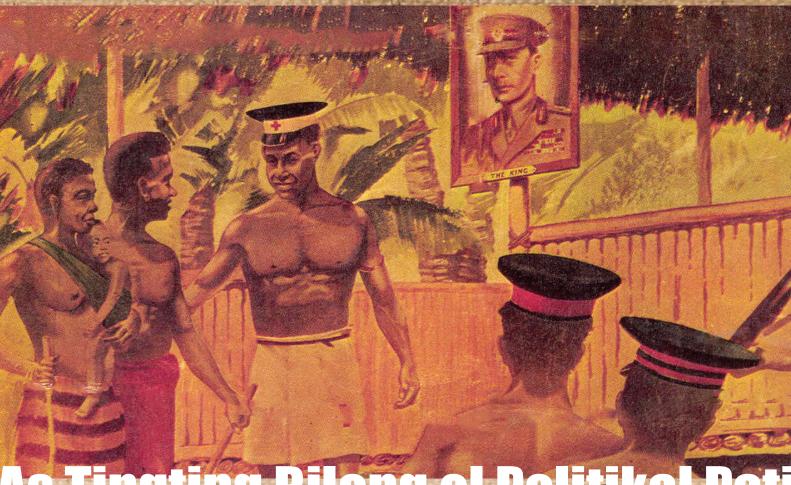
## PRESS, POLITICS AND PEOPLE

in Papua New Guinea 1950 -1975

Philip Cass



# AS TINGLING BILONG OF POLITIKAL PATES OF A CORRUPTION, VIA PORTUGESE, OF BHOI, A SERVANT, IN TOK PISIN, A SERVANT, AS KILL VULA! STRONGEST TREMOR AT RABAU BUNG WANTAIM! WAN SROKE HANDCUFFS HE CRIED AS TINGS ON ESCAPE THAT SOME MUST SUFFER FOR THE GREAT PRISON ESCAPE

#### Published in 2014 by Unitec ePress



ISBN - 978-1-927214-09-1



Press, Politics and People in Papua New Guinea 1950-1975 by Philip Cass is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

#### **Contents**

Acknowledgements		<b>P4</b>	
Glossery		P6	
Chapter 1. The Turning Mirror. Map 1.1 Map 1.2	p22 p23	P10	
Chapter 2. Mercenaries, missionaries, misfits and Melanesians.		p24	
		•	
Illustration 2.1	p45		
Illustration 2.2	p46		
Illustration 2.3	p47		
Chapter 3. 'Kill Vuia! he cried.' The Rabaul Times			
and political developments on the Gazelle Peninsula,	1950-59.	p48	
Illustration 3.1	p71		
Illustration 3.2	p72		
Illustration 3.3	p73		
Chapter 4. 1969: 'The onus is on us.'		p74	
Chapter 5. 'That some must suffer for the greater good': p89 The Post-Courier and the Bougainville crisis.			
Illustration 5.1	p106		
Illustration 5.2	p107		
Illustration 5.3	p108		
	_		

Chapter 6. Wanpela tok, wanpela nesen: Tok Pisir the press and national consciousness in PNG.	ı,	p109
Table 6.1 p125		
Chapter 7. Bung wantaim! Wantok niuspepa and path to independence, 1970-75.	the	p130
Table 7.1 Table 7.2 Table 7.3 Table 7.4 Illustration 7.1 Illustration 7.2 Illustration 7.3 Illustration 7.4	p143 p144 p147 p147 p150 p151 p152 p153	
Chapter 8. Press, politics and independence in Melanesia  Table 8.1 Table 8.2 Table 8.3 Table 8.4	p159 p162 p163 p164	p154
Postscript  Appendix 1. Some notes on the origins of Tok Pisin.		p174
Bibliography.		p181

All reasonable attempts have been made to identify the copyright holders of illustrations and, where appropriate, to obtain permission to reproduce them.

#### **Acknowledgements**

In 1992 I returned to Papua New Guinea for the first time since my parents went finish in 1976. I was researching my MA thesis on the missionary press in German New Guinea and over the next few years made several visits to the country. Since I taught journalism and was spending most of my time with missionaries, it seemed natural that I eventually ended up at Word Publishing. Word was started by a Divine Word missionary and is now owned jointly by the mainstream churches in PNG, a tribute to the ecumenical spirit in the country and to the church's recognition of the importance of the media in a developing nation. Word is the Port Moresby-based publisher of Wantok, PNG's first commercially successful Tok Pisin newspaper and although I was researching another period entirely, there was an obvious connection between mission activities at different ends of the 20th century.

The missions' decisions on whether to work in Tok Pisin or Tok Ples affected the way their successor churches used the media decades later, so I took notes against the day when the material might be useful. Eventually this became the starting point of my doctoral thesis and now, after a few more years of wandering, tinkering, revising and adding, this book; one way or another I seem to have been working on the thing for about 20 years.

The doctoral thesis on which this book is based was researched and written while I was working in Abu Dhabi during the last years of Baba Zayed's stewardship of the United Arab Emirates. Abu Dhabi is not a noted centre for Pacific studies and this presented certain challenges. Some of them were overcome by the helpful staff at a number of libraries, particularly the Australian National Library in Canberra and the extremely helpful people of the State Library of New South Wales' online service. My main physical source of newspapers was the British Newspaper Library in London and I am grateful that their staff did not actually turf me out into the sleet after a full and frank exchange of views on the sense of imposing copyright restrictions on the Rabaul Times when the paper had been dead for 50 years.

In Abu Dhabi my wife Anne and my sister Lee read the draft chapters and offered invaluable comments, albeit from entirely different perspectives. My wife constantly reminded me that just because I knew what I was writing about, not everybody else did and that perhaps just a little more explanation might be helpful. My sister, being somewhat older than me and having as a consequence lived in PNG for longer, provided her own insights. They have my gratitude for their patience and assistance.

As always, with an enterprise like this, thanks are due to many people.

In PNG many people at Word Publishing in Port Moresby, Kristen Press in Madang, Wirui Press in Wewak and Toksave Buk in Rabaul furnished me with information. My posthumous thanks go to the late Bishop Leo Arkfeld and Fr Frank Mihalic, who spoke to me so many years ago. My boss at Word Publishing, Anna Solomon, shared her memories of the launch of Wantok and Patrick Matbob at Divine Word University wrote about the role of the media when he was a young man. A heartfelt *gracias* to my colleague Diosnel Centurion for his companionship and introducing me to the work of the Divine Word mission.

In Australia, my thanks go first and foremost to my doctoral supervisors at Central Queensland University, Professor Denis Cryle and Dr Steve Mullins. I must also acknowledge Professor

Hank Nelson at ANU for having given me, many years ago, a copy of his seminal paper on the PNG press. The Rev Neville Threlfall gave me the benefit of his many years of living and working in Rabaul. Don Woolford shared his recollections of covering the landowners' dispute on Bougainville and the reaction in Australia to his stories. Don Dunbar-Reid wrote about his perspective as a planter on the Gazelle in the 1950s. Ray and Fran Goodey spoke about their experiences of *Wantok's* first years, as did former ABC journalist the late John Ryan. My former colleague at CQU, Gerry O'Connor, lent me Tok Pisin material his father had brought back from his wartime service in PNG.

In the United Arab Emirates I thank my former dean at Zayed University, Dr Janet Keefer for approving travel funds and time off for various research trips and conference presentations utterly unrelated to the university's normal Middle Eastern interests. For travel arrangements, I thank the inestimable Miss Girija and Mr George at Al Rostamani Travel for arranging cheap package deals with Emirates Airlines that included the Phoenix Hotel in Bayswater. The less said about that place in Paddington, the better.

In New Zealand I thank David Robie from Auckland University of Technology, who hosted my last visit to Fiji when he was working at the University of the South Pacific. I also thank my editor at Unitec e-press and colleague, Evangelia Papoutsaki for chivvying me into finally handing over this manuscript.

Hammering what was supposed to be the final (hah!) version of this manuscript into place began on Delma Island in the Arabian Gulf where I was teaching in Zayed University's summer camp. The writing then moved to the village of Sepx in southern France where my host, Richard Mapstone, gave me a quiet place to work. Michelle, Marie-Claude, Michael and Pauline provided some delightfully unquiet moments. At the end of that summer my three children, Ariadne, Tristan and Alex provided coffee, criticism and quiet gardens in which to write and think in Norwich and Edinburgh.

Finally, I thank my late parents, Les and Kay Cass. In the last year of his life my father helped me considerably with the research on educational policy in PNG. My parents spent the best years of their lives in PNG and gave me the inestimable gift of having been born in that marvelous country.

This book is dedicated to their memory.

Philip Cass Auckland, 2014

#### Glossary

#### **Tok Pisin**

Ars bilong sospan: Literally the bottom of a saucepan. PNG mainland term for a Bougainvillean, based on skin colour.

Ars tanget: The strategically placed leaves or grass placed fore and aft to protect one's modesty and vital organs. Not to be confused with ars grass. This is what expatriates used to call ars tanget, but it really means pubic hair.

Arsples: Literally the place behind. A person's place of origin or birth. If somebody asked me: "Wanem arsples bilong yu?" I would reply: "Arsples bilong me emi Wewak taun."

Balus: Aeroplane.

*Boi:* A corruption, via Portugese, of bhoi, a bearer or servant. In Tok Pisin, a servant, as in hausboi, or cookboi. It does not necessarily mean a young person.

Didiman: Agricultural extension officer.

*Doktaboi:* A local medical assistant trained to give basic treatment at a village aid station. Known in the German times as a *heiltultul*.

Grassruts: Literally the grassroots. Villagers, the urban poor, those at the bottom of the heap.

*Gris:* Literally grease. The art of lying, cajoling and flattering; an indispensable political accomplishment.

Guria: An earthquake.

Kanaka: A Polynesian loan word meaning, in its original sense, a man. In Tok Pisin, it became a term of abuse by expatriates.

Kes bilong singaut sapos yu paitim em long han. Also Bokis sapos yu paitim em, emi kraiaut: Largely mythological phrases, supposedly meaning a piano. Frequently cited but almost certainly expatriate inventions, along with Mixmasta bilong Jisas Kraist (for a helicopter) and Kerosin lamp bilong Jisas (the moon).

*Kiap:* In a general sense, any Administration officer, but in particular, the field officers who worked in the districts rather than in headquarters in Port Moresby.

*Lapun:* Old.

Liklik: Small, or young.

Longlong: Mad.

Lotu: Church or mission. A Polynesian loan word.

Luluai: A person appointed by the Administration to act as its representative in his

village. The Australians adopted this system from the Germans.

Masta: Any white man.

Manki: A young person, or liklik manki for a very young person.

Missis: Any white woman.

Meri: A woman. A woman working as a housekeeper would be a hausmeri.

Patir: (literally 'Father') A Catholic priest.

Puri puri: Magic.

*Raskol:* Literally 'rascal.' A member of a criminal gang. Generally young, often an embittered high school or university dropout. Sometimes, as when running the drugs trade at *UPNG*, a student. The product of the belief, expressed by people like Oram, that urban drift was inevitable and that having a mobile workforce was good for a modern economy.

Redskins: Bougainvillean term for a Papua New Guinean from the mainland, based on their lighter skin colour.

Singsing: A feast with singing and dancing to mark special occasions that could go on for hours or days.

Susocks: Literally 'shoes and socks.' A term used to denote an office worker, who wore shoes and socks.

Talatala: A Polynesian loan word used to denote a Methodist minister.

*Tok Lotu:* Literally 'Talk of the church.' My own neologism for the language adopted as a vehicle for evangelisation by a particular church.

*Tok Pisin:* The *PNG* variety of Pidgin. Other Melanesian pidgins include Solomon Islands Pijin, Vanuatu Bislama and Torres Straits Broken English.

Tok Ples: Literally 'Talk of the Place.' The indigenous languages.

Tultul: The Luluai's assistant.

Waigani pisin: The heavily anglicised *Tok Pisin* spoken by *PNG* politicians. Another of my neologisms.

Waildok: Literally, a wild dog. Or, in the Phantom's case, his wolf, Devil.

Waitskin: A derogatory Tok Pisin term meaning a white man.

Wantok: Literally one who speaks the same language; a friend.

#### Kuanua

*Kivung:* The traditional decision making body of the Tolai.

Kuanua: The language of the Tolai people.

*Tolai:* The indigenous people inhabiting the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain. The Tolai appear to have originally migrated from New Ireland via the Duke of York Islands.

#### Motu

Sinabada: Term used to address an expatriate woman. In its original sense, used to denote a woman of status.

*Taubada:* Term used to address an expatriate man. In its original sense, used to denote a man of status.

#### Dobuan

*Dimdim:* In its original form dimudimu the word means stranger. With its corrupted pronunciation the word came to mean an expatriate.

#### Note:

The translations of individual words in the glossary of Tok Pisin and Tok Ples words are meant to give an idea of the meaning and intention of a word or phrase. Some words have, as indicated, literal meanings, but others, such as susocks, create a meaning by description. The translations of quotations from Tok Pisin newspapers are more direct since the meaning is usually clear in the text.

#### **Acronyms**

ABC: Then the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Its main radio station in PNG was 9PA.

ANGAU: Australian New Guinea Administration Unit.

ASOPA: The Australian School of Pacific Administration.

BSIP: The British Solomon Islands' Protectorate.

CRA: Conzinc Riotinto Australia.

MSC: The Missionarium Sacritisimi Corda, a French missionary order. Also known as the Missionaires du Sacre Couer or Sacred Heart missionaries.

NBC: The National Broadcasting Commission, successor to the ABC in PNG. The NBC also took over the administration's network of radio stations.

RSL: The Returned Servicemen's League. Its full title was the Returned Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia.

SVD: The Societas Verbo Divini, a Catholic missionary order, founded in Germany but with its mother house in Steyl, Holland. Commonly referred to as the Divine Word mission. Sometimes referred to in earlier texts as the Steyl mission and the Holy Ghost or Heilige Geist mission.

TP&NG: The Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The 'and' was dropped to become TPNG and then 'Territory' was dropped to become PNG. I have generally used Territory in the chapters on PNG in the 1950s and 1960s and PNG or Papua New Guinea for the later period.

UPNG: University of Papua New Guinea.

And finally:

When I refer to 'the war' I am referring to the Second World War, specifically the period from the Japanese invasion in 1942 to their surrender in 1945

#### **Chapter One**

#### The Turning Mirror

Writing in 1967, the Australian historian Hank Nelson observed in his pioneering survey of the press in PNG:

"...In Papua and New Guinea...the press has a special use: It provides a continuous record of what the European community thought of Papua and New Guinea and its people. The expatriates are constantly, overtly or implicitly, evaluating the country and the people. In doing so they make clear their assumptions on one subject over a period of time that cannot be found to the same extent in, say, a country newspaper in Australia."

Nelson's comments could be applied to the whole of the Pacific, for the commercial press was an expatriate creation aimed at an expatriate market. Throughout the islands it provided a mirror to their lives and showed themselves fairly accurately as they were. The attitudes expressed in letters to the editor and editorials are as important as the headlines and news stories, for they show what some expatriates thought about the countries in which they were living. The newspapers show an expatriate population expressing attitudes that were often at variance with official policy and out of sympathy with the needs of the indigenous population. It sometimes shows us what the indigenous population thought and did, but just as often their omission from the pages of the daily or weekly press leaves us to draw our own conclusions. From this we can trace an outline, at least of the changing relationship between the sinabada and the haus meri and the taubada and the haus boi. (The fact that an expatriate couple might be addressed as sinabada and taubada in Papua, but as masta and missis in New Guinea did not change the fact that the meri and haus boi remained just that.) Relationships between expatriates and indigenes did change in the period covered by this book; indeed a seismic shift in power, in attitudes and in relationships between expatriate and indigenous people occurred during these two decades.

This book draws on the commercial and church press - and, to a certain extent, official and mission publications - to draw a picture of how those changes occurred and what they meant to the country. The press can be a valuable source for historians, not just as a first draft of history, but as a means of understanding the day to day lives of citizens and their concerns. This is particularly true when a newspaper serves a small community. Stuart's history of Port Moresby, for instance, is all the better because he uses the *Papuan Courier* to show what the expatriate community was doing and thinking.<sup>2</sup> In the current narrative the Rabaul Times will serve as just such a mirror of a small expatriate population. The press also provides valuable insights into particular episodes and processes as well as broad historical periods. The *Post-Courier* provides an example of a paper which reported on local stories that often had national significance in a time of unprecedented social and political change in

<sup>1</sup> Nelson, H., 'The press in Papua and New Guinea,' <u>Paper presented at UPNG history research seminar</u>, Waigani, October 25, 1967.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby Yesterday and Today, Pacific Publications, Port Moresby, 1973.

the Territory. Wantok provides us, across a five year period, the application of the media to promote health, education, human development and national identity.

To different degrees Wantok and the *Post-Courier* offer examples of development communication and journalism at work. Stevenson defines development journalism, somewhat narrowly, as:

"A modern adaptation of development information to support political development. This includes identification with a state rather than a tribe, or traditional culture, recognition of a political leader as a symbol of the state, and mobilisation of a nation's mass media to support political change." 3

Stevenson argues that developmental journalism eventually became so identified with a political regime that it became more-or-less protocol news, a process also identified by Martin and Chaudhary. I have argued elsewhere that while this is certainly true in Africa and Asia, it has not been the case in the Pacific where developmental journalism has been absorbed by the mainstream press to produce a hybrid which retains the inherited Western model of the press as watchdog, but is also a forum for progressive social ideas, emphasising human rather than state development. The *Post-Courier's* reporting on the Bougainville crisis, which is dealt with in chapter five, can be interpreted as supporting national goals over local and promoting the Panguna mine as an iconic emblem of the territory's economic future. As I show in chapter seven, Wantok educated its readers about the significance of the political and social changes taking place around them. It also promoted Michael Somare as a leader and national symbol to its readers, although as an individual and Chief Minister and not as the leader of the Pangu Party.

Stevenson locates the origin of development journalism in Philippines, arguing that this was where it departed from its original form of developmental communication, a form most commentators see as having its origins in the US Farm Administration's extension services programmes in the 1930s. Stevenson appears to regard such goals as literacy, health education and better farming practices - which he identifies with development communication - as practical and neutral, while those of developmental journalism are presented as political. Godbold identifies the didiman agricultural extension programme in PNG as a significant agent of social change.<sup>5</sup>

The role of development journalism in PNG continues in chapter eight where I report on contemporary arguments about whether the media are now too Western (for which read Australian) in style, and whether there should be a return to more basic forms of development communication. In a brief survey of the press in Melanesia in the same chapter I argue that the Pacific has witnessed the birth of a second wave of development journalism in which reporting and concerns for human rights and social and economic development have become embedded in the type of newspaper reporting inherited from Australia, New Zealand and the UK.<sup>6</sup>

This book sets out to examine the emergence of political awareness and power among the indigenous people of PNG through the press. It is, in effect, a history of the press in Papua

<sup>3</sup> Stevenson, R.L., Global Communication in the Twenty-First Century, Longman, New York, 1994, pp237-239.

<sup>4</sup> Martin and Chaudhary, Comparative Mass Media Systems, Longman, New York, 1983, pp147-150.

<sup>5</sup> Godbold, K., 'The Didiman and Agricultural Policy; Creating Social change in Papua New Guinea, 1945-1975,' Paper presented to the Social Change in the 21st Century conference, Queensland University of Technology, October 28, 2005. Wantok became involved in a didiman project in the 1980s, running a weekly comic strip to accompany a radio programme on better farming methods.

<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed argument along these lines, see Cass, P., 'Inherited colonial commercial model, but remarkably diverse,' in *Pacific Journalism Review*, Auckland University of Technology, X:2.

New Guinea told in a series of snapshots. It is not a continuous, flowing narrative and it does not claim to cover every newspaper or all aspects of their coverage of events in what was, for most of this story, the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. While it outlines the history of the commercial press before the Second World War, it focuses on the period from 1950-1975 when the Territory was being re-built and prepared, however fitfully, for the future. Papua and New Guinea had begun as two separate entities; the former, Australia's only successful attempt to create a colony of its own, and the second a captured German territory that had been placed under a League of Nations Mandate. Before the Second World War Papua and New Guinea had separate administrations, but came under the joint administration of ANGAU in 1942, a situation formalised under the Papua New Guinea Act of 1949. A United Nations Mandate replaced the League of Nations Mandate over New Guinea. Australia had specific obligations under the UN trusteeship in terms of its development and these made it clear that Australian rule would not be permanent.

However, the record shows clearly that successive Australian governments, while happy enough to acknowledge that they would one day hand over the Territory to the locals, were lackadaisical in their approach to the future. The Port Moresby-based administration was hampered by the often vexatious relationships between the Administrator and the Minister for Territories in Canberra, by under-staffing and low budgets and by a fear of being seen as developing a 'colonial' attitude.9 It often seems that few people in Canberra really wanted to know what was going on in the Territory or in the wider Pacific and that the Territory was something of a nuisance, although serving and future Prime Ministers Menzies, Gorton and Whitlam all visited. Long term plans were not made and little attempt, if any, was made to collaborate with the other metropolitan powers administering territories in the region. This is not to say that there were no ideas or suggestions about how the future was to be managed. As we shall see in chapter two, because of the service and support of Papua New Guineans during the Second World War there was a tremendous amount of public goodwill towards the people we used to refer to as 'the natives'.

As we shall see in chapter two, there was a tremendous amount of public goodwill towards the people we used to refer to as 'the natives' because of their service during the Second World War.

There were many views on what should happen to the Territory. As we shall see in the chapter on the *Rabaul Times* there was a definite sentiment in many quarters for the Territory to become a seventh state of Australia. This was never going to happen, although perhaps the Papuans might have had a legal claim to some sort of closer political association with Australia. There were those who felt that Australia would rule in TP&NG and keep the UN at bay for ever. Such people were a minority and clearly oblivious to the winds of change blowing through the casuarina trees on Ela Beach. There were others who felt that the future lay in close collaboration with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, particularly since this was also seen as offering a chance to draw the European powers into an alliance that would thwart Indonesian claims on Dutch New Guinea.

<sup>7</sup> By the late 1960s TP&NG had been shortened to TPNG. For the sake of simplicity, I shall refer throughout the text to either the Territory or PNG.

<sup>8</sup> Other Australian ambitions in the Pacific were less successful. There had been intense pressure from Sydney business interests to annexe Fiji, which came to nothing and some wild talk of taking New Caledonia from the French in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. German New Guinea was captured by Australian troops in 1914. Thompson, C., Australian Imperialism in the Pacific, Melbourne University Press, 1980, pp5, 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> Rachel Cleland tells how the Minister for Territories, Sir Paul Hasluck, reprimanded her husband, the Administrator Donald Cleland, after a new concrete gate was built at Administration headquarters in Port Moresby. The Minister upbraided Cleland for developing a 'house on the hill' mentality. It is ironic that the ruling Liberal Party should have had such attitudes when its ranks included Sir Richard Casey, the last Governor of Bengal. Cleland, R., *Pathways to Independence*, the author, Cottesloe, 1985, p139.

J.R.Kerr, the former principal of the Australian School of Pacific Administration in Sydney, suggested the formation of a Melanesian federation comprising Dutch New Guinea, TP&NG and possibly the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. Kerr suggested that this would ensure the acceptance of an independent Melanesian state on Australia's terms. He clearly thought this would be the best guarantee of a viable future for the region's indigenous inhabitants. It is worth noting Kerr's proposal at some length:

"Political independence is to be the goal but there must be a close and permanent economic and cultural partnership between Australia and the new independent country. The political independence should be within the British Commonwealth similar to those new states emerging in Africa today. Such a goal will make it much easier to bring West New Guinea into a unified administration than would a policy of the incorporation of New Guinea territories into a seventh Australian state or any other form of political partnership with Australia. The United Kingdom would give her support." 10

The idea still seems to have merit 60 years on. Perhaps if Casey had been Prime Minister instead of Menzies the idea might have stood a better chance. If it had been implemented it might well have worked and eventually drawn in the New Hebrides as well. Perhaps, too, it might have gone the same way as British creations such as the Central African Federation and the Federation of Caribbean states or the Federation of Malaysia and Singapore, all of which eventually broke apart.

In any case, the Administration officers in the field, the kiaps, the teachers and their indigenous assistants, the doktabois, polis bois and tultuls, faced more immediate problems. TP&NG covered the eastern half of New Guinea. At the beginning of this narrative the western half was controlled by the Netherlands and known as Dutch New Guinea. The task facing Australia after the war cannot be over-estimated. The areas fought over by the Japanese and Allied armies were devastated and had to be rebuilt from the ground up. The Highlands had only been explored by Australians not long before the war and were not developed. Government services had been meagre before the war and were not established in many areas. In most places there were no roads outside the towns, intermittent air and sea services, radio instead of telephones, few hospitals or doctors and a tiny band of Australian officers trying to restore some order to the lives of three million people with more than 800 languages and dialects and almost as many cultures. For many indigenous people perpetual warfare, sorcery, starvation and disease were a fact of life. Cannibalism was not unknown (although usually ritual rather than gustatory) and in some places infanticide was the only way to maintain the delicate balance between population and food. That the Australian Administration and its officers achieved so much in the next three decades was simply remarkable. What is equally remarkable is that the misunderstandings, blunders and tragedies that feature in this narrative did not happen more often.

For tragedies there were. It took too long for some people in power to realise that the prewar days and pre-war ways of doing things were gone; too many people did not understand that Australia would not be in PNG forever and too many people in Canberra thought they knew what was best for PNG, even though they had never been there. This book is a narrative history set in the last 25 years of Australian administration. It attempts to put the events described into context – for narrative history, like any story, can only be fuller understood within a broader framework - and tries to show the press and the people in their proper place. The events on the Gazelle Peninsula, for instance, cannot be understood without looking at the immediate post-war conditions or without making some comparisons with what happened before the war.

While this book is about how newspapers in PNG responded to or reported on political change, it is not about politics, except in a broad sense. There are no minute discussions

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Jinks, B., Biskup P. and Nelson, H., *Readings in New Guinea History*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1973, p365; See also Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship: Papua New Guinea 1945-75*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1980, pp222-223.

of legislation or blow-by-blow accounts of what was said in the House of Assembly. Certainly, much of the book is about politics in the sense of political parties, governments, administration and so on. However, much of what it discusses is political in the broader sense that any social or economic or cultural change has political implications. The decision to adopt one language rather than another for education, the decision to allow Chinese members into the Rabaul planters' association, the decision to print the Nupela Testamen in Tok Pisin, the decision by an Australian woman to have sex with a black man in Port Moresby, were all acts with profound social and political ramifications. The book also seeks to place the newspapers under discussion within a broader historical context by looking at the development of the commercial press before the Second World War and by examining how the press has fared since independence in 1975. It also seeks to place events in PNG against the wider question of the Melanesian press and its reflection of political and social developments by sketching the situation in the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Fiji. Where appropriate, I have also drawn on experiences and events in other parts of the Commonwealth outside the Pacific. Nigeria provides some parallels with the experience of expatriate life and the former German colonies of Namibia and Tanzania offer contrasting models of language policies and attitudes towards indigenous languages under the German and British colonial regimes. The behaviour of politically astute mining companies in Zambia is in stark contrast to the path taken by Conzinc Riotinto Australia on Bougainville. This book examines three newspapers in depth: *The Rabaul Times* (1957-59), the *Post-Courier* (September – December 1969) and Wantok (1970-75). The papers have been selected because of their importance to the development of the press in PNG and because of the issues they covered and what they represented. The time frames examined are not equal: The Rabaul Times lasted for only three years, but it is important as a reflection of what was probably the closest thing to a planter society that PNG had. The tragic shootings at Navuneram were the prelude to much that was reported by the Post-Courier a decade later. The Post-Courier is included because it was PNG's first daily newspaper. The book covers only the first six months of that paper's life, but in that compressed period are reflected the first organised resistance to CRA on Bougainville, the rise of the Mataungan Association on the Gazelle Peninsula, the South Pacific Games and a dozen other issues. Not the least of these was the announcement by Gough Whitlam that when Labor came to power, self-government and independence for PNG would swiftly follow. It was in the wake of Whitlam's announcement that Wantok, PNG's first truly national newspaper and the first successfully sustained attempt at a Tok Pisin newspaper aimed at the indigenous population, was launched. The first five years of Wantok's life are covered here and if this is the longest period afforded to one newspaper it is simply because the struggling weekly was the one paper capable of speaking directly to the grassruts at the period of the country's most intensive political change and explaining those changes to them. Readers may question why I did not include the New Guinea Courier or the South Pacific Post in this book. I chose to focus on the Rabaul Times, the Post-Courier and Wantok because of the importance of the issues they were covering and their relevance to PNG as a whole. Having said that, I have taken pains to give the New Guinea Courier's subsidiary, NuGini Toktok its due place in the story of the Tok Pisin press and to acknowledge it as a precursor of Wantok. The South Pacific Post is part of the story of its successor newspaper, the Post-Courier. A book examining the New Guinea Courier and other early publications would be a completely different book to this, and one would that be most welcome, as would a full account of the South Pacific Posts' development. These, however, are tasks for another day.

The next chapter of this book begins with an examination of what kind of idea Australians and other expatriates might have gained about PNG from the press and the media in

Australia before they went to the Territory, and what sort of image of the Territory they received when they got there. It asks questions about what kind of people went to the Territory, how they behaved when they were there, and how their lives were structured. It considers the strains endemic in any rapidly (but unevenly) developing society through reports of cargo cults, one of the great staples of press reporting about PNG. The chapter asks whether these really were just pseudo-magical movements or misunderstood self-help groups that presaged a kind of micro-nationalist consciousness among the indigenous people.

The existence of these movements also needs to be seen against the development of more overtly political movements such as those which appeared on the Gazelle and which are examined in chapter three. Here, traditional power structures like the kivungs were adapted to modern political needs. This led to a change in the relationship between kiap and villager, the misunderstanding of which by expatriates contributed to the tragedy at Navuneram. Such an understanding informs the third chapter, which examines the way in which the Rabaul Times reported on the shootings and the subsequent enquiry. This has to be seen against its general reporting on expatriates and indigenes and the quite radical changes that were taking place in Rabaul society at the time. Because of the power of the plantation community and the RSL, the changes in relationship between the Tolai and expatriates were much more acute than they were elsewhere. For all its reporting of the views of traditionally conservative expatriate voices such as the RSL and the planters' community, the Rabaul Times emerges as a newspaper willing to tackle difficult issues, such as race, and to express views that were, for their time, quite enlightened. Indeed, there are times when the *Times* appears to have been somewhat ahead of some of its readers in its views of the indigenous. Chapter four begins with an examination of a very different expatriate population in Port Moresby, the Territory's capital. While it aspired to be a national paper, the *Post-Courier* was very much a product of Port Moresby and so many of its stories reflect the reality of life in the capital rather than the rest of PNG. The year 1969 was probably the most significant in the period of the Australian administration of Papua New Guinea: it was certainly the last in which any Australian government could delude itself that it could permanently put off establishing a firm date for the Territory's independence and preparing her people for self rule. By the end of 1969 senior indigenous and expatriate leaders like the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Sir John Guise, and the former Administrator, Sir Donald Cleland, were speaking through the *Post-Courier* to tell its readers that independence could no longer be delayed and that expatriates had to be ready to accept the fact. This was a significant departure from the view of the Rabaul Times a decade earlier that the Territory's best hope lay in partnership with Australia, possibly as a seventh state. Chapter four examines these changes against a tumultuous background, with war in Vietnam, the first moon landing, questions of urban unemployment and squatter camps in Port Moresby and the stand-off between riot police and Mataungan supporters in Rabaul.

Chapter five extends the story of the *Post-Courier* to examine its coverage of landowner resistance to the development of the Panguna copper mine on Bougainville. The paper's coverage of the events shows all of the *Post-Courier's* strengths and weaknesses. As a Port Moresby-based newspaper it had to hope that its correspondents could phone or telex in their copy in time for it to be set for the midday print run. However, photographs of the events might not appear until the next day or the day after because they had to be physically flown back to Port Moresby. Chapter five shows that the *Post-Courier* made a sincere effort to let the protestors speak, but that it compounded an error made by CRA and the Administration by talking to the local men instead of the women who were the actual custodians of the land. While an acknowledgment of matrilineal land ownership

would probably not have made any difference to CRA's purchase of land, it may have given the media a more detailed – and perhaps different – view of the situation.

Chapter six moves away from the expatriate press to consider Tok Pisin and the question of Tok Pisin publications. While the chapter focusses on *Wantok* niuspepa, it acknowledges earlier publications, most notably the Lae-based *Niugini Toktok*.

The question of why a market for Tok Pisin newspapers arose devolves from an examination of the place of Tok Pisin in the Territory and specifically upon a study of the Administration's education and language policies (itself a response to pressure from the United Nations) and its effects on literacy. This in turn revolves around questions of language as an agent of identity and of status.

An important part of this book deals with the role of Papua New Guinea's lingua franca, Tok Pisin, in the history of that country's press in the pre-independence period. Tok Pisin would not have been acceptable, or useful, as a newspaper medium if its status had not been significantly enhanced by its use as a language of the lotu and by persistent attempts to provide it with a stable orthography and grammar.

Hellinger cites Mulhausler as describing several status types for a language: Legal, linguistic, functional and socio-psychological. These appear to be hierarchical, with socio-psychological – the stage at which a language becomes identified with a society, group or personal identity – at the top. The change of a language's status correlates with functional expansion and change. The more a language is used and the more it is identified with social functions of increasing importance, the greater its status.<sup>11</sup>

"Tok Pisin enlarged its functional range; it was used in more domains, such as commerce, industry, lower level administration and the media. This change in functional status was accompanied by structural innovation in the area of sentence and phrase structure... marking of tense, aspect and number – the exploitation of word formation etc." <sup>12</sup>

While the focus in this book is on Tok Pisin, its success as a national lingua franca should be seen against a wider linguistic picture, not just the hundreds of Tok Ples, but the other official languages: English and the Papuan lingua franca Hiri Motu. Mulhausler describes these as having the highest level of social status in Papua New Guinea.<sup>13</sup>

The Administration's policy of using English as the language of education, the virtual elimination of some missions' Tok Ples schools, and the churches' later support of Tok Pisin as a lotu language caused a cultural and social upheaval. The chapter argues that by insisting on English, the Administration forced the closure of mission-based Tok Ples schools, thus weakening the power of Tok Ples as a language of identification at clan or lotu level. This was replaced to varying degrees by Tok Pisin which had been spread by the migration of labourers and by the adoption of Tok Pisin as a church language by the mainstream churches. This was especially so after the publication of the *Nupela Testamen*, an ecumenical project involving the Lutheran and Methodist churches and the Catholic Divine Word missionaries. The chapter points out, however, that Papua already had its own lingua franca in Motu and that the spread of Tok Pisin was actively resisted in the southern part of the Territory. However, the spread of Tok Pisin was sufficient for it to replace English as the main language of literacy for many people and this created the audience for *Wantok* 

Chapter seven continues the story of *Wantok*. The stories of Tok Pisin and Wantok represent a turning of Nelson's mirror to reflect upon the aspirations and hopes of the indigenous

<sup>11</sup> Hellinger, M., 'Function and status change of Pidgin and Creole Languages,' in Ammon, U. and Hellinger, M., Status Change of Languages, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1992, p279.

<sup>12</sup> ibid, p277

<sup>13</sup> Mulhausler, P., 'The changing Status of Melanesian pidgin English,' in Ammon and Hellinger, p277.

people. By closely examining its uses of letters to the editor, its advertising policies and its commitment to political education, chapter seven seeks to place *Wantok* not just in a context of rapid change in PNG, but in the broader context of the Catholic Church's commitment to social justice.

Chapter eight places the story of the press and political developments in a wider context by comparing events in PNG with those in three other Melanesian countries: Fiji, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the New Hebrides. While such comparisons must of necessity be brief, they do make it clear that only in Fiji was there a sufficiently large expatriate population and commercial base to tempt anybody to establish a newspaper. In the BSIP and the New Hebrides (which became the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, respectively) commercial newspapers barely existed before independence and while some publications reflected political ideas, they were never in any way comparable with what was being done in PNG. The chapter concludes with an examination of the way the press has developed in PNG since independence.

This book follows three closely linked trajectories:

Firstly, it begins with the narrowly focussed, purely local *Rabaul Times*, moves on to the first newspaper to regard itself as a national daily - albeit one still aimed at expatriates - and ends with the arrival of a tiny, fortnightly paper with national ambitions, which ignored the expatriate market and focussed entirely on local people.

Secondly, it begins by considering the role of local cargo cults and micronationalist movements, examines a localised issue in the Navuneram tax riots, broadens the scope to consider a landowner struggle which had national implications, and concludes with an account of how the indigenous press helped educate the indigenous people about political parties, parliamentary politics and elections as Papua New Guinea moved towards independence.

Thirdly, it traces, through its accounts of the different newspaper's accounts of these events, how the attitudes of expatriates to PNG changed and how the voices of PNG nationals emerged to compete with those of the expatriates.

While the descriptions of the particular events and of the newspapers are discrete, each is connected to the other and certain characters emerge again and again. Gus Smales, editor of the *Rabaul Times* in the 1950s, reappears in the account of the *Post-Courier's* coverage of the Arawa dispute. He also has links with the *New Guinea Times Courier*, whose publication of *NuGini TokTok* is sometimes forgotten in the accolades rightly heaped upon *Wantok*. Fr Frank Mihalic, the SVD priest who started *Wantok* also figures prominently in the chapter on Tok Pisin because he was instrumental in setting standards for Tok Pisin's orthography and grammar. Jack Emanuel, who fired the first shots at Navuneram reappears, tragically, in the story of *Wantok*. Different parts of PNG emerge as powerful, if unexpected, centres of the press. Rabaul and Port Moresby are logical loci for the press, but Wewak would have seemed a most unlikely site for the birth of a national newspaper. Similarly, while the *Rabaul Times* and the *Post-Courier* could draw on core expatriate audiences in the national and regional capitals, *Wantok's* founders knew instinctively that they had an audience, but still had to go out and find it.

Where appropriate, I have used other publications to illustrate particular points. The district administration in East New Britain published *Rabaul News* in Tok Pisin for distribution to local people. It provides an intriguing example of what we would today call 'spin' in the way it reported the removal of Keith McCarthy as District Commissioner.

This book is based on my PhD thesis and something needs to be said about the circumstances surrounding its research and writing. I was working in Abu Dhabi at the time and the nearest source of PNG newspapers was in London, at that fabulous institution the British

Newspaper Library at Colindale. <sup>14</sup> I spent many frozen hours travelling there and back on the Northern Line of the London Underground, seeking warmth in the runny baked beans and hot tea of the railway café which stands opposite the library. There I found all the PNG newspapers except *Wantok* and the *New Guinea Courier*. I eventually found *Wantok* at the National Library in Canberra, where the staff happily located all the volumes I needed. Some things I was never able to find. The *New Guinea Courier* eluded me completely and a set of the scurrilous – and eventually banned – Port Moresby magazine *Black and White* disappeared en route to my brother's house in Darwin.

One of my most important sources of information on the birth of *Wantok* and its early years were the archives of the Divine Word mission's headquarters in Mt Hagen. I stayed at the SVD's house in December 1992 and was invited to have a look through a room full of documents and cardboard boxes in case I found anything interesting. I came away with 32 pages of notes - a few of which were useful for the MA thesis I was researching at the time - and a strong conviction that the rest of the material would be useful some time in the future.

I travelled widely in PNG in the early 1990s in pursuit of my MA thesis and on newspaper training projects and wherever I could I stored information that I thought might be useful for later projects. I was able to interview the late Bishop Arkfeld in Wewak and travelled by banana boat to Kairiru Island to speak with Fr Mihalic about *Wantok*. Fr Mihalic gave me a copy of his MS on the early history of *Wantok* with a warning that I was not to use it without his permission. I believe his death has freed me from that obligation and I have quoted from it extensively in the chapter on *Wantok* with many thanks to his departed spirit. It is a combative, opinionated document, much like some of his other material, and is written in the odd third person narrative used by the SVDs. It is, nevertheless, utterly invaluable.

The other document which I found invaluable was Hank Nelson's paper on the press in PNG which he originally presented at a seminar in Waigani in 1967. Dog-eared, battered and with a rusty staple holding the pages together, this remained at the centre of the collection of material I squirreled away over the years. I sometimes feared that it would disappear as I moved around the world, but it has always turned up eventually in some long forgotten carton.

Because I was working in Abu Dhabi I relied to a greater extent than I had expected on the internet for documents, journal articles and other publications. The State Library of New South Wales maintains a wonderful on-line service and its staff tracked down material on the Rabaul Times and the New Guinea Courier for me that I would otherwise not have found. Divine Word University in Madang has put a number of its undergraduate journalism theses on line and, apart from redressing the balance caused by the problem of publishing in PNG, which is discussed at the end of this chapter; this offers a chance to see what the next generation of PNG journalists and academics think about their country's media. There are extremely helpful ventures like the Australian National University's e-press, which makes documents like R.J.May's collection available for free. Services like JSTOR make a great deal of older material available for free and, when it is contemporaneous with the period being written about, it provides an extra sense of what prevailing attitudes were like. However, for every helpful venture like this, there are organisations like Taylor and Francis which seem determined to make access to information as difficult and expensive as possible. A number of organisations help keep the community of former Territorians together, whether they represent specific groups such as former kiaps, graduates of ASOPA, Bougainville CRA

<sup>14</sup> The BNL has now been moved to Boston Spa in West Yorkshire. A reading room at the British Library's St Pancras site was due to open in March 2014. -, 'British newspaper Library moves,' http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspapermoves/index.html

workers, or more general organisations for former expatriates. The magazine of the PNG Australia Association, *Una Voce*, which represents the interests of many former Territorians, is also an important source of expatriates' memories, obituaries and writings.

As one would expect in a work of this kind I have relied to some extent on people's recollections and memories. Oral history is useful for letting us know what people thought at the time and what they recall, but it is important to remember that people tend, if I might quote Shakespeare, to remember with advantage. I have spoken with former journalists like John Ryan and Don Woolford who worked in PNG in the late 1960s and early 1970s. I have also sought comments from people who were simply living in an area to get a feel of what they thought or saw at the time. I have, for instance, quoted the former planter Don Dunbar-Reid, on what it was like to live and work on the Gazelle immediately after the war. Jacinta Jorgon spoke to me about what it was like to work on the early issues of *Wantok* and Anna Solomon, former head of Word Publishing's operations, wrote to me about singing in the school choir at the launch of *Wantok*. Patrick Matbob, now a lecturer at Divine Word University in Madang, spoke to me in Auckland and then wrote to me with his recollections of growing up on the north coast in the early 1970s. Where people have died before I could speak to them, I have sometimes been able to use transcripts of speeches or other statements.

I have tried, wherever possible, to accurately reflect the feeling of the place and the time. The Rev Neville Threlfall, a long time resident of Rabaul, was kind enough to say that I had the feeling of the town in the 1950s pretty right. It was important for me to understand, too, how people like Patrick Matbob and Anna Solomon felt growing up in the closing days of the Australian administration. I have - not too often, I hope - used my own recollections when trying to give an idea of what people were thinking about an issue at the time or what the general atmosphere was. I worked, very briefly but happily, for *Wantok's* sister publication *The Times of PNG*, under Anna Solomon in 1994 and have drawn certain conclusions from my own experiences about reader habits and other matters.

On some issues I have drawn on my own and my family's experiences. I was born in Wewak in 1959 into a family of teachers and administrators and before I was, inevitably, packed off to boarding school in Brisbane, I grew up in the beautiful but very quiet backwater of Milne Bay. I could draw all sorts of strange connections to the events described in these pages. Max Denehy, the Assistant District Commissioner at Arawa who worked with the CRA exploration team, was made District Commissioner of Milne Bay and lived next door to us on Samarai, where my father was District Inspector of Education and my mother a teacher. Jack Emanuel, who was murdered by the Tolai in 1972, married a woman who lived near us on Samarai. I do not claim to recall conversations or to have understood what was being talked about at the time, but in retirement my parents talked endlessly about their decades in PNG and I knew their version of events. In general their recollections were fairly accurate, although I would have to say that my father loved telling a good story and that my mother would sometimes follow one of his yarns by saying: "Well, that story's grown a bit since you first told it."

There is a general feeling among Australians of their generation that Australia did as well as it might have under the circumstances and that they had a great deal to be proud of. This was tempered by an acknowledgement that some blunders had been made and some opportunities lost and a feeling that if Canberra had not interfered so much, more might have been ventured and gained by the officers in the field. There is also a genuine love and affection for a country that was their home for so long that it sometimes took those who spent the longest time in PNG many years to re-adjust to life in Australia.

The feelings of people of my parents' generation are reflected in many of the memoirs and books about PNG that came out in the years after independence, but earlier publications

are just as important. These can be divided chronologically into three periods. Most books from the 1950s and 1960s, like Adam in Plumes and Mountains in the Clouds, are essentially travelogues, with the emphasis on the strangeness of the place and the primitive nature of its people. From the end of the 1960s until independence there was a succession of much more serious volumes and journalists' memoirs like Keith Willey's Assignment New Guinea. ABC journalist John Ryan reached the New York Times best seller list with The Hot Land and was then sacked by the ABC for allegedly writing it on the corporation's time. A number of Australian writers with academic backgrounds began to publish serious works speculating on the future of the Territory. Fisks' New Guinea on the Threshold, published in 1966, took it for granted that major changes were about to happen, but was understandably much less certain about the nature of those changes than books written closer to independence, such as Hastings' 1973 New Guinea: Problems and Prospects and Wolfers' Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea. Published in 1975, the latter examined one of the less pleasant aspects of the Australian rules in the year of PNG's independence. There are exceptions to this: although written in 1972, Stephen's A History of Political Parties of New Guinea is about a political system that is still very much in flux.

After independence there were more volumes of memoirs and reminiscences ranging from rattling good yarns like Jim Sinclair's *Kiap* to more thoughtful and carefully written assessments like Dame Rachel Cleland's *Pathways to Independence*.

Some of these volumes may seem self-exculpatory, as is often the case with books written by people who had to make hard decisions in difficult times. Rachel Cleland's book is a passionate defence of her husband and his work and draws on his own unpublished manuscript. It is invaluable for its presentation of events from the very heart of the PNG Administration, but it does not disguise the fact that her husband could be extremely brusque and that Dame Rachel was probably better liked than Sir Donald. Dame Rachel's book is also important as one of the small collection of books dealing with the lives of women in Papua New Guinea. Other accounts of the lives of women in the Territory on which I have drawn include Bulbeck's *Australian Women in Papua New Guinea*, the anthology *Our Time, but not Our Place*, and Inglis's *Not a White Woman Safe*.

Fortunately for academics, there has been a steady production of scholarly volumes on PNG, largely emanating from the School of Pacific Studies at ANU. While many of these are analyses of particular issues, there have also been excellent collections of articles, potted biographies and so on that give a researcher a solid basis from which to work. One of the main problems for the researcher lies in the fact that so much material is scattered across disparate scholarly journals, often catering to different disciplines. In the case of Bougainville, for instance, one has to delve into ethnography, anthropology, mining and exploration, and general history to piece together a record of what happened. As long as libraries are persuaded to throw out old journals and fall prey to the delusion that today's software will last forever, our task will be that much harder. Central Queensland University, for instance, once made ready to cast out its holdings of the New Guinea Research Bulletin. I am happy to say that I rescued the discarded volumes from a somewhat bemused library staff and have been carting them round the world ever since. I cite several of the Bulletin's monographs on subjects ranging from squatters' camps in Port Moresby to soldier resettlement schemes in this book. Elsewhere I have been able to make good use of the various journals on education in PNG that I found, not too much the worse for wear, in my parents' garage.

There have been some attempts in recent years to present PNG history to a broader audience through programmes made by the ABC and I have drawn on these where possible. The

<sup>15</sup> Expatriate women were delighted that Dame Rachel didn't wear gloves and stockings on official occasions. Protocol demanded that expatriate women dressed the same way as the Administrator's wife and Dame Rachel saved them a lot of discomfort. It seems trivial, but it meant a great deal at the time.

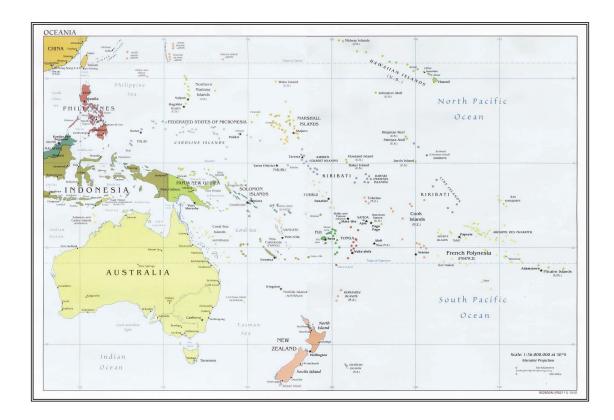
ABC's long serving PNG correspondent, Sean Dorney, has written two excellent books on PNG and made a television series, *Paradise Imperfect*, which provides a broad, but informed, view of the country in the years since independence. Unfortunately, the series is only available as a videotape at great expense from ABC Sales. Fortunately the ABC makes transcripts and, in some case, streamed audio versions of its radio programmes available online. While it is a much earlier venture, Nelson's book *Taim Bilong Masta*, based on a radio programme by Tim Bowden, remains the best insight into what life was like for ordinary Australians living in the Territory. This is not to say that it is comprehensive, for it was produced by editing thousands of taped interviews.<sup>16</sup> *Taim Bilong Masta* is useful because it presents such a range of views, but as with all oral histories, it has its limitations.

The Australian government produced an official history of its involvement in PNG which offers an account that is as accurate as it could be at the time. Ian Downs had written 1.5 million words when he surrendered the work to the government's official committee which then cut it to a single volume. The committee also decided to remove references to Cabinet decisions, thus making it difficult in many cases to understand fully what was going on at a particular time. Some of the more bizarre suggestions made in Cabinet with regard to Bougainville were not revealed until decades afterwards. The official history is probably the best single volume that will be produced on the history of Australia's involvement with PNG up to independence, but it is a cautious work. Given the role of the editorial committee, it is not always apparent who was responsible for the elisions and allusions that occasionally appear. It is possible, with the help of later publications, to fill in gaps and to find the names that are sometimes omitted, but it would certainly be better if Downs' original manuscript could be updated and issued with all the later information as a full, multi-volume, account.

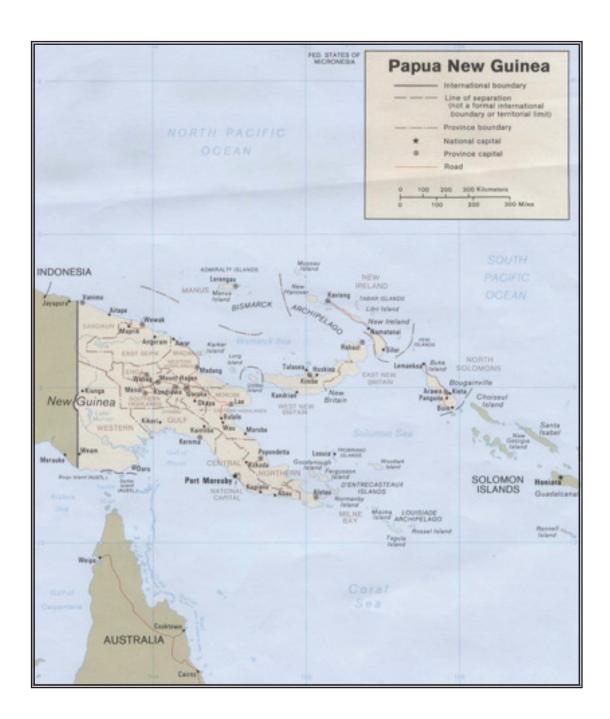
In the years leading up to independence a number of volumes by PNG writers appeared. Some were the product of, or influenced by, the creative writing courses led by Ulli Beier at the newly opened University of PNG. Others were political memoirs or the reminiscences of leading figures. They ranged from Vincent Eri's angry novel *Crocodile*, to Michael Somare's slim, but thoughtful volume of autobiography, *Sana*, which carefully laid out his views on the future of PNG while clearly explaining the resentment he and his countrymen felt at Australia's role in PNG. Since independence only a few books by PNG authors have received attention outside their home country, the most notable for academics probably being John Waiko's short *History of PNG*. The simple fact is that publishing in PNG is expensive and unprofitable unless there is significant outside financial underwriting. This is a pity because it means that a great deal of very good writing by local journalists and academics is never seen outside that country. To some extent this has been redressed by placing work on the internet, as Divine Word University in Madang has done with some its student theses.

However, most of what people know about PNG history comes second hand from former Australian residents, visiting anthropologists, academics and journalists. With the best will in the world, Australians can only really present the story from their own perspective and hope that their version of events will be at least partly balanced by the voices of the PNG nationals they have interviewed and quoted. The story of what happened between 1950 and 1975 is one that both expatriates and indigenous writers must tell.

<sup>16</sup> A proposed second series, Taim Bilong Mitsinari, seems to have been stillborn.



**Map 1.1** Oceania, showing Papua New Guinea in relation to the rest of the Pacific. Map courtesy of the Perry-Castañeda map collection at the University of Texas, Austin.



**Map 1.2** Papua New Guinea. Map courtesy of the Perry-Castañeda map collection at the University of Texas, Austin.

#### **Chapter Two**

### Missionaries, misfits, mercenaries and Melanesians

Thousands of warriors, plumed, painted and bedecked with feathers and boars' tusks pour into the valley, their spears taller and sharper than the kunai grass around them. The air is filled with rhythmic chanting as the men move back and forth in a massive, chaotic singsing. The camera pans down onto the dancers and cuts to medium close-ups of two men, each resplendent in his ceremonial finery... There is a lap dissolve and now the film's titles appear: Walk into Paradise. The titles end and are replaced with a map of New Guinea. A voice-over tells us:

"Today a gallant band of young Australian administrators are bringing civilisation to the most primitive people left on the face of the earth."

Walk into Paradise is no cinematic masterpiece, but it's a good yarn and in 1956 it offered audiences the chance to see, in glorious colour, the beauty of the Sepik and the Western Highlands, and be reminded that here was a Neolithic people being brought into the 20th century by the Australian administration. Chips Rafferty produced and starred in this Franco-Australian film as a patrol officer who leads a party into a previously unexplored valley where oil has been found. The gathering in the valley occurs when Rafferty decides that he needs to flatten the grass in the valley to build an airstrip and so he calls for "the biggest singsing that's ever been heard in New Guinea." After various adventures the film ends with a Qantas De Havilland Beaver landing on the makeshift strip, opening up the valley to the Australian administration.<sup>17</sup>

While there are moments in the film which will make anybody familiar with the place and time chuckle, the film was not always a long way from the facts. The singsing incident was based on a real event involving the Leahy brothers, the Australian administration was pushing into new areas in the Highlands and the film features two genuine participants in that work, Regimental Sergeant Major Somu, who plays RSM Towalaka, and District Officer Fred Kaad.

<sup>17</sup> Walk into Paradise is now available by mail order from the Papua New Guinea Australia Association's website for Aus\$40. https://server3.smallpondserver5.com.au/~pngaa/forms/WIP\_Order\_Form.htm

Clips from Walk into Paradise can be seen at <a href="https://australianscreen.com.au/titles/walk-paradise/">https://australianscreen.com.au/titles/walk-paradise/</a>. See also Larkins, B. (1986). Chips: The life and films of Chips Rafferty, MacMillan, Melbourne, pp98-106. Walk into Paradise marked the beginning of the end of Rafferty's attempt to re-establish an independent Australian film industry. According to Larkins the film was released as Walk into Hell in the United States by the tyro film producer Joseph E.Levine, who inserted shots of tigers and lions to spice things up. An earlier generation of Australian film goers had been able to see Frank Hurley's documentary Pearls and Savages (1921) and two feature films: Jungle Woman (1926) and Hounds of the Deep (1926). Hurley so enraged the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Hubert Murray, that he had to finish one feature in Dutch New Guinea and the other on Thursday Island. Pearls and Savages is ethnographically interesting, but the two feature films seem to be, on the available evidence, fairly standard jungle adventure films remarkable only for having been made in Papua. See Frank Hurley: The Man Who Made History, ABC DVD (2005), and Hurley's biography at <a href="https://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A090408b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A090408b.htm</a>.

Walk into Paradise was just one of many influences on the way Australians saw Papua New Guinea. For Australians going to PNG in the post-war years, views on the indigenous people and what they could expect to find in the Territory were provided by Australian newspaper reports, radio and, occasionally films. Australian newspapers had long been interested in Papua and New Guinea as sources of stories and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century publishers were keen to obtain photographs and stories about the two territories and the Pacific as a whole. During the Second World War PNG was Australia's front line and so became a focus for even closer media attention.

Books published on the Territory after the war, such as *Adam in Plumes*, emphasised the exotic and the different, and indeed one could expect nothing less since PNG was more exotic and more spectacularly different than anything most Australians had ever seen. A few writers like Lawson Glassop sought to evoke the heroic struggle against the Japanese through novels like *The Rats in New Guinea*, a sequel to his controversial work *We Were the Rats.*<sup>19</sup> Stories from PNG in the Australian press tended to focus on natural disasters, such as the Mt Lamington eruption, the exotica of local life, the excitement of exploration of new areas and the discovery of tribes which had never before encountered Europeans. They also, as we shall see, found a great deal to write about in cargo cults.

Throughout the period of Australian administration, the way in which journalists, writers, and others reported on the changing relationship between the expatriates and the indigenous population played a vital role in shaping people's attitude towards social and political change and towards each other.

While this book concentrates on specific episodes after the Second World War, it is necessary to begin somewhat earlier in order to at least sketch the changes in what expatriates thought of the Territory and the views of it presented to them by the press. I begin, therefore, by looking at the reporting of the Port Moresby-based *Papuan Courier*, which was published between the two world wars. As with the *Rabaul Times*, which is examined in chapter two, the *Courier* catered for a small expatriate population and sought to reflect its views and opinions. A reading of the two chapters will show the enormous difference in attitudes and expectations of the two communities only a decade apart.

Much of the material in this chapter sets the stage for what is examined in chapter four, where I discuss the attitudes towards Papua New Guinea to be found in the *Post-Courier* in 1969. To read stories from the *Papuan Courier* or the old *Rabaul Times* from the 1930s or *Pacific Islands Monthly* in the immediate post-war years and then to see what was being written in 1969 is to appreciate just how radically the people, the press, and the Territory changed in 30 years.

After the war Australians were mostly well disposed towards the indigenous people of the Territory, a disposition coloured by war time reports of the bravery of indigenous soldiers and carriers. Few would not have seen Damien Parer's documentary *Kokoda Frontline* in which the parrator declares:

<sup>18</sup> Quanchi, M., 'The power of pictures; learning-by-looking at Papua in illustrated newspapers and magazines,' in *Australian Historical Studies*, XXXV:1, 2004. Quanchi quotes a visitor to Port Moresby in 1923 as saying: there was "a population of 2000 white people in Papua of whom 1782 write articles about anthropology for the Sydney *Bulletin*."

<sup>19</sup> Glassop, L., *The Rats in New Guinea*, Horwitz, Australia, 1963. A second edition was printed in 1964. *We Were the Rats* had been adjudged obscene because of the presence of the word 'bloody' and a scene in which troops in Tobruk pay for the privilege of looking at photographs of naked women. See Glassop, L., biography at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140314b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140314b.htm</a>

"The care and consideration shown for the wounded by the natives has won the complete admiration of the troops. With them, the black skinned boys are white." <sup>20</sup>

Fewer still would not have read the sentimental (but heartfelt) doggerel 'The Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels.'

"Slow and careful in bad places On that awful mountain track And the look upon their faces Made us think that Christ was black."<sup>21</sup>

However, alongside the sentiment and paternalistic goodwill were reminders of the more forthright pre-war attitudes. At the height of the fighting in New Guinea, Lewis Lett wrote, a guide for prospective post-war settlers, and told his readers:

"The most difficult lesson that the settler in Papua has to learn is that the natives are human...different of course [though] they are. And they are also inferior according to our standards. But they are fully human."<sup>22</sup>

It is not surprising that such attitudes existed or that they persisted in the Territory for so long. The Australian press had always been casually racist; the press in the pre-war era was merely more blatant in stating what many people believed at the time. In the decades before the Second World War, the small European population in Papua and New Guinea was served by newspapers which emphasised the superiority of the white man. It is worth considering their attitudes if only to understand the very great difference between their views and those expressed in the post-1945 press. As this book will show, the attitudes towards and depictions of the indigenous people evolved quite dramatically in the decades between the defeat of the Japanese and the granting of independence. However, a consideration of the way the indigenous people were portrayed in the pre-1945 press shows that even in the immediate post-1945 period newspapers had made a quantum leap in their attitudes. The first paper in Port Moresby was the *Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser*, which was set up in 1910 by the former government printer, E.G.Baker. The *Times* said its aim was to "advance the people of this much maligned territory," but it is open to question whether 'the people' actually included the Papuans.<sup>23</sup> Elsewhere the *Times* had declared that "The Papuan must be subservient to his master's race and in this country the Australian must come first with brown brother an also-ran."24 The Times was notoriously anti-Administration and promoted the interests of planters and businessmen who expected the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Hubert Murray, to allow them to exploit native labour as they wished and moaned that he was mollycoddling the indigenous people. The paper declared:

"It is proverbial that the coastal natives and those under the direct influence of Government stations are useless, lying, thieving, loafing brutes, a burden to themselves as well as to the community." <sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Parer's documentary, produced by veteran Australian film maker Ken G. Hall, was the first Australian film to win an Oscar. It and Parer's other war films are available on DVD as *Damien Parer's Kokoda Frontline* through FilmWorld.

See also <a href="http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=696&op=page">http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=696&op=page</a>.

<sup>21</sup> The poem first appeared in The Australian Women's Weekly in 1942. It was written on the Kokoda Track by Sapper Bert Beros of the  $7^{th}$  Division,  $2^{nd}$  AIF.

<sup>22</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby Yesterday and Today, Pacific Publications, Port Moresby, p120.

<sup>23</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>24</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby..., P119.

<sup>25</sup> ibid.

The *Times* closed in 1917 after losing heavily in a libel action brought against it by a government officer. With a potential audience of only 1000 Europeans in the whole of Papua, its circulation was never more than 200.<sup>26</sup> The next paper to emerge was the *Papuan Courier*, which appeared in 1918 under the editorship of E.A.James in 1918. The paper appeared every Friday and its readers paid sixpence for its 12 pages, the first four of which, including the front page, consisted of advertising. Stuart describes it as a:

"... rather dull journal, with long grey lines of print, unbroken by cross-heads and containing almost verbatim reports of the meetings of the town's various clubs and organisations; detailed descriptions of the previous Saturday's cricket match, a weekly London letter and a page of odd bits of overseas news which the editor had picked up from radio broadcasts."<sup>27</sup>

Although it was called the *Papuan Courier*, the Papuans themselves were almost invisible, except when they appeared in court or when Administration patrols went into new areas.<sup>28</sup> Inglis has pointed out that Port Moresby in this period was an even whiter town than Darwin: "The Port Moresby white Europeans were the town and made its institutions on the basis of their own whiteness."<sup>29</sup> Papuans were bound by curfews and all manner of restrictions on their movements.

Papuans were not invisible in the offices of the *Courier*, where local people such as Maraki Rau worked as compositors, setting up type and operating the press. Rau's description of his duties, made in an interview many years later, allows us to make some deductions about the kind of press being used.<sup>30</sup> Maraki described his duties thus:

"I make the big picture, I put the iron on the table, I put the lid for the picture for the people, I put in the typing, tie and I put it in the machine and I run it. I make three pages which make six. Monday, Tuesday, I make one. Wednesday, Thursday I make one. Friday I make one and make three. I fold them, six, one, and I take them everywhere to European house they pay six pence in English money."<sup>31</sup>

Rau was obviously expected to do the job of many people. He appears, from his description, to have been a typesetter, a plate maker, printer and delivery boy. It would also appear that the *Courier* was using a hand operated press, which would explain why the production took so long. James would probably have left the inside pages – the news did not begin until page five – until the last possible moment.

European attitudes towards the Papuans were revealed in the letters to the editor. Papuan attitudes towards Europeans are entirely absent. The *Courier* did not bother to find out what they thought and they appear not have written any letters to the editor. Europeans complained about "natives lounging in the street" and failing to move aside when white people approached. With the advent of motor vehicles there were complaints about natives who carelessly let themselves be run over. Europeans complained endlessly about the public baths and the presence of local people on Ela Beach, and were disconcerted to learn that locals could not be barred from the beach because Port Moresby's town limits ended at the high water mark. Those who wrote to complain preferred to remain anonymous, hiding behind pseudonyms.<sup>32</sup> It was as if the expatriates believed that Port Moresby was a purely European town and that Papuans had no right to be there.

<sup>26</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>27</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby..., p122. The Courier carried on the Times' habit of attacking Murray, decrying his "anthropological experiments."; Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>28</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby..., p119.

<sup>29</sup> Inglis, A., Not a White Woman Safe, ANU Press, Canberra, 1974, pp27-28.

<sup>30</sup> Interview on the Vabukori community home page at <a href="http://www.vabukori.com/maraki\_rau.html">http://www.vabukori.com/maraki\_rau.html</a> The interview first appeared in the Post-Courier on September 12, 2000.

<sup>31</sup> ibid

<sup>32</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby..., p117.

Sir Hubert Murray was probably as enlightened a colonial administrator as could be expected at the time. He employed Papuans as boats' crew, employed them on government projects and offered selected groups basic technical training. His methods were constantly criticised by expatriates who feared for the worst. In 1933 a group of medical students was sent to Sydney for training and when the students left to go home they were farewelled by Australians. This outraged the sensibilities of one passenger on the *Macdhui*, which was taking them back to Port Moresby. The passenger wrote a letter under the pseudonym 'Disgusted,' complaining that:

"Scores of white women, boys and girls...fawned on them, embraced and otherwise belittled themselves in the eyes of every sane and clean-minded white present."<sup>33</sup>

The *Courier* made no comment, but reprinted an editorial from the *Rabaul Times* in which it was reported that the Planters' Association had protested to the Australian Prime Minister about the incident. The *Times* thundered that "The maintenance of white prestige is as important a factor as the welfare of the indigenous inhabitants." The *Rabaul Times* was notorious for its blatantly racist attitudes and the pronouncements of its editor, Gordon Thomas, but one wonders whether James – perhaps dependent on or hoping for government printing contracts - simply found it prudent to let his readers express such views rather than expressing them himself. The *Rabaul Times* believed in a strict racial hierarchy and was opposed to any attempt to train New Guineans:

"Trying to make clerks of our natives would be a hopeless task [and] would set a precedent that...would rebound to the detriment of every white man in this country." 35

European fear of the Papuans was assuaged to some extent by draconian measures which controlled the lives of indigenous people living under government control. Perhaps the most notorious of these was the White Women's Protection Ordinance, which was meant to deter any local man from even thinking about having sex with a white woman. The ordinance allowed offenders to be flogged or hanged according to the severity of their assault on white female virtue.<sup>36</sup>

The ordinances, the lurid stories that circulated about hausbois taking advantage of a careless sinabada, can be seen in hindsight as the psycho-sexual manifestations of the Europeans' fear of the Papuans.<sup>37</sup> Writing in 1943, Reed noted that such incidents of rape or assault of European by indigenous men as did occur happened mainly in the towns and were:

"...magnified by frightened Europeans to the point where they appear as assaults on white womanhood in general – in fact on the white race itself." 38

The hysteria generated by the thought of sexual contact between indigenous men and expatriate women reached its peak in 1935 when a five year old girl was believed to have been assaulted by a highly respected member of the Armed Native Constabulary. The trial went ahead even though the town's only private lawyer was away. The sergeant, who was unrepresented throughout the trial, was found guilty and hanged. Two thousand Papuans stood silently outside Koki gaol while he was executed.

<sup>33</sup> ibid.

<sup>34</sup> ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>36</sup> Wolfers, E., Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand Book Company, Sydney, 1975, p56.

<sup>37</sup> Inglis, A., Not a White Woman Safe, p56.

<sup>38</sup> Reed, S., The Making of Modern New Guinea, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1943, p251.

Other controls on indigenous people included bans on attending the same cinema as whites, restrictions on movements and, in the major towns, curfews which forbade the indigenous people to be out after 10pm. These restrictions remained in place, to varying degrees, until the late 1950s. As Larmour points out: "Racial discrimination between 'whites' or 'Europeans' and 'natives' was enforced in great detail in colonial Papua and New Guinea." In order to provide some information for Papuans, the government anthropologist, F.E. Williams, set up the *Papuan Villager* in 1929. However well intentioned it may have been, the *Villager* believed that white men could be imitated, but not equalled:

"The white men know far more than you do. They make and do a lot of things that are quite beyond you. You cannot be the same as the white men and there is no reason why you should be...and you will only look silly if you try to be. It is true that there are many of the white man's ways you can copy...but you can never be quite the same as the white man...When we see a European in native clothes we usually laugh at him." 40

The *Papuan Courier* was shut down by the Australian Army in January 1942 after it criticised the activities of Australian troops in the town.<sup>41</sup> Maraki Rau, who spent six years with the *Courier* and would have been just short of his 24<sup>th</sup> birthday when the paper closed, spent the war working as a carrier and stretcher bearer for the Australian army.<sup>42</sup> The *Courier's* press was taken over by the Army and used to produce *Guinea Gold*, the Army's wartime newspaper.

When the Australians returned to Papua and New Guinea after the war they found that relations with the indigenous people had changed. The old hands were not always best pleased with what they found.

"Returning townspeople...were irritated to find that the old assumptions about white supremacy and black subservience were no longer accepted by New Guineans. In early 1947 the Lae correspondent of the *Pacific Islands Monthly* reported that 'the young native lad in his teens at the outbreak of the war contacted many of our troops with leftist ideas and was treated lavishly. At the same time the young native cultivated, as a result of these casual contacts, a superior tolerance of the white race as a whole.' "43

This is not to say the people's attitudes changed immediately. As we shall see in the coming chapters, the change was gradual, but it was irrevocable. If, as Nelson argues, the press in PNG was a mirror, it was one that reflected a world in which the expatriate's assumptions about the Territory and its people had to undergo subtle, but constant, modification. The fact that more and more Papua New Guineans were involved in writing and producing newspapers; the very fact that they had to be noticed and their aspirations recognised and reported on could not but make the image in the mirror very different from what had gone before.

It would be foolish to think that in the 30 years from the end of the war to independence every European became a generous, open minded, liberal thinker eager to make common cause with 'brown brother.' It would be equally as foolish to condemn every European in the Territory as an evil colonialist hell bent on perpetuating Australian hegemony. Administration officers knew that their task was to prepare PNG for eventual independence, an obligation clearly laid out in Article Three of the United Nations trusteeship agreement for the Territory of New Guinea. This declared that the trusteeship had as its basic objectives:

<sup>39</sup> Larmour, P., 'The Politics of race and ethnicity: Theoretical perspectives on Papua New Guinea,' in *Pacific Studies* XIV:2, June 1992. Larmour points out that the idea of racial difference was accepted by many indigenous people. They were quite used to making a distinction between themselves and people from other tribes, some of whom were markedly physically different.

<sup>40</sup> Stuart, I., Port Moresby..., p120.

<sup>41</sup> ibid, p123.

<sup>42 &</sup>lt;a href="http://www.vabukori.com/maraki\_rau.html">http://www.vabukori.com/maraki\_rau.html</a> . Rau retired to the village of Vabukori in the National Capital District. Vabukori was the birthplace of Sevese Morea, one of the ABC's most prominent national announcers.

<sup>43</sup> Willis, I., Lae Village and City, Melbourne University Press, 1974, p134.

"To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned and as may be provided by the terms of each Trusteeship Agreement."

The first post-war newspaper to appear in PNG was the *South Pacific Post* which appeared on September 20, 1950. The front page of its first edition carried a picture of King George V next to a headline 'Safety depends on development.' The paper's editorial was concerned with safety of another sort, asserting that "One of the most important features of defence in any land is a well-informed public." The editorial ended with the declaration:

"We swear allegiance to the King and acknowledge the British Empire as the greatest single bastion of freedom left in a troubled world."

By the time PNG became independent 25 years later, the empire had vanished, as had the *South Pacific Post*. As we shall see, the two other papers which appeared in the 1950s, the *New Guinea Courier* and the *Rabaul Times*, had also vanished, to be replaced by a single publication with very different ideas about the Territory and very different concerns about the world around it.

What was the audience for these papers? It is an old, but not entirely inaccurate joke that the only white people who went to the Territory of Papua and New Guinea were mercenaries, missionaries and misfits. While not all the white expatriates who worked in the Territory fell into one of these categories, the expatriate population in PNG was certainly not homogeneous. Bulbeck makes useful comparisons with the situation prevailing within the expatriate communities in Nigeria and India to show that the same kind of social divides existed in PNG.46 For expatriates, Territory society was divided both vertically and horizontally and there were clear divisions among each group. Bettison cites an American observer using the word 'caste' to describe the social distinctions between expatriate and indigene, but the term is just as accurately used to describe the expatriate community.<sup>47</sup> Bettison described expatriate as "those residents of the Territory who feel an allegiance not only to the country itself but to Australia or some other overseas country as well." The 1961 census listed 11,685 male and 8,277 female Europeans, including 2,319 full-blood Chinese, 375 people from other Pacific islands and 2,717 mixed-race people. The same census listed 28,000 people simply as non-indigenous, which accounted for 1.4 percent of the Territory's estimated population.<sup>48</sup>

In the 1960s the towns with the largest non-indigenous populations were Port Moresby with 6396, Rabaul with 3462, Lae with 2396, Madang with 691 and Wewak with 560. This accounted for a little more than half the total non-indigenous population of the Territory with Port Moresby, the capital, accounting for only about a quarter of the total non-indigenous population. A good proportion of the Territory's expatriate population were, at the time Bettison wrote, living outside the towns:

<sup>44</sup> Curtin, P., 'Niugini's Political development: Economic Aspects' in Ward, M., (ed.) *The Politics of Melanesia: Papers presented to the fourth Waigani Seminar*, UPNG/ANU, 1970.

<sup>45</sup> *Post-Courier*, September 25, 1950. The first edition of the *Post* appeared two weeks late because of problems with the printing press. The dignitaries invited to attend the launch of the paper stayed until the free drinks ran out and then snuck off in the small hours of the morning. *Post-Courier*, June 30, 1969.

<sup>46</sup> Bulbeck, C., Australian Women in Papua New Guinea, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp56-57.

