Tears on the plane

Amapon Jos Marey

At that precise moment on 15 August 1962 the Catholic mission pilot of Associated Mission Aviation (AMA) and I were up in the sky, above the area between the headwaters of the Derewo and Rouffaer rivers. The director of home affairs doubling as vice governor, H. Veldkamp, had sent the Cessna plane belonging to the mission to pick me up in Nabire. On the radio on the aircraft we heard the news of the signing of the New York Agreement. It meant that the Netherlands had to hand over the governance of West Papua to the Republic of Indonesia. The pilot and I looked at one another without saying a word. Tears were running down our cheeks. Only God knew the future of our people and land of Papua. 'Nobody knows the troubles I've seen, nobody knows my sorrow...'

My life in 1962 was very eventful. To start with, I and my administrator colleagues, Filemon Jufuway, Arnold Mampioer, Abraham Onim and Bernard Joku had been getting ready since May to leave for the Netherlands in August for advanced education in administration. But then because of the negotiations over the West Papua dispute, we had to await their development. So, after graduating from OSIBA I went on vacation to the kampung and stayed with my parents in Napan. Other friends had already received their letters of confirmation on the posts to which they would be assigned. Amos was placed in Kaimana and Luther in Serui. During my vacation, the negotiations on the West Papua dispute were nearly concluded.

In the two or three years leading up to that year, the Dutch government had not once asked Papuans or involved us in the discussions of our land with Indonesia. Papuans were like pet animals being sold in a market. Ultimately, the fate of our small nation was again being determined by foreigners. These foreign nations, which were supposedly

civilized, were evidently forcing us back to the age of our ancestors and to their age of crusades.

The Cessna landed at the foot of Mount Cycloop, in the Sentani airfield. A driver from the Dienst van Binnenlandse Zaken (DBZ, Department of Home Affairs) in Dok II met me with a car. On my way out of the airport, I was surprised to see so many Dutch families there. School friends from Mulo and HBS Dok V came over to hug me and cried. They had to leave now to go to the Netherlands – a foreign country. They had all been born and raised in Papua. Here and there the sounds of Dutch and Papuan families weeping were audible. Many of the people I knew had already left during those final weeks of my vacation. When I arrived at the Hollandia Haven harbour, it too was crowded, with people who were departing by ship. The cruise ship, SS de Grote Beer docked at the harbour was also fully packed. Meanwhile, in the yard of the port, people were crying.

We arrived at the DBZ office in Dok II into an atmosphere that was brimming with tension because of that morning's decisions. Upon entering the office of Director Veldkamp, he asked me to take a seat, then conveyed the decisions of the cabinet, Secretary of State Th.H. Bot, Minister E.H. Toxopeus, and Governor P.J. Platteel in The Hague, including the decision to cancel our education programme in the Netherlands. Because all the Dutch HPBs and residents were returning home, all of the Papuan administrators would be needed here. And the DBZ was placing me in the office of the resident of Hollandia, although I would remain in contact with the DBZ. That night I had to telephone the secretary of state in The Hague. I also learned in brief about the other government measures related to the transfer of the Dutch government to the UN, the role of the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), and other matters in Hollandia. After that, the DBZ driver drove me to the resident's office at the Army Post Office (APO), where Resident Woelders, HPB Danno Saiffoeddin and the head of immigration, Trouerbach were waiting for me. The location of the APO, as the place had been called since World War II, was on the bank of the Nefatte river.

In our talk the resident explained that I would be taking over all the military police and immigration work of Trouerbach. All the immigration-related work, including issuing passports, exit and entry visas throughout Papua, checking passports at the airport and harbour.

Trouerbach explained the job to me at his office. HPB Dano Saiffoeddin, who I knew, was the replacement for his schoolmate, HPB Jufuway, who had moved to DBZ Dok II; he handed over the keys to the official car, a black Volkswagen Beetle. The driver, Leo Pui, was its full-time driver. So Trouerbach and I immediately left for the Sentani airfield, and then on to the harbour. Checking passports, giving travel visas, controlling health certificates. We did the work in an atmosphere of grief and heavy emotions. So many Dutch friends and acquaintances were leaving for good.

Upon returning from Sentani the driver and I went to arrange for a house for me. During the month of September most of the Dutch families left. Trouerbach and his family also departed on the passenger ship, *De Grote Beer* from Rotterdam, others on the *Patris*, a passenger ship from Greece. That month, the ambience across West Papua and the city of Hollandia remained calm, despite the fact that many of the people were upset and crying.

BEING A JOURNALIST

Actually, I never set out to become a government person, because my nephews, Jason Marey and Florenz Imbiri, as well as my brother-in-law, Frans Jozef Djopari were already working as civil servants. Nor did I come directly out of a school whose students were eligible to continue their studies at OSIBA. Rather, my decision was related to developments in the cooperation between PNG and West Papua. At the time when I made the decision to enter OSIBA, I was working as a journalist with the Kantor Penerangan Rakyat (Public Information Office) in Dok IV. Bapak Piet Merkelijn was the head, and Marcus Kaisiepo was his deputy. I wrote articles for the monthly magazine, *Triton*, and the weekly, *Pengantara*. Both publications provided information on government efforts to develop West Papua.

Before I graduated from the PMS (junior high school), Bapak Piet Merkelijn twice held Dutch-language and Indonesian-language writing contests in all the high schools – PMS, Mulo and HBS – in Hollandia. I won twice, so in June 1958, Bapak Merkelijn came to an agreement with the director of my PMS, Van den Brink, that I would later be accepted to work at the Office of Bevolkingsvoorlichting (Public Relations) in Dok IV. I worked daytimes at the office, receiving instructions in journalistic

practices from my bosses – Sytze van der Werff, Joop van den Berg, and Ed van Westerloo – and I attended night school.

I ordered course materials for journalism and English language from the institute of the Leidse Onderwijs Instellingen, in Leiden in the Netherlands. Every evening I studied in my home in the coastal urban area of Hamadi, in housing for Papuan residents of the city. My so-called house consisted of a single unfurnished room, measuring four or five square meters, in the barracks for single people. The big window in the front of the room was screened by chicken wire with large openings, and there was a window at the back shut with boards.

I bought a bed, chair, and table. Every night I was visited by mosquitoes as I studied. Outside, behind the barracks for single people, there was a kitchen in a concrete shack whose plasterboard roof did not entirely cover it. There was no cooking stove, only a set of concrete cross beams. So when you cooked, if it was raining the water fell right into the pot and put out the fire. In my first essay in the *Pengantara* weekly I protested the model of housing constructed in the cities for Papuan employees and workers. The article infuriated Resident Eibrink Jansen from Hollandia.

In connection with that job, I went together with a photographer to visit residency towns, districts, and regions across Papua where developments and projects were being carried out and we wrote articles about them. Genyem, the capital of Nimboran sub-division, was the last place I visited before I entered OSIBA. There, Koperasi Jawadatum, the cocoa plantation company of Nimboran, had opened the first large fermentation and drying warehouse with machines for cleaning the cocoa beans. I accompanied deputy director Hoornweg of the economic department down there. I wrote his speech for him: 'Citizens of the Nimboran plain ...' The director read it and was pleased. He said the sentences began with a surge, and moved like waves. The article I wrote, called *Cocoa in Nimboran*, was published along with photographs in the monthly *Triton* in July 1960. My last article, titled, *Mens sana in corpore sano* (A sound mind in a sound body), illustrated by photographs of the awarding of diplomas to paramedics at Dok II Central Hospital, was published in *Triton* in August 1960, when I was already attending classes at OSIBA di Hollandia-Binnen (Abepura).

SPORTS COMPETITION IN PNG

Two years earlier, in September 1958, I went with a group of high school students from Hollandia by ship to the town of Wewak in Papua New Guinea (PNG) to attend a high school students' sports meet. It was the first time in history that high school students from West Papua and PNG, both boys and girls, met together. There, these young men and young women saw for themselves that the divisions and borders imposed by Europeans in the past had kept us from seeing ourselves as one nation.

The joint meeting in Wewak reinforced my interest in the direct nexus between East and West Papua, and in the collaboration of the governments of Australia and the Netherlands with the South Pacific Conference (SPC) organization in Noumea. The second Hollandia-Wewak high school students' sports meet was held in May 1959 in Hollandia. In 1959 I also became the secretary of the South Pacific Conference committee, the SPC discussion team in Hollandia. One of the themes that we studied and expressed views on at the time had to do with the social welfare of young people from the villages who were roaming around the city after graduating from primary school.

