

Sepik V

Department of District Services & Native Affairs Policies, Guiding Principles and Support Documents



LAURIE BRAGGE

THE CHIEF MINISTER AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
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Sepik 5 – DDS&NA Instructions, Policy, Guiding Principles and Support Documentation

Sepik 5 is a supplement to Sepik 4. Whereas Sepik 4 seeks to describe what happened, Sepik 5 seeks to describe the parameters between which it was supposed to happen. Towards the end of Sepik 4 we saw that some of the parameters were unable to adjust quickly enough for the “Kiap system to survive the transition into PNG Independence. Sepik 5 also a three Chapter glimpse of the post-kiap era; ex-kiap skills in the resource industries, the “Min” cosmos at the end of the 20th Century and the Sepik 40 years after Independence.

Forward by Paul Roscoe

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FOREWORD TO 'SEPIK HISTORY' VOLUME 5

I first met Laurie Bragge in 1984, but it was 1997 before I got to know him well. Three years earlier, I had embarked on a comparative anthropological study of war in contact-era New Guinea only to discover that the published record was not nearly sufficient to bear the analysis I wanted to conduct. A colleague, a fellow Sepik scholar, happened to mention that Laurie had collected a ton of interview notes during his four years at Ambunti, patrolling up and down the Middle Sepik, taping interviews in the evenings with the old men of a village, typing the results up, and then moving on to another village. My colleague had visited Laurie, seen the notes, and told me he had a lot of material on Sepik warfare.

So, I wrote him. Quite why he agreed to allow a pestilential anthropologist unfettered access to his material is beyond me, but perhaps it was because, as he later told me, he had wanted to be an anthropologist himself but became a *kiap* as the next best thing. However that may be, Laurie hardly knew me from Adam, but he kindly invited me not only to consult his notes but to stay a week on his farm at Koetong in north eastern Victoria Australia while I did so.

It was one of the most memorable weeks of my life (it coincided with the circus-like funeral on TV of Princes Diana, watched over a beer or seven one evening by Laurie and I in something approaching disbelief). Koetong was not quite the urban metropolis I envisaged. Of particular note was a delightful country pub where we enjoyed at least one beer-sodden meal, but otherwise there was nowhere to photocopy those of Laurie's notes important to my research. The only way to make the project work therefore, was to buy a used photocopier in Sydney, haul all 30lbs of it onto the bus to Koetong along with several packs of paper, copy everything I needed, shlep the machine back to Sydney on the bus, and then sell it back to the company I had bought it from a week and a half earlier.

But, man, was it worth it! I photocopied something on the order of quarter of a million words of Laurie's notes, and they were gold. Laurie may not have become an anthropologist, but he brought an anthropological eye to his inquiries along the Sepik River, along with a deep respect and affection for the people he interviewed and their lives. His notes are full of war accounts, along with rich detail about their background and causes. His investigation into local dealings with the Japanese in World War 2 were so comprehensive that, together with a colleague, we published an analysis of the results in one of the leading US anthropology journals. (*On the Edge of Empire: Military Brokerage in the Sepik Tribal Zone 2006: American Ethnologist 33:100-113*)

This was not Laurie's first anthropological writing; in 1990, he had already published a detailed account of the complex events leading up to the Japandai massacre of 1923. I was subsequently to come across many more of his writings as I poured over microfiche copies of the thousands of patrol reports held in the National Archives in Port Moresby. There are many invaluable reports in this collection written by officers with an evident admiration and regard for the people they were charged with administering. But Laurie's stand out. It is not just their comprehensiveness – more than a few are well over 100 pages long. They shine also for their detail and the depth of his understanding and regard for New Guineans.

The extent, depth, and quality of Laurie's New Guinea research is on full display in this volume. *Sepik History, Volume 5* is an excellent contribution to our understanding of New Guinea's engagement with the authorities and agents of European colonialism. The many administrative directives and

assessments he includes, his discussions of decisions that had to be weighed about people like ‘John James Smith’, the one-man Christian mission; his many photos; and his background vignettes, stories, and history of places such as Angoram, greatly flesh out what, to date, has been a rather skeletal history of the Sepik and, in particular its administration. There is a lot in this volume (and others in this series) that is of value, too, to anthropology. Laurie’s detailed description of the *nokwi* ceremony in Bangwis Village, for instance, is an important supplement to Ross Bowden’s anthropological work on Kwoma ritual. His information about the transference of spirits from decaying artifacts to new replacements in Chapter 14 adds a lot of detail to a phenomenon that has gone largely unrecognized.

And that brings us to Chapter 15 and the Peli millenarian movement that broke out among the Boiken speakers around Yangoru and reached a crescendo in 1971 when thousands of New Guineans uprooted and carried away three cement trigonometric markers that a US Airforce mapping team had sunk nine years earlier in the summit of Mt Hurun. Had the American mappers thought to inquire at the time, they would have realized that embedding stones in this mountain was not a terribly good idea. Yangoru people believe that Hurun incarnates the spirits of all of Yangoru’s dead, and that a village’s prosperity can be destroyed by burying bespelled stones in the summit of an overlooking hill or ridge. No surprise, then, that when they learned large cement stones had been buried in the summit of Mt Hurun, they saw it as a way to keep Yangoru people from enjoying European prosperity. I learned all this while working as an anthropologist in a high-foothill village close to Ambukanja and Marambanja villages, the epicenter of the Peli Movement that Laurie documents, with kind reference to my work on this subject. Millenarian movements have regularly swept the Yangoru landscape from the earliest days of European contact; it seems, in fact, that one was already in full swing when the first Europeans made it across the Prince Alexanders into Yangoru.

It is all too easy to disparage Melanesian millenarianism, but those who understand the premises on which Papua New Guineans rest these beliefs, recognize very well that they are a form of science, an empirical attempt to understand the strange newcomers who arrived unannounced in their world. The late, eminent Bernard Narakobi sagely characterized millenarianism as Melanesia’s “first genuine philosophy which grapples with the uninvited imposition of the West.” This contact was never going to be easy, and its impact will be assessed and debated for years to come. What we can say, though, is that New Guineans who encountered Laurie Bragge met a man deeply concerned to ease their confrontation to the greatest extent he could, profoundly interested in them and their cultures, and – as this volume amply demonstrates – concerned to help document those cultures and their histories.

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Sepik 5 Chapter 1 – Functions of the Dept. of District Services and Native Affairs Late 1940s

Writer's Note: While a document with this title was undated, its contents suggest, it related to the late 1940s. It was a time of stability within the Department, before Labour and Co-operatives became separate entities.

Eighteen-year-old expatriates were being recruited as permanent officers of the Australian public service of PNG with expectations of life-long careers and retirement at age 65 years. PNG's Self-Determination was thought to be so far in the future as to not warrant immediate concern. In parallel with this, and the colonialist ideas of the day, indigenous officers were not recruited into the public service except as administrative and clerical staff – The first national Cadet Patrol Officer was not recruited until 1961/2.

In the eyes of the Indigenous population, the Department of District Services and Native Affairs - DDS&NA was the "Government" of PNG. In the eyes of the PNG Administration only DDS&NA had the staff, the skills and, the experience to implement nation-wide policies as war damage compensation, and eventually national elections. and the widespread political education of the people as part of a national push for self-government in 1973, Independence in 1976.

The undated document explains

As the name implies, the Department of District Services & Native Affairs performed dual functions

FUNCTIONS AT HEADQUARTERS LEVEL: At HQ level the Department is:

- a. The agency through which all requirements of the Government Secretary and other Departments are channeled to subordinate levels, and,
- b. The authority vested with control of, and responsibility for, all native affairs (enumerated below)

For this latter purpose, the HQ has, in addition to a central administrative cadre, four component branches – The Cooperative, Native Authorities, Native Labour and Anthropological.

FUNCTIONS AT SUBORDINATE LEVELS: The Department's duality is most pronounced at the District and Sub District levels where its major functions comprise the following:-

1. CONTROL AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL NATIVE AFFAIRS

- a. Responsibility for native political development and welfare
 - i. Appointment and supervision of all Village Officials
 - ii. Supervision of unofficial Councils.
 - iii. Establishment and supervision of Statutory Village Councils.
 - iv. Furtherance and participation in Advisory and Unofficial bodies.
- b. Responsibility for native economic welfare and development
 - i. Establishment and supervision of Native Cooperative Societies.
 - ii. Approval and supervision of contracts with natives.
 - iii. Development of a Native Entrepreneur class.
- c. Furtherance of native social welfare and development.
 - i. Village betterment schemes.
 - ii. Facilitation of missionary enterprises.
 - iii. Community Development projects – in cooperation with Department of Education.

