to stress that every endeavour should be made to involve the
parents in the schools. Only if this is done are the schools likely to keep
touch with village life and education be a meaningful experience.
PARTICIPANTS

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Parish priest, Rasiem.

Michael J. Adrian o.s.c.:
From the time when he arrived in Amst almost five years ago, Br. Michael has been involved with the Co-operatives. His first year was spent in the village of Jamasaj. He then was transferred to the center of Agatsu where he was responsible for the sawmill. He has worked with the Co-operative of Erna for the past two years and, later this year, will transfer to Jassakor.


Edward Grewe o.s.c.:
After completing his studies in theology and philosophy at the Crosier House of Missions, Indiana, Fr. Grewe undertook training in Anthropology at the Catholic University of America. He arrived in Amst in 1965 and was first stationed at the village of Ataj. Since 1970 he has been the superior of the Asmat Crosiers. He is also the pastor of the cathedral parish of Agatsu and of Sjuru village. As well, he is on the board of advisors for the Co-operative Development Office, in Agatsu.


Jacque Hoogerbrugge:
Born in the Netherlands in 1923, much of Hoogerbrugge's professional life has been spent in Indonesia. For many years he was involved in shipping, but was also a painter and a collector of Indonesian art. In all he has spent seven years in West Irian. At present he is the project manager of the FUNDWI handicraft project. Among other writings Hoogerbrugge has authored a book dealing with the art of Lake Sentani.

Lahir di negeri Belanda thn.1923; sebagian besar dari masa kerjannya dipergunakan di Indonesia. Selama ber-banyak beliau berkecimpung dibidang perkebunan disamping sebagai pelukis dan pengumpul barang kosenam. Beliau sudah 7 tahun berada di Irian Barat dan sekarang bertugas sebagai
Projek Manager dari FUNDA'T/18 (Projek Utiran2 Asmat). Di antara tulisan2 Hoogerbrugge telah diterbitkan antara lain sebagian buku tentang keenian daerah Sentani (The Art of Lake Sentani).

Daniel Jorpijtj : An assater, Daniel Jorpijtj, has had seven years of schooling including two years of secondary school He was chosen as the first secretary of the co-operative and has remained in co-operative work ever since. In 1971 he was appointed treasurer of the Co-operative Centre in Agats.


Herbertus Kasiran : Norbertus Kasiran, Vice-Chairman of the Co-operative Centre in Agats, was born in Jogjakarta, Central Java. He was first employed as a teacher and as well as the position he holds at the Co-operative Centre, is the head of the Primary Teachers' Training School in Agats. Over the last five years Kasiran has played an active part in working with the missionary initiated co-operative organisations in the Asmat region.


Gottfried O. Lang : Dr. Lang is Professor of Anthropology and director of the Research Project in Socio-Cultural Change at the Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, Boulder, USA. He has carried out research on acculturation and education among American Indians, on modernization in Tanzania and is currently researching the relationship of population dynamics and modernization, including the Asmat of West Irian.

Dr. Lang adalah guru-besar dalam Antropologi dan Direktur Research Project dalam Socio-Cultural Change pada Institute of Behavioral Science, di Institute of Colorado, Boulder, USA. Beliau telah melakukan penelitian tentang abduturasi dan pendidikan diantara orang2 Indian Amerika, colornasiona Tanzania dan sekarang sedang menejri tentang hubungan dinamika penduduk dan modernisasi, teruskan Asmat di Irian Barat.

Jeremias K'ba'd : Jeremias K'ba'd was born in the village of Sjuru, Asmat in 1942. He had five years of schooling. From 1965 to 1969 he was a catechist in the village of Sowa-Erama. From 1969 until the present he has been employed by the FUNDA'T Asmat Handicraft Project as a local buyer of Asmat woodcarvings.


Joseph Oberep : Joseph Oberep was born on December 14, 1942 in the Nuju region, West Irian. After six years of primary school he went to the Training School for Civil Servants. He was first employed at the office of the District Commissioner in Kerewe but in 1962 he was transferred to Tamah Merah where he was under district officer. His experiences in the Asmat area began a year later when he became under district officer of Erama. In 1964, after completing a special course for civil servants in Surabaja, he became under district officer of Agats but subsequently was transferred to Kerewe and Okaha. Since March 1972 Joseph Oberep has been the District Officer for the Asmat region.


Alphonse A. Sowada : Bishop Sowada, an American, studied Philosophy and Theology at the Crosier House of Studies, Fort Wayne, Indiana. He was ordained a priest in 1956. After ordination he gained an M.A. in Anthropology from the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. In June, 1961, he arrived in Asmat and was stationed at the village of Sowa-Irama. On August 4, 1965, he was appointed superior of the mission. He was ordained as a Bishop on November 23, 1969 for the newly established Diocese of Agats-Asmat.

Malcolm T. Walker

Dr. Walker is a Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, and currently Professor of Anthropology, University of Tjenderawasih. Dr. Walker is an assistant in the Department of Tjenderawasih until 1974 in accordance with a UNESCO subcontract Southern Illinois has signed with UNESCO. Dr. Walker was the Education Department in Papua, New Guinea from 1961 until 1964 before moving to the USA. His main field work was carried out in the Dominican Republic.


*Note*: The editors of the IRIAN welcome manuscripts of a theoretical or critical nature that directly or indirectly bear on West Irian. Manuscripts should be typed, double spaced, and may be submitted in either English or Indonesian. If articles are submitted in Dutch, they should be translated into one of the above languages and©. Each article must be accompanied by a 200-word abstract, if possible, should be in the language in which the manuscript is written. Articles should be accompanied by a brief biographical note on the author.