Creating a system of boarding schools for youngsters in the urban environment became our focus, so that those young people could be accommodated in simple lodgings under supervision. The government could organize jobs, so they could work, pay for their lodgings and attend night school. Our proposal became a policy for the SPC. For other young people who were high school graduates, the Australian and Dutch governments and SPC at the time organized and ran a broad student exchange programme. Many kids from West Papua attended medical and telecommunications schools in Port Moresby, a school of dentistry in Suva, and a fisheries school in Honiara. And there were students from PNG who came to attend the sailing school in Hamadi, Hollandia.

At that time I fervently wanted and intended to serve as the assistant liaison officer for PNG in Port Moresby, the capital of PNG. To do that, one had to hold an OSIBA diploma. Whatever it took to get there, I wanted to be involved in the direct cooperation between West Papua and Papua New Guinea through the South Pacific Conference. In February 1960, Raphael den Haan, our liaison officer for PNG in Port Moresby, came to Hollandia for negotiations with Governor Platteel and Director of Home Affairs, Arie Boendermaker.

That meeting with Raphael den Haan, which first set the direction for my career, has stayed alive in my memory to this day. I had asked to meet him in the office of the secretariat of the governor in Dok II. Raphael den Haan, a sturdily built man with the countenance of a Frenchman and a very neat little mustache, greeted me. We had been acquainted since 1957 or 1958 because I often walked from my school, PMS Kota Radja, to the OSIBA dormitory in Camp Kei, Hollandia-Binnen, to visit Jason, Florenz, and my brother-in-law Frans Jozef Djopari. In those days he was the lead officer of the Department of Home Affairs in Dok II, and the dean as well as a professor at OSIBA.

I still remember well our talk at the governor's office, where Mr. Stefals, the head of the office of the secretariat of Governor Platteel, was also present. After an interview in Dutch about his work in Port Moresby, I asked him a question in English, and then we continued in that language: 'Mr. den Haan, may I come to help you and work as an assistant liaison officer in Port Moresby?' He firmly replied: 'You can't, Jos, because whoever wants to assist me must hold a diploma from OSIBA. The functions of the job require someone trained for government work.' 'If the position is still open in two years, then I will come', I replied. Den Haan said: 'That would be impossible, because an OSIBA education takes four years. It would be better just to aim to obtain the diploma, whether it is two years or four years, let's just wait and see.'

I also asked about the establishment of the Papuan parliament. Why was the government so slow to establish a parliament, although that had been included in the government gazette (*Gouvernementblad* No. 1 /1950). What is more, when the Dutch government ceded power to Indonesia it had been included in the *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* J 599 (Kingdom of the Netherlands Gazette) of 29 December 1949 on the Public Administration of New Guinea. I had a book about these laws.

He replied: 'The development of democratic institutions to provide a base for a Papuan parliament depends on having enough people in the government in West Papua who are sufficiently educated to be able to organize elections and assist the parliament. The government wanted to first establish lower-level bodies of people's representatives for the regions – Regional Councils, or *Streekraden* – which is now nearing completion. During this time the government has also been investigating whether there are enough educated and competent candidates to

serve as representatives of New Guinea. The process of developing such cadres really does take time, and must be done with care. Managing the development of democracy calls for many Papuan administrators. I am happy that you are interested in going in that direction and it will be good if you go to OSIBA, so that after you graduate you can go to Port Moresby, Noumea or assist in managing things in Hollandia.' By the end of the conversation, I asked him to put in a good word to Governor Platteel about my intentions. Two days later, Den Haan telephoned to let me know that Governor Platteel agreed to keep the vacancy for the assistant liaison officer position in Port Moresby open until I graduated from OSIBA.

In May I invited my friend Bernard Joku, who was also a graduate of PMS Kota Raja one year ahead of me and worked there as well, to write a letter of resignation to Bapak Merkelijn together. Bapak Merkelijn, an older man who was fair and also a major mentor to Papuans was sorry about our decision, since there were plans to send me and Bernard to the Netherlands in August 1960 to attend a journalism school in Utrecht.

ENTERING OSIBA

Thus, I returned to the school dormitory and classroom, after being used to freedom and a fairly big salary for two years. While I was at OSIBA I received an allowance of only 25 New Guinea guilders. The currency exchange at that time was 1:1.5 Dutch guilders. Back then, if it was compared to the school allowance friends got in other schools in Hollandia-Binnen, such as the Kweekschool (Teacher Training College) or Theologische School (School of Theology), we students at OSIBA really were fairly well off. Moreover, every year we received for free a pair of shoes, a brown suit, a white shirt and long trousers, underwear, two towels, and a bed with a mattress, sheet, and pillow.

I suggested to the director, Jack de Groot, that we should receive the free sets of clothes every semester. Mr. and Mrs. Jack de Groot served as directors and good parents to us. Our clothes were washed on time, and ironed, or we would iron them by ourselves. From the kitchen of the jail, a huge building where convicted prisoners were detained in Camp Kei, every day we got hot cooked food that was pretty tasty. Our housing, in an old wooden building from the headquarters of General MacArthur

in Ifar that had been moved by Japanese prisoners from there to Padang Bulan hill in Hollandia-Binnen in 1949, was sufficient and cool. In that dormitory, my nephew Luther Saroy, younger friend Amos Yap and I shared a room.

During the daytime we attended classes and in the evenings we studied on our own. On Saturdays, we only had morning lessons until one in the afternoon and were free after that. That semester the governance curriculum had just begun. My schoolmates had already covered a general curriculum, that is, what was taught at public high schools. For example, languages, arithmetic, earth science, agriculture, meteorology, and so on. Bernard and I got the books from the director's office and the library and then did supplementary studies of these general lessons. For half a year, we pursued those lessons almost every Saturday and Sunday, along with attending all the day classes.

I think the teachings of lecturer Herman Sarolea were the most interesting for everybody, because we could have debates with him about political science, and look at the development of democracy in practice. He wrote two simple, very clear manuals, which we practiced, for all the people in the villages: *Azas-azas Tata Negara Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea* (Constitutional Principles of Netherlands New Guinea) volume I and volume II. The two books covered the legal basics of any community, statehood, the administrative divisions of West Papua, the *Nieuw-Guinea Raad* (New Guinea Council) and its rights and budgets, human rights, and international cooperation. We discussed the contents of the two books before Bapak Merkelijn translated them into Malay, and then they were printed and published by the Office of Public Affairs.

Debating and exchanging thoughts about *De l'esprit des lois* (The spirit of the laws, 1748) by Charles Louis de Secondat Baron de Montesquieu, and his *trias politica* (trinity of governmental functions) and other themes with that lecturer was very interesting, and truly enhanced our knowledge. With the economics lecturer, Henry Warmenhoven, we debated about the theme of the transformation of the village economy to a global economy, among other things. In short, this had to do with how West Papua, with its rich natural resources, and as a country that was still in development, could gain access to the world of commerce, whereas the people themselves did not have a culture of commerce or economic skills.

There was one more lecturer at OSIBA whose teachings were fascinating, Dr. Anceaux. He taught us the phonology of the languages of the peoples of the interior and remote regions. The goal was that we, as civil servants, could quickly learn the languages of the peoples of the interior, the central mountains, or the coasts.

The teachings on justice given by Mr. Mol, who was a deputy to the court judge in Hollandia-Binnen, were also interesting. As a class we once attended the trial of a case of abuse of schoolchildren by their teacher at the magistrate's court, in which Mr. Mol himself was the chairman, and I served as the court clerk. Dr. Klevens, a doctor from the World Health Organization (WHO), taught us what an administrator must do in situations when there were major outbreaks of endemic and epidemic diseases.

From time to time high-ranking guests would visit OSIBA. For example, two diplomats of the United Nations in New York: Dr. Guirma from the Upper Volta, which is now known as Burkina Faso, and Dr. Maxime Zollner from Dahomey, now Benin, visited us.¹ They were very surprised to see how quickly West Papua was being built up, and that schooling here had already reached a fairly high level. Moreover, the Papuan government people they met could usually speak English, as could all the students at OSIBA. With the two of them we discussed the future of Papua and the establishment of the countries of Africa. On behalf of my school, I thanked them for their visit from New York and their attention to Papuans, then handed them a gift of two relief maps of West Papua. I was to meet both of them again at the UN in New York in 1969. They served high-level functions, as a top UN juridical official, and as vice-chairman to the UN and country representative in Brazzaville in the former French Congo respectively.