<sup>47</sup> Bettison, D.G., 'The Expatriate Community,' in Fisk, E.L., (ed), New Guinea on the Threshold, ANU Press, Canberra, 1966, p223.

<sup>48</sup> ibid. Largely for geographical reasons, collecting accurate information on the population of the Territory was incredibly difficult. McArthur estimates the population in 1964 to have been two million, about a third less than the figure quoted by Bettison. McArthur, N., 'The Demographic Situation,' in McDevitt, T., (ed) *The Survey Under Difficult Conditions: Population Date Collection and Analysis in Papua New Guinea*, Human relations Area Files, New Haven, 1987, p5. Wolfers gives a figure for the 1966 census of 2.184 million. Wolfers, P., 'On Coming to One's census,' ibid, p23.

"Expatriates can be found living lonely lives in groups of two or three families at a remote patrol post, school, or trade store. Settlements containing perhaps a dozen houses occupied by government officers, plantation managers and staff, missionaries, or trade stores abound throughout the country." 49

White expatriates were known as Europeans, no matter which country they came from. The Europeans were visibly divisible into government, business, plantations and missions. If one were in business, one might work for the Bank of New South Wales or Steamships or Burns Philip or have some small business of one's own. Planters were also in business, but they might be independent coffee growers, or copra producers, or work for one of the big agricultural companies or the missions, which had sizeable land holdings (indeed it was said that the Catholic mission in New Britain owned more plantations than Burns Philip). Missions were visibly divided among the mainstream churches such as the Methodists, Lutherans, Catholics and Anglicans. The Anglicans tended to be high churchmen, in keeping with the rest of the Pacific. The various Catholic missions had early established their own fiefdoms and there was not always great filial affection between the Marists, the Sacred Heart fathers or the Divine Word missionaries. After World War Two the Lutherans were divided and the Methodists faced the task of becoming a uniting church with the Presbyterians. There were oddities like the Kwato Extension Mission in Milne Bay, which had started as part of the London Missionary Society, then broken away and become a cheerfully English institution devoted to vocational education, practical Christianity, and cricket. 50 Later arrivals such as the Seventh Day Adventists, Assemblies of God and Baptists were tolerated by the existing mainstream missions. Jehovah's Witnesses, on the other hand, were not even accepted as Christian by some missions and the various American evangelical sects were resented for entering areas where there were already long existing and settled

Within the government there were quite marked divisions between the various sections of the Administration. When a department head visited an outstation, a strict protocol was observed as to who was invited to dinner and it was not uncommon for people of only particular departments to socialise after hours. People from Education might socialise with people from Administration, but not with people from the Public Works Department. People from the Administration as a whole might socialise with people from the business community, but looked down on planters or missionaries.

Even in their social lives, expatriates might be strictly segregated from each other in the big towns. In Port Moresby the Papua Club was the preserve of planters and the Papuan Yacht Club belonged to businessmen. Lesser breeds within the law joined the Aviat Club. In smaller towns and outstations these divisions were much less apparent and everybody would gather at the local club – usually the RSL or the golf club - and socialise there. Until 1969 Administration staff took their holidays in three month blocks every two years. In December, when children returned from boarding school in Australia, there would be frequent parties at the local club, augmented by a Christmas party at the District Commissioner's residence.

For children, especially those born and bred in PNG, Australia was a distant place, "down south" where they went to boarding school or on leave with their parents every few years. Administration officers might be re-posted every few years, so children grew up knowing they might move and never see their friends again. By 1969 it was unlikely that they would

<sup>49</sup> Bettison, D.G., 'The Expatriate Community,' p227.

<sup>50</sup> The Kwato Extension Mission regarded itself as enlightened and progressive, and under the leadership of the Abel family it so proved to be. Early in 1994, a few months before he died, I spoke with Sir Cecil Abel (better known as 'Cecilo') on the flight from Port Moresby to Gurney.

mix with indigenous children of their own age. European children went to Primary A schools where they were taught the New South Wales curriculum. Chinese and mixed race children were most likely to be found in Primary A or mission schools. Indigenous children went to Primary T schools which taught a localised curriculum. Unless they lived in Rabaul or Port Moresby, European children could not continue an Australian curriculum after grade six, so they went to boarding school. When they went to boarding school they knew that they might only see their expatriate friends for a few weeks each year in the school holidays. <sup>51</sup>

It was a strange, impermanent sort of world for everybody, but one that was largely accepted. Many people quickly found that what had at first seemed exotic quickly became commonplace, and that they spent their time doing exactly what they would have done in Australia - working, eating and sleeping - while the non-expatriate world faded into the background. Writing about the expatriate community in Rabaul, Wehner noted that:

"Expatriates [went] about their lives, formed memories and relationships, amidst processes of disruption, changing administrative regimes...volcanic eruptions and cycles of invasion, destruction and rebirth." <sup>52</sup>

Some people went to PNG for a few years; others stayed on for decades. Some spent all their lives in small towns or outstations, while others tried to get themselves sent to Port Moresby where, if they were in the Administration, they could join the fight for promotion and power in the corridors of Konedobu.

Life was hardest for expatriate women who did not or could not work outside the home. Unless she arrived to take up a contract on her own, it could be very hard for a woman to work in the Territory. If she was married to an Administration officer she could only be employed on a temporary contract.<sup>53</sup> If they were in one of the big towns they might take solace in doing good works, taking morning tea or in raising their children, but with domestic staff being the norm they might well be tempted to hand the children off to the hausboi or hausmeri. If they lived in one of the smaller towns or an outstation or on a plantation, life could be even harder and lonelier. If they were married to a government officer who went away on patrol for weeks at a time, life must sometimes have seemed unbearable. For the woman who did not, or could not, work and who devoted herself to her family, there were often hard choices to be made about whether the children or the husband and his job came first. As Bulbeck puts it:

"Practising motherhood in a colony was a hard role — dangerous, attenuated, forcing choices between a mother's needs, a child's interests and a husband's job. Women who chose for their children were sometimes seen as deserters, especially if this need took them back to Australia. Women who chose for their husband received little compassion from an administration that only gradually made it possible for white women to raise their children in comfort and security in the Territory." <sup>54</sup>

The outside world penetrated only occasionally. Prime Ministers Menzies and Gorton visited, as did the future Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. Governor Generals also visited. Viscount Slim was popular; making good use of the techniques he had learned in the Burma campaign to put men in the field at ease. <sup>55</sup> Lord DeLisle also visited, but with more pomp. I have a vague memory of a man in a white suit and feathered pith helmet taking the salute on the cricket pitch on Samarai some time in the early 1960s.

<sup>51</sup> Until the 1970s the government only paid for one airline ticket a year, so children usually only came home at Christmas.

<sup>52</sup> Wehner, M., 'Typologies of Memory and Forgetting among the Expatriates of Rabaul,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, XXXVII:1. 2002.

<sup>53</sup> My mother worked for many years on this basis. Of course, once my father became District Inspector (later Superintendent) of Education in the districts to which they were posted, it was remarkably easy for her to find work as a teacher.

<sup>54</sup> Bulbeck, C., Australian Women..., 1992, p73.

<sup>55</sup> Lewin, R., Slim the Standard Bearer, Wordsworth, London, 1999, p305.

For many expatriates in PNG, events in Australia stopped mattering very much, for Australia became a distant country, full of families who complained that PNG was too far away to visit, but who expected their expatriate relatives to travel the same distance to visit them. For such people PNG became the centre of their lives. They began to identify with the country and, in their varied ways, with its future and with its people. There was a strong sense among the early post-war generation that Australia owed something to PNG. Bulbeck quotes a study which found that the British Colonial Service was made up of men who thought of colonialism as "applied philanthropy" rather than an opportunity to make money and something of the same attitude could be found among the new officers trained at the Australian School of Pacific Administration after the war.<sup>56</sup>

No matter how patronising their sentiments may seem to their grandchildren, the generation that worked there after the war was often fired by a genuine feeling that they were engaged in the task of preparing PNG for the future. But what would that future be? The problem was that the expatriates were not the only people in PNG and other communities had other ideas and other hopes. For a start there was a considerable Chinese community, made up mostly of small traders and plantation owners, descendants of the great Cantonese diaspora that left a trail of Seetos and Chans and Lees from Shanghai to San Francisco. They were not indigenous, although some, like the father of PNG's future Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan, married local women. Nor were they European, but left for a long time in that legal limbo vaguely defined as 'Asiatic.' It was only after the Second World War that they were able to stake a claim to Australian citizenship, and after PNG gained its independence many would claim citizenship in the new country instead. The Chinese were often treated badly, as the story of the Rabaul swimming pool in chapter three illustrates. It was claimed that as late as 1970 the Kavieng Club bore a sign reading 'No dogs, Chinese or natives allowed.' The Chinese were often regarded with suspicion and resentment by the indigenous population because of their trade stores and their plantations.

The Chinese reacted either by trying to assimilate themselves into the indigenous community by inter-marriage or by obtaining Australian citizenship. Some sought to use Chinese political parties to form a power base of their own. There was, for instance, an active branch of the Chinese Nationalist Kuomintang in Kavieng and the local member, Perry Kwan, was thought to use it as his power base.<sup>57</sup>

There was another group which floated between the various racial power bases: People who were referred to politely as mixed race and less politely as half-castes. Where a person was of mixed Chinese-indigenous parentage they were usually accommodated within the Chinese community, but if they were of mixed European-indigenous origin, then the story might be very different. In her study of the mixed race people of Fiji, Lucy DeBruce, herself a Kai Lomo, makes the point that racial divides in the British colony were often artificially created and strengthened as a means of reinforcing certain aspects of imperial rule. She also points out that traditionally, people of mixed race were more likely to be welcomed into the indigenous community, (or, if one parent was Chinese, into that community) but rarely into the white world.<sup>58</sup> That situation existed to much the same degree in PNG.

<sup>56</sup> Bulbeck, C., Australian Women..., p60.

<sup>57</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the story of the Kuomintang in PNG has never been fully studied. It is surely a story ripe for exploration.

<sup>58</sup> De Bruce, L., 'Fragmented Identities Among Postcolonial Fijians,' submission to the Hearing on Fijian Unity at <a href="http://www.pih.org.uk/articles/fragmented.html">http://www.pih.org.uk/articles/fragmented.html</a>. Kai Lomo is the Fijian term used to indicate a person of mixed race origins. For a broad-brush survey of colonial sexual relationships see Gill, A., Ruling Passions, BBC Books, London, 1995. Gill's book, written to accompany a television series about the sexual relationships between the British and indigenous people, is aimed at a general readership. While the book ignores the Pacific completely in favour of Africa and India, it does provide a model for how a study of sexual relationships between Europeans and Pacific Islanders might be carried out.

People of mixed European and indigenous blood were usually regarded as an embarrassment. In the *Rabaul Times* in the 1950s we find members of the Rabaul mixed race community whose fathers were Australian soldiers asking to be recognised as a separate racial group and as Australian citizens. <sup>59</sup> Burton-Bradley provides a disturbing portrait of life among the mixed-race community in Port Moresby in the early 1960s, a miniature society riven by self-created class structures built on skin colour. <sup>60</sup> The two people of mixed European and indigenous origins in PNG best known to the outside world are probably Joe Leahy and Sir John Guise. Joe Leahy's struggle to be recognised as the son of the Australian explorer Dan Leahy and to ingratiate himself with his mother's clan through his coffee plantation falls outside the chronology of this book, but it is a story that echoes, in extremis, what many people of similar ancestry experienced. <sup>61</sup> Leahy's bitter descriptions of race relationships illustrate how much easier it was for the abandoned mixed race child to identify with his indigenous relatives than with his white father:

"The whites bossed the local people and pushed them around. The best belonged to the mastas...They never had any friends among the local people. They never ate together. They were up here and the locals down here. It was the same for all white people – miners, missionaries, planters or kiaps." 62

Sir John Guise was also of mixed race origins, but his story is a very different one. Educated at a mission school, he joined the Royal Papuan Constabulary, became a Sergeant Major and decided to stand for the House of Assembly, PNG's first parliamentary body. Sir John was a man of great intellect, angry at the treatment of his people and determined to give them a voice. He was spoken of as a possible first Prime Minister of an independent Papua New Guinea, but instead gave his support to the much younger Michael Somare, who eventually held that post. Guise eventually became PNG's first Governor General. Leahy and Guise's stories are quite different, but they illustrate how difficult life could be for somebody who did not fit into a neat, pre-arranged box that defined their race or their future.

Sexual relationships between expatriates and local people were frowned upon publicly, but often carried on in private. As long as nobody saw anything, then nothing had happened. A scandal only occurred if something was seen. Sexual attitudes varied from place to place. In some areas the local people appeared to regard it as wrong for a single white man to be alone and in a one teacher school it might be considered quite normal for one of the standard four (roughly grade 10) girls to offer her services to a young, single, male teacher. And yet one must ask how much of this sexual hospitality was really part of the local culture or whether it had become normal because expatriate men had come to expect it.

If sexual relations between expatriates and locals were acknowledged, then they were ones which occurred between white men and indigenous women. It might be acceptable (at least to other men) for a plantation owner on an isolated station to take a local mistress and perhaps father a few children. He might even acknowledge them and if he stayed on after independence they might well take over the management of the plantation. Sexual relations

<sup>59</sup> Rabaul Times, July 5, 1957

<sup>60</sup> Burton-Bradley, B.G., 'Mixed-race society in Port Moresby,' in New Guinea Research Bulletin, No.23, March 1968.

<sup>61</sup> Joe Leahy's story is told in three films by Australian film makers Bob Connelly and Robin Anderson; First Contact (1983), Joe Leahy's Neighbours (1989) and Black Harvest (1993).

<sup>62</sup> Connolly, B. and Anderson R., First Contact: New Guinea's Highlanders Encounter the Outside World, Viking Penguin, New York, 1987, p283.

<sup>63</sup> Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, Cheshire/Australian Institute of International Affairs, Melbourne, 1973, p183.

<sup>64</sup> Somare makes it quite clear how much Guise's support meant to the fledgling Pangu Pati. By openly supporting them, Guise was giving them his personal seal of approval, but also sacrificing his own chance of becoming Prime Minister himself. Somare, M., Sana, Niugini Press, Port Moresby, 1975, p90.

between a white woman and a local man were simply impossible. This is not to say it did not happen, but it was a brave woman who did it and a stupid one who did not expect the opprobrium of the expatriate community. Of course a double standard governed the sexual behaviour of expatriate men and women, but so it did in their home countries. Kathy Kituai and Karen Kadiba have written with honesty and courage about their marriages to PNG men and the cultural and social problems they faced from both sides. In the same collection, Trish Reid writes about her decision to befriend and have sex with local men and the uproar it caused. 66

Missionaries often faced problems. It could be especially hard for Catholic missionaries bound by rules of celibacy. One priest who had been in PNG for many years told me that in his early days, when he was working alone in the bush, he had sometimes envied the Protestant missionaries their wives; not for the sex, but because of the companionship. The local perception of the role of sex in expatriate-indigenous relationships is a little harder to gauge because recorded attitudes are so contradictory. However, the attitudes that prevailed in Port Moresby were not always reflected in the villages. Certainly there is some evidence that the indigenous people, especially those who were faithful members of their lotu, were scandalised by the behaviour of some Europeans. The letters pages of *Wantok*, for instance, were filled by people complaining about the introduction of miniskirts.<sup>67</sup> UPNG was regarded by some as a hive of sexual depravity and the behaviour of one ABC announcer in particular was commented on in Port Moresby.<sup>68</sup>

Relations between PNG people and white expatriates were always uneven, even when companionship, experience and years in the Territory caused Europeans to feel great affection towards the country and its people. There was very little informal or social mixing between expatriate and indigenous people.<sup>69</sup> For many expatriates, the daily life of Papua New Guineans remained a closed world. Former Territory resident John Black recalled:

"...native society became an underworld, and only a few of us had the privilege of getting a glimpse of it occasionally...If you get two Europeans they form a little club, a little enclave of Australia and they don't know what's going on."<sup>70</sup>

Until almost the very end of the Australian presence it was uncommon for Europeans to work alongside local people as equals and almost unthinkable that a white man would take an order from a black man.

Race was a fact of life. Whether you were a European, Chinese, indigenous or mixed race mattered. The locals were judged according to where they came from. Expatriates would tell you solemnly that Goilalas were stupid, Kukukukas were cannibals and Orokaiva in general were thieves. Milne Bay people were, by contrast, quiet, industrious types and Manus men were canny businessmen. Of course an expatriate from one district would have an entirely different view of the supposed virtues and vices of the various indigenous people from an expatriate from another district.

From the immediate post-war period onward, the Administration attempted to change the way Europeans spoke about the indigenous population. In 1954 the Department of Territories forbade the use of the word 'native' as a synonym for 'man' in official documents

<sup>65</sup> Bourke, M., Holznecht, S., Kituai K. and Roach L., (eds) Our Time, but Not our Place, Melbourne University Press, 1993, pp32,

<sup>43.</sup> 66 ibid, p53.

<sup>67</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life: Wantok's Wewak Years (1969-1976),' MS.

<sup>68</sup> Bourke, M., Holznecht, S., Kituai., K. and Roach L., (eds), p64.

<sup>69</sup> Bettison, D.G., 'The Expatriate Community,' in Fisk, E.L., (ed.), New Guinea on the Threshold, p227.

<sup>70</sup> Nelson, H., Taim Bilong Masta: The Australian involvement in Papua New Guinea, ABC, Sydney, 1982, p167.

and by 1969 the Administration had banned the use of the words boi, kanaka and meri. <sup>71</sup> By the end of the 1960s many Europeans could be heard making a conscious effort to say "nati...national" instead of "native." This was not just a matter of good intentions. The word 'native' had been introduced by the Methodist missionaries in Rabaul as a way of distinguishing the Tolai, the Bainings and the Duke of York Islanders from the Polynesian pastors who accompanied them. It was not originally intended to have a pejorative sense and probably few expatriates thought of it in that sense.

If they wanted to be rude about the indigenous population, they had other words. Nigger turns up in some early narratives about PNG. The Australian term 'boong' was more common, especially after its use was spread by Australian troops fighting the Japanese. Planters tended to use the word kanaka, or worse, bush kanaka, as a term of abuse. Kanaka is a proto-Polynesian word that simply means 'man' and the indigenous people of New Caledonia are happy to call themselves Kanaks. In PNG, however, it became a term of the most vile abuse.<sup>72</sup> Business people tended to use the phrase 'rock ape.'

Perhaps because of the racial disaster unfolding in the ghettoes of the United States the Australian Administration in the 1960s was sensitive to questions surrounding the relationship between the various races in PNG. When the satirical magazine *Black and White* appeared in Port Moresby, it was regarded with horror by the Administration. *Black and White* was aimed squarely at the expatriate population and had a circulation of about 4000.<sup>73</sup> It was rude, iconoclastic and undoubtedly racist, but its circulation indicates that no small number of expatriates found it funny. However, the inclusion of such cartoon characters as Mary Mango and the Sepik Septics hardly spoke of sensitivity to the racial climate of the time. The Administration had been gradually repealing the more odious pieces of racial legislation, including the infamous White Women's Protection Ordinance and the New Guinea Criminal Code. In 1969 the House of Assembly changed the Discriminatory Practices Ordinance to make discrimination on the grounds of race or colour punishable by law and it was on these grounds that *Black and White* was eventually banned.<sup>74</sup>

Expatriates, of course, continued to make fun of the Territory, with or without the threat of legislation. Most of the jokes are unrepeatable today, but it is worth noting that while the humour was often rough, it was occasionally double sided, giving sideways applause to those it appeared at first glance to mock. There was, for instance, the story of the Chimbu plantation labourer who by some form of puri puri finds himself alone and bewildered in Sydney. Suddenly the plantation owner for whom he works, who is on leave, appears and starts kicking him. "Thank you masta, thank you," says the Chimbu. Puzzled, the plantation owner asks him why he is grateful for being treated so badly. "Oh masta" says the Chimbu, "because it makes everything feel just like home." The joke is a grim one, but it is really aimed at the plantation owner, not the labourer. It says as much about the divide within the expatriate community as it does between white and black.

Sometimes an indigenous character was used to mock expatriates directly, as in this story of a would-be pilot. The young man has been working as a cleaner for Talair and decides that he wants to be a pilot. He applies for a job and is asked with some incredulity by the airline's owner, Dennis Buchanan, whether he actually knows how to fly a Twin Otter.

<sup>71</sup> Wolfers, E., Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, pp129-130.

<sup>72</sup> Its use has changed somewhat. One of my work mates at Word Publishing told me that if he did something stupid he would say to himself: "You stupid kanaka." However, he made it quite clear that while he could use the word with impunity, I would be very careless of my health if I used it myself. It is an interesting case of a term of abuse being appropriated by the person abused; rather like homosexuals branding themselves queer.

<sup>73</sup> Waiko, J., A Short History of Papua New Guinea, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p173.

<sup>74</sup> ibid, p171. The cartoons from *Black and White* were later reprinted in a book, *Trip Around the Terror-tory*. Visitors to PNG could buy it at the book shop at Jackson's airport in Port Moresby. It is doubtful whether it was quite the image of PNG the Administration wanted visitors to have.

"Yes masta" says the young man, "mi gat save long wokim balus."

"Tru?" asks the astonished Buchanan.

"Yes masta. Planti taim mi stap insait long balus na lukim masta wokim em.
Emi paitim olgeta samting na pussim stick na enjin i start na propella bilong em i go raun.
Nau masta i paitim olgeta samting insait long balus, na turnim wil na balus i go long runwe. Nau balus i go i go i go i go i go i go. Maski balus i go i go; emi stap long graun.
Nau mi lukim wanpela banis i kamap klostu long stop bilong ranwe. Ranwe emi pinis.
Nau masta i singaut 'Jisas Kraist!' na em i pulim stick na balus I go antap."

"Yes master," says the young man, "I know how to fly an aeroplane."

"Really?" asks the astonished Buchanan.

"Yes sir. Many times I have sat in the cockpit and watched the pilot fly the plane. First he pushes the buttons and pushes the throttles forward. Then the engine starts and the propellers go round. Then he works the controls some more and turns the aircraft onto the runway. Then the aeroplane begins to taxi. It goes and goes and goes and goes and goes and goes and goes the fence at the end of the runway. There is no runway left. Then the pilot cries out 'Jesus Christ!' and pulls back the stick and we take off."

What is significant about this joke is not just that it uses an indigenous character to make fun of an expatriate, but that by the time it was in circulation, it was taken for granted that local people would want to be pilots just as they were already becoming store keepers and small plantation owners.<sup>75</sup>

To accept that a local wanted to be a businessman or a susocks or a trader or even a pilot was not a problem. What was more disturbing to many expatriates was that Papua New Guineans were becoming politicians. Looking back on this period, it seems at first extraordinary how little expatriates took part in politics in PNG, until you realise that public servants, who made up the majority of the expatriate population, were banned from political activity. A public servant had to resign in order to stand for election to the House of Assembly. Other expatriates might be elected to a local council or join a pressure group like the RSL or a planters' association, but there was little evidence of an organised political process among the expatriate community until events began moving towards their climax. Stephen's history of political parties up to the 1972 election is a seminal work of political history, but it is also an interesting exposure of just how little political considerations seem to have affected the average expatriate. Stephen recalls a number of failed attempts to set up a PNG branch of the Labor party and of various naïve political experiments by expatriates which failed utterly because they were not done with any real consideration of local needs or participation.<sup>76</sup> One of the reasons they failed was because they were Austro-centric and many had as a main platform the incorporation of PNG into Australia as a seventh state.<sup>77</sup> Some expatriates exercised influence through their own business associations and local councils, and missionaries exercised influence through their churches. Many were content with this level of political activity.

The local people, increasingly, were not content. Some sought to express their discontent or simply to make sense of what was happening to them through traditional means or the newly created councils and House of Assembly, but others sought to re-order the world so that it made sense in their own terms. These were people who found themselves at the very edges of the interaction between European society and their own and, finding neither the old ways nor the new ones satisfactory, tried to syncretise the two into something more

<sup>75</sup> To anybody who had ever rattled down a very short grass strip in a Talair Twin Otter or a Patair Skyvan, the description of the expatriate pilot's behaviour might have seemed entirely accurate.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen, D., A History of Political Parties in Papua New Guinea, Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1972; Johnson, L., Colonial Sunset, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1983, p264.

<sup>77</sup> The notion of PNG becoming the seventh state of Australia should have been firmly laid to rest after the Minister for Territories, Charles Barnes, made a public statement ruling out this possibility. Somare, M., Sana, p48. For a detailed discussion of the Australian government's reaction to the proposal of statehood, see Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship: Papua New Guinea 1945-75, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1980, p366-367.

comprehensible. Their efforts varied in their longevity and degree of success, but they were regarded almost universally with extreme suspicion by the expatriate population.

If expatriates coming to PNG in the decades after the war knew nothing else about the Territory, they knew about cargo cults, as the press generally described them. Australians could not have gone to PNG without preconceptions and many of these were fostered by the press. Once they lived there they certainly saw the Territory through the mirror of the local expatriate press, but before that they were influenced by whatever they saw or heard or read in the Australian press.

The various cargo cults that arose in PNG were perfect fodder for the media. Cargo cults were a marvelous excuse for tall tales and colourful yarns. Some magazines, such as the ubiquitous *Australasian Post*, specialised in colourful stories and quite often ran features about Australia and the Pacific. As a story, cargo cults had everything: Colour, mystery, a hint of the exotic, magic, and enough naïve hope among the cultists to induce in the reader a mixture of laughter and pity at the folly of the human race. I should imagine that any journalist asked to chase up a story on cargo cults would have been on the first DC3 out of town.

There had been cults before the war, such as the well documented Vailala Madness, but they proliferated after 1945 and really came to the attention of the commercial press in the 1950s. This was an age of confidence, of re-building after the war, of scientific and industrial expansion, an age of purpose and vision. What could be more interesting in such an era than to be presented with a group of people who seemed to so comprehensively misunderstand how the new world worked? (The opposite question never seems to have been asked: How could so many expatriates fail to understand how PNG worked?) The existence of the cults should have prompted serious questions about whether they were really political movements, sympathetic magic or just plain foolishness, but most of the press seemed to favour the last answer as the easiest explanation. After all, to sensible expatriates, there seemed to be much to laugh at.

The archetypal post-war cargo cult story is about a group of villagers who cleared the kunai grass to make an airstrip and then built an 'aeroplane' out of bush materials, which they placed on the runway. The idea was that aeroplanes flying overhead would see the 'aeroplane' and fly down to join it, at which point the villagers would offload its cargo. According to Western logic this was absurd behaviour, but not, perhaps, to somebody who accepted the idea of sympathetic magic as logical.<sup>80</sup> Other stories included one about a kiap who arrived on an island, only to be accused by the villagers of having stolen President Johnson's outboard motor.<sup>81</sup> This sounds baffling and illogical, until we remember that there was a campaign at that time among some people on New Hanover to have Australia relinquish control of PNG to the United States and that Lyndon Baines Johnson was in the White House.

Presuming these stories are true, what significance do they have? Building an 'aeroplane' is perfectly sensible if, in your world, sympathetic magic works. It also makes sense if you have never seen a factory and have no idea how Western business, manufacturing or transport works. It may be irrational and doomed to failure, but within its own worldview, it is actually fairly logical. It is also political in the sense that it is based on the premise of making the participants equal in goods to the Europeans.

<sup>78</sup> Belshaw, C., 'The significance of modern cults in Melanesian Development,' in Australian Outlook, IV:4, June 1950.

<sup>79</sup> The term 'cargo cult' has became so widespread that when I did a data base search using the term only half the articles that turned up were from anthropology or history magazines. The rest were news stories in which 'cargo cult' was used as a term of abuse

<sup>80</sup> There were also the 'submarine men' of Kokopo, who built a submarine from bush materials. The Japanese used submarines to bring in supplies to their garrison on the Gazelle during the last years of the war. McCarthy refers to the submarine men in his preface to Lawrence, P., Road Belong Cargo, Melbourne University Press, 1964, pviii.

<sup>81</sup> It was, of course, a Johnson outboard.

President Johnson's outboard motor is another matter entirely. The movement behind it may well have been a cult, but it can be interpreted as a desire to replace one big man (i.e. Australia) with a stronger one (i.e. America), which, within the traditional cultural framework, makes perfect sense. Such a movement was political in intent, but obviously doomed to failure.

The effect of such movements could be regional, as with the Yali cult which spread along the coast between Madang and Wewak, or, as with the John Frum movement on Tanna in what was then the New Hebrides, start as a local phenomenon, then be expropriated for other reasons and become pseudo-national. There has been a tendency among some Western scholars and Melanesian politicians to see every manifestation of anti-missionary or anti-colonial behaviour as part of a nationalist struggle. This is particularly so when the movements have millenarian tendencies. Solomon Mamaloni claims that the Marching Rule (more properly Masina Rule) movement in what was then the British Solomon Islands Protectorate was a "politically inspired organisation." He may well have been right, but the question is whether it was perceived as such at the time by its adherents or by the British colonial government and whether the two sides would have meant the same thing by the description.

The problem is compounded because some of the cargo cults, which might have started as nonsensical schemes for making money out of a magic betel nut, sometimes blended into real self-help programmes and organised attempts to offer an alternative structure to what were seen as ineffectual local government councils. Yali, probably the most famous of the PNG cultists, started his career re-organising villages for the government after the Second World War, became dissatisfied and started his own distinctive movement. He was jailed and released and by the early 1970s had created an organisation which had adherents in 200 villages around Madang. 85 A cult it may have been, but it did offer resistance to the Administration, both during and after independence. 86 The tragedy was that whatever real work somebody like Yali may have done in improving his followers' lives was obscured by the magic. The Papuan leader, Tommy Kabu, for instance, was treated as a nuisance and almost cultist by the post-war Administration, when in fact he appears to have been just the sort of person they should have encouraged and helped as much as possible. Some of his failures and mistakes might well have been avoided with help from a wiser Administration. It was not until his death that he was recognised by the local press for the great leader he had been.87

For Australians moving to PNG or expatriates living there, the cults were not just a curiosity, but often regarded as a positive threat. Such attitudes were fed by the press in both countries. One of the earliest recorded reactions was in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, which reported expatriate reactions:

<sup>82</sup> Air Vanuatu used to print material about John Frum in its tourist publications, which would indicate that the cult had come to be regarded as not only harmless, but a good tourist draw card.

<sup>83</sup> Whitehouse, H., 'Strong words and forceful winds: Religious experience and political process in Melanesia,' in *Oceania*, LXV, 1994.

<sup>84</sup> Mamaloni, S., 'The road to independence,' in Crocombe, R. and Tuza, E., *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: The first 10 years of Solomon Islands Independence*, USP, Honiara, 1992.

<sup>85</sup> The legendary PNG kiap Keith McCarthy defended Yali as a man who had good ideas, but had let the adulation of his followers go to his head. McCarthy, J.K., *Patrol Into Yesterday*, Robert Brown and Associates, Port Moresby, 1972. P 223-228.

<sup>86</sup> Morauta, L., 'The politics of cargo cults in the Madang area,' in *Man*, 7:III, 1972. Yali's fame lives on, most recently in Jared Diamond's great big book of geographical determinism, *Guns, Germs and Steel*. Diamond quotes Yali asking the fundamental cargo question: "Why is it that you white people developed "so much cargo and brought it to New Guinea, but we black people had little cargo of our own?" Diamond, J., *Guns, Germs and Steel*, Random House, London, 1997, p14.

<sup>87</sup> Post-Courier, October 13, 1969. For an extensive study of Kabu's project and a comparison with Yali, see Hitchcock, N.E. and Oram, N.D, 'Rabia Camp: A Port Moresby Migrant Settlement,' in New Guinea Research Bulletin, No. 14, 1967. For a more academic assessment, see Hassall, G., 'The Failure of the Tommy Kabu Movement; A Reassessment of the Evidence,' in Pacific Studies, XIV:2, 1991. See also Brown, P., 'Social Change and Social Movements' in Fisk, E.L., (ed), New Guinea on the Threshold, p156.

"Planters blamed the suspect unpatriotic sympathies and religious irrationality of missionaries for outbreaks of native 'cults,' missionaries blamed the harsh treatment of natives by the colonial planters and government officers and colonial government officials blamed their liberal rivals in the Australian government." 88

Such responses were not wholly unexpected. In the immediate post-war period, for instance, the cults diverted energy and money from people at a time when the missions and the Administration needed all available resources to re-build the Territory after the devastating war with Japan. The Territory could not be re-built if the labourers, plantation workers and villagers were attending secret ceremonies and giving all their holey shillings to sorcerers. They also knew that the cargo cults would not bring sudden wealth on magic aeroplanes and ships and that the expatriates were not going to be magically whisked away and replaced by kindly ancestor figures from the sky. It would not be surprising, therefore, if they issued warnings through their newsletters, sermons and visits by patrol officers about the dangers of the cults. They knew the people involved would eventually be disappointed and disillusioned. It would have been unthinkable for those who had taken on the mantle of temporal and moral responsibility for the indigenous people not to have tried to prevent them from becoming involved in the cults.

Some missions included personnel with formal anthropological training. The Society of the Divine Word, for instance, published a well respected journal, *Anthropos*. Administration officers were certainly exposed to the latest anthropological thinking at ASOPA. However, while missionaries and administrators with anthropological training or long experience might have understood what was happening from a sociological or scientific viewpoint, the fact that something is understandable does not make it tolerable.

Some Administration officers may have felt sympathy for cargo cult followers while being angry with their leaders. Anthropologically-trained missionaries may have regarded cult followers as deluded people to be pitied and rescued, but neither regarded cargo cults as a good thing. Steinbauer, who worked as a missionary in Melanesia for nine years, declared:

"The cargo cult ideology is...hostile to progress and destructive since it is oriented backwards and, due to its domination by magic-mythical, obsessive concepts, it is not free for an objective concept of the world. Thus it stands in its own way and hinders the recognition of reality."89

In his forward to *Road Belong Cargo*, that great Ur-text of cargo cult studies, McCarthy wrote in a similar vein:

"...while a sympathetic appreciation is required in its handling, this does not mean that the cult should be condoned. Bluntly, cargo cult is one of the great barriers that impede the advancement of the people. It must go if progress is to be achieved."<sup>90</sup>

Belshaw, a former British administrator turned academic, was even blunter:

"If we neglect the warnings – that the Melanesian can organise effectively for his own ends, however irrational those ends may appear to be – then we will truly stir up a malicious Melanesian national movement...which will be so bitter in emotional content and so full of religious feeling that [it] will rapidly get out of hand."91

<sup>88</sup> Dalton, D., 'Cargo cults and discursive madness,' in *Oceania*, 70:IV, 2000. Dalton is citing Lindstrom, L., *Cargo Cult: Strange stories of desire from Melanesia and Beyond*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1993.

<sup>89</sup> Steinbauer, F., Melanesian Cargo Cults, University of Queensland Press, 1979, p159.

<sup>90</sup> Lawrence, P., Road Belong Cargo, pviii.

<sup>91</sup> Belshaw, 'The significance...' Belshaw was a research fellow of the ANU working in Papua and formerly a district officer in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

As anthropologists, both Steinbauer and Lawrence saw cargo cults as part of a complex pattern. Lawrence saw a coherent pattern, although Steinbauer said there was no single cargo cult, "only cargo cults in a multiplicity of diverging phenomena." <sup>92</sup> To anthropologists, cargo cults were cultural and social phenomena which could be analysed scientifically and understood without invoking any sympathy.

Unfortunately, the average journalist, whether working for an Australian or Territory-based publication, was not a trained anthropologist or administrator; indeed, in the 1950s and 1960s it would have been uncommon to find a journalist with more than a secondary school education. Journalists were expected to learn enough about a subject to write on it accurately, but they could not be expected to have the same level of knowledge as an expert. Journalism was then, as now, a rough and ready art, its practitioners hemmed in by deadlines, the need to write for a particular audience and the constant urging of the sub-editors to make the copy intelligible to 14-year-olds. With the best will in the world, journalists will sometimes get it wrong or not see the full picture. It should not, therefore, be totally unexpected if journalists who wrote about cargo cults for the commercial press more often than not simply reflected the views of the people with whom they were most likely to question about these issues; that is, Administration officials and missionaries.

Probably the best known of the cargo cults covered by the Australian press was the Hahalis baby farm, a strange affair led by 'King John' and 'Queen Elizabeth' who established a movement in which, it was said, wives and girlfriends were shared on the premise that they would breed lots and lots of little Bukas who would grow up to become a master race. The members were eventually arrested and their leaders tried, but many later had their sentences reduced. The initial reaction from expatriates was that this was an anti-government plot, or at best a cult in which quasi-religious fervour and free sex became mingled to 'King John' and 'Queen Elizabeth's' profit.

Australian journalist Keith Willey's account of the Hahalis movement was originally written for the Sydney press and is one of the better examples of reporting on the issue. It captures all the uncertainty the cults caused among some expatriates and makes more effort than most to explain what was happening. The article is important because it captures some of the ideas being formed about PNG by the media; ideas which would have affected those going to PNG and been reflected to a certain extent within the Territory itself.

Willey, who was posted to Port Moresby in 1964 by Mirror Newspapers, travelled to Buka, the island adjoining Bougainville, to investigate the Hahalis cult first hand. The reaction from expatriates is typical of the fear of the new movements among some segments of the population; a fear created in part, I would suggest, by a mixture of proximity to the events and earlier media reporting.

"'Make no mistake,' the planter said, tapping the table with his bottle for emphasis; 'on the day they give these people independence, Hahalis will take over the island. And then God help the rest of us.'

'Confidentially,' he said, dropping his voice to a whisper, 'I think the Communists are at the bottom of it. Wait until you go out there, and you'll see what I mean.'"93

Willey prepared for his visit to Buka by talking with a government anthropologist who described the Hahalis Welfare Movement as "an economic improvement unit, rather than

<sup>92</sup> Lawrence, Road..., p272; Steinbauer, Melanesian..., p158,

<sup>93</sup> Willey, K., Assignment New Guinea, The Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1965, pp98-117 passim.

a cult," an assessment he described as "an oversimplification; perhaps a dangerous one." Willey spent some time on Buka, interviewed expatriates, locals, the officer in charge of the police who arrested the Welfare men, and then visited Hahalis itself. Willey estimated that the movement had appeared in the early 1950s. It was led by a former mission teacher, John Teosin and his wife, the self-styled 'King John' and 'Queen Elizabeth.' The movement might have merely seemed peculiar, but in 1961 its adherents refused to pay the Administration's head tax.

"They complained that they had been getting nothing in return for this money and in future would depend on 'the Welfare' to help them. They wanted no more to do with kiaps or missions. In effect, a group of villages had opted out of the Australian administration and set up their own self-governing state."

Willey then went on to give a detailed account of what became known as the Battle of Buka and its aftermath. The police arrested 166 men, all but one of whom got off on a technicality. Thereafter the Welfare paid its taxes and remained outside the reach of the law. Willey interviewed Teosin who denied the Welfare Movement was a cult, describing it instead as "an idea of working." Willey described in detail how the movement's 4000 members, spread through many villages, paid a £2 entry fee, gave up personal possessions and worked the land in common, something he said was "a primitive version of the Chinese communes." The Hahalis leaders seemed very determined to prove they were not a cult, but when Willey asked them about the 'baby garden,' the most notorious aspect of the movement, the atmosphere grew tense and Teosin defensive.

"Since 1963 all the single girls of Hahalis have been segregated in dormitories where they are available to men of the society - and to any European who wishes to use them. Children which result are reared by 'the Welfare.'[...] Teosin has urged his followers to 'fill up the land with people,' and speaks of breeding a master race."98

Willey also explored other aspects of the movement, including the clash with the Catholic Church, which was the dominant force on the island and provided almost all services until well after the Second World War. Behind this again lay the figure of Sawa Korachi, a sorcerer and henchman of Teosin's who had founded the Sori Lotu, "a mixture of debased Christianity and sun worship." <sup>99</sup> Willey quotes the then District Commissioner, P.J.Mollison, as blaming Korachi for debasing what had begun as a genuine progress association. Willey concluded: "It is difficult to tell where the economic improvement ends and the cult begins." <sup>100</sup>

Willey's coverage of the story was probably as good as one could expect, particularly since he tried to give the Hahalis Welfare society's point of view. However, it still presents the movement as something odd and unsettling. I would argue that the response of journalists from the commercial press was predictable, insofar as it depicted the cultists as objects of fun or as threats to good government. This caused problems in the minds of the expatriate population and indigenes who sided with the Administration or missions, by confusing

<sup>94</sup> ibid, p98.

<sup>95</sup> ibid, p100.

<sup>96</sup> ibid, p110.

<sup>97</sup> ibid, p109

<sup>98</sup> ibid, p109.

<sup>99</sup> ibid, p110.

<sup>100</sup> ibid, p112. The Administration eventually took action against the Hahalis movement over its refusal to pay the personal tax. Police were flown in to Buka and after a struggle in which they were "savagely mauled" by a crowd estimated at 2000, the Administration forces were forced back onto a beach where they only saved the day by firing into the air above the cult members' heads. Hundreds of 'King John's' followers were charged and sentenced to jail. Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship...*, pp202-205. The incident caused a storm in Australia and the government denied that the police had used excessive force. My father, who was stationed on Buka at the time, said that cult members were "thumped" by the police as they were led away.

cargo cults with what were sometimes genuine attempts at independent economic and social activity that were completely devoid of any cultic or ritualistic overtones. This greatly hampered acceptance of grass roots programmes, such as the Kabisawali movement when they emerged later on. Lepowsky argues:

"Cultural practices cannot be analysed without considering the political contexts, the power relationships in which they currently exist and without taking into account the changing political contexts of the recent and more distant past." <sup>101</sup>

Alas, careful analysis of cultural practices is not something at which most newspapers are very good. As we shall see in chapter five, the *Post-Courier* and the Administration both failed to consider cultural practices in regard to land ownership on Bougainville. Cargo cults continued to exist because they were an easy way of explaining the inexplicable. Cargo cults and self-help movements were not merely a post-war phenomenon, of course. They continued to emerge right up until independence. When the Kabisawali Movement arose in the Trobriand Islands it troubled both the Australian Administrator Les Johnson and the indigenous Chief Minister Michael Somare. Founded by John Kasaipwalova, a former university student who was also due to inherit traditional authority, the movement was a radical attempt at self-management and economic development in defiance of the Administration, missions and local councils. It was

"Variously interpreted [from the outside] as a secessionist movement, a latter-day cargo cult, a localised revolution against established traditional and governmental authority, a skillful political campaign for parliament, a threat to European interests and a Machiavellian confidence game." <sup>103</sup>

The Kabisawali Movement received widespread media attention, both locally and internationally. The ABC and the BBC both made documentaries about the movement. The *Post-Courier* gave the movement extensive coverage when tensions between its supporters and detractors flared into violence in 1973 and Kasaipwalova was taken to court and later released on a good behaviour bond.<sup>104</sup>

The cargo cults were the most extreme manifestation of the cultural, social and political changes that occurred in PNG between the end of the war and the coming of independence. Newspaper reporting of the cults, both within the Territory and elsewhere, contributed to the complex and rapidly changing set of perceptions of the Territory by expatriates and, later, indigenous readers. Then, as now, PNG was represented as exotic, colourful, exciting, dangerous and threatening. The attitude towards cargo cults by the press did not change, even when the reporting was by media aimed at indigenous readers. As we shall see in chapter seven, *Wantok* reported on an outbreak of cargo activity in the Sepik in the early 1970s and was as negative about the cult as any other newspaper. However, while *Wantok* set out to debunk the cult it did so calmly and almost gently without making fun of the cultists or exploiting the story for its colourful elements. The cultists were not presented

<sup>101</sup> Lepowsky, M., 'The way of the ancestors: Custom, innovation and resistance' in *Ethnology* 30:3, 1991.

<sup>102</sup> Leach, J.W., 'Socio-historical conflict and the Kabisawali movement in the Trobriand Islands,' in May, R.J. (ed), *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea*, Political and social Change Monograph 1, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982. Somare devotes six pages to the movement in his autobiography. He seems to have regarded the movement as a great nuisance, but seen in Kasaipwalova a man who could actually do some good for his people. Somare, M., *Sana*, pp122-128,

<sup>103</sup> Leach, J.W., 'Socio-historical conflict and the Kabisawali movement...'

<sup>104</sup> ibid

<sup>105</sup> The PNG tourism authority capitalised on this image by adopting the slogan "Welcome to the land of the unexpected" to promote the country. When, in 1997, elements of the PNG Defence Force captured the leaders of Sandline's Operation Oyster, the mercenaries were greeted with the same words. Dorney, S., *The Sandline Affair*, ABC Books, Sydney, 1998, p12.

as threatening or dangerous, merely rather sad.<sup>106</sup> There was no real change in the attitude of the PNG press to cults. What made *Wantok's* report different was that it appeared in a newspaper produced by the Society of the Divine Word, whose members had long and sympathetic knowledge of PNG and had at the very least been exposed to anthropological ideas.

In the 30 years leading up to 1975, the Territory press would face a variety of challenges as it sought to make meaning of what was happening around it. The newspapers read by expatriates would range from the purely local to the would-be national. As the scope of the newspapers changed, so did the view they gave of the country.

The differences in the pre and post-war press can be traced to the differences in the expatriate populations. The indigenous people were recognised and reported on in the post-war press in ways that would have been impossible before the war, simply because those Australians who had served in Papua and New Guinea during the war against Japan had worked with and depended on the local people in ways that the pre-war generation mostly had not. The Australians who came to the Territory after the war were imbued with a quite different spirit to those who were referred to as 'B4s' – those returning expatriates who always compared the post-war situation unfavourably with the pre-war situation. The divisions between expatriate and indigenous society remained until the end of the Australian administration in 1975, but whereas the *Papuan Courier* or the pre-war incarnation of the *Rabaul Times* championed such divisions as necessary for the preservation of white supremacy, the post-war papers examined those divisions more and more critically.

In the next chapter we examine the *Rabaul Times*, one of the Territory's three post-war commercial papers and a perfect example of a local paper serving a tiny expatriate community. However, that community and its weekly paper were to be buffeted by social, political and ethnic currents in a way unimaginable before the war. The tragic denouement of those events was not to be felt until long after the paper had been closed and the protagonists were about to witness the beginning of self-government in PNG.



#### BILOG BOL NUKINI NUSPEPA BILOG YU

WIWIAK

Soldia bilog yumi i winim pinis Japan long hapnabis klostu. Ol i antap long maunten nau long bihainim Japan i ronwei long bus. Planti Japan I dai pinis.

Nisait, mipela i kisim pinis ULUPU nau misin KALAURU mau klostu kisim KABOIBU. Long hap bilog GWALIP blanti boi bilog NGIB i skul pinis long pait ol i kilim planti Japan nau kisim bek sampela ples kanaka.

NUBRIKEN Bot bilog NGIB nau soldia bilog yumi ol i kalabusim Japan long hap BAINIG. Ol dei ol dei balus bilog yumi i bamim RABAUL, kilim Japan nau brokim ol samting bilog en.

BUKA

Soldia bilog yumi i gat planti gan na dispela masin bilog pait ol i kolim tank.

Nau ol i stap long bik rot bilog BUIN inap long warer MIVO, nau winim winim Japan. Long hapbilog KIETA planti kanaka i pait long kilim Japan nau kiliarim ples bilog ol. Dispela Japan i stap iet long BONIS na SOHANA ol i pas pinis olsem rat long hol. Planti balus i bamim bamim.

JAPAN

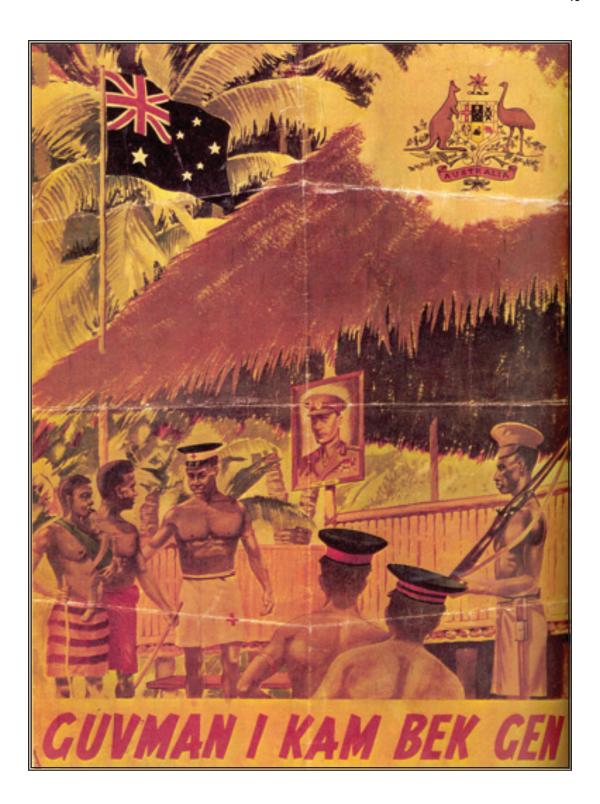
Planti planti balus ol dei ol dei troimwei bam long ples tru bilog ol. I nogat wanpela hap balus i lusim nau ol ples i brok nabaut. Bikpela manua bilog yumi nau AMERIKA i go klostu long nabis nau sutim sutim long bikpela gan billog ol.

Ples nabis i bukarap nau.

TAIM BILOG JAPAN I KLOSTU PINIS NAU NOGUT YU HARIM TOK BILOG OL KILIA LONG JAPAN.

TOK BILOG GUVMAN.

Illustration 2.1 A Tok Pisin document dropped to villagers by the RAAF towards the end of the war. The Tok Pisin used here is in marked contrast to the later, standardised Tok Pisin and is noticeably different to the Tok Pisin used by the Administration in the Rabaul News. Courtesy of Gerry O'Connor.



#### Illustration 2.2

Gavman Kam Bak Gen (The government has returned). A poster distributed to villagers to mark the return of the Australian civilian administration. A village couple and their child are shown with a member of the Royal Papuan Constabulary, a tultul and Iuluai wearing their official caps and a doktkaboi.



81

Cacember, 1951



Edited by the Department of Education, Port Moreeby

#### The Administrator's Christmas Message



HIS HONOUR THE ADMINISTRATOR COLONEL J. K. MURRAY,

A NOTHER eventful year has passed in the history of the Territory, and once again I take this opportunity to extend a greeting from Mrs. Murray and myself to the people

of Papua and New Guinea, through your own paper, the Papua and New Guinea Villager.

This year commenced with one of the saddest incidents in the history of the Territory. The Mount Lamington disaster, in which approximately 3,700 Native people and many Europeans lost their lives, has been a cause of much grief. It was an appalling tragedy, but rehabilitation measures which followed, brought forth a great and invaluable effort on the part of the Anglican Mission, Government Department, the surviving Native people themselves, with the financial support of the Australian Government and of all our people.

Though the year has seen tragedy, many fine things have been accomplished that will assist the Territory. As you all know, the Legislative Council was opened at Port Moresby on the 26th November. It is an important factor in Government, and is of double interest to the Native population. For the first time in the history of Australia and its Territories, Native members are representatives on the Council. This is a great achievement by these members, and shows that the Australian Government is doing all it can to allow your people to actively take part in the affairs of the Territory. As more and more of you attend the schools, and learn to speak and write English, and understand the hundreds of books on all different subjects, Native people will gradually be able to take a larger part in the affairs of the Territory. But I would remind you that it takes eighteen years in Schools and Universities to train a doctor, an engineer, a lawyer or a clergyman.

**Illustration 2.3** The *Papua and New Guinea Villager*, successor to the pre-war *Papuan Villager*. In his Christmas message for December 1951, the Administrator, Colonel Murray, told the paper's readers that as more of them attended school, learned English and understood books, they would "gradually...take a larger part in the affairs of the Territory.

#### **Chapter Three**

### "Kill Vuia," he cried!

# The Rabaul Times and political developments on the Gazelle Peninsula, 1950-59

Jack Emanuel was nervous. He spoke in whispers and carried a revolver in his briefcase. He had only recently become District Commissioner of the troubled East New Britain District, after serving there for many years in other administrative positions. In July 1971 he flew to Port Moresby to attend a DC's conference and his colleagues remarked upon his behaviour. Suddenly he was recalled from Port Moresby to the Gazelle Peninsula because of an earthquake. His friends knew that he had received death threats and as he boarded the Fokker Friendship to Rabaul, fellow DC Tom Ellis told him to be careful.

When Emanuel returned to the Gazelle there was more than the persistent gurias to deal with. The Mataungan Association, long a thorn in the side of the Administration, was active again and there was trouble at Kabaira Bay, 30 kilometres from Rabaul. There had been a long running dispute at Kabaira where villagers had been illegally occupying plantation land. On August 11 Emanuel arrived at Kabaira with a party of riot police under Superintendent G.M.Feeney. Argument and discussion proved fruitless, but on August 19 Emanuel and the police party returned. The police were at once confronted by angry squatters and in the confusion the police did not notice Emanuel speaking with a Kabaira leader, Taupa ToVarula. Nobody knows what was said, but a moment later they walked off down a narrow bush track. As they rounded a corner, one of ToVarula's followers, Anton ToWaliria, thrust a long, rusty, Japanese bayonet into the District Commissioner. Mortally wounded, Emanuel staggered for a few yards before falling to the ground.<sup>107</sup>

His murder caused uproar in the Territory and it was not long before 13 men were charged with his murder. Many people saw the hand of the Mataungan Association in Emanuel's death. Having led an increasingly violent opposition to the Australian presence on the Gazelle, the Tolai political group was a natural target for suspicion. And yet to people who knew about Jack Emanuel's past and the troubled history of the Gazelle Peninsula, the real reason for his death appeared to lie not in contemporary events, but in a tragedy that had occurred a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>108</sup>

Jack Emanuel's murder and his involvement in an earlier incident, illustrate not just the circularity of specific events, but also allow us to examine the way in which indigenous political awareness and growth developed on the Gazelle Peninsula after the Second World War. The most public records of those events are the newspapers published in and around Rabaul at the time and it is to these that I have turned as a primary source. Rabaul and its environs at one point boasted four newspapers: The commercial *Rabaul Times*, the

<sup>107</sup> This account is drawn largely from Sinclair, J., *Kiap*, Pacific Publications, Sydney, 2000, pp272-73 and Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship in Papua New Guinea 1945-75*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1980, pp521-525.

<sup>108</sup> Mataungan leaders Oscar Tammur and John Kaputin publicly linked Emanuel's murder with the Navuneram shootings. Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship...*, p523.

Administration's Tok Pisin *Rabaul News* and the Kuanua *A Nilai Ra Davot* and *Tailaqu*, published respectively by the Methodist and Catholic missions.

A study of the Rabaul Times allows us to see how these dramatic shifts in the relationship between the expatriate population and other races developed and how they were reported to the Times' largely expatriate population. The Rabaul News, on the other hand, allows us to see the official view and how that was presented to the paper's indigenous readers. To a certain extent the two publications balance each other out in the general picture they provide, but they also provide a contrast in showing what was felt to be important for expatriates and indigenes. Unfortunately, the two mission papers remain a closed book to me since I cannot read Kuanua, and Threlfall's excellent summaries of the contents of A Nilai Ra Davot in my possession do not extend into this period. 109 All newspapers have to be read with their audience in mind and allowances made for the passions and sentiments of the day. This is not to say that they are to be regarded as untrustworthy; in fact they are a remarkably accurate reflection of what people were doing and thinking at the time, especially through letters to the editor and the day to day ephemera of entertainment, sport and shopping. A purely local paper such as the Rabaul Times, aimed at a small, but reasonably fixed market, offers us an even more consistent view of a community and its views. And yet, as we shall see, this local paper found itself reporting on events which had implications for the whole Territory.

In this chapter my primary intention is to trace the political developments on the Gazelle from the end of the Second World War to the shootings at Navuneram. These changes were momentous, for they led to the first properly organised political opposition to the Australian Administration. The Mataungan Association, which kept expatriates on the Gazelle on edge during the late 1960s and early 1970s, had its roots in the council tax disputes of the 1950s. What happened on the Gazelle in the 1950s had echoes in the 1970s and while other events faded in and out of sight in the turning mirror of the press, they always seemed to come back to the Gazelle. The 1950s were also a decade of major social alterations. As we shall see, attitudes towards the Chinese community began to change and the *Times* aired debates on the question of relationships between the various races quite openly. As Waiko points out, the 1950s allowed the groundwork for major legislative changes in the 1960s to be laid. It is also my intention to illustrate how the expatriate population responded to those changes. Letters to the editor are one way of judging a readership's responses, but it is clear that the *Times*, which often presented what were, for the period, reasonably progressive and enlightened views, was often ahead of its readers on certain issues.

I have supported my research into the newspapers by drawing on interviews, comments and correspondence with former residents of Rabaul, notably the Rev Neville Threlfall, who has written the official history of the Methodist Church in PNG, the former Coastwatcher Matt Loney and Don Dunbar-Reid, a former planter. I have supplemented this with the official historical account and the published reminiscences of people involved in the events described

The various narratives they provide combine to produce what is, I hope, a reasonably accurate view of what happened in the years from 1950 to 1957. However, what happened in those years, especially with the *Rabaul Times*, has to be understood in the context of the Second World War and of the legacies of the pre-war years. The story of the kivungs, for instance, goes back before the war and the content, attitudes and relative openness of the *Times* can only be understood if one compares it with the pre-war version of the paper.

<sup>109</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., 'Index of articles to *A Nilai Ra Davot'*, MS, Undated and Threlfall, Rev N., 'News and information from *A Nilai Ra Davot*.' MS, Undated.

<sup>110</sup> Waiko, J., A Short History of Papua New Guinea, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1993, p147.

The Second World War marks the great watershed in relationships between Australians and the people of Papua New Guinea. This divide was no more sharply marked than in the Gazelle Peninsula. The Tolai of the Gazelle had been colonised by the Germans and had even fought for them in the brief skirmish that marked Australia's annexation of German New Guinea in 1914. Many Australians demanded a level of servility and obedience from the Tolai that the local people often found unbearable.

When the Japanese began their brutal invasion of the Territory in 1942, the Australian garrison at Rabaul was quickly over-run. The soldiers were ordered to fight to the death by their commanding officer, who then abandoned his men to their fate.<sup>111</sup> Many soldiers retreated down the coast and eventually made it to the mainland, while others stayed on as Coastwatchers. Others, who were captured by the Japanese, were massacred at Tol plantation. Civilians caught in Rabaul fared little better. Many Chinese retreated into the mountains and were sheltered by the Baining people. Missionaries who stayed behind were placed in prison camps. Their hardships were made endurable by their faith and the leadership of people like the redoubtable Bishop Scharmach.<sup>112</sup> Many of the civilians who were caught by the Japanese disappeared and it was officially accepted that they had died en route to Japan when their ship, the *Montevideo Maru*, was torpedoed and lost with all hands.<sup>113</sup> Altogether about 1500 Europeans were caught up in the war, either as soldiers or civilians. This figure is dwarfed by the 45,000 other non-Tolai who were there at the time, mainly plantation workers from mainland New Guinea and members of the mixed race and Chinese communities.<sup>114</sup>

During the war the Tolai were divided in their loyalties. Some worked for the Japanese while others joined the Australian Coastwatchers and played a vital role in providing intelligence for air strikes against the mass of shipping in Rabaul harbour or for the Australians who eventually re-captured New Britain. A number of those who died during the war are celebrated by their respective lotu as martyrs, among them the Catholic Peter To Rot and the Methodist Benjamin Talai. During the war the Tolai relied on their traditional power structures and survived without advice from the Australian Administration. Kivungs, the traditional decision making bodies of the Tolai, were re-instituted and became very powerful. During the late 1930s the Australian administration had used kivungs to settle disputes and the Methodists had also used them as part of their district structure. Thus, it must have appeared to many Tolai that the continuation of the kivungs for their own purposes during the war revival of before the war was quite legitimate. Paradoxically, the war gave back the Tolai a partial independence. They made decisions in the kivungs just as their ancestors did before the coming of the white man and in the absence of missionaries interned by the Japanese, local catechists kept Christianity alive in the bush. 117

<sup>111</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., personal communication, November 15, 2006.

<sup>112</sup> Scharmach, L., This Crowd Beats Us All, Catholic Press, Sydney, 1960, passim.

<sup>113</sup> Garrett, J., Where Nets Were Cast, USP/WCC, Suva/Geneva, p31. That the Rabaul civilians died is not in question and it is generally accepted that they died when the Montevideo Maru was torpedoed by an American submarine off Luzon, in the Philippines. However, some people have continued to pursue other theories based on their own interpretation of the evidence. Bishop Scharmach contributed to the debate over the Montevideo Maru by claiming in his book that it was highly probable that the civilians had been killed by the Japanese and buried somewhere on the Gazelle. This Crowd... pp30-31. Long after the war a cairn was erected to the civilians who died on the Montevideo Maru on reclaimed land on the Rabaul waterfront.

<sup>114</sup> Nelson, H., 'The Return to Rabaul 1945,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, XXX:2, 1995. Nelson gives a figure of about 1000 Australian military personnel and six members of the Australian Army Nursing Service as having disappeared when the Japanese invaded and gives figures of 560 European civilians - the majority planters and businessmen - as having been in New Britain and New Ireland when the Japanese came.

<sup>115 -, &#</sup>x27;PNG Martyrs,' supplement to the Post-Courier, April 7, 1993.

<sup>116</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., personal communication, November 15, 2006; Wolfers, E., Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, p91.

<sup>117</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., 100 Years in the Islands, Toksave Buk, Rabaul, 1975, p152; Garrett, J., Where Nets Were Cast, p31.

When the Australians returned to Rabaul in 1945 there was little sign that the former Australian capital of New Guinea had ever existed. The town had been bombed daily for years - the Allies had even tried to trigger a volcanic eruption by bombing Tavurvur, one of the volcanoes that ring the town - and the Japanese had been forced to live in caves carved out of the rock by thousands of slave labourers, prisoners of war who had been shipped to Rabaul from Singapore.<sup>118</sup>

The mission stations and plantations along the coast road to Kokopo and Vunapope had been destroyed, local gardens had been hard hit by a drought and there was little in the way of shelter. In the immediate aftermath of the war the Australian government's priority was to establish a minimum form of administration, to trace what had happened to the Australian and military prisoners of war and to punish the Japanese and their collaborators responsible for war crimes. Japanese found guilty of major crimes were hanged, those of lesser evils, shot.<sup>119</sup> As Australian rule was re-established, familiar figures began to return, including the former District Commissioner, Keith McCarthy, who had been a Coastwatcher during the war and was known to the local people as 'Makati.' McCarthy returned to Rabaul in 1947 and was was appointed to the new rank of District Commissioner in 1949.<sup>120</sup> The missionaries, once they had recovered from the ordeals of the Japanese camps, also began to return, at first to find the scattered members of their congregations and then to rebuild their churches, plantations and mission headquarters.<sup>121</sup> Those civilians who had fled before the Japanese invasion began to come back as did representatives of large companies such as Carpenters and Burns Philp, the largest of the commercial plantation owners.

Among them were Don Dunbar-Reid and his family. Born in Rabaul in 1936, Dunbar-Reid and his parents were evacuated in January 1942, his father leaving on foot. The family returned in 1946 and re-established themselves at Kabanga. He recalled the period as being a time of optimism:

"[It was] very efficient and 'can do.' The future was seen as very optimistic by all. Many acres of cocoa and coffee was being developed and the produce prices made the effort worth while."

Because of the high casualty rate among pre-war Administration staff and missionaries, many of the people who came to Rabaul after the war were new, not just to Rabaul, but to the Territory. They brought with them a wholly different attitude towards the indigenous people from that which had prevailed before the war. ANGAU, the Australian New Guinea Administration Unit, had been exposed to - and to a degree influenced by - the thinking of anthropologists such as Camilla Wedgwood Benn. <sup>123</sup> ASOPA, the Australian School of Pacific Administration, continued this trend by providing prospective administrators with an academic dimension to their training. <sup>124</sup>

Business and plantations on the Gazelle were slowly rebuilt and despite recommendations from some quarters that the headquarters be removed to Kokopo, Canberra decided to

<sup>118</sup> Threlfall, Rev N. and Johnson, R.W., *Volcano Town*, Robert Brown, Buranda, 1992, p147. The Japanese air raid shelters are still visible along the coast road, as are the tunnels where they hid supply barges and a command bunker carved out of rock with hand tools.

<sup>119</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., personal communication, November 16, 2006. The official executioner stayed on in Rabaul after the war and was popularly known as Harry the Hangman.

<sup>120</sup> H., 'McCarthy, John Keith 91905-1976) in Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol 15, Melbourne University Press, 2000.

<sup>121</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., 100 Years... pp157-175 passim.

<sup>122</sup> Dunbar-Reid, D., personal communication, October 2006.

<sup>123</sup> Wedgwood Benn made many valuable contributions to ASOPA and other institutions, but she did have some very odd ideas. In 1944 she was commissioned by the Australian Institute of International Affairs to write a report on the problem of 'native welfare' in the Pacific. She appears to have concluded that the labour problem would not be solved by importing Asian or Indian workers because they were all hopelessly addicted to sodomy and opium. Hogbin, H. and Wedgwood Benn, C, 'Native Welfare in the Southwest Pacific Islands,' in *Pacific Affairs*, XVII:2, June 1944.

<sup>124</sup> Campbell, I., 'Anthropology and the professionalism of colonial administration in Papua and New Guinea,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, June 1998.

rebuild Rabaul as the centre of the East New Britain District.<sup>125</sup> The missions also returned to face a greatly changed situation. Just as the ecumenical movement in PNG can be traced to the fact that Catholic, Anglican and Protestant missionaries had suffered together at the hands of the Japanese, so the experiences of the war had taught the indigenous faithful to act independently and carry on their churches without the presence of the talatala or patir. Thus the war had also sown the seeds of the transformation of missions into locally run churches.<sup>126</sup>

It is also fair to say that the war had engendered an emotional commitment to PNG by many Australians. Heady promises were made to the people of PNG at the end of the war; promises born of wartime sentiment and camaraderie that were perhaps too naïve in their optimism and perhaps, too, paternal in their vision of Australia having a permanent role in PNG.<sup>127</sup> However paternalistic or naïve, it is obvious from reading accounts of those post-war years that for the first time it had become accepted that whatever happened in the Territory would be achieved by a partnership of Australians and local people working together for the common good. As we shall see, however, the Tolai and the Australians often had widely different ideas about what constituted that good. When the ideas differed too widely there was bloodshed and death.

The Tolai were not indigenous to the Gazelle Peninsula, but had migrated there from New Ireland via the Duke of York Islands. They were sophisticated, possessed a single culture and, more importantly, a single language, Kuanua which constituted, after the Chimbus and Engans, the third largest language and culture group in PNG. The Tolai adapted fairly readily to the arrival of Europeans, worked as boats' crew and on plantations in Samoa and Queensland and adopted the lotu of the missionaries. They also fought when they felt it necessary, resisting the Germans and then – albeit in tiny numbers – fighting with them against the Australians in the so-called 'coconut war' of 1914. The Tolai had participated in the wharf labourers' strike of 1929, fought with plantation labourers from other districts who decided to squat on the Gazelle and then fought with the Australians against the Japanese. In short, they were not easily led or unintelligent and had a very clear sense of identity and purpose. 128 By the time the Rabaul Times re-emerged, they had seen their land ruled by three different groups of foreigners, been bombed and starved during the war and were now trying to cope with the aftermath. The Tolai that the Australian returned to administer in 1945 were not the sullen, but obedient natives of the pre-war years. It was the failure of some officials to recognise this that contributed to the deaths in Navuneram in 1957.

As Rabaul and the surrounding area was re-built, so the needs of the expatriate administrators, civilians and businessmen grew. There were no newspapers for expatriates in the Territory after the war, only the *Government Gazette* published in Port Moresby. As far as I can ascertain, virtually the only printing press working in the Territory was the one used to print the Australian Army newspaper during the war, the *Guinea Gold*. This reputedly ended up at the Catholic mission at Vunapope. It was presumably used to publish mission material, but it may also have been used to print the Administration's Tok Pisin *Rabaul News*. <sup>129</sup> The *Rabaul News* was first published by the Education Department on September 21 1946, a year after

<sup>125</sup> Cleland, R., Pathways to Independence, the author, Cottesloe, 1985, p38.

<sup>126</sup> For a discussion of the changing role of the missions in the Territory after 1945, see Garrett, J., Where Nets Were Cast..., pp148-186.

<sup>127</sup> For a detailed discussions of the Australian government's attitude towards post war compensation and reconstruction, see 'Paying a Debt 1945-1949' in Griffin, J., Nelson, H. and Firth, S. (eds.), *Papua New Guinea: A Political History*, Melbourne, 1979. See also McCarthy's comments on promises made by departing troops in Lawrence, P., *Road Belong Cargo*, Melbourne University Press, 1964, pvii.

<sup>128</sup> Waiko, J., A Short History..., pp43-44; 47-49; 100.

<sup>129</sup> I was shown a machine said to be part of the Guinea Gold press when I visited Vunapope in 1993.

the Japanese surrender. It appeared in a variety of sizes, probably according to whatever paper was available. As an Administration publication, the *Rabaul News* was concerned with promulgating the official view and bringing the attention of the Tolai to what it considered to be important matters. In a world turned upside down by the war, some of the old certainties of empire still held sway. When King George VI died in 1952, the *Rabaul News*, then a double sided sheet, filled its front page with a story under the heading 'Empire I karai long nambawan king i dai' (The empire cries because the most important king has died). <sup>130</sup> The government news section on the obverse page noted the return of the District Commissioner, Keith McCarthy. <sup>131</sup> In its next edition, under the heading 'Tink tink long king i dai pinis' (Thinking about the king who has died) it carried a message from the Administrator, Donald Cleland, which said in part:

"Tudai mi pela ologeta mi gat bikpela sori long king bilong iumi, King George VI, i dai pinis. Em i gud pela king tru na mou i samting long em olotaum i gud pela kristian man." ("Today we are all sad because our king, George VI, has died. He was a good king and a good Christian.") 132

Such reverence for the dead king was expected equally of loyal native subjects and loyal expatriates. On the front page of its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary edition the editor declared:

"Long despela tenpela yar mipela i bin traim mekim wok, olsem mipela i ken, long givim yupela long nius na toktok long ol samting i gudpela long save na i gudpela long mekim. Tok save long ol wok i kamap long peles, long ol people ol i wok bung wantem na helivim ol yet bilong mekim kamap moa gudpela sidaon." <sup>333</sup>

("During the past 10 years I have tried to bring you news and discussion about things it is good to know and make. Information about work comes from many places, about people who work together to help make things better.")

The paper was small, aimed solidly at the indigenous population and concerned with practical matters. It might contain hand drawn pictures of cocoa borers or warn the locals not to use discarded munitions.<sup>134</sup> It contained news from all over the Territory, although for some reason a lot of this was about people being eaten by sharks or otherwise dying unpleasantly.<sup>135</sup> It reminded people about Empire Day and promoted the idea of local councils and ways for people to improve themselves. However, as we shall see, it could also be coy about reporting matters that might embarrass the Administration.

The majority of the Tolai population was also served by two newspapers produced by the Catholic and Methodist missions. The Methodist newspaper, *A Nilai Ra Davot*, was the second oldest newspaper in New Guinea. The Catholic newspaper, *Tailagu* (or *Tailagu*) was also printed in Kuanua, but with a slightly different orthography. *A Nilai Ra Davot* was probably the first newspaper in the Territory to employ local writers, but like its Catholic counterpart its publication had been interrupted by the war. Between the mission publications and the Administration newsletter, the Tolai had access to more publications aimed directly at them than the Europeans.

In the decade after the war the population of Rabaul eventually grew again to such a size that it was felt that a newspaper for expatriates would be commercially viable and so in 1957, the *Rabaul Times* was revived under a new management. The pre-war *Rabaul Times*,

<sup>130</sup> Rabaul News, February 16, 1952.

<sup>131</sup> J.K 'Keith' McCarthy should not be confused with the South Pacific Post cartoonist, Jack McCarthy.

<sup>132</sup> Rabaul News, March 1, 1952.

<sup>133</sup> Rabaul News, September 22, 1956.

<sup>134</sup> Rabaul News, July 12, 1958. The latter was a continuing problem and the News contained several stories over the years about people who blew themselves up by fishing with old grenades or unstable dynamite.

<sup>135</sup> Rabaul News, July 6, 1957.

which began publishing in 1925, had ended when the Japanese came. 136 Its editor, Gordon Thomas, survived the war by running the town's ice making plant for the Japanese invaders. After the war he chose to settle in Campbelltown in New South Wales, writing under the nom de plume 'Tolala' for the Pacific Islands Monthly. 137 The new version of the Times was owned by the management of the Lae-based New Guinea Courier and was edited by Angus 'Gus' Smales.<sup>138</sup> The paper was published every Friday by the Rabaul Times Ltd in Toma St and sold for sixpence. For this the reader usually received a 16 page tabloid paper. Each page was divided into six 10em wide columns. This was less than the seven columns usually carried in tabloid papers at the time and at 10 ems the columns were slightly wider than usual. The Press Directory of Australia and New Zealand lists the paper as being of 14-16 pages, which suggests that the Times was using a flatbed press that could take broadsheet pages (i.e. two tabloid pages) as well as single A3 sheets. Since an A3 sheet can be cut or folded into A4 sheets, this would indicate that the press could also be used for printing flyers and other commercial jobs. Presumably the owners hoped to win sufficient contracts to offset the costs of publishing the *Times*. In any case, since the *Times* was owned by the *New* Guinea Courier, we can expect that it was subsidised to a certain extent by the Lae-based publication.139

The *New Guinea Courier* was also established in 1957 and was a much more ambitious publication. Published every Wednesday for sixpence and available for an annual subscription of £3/5/-, it contained 24-28 pages with the same six column, 10 em layout as the *Times*. The *Courier* later contained a Tok Pisin supplement, *Nugini Toktok*, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six. 140

The only other commercial newspaper in PNG was the Port Moresby-based *South Pacific Post.* None of the papers had a large circulation and none were a daily. The *Times* was unique in that it served what was probably the closest thing to a "settler" community in PNG. Its audience were the expatriates, local Chinese and perhaps a few English-literate Tolai. The dominant voices in the *Times* were expatriate, the most dominant being those of the RSL and the plantation owners. However, it would be wrong to think of the new *Times* as being simply a continuation of its pre-war namesake in either style or content. It was paternalistic, but not overtly racist and the kinds of attitudes expressed by Thomas would have been unthinkable. From its very first edition, the *Times* reflected, however imperfectly, the changing realities of New Guinea. The first edition appeared on March 22 1957, with a front page editorial that declared 'Loyalty to Crown Keynote to Policy.' The new *Rabaul Times* would, it declared, be "loyal to the Crown, to Australia and to the Territory and it will encourage the community to be loyal." That loyalty, however, would not mean that the paper would be "swayed by pressure from any group, administrative, political, civic, secular or racial."

