SELLING THE EXPERIENCE OF BALI, 1950-1971

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Most of us are familiar with the shape of Bali’s tourist industry. ‘Cultural tourism’ is still the dominant policy and outlook amongst the Balinese for managing the intensity of tourism. In more recent years the promotions have been orientated to varieties of hotel space and increasing luxury, the diversity of ‘experiences’ has multiplied with bungy-jumping, white-water rafting and other water sports, and there was a brief and somewhat unconvincing flirtation with ‘eco-tourism’. Was this always how Bali was sold? In the two decades after Indonesian independence was fully attained, the tourist industry had to be rebuilt and a variety of strategies attempted. This paper looks at this process and some of these strategies.

The rebuilding of tourism raises questions of how have Balinese have viewed foreigners, in terms of how discourses of the ‘foreign’ are governed by relations of power; and how have those views of ‘foreignness’ been translated into a Balinese-based tourist industry? What acts of ‘selling Bali’ are involved, and how were commodified relations with foreigners established so soon after Indonesia achieved its independence, given that the tourist industry was first established by the colonial power, based on representations of Bali as an ‘island Eden’?

There are a number of parameters of the discussions of power, representation and money which follows. As far as starting points and pieces of evidence go, there is not a lot to tell us about the period immediately after independence. Michel Picard’s fine work on tourism and the discourses of culture deals with the colonial period and the major preoccupations of New Order Bali, but the period in between is rather sketchy, to say the least. Geoffrey Robinson’s book has made an important contribution in mapping out the politics of the period, but says little on how these politics converted into a new tourist industry. Likewise Andreas Tarnutzer’s study of Denpasar has little to say on tourism in this period, as he is mainly concerned with institutional issues.

In terms of filling the gaps I would like to acknowledge the contribution of I Nyoman Darma Putra, who is the only one to have written on the period, and who supplied me

My thanks to Nyoman Darma Putra for supplying the material on which this paper was based and discussing aspects of the paper with me, and also to Nyoman Wijaya and Putu Suwitha and other members of our research team working on Balinese modernity under I Gusti Ngurah Bagus. Comments on earlier drafts were obtained from participants in a workshop on Bali organised by Raechelle Rubinstein 14 July 1997 at Sydney University and in the University of Wollongong’s Institute for Social Change and Critical Inquiry ‘Commodification’ Seminar Series 20 August 1997. Thanks also to Michel Picard for comments and inspiration, and to Nengah Bendesa, Nyoman S. Pendit, Nyoman Ratep and Made Mertih for generously passing on their experiences to me.

with archival material from the 1950s, carried out interviews with I Ketut Rudin and has also sharpened my perceptions of the issue through his own research on the representation of foreigners in Balinese literature. Darma Putra, via email, also introduced me to I Nengah Bendesa, who began work as a tour guide in 1962 and who shared his memories of the period with me.

In his research on Balinese writing about foreigners Darma Putra argues for foreigners to be seen in a benign light. In the stories he examines marriages between Balinese and westerners are prevented by some tragic death or other, much in the form of colonial literature’s avoidance of miscegenation, but, he argues, the views are still of foreigners as a positive force. This is at odds somewhat with the idea that tourists are a ‘threat to culture’ in the discourses discussed by Picard. In earlier cultural forms foreigners appear in a variety of lights, from being associated with hairy, fire-breathing raksasa (demons or titans), to being seen as semi-comic, to being put in the category of bojog putih, ‘white monkeys’ which may be magically dangerous. All westerners were once called ‘Belanda’, ‘Dutchmen’ by an earlier generation of foreigners, and in the 1960s and ‘70s were known as ‘turis’, although in the 1980s the population were encouraged to refer to foreigners as ‘tamu’, ‘guests’.

The idea of negative foreigners came largely through discussion of the dangers of ‘Hippies’ during the last years of the New Order’s ‘honeymoon’ period (1966-1974). The idea was largely put about through a study commissioned by the police, which amongst other things received broad coverage in the Bali Post, at that stage Bali’s only daily newspaper. Signs indicating what ‘Hippies’ looked like and how they were not allowed in offices or other government buildings went up here, as in other parts of Southeast Asia (there is still one at Hat Yai Airport in Southern Thailand).6

The idea of ‘Hippies’ as the threatening side of tourism had a number of sources. Western sociologists were beginning to talk about tourism as a threat, especially to culture, and their work had a major role in shaping international policies. As the New Order consolidated power and began to receive World Bank funding, the World Bank and other international agencies provided studies which mapped out the problems and issues of tourism and tourist planning, especially the 1971 ‘Masterplan’ for Bali.7 This ‘Masterplan’, developed between 1969 and 1971, sought to isolate tourism within the area of Kuta-Sanur-Denpasar. Only resort development at Nusa Dua would be added because of the limitations on the capacities of Sanur and Kuta. The luxury hotels built at Nusa Dua were built as a result of the plan, and some of them are now owned by members of the

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6 See the coverage Bali Post 19/9/73, 21/9/73, 25/9/73, 26/9/73, 28/9/73. A report on prospects for tourism from Amir Salam, a PNI journalist from Sulawesi, published in Suluh Marhaen (a version of Suara Indonesia, which became Bali Post) “Bali dan Pembangunan” 10/9/1969 already talks about “gerombolan2 Hippies yang memuakkan.” A 1971 article by Philip McKean, a visiting lecturer at Udayana University, was, according to Michel Picard (pers. comm. 31/8/97) instrumental in shaping policy. Reports about ‘Hippies’ were still appearing in the 1980s, e.g. 30/1/86, in the context of a series of reports about foreigners working in Bali. My thanks to Lyn Fisher for her work on these Bali Post reports, especially for drawing attention to important preoccupations in the newspaper at different times.
7 SCETO, Bali Tourism Study. Report to the Government of Indonesia. Paris: UNDP/IBRD, 1971. The issues are discussed at length in Picard op.cit. Picard p.44 notes that the first tourist plan for the region was an American one dating to 1958. In Ch.4 he discusses the development
ruling elite of Indonesia.\textsuperscript{8} This masterplan was first announced to the Balinese public in 1970 as a way of controlling the good and bad aspects of tourism.\textsuperscript{9}

Tourism was and is a major part of the New Order’s processes of Development, pembangunan. The discourses of foreigners as threat did not start from nothing—they developed Sukarno’s and the PKI’s earlier antagonism to western popular culture as an aspect of imperialism.\textsuperscript{10} But what I have found in the scanty archive of Balinese tourism shows Sukarno’s attacks on the Beatles and Elvis Presley did not translate into Balinese business practices before 1965. The period before World Bank-planned tourism does not seem to have been one gripped with anxiety about malevolent foreign influences. So what, between independence and the first World Bank tourism plan, did Balinese think they might have been doing when they reestablished tourism?

There are four particular moments or relations of force related to tourism 1950-1971 which I have been able to glean so far: in the period 1946-9, the aptly named Dutch economic official Koopman sought to reestablished tourism as part of the Dutch appearance of being able to restore their empire to its pre-war state; between 1954 and 1957 Indonesians began to focus on reestablishing tourism, by producing tour guides and setting up specific organisations to take advantage of tourism; in this period and up to the opening of the Bali Beach Hotel in 1966 Sukarno’s influence and Jakarta intervention was important for the industry; and in the period immediately following the massacres of 1965-66 (and during them!) the New Order began to plan Balinese tourism in anticipation of the World Bank funding to come. The main Balinese players at the time were Ida Bagus Kompyang, hotel owner and tour operator, I Nyoman Oka, who set up the first Balinese-run tourist agency, and Nyoman S. Pendit, who played a role in national tourist bodies. Of great importance, however, was the role of Balinese woman traders in establishing the Art Shop industry and being involved in managing the businesses of which their husbands were the public face. Nyoman Ratep and Jero Nuratni were two of the founding members of the Women Trader’s Association, PIDI (Persatuan Isteri Dagang Indonesia), while A.A. Mirah Astuti played a major role in managing her husband’s Segara Beach Hotel. These were members of the generation who had been part of the Revolution, who were motivated by modernity and sw tourism as a cooperative activity, for the benefit of all.