- iv. Urban settlement and housing.
- d. Furtherance of Native Agricultural Development.
Through Cooperative and communal; ventures in conjunction with the DASF.
- e. Furtherance of Native Physical Welfare. In cooperation with the Department of Health.
 - i. Malarial control.
 - ii. Preventive medicine.
 - iii. Village sanitation and hygiene.
 - iv. Arrangements for native hospitalization.
 - v. European cemeteries.
- f. Control of all Native Labour Matters.
 - i. Inspections.
 - ii. Control of all types and conditions of employment.
 - iii. Repatriation
 - iv. Control of recruiting and private employers.
 - v. Recruiting for Administration, Commonwealth Departments and Instrumentalities.
 - vi. Highland Labour Scheme.
 - vii. Removal of Natives from Territory.
 - viii. Worker's Compensation.
 - ix. Statistics.
 - x. Through the Native Wages Board –
Central control of all Native Administration Servants, including efficiency tests, examinations, tuition, etc.
- g. Protection of Legitimate Native interests at all times.
 - i. Representation of native defendants at all judicial levels.
 - ii. Legal representation of natives in all Land proceedings.
 - iii. Assessment and distribution of compensation.
 - iv. Adequately providing for native land and timber requirements in conjunction with the Departments of Lands and Forests.
- h. Control of all matters affecting Native-owned Land Timber prior to alienation.
- i. Administration of Native Reserves.
- j. Responsibility for all Native taxation. At present a dormant function in areas other than those constituted as Native Local Government Council areas.
- k. Complete control of all Restricted Areas.
- l. Extension of Government control and extension of Government influence in all areas of the Territory.
- m. Anthropological Research.
 - i. Field research.
 - ii. Study, collation and dissemination of data,
 - iii. Control of antiquities.
 - iv. Organisation of all anthropological, etc., Research Workers.

- v. Photographic Library.
 - vi. Establishment of Territory Museum.
 - vii. Co-operation with other authorities.
 - viii. Vetting of draft publications on anthropological matters.
- n. Native War Damage Compensation.
- i. Compensation for loss of life.
 - ii. Compensation for personal injury.
 - iii. Compensation for damage to personal property.
 - iv. Compensation for damage to land or timber.
- o. Assessment and payment of all Native Pensions.
- i. Ex-gratia pensions to Native Administration Servants and others.
 - ii. Native War Damage Compensation.
 - iii. Commonwealth Repatriation benefits
 - iv. Pensions to and education of native dependents of deceased Europeans.
- p. Co-operation with and Administrative work on behalf of :-
- i. Pacific Islands Regiment [PIR]
 - ii. PNG Division, Royal Australian Navy; and other Service Authorities
 - iii. Recruiting.
 - iv. Leave arrangements.
 - v. Rationing.
 - vi. Transport
 - vii. Field maneuvers
 - viii. Bomb disposal.
 - ix. Military surveys.
- q. Training of Departmental Staff: -
- i. Field training
 - ii. Cadet Patrol Officers' Induction Courses.
 - iii. Cooperative Inspectors' courses.
 - iv. Training of Village Council Officers and employees.
- r. Research.: -
- i. Anthropological.
 - ii. Colonial Administration.
 - iii. Co-operation.
 - iv. Native Labour.
 - v. Colonial Law.
 - vi. International Organisation.
- s. Committee Representation :-
- i. Legislative Council.
 - ii. Executive Council.
 - iii. District and Town Advisory Councils.
 - iv. Building Boards.
 - v. Lands Boards.
 - vi. Stores Boards.
 - vii. Transport Committee.

- viii. Petroleum Advisory Board.
- ix. Community Development Committees.
- x. Forsyth and Hallstrom Trusts.
- xi. Native Wages Board.
- xii. Etc. etc.

2. REPRESENTATION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR, THE GOVERNMENT SECRETARY, THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER AND THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION, AND ALL COMMONWEALTH AND ADMINISTRATION DEPARTMENTS AND INSTRUMENTALITIES NOT DIRECTLY REPRESENTED.

- a. Maintenance of Law and Order in all except Gazetted Townships.
- b. Control of all Police and Prisons. In cooperation with the RP&NGC except in certain major centres.
- c. Responsibility for all judicial processes, with the exception of the Supreme Court jurisdiction.
 - i. Courts of Petty Sessions [Papua] and District Courts [NG].
 - ii. Courts of Native Affairs [NG] and Native Matters [Papua].
 - iii. Small debts jurisdiction
 - iv. Coroners Courts.
 - v. Licensing jurisdiction
 - vi. Other matters.
- d. Geographical and Topographical Exploration - in conjunction with normal patrol activity.
- e. Control and Administration of all Administration assets. Excluding certain main centres.
 - i. Stores
 - ii. Finance
 - iii. Transport
 - iv. Buildings
 - v. Equipment.
 - vi. Other Assets.
- f. Construction Work on behalf of Administration Works Branch and Commonwealth Departments:-
 - i. Roads.
 - ii. Bridges.
 - iii. Buildings
 - iv. Aerodromes
 - v. Minor Wharves and Beacons.
- g. Field cooperation with:
 - i. International and Commonwealth instrumentalities.
 - ii. Private Companies.
 - iii. Important Visitors.
 - iv. Research Workers.
 - v. Etc. etc.

- h. Regular Inspection of all Administration Establishments.
- i. Preparation of major portion of all Territorial periodical and annual reports.
- j. Reception of Important Visitors and Representation of His Honour the Administrator.
- k. Supervision of Public Servants.
 - i. Allocation of accommodation.
 - ii. Disciplinary measures.
 - iii. Co-ordination and Administration activities.
- l. Internal Security. In conjunction with Attorney-General's Department.
- m. Electoral and Census Duties.
 - i. Returning Officers.
 - ii. Enrolment.
 - iii. Census Collectors.
- n. Issue and Control of Permits and Licences.
 - i. Trading with Natives Licences.
 - ii. Special Arms Permits.
 - iii. Employers Arms Permits.
 - iv. Liquor Permits.
 - v. Explosives Permits.
 - vi. Peddlers Licences.
 - vii. Bread Licences
 - viii. General Mercantile Licences.
 - ix. Copra Licences.
 - x. Meat Licences.
 - xi. Entertainment Licences
 - xii. Publicans Licences.
 - xiii. Club Licences.
 - xiv. Booth Licences.
 - xv. Native Labour Permits and Licences.
 - xvi. Storekeepers Licences
 - xvii. Miners Rights.
- o. Registration of Births, Deaths and Marriages.
 - i. Celebration of marriages.
 - ii. Internment of deceased.
 - iii. Control of Deceased Estates.
- p. Meteorology.
 - i. Provision of daily information.
 - ii. Provision of monthly statistics.

3. CO-ORDINATION OF ALL DEPARTMENTAL FUNCTIONS AND POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.

4. ADMINISTRATION OF VARIOUS ACTS AND ORDINANCES – of these, the following are wholly administered by the Department of DS&NA:

Animals and Birds Protection Ordinance	[P&NG]
Antiquities Ordinance.	[P&NG]
Arms, Liquor and Opium Prohibition Ordinances	[Papua & TNG]
Co-operative Societies Ordinance	[P&NG]
Dog Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Administration Ordinance	[TNG]
Native Children's Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Contracts Protection Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Economic Development Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Labour Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Plantations Ordinance	[Papua]
Native Regulations Ordinance	[Papua]
Native Suitors Ordinance	[Papua]
Native Taxes Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Local Government Councils Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Women's Protection Ordinance	[P&NG]
Part Native Children's Ordinance	[P&NG]
Restricted Areas Ordinance	[P&NG]
Trading with Natives Ordinance	[P&NG]
Transactions with Natives Ordinance	[Papua]

Various aspects of the following Ordinances are largely administered by the Department of DS&NA, and also by other Departments: -

In the maintenance of law & order, and in judicial work: -

Coroners Ordinance	[P&NG]
Criminal Code (Queensland adopted)	[P&NG]
Criminal Procedure Ordinance	[P&NG]
Deserted Wives and Children's Ordinance	[P&NG]
District Courts Ordinance	[TNG]
Evidence Acts	[P&NG]
Evidence & Discovery Ordinance	[Papua]
Evidence Ordinance	[TNG]
Judiciary Ordinance	[TNG]
Jury Ordinance	[P&NG]
Justices Ordinance	[Papua]
Maintenance Orders (Facilities for Enforcement)	[P&NG]
Motor Traffic Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Offenders Exclusion Ordinance	[TNG]
Oaths Ordinance	[P&NG]
Places of Public Entertainment Ordinance	[P&NG]
Police Force Ordinance	[TNG]
Police Offences Ordinance	[P&NG]
Prisons Ordinance	[P&NG]
Royal Papuan Constabulary Ordinance	[Papua]
Trespass and Brands Ordinance	[Papua]
Vagrancy Ordinance	[Papua]
Workers Compensation Ordinance	[P&NG]