The *Times* was of the same standard as a good Australian provincial newspaper, being attractively and professionally laid out and written. At first glance, the world the *Times* presents is one in which Europeans live a life of colonial idleness, with swimming pools,

<sup>136</sup> The paper was ready to go to press when the Japanese arrived, but was abandoned because of the exigencies of war. The printing block for the paper's masthead was buried by Tolai printer Julius Elluel. He was unable to find it after the war. *Rabaul Times*, March 22, 1957.

<sup>137</sup> Thomas had come to the Gazelle in 1909 to run the Methodist printing press at Raluana, but was dismissed after a scandal involving two female missionaries. The *Rabaul Times* under his editorship espoused some extremely racist views. Cass, P., 'The Apostolate of the Press: Missionary language policy, Translation and Publication in German New Guinea,' MA thesis, Central Queensland University, 1997.

<sup>138</sup> Threlfall, Rev, N., personal communication, November 2, 2006.

<sup>139</sup> Country Press Co-operative Company of Australia, *The Press Directory of Australia and New Zealand*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, Sydney, 1958, p288.

<sup>140</sup> Country Press Co-operative Company of Australia, *The Press Directory of Australia and New Zealand* 15<sup>th</sup> edition, Sydney, 1961, p305.

<sup>141</sup> Although it is fairly obvious that the RSL and the New Guinea Planters' Association could try to exert as much pressure as they liked. *Rabaul Times*, March 22, 1957.

horse races, country shows (complete with 'native axemen') and amateur theatricals. <sup>142</sup> Should they tire of any of this they could fly to the Highlands and disport themselves at the Goroka Hotel, with its miniature golf and "talkies" in the hotel lounge. <sup>143</sup> The *Times* even included a weekly strip cartoon, securing the rights to the boxing saga *Big Ben Bolt*, which was still being run next to an equally ancient *Rip Kirby* in the *Post-Courier* forty years later. And yet this image of a colonial paradise is something of an illusion. As with any newspaper, this was copy that filled in the spaces between the humdrum reporting of advisory councils, Administration announcements and copra prices. It was copy that would not have been out of place in the pages of the *North Queensland Register* or *Queensland Country Life*.

The readers of the *Rabaul Times* were not cut off from the outside world. There was a radio service provided by the ABC where southern newspapers and magazines filtered through, albeit days or even weeks late, and there were film shows, usually in places such as the RSL club and later at the town's drive-in. Rabaul was a beautiful town that still featured the broad, tree lined avenues laid down in the German times. Built around one of the world's greatest natural harbours, Rabaul regularly received visits by ships from other countries and there were visits by Australian politicians and foreign delegations.

There were regular portents that all was not completely settled. Rabaul was built on the edge of and on the hills surrounding a caldera which had been filled by the ocean. Rabaul was also surrounded by five volcanoes, one of which, Vulcan, had destroyed the town in 1937. Clouds of evil smelling vapours regularly drifted out of the volcanic pits near Matupit village and a new vulcanological observatory kept an eye on seismic activity. There were portents of change in the heavens too; as people watched the first satellites sail silently overhead. Under the headline 'Sputnik Sighted', the *Times* said the satellite "appeared as a slowly moving bright star and was in view for about eight minutes." <sup>144</sup>

In short, the expatriates in Rabaul were in a position to obtain a fairly accurate view of what was happening around them. Admittedly, as a local paper the *Times* was interested in outside stories only insofar as they affected the town or its future, but they were still there. For expatriates the paper certainly reflected their view of the world, or at least one version of it, but it was probably no more parochial than the Rockhampton *Morning Bulletin* or the *Gladstone Observer* would have been.

Race was one of the dominant issues of the day. Sometimes it was overt, as when the paper reported on calls for naturalisation by Chinese businessmen or the appearance of indigenous teams in local sporting competitions. Sometimes it was there in the background, as when the Magazine Shop advertised *Life Among the Cannibals* by Charles Miller "an exciting account of a journey made through New Guinea by the author" or Hal Porter's *A Handful of Pennies*, set in "an oriental country occupied by conquering Western forces" which had as its theme "the impact of the two races upon each other." The paper, at least in its first years, appears to have accepted that relationships between the Europeans and the Tolai were good, or at least as they should be, with well intentioned Australians in charge. Elsewhere in the Territory, relationships with the indigenous people had, in the post-war years, sometimes been more sanguinary than sanguine, as when people from the Eliptamin Valley murdered Patrol Officer George Szarka, Cadet G.B.Harris and Constables Buritori and Purari. 146

<sup>142</sup> According to long-term Rabaul resident and former Coastwatcher Matt Foley, the race track was on the Kokopo road on land near Vulcan, the youngest of the town's volcanoes. The race track had long since been taken over by kunai grass when I saw it. Foley, M., interview, Rabaul, July, 1993.

<sup>143</sup> Rabaul Times, May 1, 1959.

<sup>144</sup> Rabaul Times, May 30, 1958. It was unlikely to have been a Sputnik. The Soviet Union's Sputnik 1 and 2 were so small that they could not be seen unaided and in any case their orbits had decayed by this date. It is most likely that the people in Rabaul saw the American Vanguard 1, which was launched from Cape Canaveral on March 17, 1958 and is still in orbit. See <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard\_1">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard\_1</a> and <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sputnik\_program">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard\_1</a> and <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sputnik\_program">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard\_1</a> and <a href="http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sputnik\_program">http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sputnik\_program</a> .

<sup>145</sup> Rabaul Times, April 3, 1959.

<sup>146</sup> Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship...*, p127. Buritori and Purari are not named in Downs' official history. Members of the Min people held a reconciliation service for members of the Szarka and Harris families in Sydney in November 2003. Mackay, K.,

The *Times* was built on what appears to have been a small but solid advertising base, with advertisements from the New Britain Automotive Service, the local chemist, Rabaul Town Transport Ltd and Colyer Watson ("quality tools") all welcoming the first edition. Among the letters welcoming the new paper were one from Ping Hui, representing the Kuomintang and the New Guinea Chinese Association who said the paper would be "in a position to report in detail the news of Rabaul as a whole." In a similar vein, John Vuia, president of the Rabaul Native Village Council, declared:

"With the success of our council system and through big economic developments in cocoa and copra we know that native activities will be of great interest to all sections of the community and we know that the *Rabaul Times* will always be interested in publishing news of our activities." <sup>147</sup>

However, the *Times* was aimed solidly at its main market, the white expatriates. As a commercial venture nothing else could have been expected and news about other racial groups tended, at first, to be reported solely in terms of European interest. The *Times* concentrated almost exclusively on matters of concern for the expatriate population and dealt with local issues through the perceptions of the expatriate community. However, as we saw in chapter two, the expatriate community was not monolithic and the Administration, business, missionaries and planters often pursued quite distinct objectives, especially when it came to the employment and treatment of locals.

Dunbar-Reid claims that Kokopo, rather than Rabaul, was the centre of plantation and business life. He said Administration officials had trouble adjusting to the atmosphere in Kokopo, "like oil and water". <sup>148</sup> The New Guinea Planters' Association, the voice of the expatriate copra and coffee growers, was often critical of the Administration's policies and often complained that plans to boost locally owned production were carried out at the expense of expatriate planters. The Australian government's policy was quite clearly laid out in the Papua and New Guinea Provisional Administration Bill 1945. The Minister for External Territories told Parliament:

'The Government regards it as its bounden duty to further to the utmost the advancement of the natives...In future, the basis for the economy of the Territory will be native and European industry with the limit of non-native expansion determined by the welfare of the natives generally.' <sup>149</sup>

Resentment at imagined government interference was coupled in the 1950s with fears of what was happening in other parts of the Commonwealth. The Mau Mau uprising in Kenya seemed to many a foretaste of what was to come in the Territory. Curiously, it was this very fear that was used to mollify some sections of the expatriate community. In 1957 at the State Congress of the RSL in Lae some members complained that the Administration was "doing everything for the native and nothing else." RSL vice-president, L.M.Henry, replied that:

"The quickest way to develop a Mau Mau terrorist element in New Guinea would be to deprive the native of his land. That was why the Administration was acting correctly in realising native rights to land. Whatever opinion might be held, the fact remained that New Guinea belonged to the native and was vested in Australian trusteeship." <sup>150</sup>

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Apology for past deaths,' in *The Baptist Advocate*, January 2004.

<sup>147</sup> Rabaul Times, March 22, 1957.

<sup>148</sup> Dunbar-Reid, D., personal communication, October, 2006.

<sup>149</sup> Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, Vol 183:4052-54, July 4, 1945. See Waiko, J., A Short History... pp126-128 for a more detailed explanation of Labor's 'New Deal' for the Territory.

<sup>150</sup> Rabaul Times, March 28, 1958.

Sometimes the divisions between the different expatriate groups went too far, as when a Catholic priest assaulted two SDA missionaries. Relationships between some missionaries and plantation owners had never been happy. The Catholic Church did not seem to annoy other planters except as a commercial rival. Unfortunately, the *Times* did not name the guilty party when it reported that planters had complained that "a mission" had been interfering with the labour line by telling them to observe religious holidays. 152

Expatriates lived in a segregated community in which the Tolai were employed as labourers, drivers and haus bois. The Tolai did not, as a rule, work on local plantations. It was standard policy to employ labour lines from other districts; otherwise anybody who became disaffected could easily run back to their village. It is probably fair to say that in the minds of most expatriates the Tolai remained firmly in the background unless they did something that directly affected the expatriates. Just as the haus boi and meri could become invisible to those who employed them, so the Tolai could be discounted until they had to be noticed. In this respect it is possible to argue that the *Times* was somewhat ahead of its audience, at least in its willingness to confront racial and other issues.

The Tolai and the Europeans were not the only racial groups on the Gazelle. There was a sizeable Chinese population, a smaller group of Ambonese and a less well defined, but just as discernible, mixed race population. The issue of racial equality was acknowledged by the *Times* in its first issue, when it claimed that it would

"acknowledge Europeans, Chinese, natives and mixed blood people as equal partners in the...community" and support any plans that would end trusteeship and "bring New Guinea into full membership of the Commonwealth of Australia." <sup>153</sup>

The *Times* expected that other races would be led by the Europeans and that the way forward was as part of Australia, not as an independent nation. The idea of Papua New Guinea becoming part of Australia recurs throughout the *Times'* brief life and seems to have stemmed largely from the very strong influence of the RSL, which also promoted the idea of establishing soldier settlements on the Gazelle. Perhaps, given the massacre of Australian servicemen at Tol plantation in 1942 and the hard fought campaign in New Britain in 1944-45, it was only natural that there should have been an attitude among some members of the RSL that "we fought for the place, so it's ours."

The *Times* gave space to the expression of these ideas even at a time when they must have seemed increasingly out of touch in an era of decolonisation. The year after it began, for instance, the *Times* reported a call from the Territory's RSL for the Australian government to establish a financially assisted land settlement scheme with preference for ex-servicemen in New Guinea. At a time when the British were beginning their retreat from empire, it might not have been the most propitious moment to suggest that Canberra encourage white settlement in New Guinea. Nevertheless, the RSL's annual congress in Lae adopted a motion supporting:

"...the introduction of a financially assisted land settlement scheme with preference for ex-servicemen and that such a scheme should operate along similar lines to the scheme operating in Australia. The scheme, besides providing rehabilitation rights for exservicemen so entitled, will also assist with the economic development of the Territory." 154

<sup>151</sup> Fr Stephen White was taken to court for assaulting two Seventh Day Adventists. *Rabaul Times*, July 19, 1957. He was convicted, cautioned and discharged. *Rabaul Times*, July 26, 1957.

<sup>152</sup> Rabaul Times, September 27, 1957.

<sup>153</sup> Rabaul Times, March 22, 1957.

<sup>154</sup> Rabaul Times, March 28, 1958. The suggestion for a soldier settlement scheme had been dismissed a few months earlier in the pages of the Times as 'a wild scheme...[that would]...cost Australian taxpayers thousands' by Dr H.E. Brookfield, senior research fellow in the Department of Geography at the Research School of Pacific Studies in Canberra. Rabaul Times, January 31, 1958. Ultimately, the Australian government did go ahead with a soldier-settlement scheme, but it should be noted that this also included Papua New Guineans who had served in the military during the war. This was part of a larger programme of rural development. See, for example, Ploeg, A., 'The Situm and Gobari Ex-Servicemen's Settlements,' in New Guinea Research Bulletin, No. 39, 1971.

The RSL's federal president, Sir George Holland, had once grandly declared that any Territory representative of the RSL would have free access to the Prime Minister or Cabinet.<sup>155</sup> The Menzies government had declared that its doors were open on matters of repatriation benefits and other matters concerning ex-soldiers, but there must have been times when the RSL's demands appeared to reflect a belief in an almost divine right to have whatever it wanted.<sup>156</sup> For all of its intemperance, there was a genuine belief among many RSL members that Australia owed Papua New Guinea a debt of gratitude because of the war and this mix of paternalism, self-interest and altruism found its expression in the belief that PNG would be better off if the Territory remained tied to Australia.

In July 1957, Ramon Martin, president of the Native Ex-Serviceman's Association asked for naturalisation (i.e. Australian citizenship) for Tolai who had served with the Australians during the war. The *Times*' editor commented:

"It shows...that the idea of Australian naturalisation is not unwanted in the native community, or at least in some sectors...It also shows that the same section of the community does not envisage any immediate removal from a sphere of Australian influence." <sup>157</sup>

This, the editor declared, was because the solution to the Territory's future lay in

"...the eventual implementation of a mutual government. It means self-determination but not necessarily detachment. Such a government will not be an all-native one, but neither will it be all-Australian. The only workable and sensible government in the foreseeable future will be one in which every community is a partner." 158

While its preference for continued Australian rule never altered, the *Times* was remarkably quick to reflect major changes in attitude to what had once seemed fixed questions, such as racial issues. Discrimination existed in all sorts of ways. There was a 'European' hospital in Rabaul and a newly opened 'native' hospital in Kokopo and an 'Asiatic' hospital in Rabaul.<sup>159</sup>

The mixed-race community fought unsuccessfully for recognition and a racial identity of their own, so they could be recognised as a separate community on their own. Those who were descended from Chinese-Tolai relationships were generally absorbed into the Chinese community, but a child born of a relationship between a local woman and a white plantation owner or soldier was usually raised in the village and rarely acknowledged by its father, who in any case was usually long gone. J.Schultz, a member of the town's mixed race community lamented:

"We want two things: Firstly, to be accepted as an individual race so that we may take our place properly in the development of the community and, secondly, we want a name for the race." 160

<sup>155</sup> Rabaul Times, May 3, 1957.

<sup>156</sup> Viscount Slim, then Governor General of Australia, grew so tired of some RSL members' incessant cries that in 1953 he publicly warned them - while speaking as head of the RSL - to stop demanding everything and anything from the government. Lewin, R., *Slim: The Standard Bearer*, Wordsworth, 1999, p290.

<sup>157</sup> Rabaul Times, July 26, 1957.

<sup>158</sup> Rabaul Times, July 26, 1957.

<sup>159</sup> Rabaul Times, October 25, 1957.

<sup>160</sup> Rabaul Times, July 5, 1957. The status of the Chinese in PNG was a matter of some concern to that community. Of the seven petitions received from PNG residents by the United Nations Trusteeship Council which were referred to the Australian government, four concerned immigration and all of these were submitted by Chinese. Tomasetti, W.E., 'Australia and the United Nations: New Guinea Trusteeship issues from 1946-1966,' in New Guinea Research Bulletin, No. 36, July 1970. While formal indigenous political groupings were non-existent, the Chinese in the Territory had recourse to branches of the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang.

The Chinese demanded to be treated as equals and for the right to Australian citizenship. There was definitely discrimination against the Chinese, even though most of them had been there longer than the Australians and other Europeans. The stupidity and pettiness of the discrimination was exemplified by the fact that Chinese were not allowed to use the town's ANZAC memorial swimming pool. Paul Mow wrote to the paper to complain that:

"The Chinese have no desire to enter the pool because the water is polluted. The water in that pool is not H20 but H20+B (B = Bigotry.)" $^{161}$ 

Reader Ian Fardon pointed out that under the ban, 14 Chinese crewmen from *HMS Concord*, which was then in port, would not be allowed to swim in the ANZAC pool. And yet less than 18 months later the *Times* reported that the Planters' Association of New Guinea had removed a clause from its constitution restricting membership to people of European origin. Now it was open to people of European origin or naturalised Australian citizens, which meant, essentially, naturalised Chinese. The *Times* reported:

"The change is regarded as a major development in race integration in the history of New Britain, as the European membership of the association was for many years closely guarded. 'A move of this nature would never have gone through even five years ago,' a spokesman for the association said this week." <sup>164</sup>

The Planters' Association was one of the few places where a Chinese resident of Rabaul could influence developments in local industry or politics. Chinese (or, as the *Times* put it, 'Asiatic') businessmen had been entitled to membership of the Rabaul Chamber of Commerce since it was formed after the war. This was due largely to the efforts of one of its founders, T.M.Wilton, who was a vice president of the Planters' Association. 165

However, the idea that the place of the Tolai in the community could or should change was not so readily accepted. The place of the Tolai in the *Times* was contradictory. They were largely invisible, only emerging when there was a particular issue to report. For instance, the paper reported that the Commonwealth Bank had opened a service for "native accounts" and that the RSL had sanctioned the opening of the first branch of a "Native Ex-Servicemen's Association."166 The relationship between the races also seems to have been, at times, tinged with paranoia. In March 1957 the RSL complained that seamen had been seen leaving their ships and talking with locals. The RSL declared that anybody entering the Territory should be assessed for what it called "moral fibre," although whether it thought the seamen were homosexuals or communists is unclear.<sup>167</sup> However when, a few months later, a Russian scientific ship visited Rabaul, the paper lamented that an opportunity had been missed to show the Soviets around and impress them with Rabaul's development.<sup>168</sup> Such contradictions are understandable. Many Australians who worked in PNG after the Second World War became deeply attached to PNG and sincerely wanted to do what they thought best for the local people, but some of those who returned after the war could not quite shake off the old masta-boi mentality and found the many social and political changes unsettling.<sup>169</sup> A commercial newspaper trying to cater to a market that itself held

<sup>161</sup> Rabaul Times, July 5, 1957.

<sup>162</sup> Rabaul Times, June 28, 1957.

<sup>163</sup> It had been reported earlier that year that 90 percent of Chinese businessmen and community leaders in Rabaul had asked to become naturalised Australian citizens. *Rabaul Times*, January 17, 1958.

<sup>164</sup> Rabaul Times, November 21, 1958.

<sup>165</sup> Rabaul Times, November 21, 1958.

<sup>166</sup> Rabaul Times, March 29, 1957.

<sup>167</sup> Rabaul Times, March 29, 1957.

<sup>168</sup> Rabaul Times, August 9, 1957.

<sup>169</sup> They were called "B4s" because of their habit of saying: "Before the war..."

contradictory views could be excused for sometimes not knowing how to report on an issue. The Native Ex-Servicemen's Association appears to have been seen as a means of influencing Tolai opinion in favour of the RSL's own plans for the Territory. Visiting RSL President Sir George Holland claimed that:

"If we ever want to get annexation for the Territory, we can achieve it only through the combined strength of ours and the Native Ex-Servicemen's Association." <sup>170</sup>

Great changes were underway on the Gazelle. The Administration was promoting a huge investment in cocoa plantations, copra production was returning to pre-war levels and there were many didiman schemes to promote better agricultural practices. Among these were the Tolai Cocoa Project and the Vudal Settlement Scheme, an experiment to promote crop maintenance rather than the traditional 'plant it and walk away' method.<sup>171</sup> The *Rabaul News* told its Tolai readers: "Cocoa nau i wanpela samting bilong winim bigpla mani" (cocoa is a way to make lots of money).<sup>172</sup> Looking back, Dunbar-Reid takes a somewhat different view of what was happening:

"...the Tolai did not make full use of any agricultural schemes early in the piece. I believe he had no need to. He had the richest part of PNG which produced any food he wished and he was in no great need of 'cash crops' then. Later when he needed benzene, bread, Twisties etc he had to enter the world of the mighty dollar. Even then he became an entrepreneur rather than a farmer. The Tolai women were the tillers and custodians of the land." 173

There were also smaller, but no less significant changes. The Rabaul Baseball Association was all of a-twitter when a Tolai team from Matupit asked if it could play. Playing sport with the 'natives' would mean treating them as equals and perhaps even sharing facilities with them, something that would have been unthinkable to some. The team was eventually allowed to play, but it took almost a year before the matter was settled. There were already Chinese players such as John Seeto and crowds of up to 2000 "Native, European and Chinese spectators" gathered on Saturday afternoons to watch the game being played in Queen Elizabeth Park. However, it was another year before the 'natives' migrated from the sidelines to the pitch, the first Tolai team going into bat in July 1958. In that same month the *Times* reported that the Rabaul Soccer Association had announced that it would allow indigenous teams to compete with expatriates under the headline 'Natives will play soccer.'

Three months after this announcement, police arrested 12 locals when a disturbance broke out in a dispute over two women following a soccer match. The *Times'* description of the event as a "near-riot" was rather disingenuous since it was clear from the story that nobody was injured and that the situation had been quickly defused. What is interesting is the way in which the Soccer Association rushed to defend the game and the players (who by now, presumably, included Tolai) and insisted that neither had been responsible for the incident. They hastened to reassure the *Times'* readers that:

<sup>170</sup> Rabaul Times, May 3, 1957.

<sup>171</sup> Rabaul Times, April 5, 1957; Threlfall, N., One Hundred Years in the Islands, p175.

<sup>172</sup> Rabaul News, October 2, 1954.

<sup>173</sup> Dunbar-Reid, D., personal communication, October 2006.

<sup>174</sup> Rabaul Times, June 28, 1957.

<sup>175</sup> Rabaul Times, August 15, 1958.

<sup>176</sup> Rabaul Times, July 25, 1958.

"European referees and officials have complete control over the games and the players and that the players themselves have a fine sense of sportsmanship." <sup>177</sup>

If there was a slow but steady desegregation of sport, there were also nasty echoes of prewar attitudes when letters were published complaining that the locals were taking over the beaches. <sup>178</sup> Six months later, the issue came up again. Allegations made by a T. Hemray of "filthy, contemptuous" behaviour by locals occupying a beach where whites swam led to a suggestion that a non-native beach be acquired. The suggestion was thrown out by the Rabaul Town Advisory Council. <sup>179</sup> Elsewhere that year the Kokopo Town Advisory Council sought clarification from the Administration as to whether locals could buy methylated spirits without a permit. <sup>180</sup> The issue resurfaced with complaints that locals had been allowed to buy methylated spirits and allegations that 'natives' had been drinking it in Port Moresby. <sup>181</sup>

If changes in the Rabaul community often proceeded upon uneven paths, so they proceeded in the outside world and the changes were not always welcome. Australia was under pressure from the United Nations to improve its performance in the Territory and some local people used the triennial visits by the UN Trusteeship Council Visiting Mission to press for radical changes. During his visit to Rabaul in 1957, Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies declared that:

"...the Australian people and their government did not want a certain group of nations telling them how to run their trust territories." <sup>182</sup>

The first UN delegation to visit had been highly critical of Australia's efforts - probably unfairly given the conditions in the immediate post war years - but Menzies' response exposed a strong belief that Australia should be left alone and not have to comply with international expectations. The conviction that Australia was doing everything it could also led to an attitude that the local people should be grateful for whatever was being done for them. Unfortunately, this led some expatriates to ignore the fact that what the Administration was doing was not always obviously good for the local people. It also led them to ignore the fact that many Tolai also had ideas about what they wanted and their ideas did not always match those of the Administration, especially when it came to taxes and the question of who was to take responsibility at a local level.

The issue of taxes and the introduction of local government councils provide a focus for everything that was happening on the Gazelle in the late 1950s. Out of them grew a reluctant recognition of the organisational and political abilities of the Tolai, the growth of the Mataungan Association and the only persistent and occasionally violent opposition to Australian rule in Papua New Guinea. The roots of the issue went back to 1949, when the Native Local Government Councils Ordinance was introduced. By 1956 there were five such councils on the Gazelle, two in Milne Bay, one on Manus Island and one in Hanuabada, a settlement in Port Moresby. Administration chose the Gazelle as one of the areas where it would establish village councils. The plan was to give villagers a chance to vote for their leaders and, by familiarising the indigenous people with democratic procedures, give them

<sup>177</sup> Rabaul Times, November 1, 1958.

<sup>178</sup> Rabaul Times, May 31, 1957.

<sup>179</sup> Rabaul Times, November 15, 1957.

<sup>180</sup> Rabaul Times, April 12, 1957.

<sup>181</sup> Rabaul Times, May 10, 1957.

<sup>182</sup> Rabaul Times, May 3, 1957.

<sup>183</sup> For a study of Australia's relationship with the United Nations Trusteeship Council, see Tomasetti, W.E., 'Australia and the United Nations.'

"a first step in the people's advancement towards self-government." <sup>184</sup> Each council would raise its own money through personal taxation, arrange its own budgets, and determine priorities for schools, health clinics etc. However, there was unexpected opposition to the councils spreading any further. It gradually became apparent that the Administration was facing opposition from a group of young men operating through kivungs. The DC, Keith McCarthy, had actually used this traditional form of meeting and adjudication before the war to settle local disputes. However, as we have already seen, the kivungs had acted as a kind of underground government for the Tolai during the war and had returned to them a large measure of self rule which the young Tolai leaders were, understandably, reluctant to give up. <sup>185</sup> In certain villages the kivungs begun to usurp the authority of their elders, especially the luluais and tultuls appointed by the Administration. A shadowy 'committee' began collecting unofficial taxes. The majority of Tolai villages had joined the local council system and they protested that while they paid their taxes, the rebel villages held back their money, but still benefited from government services and roads.

Following a petition from the pro-council villages to force the kivung villages to join, McCarthy and a party of Administration officers tried one last time to negotiate with the offenders at Raluana, near the Methodist mission. <sup>186</sup> Unfortunately, the enmity between the council and non-council villages was exacerbated by traditional rivalries between certain villages and by the resentment of the Raluana at the appointment of a Reimber villager, Nason Tokilala as paramount luluai in 1951. <sup>187</sup> Tokilala accompanied McCarthy to Raluana village where he was assaulted. During the fracas the villagers' one-legged leader, Tuvi, hit McCarthy on the head with his crutch. The bruised Administration party withdrew. <sup>188</sup>

The assault on McCarthy was serious enough to warrant the intrusion of the Australian Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, who arrived in Rabaul with the Territory's Administrator, Donald Cleland. There were various meetings and a rash of promises by the villagers that were never kept. Then the villagers petitioned the Chief Justice, Montague Phillips, in Port Moresby, to have their villages excluded from any proclamations or laws regarding local councils. The judge decided in their favour. The kivungs had won a significant victory. The live of the councils of the councils of the councils of the councils.

McCarthy was criticised in the official investigation into the affair and Dame Rachel Cleland concluded in her memoirs that he had probably stirred up the Raluana people at the fateful meeting. However, Cleland's criticism is not entirely fair. Doubtless McCarthy was a little old fashioned in his ideas about dealing with local people, but as he makes clear in his memoirs, he could not get the Raluana to tell him openly why they opposed the councils. He became aware of the kivungs, which he called "a small organization of tough young men who ruled by fear and in secret" and perhaps he felt that he could impose order with his own authority in the old, pre-war way. Three years later McCarthy was moved to Port Moresby. The *Rabaul News* reported that he was sick and going to Australia to get better:

<sup>184</sup> Bonney, N., 'Local Government and political development in Papua New Guinea,' in *Public Administration and Development* (pre-1986), II:2, April-June 1982; Threlfall, N., 100 Years..., p160.

<sup>185</sup> McCarthy, J.K., Patrol into Yesterday, Robert Brown, Port Moresby, 1972, p231.

<sup>186</sup> Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship..., p137.

<sup>187</sup> ibid.

<sup>188</sup> McCarthy, J.K., *Patrol...*, p234. McCarthy later told Professor Hank Nelson: "I couldn't retaliate. I could just see the headline: 'White fascist hits one legged native.'" Personal communication, Hank Nelson, January 21, 2006.

<sup>189</sup> McCarthy J.K., *Patrol...*, p235; Stephen, D., *A History of Political parties in Papua New Guinea*, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1972, pp105-106. Stephen's account is largely a précis of McCarthy's.

<sup>190</sup> Cleland, R., Pathways... p270.

<sup>191</sup> McCarthy, J.K., Patrol..., p232.

"I gat sik na baimbai i go stap tupela mun pastem long Port Moresby na baimbai ol i mekim gud pastem, orait, bihain nau i go holiday long Australia." 192

(He is sick so he will spend two months in Port Moresby and when he is better he will go on holiday to Australia.)

McCarthy was replaced as DC for East New Britain by John Foldi, a former kiap from Papua who had been Assistant Director of District Services and Native Affairs. 193 In the meantime, the kivungs were left to go their own way, a situation that would probably have not been tolerated anywhere else in PNG. It certainly added to the frustration of the Administration, which used the Rabaul News to publish lists of people who had not paid their taxes.<sup>194</sup> In 1958 matters came to a head again and this time with even bloodier results. In that year the Administration introduced a new tax, with local people paying a minimum of £2. There was immediate resistance from the kivung-dominated villages and the Administration was not pleased. While opening the new Bitapaka hospital, Foldi, described the non-payers as "lacking in understanding" and said: "They should be ashamed not to pay two pounds head tax because Australia was spending millions on TP&NG."195 A month later there was a clash at Raluana as pro-council and anti-council groups hurled stones at each other. One woman was hit, but not seriously hurt. 196 Subsequently, 11 people were convicted of behaving in a threatening manner and discharged.<sup>197</sup> A week later an Administration patrol visited the area and collected the head tax without any problems. About £90 was collected. The *Times* reported:

"...meanwhile some natives have admitted...they were opposing the tax merely on the grounds that their district had lost face because it was not included in the first groups of villages to come under native councils schemes. They claim this is the main reason why some...have opposed council activities...They would have supported the scheme from the start if they had been approached earlier, they claim." 198

The *Times* made its feelings on the matter plain in an editorial in July. It sums up what was probably the common attitude of most expatriates, that villagers who refused to pay their taxes were getting something for nothing:

"Since the tax was first introduced, there has been a spate of criticism from many quarters. There is no doubt however that whatever the European or the Asiatic or the mixed blood might feel, the native has no cause to complain. The real truth is that the native is getting far more for nothing than anyone else." 199

<sup>192</sup> Rabaul News, July 10 1954. McCarthy's career had always been peripatetic. In Port Moresby he became executive officer of the Department of the Administrator in 1955 and in 1957 was, briefly, the Acting Administrator of Nauru. At the time that events on the Gazelle began to scalate, he was Acting Director of Native Affairs and was confirmed in that position in 1960. Rabaul Times, April 6 1957. Nelson, H., 'McCarthy... '

<sup>193</sup> Rabaul News, July 10 1954.

<sup>194</sup> Rabaul News, May 12, 1956.

<sup>195</sup> Rabaul Times, February 28, 1958.

<sup>196</sup> Rabaul Times, March 21, 1958.

<sup>197</sup> Rabaul Times, March 21, 1958.

<sup>198</sup> Rabaul Times, March 28, 1958.

<sup>199</sup> *Rabaul Times*, July 18, 1958.

The issue simmered all year, with the villagers repeating the same refrain: They had their own councils; they were independent and therefore did not need government services and would not pay for them. Villagers who agreed to pay the taxes were angry with the resisters because they saw them benefiting from government roads and services even if they did not pay up. The different groups often clashed with each other. Many of the resisters were from villagers near the Methodist mission headquarters at Raluana, but even the missionaries were unable to reconcile the two groups.

In July the Rabaul Court ordered twenty Tolai to pay the tax as well as £-/8/6 court costs. The men were all from the Navuneram-Taviliu area, about twenty kilometres from Rabaul. Native Affairs officers had warned that the tax regulations would be enforced. When the officers went to the villages to collect the taxes the people refused and it was suggested that a truck belonging to one of the refusers be seized as payment. A group of twenty men was summonsed and told to report to court for sentencing, but not one man appeared. Warrants were then issued on the defendants. The *Times* estimated that about two hundred Tolai had organised the opposition to the taxes, but reported that up to four hundred summonses would eventually be served.<sup>200</sup> The *Times* reported a Rabaul man as saying: "It looks like an organised mass revolt against the tax payments."<sup>201</sup> The *Times* was right, but where that opposition would lead was anybody's guess.

On August 4, 1958, a large Administration patrol returned to Navuneram with 12 administration officers and eighty armed police. Among the party were Foldi and several Administration officers, including Jack Emanuel, who had been living in the area for about a month. The police were officially under the control of the Commissioner of Police, C.Normoyle, who had flown into Rabaul for the occasion. The official party had been camped near the village over the preceding weekend and had told the villagers that they were there to conduct a census. A delegation from the village went to the Administration camp and told them they were not interested in paying the head tax or taking part in the census. According to the *Times*' report, the Administration party entered Navuneram without trouble on the morning of August 4 and spent an hour talking to villagers without persuading any of them to take part in the census or pay their taxes. At this point, Foldi and Normoyle began walking towards a group of villagers who responded by throwing stones. By this time the number of villagers was estimated at five hundred, which included people from other villages. The *Times* described the villagers as "milling around." 204

"Then some of the villagers broke for cover and others retreated to an apparently prepared position near the centre of the village where they began throwing big stones...Two constables were injured by the pelting stones and the order was given to fire over the heads of the villagers. Immediately the shooting began confusion broke loose. The villagers broke up and the constables chased some of them to make arrests...When 50 rounds had been fired, two men fell and died instantly." <sup>205</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Rabaul Times, July 25, 1958.

<sup>201</sup> Rabaul Times, July 25, 1958.

<sup>202</sup> There are conflicting versions about what happened and who was to blame. McCarthy was blamed by some for stirring up the original trouble in 1953, while others (not always directly named) have been blamed for forcing the issue. McCarthy, J.K., *Patrol...*, pp235-236; Cleland, R., *Pathways...*, pp276. Threlfall, *100 Years*, p178. The *Times* says there were 15 European officers. McCarthy says there were eighty police, Cleland two hundred. Cleland described the police as being lined up in two ranks along the edge of the village playing field with bayonets attached to their Lee Enfield .303s.

<sup>203</sup> Rabaul Times, August 8, 1958.

<sup>204</sup> Rabaul Times, August 8, 1958. Cleland says that the villagers started hurling rocks with the traditional Tolai slingshot when Emanuel asked them to pay the tax. Cleland, R., Pathways..., p277.

<sup>205</sup> Rabaul Times, August 8, 1958.

The two men were Tovatuna and Tovurete.<sup>206</sup> It is unclear whether they came from Navuneram or one of the other villages. It was established later that Emanuel had been the first to fire, letting off two rounds from his pistol. The police then began firing into the air after being instructed to do so by their own officer.<sup>207</sup> The later enquiry decided that because the police were firing uphill, some of their shots went low and it was mischance rather than design which killed two villagers and wounded a third. As soon as the villagers realised that two men were dead "the fight seemed to go out of everyone" and order was quickly restored. As the *Times* pointed out, the census was not carried out and no tax was collected. Both sides then withdrew, but Emanuel and about 15 police stayed behind.<sup>208</sup>

After the incident Foldi refused to speak to the press and referred all questions to the Administrator in Port Moresby, Donald Cleland. Cleland flew into Rabaul on August 6 and visited Navuneram.<sup>209</sup> The incident had been a tragedy for the villagers, but it was also a disaster for an Administration trying to introduce new ideas and, as it saw it, advance the local people politically. To have deaths like this occur near Rabaul, the area of PNG with the longest history of European settlement was acutely embarrassing. These were new times and yet here was an incident which outsiders, particularly the UN, would see as an example of white repression. The situation was not helped when opposition to the head tax spread to the nearby Duke of York Islands. Administration officers there were only able to collect the tax by swearing to the villagers that the money would not be used for local government purposes, but would go into general revenue.<sup>210</sup>

On August 22 the *Times* announced that the Chief Justice of the Territory, Mr Justice Mann, would head an inquiry into the Navuneram shootings. The *Times* covered the story week by week and devoted a significant amount of space to the story. The coverage was thorough and as well balanced as might be expected, although it was clear where the paper's sympathy lay - and it was not with natives who refused to pay their taxes. The inquiry began in early September and the real reasons for the clashes began to emerge. Under cross examination, Topinit, the luluai of Navuneram village, said the people had refused to pay the tax because they thought it meant they would be forced to join a council. When questioned by the counsel for the Administration, S.H.Johnson, Topinit appeared to be unwilling to answer the questions, lowering his voice and speaking indistinctly. Topinit spoke in Kuanua, but some of the conversations reported as having occurred between himself and Emanuel had been in Tok Pisin. The chances of misunderstanding were great, but when there was a dispute over the translation of the word 'ignorant,' Mann ordered that all definitions should appear in the deposition.

The coverage of Topinit's evidence painted a largely sympathetic picture of a man caught up in events that had grown out of his control. The whole of page three, the lead inside news page, was devoted to his testimony. Topinit's reaction to questions about the power of the kivung made it clear how difficult his personal position within the village had become:

"I am asking you if you as village leader were told directly by the kivung what you should do about the tax?" he [S.H.Johnson, Counsel for the prosecution] said. Topinit did not answer immediately and sat in his chair moving his Luluwai's cap from one hand to the other. When the question was repeated he licked his lip with his tongue and said 'No.'211

<sup>206</sup> Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship..., p144.

<sup>207</sup> Rabaul Times, October 10, 1958.

<sup>208</sup> Rabaul Times, August 8, 1958.

<sup>209</sup> Cleland, R., Pathways..., p277.

<sup>210</sup> Rabaul Times, August 22, 1958.

<sup>211</sup> Rabaul Times, September 19, 1958.

Topinit was clearly under great pressure, a man caught between his duties as government appointed headman of the village and a village elder under tremendous pressure from the young men who formed the kivung. He admitted as much to the court:

"Topinit said that in early tax discussions between the Administration and himself that he had not liked to agree with the Administration because he was afraid of some of his people."

The inquiry produced colourful material and the *Times*, as was to be expected, took full advantage of it. It summarised the first week's findings under the relatively colourless headline 'Fatal Clash,' and then began its report:

"A detailed story claiming how a drawn-out native campaign of sullen arrogance and civil disobedience had led to hand-to-hand fighting, stone-slinging, rifle fire and then death was outlined this week to the Navuneram inquiry at Rabaul."<sup>213</sup>

The story focussed on the evidence given by the District Officer, Eric Flower. Flower admitted that he had led a patrol of eighty policemen to Navuneram on July 29, although the District Commissioner had felt this was too large a force. He said the plan before August 4 was to "go in and get them" if the inhabitants of Navuneram refused to obey.<sup>214</sup> The next week the page one headline was rather more dramatic, with "Kill Vuia!" he cried' splashed across page one.<sup>215</sup> The lead story reported evidence given by Jack Emanuel that one of the people involved in the clash wanted to kill John Vuia, the Tolai member of the Legislative Council. He also claimed that "one of the natives wanted to kill every member of the patrol and the Administration leader in Rabaul." Emanuel also said he thought that one villager had tried to use some kind of sorcery to frighten him.<sup>216</sup> He said in evidence that he had been the one who fired two pistol shots before the police opened fire. The enquiry began to expose the problems caused by the attempt to introduce councils and council taxes. At the bottom of the page, with a pointer to a full story on page four, was a statement by District Commissioner Foldi that:

"...the administration had been attempting to operate native councils under regulations most of which would be thrown out if the matter came to a High Court decision...We have had to set up local government councils when we have no real, lawful, sound basis for the work that we are doing."

Mann's report was tabled in the Australian Parliament by the Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, in February 1959. It was 1500 pages long and concluded that while the Administration had shown weakness, it had been faced with a situation which had not been previously encountered and which was not properly understood. The *Times* gave the report front page coverage under the headline "Bullets saved further death." It reported:

"Low-angle rifle shots by a police squad which killed two natives at Navuneram last August was a contravention of the orders of the officers in charge, but at the same time was directly responsible for stopping widespread bloodshed on both sides, the Navuneram Inquiry has found. The report says that no blame can be laid on any officer for what happened... but it questions the wisdom of some decisions and is critical of 'zeal beyond the limits of prudence or reason' in certain actions by the Department of Native Affairs.' "217

<sup>212</sup> Rabaul Times, September 19, 1958.

<sup>213</sup> Rabaul Times, October 3, 1958.

<sup>214</sup> Rabaul Times, October 3, 1958.

<sup>215</sup> Rabaul Times, October 10, 1958.

<sup>216</sup> Rabaul Times, October 10, 1958.

<sup>217</sup> Rabaul Times, February 27, 1959.

The carefully worded report said that the Administration officers involved had formed "erroneous views," but could not be blamed for doing so, did not have enough men to carry out the patrol successfully and that little consideration had been given to the legal aspects of the situation. The report said that the killing of the two Tolai had prevented the situation from getting any worse. The *Times* report ended with this insight:

"Mr Mann says that the evidence shows that the matter of tax was incidental to the Navuneram incident. Conditions, pressure and loyalties inside their own group and many other factors had been contributory to the final trouble."<sup>218</sup>

Elsewhere in his report, Mann said that the vast majority of Tolai welcomed the council scheme, but that the Navuneram "...carried their refusal to the stage where the patient and long suffering field officers of the Administration...were quite exasperated."<sup>219</sup> According to Downs, the report was not made available in whole or in part to the Tolai people.<sup>220</sup> I did not see any mention of a Kuanua or Tok Pisin report in the copies of *Rabaul News* held at the British Newspaper Library. It may be that the report was not translated into Kuanua, but there would have been some English-literate Tolai who read the *Times* and it seems to me inconceivable that the missions would not have discussed the matter at least with local catechists and thus indirectly with their congregations.

Nobody in the Administration party was punished.<sup>221</sup> Even twenty years later, when the official history of Australia's trusteeship was published, a certain editorial discretion was evident. Flower's name is entirely absent from Downs' account of those events (he refers to him only as 'the District Officer'), even though the evidence Downs presents suggests that Flower was acting erratically, if not improperly, before the event. Flower was writing directly to Keith McCarthy in Port Moresby, asking him, as Director of Native Affairs, to give written permission to use whatever force he wanted to collect the tax.<sup>222</sup> Flowers did this without consulting District Commissioner Foldi.<sup>223</sup> His evidence before the Mann inquiry, cited above, makes it clear that he was quite determined to force the issue with the Navuneram on his own terms. Downs commented:

"It was extraordinary that this particular request did not bring an immediate rebuke. The request shows that the District Commissioner was not consulted, that the emotions of the people were known, that the District Officer was intent upon confrontation and that he was sufficiently naïve to expect a senior officer to give him an open order to use force to collect tax."<sup>224</sup>

Downs also cites District Office files he saw in Rabaul in 1969 as evidence that Flower was determined on a course of action against the Navunerams. The Raluana, who had begun the resistance to the new council system in 1953, had come forward in early 1958 and offered to pay the new tax, but instead of accepting this opportunity to defuse the entire situation, Flower had remained determined to collect the tax at Navuneram. Almost 60

<sup>218</sup> Rabaul Times, February 27, 1959.

<sup>219</sup> Downs, I, The Australian Trusteeship..., p145.

<sup>220</sup> ibid, p145.

<sup>221</sup> ibid, p147.

<sup>222</sup> ibid, p143. It was normal policy to use armed force only if Administration officials had been attacked, and strict control was kept of arms and ammunition issued to local police. Even on a patrol into potentially hostile territory, the police might carry rifles, but the ammunition clips would be held by the kiap.

<sup>223</sup> Under the existing administrative structure, Flower was entitled to do this, but in such a delicate situation he should, at the very least, have copied his letters to McCarthy to Foldi. Foldi meanwhile was asking for advice and instructions from the Department of Administrative Affairs and Cleland quotes a telegram from her husband, the Administrator, to Foldi, authorizing the use of "required force" to prevent a riot and to arrest people who interfered. Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship...*, p143; Cleland, R., *Pathways...* p276.

<sup>224</sup> ibid, p143.

years after the event, it is debatable how much of this was known to Mr Justice Mann and how much was kept from him. One would think that if all the evidence had been available, Flower would have been swiftly removed from the Gazelle, if not the Territory. On the face of it, Flower appears to have been doing his best to stir up a confrontation, but when tragedy struck it was not he who had to carry the blame. Because he had fired the first two shots and had been publicly identified as having done so, Jack Emanuel became the name associated with the Navuneram shootings among the Tolai. His name became part of the mythology of the event, a name that would be remembered by the younger and increasingly radicalised Tolai leaders.<sup>225</sup>

The Navuneram affair had some positive consequences for the Territory. In his speech to Parliament, Hasluck admitted that mistakes had been made, but said that the Administration would implement new policies to avoid such clashes re-occurring. The Administration implemented a new set of field policies which were designed to keep villagers more closely in touch with the Administration and to help them understand the new policies. Unfortunately, the new policies were not always adhered to and in what Cleland delicately describes as the result of "the style and temperament of key persons," the system collapsed. This in turn led to the creation of the circumstances in which the Mataungan Association was formed. Now, where once the Administration had been dealing with the sometimes shadowy presence of the kivungs, the young men who led the kivungs led a public and sometimes militant opposition to the Administration.<sup>226</sup>

After the Mann inquiry, the *Rabaul Times* had not much longer to live. In its final year it covered new problems and new challenges to the community, including petitions to the United Nations to have the United States replace Australia as the Territory's trustee.<sup>227</sup> People from West Nakanai complained to a UN delegation in 1959 that the Europeans treated them "like dogs" and that they had to live in dirty houses with rats.<sup>228</sup> The UN delegation's spokesman, Chiping H.C.Kiang, said the claims of the villages were not justified. He may have felt less than sympathetic to the petitioners after they asked that all Chinese be removed from the district. The West Nakanai group went on to ask that the Americans come back "with money and big cars."<sup>229</sup> The same desire to have the Americans back resurfaced later that year in Kandrian. The District Officer, H.West, reported that:

"Their idea is that the Americans gave them good things during the war years, that the Americans represent wealth and prosperity and that if they came back they would be able to sit back and everything would be fine for them. But they do not dislike the Australians. They would prefer the Americans and Australians to work side by side." 230

As we have seen in chapter two, such ideas were common among many cult movements and self-help groups, but it was rare that local people were sufficiently organised to present their views to a visiting UN delegation.

Some things, however, remained constant. Even as the *Times* was devoting half of page three to a report on the demands of the Kandrian villagers, it found space on the same page to report that the RSL would host a production of *Blithe Spirit* by the Rabaul Little Theatre.<sup>231</sup> The future of PNG continued to concern the *Times* right up until the end. In 1959 it reported on a visit by members of the UN Trusteeship Council and in its editorial echoed a sentiment that remained prevalent in some quarters right up until the day the Australian flag was lowered 16 years later:

<sup>225</sup> ibid, p147.

<sup>226</sup> Cleland, R., Pathways..., p281.

<sup>227</sup> Rabaul Times, April 3, 1959.

<sup>228</sup> Rabaul Times, April 3, 1959.

<sup>229</sup> *Rabaul Times*, April 3, 1959.

<sup>230</sup> *Rabaul Times*, July 3, 1959.

<sup>231</sup> Rabaul Times, July 3, 1959.

"Members of the mission must be made to see that despite the millions of pounds poured into development projects and despite the progress made, the indigenous people cannot hope for a long, long, time to manage the Territory as it is at present constituted... members of the mission must see that the ideal goal is not exclusive Australian government and not exclusive native government. The development of a mutually existent society and government is the ideal for the Territory, but even this state of affairs must be many years away."<sup>232</sup>

Even after the Navuneram riot and what must have been obvious signs of growing independence and political self-consciousness among the Tolai, the *Times* could still not bring itself to envision an independent PNG. At least, however, the paper could now envision some form of "native government."

In 1959 the *Rabaul Times* ceased publication and was absorbed by its parent company, the New Guinea Times-Courier Ltd, which then produced a joint publication, the *New Guinea Times-Courier* under the editorship of John Blair.<sup>233</sup> This was itself absorbed with the *South Pacific Post* into the *Post-Courier* a decade later.<sup>234</sup> Gus Smales went on to represent the Herald and Weekly Times in PNG and became a highly regarded journalist who once, famously, refused to enter the house of a South African plantation owner who barred the door of his house to the country's future Prime Minister, Michael Somare.<sup>235</sup>

That the *Times* should close after three years is perhaps not that surprising. It had a fixed readership and while its advertising base was solid enough, it was small. Its near contemporary, the *South Pacific Post*, only struggled into profit after years of near insolvency and economics dictated that all the papers aimed at expatriates would eventually merge. However, the brevity of the *Times'* existence is, for historians, a virtue. It offers, in fewer than 200 issues, a unique snapshot of the Gazelle Peninsula at a time when the Territory, its indigenous population, and their expectations about the future and their relationship with Australia, were changing irrevocably. If the snapshot is imperfect and one sided it yet offers us, in Nelson's words, an idea of what the expatriate community thought about the people and country around them. More importantly, we can also discern through its pages and its reporting something of what the indigenous community thought of the Australians and their plans for the future of their country.

The Times lives on only in the pages of News Ltd's annual reports. Rupert Murdoch still owns the rights to the name of the paper and it is still listed as an asset of the *Post-Courier's* parent company. Other newspapers came and went in Rabaul over the years. An A4 newsletter was produced in the 1960s and 1970s, copies of which were housed in the Kokopo museum. Another small paper was produced by a local printer in the 1990s. The missionary newspapers continued in limited form.

By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Rabaul was regarded as a quiet, rural backwater, notable mostly as a stopping-off point for members of the PNGDF going to the civil war in Bougainville and the gateway for journalists wanting to cover that conflict. There were few permanently resident Australians in the town. The RSL was still open, but its membership had dwindled and at one point it had almost closed and merged with the Rabaul Yacht Club. The New Guinea Club, where planters and the upper echelons of the town's expatriate population once gathered, had long been multi-racial. After the volcanic eruption that flattened Rabaul in 1994, government facilities were moved to Kokopo and the town virtually ceased to

<sup>232</sup> Rabaul Times, January 2, 1959.

<sup>233 -, &#</sup>x27;Farewell to an old friend,' the Post-Courier, June 4, 2004.

<sup>234</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-04-19/reporting-in-on-and-about-png/930554Reporting\_in,\_on\_and\_about\_PNG; http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-05-08/sir-michael-somare-the-chief/940192; Callick, R., Farewell to the Chief, Eureka Street, 3:III, 1993.

exist. A few hotels and tourist businesses struggled on in the ruins, but another eruption in 2006 has seriously threatened what is left of the town. Were it not for its magnificent harbour, Rabaul would have been abandoned entirely long ago.

The issues stirred up on the Gazelle Peninsula in 1958 continued to reverberate until independence. The resentment of many Tolai led to them becoming politically active and the Gazelle experienced continued political upheavals. Stephen regards the antagonism over multi-racial councils as contributing to the formation of the Mataungan Association, a name that to many expatriates became as threatening as 'Mau Mau' had been in the 1950s. <sup>236</sup> Dunbar-Reid, who was elected to the multi-racial Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council, claimed that the "the very grass roots of the Mataungan Association" lay with the troubles of the 1950s. "Looking back, this was the first move towards 'self-rule,' " he said. <sup>237</sup> By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Gazelle was in ferment. Some Tolai wanted no truck with the Administration and demanded political freedom. There were riots, and Administration officers and patrols felt constantly under threat. Mataungan opposition to multi-racial councils hardened into opposition to just about everything. Just as in the late 1950s, villagers refused to pay tax.

Then Jack Emanuel was murdered. Taupa ToVarula was sentenced to 14 years in jail. ToWaliria received 11 years because Mr Justice Minogue believed he had been pressured by ToVarula. <sup>238</sup> Many expatriates in Rabaul 'knew' who had really killed Emanuel and 'knew' the Mataungans were to blame, but the trial of the murderers was unable to unearth direct evidence that the Mataungan Association was directly involved. Sinclair claims that Administration officers in Rabaul knew that "the truly guilty men" never went to court. <sup>239</sup> Whether the Matuangan Association was directly involved will never be known or at least not publicly admitted. To many, the murder of Jack Emanuel had nothing to do with the upheavals of 1971, but was simply the tragic sequel to the events that occurred at Navuneram. To them, the fact that he had fired the first shots at Navuneram was enough to mark him for death, no matter how long it took.

When Jack Emanuel was assassinated, there were two newspapers left to report on the tragedy. One was the Tok Pisin weekly *Wantok*, which will be dealt with in chapter seven. The other was the Port Moresby-based *Post-Courier*, the amalgamation of which with the *New Guinea Times-Courier* had obliterated any remaining trace of the *Rabaul Times*. The *Post-Courier* reported the Emanuel trial and everything else the Mataungan Association did in the tumultuous period of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The *Post-Courier* had emerged in the second half of 1969 with the presses being set rolling (at least symbolically) by remote control from Rabaul. It was a year of immense change for the Territory. Warnings came from all sides that the old ways could not last much longer and that the future of PNG would be far different from what anybody reading the *Rabaul Times* could have imagined.

<sup>236</sup> Stephen, A History of Political Parties...p107. See also Waiko, A Short History...p185 and Moore, C. and Kooyman, M., (eds.) A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle 1967-1991, Crawford House, 1991, pp xi-xii.

<sup>237 &</sup>quot;This...was told to me by Stanley Marita, an original sympathiser 'till he changed his mind and became an elected member of the local government council." Dunbar-Reid, D., personal communication, October 2006.

<sup>238</sup> Sinclair, *Kiap...*, p273. The left wing historian Humphrey McQueen has posted a document on his website which purports to be a letter from Emanuel, written while he was at ASOPA, offering to spy on the Australian Communist Party. The document is accompanied by no explanation, comment or proof of authenticity. Since none of the links on the website appear to work, I have been unable to discover why McQueen put it there or what he is trying to prove. <a href="http://home.alphalink.co.au/~luge27/c">http://home.alphalink.co.au/~luge27/c</a> war aus dom/cwar aud d emanuel.htm .

<sup>239</sup> Todd, I., Papua New Guinea: Moment of Truth, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974, p51; Sinclair, Kiap, p273. Mihalic asserts that the murder was ordered by the Matuangan Association, but offers no proof. Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life: Wantok's Wewak Years (1969-1976),' (undated, but probably 1990-92).



VOLUME XI

NO. 35

SATURDAY, 22KD SEPTEMBER, 1956

## NHBPEPA BILONG ANDELY

NAMEA-WAN kopi bilong niuspepa bilong yupela, "Rabenl Hows" i bin kamaut long Seturday, 21st September, 1965 - na olpem entede long P day, 21st September, 1956 i tenpela yar nau long en i bin step wok long yupela.

Long despois tempels yer mipels i bip train mekin wok, olsem mipels i ken, long givim yapels long nius na toktok long ol skuting i gudpels long mekim. Yok save long ol wak i kamip long ol peles, long ol people ol i wok bung wantem na halivim ol yet bilang mekim kemap mos gudpels sidson,

Mipels i leik karim yet despola wok i go na mipels i laik beis bai i mos gudpels. Bilong makim i komep mos gudpels - mipels i save ol readers bilong mipels ol i ken halivim long despels. Mipels i laik ol readers bilong mipels ol i ken rait i kem lor

mipels. Rait 1 km na tokim mipels long wares im 1 kmmsp long "Raboul News" - na wangs sentin a senting yupels i laik luk-ing yupels i no laik, olses.

in I known long "Rabaul News" - no wance seating pupels i no laik, class. Wance tingting bilong pupels I kno halivis sipels long train makis mon gu dispels niuspeps bilong yupels I reitin I kan beisbei mipels I lukis - wance Ol latter yupels I reitin I kan beisbei mipels I lukis - wance despels i mos gudpels long ologets beisbei mipels I makis known bak gan it long niuspeps - bilong ologets I ken lukis.

I get reishti samting bilong tingis ne tok sut long en. Yu ting pleas wance? Yu ting "Rabaul News" I get imap nius bilong Rabaul yet of Mew Britain or I no insp? Yu laik lukis sampels nius long tok English tu or noget? Wance kein toktok yurola I laik lukis mos? Long education, or agriculture or health or long biuness?

Ol peles i gat people I sisson long en ne ol i wakis samting - I save get nius tu long en. I get ol compoils ol I toktok long samting

in senting long peles. ting nabbot, in i nice

Illustration 3.1 The Rabaul News, produced by the Education Department in Rabaul, provided a regular summary of news and Administration doings in Tok Pisin. Here the paper celebrates its 10th anniversary.

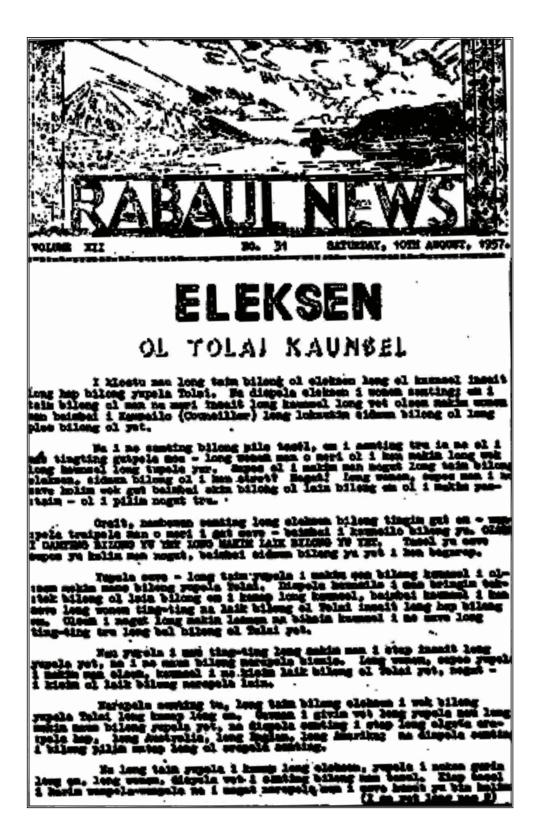


Illustration 3.2 The Rabaul News, August 10, 1957 announces elections for Tolai councils.



Illustration 3.3 The Rabaul Times, October 10, 1958. The inquiry begins to generate dramatic headlines.

## **Chapter Four**

## 1969: "The onus is now on us"

On June 30, 1969, the Administrator of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, David Hay, set the presses rolling for the first issue of the Territory's first daily newspaper, the *Post-Courier*. Formed from a merger of the *South Pacific Post* and the *New Guinea Times-Courier*, the *Post-Courier* maintained a monopoly on the commercial English language press in PNG until it was challenged by the *Niugini Nius* and *The Times of Papua New Guinea* more than a decade later.

The *Post-Courier* was, for all intents and purposes, the only newspaper in the country in 1969. There was a variety of mission newspapers and Administration publications aimed, for the most part, at the indigenous people, but for expatriates the *Post-Courier* was all they had. It reached about one quarter of the expatriate population and some local people, so it was, by default, extremely influential. It was owned by an Australian newspaper group which was not afraid to face down PNG business interests, and was prepared to pursue an independent path. The fact that it was not locally owned probably helped to maintain what was, for the time, a progressive stand on many issues. It was certainly open to criticism for being too Port Moresby-oriented and, as we shall see in chapter five, it certainly made mistakes, but it was never a 'settler' newspaper. It was a sensible, small 'l' liberal newspaper sympathetic to the needs of the country and with a weather eye fixed on the future. For all its faults, it was probably better for the Territory to have a newspaper like the *Post-Courier* than one beholden to plantation owners, the RSL or the Administration.<sup>240</sup>

It is significant that the *Post-Courier*, with its national aspirations, should appear at a time when so many questions were being raised about the future of the Territory. For the purposes of this chapter it is important to consider how different in outlook it was from the Rabaul Times which, on the evidence, tended to look at issues outside Rabaul only when they had local implications or were raised by the RSL or planters. Because of its wider remit and because its audience was broader, the *Post-Courier* also had the chance to influence people in the way denied to regional publications like the Rabaul Times or the New Guinea Courier. It has been argued by scholars like Anderson that the existence of a national press is vital to the promotion of national interests and goals and that this is inextricably linked to questions of literacy.<sup>241</sup> This argument certainly lies at the heart of chapters six and seven, which deal with the growth of Tok Pisin and the appearance of Wantok. In these chapters I argue vigorously for the role of Tok Pisin as a language of national identification and for Wantok as a significant factor in creating a favourable climate for new political ideas and developments. However, I think it is worth considering whether, in its own way, the Post-Courier created a similar climate among a significant proportion of its readership and how accurately this reflected existing thinking. The Post-Courier promoted the idea that change

<sup>240</sup> As we shall see in chapter eight, later newspapers with perceived close ties to business interests, such as *Niugini Nius* and the *National*, have been regarded with some suspicion by media critics, journalists, NGOs and some politicians because of their perceived vulnerability to commercial pressure over sensitive stories.

<sup>241</sup> Anderson, N., Imagined Communities, Verso, London, 1991, pp37-46.

would come soon and that expatriates would have to adapt; it gave room to expatriate and indigenous views and aired indigenous grievances.

Expatriates, especially those working for the Administration, were encouraged to think that they were doing something worthwhile and to identify with the project of preparing the Territory for independence. Doran acknowledges an emotional attachment to the Territory and an "idealistic stream of thought" among those expatriates responsible for its development.<sup>242</sup> Writing in 1968, the then Administrator, David Hay, described the reasons for Australia's commitment to the Territory as a mixture of duty and personal commitment:

"The first [reason] is that we have freely accepted obligations to the UN involving economic and social, as well as political advancement, which are far from discharged. The second is sentiment, derived from war-time associations and personal contacts, from interest in the work of missions and from a certain pride in doing a job which needs to be done." <sup>243</sup>

But would idealism and commitment be enough to steer the Territory through the crises of 1969? A reading of the *Post-Courier's* coverage of events in 1969, especially the crises on Bougainville and the Gazelle, indicates that it believed that the best possible future for the Territory was as a multi-racial society with a strong sense of national identity in which national priorities were given precedence over local concerns. Concomitant with this was, I suggest, the idea of a unitary state with a centralised administration and political powers; in other words, a more harmonious and racially tolerant society, but with an administrative structure not unlike the existing one. As this chapter and the next one show, however, many Tolai and Bougainvillean leaders saw matters purely in local terms, even if the indigenous political elite realised that local issues, such as resistance to local government councils or mining companies, had much wider national implications.

Owned by the Melbourne-based Australian Herald and Weekly Times group since 1965 and published in Port Moresby, the *Post-Courier* had a circulation of 15,000 for a population of 2.5 million.<sup>244</sup> At the time of the merger, the paper's managing editor was Douglas Lockwood, a veteran journalist who had previously been in charge of the *Northern Territory News* in Darwin. The Walkley Award-winning Lockwood had moved to Port Moresby in 1968 and he retained his role when the papers merged. Lockwood later left Port Moresby to work as assistant to the editor-in-chief of the Herald and Weekly Times Ltd and was later editor-manager. He returned to the *Post-Courier* in 1974, the year before independence and finally went finish a year later.<sup>245</sup> While managing the *Post-Courier*, he also found time to write a daily column of gossip and opinion, The Drum, which appeared on the right hand side of page three.<sup>246</sup>

The experiences of Keith Mattingley, who was sent to take charge of the *South Pacific Post* when the Herald took over, illustrate just how profound were the changes facing the Territory and how necessary it was for the press to play a role in promoting those changes. Mattingley went up to Port Moresby in 1965 in the wake of a fight between the Herald and Burns Philp, one of the Territory's leading business houses. Burns Philp had threatened to withdraw its advertising after the *South Pacific Post* ran a story claiming that Burns Philp had been committed for selling methylated spirits to local people in Rabaul. Burns Philip was

<sup>242</sup> Doran, S., 'Wanting and knowing best: Motive and Method in Australia's Governance of PNG, 1966-69,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, XL:3, December 2005.

<sup>243</sup> ibid.

Todd, I., *Papua New Guinea: Moment of Truth*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1973, p136. Todd says there were 60,000 "white and Chinese expatriates" in the Territory, but it is arguable whether the number of indigenes able to read or pay for a daily newspaper would have taken the circulation much higher. p136.

<sup>245</sup> Lockwood, D., Australian Dictionary of Biography at http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A150140b.htm .

<sup>246</sup> According to his son Kim, Lockwood kept no personal notes or diaries during his time as manager of the *Post-Courier*, so it is impossible to directly assess his role or influence on the paper or its coverage of the events on Bougainville or the Mataungan protests. Lockwood, K., personal communication, November 2006.

sent away with a stiff letter from Herald and Weekly Times chairman Sir John Williams.<sup>247</sup> Mattingley said he was conscious that the paper was taking part in the move towards a democratic society:

"...a Burns Philp manager rang me up one day and asked me if we could send a journalist along and write a story about the road that went past his house above the Yacht Club, so I sent a Papua New Guinean along. Bernie [Ryan, the manager] rang me half an hour later and told me that his wife had never been so insulted: I had sent a black person."<sup>248</sup>

Mattingley's attitudes were reflected in the new *Post-Courier*, which in many ways anticipated the changes its readers were going to have to face. The paper stated:

"Great social and political changes are upon us. The 1970s are but six months ahead. That decade, almost certainly, will bring a measure of independence to people who, a decade ago, seemed unlikely to get it this century. This newspaper will support anything that contributes towards the better development of Papua New Guinea, the welfare of its citizens and their democratic government. We will be against racism of any kind, whether anti-black or anti-white, believing that if the country is to prosper there must be appropriate participation by all its diverse people." <sup>249</sup>

The *Post-Courier* was greatly removed from the attitudes of the first expatriate newspapers. As we saw in chapter two, the pre-war papers were bound by assumptions of racial superiority and a conviction that the Territory belonged to the white man. The *Post-Courier's* first editorial echoes some of the themes found in the first edition of the *Rabaul Times*, but that paper could not conceive of the Territory as anything but a permanent partnership between Australians and Papua New Guineans.

Like the papers it had absorbed, the *Post-Courier* was a tabloid. It had previously been published three days a week, but now became a daily, appearing from Monday to Friday, a pattern it has kept to this day. Because it was the printed at midday, the paper always had a few stories from that morning, a fact which was crucial in its coverage of events in distant parts of the Territory, such as Rabaul or Bougainville. The midday publishing slot meant that it could be flown to major centres like Rabaul, Lae, Madang, Goroka and Mt Hagen and put on sale that afternoon. However, in places like Kavieng or Wewak, where the TAA or Ansett service might not arrive until late in the day, the paper might not be available until the early evening or the next morning. In more distant places, which were more likely to be serviced by second level carriers such as Talair or Patair, the paper might be even later. Expatriates in Port Moresby, could also buy Australian newspapers flown up from Brisbane on the afternoon service.

The *Post-Courier* largely failed to reach the indigenous population. For one thing, it was in English, a language in which only a minority was fluent, its content was aimed at its English-literate audience and for many locals it was simply too expensive.<sup>251</sup> For those local people who did not speak or read English well, there were not many options if they sought a broad view of what was happening. There was a variety of mission publications in various languages, district Administration newsletters, school magazines and plenty of practical material from the Department of Information and Extension Services. However, many of

<sup>247</sup> Mattingley, K., quoted in <u>Hindsight: A Workshop for participants in the decolonization of Papua New Guinea</u>, ANU, November 3-4, 2002.

<sup>248</sup> ibid.

<sup>249</sup> *Post-Courier*, June 30, 1969.

<sup>250</sup> Even this was an improvement on places like Samarai, where my parents' copies of the South Pacific Post arrived in one lot in the Education Department mailbag on Friday courtesy of TAA's Catalina flying boat service.

<sup>251</sup> Oram, N.D., Colonial Town to Melanesian City, Australian National University, Canberra, 1974, p159. Oram cites the cost of the Post-Courier as nine cents.

these publications were limited to one district or to one topic. The *New Guinea Times-Courier* had published a Tok Pisin supplement, *Niugini Toktok*, but this was continued by the *Post-Courier* only for a short time. It closed in 1970 and stories circulated that it had been offered to Fr Mihalic, who was then trying to set up *Wantok*.<sup>252</sup> It is worth wondering what might have happened if the *Post-Courier* had kept *Niugini Toktok* going and recognised that there was an entirely new Tok Pisin speaking market to be exploited. As we shall see in chapter six, a Tok Pisin publishing industry existed, but it was scattered and, like the vernacular publications, limited in distribution.

The *Post-Courier* in 1969 offers us a view of the Territory in transition and through its pages we can see the concerns and interests of its expatriate readers. As far as local news stories went, the really big political story was the Matuangan Association's revolt against the establishment of multi-racial local government councils on the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain. The Mataungan Association represented a minority of disaffected Tolai who thought the councils would deprive them of political power in their homeland on the Gazelle Peninsula. They were opposed by pro-council Tolai and the Administration. There were, however, issues closer to home for Port Moresby readers such as the growth of squatter camps, the South Pacific Games and the growing awareness that 1969 was going to be the year in which, for better or for worse, everything in PNG was going to change forever.

However much political turmoil engulfed the Gazelle or how many warnings senior figures gave about the future, the *Post-Courier* was a commercial venture. An examination of the paper's advertising for the first six months of its existence tells us a great deal about its market. While the paper's editorials may have spoken about the need to accept the changing relationships with the indigenous population and warned of tremendous changes to come, it is fair to say that the paper's advertising virtually ignored the indigenous population.

The advertising in the *Post-Courier* appears to have been aimed almost exclusively at the expatriate market. Much of the advertising appears to have been simply copied from material prepared for the Australian market, without being adapted to the PNG context. Thus, an advertisement for Hardi pressure lamps announced that it was \$18.30 in Brisbane, but "slightly higher in country," which at first glance might suggest that PNG was simply part of rural Australia that had drifted slightly north.<sup>253</sup> The South Australian publishers, Rigby, advertised in the first issue of the *Post-Courier* that they had the "best Australian books" and were sensible enough to carry a picture of the dust jacket of Editor Douglas Lockwood's latest book, *The Front Door*.<sup>254</sup>

Elsewhere the advertising was more prosaic, but apart from some of the trade names, there does not appear to have been any great attempt to tie products to the Territory or to attract local readers. Wamp-Nga Motors had a distinctive Highlands ring to it, but Daihatsu were fairly universal vehicles.<sup>255</sup> If you were dissatisfied with Wamp-Nga Motors you could always go to the Mt Hagen branch of PNG Motors. If you were lucky enough to be in Rabaul then you were urged to "see Bill Crawley for a Pot of Gold trade-in valuation."<sup>256</sup> You could also take yourself to Tutt Bryant Pacific Ltd and inspect the new Monaro.<sup>257</sup> The major towns were largely isolated from each other and every one had at least one dealership selling vehicles designed for Australian conditions rather than the PNG bush. There was obviously a market for trucks, utilities and four wheel drive vehicles, but there was another, very large market for 'normal' vehicles.

Expatriates in the main towns obviously expected to have services and facilities comparable

<sup>252</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life.'

<sup>253</sup> Post-Courier, September 3, 1969.

<sup>254</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>255</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>256</sup> Post-Courier, December 9, 1969.

<sup>257</sup> Post-Courier, July 8, 1969.

with what they had had in Australia. Indeed many of them were better off materially in PNG and had a higher disposable income, especially if they were living in supplied accommodation. Some of the advertising, at least, was aimed at people with money to spare. People could, if they so wished, invest in the new Kenwood stereo system with its exciting reel-to-reel tape system and turntable.<sup>258</sup> In almost every centre you could find a supermarket run by Steamships, Burns Philp (Steamies and BPs to the expatriates) or Carpenters. Steamships bought space on the bottom right of the front page of every issue of the *Post-Courier*, where they advertised everything from bras and bottled gas to LPs and South Pacific Games souvenirs.<sup>259</sup> Burns Philip – "the BIG store with the BEST selection" – announced that it was opening on Sunday mornings, something unthinkable in Australia.<sup>260</sup> Equally unthinkable was the range of goods imported from the US, the UK and Asia, all available without the tariffs and penalties which would have applied in Australia.

Only occasionally does one find advertisements which encourage expatriates to explore the Territory and accept that they are not living in a mildly exotic part of Australia. Sepik Air Charters advertised a "grand Sepik tour" with the option of travelling by road, river or air from Wewak to Mt Hagen, with "tours of villages and fabulous tamberan houses." <sup>261</sup> In Port Moresby it must have been very easy for people to forget that they were in another country when the advertising did so little to make them think otherwise. People living in the smaller towns or outstations knew very well that they were not simply living in some extension of Queensland, but the advertising in the Post-Courier does not seem to have been aimed at them any more than an advertisement in the Courier Mail for David Jones' store in Queen St Mall in Brisbane is aimed at the person who buys the paper in Longreach. In that sense it is somewhat deceptive to try to form a picture of the whole of the expatriate community from the Post-Courier's advertising. The image created by the perceived market for the advertising may be generally accurate for Port Moresby, Rabaul, Lae or even Madang, but inaccurate for people living in Sohano, Aitape or Wapanamanda. The one group absolutely missing from the advertising picture is the indigenous population. A village or a co-operative might save to buy a truck collectively and a plantation worker might buy a battery powered transistor radio, but they were not going to buy a Monaro or a Kenwood stereo system. From a purely commercial point of view there was no sense in advertising to a market that did not appear to exist. 262

While the *Post-Courier* was almost the only source of local advertising in the Territory, it was not the only source of news, information and entertainment. Indeed for most people the most important source of news and information was probably the radio. For people on outstations and isolated plantations, the morning radio schedule or 'sked,' when they called in for news, to say when a ship might be expected, or to make orders or seek medical advice, was absolutely indispensable. The ABC's Port Moresby station 9PA and its regional and short wave variants were the main source of news, music and entertainment. It provided a steady diet of news, music, British comedy and drama. At some time of the year you were bound to hear the umpteenth repeat of an episode of *Take It From Here* or a Paul Temple mystery. If you stayed in on Saturday night you could relax after dinner by listening to the *Saturday Night Show* with its theme song *Spinning Wheel*. On a Sunday night you could listen to *Guest of Honour* after the news. For the very young there were the *Argonauts* every

<sup>258</sup> Post-Courier, December 9, 1969.

<sup>259</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, August 1, August 13, October 17, 1969.

<sup>260</sup> Post-Courier, September 11, 1969.