One thing I will never forget is the founding of the Ikatan Pemuda Pelajar (IPP, Student Youth Union) in November 1960. Dr. Piet Budding, a Dutch language teacher at PMS Kota Raja, had previously invited me to form a debating club, so we could practice speaking Dutch. In September 1957 I had established the Inter-School Study Club at PMS Kota Raja for PMS and LTS (Lower Technical School) students, but I also involved friends from the Mulo in Dok V, the HBS in Dok V and other high schools in Hollandia. It was a debating club where we

¹ Compare with Drooglever 2009:579.

discussed themes of West Papua's development, inter-tribal unity, and sports. The important point was to become more fluent in, or gain a mastery of Dutch. The associations among us, from high schools all over Hollandia, were very good at the time. There was no discrimination at all based on skin colour. White or black, Dutch, Eurasian, Indonesian, Papuan or Indonesian-Chinese, it made no difference. All of us joined in thinking and talking about the development of West Papua in the future.

Thus, after I entered OSIBA, I exchanged ideas with friends at the Kweekschool, Theological School, HBS Dok V, the Higher School for Paramedics in Dok II and Police Inspector Training School in Base G. We held an initial meeting in a school room of the Kweekschool, Schoolstraat Hollandia-Binnen on 20 November 1960. Our purpose was to also build linkages with all the high schools and colleges across West Papua. On my return from Japan in November 1962 I advised my younger friend, Fred Athaboe, who had taken over the leadership of the organization, that we should modify our charter so that we could join up with the union of Indonesian student organizations. A copy of that charter still exists.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STREEKRAAD ANIM HA

In line with the will of the Papuan people, development and growth in all sectors was accelerated from 1950 on. Especially the growth of a modern system of government in which the people would take part, that is, a democratic system. It was a system that had close affinities to the ways of Papuans. The growth of democracy began after World War II. It was developed from the bottom up, in order to familiarize the population first. In 1948, there were advisory councils in a number of towns. In the 1955 to 1957 period, these councils began to be replaced by new representative bodies, modelled after the *dewan haminte* (local municipal government councils in Indonesia under Dutch occupation), and known as Streekraden (regional councils) in Dutch. In Biak, the council called Kainkain Karkara Biak, founded in 1948, was replaced on 24 June 1959 by Streekraad Biak Numfor. Next to be established were Streekraad Yapen Waropen in Serui, Streekraad Dafonsoro in Sentani, Streekraad Onin in Fakfak, Streekraad Vogelkop (Bird's Head) in Manokwari,

Streekraad Paniai-Nabire in Nabire, and Streekraad Sorong Raja Ampat in Doom. Each was legally regulated by the Streekgemeenschaps-ordonnantie (Regional Council Ordinance) in the government journal, *Gouvernementsblad* 1960 Number 84/1961. The resident of Merauke then undertook the establishment of Streekraad Anim Ha for the population in Merauke residency. Those of us from OSIBA were asked to assist in informing the process.

Bernard Joku and I received additional training at OSIBA and went to Merauke from 30 October through 21 November 1961. As former information officers, we were seconded to Resident Eibrink Jansen. We were asked to make a patrol around the villages and explain to the residents what the new Streekraad was, what its functions were, and how it could benefit them. Bernard Ubbink, the head of the Information Office of Merauke residency and a former co-worker in the Public Information Office in Dok IV, Hollandia, picked us up at the Mopa airfield.

Resident Eibrink Jansen and HPB Massink met up with us at the office. After thanking us for coming to help out, the resident left. HPB Massink explained the organization, the patrol programme and how the team would be divided up. Bernard Ubbink gave us additional instructions and advice about the Marind people. We had to explain that through the council, the villagers themselves could be involved in matters related to the governance and development of their own region. That meant that the council would participate in governing the administration and no longer the civil servants, the HPB or the resident alone. In keeping with adat practices of old, in which the whole tribe participated in making decisions about things, such as whether or not a traditional Marind imo ceremony would be held.

The following day, 31 October, at five in the morning, Bernard Joku and HPB Massink departed on the boat, Maroh, to the west, in the direction of the Bian river. Another group heading for Kelepom (or Frederik Hendrik) island and the interior had already left the week before, because the route was difficult and far. Meanwhile, Bernard Ubbink and I headed for the Kumbe river. We arrived that afternoon in kampung Kumbe, which was located at the mouth of the river of the same name. The houses in this small village were nestled beneath pine and coconut trees, which made the scenery of the village very beautiful. There was a Catholic church, decorated with beautiful Marind carving. Behind the church was the house of the missionary, Jan Verschueren MSC, an

apostle of God whose name was famous in West Papua, Papua New Guinea, Australia, and the Netherlands.

The village had a *pasanggrahan*, or guest house, where we could stay overnight and cook. The *pasanggrahan*, found in all the major villages, offered simple but adequate accommodation. The village people built these guest houses together with the district head. When guests came, the villagers organized raw foods for the guests in exchange for payment. Thus they received money. Because of that, almost every day the house was filled with agricultural experts from the rice project in Kuprik, 35 kilometres away from kampung Kumbe. I went to the missionary's house in search of the revered apostle. Although I was a Protestant, I needed the prayers and blessings of the missionary and father of the Marind Anim, Jan Verschueren. His assistant informed me that the man was still in the middle of a walking journey to kampung Salor. He had waited for us to come for a week, but when we had still not arrived by the day before, he had gone ahead. The missionary's assistant invited us to have dinner at the church house. There was rice, *saham* (deer) meat, and water spinach.

LIKE A SCENE OUT OF PARADISE

The following morning, 1 November 1961 at ten, we held an information session in the kampung Kumbe school building. Bernard began by relating and explaining the elements of democracy. That the people themselves would choose their representative on the Amin Ha Regional Council, who would speak and manage things on their behalf. That meant that it was no longer the administrators, HPB or resident themselves who would manage interests and development here, but the people themselves, through the council. I continued, explaining the system and process of nominating people to serve as representatives. The administrator would run a direct election based on 'one person, one vote'. This meant that each village would elect their own representatives. The village residents would directly elect the person to serve as a council member. I also clarified the duties, authority, and rights of the council members, as well as their responsibilities to the people in return. In the afternoon we went to kampung Kuprik to visit our largest rice project. The rice yields produced by the project covered most of our annual rice import needs.

The next day we left by boat for kampung Salor, in the upper reaches of the Kumbe river. The air was cool and the area surrounding the river was still dark; it was only in the middle of our cruise that the dawn broke. The small police boat accommodated our group, consisting of Bernard Ubbink, me, First Seargent Sebastian Keize from kampung Domande, who was the skipper of the boat, and the helmsman, Pieter Gebze. The small size of the team meant that the fare was also small. The boat, which was no longer than seven metres, used diesel fuel. Since the Kumbe river tide was low, we could not race ahead fast. But this gave us a great opportunity to enjoy the paradise landscape of Papua at its most beautiful. To this day I remember that vista, which I have never encountered anywhere else in nature.

On the banks flanking either side of the river grew nipah palms fenced in by the roots of mangrove and taller trees. The fish were jumping and shrimp were scattered about in water that was the color of coffee with milk, because of the sound of the motor and the displacement of water by the boat. On the wet, muddy ground of the river banks, the crabs promptly burrowed between the mangrove roots. Once we were far from kampung Kumbe wild deer were visible on either side of the river. The Marind people called them *saham*. Like domesticated cattle, they ate the green grass in the surrounding fields, then came to drink at the river's edge. In the distance beyond these 'livestock', another animal was visible. Sebastian Keize said it was a tree kangaroo. Bas, as Sebastian was called, seized the opportunity to shoot a deer that was close to the boat. As a result, we had fresh meat for the next three or four days of our journey.

MEETING THE FATHER OF THE MARIND PEOPLE

The whole population of kampung Salor awaited us on the river bank. In their midst was an old, yet able-bodied man, whose face, nose, and skin colour were indistinguishable from those of the Marind people themselves. Although we had never met him before, we were sure he must be the father of the Marind Anim tribe because this had been his territory, his land for half a century. As soon as the boat touched the shore I jumped out and kneeled before him. 'Thank God for letting me meet the apostle and father of the Marind today. Father Verschueren, I beg you for your prayer and blessing.'

