

THE JAVA FOREST IN THE TURBULENCE OF INTEREST AND POWER: The Eco-History of Mangkunegaran Forest

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Abstract

The management of teak forests in Java at the period of Netherlands-colonial government period was ups and downs, even the large of the area were not known for certain until the end when the General Governor Daendels (1804) stipulated that all the teak forests in Java will become government property. In 1808 Daendels appointed some officials to manage teak forests in Java. In 1865, Daendels issued regulations based on the first of eternity, while in 1874, it was issued regulations governing the second division of unity into the woods, and since then started to know a rough forest. Daendels policy made during his reign in the Netherlands East Indies by doing reforestation and establishing regulations that limit the exploitation of natural teak forests in Java, is seen as the beginning of the forest management activities that use the techniques of forestry science and modern institutions in Indonesia, especially after Daendels form Dienst van het Boschwezen (Department of Forestry) was given authority to manage forests in Java. In the case of Mangkunegaran forest, there are indications that the forest damage occurred as it is concerned with the spirit of Mangkunegara IV to unearth indigenous spirit of capitalism through the establishment of factories and exploit the forests either as raw material or fuel. Java forest destruction could get serious attention between the years 1928-1937. But once again there was never a serious effort to increase the area of forest land saved, and the increase of population has always blamed as the cause of failure. Although the time span is not long, however, different policies generated at the time shows that there is a government commitment to save the forests. The official authority had commitment to control the use of forests; to balance the process of production, conservation, and protecting forest on the one side; and respond to the needs of local communities on the other side. The commitment is now back to being a crucial issue for further action.

Key words: Forest management system, indigenous spirit of capitalism

Sub theme : Indigenous Communities' Responses to the Activities of the Mining, Plantation and Forest Industries

Introduction

Forest in Indonesia has been known as the second largest forest area in the world for years after Brazil. It is also the one which is damaged as the huge utilization during the last three

decades. Forest exploitation is not only done by local people who use forest for fulfilling their life needs, but also by government that use forest as the source of income and foreign exchange for the country. Historical study about forest in Indonesia shows big interest in utilizing forest, especially in Java as mainstay commodity. Not only local-traditional Javanese government who utilized the forest, but also Netherland-colonial government, Japanese-colonial government until Indonesian government did.

Many researches show that forest in Java was still using traditional system before the western countries gave influence. As stated by Yanuardi in '*Politik Kehutanan Jawa dalam Perspektif Politik Poststruktural*', in the beginning, forest management in Java had not utilized scientific-knowledge principle yet. During the kingdom period, control of forest and manpower resource was still based on traditional-knowledge produced by palace. However, people still got autonomous authority to manage the forest resource based on their local-knowledge. The state's control on forest management, in this case is the kingdom, toward the people was limited and the need of wood had not been too much. Peluso in Wardo, *Desa Hutan dalam Perubahan* (2010), said that the early concept about forest of the country grew in French and Germany in the early of 18th century. The experts of forestry from other countries, including Netherland, study the forestry in this university. After they finished their study, they went to the colonized countries especially in Asia, Africa even America. In those colonies, they practice the philosophy and method of forest management that is controlled by the state or by doing central management system. The control-centred by the state based on practical thought that forest is the source of the government income and forest utilization justification as "the greatest good for the greatest number of people" or the concept of the maximum of citizen's prosperity dominating forest policy in Netherland East Indies during 19th century until early 20th century. Nevertheless, in the development of this concept, as if become State legitimating to acquire

the forest absolutely, meanwhile the people is the object that their need is overridden. The concept of centralizing control by the State is in contradiction with the value system and the tradition of the local people as the application in the real life often destroyed the value and tradition that has lived for thousand years. The economic interest that took the role has crushed the value and social norm that has become the front guard of culture changing.