<sup>261</sup> *Post-Courier*, September 11, 1969. It has been pointed out that it was then - and remains - impossible to travel directly by road or river from Wewak to Mt Hagen. Presumably the tour offered a combination of different methods of transport.

<sup>262</sup> There certainly was a market, but, as we shall see in chapter eight, advertising aimed at an indigenous audience was only fully developed by *Wantok* and even when Tok Pisin advertising had been established, Mihalic complained that the government preferred to print official notices in English in the *Post-Courier.* Mihalic, F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life.'

weekday afternoon and if you were older you could listen to what was quaintly called the hit parade on Friday evening. Blue Hills was played at lunchtime and the first strains of the theme music of Gwen Meredith's never-ending rural soap opera signalled that it was time for people all over the Territory to go back to work. The radio also played an educational role, broadcasting programmes for the Territory's two school systems. Most of the morning of July 29, 1969, was devoted to broadcasts of Let's Speak English for Standards II to IV, the 'Standard' indicating that these were Primary T schools for indigenous pupils. In the preceding week, classrooms all over the Territory had stopped as pupils and teachers alike listened to radio descriptions of the first moon landing. Adults sat glued to their sets on the night of the 29th for a description of the World Featherweight title fight between Johnny Famechon and a Japanese boxer introduced as "fighting Harada." <sup>263</sup> In the 1960s the Department of Information and Extension Services began to set up district radio stations such as Radio Madang and Radio Milne Bay, broadcasting news and music to a local audience, usually in Tok Pisin or Motu. For an indigenous population that was still largely illiterate, radio was the perfect form of communication.

There was no television in the Territory, although the Davara hotel on Ela Beach in Port Moresby had sets in its rooms. Films were available in cinemas in the big towns - and eventually even small centres like Wewak and Alotau had cinemas - but in most places films were shown at the RSL or the golf club, or a mission or at a school. If you were lucky you might see two films a week, usually something old and faded, shown one reel at a time on a 16mm projector that might have been left behind by the departing Allied armies after the war. If you were unlucky, the film being projected one reel at a time was some monstrosity like *Dr Dolittle* or *Cleopatra* that took forever to show.<sup>264</sup>

Films were presented as cut for the Australian market and extra precautions were taken when screening films to local people. Indeed, until 1962, special permission was needed to show any film to local people. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Westerns were always popular with indigenous audiences, if often shown in a curiously truncated form. My father recalled watching a Western at a mission school in Milne Bay and said that at the point when the sheriff shot the man in the black hat, a hand or piece of white paper was placed in front of the screen to prevent his death agonies being seen. The hand was removed once he hit the ground and the sheriff could be seen nonchalantly blowing smoke from the barrel of his six shooter.

After the restrictions on showing films to local people were lifted, certain kinds of films became popular with the indigenous market, often for reasons that baffled expatriates. An ageing Stewart Granger, for instance, proved irresistible to local audiences in Alotau, where *The Swordsman of Sienna* ran for several weeks in 1969.

As we saw in chapter two, many of the restrictive laws were gradually repealed from the late 1950s.<sup>266</sup> In some cases the laws were changed to suit modern times and modern problems. The White Women's Protection Ordinance was repealed in 1958 and by 1962 it was legal for Papuans and New Guineans to buy alcohol.<sup>267</sup>

Censorship remained in force, even if it was under different provisions and for different reasons. *Black and White* magazine fell foul of the new laws on racial discrimination and

<sup>263</sup> Post-Courier, July 28, 1969.

<sup>264</sup> A typical programme at the Samarai RSL on Friday night in the 1960s included an episode of a Republic serial such as *The Lost City of Atlantis* or *Commando Cody and the Zombies of the Stratosphere*, followed by a newsreel of indeterminate age (I saw newsreel reports on the burning of the SS Normandie, dating from 1942 and the collapse of the Tacoma Narrows bridge, dating from 1940) and then a feature film which may have been shown several times already, such as *The Day They Robbed the Bank of England* or *Reach for the Sky*.

<sup>265</sup> Wolfers, E., Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand Book Company, Sydney, 1975, p129.

<sup>266</sup> Waiko, J., A Short History of Papua New Guinea, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1993, p171.

<sup>267</sup> Wolfers, E., Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, pp135-137.

in 1969 the new legislation was used to justify film censorship. In a time of global racial upheaval, it was probably inevitable that controversy would arise over *The Comedians* when it was slated for screening in Port Moresby. Debate over the film was heated and prolonged, but it remained banned. Based on a novel by Grahame Green, *The Comedians* is set during the Haitian revolution and shows fighting between Haitians and Europeans. The Secretary of Law, Mr Watkins, said the film had been banned because of scenes of "violent racial prejudice," although scenes of indigenous people mounting an armed rebellion against their European masters were probably more troubling. *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* had been screened in July with no problems, but its message of racial tolerance was rather different. 'Sad Movie Fan' wrote to the *Post-Courier*:

"South Africa bans films showing black and white people together. Egypt bans films that are sympathetic to Jewish people. China bans films from Russia and America. Papua bans films showing black people fighting. But - sometimes (when we're very good) we are allowed to see a glimpse of Sydney Poitier - because he's nice, clean and friendly, although black too." 269

However, one-reel-at a-time films and the sometimes crackly reception of 9PA, 9RB and the shortwave services, VLT and VLQ, did have some competition. Eventually it was possible, in Port Moresby at least, to buy the Brisbane *Courier Mail*, the *Melbourne Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald* very late on the same day of publication if you could be bothered to find a newsagent who sold them. There were bookshops in the major towns, with a branch of QBD in Boroko. Reading was a popular way to pass the time and in smaller centres it was normal for departing expatriates to leave behind cartons of paperbacks to be picked over by newcomers. For those prepared to look there were serious, locally produced journals covering various aspects of PNG life, including the *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society* and the series of monographs published under the general heading of the *New Guinea Research Bulletin. New Guinea*, although not produced locally, had a wide circulation in PNG and consisted largely of locally written articles. There was also, under the tutelage of Ulli Beier, a German who had worked at the University of Nigeria, a writing course at the newly established University of Papua and New Guinea which did much to encourage the Territory's indigenous writers to express themselves.

However, the *Post-Courier* did have distinct advantages over the other media, whether local or imported. Limited as its circulation was, it had the advantage of carrying photographs, of being near the House of Assembly and of having an editor sensitive to the changes that were facing expatriate and indigenes alike. The *Post-Courier* had a particular advantage in covering the South Pacific Games when they were held in August. The event was covered in depth by the local media and was the subject of a colour film shown in the Territory afterwards, but the *Post-Courier* provided daily coverage and photographs. The Games were a chance to show off PNG's culture to athletes and visitors from all over the Pacific. Highlights included a singsing featuring performers from villagers near Port Moresby and a display of five 20 metre war canoes from Milne Bay.<sup>270</sup>

The coverage of the Games provided a positive picture of the indigenous people that counterbalanced less reassuring news from other parts of the Territory. The story about the Milne Bay war canoes, for instance, ran beside Dick Pearson's story on the Rorovana land clashes on Bougainville. Photos of the Duke and Duchess of Kent arriving in Port Moresby on the evening of August 13 ran beside a report that a two day truce had been declared in the Rorovana dispute. The Duchess began her visit by announcing that she would not be

<sup>268</sup> *Post-Courier*, August 27, 1969.

<sup>269</sup> Post-Courier, September 3, 1969.

<sup>270</sup> Post-Courier, July 15, August 1, 1969.

visiting the Pacific Islands Regiment the next morning because she was too tired.<sup>271</sup> Being hard working royals, the Duke and Duchess visited Goroka and Rabaul before returning to Port Moresby for a combined church service for the Games.<sup>272</sup>

The PNG team did reasonably well, with the women's basketball team defeating New Caledonia, the men's team winning the table tennis and the PNG rugby union team thrashing Wallis and Futuna 46-0. The major triumph was the gold medal gained in the 5000 metres by PIR corporal Philip John.<sup>273</sup> John's moment of triumph was soured two months later when he was dismissed from the PIR for taking part in a strike.<sup>274</sup>

As we saw in chapter two, sexual relations between expatriates and indigenes were a mixture of tolerance and hypocrisy. If sex between an expatriate woman and a local man was likely to draw community opprobrium, sex between two men of any colour was likely to be penalised by the law. On August 5 of that year the *Post-Courier* reported on a case in the Supreme Court in which a Chimbu villager was charged with having permitted "John Douglas Flavell of Port Moresby to have carnal knowledge with him and to having permitted an act of gross indecency." <sup>275</sup> The accused, Sine Malena, had been in Port Moresby for a week when Flavell picked him up off the street in the early hours of May 31, took him to a house in Newtown and, allegedly, buggered him. Afterwards Malena and some friends went to the Boroko police station and reported the incident.

Such matters were, however, rarely reported and there were more serious matters to exercise readers' minds. One of the most serious was the tragedy of the former colony of Dutch New Guinea. When the Sukarno regime came to power in Indonesia in 1949 they demanded that Dutch New Guinea be incorporated within the new nation. The Dutch refused and sought to keep the territory under their control. Australia supported the Dutch and there was even talk of their respective sides of the island of New Guinea proceeding to independence together. For its own reasons, the United States supported the Indonesians and pressured Australia and Holland into accepting a handover of power to Indonesia which became effective in 1963.<sup>276</sup>

From the start, there was resistance to the Indonesian presence, the best known resistance organisation being the Organisasi Papua Merdeka, or OPM. Armed opposition to Indonesian colonialism flared continuously. Throughout the 1960s the OPM and likeminded groups fought sporadic battles with the Indonesian forces, usually in the face of savage Indonesian reprisals.<sup>277</sup> Many West Papuans fled across the border into the Territory and set up refugee camps there. Jack McCarthy of the *South Pacific Post* reported in 1968 that he had found refugee camps full of qualified and professional West Papuans who had fled Indonesian rule.<sup>278</sup> The presence of the West Papuan refugees in PNG angered the Indonesians, who complained to the Australian government. They also complained that private funds were reaching the OPM.<sup>279</sup> Speaking in the House of Assembly, PNG's future Prime Minister, Michael Somare declared:

"We often hear the UN condemning European colonialism, but it never thinks of condemning Asiatic colonialism and this is what is happening now on our border and it is colonialism on the part of the Indonesians." <sup>280</sup>

<sup>271</sup> Post-Courier, August 13, 1969.

<sup>272</sup> Post-Courier, August 18, 1969.

<sup>273</sup> Post-Courier, October, 1969.

<sup>274</sup> ibid

<sup>275</sup> Post -Courier, August 5, 1969.

<sup>276</sup> May, R.J., (ed.), Between Two Nations, Bathurst, Robert Brown, 1986, pp18-20.

<sup>277</sup> Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, Cheshire/Australian Institute of International Affairs, Melbourne, 1973, p217.

<sup>278</sup> May, R.J., (ed.), Between Two Nations, pp40-41.

<sup>279</sup> Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, p219.

<sup>280</sup> Osborne, R., Indonesia' Secret War, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985, p44

In 1969 the Indonesians held what was officially termed an Act of Free Choice on the future of Dutch New Guinea under UN supervision, a process that involved bribery, violence and coercion. The "free choice" exercised by carefully chosen clan leaders was whether to live under Indonesian domination, regardless of a declaration of independence by some West Papuan leaders.<sup>281</sup>

Despite concern by expatriates and indigenes and motions in the House of Assembly, there was little anybody could do, especially since Australia seemed determined to wash its hands of the matter, just as it would do with East Timor six years later. As one West Papuan refugee put it:

"We have no friends left at all now - the Dutch have deserted us, the Papuans and New Guineans don't want us, no-one wants to help us at all now." 282

Closer to home, people living in Port Moresby and the other large towns were faced with a growing problem caused by the drift of young men from the villages in search of work. In the past the Administration had controlled employment of indigenous labour rigorously and had used vagrancy laws as a check on people who went to Port Moresby and other towns in search of work. The situation in Port Moresby grew particularly acute after the Second World War when the population of the town swelled from a pre-war count of 2800 to 42,000 by 1966. There was an equally large influx of migrants from the Gulf region, who by 1964 lived in 22 ethnic clusters around the city. Migrant workers and unemployed locals were regarded as a major source of crime. In 1963 the South Pacific Post reported that "a monthly average of 25 natives have faced charges of vagrancy in a Port Moresby police court."

As communications with other parts of the Territory improved, more and more people appeared in the city looking for work. There were clashes between different indigenous groups, crime rose and there arose the squatter settlements which have blighted the capital ever since.<sup>285</sup> By late 1969 the situation had become such a concern that in a House of Assembly debate, a majority of members - including indigenous ones - voted for the reintroduction of laws to stop people coming to town unless they had work or were visiting for a short time. <sup>286</sup> The *Post-Courier* devoted a full page to the problem in Port Moresby and made it clear that the concerns were national, not just local. The paper reported that Kundiawa Local Government Council had voiced its support for the motion, saying the continuing drift to the urban areas was breaking down tribal structures.<sup>287</sup> The movement also took away people who might pay council tax. At this juncture it is interesting, if not a little saddening, to note the views of Nigel Oram, a fellow of UPNG, who declared that this was an inevitable part of the rapid development of the Territory, that nothing could be done to stop it, that village improvement schemes would have only a limited effect and that there wasn't really any problem with unemployment in the city. Using the same economic

<sup>281</sup> ibid, pp44-50.

<sup>282</sup> *Post-Courier*, July 11, 1969; Osborne, R., *Indonesia' Secret War*, p22. For a Dutch view of the Indonesian presence in the former Dutch New Guinea, see Pouwer, J., 'The Colonisation, Decolonisation and Recolonisation of West New Guinea,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, XXXIV:2, 1999.

<sup>283</sup> Hitchcock, N.E. and Oram, N.D., 'Rabia Camp: A Port Moresby migrant settlement,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No.14, 1967.

<sup>284</sup> South Pacific Post, December 6, 1963.

<sup>285</sup> It should be noted that there is a body of academic opinion which questions whether the squatter settlements really are centres of criminality. In recent years a number of academics have presented evidence that in a number of settlements the inhabitants include people in professional and semi-professional occupations who live there simply because of the shortage and expense of accommodation in Port Moresby. There is also evidence of a highly adaptive and self contained informal economy operating within the settlements. See Umezaki, M., 'Adaptive Strategies of Highlands-origin migrant settlers in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea,' in *Human Ecology*, XXXI:1, March 2003 and Barber, K., 'The Bugiau community at Eight-Mile: An Urban Settlement in Port Moresby, Papuan New Guinea,' in *Oceania*, LXXIII:4, June 2003.

<sup>286</sup> Post-Courier, September 15, 1969.

<sup>287</sup> ibid.

principles employed today by those who trumpet the benefits of globalisation for the Third World, Oram declared that:

"To succeed, the Administration's economic policies require a mobile labour force and an ambition on the part of individuals to participate in the modern sector of the economy."

The Administration was loth to impose restrictions on people's movements and the District Commissioner for the Central District, Mr Galloway, said the imposition of restrictions denied the basic human right of freedom of movement. Oram said that in any case, legislation restricting people's movement, as practised in the Belgian Congo and South Africa, had not worked and had always broken down. Would the re-imposition of restrictions have worked? The United Nations would probably not have stood for it and Oram was correct when he said that movement away from rural areas was inevitable. However, Ebia Olewale was probably right when he said that more should have been done to make village life more attractive.<sup>289</sup>

For Papua New Guineans working in Port Moresby, especially those who were educated and working for the Administration, problems arose as they became politically aware and demanded the same kind of social considerations that were given to expatriates. For one group of Papua New Guineans, matters came to a head when they tried to obtain land on which to build a club for indigenous people. There were 16 clubs in Port Moresby, with various restrictions on who could join. Papua New Guineans could not join unless they were married to a European and this meant that virtually nobody but Europeans were members. In some parts of the Territory there were separate native clubs, but the newer generation of Papua New Guineans felt they should either be allowed to join any club they wanted or to have land for their own facility.

On July 25 the *Post-Courier* told its readers that members of the newly formed Pagini Club had declared that they would fight "hands and hearts" for land for their club house. The Pagini Club had been formed partly as a protest against the segregation of Port Moresby clubs and partly to give indigenous people in Port Moresby somewhere to call their own. However, because of the shortage of land in Port Moresby and the way in which it was allocated, the new club had nowhere to go. In a letter to the Minister for External Territories, Charles Barnes, the club executive said they had tried for months to obtain land for what they said would be a multi-racial club. In an eloquent letter signed by the club's secretary John Gauis, the committee declared:

"For a long time we have not had the opportunity of joining social and sporting clubs. Because of this we have formed the Pagini club to give native people the chance to enjoy club facilities with families, friends and people of other races....It is very clear to us that our Administrator only wants to do things the Administration likes, but when we natives want to try something for ourselves we are opposed at every move. Our land has been taken in Rabaul, Moresby and other places for just a few pieces of cloth and twist tobacco and now Bougainville copper is going to be taken away. Why can't the Administration take land so easily and not be prepared to give just a little of it back to the people who really own it?" <sup>290</sup>

<sup>288</sup> Post-Courier. September 15. 1969.

<sup>289</sup> *Post-Courier*, September 15, 1969. In other parts of the Pacific, movement of the indigenous population was controlled and indeed extolled as a way of maintaining traditional structures and meeting traditional responsibilities. See, for instance, the film *Two Men of Fiji*, a parable about two young village men. One of them goes, with his chief's blessing, to study medicine in Suva while his friend runs away and becomes a labourer. In the end the runaway is forgiven and welcomed back to the village where he finds he has a future working on village projects. The film was rediscovered and shown on Fiji One to great local acclaim in the mid-1990s.

<sup>290</sup> Post-Courier, July 25, 1969.

Three days later, 40 members of the Pagini Club marched through Port Moresby. Starting from Koki Market, they marched to the RSL club and the Yacht Club. At the RSL club they were told the RSL was open to native ex-soldiers and that they had 30 indigenous members. At the Yacht Club they were given application forms. A club official told the marchers that there were no indigenous members and that "he had never known of a native applying for membership at the club."<sup>291</sup> The Pagini Club protest is important, not just because of what it says about the willingness of Papua New Guineans to challenge the subtle and not-so-subtle discrimination they often faced, but because it reflects many of the other issues that were beginning to affect PNG that year: A growing demand for political expression, concern over land rights and a dawning recognition of the power of organisation

By 1969 Papua New Guinea had elected its second House of Assembly. Previously the Administration had been able to dominate the House through the appointment of official members and the inexperience of indigenous members. The House of Assembly could debate bills, make recommendations and pass legislation, but until now there had been no real challenge to the status quo. The first Papua New Guineans to be elected were mission educated and had generally risen to prominence in government services such as the Royal Papuan Constabulary which had trained John Guise, a mixed-race politician from Milne Bay. Guise was literate, articulate and generally looked upon as a likely first Prime Minister of an independent nation.

But when would it be independent? In its first edition, the *Post-Courier* ran a story headed 'Self-government a long way off' and quoted another of the early leaders, Sinake Giregire as saying that PNG was not yet ready to take this step.

"There has been talk of self-government in the House of Assembly...But Australians are needed in the country for much longer to work with the people and help with their development...There has been talk in the House, but this is not something for the near future." <sup>292</sup>

The next day the paper ran a story headed 'PNG needs political parties' in which it reported a statement by the Ministerial Member for Labour, Toua Kapena, in which he said that that the country needed more organised political parties to represent different interests.

"A visit to Africa had impressed on him the need for forming political parties, he said. But he believed independence was still a long way off for Papua New Guinea." <sup>293</sup>

Barely a month later the *Post-Courier* carried a full page report of a speech by Guise, now the Speaker of the House of Assembly, in which he warned that there would be growing tensions between kiaps and the newly created local government councils. He warned that unless the kiaps learned how to deal with local politicians and local government bodies, there would be trouble.<sup>294</sup> Speaking to the Local Government Association, Guise warned that the growth of local government councils meant the Administration's officers would henceforth have to develop new attitudes towards local people. The introduction of the Local Government Councils meant that the days of what he called "the autocratic and direct rule of the kiap system" were at an end.<sup>295</sup> Guise said that direct rule through the old kiap system should be abolished and replaced by one which used

"...the best men available to help our Local Government Councils raise village morale and

<sup>291</sup> Post-Courier, July 28, 1969.

<sup>292</sup> Post-Courier, July 3, 1969.

<sup>293</sup> Post-Courier, July 4, 1969.

<sup>294</sup> Post-Courier, August 11, 1969.

<sup>295</sup> Post-Courier, August 11, 1969.

aspirations towards a better way of life and to recognise their rights and privileges and self-respect as people and not as objects to be manipulated and pushed around at the whim of Government planners in Port Moresby."296

A decade before, the Rabaul Times could still talk optimistically about a future in which PNG remained permanently tied to Australia, but now it was clear that at some stage - still, in 1969, comfortingly far off - the country would be handed over to the locals. As has often been the pattern in emerging nations, it was not the old men who would take the reigns of power from the departing expatriates. That would fall to younger and angrier men and the angriest of them at that time was perceived to be Michael Thomas Somare, a Sepik who had been trained as a government teacher and then worked as a radio announcer. Somare, perceived as brash and disrespectful by expatriates and conservative locals alike, was leader of the Pangu Pati, "a disturbing radical factor in a well-ordered society." However, by 1969 he had begun to receive grudging acceptance in certain circles. The Post-Courier said in one of its reports on the House of Assembly that the Pangu Pati had put up some good ideas, which would have been accepted if they had come from anybody else. Pangu had a reputation for radicalism and it was certainly not slow to criticise the Administration or the Australian government. In August 1969 it was attacking the Administration for its handling of the latest eruption on Bougainville where landowners were trying to stop work on the Bougainville mine. Under the heading 'Pangu raps Admin on land dispute,' the Post-Courier reported party secretary Albert Maori Kiki as saying that the forcible resumption of land on Bougainville "seems to be the sort of action which a Communist Government would take."298 Prophetically, Maori Kiki declared:

"...the way in which the Administration has acted in this matter has only angered the people. This will continue to be a source of bitterness for many years and can only be a source of trouble for the future independent government of New Guinea."<sup>299</sup>

For expatriates, however, the real trouble seemed to be in Rabaul, where the tensions and sometimes violent clashes that had characterised the Gazelle Peninsula since the mid-1950s surfaced again with opposition to the introduction of a multi-racial local government council. Oscar Tammur, the MHA for Kokopo declared that the majority of Tolais did not want a multi-racial council because they "[had] been running the council for 19 years and did not want other people to help." The Mataungan Association feared that the multi-racial council would allow other races (by which they meant principally European planters and Chinese businessmen) to dominate. The Mataungans were prepared to use force to obtain their ends. At the first meeting of the multi-racial council, 3000 Mataungans surrounded the council chamber, shouting at the elected members inside.

The situation was complicated by the same internal dissension among the Tolai that had occurred after the war when, as we saw in chapter three, the followers of the renewed kivungs had wrested control of certain villages from the traditional leaders. In a letter to the *Post-Courier*, Martin ToVadek, who signed himself president of the Rabaul branch of the United Political Society, declared that the multi-racial council had been re-introduced at the behest of the old Tolai leaders. ToVadek said the majority of Tolai wanted the multi-racial council and had demonstrated this at the elections. ToVadek added: "Mr Oscar Tammur does not like our old Tolai leaders and wants to run the place without help from anybody."<sup>301</sup>

<sup>296</sup> Post-Courier, August 11, 1969.

<sup>297</sup> Johnson, L., Colonial Sunset, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1983, p264.

<sup>298</sup> Post-Courier, August 5, 1969.

<sup>299</sup> Post-Courier, August 5, 1969.

<sup>300</sup> Post-Courier, July 8, 1969.

<sup>301</sup> Pos-Courier, July 8, 1969.

Opposition to the new council became increasingly violent and the riot squad was flown in from Port Moresby. At the beginning of September, 5000 Tolai marched on the headquarters of the Gazelle multi-racial council. *Post-Courier* journalist Dick Pearson reported that the march followed a tense night in Rabaul, during which members of the riot squad patrolled the town and guarded key installations. The multi-racial council was opened in the face of fierce opposition from the Mataungans, who had begun uprooting survey marker pegs throughout the Gazelle. The situation was made more tense by the appearance in court of Tolai leader Melchior Tomot, who was charged with possessing "goods believed to have been stolen," to wit, the keys to the council chamber.<sup>302</sup>

The *Post-Courier* editorialised on the issue, insisting that law and order had to be reestablished on the Gazelle, but admitting that the Tolai were sincere in their beliefs and perhaps justified in their fear that control of councils would slip away from them. If the Territory was to progress, it declared, multi-culturalism and multi-racialism were the only way forward:

"This week's incidents in Rabaul underline the need for firmly establishing the rule of law. The dangers inherent in any other system have been tragically demonstrated in Africa and elsewhere...In the brave old days of colonialism the British Government achieved its ends by what was known as gunboat diplomacy...Armed riot squads have been rushing around the Territory lately in circumstances that historians might regard as redolent of gunboating [sic]. It is to be hoped the necessity for them will diminish. They do nothing for the country's image at home or abroad....The Tolais fear a multi-racial council would mean their domination by other groups. There is no question about the sincerity of their beliefs. Some of the fear may be justified. But if the Territory is to become unified and independent they will have to accept majority rule. Multi-racial groups are in governments throughout the world starting with the House of Assembly itself." 303

The implication was clear: The Tolai must see the issue from a national, rather than a purely local, viewpoint and indigenous people could not progress unless they were united among themselves and willing to work with other races. The idea of a multi-racial, unitary state as the best model for an independent PNG is explicit in the *Post-Courier's* coverage of the events on the Gazelle. To a degree, the same ideas are implicit in the paper's coverage of the Bougainville crisis. As we shall see in the next chapter, the *Post-Courier* was not entirely unsympathetic to the concerns of the Bougainvilleans affected by the mine, but there is an overriding assumption in its coverage that, in the long run, the mine would be good for the country as a whole.

As we shall see in chapter seven, national unity and national identity were clearly important goals in the run-up to independence. It is evident that not all of the country's indigenous political elite believed this should be achieved within the same kind of political framework. A reading of his autobiography, *Sana*, suggests that while Somare believed in a united country, he also felt that it would be wise for the central government to cede a measure of autonomy to the regions, particularly if this was the best way to solve a crisis. As Chief Minister in the early 1970s he did this on the Gazelle in an attempt to resolve the squabbles between the various Tolai factions and again on Bougainville in order to prevent secession. He admits to having had to work hard to convince his ministry of the correctness of his decisions, describing them as having "strong centralist views." <sup>304</sup> In 1969, however, decisions about what to do on the Gazelle and Bougainville were not being taken by Somare, but by the Australian Administration.

By September 5 of that year there were 800 police in Rabaul, a quarter of the Territory's total strength. The police planned to march through Rabaul in a show of strength. The

<sup>302</sup> Post-Courier, September 3, 1969.

<sup>303</sup> Post-Courier, September 3, 1969.

<sup>304</sup> Somare, M., Sana, Niugini Press, Port Moresby, p119.

multi-racial council members refused to meet with the Mataungans and instead called on the House of Assembly to set up a select committee to talk with both sides.<sup>305</sup> By December the situation had deteriorated further. There were violent clashes on December 4 and the next day the riot squad had to break up fights between different factions. The Administrator, David Hay, flew by helicopter to speak to different villages in an effort to instill calm, but to no avail.<sup>306</sup>

The situation on the Gazelle was still simmering when, as the year ended, the leader of the Australian Labor Party, Gough Whitlam, arrived in Port Moresby for a grand tour of the Territory. Whitlam's tour took in what the *Post-Courier* called "scenes of present, recent or potential political ferment." Accompanied by Kim Beazley and Bill Hayden, Whitlam planned to spend "most of his time...in the coastal towns, where he believes he will have a greater chance of meeting politically conscious leaders." <sup>308</sup>

Right at the beginning of his tour Whitlam declared that the ALP would work towards independence for PNG as quickly as possible and that PNG would have "home rule" as soon as Labor won government in 1972. This would be followed by independence in 1976. John Lombard, who was traveling with Whitlam, wrote that the Liberals in Canberra were not thinking of independence before 1980.<sup>309</sup> However, Lombard also described Whitlam's plan as vague and without a definite timetable. In the meantime, Whitlam had asked the Administration to organise a meeting with the Mataungan leaders in Rabaul. It is difficult in retrospect not to see Whitlam's behaviour as opportunistic and self-serving. Until now the Australian Government and Opposition had adopted the same policy on the Territory and its future, but now Whitlam was publicly presenting a vision of an entirely different future under a Labor government.

A week earlier, Downs had written optimistically in the *Post-Courier* that "the differences in matters of critical policy between Liberal and Labor towards New Guinea are not likely to be very great."<sup>310</sup> Whitlam dashed such sanguine expectations. Perhaps Whitlam was anxious to be seen as the grand de-coloniser; but perhaps as Sir Donald Cleland and others with far more experience of the Territory had already said, time was running out for Australia and the fact had to be faced that Australia should be prepared to leave sooner rather than later. Former District Commissioner James Sinclair wrote in his memoirs:

"Whitlam's visit sent shock-waves throughout the country. He did not bother to hide his contempt for most of the Australians in PNG; he sought out the young, educated nationals and largely ignored the traditional leaders; he angered even Pangu Party [sic] politicians by his insistence that Labor would be making the decisions on the timing of political change." <sup>311</sup>

Minister for External Territories, Charles Barnes, was probably right in thinking that PNG would be economically and socially better prepared for independence in 1980 and that it would be best to move towards independence when all parts of the country were at an equal stage of development, but having prevaricated on the issue for so long, Canberra had left it too late to fix its own timetable.<sup>312</sup> Events in PNG and the renaissance of the ALP under Whitlam had moved the issue beyond the control of the Liberal Party in Parliament or the Australian Public Service.

<sup>305</sup> Post-Courier, September 5, 1969.

<sup>306</sup> Post-Courier, December 10, 1969.

<sup>307</sup> Post-Courier, December 9, 1969.

<sup>308</sup> Post-Courier, December 9, 1969.

<sup>309</sup> Post-Courier, December 30, 1969.

<sup>310</sup> Post-Courier, December 24, 1969.

<sup>311</sup> Sinclair, J., Kiap, Pacific Publications, Sydney, 2000, p271.

<sup>312</sup> Post-Courier, October 10, 1969.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the initial reaction from indigenous people and political parties to Whitlam's pronouncements was cautious. Lombard reported that most politicians had been reluctant to talk publicly about the issue, but had privately expressed reservations. Pangu welcomed Whitlam's announcement on home rule, but said that "anything that smacks of a rigid timetable was distasteful." The first reaction to Whitlam's statement from local leaders was not encouraging. Clan leaders in Daru said they were worried about a fixed timetable and during his tour of the Western District the *Post-Courier* reported that:

"It was evident that the local government leaders...did not believe their people would be ready for such revolutionary changes." 314

Local responses to Whitlam's statements in the New Year were just as cautious. As we shall see in chapter seven, indigenous readers of the new Tok Pisin newspaper *Wantok* were equally wary. In the end, it would not matter whether they were ready for the changes. They just had to accept them. On the same day that it reported the cautious response to Whitlam's declarations, the *Post-Courier* carried a lengthy article by former Administrator, Sir Donald Cleland, reflecting on the previous decade's changes. While concluding that, overall, the changes had been good for the Territory; he warned that Europeans would also have to be ready to change.

"An increasing number of young men and women have had a reasonable education and a training period to fit them to do skilled and responsible work in the administrative, economic and social fabric of society. But are we changing too? Are our attitudes and general approach acceptable to them?...our policies have had a profound effect on the whole population - whether they live in a primitive highland village or on a remote river bank or on the coast...Our old paternal attitude is no longer acceptable to them...The onus is now on us to change our attitudes and our whole approach to meet the new men and women of Papua and New Guinea."<sup>315</sup>

How much change was needed and how much expatriates and indigenous people still had to learn to accommodate each other was already being tested on Bougainville.

The *Post-Courier* in the last six months of 1969 reflects what was perhaps the watershed of Australia's involvement in Papua New Guinea. Despite the enthusiasm and sincerity of many Administration officers, the chances of an orderly progression towards a carefully prepared independence day were beginning to quietly disappear. Old Territory hands like Cleland knew what was happening, as did the older indigenous leaders like Guise. The emergence of young men like Somare and the Pangu Pati meant that there was at last an organised, indigenous, opposition to the Administration and, by extension, the Australian government.

Led by its managers and editors, the *Post-Courier* adopted an attitude towards the indigenous people, as well as their needs and complaints, that was often sympathetic and certainly a radical departure from the attitude of the pre-war Port Moresby press. The *Post-Courier* was not sympathetic to the Mataungan Association and took the same line with them as it would with the protestors on Bougainville; that the Territory must progress evenly and that everybody must follow the same path for the common good. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, the landowners on Bougainville did not share the Administration or the *Post-Courier's* views about what the future should be or what constituted the common good.

<sup>313</sup> Post-Courier, December 31, 2007.

<sup>314</sup> Post-Courier, December 31, 1969.

<sup>315</sup> Post-Courier, December 31, 1969.

## **Chapter Five**

## 'That some must suffer for the greater good:' The Post-Courier and the Bougainville crisis

At first glance it might appear that the seeds of many of the evils which have befallen Papua New Guinea since independence can be traced to the confrontation between landowners and miners on Bougainville in the second half of 1969. In the nearly 40 years since work began in earnest on the giant Panguna copper mine, Bougainvilleans have declared independence twice, been granted unprecedented levels of autonomy and suffered a brutal civil war. The closure of Panguna and the civil war which flowed from opposition to the mine forced the government to cut public spending and public service wages and devalue the kina.<sup>316</sup> It can also be argued that the closure of the mine and the war began a chain of events which eventually led to a revolt by the PNG Defence Force against mercenaries brought in by the Chan government to defeat the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. The spread of guns, the loss of faith in central government and the descent into near anarchy in many parts of the country can also be linked with the war.<sup>317</sup>

And yet 1969 was simply the first time that the resentment of the Bougainvilleans had broken into such organised physical form. This chapter argues that in order to get the Panguna mine underway, Canberra rode roughshod over Port Moresby, ignored the advice of the Administration's field officers and laid the groundwork for the serious problems that threatened PNG's economy and civil society in the 1990s. It also argues that, like the Administration, the PNG press and journalists working in the Territory had a very different view of what was happening from their Australian counterparts.

A comparison with the *Post-Courier's* coverage of the conflict on the Gazelle is inevitable. To reiterate the point made in the previous chapter, the Mataungans were aggressive, organized, had clear goals and were prepared to use mass violence to achieve their ends. The Mataungans offered a direct threat to the Administration and its policies on the Gazelle and, to many expatriates in Rabaul, seemed intent on forcing a confrontation. The Administration and the police contained the situation, but only for a time. Within the Tolai community, as we saw in chapter three, the Mataungans also threatened the authority of traditional Tolai leaders, a process begun by the resurrection of the kivungs. The landowners on Bougainville were not presented as a similar threat by the *Post-Courier*.

<sup>316</sup> Booth, A., 'Development challenges in a poor Pacific economy: The case of Papua New Guinea,' in Pacific Affairs, LXVIII:2, Summer 1995.

<sup>317</sup> Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 'Visit to Bougainville 15-18 March 1999,' Interim report present to Parliament March 31, 1999. Hereinafter JSCFA 1999(a), but see also Dorney, S., *The Sandline Affair*, ABC Books, Sydney, 1998 and O'Callaghan, M., *Enemies Within*, Doubleday, Sydney, 1999. Dorney argues that the loss of revenue from the mine was to a certain extent offset by the beginning of oil exports and the opening of the Porgera gold mine. He also contends that 80 percent of Papua New Guineans live in villages and "most would not have been affected one way or the other by the shutdown of BCL." Dorney, S., personal communication, July 2008. Booth (ibid) notes that partly because of government measures and income from other areas, GDP in PNG actually grew to nine percent in 1991.

Bougainville was an underdeveloped district, hitherto notable only for the Hahalis Welfare Society and its 'baby farm' on Buka. The Bougainville landowners were not at first well organised and in any case, were not, from the Administration's perspective, anywhere near as advanced as the Tolai. After one or two well publicised clashes, prolonged negotiations began and these were not quite as exciting to reporters as confrontations between villagers and policemen. There is also the simple fact that it was a lot easier to report on what was happening in Rabaul than at Arawa. There were no problems for journalists phoning copy through from Rabaul to Port Moresby and photographers could make sure that film of the previous day's clashes were sent to Port Moresby on the first Fokker of the morning in time for the *Post-Courier's* midday press run. Covering the Bougainville dispute was much, much harder. Copy from Bougainville could be phoned or radioed through, but film would be delayed by a day or two and in some cases the *Post-Courier* had to rely on official photographs. Journalists either had to rely on commercial flights or lifts on police or Administration-chartered aircraft, which added to the problems.

In many ways the *Post-Courier's* coverage mirrors some of the tenets of development communication. Stevenson's definition of development communication, as outlined in chapter one, lists identification with a state rather than a tribe as one of the goals of this form of communication. This implies that the people are expected to support national rather than purely local goals and aspirations. The *Post-Courier's* coverage of the events on Bougainville in 1969 carries a very strong message that the protestors were opposing something that was being done for the national good.

The Bougainville copper mine was regarded as vital to PNG's economic development and integral to the belief of the Minister for External Territories, Charles Barnes, that economic development was a pre-requisite to independence. Economic growth in turn required political stability.<sup>318</sup> As a very large scale project, the mine would serve as an icon of development for the whole country. Conversely, those who opposed the mine could be seen as standing against development and the national interest for purely local - and therefore selfish - reasons. Thus, in a complete reversal of the usual situation in developing countries, the commercial media and the media controlled by the metropolitan power displayed many of the characteristics of the journalism found in the media of newly independent, developing nations.

In its first six months the *Post-Courier* was at pains to alert its readers to the need to face up to imminent political changes. Having been administered by Australia as one unit, it was hardly likely that Papua and New Guinea would be self-governing or independent except as a single nation. The promotion of a sense of national unity in place of ethnic or linguistic affiliation has also been a regular feature of development communication in developing countries and I think it is fair to say that the *Post-Courier* also fostered this notion. However, it was also true that at this stage most Papua New Guineans identified themselves primarily by family, clan and perhaps district, rather than as citizens of a potential nation state.

In writing this chapter I have relied primarily on the *Post-Courier*, supplemented by a range of other sources. Don Woolford, who covered the Arawa clashes, gave his perspective on what happened and the difficulties faced in covering the story. He also makes perceptive comments about the Australian media's response to the incident. Gus Smales, the former editor of the *Rabaul Times*, covered the Bougainville clashes as the PNG correspondent for the Herald and Weekly Times group.<sup>319</sup> The District Commissioner for Bougainville, Des Ashton, tape recorded a running commentary during one of the clashes, which provides an invaluable record of what he saw. Downs quotes from the transcription in his official

<sup>318</sup> Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship...,* pp278-279.

<sup>319</sup> Smales continued as the Herald and Weekly Times' correspondent until 1980. Dorney, S., personal communication, July 2008.

history and the ABC used it in a radio documentary. There have been dozens of articles on the Bougainville conflict, appearing in everything from learned journals to anarchist publications. I have drawn on a range of these to illustrate certain aspects of the conflict, such as the question of Bougainvillean - and especially Nasioi – self-identity, and relationships between Bougainvilleans and mainlanders. Among the more valuable books are those by Mikesell, which puts the development of the Panguna mine into an international perspective and Quodling, who offers a mining industry perspective. Quodling's book is especially useful for Phillips' account of the early contact period between CRA and the indigenous people. Written more than 20 years after the event, there is bitterness in his story and perhaps the account is partly a justification of his own part in the events, but it also presents a picture of mining officials and Administration officers trying to do the right thing and being over-ridden by the Australian government and company management. Combined with Downs' account, it supports the idea that much of the disaster that lay ahead was the result of venality and stupidity in Canberra.

The real origins of the Bougainville conflict lie not in Canberra or Port Moresby, but in Washington, where, in 1898, representatives of Germany, the United States and Great Britain met to discuss under what rules their respective countries could have access to each others' colonial markets in the Pacific and West Africa. In the midst of the horse trading, the British, who claimed the Solomon Islands, and the Germans, who controlled New Guinea, redrew their colonial boundaries so that Bougainville, which ethnically and geographically was part of the Solomons, became part of the German territories. It was a classic case of two imperial powers 'swapping natives' without any thought for the consequences. 320 At the time of the Washington conference, Germany's New Guinea colony had only a tiny expatriate population and had only been under direct control from Berlin for three years. Prior to that it had been run as a commercial venture by the Deutsch Neuguinea Kompagnie, which had all but abandoned the mainland and concentrated its efforts in New Britain and New Ireland.<sup>321</sup> The Germans had few resources and gave little attention to Bougainville. Soon after the outbreak of war in 1914, Australian troops occupied the New Guinea islands and mainland. After the war, Australia was granted a League of Nations mandate over New Guinea, which it then ran in tandem with Papua, an Australian colony that had begun life as British New Guinea. No attempt was made to redraw the imperial boundary and Bougainville remained part of Australia's small Pacific empire. In the interwar years plantations were expanded on Bougainville, but government services were limited and schools and medical facilities were provided by the various Christian missions, of which the Catholic Marist order was the largest.<sup>322</sup> In the 1930s Australian gold miners working on the island found traces of copper.<sup>323</sup>

During the Second World War Bougainville was occupied by the Japanese, who were in turn driven out by Allied forces. As with the rest of Papua New Guinea, rebuilding on Bougainville took many years and the missions continued to be the main source of employment, education and medicine for the local people. When the Australian Administration began to show an interest in the island in the late 1950s and early 1960s, there was resistance from the missions, some of whom seemed to regard Bougainville almost as a private fiefdom. The Administration did move into Bougainville, but the missions continued to resist efforts to usurp their role.

In 1964 there was renewed interest in copper on the island and surveys showed that there were commercially viable deposits of low grade ore - and probably gold - in the coastal

<sup>320</sup> Stephen, D., A History of Political Parties in Papua New Guinea, Lansdowne, Melbourne, 1972, p152.

<sup>321</sup> Hiery, H., The Neglected War, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1995, p1.

<sup>322</sup> Hudson, W.J., New Guinea Empire, Cassell, Sydney, 1974, p15. See also Laracy, H., Marists and Melanesians: A History of the Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands, ANU, Canberra, 1976.

<sup>323</sup> Woolford, D., Papua New Guinea: Initiation and Independence, University of Queensland Press, 1976, p31.

mountain range on the east of the island. The ore body was estimated to have a yield of 900 million tones. Between then and 1967, Conzinc Rio Australia, a subsidiary of the British mining company Rio Tinto Zinc, spent Aus\$21 million exploring and making an initial evaluation of the mine. CRA then negotiated a development agreement with the Australian Government that contained provision for a payment of a small part of the mining royalties to local landowners, along with compensation payments. Eventually, about 60 square miles - less than one percent of the total island area of Bougainville - was acquired for the open cut mine, with 80 percent of this being set aside for a tailings dump. Under a 1967 agreement negotiated with the Australian government, CRA was given generous tax concessions.<sup>324</sup> The proposed copper mine at Panguna provided a focus for resistance to the Administration, renewed calls for independence and helped clarify Bougainvilleans' political aspirations. Would resistance have been more muted and the eventual outcome less bloody and less tragic if more tact and discretion had been exercised in the beginning? Sinclair claims that the mining legislation in force at the time had allowed CRA to begin initial work on the mine without asking permission of the indigenous landowners, who regarded the company workers as trespassing on their land. 325 However, Phillips, who headed CRA's early exploration team, sets out in some detail the actions he and his team took in collaboration with the Assistant District Commissioner at Kieta, Max Denehy, to explain what they were doing. Phillips' recollections of what happened in 1964-67 are worth examining in detail because they show that at least some Administration officers and mining company employees tried to carry out their duties sensibly and sensitively.

Phillips says Denehy was extremely short-staffed, with only two field workers. He was restricted to Kieta for much of the time and could not get out as much as he wanted. Before CRA arrived he had been working in the villages to prepare people for the forthcoming elections for the House of Assembly and had mentioned that CRA would be coming.<sup>326</sup> The CRA exploration team started work in mid-April 1964. The team paid two shillings an hour for carriers and eight to 10 shillings a day for cooks. This led to F.R. ('Kip') McKillop, who owned Arawa plantation and would later join the protest against the mine, expressing concern that the team might upset the local economy.<sup>327</sup> The team met with people from all over the Guava, Musinau, Kupei, Moroni and Pakia areas to discuss what they were doing.

"Even at this early stage the question was asked why, if there was enough copper in the ground, could it not stay there until their grandchildren had the knowledge to develop it... []..One must remember that there was a very small scale gold mining operation at Kupei between 1930 and 1941 which nobody would have made any money from, but which the people undoubtedly thought would have produced a large fortune for the expatriates working on it and which otherwise might have been theirs." 328

Tension flared over which clan was being employed and paid. The situation was calmed by Deputy District Commissioner Des Clancy and Denehy who explained everything to the locals again. Phillips is convinced that administrators with local knowledge should have been allowed to keep control of the situation:

"I have often said that if Clancy and Denehy had been left in charge of the Panguna situation none of the turmoil that developed from 1966 on would have taken place – they

<sup>324</sup> Somare, M., Sana, Niugini Press, Port Moresby, 1975, p121.

<sup>325</sup> Sinclair, J., Kiap, Pacific Publications, Sydney, 2000, p267.

<sup>326</sup> Phillips, K.M., 'Notes on early contact with Bougainville People in the 1964-1966 stage of the Bougainville Copper development,' in Quodling, P., Bougainville: The Mine and the People, Centre for Independent Studies, St Leonards, 1991, p98.

<sup>327</sup> ibid, p99.

<sup>328</sup> ibid, p100.

were both men of compromise, not confrontation and both understood the Bougainville people better than most Administration officers."<sup>329</sup>

The first small drill was carried in from Arawa in September 1964 and then two larger drills, more drillers and a helicopter arrived in October of that year. The number of people involved increased, with company representatives from Melbourne, Administration officers from Port Moresby and missionaries all coming to visit. Meanwhile, exploration parties were working "north through Mainoki, Karato, Atamo, south through the Nasioi and the Lulluai River and down in the Nagavosi in the Boku-Siwai, all without complaint or interference." Phillips claims there was initially no opposition to CRA's pegging of the Exclusive Prospecting Licenses in December 1964. Denehy and Clancy gathered people from all over the island to attend a Mining Wardens Court in Kieta where they were given further explanations about what was going on. Phillips says most people were by now uninterested and "generally indicated that CRA could go on prospecting in the Guava for ever," but that the Guavas wanted more information on their rights regarding the minerals. 331

Misunderstandings abounded. Some locals thought the island would tip over and sink if CRA put a big hole in it. To correct these misunderstandings, a party of locals was taken to Australia in 1965 to see mines there, including the open cut gold mine at Mt Morgan near Rockhampton. The Bougainville delegates, who were accompanied by Denehy, met Barnes. The Bougainvilleans asked him to consider direct financial benefits for the Bougainvilleans.

"The Minister did not answer or directly reject this, which the Bougainvilleans took as tacit approval of their request and added to the [later] troubles...[the visit] was largely a waste of time, for although immediately on their return they were greatly enlightened... after their experiences had been tossed around the villages for a few nights, things such as David Jones store in Sydney became the source of all cargo, etc and cultism became worse than ever."

In August 1965 Phillips, Denehy and Haddon King, CRA's Director of Exploration, flew to Port Moresby and Mt Hagen to set out a report to the Administration which would outline the problems they were having and suggest solutions. A major change in the mining ordnance was forthcoming and this would also have to be accounted for.

Phillips and Denehy proposed that the landowners be paid sufficiently generous compensation for the minerals under the ground so there would be no further claims in the future. They also suggested that either the Australian Government or CRA should set up a Bougainville development fund. Phillips claims that "…neither the Administration nor the Company took this matter up which was a great pity."<sup>333</sup>

For Phillips, the situation began to deteriorate beyond control in 1965 when Barnes visited. He and Denehy tried to speak to Barnes before he spoke to the Bougainvilleans at Aropa, but to no avail. Phillips and Denehy hoped that the situation might improve under the new mining legislation, but Barnes publicly (and, as it later turned out, wrongly) dashed their hopes, telling Nasioi they could expect no compensation for their land, only for houses and trees.<sup>334</sup> Barnes told a number of Guavas at the Panguna camp the same thing.<sup>335</sup> Phillips described Denehy as "thunderstruck."

"I knew that we had troubles ahead...Denehy was removed from having anything to do with Panguna... and then transferred to oblivion in Samarai at the end of 1966. Moresby

<sup>329</sup> ibid, p102.

<sup>330</sup> ibid, p103.

<sup>331</sup> ibid, p103.

<sup>332</sup> ibid, pp104-105.

<sup>333</sup> ibid, p105.

<sup>334</sup> O'Callaghan, M., 'The origins of the conflict,' in Carl, A. and Garasu, L., (eds.) Weaving Consensus: The Papua New Guinea-Bougainville Peace Process, Conciliation Resources, London, 2002.

decided to discredit him as a whitewash for their own shortcomings and obstinance [sic]."336

Phillips went on sick leave and resigned in April 1967. When he went back briefly to Bougainville he described the scene as appalling.

"The majority of the expatriate staff had lost all contact with the Bougainvilleans and were contained in a vacuum almost by the administration...[]...It was pretty obvious that tolerances all round were going to deteriorate for some time to come...[]...The early exploration people in any project are normally vitally, almost emotionally, involved in everything that is going on, whereas the next stage of evaluation and then construction brings in people who don't have this involvement." 337

The tragedy is not just that the Australian Government should have behaved so badly and allowed itself to become, in the minds of many people, the tool of CRA; it is that CRA could have profitably looked at how mining companies operating in even more politically sensitive areas had acted. In the early 1960s the other countries with large scale copper mines were Zambia and Chile. The Chilean government had nationalised its copper mines and this remained a constant concern for Rhodesian and South African firms operating in what became Zambia in 1964. Zambia, the former Northern Rhodesia, had been briefly part of the Central African Federation with Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi). Copper revenue was one of the many issues underlying tensions within the shortlived CAF, with arguments about whether copper revenue was being distributed equally. There were two main copper firms, the South African-controlled Anglo-American and the US-controlled Rhodesian Selection Trust. Butler's study of the way RST managed the transition from Rhodesia to the CAF to Zambia offers a lesson in how a mining company with sufficient acuity, political sensitivity and moral purpose can recognise when a political landscape is changing and navigate those changes to the benefit of its workforce, the country and its shareholders.338

Perhaps if people like Denehy and Phillips had been left in charge the impact on the Bougainvilleans might have been softened somewhat, but it is also clear that the size of the mine and the effect it would have on their lives were simply too much for some local people to comprehend.

In 1968, a year after Phillips' last visit to the mine, elected politicians joined with undergraduates at the University of Papua New Guinea in Port Moresby and students at the Catholic seminary in Lae to call for a referendum on the future of Bougainville in 1970.<sup>339</sup> By 1969 CRA was in a position to begin work on the mine in earnest, with an expectation that production would begin in 1972. Land for the open cut pit had already been obtained, albeit with some difficulty. There had been opposition to CRA from the very beginning by the traditional landowners, the Nasioi. The American anthropologist Ogan, who lived among the Nasioi in the early 1960s when CRA was conducting its preliminary explorations, portrayed the local people as verging on the xenophobic and opposed to all external influences.<sup>340</sup> The Nasioi's dislike of foreigners encompassed not just white expatriates, but people from other parts of PNG. The Bougainvilleans called

<sup>336</sup> ibid, p108. Max Denehy was transferred to Milne Bay as District Commissioner.

<sup>337</sup> Phillips, K.M., 'Notes on early contact...,' p108.

<sup>338</sup> Butler, L., 'Mining, Nationalism, and Decolonization in Zambia, 1945-1964,' Paper presented to the XIVth International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 2006. Perhaps comforted by Canberra's complete unwillingness to give any public indication of when the Territory might be self-governing or independent, CRA also seems to have not considered the long term implications for its operations of UN Resolution 1803, the Declaration on the Permanent Sovereignty of Natural Resources. Passed in 1962, this established the right of nations to use their natural resources in the interests of their own development, for example, through nationalisation.

<sup>339</sup> Stephen, D., A History..., p150.

<sup>340</sup> Ogan, E., 'Business and Cargo: Socio-economic change among the Nasioi of Bougainville,' New Guinea Research Bulletin, No. 44, 1972, p183.

mainland Papua New Guineans redskins. In turn, they were called ars bilong sospan by mainlanders because of their extremely black skin.<sup>341</sup>

The Nasioi were also annoyed with the terms offered for compensation, by the seemingly contradictory stance of local kiaps and high ranking officials flown in from Port Moresby and Australia, and the behaviour of the CRA exploration teams. The 1968 protests had focused on the cultural and racial differences between Bougainvilleans and other people in PNG. Leo Hannett, then a university student and later a prominent leader of his people, said:

"Our historical, ethnic, racial, geographical and political ties are with the Solomons Group, the ties are stronger than any that exist between Bougainville and any other parts of the Territory. Many of the people of Bougainville have parts of their families and relatives living in the Solomons. Much as we cherish the friendship of our Papuan and New Guinean brothers, our customs and beliefs differ and no real ethnical bonds exist." 342

May cites the opposition to the mine as a manifestation of micronationalism and places it within the context of similar movements across PNG in the post-war period.<sup>343</sup> He observes that, in general, "micronationalist movements reflect the circumstances of their origins" and characterises their objectives as "broad, ambitious and ill-defined."<sup>344</sup> The opposition movement on Bougainville had very clearly defined aims, at least in its early phase, but these (the abandonment of the mine or exclusive access to its wealth) do not at first glance sit entirely easily with the micronationalist sentiments expressed by Hannett, since these were based on an idealised sense of ethnic identity. The idealised image of Bougainville as a hitherto prosperous, peaceful island of agriculturalists is not borne out by anthropological evidence, which suggests that Bougainvilleans engaged in warfare just as much as any other people in PNG.<sup>345</sup> It has been argued that Bougainvilleans began to develop a larger sense of identity only after the Second World War and that this identity was largely shaped by exposure to expatriates, particularly among the Nasioi.<sup>346</sup>

Hannett and the other students demanded a referendum on whether Bougainville would remain part of the Territory, become independent or join the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. The call was supported by a number of expatriates, including Dr Ron Crocombe of the Australian National University, who said the Bougainvilleans had never been consulted by the colonial powers, "nor were their wishes or interests given any serious consideration."<sup>347</sup>

Opposition to the proposed mine and the land resumptions came from many sources, including the Catholic Bishop of Bougainville, Leo LeMay, and a number of plantation owners whose land was wanted for the mine.<sup>348</sup> The New Guinea Planters' Association also became involved when it was decided to forcibly acquire Arawa plantation as the basis

<sup>341</sup> Mikesell, R.F., Foreign Investment in copper mining: Case studies of mines in Peru and Papua New Guinea, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975, p81.

<sup>342</sup> Papua New Guinea House of Assembly, Hansard, I:2, 1968, p433.

<sup>343</sup> May, R.J., State and society in *Papua New Guinea: The first 25 Years*, Australian National University, Canberra, 2000, p281. At http://epress.anu.edu.au/sspng/mobile\_devices/index.html .

<sup>344</sup> ibid, p78.

Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 'Bougainville: The Peace Process and Beyond.' Completed inquiry presented to Parliament September 27, 1999. Hereinafter JSCFA 1999(b); Havini, M and Havini, R., 'Bougainville – The long struggle for freedom,' Paper presented to the UN International Conference on Indigenous Peoples, Environment and Development, Zurich, 1995.

<sup>346</sup> Nash, J. and Ogan, E., 'The Red and the Black: Bougainvillean Perceptions of other Papua New Guineans,' in *Pacific Studies*, XIII:2, March 1990.

<sup>347</sup> Stephen, D., A History..., p152.

<sup>348</sup> Sinclair, J., Kiap, p273; Woolford, D., Papua New Guinea..., p31. Bishop LeMay was the brother of General Curtis LeMay, head of the United States Air Force's Strategic Bomber Command.

for the township which would house the mine workers and their families. A number of American priests caused sufficient annoyance for the Australian government to ask the Apostolic Nuncio in Australia to intervene.<sup>349</sup> Fathers Mahoney, Moore and Wiley were inspired in their opposition by their own experiences of strip mining in the United States. As Downs puts it, they:

"Shared an uncommon concern [at that time] for the preservation of Bougainville's natural environment [and] expressed distrust of anything that reminded them of the gutted Appalachian valleys pouring their slag into the green land of Ohio." 350

Another important opposition figure was Paul Lapun, a Bougainvillean nationalist elected to Papua New Guinea's first House of Assembly in 1964. Lapun worked to build support and understanding for his people among the European members of the House and the importance of the Bougainville mine gave him great stature.<sup>351</sup> He used the House as a forum for the concerns of Bougainvilleans about the mine and acted as a respected figurehead for younger politicians and protesters. It was Lapun who introduced a bill which ensured that five percent of Government royalty receipts would be paid to all landowners in all future mining operations in PNG. Woolford claims there was also continuing private opposition to what was being done by a number of Administration officers.<sup>352</sup>

The final complication in an already complicated situation was the question of who owned the land that was to be mined, who owned the copper and who should benefit from it. One aim of the Land Titles Commission Ordinance of 1962 had been for the Administration to make a map showing all tribal and clan boundaries and to set up Land Demarcation Committees to settle disputes. The project was not completed and even if it had been, it would only have shown group holdings, whereas on Bougainville, compensation was being sought for individual plots of land and even trees.<sup>353</sup>

As for the copper, the Administration and the Australian Government operated on the principle that the minerals were owned by the Government. The Nasioi thought the minerals belonged to them and that they should receive all or the majority of the financial benefits from the mine. Some Bougainvilleans felt that if profits from the mine were exclusively theirs, the revenue derived therefrom could be used to fund an independent Bougainville. The Australian attitude to such ideas was made clear in a statement by the Director of Lands and Mines, Don Grove, in 1966:

"It is the practice in most newly developing countries throughout the world for the minerals to be owned by the Government, which then controls all the prospecting and mining activities [and] from the ownership of the minerals flows a payment of royalty...If the law were to be changed so that the minerals were owned by the people who owned the surface of the land, a very few people could become rich and the whole of the rest of the territory would be deprived of its proper share of benefits of the mining." 354

This was the position to which the Territory's Administration, the Australian Government and later independent Papua New Guinea governments would stick: That the Bougainville copper mine was a resource for the whole of PNG and not just one part of it. As Sinclair put it, the mine was so important that the Administration had to win its dispute with

<sup>349</sup> Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship..., p350.

<sup>350</sup> ibid, p343.

<sup>351</sup> ibid, p344.

<sup>352</sup> Woolford, D., Papua New Guinea..., p31.

<sup>353</sup> Filer, C., 'Custom, Law and Ideology in Papua New Guinea,' The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, VII:1, April 2006.

<sup>354</sup> Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship..., pp344-345.

landowners, priests and plantation owners.<sup>355</sup> Barnes seems to have been prepared to do anything to keep the project going, including sending in the Pacific Islands Regiment and importing Asian labourers who would be "more amenable to control and discipline."<sup>356</sup> He saw the Bougainville copper mine as vital to the future of the Territory:

"If the CRA project is allowed to falter, the government's policy for the economic, social and political development...will be placed in jeopardy." 357

The Bougainville mine became the largest source of revenue for the independent PNG Government after Australian aid, generating Aus\$6.2 billion in the 16 years of its operation.<sup>358</sup> There was never any chance that the mine would not go ahead in a manner determined by the Australian Government.<sup>359</sup> The compensation package offered to Nasioi landowners and the provision of local infrastructure, jobs and income producing activities was regarded by others, such as Mikesell, as extremely generous, especially in comparison with similar projects in other parts of the world.<sup>360</sup> In an age of optimism and rapid change, it seemed only reasonable and sensible that a gigantic and profitable copper mine was a good thing.

While the mine was regarded in general terms as being good for PNG as a whole, the *Post-Courier's* reporting of the issue was not uncritical. It covered the opposition in detail, reported the critical comments of leaders such as Paul Lapun and Leo Hannett and devoted space to the views of the villagers affected by the forcible resumption of land at Rorovana. That the *Post-Courier* tried to give the Bougainvilleans a voice was not just good reporting, but recognition that they might have a legitimate case. The paper acknowledged in its editorial column that the issue for the landowners was not the amount of compensation being offered, but a desire to retain their heritage.<sup>361</sup>

With all the information now available, it is obvious that the *Post-Courier* missed some things. They failed to take into account the question of matrilineal land ownership among the Nasioi, when there must surely have been anthropologists at UPNG who could have told them. To its credit, however, the *Post-Courier* handled the more sensational aspects of the Rorovana clashes with great care; not over-emphasising matters that some parts of the Australian metropolitan press sensationalised. When the Australian Minister for External Territories, Barnes, exploded over remarks made by Albert Maori Kiki, the *Post-Courier* reported details of the debate of the matter by the House of Assembly's Privilege's Committee and was banned from the House for two weeks.<sup>362</sup>

The *Post-Courier* devoted several front pages to the dispute between landowners and CRA and gave extensive coverage on its inside pages, but for reasons explored at the beginning of this chapter, it devoted more space to the disruptions on the Gazelle Peninsula. There was always a hope that disputes with landowners could be settled in the traditional manner with appropriate compensation payments. The Mataungan Association, the mouthpiece of disaffected Tolai, was politically astute, well organised, sophisticated and carried with it the threat of organised violence. Against this threat, the Nasioi seemed merely ungrateful and blind to the promise of the future.

The Administration was under continual pressure from the Australian Government to push through land resumption on Bougainville. In mid-1969, fed up with the refusal of villagers

<sup>355</sup> Sinclair, J., Kiap, p267.

<sup>356</sup> Burton, B., 'Documents highlight Australian role in PNG conflict,' in Asia Times, January 6, 2000.

<sup>357</sup> ibid.

<sup>358</sup> O'Callaghan, M., 'The origins of the conflict.'

<sup>359</sup> Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship..., p342.

<sup>360</sup> Mikesell offers comparisons with projects of similar scale in Peru. Mikesell, R.F., Foreign Investment..., passim.

<sup>361</sup> Post-Courier, July 30, 1969.

<sup>362</sup> Post-Courier, September, 24, 1969.

to sell their land, the Administration, now led by David Hay, prepared to make a last ditch effort to conclude an agreement and threatened that unless a sale was negotiated, forcible resumptions would be made. The Administration was expected to offer Aus\$105 an acre for the land, 650 acres near Arawa plantation and 1300 acres near Loloho plantation on Anewa Bay. The greatest opposition to sale came from the Rorovana people near Anewa Bay. Anewa Bay was marked as the site of a port and Arawa was to be the site of a township for mine workers. By this stage the Arawa villagers, consisting of 14 families, were divided over whether to sell. The Acting Assistant Administrator for Economic Affairs, Tony Newman, went to Bougainville accompanied by four local parliamentarians holding ministerial posts, Sinake Giregire, Tore Lokoloko, Joseph Lue and Toua Kapena.<sup>363</sup>

Police had already been flown into Bougainville earlier that year as land negotiations became tense. Now, to back up the Administration's ultimatum, 60 police, including a riot squad under the command of Deputy Police Commissioner Brian Holloway, were flown into Kieta. Hay said that if the villagers continued to resist, the Administration would have no option but to proceed to compulsory acquisition. He told the *Post-Courier* the police were being sent "purely as a precautionary measure." Australian political parties had traditionally pursued a joint policy on PNG, but it was perhaps inevitable in a year when the Liberal-Country Party coalition's long grasp on power in the Federal Parliament seemed to be slipping, that problems in the Territory should become an opportunity for point scoring by Australian politicians. Given the publicity accorded to the dispute, it was not long before the Bougainville mine became politicised. An Australian government Mining Committee which had visited Bougainville, praised "the care being taken to guard native welfare" on the island. Liberal parliamentarian Dr Malcolm Mackay told a meeting in Rabaul:

"Nowhere in Australia would landholders adversely affected by mining development receive such handsome treatment as these people. History is being made in paying royalties to landholders". 365

Meanwhile, in Canberra, Labor MP Gordon Bryant warned of bloodshed and violence on the island, saying he was convinced landowners would fight. Bryant asked why the Administration had refrained from taking land for an airstrip in Rabaul when the Tolai refused to sell and said: "Land rights are respected where a public purpose is involved and are ignored for the benefit of a private company." <sup>366</sup> However, the Administration's stance was quite clear. Taking a Benthamite position, Newman declared that the copper mine would benefit the entire territory and it was inevitable that some people must suffer for the greater good. <sup>367</sup>

Clearance of the Rorovana land was due to begin on August 1 and police were flown into the island to protect CRA workers who would operate bulldozers and plant survey pegs. As this was happening, CRA announced that Bougainville Copper Pty Ltd had signed credit agreements worth Aus\$264.4 million.

The clash with the Rorovana people came on August 1 when CRA employees, protected by police, moved onto their land near Kieta. A number of journalists were on hand to cover the confrontation, including Richard Pearson of the *Post-Courier*, Don Woolford of Australian Associated Press and Gus Smales, who was the PNG correspondent for the Australian-based Herald and Weekly Times group of newspapers. They arrived about half an hour before the action began. Pearson reported that 25 village women wrestled with riot squad police. Some of the women, who were trying to remove a concrete marker, were

<sup>363</sup> Post-Courier, July 22, 1969.

<sup>364</sup> Post-Courier, July 24, 1969.

<sup>365</sup> Post-Courier, July 25, 1969.

<sup>366</sup> Post-Courier, July 25, 1969.

<sup>367</sup> Post-Courier, July 28, 1969.

bare breasted, a fact widely reported in the Australian press. After 30 minutes one peg was uprooted. About 600 local people watched the struggle, but did not take part. Once the peg was removed, the local people left. Bougainville District Commissioner Des Ashton later recalled:

"They threw down [the cement marker] and that was the end of the...incident...despite this, the press had the police as 'Jack Booted Thugs' manhandling 'bare breasted women.' 368

Downs claims that "close examination of...photographs...shows that the people remained neatly dressed."<sup>369</sup> However, the lead photograph on the front page of the *Post-Courier* on August 4 clearly shows a policeman trying to move a woman who is only wearing a laplap.<sup>370</sup> Village women frequently wore only a laplap and a bare breast was nothing out of the ordinary, but it was something which Australian sub-editors could exploit for a sensational headline. Woolford's recollections reveal something of the difficulties of getting the story out. Pearson was able to get his copy through to Port Moresby for the midday press run while Woolford had to get his story to Sydney. Woolford got back to Kieta and managed to phone his copy through to Sydney. However, he had no way of getting his pictures through, so he opted to return to Port Moresby where the film could be sent south.

"I'm no great photographer, but I got within a few yards, aimed the office Pentax and kept clicking. It didn't last very long. The women dislodged the marker and rolled it a few yards down the beach. Watching villagers applauded and the whole group moved off peacefully. The surveyors resumed work. It was ritualistic and while there was certainly physical contact between the police and women, there was no violence." 371

Woolford's pictures didn't get to Sydney until the following Monday, but they made an impact. His story for AAP got a reasonable run, but the photographs stirred public interest and condemnation. It was the *Sydney Sun* which ran the front page picture of police wrestling with women under the headline 'Police Thugs.' Woolford described this as "unfair and not justified by anything I wrote; though if you look at the pictures in isolation, you can see why they did it."<sup>372</sup>

One of the questions nobody asked was why it was the women who took part in the removal of the peg and not the men. If they had, they might have uncovered a major blunder on the part of CRA, the Canberra government and the Port Moresby Administration. Ashton's taped commentary on the incident makes it clear that it was the women, not the men, who were leading the protest:

"There is now another attempt by women to pull up the survey marker, but the unarmed police are pulling the women out...Come on girls! Come back! Don't try and get at that peg again. There are quite a lot of young women here. I would say quite young schoolgirls to really old women, and at the moment they are the only ones making any serious attempt to disrupt the survey." 373

The women were leading the protest for the simple reason that on Bougainville, customary

<sup>368</sup> Downs, I., *The Australian Trusteeship...*, p359.

<sup>369</sup> ibid.

<sup>370</sup> Post-Courier, August 4, 1969. See Illustration 5.2.

<sup>371</sup> Woolford, D., personal communication, January 2006. Sinclair, who was then involved in drafting emergency plans for the Department of District Administration in case things got out of control, also describes the incident as "symbolic," saying there was "no bloodshed, no blows, no arrests." Sinclair, J., Kiap, p268.

Woolford, D., personal communication, January 2006. Elsewhere, Woolford describes the photos as showing "the powerfully built Assistant Police Commissioner, Brian Holloway, towering over a villager [and] police wearing gas masks, carrying batons and shields and looking sinister...among the coconut trees." Woolford, D., *Papua New Guinea...*, p29.

<sup>373</sup> Radio Australia, *Time To Talk*, programme two, 'Women and Land in Bougainville.' Transcription of Rorovana protest at http://abc.net.au/timetotalk/english/issues/text.htm . Hereinafter Radio Australia (a).

land ownership is matrilineal, not patrilineal. The women were fighting to protect what was traditionally their land. The Administration, the government and the mining company were dealing with the wrong people - the men. As Ursula Rakova told Radio Australia many years later:

"In Bougainville land is passed on from mother to daughter... the customary boundaries are well managed by women...rather than men...My brothers will not know the boundaries of the land. I will know that because my mother will tell me, my brothers will marry and go help their wives. I...will look after the land." 374

By dealing only with the men, the Administration was weakening the traditional social structure and creating great problems for the future.<sup>375</sup> It is worth asking why the Administration dealt with the men and not the women. There was anthropological evidence dating back to the 1930s that the Bougainvilleans were matrilineal, information which must surely have been available to the Administration from experts at UPNG or the Australian School of Pacific Administration.<sup>376</sup> Perhaps the answer lay in the nature of the Australian society from which the Administrators came. Australian society in the late 1960s was extremely paternalistic, if not chauvinistic. It may have been impossible for the Administrators to imagine the PNG community as anything but a universally patrilineal society.

In her study of matriliny among the Nasioi's neighbours, the Nagovisi, the American academic Jill Nash suggests that Westerners have preferred patrilineal societies, seeing them as "an obvious advance." She argues that modernisation in the form of cash cropping and the replacement of traditional forms of service by waged labour adds great strains to matrilineal societies. Nash claims that the matrilineal nature of other societies, such as the Tolai, was well known. The failure of the Administration to acknowledge the matrilineal nature of Nasioi society and to deal with the women was inexcusable.

Woolford said he did not know the people were matrilineal until he asked why it was women rather than men wrestling out the survey marker.<sup>379</sup> He said he doubted whether any of the journalists covering the story had any great knowledge of Bougainville, with the possible exception of Smales, It was no wonder that the journalists found it difficult to get a completely accurate view of what was happening.

"I doubt if there was one coherent and accurate view of what the local people thought. If there was, I certainly didn't find it. I found it difficult to talk to local people at anything beyond the most superficial level, partly because of the inadequacies of my Pidgin, but also because of their reluctance and suspicion, who knows what. There were also, of course, big differences in attitude within the island as a whole." 380

Meanwhile, in Port Moresby, Paul Lapun was considering a High Court injunction to

<sup>374</sup> Radio Australia, *Time To Talk*, programme two, 'Women and Land in Bougainville,' at http://abc.net.au/timetotalk/english/issues\_two.htm. Hereinafter Radio Australia (b).

<sup>375</sup> JSCFA 1999 (b).

<sup>376</sup> Havini, T., 'Bougainville's totems autonomous: Naboin, Nakas, Nakaripa, Natasi,' at http://www.avicam.com/muse/havini. php. The veteran ABC journalist Sean Dorney makes the point in his series *Paradise Imperfect* that during the Bougainville civil war in the 1990s, the PNG government made exactly the same mistake. *Paradise Imperfect*, ABC TV, 2000. However, Dorney also said that it was unlikely that details of ownership were secret and that "the men from the area know very well exactly which portions of land are owned by their others/wives/sisters." Dorney, S., personal communication, July 2008.

Nash, J., 'Matriliny and Modernisation: The Nagovisi of South Bougainville,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No. 5, 1974.

<sup>379</sup> Woolford, D., personal communication, January 2006.

<sup>380</sup> ibid.

stop the land takeover and other Bougainvilleans were planning their own legal actions.<sup>381</sup> At this point another player entered the picture. He was Barry Middlemiss, manager of McKillop's Arawa plantation, who had appointed himself as an advisor to the local people. The plantation was under threat of resumption and he eventually gained the backing of the New Guinea Planters' Association. Middlemiss, the only expatriate among those watching the struggle over the marker pegs the previous Friday, claimed the demonstration had gone "exactly as planned."<sup>382</sup> Paul Lapun and fellow MHA Donatus Mola presented Hay with a nine point petition on July 31, but the Administrator rejected their demands for further negotiations. Lapun and Mola's petition contains some sadly prescient words:

"The trouble itself, and the means by which a solution is attempted, have obvious political implications for the future not only of Bougainville District, but...for the whole of... Papua New Guinea. We feel that this trouble will not be solved merely by the completion of some satisfactory sale arrangements of individual pieces of land with individual landowners...The trouble can only be solved and the success of the mine...assured, when the majority of the people in the Bougainville District can recognise that the project is good for Bougainville because it provides for the District genuine economic and social benefits which are adequate, fair and just." 383

Lapun was by now deputy parliamentary leader of the Pangu Pati. Meanwhile, Leo Hannett, who had been prominent in the opposition to the proposed mine for some time, told a Sydney radio station that the Administration was acting as an "accomplice" to CRA. 384 CRA chief Sir Maurice Mawby dismissed claims that Bougainvilleans might rebel over the mine as 'ludicrous,' but his comments, under the headline 'Hannett claim ludicrous says CRA chief' ran on the same page as a story reporting that police had used tear gas and batons to remove 65 Rorovana people who tried to stop bulldozers working. After a barrage of tear gas shells, police hit the villagers about the legs with their batons to make them move. One man was slightly injured when he fell over and grazed his skin on a rock. 385 The *Post-Courier* reporter was again joined by Woolford and Smales. Ashton was quoted as saying that police, Administration officials and bulldozer operators had been warned to look out for a possible human sacrifice at Rorovana. Ashton saw:

"...a child of about five or six in the arms of a woman. I consider this an ominous sign and fear that an attempt may be made to throw the child into the path of a bulldozer." 386

The *Post-Courier* buried the quotation about the child at the bottom of the story. It was an act of restraint on the part of the paper, which could have made great play of the incident. However, perhaps stung by the over-reaction in the Australian media to the incident with the bare breasted women, it chose to tone down the story. It was a sensible move, especially given the way in which the metropolitan media was tempted to make much of matters it did not understand. Doubtless Ashton understood that talk of a human sacrifice was largely wild talk brought on in the heat of the moment, but he had to be ready to respond in case it was true.