‘Jos, my son, do not kneel before me. I am not the Lord Jesus.’ ‘But Father Verschueren, you are his apostle. I ask to be blessed.’ ‘I bless you, Jos, throughout your life and on this journey. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.’ Then he asked me to stand up. Father Verschueren, the Mahuze tribal chief, the teacher, and our men ate dinner together at the home of the Salor tribal chief. The teacher’s wife cooked the meal. Father Verschueren led a prayer and blessed the food and our journey. That night Bernard and Bas were put up for the night by the teacher and his wife. Pieter, the helmsman and I were guests of the tribal chief. I wanted to hear all the old stories of Salor, of the Mahuze, Keize, Gebze, Balageze tribes, and of the Marind area all along the Kumbe river. Father Verschueren advised me to adapt myself to their ways. So that night I followed the village tradition. On the sand in the front yard of the house there was a campfire. The tribal chiefs and elders gathered around the campfire and told stories. What they opened up to me was an antique trunk filled with the tales of the tribe. I remembered that it was a story from this area that the government administrator, Jufuway, had written down about how the sap of the *wahi* (Piper methysticum) tree intoxicated people during an *imo* ritual.

The next morning, Bernard and I gave a presentation on the establishment of the Anim Ha Regional Council in the Salor school building. We played the same roles as we had in Kumbe. We gave them an idea of the composition of the council and distributed our written information so people could reread it. Here too, in Salor, the people showed great interest in the council. Before we left, we thanked and said goodbye to the father of the Marind Anim, Verschueren, and to our friendly hosts.

Then we went on to kampung Bad. There too, we were welcomed with joy by the head of the village, Benediktus Balageze, the teacher, and the villagers. The villagers spontaneously brought foodstuffs for us to the teacher’s house. After sharing a meal together at the teacher’s house, we went to sleep. Bernard and Bas stayed the night at the teacher’s place. Pieter and I stayed overnight with the village head of Bad. That night I slept inside the house on a mat laid on a wooden floor, using a towel as a pillow. Pieter preferred to sleep with the other fellows on the sand in the house yard. We were thankful, because when we went on patrol in the forest, our beds were sure not to be as luxurious as this. We usually had to sleep on wet ground in humid air swarming with mosquitoes.

Bernard stayed on and gave information to the people of kampung Bad. When it was still dark, Lucas Mahuze, the nephew of the village head, woke me up. The two of us travelled on foot to kampung Senegi to the west. Lukas was a large-bodied Marind, close to two metres tall. He carried two patrol boxes weighing about 20 kg full of folders and information sheets in his hands alone. After four hours of trekking, taking shortcuts across the jungle, we arrived at nine in kampung Senegi. The people of kampung Kaliki, which is located farther than Senegi, were already there before Lucas and I arrived. They knew that we would be gathering in Senegi and that the presentation would begin at ten that morning. The village head and the teacher, Kisihiuw, welcomed us.

After drinking the tea that Ibu Kisihiuw prepared for us, we went to the school building. I began explaining the purpose of establishing the council in the middle of the jungle. After that, I asked for their reactions and saw that the villagers were enthusiastic about these new changes. The responses of the tribal chiefs, village head, and teachers from Senegi, as well as everywhere else in the middle of this jungle, were especially positive. After eating, we listened to the teacher's stories of teaching and schools in the jungle, followed by stories about life in the villages by the elders. Lucas and I returned, and it was dark by the time we reached Bad.

SWIMMING WITH A HORSE

Next we headed to kampung Wajauw. In Wajauw we were greeted at the edge of the river by Lucas Mahuze, the village head, and the teacher, Meteray. We ate dinner at the teacher's house. Ibu Meteray served delicious Ambonese food. After that we heard the old stories of the village. It turned out that the village head and the teacher and his wife knew the hospitable civil servant of Merauke, Jason Marey. They also knew the government administrator, Chris Ariks.

That night we each slept in the homes of our respective hosts. The next day Bernard and I gave an information session in the school building. There were a lot of questions after we gave our explanation, because everyone happily welcomed the idea of development that would bring progress to the Kumbe region. That morning we once more enjoyed the natural beauty of paradise around the river on the way to kampung

Keiza, in the upper reaches of the river. There too, the village head, teacher, and villagers were already awaiting us.

This was because their elder, the Father of Marind Anim, Verschueren, had already let them know of our coming. He was then on his way back to the coast. Our welcome there was very friendly, just as in the other villages. That night we slept very soundly. Maybe it was because from there we would be returning to the coast, or maybe because we were happy because of the sounds of the birds of paradise that we had heard all the way along the river.

We returned from Keiza to Kumbe for the programme in the villages on the coast. In taking leave of the good and hospitable Marind, in their beautiful villages along the Kumber river, flanked on either side by regions of such richness and natural paradise beauty, our hearts were truly moved. I had fallen in love with the people of the area.

That night, following the down-flowing current, we arrived in Kumbe at the mouth of the river. We spent the night at the Kumbe guest house. The next day we went to provide information in kampung Kuprik, where the large rice project was. We were allowed to ride the jeep of the head of the company there. After returning to Kumbe, Bas went home to kampung Domande to wait for us there.

We had sent letters asking the residents of the coastal villages of Kaiburse, Onggari, and Hataran to gather in kampung Domande. Now it was the turn of kampung Domande, the village of First Seargent Sebastian Keize to be told about the council. The next day, Bernard and I headed there. First we had to bid on transport: who would ride horseback and who would go by motor scooter? Finally, Bernard took the motor scooter, carrying the tins of information material and I rode horseback. The journey from Kumbe to the pretty village on the coast was quite long. That morning Bernard had already left by motor scooter while I was still busy trying to mount the horse's back, use the thin reins and sit astride the empty rice sack that served as a saddle. I had never ridden a horse before. This was my first experience – with a very tame young horse. In principle, I was fascinated by cowboy storybooks, but now, here it was in practice. Once I got onto the horse's back, I did not get off again. Beneath the coconut palms, my gentle friend moved slowly, then broke into a trot on broad expanses of beach. We had to swim across a river that flowed from the forest into the sea.

From afar we could see Bernard going across, carrying the scooter above his head. The tins containing the equipment and information sheets were already on the other side. I dismounted the horse, holding onto the reins, and we swam across. The water of the river rose up to my chest. My light brown administrator's uniform was drenched and sticking to my body. For the whole day we were struck by the heat of the sun on a sandy beach without any shade trees. I arrived at the beautiful village in the evening.

Various fruit-laden trees adorning the village on the beach came into view. A stand of tall banana trees with bunches of the biggest bananas in the land appeared to form the entrance gateway to the village. I was amazed to see such bananas, bigger than any I had ever seen in all of Papua. Dismounting the horse proved to be quite difficult. Both my legs were cramped and stiff, and the skin on my inner thighs was chafed raw. My head was aching because I had not worn a hat. Bas and the villagers had to lift me down from the horse. After bathing in the hot water that Bas and his wife had heated up I was a new man again. I smeared the scrapes on my thighs with coconut oil. After giving information to the people of Domande, Kaiburse, Onggari, and Hataran, the three of us returned to Kumbe.

The sun was blazing hot and the waves were roaring on the beach at the Kumbe river estuary on the morning we crossed the river by boat. We got picked by a car and were taken to kampung Wendu. We gave our last presentation on the establishment of the Anim Ha Regional Council in Wendu, with the residents of the villages of Anasai, Jatun and Urumb also in attendance. After eating, we thanked the teacher and his wife, bid farewell to the father of the Marind Anim, Verschueren, then returned to Merauke.

At the office of HPB Massink I compiled a report on our work for Resident Eibrink Jansen, HPB Masink, the head of the Merauke Public Information Office, Bernard Ubbink, and the Department of Home Affairs and OSIBA. A week later, our friends Bernard Joku and HPB Massink returned. They too were enthusiastic about the positive responses their information sessions received. While Bernard put together his report, I went to visit Bishop Tillemans MSC and Sister Perpectua, an elderly nun who was over 70 years old. A week later, Bernard Joku and I returned to OSIBA, submitted our reports, and resumed our studies. After the elections took place, it turned out that 17 council members

were elected, consisting of six Marind Anim, one Jee, one Biak, two Muyu, two Ambonese, two Kei, one Dutch, and two Chinese-Indonesian representatives. On 16 April 1962, Streekraad Anim Ha was inaugurated by Governor Platteel.

PATROL WITH THE JUNIOR MINISTER

When Staatssecretaris (Secretary of State) or Junior Minister Bot from the Dutch Ministry of Home Affairs in The Hague visited West Papua, he came with the authority of a minister. Thus, this was how we referred to him in government circles in Hollandia and throughout the land, although we used the term of address, Staatssecretaris. Every year, he visited West Papua and Papua New Guinea. He was eager to travel around, meeting Papuans and exchanging ideas with them, because of his love of the nation.