Palte' research (1984) that took place in Java hilly area conclude that there are three period of Javanese deforestation movement. The first period was at the end of 18th century until 1830 that was signed by the implementation of force labour and the rule of tax obligation by colonial government that brought effect of the opening of wood transportation infrastructure and housing in Java forests. The second period was during 1860-1925 where at that time government had policy to increase the agricultural productivity through deforestation for the field. This period was also signed by the opening of some coffee, tea and rubber plantation. While the third period was between 1942 - 1950 or was more known by Japanese colonialism until the early of independence. At this period, forest logging, plantation nationalization, and any chaos colouring the management of forest in Java.

Palte's writing that has been discussed above if it is correlated with Peluso analysis, it can be pulled the correlation is the interest of Netherland-colonial government to be the absolute administrator of the forest management got full support from the parliament who allow any rules about forestry. Another effect that we can see is that Indonesia entering new phase of the usage of ex-forest land by introducing it as plantation system. Many kinds commodity become the superior commodity like tobacco, sugar cane, coffee and tea. The state-centralized forest management give opportunity for the third party to get involved and get financial benefit from this forest business.

One thing that must be appreciated by Indonesian people is the rule about forest management that produced by Netherland-colonial government also contributed big thing for the Indonesia Republic government since they put the strong base for the development of forest conservation and management technique. That condition seemed keep happening until the early of the Indonesian Independence. Even on the time of transition of authority to Japanese-colonial government, there were not so many produced rules, in the contrary; there was forest damage as the result of abundant forest exploitation and robbery.

Based on the source of history investigation, it can be understood that the biggest cause of forest degradation of Java is firstly because wood exploitation that is needed in big industries owned by Netherlands government or foreign private. Second cause is function-transfer of the land that is used for plantation. Third cause is the increase number of inhabitant, and last cause is deforestation for land transportation.

For local-traditional Javanese government, forest is part of their live and life that can be utilized proportionally for unirrigated field or rice field. The means of forest resource management during Netherland-colonial government started from teak forest management in Java and Madura in the middle of 19th century. The forest product was mainly concentrated on ship industry spread along northern Java coast. The golden time of ship industry in Java brought bad effect for the forest condition like quality and quantity degradation(Wiatasari:2011)

When western countries such as VOC, Netherland-colonial, French, Great Britain and back to the Netherland started embedding their power on the Java land, the forest exploitation was extending along with the introduction of more scientific-method of Java forest management and utilization. General Govenor Herman Willem Daendels was the colonial government official who firstly organized forest management by forming Forestry Department *Dienst van het Boschwezen*. The duty of this department was making

reforestation planning for degraded forest area. Beside that duty, it also administered the rule of permission issue restriction and determined criminal sanction for offender. During the Japan colonialism, forest management especially teak forest was lessened comparing to Netherland-colonial time. It was caused by the prolonged war condition that prosecuted more attention from the colonial government. At that time, forest was deforested for crops planted in dry season (palawija) plantation, castor oil plant, coffee plantation, protected caves, and logistic and ammunition pilling. Indonesian forest management under authority of Republic of Indonesia government is still adopted Netherland-colonial period rule. Because of the transition period from Netherland-colonial government to Japan-colonial government, there was not any principal rule about forestry that is adopted by Indonesian government. With the result that Netherland-colonial period, Forestry Department of Republic of Indonesia had special division to translate the Netherland-colonial rules about forest management (Wasino:2008, Witasari:2011)

Mangkunegaran Forest in Interest Turbulence

Mangkunegaran refers to two concepts namely government and area unit. As government unit, Mangkunegaran is a name for a territory of jurisdiction or small kingdom or large kadipaten that was established by Raden Mas Said who was titled Mangkunegara I later after Salatiga treaty on 1757. As area unit, Mangkunegaran consist of a territory of jurisdiction and the outer surrounding area of villages. Territory of jurisdiction was the centre of government that was located in the central of Surakarta city on the north part, northern Kasunanan Palace. This territory of jurisdiction consisted of 1/5 of the whole Surakarta city. The villages of Mangkunegaran were most located on the south of Surakarta city that is now become Wonogiri regency area and some areas were on the east

and south of Surakarta that become Karang Anyar regency nowadays. The area of Mangkunegaran changes many times. In 1757, when Mangkunegaran established, the scope of this area was 4000 karya or 959.5 jung or 2800 hectare. The early area of Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction in the Mangkunegaran treasure was called Babok village.