Tourism and Artshops

Tourism is partly about selling things, although not all the participants may see it that way. One aspect of selling ‘Bali’ has been the growth of ‘artshops’, which developed in the colonial period, and the reestablishment of which was a fundamental part of rebuilding tourism after the Japanese occupation. The Dutch, having successfully killed off, imprisoned or driven into the hills the major freedom fighters of Bali, established Bali as part of their puppet state, the Negara Indonesia Timur. The NIT was headed by a Balinese president, Cokorda Raka Sukawati of Ubud, and with a Balinese prime minister, Anak Agung Gede Agung. During this period a Dutch architect, G. Koopman, established himself in Sanur. He encouraged the return of a Dutch citizen of mixed descent, Jimmy

\textsuperscript{8} See George Junus Aditjondro, \textit{Bali, Jakarta’s Colony: Social and ecological impacts of Jakarta-based conglomerates in Bali’s tourism industry}. Working Paper No. 58. Murdoch University: Asia Research Centre, 1995. According to Aditjondro at least one of these was built using World Bank Money, although Picard (pers. comm. 31/8/97) thinks this was not the case.

\textsuperscript{9} Suluh Marhaen 2 Mei 1970 (Sabtu) p. 2, “Ruang Pendidikan”—“Dasar Falsafah Pembinaan Torisme di Bali Adalah Cultural Tourisme”by I Made Purna Djiwa (Akademi Pariwisata Denpasar) based on speech by Merta Pastime

\textsuperscript{10} See eg. Sukarno, \textit{Membangun Sosialisme Indonesia dengan Konsepsi Sendiri!} n.p.: Departemen
[James Clarence] Pandy. Pandy had in fact been Bali’s first Indonesia-speaking guide, working out of the Bali Hotel in the 1930s. Koopman arrived in 1947 as the Dutch government’s Head of the Ministry for Economic Affairs in Bali; his shop was something of a diversion, but only in part. Professionally he was interested in reestablishing tourism and all its traits. Koopman probably encouraged Pandy to come back to Bali in 1949, for the latter had been a Thomas Cook agent before the war and had the experience and ability to market the island. The two men were clearly friends, and were dining together in 1950 when assassins, suspected of working for the Republican cause, killed Koopman and a guest. Koopman and Pandy, with quality control from the Dutch artist Rudolf Bonnet and initiatives from the famous Balinese sculptor and entrepreneur Ida Bagus Tilem, were the most prominent actors in marketing Balinese ‘culture’ as a series of ‘art’ objects. 1947 was also the year the government established the organisation HONET, Hotel Negara dan Tourisme.

Koopman and Pandy established shops modelled on that of the pre-war Sanur aquarium and souvenir shop run by the German Neuhaus brothers. Bonnet had established the line that what was sold was quality ‘art’, not commercial junk, in his pre-war work with the Museum Bali and the Pita Maha artists association of Ubud. He had been imprisoned by the Japanese in Makassar, where the Negara Indonesia Timur was based.

Artists such as I Ketut Regig and I Ketut Rudin made contact, direct and indirect, with the foreigners. I Regig, formerly known as I Lendjoe, arrived in Sanur in 1942 and began to take over the Sanur preference for depicting animals. Frogs became the main subject of his work, and when the new shops opened, he made contact with their owners.

‘After the Japanese period, things here were really tough. I worked in the rice fields, and then I did a bit of painting for Tuan Pandy…and for the shop which had been set up at Tanjung Bungkak [on the way from Sanur to Denpasar]…I used to work for [polih gae] twenty-five [rupiah?]’

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‘Was that enough to live on?’

He laughs, ‘Nothing like it, you couldn’t buy food on that…I had to keep working in the fields.’

…

‘Could Sanur artists sell to tourists in the Hotels? In the Bali Beach?’

‘There was no Bali Beach then that the government owned, there was the Sindhu Hotel first [on the site of the Neuhaus aquarium].’

‘Did artists sell their work there?’

‘No, everything was sold through Tuan Pandy’s [next door to where the Neuhauses had been].’

Koopman encouraged I Rudin to move away from the wayang style of showing shadow-puppet-like figures in traditional narratives. Rudin had a background as an organiser of dances, especially the legong dance of young girls which was found as a court dance and a

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11 On Pandy see Garret Kam, Perceptions of Paradise: Images of Bali in the Arts. Ubud: Yayasan Dharma Seni Museum Neka, 1993. My thanks for Made Mertih and Nyoman Ratep for the information that Pandy was already working on Bali in the 1930s, pers comm. 23/9/97.

12 1949 in some oral sources, although see below.


14 This shop was discussed by I Rudin, who lived near it. Koopman’s shop was at Sindhu, see Bakker, Bali Verbeeld, p.56. Another Dutch entrepreneur had opened this second shop, but I have not been able to find anyone who remembers it, or him.

15 Interview AV 12/7/96.

16 //dA/d/
variety of exorcistic rite. In the 1930s this dance became one of the most popular dance forms by which Bali was known. The drawings of legong dancers on plain backgrounds came to be much imitated, to the point where they became standard souvenirs, surviving into the 1990s.

The art then was an important part of the image. In 1948-49 an exhibition of Indonesian art was sent to the U.S.\textsuperscript{17} By late 1948, after purging their communists, the Republicans were gaining U.S. support in the diplomatic side of their struggle for independence. This Dutch-sponsored exhibition was organised with the participation of the puppet Federal States, with NIT’s Prime Minister A.A.Gedé Agung on the organising committee. At the behest of Agung’s government Bonnet had assembled the collection for the East Indonesian Federal State.\textsuperscript{18}

Rudin sold a few works with Pandy, but after Koopman’s death another dealer arose, this time a Balinese artist with a keen sense of the importance of his colleagues’ works, Ida Bagus Tilem of Mas, a village between Batuan and Ubud. Rudin’s legong dancers for I.B. Tilem began to be coloured. Pandy remained an important figure as an art dealer until his death in 1983.

\textbf{Independence}

This was around 1950, at the point when Indonesia had gained its full independence. One of the partisans of Indonesian independence was a remarkable English adventurer, John Coast, survivor of the Burma Railway, English agent in Thai post-war politics, and eventually someone who was able to lend diplomatic assistance to the new president Sukarno, during the struggle.\textsuperscript{19} For this he was well regarded by the new government, and allowed to live in Bali, where he established a cultural mission which would tour the United States. This mission, involving many from Ubud and Peliatan who had been part of the 1931 Balinese presence at the Paris Colonial Exhibition, was now an assertion of independent Indonesia’s culture. Rudin’s paintings were part of the tour, and Coast took his many guests to meet artists and see cultural shows.

Coast is one of a number of post-war writers to continue the traditions of travel writing which were intrinsic to the development of the tourist image of Bali. He self-consciously seeks to recreate the pre-war life-style depicted in Colin McPhee’s book \textit{A House in Bali}\textsuperscript{20}, to the point of finding McPhee’s cook and enlisting I Sampih, McPhee’s ‘discovery’, to be central to his tour. Such star billing, combined with a propensity to philandering, was what most Balinese consider as the motive for Sampih’s murder—the post-script of Coast’s book.

If the pre-war tourist literature was able to pretend coercion did not exist, the post-war literature is framed by such tales of murder: not only Coast but Jef Last, the socialist volunteer teacher and veteran of the Spanish Civil War, writes of murder and violence as normal. Coast narrates the murder of Koopman:


\textsuperscript{19} John Coast, \textit{Dancing out of Bali.} London: Faber and Faber, 1953(?).

\textsuperscript{20} Ol l b l h d d G l l
During our work in the last few months, though, we had again been forced to recognize that we were still living in a period of tumult. Hitherto, incidents which disfigured the peace of Bali had been purely internal, affecting on the Balinese. But we few foreign residents were now dismayed to hear that the seventy-year-old Lemayeur had been seriously wounded by a gang of men who attacked his house by night, while soon afterwards, only a thousand yards from his house, two Dutchmen had been brutally murdered.

The Koopmans, as their name implied, were merchants. He was a retired civil servant of stubborn, hard-headed character, but a man straightforward to deal with. With his shrewd wife he lived by the edge of the sea near Sanur, and the two of them together ran the Sindhu Art Gallery, which held by far the best collection of carvings and paintings on the island.