White Women's Protection Ordinance [Papua]

In Administration Work: -

Administrative Districts Ordinance	[P&NG]
Adoption of Children Ordinance	[P&NG]
Bills of Exchange Ordinance	[Papua, TNG]
Census Ordinance	[P&NG]
Compensation to Relatives Ordinance	[P&NG]
Explosives Ordinance	[TNG]
Firearms Ordinance	[P&NG]
Goods Ordinance	[P&NG]
Lands Ordinances	[P&NG]
Marriage Ordinances	[Papua, TNG]
Married Women's Property Ordinance	[Papua]
Partnership Ordinances	[Papua, TNG]
Petroleum Storage Ordinance	[P&NG]
Posts and Telegraphs Ordinance	[P&NG]
Partnership Ordinance	[P&NG]
Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Ordinances	[P&NG]
Quarantine Ordinance	[P&NG]
Registration of Births Deaths and Marriages Ordinances	[P&NG]
Roads Ordinance	[Papua]
Roads Maintenance Ordinance	[TNG]
Sago Ordinance	[Sago]
Stamp Duties Ordinance	[P&NG]
Status of Married Women Ordinance	[TNG]
Treasury Ordinance	[P&NG]

In various other capacities: -

Cemeteries Ordinance	[P&NG]
Fencing Ordinance	[Papua]
Fisheries Ordinance	[TNG]
Insanity Ordinance	[P&NG]
Mines and Works Regulation Ordinance	[TNG]
Mining Ordinances	[P&NG]
Native Land Registration Ordinance	[P&NG]
Native Apprenticeship Ordinance	[P&NG]
Pearl Fisheries Act	[P&NG]
Tenements Recovery Ordinance	[TNG]
Transfer of Land Control Ordinance	[P&NG]

Field Staff of the Department are expected to be reasonably familiar with all the Ordinances above mentioned.

5. SUBSIDIARY FUNCTIONS –

These cover a host of minor duties and comprise, in effect, all those administrative and legal functions for which no regular machinery has been set up [by the Administration.

Sepik 5 Chapter 2 – Determining Post-war policy on handling “Affray” Dec. 1946 – 1949

The story of the Wogamush incident [Sepik 4 Chapter 2] might have been closed as District Officer Niall suggested, but Administrator J K Murray was not quite satisfied as he explained in his memo of 10th December 1946 to the Government Secretary:

With regard to the attached correspondence, will you please inform me what is the usual arrangement with regard to investigations concerning such affrays in which people are killed? I am not quite easy with regard to the penultimate paragraph of the District Officer’s report ...It may be interpreted as a suggestion that since no further repercussions are likely to occur from the native side, no action should be taken... ”¹

Robert Melrose, acting Government Secretary replied on 16th December 1946.

According to New Guinea law, when any person is found dead, an inquest should be held unless the Coroner certifies an inquest is not necessary. That is the law. Its administration is another matter and in considering this aspect we must keep in mind the people to whom it is applied. With a person, as wild as the Wogamush appear to be, the formalities of holding a court case are indeed most difficult, if not impossible to accomplish, and the best we can hope for is an inquiry such as that conducted by Mr. Niall and that is about all that can be done.

This course was previously followed in New Guinea. When a junior officer was involved in an affray with natives, a senior officer was usually dispatched to look into it.”² Melrose indicated there were two clarifications required to Niall’s penultimate paragraph:

- a. All such incidents must be properly reported to the Minister so he is ‘fortified against garbled versions appearing in the press.*
- b. The group of the deceased harbor no grievances or resentment likely to produce overt action against succeeding patrols*

Melrose continued: Generally speaking, we must expect clashes with raw natives. We experienced it before the war and in the portions of the Territory so long under occupation by the Japanese, the new patrols will most likely be heir to the misdeeds of the occupying force. Wild natives are incapable of distinguishing between Europeans and Asiatics for they group them all as Whiteman. Affrays can be kept down to a minimum by the pains taking work of experienced officers. Unfortunately, we have only few left for this type of work.

It will be some time before the Patrol Officers now being recruited as well as those with some experience in ANGAU will be out of the wood. The qualities most desired are patience, ability to manage discipline of native police and carriers and an inherent native sense to ensure that the people among whom the patrols work are not disturbed and to allay any fears that they may have from the mischief making of other natives.

In the case under review, much of the trouble can be placed at the door of the men going into the area. Being inexperienced they should not have gone on after Mr. Macgregor turned back. This should be brought to the notice of Dr. McInerney and Captain Burnett if they are still in the area.

The whole affair shows up rather clearly the task which confronts the Administration through its District Officers in bringing ordered government to new areas without sufficient experienced officers. I have considered the desirability of suggesting that District Officers be directed only to

send experienced personnel on such tasks, but have discarded the idea in favour of one of not interfering with the District Officers but allowing them to make the best selection from the personnel at their command, and trust that their common sense in the beginning will not get them into too much trouble and be something of a substitute for those qualities of knowledge which only experience can develop. It is a risk that we must take in the circumstances and from the beginning all concerned at the higher level should be aware of it.

The Acting Crown Law Officer E. Bignold responded to the Administrator on the 21st December 1946.³

- a. Whilst the experienced District Officer has acted promptly and done all in his power to nullify the harm, the position is, in my view highly unsatisfactory and dangerous.*
- b. It is necessary to bear in mind that the officers concerned have, according to the District Officer's report, given an account of the shooting making it extremely improbable that it caused any deaths.*
- c. As I see it this makes it particularly necessary to have an accurate and permanent record of the facts, which do not seem sufficiently established. The record should be verbatim in fairness to the two officers.*
- d. Accordingly, my advice is that the whole matter not be treated as closed until statements obtained from the various eye witnesses warrant such a course.*
- e. It is particularly unfortunate in this class of occurrence to have any doubt cast upon the veracity of the parties concerned, when it is proposed to treat the matter as closed. It gives rise to conditions enabling people to say that the matter was "hushed up."*
- f. The proposed report to the Minister (with which I fully agree) makes it doubly necessary to be able to give an accurate and complete record.*

On the 28th December 1946, the Administrator sent the Crown Law Officer's opinion to the Department of District Services and Native Affairs for their comment. The response dated 11th January 1947 was from J.H. Jones, the former District Officer from Wewak, now Acting Director of Dept. District Services & Native Affairs:

From the purely legal view point the Crown Law Officer is probably correct, but from the administration of native affairs angle it would be most undesirable to take the course of action he suggests.

All action required by the native people concerned has been taken, in fact Mr. Niall handled the position very well indeed...the Crown Law officer uses the word 'dangerous'...with respect to Mr. Bignold's opinion, I think the District Officer is better qualified to judge in this matter, and prefer to accept his summing up of the position.

*There is ample information from which to provide a comprehensive report to the Hon. Minister..."*⁴

The Administrator referred this back to the Crown Law Officer who replied on 21st January 1947.⁵

- a. My view remains unaltered, Sir. It is plain that the Director of District Services has read the word 'dangerous' as relating to the situation of the natives. In fact, it is intended by me as relating to the reputation of the Administration.*
- b. Nobody is better aware than the Director that an attack by natives unarmed with firearms does not necessarily constitute a justification for their slaughter by armed parties.*

- c. *Each case must be carefully judged on its own facts and circumstances and for this reason the full details should be collected and recorded.*
- d. *I am forced to say that the present information can only be regarded as somewhat fishy and this is unfair to the persons concerned and prejudicial to the administration of justice.*

The Acting Government Secretary Robert Melrose responded in an undated document:

In these matters, there will always be two views, that if the headquarters officer (in this case a lawyer in the person of the Crown Law Officer), and that if the field officer with the background of years of experience of natives in various stages of cultural contact, ranging from the primitive villager to the sophisticates of Hanuabada and Matupit, all of whom are governed under the same law. In his way, each officer is imbued with a deep sense of justice to the native people. It might be said that by reasons of his training and the responsibility of his calling the law is sacrosanct to the lawyer. So, it is to the administrative officer, in the sense that it is the rule of behavior. Through commonality of purpose is seen there is difference in approach, and this might be described as being academic and empiric respectively. These factors produce their own psychological re-actions and evaluations.

It is a far cry from the civilized atmosphere of Port Moresby to the rawness of Wogamush. We should therefore try to consider it in relation to the last-mentioned atmosphere.