The coverage of the incident in the Australian press was hostile, with the Sydney Sun running

<sup>381</sup> *Post-Courier*, August 1, 1969. When local people sought to mount a challenge to the legal validity of the PNG Mining Ordnance in late 1968, Barnes threatened to withdraw funds for the Territory's Public Solicitor, Peter Lalor, who would have been called on to represent the locals. This led to an angry exchange of telegrams with the Administrator, David Hay, who resented what he regarded as unwarranted interference by the Minister. Doran, S., 'Wanting and Knowing Best: Motive and Method in Australia's Governance of PNG, 1966-69,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, XL:3, December 2005.

<sup>382</sup> Post-Courier, August 4, 1969.

<sup>383</sup> Post-Courier, August 4, 1969.

<sup>384</sup> Post-Courier, August 5, 1969.

<sup>385</sup> Post-Courier, August 6, 1969.

<sup>386</sup> Post-Courier, August 6, 1969.

its coverage under the heading 'Australia's Shame.' The Australian wrote:

"The use of tear gas and clubs this week to enforce alien land laws on the uncomprehending people was a damning indictment of the administration of Papua New Guinea, which is to say of Canberra." 387

The story gained international coverage, with newspapers running pictures of Rorovana women confronting police and CRA workers.<sup>388</sup> The Administration in Port Moresby was now under pressure from Canberra and the Secretary of the Department of the Administrator, Tom Ellis, flew to Bougainville to consult with Holloway about police movements. As soon as the clash was over the CRA bulldozers worked without interruption. Ashton, who regarded his duty as distasteful, said his main concern now was to count trees so the villagers could be compensated properly.<sup>389</sup>

On the same day the *Post-Courier* carried a letter from an S.M.Na'ru, who identified himself as a Bougainvillean, saying that CRA should be allowed to develop the mine for the good of the island and PNG as a whole:

"There is no alternative for us...to oppose...copper mining will mean economic suicide for our people in Bougainville and the Territory as a whole. We might say that land is more important than money. Today we are leaping from the Stone Age into the Atomic Age. To attain equal status with the rest of the developed and developing nations...we have to discard some of the old customs which will hinder us from advancing towards our common goal."

Opposition to the mine intensified and took on new guises which forced work to stop completely. Villagers from 72 settlements in the Kieta sub-district formed the Napidakoe Navitu Association to co-ordinate opposition to the mine, with 1500 people reportedly attending the association's first meeting.<sup>391</sup> They adopted a tactic favoured by activists all over the world in the 1960s and began daily sit-ins. The Administration and CRA were forced to suspend work. A spokesman for the villagers, Willie Bele, said those occupying the land included people from the surrounding hills. "All the bush men are here," he said.<sup>392</sup> Paul Lapun returned to the area, saying that he had the support of the Buka and Hahalis people in the fight.

A Bougainvillean councillor, Teori Tau, took out a writ against the Administration seeking to establish that the Territory's mining ordinances were invalid.<sup>393</sup> The concerted and widespread opposition to the mine led the Administration and CRA to negotiate a two day truce. At the same time it was announced that 45 more police would be flown to the island. In Canberra, the Minister for External Territories, Barnes said: "a handful of Bougainville people could not be allowed to delay a project on which the future of two million people...depended."<sup>394</sup> Barnes then flew to Port Moresby where he was picketed by university students. Barnes' visit to PNG was a sign of how seriously the issue was taken in Canberra, where the opposition Labor Party had called for a Senate inquiry into the handling of the situation.<sup>395</sup>

The Rorovana people were allowed to speak for themselves in a full page interview with

<sup>387</sup> Havini, M and Havini, R., 'Bougainville - The long struggle for freedom.'

<sup>388</sup> McIntosh, A., 'The Bougainville Crisis: A South Pacific Crofters' War,' in Radical Scotland, No. 44, May 1990.

<sup>389</sup> Post-Courier, August 7, 1969; Downs, The Australian Trusteeship..., p357.

<sup>390</sup> Post-Courier, August 7, 1969.

<sup>391</sup> JSCFA 1999 (b).

<sup>392</sup> Post-Courier, August 12, 1969.

<sup>393</sup> Post-Courier, August 12, 1969.

<sup>394</sup> Post-Courier, August 13, 1969.

<sup>395</sup> Post-Courier, August 14, 1969.

journalist James Hall, who interviewed Bele. The interview is eloquent in its depiction of a frustrated, fearful and suspicious people. When Bele was asked who owned the land, he said he didn't know.<sup>396</sup> Illustration 5.1 The Post-Courier, August 27, 1969. With a land dispute on Bougainville and trouble simmering on the Gazelle, the Administration bans a film on the grounds that it might be racially insensitive.

In Sydney, Arawa plantation's owner, Kip McKillop, and his legal advisers were beginning a long legal battle with the Australian Government for compensation for his land. McKillop sought millions of dollars in compensation. At this stage the Administration was offering Rorovana villagers Aus\$105 an acre plus Aus\$2 for every coconut or cocoa tree.<sup>397</sup> Rumours were rife in PNG that the Government was offering Aus\$900 an acre for the plantation land.<sup>398</sup> McKillop was quoted as saying that he was having difficulty obtaining labour to run the plantation. Workers whose contracts had expired had left; workers from Rabaul would not come because of the dispute and when some did come, most left to work for CRA.<sup>399</sup>

Attention was diverted from the troubles on Bougainville by the start of the South Pacific Games in Port Moresby, but even as runner Philip John was winning medals for PNG (he won gold in the 5000 metres as well as silver in the 10,000 metres), 74 extra police were being flown into Kieta. Meanwhile, in Australia, Brisbane police arrested 16 students at a demonstration outside the State Treasury building and 10 others at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Students' Movement. 400 Barnes made a major speech to the House of Representatives defending the mine, saying it would provide jobs, training, development and indirect taxes. "The Territory gets more out of the copper project than the company does," he claimed.

On Bougainville the Napidakoe Navitu Association declared that from now on it would handle all land negotiations and said the Administration would no longer be able to deal with individual owners. 401 However, Bougainvilleans were not as united as it seemed at first glance. At the same time as Paul Lapun and Rorovana leader Raphael Bele flew to Sydney to seek legal advice about seeking a High Court injunction to prevent further land acquisition, the Buka Council gave qualified support to the Administration and the acquisition of land. The council said it was pro-government and pro-Australian and disassociated itself from the Napidakoe Navitu. 402

The seriousness with which the Australian Government viewed the situation on Bougainville was revealed when Prime Minister John Gorton agreed to meet with Lapun and Bele and said the government was prepared to re-negotiate the sale of disputed Rorovana land. In Australia the Liberal Government was under pressure from the media, from the Labor opposition and CRA. Now the Bougainvilleans had progressed from scuffles and sit-ins to mounting legal challenges and the Napidakoe Navitu called for independence for Bougainville. 404

The government and CRA sought to solve the problem by massively increasing the amount of compensation being offered for the Rorovana land. This now entailed rent of Aus\$7000 a year for the land, Aus\$30,000 compensation for damage to the lands and Aus\$7000

<sup>396</sup> Dorney said it was unlikely that details of ownership were secret and that "the men from the area know very well exactly which portions of land are owned by their others/wives/sisters." Dorney, S., personal communication, July 2008.

<sup>397</sup> Post-Courier, August 14, 1969.

<sup>398</sup> Post-Courier, August 13, 1969.

<sup>399</sup> Post-Courier, August 14, 1969.

<sup>400</sup> Post-Courier. August 15. 1969.

<sup>401</sup> *Post-Courier*. August 15, 1969.

<sup>402</sup> Post-Courier, August 18, 1969.

<sup>403</sup> *Post-Courier*, August 22, 1969.

<sup>404</sup> Post-Courier, September 3, 1969.

worth of shares in Bougainville Mining Ltd. The *Post-Courier* estimated that the package worked out at Aus\$1000 an acre, far more than the Aus\$600 an acre being touted as a price for the Arawa plantation land. Even then, not everybody was satisfied. Pangu Pati secretary Albert Maori Kiki, touring Australia as a guest of several unions, said the PNG Administration was "creating a big mess which the Territory's citizens will have to clean up." Barnes reacted furiously to the comments, claiming that one of the sponsoring unions was "communist dominated." 407

Negotiations with the Rorovana people continued, even as CRA resumed work. Napidakoe Navitu sent representatives to Port Moresby to deal with the Director of Agriculture. Paul Lapun said the high price put on the Rorovana land had not been what decided the people to lease the land to CRA, but the Administration's promise not to try to resume any more land without talking to the people first. 408

As 1969 began to wind down, the Bougainville story became less immediately important. The Australian elections were underway and the government's handling of the various crises in PNG was now a serious political issue for Labor. After narrowly losing the 1969 federal election, Whitlam cynically and brilliantly exploited the situation in PNG, using it as a stick with which to beat the re-installed coalition government, which only had a seven seat majority in the House of Representatives. The coalition would still not say when self-government or independence would come. Barnes claimed that PNG would be ready for self-government within a decade, when it had developed a sound economic basis, part of which would come from the Aus\$300 million it was estimated would be invested in Bougainville.<sup>409</sup> As we saw in chapter four, Whitlam ended the year with a declaration that as soon as Labor was elected, PNG would have home rule, possibly as soon as 1972.<sup>410</sup> Curiously, for all his deeply professed interest in PNG, Whitlam had made absolutely no mention of the Territory in his 1969 election policy speech at Sydney Town Hall.<sup>411</sup>

If 1969 was the last year in which Australia's politicians would not seek to make capital from her Trusteeship, it was also the last year in which an Australian minister could afford to be as dangerously out of touch with the situation in PNG as Barnes was. Barnes' estimate of the time needed to make PNG economically viable was probably slightly optimistic, but Australia did not have another decade to spare.

Within five years PNG was independent, the mine fully operational and Sir Julius Chan had re-negotiated a much more favourable royalty arrangement with CRA on behalf of the Somare government. In 1975 there would be a declaration of independence on Bougainville, the riot police would return and Somare would grant the island a large degree of self-government. The island would remain unsettled until Francis Ona and his supporters attacked the mine in 1989 and the island began its slide into the bloodshed and chaos of civil war.

In 1969, however, the events on Bougainville seemed trivial compared with what was happening on the Gazelle, where the Administration would face repeated clashes with the Tolai and the Australian government came close to sending in the Australian army to restore order. That the Panguna mine would open and pour millions of dollars into PNG's coffers seemed more certain than that peace could be brought to the Gazelle. Perhaps the fact that Whitlam and Gorton flew to Rabaul to meet the Tolai leaders, rather than bringing them to Australia, as had been done with the Bougainvilleans, made the events in New Britain seem more important. The Bougainvilleans had, in the end, apparently been

<sup>405</sup> Post-Courier, September 11, 1969.

<sup>406</sup> Post-Courier, September 15, 1969.

<sup>407</sup> Post-Courier, September 24, 1969.

<sup>408</sup> Post-Courier. September 30, 1969.

<sup>409</sup> Post-Courier, October 10, 1969.

<sup>410</sup> Post-Courier, December 30, 1969.

<sup>411</sup> Whitlam, G., 'Decolonisation of Papua New Guinea,' Keynote address, University House, Canberra, November 3, 2002; Whitlam, G., 'Into the Seventies with Labor,' 1969 Election policy speech, Sydney Town Hall, October 1, 1969; Ewins, R., 'The Papua New Guinea Constitution: Australia's Role in its Development, 1960-75.' Honours thesis, ANU, 1990.

bought off with a better compensation package. The Mataungans had demanded political recognition and had forced the Australian Prime Minister to come to them. If the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition were at the centre of the story, then it must be more important than a few angry village women and dispossessed expatriate plantation owners.

In the long run, however, the power of the Mataungans never stretched beyond the Gazelle. The clashes in and around Rabaul could have led to death and destruction on a large scale, but they did not. They looked frightening to the Australian Administration simply because there had never previously been such sophisticated, well organised mass resistance to Australian rule. In leaders like John Kaputin, the Tolai had spokesmen who, in terms of sheer grit, were matched only by Gough Whitlam at his most fulsome.

But it was in Bougainville, around the mine and the new port and in the hills where the Nasioi watched their lives changing irrevocably, that the real danger lay. Just as the Mataungan Association, which grew out of the wartime kivungs shouldered aside by traditional Tolai leadership, so on Bougainville it was the children of the original landowners who would become violently disaffected.

If the events on Bougainville proved, in hindsight, to be more significant than those on the Gazelle, the *Post-Courier's* reports on them share a common theme. The *Post-Courier* presented the mine as a symbol of progress and economic stability, an icon of national development. In both its reporting on the Gazelle and Bougainville the paper placed the national above the local interest. The use of such icons and the promotion of national identity have been identified elsewhere in this book as key elements of development journalism. It may seem peculiar that an Australian-owned commercial newspaper read almost entirely by expatriates should show such traits, but the *Post-Courier* saw itself as a national newspaper and the evidence shows that it was committed to what it saw as the good of the Territory.

If the Panguna mine and local government councils were the symbols of progress and national unity favoured by the Administration, the Australian government and the *Post-Courier*, there was another, arguably greater force at work uniting the disparate people of the Territory.

If there was one sign of hope for a united future for the Territory it was the fact that on Bougainville the redskins and the ars bilong sospan could talk to each other in Tok Pisin. Uncodified, unlexified, unloved and generally regarded by all but a small band of enthusiastic expatriates as the unwanted bastard child of English, Tok Pisin was the one thing that might bring all the people of PNG together before independence. For as we shall see in the next chapter, Tok Pisin was rapidly turning into something more than a lingua franca, perhaps even a language of national identity.



**Illustration 5.1** The *Post-Courier*, August 27, 1969. With a land dispute on Bougainville and trouble simmering on the Gazelle, the Administration bans a film on the grounds that it might be racially insensitive.



**Illustration 5.2** The *Post-Courier*, August 4, 1969. The bare-breasted protestors, of whom the Australian press made so much.



**Illustration 5.3** The *Post-Courier*, August 6, 1969. Police and landowners clash again, but this time the report is a day late and the paper has had time to process pictures.

### Chapter 6

# Wanpela tok, wanpela nesen: Tok Pisin, the press and national consciousness in PNG

Any discussion of the emergence of *Wantok* must first examine the development and spread of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, for without the emergence of a Tok Pisin-literate audience there would have been no *Wantok*. The emergence of that audience was, in turn, dependent on Tok Pisin's gradual acquisition of status as a lotu language after the Second World War and the failure of the Australian Administration's attempt to make English the Territory's lingua franca.

It is necessary also to recognise that Tok Pisin was the lingua franca of New Guinea and that in Papua before the Second World War, there were competing lingue franche. The Administration in Port Moresby promoted the use of Motu as a lingua franca and Mulhausler has identified a separate lingua franca, Papuan Pidgin English, as having developed and spread in the years before the Second World War.<sup>412</sup>

Even though these lingue franche had been adopted as a necessity by plantation workers and as a means of communication between missionaries, government officials and the local people in many areas, they were not accorded any official status or regarded with any affection even by those who used them. One academic observer declared in 1936:

"...at present the means of communication (in Papua New Guinea) are pidgin Motu, pidgin English, telepathy and swearing." 413

The use of Tok Pisin was accelerated in New Guinea during the Second World War when it was often the only means of communication between people from different language groups recruited by the Australian army as carriers. Conversely, Mulhausler argues that it was precisely the promotion by ANGAU of Motu as a lingua franca among carriers recruited in Papua and the use of Tok Ples by missionaries that led to the demise of Papuan Pidgin English and its supersession for official purposes after the war by Motu. In Papua, Motu had been adopted by the Administration as the language of the Papuan Constabulary, for which it was standardised as Police Motu. It was used as a contact language and for administration and in many areas Tok Pisin was either unknown or, if understood, not widely used. Indeed, despite the growth of Tok Pisin, there is evidence that Motu remains the preferred language of domestic use in some parts of Papua. 415

<sup>412</sup> Mulhaulser, P., Linguistic Ecology: Linguistic Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region, Routledge, London, 1996, pp129-132; Mulhausler, P., 'The changing Status of Melanesian Pidgin English,' in Ammon, U. and Hellinger, M., (eds) Status Change of Language, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1992, p262.

<sup>413</sup> Reed, S., *The Making of Modern New Guinea*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1943, p269.

<sup>414</sup> Mulhaulser, P., Linguistic Ecology, pp133, 136; Mulhausler, P., 'The changing Status of Melanesian Pidgin English,' p262.

<sup>415</sup> Mase reports that in a survey of Port Moresby residents, nearly two thirds used only Motu at home. Mase, M., 'Development, life-modes and language in Papua New Guinea,' in *Development Bulletin* No. 50, October 1999. See also Dutton, T.E and Voorhoeven, C.L., *Beginning Hiri Motu*, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra, 1974.

In Milne Bay, at the eastern tip of Papua, a dialect of English known as Milne Bay English is still spoken. Mulhausler has identified this as a descendant of Papuan Pidgin English, although others have argued that Milne Bay English encompasses a range of dialects of varying closeness to standard English.<sup>416</sup>

It is the Australian Administration and the missions' response after 1945 to the existence of so many Tok Ples and lingue franche that form the core of this chapter. Each response contributed to a pattern of events in which Tok Pisin became the dominant lingua franca, despite the Administration's efforts to make English the official language.

The policy of trying to make English the official language actually contributed to the spread of Tok Pisin through the closure of mission Tok Ples schools and the gradual acceptance of Tok Pisin as an official lotu language.

British, German and Australian administrations had all tried to suppress Tok Pisin, but the lingua franca of the grassruts grew like taro, wherever it was planted. While its initial spread was probably largely due to the fact that it was so linguistically unstable, once it was given rules and a grammar and a fixed orthography it became not just a lingua franca for plantation labourers, but a medium of expression for writers, journalists, politicians and for grassruts who had never before had an outlet for their views in print.

For this chapter I have used contemporary sources where relevant and a variety of publications ranging from the *Papua and New Guinea Villager* to the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *Pacific Islands Monthly.* My colleague Patrick Matbob from Divine Word University in Madang contributed some sobering comments on the relative popularity of Tok Pisin and English as sources of information for his generation in the early 1970s. Ray and Fran Goodey, who played a major role in *Wantok's* early days, have contributed their recollections and former editor Anna Solomon has written about being in the school choir that sang at the paper's launch.

In the second half of the chapter I have been able to draw on interviews with *Wantok's* founder, Fr Francis Mihalic and the paper's godfather, Bishop Leo Arkfeld, conducted in 1992 during a visit to the East Sepik. I also interviewed surviving members of staff from the early days at Wirui Press, where they were still working. I am also fortunate to have had access to the Divine Word missionaries' archives in Mt Hagen in the same period. When *Wantok* reached its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1990, the Communications Institute in Goroka videotaped a number of interviews with Mihalic and his successor Fr Jim Franks. Some of this material was used in two short films, *Stori Bilong Wantok* and *Fr Jim Franks Talks About Word Publishing*, which were supplied to me by the Institute's director, Sr Mary Hudson, who also gave me the unedited 40 minute videotape of Mihalic's interview. I have also used two manuscripts which Mihalic gave to me when I interviewed him on Kairiru Island in 1992. Since I use them more extensively in chapter seven, I discuss their value at the beginning of that chapter.

Questions of the role of Tok Pisin in creating a national identity underlie much of this chapter and the next. As we have seen in the introduction to this book, Mulhaulser argues that a pidgin such as Tok Pisin increases in status through its usage. As it is used for a greater range of purposes – economic, administrative, etc. – the usefulness of Tok Pisin is transformed into importance. Eventually the use of the language itself becomes part of what Mulhausler calls the social-psychological domain, and it can be inferred that it becomes a factor in the speaker's self identity. I argue in this chapter that Tok Pisin became a status language largely, but not exclusively, by becoming a Tok Lotu. Once Tok Pisin was codified,

<sup>416</sup> Mulhaulser, P., Linguistic Ecology, p132.

<sup>417</sup> The Divine Word missionaries' formal title is the Societas Verbo Divini and it seems easier to refer to them as SVDs for the rest of this thesis, even though I acknowledge that they are not very fond of the acronym themselves.

<sup>418</sup> Hellinger, M., 'Function and status change of Pidgin and Creole Languages,' ..., p279.

formalised and sufficiently bound by rules to be used to produce the *Nupela Testamen*, then it could no longer be dismissed as broken English or unintelligible gibberish. Being able to speak Tok Pisin also meant that villagers could seek paid employment, leave their villages, and be exposed to the wider world. Tok Pisin gained status as a language that helped people to understand the lotu and also to enter the cash economy. Throughout this chapter and chapter seven I hope to show that Tok Pisin also became a national language of identification in the period preceding independence. This is to say that it became, especially through *Wantok*, the language of the grassruts, of the ordinary people, and that it was identified as the language of PNG in a way that English was not.

However, we also need to consider whether Tok Pisin's status has remained static. That Tok Pisin is the most widely used lingua franche is not in dispute, but the persistence of Motu has ensured that it remains a sign of identity in Papua; and the retention of English as a language of instruction, media, and government has ensured its continued position as a status language. Patrick Matbob of the Divine Word University in Madang comments:

"There is...an issue that has always bothered me and, I guess, other Papua New Guineans who are literate. In PNG, to be literate often means we are able to understand and use the English language. For us that means progress, it opens up the world to us. We see Tok Pisin as a language restricted to PNG and Tok Ples as further restricted to our tribes and villages. So those of us who know English are always forward looking, we are more likely to buy and read publications in English, rather than Tok Pisin. We are likely to buy and read Tok Pisin publications only if there is information there that is not available in English."

The fragmentation of Tok Pisin in the decades since independence may indicate that its continued use as a language of national identification is problematic. Just as people may be known by different names in the village, work or school, so they may simultaneously carry different linguistic identities and switch from one to another at will. In this sense, the role of Tok Pisin as a national identifier may be extremely complex. Mase's report on the continued use of Motu suggests that one of the reasons for its persistence is because its users regard it as a sign of their own identity. While I would argue that Tok Pisin is a language of identity, it operates as such within a complex and shifting pattern in which people may switch identities with relative ease.

People of an independent nation share a number of characteristics. Among them are a sense of national identity, usually a common language and a common set of national goals that may be felt in an inchoate, personal manner, or be formally expressed on their behalf by the media or government. If such characteristics do not exist before independence, then they must at least be recognised as, if not pre-requisites for independence, goals to be achieved as soon as possible after independence. However, historians and political scientists differ in their views of the relative importance of language in the different stages of the creation of nationalism, a national consciousness, and the creation of nation state. Language was clearly a major factor in the creation of national identity in the various European nation states in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, but even so, Safran quotes Buck as claiming that language alone was "neither sufficient nor absolutely necessary for state building." Safran quotes Kohn as saying that:

"Nationalities come into existence only when certain objective bonds delimit a social group. A nationality generally has several potential unifying elements; very few have all of them. The most usual of them are common descent, language, territory, political entity, customs and traditions and religions [but] none of them is essential to the existence or definition of nationality."

<sup>419</sup> Matbob, P., personal communication, March 3, 2007.

<sup>420</sup> Mase, M., 'Development, life-modes and language in Papua New Guinea,' in Development Bulletin No. 50, October 1999.

<sup>421</sup> Safran, W., 'Nationalism' in Fishman, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, Oxford University Press, 1999. Indeed, Belgium contains Dutch and French speakers and Swiss citizens may speak French, Italian, German, Italian or Swiss.

422 ibid.

Safran then goes on to argue that:

"If language were the sufficient ingredient of nationalism (defined as a politically mobilising and state-seeking ideology) there would be several thousand sovereign states rather than the existing two hundred."  $^{423}$ 

All of which sounds remarkably pertinent to Papua New Guinea, with its hundreds of languages and dialects. It may be argued, then, that the creation of a legitimised, formalised version of Tok Pisin, coupled with its new position as a status language through its adoption as a Tok Lotu, was an important factor in the spread of new ideas and the development of a political and national consciousness among Papua New Guineans.

Language policies have been important to the development of former colonies and territories, and the experiences of other formerly German colonies provide interesting comparisons with PNG. In German East Africa, the Administration promoted Swahili as a lingua franca to compensate for the multiplicity of languages. Swahili was a trade language, partially based on Arabic, and was spread throughout the Omani trading empire from the Horn of Africa to Zanzibar. Its use allowed the Germans to communicate easily within Tanganyika. When the British took over the German colonies they suppressed Swahili, refused to learn the local languages, and imposed English. In German South West Africa, the Germans followed a different policy and imposed German as a lingua franca. When the territory was occupied by South Africa after the First World War, Afrikaans and English were introduced, but German continued to be spoken and remains as a lingua franca in what is now Namibia. 424 This is possibly because the South African government allowed many Germans to stay and did not expel them as the British did in East Africa and the Australians did in New Guinea. In the post-colonial period, Julius Nyerere, the President of what had become Tanzania, actively pushed for Kiswahili to be accepted as the national language and be used as the medium of instruction. 425 This can be seen as part of a wider attempt - whether conscious or unconscious - of fostering national unity through a national language. While Tanzania has remained a coherent state, Kiswahili has not become as universal as Nyerere might have hoped. English is still seen as an elite language and retains a higher status than Kiswahili, even though, as Arthur points out, it is taught and used imperfectly by teachers and pupils alike. 426 The wide spread of Swahili has not been without its problems either. Wardhaugh says that as it spread inland it became used for fewer and fewer of what Mulhausler calls domains - that is, personal, social, economic or other areas of activity – and so has become increasingly simplified. This has led to a situation where the Swahili of rural Zaire is virtually unintelligible to Swahili speakers on the east African coast.427

Australian policy on education and language in post-war Papua New Guinea was heavily influenced by the United Nations and marked a departure from previous policies which had been based on the notion of mass education for practical purposes rather than the creation of an elite. When the UN Trusteeship Council reported on its visit to New Guinea in 1953 it urged the Australian government, among its other criticisms and recommendations, to eliminate Tok Pisin and make English the national lingua franca. Australia's Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, declared that this was "just as foolish as suggesting that all

<sup>423</sup> ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Quird, R., review of A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles in The Observer, September 8, 1996.

<sup>425</sup> Arthur, J., 'Perspectives on educational language policy and its implementation in African classrooms: A comparative study of Botswana and Tanzania,' in *Compare*, XXXI: 3, 2001.

<sup>426</sup> ihid

<sup>427</sup> Wardhaugh, R., An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Blackwell, London, 2002, p54.

Europeans speak nothing but Russian next week." The *Sydney Morning Herald* supported Hasluck:

"If 50 years ago the Germans found it impossible to defeat the spread of Pidgin . . . the problem now facing Australia is insuperable. The simple fact, of course, is that . . . Pidgin English has become a language in its own right, and no matter how many pious sentiments are expressed in the U.N. or elsewhere, its use and continued spread cannot be curbed." 429

Not all of the *Herald's* writers thought the UN was wrong. One correspondent, Sidney J.Baker, was quoted at length by the Administration-published *Rabaul News* which declared: "Mr Baker i raitim dispela toktok bekim tok bilong United Nations Mission – long rausim tok pidsin." (Mr Baker wrote to support the UN's recommendation to do away with Tok Pisin)<sup>430</sup> Mr Baker was then quoted as saying:

"...oli bin gat despela ting-ting palanti taim bipo. Long taim ol German ol i holim New Guinea - oli i bin taraim rausim tok pidsin. Baron von Hesse-Wartogg i tok - baimbai bigpela sem i sanap oltem long ae bilong world sapos Germany ino rausm tok pidsin." (Many people had the same idea long ago. When the Germans occupied New Guinea they tried to get rid of Tok Pisin. Baron von Hesse-Wartog said it would be a shame in the eyes of the world if the Germans did not get rid of Tok Pisin.)<sup>431</sup>

On the other side of the Pacific, *Time* magazine had great fun with the story, scattering Tok Pisin quotations of dubious authenticity through the piece and concluding that "ol man bilong Nugini will go right on making toktok as they please." However amusing all this was to *Time* magazine (and they would have equal fun with the story of the Tok Pisin version of the Phantom two decades later), the story underlined a serious problem.

The Administration and the various missions had adopted a variety of language policies over the years, with Tok Pisin, Police Motu and Tok Ples being used in different places and at different times for lotu and government business. Some missions adopted one or more Tok Ples as lotu languages: The Methodists and Sacred Heart missions on the Gazelle adopted Kuanua and the Lutherans around Sattelberg and Alexishafen adopted Kate, Graged and Jabem as languages of evangelisation. The SVDs eventually adopted Tok Pisin. Even those missions which used a Tok Ples as a lotu language might use Tok Pisin for day-to-day communication The adoption of so many languages was a sign of the complexity of the language picture in the Territory, one which had not abated as the country passed from German to Australian to Japanese and back to Australian rule.

Quite apart from the use of Tok Ples and Tok Pisin for verbal communication was the question of turning them into written languages. Even when more than one mission used the same Tok Ples, as the MSCs and Methodists did with Kuanua, they might use a slightly different orthography. The spelling and usage of Tok Pisin words seemed to be entirely at the whim of whoever was doing the writing.

Material produced by ANGAU to communicate with villagers during the allied advance at the end of the war demonstrates the problem. As the fighting drew to a close the Allied air forces dropped leaflets over the bush, alerting the local people to developments. One leaflet, printed in Tok Pisin on one side and with spot colour on the reverse, declared that in 'Wiwiak':

```
428 -, 'Insuperable Pidgin,' Time, August 10, 1953.
```

<sup>429</sup> ibid.

<sup>430</sup> Rabaul News, September 19, 1953.

<sup>431</sup> ibid. Baker helpfully pointed out that Tok Pisin used a number of German-derived words, including *rausim*. It is likely that this was the author of 'The Literature of Pidgin English,' in *American Speech*, XIX:4, 1944.

<sup>432 -, &#</sup>x27;Insuperable Pidgin,' Time, August 10, 1953.

<sup>433</sup> The Sacred Heart missions' proper title is the Missionaires de Sacre Coeur, so I have referred to them elsewhere as MSCs.

<sup>434</sup> For a discussion of the origins of Tok Pisin, see Appendix 1.

"Soldia bilog yumi i winim pinis Japan long hap nabus klostu. Ol i antap long mauntan nau long bihainim Japan i ronwei long bus. Planti Japan i dai pinis."<sup>435</sup>

This, declared the pamphlet, was 'Tok bilog guvman.'436 The question is whether it was quite Tok Pisin. The language is recognisably Tok Pisin, but many of the spellings do not reflect modern usage. The spelling of Tok Pisin varied from district to district and from mission to mission. It also seemed to depend on how it was heard, so that while a government publication issued in Rabaul might accurately reflect the way the language was heard there (and this is not to say this is the way it was actually spoken), a government document issued in Tok Pisin in Wewak might be slightly or even sharply different in spelling and usage. Administrators might be expected to learn Tok Pisin, but they were not trained linguists.

Under the UN's recommendations, English was to become the language of the new indigenous educated elite and would thus have a status that Tok Pisin did not. As we shall see, however, Tok Pisin gained an entirely different kind of status when it was accorded the status of a lotu language and this was due largely to the impact of the new education policies on the mission schools which had hitherto dominated education in the Territory. The Administration's decision to adopt English as the sole language for education in Territory schools was intended to hurry the development of an educated indigenous elite which would serve as the core leadership of an independent Papua New Guinea. The recommendation appears to have been based in part on the experience of the former British colonies in Africa which had begun to win independence in the 1950s, usually with the former colonial administrators being replaced by a small, university-trained, indigenous elite fluent in English. This was in contrast with earlier recommendations by Groves that education "must...serve the masses rather than the select few." The anthropologists Hogbin and Wedgwood summarised his views thus:

"The general aim should be to teach the natives to use to their advantage the things around them and to have an elementary understanding of the causal relations in nature in order that the spectres of food shortage, disease and sorcery may be removed. In the end the people ought to be decent, healthy, satisfied individuals in a socially adjusted, progressive and enlightened community with all the worthwhile features of the old culture preserved and new interests grafted on."438

The changes in education policy should be seen in the context of earlier Australian decisions about its role in the Territory. Hasluck had already outlined the objectives of the Territory Administration as being, among others, to:

"...achieve mass literacy, that is to say, to attempt to teach all native children to read and write in a common language [...and...] when, in generations to come, they may be required to manage their own affairs to a greater degree, they may feel a common bond among themselves as people."

The significance of Hasluck's statement is that the idea of national identity, of creating a national consciousness among the disparate people of the Territory, was already linked, however unconsciously, with literacy and education. There were those who saw anything but English as an impediment to the development of the Territory. In a paper delivered to the Australian Institute of Political Science Summer School in 1958, John Gunther, the Territory's Director Education, said:

<sup>435</sup> Gerry O'Connor collection.

<sup>436</sup> ibid

<sup>437</sup> Groves, W., 'Native Education and Culture Contact in New Guinea', cited in Hogbin, H. and Wedgwood, C., 'Native welfare in the Southwest Pacific Islands.'

<sup>438</sup> ibid.

<sup>439</sup> Souter, G., New Guinea: The Last Unknown, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974. P247.

"Teach them English, English and more English...I would condemn those who do not use English in every teaching technique. There is a crying need for mass education and those who persist in using Pidgin English or "police Motu" are thoughtless or are conceited in thinking they are bilingual – or there may be some wicked enough to wish to slow down the development of the people."

The implementation of new education policies along the lines recommended by the United Nations would involve massive spending. Australia spent little money on education in the Territory before the Second World War. The budget for education in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea before the Second World War was miniscule and spent mostly on educating Australian children. In 1923 the budget was £18,000 but by 1937 this had been slashed to £5000.

The effects of the Great Depression must be accounted as one factor in the reduction of funding, but Reed and Spate also cite the Australian government's willingness to let the missions shoulder the major responsibility for education. Reed further argues that improving the level of indigenous health was considered more important. He also argues that the authorities were willing to bow to pressure from what he calls "the definite hostility of Europeans towards the native being given any education at all," a claim that is not entirely justifiable. 442

In the pre-war years education had been almost exclusively the domain of the missions and the returning missions played an equally dominant role in the immediate post-war years. This meant that the UN's recommendations on language and education affected the Christian missions almost immediately. Many of the mission schools taught in Tok Ples and the government made it clear that these schools would not be recognised, nor their teachers accredited, if they did not abandon Tok Ples instruction and switch to English. As bait for this change, the schools were offered government subsidies. One of the side effects of this policy was to suppress those Tok Ples languages which had been used in education. These had not just been schoolroom languages, but more vitally, lotu languages. For the Highlander who had accepted a coastal tongue such as Graged or Kate from the Lutheran missionaries advancing into the valleys, this meant that all kinds of choices now had to be made. They would have to speak their own Tok Ples, the lotu language, learn English at school and then, if they wished to work for Europeans, they would probably have to converse in Tok Pisin as well.

The missions - some reluctantly - adopted English as the medium of education, but while this may have fitted their pupils for work outside the mission, it also meant that they were no longer being taught to read and write in their own languages. This meant that eventually those missions which had used a Tok Ples as a lotu language also had to abandon it for religious purposes as well. However, rather than adopting English, the missions in New Guinea eventually chose Tok Pisin as the new lotu language. This meant that Tok Pisin gained all the status of a lotu language. Combined with other factors, most notably the mobility of labour within the Territory, the Administration's language policy effectively created a communications vacuum which was filled not by English, but by Tok Pisin. Moreover, while the Administration adopted English as the language of education, it used

<sup>440</sup> Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, Cheshire/Australian Institute of International Affairs, Melbourne, 1973, p141.

<sup>441</sup> Hogbin H. and Wedgwood, C., 'Native welfare in the Southwest Pacific Islands.'

<sup>442</sup> See Reed, S., *The Making of Modern New Guinea*, pp188-189 and Spate, O.K.H., 'Education and its Problems,' in Fisk, E.L., (ed), *New Guinea on the Threshold*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1966, p118. Spending on education in the post-war years was far more impressive, with £305,500 being allocated in 1950. Ibid, p123.

Motu, Tok Pisin and English as languages of communication. So, while it moved to an English-based curriculum, it continued to produce government newsletters in each district in Tok Pisin, while continuing publication after the war of the *Papua and New Guinea Villager* in what was supposed to be simple English. The *Villager* was an official publication designed to carry news about the Administration's work to the grassruts, but one can hardly think that it was effective in doing so. The level of English required to read the *Villager* would, I suggest, have been beyond the level of all but a few villagers. Take, for instance, this passage from the Administrator, Colonel Murray's, Christmas message for 1951. It is full of multi-syllable words and complex sentences with long subjunctive clauses. I doubt if one villager in ten could read it:

"This year commenced with one of the saddest incidents in the history of the Territory. The Mount Lamington disaster, in which approximately 3,700 native people and many Europeans lost their lives, has been a cause of much grief. It was an appalling tragedy, but rehabilitation measures which followed, brought forth a great and invaluable effort on the part of the Anglican Mission, Government departments, the surviving native people themselves, with the financial support of the Australian Government and of all our people."

In any case, the local people were being given their local news in Tok Pisin publications produced by district administrations. This must surely have worked to undermine the drive to make English the lingua franca. On the one hand the Administration in Port Moresby was saying that people must be taught in English, while at the same time the Administration in each district was pursuing a course that made much vital information available in Tok Pisin or Motu. New officers arriving in the Territory were given an official guide to Tok Pisin neatly bound in a blue cover, but usage continued to vary from district to district. In 1956 a SVD linguist, Fr L. Luzbetak and the Department of Education's research officer for linguistics and literacy, T.A.Dietz, issued a revised orthography based on their own work and with the assistance of Dr R.A.Hall of Cornell University. The *Rabaul News* declared that from now on Tok Pisin would be called Neo-Melanesian and that the inclusion of a dictionary and grammar in the new book would also be useful for preparing its readers to use English.

"Longtem pinis nau, spelling or orthography long tok Pidgin i no wankain. Olsem Rabaul News i spellim sampela words naraken na sampela arapela niuspepa na man ol i spellim naraken tu, na em olsem i nogud. I moa nambawan sapos ologeta ol i spellim ologeta words wankain tasol.

Nau ol i mekim stretim pinis baimbai ologeta i ken spellim ol bai i start bihainim tu, na olsem yumi ologeta i ken lanim wantem i go. Tok Pidgin nau baimbai ol i kollim long Neo-Melanesian."

("For a long time the spelling or orthography of Tok Pisin has not been uniform. *Rabaul News* spells some words differently from other newspapers and other men spell things differently. This is not good. It would be better if everybody spelled words the same way. Now rules have been made to allow everybody to start spelling words the same way and we can learn the new rules as we go. Tok Pisin will now be called Neo-Melanesian.")<sup>444</sup>

Even while it tried to implement the UN's recommendations on imposing English as a lingua franca, the Administration appears to have accepted that Tok Pisin was a reality that could not be ignored. Thus the efforts to standardise Tok Pisin usage ran alongside the Administration's attempts to encourage the teaching and spread of English. Nobody seems

<sup>443</sup> Murray, Colonel J.K., 'The Administrator's Christmas Message,' in *Papua and New Guinea Villager*, II:11, December 1951. 444 *Rabaul News*, May 5, 1956.

to have understood that the two aims might be contradictory. The people most affected by the new policy were the school children who would be old enough to vote in the 1972 elections and potential readers of *Wantok*.<sup>445</sup>

One of the more significant aspects of the new education policy was the emphasis placed on the importance of national schools such as Sogeri, where the brightest pupils from all over the Territory were gathered. Bringing pupils of many languages and regional cultures together necessarily meant developing in them a sense of identity that might be quite distinct from anything fostered by lotu, Tok Ples or village. 446 The identity fostered by such education as there had been through the mission schools, had been with a particular mission or region. The new education policy threatened to loosen the hold of the missions over the faithful and undermine the missions' independence from Administration control. Some missions had for decades almost cut themselves off from government influence and, like the Lutherans, built what were virtually Kirchenstaat. Others, such as the MSCs at Vunapope and the SVDs at Alexishafen, built large administrative centres around extensive plantation and business holdings and kept the government more politely at bay. In Papua similar institutions were founded by the MSCs on Yule Island and by the Kwato Extension Mission in Milne Bay. 447 This policy of establishing large centres separate from the government was intended to provide a central point for mission activities and to make them less dependent on outside funding, but it also served to keep their converts away from government influence.448

Many mission personnel fought the changes wrought in the mission schools by the Administration's English language vigorously, not just from a pedagogical standpoint, but because they saw the move as damaging the relationships that were framed by the school, the local church and the community. 449 There is some evidence of attempts by missionaries both Protestant and Catholic - to thwart the desire of local people for government schools.<sup>450</sup> If there was to be any chance of uniting the disparate peoples under the Australian Administration, it appeared that it must be through the adoption of one language and English appeared to be the only logical choice. This meant the eventual closure of the mission Tok Ples schools through pressure on subsidies, new teaching standards and inspection regimes. The Administration refused to subsidise mission schools which did not have properly qualified staff and since these were generally the village schools where Tok Ples was used, it meant the end of these schools and the end of the missions' financial independence from the government. Les Johnson, who became Director of Education in PNG in the early 1960s, was opposed to the system of imposing a Tok Ples from one area on to another, precisely the method used by the Lutherans to evangelise with Graged, Kate and Jabem and, to a lesser extent, by the Catholic and Methodist missionaries who spread

<sup>445</sup> It was estimated that between 1969-70 there would be an average increase of 13% in the number of children completing primary school, making 17,900 students. Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects..., p148.

<sup>446</sup> Similar elite schools had been developed in Fiji, where such institutions as the King George V School in Suva were seen as places where the brightest children of the chiefly families could be prepared for university or other duties.

<sup>447</sup> Denoon, D., review of Wetherell, D., Charls Abel and the Kwato Mission of Papua New Guinea, 1891-1975, Melbourne University Press, 1996, in Oceania, March 1998; Australian Dictionary of Biography See also Abel, C., at, <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070006b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070006b.htm</a>. Abel's son, Cecil, popularly known as 'Cecilo,' was a respected politician and a strong supporter of the Pangu Pati in the House of Assembly.

<sup>448</sup> Douglas, L., 'From Christendom to Pluralism in the South Seas: Church-State relations in the 20th Century,' Ph.D. Thesis, Drew University, 1969, p62.

<sup>449</sup> Hage, H., 'Languages and Schools,' in Wagner and Reiner (eds.) *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The first Hundred Years*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1986, p417.

<sup>450</sup> Cass, L., 'PNG Changes in School Languages Postwar,' MS, 1999. Cass recalled several incidents involving clerics from both sides trying to halt the introduction of government schools. He said that, as District Inspector of Education for Bougainville, the Bishop threatened to shut down all mission facilities if government schools were established. He also claimed that in the Northern District (now Oro Province), both Catholic and Anglican missionaries tried to stop local people asking for government schools. In both districts Cass was under orders to establish government schools. To give some idea of what conditions were like; in the 1950s he led a line of carriers, escorted by armed police, on a ten day march into the Northern District to establish a school. The local missionaries told him a government school was not needed, but asked if he would leave behind the school supplies, including the blackboard his carriers had brought in. He demurred.

Kuanua to New Ireland. 451 If they wanted or needed government money for education they had to accept funding from the Administration on its terms. 452

In order to establish a universal language of instruction and rapidly create the national elite demanded by the UN, the maintenance of Tok Ples literate populations had to be sacrificed. This eliminated at a stroke the role of the mission as the chief identifier outside the clan and family system. Those who became fluent in English could find work with the Administration or Australian businesses, but even to travel outside the village meant coming into contact with people who spoke other languages. For the majority who did not become fluent in English, Tok Pisin provided a parallel language which allowed entry into the labour market. Because Tok Pisin was more widely spoken than English it was of more use to the majority of the population who could use it to enter the unskilled and semiskilled market.

The result was that people, who might have previously identified themselves through Tok Ples or Tok Lotu, could now identify themselves, however unconsciously, through Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin became a language with a much broader identifying role which overlay the function of Tok Ples at a village or clan level.

This change of status in Tok Pisin can be traced in part to the migrations of labourers and indigenous public servants. Labourers were usually recruited in one district and sent to work in another. Migrant workers also found that their spiritual needs were met by missions which, through necessity, had to run services and preach in Tok Pisin for multilingual congregations.

On the Gazelle Peninsula, for example, there were Methodists and other Protestants in Rabaul who could not be ministered to in their own Tok Ples and who were catered for with Tok Pisin services and a book of Tok Pisin hymns. Until Tok Pisin services were established, workers from New Ireland and Nakanai attended Kuanua services at Malakuna village. The migration of labour led to demands on all the missions. In the 1950s the Lutherans and LMS held services in many languages for workers from around the country. The Methodists held services in Dobuan for workers from Milne Bay. The Methodists often preached in LMS and Lutheran services through interpreters or in Tok Pisin.

By the 1960s the missions were beginning to produce greater quantities of Tok Pisin material and the Protestant missions began to share their work with each other. For example, the Methodist bookshop and printery in Rabaul (later Tok Save Buk and Trinity Press) was buying Tok Pisin material from other churches in the Territory and selling it alongside its own Kuanua literature. As the Methodists moved towards the creation of the United Church in 1965-67, the mission used explanatory literature in Kuanua and Tok Pisin. By the 1970s Tok Pisin was being used as a language of debate in the Methodist Synod, and from 1972 the minutes were recorded in Tok Pisin, not English.

<sup>451</sup> Nelson, H., Taim *Bilong Masta*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, Sydney, 1982, p153.

<sup>452</sup> There was debate then, as now, about whether the Administration's policy made sense in terms of education and whether children learn best in their own language for the first few years and then switch to English or whether they should they use English all the way through. There may be sound reasons for starting primary school with Tok Ples education as now happens in some places. There has been some argument that bilingual students do better and that language skills acquired in one language are transferred to another. Litteral argues strenuously in a series of papers for the virtues of Tok Ples schools, but Turner reported that the re-introduction of Tok Ples schools in some regions was met with suspicion by some communities which felt they were receiving a second rate education. Nagai says Tok Ples preparatory schools were introduced in the North Solomons province in 1980 because of "dissatisfaction with English education and its alienating effect on children." Litteral, R., 'Language Development in Papua New Guinea,' SIL Electronic Working Papers 1999-002, February 1999 and 'Four Decades of Language Policy in Papua New Guinea: the move towards the vernacular', SIL Electronic Working Papers 1999-001, February 1999, both at <a href="http://www.sil.org/silewp">http://www.sil.org/silewp</a>; Turner, M, *Papua New Guinea*: The Challenge of Independence, Penguin, Melbourne, 1990, p81; Nagai, Y., 'Vernacular education in Papua New guinea: Is it really effective?' in *Convergence*, XXXVII:2, 2004.

<sup>453</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., One Hundred Years in the Islands, Toksave Buk, Rabaul, 1985, p140.

<sup>454</sup> ibid, p166.

<sup>455</sup> ibid, p184.

<sup>456</sup> ibid, p192.

<sup>457</sup> ibid, p215.

<sup>458</sup> ibid, p224.

The approach of the other missions to Tok Pisin was equally pragmatic. The Lutheran mission in PNG placed just as much emphasis on the use of lotu languages as the Methodists, but also used Tok Pisin to preach when necessary. The official acceptance of Tok Pisin did not occur until 1956, and even then care was taken not to endanger the existing policy of using Jabem, Kate, and Graged for purposes of evangelisation. Hage records that Tok Pisin was regarded by some as being little better than gibberish and incapable of precise expression, but when people from widely disparate language groups got together, it was the only possible means of communication. Once the Lutherans - re-organised as the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (ELCONG) in 1956 - had decided that Tok Pisin was acceptable for official purposes, it was used for other purposes as well. The three church newspapers became bilingual and a 'Lotu Book' appeared alongside Tok Ples publications. 459 The significance of this should not be underestimated. The Lutheran and Methodist missions had been the first people to produce newspapers in New Guinea, and certainly the first to produce written material for the indigenous population. 460 By making Tok Pisin material available at a time when the number of Tok Pisin speakers was growing, the churches were, wittingly or not, tapping into a new market. ELCONG's response to the changes in the Administration's language policy was reluctantly pragmatic. While fighting to retain vernacular education through its village Bible schools, it established a Tok Pisin school system. The loss of the vernacular school system meant that increasing numbers of students became illiterate in their own language (or at least their lotu language) and so the church was forced to communicate with them in Tok Pisin. Lutheran records show the majority of Tok Pisin materials being created from the mid 1960s, such as a pastors' refresher course in 1964. There are records of a few earlier documents such as a Tok Pisin/ Kate pamphlet on the relationship of the church to the secular world. Other bilingual documents include a text on liturgy. Lists of Tok Pisin documents from this period include 'Sampela Litugi bilong Lotu' and 'Laip Bilong Jisas Kraist long Gutnius.'461 However, the records still show most work being produced in this period as being in Jabem, Kate and Graged. The earliest school materials in Tok Pisin date from 1967, but most are from 1969,462

The acceptance of Tok Pisin as a lotu language culminated in the production of the *Nupela Testamen*. That the New Testament was available to a Tok Pisin-literate audience for the first time was a remarkable sign of the language's respectability. That the work was the product of a joint committee drawn from SVD and ELCONG missionaries was a sign of an equally remarkable level of ecumenism. The *Nupela Testamen* used the form of Tok Pisin prevalent on the north coast of New Guinea as its basis, and employed a standardised set of spellings and grammatical rules. A similarly ecumenical activity was carried out in Rabaul when the MSCs and Methodists decided to produce the complete Bible in Kuanua, using a single set of spellings and grammar rules. The significance of this decision lay in the fact that Kuanua was the only really large language group outside the Highlands and the creation of the new Bible would serve both Catholic and Methodist Tolai. 463 In some ways this brought Methodist language policy full circle. When the pioneer Methodist missionary, the Rev George Brown led the first formal service on New Ireland in December 1875 he preached in Tok Pisin, which was translated into the Duke of York language and then into the local Tok Ples. 464

<sup>459</sup> Hage, H., 'Languages and Schools,' in Wagner and Reiner (eds.) *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The first Hundred Years*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1986, pp413-414.

<sup>460</sup> Cass, P., 'New Guinea's first newspapers: The missionary press in German New Guinea 1886-1914,' in *Australian Journalism Review*, XIII:1-2, January-December, 1991.

<sup>461</sup> Hage, H. 'List of Duplicated Materials,' MS, UPNG Library/Michael Somare collection, 1969.

<sup>462</sup> ibid. Most ELCONG publications are now printed in Tok Pisin.

<sup>463</sup> A German colleague told me that when she was preparing to do her fieldwork on the Gazelle she was asked whether she wanted to learn Tok Talatala or Tok Popey. However, the role of Kuanua as an identifier at church level on the Gazelle has probably declined with the need to reach out to people who do not speak the language. When the church newspaper A Nilai Ra Davot - the second oldest in the country - was revived in 1993, the then Acting Bishop of the United Church, Esau Teko, said that it could no longer be a purely Kuanua publication because of the demand for Tok Pisin. Teko, Rev Esau, interview, Rabaul, July 9, 1993.

<sup>464</sup> Threlfall, Rev N., One Hundred Years..., pp34-38.

More secular forces also worked to increase Tok Pisin's profile. The fledgling Pangu Pati announced in 1967 that while it wanted English to be recognised as an official language for government, it wanted Tok Pisin recognised as the national language of communication. 465 Tok Pisin gained a large boost in 1969 from the South Pacific Games which were held in Port Moresby that year. Perhaps expecting an influx of foreign visitors, a number of publishers produced Tok Pisin grammars. Pacific Islands Monthly declared that 'It was a peculiarly great year for Pidgin' and Don Laycock reported that no less than four new books on Pidgin had been produced, besides revisions of the 'indispensable' dictionary of Fr Mihalic and a new printing of John Murphy's book. 466 Litterals' Programmed Course in New Guinea Pidgin came in for some criticism. Having been based on a computerised concordance, it showed, said PIM, that computers were ignorant of the most basic human needs since the book did not tell you how to find a toilet or name your own reproductive organs. PIM's article was occasionally tongue in cheek, but it made some serious points, mainly that there was a lot of very bad Tok Pisin out there and that the publication of poor dictionaries would only perpetuate the problem. The PIM article is noteworthy for trying to lay to rest a number of furphies about Tok Pisin phraseology. It points out that the Tok Pisin for helicopter is not mixmasta bilong, Jesus Christ, and the truly ancient (Laycock traces it back to 1911) story that the Tok Pisin for piano is kes bilong singaut sapos yu paitim em long han is also identified as a fallacy.

Laycock reserves his real ire for an English/French/Tok Pisin sports phrasebook produced by Dr Andras Balint at UPNG. This, he declares, is nothing more than Dr Balint's book of English/Hungarian sports phrases re-translated into Tok Pisin and full of useless translations of such words as slalom and fog formation. Laycock may have been critical of Balint, but his conclusions are highly pertinent to the state of Tok Pisin in 1969 and anticipate its growing national role:

"It is something of a pity that books of this nature should be published at a time when Pidgin English is being taken more seriously as a language, when courses in it are being offered in Australian universities, and when it is being considered by some as a possible national language for Papua-New Guinea...a new indigenous literature is slowly growing up in Pidgin, mainly stemming from students at the University of Papua New Guinea; and a handful of Europeans are realising that they have to go back to school, to re-learn their Pidgin from those whose language it has truly become." 467

Tok Pisin, then, was at something of a turning point. There had been two major projects to make the Bible, whole or in part, available in Tok Pisin, and some serious attempts to teach and understand the language and to settle its orthography once and for all. The most successful attempt in the post-war years had been that of Fr Francis Mihalic, a SVD missionary who first went to the Territory in 1948. Mihalic had become fascinated with Tok Pisin, which already had many years of official use as the SVD's Tok Lotu and been studied by earlier linguists such as Frs Schebester, Meisner and Kirschbaum. Initially based in Alexishafen, he was posted a few months later to Marienberg in the East Sepik Province where a young Michael Somare was one of his parishioners. After falling ill, he was invalided back to the United States with tuberculosis and spent his sick leave compiling a Tok Pisin dictionary and grammar. His was adopted by the Australian Administration and later developed into the Jacaranda Grammar and Dictionary of Neo-Melanesian in 1969. It was the first academically acceptable dictionary of Tok Pisin, but even Mihalic initially saw Tok

<sup>465</sup> Wolfers, E., 'Political Parties' in Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea, Melbourne University Press, 1970, p939.

<sup>466</sup> Laycock, D., 'It was a peculiarly great year for Pidgin,' in Pacific Islands Monthly, January 1970.

<sup>467</sup> ibid. One is irresistibly reminded of Pedro Carolino's legendary *The New Guide of the Conversation in Portuguese and English in Two Parts*, a 19<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese guide to English which began life as a Portuguese-French dictionary, but which its author turned into an English guide by translating the French portion into English with catastrophic results. It is more popularly remembered as *English as She is Spoke*. Parsons, N., *Dipped in Vitriol*, Pan, Sydney, 1981 pp93-96. Ash, R. and Lake, B., *Fish Who Answer the Telephone and other Bizarre Books*, John Murray, London, 2006, pp53-57.

<sup>468 -, &#</sup>x27;Fr Francis Mihalic, SVD, Great missionary, priest, newspaper editor, linguist, educator, man of his word,' at <a href="http://www.svd-ca.com/mihalic.htm">http://www.svd-ca.com/mihalic.htm</a>.

<sup>469</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Tok Pisin Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow' in Catalyst, XIV:2, 1986.

Pisin as a transitional stage towards the widespread use of, and literacy in, standard English:

"I am looking forward to the day when Neo-Melanesian and this book will be buried and forgotten, when standard English and the Oxford dictionary will completely replace both." 470

By the second edition he admitted that Tok Pisin had not gone away:

"Despite his admiration for and use of English, the New Guinean does not identify with it. English to him is and will remain a status symbol, a prestige language... It will always be his first foreign language of choice. But it does remain a foreign language. It is never really his, whereas he feels that Pidgin is." 471

What changed that situation was the next stage in Fr Mihalic's career when he returned to PNG after several years teaching in Rome and took on the task of realising Bishop Noser's dream of creating a Tok Pisin newspaper for the indigenous population.<sup>472</sup>

As we saw in chapter three, Keith Mattingley, the managing editor of the *South Pacific Post*, encouraged local participation in the media. In Lae, two local journalists had been closely associated with the *New Guinea Times Courier* since the early 1960s. These were Muttu Jawing Gware from Lae and Biga Lebasi from Kwato. Both joined the Lae-based *New Guinea Times Courier* in 1959 which was edited by John Blair. Blair was replaced by John Huxley who encouraged Gware to compile news for *NuGini Toktok*, which first appeared on October 4, 1962. This was probably PNG's first attempt at a commercial Tok Pisin newspaper and pre-dated *Wantok* by eight years. It was taken over by the *Post-Courier* when it merged with the *New Guinea Times Courier* and Gware became its editor. He appears to have been the first New Guinean editor of a commercial newspaper. Described by Hastings and Hicks as a single sheet insert, it was distributed free to local government officers. It ran until 1970, and was then "laid to rest without ceremony." There is confusion in some sources about which newspaper *NuGini Toktok* belonged to, since neither Hastings, Hicks, or Nelson seem to have understood that it was a single publication that appeared in two newspapers.

However, Fr Mihalic's project had to survive without the protective commercial umbrella a national daily could offer. *Wantok's* ambitions and precarious financial state made it a very different proposition from *NuGini Toktok*.

The contents of the paper in its early years are a classic example of the kind of development journalism described in chapter one. The paper was committed to improving the lives of its readers in many ways, not just through overt political education, but by instructing them in better farming techniques, health care and making the discussion of such issues something for the grassruts, not just for kiaps and village bigmen. Any social change, whether it is teaching people how to read and write, live longer, or grow better crops, is in itself a political act. As Quebral puts it:

"The purpose of development communication is to advance development. Development requires that a mass of people with a low rate of literacy and income, and the socio-economic attributes that go with it, first of all be informed about and motivated to accept

<sup>470</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin, Brisbane, 1971. Preface to first edition, pix.

<sup>471</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*, Brisbane, 1971. Preface to the second edition. Travellers to PNG are still offered ancient and farcical guides to Tok Pisin. One booklet solemnly explains that 'wanwing balus' means a monoplane and a 'tufellowing balus' means a biplane. I doubt if anybody has needed to know this since Carsair Air Services sold its last deHavilland Rapide – VH-BIF – in 1966. <a href="https://www.michie.net/balus/index.html">https://www.michie.net/balus/index.html</a>

<sup>472 -,</sup> Obituary of Fr Mihalic, Post-Courier, December 12, 2001.

<sup>473</sup> Marsh, D., obituary of Keith Mattingley in Australian Newspaper History Group Newsletter, December 2004.

<sup>474 -</sup> Obituary of John Huxley, *Post-Courier*, June 4, 2007.

<sup>475</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>476</sup> Hastings, P. and Hicks, I., 'Newspapers and Periodicals,' in The Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea, Melbourne, 1970, p860.

<sup>477</sup> Nelson, H., 'The press in Papua and New Guinea,' <u>Paper presented at UPNG history research seminar</u>, Waigani, October 25, 1967.

and use a sizeable body of hitherto unfamiliar ideas and skills in very much less time than the process would normally take. This then is the job of development communication: To inform and motivate at the national, sectoral and project levels. Stated in these terms, the job of development communications is the process of development itself."

The Philippines has played a central role in the evolution of development communication and developmental journalism in Asia, but it has also played an important role as a site for the implementation of certain of the Catholic church's social projects, particularly the practical application of the Church's Option for the Poor in an Asian setting. With their traditional commitment to the press as a tool of evangelisation, the Divine Word missionaries who began *Wantok* were certainly in a position to translate the ideals of Vatican II and such public declarations as the encyclical *Communio et Progressio* into print and practice. As Fr Jim Franks, the former head of *Wantok's* parent company, Word Publishing, put it: *Wantok* was "a child of Vatican II" whose job was to show that there was "a Christian as well as an economic and political viewpoint."

Wantok was certainly aimed at the grassruts, the villagers often cut off from large scale development, the school leavers looking for work and the urban dwellers, who might well be public servants as much as drivers or haus bois. What they were most likely to have in common was an ability to read and write Tok Pisin. The paper devoted a great deal of attention to explaining the changing political scene and explaining basic concepts. Wantok can be judged to have been broadly apolitical, but it certainly gave a lot of personal exposure to Michael Somare and Wantok did have very set opinions on certain topics. Cargo cults were clearly bad, as were secessionists of any kind. Like the Post-Courier, Wantok clearly preferred the idea of a unitary nation state as the model for the future. Returning to Nelson's idea of the newspaper as a mirror of society, Wantok allows us to see a whole range of opinions and ideas. For historians, Wantok's letters pages provide a fascinating cross-section of what literate Papua New Guineans were thinking. As Matbob points out elsewhere, the paper appealed to younger, literate people and so it is not surprising that so many letters come from students and teachers. As we shall see in chapter seven, the letters reveal some interesting attitudes, not least towards self-government and independence, which appear to have been regarded with caution, if not suspicion.

The paper's gestation was protracted and sometimes painful. The idea for *Wantok* goes back at least to the start of the 1960s. Papers in the SVD archive in Mt Hagen show that Bishop Noser wanted to recall Mihalic from Rome as far back as 1964 to work on a newspaper. Mihalic, however, preferred to stay in the SVD College in Rome and it was not until 1969 that he was persuaded to return.<sup>481</sup>

Mihalic was asked by the Catholic bishops' conference in PNG to start the paper in Rabaul, since the islands region had the highest literacy rate in the Territory. After what Walcott calls "ecclesiastical politics...broken promises and misplaced trust" the project was moved to Wewak where Bishop Arkfeld agreed to set up a press that would generate revenue for the diocese as well as printing the new paper. Great scepticism was shown at the idea that a weekly had any hope of commercial success and few people thought *Wantok* would be long for the world.

Although Tok Pisin publishing had not hitherto been a great commercial success in PNG, Table 6.1 shows that it was actually quite widespread. It is notable that 11 of the

<sup>478</sup> Quebral, N., 'Development Communication,' in Jamias, J., (ed) *Readings in Development Communication*, University of the Philippines at Los Banos, 1975, p3.

<sup>479</sup> The Second Vatican Council issued an encyclical, *Gaudium in Spes* in 1965, which dealt with a renewed interpretation of the church's involvement with the world. <a href="http://www.osjspm.org/social\_teaching\_documents.aspx">http://www.osjspm.org/social\_teaching\_documents.aspx</a>

<sup>480 &#</sup>x27;Jim Franks talks about Word Publishing,' video made by Communications Institute, Goroka, 1990.

<sup>481</sup> Letter from SVD Superior General to Bishop Adolph Noser, August 10, 1964. The historian Fr Ralph Wiltgen and Fr Bernie Fisher, who was later in charge of the Noser Library at Divine Word Institute, were also considered for the position. SVD archives, Mt Hagen.

<sup>482</sup> Walcott, Fr K., 'Perspectives on publishing, literacy and development,' in Richstad, J. and Jackson, M., (eds.) *Publishing in the Pacific Islands: A Symposium*, Honolulu, 1984.

<sup>483</sup> ibid.

<sup>484</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., Interview, April 11, 1992. Mihalic's unpublished MS, 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life: Wantok's Wewak Years (1969-1976),' goes into great detail about the machinations between the SVDs and MSCs in the run-up to the launching of Wantok. He gave a similar version of events in a video interview shot at Divine Word Institute in Madang in 1990.

publications listed by Nelson came from missionary bodies and 13 from government bodies, with publications from the Department of Information and Extension Services and local government bodies predominating. Among the mission publications, there are five Lutheran and four Catholic, but whereas the Catholic publications are scattered across a number of different missions, the Lutheran publications all emanate from a central printery in Madang. The fact that *Kris Madang Totor* and *Aakesing* were printed in both Tok Ples and Tok Pisin by the mid 1960s reflects the loss of an audience able to read in Tok Ples or Tok Lotu due to the Administration's education policies.

The Administration published a number of newsletters for local people over the years, the earliest probably being the English *Papuan Villager*, which appeared before the Second World War and was re-launched as the *Papua and New Guinea Villager* in 1950. Post-war attempts to publish in Tok Pisin included the official *Nius Bilong Yumi*. Published by the Department of Information and Extension Services, it was printed alongside the English-language *Our News*, with which it claimed a total circulation of 31,000 copies. Other official publications in the post war period included the *Lae Garamut, Rabaul News, Wewak News* and *Buka News*. Each of these followed its wayward course in spelling and grammar, there being no attempt at a standardisation of Tok Pisin usage until the Territory's Education Advisory Board deemed a standard orthography advisable in 1955. Another Tok Pisin publication aimed at a local audience was *Katolik Nius*, which was published by the MSC mission at Vunapope, east of Rabaul. First published in 1966, it carried stories in English and Tok Pisin. It and its Kuanua counterpart were closed to make way for a new publication, *Kundu*, in 1970. Matbob questions whether *Wantok* would have fared any better than the other Tok Pisin publications if it had been launched earlier:

"I believe that in the 1960s, there existed factors such as low literacy levels, the lack of tradition to buy and read newspapers, much lower income earning capacity of Papua New Guineans and distribution problems that would have restricted [its] growth." 489

Indeed, logic would have dictated that the Catholic Bishops put their efforts into radio, rather than print. Mihalic's first love was radio scriptwriting, and radio was a far more important and feasible method of communication than print. Matbob's recollections are probably typical of attitudes to the media among local people at the time. Although his father was a teacher, the family rarely saw or read the *Post-Courier* and Matbob said he did not see a copy of *NuGini Toktok* until he found one in the *Post-Courier*'s archives. His family relied for news on 9PA and, when it was established, on the Tok Pisin provincial station Radio Wewak. When Radio Madang started up, they listened to that.

"I would say that we listened to the radio when the station opened up until we left for school, at lunch time for an hour and [in the] afternoon from 3pm until midnight when the station closed...All our activities at home took place with the radio going on in the background." 490

However, although the circulation of these publications was tiny, combined with the commercial attempts at Tok Pisin publications such as *NuGini TokTok*, they provided the basis for a small, but growing audience of Tok Pisin-literate locals. Thus, when Mihalic began working on *Wantok*, his audience was already gestating. Mihalic was despatched to PNG via the Philippines in June 1967. Archbishop Noser had again raised the subject of

<sup>485</sup> Later to become Kristen press.

<sup>486</sup> Hastings, P. and Hicks, I., 'Newspapers and Periodicals,' p860. Todd gives the circulation of *Nius Bilong Yumi* at 40,000, with 26,000 in English and 14,000 in Tok Pisin. Todd, I., *Papua New Guinea: Moment of Truth*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974, p137.

<sup>487</sup> Ruhen, O., Mountains in the Clouds, Rigby, Adelaide, 1963, p177.

<sup>488</sup> The MSCs' had far more success with their English language newspaper the *Eastern Star*, which was launched in Milne Bay in the 1990s.

<sup>489</sup> Matbob, P., personal communication, March 3, 2007.

<sup>490</sup> ibid.

a newspaper with the SVD generalate and, having been told that Wiltgen was unavailable because of his work on the Second Vatican council, it was decided to send Mihalic out to find out what was needed.<sup>491</sup>

Bearing the title of Director of Social Communications, Mihalic arrived in PNG to discover that nothing necessary for the production of a newspaper existed and that he was to suggest what was necessary and let the Catholic Bishops' conference decide what had to be done. At that stage there were only two printing presses that might serve his purpose, one at the MSC mission at Vunapope and the other at the SVD mission at Wirui outside Wewak. He started his search in Vunapope, where, he said, Archbishop Hoehne promised him a press, the use of ecclesiastical and lay staff and generally tried to persuade him that the Islands region was the best place to start a national Catholic newspaper because of its high rate of literacy. Mihalic wrote to the bishops outlining Hoehne's offers and outlined a financial plan that anticipated a circulation of 20,000 and a profit of about Aus\$1000 an issue. He envisioned a Catholic book store, a South Seas Press, a centre for broadcasting and all because of the promises being dangled in front of him. Now Archbishop Hoehne promised him five acres of prime land in Rabaul and suggested that an architect draw up plans for a printing centre. Then it turned out that the land had not been zoned for industrial use and could not be used after all. 493

Early in 1968, Mihalic discovered that not only had the Rabaul deal collapsed, but that Archbishop Hoehne had decided to turn his two existing mission papers, *Katolik Nius* and *Tailagu,* into two eight page newspapers, *Kundu* in Tok Pisin and English and *Garamut* in Tok Pisin and Kuanua. Magnanimously, he told Mihalic that if he wanted to start a national paper in Lae or Madang, he would have nothing against it.<sup>494</sup>

Undaunted, and provided with regular reports on the goings-on at Vunapope by *Kundu's* Editor Ray Goodey, Mihalic now turned his attention to establishing a newspaper on the mainland. He accumulated Aus\$20,000 to buy equipment, but then discovered that he could not get his hands on the money without the approval of the Bishops' Conference. He begged the conference to let him have a free hand, but had to admit that even the SVD regional superior in PNG was opposed to the idea of a newspaper.<sup>495</sup>

At that point Bishop Leo Arkfeld, the famous 'flying bishop' of the Sepik, came to the rescue. By then an extremely frustrated Mihalic was back in Italy and the two met in Rome to discuss his plans. Arkfeld told Mihalic that he had just bought a new offset press for Wirui and that it would be available to print the paper whenever it could be started. Arkfeld had always been interested in printing and felt it was important to have an independent church paper. He also saw his new printing press, which was set up by Br Celestine, as a revenue raiser for the mission and with his interest in photography, he eventually hit on the idea of making money for the mission by printing an extremely popular calendar featuring photographs of life in PNG. <sup>496</sup> That was all in the future, however, and in the meantime there was still a question of funding. Mihalic discovered that donors were wary of contributing to Third World projects, particularly after the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) had some bad experiences developed world. <sup>497</sup>

<sup>491</sup> Wiltgen, who had been based in the Sepik, eventually produced a book about the Second Vatican Council called *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber*. He eventually completed the first volume of a projected trilogy on the Catholic Church in the Pacific.

<sup>492</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., Video Interview.

<sup>493</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...' When Mihalic told me this story during an interview on Kairiru Island off the Sepik coast of New Guinea, he could not keep the anger out of his voice. In a video interview, which was not used, he said he discovered that the diocese did not own the land at all.

<sup>494</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., Video Interview, 1990.

<sup>495</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

<sup>496</sup> Arkfeld, Bishop L., interview, Wirui, April 10, 1992.

<sup>497</sup> ibid.

## Table 6.1 Tok Pisin publications in Papua New Guinea.

This table is drawn from Nelson and shows publications of which he was aware in 1967.

Name	Publisher	Location	Language
Aakesing	Lutheran Mission	Madang	Kate/Tok Pisin
Catholic Action	Catholic Mission	Monoita	English/Tok Pisin
Council Gazette	Yabim-Kotte Council	Yabim-Kotte	Tok Pisin
Council News	Local Gov't Council	New Ireland	Tok Pisin
Eastern Highlands Councillor	Eastern Highlands Local Gov't Council	Eastern Highlands	Tok Pisin
Hahela Parish Bulletin	Catholic Mission	Bougainville	English/Tok Pisin/Tasi
Harim	Missionary Association of PNG	Port Moresby	Tok Pisin
Kamonrai	Baluan Local Gov't Council	Manus	Tok Pisin
Katolik	Catholic Mission	Vunapope	Tok Pisin
Kris Madang Totor	Lutheran Mission	Madang	Graged/Tok Pisin
Leiwompa Council News	Department of Native Affairs	Lae	Tok Pisin
Lutheran Mission News	Lutheran Mission	Madang	Yabim/Tok Pisin
Madang District Council News	Ambenob, Waskia and Takia Local Government Councils	Ambenob, Waskia and Takia.	Tok Pisin
New Guinea Lutheran	Lutheran Mission	Madang	Different editions in English, Kate and Tok Pisin.
Nius Bilong Yumi	Department of Information and Extension Services	Port Moresby	Different editions in Tok Pisin, English and Motu.
St Michael's Messenger	Catholic Mission	Kieta	Tok Pisin
Sunday Text	Lutheran Mission	Madang	Tok Pisin/Graged
Taladea Tavur	Department of Education	Talasea	Tok Pisin
Tamba	Department of Native Affairs	Lae	Tok Pisin
Tikana News	Department of Native Affairs	Kavieng	Tok Pisin
Tok Tok Bilong Kaunsil	Local Government Council	Finschhafen	Tok Pisin
United Nations Newsletter	United Nations	Port Moresby	Police Motu/Tok Pisin
Wastaua	International Bible Students' Association (Jehovah's Witnesses)	Port Moresby	Tok Pisin Printed in English as Watchtower and as Gima Kohorona in Motu
Wewak News	Department of Native Affairs	Wewak	Tok Pisin

"In view of this trend...anyone who was planning to start a newspaper in a virtually illiterate Third World country as primitive as New Guinea was deemed psychologically suspect. To complicate the plot still more [I] had no property, no staff, no journalistic experience and no promise of any funds from the bishops."<sup>498</sup>

However, with Bishop Arkfeld's offer of a printing press, free accommodation and space to build offices, Mihalic was at last set to go. Ray Goodey's two year contract as a lay missionary with Archbishop Hoehne's newspapers ended in October 1968. Fran Goodey left Rabaul at the beginning of 1969 to marry Ray. Hoehne's printer, Hans Gretzinger, married a fellow missionary and returned to Germany after their first child was born at Vunapope. Soon after Goodey and Gretzinger left, *Kundu* collapsed and was not revived.<sup>499</sup> With a gift of land from Bishop Arkfeld and the aid of several SVD brothers and lay volunteers, work began on making *Wantok* office a physical reality. Fran Goodey recalled:

"Ray and I had been married only a month when we went to Wewak. In our house, only the bedroom was lockable and there was bare land where the two *Wantok* buildings were to go. We had an office in our house where we began training staff, contacting news sources, finding advertisers, suppliers, etc. etc.