One night Koopman and his wife were playing cards with the manager of the local Dutch bank and a Eurasian friend [Pandy]. With no warning, a group of masked men sprang out of the night into the house, firing a sten-gun as they rushed in. Koopman and the bank manager were instantly killed, but Mrs. Koopman and the Eurasian threw themselves to the floor, where at first they shammed dead. When the criminals began to ransack the house, they were able to escape into the garden and run away. Since Koopman was no fool, he kept no money in his isolated home, an the bank manager happened purely by chance to be there. A generally accepted theory of the murder thus arose which alleged that the premature firing of the gun was probably due to inexperience, nerves or hysteria. There were no profits from the two crimes.  

Such accounts are unlikely to be counted as tourist promotion. Likewise Jacques Chegaray writes of the early 1950s, ‘access to Bali is not easily obtained. Not everybody who want to can land here, and visas other than for transit are rarely granted.’ Intriguingly, though, Coast’s book is peppered with accounts of foreigners passing through, Europeans and Americans, and tourism appears as a constant back-drop to his life there, in a way that much of the pre-war literature seeks to deny. David Stuart-Fox’s bibliography of publications on Bali 1920-1990, list sixty-two works published between 1940 and 1960 under “Travel”, and this does not include in this section Coast’s book or Cartier-Bresson’s works on dance (one book of which was coauthored with Artaud). The international indications of interest are there.

One of the interests which shines through Coast’s book, dominating the photographs and the image of the book and the tour, is the legong. Already praised by the pre-War writers, in Coast the little girls become emblematic of the island. No coincidence that I Rudin’s main depictions were of dancers, males doing the martial baris, and females doing legong.

The Desirability of Foreigners

On the Balinese side there was interest in foreigners. I Rudin was one of a number of artists who had become interested in foreigners in the pre-war period, despite the usual

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21 Coast op. cit., p.
idea that Balinese saw all foreigners as *raksasa* to be afraid of. I asked I Rudin if he was afraid of foreigners, or was it that he wanted to learn to paint with them?

‘I painted before I met any foreigners, I was never really afraid of them.’

Referring to the Revolution and the period before it, another pre-war artist, Pedanda Gede (Ida Bagus Poegoeg) made similar comments:

‘There were many who didn’t want westerners, but how can there be progress if there are no foreigners?’
‘But Balinese used to be scared of the Dutch?’
‘Yes, scared because they were wrong.’
‘And Your Reverence?’
‘I wasn’t scared because I was trying to make a living.’

Both Rudin and the Pedanda had had sustained contact with foreigners, the Pedanda living in the household of Theo Meier with Ida Bagus Nyoman Rai, Desak Putu Lambon and Ida Bagus Ketut Togog, amongst others. This was a household where sex and wild parties were part of the cross-cultural relations of the Swiss artist, his European guests, and the young Balinese who became artists. Rudin didn’t get on very well with Meier, preferring the Neuhaus brothers, to whom he became quite close. These pre-war relationships were the basis of his post-war contacts with Koopman and particularly Coast, who, for example, visited him in hospital and helped him to recover from beri-beri.

When I was sick with beri-beri he helped. I asked to get the help of a dukun (traditional healer) at the time, but it was not given, because that was the age of freedom, people couldn’t believe in dukuns any more. He asked me, do you agree to a doctor? I said ‘I agree, but let’s try a dukun’s medicine first’.

The next day it was pouring with rain, I was brought to the doctor first thing. Because it was early in the morning he had not yet woken, I think Coast knew him, because he could wake him up. I was examined by the doctor, given medicine, and had to sleep elsewhere... I was brought to the hospital at Wongaya, and he [Coast] used to come pretty often, to visit me, along with Koopman. One or the other used to come. When they’d gone home the nurses in the hospital would ask me, ‘why have you got might men as friends?’ At that time people were scared of the Dutch.

The same kinds of pressure were put on the Pedanda at the time, giving an indication of the strength of anti-foreign feeling. At least one of the 1930s Sanur artists had been a NICA spy, for which revenge was taken during the killings of 1965-66, and close association with foreigners cast suspicion on others.

In the pre-war period other young Balinese men and women who became artists and hotel or artshop owners took part in sexual relationships with such gay artists such as Walter Spies, Rudolf Bonnet, Th. Resink and the art-dealer and journalist J. Houbolt, or heterosexuals such as Theo Meier and A. Le Mayeur, who married ‘his’ *legong* dancer, Ni Pollok. Erotic relations with foreign men were a path to modernity. Although precise documentation is always difficult, it seems fairly clear that I Ngendon, one of the most important Batuan painters of the period, lived with a number of the gay westerners. It should be noted that the Balinese and foreigners had little in common linguistically, even

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24 Interview AV 7/96.
26 Hildred Geertz, unpubl. paper, Princeton University Bali Studies Conference 1991. Both Rolf Neuhaus and John Coast had wives from other parts of Indonesia, which Balinese regarded as
Spies spoke only basic Balinese, and the Neuhauses communicated in broken Malay, which not all that many Balinese had an extensive knowledge of anyway. The intriguing aspect of Balinese-foreign interactions, sex as communication, is raised here as dating back to the 1930s. More than this, sexuality has an agentive role.

Ngendon was an independent man who learnt all he could from the foreigners about painting and about marketing of art. In the 1930s he set up an art shop in the bend of the road at Batuan in conjunction with the geria siwa or Siwaite mansion to whom he was traditional client or sisia, and then after going to the Republican centre of Yogyakarta on Java became a Revolutionary, making posters for the cause. After joining the guerilla freedom fighters, he was executed by the pro-Dutch forces which dominated Gianyar.27 A similar fate was I Pitja’s, one of the Sanur painters from Banjar Panti. He joined the Revolution, and at age 31 was killed by Dutch forces.28

Ambivalence towards foreigners is quite strong here. Rudin was quite clear in his strong anti-colonial feelings. The Dutch, in his view, used coercion and ‘put us down with words’, which he put in the same category as the physical violence of the Japanese. Other Indonesian nationalists such as Sutan Sjahrrir have presented the experience of colonialism as being the psychological traumas described by Franz Fanon. For many who caught what Pramoedya Ananta Toer calls ‘bullet fever’29, all foreigners were the colonial enemy to be exorcised through violence. But for Rudin the Neuhauses, Spies, Coast and the others were ‘different’, good people. Nyoman S. Pendit, one of the Tentara Pelajar or Student Army of the Revolution, saw fighting against colonialism as something divorced from personal relations with the Dutch: “we are freedom fighters, but we never considered that we must kill Dutch men”.30 He also recalled that sexual relations with foreigners was very common, and that Balinese did not disapprove “as long as it doesn’t bother anyone else”.31

In what we have of the record of building a tourist industry in the 1950s, there is no public discussion of this industry having a ‘colonial’ or ‘imperial’ tint or taint. Apparently the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI, opposed tourism because tourists came from the ‘enemy’ imperialist countries.32 Like the writers studied by Darma Putra, or the Kuta cowboys of the 1970s for whom sexual relations with foreign women held a different promise of modernity, the artists engaged in selling to tourists represent Balinese voices in favour of desirable exoticised foreigners.

For most post-colonial critics, colonialism is a trauma, a rupture, epistemic violence, assumed to be uniform in its effects on subject populations. Dutch colonialism was experienced by the people I know of in South Bali for somewhere between thirty-four and thirty-six years, forty-two at the most. Accepting the Indonesian rhetoric of ‘350 years’, most writers regard the duration of colonialism as indicative of its impact. While not doubting that impact on an institutional level, which I have discussed in Paradise Created, I think that these men’s testimonies, in combination with the art of the colonial era, demand that we revisit colonialism.

One of the ways to do this is to ask why Indonesians should have perpetuated the tourist imagery of Bali created in the colonial period. In Paradise Created I attempted, somewhat clumsily, to demonstrate a dialectical relationship between western images of

27 For more details see Geertz op.cit.
30 Interview AV 17/9/97.
31 Ibid. This was in response to my mentioning the sexual relations between Ktut Tantri (“Miss Meng”—“Cat Lady” to Balinese) and the dancer, priest and Hotel Bali employer Nyoman Nyongnyong, discussed in Nyoman S. Pendit, “Jadi Pramuwisata Lewat Pengalaman”. Cakrawala Pariwisata 3,15 (Juni-Juli 1992): 13-15.
Bali and Balinese self-perceptions, which come together in a post-colonial synthesis. In the second part of this paper I want to examine more closely the ambivalence of selling Bali in a decolonised Indonesia.