It has been mentioned that one law applies to the whole of the Territory. It is, however, an introduced measure: and while nobody can deny its value in the administrative pattern, the point I wish to make is that people such as the Wogamush, do not know it; and more over have a different set of ethics and these can best be described by the term "Lex talionis" [an eye for an eye]. Therefore, the native administrator would – and I think should – approach the affair from that angle, the opposite being introduced only to avoid injustice to the people concerned. Here again "Justice" requires to be interpreted in the light of the understanding of the people and the measures necessary to correct abuse.

Without again covering the ground it seems to me in his handling of the matter the District officer has satisfied the people. Though there appear to be gaps which the logician would like to fill with precision, I do not consider they can be filled. Moreover, I feel it would be of doubtful value to re-open investigations among the people. They apparently consider it closed and re-investigation would cause confusion. It might be mentioned here that in discussion with the Director DS&NA this morning he mentioned that those concerned have settled down and that administration of the area is proceeding smoothly. In my opinion these are important considerations to be remembered.

If your Honour feels that the views I have expressed are not acceptable, then I suggest the District Officer be directed to send his file for examination. I think it advisable however, for the matter to be brought to the notice of the Minister for his information and to this end I suggest the complete file be sent.

You will no doubt observe that the Crown Law Officer's remarks appearing at Folio 11 are dated 21st January 1947, and that the papers now referred to you. I take full responsibility for that as I thought it better to let matters rest where they were for the time being.⁶

On the 7th May 1947, the Administrator responded in a note to the acting Government Secretary: ⁷“

The delay referred to in para 7 of Mr. Melrose's memorandum is now unavoidable. Please however, consult with the Crown Law Officer, particularly with regard to paras 3 and 4 of his letter of the 21st December, and arrange for information, such as the C.L.C. considers necessary to be obtained, if possible from the relevant sources.

On the 9th May 1947, a memo was sent from a/Government Secretary to Crown Law Officer

Will you kindly advise me of the action you desire should be taken.

The signature was that of C. Champion⁸, who had replaced Robert Melrose. It is difficult to assume that the replacement of Melrose by Claude Champion, was caused by anything other than Melrose's decision to let the "Wogamush" incident rest for the time being.

The Crown Law Officer responded on 12th May 1947.

I have read the remarks of Mr. Melrose and I cannot escape the impression that there has been, from the beginning, an attempt to gloss over the events of this tragedy. The impression is not dissipated by the delay of nearly five months which has expired between my memorandum of the 21st December last and the present when a suggestion is made that the re-opening of the matter would be futile and very unwise because it may confuse the natives "the people" – who have apparently been satisfied.

The fact that the conditions surrounding the Wogamush natives are very different from 'the civilized atmosphere of Port Moresby' is only another consideration for the exercise of strict supervision to ensure that such natives should be afforded protection under the law. Such supervision is nothing but the most shadowy if responsible authority closes its eyes to events so dimly illuminated as they have been in this case and in a way to cast very grave doubts about the justification for shooting.

I think that the least that can be done at this stage is to require a detailed and full report from each person involved in the clash with these natives, including any natives that accompanied the party of Europeans at the time of the clash.⁹

On 13th May S. Lonergan in the position of a/Government Secretary wrote to the Director of DS&NA:

The persons involved in this affair appear to be Mr. W.A. Macgregor, Capt. Burnett, Dr. McInterney, Mr. Maloney and the Medical Assistant Marui. Will you kindly communicate with the District Officers concerned with a view to securing a detailed and full report from each of these persons with the least avoidable delay.

Director Jones communicated with District Officer Niall, who on 27th June 1947 sent the following message to ADO Ormsby at Angoram:

Here with a copy of the file in connection with the alleged shooting of natives at Wogamush in October last year. In view of the time that has elapsed in the postal service, it is requested that you obtain statements from Mr. W.A. Macgregor as soon as possible, and also any police that may be now at Angoram who were members of the party when the affray took place...As Mr. W.A. Macgregor's present whereabouts are unknown copies of this memo and file are being

forwarded direct to the a/ADO Maprik (A.R.Haviland) to obtain the necessary statements if Mr. Macgregor and the police are still at Marui...

It is desired that you give this matter your early attention. Capt. Burnett's whereabouts are unknown and Dr. McInterney's statement will be taken in Wewak."¹⁰

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During Ambunti Patrol No 3/1949-50 Cadet Patrol Officer Cahill visited the Wogamush¹¹ and his report notes the following:

Interpreter Petrus, a Brugnowi,¹ recognized ex Constable Wai, who when the Japs ambushed and killed Lieut. Barracluff in the April River area in 1943, took to the bush. He was found by the Wogamush who would have killed him he says but for the efforts of Nowi who adopted him as his son.

When first seen in the canoes, he was arrayed as the other Wogamush, but after the discovery it was noticed that he did not possess the powerful shoulders and slim hips of the typical canoe men. Questioned as to why he did not declare himself on previous trips, he says he was away living in a bush hamlet and was stricken with sickness.

He was taken to Angoram where the ADO is straightening matters out for him. He was very useful as an interpreter and is anxious to go along on future patrols and help. He says he was happy to stay there but for the fact that he was not allowed to marry into any clan.

Some Wogamush clarification of ex-Constable Wai's story was provided by Wuvli of Waskuk, when I [the writer] interviewed him in 1974: ¹² His name is pronounced "Wei" in Wogamush and his own place is Terebu (on the coast east of Wewak), Wuvli said:

He was in the Niksek (April River). The Japanese came and fought and he ran away with the Yambon woman Kwolimara. They ran together through the night... They came to the river and the Japs and the Brugnowis caught the woman. Wai ran on.

A canoe called Wuvitu of Kombuliap was in the Niksek River. In the canoe were Ambwel, Sengasi, Ubwal and others of Yamanumbu. They were teaching initiation novices the flutes. This is able to be done in the bush only away from the place...[village]

Wai came drifting down the Niksek (April River) on a piece of timber. The people wanted to kill him, but two men; Sengasi and Ubwal spoke against this and persuaded the others to feed him and care for him. They took him into the canoe and took him down to Kombuliap (Yamanumbu). He lived there for a year or so...

Then it was time for initiations and all the Wogamush gathered for this ceremonial occasion. They were planning to kill Wai on this occasion... My father took pity on Wai and negotiated with the Yamanumbus not to kill him. They finally agreed and told father 'You take him with you' ... We took Wai and lived at the Lake Namsok. They initiated the youths then and Wai was allowed into

¹ Petrus of Brugnowi was ex-special constable Petrus who, on the 11th February 1944 was awarded a Loyal Service Medal by Major General Morris for – "on 24th July 1943 making a reconnaissance of the enemy position at Yessan. At great personal risk, he successfully completed his mission and returned with valuable information of the enemy strength and disposition,; - See Chapter 39 – Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War*

the Haus Tambaran and was initiated as a Kutbug man...He learned our language and culture and was a true man of ours.

Questions by the writer. *Did you give Wai a woman or wife while he was here?*

Ans. *He did not want to marry. If you marry quickly and associate with women, you cannot learn all the secrets of the haus tambaran. To go to the senior age classes, it is necessary to know all the flute and garamut music, so he did not marry.*

Question: *Where was Wai during the Wogamush incident?*

Ans. *He was there and he ran away. He did not speak to the patrol as he was afraid and he ran away when they opened fire...He was wearing black paint like the rest.*

Question: *Who did he kill to earn the right to wear black paint?*

Ans. *No one. In a fight, we all wear black paint. 'Homicides' and also the people who have not yet killed.*

Question: *So, wearing black paint means that you were prepared to fight?*

Ans. *Yes. We wanted to be friends, but the men said – No they will kill us. So, we took our shields, spears, bows and arrows and we put on black paint to be prepared.*

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From the perspectives of Doctor McInterney's, Mr. W.A.Macgregor and others involved in the Wogamush incident as it became known, despite the reported suspicions of a cover up, there appeared to be no further consequences.

As we saw in Chapter 3 in November and December 1947, five months after DO Niall sought to take a further statement from him, W.A.Macgregor and Mr. Corrigan were stopped from laying claim to Jack Thurston's gold lease at Yamil while awaited the Mining Warden's decision in the case - see Chapter 3. Mr. Macgregor then sought to involve Bulolo Gold Dredging Ltd to prospect Porgera. He later became the manager of a property at Baiyer River in the Western Highlands and died there on 12th September 1954 on his 58th birthday.¹³ Dr. McInterney continued on as District Medical Officer in the Sepik until 2nd March 1953 when he was killed when the Auster aircraft he owned and was piloting, crashed into Vanimo harbour.¹⁴

End Notes Chapter 2

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 50

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 50 & 50A

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 50A

⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 50A & 51

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 51

⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 51 & 52

⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 52

⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 52

⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 52

¹⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 53

¹¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 77

¹² Bragge Sepik Notes Vol 19 pages 453-4

¹³ Pacific Islands Monthly – October 1954 page 139

¹⁴ Morning Bulletin [Rockhampton] 3rd March 1953 Page 4

Sepik 5 Chapter 3 Behind the Scenes – Complexities and Responsibilities Additional to DDS&NA Duty Statements

While DO Niall and his staff resumed their Post-war DDS&NA field duties as they knew them from before the war, changes started happening and then rapidly escalated in regards to the role of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. These changes are perhaps best monitored by reviewing the policy statements, in the form of Circular Instructions that flowed from Headquarters to the Districts and Outstations. [see Chapter 6] At a glance these changes included the following tips of icebergs of the post war “native administration”¹. Each “iceberg” had a lot going on below the surface.