Fr Mihalic was not intimately involved with the actual production of *Wantok* while we were there except for translating work. He was not involved with advertising, sourcing stories, page layout etc; he hadn't a clue about printing...he spent a lot of time working on radio material and on his dictionary."500

Mihalic drew material for Wantok from wherever he could find it. In Port Moresby, ABC journalist John Ryan had just been fired for allegedly using the ABC's time to write a bestselling book, The Hot Land. He decided to stay on in Port Moresby and set up the shortlived New Guinea News Service. He was asked to supply copy to Wantok and did so until his news service collapsed under the weight of unpaid bills.<sup>501</sup> While looking for useful contacts in the run-up to the launch of *Wantok*, Ray Goodey was apparently even approached by the editor of NuGini Toktok in Lae. It is claimed that the Post-Courier asked Mihalic if he wanted to buy the existing Tok Pisin paper. Back in Wewak, training of local staff was underway. Goodey trained Brian Namiat of Torembi and Albert Singer of Kairiru as typists and taught Mihalic the basics of journalism. Meanwhile, Goodey's wife Francie selected a number of young local women and trained them in typing, filing and book keeping. They were Crescentia Clementi of Mushu Island, Maria Kovoingre of Boikin and Jacinta Jorgon of Marienburg. Jorgon began working for *Wantok* as a 15 years-old typesetter. She also helped with the circulation. Years later, Jongon, who was still working for Wirui press, looked back on her days with Wantok with affection and declared that she loved every minute of it. 502 Wantok was not typeset in the normal manner. There was no linotype machine and the A4 pages (folded tabloid) were produced from photo plates made direct from the paste ups. Staff typed copy with an Olympic typewriter in columns. Copy was flush left, with space on the right and no text breaks. This allowed Mihalic and Goodey to tell the typists where to re-distribute the copy so that it would appear fully justified when it ran on the page.

<sup>498</sup> ibid

<sup>499</sup> Goodey, F., Personal Communication, February 12, 2013. Mihalic claimed later that a rumour was started in Kavieng that he had sabotaged *Kundu* by starting *Wantok* and taking Goodey away from Rabaul. Mihalic, Fr F., Video Interview.

<sup>500</sup> Goodey, F., Personal Communication, February 12, 2013.

<sup>501</sup> Ryan said copy was supplied "on a friendly basis simply because I believed strongly in the concept that the more newspapers PNG had the better-informed its people would be." Ryan, J., personal communication, March 7, 2006.

<sup>502</sup> Jorgon, J., interview, Wirui Press, Wewak, April 9, 1992.

Copy was also proofread at this stage. Corrections were pasted directly onto the page. Photographs were re-shot as photo mechanical transfers (PMTs) using the reprographic camera and these were then pasted onto the page. Headlines were made using a machine which printed the words onto a strip of film which was then pasted onto the page. The layout could then be shot with a repro camera and a plate made directly from the resulting negative. This made production relatively straightforward and cheap, and this more than made up for the sometimes home-made look of the early editions. In terms of equipment and the overall production process, *Wantok* was, in some areas, ahead of the *Post-Courier*, which was still using hot metal, a time consuming process. The use of typewriters for typesetting made the paper look very monotonous, but Mihalic claimed that "the Tok Pisin reading public did not know the difference yet." 503

Two major points had to be considered before the paper began publication, the first of which was its name. Having discarded such alternatives as 'Singaut' and 'Tok Save,' they settled on Wantok. 504 The next was the question of what kind of newsprint to use. The only newspapers printed in PNG after the war had all been produced using hot metal and with standard newsprint. Leftover papers were sold in trade stores by the sheet to locals who used them to make homemade cigarettes and the Post-Courier boasted that the newly acquired NuGini Toktok was the most smoked newspaper in the world, a claim that subsequently found its way into the Guinness Book of Records. 505 Wantok was going to be printed using an offset press that required thinner paper and there was a fear that the local people who were Wantok's audience would not buy the paper if they could not smoke it. Printer Peter Muckenschnabel obtained a variety of paper samples, which were distributed to the press workers. The workers were encouraged to use the paper for making rollies and asked to report on which type smoked the slowest and left a proper amount of white ash. The paper that burned the best was selected for printing and in the first edition the paper carried the boxed exhortation "Read this before you smoke it." 506 Curiously, it bears a striking resemblance to the exordium used by the Bougainville Nius, which launched at about the same time:

"Dispela niuspepa emi no bilong smok na tu em i no bilong rabim as. Taim yu pinis long ritim you putim gut na bihain yu inap long ritim gen." (This newspaper is not for smoking or wiping your arse. When you have finished it, store it carefully and you can read it again.)<sup>507</sup>

While *Wantok* was being supported by the Wirui mission, Mihalic and Goodey realised they would need advertising to survive. By the end of 1969, the *Post-Courier* was the only commercial newspaper in the country and the only place for people to advertise. The radio services were controlled either by the ABC or the district administrations and carried no advertising. Mihalic feared that if *Wantok* approached advertising agencies or business for custom and they were seen to be a purely Catholic newspaper, they would not be an attractive proposition. If, however, they appeared to be an ecumenical (i.e. mainstream Christian rather than solely Catholic) publication, then they might have a chance. The decision was a purely practical one, but the decision to appease Mammon rather than the

<sup>503</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

Curiously, Mihalic's newspaper was not the only one to be called *Wantok*, or something like it. Fr Walter Lini, who became Vanuatu's first Prime Minister, started a paper called *One Talk* with other seminarians when he was studying in New Zealand. The University of Papua New Guinea library holds copies of a newspaper called *Wantok* issued by the New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions between 1978 and 1981. A monthly, it was printed as a folded tabloid and cut together. It used a typewriter face, with poorly reproduced photographs...

<sup>505</sup> Post-Courier, June 30, 1969.

<sup>506</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...' A quarter of a century later, Port Moresby's more discerning smokers gathered at Steamships at lunchtime on Sunday where they could take discarded sheets from Australian broadsheets. They appeared to favour the financial pages from the *Sydney Morning Herald* or the *Age*.

<sup>507</sup> May, R. J., 'Nationalism and Papua New Guinea Writing,' in Australian Quarterly XLIII:2, 1971.

bishops was to have a profound effect on the paper. It ensured a steady flow of advertising and garnered an audience across all the mainstream churches, but it alienated most of the Catholic hierarchy. There were other barriers to cross before the fledgling paper was regarded as a suitable avenue for advertising. According to Mihalic, the prevalent attitude was that Tok Pisin was at best a primitive form of baby talk, that the people who spoke it must be of low intelligence and therefore be devoid of what we would today call a high disposable income. With an initial print run of 7000 copies a fortnight, *Wantok* cannot have seemed to be much of a market compared with 8500 for the former tri-weekly *South Pacific Post* and its higher circulation when it became the daily *Post-Courier. Wantok* had to keep going until its print run was big enough to attract lots of advertisers and for the production costs to be outstripped by income. In the meantime, it had to rely on overseas funding and this is where the decision to be an ecumenical paper paid off. German, Dutch and Australian organisations helped pay bills and for several years the World Association for Christian Communication supported it as a strategic publication. Had it been a purely Catholic newspaper, WACC may not have supported it.

Bishop Arkfeld set the presses running for the first issue of *Wantok* on August 5, 1970. A school choir sang at the opening and among its ranks was Anna Solomon, who would go on to become the paper's editor and publisher. She recalled:

"The late Sir John Guise [then Speaker of the House of Assembly] pressed the button to start the press rolling. Looking back now, I am always amazed that little did I know then that many, many, years later I would be the first Papua New Guinean editor of that newspaper. I had always wanted to be a teacher although I was and still am a bookworm and writing will always take precedence over other interests in my life." 510

The presses produced 7000 copies of what was to be a fortnightly paper, but getting rid of them proved harder than expected. Attempts to sell it in the streets of Wewak failed because the schoolboys who were supposed to sell it baulked at the idea that people might think they were Jehovah's Witnesses selling the *Watchtower*. However, the paper was successfully sold at Catholic churches in the Momase region where the SVDs predominated and Matbob recalls his father buying it after mass. httempts to have the paper distributed in schools failed. Mihalic had expected that it would be a useful classroom tool, with its news stories and centrespread of government-supplied photos. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Education Department was promoting the use of standard English in schools and presumably this is why it was not taken up. he sold after mass on Sunday. Mihalic later claimed that most priests refused to handle the newspaper because it was not completely Catholic. Mihalic noted later:

"The view of the bishops and most Catholic missionaries at the time was that either Wantok should be a 100% Catholic paper or it should not exist." 514

<sup>508</sup> Such attitudes were long lasting. In the early 1990s I was approached in Port Moresby by a European bishop from a coastal province who asked me for advice on starting a diocesan newspaper that would promote official Catholic views and help the faithful "confused" by newspapers like *Wantok*.

<sup>509</sup> Cass, P., 'Tok Pisin and Tok Ples as languages of identification in Papua New Guinea,' in Media Development, No. 4, 1999.

<sup>510</sup> Solomon, A., personal communication, January 25, 2007.

<sup>511</sup> Matbob, P., personal communication, March 3, 2007. Momase is the combined term for the Morobe, Madang and Sepik regions.

<sup>512</sup> Cass, P., 'Tok pisin and Tok ples...'

<sup>513</sup> Mihalic says he sent it to "missionary confreres." This may indicate that it only went to SVD priests. If, however, he meant all Catholic priests, then it would have also gone to many districts where the Catholic Church was represented by other missionary orders which perhaps did not take kindly to being asked to act as vendors for an SVD publication. Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

Mihalic reported that it sold 57,000 copies that year, but circulation figures are not always an accurate indication of its readership.<sup>515</sup> As a fortnightly paper, *Wantok* was halfway between being a newspaper and a magazine. Its news was, at first, almost entirely confined to sources from the Momase area. Only gradually did it expand its coverage. Its first front page was a collage of official photographs provided by the Department of Information and Extension Services showing various aspects of life in PNG. However, since its audience did not have any other source of printed news, this did not matter. In a country where there was no reading habit, the paper had to create one.<sup>516</sup>

Wantok was not the only newspaper to emerge that year. The other two publications were also locally owned and edited, but they were overtly party political in nature. They were Pangu Pati Nius (April 1970) and Bougainville Nius (July 1970). The first was the newspaper of Michael Somare's party and was produced for them by John Ryan. The other was the organ of the Napidakoe Navitu movement, the organisation created to combat the Panguna mine on Bougainville. May described them kindly as "geared to a local audience [and] a little bit educative." The United Party planned to launch its own paper the following year, printing in English, Tok Pisin and Motu, but nothing seems to have come of this. 518

Wantok was not the first newspaper aimed at the grassruts and not the first commercial newspaper published in Tok Pisin, but it gained far wider notice and was more successful in reaching a Tok Pisin literate audience than any previous publication.

The paper's success was a matter of luck, for it appeared at a time when a number of seemingly unrelated processes were coming to fruition. The Administration's attempts to make English the Territory's lingua franca had failed; by closing the mission Tok Ples schools they had opened up a gap into which Tok Pisin stepped as the new lotu language. Already widely spread by the war and the post-war recruitment of plantation labour lines, it had already been adapted by the SVDs in the Momase region as the mission's Tok Lotu. Now it was taken up by Lutheran and Methodist missions as their official language.

At the same time the Administration had increased the education budget so that thousands of young people were leaving school with at last a modicum of literacy; and if they were not literate in English then they were likely to be literate in Tok Pisin, thus providing *Wantok* with a ready-made audience. These were the very people who would be eligible to vote at the next elections for the House of Assembly.

The final factor in the emergence of *Wantok* was the use of a standardised variant of Tok Pisin.<sup>519</sup> The use of a standardised version of Tok Pisin helped stabilise the language, but Mihalic denied that this had been a deliberate policy:

It was NEVER [capitals in original] my main intention of making *Wantok* the standard of Pisin spelling. I had never given that any thought. I presumed that if it grew, people would just get used to spelling *Wantok's* way. I never pushed the point.<sup>520</sup>

As we shall see in the next chapter, Mihalic had other things to worry about. Following Whitlam's pronouncements on the future of PNG, *Wantok* became a vital tool in educating the grassruts about everything from the working of the House of Assembly to the meaning of self-government and independence.

<sup>515</sup> The Word in PNG No. 19 December-January 1979-80. When I worked as chief sub-editor of Wantok's sister paper, The Times of PNG in 1994, I was told that in some areas up to 10 people might read Wantok. If we consider that in some cases a literate villager reads the paper to those who cannot read, then an even higher number of people may be exposed to the content of the paper.

<sup>516</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., Video Interview.

<sup>517</sup> May, R.J., 'Nationalism and Papua New Guinea Writing'; Hastings, P. and Hicks, I., 'Newspapers and Periodicals,' p860.

<sup>518</sup> ibid.

<sup>519</sup> Mihalic's dictionary used north coast Tok Pisin - what had been Fr Kirschbaum's Einheitssprach - because he regarded it as somehow purer than other forms.

<sup>520</sup> Mihalic, Fr F. Personal communication, August 20, 1993.

### Chapter 7

# Bung wantaim! Wantok niuspepa and the path to independence 1970 - 75

What began as an obscure publication produced on a mission press in the East Sepik District proved to be nothing less than a revolution in communication for the country's grassruts readers. This chapter will argue that it empowered the grassruts politically, encouraged them spiritually, promoted ecumenism and nationalism and served as a focal point for the standardisation of Tok Pisin. It is arguable that without *Wantok* the political face of PNG might have been very different in the early 1970s. The Tok Pisin rallying cry 'Bung wantaim!' ('Unite!') would have had far less resonance among the grassruts and, without *Wantok*, a significant tool of political education would have been missing. Tok Pisin would not have enjoyed a period of orthographic stability and ordinary Papua New Guineans might have remained cut off from the media. *Wantok's* importance to the development of the PNG press cannot be underestimated. It was an important first step in the development of the Pacific style of developmental journalism and, despite its early vicissitudes with the Catholic Bishops' Conference and endless financial crises, it became a breeding ground for many of PNG's best known journalists.

This chapter continues the story of *Wantok* begun in chapter six and explores the paper's role as a political educator and as a pioneer of Tok Pisin advertising, as well as its relationship with Michael Somare as a mouthpiece for the grassruts. Mihalic was a practical man and knew that a newspaper only survives if it is making enough money to pay the bills and keep the presses rolling. Nobody had really tried Tok Pisin advertising before, just as there had not previously been such a concerted effort to educate the local people politically or to afford them such a regular outlet for their grievances. As we shall see in chapter eight, the function of the media as an agent of development in PNG is now being seriously questioned in some quarters, but nobody has questioned the necessity or the common sense of using Tok Pisin in advertising. Because so much of the story of these different aspects overlaps in the five years under consideration, I have presented the material thematically rather than chronologically.

This chapter draws largely on Mihalic's own writings, particularly two manuscripts he gave me when I interviewed him on Kairiru Island in 1992. 'The Story of Printing in the Wewak Diocese' is a fairly straightforward, two page account of the work of the SVDs and he placed no restrictions on its use. The second manuscript, 'Pipe Dreams versus Facts of Life' is a much longer and very detailed account of the story of *Wantok's* Wewak years from 1969 to 1976. Mihalic told me not to use it without his permission, but since he has passed away I have felt free to do so. The account is lively and opinionated and matches the tone of the

interview I had with him and with some of the things that his superior, Bishop Arkfeld, said to me in an earlier interview. I have used Mihalic's account freely, but I have kept in mind that it was written as an attempt to set the record straight from his point of view at the end of his life. Mihalic's achievement in setting up *Wantok* was a heroic one. He is quite rightly honoured for his work, but as with anybody driven by one goal, he could, as I argue in this chapter, sometimes seem to have been indifferent to other people's opinions and single minded in pursuit of his own objectives. Mihalic wrote in the peculiar third person style favoured by the Divine Word missionaries and it is possible to deduce his authorship of articles about *Wantok* that appear elsewhere, particularly in the SVD's in-house journal, *The Word in PNG*.

Wantok was not the first Tok Pisin newspaper produced by the SVDs. That honour appears to go to Frend Bilong Mi, which was probably the first Tok Pisin newspaper produced by anybody and was published by the Alexishafen mission. Baker dates it to 1935, but Mihalic dated it to 1948/50, Nelson to 1949/50, Steffen to 1935-1941, Coles to the mid-1930s and Fr Tschauder remembered a magazine or newspaper existing when he first arrived at Alexishafen in 1927. The mission records were destroyed during the Second World War and any evidence is now so fragmentary that we will never know for certain. It may also be, of course, that a journal appeared at different times under the same name as missionaries with the interest to keep it going came and went. Mihalic noted that it "died and was resuscitated a few times." 521

It is also worth recognising that the involvement of local people in the production of newspapers aimed at indigenous readers also had a long and honourable tradition stretching back to the first mission newspapers in the early 1900s. 522 Wantok should be seen as the culmination of the development of the Tok Pisin press and the work of indigenous writers and press workers.

*Wantok* appeared at a time when a larger, better educated, Tok Pisin-literate audience was being called into being. Its audience was also, slowly, growing in political self-awareness, just as groups like the Pangu Pati were emerging. Tok Pisin had already taken on a political role through its use in the House of Assembly. Writing in 1973, Hastings noted

"...the increasing use of Pidgin in House of Assembly debates in preference to English or, on the Papuan side, Motu... There is a strong proto-nationalist element in the increasing insistence on its use by New Guineans, notwithstanding that its use in the House has been partly a matter of convenience." <sup>523</sup>

There had been a faltering effort by the Administration to meet UN demands for political education in PNG which utilised, in part, the Administration's English/Tok Pisin publication *Our News/Nius Bilong Yumi*. While the political education process as a whole was not entirely successful, surveys showed that the newspaper had managed to transmit its ideas. More than half those questioned had read either straight articles on the House of Assembly or serial stories that featured political issues.<sup>524</sup> It was proof that the PNG press could be used to transmit political ideas.

Wantok moved slowly, but steadily, as it educated its readership about what was happening around them. It encouraged business, government departments, churches, sports groups and anybody who had a story to send copy to Wantok. As with any newspaper, only a small proportion of this material could be used. One of the big attractions for readers were the

<sup>521</sup> Mihalic, Fr P.,'The story of printing in the Wewak Diocese,' MS, Wewak, undated.; Nelson, H., 'The press in Papua and New Guinea,' Paper presented at UPNG history research seminar, Waigani, October 25, 1967; Tschauder, Fr J., interview; Coles, Sr D. and Mihalic, Fr F., Sent by the Spirit, p31; Baker, S., 'The Literature of Pidgin English,' in American Speech, XIX:4, 1944.

<sup>522</sup> Threlfall's comprehensive list of the contents of *A Nilai Ra Davot* shows the contribution of local writers to the early mission press. See Threlfall, Rev N., 'Index of articles to *A Nilai Ra Davot*,' MS, Undated and Threlfall, Rev N., 'News and information from *A Nilai Ra Davot*.' MS, Undated.

<sup>523</sup> Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, Cheshire/Australian Institute of International Affairs, Melbourne, 1973, p140.

<sup>524</sup> May, R.J., 'The Political Education Programme' in Stone, D., (ed.) *Prelude to Independence: Electoral Politics in Papua New Guinea 1972*, ANU, 1976.

photographs supplied by the Department of Information and Extension Services which showed what was going on in different parts of the country. For many isolated villagers, these photographs may have been the first knowledge of what other Papua New Guineans looked like. As Mihalic put it: "The readers were getting a course in geography which no school could give them." The photographs would have been of added interest to people who had the paper read to them. This level of interest in the outside world and growing self-awareness happened as the country moved towards self-government. The paper played a vital role in educating people about what was happening around them and making them realise they were part of a larger whole. Public interest and involvement in politics at a national level is impossible unless people have at least the beginnings of a sense of being part of a nation and that does not happen until they care about what is happening outside their local area.

"As the country developed towards self-government and independence, people back on the land began to get more interested in the remoter corners of their own province. Next they became curious about goings on in nearby provinces; then gradually national news from anywhere in PNG began to catch their fancy." 526

In a written response to a *Wantok* reader survey, Dick Adler, from the Lutheran-run Kristen Pres in Madang, told Editor Ray Goodey that readers wanted the paper to deal with more national issues: "Politics is the hot issue today and more coverage of this would be most beneficial to...people throughout the territory." Adler suggested that *Wantok* should include articles that educated the people politically. During the run-up to the provincial and national elections, *Wantok* was in demand as a vehicle for transmitting electoral information to voters and explaining things to them.

"Suddenly it was printing full page picture posters of candidates and translating whole pages of information about the newly forming parties and their platforms, which ran as paid advertisements in the paper. The usefulness of a Tok Pisin newspaper became eminently clear to the politicians at election time. But they promptly forgot about it once they were home and hosed." 528

Some Papuans had voted in local council elections before the Second World War and elected village councils had been set up in a number of places after 1945. A Territory Legislative Council had been established, but in the period 1951-1961 this only had three non-official native members. Territory-wide elections were held in 1964 for the new House of Assembly. <sup>529</sup> By the time elections were held for the second House, there had been a significant growth in political self-awareness among Papua New Guineans. The second House was overwhelmingly local, with Papua New Guineans making up almost three quarters of the elected members and more than two-thirds of the entire House. <sup>530</sup> Even so, it is highly unlikely that everybody in the Territory had voted or understood what an election was or how a Westminster-style parliamentary system worked. Mihalic later wrote:

"*Wantok* was proving that it was needed by government departments to inform the grassroots and to communicate to the rank and file all decrees which they seriously wanted people to know about." 531

<sup>525</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life.'

<sup>526</sup> ibid.

<sup>527</sup> ibid.

<sup>528</sup> ibid.

<sup>529</sup> Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, p136.

<sup>530</sup> ibid, p142

<sup>531</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life.'

Wantok's work in preparing the Tok Pisin electorate for the massive changes ahead was made all the harder because so many of the concepts were totally alien to its audience. In some cases ideas were conveyed by finding visual similes such as cartoons, like those reproduced in Illustrations 7.2 and 7.3. Elsewhere Mihalic and his team had to find ways of expressing complicated English words and phrases in Tok Pisin. Mihalic wrote later that one of the biggest difficulties faced was explaining the Australian preferential voting system.<sup>532</sup> A regular feature was a page devoted to 'Political Edukesen.' One issue explained how the House of Assembly worked and what its members did.<sup>533</sup> The paper carried reports on what was happening inside the House, quoting members and ministers and introducing developments such as the horrible, but mercifully short-lived, tricolour flag.<sup>534</sup>

In its first full year of publication, Wantok took time out to explain how the Territory's budget worked and where the money went. Under the heading 'Hamas mani bai i kam long hap bilong yu?' ("How much money does your area receive?"), the paper explained how much each government department received and how much was allocated to each district. Education received the most money with Aus\$20 million, followed by Health with Aus\$13,913,000 and Social Development with Aus\$12,418,000. The House of Assembly received the least funding, with just Aus\$371,000. There were noticeable differences in funding between the districts and between Papua and New Guinea. In Papua, the Central District, with the capital Port Moresby, was allocated the lion's share of Aus\$1,974,118 while the Gulf District received the smallest amount with Aus\$305,141. In New Guinea the most money was spent on Bougainville, with Aus\$11,909,926. However, Aus\$10 million of this was to build the mining township at Arawa. The largest 'normal' allocation was for the Western Highlands with Aus\$4,818,387 and the smallest was Aus\$478,963 for New Ireland. Wantok provided figures showing the population of each district against the money allocated and concluded that the average spend was Aus\$15 per capita in Papua and Aus\$17 per capita in New Guinea.535

At the end of 1971, *Wantok* printed a special edition with a front page headline 'As tingting bilong ol political Pati' ('Ideas behind the political parties'). It was accompanied by a cartoon showing a young MHA asking his father nervously what he would do if he lost his seat at the next election. His father cheerfully tells him that he can always come back to the village and work for him. In the issue *Wantok* allotted the major parties space in which to explain their positions. Under the heading 'Tokaut bilong Yunaited Pati' readers learned that the United Party thought that if people want self-government they should have it, but the party would prefer a gradual approach: "Mipela i no laik hariap na tu i no laik go isi isi tumas" ("We don't want to go too fast, but we don't want to be too slow.")<sup>536</sup> Somare's Pangu Pati declared that it was prepared to have immediate self-government, but felt there should be more political education, more local officers and more political parties to represent the people. "Tru tumas, i no longtaim bai selp gavman i kamap. Na olsem yumi mas redi nau" ("Self-government won't be too long in coming, so we must be ready for it now.") Despite being given a page of its own, the People's Progress Party had nothing to say about self-government.<sup>537</sup>

As self-government came and independence loomed, there was more and more for the paper to explain. Photographs of the new toea coins and kina notes were printed in April 1975, followed later in the year by a cartoon guide to the new money.<sup>538</sup> The cartoon explained that for a time you could still spend Australian dollars alongside the kina, but that after December 31 only kina would be acceptable. The cartoon shows a villager in shorts and

<sup>532</sup> The attempt appeared under the heading 'Lukaut gut long pasin bilong vot.' It makes for an exhausting read. *Wantok,* January 19, 1972.

<sup>533</sup> Wantok, October 6, 1971.

<sup>534</sup> Wantok, December 2, 1970.

<sup>535</sup> Wantok, October 6, 1971.

<sup>536</sup> Wantok, December 1, 1971.

<sup>537</sup> ibid.

<sup>538</sup> Wantok, April 16, 1975.

t-shirt thumping a lapun man in ars tanget and buying cheesepops from a Chinese trade store. Some of the new ideas failed, despite the paper's best efforts. Somare was somewhat enamoured of Fijian leaders like Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau and Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and was keen to introduce a national dress for Papua New Guineans based on the tailored sulu and long dresses worn by Fijians on formal occasions. *Wantok* printed a front page photograph of a group of nationals wearing the new clothes, but while the look was indeed stylish, it never caught the public imagination. Perhaps in the rush to independence there was too much else going on. 40

And what exactly was independence? In one of its cleverest uses of visual parables, the paper used three cartoons to explain the meaning of self-government and independence. In the first cartoon a white man is driving a truck while a black man watches. In the next picture the black man is driving the truck under the white man's guidance. In the final picture the black man is driving on his own, telling himself to be careful because he has nobody to help him now.<sup>541</sup>

It was natural that as PNG began to move towards self-government and independence *Wantok* began to devote a certain amount of space to the man who would lead the country when the Australians left. Somare's appearances in *Wantok* became more frequent and occasionally he occupied the entire front page. *Wantok* was always avowedly non-political, but was it entirely coincidental that Somare, a Catholic and a Sepik, should receive so much attention from a newspaper run by a Catholic order in the Sepik? One cannot make too much of this issue, since an analysis of the paper during this period makes it clear that it maintained a distinction between reporting on Pangu Pati political activities and promoting Somare the man. In any case, Mihalic was by now sufficiently estranged from the bishops that it seems unlikely that any appearance by Somare could be in any way construed as being officially requested by the church.

The simple fact is that Somare was young, charismatic, good looking and a natural leader. As a former radio journalist he was also extremely aware of the importance of the media and how to air his views and promote his ideas. After the 1972 election there can have been little doubt that he would be the first Prime Minister of an independent Papua New Guinea, so he was a natural subject for the paper. However, Somare's personal (as opposed to political) appearances in *Wantok* do sometimes seem to have been designed to make him an iconic national figure. In May 1972, for instance, *Wantok* devoted the whole of the front page to a photograph of Somare, his wife Veronica and their children under the headline 'Namba wan famili bilong yumi.'542 Somehow it never looked like a promotion for Pangu. The feeling for Somare among many sections of the indigenous population was real and palpable. In November 1973, *Wantok* reported a speech in which he declared that Papua New Guineans were no longer children, but must be prepared to show the world how much they loved their country and even be prepared to die for it:

"I olsem yumi no manki moa. Yumi no pikinini. Selp gavman i min yumi bikpela pinis. Na yumi soim nau. Bikpela man i no save sindaun nating. Em i save wok. Em i no driman. Man i amamas tru long kantri na long selp gavman, em i inap dai long helpim kantri bilong em." 543

("We are no longer children. Self-government means we are now grown up. We have to show what we can do. Grown-ups don't sit around doing nothing. They know they have to work and not just dream. A person who loves their country will be prepared to die for it.")

<sup>539</sup> Wantok, November 12, 1975.

<sup>540</sup> Wantok, September 3, 1975.

<sup>541</sup> Wantok, September 17, 1975.

<sup>542</sup> Wantok, May 2, 1972.

<sup>543</sup> Wantok, November 21, 1973.

The report was accompanied by a photograph showing four girls, one local, one Chinese and two expatriate, presenting Somare with a gift. The local girl's eyes are shining with something close to adoration. But then, he was that kind of man.

Never one to miss an opportunity for self-promotion, Mihalic used Somare to promote the paper. Under the heading 'Somare laikim Wantok' he posed the Chief Minister and his daughter Bertha reading *Wantok* on the front page, accompanied by an article praising the paper. "Mista Somare tok em i laikim Wantok moa olsem *Post-Courier*," ("Mr Somare likes *Wantok* better than the *Post-Courier*") the story declared.<sup>544</sup> It quoted the Minister for Education, Reuben Taureka praising the paper with a somewhat backhanded compliment: "Yupela i bin mekim gutpela wok tru long skulim ol pipel long ples. Arapela niuspepa i ting tasol long saveman." ("You are doing a good job of teaching people everywhere. Other newspapers are only for educated people.") The writer (doubtless Mihalic) declared: "Maski em i bilong Papua, em i tok em tu i laik bai olgeta skul is mas gat Wantok." ("Despite the fact that he comes from Papua, he thinks that all schools should receive *Wantok*.")<sup>545</sup>

Wantok also gave Somare an outlet for his views on the real inequalities that existed in the country. Not least of these was the kind of housing available to locals, who were kept in what the Administration called low covenant housing. This made Somare angry because it was a visible sign of discrimination against the locals, especially when, in some cases, PNG public servants quite literally lived at the bottom of the hill, often in compounds, while expatriates lived in big houses at the top. He compared costs and conditions with what he had seen in Kenya and asked why there could not be loans for people to build their own houses:

"Long Kenya long Afrika mi lukim sampela naispela haus tru i gat tripela rum slip, toilet, na rum waswas samting. Em i kostim \$6000 tasol. Hia long Niugini kain haus olsem i go inap \$15,000. Olsem wanem?" 546

("In Kenya I saw nice houses with three bedrooms, a laundry and toilet. They cost \$6000. Here they would cost \$15,000. Why?")

Although Somare was, by his very position, a regular subject of stories and features in *Wantok*, he was not, of course, the only story in the Territory. In the period from its first issue to the coming of independence, *Wantok* covered a great many news stories. Added to the forum for readers' letters, the political education work and its constant efforts to help people understand what was happening around them, the paper's news coverage provided Papua New Guineans with a more comprehensive view of the country than they had ever had. As the Australian period ended, the slogan "Bung wantaim!" ("Unite!") began to be seen everywhere. It is arguable that, at the very least, *Wantok* promoted that sense of national unity through its coverage of stories and events from around the country. Some of the stories were quite prosaic, some momentous and some, frankly, sad.

The major story at the end of 1970 was, of course, Whitlam's declaration that PNG would soon have self-government and then independence. As we shall see, not all of *Wantok's* readers were pleased by the announcement. John Ryan's column Insait Long Politik declared that:

"Politikal Pati bilong ol Wokman bilong Australia (Labor Party) i laik Teritori i mas kisim selp gavman long yia 1972, maski long tinging bilong ol pipel hia long Papua Niu Gini." <sup>547</sup>

<sup>544</sup> Wantok, February 5, 1975. Bertha would go on to study journalism at the Divine Word Institute (now University) in Madang and open the Madang Watcher, a newspaper which began as a final year project at DWI. I have used Bertha Somare's name as it appears in her father's autobiography, Sana. However, she appears to use the by-line Betha Somare in the PNG press.

<sup>545</sup> Wantok, February 5, 1975.

<sup>546</sup> Wantok, November 6, 1970.

<sup>547</sup> Wantok, January 6, 1971.

("The ALP says the Territory must have self-government in 1972 no matter what the people of Papua New Guinea think.")

Ryan also reported that Dr John Guise, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, had urged his fellow countrymen to seize the opportunity offered by Whitlam's announcement. Guise told a BBC interviewer that the Territory was "rabis tru" (backward) compared with more advanced nations. He said many people were afraid of self-government and independence:

"...mi no wanbel wantaim ol man i gat dispela tingting...planti man tumas i seksek i pret long ol hatwok yumi mas mekim. Maski long skirapim planti toktok, yumi kirap traim. Yumi inap."<sup>548</sup>

("I have nothing in common with people who think like this...Too many people are afraid of the hard work we will have to do. Forget all this talking, we have to try. We will be enough.")

As we saw in chapter two, cargo cults and a belief in the impossible were a recurring theme in Territory life. They did not go away despite the declaration of looming self-government. Indeed, the sudden acceleration of the political process and the sense that something was in the air may well have made the climate more conducive to such beliefs. In June 1971 Ray Goodey reported for *Wantok* on the case of Matias Yaliwan, leader of the Peli cult.<sup>549</sup> Yaliwan (who is referred to in the Wantok stories as Aliwan) claimed that once he removed an old concrete marker post on top of Mt Hurun (Turu) food and all kinds of good things would come to the people. Wantok was opposed to cults, but it handled the story carefully, allowing the cultists to speak and then rebutting their claims one by one. Naturally, even after they removed the marker, nothing happened. Yaliwan's beliefs were a strange mixture seemingly bred of dreams, 'signs,' Christian elements and half-understood facts reinterpreted to suit his needs. He was not an ignorant villager, but a former policeman who had worked in Goroka and Madang and then taken a job running the power station at the Catholic mission's airstrip at Wirui. Wantok described him as a quiet man who said little and sat behind others. When he walked about, his followers treated him like an Old Testament prophet.<sup>550</sup> His spokesman was Daniel Hawina, who had been educated to standard (grade) three but who wrote Tok Pisin fluently. Wantok described him as believing that he knew everything and believed that this knowledge had come from God. The third member of this sad trinity was Hawina's wife, Monica. Educated to form three (grade nine) she wanted to die with the other two. Yaliwan and Hawina had already been jailed for removing one marker stone and had been moving from place to place since being released. 551

Over several issues *Wantok* explored the cult and patiently exposed its beliefs. *Wantok* did not attack the cult directly; instead, the paper let its leaders talk and then gently rebutted their claims in print. Because of the length and detail of the coverage, this is probably one of the best documented of the later cults. Apart from the stone marker, the two 'magic' items in their possession were an American 25 cent piece and a copy of Agatha Christie's *Evil Under the Sun*. Hawina claimed the money had appeared under Yaliwan's pillow and that the image of an eagle on the back was a sign of power that would bring all the aeroplanes from America to PNG. He wanted America to come and rule the Territory, a desire that had already manifested itself in the Johnson cult on New Hanover. Hawina further claimed that *Evil Under the Sun* had suddenly appeared in Yaliwan's hand. He said that Agatha Christie appeared in the Bible and that she would rule PNG. *Wantok* explained that she

<sup>548</sup> Wantok, January 20, 1971.

<sup>549</sup> Fran Goodey, Personal Communication, February 19, 2013.

<sup>550</sup> Wantok, June 2, 1971.

<sup>551</sup> Wantok, July 7, 1971.

was a recently deceased English writer and so would not be ruling PNG. The other item in Yaliwan's possession was a copy of a Jehovah's Witness pamphlet, 'Tok i tru i bringim man Long Laip Oltaim,' about which the paper did not comment. Presumably the fact that the cultists were in possession of a non-Christian publication was comment enough. 552

Hawina told the paper that the group had collected Aus\$8271. He said they wanted to send the money to Canberra, where there was a large memorial bearing the names of all their ancestors. If they did this, PNG would instantly become independent and money would appear in everybody's hand. He then said that on July 7, three men would die on top of Mt Hurun "olsem sipsip bilong God" and would then return to life.553 Wantok pointed out that in 1961 a man called Loren had been killed in Madang in furtherance of cargo work and had not come back to life. When he was interviewed, Yaliwan was far more vague about what was going to happen. He said that once the marker was removed "planti kaikai na abus i kamap," ("plenty of food will appear") but said he had no idea about people being killed and brought back to life or of a story about somebody burning Aus\$500 in a fire.<sup>554</sup> On the appointed day, Yaliwan, Hawina and their followers gathered on top of the mountain and removed the cement markers. Cheering and praising the cult leaders, their followers descended the mountain and took the markers to the Yangoru Patrol Post and gave them to the kiap. Nobody died and rose from the dead, but Yaliwan declared that because the markers had been removed, good things would appear in people's gardens and in the bush near Mr Hurun. Hawina said that their association had now collected Aus\$21,572 and that instead of sending it to Canberra, he rather thought they would like to keep it.555

A year later, three men managed to trick almost \$5000 out of villagers in the Highlands. The three men, Kei, Ruri and Maga Nugints, claimed that if people gave them between Aus\$10 and Aus\$100 they would be able to buy a red case that would produce money for them. They claimed to have 300 such cases hidden away. The men operated their scam in the village of Muglum near Mt Hagen. They arranged a day when people would be able to come and open five sample cases. However, when the people opened the cases, they found they contained nothing but rocks and nails. The District Officer for Mt Hagen, Mr Aisbett, estimated that the conmen had taken up to Aus\$5000 from the villagers. Some had even been persuaded to part with their pigs. Maga Nugints was jailed for six months. The court said he had tricked the people and run a cargo cult. Maga replied that he was not a man, but had died and was now a ghost. 556

Sometimes the news that *Wantok* reported was tragic. When Jack Emanuel was murdered on the Gazelle, *Wantok* printed a statement by the Administrator, Les Johnson, who mourned his death and hoped that people would realise how pointless the death was. He alluded to the belief among many people that his death was linked to the events on the Gazelle, which were described in chapter three. Johnson said arguments about this should be put to one side and that it was time to make peace:

<sup>552</sup> *Wantok*, June 2, 1971.

<sup>553</sup> The reference is to Christ as the Lamb of God and his crucifixion beside two thieves. *Wantok* did not dwell on the messianic implications of the statement.

<sup>554</sup> Wantok, June 2, 1971.

Fran Goodey recalled that she was eight months' pregnant and "terrified I wouldn't see Ray again. Some Europeans in Wewak left town, scared of a big backlash after the non-event." Fran Goodey, Personal Communication, February 12, 2013. Yaliwan's cult, the Peli (Hawk) Association attracted as many as 30,000 adherents who expected cargo to appear from the mountain top as well as better crops. Yaliwan set up his own church in association with Canadian evangelical missionaries. Salfield, who was working in the Sepik as a doctor in the 1970s, described him as "quite possibly a sincere man." Despite the non-appearance of cargo and the disappearance of his follower's donations, Yaliwan successfully stood for election to the House of Assembly. Wantok, July 7, 1971; Trompf, G.W., Religions of Melanesia: A bibliographic survey, Greenwood Publishing, 2006; Lal. B. and Fortune, K. (eds) The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia, University of Hawai'l Press, 2000; Salfield, S., 'Aftermath – cargo cults and system failures,' at http://stevesalfield.wordpress.com/2006/11/05/aftermath-cargo-cults-and-treatment-failures/

"Tude wanpela gutpela strongpela man indai pinis...Maski em i samting bilong nau o samting bilong bipo. Maski...Pait i pinisim man, i no stretim em. Mi hop ol lida na hetman bilong hap bilong Rabaul i kisim save pinis na ol i wantingting nau wantaim mi... bai olgeta man i kem sindaun gut na stap bel isi." 557

("Today a good man is dead...It doesn't matter if this was something to do with what is happening now or which happened before. It doesn't matter...Fighting finishes a man, it doesn't sort things out. I hope all leaders and headmen in Rabaul will understand the need to end this and think like me...that it is time for people to sit down and negotiate.")

Reporting on the subsequent court case in Rabaul almost cost Mihalic dearly. He printed letters to the editor discussing the case, which was clearly in contempt of court. He claimed that as an American he was unaware of the niceties of such concepts as sub judice and contempt of court and was lucky to be let off with a warning.<sup>558</sup>

All kinds of questions about the future of the country had to be worked out. The Constitutional Planning Committee issued recommendations on eligibility for citizenship which made it very hard for expatriates to become citizens. Wantok reported that dual Australian-PNG citizenship would not be recognized. Had dual citizenship been allowed then it is probable that many expatriates like my family would have chosen to also become citizens of the new country.<sup>559</sup> If expatriates could not become citizens, then nor did some of its indigenous inhabitants wish to belong to the new country. Secessionist feeling had already begun to flare on Bougainville and now Josephine Abaijah, the only woman member of the House of Assembly declared that Papua should remain under Australian control because New Guinea received all the money. Wantok did not report (at least in this story) on the complicated legal and historical reasons why Papuans might in fact have felt they had such a claim on continued Australian responsibility. Wantok claimed that other Papuan MHAs opposed her and that the Anglican Church had declared that it did not want its members to support her. 560 Miss Abaijah did not go away and after 1972 she led an extremely vocal group, the Papua Besena Movement, which eventually declared Papuan independence. This caused Somare intense irritation in the lead-up to independence, especially as the Bougainvillean separatists also declared independence. As independence neared, Wantok joined the fray and sought the opinion of American anthropologist Margaret Mead, who declared: "Bruklus em i longlong aidia" ("Secession is an insane idea.")<sup>561</sup>

Pangu had finished the 1972 elections with fewer seats than the United Party, which wanted to move more cautiously towards independence, but Somare stitched together a coalition that gave Pangu power. However, it was a fractious coalition of diverse and competing interests and personalities. John Kaputin, the MHA for Rabaul Open, was eventually sacked from the Cabinet after openly and repeatedly criticising Somare and claiming he was too dependent on expatriate advisers. <sup>562</sup> By 1974 Somare was confident enough to tell the House of Assembly that PNG could be independent by December 1 that year if the members agreed, but they did not. <sup>563</sup> Somare always maintained that it was up to PNG to

<sup>557</sup> Wantok, September 9, 1972.

<sup>558</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...' By this stage the Goodeys were back in Rabaul where Ray worked for the Department of Information and Extension Services and also covered the Emanuel trial for the ABC. Fran Goodey, Personal Communication, February 12, 2013.

<sup>559</sup> Wantok, March 7, 1973.

<sup>560</sup> Wantok, July 18, 1973.

<sup>561</sup> Wantok, July 23, 1975; McKillop, R., 'Papua Besena and Papuan Sepraaism, in May, R.J. (ed.), Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea; Daro, B., The Papua Besena movement: Papua dainai, tano dainai, mauri dainai. IASER Discussion Paper, Vol. 7, Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research, 1976.

<sup>562</sup> Wantok, October 7, 1974.

<sup>563</sup> Wantok, March 20, 1974.

decide the date of independence and so over breakfast on June 18, 1975, he decided that he would announce the date of independence in the House of Assembly that day. After a day of political manoeuvring in the House, he moved that PNG become independent on September 16, 1975 and won the motion 52-13.<sup>564</sup>

The main celebrations for PNG independence were held at Murray Stadium in Port Moresby, where Prince Charles officiated on behalf of his mother. On the other side of the country, in Wewak, celebrations began at midnight with Sir John Guise's announcement of independence on 9PA and a fireworks display.<sup>565</sup> In the time-honoured tradition of a newspaper the production deadline of which does not quite coincide with the events on which it is reporting, *Wantok* did its best to cover the story without actually being able to say what had happened until the next issue. Dated September 17, that week's *Wantok* made do with a front page dominated by the PNG flag. Inside it carried a letter from the Australian High Commissioner, Tom Critchley. Of the future, Critchley said:

"Gavman bilong Australia i laik sambai oltaim olsem gutpela pren bilong Papua Niugini, olsem pren i save wok wantaim em na rispektim em. I tru, sampela taim tupela pren i save tok kros liklik. Tupela i no kros tru; tupela i paitim tok tasol long kain kain aidia na wari bilong tupela...Olsem tasol tupela i ken painimaut tingting na laik bilong tupela, na olsem tupela i save kamap pren moa moa yet." 566

("The Australian Government wants to remain a good friend to Papua New Guinea, a friend it can work with and respect. It is true that sometimes friends will argue, but they aren't really angry with each other, they are just arguing about ideas. That is how they find out what the other person is thinking so that the two can be stronger friends than ever.")

A major factor in *Wantok's* success in reaching out to its audience was that the media, the audience and a sense of political and national identification had already begun to coalesce when *Wantok* was born. Another influential factor was that the growth in the number of students from the end of the 1960s coincided with the growth of the paper. Official figures showed more than a quarter of a million students enrolled in primary, secondary, technical and higher education in 1971.<sup>567</sup> Expenditure on education in the territory had increased by 13.4 percent for the final year of the preceding decade.<sup>568</sup>

Despite the official policy of teaching in English except in the first and second grade, school leavers tended to be more literate in Tok Pisin. This was possible because, having discovered that Tok Pisin was an adequate medium of education and communication, they felt no need to learn English. Felton Having learned to communicate in Tok Pisin, they sought a means to facilitate that communication and found it in *Wantok* and other Tok Pisin publications. Certainly school leavers who were largely literate in it appear to have been regarded as a primary market by *Wantok*. The front page editorial for the paper's 100th issue emphasised Mihalic's major initial concern that speakers had no source of information in their own language and that, unless this was provided, their education would be largely wasted:

"Wantok niuspepa i bin stat long yia 1970. Pater Mihalic, papa bilong em, i wari olsem: Hia long Papua Nu Gini ol Kristen misin i save tromoim planti mani i go insait long of wok edukasen. Planti student i pinisim praimeri skul tasol, na bikpela lain gen i save lusim haiskul long Fom 2. Tru, ol i no inap ritim gut ol buk na niuspepa long tok Inglis.

<sup>564</sup> Somare, M., Sana, pp142-143.

<sup>565</sup> Philemon, O., Crichton A. and Mihalic, F., *Independence Day 16 September 1975 East Sepik*, Wirui Press, 1975. Oseah Philemon was then the District Information Officer. He went on to become editor of the *Post-Courier*.

<sup>566</sup> Wantok, September 17, 1975.

<sup>567</sup> Zinkel, C., 'Pidgin schools in the Highlands,' in Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, VII:2.

<sup>568 -, &#</sup>x27;Current Notes,' in Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, V:5.

<sup>569</sup> ibid.

<sup>570</sup> ibid.

Wantok i wok long helpim ol dispela lain na ol narapela bikpela manmeri tu long ritim na raitim. Nogot edukasen bilong ol i pundaun nating. Wantok i wok long givim ol kain kain nius i laik kamap insait long PNG - bilong gavman, bisnis, na ol misin bai ol pipel i save gut long kantri bilong ol."

("Wantok newspaper was started in 1970. Fr Mihalic, its founder, was worried that in Papua New Guinea Christian missions knew they had to spend a lot of money on education. Many students only finished primary school and many more left high school after form two (grade eight). This meant they find it hard to read a newspaper or book in English. Wantok wants to help all these people and adults to read and write. Education shouldn't be wasted. Wantok's task is to bring you all kinds of news about government, business, missions and the people who know this country best.")<sup>571</sup>

This sense of being a people's paper was the real key to *Wantok's* success. Being printed in the language of the grassruts, it could be bought by one person and passed around a village; moreover, it allowed the grassruts to have their say by devoting several pages each week to readers' letters. This section of the paper became extremely popular, as did competitions for readers' photographs. These may seem like standard methods of boosting circulation, but they had the effect of allowing local people to see and communicate with each other. As the then speaker of the House of Assembly Sir John Guise said, *Wantok* afforded ordinary people a voice that would speak loudly to Members of the House:

"Planti taim ol bikpela man bilong Niugini i wari i tingting olsem wanem yumi ken bungim moa yet ol pipel bilong dispela kantri bilong yumi. Tru, gavman i gat planti wailes stesin bilong salim tok i go. Gavman i printim tu planti kain liklik buk bilong bringim save long ol manmeri. Tasol ol dispela samting i bihainim ol tingting na ol aidia bilong gavman tasol. Ol tu i save em i no inap.

Ol aidia na tingting bilong ol pipel yumi save painim we? Bai ol Niuginian i ken autim tingting na wari bilong em we? Olsem wanem ol bikpela man bilong gavman i ken mekim nupela lo o kamapim nupela pasin sapos ol i no save gut long tingting bilong ol pipel yet? I no ken. Bai tok kros na trabel tasol i kamap. Niuspepa i gat wok bilong autim ol tingting na wari bilong ol pipel, bai olgeta arapela man i ken ritim na harim na save long ol. Olsem niuspepa i nambawan samting bilong kantri bilong yumi."

("Many times the people of Papua New Guinea worry about how we are to become more united. True, the government has many radio stations to spread its ideas. The government also prints many small publications to spread its ideas to the people. However, these things only spread the government's ideas. Everybody knows this is not enough. Where do we find the ideas of the people? Where can the people of this country share their worries? How can the government propose new ideas if it doesn't know what the people think? It can't. All that will happen is that the government will cause anger and trouble. This newspaper has the job of bringing out people's concerns so that everybody can know what they are. That is why this newspaper is the best thing for our country.") 572

This sentiment was later echoed in a talk given by Kumalau Tawali, Manus poet and coeditor of *Wantok*, on the NBC programme *Stap na Ting Ting*. Tawali quoted the paper's motto: 'Talking with people the people's way' as against 'talking with people Waigani's way.' He quoted Professor Lynch at UPNG as saying that because the government and media did not use Tok Pisin they were failing to keep people informed. "The result is inevitable: We make little progress as a nation. It's as important as that," he said. <sup>573</sup> Despite his protestations to the contrary, *Wantok* was bound to have an effect on the way Tok Pisin was used. It is

<sup>571</sup> Wantok, September 18, 1974.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> Tawali, K., Stap na Ting Ting, NBC, June 10, 1979.

clear that Mihalic saw *Wantok* as a way of ensuring that Tok Pisin became standardised. If a standardised version, based upon the North Coast version that had been used in the *Nupela Testamen*, could become inculcated among readers, then a standard version would become accepted and used nationally. Mihalic wrote later:

"Wantok has its own Tok Pisin style book which is tabulating lists of new Tok Pisin words. It also contains the rules for transliterating foreign words in pisin equivalents that can be read and pronounced by Tok Pisin users. Wantok writers produce more Tok Pisin copy per week than any other source in PNG." 574

He always felt that *Wantok* was the only place where ordinary people would see Tok Pisin. He claimed that many people taught themselves to read Tok Pisin from *Wantok*. The only other source more easily available was the *Nupela Testamen*. Using his *Grammar and Dictionary of Neo-Melanesian*, the *Wantok* staff standardised spelling and usage of Tok Pisin in the paper. Advertising and letters to the editor were collected and slowly people began to absorb and copy the paper's style. The paper found it necessary to create Tok Pisin equivalents of the specialised language used by government departments.<sup>575</sup> During one of his not infrequent battles with the Catholic bishops, Mihalic was forced to defend the paper and explain its policies. Part of his defence read:

"We write in Pidgin for the most part, but we are not bound to it. The day that the majority of the people opt for English, English *Wantok* will become." <sup>576</sup>

In fact the paper did print some articles in English, particularly political pieces by John Ryan, but it became apparent that people wanted *Wantok* to be purely Tok Pisin in content and did not like mixing the languages. Readers who responded to a survey felt it would reach more people if it was entirely in Tok Pisin.<sup>577</sup> Mihalic's promotion of *Wantok* was fierce and sincere, but he seems not to have noticed or understood that other people might be equally as fierce about their own language or lingua franca. He poured scorn on priests in Papua who objected to being asked to circulate a Tok Pisin newspaper and declared that if only they had a Motu paper, it might become the equivalent of *Wantok*. He also seems not to have understood that people who did not speak Tok Pisin might genuinely prefer to use Motu or Milne Bay English.

Wantok's enduring strength has been as a forum for its readers, who have no other outlet for their thoughts or grievances. Readers aired their thoughts on any number of issues and the phrase "Mi laik outim wari bilong mi" became a common introduction to many letters. Local politicians were often outraged by what the readers had to say and threatened Wantok with libel suits, but "when...offered equal time and equal space to answer, they always backed off." One of the earliest topics of discussion was the introduction of the miniskirt to PNG:

<sup>574</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Tok Pisin: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow,' in *Catalyst*, XVI:2, 1986. By the time I was working for *The Times of PNG* in 1994 it was clear that Tok Pisin had developed strongly regional forms. I was occasionally asked by the editor of *Wantok* to translate Tok Pisin copy sent in by bush correspondents into Tok English, which was then re-translated into 'proper' Tok Pisin. Perhaps it was felt that a re-translation would give a better idea of what the writer was saying.

<sup>575</sup> Sadly, today's PNG politicians all too often ignore the language of the grassruts and use a heavily Anglicised Tok Pisin (which I have referred to elsewhere as Waigani Pisin) that is largely incomprehensible to their readers. This point was nicely mocked in the film *Tin Pis Run*.

<sup>576</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

<sup>577</sup> ibid. Wantok\_sent out 350 questionnaires. Only 40 people responded and the results he cites in his MS are all from the staff of Kristen Press in Madang.

<sup>578</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

"Wrought up males and females waxed eloquent in graphic Pisin expressing their distaste and the verbal battles which delight any editor were on. These letters...made the paper more and more popular." 579

Matbob believes that *Wantok* appealed mainly to younger, educated people:

"After all, we, the young generation, the ones who were in school and learning to read and write, had the natural curiosity to read printed material, no matter what language it was in." 580

A study of Table 7.1 shows how the sources of *Wantok's* letters spread across PNG as the newspaper grew. For the period 1970-74 I have selected one edition from one month selected more or less at random for each year to give an idea of where people were writing from. Judging from the origins of the letters, there was a distinct shift from a purely north coast readership to a wider national readership in this period. For instance, in the letters page from 1973, three out of the five letters are from the Highlands.

The early editions of *Wantok*, which are presented in Table 7.1, carried mainly letters from the Sepik and the north coast, but after a few years correspondence was coming from the Highlands and then from the Islands region. Also of note is the number of letters coming from students at technical schools and colleges, from teachers and from school pupils. These are the very people who would vote in future elections and have a major role to play in an independent PNG. By giving them a voice, *Wantok* was carrying out an important developmental function. *Wantok's* readers wrote to the paper on everything from the danger of beer drinking to the recently introduced Phantom strip to their concerns about the future. As this selection of letters makes clear, they had doubts about the way the country was going and whether they would have a say in what was going to happen.

In Table 7.2, which covers 1975, the year of independence, I have presented a more detailed breakdown, with letters pages from one sample edition for each of 10 months of the year. There are gaps in this sample for 1975 because *Wantok* did not print in December that year and I could not find the binder for September in the time I had at the Australian National Library in Canberra. As we saw in chapter four, there was unease among some local people at Whitlam's pronouncement on almost immediate self-government:

"Mi ting planti pipel bilong Papua Nu Gini i no amamas long ritim dispela tingting bilong Mista Whitlam. Emi i raitim olsem selp gavman i mas kam long yia 1972 na independens long 1976. Em i tok tu Australia i mas klia long Papua Nu Gini...mi ting dispela toktok bilong Mista Whitlam i no stret tru. Em i giaman tumas. Long wanem taim em i kam lukluk long Papua Nu Gini emi wokabaout long taun tasol na gris wantaim wanpela o tupela man bilong taun tasol. Lukim planti pipel i stap nabaut ausait long taun. Ol i no save long mining bilong selp gavman. Ol i no save long wok bilong ranim bisnis, wok bilong gavman na misin. Bihain planti yia i go pinis olgeta pipel...i laik orait bai gavman bilong Australia i ken givim selp gavman. Wok bilong givim selp gavman em i no wok bilong Australia, em i laik bilong pipel bilong Papua Nu Gini." 581

("I think plenty of Papua New Guineans don't like this talk of Mr Whitlam. He writes that self-government must come in 1972 and independence in 1976. He also says that Australia must leave PNG. I don't think he is serious. He must be joking. When he was here he only went to the towns and spoke with one or two people there. What about people living outside the towns?

<sup>579</sup> ibid.

<sup>580</sup> Matbob, P., personal communication. Matbob allowed that for all their curiosity, young people and students usually didn't have the money to actually buy their own copy.

<sup>581</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor, Angalam Sikilonde, February 3, 1971.

They don't know what self-government means, or how to run a business or do the work of the government or the missions. In years to come people will think it is all right for Australia to give us self-government. The right to give us self-government isn't up to Australia, it's our decision.")

"Tasol insait long Chimbu long hap bilong mi, planti manmeri i no save long mining bilong [selp gavman na independens]...Olsem na mi ting i gutpela moa sapos ol Selek Komiti o ol sampela gutpela man i mast tok klia tru long dispela tupela samting." 582

("Where I live in the Chimbu, most people don't know what self-government or independence means. I think it would be a good idea if the Select Committee on Constitutional Development explained carefully and truthfully about these things.")

**Table 7.1** Sources of letters to *Wantok* 1970-74.

Year	Issue	Source of letters
1970	August 19	One page only
1971	February 17	Wewak, Manus, Ambunti, Aitape, Nuku, Bulolo, Tabugal, Aitape
1972	July 5	Bougainville, Lae, Banz, Mt Hagen, Tau, Kundiawa, Asaro, Mt Hagen, Aitape.
1973	July 4	Nuku, Erave, Kimbe, Kundiawa), Goroka.
1974	June 19	Madang, Erave, Wewak, Panguna, Nipa.

**Table 7.2** Sources of letters to *Wantok* 1975.

Year	Issue	Source of letters	
1975	January 22	Wewak, Bougainville, Mt Hagen, Kimbe.	
	February 19	Erave, Kainantu, Wapenamanda, Wewak, Orarat Village.	
	March 19	Buin, Erave, Kimbe, Goroka, Aitape	
	April 16	Lae, Mt Hagen, Enhganofi, Erave, Asaroka, Nowatuou, Torembi, Pomio, Henganofi.	
	May 28	Warabung, Bougainville, Okapa, Vanimo, Mt Hagen.	
	June 25	Port Moresby, Wabag, Erave, Lae, Lae.	
	July 23	Kairiru, Bulolo, Bougainville, Lae, Kundiawa.	
	August 20	Rabaul, Wabag, Wewak, Bougainville, Wamauri, Lae	
	October 15	Namatanai, Arwar, Ambulla, Wewak, Bougainville.	
	November 25	Lae, Madang, Banz, Manus, Yambil, Panguna, Buyusi. Kimbe.	

<sup>&</sup>quot;Maski long kisim selp gavman na kam long Hailans. Mipela sampela i no redi long kisim selp gavman. Traim na tingting long brata i stap long baksait bilong yu." 583

("Forget about self-government and come to the Highlands. We aren't ready for it. Try to think about your brothers who live elsewhere.")

<sup>582</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor from Mondo Ludger, February 3, 1971.

<sup>583</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor from Seth Ni Robin, April 7, 1971.

"Na gavman bilong Australia i hariap tumas long givim independens long Papua Nu Gini. Mi ting em i samting bilong olgeta pipel bilong Papua Nu Gini." <sup>584</sup>

("The Australian government is moving too fast to give PNG independence. I think this is something for us.")

Many of the letters in this vein came from Highlanders, who were cautious about self-government and independence because they felt it would mean that coastal people would run the country and leave them behind. Politically, the Highlanders tended to align themselves with the United Party, which was strongly backed by the expatriate planters and which favoured a much slower approach to self-government and the question of independence than did Pangu. Other, more practical, matters also concerned *Wantok's* readers. From Wewak came a letter complaining about people spending all their pay on beer, not leaving their wife with enough to buy groceries and then complaining when the food ran out. Domestic violence was the inevitable result.

"Inap nau 10-pela yia mi wok insait long Wewak taun. Mi lukim planti maritman save kisim mani long fotnait na givim meri long em liklik. Tasol em yet em i gat planti long baim bia na go wantaim ol pren bilong em na pinisim laik bilong em gut. I no longtaim long Mande, em i askim meri, 'ei, mi hangre!' Na tarangau meri bai tok, 'Mi no gat mani. K5.00 kina yu bin givim mi long en mi baim pinis kaikai long Fraide na i pinis.' Bihain man i kirap paitim meri bilong em long hariapim em long kukim kaikai." S85 ("For 10 years I have worked in Wewak and I see plenty of married men who get their pay every fortnight and only give a little of it to their wife. Then they spend the rest on beer with their friends and do whatever they want. By Monday they are hungry, but when they ask their wife for food, she tells them that the five kina they gave her on Friday to buy food is finished. Then the man beats his wife and tells her to hurry up and cook him some food.")

Wantok's readership was always quick to express its disapproval, especially when it came to something as serious as a national anthem. When Whitlam came to power, 'God Save the Queen' was replaced as the national anthem by 'Advance Australia Fair'. Most Australians didn't know the words and in many ways it was even less suitable since Papua New Guineans were clearly not going to ever be Australians. The closest thing to a local national song seemed to be the annoyingly cheerful "Papua New Guinea, your day has begun/Nations are watching the rise of your sun..." with which 9PA began its daily transmission at 6am. Papua had long had its own beautiful Motu hymn, 'Papua,' but there had been nothing similar for New Guinea. A national competition was held for a national anthem and eventually, out of five competing songs, a sprightly tune which began "O arise all you sons of this land/Let us sing of our joy to be free" was chosen. Some readers were not impressed:

"Tasol long taim mi harim dispela 5-pela song long wailes, mi no amamas tumas. Long wanem, em i no musik bilong mipela PNG. Nogat. Em i musik bilong narapela graun. Na ol wot bilong song i kamap long inglis na mi no amamas...Sapos dispela Nesenel Antem i bilong olgeta pipel, ol i mas kamap long tok pisin, na i mas kamap olsem long musik bilong PNG stret." 586

("When I heard the five songs on the radio I didn't like them very much. They aren't PNG music and all the words are in English. If this is supposed to be our national anthem, it should be in Tok Pisin and use our music.")

However much its readership increased, though, it was still a difficult world for the fledgling paper. Printing readers' letters was an obvious winner, but Mihalic tried many other tactics.

<sup>584</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor from Jack. O. Sanive, April 18, 1971.

<sup>585</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor from Daniel Frump, May 14, 1975.

<sup>586</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor from Gelakwi, September 3, 1975. Wantok devoted several pages to the music and lyrics of the contenders for the proposed national anthem. At this distance it is difficult to imagine quite what the authors of 'El Dorado! Papua New Guinea' were thinking. Wantok, June 11, 1975.

Like Charles Foster Kane, he was prepared to try anything to attract an audience. Mihalic experimented with a variety of features, including comic strips. It was here that he hit pay dirt and gained the paper international fame. After failing to garner much of a reaction to some frankly awful Disney cartoons about a puppy, Mihalic bought the PNG rights for the *Phantom*. The strip was so popular that it spawned an advertising campaign which declared:

```
"Sapos yu kaikai planti pinat bai yu kamap strong olsem Phantom." (If you eat many peanuts, you will become strong like the Phantom.)<sup>587</sup>
```

With Tok Pisin now the lingua franca of Bangalla, the Ghost who Walks was better equipped to keep the peace from the golden sands of Keela-Wee to the Misty Mountains, always certain that his waildok Devil would be at his side and that they could parachute out of a balus any time they liked. Younger readers were delighted. Christine Rocky begged the paper to start the whole saga from the beginning:

```
"Mi wanpela skulmeri bilong Yarapos Gels Haiskul. Mi save laikim tru long ritim olkain stori bilong Fantom. Olsem na mi laik askim yupela, inap long yupela i prinim wanpela stori buk Fantom, stat long bigining bilong em?" 588
```

("I am a student at Yarapos Girls High school. I love reading about the Phantom. I would like to ask whether it would be possible to print a book with the story of the Phantom from the beginning?")

Unfortunately, the *Post-Courier* was also running the *Phantom* in English and its owners were not amused. Eventually they put pressure on the distributors in Sydney and two years later they told Mihalic that from now on the adventures of the Guardian of the Eastern Dark would no longer be available for him to translate into Tok Pisin. Somehow *Time* magazine got to hear of the matter and ran a story on the struggle between *Wantok* and the Australian-owned paper. The introduction is enough to understand why Mihalic accused the author of mixing in a little fiction:

"The spear-carrying tribesmen of Papua New Guinea - homeland of the cargo cults and of islanders who once regarded L.B.J. as a demigod - have a new Western hero to worship. No, not the Fonz or Jimmy Carter, but the masked comic-strip marvel who lives in the Skull Cave of Bangalla - namely, the Phantom. Every Friday thousands of natives stream out of the jungle to buy copies of *Wantok...*"589

Mihalic attributed the loss of The Scourge of the Singh Pirates this to the *Post-Courier's* nervousness about the fact that *Wantok's* circulation had risen to 9500 a fortnight.

"The *Post-Courier* actually gave *Wantok* more credit than it deserved. It felt that... *Wantok* had the psychological edge in knowing how local customers were thinking and what they liked and disliked." 590

Although the demise of the Tok Pisin Phantom is a little outside our time frame, it does afford some light relief in what was, at times, a genuine struggle for *Wantok*. It also indicates that Mihalic's struggling paper was beginning to be noticed. From the beginning Mihalic had to worry about advertising revenue, especially since the paper had a small advertising

<sup>587</sup> Wohlgemuth, J., 'Grammatical categories and their realisations in Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea' (revised 2001) at <a href="http://www.linguist.de/TokPisin/tp02-en.htm">http://www.linguist.de/TokPisin/tp02-en.htm</a>

<sup>588</sup> Wantok, letter to the editor from Christine Rockey, June 11, 1975.

<sup>589 -, &#</sup>x27;Fantom, Yu Pren Tru Bilong Mi,' in *Time*, September 26, 1977.

<sup>590</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

base to begin with and was based in Wewak, a town he described as "way off the beaten track." In its first years of existence, *Wantok* appears to have had a ratio of about 30 percent advertising to copy. This was hardly profitable. What is notable, however, is that the advertising is in Tok Pisin and that it very rapidly moves from being local (Sepik) advertising to national advertising. There was no television, no commercial radio and the *Post-Courier* did not carry ads in Tok Pisin, so *Wantok* had a niche market to itself. According to Mihalic:

"At first advertising was almost impossible to get. Most public relations officers in companies and government departments were expatriates who considered Tok Pisin a bastardised perpetuation of baby talk English. They presumed that lowbrows using such a jargon...would not have enough money to buy their products. So why waste money on useless advertising?

Even after many local government positions had been localised, it took a bit of prodding to get local officers onside...with advertising. Many...were Papuans whom missionaries and Europeans had trained to be pathologically against Tok Pisin. Wantok kept reminding MPs that all decrees and laws which they passed in parliament must be published in a newspaper if they were to be legal. But in their mind...that automatically meant the Post-Courier. The fact that 95% of the country's literate people did not read the Post-Courier was, to them, beside the point...There was a bad sag in advertising copy from Port Moresby (in 1975). Wantok stood to gain thousands of needed dollars in revenue annually if it accepted cigarette and beer ads. Companies approached, but Wantok refused for fear of losing a great percent of its Protestant clientele and good will." 592

Mihalic reported to the Catholic Bishops' Conference in December 1974 that the paper was losing Aus\$250 an issue. During the school year *Wantok* had an actual selling run of 5297 copies, of which 1789 copies went to schools in bulk, 2702 were bulk sales to other groups and institutions, 739 were individual subscriptions and 123 were free to Members of the House of Assembly. Mihalic reported that advertising was down 40 percent on 1973 and that the paper needed Aus\$6000 to survive.<sup>593</sup>

A commercial newspaper cannot normally hope to survive with less than a 65 percent advertising ratio. In the first issue the paper managed the equivalent of about five pages of advertising out of 16. About a third of the advertising in the first issue came from Wewak or Sepik businesses. Despite the continuing problems with revenue, the paper continued to increase its circulation and introduced sister publications such as *New Nation*, which was targeted at schools, regional editions and a sports paper. *Wantok* survived, but only with constant injections of money from aid agencies and Christian charities. Projects like *New Nation* fell by the wayside.

Wantok did not receive any financial support from the Catholic Bishops' Conference, which Mihalic felt was constantly criticising the paper. Mihalic always felt that he had to defend himself and the paper, particularly against the charge that Wantok was insufficiently Catholic. As he explained time and again, it had never been intended to be what he called "a mouthpiece for the bishops." It had to be ecumenical to be truly Christian and because advertisers would not use a medium restricted to a narrow market.

<sup>591</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., Video Interview, 1990.

<sup>592</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...' In the April 21, 1971, issue *Wantok* carried an ad for SP beer. The ad copy reads: "Oltaim yu tingting long bia, yu tingting long SP." The ad shows two Europeans and four indigenous bar staff. The appearance of the ad contrasts somewhat with Mihalic's later comments.

<sup>593</sup> Mihalic, F., Report to the Catholic Bishops' Conference, December 15, 1974.

**Table 7.3** shows the advertising base for the paper's first five years of publication. Advertising sizes are calculated on a portion of a page calculated by multiplying the depth of the ad by the number of columns. One issue from one month in each year was selected for sampling purposes.

Year	Issue	Source of advertising
1970	August 5	PIM (1/4) Wewak Pharmacy (1/2), Breckwoldts (1/2), Tang Mow (1/4), Wewak Timbers (1/4), Kristen Press (1/4), Wewak Christian book Shop (1/3), TAA (1/3), Wirui Store (1/3), Edwards, Dunlop & Co (1/3), BPs (1/2), Breckwoldts (1/2), Shell (1/4) Newsagent (1/4)
1971+	February 17	Tutt Bryant ¼, national, cars, Breckwoldts 1/2, national tyres, Canvas and Cordage Rabaul, Kristen Press Madang, Wewak Christian Bookshop, Carpenters (national), Ansett (full page)
1972	March 3	Read (magazine, Ukarampa), Cold Power (national), BPs (national), Breckwoldts (national), Kristen Press (Madang), Ansett (national), Territory Battery (Lae), Komatsu (national), Keynote Music House (Rabaul), Lux (national).
1973	April 18	Kristen Press (Madang), Cane Industry (Aitape), Penta-vite (national), Cold Power (national), BPs (national), Omo (national), Recruitment ad for lay brothers, Peolac (national), New Guinea Book Depot (Boroko mail order), Boroko Motors (Port Moresby), Breckwoldts (national), Aspro x 2 (national), Komatsu (national).
1974	June 19	Aspro x 2, BPs, Hardies, Talair, Prolac (all national) Kristen Press (Madang, didiman books), Cane Industry (Aitape), Penta-vite.
1975	January 1	Aspro 5x4, Heinz baked beans ½, Penta-vite baby supplement ½, Christian Book Centre (Rabaul) 10x2, Wantok calendar (house ad) Cane Industry (Aitape) 10x2, BPs/National Radios 10x3, Aspro (full page back page with spot blue)

**Table 7.4** shows the circulation figures for Word Publishing's publications for the first 10 years. It is presumed that these are total print runs per year.<sup>594</sup>

Year	Circulation figure	Publication
1970	57,000	Wantok (began in August)
1972	149,500	Wantok only, 23 issues
1974	149,500	Wantok only, 23 issues
1976	161,000	Wantok only, 23 issues
1978	480,000	Wantok, now 48 issues a year plus New Nation
1979	659,000	Wantok, New Nation, Rugby League News (estimate only)

<sup>594</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., (no byline, but probable author) The Word in PNG, No. 19 December 1979/January, 1980.

Mihalic claimed that the Catholic bishops remained hostile or at best indifferent to *Wantok*. He wrote to a friend that Bishop Noser had declared that the paper "had done no harm." As he ruefully noted on the paper's 20th anniversary:

"I tru, ol bisop bilong PNG i bin givim namba wan aidia bilong kirapim dispela wok, tasol ol i no bin sapotim em tumas."

("It's true that the bishops initiated this project, but since then they have given little support.")<sup>596</sup>

In 1976 Wantok moved to Port Moresby. Mihalic stayed behind in Wewak, as did Jacinta Jongon and many of the original staff who were unable to move because of the shortage of housing in the capital. 597 According to Mihalic, the bishops gave them the lease of empty premises in Gordons, but after three years they gave up on the paper, threw Wantok out of its offices and told them to fend for themselves. 598

Bishop Arkfeld had always been in favour of ecumenism, saying that the role of *Wantok* was "to promote Christianity even more than Catholicism." This was eventually reflected in the ownership of the paper when the SVDs took over as the major shareholder, with the rest of the ownership split between the Church of England, the Uniting Church and the Lutherans, who were the largest Protestant shareholder. The paper continued to face financial problems, but these eased as overseas donors began to support its work. At one point Somare tried to direct the government to use *Wantok*, but nothing came of his efforts. Wantok established a reputation for editorial independence, something which was cemented under the direction of Mihalic's successor, Fr Jim Franks. It was he who articulated *Wantok's* philosophy:

"...to promote Gospel values through encouraging total human development by helping people to mature intellectually and spiritually, to seek the truth, to oppose injustice, inequality, violence and the destruction of the environment, to hold up a mirror to society and all its institutions." 602

These aims may be interpreted as being political, but they are not party political. They derive from the Catholic Church's social justice model and from the Option for the Poor, from liberation theology and from the Second Vatican Council's statement on social communication, *Communio et Progressio*. They are the aims of a progressive, ecumenical, spiritual media seeking to represent the grassruts community. *Wantok's* application of these principles was practical, whether in such projects as a weekly comic strip on better agricultural practice, printing traditional stories or in actively seeking to nationalise the staff at an early stage.

Wantok's audience grew in the first five years after independence. It probably reached its peak of popularity in this period with its coverage of the despatch of the PNG Defence

<sup>595</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., Letter, February 22, 1975, Mt Hagen archives.

<sup>596</sup> The Word in PNG, No.145, August 1990. No byline, but probably Mihalic.

<sup>597</sup> Jorgon, J., interview, Wirui, April 9, 1992.

<sup>598</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

<sup>599</sup> Arkfeld, Bishop L., interview, Wirui, April 10, 1992.

<sup>600</sup> Talk by Ross Stevens, journalism lecturer at UPNG on *Encounter*, NBC 14/6/81; *The Word in PNG* No. 19, December/January, 1979/80.

<sup>601</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life...'

<sup>602</sup> Obituary by Konio Seka, Times of PNG April 2, 1992.

Force's Kumul force to Vanuatu, where it put down Jimi Stevens' rebellion on Santo. In the following decade, *Wantok* and its sister papers teetered on the edge of financial ruin, but by the time it celebrated its 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1990, the paper was finally showing a profit.<sup>603</sup> By the beginning of its third decade, Word's journalists were no longer praising the PNGDF, but exposing the army's human rights abuses on Bougainville. In its 35 years, *Wantok's* staff have seen two sets of premises burnt down and been threatened by drunken soldiers and belligerent politicians. Other Word publications have closed. Tok Pisin has changed out of all recognition as it has become creolised and regionalised to the point where there is now a project to update Mihalic's work and bring it in line with the new realities of PNG.<sup>604</sup>

In 2004, raskols broke into the Word offices in Spring Garden Road, stole computer equipment and burned down the building. *Wantok* got to its feet again and moved into new premises in Waigani. Michael Somare, who was once again Prime Minister, opened the new offices. In his speech he said:

"I take this opportunity to acknowledge the pioneers of this Tok Pisin newspaper... for not only identifying the importance of information dissemination for the majority of our people, but actually doing something about it by starting this newspaper. The dissemination of information is still limited to our urban areas and many of our people have...taught themselves to read Tok Pisin. Some people have the luxury to argue that Tok Pisin is not a language. To deny Tok Pisin is to deny the existence of the majority of our people."