**Pejuang, Hotels, the end of KPM, and the growth of artshops**

One of the key points of such ambivalence is the identities of the entrepreneurs who began the tourist activities of the 1950s. If Koopman and Pandy had Dutch identity which fitted in with the NIT’s needs, their successors and competitors in the industry were largely those on the other side of the Revolution. Ida Bagus Kompyang, one of the first Balinese tourist hotel owners, had been a comrade of Wijakusuma and Pak Poleng, two of the leading guerillas during the Revolution. Nyoman Oka and Nyoman S. Pendit had also fought in the Revolution, and the latter wrote the definitive account of the struggle on Bali in the 1950s.

When Jef Last wrote of tourism in the early 1950s he described the archetypal tourist as American, staying the typical five or six days of the Dutch owned Steam-Ship Line’s (KPM) tours, in the Bali Hotel in Denpasar, dealing with Chinese taxi totes.33 Le Mayeur’s house in Sanur was the only ‘small paradise’ most of these tourists saw there, with his famous wife Ni Pollok dancing the *legong*. Ubud was still part of the ‘unknown’ Bali. The fact that ‘Anak Agung Gede Sukawati, *cokorda* of Ubud’, had a guest book and played host to foreigners, again showed continuity with the past, but was a sign of things to come. Last’s observations of Bali were deep enough for him to know that tourism and westernisation were not the same thing, and he doubted that Balinese culture would disappear with tourism—as his example of Switzerland was meant to prove (!). Not all tourists, he said, were regarded as capitalists and imperialists; John Coast was a good example of a foreigner who had created goodwill.34

Other sites on the 1950s tourist map which Last mentions are Goa Gajah and Sangsit, places to stop and take photos.35 Last himself maps out the possibilities for tourist developments with astounding foresight: trips to the idyllic mountain lakes and Besakih, water sports at Benoa and Serangan, and sailing to the pretty little spot of Nusa Dua which Pan Katjong had pointed out to him.36 Knowing that Bali had little industrial potential, he argued that tourism was its main resource.37

Many in Bali agreed, and Last and Coast should be seen as reasonably influential, given that as a teacher Last had an impact on many of his students and formed good cooperative relationships with A.A. Pandji Tisna, one-time king of North Bali and others. Coast as diplomat and entrepreneur had all the right political connections.

Others were also acting. Beside the books by foreigners still coming out, Indonesians also began writing, beginning with Elvanius Katoppo’s *Bali, Pulau Kahjangan* [Island of the Gods] in 1950.38 In 1954 the *Peranakan* [indigenous Chinese] Soe Lie Piet published his *Pengantar ke Bali*.39 Although not as famous as his sons, Soe Hok Gie and Arief Budiman, Soe Lie Piet is a significant cultural figure, for he had already published a guidebook and

34 Ibid., p.91.
36 Ibid., p.83.
37 Ibid., p.90.
39 Djakarta: Magic Carpet Book. My thanks to John Maxwell for lending me a copy and
travel account in the 1930s, as well as two novels of Bali. His particular ‘take’ on Bali is its connections and affinities with Tionghoa culture, but otherwise his 1954 book, reworking I think his 1935 Malay text, is a guide to Balinese culture with an extensive list of places to visit: Banjarankan, Bangli, Batubulan, Batuangsel, Bedulu, Besakih, Bila, Bubunan, Bongkasa, Lake Bratan, Darmasaba, Jimbaran, Denpasar, Gelgel, Kebutambahan, Kusamba, Lukluk, Panulisan, Pejeng, Sangeh, Sangsit, Sawan, Sempidi, Singaraja, Sukawati, Taman Bali, Wongaya Gede, Tampaksiring, and Candi Kuning. Kuta is also mentioned in his possible itineraries set out in the latter part of the book. Not all of these fit our present tourist map of the island. Not quite the present tourist geography, but there in parts.

Soe Lie Piet tells us more about the number of government-run pasanggrahan or guest houses, there from the colonial period, and the existence of Chinese hotels. He gives a longer list of the dances than the legong, baris, barong and kecak which emerge from accounts such as that of Coast. The pesanggrahan he mentions are at Baturiti, Bedugul, Gitgit, Kintamani, Klungkung, Munduk, Negara, Petang, Pulukan, Selat, Singaraja and Tirta Empul, at Rp.7.50-Rp10.— per night. Tampak Gangsul, mentioned in his earlier account as somewhere you could get cheap longer-term accommodation, is worth mentioning for a number of other reasons. Those of us who were in Bali in the late 1960s or early 1970s well remember the Adi Yasa Hotel. Already the area was a site for tourist accommodation. Another connection comes from a member of a brahmana family from Tampak Gangsul, Ida Bagus Kompyang, who was actually born in Buleleng, where he became a young pejuang. Like others from this generation I have met he went into business in the post-revolution period, starting with ‘export-import’, and using the profits from that to establish a hotel. Others involved in tourism remember the period up to 1954 as very quiet, with boats beginning to stop at Padang Bai in 1954. It was not until a few years later that significant numbers of tourists came.

In 1956 Ida Bagus Kompyang set up Segara Beach Hotel, with 15 rooms and its own electricity. Locals gave him the name of ‘Grandfather West’ for his knowledgeable dealings with foreigners. It appears he was the main ‘front man’, while his wife, A.A. Mirah Astuti, ran things. The hotel anticipated the nationalisation of Dutch industry when martial law was declared in the lead-in to Guided Democracy. Sanur was an important choice, since the Sindhu artshop was already there, and the Dutch KPM owned a ten-room hotel, the Sindhu Beach, nearby. I.B. Kompyang’s hotel was next to Jimmy Pandy’s, and just north of the KPM’s hotel. At around the same time or shortly afterwards a series of hotels was set up to the north of this area, especially Alit’s Bungalows (owned by a member of Denpasar’s royal family, from Grenceng, A.A. Alit), and Diwangkara, owned by another Denpasar figure Ida Bagus Oka Diwangkara who had also been a freedom-fighter and local politician. His wife seems to have actually done the running of the hotel, and they also owned a hotel in Denpasar. Further south the Tanjung Sari Hotel

Melantjong ke Bali. Penghídoepan 15 November 1935 (published by Tan’s Drukkerij of Soerabaia). In the opening pages he is listed as author of Pengoendjeukan Poelo Bali (see Start-Fox for references). His novels are Lejak (1935) and Dewi Kintamani (1954), see Stuart-Fox op.cit.

In his 1930s account there was more detail: the Satria Hotel, owned by a Dutchman, existed then, the three Chinese hotels were the Soen An Kie, Hotel Baroe and Oriental Hotel, and for f7.50 you could rent accommodation in Tampak Gangsul on a longer term basis, Melantjong, pp.4-6.

Interview Nyoman Ratep 24/9/97.

Interview by Pujastana for my ARC Project. See further the special stories on the history of tourism, Bali Post 15/6/96.
(ten rooms) was established by Wija Waworuntu, a Menadonese. These initiatives seem to indicate an impatience with the KPM’s domination of tourism.

These Balinese initiatives had been anticipated by other Indonesians. K’tut Tantri, a foreigner who had given support to the revolution, had owned a hotel in Kuta in the pre-war period. It was destroyed by the Japanese, but in 1950 the Indonesian artist Agus Djaja contracted the land from I Nyoman Nyongnyong, her lover to whom she had given it when she left Bali. Djaja set up the Sanggar Wisma (or Taman) Samudra Beach Kuta, as a kind of artists’ guesthouse. By 1956 it was a ‘tourist centre’ in negotiation with the new Balitour agency. Again the documents reveal that while Djaja was the owner, it was his wife who was the business manager. In all these cases we should not underestimate the role of Indonesian, especially Balinese, women as the major entrepreneurs of tourism, although they usually only get a mention as ‘Mrs...’ in the records and retrospective accounts.

The actual Indonesianisation of the KPM’s Bali Hotel was carried out in 1956 when the National Tourist Agency, Natour took over all the KPM hotels. In 1961 Sunaria Prawira Diraja, the new head of Natour took over the Kuta Beach lease from Agus Jaya for Rp. 750,000, although in 1967 the lease reverted to Nyongnyong, so Natour purchased the Kuta land from Rp. 4,500,000. The new Sindhu Beach (at one stage called the Narmada) and Kuta Hotels were not built until 1972.