On Monday, 22 January 1962, he arrived in Biak at two o'clock in the morning, and by nine he landed in Sentani, Hollandia. That afternoon, negotiations with the directors of all the public agencies were held. On Tuesday he visited Streekraad Dafonsoro in Sentani, which was temporarily headed by HPB Frans Peters, his deputy, Administrator Lambert Marani, and Secretary Eliezer Hamadi. The day before he had held a discussion with the Nieuw-Guinea Raad and the National Committee. On the afternoon of 24 January, the deacon of OSIBA, Mr. van de Broek, and Director de Groot summoned me, saying that I must pack a suitcase, because the next morning I would be leaving with State Secretary Bot for Merauke. On receipt of these brief orders, I went to get ready.

Early the next morning at five, Director de Groot took me to the Sentani airfield. At the airport there was a group of foreign journalists who were also prepared to go to Merauke on the regular plane. Pieter Laag, the head of the audiovisual section of the Government Information Office along with a cameraman joined our group, which consisted of State Secretary Bot, his personal secretary, Degens, me, Mr. Piet Merkelijn, and the director of the Department of Home Affairs, H. Veldkamp, in the Dakota aircraft of the Marine Luchtvaart Dienst (MLD, Naval Air Service). On the Dakota plane, State Secretary Bot explained the purpose of the visit this time and why he had requested I should come along.

He explained the precarious circumstances of our land and the position of the government in the talks in The Hague, which was not positive. So the leadership of Netherlands New Guinea had to be prepared. According to him, a Papuan government administrator had to take part in the trip since it would include meetings with delegates of the people, tribal chiefs, community leaders, regional councils and political parties. The presence of a Papuan civil servant on this journey would be proof that the cooperation between The Hague and Hollandia was real. Moreover, Papuan leaders themselves had to be apprised of the issues. After listening to him and realizing the dangers involved, I remained silent, thinking about the great risk this country was facing.

We landed on the Mopa airfield in Merauke. Resident Eibrink Jansen and HPB Massink met us. They were both happy to see me again in Merauke after the informational tour on the Anim Ha council two months earlier with Bernard Joku. After State Secretary Bot conducted an inspection of the General Police troops, he was welcomed by delegates of the churches and the people inside the airport.

When we exited, there was a big crowd of people of the Muyu and other Papuan tribes holding a demonstration under the leadership of Johannes Tamberan. Johannes, a well-known leader of the Muyu tribe, gave a speech asking the Netherlands to keep its promise and develop this land. Upon arriving in the city, outside the yard of the resident's office, the state secretary conducted an inspection of an honorary procession of young people of Merauke with a drum band and music. Following that, Resident Eibrink Jansen briefed us on the atmosphere in Merauke city and the southern region. He explained that the people here were angry because the government in The Hague was two-faced and spoke with a forked tongue, and the people of the Netherlands did not at all care about the lives of the people here, who would soon be endangered. The residents of this area wanted to know what the stance of the government was regarding the talk of warfare and the risks of confrontation between the supporters and the opposition in the population itself, once the time came. The resident had already issued announcements to all residents, that in this residency the government did not discriminate among Papuan, Moluccan, or Indonesian people's groups. So if all of the different groups led their lives together, then all would receive the same safeguards. In the afternoon we went to visit kampung Boeti, kampung Marind Anim on the coast, and a Catholic PMS in town. In the evening

delegations of tribal chiefs and community leaders were received for audiences to exchange thoughts with the state secretary. He clarified the policy of the government in The Hague regarding West Papua.

GREETED BY A DEMONSTRATION IN KAIMANA

The next day, 26 January, from eight in the morning until noon, and then from five in the afternoon until evening, delegations of tribal chiefs, and leading figures of Papuan as well as Dutch, Chinese-Indonesian, Moluccan, Indonesian and other communities received audiences. After that, there was a detailed discussion with HPB Massink and Resident Eibrink Jansen, concerning the establishment of the Comité Bescherming Bevolking (Civil Defense Committee), resident security, and other administrative matters. At night there was a meeting with government employees and their wives at the resident's home. On 27 January, we continued our journey on to Kaimana.

We flew over large estuaries, whose murky waters seemed to be full of crocodiles and sharks. All along the coast, mangrove trees covered the plains stretching over many kilometres to the feet of the mountains. On the right, the snow-capped, cloud covered peaks of the Wilhelmina mountains were visible. HPB Koops and a number of district heads and Catholic and Protestant mission representatives were waiting for us in Kaimana – a small town that had always been a centre of illegal smugglers.

In Kaimana there was a pro-Dutch demonstration by adults bearing banners, alongside schoolchildren who sang the Dutch national anthem, *Wilhelmus*, and songs of the province. Delegations of tribal chiefs and leaders of the communities of Kaimana – Papuan, European, Keiese, Seramese, Ambonese, Butonese, and Chinese – were received one after the other at the home of the HPB. Among the tribal chiefs was Kasim Ombaer, the raja of Namatote. Everyone there was living in fear of being attacked, although they were already used to an air of tension due to the smuggling that went on there all the time. The HPB explained the recent events and atmosphere there. After the audiences and dinner, we flew on a *De Kroonduif*² Beaver plane to Fakfak, since the MLD Dakota plane had gone directly from Kaimana to Biak that morning.

² *De Kroonduif*, a former subsidiary of the Dutch airline KLM, was the national carrier of Netherlands New Guinea.

After flying at low altitude through the Bomberai mountains, we landed on water in Fakfak at dusk. A small peninsula protected the short jetty where we moored. Resident van Eek, HPB Dubois, the government administrator, Achmad Iribaram, and Eduard Hegemoer, the head of Radio Fakfak, waited for us at the dock. The residents were already gathered on the hill. Upon arriving at the hill, the state secretary conducted an inspection of the ranks of the honour guard. Junior high school students awaiting our arrival sang songs in our honour accompanied by very melodious violin playing.

Kapitan Ambar Kapaurumah, the head of kampung Danaweria, together with a large delegation of his people, submitted a motion and their wishes. Resident van Eek explained the feelings of the people and the atmosphere in Fakfak. All of the people in this residency and in Kaimana had actually lived for a long time with disturbances caused by illegal smuggling. Under the current conditions, the European residents had started to grow uneasy and were thinking about moving away. Although daily work still went on in a fully disciplined way, they did not feel at ease anymore. During the evening, audiences were given to a delegation of workers of the General Catholic Officials Association (ARKA) and Protestant Christelijk Werknemersverbond Nieuw-Guinea (CNWG/PERSEKDING, Christian Workers Association of New Guinea), and a delegation from the Kei community, followed by Raja Rumbati Haji Ibrahim Bauw of the Muslim community.

On the following afternoon, Sunday, 28 January, we attended a graduation ceremony of the children of the Q'uran School. At five in the afternoon, State secretary Bot held an audience with Galim Reasa and Daniel Renjaan of the Gerakan Rakyat Irian Barat (GRIB, West Irian People's Movement) party, who were accompanied by a crowd of demonstrators bearing banners that read: 'Indonesia's claim is legal' and 'GRIB supports the struggle of Frits Maurits Kiriho'. Bot discussed the petition they submitted demanding the transfer of the government to Indonesia. He emphasized that in the democratic nations of the Netherlands and West Papua there was a guarantee of freedom of expression to all citizens, a guarantee of the right to demonstrate and to establish political parties that differed in their views and policies. What was important was that the security of the population and the lives of the people were not disturbed. After that, delegations of the Ambonese community and of the Moluccan Catholic and Protestant missions were successively re-

ceived. The following day, delegates from the Indonesian-Chinese community were received for an audience. After that, we prepared to leave for Teminabuan. The people are concerned and disappointed.

Due to bad weather, we had to wait for a good opportunity to leave. Several hours later, under dense tropical rain conditions, we departed on the Beaver plane and arrived in the mangrove-forested town of Teminabuan at one in the afternoon. HPB Gonsalves, District Head Salmon Kambuaya, tribal chiefs and village heads awaited us at the dock. As we had seen before, here too there were demonstrations in which the people expressed their concerns and fears about the future of Papua on banners. In audiences with the tribal chiefs, they stated how unhappy they felt about the changes: 'If the government concedes to the pressure of Indonesia, the people will be in trouble.' Patiently, the state secretary explained the international political upheaval and the policy of the government in The Hague. To the Indo-Dutch delegation and Dutch employees he expressed the government's gratitude to them for continuing to carry out their jobs even in such an unstable atmosphere.