Mangkunegaran Territory Area on 1737

Area Name	Scope (jung)	Scope (karya)
Keduwang	141	564
Laroh	115,5	462
Matesih	218	872
Wiraka	60,5	242
Aribaya	82,5	330
Hanggabayan	25	100
Sembuyan	133	532
Gunung Kidul	71,5	286
Pajang (southern of Surakarta-Kartasura main road)	58,8	235,2
Pajang (northern of Surakarta-Kartasura road)	64,5	258
Mataram (in the middle of Yogyakarta)	64,5	258
Kedu	8,5	34

Total 979,5 3.918 = (4000)

Source: Pringgodigdo, Dhoemados Saha Ngrembakanipoen Pradja Mangkoenagaran, (typed text Reksa Pustako Mangkunegaran, 1938), page. 40; Rouffaer, Vorstenlanden, in Adatrechbundel no. 34, page. 270.

The scope area of Mangkunegaran had undergone many changes since its establishment until the middle of 20th century. The first change happened in the time of Mangkunegara II administered in 1813. At this time, the Mangkunegaran territory of

jurisdiction got added area from Raffles as wide as 240 jung² or 1000 karya so that its scope area was 5000 karya or 3500 hectare. The second change was in 1830, still in the Mangkunegara II administered period. At this time, Mangkunegaran got 120 jung or 500 karya added area. The added area was different from the other Babok land which was unfertile; this added land was fertile land on the Bengawan Solo dale. Sugar industry belonged to Mangkunegaran was established on this area in the end of 19th century. Colomadu sugar industry was in North Pajang (Malang Jiwan) and Tasik Madu sugar industry was in east Sukawati (Karang Anyar, Afdeeling Sragen).

The study about forest management either in Indonesia or in Java has been done by some researchers. Any aspects of forest and its forestry have been studied. However, there are not many works on forest management of Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction that was managed by the Netherland-colonial government. The intended Mangkunegaran territories of jurisdiction areas were Surakarta, Karanganyar and Wonogiri. Naturally, Mangkunegaran territory was blessed with forests area in Wonogiri and parts of Karanganyar that is in Tawangmangu along Lawu mount slope. The land ownership that has been followed by Mangkunegaran territory that stated the land of the Lord and its plant on it belonged to the Country indicates that the local people were allowed by the kingdom to use the forest for their live(Wasino:2008)

Daendels' policy (1808-1811) that formed Forestry Department was one of the Netherland-colonial government interventions in Mangkunegaran forest area. The main duty of this department was doing reforestation degraded forest. Besides that, on 26 May 1808, Daendels issued the rule of forest functionary in Java with several principals like: 1. The functionary of forest become the country's domain and only for the country's interest; 2. Forest functionary withdrawal from the Resident's authority and from jurisdiction of the Court; 3. The delivery of forest functionary to the special division under General Governor

that is equipped with administrative and finance authority and giving criminal sanction authority; 4. The area of government forest cannot be broken, and the existence of company with protrude exploitation was guaranteed with the obligation of reforestation and field cultivation harvest; 5. All of technical activity is done by the villagers and they get pay from their work; 6. The woods that are cut firstly must be used for the country's need, then for private's need; 7. The villagers are given wood-cut permission following the rule that is valid for the whole Netherland-colonial area. There are some areas that are not under colonial-government administrated like Kasultanan and Paku Alaman area in Jogjakarta and Kasunanan and Mangkunegaran area in Surakarta. Special for Mangkunegaran, the forest area was in the Lawu mount slope in Karang Anyar and Limestone Mountain in Wonogiri. Until now, those both forest areas are still done by the people surround it.(Wasino: 2008, Witasari: 2011)

So far, history record in past time, before VOC came to Java, the Regents gave bribe to the kings in the form of *glondhong pengageng-ageng*. Likewise, it still happened though there was an official *juru wana* or *juru pengalasan* (*wana, alas* is forest in Javanese language). In the 16th century, it has been known that there was teak forest that was well managed around Bojonegoro, East Java for the sake of buildings, fortress and ships. Until the early of 19th century, VOC kept extending its acquisition of teak forests in the north of central Java and east Java. Even though VOC had acquired the teak forest for about three centuries, it could be said that the forest management had not done well. VOC ruled more on the forest cut and wood custody for the use of trading-ship making and other buildings.