The Agus Djaja connection reveals that tourist hotels catering to westerners were limited, but there were in fact many smaller establishments of the kind discussed by Soe Lie Piet which catered more to domestic travellers, called pelantjong than foreign touristen (a term taken from Dutch). In 1956 there were forty hotels, losmen and pesanggrahan on the island, according to government documents. These included the Denpasar Losmen Gambuh of Ida Bg Oka Diwangkara, Losmen Elim in Jl. Kartini Denpasar, L. Mam On/Lay A. San (Jl. Gajah Mada), L. Tjien Hwa Tulang ampian, Denpasar, Losmen Badung in Wangaya, Hotel Mutiara in Ubud (owned by Cok. Gd Ngurah), the Puri Ubud Guesthouse (Cok. Agung Sukawati), Losmen Brahma in Pemeregkan run by Ida Aju Mirah Arsini, Losmen Hartaman Tabanan, Losmen Kota Tabanan (the Losmen mentioned by Clifford Geertz in his study of 1950s entrepreneurs), some twelve hotels and losmen in Singaraja with slightly more Balinese than Chinese ownership. One of the Singaraja hotels was owned by I Nyoman Kajeng, who had been a member of the radical nationalist movement Surya Kanta in the 1930s, a librarian at the Gedong Kirtya, which preserved traditional literature, an official under the Dutch, a freedom fighter, and a post-Revolution politician and literary figure. Another at Lovina was owned by A.A. Pandji Tisna, the famous novelist who was a friend of Last’s. A number of the losmen were owned by Muslims, presumably to keep things halal for other Muslim travellers. There were a few restaurants with the hotels, but they seem to have been minor businesses, often run out

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45 Asita Bali archives.
47 *Ibid.* Timothy Lindsey, K’tut Tanti’s biographer, tells me that the ownership of the land had in fact been in dispute at the outbreak of the War, and this involved a legal case with her former partners who owned a hotel on adjoining land, Robert and Louise Koke. All records of the case, including the land deeds, were destroyed with the Surabaya court house subsequently.
49 Clifford Geertz, *Peddlers and Princes. Social Development and Economic Change in Two Indonesian Towns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 110, this was owned by the Lord of Krambitan, and managed by one of his wives. Losmen Harta was owned by the King of Tabanan.
50 It is possible that some of the restaurants were halal, although it is not clear.
of the Chinese-owned losmen and hotels. Taxi companies were largely Chinese-run, The Tiong Sien (‘Mr T’) being the main contractor for Balitour.

Of great importance were the artshops, which maintained the artistic image of the island and provided the greatest distribution of funding to Balinese. Ida Bagus Tilem is remembered as being particularly active with his fellow artists, collecting works from Sanur and Ubud for his shop in Mas, but he and Pandy were probably the only males involved in the trade. A group of Denpasar women had sold carvings and other items to tourists in the Bali Hotel in the 1930s. Nyoman R apeg, then a young girl, recalls how they were instructed by the manager to dress in traditional costume, not to speak to tourists until they were summoned, and to keep their hands modestly down, rather than wave their arms around. She would also walk to Sanur to sell to Tuan Bé, the Neuhaus brothers. She and a number of her colleagues were not allowed to go to the Hotel when the Japanese came, so they formed a cooperative, Persatuan Isteri Dagang Indonesia and opened a shop in Jalan Gajah Mada, just around the corner from the Hotel. After the war this shop was called the Ratih, and was on the south side of the street, opposite the Chinese-owned Denpasar Hotel, which became the Mega Artshop in the 1970s. Nearby was the Wisnu Theatre and one of the two gasoline pumps and bus stations in Denpasar.

Nyoman Rapeg set up her own shop in 1951, the Sutji artshop, and at around the same time one of her PIDI colleagues, Jero Nuratni, set up Toko Pelangi in Grenceng, behind the Bali Hotel. At that time the Oka and Klungkung artshops were also established, the Oka by a family from Glogor, in what was then southern Denpasar, the Klungkung by Madé Catri, from that regency.51

A number of others then began to market art, sometimes in conjunction with performances. On the beach of Sanur the Belgian artist Le Mayeur’s Balinese wife, Ni Pollok, used her husband’s contacts to sell paintings. I Rudin and many of the Sanur painters would sell their works through this tough but extremely fair woman, who pioneered the holding of cultural evenings or lunches with Indonesian food for guests, although Ida Bagus Kompyang claims to have held the first ‘Bali night’ of joged [a flirtatious dance] and babi guling [roast suckling pig], an initiative he took to Jakarta.52 As a famous former legong dancer herself Pollok seems to have favoured the trend in paintings Rudin had started. The Bona Ketjak [or Monkey Dance] was already in operation as a ‘business’ at the time, but not, it seems the two Batubulan Barongs, the first of which began in 1963 (Barong Denjalan).53 Commercial legong performances were already established at Abiankapas by the early 1960s, and “The Dancing Girls of Bali” could be seen in Kesiman by 1960.54 The dominance of legong is surprising in the light of the popularity of the Barong as an attraction since the 1970s. Thanks to tours such as that organised by John Coast, the musicians of Peliatan, led by A.A. Mandra, remained the most famous of Bali, eventually eclipsing the Belaluan group which had held sway since the 1920s because of their connections with the Bali Hotel, but the full effect of that eclipse

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51 Interviews Nyoman Ratep and Made Mertih (her daughter-in-law) 24/9/97. Ratep’s husband, Ktut Rena, was a klian or head of the Banjar of Belaluan. With money from the shop they purchased two Impalas in the 1960s so their son, husband of Mertih, could become a driver and guide at the Bali Beach. Mertih was already related to the family, and her father, Made Tantra, was a charismatic political leader of the PNI, who learned English from working with an Australian wife of a missionary in Sayan, Mrs Paterson, also known unflatteringly as Nyonya Mokoh [meaning ‘Mrs Fat’]. He also knew Ketut Tantri, John Coast and Ni Pollock, and the family were related to Nyoman Nyongnyong. My thanks to my friend Kadek Jenggo Paramartha for introducing me to these members of his family.

52 Interview Pujastana.

was not felt until the 1960s, since the Belaluan group was still involved in “Arts Missions” (*Misi Kesnian*) to countries such as China and Russia during the Sukarno period.\(^{55}\) The eclipse of the various musical groups outside of Peliatan matched the move towards the centrality of Ubud as the home of the arts from the 1960s.

In Klungkung a group of women who owned antique shops beside the market in the 1930s continued to accumulate stock from the 1940s onwards, based on their earlier wealth, although many of the items they acquired remained unsold until the late 1960s and early 1970s. These shops were listed in a 1956 list of forty-five artshops, under the names of Men Kundri (Gana), Made Tinggen (Keradjinan), Made Krebek and Ketut Djiwa.\(^{56}\) Madé Tinggen was the most active of these, frequently travelling to Denpasar, where she became a very good friend of Nyoman Ratep of Sutji, sleeping at her house when she needed to stay overnight. Via Tinggen Ratep obtained Kamasan paintings, cloth and silver, although she also travelled to Kamasan village and knew the artists and gold and silver smiths. Sutji mainly dealt in carvings, setting up a production series based on set models which their contracted (*langganan*) carvers from Meduwi and Pemogan villages knew well. A.A.Rai Dana of Peliatan was their main source of Ubud art prior to 1965, thereafter Nyoman Munut. Beli Kerta in Celuk was their main supplier of jewelry, before his family set up the Dewi Sri shop, one of the first in that village. Sutji established a network of sellers (*grosir*) which extended to Jakarta, and they regard the 1960s and early 1970s as high points in the carving trade, after which the competition from specialised shops, along with the decline in wood sources, meant that selling from the shop alone was no longer viable. They still sell through their networks outside Bali, particularly statues of the Virgin Mary to Christians.\(^{57}\)

Maintaining Ngendon’s role in pre-War Batuan as a retailer of art as well as an artist, relatives of his ran the Dewata gallery, strategically placed on the road between Denpasar and Ubud. In the 1956 official list of artshops produced for the policy planning meetings, two others are listed in Batuan, owned by the artists Ida Bagus Tibah and Ida Bagus Sentul(an), both from the *geria* with which Ngendon had worked. In Ubud Made Pacung (of Nomad) established the first art shop in the 1950s, although only I Gosong is listed in the 1956 list.\(^{58}\) Others listed in 1956 include four shops in Singaraja, in Mas the sculptor Ktut Rodja, as well as Ida Bg Rupa (cousin of Tilem\(^ {59}\)) and four others, in Peliatan Wayan Tegug, in Kamenuh Ketut Tulak, in Bedulu Nyoman Toko, four shops in Tjeluk, Pandy and Ida Bagus Mas of Sanur, and the rest in Jl.s Gajah Mada and Ngurah Rai (formerly Erlanga, now Veteran) in Denpasar, including the Kresna. It was not until 1957 that Made Sura of Batubulan opened the first shop selling carved tuff stone statues to tourists, followed by Made Geg in 1960.\(^ {60}\)

So the galleries known as ‘art shops’ began slowly, but spread ferociously in the 1970s. Their spread ignored the warnings against ribbon development in the ‘Master Plan’, and the views began to be blotted out. In a way that has been concealed by the later histories women played a central role in this aspect of the industry, constituting 90% of the art shop owners prior to the 1980s, according to the estimates of those involved with the Sutji Art Shop.