After eating, we continued our journey on the *De Kroonduif* to Sorong. From above, at twilight, we could see the rays of the sun illuminating the great mangrove jungle and thick forests of the Bird's Head. The oil pipelines looked like giant snakes tunneling through the forest, where they were finally swallowed by huge steel tanks. The beaches of the large island of Salawati and small island of Doom were still swept in the violet-red colours of the sun which was beginning to set in the west. At exactly six o'clock in the evening, we landed at the small seaport on the coast of the city of Sorong. A welcoming committee consisting of Resident Dr. Jan van Bodegom, HPB Deenen, HPB Veldkamp, and our colleagues from school, the administrators Lucas Dailom and Lewerisa, awaited us.

After the state secretary conducted an inspection of the honour guard of the General Police, schoolgirls, led by their teacher, Miss Jakoba Rumadas, sang songs in our honour. Although it was already dark, there was a big demonstration of hundreds of Sorong residents making a mass claim to defend their rights to self determination. Mohammed Nur Majalibit, chairman of the Persatuan Christen Islam (PCI, Christian Muslim Association) gave a speech, expressing the desire to defend the right to self determination. I translated Mohammed Nur Majalibit's speech into Dutch. The state secretary responded and explained the policy of the government in The Hague to find a good solution and path forward for

the nation through the UN. Meanwhile, in accordance with the principles of democracy, the diverse views of all groups had to be respected, even if they were small groups. I translated the response of the state secretary into Malay.

Next, on 30 January we crossed by small boat to the island of Doom. There we attended a meeting of Streekraad Raja Ampat, which was temporarily chaired by the HPB of Raja Ampat, Frits Veldkamp and his secretary, Lucas Dailom, a schoolmate from OSIBA. Frits Veldkamp was later replaced by Dirk Arfayan. After the regional council meeting, the state secretary held audiences with delegations of tribal chiefs and community leaders of the Raja Ampat archipelago, at which Resident van Bodegom and HPB Veldkamp were also present. On returning to Sorong city, opportunities for audiences were given to many delegations of communities and church leaders, including Reverend Osok. That evening, Dr. Zuiderhoek, the head of the Campaign for the Eradication of Leprosy had come to our hotel in a rage because he had not been given an opportunity to meet with the state secretary. He calmed down and went home after I promised I would propose a meeting with the state secretary the following morning.

Indeed, the Centre for Leprosy at Remu was in great need of medicine, and renovations of the hospital and patients' homes. The state secretary promised he would ask that efforts be made. On Wednesday, 31 January, after the audience at the HPB's office, we left Sorong by boat for Doom. From there, we went on the MLD's Dakota plane, which had returned from Biak, and then arrived at five thirty that afternoon at the Rendjani airfield in Manokwari. Deputy Resident Wim van der Veen, HPB Labree, Administrator Serteus Wanma, the district head of Manokwari, and Police Commander Ritter were waiting for us there. After an inspection of the honour guard of the General Police, we drove by car to the resident's home. In the yard a great many people were gathered to greet us. There were also demonstrators carrying banners. In the evening there was a meeting with the Civil Defense Committee.

BEAUTIFUL RANSIKI CITY

On 1 February we left by helicopter for Ransiki. HPB van Oosten, Administrator Frans Jozef Djopari, and the district head and chief of

police of Ransiki met us. As elsewhere, many residents came to meet with us. And there was also a crowd of demonstrators with banners. HPB van Oosten told us about conditions in the Ransiki, Anggi lakes, and Wandamen areas, which he had just returned from patrolling. Then he handed over a number of letters from the residents. That morning, a succession of delegations of tribal chiefs and community leaders, Moluccans and colonists in Ransiki were received for audiences.

After that, we departed once more by a French-made Jalouette helicopter, looking down at the Anggi Gi and Anggi Gita lakes from above. Both lakes were very beautiful, surrounded by potato plantations. The potato crops from around the two lakes and the Baliem Valley now fulfilled the demand for potatoes throughout West Papua, so they were no longer imported from Australia. In both lakes, the Department of Fisheries was also breeding tilapia fish as a source of food for the people around the lakes and in the Arfak mountains.

That afternoon, audiences were held with Monseigneur van Diepen, OESA, of the Apostoloc Prefecture of Manokwari. After that audiences were held to receive tribal chiefs, community leaders and party leaders in Manokwari. The state secretary was pleased to meet up with his old friend, Bapak Johan Ariks. They had met and sat together in the Round Table Conference³ in The Hague in 1949. The Papuan delegation to the Round Table consisted of Johan Ariks, Markus Kaisiepo, Nicolaas Jouwe and Abdullah Arfan. The tribal chief of the Arfak, Barend Mandatjan, was also received, along with tribal chief Dedaida, who came on behalf of the Inanwatan and Teminabuan tribes in Manokwari, during the same audience.

Then a succession of party leaders were received. They included Obeth Manupapami, chairman of the Partai Orang Nieuw-Guinea (PONG, New Guinea People's Party), who was once sent to the South Pacific Conference. Following him came Johannes Wamaer, the chairman of the Partai Serikat Pemuda Pemudi Papua (Parsep, Union of Papuan Youth Party). A discussion with Karel Krey, the chairman of the Manokwari branch of the Partai Nasional (Parna, National Party) was held in Dutch. That evening, opportunities for audiences were given to representatives of resident communities, the Indonesian-Chinese, Moluccans, and government employees. Finally, an opportunity was

³ See Drooglever 2009:157.

given to Deputy Director Dekker of the Yayasan Penyediaan Perusahaan Agraria (Agrarian Enterprise Provision Foundation), who presented information on the difficulties facing timber company workers in Sanggen. The resident and the HPB also attended all of these meetings.

A LIVING UMBRELLA IN SERUI

On 2 February at eight in the morning we departed for Serui on a Twin-Pioneer. Because of the sunny weather that morning, we could see clear to the south side of Wondama Bay at the foot of Mount Wondiwoi, and a cluster of small coconut-palm islands, which looked like the imprint of a giant hand on the surface of the sea in Saireri Bay, lined up from Rumberpon island in the west to the Ansus islands in the east. Only moments later, mountains, soaring some 2,500 metres high in the clouds, and the narrow valleys sandwiching the small city of Serui came into view.

The streets of Serui city were clean. On either side they were flanked by shade trees whose tops met up in the sky and formed a living umbrella to provide coolness to the main streets of the town. Serui was famous for this living umbrella. The resident of Geelvink Bay, Dr. Kouwenhoven, and HPB Meyer, Administrator Florenz Imbiri and the chief of police all came to pick us up at the airfield. At his home, HPB Meyer informed us about the lives of the people and the atmosphere in Serui city, Yapen, and Waropen. HPB Meyer and Administrator Florenz Imbiri said that up to then, the residents had remained calm, since conflict and hostility would only lead to trouble for everyone.

After that, the state secretary welcomed Dr. Voors, who explained the situation of medical personnel in this area and their supplies. Then, an audience was given to receive all the members of Streekraad Yapen Waropen, which was chaired by Administrator Florenz Imbiri and had Administrator Markus Yom as secretary. Streekraad Yapen Waropen had been working on development and implemented agriculture projects in the region, and these had served as stabilizing factors and influenced the security of the population. After that, followed envoys of the leaders and communities of Yapen and Waropen, government employees, and the Hervormde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) mission.

After eating, we left for Biak. In the Mokmer airfield were waiting HPB Assink, formerly in Serui, with a welcome committee along with a police honour guard. After the inspection of the honour guard and introductions to the welcome committee, we encountered a crowd of people in a large demonstration, carrying 17 banners and led by Eduard Rumberar. Eduard gave a speech to welcome the visit of the state secretary and ask the government in The Hague to defend the fundamental rights of the Papuans. In his explanation, the state secretary clarified the policy of the government on analogy to a boat on a choppy sea with only one anchor. For that reason, the government was trying to find a second anchor on the international stage of the UN.