1. **The War Damage Compensation Scheme** and the challenges of disengaging from, and re-building after World War II. Peripheral to the broad category of ‘War Damage’ was the complexities of policy in regard to war crimes and collaborators, the disbandment of the PIR and a decision reversal with a view to the future, Australian and Japanese War Graves duties, and much more
2. **Land.** Nothing is more important to indigenous people than their lands. While the Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines was one of the 10 Government Departments of the Provisional Administration, its function was closely tied to the registration of titles. DS&NA remained heavily involved in the field administration of land matters.
3. **Native Labour Responsibilities and Duties.** In post-German times, the Sepik became known as the labour pool of New Guinea. Native labour administration PNG wide required and received serious improvement. The Native Labour section of DS&NA evolved into the reconstituted Department of Labour in 1958.
4. **Local Government.** “Indirect administration” replaced “direct administration” as the tool required of DS&NA field staff in their dealings with the community. The plan was to introduce the indigenous people to institutions that would allow them to administer themselves with kiaps serving as advisors. Local Government was seen as a stepping stone to Self-Government and Independence
5. **Re-introduction of Personal tax.** The re-introduction of personal taxation with kiaps performing the unpopular Treasury agency function as tax collectors was also an integral step in the establishment and acceptance of Local Government. The collection of personal tax [except by Local Government Councils] ceased in 1966
6. **Native Welfare.** Prewar “Native Welfare” if mentioned at all, related to Education and Health services. After becoming a DS&NA section, aspects of “Welfare” became the responsibility of other Departments and NGOs dealing with specific aspects of this very wide topic- Women, Children, Urban issues, Health issues and more.
7. **Co-operatives.** The need for economic development and the complexities of growing and marketing locally grown cash crops saw the evolution of the Cooperatives movement which was

¹ The use of the word “native” would itself, become changed as an unacceptable reflection on the status of the citizens of Papua New Guinea who became known instead as “nationals”.

more successful in Districts other than the Sepik. DDS&NA handed over its cooperatives duties to other departments in the late 1950s

8. **Random Circular Instructions** listed here are reflective of the rapidly changing social, economic and political circumstances of the day. It is clear that the speed of change in PNG caught the DS&NA Directors of the 1940s unaware. Consequently, by the early 1960s “Local Officers” would be reading some Colonial policies concerning “the natives,” which of course included then.

This evolution of policy was driven by many things including;

1. A changed view of the people of Papua New Guinea after the involvement of some 55,000 of them working and fighting alongside Australian and American troops against the Japanese;
2. The success of policy planning for the future of PNG, undertaken by ANGAU at the direction of General Morris and Brigadier Cleland¹;
3. Obligations under the United Nations mandate to develop PNG;
4. the driving force of Paul Hasluck, the Australian Minister for Territories 1951-63; but above all was the 1970s influence of Australian Labor leader Gough Whitlam.
5. There were also lessons learned from other colonies in the British Empire, itself requiring an image adjustment to the British Commonwealth.

Initially, policy sought to lead the people towards a progressive future – introduction of the Westminster style of Government – Local Government as a lead into Self-Government – personal taxation as a tool to make Local Government work. These policy initiatives and the resentment caused by unjust land acquisitions by the Germans, decades before, kindled two political sparks – the Pangu Party and the Mataungan Association. These sparks were fanned into political flames by Gough Whitlam first as leader of the Australian Opposition and then as Prime Minister.

The Sepik after the war was regarded as an under-developed district. Much of its area was “Restricted” and not under full Administration control. Apart from War Damage Compensation work, much of the DS&NA workload followed traditional pre-war lines. “Indirect administration” through Local Government and economic development through Co-operative were initially focused in more developed Districts such as the Islands of the Bismarck Archipelago.

For the Sepik therefore, much of what appeared in the Circular Instructions represented a policy framework for some time in future when [and if] the Sepik *caught up* and was ready to embrace these new ideas. There was an adverse reflection of this in the attitudes of some field officers, upon which Director J.H. Jones commented in Circular Instruction No 46 of 21st April 1947:

‘The payment of War Damage Compensation is too often regarded by some officers as an obstruction, due to the additional clerical work involved, preventing them from carrying out their normal duties or native administration. On the contrary, the fact that an investigating officer has to spend a considerable amount of time in the village...can be of inestimable value...’

Jones made similar comments when “indirect administration” and Local Government duties were introduced. It is fair to say that many officers, with their feet and minds set firmly in the past, regarded their rapidly changing duty statement as deviating from their “real” job.

The War Damage Compensation Scheme

Circular instruction No 8 of 18th April 1946 introduced DDS&NA staff to their responsibilities and duties under the War Damage Compensation Scheme after the Commonwealth Cabinet approved the recommendations of the Barry committee report.

The Committee was formed in February 1944, when the tide of the war was turning [against Japan], as an outcome of a meeting called by General Morris in which he challenged the members of ANGAU's headquarters and district staff to plan for the post war administration of Papua New Guinea. The committee was comprised of Mr. J.V. Barry KC, Major J.L. Taylor, former ADO and DO of the Sepik, and Lieut. Colonel H.I.P. Hogbin, Anthropologist. The Committee's report, which was a brilliant piece of work, together with many Circular Instructions from HQ laid out in detail the rates of compensation to be paid and the procedures and necessary bureaucracy and accountably relating to spending millions of tax- payers pounds in communities and remote villages.

As described in Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War* there were village people who supported the Japanese and indeed committed atrocities against their own people. Para 77 of the Committee report addressed this by recommending that natives -

'...alleged to have actually assisted the Japanese should be interrogated by the Director of DDS&NA and unless the officer is satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that in so acting they did voluntarily without coercion or duress and with the realization that it was wrong to do so, they should be entitled to come within the compensation scheme.'

The legal interpretation and resulting policy decisions related to Para 77 and all of the above is dealt with in full in Chapter 5

Land.

It is inevitable that although there was a Lands Department, DDS&NA, the Department responsible for Native Administration was involved with the people's issues concerning their land, as nothing was more important to them. Rights to customary land in PNG traditional belief, involve three classes of people: the dead, the living and the as yet unborn. The three classes belong to social units, usually descent groups called "clans". Each "clan" has an historic relationship with their land that can be traced back into time through the dead ancestors with whom the living communicate and seek spiritual guidance through dreams.

The relationship between the living and the as yet unborn clan members is that of custodians in a sacred trust of the land for future generations. The relationship of the individual person to the clan is a balance between benefit and responsibility. The individual will have varying rights to clan land – to garden, to hunt and gather food, to build a residence and more. The power of the clan land and ancestors is accepted as being able to remedy evil spells and to punish social wrongs. The individual also has responsibilities – to be initiated as a clan warrior to fight the clan's enemies and to defend the clan land. The individual is also involved in the rituals involving fertility for staple food crops and in old age to be the custodian of oral histories and traditions in close association with the haus tambaran – the church of the clans.

Clearly customary land is not a mere asset in the Western sense of the word. The land is simply there for the survival and support of present and future generations. An example may demonstrate the strength of feelings involved:

A 1990s Lands Titles Commission decision in the Gulf District found the Imawe Bogasi “clan” was the principal landowner. Another clan: the Imawe Kewa was recognized as having user rights only. In 1996 the writer was responsible for arranging land access and the hiring of labour to build a road and Oil Pipeline route through this land. The Imawe Kewa leader with armed warriors, faces blackened with war paint confronted me at the boundary. Fortunately, I knew the leader well, so despite the confrontation he explained his clan’s position:²

He said that if I brought Imawe Bogasi labourers onto the land the Imawe Kewa knew to be theirs, it would be the same as someone fucking his wife. He would be obliged to kill me, knowing full well that he too would be killed as well. He demanded to know what the Lands Titles Commission expected of his clan by giving the land to his enemy “*Do they expect us to go away and die?*”

I reassured him his problem was recognized. I arranged that he and I would meet in coming days to determine a way forward. We agreed that no project work would start until we agreed on how his clansmen would be employed on the project. The engineer standing with me expected to die that day and when he did not, he became an instant convert to the need to know land claiming clan leaders very well!