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\(^{55}\) Information from Made Mertih and family concerning Made Tantra, who participated in some of these tours.

\(^{56}\) Daftar Toko Keradjinan dan Kesenian di Bali. ASITA Bali archives. Donald Friend in Sanur, and then the anthropologist Anthony Forge, became two of their keenest buyers, but by the late 1970s the best pieces, purchased from Balinese families or collective groups in times of poverty, or when money was needed for a major ritual, had been sold.

\(^{57}\) Interviews cNyoman Ratep and Made Mertih 24/9/97. Made Mertih studied English at the University of Indonesia with Murtini Pendit, wife of Nyoman S.

\(^{58}\) Information Graham MacRae, 17/4/97.

\(^{59}\) Ida Bagus Rupa appears in the film *Done Bali*. Negara Film and Television Productions, 1993.

\(^{60}\) Interview with Made Geg.
The Travel Bureaus and the Role of Government

Tourism was and was not a profitable business. Seeing the opportunities created by superseding the KPM, Nyoman Oka led a number of Balinese in establishing Balitour and coordinating with a variety of shops, hotels and taxi drivers. Oka had worked as a clerk near the Bali Hotel. Ferociously intelligent, he taught himself a variety of European languages and became a guide for the Bali Hotel before the Japanese invasion. His company was established with a shop behind the Bali Hotel. Balitour, like many of the enterprises of the time, was established along cooperative lines, and many of those involved seem to have been socialist in inclination. However in 1956 the total number of tourists visiting Indonesia was only 9,064, which had gone up to 26,206 in 1966. The figures are vague and unreliable, but regional government figures show that ‘Tourism Taxes’, ‘Padjak Pelantjong’, were an import source of revenue for the island at the time it was being established as a separate province:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>Rp 26,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Rp 34,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Rp 116,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Rp 134,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1958 the average tourist was spending US$180, in 1967-68 $200. Balitour—first called ‘Gabungan Tourisme Bali’—included I Gusti Putu Merta, one of the island’s leading politicians and head of the regional parliament, in its board. Major shareholders were N.V. Wisnu (a Chinese-owned picture theatre), N.V. GIEB (the largest and most important of the export-import cooperatives), N.V. Modjopahit (owned by Gede Puger, a major left-wing politician), and the Regional Government or Dewan Pemerintah Daerah Bali, as well as the handicraft cooperative, Yayasan Keradjinan Bali. Besides Nyoman Oka, an energetic and charismatic man who later became regional head (bupati) of Tabanan, others involved were Wayan Dangin (also head of Bali’s Agricultural Service) and Putu Rudolf (head of Bali’s Trade Inspection Department and a politician from the PSI or Socialist Party). Oka seems to have done all the work, since he was paid Rp. 2000 per month, a figure set by the board, more than five times what the book-keeper, mechanic and typist were paid, and ten times what Ida Bagus Karang, the only guide in 1956, was paid as a retainer, although he was actually paid a separate rate every time he went out with tourists.

The DPRD or regional government were involved in detailed planning discussions with Balitour. These were as a response to Balitour’s requests for credit. A long report recognises tourism as ‘one of the most important paths to raise the prosperity (mempertinggi kemakmuran) of the People (Rakjat) on this island... According to this source the satisfaction (kepuasan) of tourists (para pelantjong) was the island’s greatest advertisement. Tourism should work ‘to attract the attention (minat) and desire (keinginan)
of the tourists.’ But this was done in the recognition that ‘the material situation of the people is certainly inadequate, and service for tourists and guests will be run accordingly, so that the tourists and guests will suffer accordingly. Thus tourism will not run smoothly (macet).’ Here there may be veiled recognition of potential hostility, which is defused in terms to peladenan, which in later discussions becomes the English term ‘service’. Laden has less overtones of ‘serving’ in a menial fashion than other terms, since it can mean simply ‘helping’ and also ‘paying attention to’ someone.66

A connected planning document sees tourism as needing two things, ‘infrastructure’ (kelengkapan) such as good roads, and ‘beautiful panoramas’ (panorama2 jang indah2). This means that there had to be ‘Objects of excursion or interesting objects to visit; Performances and other attractions; Shops where tourists can buy souvenirs with a price and service which satisfy. (Object2 tamasja atau object2 perkundjungan jg menarik; Tontonan dan attracties lainnya; Toko2 dimana para touris dapat membeli souvenirs dengan harga dan peladenan (service) jang memuaskan…)’ The Indonesian side of the tourism business was to cater for a modern population who were becoming ‘weekend minded’ and would thus want to holiday in Bali.67

Tourism is here defined in a mixed language, combining Indonesian, English and Dutch terms. The word pelantjongan has a relaxed connotation, of sightseeing or an excursion. Indonesians and foreigners can equally take part in this, particularly as Indonesians become more modern and better off. The experience is defined visually, but transactions such as buying souvenirs are not purely commercial, but part of a mutually satisfying experience. The language of this is not the language of ‘culture’ and ‘cultural interaction’ of later tourism.

A January 1957 meeting of the Tourist Council of Bali and the local government (especially Sutedja and G.G. Oka Puger), considered the ‘Musjawarat Tourisme’ held in Tugu in 1956. The main Bali Tour people present were Nyoman Oka, I Gusti Ngr. Konta and Nj. Ida Bagus Aryawidjaja. The importance of published guidebooks was discussed here as an outcome of the 1956 meeting.68


I Nengah Bendesa remembers when he became a Nitour guide in 1962 that guidebooks were still a problem, and not all of the books mentioned were readily available in Bali. His qualifications were that he had learnt English at Gadjah Mada University. Having studied to be a teacher, he found the salary of Rp. 600 per month

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66 Lampiran 693/14, DPRD Peralihan Daerah Bali, 8 Juni 1957. ASITA Bali archives.
68 Tjatatan singkat mengenai Rapat Dewan Tourisme Daerah Bali jang diadakan di Balai Masjarakat Denpasar pada tgl 3 Djanuari 1957. ASITA Bali archives.
69 Some of these reference come from Stuart-Fox op.cit, but most are available to me in libraries in Sydney or private collections, except Ananda’s pedoman, which I take to be an Indonesian language version of his second book (the English version is not mentioned in Stuart-Fox). Ananda also refers to a guide to Nusa Tenggara published by the Ministry of Information in 1955. The same ministry put out a book called Bali Today in 1951. I have not been able to
inadequate to live off, but the first time he tried his hand his English was so rough and his knowledge of any of the sights so slight that he was ridiculed by a German tourist. Disheartened, he enlisted to serve in the Irian Jaya campaign, was rejected and had another try at being a guide. This time he was successful, and a group of ladies from Palo Alto gave him a tip equivalent to his month’s wages as a teacher. He had no guide books to go on, so he used Miguel Covarrubias’s *Island of Bali* and some country guide books published by Japan Air Lines. Nyoman Oka and others who had a lot of contact with foreigners were often given books which helped both their work and their English.\(^{70}\)

Another item of discussion in the 1957 meeting was the things which disturbed tourists (gangguan). These included enthusiastic sellers at Gunungkawi and Goa Gajah, and the direct charging of entry prices. It was noted that in 1955 at least one of the KPM ships refused to go to Jakarta anymore because of beggars. Non-Muslim Bali had a competitive edge. There was also the gangguan of cattle, and the worry that tourists would witness people bathing. Tourists were supposed to be witnesses to a landscape and ancient culture, but also witnesses to modernity. In discussions of restoring the water palace at Ujung, the governor asked that Pura Luhur at Tanah Lot be included as an “objek”.