On Saturday, 3 February, opportunities for audiences were granted to the construction companies – Amsterdamse Ballast Maatschappij (Amsterdam Ballast Company), Bouwmaatschappij Hollandia (Hollandia Construction Company), Intervam, the Hollandse Beton Maatschappij (Dutch Concrete Company) – and the Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij (KPM, Royal Packet Navigation Company). All of them asked for government guarantees and compensation during emergencies. One after another, tribal chiefs, village heads, and community leaders were welcomed in audiences in which the state secretary explained the government policy. He repeated his explanation using the symbol of the boat amidst the waves. In an audience with Streekraad Biak Numfor he explained the government policy more extensively. The chairman of the council, Lisias Rumbiak, an administrator of East Biak, expressed their thanks and their hopes that the Netherlands would keep its promise.

On Sunday, 4 February, following a church service, the state secretary gave an opportunity for an audience to the leaders of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Biak, Brother Sesink of the Order of Franciscan Minors (OFM) and Pastor Polvliet. That evening, the secretary of state together with Governor Platteel, Director of Home Affairs Veldkamp, and Resident Dr. Kouwenhoven discussed their impressions from the journey and the critical points raised in meetings during the journey across West Papua, and provisions for times of emergency.

Monday, 5 February marked the end of the state secretary's visit. Through a radio microphone, during an interview with Jacques Grijpink, the director of Radio Omroep Nieuw-Guinea (RONG), the state secretary expressed his regrets that he did not have an opportunity to visit other places. In light of the free and open talks he had had

with all of the people he had met, he had the impression that there was an understanding of the policy of the government in The Hague, but there were questions as to why Papuans themselves were not included in the negotiations. He stressed that the main points put forward during the meetings across West Papua would be subjects for discussion in the cabinet. Finally, he expressed great thanks to all of the government employees, both high-and low-ranking, who had helped out during the visit. To the nation of Papua he said: *‘En van u luisteraars behorend tot de inheemse bevolking, neem ik afscheid in het vertrouwen, dat de gezamenlijke doelstelling van U en ons in vrede zal worden verwezenlijkt.’* (‘To listeners who are native to this land I would like to say farewell and express my hope that our common purpose may be realized by peaceful means.’)

THE DUTCH FLAG IS LOWERED

On 1 October 1962, the flag of the Royal Kingdom of the Netherlands was lowered, because the United Nations took over the government. A Persian, Djalal Abdoh took over the authority of the Netherlands New Guinea government from Governor Platteel. Before the arrival of Djalal Abdoh in October, Pakistani forces of the UN came to Sentani. According to the New York Agreement, the UN forces, numbering 1,500 Pakistani military personnel, together with the General Police and the Papuan Volunteer Corps, in addition to Indonesian military forces of the same number as the UN forces, would ensure the security of the population.

Upon this official transfer of authority, Netherlands New-Guinea became West New Guinea under the UNTEA, which held a mandate for temporary governance from the United Nations. The directors of the public agencies and the residents were replaced by high officials of the United Nations. Before UNTEA, in West Papua in 1961-62, people lived in security and calm, in the hinterlands as well as in the cities. House doors remained unlocked as usual, night and day, no one was stealing things. So everyone asked: ‘Why is the military necessary, when there is no longer any threat of war. To face what enemy?’

Yet, beginning in October, after Sudjarwo Tjondronegoro brought in military contingents and personnel from Indonesia, crimes against people, theft, and looting began to occur in the cities daily. The munici-

pal police were paralyzed and the Pakistani military did nothing – despite the fact that according to the New York Agreement, the Pakistani military, together with the police, were supposed to safeguard the security of the population. People no longer saw any reason why they should fear the government or the security authorities. Before the arrival of the UNTEA and, moreover, the Indonesian government, we civil servants had worked hard to reconcile the anger and emotions of the people, inviting them to be positive in greeting the arrival of the foreigners. Now, as administrators we tried with all of our power to stem the fears and restore calm to the residents of the cities.

After I returned from Napan and discussed things with the director of Home Affairs, I telephoned State Secretary Bot in The Hague. Aside from informing me that the education in the Netherlands had to be cancelled, he instructed me to lead a delegation from West Papua to Japan. We were to be invited to attend a conference of the world peace organization, International Moral Re-Armament, (MRA) in Odawara, near Tokyo, from 20 October to 20 November 1962.

For what purpose was I to lead a delegation to the peace conference in Tokyo? Junior Minister Bot was concerned that the young people of Papua would get frustrated, then bring about unpleasant situations. Because it often happened in other countries in the world during times of transition, that physical clashes occurred among groups. In working for the government, he had lived and worked in Indonesia, and he loved both the Dutch and the Indonesian nations. His intention was to ensure that during the conference, we could learn from the leaders of other nations who had gone through those kinds of events. We could learn from other people's experiences about how we could overcome conflicts and manage the people so they could deal calmly with all the new changes.

MEETING INTERNATIONAL FIGURES

That week I personally arranged for all our passports. I wrote, signed, and stamped UNTEA passport number one for myself. Numbers two and three were for Nikolas Nere and Titus Dansidan. The Department of Home Affairs in Dok II arranged for our KLM flights on 19 October 1962. That morning I was so busy I was almost late for the Dakota plane

flight to Biak. At five in the afternoon we departed Biak on a KLM DC 8 Douglas and arrived at ten that night at Haneda airport, Tokyo.

The next day, in the dining room of the Tokyo Kanko Hotel in Shinagawa, we got acquainted with the members of the other delegations from Fiji, Australia, South Korea, India, Canada, America, Latin America, Africa, Germany and France. Among others, we got to know Ratu Livai Vola Vola from Fiji; Rajmohan Gandhi – the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi – from India; Chief Walking Buffalo, chief of the Stoney tribe from the province of Alberta, Canada, and George S. Wood from the town of Toorak, Victoria, Australia. Two days later, from the Tokyo Kanko Hotel in the Shinagawa city area, we all went by bus to the South through the big port of Yokohama and then came to the accommodations and conference venue in Odawara city. There we met with Jaap de Boer, the head of the Dutch Moral Re-Armament delegation, and the husband and wife team, Ir. Frits and Sylvia Philips – heads of the MRA of the Netherlands, and owners the Philips International factory in Eindhoven.

The international conference of the Moral Re-Armament organization was being held in Asia for the first time. The main themes of the conference included conflicts between nations and conflicts between workers' organizations and factory management concerning the positions of workers. All week we exchanged ideas with Mr. and Mrs. Philips, who were close friends of State Secretary Bot, on the unfortunate fate of the Papuans and the transitional government over there. They assured us that in the lifetime of a person who used violence, that person would encounter others with hearts of stone and houses whose doors were shut. It was only with a warm-hearted attitude that a window could be opened, if the doors were shut. Each day we attended general meetings on the major themes. We also exchanged ideas a lot with Rajmohan Gandhi, the leader of the Indian delegation, and Chief Walking Buffalo, George Wood, King Livai Vola Vola, Peter Howard and many members of the Japanese, German and Korean delegations, as well as others, about the mournful atmosphere of the nation of Papua, which the international world had caused. We learned a lot about the histories of their countries, their experiences, and how they governed and managed their countries.

That Sunday, the management of the organization gave the West Papua delegation an opportunity to give a speech at the general meetings. For the first time, I, as a 'primitive' person from Papua, gave an

exposition of his nation on an international stage. My declaration that we of the Pacific region wished to take our places in the society of world peace, because our ancestors were no longer engaged in tribal warfare, was well received. To help demonstrate in as lively a way as possible the plight of the workers who were actually factory coolies in the Kerala region of India, Rashmon Gandhi, leader of the Indian delegation, asked us to perform together with his delegation in a stage play.

After Odawara in 1962 and up to now I have remained close friends with Rajmohan Gandhi, whose nickname is Rashmon. Each year we meet at the conference at MRA headquarters in the Mountain House Chateau in Switzerland. In 2001, the international Moral Re-Armament organization was renamed Initiatives of Change (IC) International. People from this platform of international peace are trying to move beyond borders, to establish contact with all who seek peace, in their own communities and countries and outside their countries. They are trying to find solutions to conflicts between tribes, nations and governments through dialogue.

All of these efforts are made based on four high moral elements: absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, and absolute love. To be honest with ourselves, our neighbours and other people, and not to be taken in by deception. To be pure of heart in associations among ourselves and with others. Not to be false-hearted, mean and corrupt. Why should we always think only of ourselves, if we already have things, and lust to have more. Throughout the world, enough is produced to suffice all of humanity, so we must learn to share and give others the opportunity to take part in tasting a mouthful of God's bounty. With open hearts, to love our fellow human beings, who are not strangers from outside of our natural world. All of these are norms of human culture and leadership.