Of the DS&NA Circular Instructions issued between 1946 and December 1953, four dealt with land. [Nos 80, 85, 102 and 139 – all to do with the acquisition of customarily owned land] The DS&NA Standing Instructions 1962 do not have a section on Land. It is evident from Chapter 11 that in the late 1940/early 1950s field officers such as Patrol Officers Gilbert, Thomas, Cahill and Orwin tried to resolve land disputes. Their recorded decisions in Village books did not include statutory reference to indicate under what authority they did this. It seems therefore they did it by arbitration.

The Native Land Registration Ordinance 1952 established the Native Land Commission with authority to determine ownership of customary land if a dispute arose during the registration process. The Lands Titles Commission [LTC] ordinance 1962 replaced the Native Land Commission, and had exclusive jurisdiction to disputes over customary land. Appeal from the LTC was to the Supreme Court. In practice [in the Sepik at least] DDS&NA field staff investigated the dispute and individual officers represented each of the parties in presenting evidence to the LTC hearing.

Investigations into the upsurge in highlands warfare in the 1970s found that most fights were over land. The Commission of Inquiry into land matters 1973 [CILM] recommended an entirely new system for settling land disputed based on the principles that:

- People should settle their own disputes and not pass the responsibility to officials.
- The process of land dispute settlement should be brought much closer to the people.
- Hearings should not be confined solely to who owns the land, but should also consider the rights of others to use the land and the needs of parties in dispute.

With the LTC still in place, the Land Disputes Settlement Act 1975 was drafted in accordance with CILM principles, setting out three-stage for the attempted settlement of land disputes:

1. Compulsory mediation by a land mediator.
2. If mediation fails, the dispute is taken to the Local Land Court for arbitration and can impose a settlement, which is evidence of land rights, but not bind the parties.
3. There is a limited right of appeal to the Provincial Land Court in cases of manifest injustice.³

In the writers experience the possibility of finally resolving a deep rooted land dispute is on a par with changing someone's deeply held religious beliefs. What the various land dispute settlement mechanisms usually did achieve was to provide a space for the disputants to step back from violence while the land dispute resolution processes took place.

Native Labour.

Native labour issues were constantly under discussion and review through the days of the Neu Guinea Kompagnie 1885 to 1899, the German Colonial administration 1899 – 1914, The ANMEF administration 1914 – 1921 and then the Australian civil administration from 1922 until the cessation of civil Administration on 6th February 1942. During the war ANGAU had a dual role of operational support for the fighting troops as a primary function and of attending to native administration as time allowed; both functions involved native labour.

The deputy Director DS&NA issued an order on 15th May 1942 stressing that the “native population must be safeguarded”. He set a recruitment limit of 25% of able-bodied males and warned field staff to watch for signs of hardship in the villages...General Morris's order of 20 August 1942 stated that the needs of the fighting services must be met “*even if a temporary sacrifice of native interests is involved.*”⁴

Following the reinstatement of the civil administration, the Native Labour Ordinance, 1946 which relates to both the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, was passed to regulate native labour recruitment and employment conditions. The Department of Labour was one of the ten Departments of the Provisional Administration. The Department of Labour ceased to exist and Labour duties and responsibilities taken over by DS&NA when the Native Labour Ordinance of 1946 was repealed and replaced by the Native Labour Ordinance of 1950, which included a provision for the establishment of a “Native Labour Section” within DS&NA. Fifteen circular instructions were issued by the Native Labour Section, over the signature of R.F. Barwick, ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, between early 1951 and April 1952.

This changed: Circular Instruction No 152 dated 17th May 1952 stated:

The Native Labour Branch (Inspectorates) formed for the purpose of assisting in securing observances of the Ordinance has been abolished as from the 9th April 1952, and all inspectorial functions, other than medical, resumed by the Department of District Services and Native Affairs [DS&NA].

Circular No. 152 among others was addressed to all field staff and it went on with three foolscap pages of instructions as to what were their Native Labour responsibilities and duties. In the 12 months that followed, another 16 Circular Instructions concerning the native labour duties of field staff, were circulated; the job was rapidly becoming more complex and time consuming and it was about to get worse.

In July 1952 the Australian Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, wrote to the PNG Administration and the Director DS&NA as follows :-

There are, to my mind, few subjects more important in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea at the present time than the regulation of native labour and it is regrettable to see the scrambling way in which the Ordinance now under notice was handled both in

Canberra and Port Moresby. As a result, we have an amended Ordinance that is riddled with faults and we have left untouched several other proposed amendments.

Hasluck's *A Time For Building* continues on :-

In December 1952, having waited a year for the officers to reconsider the whole of native labour policy, I directed that J.H. Jones², a senior officer of the Administration with extensive knowledge both before and after the war, should be brought to Canberra to engage on "a re-examination of the whole native labour policy and of the legislation in which that policy is to be expressed."⁵

Native Labour policy and legislation still did not satisfy Hasluck and in late 1953 he took action :-

Finally, I decided that before officers proceeded further with examinations of particular sections of the Ordinance, they should go back to the starting point. Officers should dismiss temporarily from their minds any ideas they might have about merits or defects in the existing legislation and look steadily and clearly at the situation in the Territory today and the prospective situation in the future and try to answer such questions as:

- a. What are the desirable social results we want to bring about?*
- b. What are the undesirable social results we want to avoid?*
- c. What factors will help the good results and what will bring about bad results.*
- d. What is the present-day situation to which labour laws will be applied?*

From the answer to such questions they should draft a clear statement of objectives and the principles of labour administration derived from those objectives...The response to this was received in early 1955...but I still found a need to discuss basic concepts.⁶...

In early 1956 Hasluck noted that for some time he had seen the need for a special Department of Labour, instead of leaving native labour to be administered by the Department of Native Affairs. This was finally achieved with the passing of the Native Employment Ordinance 1958. DS&NA officers who had been performing native labour duties were either absorbed back into the DS&NA, as field staff, as was Ken Connolly [later ADO Kainantu], or transferred to the new Labour Department as was Doug Parrish.³

The Objectives and Principles identified from the questions listed above resulted directly and indirectly in other legislation as well:

The Transactions with Natives Ordinance 1958.
The Worker's Compensation Ordinance 1958.
The Industrial Safety, Health and Welfare Ordinance 1961
The Industrial Organizations Ordinance 1962

² Hasluck's foot note on J.H. Jones reads: Born Liverpool England, 1897, Served in World War 1 with AIF at Gallipoli landing. Joined the New Guinea Administration in 1921. District Officer in Sepik when Japanese invaded. Coast Watcher. Served with second AIF rising to rank of Lieutenant Colonel in ANGAU and command of the Northern Region. Joined PNG Administration as Director of District Services and Native Affairs in 1946. In 1953 seconded for duties as Special Representative for Australia at the Trusteeship Council. Member of the Legislative Council 1951-3. Chairman of PNG staff recruitment committees 1955-73.

³ Hasluck's foot note on Parrish, Douglas John, reads: Born 1921. Private employment 1936-41. War service with AMF and AIF 1941-45. Patrol Officer in New Guinea from 1946 rising to the rank of District Officer. Industrial Organisation officer with Dept. of Labour 1961. Chief of Division (Industrial Relations) 1962-5. Acting Secretary and Secretary for Labour 1965-71. Retired to take up employment in Australia.

The Industrial Relations Ordinance 1962, and
The Apprenticeship Ordinance 1967. ⁷[Encyclopedia of PNG P 589]

Local Government.

The introduction of Local Government may be said to have occurred before World War II when various church and Administration Councils were formed. All such bodies lacked the statutory basis which was provided by the Native Local Government Ordinances 1949. This was supported by DS&NA policy from 1947 onwards concerning the introduction of “Indirect” administration by which field staff achieved desired outcomes through influencing and advising the local people so they, rather than the DS&NA staff made decisions in the best interest of the community.

Local Government Councillors were elected by village communities. The Councils had the power to make rules which were enforceable in the Courts of Native Affairs and Native Matters, both of which were later replaced by the Local Court system. Councils had the power to raise taxation. Since the war no other taxes had been directly levied on the village people.

The Director of DS&NA identified an obvious anomaly: DS&NA Circular Instruction no 141 of 2/3/1952 states that personal tax needed to be re-established as all were paying tax and so it was not a disadvantage to be in a Local Government Council, while others outside the Council system received Government Services free. This anomaly was not corrected until 1957-8 [see Taxation section].