The previous study about the rule of forest resource cultivation that was done by the government approve that the degradation of forest resource quality and quantity in Indonesia happened as the chosen development paradigm that based on state (*state-based resource development*) with development management that has centralistic figured and

economic growth-only oriented also supported with repressive rule and policy, not merely because the population density factor, the low level of citizen's prosperity who had tradition of shifting cultivation.(Bodley, 1982; Repetto & Gillis, 1988; Zerner, 1990; Poffenberger, 1990; Peluso, 1992).

In order to make the forest management and implementation smoothly, it is necessary to issue the rule that binding the official and the citizen either they live in the colony area or under indigenous administration. The rule of law about forest management was firstly issued in 1865 namely *Boschordonantie voor Java en Madoera 1865* (the Law of Forestry for Java and Madura 1865), and then followed by agrarian rule namely *Domeinverklaring 1870* which claimed that every land (forest) that cannot be proven its acquisition right is become government domain. (Peluso, 1990).

However, Daendels' effort doing reforestation and limiting teak forest cut in Java and Madura cannot be sustainable and get optimal result, instead of the limit of forestry department officer ability, knowledge and technology of forestry, van den Bosch imposed *cultuurstelsel* in 1830-1870 that affected drastic change toward the forest condition in Java in which so many forests were cut and inversed to be coffee plantation to increase export commodity. Meanwhile, the need of teak wood for supplying ship company, building tobacco drying warehouse, sugar company, workers' barracks and housing for plantation workers that keep increasing during the period of *cultuurstelsel* (Schuitemaker, 1950 quoted by Simon, 933: 31).

Studying about the forest condition in Mangkunegaran territory of jurisdiction, Wasino in his disertation explain that Mangkunegaran area is naturally blessed with forests mainly in Wonogiri and some from Karanganyar namely in Tawangmangu in the slope of Lawu mountain. *Cultuurstelsel* of some parts of forest in Wonogiri was erased because it was used for extending coffee plantation. Deforestation had resulted ecological damage in

that area at that time. After the coffee cultivation did not give any benefit, so that the unproductive coffee plantation was given back to the people. It resulted deforestation of trees that were used as protective plant to make a ricefield. Slopin lands were made to be portion of a ricefield for food plant, but there was not any trees to restrain the land erosion. The land erosion affected the losing of the land's fertile to the valey. Deforestation kept happening until the end of 19th century and there was not any effort to reforested the teak forest and the field. (Wasino, 2008)

According to Nababan (2003), the utilized of forest that affected ecological damage like what the local rulers did, was legitimated with special rights that attached on them that state the king had claim as the whole land in his area. That claim was the weapon to omit the citizen control on land and forest robbery by the ruler. Furthermore, Nababan points out that land robbery was not aimed for economical reason of forest exploitation, but it was for the dominance statement on an area and statement of political conquest. It is in line with the management condition of the forest, especially when Mangkunegara IV ruled, that is stated by Wasino (2010) as indigenous capitalism resurrection. The usage of Javanese forest for sugar industry was so phenomenal since it was succeed to brought the victory of the kingdom's economy back after helter skelter previously. Javanese forest contributed on the opened plantation land, factory building, infrastructure development until become fuel resources in some factories owned by Mangkunegara IV.

The rulers of Mangkunegaran after the 4th king seemed not as strong as the previous kings. The decreasing of politics and government, then followed by economy deteriorate brought bad effect on industries that had been established by Mangkunegara IV to be bankruptcy. The plantation that occupied the forest area was taken over by the people around it to be cultivated independently. The kingdom itself could not face the flaming and

did nothing toward the overtaken. Entering the government period of Republic, Soekarno issued land reform policy that narrowed the land acquisition of the local rulers then.

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