In the third week of the Odawara conference our delegation was invited by the Indonesian ambassador in Tokyo, Colonel Bambang Sugeng, to meet with President Soekarno. The president of Indonesia was visiting Japan and arranging for his wedding with the Japanese woman called Dewi (Ratna Sari Dewi). Later, at the ambassador's invitation, we returned to West Papua via Jakarta. There, we met with our two comrades, Nathanael Maidepa and Frits Kirihio.

By the end of November 1962 we were all back in our respective workplaces. When I arrived at my office, there were already two people

there to help. Across Papua, the situation became increasingly murky as time went by, since the UNTEA was increasingly losing control of events. Our experience in Hollandia, as employees of the UNTEA during that time, I would sum up as follows. West Papua at that time already had a well-organized administration, which was adequate and appropriate for a country in the process of development, with educated cadres. However, many of the high-level UNTEA officials replacing those who had left were incapable. Moreover, the UNTEA did not guarantee the security of the population. Based on their impressions and the evidence of all the events that occurred, in Hollandia and throughout West Papua, people became frustrated and disappointed.

THE ETHICS OF GOVERNANCE

In writing the history of the Indonesian government, including Papua, we discover many examples of leadership and governance. A civil servant who wants to lead a country should try to achieve a high standard of governance and leadership, in the villages, cities and provinces as well as at the national and international levels. Based on the historical experience of Papua, I invite the younger generations of Papuan civil servants to learn well the history of their own land, as well as international history, so that they will not wrong any nation or people on earth.

Investigate what is occurring in affairs of state organization today, which form the basis for your future and that of your children and grandchildren, and of the children and grandchildren of other nations. Study the efforts of other countries that are striving for democratic systems. Select the elements that work in those democratic systems and include them together with *adat* elements in leadership. These were the teachings of the teachers at the OSIBA. '*Besturen is vooruitzien*', or: To govern is to foresee. It is necessary for civil servants, as government people, to feel responsible for their fellow human beings.

Talking about the subject of ethics is not a new idea or philosophy for Papuans. The practices and requirements of every nation on earth are always tied to what is known as ethics or good examples. In keeping with the way of life of any nation, in a given age and period of its life, there are guidelines for living and interacting that are generally determined as norms of social life. To maintain a collective way of life that is just and

true. Maintaining such norms means enhancing the dignity of a nation, developing the civilization of that nation.

In this book on the history of governance in Papua, we are asking whether Papuan civil servants are using or maintaining these social norms in the daily practice of governance. What is usually called *adat* is the first pathway into the philosophy of moral consciousness and social life of the Papuan people. We can ascertain that moral consciousness by asking what is good and what is not. Take, for example, the daily interactions of a civil servant with the village people of a given region. Which *adat* norms does one have to consider? Norms that, if violated, will give rise to issues later on. We need to be government people that have good morals and set a good example.

THE CHILDREN OF COMMUNITY LEADERS MAINTAINED THEIR ETHICAL VALUES

As it happened, in selecting students to continue school at OSIBA, Van Eechoud and the Department of Home Affairs made use of the *adat* system, in choosing students who were the children of tribal chiefs or *adat* leaders who had been sent to school, such as the children of the heads of kin groups, variously known in different areas by the names: *orang kaya*, *bobot*, *manseren*, *sera*, *ondoqfi*, *ondoforo*, or *matai*. Thus, the fathers of the majority of the students who were selected functioned as *adat* leaders or as leaders of clans (*keret*) or larger tribes. The lives of the children of important families in Papuan society were regulated by *adat* practices, strongly disciplined traditions. For example, there were norms to protect the tribe; to ensure the security of the tribe and of its women, men, and children; to ensure humanity through humanitarian ethics; to prevent wrongdoing; to avoid chaos; to gather together and unite people; not to act in arbitrary and tyrannical ways; to protect areas, *adat* lands and hamlets.

The descendants of the key families had to strongly maintain their *adat* traditions so they could serve as examples to the whole clan and tribe. Each of these male descendants knew that once he became an adult, he would be selected by an assembly of elders to replace his father or uncle as the tribal chief. *Adat* functioned as a legal system with sanctions, meaning that whoever transgressed *adat* was punished. Everyone in Papua knew how serious *adat* penalties were.

In this millennium, the international world designates as 'good governance' a system of governance in which the government democratically involves public agencies and civil society in regional development. In fact, the system of governance that was conducted by the civil servants of the 1950s in Papua already was a system of governance in which citizens directly and actively participated. Social life in Papua is based on what is known as a communal way of life. Being a communal society means that it is under the leadership of tribal leaders; they rule, organize, and are jointly responsible for the peace and order of a region.

For example, in Saireri Bay, the Waropen are responsible for their own area; and when they engage in trading, they regulate trade and friendly relations with the Wondama, Yapen, and Biak Numfor people. Often there are very close friendships among them known as *manibwov*. Families from other tribes are invited to stay as guests for rather extended periods of time. For example, my grandfather, Simon, and his older brother Jakob were invited by the Mandosir family in Sowek and they lived in Sowek for one year. During that time, my grandfather Simon learned how to forge knives, machetes, axes, and other tools. Upon returning to Napan he brought back Eli Mandosir, a son of the tribal chief, Mandosir, who was later baptized and named Eli Marey. There was no deprivation or slavery among the Waropen, Wondama, Yapen, and Biak Numfor tribes in Saireri Bay, as is always written by foreigners who are talking nonsense and seeking a sensation. The exception was when a tribal war occurred, when one of them committed a crime against another and violated *adat* norms.

RURIIA MEETINGS ENSURED ADAT NORMS AND ETHICS

In Waropen, Wondama, Yapen, and Biak Numfor in the time of our ancestors, there were meetings of the elders known as *rurii* in Waropen language. When I was still a child, we and our mothers and grandmothers attended those meetings at the big clan or *keret* house, called Sera Dama, where the elders gathered. Especially during World War II, when the Japanese came into our village, Napan, and everywhere in Saireri Bay, the gatherings of the elders were very intensive. Such meetings were also held during the time when we ran away from the Japanese and hid in the mangroves. In the meetings at Sera Dama, the adult males sat in

front in a circle, and behind them the grandmothers and mothers. We children who came along with our mothers sat or lay behind the women, and kept quiet during the meeting. Sera Dama Marey is the big house of the extended Marey *keret*, which at the time was located near where the Ellim Church in Napan is today.

In the *ruriia* meetings, all the interests of the *keret*, interests of the tribe, and matters concerning cases and sanctions for wrongdoing would be discussed and presented. What had to be traded, in exchange for sago and large Chinaware plates (for ceremonial uses) with the Wondama, Rofono (Numfor), Bwiako (Biak), Atusao (Ansus), or Apagwao (Ambai). Within the collective system, together we helped family members to clear forest so they could make gardens. Together we built homes for members of the household.

In the *ruriia*, the assembly of tribal elders took decisions about making da, that is, whether or not to go to war with another tribe. In holding these discussions and making these decisions, the vote of each person was important and counted, in what was known as '*ojaako kiri nassangia*' (to count their names). The function of the tribal chief in the *ruriia* was none other than to lead the discussion, and to consider and ensure that the decision taken was in accord with the voices of the majority. The tribal chief could not make a decision on his own to go to war with other tribes. The tribal chief did not determine things by himself, or look to enrich only himself. So the leader functioned as a *primus inter pares* – first among equals – not as a feudal or authoritarian ruler.

Following *adat*, leaders were respected and fully supported in every place and area where they performed their functions, because they were servants of the people. It was very easy for a leader in such a position to possess and influence the masses. Conversely, during the transition period in 1962, they bowed their heads and were subject to insults, slander, torture, and murder. This was because they served as buffers for their communities, since as leaders they felt responsible for the security of their nation.

Like their *adat* predecessors, a modern Papuan civil servant or administrator, as a 'servant of the people', should be neutral, leaning neither left nor right, in keeping with the expression: '*een man een man, een woord een woord*'⁴ – meaning that he can be completely trusted. Not to make

4 To be a man of his word (literally: 'A man a man, a word a word.').

promises and then fail to carry them out; to act without corruption; to love his nation and homeland; not to stir up conflicts or cases; to set an example and be a leader of the community; to respect and maintain *adat* elements that are good; and not to enrich himself. Thus, Papuan civil servants must remain faithful to and positive toward the government. If necessary they should negotiate with their superiors in the government hierarchy, so that the interests of the people can be heeded. In this way they can maintain the motto of the Papuan civil servant: 'The government is the servant of the people'. Under Papua's current condition in the modern era, we call that: leadership.