A Native Authorities Section was set up within DS&NA to set up Councils, but not without the consent of the people wanting them. Local Government work began on the Gazelle Peninsular of New Britain in 1951-2; five Councils were established but some Tolai groups refused to be included. Throughout the early and mid-1950s DS&NA staff tried to change the anti-Council stance. In the Legislative Council in September 1957, Cleland announced the re-introduction of personal tax in 1958. The dissidents were going to be taxed whether to a Local Government Council or the Administration. On 19th December 1957, the DO Rabaul wrote to the Director DS&NA :-

I must...ask for your written instructions, Sir, to use what force is necessary in 1958 to affect the new capitation tax in these dissident groups of the Tolai area...in view of the general feeling of these people. I consider that there will be... [Incidents]...in collecting this tax.⁸

Writer’s Note: Mr. Downs [in his *The Australian Trusteeship Papua New Guinea 1945-75*] suggested the DO should have been rebuked for not knowing the long-established policy and for not consulting his DC who would have advised him. Under the circumstances I would have sought written instructions, as I did in Chapter 53 *The North Hewa Murder Investigation Nov 1974*.

The Administrator’s summary of what subsequently took place on New Britain during what became known as the Navumeram incident :-

On the morning of 4th August 1958 after certain action had taken place by the Administration party, the party was set upon by the villagers with stones [fired from sling shots] and hand to hand fighting took place. As the situation became critical for the Administration party, an order was given for a volley of shots over the heads of the villagers. Apart from numerous injuries received as a result of the stone throwing and hand to hand fighting, two villagers, Trovatuna and Tovurete were killed by gunshot and a third wounded.⁹

There was a Commission of Inquiry headed by Supreme Court Chief Justice Alan Mann which led to changes in DS&NA. Local Government continued to be a key policy. In about 1960 it was decided to use Local Government Councils as part of the indirect machinery for electing native members to the Legislative Council. In 1967 a five year plan target was to have 800,000 people under Local Government by 1967; in fact 1,787,567 were under Local Government by that date¹⁰

Re-introduction of Personal tax

The collection of personal tax had been a feature of the German and pre-war Australian administrations. As indicated above, the post-war re-introduction of personal head tax was related to the introduction of the Local Government system; specifically to remove the anomaly identified by J.H. Jones in Circular Instruction No 141 of 23/3/1952.

Chapter 10 of the DDS&NA Standing Instructions is dedicated to “personal tax”. It explains that DDS&NA officers act as an agent of the Chief Collector of Taxes, who in turn functions within the framework of the Department of the Treasury. The standing instructions state that special “Tax Patrols” were to be avoided and that patrolling officers make themselves well informed on the reasons why tax collection was necessary.

In a time when the emphasis was on indirect administration and what would later become known as “hearts and minds” inter-action with PNG communities, it seemed to the Department and to field officers that serving as Tax collecting agents of the Treasury Department was a serious retrograde step. Former kiap J. Sinclair noted :-

It [tax collection] was a job that we hated and which did abiding harm to our relationship with the people. Nobody likes paying tax and nobody likes the tax collector. What was worse, we also acted as the tax appeal tribunals, and were obliged to take legal action to bring to account those who refused or failed to pay. It was a deep relief when tax collection lapsed in 1966 with the rapid spread of the council system.¹¹

Clearly it was believed the bigger strategy of establishing the Local Government system justified the means, although the Navuneram Incident [described above], the resulting world news and the Commission of Inquiry into the Department were to threaten DDS&NA’s very continued existence as a Government Department.

Co-operatives.

During World War II there was contact with service men displaying [apparent] great material wealth and displaying the organization and techniques of industrial countries. This prompted indigenous group economic activities in many parts of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, often using money earned working for the armed forces or received in war damage compensation. In TNG these groups called themselves *kampani* [company] and in Papua, “co-operative society”.

There were several points that suggested Co-operatives would be well suited the PNG indigenous environment:

1. The land upon which any crop or activity was to take place was communally, rather than individually owned. It followed that the social unit in whose name the land was vested might be the best group to undertake economic activity on the land.
2. Action in traditional PNG society tends to be group based, whereas action in Western society is usually an initiative of an individual. Several of the things that contribute to PNG group include:
 - a. Communal land ownership of land.
 - b. The rules of reciprocity which ensures the social unit’s optimal functionality.

- c. With rare exceptions, the lack of powerful traditional leadership.

On the basis of this group orientation, an argument can be found in support of promoting economic action through the use of a Co-operative organizational structure. Indeed, the writer heard it said that PNG traditional society is natural communism.

3. The economic issue of attaining “critical mass” might be best achieved through large scale group activity. “Critical mass” might be achieved through infrastructure such as roads and transport to take produce, such as copra, coffee, rice, fish etc. to markets which could only exist if sufficient produce was reliably delivered through time.

In May 1947 the Administration recognized the existence of an indigenous co-operative movement. The task of guiding and assisting it was vested in the Director of DDS&NA. A special Co-operative section, later known as Registry of Cooperative Societies, headed by a Native Affairs officer who had studied Co-operatives and other native economic activities in West Africa, was set up within DS&NA and a small team of officers investigated the ramifications of the Co-operative movement and the future possibilities... Co-operatives operate according to the Rochdale principles -

1. Voluntary membership.
2. Democratic control – one member one vote.
3. Restriction of interest on share capital – Co-operatives legislation restricts dividends on share capital to 6%
4. Distribution of surplus as dividends on the value of member’s purchases.
5. Political and religious neutrality.
6. Goods sold at market prices, and
7. Active education in co-operation

In July 1952 Hasluck noted that although Cooperatives were an instrument in native advancement and greater participation in the economic life of PNG, they should not regard them as the only instrument...Caution should be exercised to avoid forcing the natives into a mold that might not suit them and a watch should be maintained against turning one of the instruments into an objective of its own.¹²

The responsibility for Cooperatives was transferred away from DDS&NA as an outcome of the 1958 Commission of Inquiry into DDS&NA. Opinion was mixed on the subject of Cooperatives. In 1968-69 primary cooperatives had 129,343 members, \$2,582,757 subscribed capital, \$1,687,816 reserves and \$6,411,963 turnover. ¹³

In the 1970s the Cooperative system came under attack and the House of Assembly set up a Committee of Enquiry. Its report found the system was inefficient and that producers were not receiving equitable returns for their investments. This was a very trite conclusion, but it did recognize what had become obvious; that co-operatives were still tying up large amount of rural capital, some in fixed assets and land in urban areas. This was not available to enterprising business men who chose not to or who were unable to work with Cooperatives.¹⁴

Random Circular Instructions reflecting the changing social, economic and political circumstances of the day. As DDS&NA staff was stationed in the field, most if not all field tasks became their responsibility and reached their attention by means of a DDS&NA circular Instruction. The samples below are typical :-

Circular Instruction No 12 of 22nd May 1946 -

DISBANDMENT OF PACIFIC ISLANDS REGIMENT [of the Australian Army].

It has been decided that the Pacific Islands Regiment will be disbanded as early as possible. HQ 8 M.D. [8th Military District – being Papua New Guinea] have decided that native soldiers will be moved to the port nearest to the village in which they reside where a DO or ADO is located...

Writer's Note. On 8th January 1946 Prime Minister Chifley directed that all troops except those required to guard Japanese POWs and perform maintenance duties were to be evacuated by the end of that month. [note from I. Downs 1980 Page 22/3] The PIR was an Australian Regiment within the meaning of this directive, so presumably this was the driver behind C.I. No 12. As it happened the PIR continued to exist and eventually became the Defense Force of Independent Papua New Guinea.

Circular Instruction No 38 of 7th January 1947

NATIVE CUSTOMS

Members of the Field Staff will note, as much as possible, the customs of the native people in your district and shall be reduced to writing and a copy shall be kept in the District Office and Sub District Office. A copy should also be forwarded to this HQ, as an appendix to a Patrol, Monthly or Special Report.

As it is the practice of the Court of Native Affairs and the Court of Native Matters to take judicial notice of all native customs and give effect to them save in so far as they are contrary to the principles of humanity or conflict with any law in force in the Territory; members of these Courts shall make themselves acquainted by all means in their power with the native customs and in particular those appertaining to the District in which they are stationed. Evidence of relevant customs were also very important in antecedent reports in the Supreme Court to ensure the Judge's decision and sentencing was cognisant of the customs involved and their relevance to the case.

Writer's Note: Such recognition of custom was later reflected in the Native Customs Recognition Ordinance 1963 and later again in the Customs Recognition Act; Customs that were/are not repugnant to Statute Law, effectively had/have the status of Common Law.

Circular Instruction No 55 of 30th September 1947

NATIVE RECREATION CENTRES

His Honour the Administrator has directed that implementation action may now be taken to establish Native Recreation Centres in urban and other areas in the Territory where the provision of welfare facilities of this nature is urgently needed by the native people.