Somare's speech encapsulated many of the most important factors in Wantok's success. Despite everything it survived to become a vital tool in educating the grassruts about the enormous political and social changes confronting them on the eve of independence. It promoted a sense of nationalism and ecumenism - the latter in the face of stiff opposition from some of the Catholic bishops and sought to give people a voice. It gave its readers a chance to express their views about what was happening, as exampled by the cautious reactions to Whitlam's declarations about the proximity of independence. It also gave its readers a chance to communicate with each other about many other issues, something that had not previously been possible for many people who were not literate in English. Wantok had been a major factor in inculcating the rules of Tok Pisin usage and grammar and encouraging literacy and by so doing had itself become part of the mechanism of national development. Wantok helped Tok Pisin to become a national language and, with the inevitable process of creolisation in urban centres, it has become the first language of an increasing number of citizens. To recognise the importance of Tok Pisin is also to recognise the importance of Wantok and the persistence of its vision of the future of Papua New Guinea.

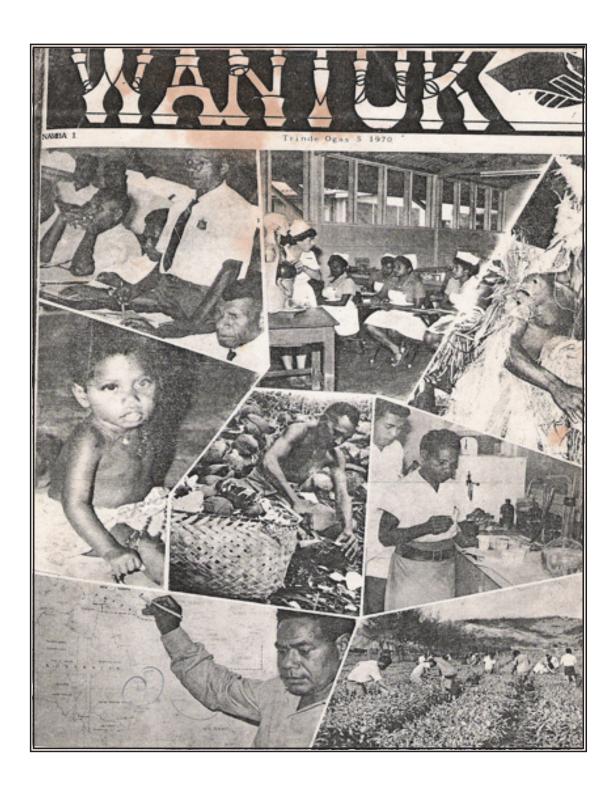
Auditor's reports and internal correspondence kept in the archives by the SVDs in Mt Hagen paint a grim picture of a company expanding far too quickly and with no independent oversight of its finances. An independent audit showed that the company was seriously in debt and that immediate and decisive intervention was needed. This was done and the crisis averted. Mihalic claimed that by 1990 *Wantok* was making money and that by then it and the *Post-Courier* were regarded as the only dependable advertising markets. Mihalic, Fr F., video interview.

<sup>604</sup> Tok Pisin (and its Solomon Islands and Vanuatu variants) gradually became creolised as the first language of many urban dwellers. Mugler and Lynch estimated that by 1999 it was the first language of half a million people and the second language of three million more.

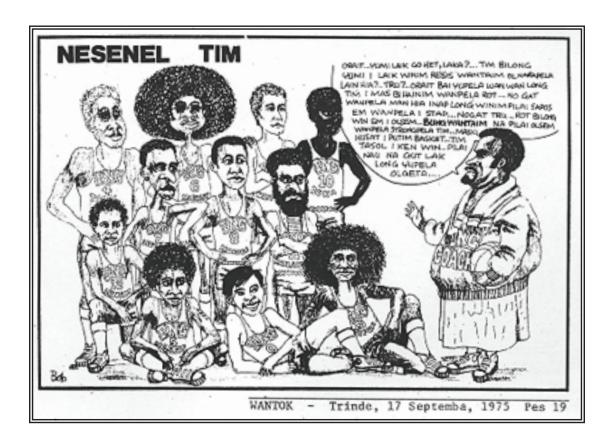
Lynch, J. and Mugler, F., 'English in the South Pacific,' USP, 1999, at http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fij/paclangunit/English\_South\_Pacific.htm .

The Revising Mihalic Project is administered by John Burton and Pat Gesch at http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/PNG/MIHALIC/About/About.htm

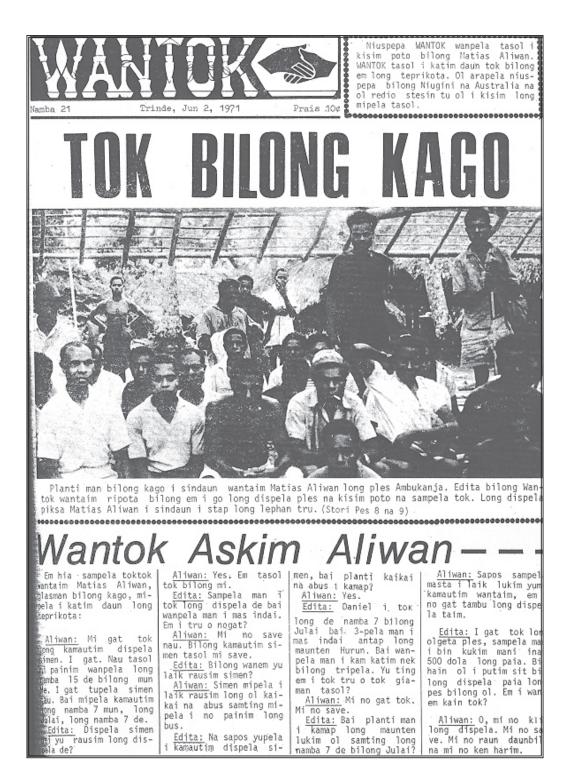
<sup>605</sup> Somare, Sir M., speech at launch of new *Wantok* premises in Waigani 13/6/2004. http://www.pm.gov.pg/pmsoffice/pmsoffice.nsf/0/9F203DFC3F553CAB4A256ED000274FC1?OpenDocument



**Illustration 7.1** *Wantok's* first edition, August 5, 1970. The montage of photos was made up of photos supplied by the Department of Information and Extension Services, which was always looking for outlets for its work.



**Illustration 7.2** *Wantok* has always made great use of graphics, whether with the photos supplied in the early days by the Department of Information and Extension Services, or by its own cartoonists. On the eve of independence, the paper ran this cartoon showing Somare as the coach of a disparate, but united, national team.



**Illustration 7.3** *Wantok*, June 2, 1971. Cargo cults continued to be a problem. What were loosely called cults could range from elaborate cons, sympathetic magic and syncretic rituals to genuine self-help movements and outright political statements.



**Illustration 7.4** *Wantok*, September 17, 1975. Independence Day fell the day before *Wantok* was issued. It made do by printing the new national flag, a beautiful banner featuring the bird of paradise and the Southern Cross.

### **Chapter 8**

## Press, politics and independence in Melanesia

During the period of Australian administration the PNG press was, with notable exceptions, aimed squarely at the expatriate population. It reflected their interests and their lives and only after the Second World War began to report on the local people as something other than threats or colourful oddities. As the attitudes of expatriates changed, so too did their newspapers. It was perhaps inevitable that a provincial weekly like the *Rabaul Times* would not last beyond a certain point; less so that the *New Guinea Courier* should fold.

However, the centralisation of administration in Port Moresby and the belief in the need for economic development as a pre-requisite for self-government also played their part. The Administration, the House of Assembly and the largest companies were all headquartered in the territory's capital. No newspaper could report on what was happening in PNG as a whole without being based in Port Moresby and so the *South Pacific Post* eventually swallowed the *Times* and the *Courier* and became the *Post-Courier*. Later on, both *Wantok* and *Niugini Nius* tried to give a version of life in PNG from outside Port Moresby, but still had to have their reporters in the capital.

The result is that most of the first draft of history contained in the English-language PNG press comes with a distinctly Port Moresby flavour. However, precisely because Port Moresby was the centre of government, administration and business, life in the capital was quite different to that in the smaller towns, islands and outstations.

This is not to say that the expatriate press was not an accurate reflection of what was happening in the Territory or of the attitudes of many expatriates. The *Rabaul Times* very accurately reflects post-war concerns and attitudes and was remarkably frank in opening its pages to complaints about racism; in voicing the concerns of the mixed race community and covering the first faltering steps towards treating the Chinese community as equal business partners. As a paper that was very much the voice of the RSL and the planters, it also gives an accurate sense of their concerns and outlook and reminds us of how important a part of society returned servicemen felt themselves to be in the 1950s.

The *Rabaul Times* reflects the naïve, optimistic, sometimes paternalistic, often unrealistic, but nevertheless well-meant intentions of a sizeable number of expatriates for the future of the Territory. If they were not views that would be shared by *Wantok* 20 years later, they were certainly ones that would not have been printed in the *Rabaul Times* 20 years before. That naïve view of the future was shattered for a moment by the tragedy on the Gazelle, but the paper soon returned to its normal coverage of events, confident that an official enquiry had settled the dust on an unfortunate incident. The *Times* was an accurate mirror of its

little society and if the mirror occasionally reflected expatriate life through a golden haze, this must have seemed only natural to many of its readers. For expatriates, certain of their views, optimistic by nature and determined to profit from the possibilities of the Territory, the 1950s really must have seemed like a brief, golden age of colonialism.

A decade later all that had changed. The *Post-Courier* emerged at a time of tumultuous political upheaval all over the world. Possibly the six months of its publication under consideration here were the most important in the Territory's history. Here were the roots of the Bougainville civil war, the climax of the first clash with a properly organised indigenous political force in the Mataungan Association and the emergence of Michael Somare as a man to be reckoned with in the House of Assembly. Expatriate readers were also entertained by the South Pacific Games and debated questions of censorship. Armstrong and Aldrin had landed on the moon and the Vietnam War was rumbling away in the background. All over the planet, existing social and political order was being challenged and defended. The world was upside down and the Territory was not immune from the disorder. It was at the climax of these six months that Whitlam announced that Labor would make the Territory self-governing as soon as possible.

While these were all matters of concern to expatriates, many of them were of concern to the Territory as a whole and there is evidence that throughout this period the *Post-Courier* was conscious of the need to present the voice of the indigenous population as well. In general it presented a view of indigenous concerns that was far more nuanced than that found in the *Rabaul Times*. The tax protestors and the demonstrators had been presented in the pages of the *Rabaul Times* as confused, misled and sometimes dangerous children. A decade later, the people demanding land for an indigenous club in Port Moresby were given sympathetic, front page treatment and the *Post-Courier* went out of its way to listen to what the local people had to say about the resumption of land around Arawa.

Wantok was the first paper to try to reflect the whole of PNG from an indigenous viewpoint and the first to be launched with a solid idea of what it wanted for the country as a whole. Its aims were ecumenical, developmental, social, linguistic and, as a result, political. Much of the paper's reputation grew from the work of later editors and journalists, but Fr Mihalic's tiny scrap of a newspaper proved, in the first few years of its life, how much could be done with very little.

Wantok was aimed squarely at Tok Pisin speakers, at the grassruts, the village dwellers, the school drop-outs and the urban fringe dwellers. It was not aimed at expatriates. Except on very rare occasions, they and their interests were of only marginal concern. What interested Wantok was the future, for this was a paper aware that it was not just reporting on events in the Territory that was, but on the PNG that was to be. It reflected the whole country with free government photos, hand outs, news stories from anywhere and everywhere. It tried to explain voting and how the House of Assembly worked and why people should not be afraid of self-government. It turned its mirror on to every view and argument, encouraging people to write to the editor about their views, ideas and grievances. It gave the people a voice that grew louder with each edition.

Like any mirror, the Territory press lets you see different things from different angles. Read the letter to the *Rabaul Times* about the town swimming pool being polluted with racism and you can draw a straight line to the Chinese resident in 1975 who has to decide whether to become a PNG citizen or move to Australia. To read the account of the women fighting over the concrete markers at Arawa in the *Post-Courier* is to think of female journalists on the *Times of PNG* and the *Post-Courier* hiding from soldiers enraged by their coverage of the war on Bougainville. To read *Wantok's* articles carefully explaining what self-government and independence meant, in language the grassruts could understand, is to remember that for all the troubles that have occurred since 1975, Papua New Guinea is still a functioning democracy with a free press.

In the 35 years and more since PNG gained its independence, the former Australian Territory has undergone a number of upheavals. The constitution has left any government prey to a vote of no confidence. The civil war on Bougainville disrupted the entire country and battered the economy. Corruption is rife and violence widespread. Relations with Australia have been strained to breaking point by decades of arrogant and insensitive behaviour by successive Australian governments and by the over-sensitivity of PNG politicians unwilling to admit that they are, even occasionally, at fault. PNG is a very different country from the one reported on in the 1950s or even the 1970s. However, as I shall show in this chapter, despite the enormous challenges, journalists have as much, if not more, commitment to their audiences than they did in the past. PNG governments have shown no more liking for the press than did certain officials during the period of Australian administration. The press is challenged by unstable literacy rates and the media continues to be dominated by foreigners, be they Australians, Malaysians or Fijians. I have drawn on a variety of sources to examine the way in which the PNG press has changed since independence. There is a small, but growing, collection of research on the local media by indigenous academics and media students, and this provides a sometimes surprising counterbalance to the views of expatriate academics. As we shall see, there are now concerns that local journalism has swung too far away from the nation-building model and that it is too Western in style and

While this book has concerned itself chiefly with events in Papua New Guinea, an examination of developments in the PNG press after 1975 also affords an opportunity to consider events in the rest of Melanesia. PNG's neighbouring island states, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu, became independent in 1978 and 1980. They have cultural affinities with PNG and have lingue franche with close links to Tok Pisin. Like PNG, the Solomons and Vanuatu have a number of local languages and the complicated linguistic scene has led to problems with defining education and language policies. 606 The Solomons and Vanuatu are several years, if not decades, behind PNG in terms of media industry development and in the use of their lingue franche in the press. Because of its historical importance, its size as a media market, and the political precedent it set for Melanesia by adopting a Westminsterstyle system of government, some reference to the role of the press in political developments in Fiji is also warranted.<sup>607</sup> Fiji became independent in 1970 and its first Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, had a profound personal impact on other Melanesian politicians. The media scene in PNG has changed dramatically since 1985. By the late 1980s, there were no longer any expatriate journalists working for the local media. Those who remained were either in management, sub-editing or employed in advisory capacities. The *Post-Courier* advertised for sub-editors in Australia in the early 1980s, but by the end of the decade there were only four expatriate subs at the Post-Courier. 608 Wantok had spawned a number of other newspapers, including the Times of PNG, a weekly English language newspaper notable for its investigative reporting and its commitment to writing about sensitive issues. The Times provided a range of feature articles drawn from alternative news sources and overseas newspapers, as well as incisive reporting on local politics.<sup>609</sup> Veronica Hatutasi, a tiny Bougainville woman who had been to school with Word Publishing editor Anna Solomon at Sogeri High, wrote a moving account of life with her family on Bougainville during the early part of the war, while other journalists probed corruption in many parts of public life.

There are 104 distinct languages in Vanuatu and 62 in the Solomons. Mangubhai, F., 'The impact of technology on the development of literacy in the South Pacific,' Proceedings of the 1996 World Conference on Literacy at <a href="http://www.literacy.org/products/ili/pdf/ilprocfm.pdf">http://www.literacy.org/products/ili/pdf/ilprocfm.pdf</a>.

<sup>607</sup> Larmour cites 12 Pacific nations which adopted a Westminster-style system at independence. Larmour, P., 'Westminster in the Pacific Islands,' in Patapan, H., Wanna, J. and Weller, P. (eds.) *Westminster Legacies*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2005, pp226-227.

<sup>608</sup> Dorney, S., Papua New Guinea: People and Politics since 1975, Random House, Sydney, 1991, p242.

<sup>609</sup> Pacific Media Watch, 'A mirror of the times,' PMW 4277 PNG, January 21, 2004.

The *Times* was regularly threatened by disgruntled politicians and during the worst years of the Bougainville civil war its journalists occasionally faced threats of violence from soldiers angered by its probing into human rights violations on Bougainville. Von Busch claimed that when the *Times of PNG* published stories about the activities of Malaysian logging firms the PNG Government sought to put Word Publishing out of business.<sup>610</sup>

*Wantok* survived because of funding from overseas bodies, such as the World Association for Christian Communication, but Word's operations never ran smoothly. Somehow the company survived, but its vicissitudes were many, including financial crises and the loss of its presses in a catastrophic fire. Word survived into the 1990s, but suffered further changes. The expatriate editor decided to change the name of the *Times* to the *Independent* and eventually the paper folded. Wantok is still giving the grassruts a voice, fires and thefts notwithstanding.

Since 1975 a number of publications have come and gone in PNG. Perhaps the most ambitious was the *Niugini Nius*, a daily paper established by Talair's owner Dennis Buchanan. The paper competed fiercely with the *Post-Courier*, but with its offices in Port Moresby and its presses in Lae, it suffered from constant production problems as material had to be flown from Port Moresby to Nadzab airport and then driven many kilometres into Lae to be turned into a newspaper which then had to be flown back out for distribution. *Niugini Nius* offered a less Port Moresby-oriented approach to news, but even with a daily circulation of 15,000 it faced unrelenting commercial pressure from the *Post-Courier*. Buchanan closed down the paper as part of an all-or-nothing fight with the PNG government over Talair, which he said was facing unfair competition from Air Niugini and claims of difficulties in obtaining work permits for his expatriate staff.<sup>612</sup>

The major player in the PNG press continues to be Murdoch's News Ltd, which owns the *Post-Courier.* Murdoch's presence in PNG is a strategic one. The major international players are in the Pacific to keep the opposition out, as much as anything else. If News Ltd left PNG, as it has been forced to abandon Fiji by Commodore Bainarama's administration, then Fairfax or Consolidated Press would step in. If Dassault abandoned the French territories then somebody else would buy *La Depeche de Tahiti.* Because the major dailies are owned by large, multinational companies, they can afford to sustain losses that would cripple their smaller rivals. With multinational investment backing, they can afford to print in colour, have the best computers and pay their staff regularly.

Murdoch owns the *Post-Courier* because he might, one day, make some money from it; in the meantime he can keep other competitors at bay. In Fiji, it is doubtful if weekly papers like *Nai Lalakai* or *Shanti Dut* made one iota of difference to the profits of News Ltd, but so long as he owned them, Murdoch had a stake in the market. A tiny Hindi weekly that gives away glossy A4 posters of Lord Ram or Sunil Shetty was a strategic, not a commercial, asset.<sup>613</sup> Even the shade of the *Rabaul Times*, which ceased publication in 1959, can be detected in the footnotes of News Ltd's annual reports. At the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Murdoch owned a ghost just in case anybody else wanted to open a newspaper in the ruins of the volcano town.<sup>614</sup>

Strategic considerations were behind the opening of the Malaysian-owned *National* in Port Moresby. Malaysian timber interests were active in PNG and Malaysian companies were supplanting established firms such as Steamships, Burns Philp and Carpenters. *The National* is owned by a combination of local shareholders (a large number of whom are said to be

<sup>610</sup> Von Busch, W., 'Book Mystery,' in Islands Business Pacific, October 1995.

<sup>611</sup> Pacific Media Watch, 'Anna Solomon – A remarkable journalist,' PMW 3722 PNG, August 11, 2002.

Dorney, S., *Papua New Guinea...*, pp329-330. Buchanan's other schemes apparently involved having his own television station broadcasting from an aircraft flying up and down along the Highlands. Buchanan, who had been in PNG for 40 years, shut down Talair and moved its assets and expatriate staff to Queensland where it re-emerged as Flight West, a feeder airline aligned with the now-defunct Ansett airlines.

<sup>613</sup> See Shawcross, W., Rupert Murdoch. Ringmaster of the Information Circus, London, Pan, 1992 and Coleridge, N., Paper Tigers, London, Heinemann, 1998 for an overview of the operations of trans-national media companies.

<sup>614</sup> News Corporation Annual Report, Controlled entities, Rabaul Times Pty Ltd, p60. <a href="https://www.newscorp.com/report98/financial/1998.pdf">www.newscorp.com/report98/financial/1998.pdf</a> .

local politicians) and Rimbunan Hijau, a Malaysian logging company. <sup>615</sup> *The National* is produced in Port Moresby, offering a product which complements the *Post-Courier*. With its full colour presses, splashy layout and overseas features, it offers a contrast to the Murdoch publication's more staid approach to the news. Australian Audit Bureau of Circulations figures for 2001 show *The National* selling 21,036 copies Monday to Friday against 25,044 for the same period for the *Post-Courier*. <sup>616</sup>

Critics have complained that *The National* is unlikely to publish stories critical of the exploitation of PNG's timber resources by its Malaysian owners, or of Government members who obtained shares in the company. In January 2004, the editor of *The National* defended his newspaper from accusations that it favoured the Government.<sup>617</sup>

Readers outside Port Moresby have been served erratically since 1975 by a variety of church-based and provincial government news sheets and publications. With the almost complete collapse of regional radio services in some provinces, there is an opportunity for small scale newspapers to meet the needs of communities deprived of news, but this has not been taken up. 618 Attempts to start commercial regional newspapers in other areas have not been very successful. The short-lived *Highlands Post*, which appeared in Mt Hagen in the early 1990s, appeared to be intended primarily as a promotion for its printing press owners. There have been various publications in Rabaul, but the destruction of the town in the 1994 eruption has effectively ended publication there. The *Arawa Bulletin* on Bougainville was closed by the outbreak of the civil war. 619 Other provincial publications have included Bertha Somare's *Madang Watcher*.

Smaller newspapers will continue to struggle because the costs of production and distribution are so great. The costs of distribution effectively confine daily newspapers to one area. Probably the most ambitious provincial publishing project in recent years has been the Alotau-based Eastern Star, which was established by the Sacred Heart mission to serve Milne Bay. The paper comes out fortnightly, but readers in the outlying islands receive their copy only when a trawler or workboat gets out to them. When I was training the Star's journalists in early 1994, I was told that sometimes three months' worth of papers turn up at once on the outer islands. Small publications continue to be faced with high costs for newsprint and equipment and the difficulty of obtaining reliable technical support for computers and presses. Matt Loney, the Eastern Star's former editor, advocated desktop publishing as a solution to these problems, but this only seems possible if we are talking about an owner-operator publication with a fixed and reliable advertiser-customer base. 620 Problems associated with the high cost of materials and printing appear to be universal across the Pacific. Crowl notes that in Samoa in the mid-1990s, the duty on newsprint was 20 per cent, with a 60 per cent levy on plates, film and ink.<sup>621</sup> There are also practical difficulties to overcome. In December 1992 I watched a group of parish workers in PNG's Enga province trying to print an A4 newsletter on a laser printer and being held up for two days by power cuts. It would have been quicker to use a hand-cranked Gestetner.

The PNG press continues to be faced with comparatively low levels of literacy, low income and low life expectancy among its readers. Statistically, Papua New Guinea fares badly when compared with the other Melanesian nations.

<sup>615</sup> Robie, D., 'The South Pacific Media: Politics, ownership and Control,' in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol 27, 1995. See also Robie, D., 'Media Ownership in the Pacific,' in *The Times of PNG*, October 28, 1993.

<sup>616</sup> http://www.business.vu.edu.au/bho2250/Top20Media/TopMediaPacific.htm .

<sup>617</sup> Pacific Media Watch, 'A mirror of the times.' PMW 4277 PNG, January 21, 2004.

<sup>618</sup> The former Administration network had all but collapsed in some provinces by the early 1990s. See Centurion, D., et al, *National Media Policy of Papua New Guinea*, PNG Government, Port Moresby, 1994.

<sup>619</sup> Layton, S., The Contemporary Pacific Islands Press, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1992.

<sup>620</sup> Loney, M., 'Pacific rural publishing: Eastern Star case study in PNG,' in Pacific Journalism Review, V:1.

<sup>621</sup> Crowl, L., 'Publishing in the Pacific Islands,' in Fiji Library Association Journal, No. 35, 1996.

Table 8.1
Demographic data for Melanesia

Country	GDP per capita in US\$	Life expectancy	Number of daily newspapers per 1000 people	Population	Literacy
Papua New Guinea	2676	63	8.59	7 million	
Fiji	4757	69	53.47	868,000	M: 95.5 F:91.9
Vanuatu	4379	71	14.29	246,000	M: 84.9 F: 81.6
Solomon Islands	2923	68	10.85	552,000	M:99.6 F:99.7
New Caledonia	37,000	77	No data	264,000	M: 96.8 F: 95.5

**Notes:** Literacy rates are based on calculations for males (M) and females (F) over 15. Literacy figures for PNG, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands are from UNESCO. Data for Fiji and the Solomon Islands is from the *CIA World Factbook* and is based on 2003 figures.<sup>622</sup>

Earlier statistical comparisons of major economic and social indicators in Oceania in 2004 showed PNG in the bottom third of Pacific countries for literacy and the bottom quarter for GDP.<sup>623</sup> With the exception of Fiji and New Caledonia/Kanaky, the countries with the highest literacy rates are in Polynesia or Micronesia. These countries also have correspondingly high per capita GDPs. Literacy rates appear to be lowest in Melanesian countries, which have the greatest linguistic diversity.<sup>624</sup> One worrying fact for the press is that when literacy rates are in decline, radio becomes a preferable source of information.<sup>625</sup> There are questions about how far literacy has penetrated Melanesian societies. Mangubhai argues that "the literate use of language for critical, aesthetic, organisational and recreational purposes" has largely been confined to the classroom because reading materials in the vernacular are limited and those in English too expensive.<sup>626</sup>

The education system in Papua New Guinea has been reformed since independence, but in some cases it appears that it has gone in a circle. Tok Ples pre-schools have been established and the Education Department has introduced a 'prep' system which takes in what would have been the prep year in the old NSW system used in Territory A schools, but extended to grade two. The fact that classes are conducted in Tok Ples may eventually have an effect on literacy levels in Tok Pisin and English. Significantly, at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century greater emphasis was being placed on vocational training.<sup>627</sup>

Does the PNG press continue to be a mirror of society? The answer is, unequivocally, yes, but there is a vigorous debate in academic and journalistic circles about what that mirror should reflect. Rooney, Papoutsaki and others have argued that PNG has been badly let

<sup>622</sup> UNESCO statistics at

http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=124&IF\_Language=eng&BR\_Country=5980&BR\_Region=40515;

CIA Worldbook at https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pp.html

<sup>623</sup> Cass, P., 'Media ownership in the Pacific: Inherited colonial commercial model, but remarkably diverse,' in *Pacific Journalism Review*, X:2, 2004. A full set of tables showing media usage for the Pacific is available at http://www.pjreview.info.

<sup>624</sup> Literacy is defined as being over 14 or 15 and able to read and write. Except for Tonga, no attempt is made to say in which language the person is literate. Crowl warns: "The South Pacific Board of Educational Assessment cautions that literacy rates... across the region are difficult to compare because figures might measure vernacular or English literacy, children in and/or out of school and when children begin learning English in school...one quarter to one third of Solomon Islands children are not in school, whereas nearly all Cook Islands children are." Crowl, L., 'Publishing in the Pacific Islands.'

<sup>625</sup> International Press Institute at <a href="www.freemedia.at/wpfr/Australasia/wpf\_aust.htm">www.freemedia.at/wpfr/Australasia/wpf\_aust.htm</a>.

<sup>626</sup> Mangubhai, F., 'The impact of technology on the development of literacy in the South Pacific, Proceedings of the 1996 World Conference on Literacy at <a href="http://www.literacy.org/products/ili/pdf/ilprocfm.pdf">http://www.literacy.org/products/ili/pdf/ilprocfm.pdf</a>

<sup>627</sup> World Education Forum, *EFA Assessment 2000. County reports: PNG*. See also Nagai, Y., 'Vernacular education in Papua New Guinea: Is it really effective?'

down by its press, a position also taken by a number of young scholars at Divine Word University. 628

Since independence, the PNG media has been analysed and scrutinised by a variety of investigators. This is, fortunately, no longer solely the preserve of visiting academics. One of the more surprising outcomes is that while people still see the press as a mirror, it is one in which some of them no longer wish to look. This is particularly the case when it comes to crime. One of the most visible outcomes of the country's economic and social turmoil in the years since independence has been the increase in violent crime. The problem of crime is not just the physical reality, but the fear it breeds. This makes it not just a problem for local people, but for expatriates who often come to PNG primed by stories in the Australian media of a lawless, violent, society. This has led to people calling for harsher punishments for criminals and, increasingly, violence against suspects. 629 O'Collins cites a 1985 report by Morauta pointing to what he called the "weakness of the state" as an issue which had to be considered as a major factor when considering law and order in Papua New Guinea. 630 The crime rate is linked inextricably with poor housing, unemployment, poverty and a general perception that senior politicians and big men continually break the law and escape unscathed. Responses by external media to the situation have tended to be sensationalist and focused on the problems faced by the few expatriates rather than the daily turmoil faced by local people. Discussing the rape of a number of New Zealand and Australian women, former *Post-Courier* editor Luke Sela said:

"There were banner headlines...and lead stories on radio and television. Today Papua New Guinean women are still being raped and armed robberies are still being committed. But as far as the Australian and New Zealand media are concerned they are not worth mentioning." <sup>631</sup>

It is natural, therefore, that crime should be a major concern for the PNG press, but some local media analysts – academics and students among them – feel that the media is actually exacerbating the problem.

The PNG press has inherited much of the Western tradition and the Western concepts of what the role of the media should be, but it has also absorbed the principles of development media. I have already argued that the *Post-Courier* has absorbed many elements of developmental journalism into its reporting and that *Wantok* was, from the beginning, developmental in content and intention. I would argue further that this constitutes a unique, second wave of development media that is quite distinct from the classic Indian or African model. I have argued elsewhere that this second wave has been translated into a Pacific model.<sup>632</sup> This model derives, I have suggested, from two sources. One is the Western, democratic, liberal tradition of a free press that acts as a watchdog for its audience. The other derives from the social justice model of the media pioneered by the Catholic Church in the Philippines. The principles of these media have been disseminated through a number of channels, many of them ecumenical media organisations such as the World Association for Christian Communication. It has helped, of course, that much of the social

Rooney, D., Papoutsaki, E. and Pamba, K., Country Failed by its Media: a Case Study From Papua New Guinea, a paper presented to the 13th AMIC Annual Conference on the Impact of New and old Media on Development in Asia, Bangkok, 2004.

<sup>629</sup> I have seen this myself. One night in 1995 I heard a man screaming as he was beaten outside the house where I was staying in Port Moresby. I went to the window to see what was happening, intending to call the police. Instead I saw four policemen beating a man senseless with their rifle butts before throwing his body into the back of a truck and driving away.

<sup>630</sup> O'Collins, M., 'Law and order in Papua New Guinea: Perceptions and management strategies,' State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project, Working Paper 00/1.

<sup>631</sup> Robie, D., Mekim Nius, University of the South Pacific Book Centre, Suva, 2004, p70.

<sup>632</sup> Cass, P., 'Media ownership in the Pacific.'

justice model is compatible with secular notions about justice and national development. I have further argued that in PNG, development journalism quietly seeped into the existing Western-style press and that stories about personal and communal development, stories about literacy, education and women's rights became part of mainstream reporting. However, such assumptions have been challenged by young researchers from Divine Word University who see the PNG daily press as now being far too Western and not developmental enough.<sup>633</sup>

The PNG press has fought for change, uncovered corruption, and promoted social development through locally-owned and foreign owned media. Journalists are constantly urged to be agents of change in vital areas such as education and AIDS awareness. <sup>634</sup> In Port Moresby, even the Murdoch press has been quietly co-opted into the Pacific model. A *Post-Courier* journalist said:

"News media organisations in Papua New Guinea seem to have focused on being watchdogs, reporting on what is happening. But I believe [they] have a wider role and that is to be an agent for change. Papua New Guinea is a developing country which does not have the financial resources needed for development such as health programmes etc., but established media, including radio, can be used to bring vital information to people to reinforce positive changes." 635

Research by Robie shows that PNG journalists have a sophisticated view of their role. As illustrated in Table 8.2, they view the traditional watchdog role of the press as paramount. Nation building, one of the key concepts of developmental journalism, appeared to be a widely accepted description of their work and they saw the exposure of graft and corruption as strengthening the nation.<sup>636</sup>

The watchdog role and the concomitant criticism of the PNG government and politicians has caused repeated friction over the years. Too often PNG's leaders have advocated controlling the press in a manner reminiscent of former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed.<sup>637</sup> The first attempt came from politicians who wanted to license the media. The country's mainstream churches (who had a stake in the media through Word Publishing) opposed it vehemently, and for this and other reasons the bill lapsed.<sup>638</sup>

Table 8.2

How PNG journalists see their role

Robie's survey drew answers from 60 respondents in the print and electronic media. 639

Rank ordering	
46%	
37%	
25%	
12%	
8%	
2%	
	46% 37% 25% 12% 8%

<sup>633</sup> Divine Word University is run by the SVD missionaries and Mihalic was in charge of its communication programme. It has a bent for developmental journalism that is only to be expected.

<sup>634</sup> Pacific Media Watch, 'Journalists urged to become agents of change,' PMW 3797 HIV/AIDS, October 15, 2002.

<sup>635</sup> Robie, D., 'Journalism Education in the South Pacific, 1975-2003: Politics, Policy and Practice,' PhD thesis, University of the South Pacific, 2003.

<sup>636</sup> Robie, D., 'Pacific newsrooms and the campus: Some comparisons between Fiji and Papua New Guinea,' in *Australian Studies in Journalism*, No. 8, 1999.

<sup>637</sup> Mahathir, M., 'The Social Responsibility of the Press,' in Mehra, A., (ed.) *Press Systems in ASEAN State,* Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, Singapore, 1989.

<sup>638</sup> Dorney, S., Papua New Guinea..., pp238-241.

<sup>639</sup> Robie, D., 'Journalism Education in the South Pacific, 1975-2003: Politics, Policy and Practice.'

These problems have not been unique to PNG. Throughout the Pacific there have been numerous instances of visiting journalists being banned, local journalists being pressured, threatened or beaten up, and governments threatening to legislate against the media. As Crowl notes, the problem is as much cultural as political:

"Corruption, lack of leadership, poor ordering of priorities and conservatism by those in power represses initiative and speeds the vicious spiral of declining quality of life for the majority of Pacific Islanders." 640

Any media that investigate, probe and expose malfeasance in government or the upper echelons of society will face resistance. In its survey of world press freedom for 2003, the International Press Institute cited violence against journalists, political pressure, cultural pressure, banning of journalists and general restrictions upon the media as a problem not just in Papua New Guinea, but across the Pacific. <sup>641</sup> Nevertheless, it is worth noting that in its 2013 report, the International Federation of Journalists listed PNG at 41<sup>st</sup> place and Fiji at 107, a rise of 10 places on the previous year. <sup>642</sup>

Complaints about the PNG press's watchdog role have come from several sectors of the public. Ove reported that a majority of people she surveyed wanted the media to run more positive stories for 'empowerment.' While her survey sample was too small to be statistically valid for the whole country, it does at least indicate some disturbing trends in public attitudes. Ove's approach to the role of the media appears to be broadly in line with first wave developmental journalism which holds nation building as a primary aim. She quotes her respondents as saying that negative reporting in the media "defeated their sense of patriotism" and complaining that "the PNG press lacked nationalism." There is clearly a disjuncture here between what the journalists cited by Robie see as being their role, and how Ove's correspondents see it:

"...the media has argued that it is a mirror of society and that [its] role [is] to inform citizens [about] events and issues, whether positive or negative. However...the media does not present negative news that is constructive. By being constructive meaning that it should empower its citizens by offering solutions...and that something can be done to prevent a similar situation. The PNG print media...[has] failed to empower its citizens."

However, Duffield claims that development news remains a high priority for the PNG press.<sup>645</sup> Duffield's survey was based on a two week study of the *Post-Courier* and *The National* from September 8-30, 2004, in which he analysed 422 news stories. Table 8.3, which is derived from his findings, shows that development news constituted the largest single group of stories, followed closely by reports on official corruption and misconduct.

Duffield notes that PNG expects extensive and varied services from its mass media, but that there is widespread scepticism about the ability of the media to meet all these demands. To an extent this reflects Ove's findings:

"PNG's mass media attempts to fill many roles, directly addressing elite audiences able to pay for services; monitoring a volatile political scene; also seeking a broad, mass following through regional services, development news, promotions and entertainments." 646

<sup>640</sup> Crowl, L., 'Local and regional book Publishing for Local and Regional Information,' <u>Paper presented at the Waigani Seminar</u>, University of Papua New Guinea, 1997.

<sup>641</sup> International Press Institute at <a href="www.freemedia.at/wpfr/world.html">www.freemedia.at/wpfr/world.html</a> .

<sup>642</sup> http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html

<sup>643</sup> Ove, C., 'Negative press coverage in Papua New Guinea,' Bachelor of Communication Arts (Journalism) thesis, Divine Word University, Madang, PNG, 2006.

Ove, C., 'Negative press coverage...' Also worth noting for its analysis of the coverage of violence by the *Post-Courier* and the *National* is Mackson, M.C., 'Mass media and Violence: How the media portrays violence in PNG,' Bachelor of Communication Arts (Journalism) thesis, Divine Word University, Madang, PNG, 2004.

Duffield, L., 'Holding the Line? Keeping independent may be a close-run thing for media in PNG,' in *Pacific Journalism Review* 

<sup>646</sup> Duffield, L., 'Holding the Line?'

English, who also analysed the *Post-Courier* and *The National* in 2004, concluded that the two dailies carried inadequate amounts of development news and were too reliant on the Western model of journalism. English claimed the *Post-Courier* and *The National* concentrate on reporting stories of interest to their urban market and serve only the elite few in the country. He further claims that the sourcing of stories takes little or no account of the interests of the majority of the population. He claims his analysis shows that the two dailies devote less than half their domestic coverage to development news.

Table 8.3
Types of story in the PNG daily press.<sup>647</sup>

Type of story	Number of stories
Development news and foreign development assistance.	97
Official corruption and misconduct.	96
Crime and the law and order issue.	65
A concern with formal standards of economic management being met, off-set by a sense of financial and economic crisis. This took in concerns from a technocratic perspective that standards of efficiency and probity were failing, and concerns about infrastructure being inadequate and not maintained.	44
News about the HIV-AIDS campaign, treated as a development issue.	44
Relations with Australia, security and governance. Here there were linkages of ideas about Australians and their activities, and so disparate issues fell into the category with Australia as a unifying theme: Some anti-Australian sentiment; Australian connections on security issues like terrorism; pressure from Australia to see good governance standards.	27
Newspaper promotional campaigns and opinion.	20
Human interest and community activities.	18
Environmentalism, and Rimbunan Hijau. News about the controversial activities of the Malaysian timber company (and owner of the <i>National</i> ) and the timber industry generally, came in the context of stories about forest protection.	11

Table 8.4 is based on English's survey of the Post-Courier and The National. The survey used a content analysis covering 12 days selected at random between January 5 and June 22, 2004. According to English, the Post-Courier devoted 44.9 per cent of its domestic news stories to development news, leaving just over 55 per cent to non-development news. The National devoted 47.6 per cent of its domestic news stories to development news, leaving 52.4 per cent to non-development news. Less than half of both newspapers' domestic news stories were devoted to development news stories. English commented:

"Unfortunately it would seem that...bad news is good news and the media has a tendency to focus on the misfortune of others with the view that the more violent and sensationalised the story, the more likely the newspaper will sell. The traditional view that the media's role in society is to expose all its wrongs is leading to the exclusion of promoting social harmony and a disregard on the part of the media...[of]...the impact of its reporting."

<sup>647</sup> Derived from Duffield, L., 'Holding the Line?'

<sup>648</sup> English, A., 'The Papua New Guinea Press and national development: A content analysis of two national daily newspapers,'

English cites Frank Senge Kolma as saying that Western journalism practices threaten developing nations. Kolma argues that the role of the media in a developing nation is to "first help build up resilient political and economic structures and only later to stand watch dog over it."

The fact that there is vigorous debate about the role of the press can only be good for PNG. It is no longer enough for a newspaper to proclaim its loyalty to the empire or to swear to work for the benefit of the country. In the past thirty years the very nature of what constituted PNG has been challenged by Papuan and Bougainvillean separatists and by what amounted to a short-lived military coup when the PNGDF revolted over the use of Sandline mercenaries in 1997. Some of the country's problems seem, as Sean Dorney says, insoluble. Perhaps, as Ove argues, the role of the media now is to find solutions, not just to report on the present crisis.

Table 8.4
Rank-ordering of different types of development news as a percentage of the entire domestic news content of the *Post-Courier* and *National*.650

Categories	The Post-Courier		The National
Education	10.0	The economy	9.9
The economy	9.4	Education	8.2
Agriculture and food security	7.3	Health	8.2
Health	5.5	Agriculture and food security	6.6
Law and order	3.8	Good governance	4.5
Other	3.8	Others	3.9
Employment	2.8	Law and order	3.7
Good governance	2.4	Employment	2.5
Total	44.9		47.6

Elsewhere in Melanesia, the press played a varied role in the political development of individual territories and countries. This was due to the wide variations in population, the number of expatriates present, the number of languages and whether the colonial administrations had any set plans for the future. Fiji, which became independent in 1970, had a large population concentrated on two main islands, gold, sugar, and tourism industries, one indigenous language, two non-indigenous languages and a comparatively well-educated and literate population.

Although ethnically Melanesian, Fijian social structures, adopted largely from neighbouring Tonga, provided well defined indigenous leadership. The British Solomon Islands Protectorate and the New Hebrides, by contrast, had small populations scattered over hundreds of islands, poorly developed infrastructure outside the capitals, almost no industry beyond plantations and dozens of languages. There were also widely varying levels of political development and self-awareness, at least in the Western sense. Some indigenous Fijians became politically active in response to what they saw as the threat offered to their paramountcy by the Indo-Fijians. The Indo-Fijians had long contested aspects of British colonial rule in Fiji and sought to obtain improvements for their community through religious, political and labour organisations. The Fijians trusted the British to protect their

interests under the terms of the deed of cession and preferred to maintain their faith in their traditional power structures. This faith was supported by the Methodist church and by the development of a Fijian elite educated at the country's two top schools, Suva Grammar and King George V. The indigenous Fijian's backwardness in developing political parties that could operate within a Westminster-style of government was overcome in the lead up to independence, but it was to have far reaching consequences for the country, especially in the development of racially based electoral rolls. Ratu Mara's much vaunted image of Fiji as a three legged stool (i.e. a stable society based on the three main racial groups) was shown to be an unstable seat based on three points of tension that perpetually pitted Fijians, Indo-Fijians and 'General Voters' against each other.<sup>651</sup>

While there were several recognisable political groupings with clearly defined agendas, such as Pangu in PNG and the Alliance Party in Fiji, the case was quite different in Vanuatu and the Solomons. The only independent party in Vanuatu was the Vanuaku Parti, with other groups more or less supported by the French. In the Solomons, political parties were regarded as unsuitable for the Islands and a Governor's Council, where decisions could be reached by consensus, was preferred.<sup>652</sup>

There was even greater disparity in the level of media development. All the Melanesian islands appear to have had government news sheets and mission-based publications aimed at the indigenous population. Commercial newspaper publication existed only in Papua New Guinea and Fiji before independence because only in those Islands was there an expatriate population large enough to risk such a venture. In the French territories, commercial newspapers did not appear until after the Second World War. Even New Caledonia, with its large caldoche population had no local commercial newspaper until the establishment of *Les Nouvelles Caledoniennnes* in the early 1970s.<sup>653</sup>

The press in Melanesia doubtless played a role in forming people's ideas about politics and independence, but several factors have to be considered. It was far easier for Fijian newspaper owners to distribute their wares on Viti Levu than for a proprietor in the New Hebrides or the Solomons to get a newspaper out to the scattered islands. Again, an oppositional press was much more easily conceived in Fiji where there was a significant, literate, non-white and non-Fijian population than in PNG with its hundreds of languages and minimal literacy among the indigenous population. The tiny size of the expatriate population in the New Hebrides and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate militated against any successful commercial venture there. The reality was that politically, a daily paper like the pro-Alliance *Fiji Times*, which could be easily distributed to a relatively large audience, would have more effect on people's opinions than a dozen copies of the *Kakamora Reporter* sold in Honiara.

Fiji has the longest history of English-language commercial publication in the Pacific, the first newspaper appearing there in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The first commercial newspaper was *The Fijian Weekly News and Planters' Journal*, published in Levuka in 1868, followed a year later by *The Fiji Times*. During the early colonial period, the English language press was largely the voice of the planter and capitalist. While it supported greater European exploitation of Fiji, it constantly attacked the colonial government for its policies, particularly those which prevented plantation owners and businessmen from alienating Fijian land and controlling the use of Fijian labour. In this it reflected exactly the same prejudices as the expatriate press in PNG. Despite its anti-Indian stance it was, according to Griffen, read by the small

<sup>651</sup> Norton, R., *Race and Politics in Fiji*, UQP, Brisbane, 1990, p100. 'General voters' is a polite term for Europeans, Chinese and mixed race people. There was a General Voters' Party to represent their interests. An unkind couplet, doubtless penned by some Alliance Party wit, ran: "The GVP is partly white/The GVP is never right."

<sup>652</sup> Larmour, P., 'Westminster in the Pacific Islands,' p232.

<sup>653</sup> Les Nouvelles was first published in Noumea in 1971 by Roger Brissaud, who had founded Les Nouvelles de Tahiti in 1957. These were, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the first commercial newspapers in the French Pacific. There were, however, earlier official and private papers, ranging from the Moniteur Imperiale du Nouvelle Caledonie to the Frelon, the brainchild of Paul Gauguin, who liked to criticise as much as he liked to paint.

class of professional Indo-Fijians.<sup>654</sup> *The Times* remained largely unchallenged until after the Second World War when several new papers appeared. These were *The Guardian* (1947), which became *The Weekly Guardian* and *The Oceania Daily News* (1948).<sup>655</sup>

The Hindi press in Fiji can be fairly said to have been politicised from the start and in some respects appears to have been far more advanced than its English language counterparts. The Indo-Fijian press generally reflected the growing political awareness of Indians and was frequently regarded as subversive by the British authorities. Given conditions on the canefields, it was only natural that its publications should be concerned with labour matters and thus more likely to promote reformist or socialist views.

The indigenous Fijians were not catered for by a commercial press until 1946 when the first Fijian language newspaper, Yadra Viti, appeared. It lasted only a few issues and was not revived until 1955 when it claimed to be the first paper owned and managed by a Fijian who owned his own printing press. 656 Yadra Viti was followed in 1949 by Vakalelewa, a complementary paper to Pacific Review and an English weekly published by the Sangam Press which was regarded by the Colonial Office as having "communist tendencies." 557 The Review was one of the first papers to identify the South Pacific region and the colonial territories as one audience. Its editorials spoke of the need to break the isolation of the Islands and it became the main voice of anti-colonial opposition. There are frequent references to the achievements of Indians in other British colonies and reports on how cane farmers and labourers were faring in other colonies. The Pacific Review carried frequent reports from the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and from correspondents in London and demonstrated a much wider awareness of pan-Commonwealth and global developments than is apparent in The Fiji Times. 658 However worthy its attempt to draw different audiences together, the Review and its Hindi and Fijian counterparts seem to have treated its readers differently, with reports on the Queen Mother for the Fijians and stories about politics for English language readers. 659

Bi-lingual newspapers clearly had political advantages for parties prepared to pay for them. The Alliance Party began an English/Fijian paper, *Fiji Nation/Na Tovata*, which was published by *The Fiji Times* twice a week. The fact that the *Times'* editor, Len Usher, was a stalwart of the Alliance Party and mayor of Suva, left little doubt as to where the *Times'* sympathies lay. 660 In general, however, the different newspapers represented racial as much as political groupings and both Indo-Fijians and expatriates seem to have courted the Fijians as potential allies. Some Indian editors looked outwards and saw wider pan-Commonwealth (or perhaps, to a lesser degree, a pan-diasporic) world. For too long Fijians were encouraged by their leaders to look inwards. The failure of bilingual newspapers in Fiji can be seen as a reflection of the apparently intractable divide between these two views as between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians.

It is probably fair to say that independence was not a priority for most Fijians in the 1960s

<sup>654</sup> I am indebted to Vanessa Griffen's doctoral thesis for the bulk of the information on the Fijian press in this section. Griffen, V., 'Control of the press and information in the British colonies 1939-55 with a case study of Fiji,' Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney, 1991.

<sup>655</sup> For a lively account of his time on the short-lived *Oceania Daily News*, see Knightley, P., A Hack's Progress, Jonathan Cape, London, 1997.

<sup>656</sup> Griffen, V., 'Control of the press and information in the British colonies...' Griffen credits *Yadra Viti* with having the same political objectives as the European and Indian press; that is, to promote the political interests of Fijians as a race.

<sup>657</sup> Griffen, V., 'Control of the press and information in the British colonies...'

<sup>658</sup> For instance, the *Review* of January 30, 1958, carries news of copra prices in the BSIP.

<sup>659</sup> The Fijian part of the paper was called *Vakalelewa ni Pasifika*. The front page of the edition February 6, 1958, was devoted to the royal visit.

G60 Usher went to Fiji from New Zealand and initially worked as a teacher. He was knighted in 1986. Pacific Media Watch, 'Former Fiji Times editor laid to rest,' PMW Fiji 4166, August 31, 2003. Australian journalist Philip Knightley describes Usher as "trying to mould [the *Fiji Times*] into a South Pacific version of the *Times* of London." Knightley, K., 'Interesting if true,' in *Granta* No.53, March 1996. Usher's prestige was such in the expatriate community and his contacts in the Fijian world so extensive that he was known as the White Ratu.

and that it was largely as a result of political agitation by the Indo-Fijians and the eagerness of the British Foreign Office to be rid of their largest colonial obligation in the Pacific that led to the granting of independence in 1970. Many Fijians regarded the move towards independence as the result of Indo-Fijian agitation. They saw it as a British betrayal of the trust that had been given to them under the terms of the deed of cession, which required Britain to guarantee the paramountcy of indigenous Fijian interests.<sup>661</sup>

Independence seems to have been granted to Britain's other Melanesian states because it was convenient for the British to do so, whether for economic or political reasons. This is not to say that the pressures for independence were entirely external; indeed, as we have seen with the case of PNG, the Australian government delayed for so long that it had to rush to catch up with political developments in the Territory. The British, on the other hand, appear to have been entirely indolent, blaming the French for the lack of progress in the New Hebrides and letting the Solomons slumber.

"...the initiative lay with the colonial powers, though the timing and shape of political developments were often the product of local wishes and pressures." 662

The British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) and the New Hebrides had been quiet colonial backwaters, with small expatriate populations, little or no industrial development and precious little preparation for independence. In both cases Britannia still ruled the waves, but in the New Hebrides (or Les Nouvelles Hebrides) they shared power uneasily with the French, who did everything in their power to prevent the creation of an independent Vanuatu with an Anglophone Prime Minister. Unlike Fiji, newspapers were almost unheard of, unless they were irregular local productions with tiny circulations or publications flown in from outside. The BSIP and the New Hebrides were linguistically diverse with varieties of pidgin used as lingue franche and, as in PNG, the whole question of language and education was somewhat fraught. In the New Hebrides and the Solomons the departing metropolitan powers followed the same model that had been used in PNG and Fiji; with the creation of an elite, followed by a period of self-government and the establishment of a Westminster-style parliament with a written constitution.

Almost three years after the Australian flag was lowered in Port Moresby, the British lowered the union flag in Honiara, capital of the former British Solomon Islands Protectorate. The transition to independence on July 7, 1978 was peaceful except for an attempt at secession in the Western Solomons, the region bordering Bougainville. The Solomons had been effectively self-governing for a few years and the last of the old British Africa hands who had been redeployed to the South Seas were finally sent home. A number of expatriates stayed on at the highest levels for a few more years as advisers to indigenous politicians and senior public servants, but in general the Solomon Islanders were probably more in control than the Papua New Guineans when independence came. 663

After independence the Solomons probably suffered more from external problems than any other Melanesian nation, for it had to put up with or take sides on the issue of Bougainville. Refugees and gunmen alike fled across the narrow passage that separates the two countries to take refuge in the Western Solomons. Neither had internal problems in the Solomons been adequately resolved, with mistrust between people from Malaita, Guadalcanal and Tikopia bursting into such violence that Australia and New Zealand felt compelled to intervene. 664

<sup>661</sup> Norton, R., Race and Politics in Fiji, p91.

<sup>662</sup> Macdonald, B., 'Britain,' in Howe, K., Kiste, R. and Lal, B., (eds.) *Tides of History: the Pacific Islands in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994, p170.

<sup>663</sup> The position of Commissioner of Police was not localised until 1981. News Drum January 22, 1981. The first private law firm run by a Solomon islander was opened in 1982. News Drum, March 12, 1982.

<sup>664</sup> Warner, N., 'Operation Helpem Fren: Rebuilding the Nation of Solomon Islands': Speech to the National Security Conference', Canberra, March 23, 2004.

http://www.ramsi.org/Media/docs/040323-Special-Coordinator-Nick-Warner---Operation-Helpem-Fren-Nation-Security-

There was deep debate about whether the Solomons would retain Queen Elizabeth II as head of state or whether it would become a republic, as Vanuatu eventually did. The idea of becoming a republic emerged during the constitutional discussions with the UK and for a while at least became official policy during the period of self-government.<sup>665</sup>

As far as I have been able to ascertain there was no commercial press in the Solomons before independence, but there were newsletters in some of the protectorate's provinces, some appearing as early as 1951.666 The British administration published a news sheet twice a month, but Kent, writing in 1972, noted that: "The size of the type-face...and the difficulty of the language used, make it hard for the ordinary islander to read and it has little influence." Expatriates had access to imported newspapers and magazines. The *Kakamora Reporter* appeared for the first time in March 1970 and generated discussion and controversy on a roughly monthly basis until 1975. Kent described it as:

"Influential and lively...irreverent, occasionally tendentious and eagerly read. The contents...vary considerably. Editorials have dealt with such matters as the pay rise granted by elected members to themselves; a defence of 'custom'; an examination of black power; and the lure of town life for young Melanesians."

The next independent newspaper was the *Solomons Toktok*, which first appeared in 1977 and continued until 1992.<sup>669</sup> The main printed source of official information for Solomon Islanders appears to have been the *News Drum*, a weekly A4 newspaper produced by the government. This had grown out of the Government Information and Broadcasting Service which had published the fortnightly news sheet and which was also responsible for radio news.<sup>670</sup> The *News Drum* was produced by the Department of Information, which also controlled what had become the Solomon Islands Broadcasting Commission. It was frequently criticised as being a mouthpiece for Chief Minister Solomon Mamaloni. The paper covered what was happening in the neighbouring New Hebrides and featured several interviews with Fr Walter Lini, which give the flavour of political developments in the condominium.<sup>671</sup>

The *Drum's* coverage of the developments on the road to self-rule varies from the prosaic to the political. In one issue the paper announced on page two that four flag designs had been submitted to the Chief Minister's Office, while on page three it reports that delegates from an "anti-atom test conference in Fiji" want the government to ban all nuclear powered ships from Solomon Island waters.

"They say imperialism and colonialism are at the root of nuclear activities in the Pacific and dependent territories must gain their independence before they can work...to make the Pacific a nuclear free zone." 672

In the years leading up to independence, *The News Drum* reported on the activities of the government. Mamaloni followed what became a well-honoured Melanesian practice of

```
Conference-34a32cdd-cdec-47a8-be7b-5ff3f622547b-0.pdf
NZDF overseas operations since 2000: Solomon Islands
http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/operations/overseas-deployments/solomon-islands/default.htm
```

<sup>665</sup> News Drum, July 1, 1977.

<sup>666</sup> Frazer, I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers,' in Newsletter of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Series 5, No.5, May 1997.

<sup>667</sup> Kent, J., The Solomon Islands, David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1972, P187.

<sup>668</sup> ibid.

<sup>669</sup> Frazer, I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers.'

<sup>670</sup> Tuhanuku, D., 'The Communication Network,' in Crocombe, R., and Tuza, E., Independence, Dependence and Interdependence: The first 10 years of Solomon Islands Independence, Government Printing Press, Honiara, 1988, p137.

<sup>671</sup> News Drum January 18, 1980.

<sup>672</sup> News Drum, April 18, 1975.

resigning dramatically and then coming back to power in order to get his own way.<sup>673</sup> It also highlighted problems which, like those in PNG, would not go away and which were rooted in the pressures of development. In a discussion of the constitutional select committee, the member for Rendova and Roviana, Bill Page, warned that the draft promoted centralisation and that the rules for selecting a Governor General would put the Solomon Islands in the same danger as Australia, an obvious reference to the sacking of the Whitlam government by Sir John Kerr.<sup>674</sup> There were many arguments about what sort of country the Solomons should be once the British were gone. At the end of 1976 the government began organising meetings around the country so that people could discuss the future, but the paper predicted that there were "unlikely to be demands for a drastic overhaul of the proposals of the constitutional committee."

Mamaloni eventually decided that the government should not be in the newspaper business and gave *The News Drum* to its staff to run as an independent publication. It was re-established in 1982 as a private newspaper, the *Solomon Star*, under the direction of John Lamani. <sup>676</sup> Frazer notes that a number of other private newspapers emerged and then vanished in the decades after independence.

"Most of the papers that have started over this period have been in Honiara and their circulation largely restricted to the urban area...One of the difficulties facing newspaper publishers as they try to expand their circulation nationally is the very low literacy rate... Outside Honiara the radio still has far more importance than newspapers." 677

English predominates in the Solomons press, even though Solomon Islands Pijin is more widespread as a language of everyday use. Writing in 1989, Keesing claimed that Pijin had never been given "recognition [or] legitimacy" and was regarded as "a bastardised form of English...to be progressively replaced by English."<sup>678</sup> Jourdan claimed that "English became the prestigious medium of elite communication and Pijin the devalued medium of practical communication."<sup>679</sup> The standardisation of Pijin has lagged a long way behind the work done in PNG. Much of the work has been done by the same kinds of bodies which did the work in PNG; that is, the churches. The government's agricultural and extension services use Pijin in their equivalent of PNG's didiman programmes. The first regular Pijin newspaper, *Solomons Grasrut* did not appear until 1996. Keesing claims that the founders of the *Kakamora Reporter* saw Pijin as a "potential vehicle of indigenous nationalism," but, if so, it is not something that has been reflected in the post-independence press.

Despite its problems, the Solomon Islands press provides for Frazer "an invaluable record of post-independence political and social history," in much the same way as Nelson saw the PNG press providing a record of pre-independence life and values in PNG. Frazer notes, too, the emergence of what he calls a Melanesian Fourth Estate:

"...made distinctive by the kind of topics which are raised, the way in which they are reported and discussed, the values expressed and the kind of humour and language found in the papers." 680

<sup>673</sup> News Drum, November 28, 1975. Mamaloni was replaced the following year by Peter Kenilorea in yet another dramatic exit. News Drum, July 23, 1976.

<sup>674</sup> News Drum, April 30, 1976.

<sup>675</sup> News Drum, November 12, 1976.

<sup>676</sup> Dorney, S., personal correspondence, July 2008.

<sup>677</sup> Frazer I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers.'

<sup>678</sup> Keesing, R., 'Solomons Pijin: Colonial Ideologies,' in Baldauf, R. and Luke, A., (eds) *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1989, p149.

<sup>679</sup> Jourdan, C., 'Pijin: An Unrecognised National Language,' in Baldauf, R. and Luke, A., (eds) Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1989, p163.

<sup>680</sup> Frazer, I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers.'

The Solomon Islands' immediate neighbour, the Anglo-French condominium of the New Hebrides, became Vanuatu on July 30, 1980. Under the condominium there were two police forces, two sets of customs officers, two flags and two education systems. It is little wonder that the inhabitants referred to it as the pandemonium. The population was divided between its Francophone and Anglophone components, with the latter being in the forefront of the independence movement. The French tried to delay independence as long as possible and only agreed to lower their flag eight days before the date set by the British for their departure. Francophone elements within the New Hebrides and elsewhere in the Pacific helped foment a rebellion on Espiritu Santo on the eve of independence, an uprising in which a shadowy, far-right American organisation called the Phoenix Foundation also played a part. The revolt was eventually put down by PNG's Pacific Islands Regiment, which arrived in a couple of elderly DC3s and succeeded where the Royal Marines and the French Foreign Legion had failed. French Foreign Legion had failed.

The Vanuaku Pati under the leadership of Anglican priest Fr Walter Lini, remained suspicious of the French and the condominium's Francophone population and drew most of its support from the Anglophone areas. Like Somare, Fr Lini had toured Africa and been impressed by what he had seen. If Somare was impressed by the quality of housing in Kenya, Lini drew his political inspiration from Tanzania and the model of "village socialism" championed by Julius Nyerere.

Garae (2009) describes the pre-independence media in Vanuatu in these terms:

"Out there in the public was Radio Vila (now Vanuatu Broadcasting and Television Corporation) which broadcast in English, French and Bislama at midday. There were two newsletters. The British Newsletter served the interests of the British subjects in the colony and the other was the French Newsletter called *Nabanga*. It served the interests of the French subjects. New Hebrideans had no print medium. Apparently the feeling of the colonisers was that New Hebrideans were quite happy with their oral literature and history."

Garae's comments are not entirely fair, but not entirely inaccurate either. In PNG it took the passion and dedication of Mihalic and others working in a far more fraught linguistic environment to create a stabilised written version of Tok Pisin. That level of stability only began to appear in Bislama in the 1990s, probably because of a lack of interested linguists and because it was much harder for a lingua franca to stabilise (or be stabilised) when competing against two metropolitan languages.

Vanuatu does not appear to have had a commercial newspaper before independence. Before 1980 Fr Lini was involved with a number of publications, including *Onetalk*, which was produced with fellow Islander seminarians in New Zealand. While working in the Solomon Islands he helped set up the *Kakamora Reporter*, which, it was hoped, "would encourage Solomon Islanders to express themselves to the public and other Pacific Island people." <sup>683</sup> Fr Lini's sister Hilda worked with him to produce two newspapers on behalf of the nascent Vanuaaku Pati. The first was *New Hebrides Viewpoint*, which was used to promote the ideas of the New Hebrides Cultural Association, from the Vanuaku Pati view. <sup>684</sup> According to Garae, this was the first newspaper produced entirely by ni-Vanuatu staff. He described it as promoting "the message of independence to the rural people." <sup>685</sup>

It is likely that expatriates in the New Hebrides would have had some access to outside newspapers. French speaking expatriates would probably have been able to obtain copies of *Les Nouvelles Caledoniennes* from Noumea. Anglophone readers may have had access to papers flown in from Brisbane or Sydney.

<sup>681</sup> Lini, Fr W., Beyond Pandemonium, Asia Pacific Books, Wellington, 1980, pp51-52.

<sup>682</sup> Shears, R., The Coconut War, Cassell, Sydney, 1980, p25.

<sup>683</sup> Lini, Fr W., Beyond Pandemonium, p23.

<sup>684</sup> ibid. p24

<sup>685</sup> Garae, L. (2009). How media grew in Vanuatu. http://kauri.aut.ac.nz:8080/dspace/bitstream/123456789/2514/1/09AUG 01 HistoryMediaVanuatu.pdf

Bislama, Vanautu's Pidgin lingua franca, has played a complementary rather than a dominant role in Vanuatu's newspapers; in general it has appeared alongside English or French. However, there is a history of political parties and other agencies using the language as a means of reaching the rural dwellers and the less educated. Despite being given a place in Vanuatu's constitution, Bislama has not been given the same status Tok Pisin has received in PNG in terms of official preference, research or publication. 686 There have been a number of English/French/Bislama dictionaries, including specialised works such as Bowden's medical dictionary. The first major dictionary of Bislama was Camden's A Descriptive Dictionary, published in 1977. There have also been several studies of Bislama and specialist works to complement the work done on Vanuatu's indigenous languages. 687 There is evidence of editors choosing Bislama as a means of reaching the indigenous population, but only in support of one of the metropolitan languages. Although they were supposed to be working in harmony, the British and French Residencies competed for support. In 1961 the French issued the Bulletin d'Information de la Résidence de France, which contained some articles in Bislama. The British did not deign to respond until 1972, when they issued their own newsletter, which also contained material in the lingua franca. Crowley suggests that the British publication was as much a response to the appearance of newsletters produced by local political parties as anything else. The two Residency papers adopted Bislama names, the British one becoming Tamtam and the French one Nabanga. However, both papers continued to publish bilingually, with Bislama running alongside the language of the metropolitan power.<sup>688</sup> It was this arrangement that was copied after independence by the government-controlled weekly, the tri-lingual Vanuatu Hebdomadaire. The Port Vila-based newspaper reflected the struggle for supremacy between the country's Anglophone and Francophone elements, with stories in English, French and Bislama being placed in a hierarchy that reflected the language of whoever was Prime Minister. Initially an A4 publication, it later appeared on glossy tabloid paper before being shut down and revived again some years later.

The New Hebrides' first commercial newspaper appeared in 1978. Run by Australian journalist Christine Coombe, who was also the ABC's correspondent, *The Voice of Vanuatu* carried brief written reports and many pictures. Coombe was expelled from Vanuatu in 1983, one of many journalists in Melanesia to discover that some Pacific politicians were happy to discard their pre-independence rhetoric once they became Big Men.<sup>689</sup>

It was a pattern repeated time and again in the newly independent Vanuatu. There have been other problems aside from government hostility towards anybody trying to run a newspaper in Vanuatu. Marc Neil-Jones, a former Word Publishing manager, who owns the Vanuatu *Trading Post* and was himself briefly deported in 2000, says that "high illiteracy rates...[and]...a struggling economy" have made it hard for the media to survive.<sup>690</sup> Nevertheless, Neil-Jones has continued his involvement with the Vanuatu media and in 2008 announced the launch of the country's first entirely Bislama newspaper, the *Vanuatu Wikli Post*, which he said would be distributed to every airstrip on the Air Vanuatu domestic network.<sup>691</sup>

<sup>686</sup> Crowley, T., 'The Language Situation in Vanuatu,' in Current Issues in Language Planning, I:1, 2000.

<sup>687</sup> Lynch, J., An Annotated Bibliography of Vanuatu Languages, Pacific Information Centre, USP, Suva, 1994, p55.

<sup>688</sup> Crowley, T., 'The Language Situation in Vanuatu.'

<sup>689 (</sup>March 14, 1983) Vanuatu tells reporter to go. *Sydney Morning Herald;* Pacific Media Watch, 'Row over Vanuatu Press Klub freedom awards,' PMW Media 13. May 18, 1998

<sup>690</sup> Neil-Jones, M., 'Country reports: Vanuatu,' Commonwealth Press Union, <a href="http://cpu.org.uk/forum\_2003/cr\_vanu.html">http://cpu.org.uk/forum\_2003/cr\_vanu.html</a> On Neil-Jones' deportation, see 'Deported publisher returns to Vanuatu,' International Freedom of Expression Exchange, at <a href="http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/12491/">http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/12491/</a>

<sup>691</sup> Pacific Media Watch, 'Bislama weekly newspaper debuts in Vanuatu,' PMW 5622 Vanuatu, August 26, 2008.

The press in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu have followed a significantly different path from newspapers in PNG. The small size of the expatriate populations meant that there was little incentive for anybody to risk establishing a commercial press prior to independence. With such development as there was concentrated in the main towns of Honiara and Port Vila, rural populations had few opportunities for education and fewer incentives to develop a reading habit. Because of the low status accorded to Pidjin and Bislama, neither lingue franche was sufficiently stabilised or provided with a fixed orthography that might have allowed it to be used to communicate with the grassruts in a consistent manner. Where Bislama was used for political purposes in Vanuatu, it seems to have been done on an ad hoc basis. When the press did appear, it was born out of pre-existing official publications and private revenue generating newspapers tended to be short lived. In neither country has the press been entirely free of interference and succeeding governments in Vanuatu have established an unenviable reputation for threatening and deporting journalists and editors. Each of the Melanesian Island states is different. PNG and Fiji share a common inheritance of a Western-style press with a commitment to the watchdog role, but PNG's experience with a Tok Pisin press is more relevant to those countries with similar pidgin-based lingue franche, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. Nevertheless, the story of the PNG press is one that is reflected to varying degrees across the Pacific.

When Nelson wrote his seminal paper in 1967 the commercial press in PNG was almost entirely a reflection of expatriate life, but even obliquely it had begun to reflect the concerns of the indigenous, mixed-race and non-European expatriate population as well. It is clear that many expatriates identified with the Territory as much as, if not more than, they did with Australia and this concern for the Territory and all its peoples can be seen in the *Post-Courier's* coverage of events in 1969.

Even before that, however, the *Rabaul Times* showed a different, if nonetheless sincere, belief in the future of the Territory. It is not surprising that different newspapers with different audiences, separated by time and geography, held different views of what the future of the Territory and its expatriate population would, or should be. It is entirely understandable that *Wantok*, aimed solidly at an indigenous, grassruts audience, should have a very different view.

The demands and expectations of a country on the verge of self-government and independence are reflected in the elements of concern for the national good that appear in the *Post-Courier* and in the full-blown developmental journalism that appears in *Wantok*.

In the years that followed independence, elements of developmental and the inherited Australian-style journalism fused in the country's commercial press to produce a uniquely PNG form of journalism. Elsewhere in Anglophone Melanesia, journalists in the Solomons and Vanuatu also begun to develop their own style of journalism. <sup>692</sup> Fijian journalists, who have experienced 20 years of coups and military rule, punctuated by brief spells of democracy, also developed their own brand of journalism.

Three decades and more after independence, the press in Melanesia faces tremendous problems, as reports by the Commonwealth Press Union and the International Federation of Journalists have made plain.<sup>693</sup> In Fiji the media is strictly censored and Commodore

<sup>692</sup> Frazer, I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers.'

<sup>693</sup> Commonwealth Press Union, 'The Independence of the Commonwealth Media and Those Working Within It. London, 1999; International Federation of Journalists. (2012) Fragile Freedom: Inaugural Press Freedom report, <a href="http://asiapacific.ifj.org/assets/docs/105/240/07e2369-f2487f0.pdf">http://asiapacific.ifj.org/assets/docs/105/240/07e2369-f2487f0.pdf</a>

Bainarama has made it clear that he expects the media to foster national unity rather than ask too many questions. In Papua New Guinea the country's newspapers (*Wantok* excepted) and most of the electronic media are foreign owned.

In the Solomons and Vanuatu the press has never been entirely free of interference and succeeding governments in Vanuatu have established an unenviable reputation for threatening, deporting or sometimes just hitting journalists and editors.<sup>694</sup> As mentioned earlier, there have been other problems apart from government hostility for anybody trying to run a newspaper in Vanuatu. Widespread corruption plagues Vanuatu as it does other Pacific Island states.<sup>695</sup> In the Solomon Islands a number of private newspapers have emerged and vanished in the decades after independence, an outcome that Frazer blamed partly on the low literacy rate.<sup>696</sup>

And yet despite all the vicissitudes they have faced, whether it be political interference, physical assaults, economic pressures or geographic isolation, journalists in Papua New Guinea and the rest of Anglophone Melanesia have continued to tell their readers as well as they can what is really going on in their respective countries. The mirror is still there if people want to look into it.

<sup>695</sup> Vaadre, M., 'Corruption in Small Pacific Island States: - A Case Study of Vanuatu,' Masters' thesis. Jönköping University, 2009. 696 Frazer, I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers.'

## **Postscript**

"During the colonial era..."

I looked at my boss, Anna Solomon, who had just uttered these words.

"Oh, Anna," I reproved her, "PNG wasn't a colony. We were just getting the place ready for independence."

Anna laughed at me, although she managed to make it sound like a kindly laugh for a well-meaning, if naïve expatriate; not the scornful laugh she might have uttered. At least she spared me that. The conversation wandered off into other areas as conversations were wont to do while we were waiting for copy to be set or plates to be made.

It was early September, 1994. Word Publishing, which Anna ran, had just installed a set of Apple computers. My job was to get the Macs up and running and teach the subs how to use them, while acting as chief sub-editor myself, working mainly on the *Times of PNG*, but occasionally helping out with *Wantok*, *PNG Business*, and the weekly sporting paper, for which I did some centre-spreads, and experimenting with Machine, possibly the ugliest font in the world.

There were only four expatriates on the staff; myself, who was only there for a few months, the editor, who had previously run the *Eastern Star* in Milne Bay, the American manager, Fr Vince Ohlinger, and the proof-reader and columnist, who wrote under the name Daka, a bitter herb chewed with buai.

The Hiri Moale festival was about to start and that meant a huge supplement with extra copy and ads. We had also just introduced an education supplement to the *Times of PNG* and I had managed to persuade Anna to let me use a vertical masthead on the insert. She was not convinced, but humoured me.

In any case, there were more important issues at hand. Port Moresby was now so overcrowded that there was frequently no water. Our local journalists often turned up exhausted in the morning because they had been up all night waiting to collect water from a public tap. At Word's offices in Spring Garden Road we had a 44 gallon drum full of oily water with which to wash our hands or flush the toilets. Power was unreliable, so the office often ran off its own batteries. One morning they exploded, enraging Fr Vince, for whom this must have been one of the hundreds of last straws he endured every day.

At lunchtime we could leave our compound – company policy was that we had to travel in twos - and go down to the supermarket to buy lunch, or bootleg Thai cassettes for two kina. One week a shipment of can openers arrived and, used by now to the chronic shortages on the supermarket shelves, I bought six. As I walked back up the hill a car full of raskols raced past me, pursued by a police four wheel drive. There was the sharp crack of gunfire. I kept walking as the raskols and police disappeared over the brow of the hill.

The Hiri Moale festival was upon us when one of the volcanoes ringing Rabaul exploded. After the volcano had been erupting for a week, Anna, who had already been there and written our first reports, managed to get me on a plane leaving at 2am. Journalists were not welcome in Rabaul, especially white ones, thanks to the reporting of one Australian current affairs show. The night before I left for Rabaul, the staff gathered in the dining room to watch the programme, which was being pulled off the satellite by one of the companies pirating satellite channels for cable customers. The Australian presenter didn't actually claim to be in Rabaul, but with carefully framed shots, dramatic delivery and

carefully chosen words, he gave the impression that he was right in the centre of things. We weren't impressed.