1956–1959 was a period of sustained (CIA-backed) regional revolts, part of the reaction to which was nationalisation of former Dutch enterprises, the establishment of Martial Law and then Guided Democracy. All this proved bad for business. The years 1956–1959 saw persistent declines in tourist numbers and consistent losses for Bali Tour.\(^{71}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>(western) tourists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>2,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1,630(^{72})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The economic difficulties of the time came to a head in 1960 when Balitour had a forced incorporation into the private national company Nitour, which had originally been established in 1952 when the Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwono IX bought out a Dutch company. This was the outcome of attempts by the national government to get a major stake in Balitour, during which I Nyoman Oka remarked that “I’d rather sell peanuts than merge.”\(^{73}\) By law Nitour was given an initial monopoly, meaning that there was no choice but to merge. Ida Bagus Kompyang ran the Bali office of Nitour. The tourists still always asked for Nyoman Oka, who worked as a free-lance guide, his most famous duty being for Queen Elizabeth II.\(^{74}\) Oka and Kompyang were fierce competitors, but firm friends.\(^{75}\) Despite Nitour’s attempted monopoly, a number of other companies, not Balinese owned, were established in the next two years, Natrabu and Bali Lestari Indah. There was probably another upsurge in tourism after 1960 when the airport at Tuban was extended to take international flights (although it did not receive international status until 1963).\(^{76}\)

The industry’s problem is the same as the political problem identified by Geoffrey Robinson: Bali was dependent on Jakarta, and the industry worked from there. The 1960s saw the industry removed from Bali effectively, with Jakarta coming to shape the nature of the developments. Fortunately the journalist Nyoman S. Pendit maintained a

\(^{70}\) I Nengah Bendesa, pers. comm. 6/8/97.

\(^{71}\) ASITA Bali archives.

\(^{72}\) ASITA Bali archives, annual reports of Balitour—although there are two figures for the 1958 number of tourists, 1,950, and 1,916.

\(^{73}\) Discussed in Darma Putra *et al.*, p.6.

\(^{74}\) I Nengah Bendesa, pers. comm. 6/8/97.

\(^{75}\) Interview Nyoman S. Pendit 17/9/97.

Balinese voice in these developments. In 1958 he returned from studies in India, only to find that Indian degrees were not recognised in Indonesia. He was introduced to the Sultan, and became Nitour’s only English speaker for a period, meaning that he quickly moved up to become Director for Foreign Affairs in the Indonesian Council for Tourism, and then liaised with various international, including the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA). He directed the first Travel Guide Course, run by the government in Jakarta in 1962, and wrote some of the first books in Indonesian on the subject of tourism. In 1961, finding that the word ‘tourisme’, inherited from the Dutch, had taken on a number of negative connotations, and feeling that the word ‘pelantjong’ was not effective for the industry, he consulted with the cultural experts Mohammad Yamin (a famous author and ideologue) and Professor Prijono (Minister for Culture, who had a doctorate in the study of Middle Javanese Literature from Leiden University). They came up with the term ‘pariwisata’, a Sanskritised term meaning ‘fulfilled journey’, which he then set about publicising in his work as a journalist.

Old to New Orders

Central government planning was established, the shape of tourism organised in terms of the ‘objects’ and the goal of ‘service’. Sukarno’s enthusiasms for Bali confirmed this, and hijacked Balinese control over the image-making process. In 1963 tourist development was supposed to come to a head with PATA holding an Indonesian conference (organised by Nyoman S. Pendit), from which the major office holders were to go to Bali as the showcase of Indonesia’s tourism. But Bali’s Gunung Agung erupted, leading to thousands of deaths, and so these plans were disturbed.

Sukarno was still pleased to bring guests to Bali. He had his own palace in the mountains at Tampaksiring, although not all his guests stayed there. As President with a Balinese mother, he had his children (including Megawati) learn Balinese dance, and he collected Balinese paintings, initial via the expatriate Rudolf Bonnet. He also collected paintings of Bali by the westerners who had lived on the island in the 1930s and who had either stayed on or been replaced by new artistic enthusiasts after the Revolution. Some of these, such as Bonnet, found it too difficult to continue living on the island after Sukarno started stirring up anti-Imperialist sentiment after 1957, but others stayed on. Sukarno was particularly a patron of Ubud, to where many important guests were escorted, and this link helped the village to establish its present fame as the artistic centre of the island.

The government’s Natour had plans for a modern national hotel network began with the Hotel Indonesia, moving on to the Ambarukmo in Yogyakarta, and then to be crowned by the Hotel Bali Beach, which eventually was run as an Intercontinental. There seems to have been a tension between the regional attempts to control this process and the national attempts, which are also caught up with politics. The initiative to build the Bali Beach was Sukarno’s, although it was opened at the time of his decline, and despite urgings of the then acting governor I Gusti Putu Merta and the Sultan, he declined the opportunity to open it. Many involved with the Bali Beach were arrested (and presumably executed) during the Coup. Ida Bagus Kompyang then emerged to take over the building of the hotel, which he saw to completion in 1966. His and Nyoman Pendit’s employer, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, was close to Sukarno, but became a key

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figure in the establishment of the New Order government, becoming Vice-President to Suharto, and with he and Adam Malik forming the triumvirate which mobilised a variety of forces throughout society behind the new government. The Sultan’s patronage provided important protection for maintaining continuity in the Balinese tourist industry.

It is hard to know how many tourists were coming to Bali in the early 1960s. In 1960 a report that seven tour groups would be coming to the island made front page news in *Suara Indonesia*, the *Bali Post*’s earlier incarnation.\(^81\) One set of fairly confusing statistics from 1969, estimates that 27,300 and 32,450 room-nights were spent the previous year on Bali, based on numbers of people staying in the Hotel Bali Beach as being 90% of the total number of tourists staying in Bali. These figures do not add up to the totals given in another table of numbers of tourists coming from the four main sources of tourism, which are listed as following in two tables (for 1968 and 1969?): in the first total from [CATEGORY UNCLEAR] 900, LOC (?) 8050, Amerika, 2,650, Eropa 5,500, and As/Pac 550; in the second table LOC 950, Amerika 6,250, Eropa 8,350, and As/Pac 6,850.\(^82\) This does not tally with another set of figures giving the arrivals and departures from the airport Tuban, although what percentage of the total they are is unclear. For what it is worth, the arrivals are

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\begin{align*}
1965: & \quad 15,714 \\
1966: & \quad 10,990 \\
1967: & \quad 13,338 \\
1968: & \quad 15,209
\end{align*}
\]

Nor do these figures total with the number of beds estimated to be available in 1969 on the island, of the 221 “Harian [Daily/Regular?]” and “ABRI [Armed Forces]” Hotels, there are 3,653 rooms and 7,139 beds.

A string of new tourist agencies were set up throughout the 1960s: Vayatour (1965), Bali Indonesia Murni (1967), Chandra Universal (1968), Golden Kris (1969), Jan’s Tour (1969), Pacto (1970). Many of those associated with or responsible for establishing the new organisations had had experience in earlier tourist organisations or hotels. In 1996 there were 150 agencies on the island.\(^83\)

The arrival figures for the airport given above indicate that a drop in tourist numbers occurred in 1965-66 (those who were there after the Coup found it a pretty horrifying experience). Yet by this stages this is a minor glitch in the ongoing development of tourism, only affected those involved for a short time. I Rudin, the artists, remembered the period as one in which he ceased to work:

> There were no tourists around the time of the Coup [1965]. So then I had to become an organiser of land, a real estate agent.’
> ‘You stopped painting.’
> ‘Stopped altogether…for a year or so until things settled down.