That night I tried to snatch an hour or two's sleep before the driver picked me up to take me to the airport. I lived by myself in a two bedroom flat overlooking Ela Beach. To my left was a multi-story building occupied by UNESCO. To my right was a building said to be occupied by the Catholic bishop. One evening a man came out onto his verandah. I waited for him to raise his hand in benison, but he smoked a cigarette instead.

One afternoon my old friend Joe Kanekane, who I had known since his days as a journalism student at UPNG, came to visit. He looked at the large, white, clean, flat and said: "If we all had housing like this, we would all work much harder."

When I eventually got to Rabaul, the town had disappeared. I posed for a photograph, one foot on the roof of a utility buried in volcanic ash. The New Guinea Club, the centre of expatriate life during the *Rabaul Times*' existence, had burned down a few months before the eruption and now its hollow shell was filling with the gritty ash that fell continuously from the sky. Two of the club's former employees had been making a living selling food and drink from a haus wind in the club's garden, but now they were packing up and leaving, looking apprehensive as the volcano roared in the background. When Anna saw my photos of the two men packing their belongings, she said: "Oh wantok, mi sori tru long yu."

Daka used to run the New Guinea Club in the 1970s and opened it to members of all races. I had stayed at the club only a year before, sleeping in a room protected by fly wire for the first time in nearly 20 years, sharing the bathroom with geckoes and looking bemusedly at the yellowing photographs of ancient cricket teams that decorated the club walls. It was here that I met Matt Foley and Harry the Hangman who told me about Rabaul in the 1950s, with its weekend horse racing and sporting fixtures and smiling Tolai waiters in starched laplaps bringing drinks to club members as they sat under the fans.

I had wondered at how clean, safe and well kept Rabaul was compared with Port Moresby. It was almost the way PNG used to be. Except that it wasn't of course. That version of PNG had vanished a long time before the Rabaul club burned down. Port Moresby, the expatriate capital that greeted the *Post-Courier* in 1969 was gone, too. The PNG that was emerging when *Wantok* was born was the real one. The Territory had disappeared. Papua New Guinea remained.

PNG never was entirely what expatriates imagined it to be, but perhaps expatriates were never quite what they imagined themselves to be, either.

#### Appendix 1

# Some notes on the origins of Tok Pisin

To follow the development of Tok Pisin in the years between the end of the Second World War and independence is complex enough. To understand its origins, however, we need to go back to the period of German colonisation in the Pacific. Examining the growth of the language in this period makes clear the degree of antipathy towards Tok Pisin which existed even after the Second World War and the extent of its indebtedness to German and Polynesian loan words.

Tok Pisin did not, as has been repeatedly and erroneously claimed, originate among indentured plantation labourers on the Queensland sugar fields.<sup>697</sup> It most probably originated among plantation labourers in German Samoa and was then incubated by boats' crews working on ships trading copra and sandalwood between Melanesia and Polynesia.<sup>698</sup> During the German times Tok Pisin was regarded with horror by colonists and missionaries alike. It was not a real language, they contended, but only a broken English. This was a mistake; for while its vocabulary derives mostly from English, it is not identical with it. About a fifth of the vocabulary is derived from local languages, mainly Tolai, with a smattering of Polynesian loanwords, much German and other languages.<sup>699</sup> Some Germans believed Tok Pisin was deliberately introduced by the British to undermine their authority. Others believed Tok Pisin had been brought to New Guinea by Tolai returning from indentured labour in Queensland and was therefore a form of plantation English.<sup>700</sup>

However, since only a relatively few Tolai worked in Queensland, the Queensland plantation pidgin they brought back could not have been the sole basis of Tok Pisin. The bulk of indentured islanders working in Queensland were from Vanuatu or the Solomons, so any effect of Queensland plantation pidgin would have been felt mainly there. Hahl, the Governor of German New Guinea, placed strict conditions on labour recruiting, and it is likely that more Tolais worked on the German plantations in Samoa than anywhere else outside the protectorate. Verhaar suggests the language

developed mostly among plantation workers, but does not say when or where.<sup>701</sup> Firth suggests that while New Guineans had signed on for plantation work in Queensland, Fiji and Samoa, the bulk of the labour trade was conducted within German New Guinea itself.<sup>702</sup> Price and Baker's comparison of recruiting figures for Queensland shows that New Guinea islanders were only a small proportion of labourers.

Only in 1883-84 was recruitment from places other than the New Hebrides, Solomons and Loyalty Islands predominantly from New Guinea. The 1269 New Guineans recruited

<sup>697</sup> Price, C., and Baker, E., 'Origins of Islands Labourers in Queensland,' Journal of Pacific History, XI, pp110-111. Unfortunately, some myths about labour recruitment persist. Khabirov, for instance, blithely claims that "hundreds of thousands" of labourers were recruited, when this is clearly nonsense. Khabirov, V., 'Standardization of Melanesian Pidgin English,' Ural Pedagogical University, MS, undated.

<sup>698</sup> Salisbury, R. F., 'Pidgin's respectable past' in *New Guinea*, II:2 (1967), p45. Threlfall is also an advocate of the ship-borne theory of Tok Pisin's development, favouring American whalers as one of the prime loci. Threlfall, Rev N., personal communication, November 14, 2006.

<sup>699</sup> Dutton, T. E., Conversational New Guinea Pidgin, ANU Press, Canberra, 1977, piii.

<sup>700</sup> Mihalic proposed this method of development in the 1969 edition his handbook on Tok Ples. Mihalic, F., *Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin*, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1969, p1.

<sup>701</sup> Verhaar, J., Toward a Reference Grammar of Tok Pisin: An Experiment in Corpus Linguistics, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, 1995, p1.

<sup>702</sup> Firth, S., 'The Transformation of the Labour Trade in German New Guinea 1899-1914' in Journal of Pacific History XI.

in 1883 were fewer than the 2877 recruited from the New Hebrides and far fewer than the total of 5273 for the whole recruitment area. In 1884 the number recruited from the New Guinea islands, 1540, was nearly half the total yearly number of 3265, but the next year only four New Guineans were recruited. In 1883-87 New Guineans accounted for only 2820 labourers out of a total recruitment of 14,037. For the entire recruiting period 1863-1904, New Guineans accounted for only 5.1 percent of the total.<sup>703</sup>

Mulhausler has proposed some interesting links between Samoan Plantation English and Tok Pisin and it may be more plausible to posit a causal link between Tok Pisin and a pidgin developed in another German colony. Salisbury says that recruiting only focused on New Guineas in early 1883 and that Tok Pisin was established before recruiting for plantation labourers had begun. Wawn cites five recruiting trips to the Bismarck Archipelago, saying the Tolai refused to sign on after missionary advice, although New Irelanders joined up. The natives of the Bismarck Archipelago were described as "an undesirable class of labourers" and recruiting concentrated on the Louisiade Archipelago. In 1884 the German Government forbade recruiting in its territory except for plantations in Samoa. Salisbury contends that probably no more than 20 Tolai returned to New Britain, a figure that must be suspect, even given the mortality rate on the Queensland plantations.

Wurm claims that the real progenitor of Tok Pisin is Bislama, the lingua franca of Vanuatau, brought there by traders looking for sandalwood and beche de mer. Bislama (originally Bichelemar or Beach-la-mar) is itself derived from Chinese trade pidgin. 706 If this is correct then the real wellspring of Tok Pisin was not the plantation, but the boat. Many of the Islander boats' crews became very widely travelled, visiting Honolulu, San Francisco, Sydney and even Boston. 707 The Islanders who worked on these commercial vessels found themselves part of a cosmopolitan crew, the members of which seldom shared a common tongue. There might be Sinhalese, Cantonese, Filipinos and Americans all using what was probably a very fluid and unstable form of pidgin that might change from ship to ship depending on the mother tongue of the crew.

"The senior boat crews were almost exclusively Malay, Filipino, Samoan, Fijian and other islanders...increasingly (crews) were recruited locally. Thus the Trobrianders who spoke pidgin in 1881 had learned it through trade with....Hernsheim. By 1881 his boats' crews were almost exclusively Tolai; Richard Parkinson employed only men from Buka. This gives a relatively firm date by which pidgin was established as a language of intercourse between New Guineans. Brown, Danks, etc., all point out how few people spoke pidgin in 1875-78. I would argue that rapid expansion of its use did not occur until 1878 (when copra replaced the trade in turtle and trochus shell). By then dozens of boats were in New Britain waters, shipping mainly to Samoa. In these formative years it would appear that the strongest non-English influence on pidgin was Samoan. The Polynesian derivation for the basic words *kanaka*, *kaikai* and *taro* support this; the term *lotu* reflects Fijian influence."

Even after acknowledging the debt of ship's pidgin, Wurm still posits the plantations of North Queensland as the primary locus for the development of Tok Pisin. It is likely that both the plantation and the boat played their part in the development of Tok Pisin and that we must look for a variety of loci and vectors for its development. However, it seems

<sup>703</sup> Price, C., and Baker, E., 'Origins of Islands Labourers...'

<sup>704</sup> Mulhausler, P., 'Samoan Plantation Pidgin English and the origins of New Guinea Pidgin: An Introduction,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, XI.

<sup>705</sup> Salisbury, R. F., 'Pidgin's respectable past' in *New Guinea*, II:2 (1967) pp44-6. He is quoting from *The South Sea Islanders and the Labour Trade* 1893, pp279-80.

<sup>706</sup> Wurm, S. A., in Dutton, T.E., Conversational New Guinea Pidgin, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977, piv.

<sup>707</sup> Salisbury, R. F., 'Pidgin's respectable past' p20. See also Crocombe, R., 'Ruatoka: A Polynesian in New Guinea History' in *Pacific Islands Monthly* November/December, 1972.

<sup>708</sup> Salisbury, R.F., 'Pidgin's respectable past'..., p45.

to me that the most likely origins for what became Tok Pisin were the Samoan plantations, with the language being mediated through ships' pidgin and then being subject to the introduction of loan words. What is not disputable is that Rabaul became the major focus of Tok Pisin during the German period, Salisbury claiming that New Guinea pidgin became a variety of Tolai Pidgin between 1885 and 1921.<sup>709</sup>

Whatever its origins, Tok Pisin allowed the Tolai and other New Guineans to communicate with Europeans, an ability that meant power and employment for the more adventurous. Naturally also the language was copied, further developed by the inclusion of loan words from the Europeans and Tok Ples and spread even further by indentured labourers, boats' crew, Islander catechists and the existing traditional trade routes. The chance to leave home and see the world is a temptation for all young people and there was a constant movement between the Gazelle, the Sepik and the Solomons. It was in this intermingling of people that the language developed.<sup>710</sup>

The German colonial government did its best to discourage the use of Tok Pisin, but while it could persuade some missions to teach German in their schools and used it in the official school in Rabaul, the plantation owners decided they could best communicate with their labourers by bellowing at them in Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin *was* a fact of life whether the Germans wanted it or not, a fact conceded by the issuing of grammars in what the Germans called Tokboi or Kanakasprache.

The Germans tried to foster the teaching of German in mission schools and taught it in its own schools, but still found that Tok Pisin and Tok Ples were the only languages in which they could establish real communication with the villagers. Biskup argues that the success of the Germans' attempts to impose order at a village level by the appointment of a range of local officials such as luluais, tultuls and heiltultuls and the administration of justice by regular 'circuits' depended, among other things, on "the use of the vernacular in the proceedings, rather than of pidgin (and) some literacy on the part of the natives." The German governor, Hahl, is thought to have been proficient in Kuanua, the language of the Gazelle Peninsula.

The German administration professed itself pleased with any sign of education in their language in its annual reports, but the language was never widely spread by formal means. 712 Australians who worked in New Guinea after the Second World War sometimes reported meeting old people who could speak German, but this is not necessarily an indication of literacy in that language. Given the short time in which the colony existed, it is perhaps surprising that there was any success at all. Australia did not make English a universal language after nearly a century of effort in Papua. Some later writers blamed the influence of Tok Pisin for the failure of the German language policy. Ralph quotes an unnamed missionary as blaming the failure of the policy (if failure it was) on "the pernicious influence of 'this miserable pidgin English.'"713

<sup>709</sup> Mulhausler, P., 'The history of New Guinea Pidgin,' in Mulhausler, P., 'The history of New Guinea Pidgin' in Wurm S. A., (ed), New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study Vol 3: Language, Culture, Society and the Modern World, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977, p499. Mulhausler suggests that there are not enough facts to establish which of the theories about the origins of Tok Pisin are right. Most Tolais I spoke to seemed satisfied with the idea that they invented the language.

<sup>710</sup> Mihalic, F., 'Polices and experiences in the Catholic mission in the field of teaching Pidgin,' in S. Wurm (ed.) Vol. 3, p653.

<sup>711</sup> Biskup, P., 'Hahl at Herbertshoehe 1896-1898: The genesis of German native administration in New Guinea,' in Inglis K.S., (ed) *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar,* University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University, Port Moresby/Canberra, 1969, p86. Biskup is quoting the memoirs of Schnee, Hahl's successor as judge at Herbertshoehe.

<sup>712</sup> Sack, P. and Clark, D., (eds.) German New Guinea: The Annual Reports, ANU Press, Canberra, 1978, passim.

<sup>713</sup> Ralph, C., 'Some notes on education in German New Guinea 1884-1914,' in *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*, July 1965. Ralph is quoting a German document proposing a three year development plan for education in 1914.

However, German New Guinea consisted of more than the Bismarck Archipelago and Kaiser Wilhelmsland, as the north coast was called, for there was also the island territory that had been acquired from Spain and in Micronesia the authorities claimed a great success. The Germans soon boasted that English was no longer spoken in their Micronesian territories and that their new schools were teaching German with great success.<sup>714</sup>

English (or, *vide* Threlfall, a pidginised ship's English) was widely spoken because of contact with American whalers, but Hahl's replacement, Viktor Borg, forbade the German Capuchins who replaced the Spanish priests in 1903, from teaching any foreign language besides German.<sup>715</sup> Given the success of its schools in Micronesia and the promise of its school in Rabaul, the colonial administration planned other schools at Kieta "where the English language [presumably Tok Pisin] commences to be spoken", at Kavieng and at Aitape, whose task would be "to disseminate the German language among the natives on and near the Dutch frontier." To build schools and teach German was "a demand of Colonial Political culture."<sup>716</sup>What was clearly not a demand of German political culture was anything which favoured Tok Pisin. The language was reviled and part of the campaign to introduce German in school was an attempt to suppress its use. The authorities pleaded futilely with colonists to give up Tok Pisin and speak only German.<sup>717</sup>

The missionaries in German New Guinea also largely opposed the use of Tok Pisin. They regarded it with as much detestation as the colonial authorities, and the SVDs only chose to use it after strenuous arguments among themselves. There was no chance of Tok Pisin being used as a lotu language in the early days of missions. It was not sufficiently developed or widespread before the end of the 19th century, neither the missions nor the colonial authorities supported its use and no literature was printed in it until the 1920s.

The original missions in New Guinea - that is, the north coast and the Bismarck Archipelago - were the Methodists and Missionaires du Sacre Coeur (MSC) on the Gazelle Peninsula, the Neuendettelsau Lutherans on the Rai coast and the Divine Word missionaries (SVD) in the Sepik.

The SVDs were imbued with a passionate conviction that the press, publishing and literacy were among the most important of the missionary's tools. They believed in Pope Pius X's admonition that "It is better to have one less church and one more press." They were educated men who were encouraged to become linguists and anthropologists and for whom publication in a learned journal or a contribution to the new sciences was highly valued. Among the earliest ornaments at their first headquarters on the island of Tumleo, in what is now Sandaun province, was a hand-cranked flatbed press run by Sr Cherubina Frings of the Holy Spirit Sisters. One of the most famous photographs of this period shows Sr Cherubina standing by the machine with a local girl who had perhaps been trained as a printers' devil. According to Sr Coles, Sr Cherubina produced Tok Ples catechisms, readers, hymnals, prayer books and maths books in German. The press was re-established when the mission moved to Alexishafen near what is now Madang.

At first the SVDs followed the normal missionary procedure of producing Bible translations and other material for their new converts. However, the rate of conversion was almost nil

<sup>714</sup> ibid. This may have been a good thing. When Hahl went to Micronesia to attend the Spanish handover he found that he and the Spanish prior could only converse in Latin. Hahl, A., *Governor in New Guinea*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1980, p60 and Smith, D. F., 'A Glimpse of German Education in Micronesia, 1899-1914' in *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education* VII:2, June, 1971.

<sup>715</sup> Ehrlich, P., 'The clothes of men: Ponape Island and German Colonial Rule 1899-1914' PhD thesis, State University of New York at Stony Brook. 1978.

<sup>716</sup> Ralph, C., 'Some notes on education in German New Guinea 1884-1914.'

<sup>717</sup> Moses, J. A., 'The German empire in Melanesia 1884-1914: A German self analysis' in Inglis, K.S., (ed.) *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar,* University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University Port Moresby/Canberra, 1969, p75. The plea comes from the *Amtsblatt fur das Schutzgebeit Deutsch Neuguinea* Volume VI, 1914, pp24-27

<sup>718</sup> Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe Dreams vs Facts of Life: Wantok's Wewak Years (1969-1976)', MS, undated, but probably 1990-92.

<sup>719</sup> Wiltgen, Fr R., personal communication, Rome, September 16, 1992.

<sup>720</sup> Coles, Sr D. and Mihalic, Fr F., Sent by the Spirit, Holy Spirit Sisters, Madang, 1999, p2. There is actually some dispute about whether the press on Tumleo was active, with some male SVD historians claiming that it was not operational until it was moved to Alexishafen.

and the mission's leader, Fr Limbrock, devoted his energies to setting up a plantation so the mission would be self-supporting. What particularly bedevilled the SVDs was that they had begun operations in an area with up to 20 languages. Other missions, like the Missionaires du Sacre Couer, or Methodists, used one language, Kuanua. The Lutherans on the mainland faced a smaller number of related languages and adopted a policy of imposing one of them as a Tok Lotu as they evangelised.

The SVDs toyed with a number of options, including the use of an Esperanto-type language, Volapuck and Bahasa Malay, before deciding to use German in the mission schools and resigning themselves to constantly learning new languages. After the First World War, however, the SVDs adopted, very reluctantly, a new policy proposed by Fr Kirschbaum, of using Tok Pisin as their Tok Lotu.<sup>721</sup> It became the official mission language in north east New Guinea from 1931.<sup>722</sup> Before the Second World War broke out some catechismal literature had been printed and it is about this time that *Frend Bilong Mi* appears to have been published in Alexishafen.<sup>723</sup>

As the SVDs began to expand into the Highlands in the 1930s, it became clear that the policy of adopting Tok Pisin was beginning to pay off. Bishop Leo Arkfeld asserted that resistance in the Highlands to imported Tok Ples had been strong and he stressed the flexibility of Tok Pisin as a language that could be carried from one language group to another.<sup>724</sup> However, not all the SVD missionaries were enamoured of Tok Pisin. Fr Ernst Montag complained in his memoirs that:

"Pidgin was a synthetic language, one that was composed purposely to suit the primitiveness of the aborigines. The vocabulary is meagre. Many words have several meanings. Just this gives rise to the possibility of misunderstandings and inaccuracies."<sup>725</sup>

The possibility of misunderstandings and inaccuracies existed because there was no standard orthography. Although Frs Kirschbaum and Meisner had produced Tok Pisin dictionaries, the fact that different pronunciations and loan words obtained in different districts, made it difficult to pin the language down precisely. It was to be decades before Mihalic made the first real effort to pin down Tok Pisin into a coherent form and until then missionaries and administrators alike went their separate ways. In the meantime Tok Pisin, for all its perceived faults, continued to grow and change and mutate. Ultimately, it was the SVD's pragmatic decision to adopt Tok Pisin as a lotu language that probably gave it a chance to stabilise, as priests, brothers and sisters went out into the bush in the 1930s taking more or less one version of the language with them. Similarly, the decision of the Methodists in the 1950s to offer services in Tok Pisin probably helped to stabilise at least the Rabaul version. Pragmatism and a willingness to bend to necessity all moulded the missions' response to Tok Pisin.

People like Fr Montag may have hated Tok Pisin, the Germans may have despised it and the Australians may have wished to replace it with English, but ultimately Tok Pisin outlasted all of their objections.

<sup>721</sup> Tschauder, Fr J., interview, December 8, 1992.

<sup>722</sup> Steffen, Fr P., personal communication, Banz, PNG, November 11, 1992.

<sup>723</sup> Baker, S. J., 'The literature of Pidgin English'.

<sup>724</sup> Arkfeld, Bishop L., interview, April 10, 1992.

<sup>725</sup> Montag, Fr E., 31 Years a Missionary, Kundiawa, 1989, p37.

<sup>726</sup> As an example, see the November 1967 edition of *Katolik Nius*, produced by the MSCs at Vunapope: "Vonem name bilong yu?' rather than 'Wanem name bilong yu?'

# **Bibliography**

# **Principal publications cited**

Pacific Islands Monthly
Pacific Review
The Papua and New Guinea Villager
The Papuan Courier
Papuan Times and Tropical Advertiser
Post-Courier
Rabaul News
Rabaul Times
Solomon Islands News Drum
South Pacific Post
Sydney Morning Herald
The Word in Papua New Guinea
Time
Vakalelewa ni Pasifika.
Wantok

# **Principal archival sources**

British Newspaper Library, London, United Kingdom.
British Library, London, United Kingdom.
Australian National Library, Canberra, Australia.
Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia.
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia.
Michael Somare Library, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby.
Noser Library, Divine Word University, Madang, Papua New Guinea.
SVD archives, Mt Hagen, Papua New Guinea.
University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

# Interviews and correspondence

Arkfeld, Bishop L., interview, Wirui, April 10, 1992. Dorney, S., personal communication, July 2008. Dunbar-Reid, D., personal communication, October 2006. Foley, M., interview, Rabaul, July 8, 1993. Goodey, Fran. personal communication, February 12, 2013. Goodey, Fran. personal communication, February 19, 2013. Jorgon, J., interview, Wirui, April 9, 1992. Lockwood, K., personal communication, November 2006. Matbob, P., personal communication, March 3, 2007. Mihalic, Fr. F., interview, Kairiru Island, April 11, 1992. Nelson, H, personal communication, January 21, 2006. Ryan, J., interview, Rockhampton, July 2006.

Ryan, J., personal communication, March 7, 2006.
Solomon, A., personal communication, January 25, 2007.
Steffen, Fr P., personal communication, November 11, 1992.
Teko, Bishop E., interview, Rabaul, July 9, 1993.
Threlfall, N., personal communication, November 2, 2006.
Threlfall, N., personal communication, November 15, 2006.
Threlfall, N., personal communication, November 16, 2006.
Tschauder, Fr J., interview, Madang, December 8, 1992.
Wiltgen, Fr R., personal communication, September 16, 1992.
Woolford, D., personal communication, March 21, 2006.

### Sources

- -, 'Insuperable Pidgin,' in *Time*, August 10, 1953.
- -, 'Gross betrayal of Trust: New Guinea Natives' Welfare in Jeopardy,' in *The Rock,* January 12, 1956. (anti-Catholic pamphlet reprint of article from *South Pacific Post*)
- -, 'Current Notes,' in Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, V: 5, October 1968.
- -, 'Current Notes,' in Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, VI: 3, October 1969.
- 'World Bank's decision shocks PNG on eve of independence,' in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1975.
- -, 'Mr Somare ahead on points on the Bougainville contest,' in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, December 1975.
- -, 'Fantom, Yu Pren Tru Bilong Mi,' in Time, September 26, 1977.
- -, 'PNG Martyrs,' supplement to Post-Courier, April 7, 1993.
- -, 'Vanuatu tells reporter to go,' Sydney Morning Herald, March 14, 1983
- -, Obituary of Fr F. Mihalic, Post-Courier, December 11, 2001.
- -, 'Farewell to an old friend,' Post-Courier, June 4-7, 2004 (obituary of Jim Huxley)
- -, 'Bougainvillean political, administrative and armed Formations,' in Accord No. 12.

Abaijah, J., A Thousand Coloured Dreams, Dellasta Pacific, Mt Waverley, 1991.

Ammon, U. and Hellinger, M., (eds.) *Status Change of Language*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1992.

Anderson, N., Imagined Communities, Verso, London, 1991.

Arthur, J., 'Perspectives on educational language policy and its implementation in African classrooms: A comparative study of Botswana and Tanzania,' in *Compare*, XXXI: 3, 2001.

Ash, R. and Lake, B., Fish Who Answer the Telephone and other Bizarre Books, John Murray, London, 2006.

Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 'Visit to Bougainville 15-18 March 1999,' interim report present to Parliament March 31, 1999.

Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 'Bougainville: The Peace Process and Beyond,' completed inquiry presented to Parliament September 27, 1999.

Baker, S., 'The Literature of Pidgin English,' in American Speech, XIX:4, 1944.

Barber, K., 'The Bugiau Community at Eight-Mile: An Urban Settlement in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea,' in *Oceania*, LXXIII:4, June 2003.

Barclay, G., A History of the Pacific, Futura, London, 1978.

Barrington-Thomas, E., 'Social consequences of educational change in Papua New Guinea,' in *Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education*, VIII:3, October 1972.

Beasant, J., *The Santo Rebellion*, Heinemann/University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu/Melbourne, 1984.

Belshaw, C., 'The Significance of Modern Cults in Melanesian Development,' in *Australian Outlook*, IV:4, 1950.

Bennett, J.A., 'Across the Bougainville Strait,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, June 2000.

Biskup, P., 'Hahl at Herbertshoehe 1896-1898: The genesis of German native administration in New Guinea,' in K.S.Inglis (ed) *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University, Port Moresby/ Canberra, 1969.

Bonney, N., 'Local Government and political development in Papua New Guinea,' in *Public Administration and Development*, II:2, April-June 1982.

Booth, A., 'Development challenges in a poor Pacific economy: The case of Papua New Guinea,' in *Pacific Affairs*, LXVIII:2, Summer 1995.

Bourke, M., Holznecht, S., Kituai K. and Roach L., (eds) *Our Time, but Not our Place*, Melbourne University Press, 1993.

Bourne, W., 'The Gospel according to Prum' in *Harper's Magazine*, 289:1736, 1995.

Brown, P., 'Social Change and Social Movements' in Fisk, E.L., (ed), *New Guinea on the Threshold*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1966.

Brunton, R., 'Black and White' in IPA Review, L:3, 1998.

Burton-Bradley, B.G., 'Mixed-race society in Port Moresby,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No.23, March 1968.

Burton, B., 'Documents highlight Australian role in PNG conflict,' in *Asia Times*, January 6, 2000.

Bulbeck, C., *Australian Women in Papua New Guinea*, Cambridge University Press, 1992. Butler, L., 'Mining, Nationalism, and Decolonization in Zambia, 1945-1964,' Paper presented to the XIVth International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 2006.

Cahill, P., 'Chinese in Rabaul 1921 to 1942,' in Journal of Pacific History, XXI:1, 1996.

Callick, R., 'Farewell to the Chief,' Eureka Street, 3:III, 1993.

Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998.

Campbell, I., 'Anthropology and the professionalism of colonial administration in Papua and New Guinea,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, June 1998.

Campbell, I.C., 'The ASOPA Controversy,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, June 2000.

Carl, A. and Garasu, L., (eds.) Weaving Consensus: The Papua New Guinea-Bougainville Peace Process, Conciliation Resources, London, 2002.

Cass, L., 'PNG Changes in School Languages Postwar,' MS, 1999.

Cass, P., 'New Guinea's first newspapers: The missionary press in German New Guinea 1886-1914,' in *Australian Journalism Review*, XIII:1-2, January-December, 1991.

Cass, P., 'A comparison of the coverage of the Bougainville crisis in the Australian and the Times of PNG.' *Australian Journalism Review*, XIV:2, 1992.

Cass, P., 'The Apostolate of the Press: Missionary language policy, translation and Publication in German New Guinea,' MA thesis, Central Queensland University, 1997.

Cass, P., 'I cannot photograph the adi: Self-regulation and social control in an hierarchical island society,' in Allen, Holmes et al. (eds.) *Self-Regulation in the Media*, City University, London 1998.

Cass, P., 'Tok Pisin and Tok Ples as languages of identification in Papua New Guinea,' in *Media Development*, No. 4, WACC, 1999.

Cass, P., 'Yu mas kamap wan nesen: The mainstream churches, Tok Pisin and national identity in Papua New Guinea,' in *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, No. 46, 2000.

Cass, P., 'Media ownership in the Pacific: Inherited colonial commercial model, but remarkably diverse,' in *Pacific Journalism Review*, X:2, 2004.

Cass, P., 'That some must suffer: The *Post-Courier* and the 1969 Bougainville crisis,' in Kaul, C. (ed.) *Media and the British Empire*, Palgrave/MacMillan, London, 2006.

Cass, P., 'Fr Francis Mihalic and Wantok niuspepa,' in *Pacific Journalism Review*, XVII:1, 2011.

Cass, P., 'The Infallible Engine: Indigenous perceptions of Europeans in German New Guinea through the missionary press,' in *Contemporary Papua New Guinea Studies*, XIV, May 2011.

Cass, P., 'Irreverent, occasionally tendentious and eagerly read: Early Melanesian newspapers and political consciousness.' A paper presented to the Democracy in the Pacific conference, Canterbury University, Christchurch, 2012.

Cass, P., 'Bung wantaim: *Wantok* and the path to independence 1970-75.' A paper presented to the Journalism, Media and Democracy conference, Auckland University of Technology, 2012.

Centurion, D., et al, *National Media Policy of Papua New Guinea*, PNG Government, Port Moresby, 1994.

Chand, R., 'Media for language and education in the Pacific Islands,' in Singh, S. and Prasad, B., *Media and Development: Issues and challenges in the Pacific Islands*, Fiji Institute of Applied Studies/ Pacific Media Centre, Lautoka/ Auckland, 2008.

Chappell, D., "Africanization" in the Pacific: Blaming others for disorder in the periphery?" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, No. 47, 2005.

Cleland, R., Pathways to Independence, the author, Cottesloe, 1985.

Coles, Sr D. and Mihalic, Fr F., Sent by the Spirit, Holy Spirit Sisters, Madang, 1999.

Coleridge, N., Paper Tigers, Heinemann, London, 1998.

Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives, Vol 183:4052-54, July 4, 1945.

Commonwealth Press Union. The Independence of the Commonwealth Media and Those Working Within It. London, 1999.

Connolly, B. and Anderson R., First Contact: New Guinea's Highlanders Encounter the Outside World, Viking Penguin, New York, 1987.

Cotton, P., 'PNG celebrates 25 years of Independence,' in Focus, September 2000.

Country Press Co-operative Company of Australia, *The Press Directory of Australia and New Zealand*, 14th edition, Sydney, 1958.

Country Press Co-operative Company of Australia, *The Press directory of Australia and New Zealand* 15<sup>th</sup> edition, Sydney, 1961.

Crocombe, M., 'Ruatoka: A Polynesian in New Guinea History' in *Pacific Islands Monthly* November/December, 1972.

Crocombe, R. and Tuza, E., (eds) *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: The first 10 years of Solomon Islands Independence*, Government Printing Press, Honiara, 1988.

Crocombe, R., *The South Pacific*, Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1992.

Crowl, L., 'Publishing in the Pacific Islands,' in Fiji Library Association Journal, No. 35, 1996.

Crowl, L., 'Local and regional book publishing for local and regional information,' Paper presented to the Waigani Seminar, Port Moresby, 1997.

Crowley, T., 'The Language Situation in Vanuatu,' in *Current Issues in Language Planning*, I:1, 2000.

Curtin, P., 'Niugini's Political development: Economic Aspects' in Ward, M., (ed) *The Politic of Melanesia: Papers presented to the fourth Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua New Guinea/ Australian National University, Port Moresby/Canberra, 1970.

Dalton, D., 'Cargo cults and discursive madness,' in Oceania, LXX:IV, 2000.

Daniel, P. and Sims, R., Foreign Investment in Papua New Guinea, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1986.

Daro, B., *The Papua Besena movement: Papua dainai, tano dainai, mauri dainai*. IASER Discussion Paper, Vol. 7, Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research, 1976.

Denoon, D., review of Wetherell, D., *Charles Abel and the Kwato Mission of Papua New Guinea*, 1891-1975, Melbourne University Press, 1996, in *Oceania*, March 1998.

Denoon, D., 'Black Mischief: The trouble with African Analogies,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, December 1999.

Denoon, D., 'Papua New Guinea's crisis: Acute or chronic?' in World Affairs, 164:III, 2002.

Diamond, J., Guns, Germs and Steel, Random House, London, 1997.

DiManno, R., 'The believers,' in Toronto Star, December 28, 1999.

Dobell, G., 'The Reluctant Pacific Nation,' in Quadrant, XLVIII:5, 2003.

Doran, S., 'Wanting and knowing best: Motive and Method in Australia's Governance of PNG, 1966-69,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, XL:3, December 2005.

Dorney, S., Papua New Guinea: People and Politics since 1975, Random House, Sydney, 1991.

Dorney, S., The Sandline Affair, ABC Books, Sydney, 1998.

Dorney, S., 'Papua New Guinea – What can Australia do (successfully)?' Menzies Research Centre, Australian Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century seminar, Parliament House, Canberra, October 11, 2005.

Douglas, L., 'From Christendom to Pluralism in the South Seas: Church-State relations in the 20th Century,' Ph.D. thesis, Drew University, 1969.

Downes, W., Language and Society, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998. Downs, I., The Australian Trusteeship: Papua New Guinea 1945-1975, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1980.

Duffield, L., 'Holding the Line? Keeping independent may be a close-run thing for media in PNG,' in *Pacific Journalism Review*, XI: 2, 2005.

Dutton, T.E. and Voorhoeven, C.L., *Beginning Hiri Motu*, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra, 1974.

Dutton, T.E., Conversational New Guinea Pidgin, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977.

Ehrlich, P., 'The clothes of men: Ponape Island and German Colonial Rule 1899-1914,' Ph.D thesis, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1978.

English, A., 'The Papua New Guinea Press and national development: A content analysis of two national daily newspapers,' Bachelor of Communication Arts (Journalism) thesis, Divine Word University, 2004.

Errington, F., 'Indigenous ideas of time, order and transition in a New Guinea cargo movement,' in *American Ethnologist*, I:2.

Ewins, R., 'The Papua New Guinea Constitution: Australia's Role in its Development, 1960-75.' BA Honours thesis, Australian National University, 1990.

Filer, C., 'Custom, law and ideology in Papua New Guinea,' in *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, VII: 1, April 2006.

Firth, S., 'The Transformation of the Labour Trade in German New Guinea 1899-1914,' in *Journal of Pacific History* XI.

Fishman, J. (ed.) Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Fisk, E.K., (ed.), New Guinea on the Threshold, ANU Press, Canberra, 1966.

Forman, C., 'The Study of Pacific Islands Christianity: Achievements, Resources and Needs' in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, XVIII:3, 1994.

Frazer, I., 'Solomon Islands Newspapers,' in *Newsletter of the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau*, Series 5, No.5, May 1997.

Garrett, J., *To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania*, World Council of Churches/University of the South Pacific/Institute of Pacific Studies, Geneva, 1982.

Garrett, J., Where Nets Were Cast: Christianity in Oceania since World War II, World Council of Churches/University of the South Pacific/Institute of Pacific Studies, Suva/Geneva, 1997.

Geeves, R., 'The administration of justice and European residents of Rabaul and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea 1921-45,' MA thesis, Australian National University, Canberra, 1979.

Gibson, J. and Rozelle, S., 'Poverty and Access to Roads in Papua New Guinea,' in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, LII:1, October, 2003.

Gill, A., Ruling Passions, BBC Books, London, 1995.

Gilliam, A., 'The SIL in Papua New Guinea,' in Cultural Survival Quarterly, VII:3.

Ginai, M. and Papoutsaki, E., 'Image of a Nation: Australian Press Coverage of PNG,' a paper presented to the Journalism Education Association Conference, Australia, 2005.

Glassop, L., The Rats in New Guinea, Horwitz Australia, Sydney, 1963.

Godbold, K., 'The Didiman and Agricultural Policy; Creating Social change in Papua New Guinea, 1945-1975,' Paper presented to the Social Change in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century conference, Queensland University of Technology, October 28, 2005.

Griffen, V., 'Control of the press and information in the British colonies 1939-55 with a case study of Fiji,' Ph.D thesis, University of Sydney, 1991.

Griffin, J. Nelson, H. and Firth, S., (eds.), *Papua New Guinea: A Political History*, Melbourne, 1979.

Griffin, J., 'Bougainville is a special case,' in May and Spriggs (eds.) *The Bougainville Crisis*, Crawford House, Bathurst, 1990.

Guise, Sir J., 'Political progress in Papua and New Guinea 1918-68' in Inglis, K.S., (ed.) *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University, Port Moresby/Canberra, 1969.

Hage, H, 'List of Duplicated Materials, 'MS, UPNG Library/Michael Somare collection, 1969.

Hage, H., 'Languages and Schools,' in Wagner and Reiner (eds.) *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The first Hundred Years*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1986.

Hahl, A., *Governor in New Guinea*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1980, [Translation by Sack, P. and Clark D., of *Gouvernersjahre in Neueguinea*, Berlin, 1937.]

Handman, C., 'Pidgin's Progress,' MA paper, Reed College, 2003.

Harris, M., Cows, Pigs, Wars and Witches, Hutchinson, London, 1975.

Hassall, G., 'The Failure of the Tommy Kabu Movement; A Reassessment of the Evidence,' in *Pacific Studies*, XIV:2, 1991.

Hastings, P. and Hicks, I., 'Newspapers and Periodicals,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Melbourne University Press, 1970.

Hastings, P., New Guinea: Problems and Prospects, Cheshire/Australian Institute of International Affairs, Melbourne, 1973.

Havini, M and Havini, R., 'Bougainville – The long struggle for freedom,' Paper presented to the UN International Conference on Indigenous Peoples, Environment and Development, Zurich, 1995.

Hellinger, M., 'Function and status change of Pidgin and Creole Languages,' in Ammon, U. and Hellinger, M., Status Change of Languages, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 1992.

Hezel, Fr F., 'New Directions in Pacific History: A Practitioner's Critical View,' in *Pacific Studies*, XI:3, July 1988.

Hiery, H., The Neglected War, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1995.

Hitchcock, N.E. and Oram, N.D., 'Rabia Camp: A Port Moresby migrant settlement,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No.14, 1967.

Hogbin, H. and Wedgwood, C., 'Native welfare in the Southwest Pacific Islands,' in *Pacific Affairs*, XVII:2.

Howe, K., Kiste R. and Lal, B., (eds.) *Tides of History: the Pacific Islands in the 20th Century*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994.

Hudson, W.J., New Guinea Empire, Cassell, Sydney, 1974.

Hughes, H., 'Can Papua New Guinea come back from the brink?' in *Issue Analysis* No. 49, July 2004.

Inder, S., 'Prime Minister Somare: Conciliation is his Style,' in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1975.

Inder, S., 'They didn't tear down the flag,' in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, October 1975.

Inder, S., 'The Death of Pacific Islands Monthly,' in *Islands Business*, August 2000.

Inglis, K.S., (ed.) *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University, Port Moresby/Canberra, 1969.

Inglis, A., Not a White Woman Safe, ANU Press, Canberra, 1974.

-, International Federation of Journalists. (2012) Fragile Freedom: Inaugural Press Freedom report, <a href="http://asiapacific.ifj.org/assets/docs/105/240/07e2369-f2487f0.pdf">http://asiapacific.ifj.org/assets/docs/105/240/07e2369-f2487f0.pdf</a>

'J.A.L', Review of Educational and social change in Ghana by P.Foster, in Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education, V:1, May 1967.

Jamias, J., (ed.) *Readings in Development Communication*, University of the Philippines at Los Banos, 1975.

Jinks, B., Biskup, P. and Nelson, H., (eds.) *Readings in New Guinea History*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1973.

Johnson, L., Colonial Sunset, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1983.

Johnson, R.W., and Threlfall, N.A., Volcano Town, Robert Brown, Buranda, 1985.

Joku, H., 'The Times of PNG: An investigative tradition,' in Pacific Journalism Review, 1995.

Jourdan, C., 'Pijin: An Unrecognised National Language,' in Baldauf, R. and Luke, A., (eds) *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1989.

Juddery, M., 1975: Australia's Greatest Year, Wiley, Brisbane, 2005.

Kaul, C., (ed.) Media and the British Empire, Palgrave MacMillan, London, 2006.

Kean, P., 'Economic development in the Siki Settlement Scheme, West New Britain,' in *Critique of Anthropology*, XX:2, 2000.

Keesing, R., 'Solomons Pijin: Colonial Ideologies,' in Baldauf, R. and Luke, A., (eds) *Language Planning and Education in Australasia and the South Pacific*, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 1989.

Kent, J., The Solomon Islands, David and Charles, Newton Abbott, 1972.

Khabirov, V., 'Standardization of Melanesian Pidgin English,' MS, Ural Pedagogical University, Russia (undated).

King, D. and Ranck, S., (eds.), *Papua New Guinea Atlas: A Nation in Transition*, Port Moresby, 1982.

Knightley, K., 'Interesting if true,' in *Granta* No.53, March 1996.

Knightley, P., A Hack's Progress, Vintage, London, 1998.

Kulick, D., Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Lal, B.V., Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Islands in the 20th Century, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1990.

Lal, B., Fiji: Coups in Paradise, London: Zed Books, 1990.

Lal. B. and Fortuine, K. (eds.) *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia*, University of Hawai'l Press, Honolulu, 2000.

Laracy, H., Marists and Melanesians: A History of the Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1976.

Larkins, B., Chips: The life and films of Chips Rafferty, MacMillan, Melbourne, 1986.

Larmour, P., 'Custom and democracy in the Pacific Islands: A report prepared for the Commonwealth Secretariat.' Undated.

Larmour, P., 'The Politics of race and ethnicity: Theoretical perspectives on Papua New Guinea,' in *Pacific Studies*, XIV:2, 1992.

Larmour, P. and Barcham, M, Country Report: Vanuatu, Transparency International/ANU, 2004.

Larmour, P., 'Westminster in the Pacific Islands,' in Patapan, H., Wanna, J. and Weller, P. (eds) *Westminster Legacies*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2005.

Laycock, D., 'It was a peculiarly great year for Pidgin,' in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, January 1970.

Layton, S., The Contemporary Pacific Islands Press, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1992.

Layton, S., (ed.) 'Media Freedom in the Pacific Islands,' special edition of *Pacific Islands Communications Journal*, 1995.

Lawrence, P., Road Belong Cargo, Melbourne University Press, 1964.

Leach, J., 'Socio-historical conflict and the Kabisawali movement in the Trobriand Islands,' in May, R.J. (ed), *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea*, Political and Social Change Monograph 1, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982.

Lepowsky, M., 'The Way of the Ancestors: Custom, Innovation and Resistance,' in *Ethnology*, XXX:3, July 1991.

Lewin, R., Slim: The Standard Bearer, Wordsworth, 1999.

Lindstrom, L., Cargo Cult: Strange stories of desire from Melanesia and Beyond, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1993.

Lindstrom, L., 'Cargo Cult Horror' in Oceania, LXX:4, 2000.

Lini, W., Beyond Pandemonium: From the New Hebrides to Vanuatu, Asia Pacific Books, Wellington, 1980.

Litteral, R., 'Language policies in Melanesia,' in Media Development, January 1992.

Loffler, E., Papua New Guinea, Hutchinson, Melbourne, 1979.

Loney, M., 'Pacific rural publishing: Eastern Star case study in PNG,' *Pacific Journalism Review*, V: 8, 2002.

Lotherington, H., 'The Pacific,' in Fishman, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Lynch, J., An Annotated Bibliography of Vanuatu Languages, Pacific Information Centre, University of the South Pacific, Suva, 1994.

McArthur, N., 'The Demographic Situation,' in McDevitt, T., (ed) *The Survey Under Difficult Conditions: Population Date Collection and Analysis in Papua New Guinea*, Human relations Area Files, New Haven, 1987.

McCarthy, J.K., Patrol into Yesterday, Robert Brown, Port Moresby, 1972.

McDevitt, T., (ed), *The Survey Under Difficult Conditions: Population Data, Collection and Analysis in Papua New Guinea*, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, 1987.

McIntosh, A., 'The Bougainville Crisis: A South Pacific Crofters' War,' in *Radical Scotland*, No. 44, May 1990.

McKillop, R., 'Papua Besena and Papuan Sepraaism, in May, R.J. (ed), *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea*, Political and Social Change Monograph 1, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982.

McKinnon, K., 1971 'Education in Papua New Guinea - The Years Ahead in Papua New Guinea,' *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*, I:7-21, 1971.

McWilliam, S., 'The Plantation Dream: Developing British New Guinea and Papua, 1884-92,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, June 1998.

MacClancy, J., 'Vanuatu and Kastom: A study of cultural symbols in the inception of a nation state in the South Pacific,' Ph.D thesis, Oxford, 1983.

Mackay, K., 'Apology for past deaths,' in *The Baptist Advocate*, January 2004.

Macdonald, B., 'Britain,' in Howe, K., Kiste R. and Lal, B., (eds.) *Tides of History: the Pacific Islands in the 20th Century*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994.

Macintyre, M., The New Pacific, Collins/BBC, London, 1985.

Mackson, M.C., 'Mass media and Violence: How the media portrays violence in PNG,' Bachelor of Communication Arts (Journalism) thesis, Divine Word University, Madang, PNG, 2004.

Mahathir, M., 'The Social Responsibility of the Press,' in Mehra, A. (ed.). *Press Systems in ASEAN States*, Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre, Singapore, 1989.

Manassah, K., 'Bleak media scenarios confront Vanuatu,' in *Pacific Journalism Revie*, II:1, 1995.

Mamaloni, S., 'The road to independence,' in Crocombe R., and Tuza, E., *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: The first 10 years of Solomon Islands independence,* University of the South Pacific, Honiara, 1992.

Mangubhai, F., 'The impact of technology on the development of literacy in the South Pacific, Proceedings of the 1996 World Conference on Literacy at <a href="http://www.literacy.org/products/ili/pdf/ilprocfm.pdf">http://www.literacy.org/products/ili/pdf/ilprocfm.pdf</a>

Marere, C.; 'Does the media want to be free?' in Robie, D., (ed.) *Nius Bilong Pasifik*, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1995.

Marsh, D., obituary of Keith Mattingley in *Australian Newspaper History Group Newsletter*, December 2004.

Martin L. and Chaudhary, A., Comparative Mass Media Systems, Longman, New York, 1983.

Mase, M., 'Development, life-modes and language in Papua New Guinea,' in *Development Bulletin*, No. 50, October 1999.

Mattingley, K., quoted in Hindsight: A Workshop for participants in the decolonization of Papua New Guinea, Australian National University, November 3-4, 2002.

May, R.J., 'Nationalism and Papua New Guinea Writing,' in *Australian Quarterly*, XLII:2 1971.

May, R.J., 'The Political Education Programme,' in Stone, D, (ed.) *Prelude to Self-Government: Electoral Politics in Papua New Guinea 1976*, Australian National University Press, 1976.

May, R.J. (ed.), *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea*, Political and Social Change Monograph 1, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 1982.

May, R.J., (ed.), Between Two Nations, Bathurst, Robert Brown, 1986.

Mihalic, Fr F., 'The story of printing in the Wewak Diocese,' MS, undated.

Mihalic, Fr F., 'Pipe dreams vs Facts of Life: *Wantok's* Wewak Years (1969-1976) 'MS, undated, but probably 1990-92.

Mihalic, Fr F., Introduction to New Guinea Pidgin, Brisbane, Jacaranda Press, 1969.

Mihalic, Fr F., *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*, Brisbane, Jacaranda Press, 1971.

Mihalic, F., Report to the Catholic Bishops' Conference, December 15, 1974.

Mihalic, Fr F., Letter, 22 February, 1975.

Mihalic, Fr F., 'Polices and experiences in the Catholic mission in the field of teaching Pidgin' in Wurm S. A., (ed), *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study Vol 3: Language, Culture, Society and the Modern World*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977.

Mihalic, Fr F., (no byline, but probable author) *The Word in PNG*, No. 19 December 1979/January, 1980.

Mihalic, Fr F, 'Tok Pisin: yesterday, Today and Tomorrow,' in Catalyst, XVI:2, 1986.

Mihalic, Fr F., (no byline, but probable author) The Word in PNG, No.145, August 1990.

Mihalic, Fr F., 'Obsolescence in the Tok Pisin Vocabulary,' in J. Verhaar (ed.), *Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1992.

Mikesell, R.F., Foreign Investment in copper mining: Case studies of mines in Peru and Papua New Guinea, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1975.

Montag, Fr E., 31 Years a Missionary, Kundiawa, 1989.

Moore, C. and Kooyman, M., (eds.) *A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle 1967-1991*, Crawford House, Bathurst, 1998.

Morauta, L., 'The Politics of Cargo Cults in the Madang Area,' in *Man*, XII:3, September, 1972.

Moses, J.A., 'The German empire in Melanesia 1884-1914: A German self-analysis' in Inglis, K.S., (ed.) *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University, Port Moresby/Canberra, 1969.

Mulhausler, P., 'Samoan Plantation Pidgin English and the origins of New Guinea Pidgin: An Introduction,' in *Journal of Pacific History* XI.

Mulhausler, P., 'The history of New Guinea Pidgin' in Wurm S. A., (ed), *New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study Vol 3: Language, Culture, Society and the Modern World*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977.

Mulhausler, P., Linguistic Ecology, Routledge, London, 1996.

Muhlhausler, P., Dutton T.E. and Romaine, S., (eds.) *Tok Pisin Texts: From the beginning to the Present*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2003.

Murray, Colonel J.K., 'The Administrator's Christmas Message,' in *Papua and New Guinea Villager*, II:11, December 1951.

Nagai, Y., 'Vernacular education in Papua New Guinea: Is it really effective?' in *Convergence*, XXXVII:2, 2004.

Nash, J., 'Matriliny and Modernisation: The Nagovisi of South Bougainville,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No. 5, 1974.

Nash, J. and Ogan, E., 'The Red and the Black: Bougainvillean Perceptions of other Papua New Guineans,' in *Pacific Studies*, XIII:2, March 1990.

Neil-Jones, M., *Country reports: Vanuatu.* London: Commonwealth Press Union, 2003. <a href="http://cpu.org.uk/forum\_2003/cr\_vanu.html">http://cpu.org.uk/forum\_2003/cr\_vanu.html</a>

Nelson, H., 'The press in Papua and New Guinea,' Paper presented at UPNG history research seminar, Waigani, October 25, 1967.

Nelson, H., Taim Bilong Masta, Sydney: ABC, 1982.

Nelson, H., 'The Return to Rabaul 1945,' in Journal of Pacific History, XXX:2, 1995.

Nelson, H., 'Liberation: the end of Australian rule in Papua New Guinea,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, XXXV:3, 2000.

Nelson, H., 'McCarthy, John Keith 91905-1976) in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol XV, Melbourne University Press, 2000.

Nelson, H., 'Dear Sir... Evidence of civil society in the media of Papua New Guinea,' paper presented to symposium on Civil Society and Governance, University of the South Pacific, Suva, September 30-October 2, 2003.

Nelson, H., 'Fighting for her Gates and Waterways: Changing perceptions of New Guinea in Australian Defence,' Discussion Paper, Australian National University, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, 2005.

Norton, R., Race and Politics in Fiji, Palgrave/MacMillan, London, 1978.

O'Callaghan, M., Enemies Within, Doubleday, Sydney, 1999.

O'Callaghan, M., 'The origins of the conflict,' in Carl, A. and Garasu, L., (eds.) Weaving Consensus: The Papua New Guinea-Bougainville Peace Process, Conciliation Resources, London, 2002.

O'Collins, M., 'Law and order in Papua New Guinea: Perceptions and management strategies,' *State, Society and Governance in Melanesia Project*, Working Paper 00/1.

Obeng, S. and Adegbija, E., 'Sub-Saharan Africa,' in Fishman, J., (ed.) *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Office of Information, PNG Government, *Papua New Guinea*, Port Moresby: Robert Brown, 1975.

Ogan, E., 'Business and Cargo: Socio-economic change among the Nasioi of Bougainville,' *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No. 44, 1972.

Oram, N.D., Colonial Town to Melanesian City, Australian National University, Canberra, 1974.

Osborne, R., Indonesia' Secret War, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985.

Ove, C., 'Negative press coverage in Papua New Guinea,' Bachelor of Communication Arts (Journalism), Divine Word University, Madang, PNG, 2006.

Overlack, P., "Bless the Queen and curse the colonial office": Australian reaction to German consolidation in the Pacific, 1881-99, in *Journal of Pacific History*, September 1988.

Parsons, N., Dipped in Vitriol, Pan, Sydney, 1981.

Patapan, H., Wanna J. and Weller, P., (eds.), Westminster Legacies: Democracy and responsible government in Asia and the Pacific, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2005.

Philemon, O., Crichton A. and Mihalic, F., *Independence Day 16 September 1975 East Sepik*, Wirui Press, 1975.

Phillips, K.M., 'Notes on early contract with Bougainville People in the 1964-1966 stage of the Bougainville Copper development,' in Quodling, P., *Bougainville: The Mine and the People*, Centre for Independent Studies, St Leonards, 1991.

Ploeg, A., 'The Situm and Gobari Ex-Servicemen's Settlements,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No. 39, January 1971.

Pouwer, J., 'The Colonisation, Decolonisation and Recolonisation of West New Guinea,' in *Journal of Pacific History*, XXXIV:2, 1999.

Premdas, R., 'Papua New Guinea: Internal Problems of Rapid Change,' in *Asian Survey*, XV:12.

Premdas, R., 'Melanesian Socialism: Vanuatu's Quest for Self-determination and problems of Implementation' in *Pacific Studies*, XI:1, November 1987.

Price, C., and Baker, E., 'Origins of Islands Labourers in Queensland,' *Journal of Pacific History*, XI.

Quanchi, M., 'The power of pictures: Learning by looking at Papua in illustrated newspapers and magazines,' *Australian Historical Studies*, XXXV:123, 2004.

Quird, R., review of A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles in The Observer, September 8, 1996.

Ralph, C., 'Some notes on education in German New Guinea 1884-1914,' in *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*, July 1965.

Rambo, K., 'Jesus came here too: The making of a culture hero and control over history in Simbu, Papua New Guinea,' in *Ethnology*, XXIX:2, April 1990.

Ramsey, A., 'As another stalwart leaves, a party fades further into twilight,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 13, 2003.

Ratzinger, J., 'Instruction on Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation,' Rome, 1984.

Ramesh, S., 'Power and Politics in the Fiji islands,' BA Honours thesis, University of York, 1993.

Reed, S., *The Making of Modern New Guinea*, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1943.

Regan, A., 'Bougainville: Beyond Survival,' in Cultural Survival Quarterly, XXIII:3.

Regenvanu., 'Whose road? An examination of Melanesian Socialism,' BA Honours thesis, Australian National University, 1993.

Rennie, N., Far-Fetched Facts: The literature of travel and the idea of the South Seas, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995.

Richstad, J., McMillan, M. and Bowen, J., Mass Communication and Journalism in the Pacific Islands: A bibliography, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1978.

Robie, D., 'Media Ownership in the Pacific,' in *The Times of PNG*, October 28, 1993.

Robie, D., 'The South Pacific Media: Politics, Ownership and Control,' in *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, Vol 27, 1995.

Robie, D., 'Pacific newsrooms and the campus: Some comparisons between Fiji and Papua New Guinea,' in *Australian Studies in Journalism*, No. 8, 1999.

Robie, D., Blood on their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific, Zed Books, London, 1989.

Robie, D., Nius Bilong Pasifik, University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, 1995.

Robie, D., Mekim Nius, University of the South Pacific Book Centre, Suva, 2004.

Robie, D., 'Journalism Education in the South Pacific, 1975-2003: Politics, Policy and Practice,' Ph.D thesis, University of the South Pacific, 2003.

Robson, W., 'Those stubborn Tolais. Unanswered questions in the Rabaul district,' in *Pacific Islands Monthly*, July 1959.

Rooney, D., Papoutsaki, E. and Pamba, K., 'Country Failed by its Media: a Case Study From Papua New Guinea,' a paper presented to the 13th AMIC Annual Conference on the Impact of New and old Media on Development in Asia, Bangkok, 2004.

Rowley, C.D., *The Australians in German New Guinea 1914-1921*, Melbourne University Press, 1958.

Ruhen, O., Mountains in the Clouds, Rigby, Adelaide, 1963.

Ryan, E., Publishing in Papua New Guinea: The National Library of Australia Acquisitions Trip, 1994, National Library of Australia Staff Papers, Camberra, 1995.

Sack P. and Clark D., (eds.) *German New Guinea: The Annual Reports*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1978.

Safran, W., 'Nationalism,' in Fishman, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Salisbury, R.F., 'Pidgin's respectable past' in New Guinea, II:2, 1967.

Schamach, L., This Crowd Beats Us All, Catholic Press, Sydney, 1960.

Schwarz, B., 'The Ecumenical Setting,' in: H. Wagner, and H. Reiner (eds), *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea: The First Hundred Years*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1985.

Seka, K., Obituary of Fr Jim Franks, Times of PNG, April 2, 1992.

Shawcross, W., Rupert Murdoch. Ringmaster of the Information Circus, Pan, London, 1992.

Shears, R., The Coconut War, Cassell, Sydney, 1980.

Sinclair, J., Kiap, Pacific Publications, Sydney, 2000.

Smith, D.F., 'A Glimpse of German Education in Micronesia, 1899-1914' in *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education*, VII:2, June 1971.

Smith, D. and Wells, L., 'Mineral agreements in developing countries: Structure and substance', in *The American Journal of International Law*, LXIX:3.

Smith, S., 'Living up to Somerset Maugham,' in New Statesman, July 2, 2001.

Somare, M., Sana, Niugini Press, Port Moresby, 1975

Souter, G., New Guinea: the Last Unknown, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1963.

Spate, O.K.H., 'Education and its Problems,' in Fisk, E.L., (ed.), *New Guinea on the Threshold*, ANU Press, Canberra, 1966.

Stanton, N.H., 'Australia's Emergence as a Middle power in the Asia-Pacific Region,' MA thesis, Canadian Forces College, 2002.

Steinbauer, F., Melanesian Cargo Cults, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, 1979.

Stephen, D., A History of Political parties in Papua New Guinea, Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, 1972.

Stevenson, R.L., Global Communication in the Twenty-First Century, Longman, New York, 1994.

Stewart, R.G., 'Papua New Guinea and the concept of Self Reliance,' BA Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1980.

Stratham, A. and Stewart, P., "Mi les long yupela usim flag bilong mi": Symbols and Identity in Papua New Guinea, in *Pacific Studies*, XXIII:1/2, March/June, 2000.

Stuart, I., Port Moresby Yesterday and Today, Pacific Publications, Port Moresby, 1973.

SVD Superior General, letter to Bishop Adolph Noser, October 8, 1964.

Territory of Papua and New Guinea, House of Assembly, *Hansard*, I:2, 1968.

Thompson, R.C., Australian Imperialism in the Pacific, Melbourne University Press, 1980.

Threlfall, N., One Hundred Years in the Islands, Toksave Buk, Rabaul, 1975.

Threfall, N. and Johnson, R.W., Volcano Town, Robert Brown, Buranda, 1992.

Threlfall, Rev N., 'Index of articles to A Nilai Ra Davot,' MS, Undated.

Threlfall, Rev N., 'News and information from A Nilai Ra Davot.' MS, Undated.

Timms, W., 'The Post World War Two Colonial Project and Australian Planters in Papua New Guinea,' PhD thesis, ANU, 1996.

Todd, I., Papua New Guinea: Moment of Truth, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1974.

Tomasetti, W.E., 'Australia and the United Nations: New Guinea Trusteeship issues from 1946-1966,' in *New Guinea Research Bulletin*, No. 36, July 1970.

Trompf, G.W., Religions of Melanesia: A bibliographic survey, Greenwood Publishing, 2006

Tuhanuku, D., 'The Communication Network,' in Crocombe, R. and Tuza, E., (eds.) *Independence, Dependence, Interdependence: the First 10 years of Solomon Islands Independence,* Honiara, 1992.

Turner, M., Papua New Guinea: The Challenge of Independence, Penguin, Melbourne, 1990.

Umezaki, M., 'Adaptive strategies of highlands-origin migrant settlers in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea,' in *Human Ecology*, XXXI:1, March 2003.

Vaadre, M., 'Corruption in Small Pacific Island States: A Case Study of Vanuatu,' MA thesis, Jönköping University, 2009.

Van der Veur, P., 'Toward self-government in Papua and New Guinea: The 1964 election,' in *Asian Survey*, IV:8.

Verhaar, J., (ed.), Melanesian Pidgin and Tok Pisin, John Benjamins BV, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1992.

Verhaar, J., Toward a Reference Grammar of Tok Pisin: An Experiment in Corpus Linguistics, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, 1995.

von Busch, W., 'Book Mystery,' in Islands Business Pacific, October 1995.

Wagner E. and Reiner H., (eds), *The Lutheran Church in Papua New Guinea*, Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide, 1986.

Waiko, J., A Short History of Papua New Guinea, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1993.

Walcott, Fr K., 'Perspectives on publishing, literacy and development,' in Richstad J. and Jackson M., (eds.) *Publishing in the Pacific Islands: A Symposium*, Honolulu, 1984.

Wardhaugh, R., An Introduction to Sociolinguistics, Blackwell, London, 2002.

Warner, N., 'Operation Helpem Fren: Rebuilding the Nation of Solomon Islands': Speech to the National Security Conference, Canberra, March 23, 2004.

Wehner, M., 'Typologies of Memory and Forgetting among the Expatriates of Rabaul,' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, XXXVII:1, 2002.

Wesley-Smith, T., (ed.) 'A legacy of development: Three years of crisis in Bougainville,' special issue of *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1992.

Whitehouse, H., 'Strong words and forceful winds: Religious experience and political process in Melanesia,' in *Oceania*, LXV, 1994.

Whitehouse, H., 'From mission to movement: The impact of Christianity on patterns of political association in Papua New Guinea,' in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, IV:1, 1998.

Whitlam, G., 'Into the Seventies with Labor,' 1969 Election policy speech, Sydney Town Hall, October 1, 1969.

Whitlam, G., 'Decolonisation of Papua New Guinea,' Keynote address, University House, Canberra, November 3, 2002.

Whittaker, J.L, Gash, N.G, et al (eds), *Documents and Readings in New Guinea History*, The Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1974.

Whyte J., (ed.) Vanuatu: 10 Years of Independence, Government of Vanuatu, 1990.

Willey, K., Assignment New Guinea, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane, 1974.

Willis, I., Lae, Village and City, Melbourne University Press, 1974.

Wiltgen, Rev. Dr. R. 'Catholic missions plantations in mainland New Guinea: Their origin and purpose,' in: S.K. Inglis (ed.), *The History of Melanesia: Papers presented at the second Waigani Seminar*, University of Papua New Guinea/Australian National University, Port Moresby/ Canberra, 1969.

Windybank S. and Manning, M., 'Papua New Guinea on the brink,' in *Issue Analysis*, No. 30, March 2003

Wolfers, E., 'Political Parties,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Papua New Guinea*, Melbourne University Press, 1970.

Wolfers, P., Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea, Australia and New Zealand Book Company, Sydney, 1975.

Wolfers, P., 'On Coming to One's Census,' in McDevitt, T., (ed) *The Survey Under Difficult Conditions: Population Date Collection and Analysis in Papua New Guinea*, Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, 1987.

Woolford, D., *Papua New Guinea: Initiation and Independence*, University of Queensland Press, 1976.

World Education Forum, EFA 2000 Assessment. County Reports: PNG.

Wurm S. A., (ed.), New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study Vol 3: Language, Culture, Society and the Modern World, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1977.

Zinkel, C., 'Pidgin schools in the Highlands,' in *Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education*, VII:2.

## Radio, television and video sources

Cleland, Dame R., Australian Biography (series eight), Film Australia, 2001.

Cass, L., 'Educational changes in PNG,' interview with NBC, September 29, 1975.

Connelly, B. and Anderson, R., First Contact, 1983.

Connelly, B. and Anderson, R., Joe Leahy's Neighbours, 1989.

Connelly, B. and Anderson, R., Black Harvest, 1993.

Dorney, S., Paradise Imperfect, ABC TV, Australia, 2000.

Frank Hurley: The Man Who Made History, ABC DVD, 2005.

Fr Jim Franks Talks About Word Publishing, Christian Communications Centre, Goroka, PNG, 1990.

Mihalic, Fr F., Video Interview, 1990. Unedited footage of interview shot at Divine Word Institute, Madang. Some of the footage, with no sound, appears in *Stori Bilong Wantok*.

Parer, D., *Kokoda Frontline*, available in *Damien Parer's Kokoda Frontline*, a collection of his war films released on DVD by Filmworld.

Radio Australia, *Time To Talk*, programme two, 'Women and Land in Bougainville.' Transcription of Rorovana protest at <a href="http://abc.net.au/timetotalk/english/issues/text.htm">http://abc.net.au/timetotalk/english/issues/text.htm</a>

Radio Australia, *Time To Talk*, programme two, 'Women and Land in Bougainville,' at http://abc.net.au/timetotalk/english/issues\_two.htm

Rafferty, C., Walk into Paradise, 1956.

Stevens, R., Talk on *Encounter*, NBC radio, PNG, June 14, 1981.

Stori Bilong Wantok. Christian Communications Centre, Goroka, PNG. Undated.

Tawali, K., Manus poet and co-editor of *Wantok*, talk on *Stap na Ting Ting*, NBC radio, PNG, June 10, 1979.

Shell Film Unit, Suva/Sydney, Two Men of Fiji, 1956.

Walk into Paradise, Australia, 1956.

#### **On-line sources**

- . -, 'British Newspaper Library moves,' http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/news/newspapermoves/index.html
- -, 'Deported publisher returns to Vanuatu,' International Freedom of Expression Exchange, at <a href="http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/12491/">http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/12491/</a>
- -, Obituary of Keith Mattingley at http://www.pngaa.net/Vale/vale\_dec2004.htm
- -, 'Fr Francis Mihalic, SVD, Great missionary, priest, newspaper editor, linguist, educator, man of his word,' at <a href="http://www.svd-ca.com/mihalic.htm">http://www.svd-ca.com/mihalic.htm</a>
- -, obituary of Muttu Gware at http://www.pngaa.net/Vale/vale\_June2007.htm
- -, IFEX. (2011) Justice denied in assault case. http://www.ifex.org/vanuatu/2011/07/08/neil\_jones\_case/

Australian Dictionary of Biography at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au</a>

Australian Dictionary of Biography Online: Abel, C., at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070006b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A070006b.htm</a>

Australian Dictionary of Biography Online: Glassop, L., at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140314b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140314b.htm</a>

Australian Dictionary of Biography Online: Hurley, F., at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A090408b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A090408b.htm</a>

Australian Dictionary of Biography Online: Lockwood, D., at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A150140b.htm">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A150140b.htm</a>

Australian Dictionary of Biography Online: Rafferty, C., at <a href="http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140322b.htm?hilite=Rafferty">http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A140322b.htm?hilite=Rafferty</a>

Burton, J. and Gesch, P., The Revising Mihalic Project at <a href="http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/PNG/MIHALIC/About/About.htm">http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/PNG/MIHALIC/About/About.htm</a>

Carl, A. and Garasu, L., (eds.) Weaving Consensus: The Papua New Guinea-Bougainville Peace Process, Conciliation Resources, London, 2002. at http://www.c-r.org/accord/boug/accord12/index.shtml

The CIA World Fact Book at

 $\underline{https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pp.html}$ 

De Bruce, L., 'Fragmented Identities Among Postcolonial Fijians,' submission to the Hearing on Fijian Unity at <a href="http://www.pih.org.uk/articles/fragmented.html">http://www.pih.org.uk/articles/fragmented.html</a>

Dorney, S., <a href="http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-04-19/reporting-in-on-and-about-png/930554">http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-04-19/reporting-in-on-and-about-png/930554</a> Reporting in, on and about PNG

Dorney, S., <a href="http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-05-08/sir-michael-somare-the-chief/940192">http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/international/2012-05-08/sir-michael-somare-the-chief/940192</a>;

Garae, L. (2009). How media grew in Vanuatu. <a href="http://kauri.aut.ac.nz:8080/dspace/bitstream/123456789/2514/1/09AUG01\_HistoryMediaVanuatu.pdf">http://kauri.aut.ac.nz:8080/dspace/bitstream/123456789/2514/1/09AUG01\_HistoryMediaVanuatu.pdf</a>

Havini, T., 'Bougainville's totems autonomous: Naboin, Nakas, Nakaripa, Natasi,' at <a href="http://www.avicam.com/muse/havini.php">http://www.avicam.com/muse/havini.php</a>

International Federation of Journalists at <a href="https://www.freemedia.at/wpfr/world.html">www.freemedia.at/wpfr/world.html</a>

Kokoda Trail at <a href="http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=696&op=page">http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=696&op=page</a>

Litteral, R., 1999a "Language Development in Papua New Guinea", SIL Electronic Working Papers 1999-002, at <a href="http://www.sil.org/silewp/1999/002/SILEWP1999-002.html">http://www.sil.org/silewp/1999/002/SILEWP1999-002.html</a>

Litteral, R., 1999b "Four Decades of Language Policy in Papua New Guinea: The move towards the vernacular", SIL Electronic Working Papers 1999-001, at <a href="http://www.sil.org/silewp/1999/001/SILEWP1999-001.html">http://www.sil.org/silewp/1999/001/SILEWP1999-001.html</a>

Lynch, J. and Mugler, F., 'English in the South Pacific,' University of the South Pacific, 1999, <a href="http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fi/paclangunit/English South Pacific.htm">http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fi/paclangunit/English South Pacific.htm</a>

McQueen, H., letter purporting to be from Jack Emanuel offering to spy for ASIO at <a href="http://home.alphalink.co.au/-luge27/c">http://home.alphalink.co.au/-luge27/c</a> war aus dom/cwar aud d emanuel.htm

May, R.J., State and society in Papua New Guinea: The first 25 Years. Australian National University, Canberra, 2000. At <a href="http://epress.anu.edu.au/sspng/mobile\_devices/index.html">http://epress.anu.edu.au/sspng/mobile\_devices/index.html</a>

Mineral Resources Forum at

http://www.natural-resources.org/minerals/development/indigp/Bougainville.htm

National Archives of Australia, 1969 Cabinet records, at <a href="http://www.naa.gov.au/the\_collection/Cabinet/1969">http://www.naa.gov.au/the\_collection/Cabinet/1969</a> cabinet/list one.html

Neil-Jones, M., 'Country reports: Vanuatu,' Commonwealth Press Union, <a href="http://cpu.org.uk/forum\_2003/cr\_vanu.html">http://cpu.org.uk/forum\_2003/cr\_vanu.html</a>

Nelson, H., 'Australians in Papua New Guinea' in *Lives Told* at <a href="http://press.anu.edu.au//tpl/mobile devices/ch18.html">http://press.anu.edu.au//tpl/mobile devices/ch18.html</a>

News Corporation Annual Report, 1998 at <a href="https://www.newscorp.com/report98/financial/1998.pdf">www.newscorp.com/report98/financial/1998.pdf</a>

NZDF overseas operations since 2000: Solomon Islands <a href="http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/operations/overseas-deployments/solomon-islands/default.htm">http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/operations/overseas-deployments/solomon-islands/default.htm</a>

Pacific Journalism Review online at <a href="http://www.pjreview.info">http://www.pjreview.info</a>

Pacific Media Watch, 'Row over Vanuatu Press Klub freedom awards,' PMW Media 13. May 18, 1998.

Pacific Media Watch, 'Anna Solomon – A remarkable journalist,' PMW 3722 PNG, August 11, 2002.

Pacific Media Watch, 'Journalists urged to become agents of change,' PMW 3797 HIV/ AIDS. October 15, 2002.

Pacific Media Watch, 'Former Fiji Times editor laid to rest,' PMW Fiji 4166, August 31, 2003.

Pacific Media Watch, 'A mirror of the times,' PMW 4277 PNG, January 21, 2004.

Pacific Media Watch, 'Boost foreign news coverage,' PMW 5382 PNG, March 18, 2008.

Pacific Media Watch, 'Bislama weekly newspaper debuts in Vanuatu,' PMW5622 Vanuatu, August 26, 2008.

Papua New Guinea Plane Database at http://www.michie.net/balus/index.html

Rau, Maraki, interview at the Vabukori community home page at <a href="http://www.vabukori.com/maraki\_rau.html">http://www.vabukori.com/maraki\_rau.html</a> The interview first appeared in the *Post-Courier* on September 12, 2000.

The Revising Mihalic Project is administered by John Burton and Pat Gesch at <a href="http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/PNG/MIHALIC/About/About.htm">http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/PNG/MIHALIC/About/About.htm</a>

Somare, Sir M., Michel Somare – speech at launch of new *Wantok* premises in Waigani, June 13, 2004. http://www.pm.gov.pg/pmsoffice/pmsoffice.nssf/0/9F203DFC3F553CAB4A256ED000274FC1:OpenDocument

On sputniks and satellites:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanguard 1 and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sputnik\_program .

UNCTAD, Mineral Resources Forum, 'Bougainville Island Panguna Copper Mine Conflict' at <a href="http://www.natural-resources.org/minerals/development/indigp/Bougainville.htm">http://www.natural-resources.org/minerals/development/indigp/Bougainville.htm</a>

UNESCO country statistics at <a href="http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=124&IF\_Language=eng&BR\_Country=5980&BR\_Region=40515">http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=124&IF\_Language=eng&BR\_Country=5980&BR\_Region=40515</a>;

Pacific media statistics at <a href="http://www.business.vu.edu.au/bho2250/Top20Media/TopMediaPacific.htm">http://www.business.vu.edu.au/bho2250/Top20Media/TopMediaPacific.htm</a>

Walk into Paradise at http://australianscreen.com.au/titles/walk-paradise/

Whitlam, G. The Whitlam Institute at <a href="http://www.whitlam.org">http://www.whitlam.org</a> and <a href="http://www.whitlamdismissal.com">http://www.whitlamdismissal.com</a>

Wohlgemuth, J., 'Grammatical categories and their realisations in Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea' (revised 2001) at <a href="http://www.linguist.de/TokPisin/tp02-en.htm">http://www.linguist.de/TokPisin/tp02-en.htm</a>