It did not take long for those now taking control to set tourism plans in motion. A planning document from December 1965 makes it clear that,

> The opening of the region of Bali for tourism (*kepariwisataan*) has been an enterprise already ‘established’ since the pre-War period. To increase this enterprise, we await the coming success in expanding the ways of drawing (*daja*

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\(^81\) *Suara Indonesia* 4/10/60.
\(^83\) ‘lk W l l h ’
tarik) visits (pengundjungan) (especially from overseas), we can consider two methods:

a) Intensification (Intensifikasi)

The building of infrastructure (prasarana) such as is now going on in the Sanur area (Bali Beach Hotel, Sanur Parkway, and so on.) can be grouped amongst the efforts at intensification...[which need to be integrated]...This is especially the case for Denpasar, where the developments in Sanur are integrated into a development plan for the City [given below].

b) Extensifikasi

The language here is deliberately technical, in line with later New Order rhetoric. As a long-term process tourism is presented as having its own momentum—as not needing to provide attractive and satisfying experiences. Pelantjongan had been replaced as the word for ‘tourism’ with the more neutral and technical pariwisata. This was an indicator of the professionalisation of tourism, as signalled by the use of foreign advisers. The Hotel Bali Beach had a succession of foreign general managers with their American and European ideas of management and the industry. By this stage tourism training courses were established on the island. Development as a self-referential goal can be seen in a report of 1969, part of the lead-up to the World Bank/UNDP Master Plan, on the tourism capabilities of Sanur and Kuta. The two areas are shown to be able to cope with 75,000-100,000 and 90,000-810,000 tourists per year respectively. The report advises that minimum figures only should be aimed for, ‘in view of the present (and future) limitations to exercise effective development control, because of inherent weaknesses in the existing administration, organisation, law and regulations and financing system...’

By this stage as well anxieties about foreigners were rising, taking off from the Sukarnoist position:

It is greatly to be regretted that our youth have begun to join in go-go dancing and doing the twist. They have begun to cut their hair, losing their Balinese authenticity. We need to know, that the tourists are not coming to Bali so see people go-going or twisting, but they want to see a culture which is distinctively Balinese and which is famous for its high quality.

... We in Bali, especially those active in the field of culture, have a duty to retain the high quality of our culture, which is no less (tidak kalah dengan) than the standard of Foreign culture. See, this can be added to, by practising legong, drama and so on. This situation is made possible because our art in Bali cannot be separated from our religion.... Bali can attract more tourists for the sake of increasing national income.

This emphasis on culture and tradition and hostility to inappropriate foreign elements coincides with need to eradicate sings of the PKI. The PKI’s radical modernity was...
presented by those who defeated it as a suppression of traditional performances, and increasing the number of performances was a display of victory, a neo-traditionalism which fits in with other aspects of the New Order style. After 1965 more and more barong and kecak troupes were established. Culture here becomes more rarefied, more removed from the major operations of tourism, which have to go via Jakarta. What Sukarno started, Suharto finished.

The signs of the 1970s industry are almost all in place by this 1968 report, which seems to have been associated with a major planning meeting (the Musjawarah Kerja Pariwisata): tourism and culture, wisata not lantjong, tourism not to increase the welfare of the People of Bali, but to contribute to National Income. ‘Culture’, not landscape and temples, was what was to be witnessed and experience, that was all that needed to be provided. The hope that Indonesians would become tourists on equal terms with westerners was abandoned, and most of the official statements about tourism from then on assume that the term refers only to foreigners. Given the way the discourse of tourism put blame for all negative aspects of the industry onto foreigners in an ‘us’/’them’ situation, domestic tourists could hardly be blamed for the commercialisation created by the industry.

There may be some recognition in the Balinese strategy of the national sensitivities, since Indonesian bodies preferred that tourism be distributed throughout the archipelago, while the American and European advisers wanted tourism concentrated on Bali. By 1971 the foreign advisors had set a technocratic view in place as the definitive view, and this seemed to be presented as something of a fait accompli to Balinese. The confirmation of success was the 1971 Tourism Plan and World Bank funding, topped by Bali’s hosting the 1974 PATA conference. The Old Order’s script had gone wrong, the New Order’s went smoothly.

The tourist figures indicate this success, with the big jump occurring between 1969 and 1970:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Tourists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>11,278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>24,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>34,313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>47,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>58,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>57,450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tourism was still relatively cheap. In 1972 it cost A$210.20 (return) to fly from Sydney to Bali, $7.50 per night to stay at the Bali Hotel, $13-$23 per night to stay at the Hotel Bali Beach, and $2-$3 per head for one of Ni Pollok’s famous Bali dinners. The cheapness attracted a flow of Hippies, giving rise the Government’s fears. For Indonesians too Bali was still readily available, and cheaper to visit than Java, unlike the situation of the 1990s, where Denpasar has become the third most expensive city to live in after Batam and Jakarta. Thus also the new mass tourism at first depended on the airlines of neighbouring countries. Once the Bali Beach had been opened in 1967, and then President Soeharto opened the new Ngurah Rai Airport on 1 August 1969, the first bringers of mass tourism...

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89 Picard, op. cit., p.68.
90 Picard, pers. comm. 31/8/97, sees a ‘drastic change in mood and expectations among the Balinese authorities between the Musjarwarah Kerja Pariwisata (1968) and the Seminar Pariwisata Budaya (1971)’. The sudden shift in the volume of tourism may be relevant here.
were Thai Airlines, Malaysia and Singapore Airways, then Philippines Airlines, Royal Air Camboge, and following them Panam.  

Not everyone received the new line of argument without scepticism. After one of the many seminars held to discuss the meaning of tourism in the lead-up to the 1974 PATA conference, one of the major issues raised was how tourists in temples defiled those places of worship. In a subsequent Bali Post Nyoman Oka wrote a letter to the editor in response which pointed out that indeed he had witnessed tourists obstructing Balinese from their worship during the festival at Pura Pengrebonang, Kesiman. He notes, however, that the presence of tourists is not the fault of the tourists themselves, but of the organising committee who had received no less than Rp.150,000, and who were encouraging people to bring as many tourists as possible for the money... ‘this is the age of money, rather than the age of feelings or respect.’ Those concerned, he argued, would be better off encouraging young people to uphold the values of their ancestors than worry about restraining those who come. In a stinging attack of the search for the dollar he turns the blame on Balinese materialism rather than outside influences.

Conclusions?

The 1950s was an era of other possibilities, both in terms of Balinese mentalities and economic control. The modern-minded Balinese of the era did well out of tourism, but did not see it in the same terms as the present industry does. Those whose experiences had been forged by colonialism and the Revolution exhibited a remarkable flexibility and adaptability to new economic and political circumstances. 1950s tourists were strange and fickle, to be entertained and served, not harassed. As Indonesians became modern they would blend into the mode of leisure that was tourism. The ‘art’ of Bali would provide souvenirs of a relationship established, and was not necessarily seen as a profitable undertaking in itself.

By the 1970s tourists were a foreign ‘Other’ which could not meld with Indonesians. Tourism had become a thing of ‘culture’ and economic planning, to do with national development budgets rather than local improvements. Balinese were meant to be removed from the technical processes of the industry as well as removed from having to worry about direct engagement with foreigners. As ‘culture’ was idealised a process of distancing took place, with the main level of action removed to the level of national economic policy. The marketing of Bali as object was also put in the hands of international experts who could normalise Balinese practices according to world standards.

The change was partly one of sheer necessity. The rapid increase in numbers demanded a shifter response, one attuned to the new directions the industry was taking internationally. Cultural Tourism was a strategy of its time, and up until the late 1980s served Bali well in terms of providing a feeling that developments could be contained and controlled.

If it were not for dissenting voices such as Nyoman Oka we could see this processes as a full commercialisation of relationships and commodification of culture, hastening the processes of Balinese engagement in an international capitalist economy. Balinese kept setting up their own small businesses, despite a pattern of take-overs by national and international companies, and the young men who ventured out to meet the Hippies on Kuta Beach found them and their ways fairly desirable—they weren’t just engaging with them for the money. 1950s tourism had promised something more modest than the later

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94 The exchange rate at the time was around Rp.400 per $A.
95...
tourism, a Bali of panoramas and performances. At a time when Cultural Tourism no longer seems relevant to the needs of the island, when holidays in Bali are sold on the appearance of hotel rooms, and 5-star luxury is the industry’s main emphasis, it is time to reconsider the earlier forms of the industry, in the search for an alternative politics of tourism.