The executive control of these centres will be vested in the District Welfare Committee of which Departments (in particular DDS&NA, Education, Public Health, Agriculture and Native Labour) will be represented. In addition, unofficial bodies and associations with an interest in the field of native welfare, other government interests and the native people may be represented for the purpose of stimulating and coordinating work in this direction.

The administrative side of the provision of amenities and recreational facilities, such as sporting venues and clubs, for the native people shall be the responsibility of DDS&NA... DOs are requested to submit a costed estimate...

Writer's Note: In terms of our themes of the "*Waves of Change*" and "*Coming to Grips with the Future*" this well-intentioned focus on Welfare was soon to be immersed in the urban problems of squatter settlements, clashes and wars between ethnic squatter communities, emerging organized crime, the social and health related problems of family, Women's affairs, Infant/maternal health, prostitution and much more.

Circular Instruction 61 – 47-48 dated 10th May 1948

PATROL OFFICER TRAINING AND LIMITATION OF PATROLS.

At the present time [immediately post-war] we have as members of the field staff a great number of young and inexperienced officers. It is the responsibility of DOs to see that such personnel receive the necessary training, guidance and advice to assist them to develop into efficient officers. In this instruction SERVICE means service as a PO and includes any period serving with ANGAU as a member of the field staff of DS&NA.

DOs will decide whether an officer is competent and sufficiently experienced to undertake the patrols provided for hereunder, and may in special cases arrange for a PO to solo patrol in areas [ii], [iii] and [iv] before the period of service shown. A PO may:

1. Accompany an experienced officer on a patrol to any area.
2. Conduct solo patrols in
 - i. AREAS UNDER COMPLETE GOVERNMENT CONTROL.
 - ii. AREAS UNDER GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE. After one year's service
 - iii. AREAS UNDER PARTIAL GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE After two years' service
 - iv. AREAS PENETRATED BY PATROLS & UNCONTROLLED. After 3 years' service.

Writer's Note: This circular was issued during the discussions on the incidents described in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. It became increasingly relevant when the Commonwealth Minister for External Affairs Sir Percy Spender required in 1951, a plan that all areas of PNG would be under control by 1955, a plan supported by the first Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck in 1952. a/Director I.F. Champion accurately explained the problems of the 1955 plan - see Chapter No 8.

Circular Instruction 104 -49/50 dated 13 March 1950. - I.F. Champion acting/DIRECTOR

MOTION PICTURES – NATIVE AUDIENCES

There appears to be a lack of uniformity in the censorship of films for exhibition to native audiences. Attention is drawn to D.S. Circular Instruction No 54 47-48 of the 27th August, 1947. Under category (g) of that circular the following types of films are not considered suitable :-

1. Anything detrimental to the Crown or Government
2. Brawls between white and coloured races.
3. Gangster films.
4. Love scenes or drunken scenes.
5. Scenes depicting the shooting of people in brawls
6. Films depicting slavery or cruelty to coloured people.
7. Adverse propaganda

8. Sex films of anything of a suggestive nature

If the film is shown in or in close proximity to a town, a European Police officer or officers will attend. If it is shown beyond the limits of towns a DDS&NA officer will attend to ensure compliance with the permit issued...

I.F. Champion acting Director

Writer's Note: This level of paternalism shown in 1950 is difficult to correlate with people of a nation which would be self-governing 23 years later and independent another two years after that.

DECENTRALIZATION AND CO-ORDINATION.

District Commissioners [DCs] were imposed over District Officers [DOs] in 1951. In succeeding years, a series of re-definitions of status and role settled into a formula that the DC is the personal representative of the Administrator within a District, where he is responsible for the observance by all Departments of the Administrator's direction on policy; he is also to "*ensure smooth working and co-operation between Departments...*"

The new system failed. Heads of technical departments in Port Moresby did not share their plans with District Commissioners and dealt directly with the district representatives of their own departments. The new system also left the direction of Native Affairs [DDS&NA] in the hands of relatively inexperienced District Officers who bypassed the District Commissioners and reported directly to the Director of DDS&NA in Port Moresby. This meant that the District Commissioner had no base of staff support within their districts and no department to back them up and were removed from their vital role of dealing with all matters affecting the indigenous people. The system was abandoned after it was shown to have contributed to the breakdown of communications with the people of New Britain, culminating in a disastrous incident at Navuneram in 1958.¹⁵

In 1964 DOs were renamed deputy District Commissioners [DDCs] to become 'the DC's executive officer'. ADOs as Assistant District Commissioners [ADCs] – responsible directly to the DC for integrating the activities of all Departments operating in his Sub District.¹⁶

Writer's Note: Also at this time Patrol Officers Grade 2 were re-designated as ADO. There were also a series of Departmental name changed – Department of District Administration and later Department of the Chief Minister. To avoid confusion this manuscript stays with the DDS&NA designations of DC, DO, ADO, PO, CPO.

Circular Instruction No 162 dated 17th October 1952

JAPANESE WAR GRAVES IN THE FIELD

Consequent on the signing of a peace treaty with Japan, it is anticipated that the Japanese Government will arrange for diplomatic representation in Australia. It is considered important to ensure that information can be made available to the Japanese Government as to the location of Japanese war cemeteries, mass graves and field burials in this Territory.

It is therefore required that you compile as full a list as possible of these places which occur in your District, giving concise details as to their location, and forward it to this Headquarters. POs carrying out routine patrols should be instructed to make enquiries from the natives in likely areas and endeavor to locate the sites of field burials of Japanese personnel for addition to your list. Signed J.H. Jones Director.

Writer's Note: We met Horie Masao as a staff officer of the Japanese 18th Army in Chapter 45 of Sepik 3 –*The Sepik at War*. In 2009 he was a retired General, and Chairman of the Japan PNG Association. He stated that as of August 1945, the remains of Japanese soldiers left in Eastern New Guinea included 54,000 who died in the Sepik District. General Horie spoke of the on-going task of recovering, identifying each soldier's remains and returning home [quoted from Air Niugini Magazine Vol 1 2009 page 35]

RECOMMENDATION FOR REMOVAL OF NATIVES REG. 127 NARs

It is desired that reference in correspondence and on forms relating to recommendations or orders made under Regulation 127 should be to the removal of the native concerned and not to deportation. District Commissioners are to ensure that such procedures are followed in future...

Writers Note: Reg 127 “where a DO is satisfied that the continued residence of any native in any town or place in the District administered by such DO is detrimental or likely to become detrimental to the peace and good order of such town or place, he may recommend to the Administrator that such native be removed from such town or place.”

Typical use of Reg 127 related to the cargo cult leaders, whose following was expected to decline with their absence. Neptune Blood recommended that Bagasin Cult Leader Gomain be “deported” upon completion of his prison term. Similarly the “Four Kings” of the Four Kings Cult were “deported” from Wewak for three years’ exile on the island of Hasamatia, in Papua.

While Reg. 127 was still in force in the 1960s, I didn't experience it being enforced.

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This chapter commenced with DDS&NA being made responsible for each field activity that needed attention in rural PNG – the War Damage Compensation scheme, land work, native labour responsibilities, local Government, personal tax policy and collections, bringing the country under control, law and order, native welfare, co-operatives and more; it is little wonder that the PNG people saw the Kiap system as “Gavman” [the Government].

Yet it seemed to some people of influence that DS&NA's job was done and the Department was no longer required:

1. Some of the tasks listed above were completed [War Damage Compensation, bringing the country under control, personal taxation] and yet others had reached a stage of specialization that Sections or Divisions within DS&NA became Departments in their own right or were transferred to specialist organizations, e.g. Native Labour, Co-operatives, Welfare.]
2. **The Derham Report:** The separation and limitation of executive, police and magisterial powers held by DS&NA officers became a ministerial objective. In 1959 Hasluck invited the Professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Melbourne. David. P. Derham, to report to him on the administration of justice in Papua New Guinea...

The situation revealed by the report by the Commissioner's report shocked officers... It had always been accepted that the powers and duties of Native Affairs officers to act as magistrates, police officers and administrative executives – all under the one hat – had to be exercised with the constraint and good judgment for which the service was known. The

Commissioner had suggested that the Army be called in if a similar situation [to Navuneram] arose in the future.¹⁷

In the aftermath of the Derham report, senior DNA officers believed their Department had become the target of a Port Moresby power struggle which sought to destroy decentralized District Administration under District Commissioners...on 24th October 1961 in the Legislative Council Somu Sigob addressed the issue thus :-

'The kiap was the father of our people and before the Department of Native Affairs is eliminated you must prepare us to do without this man who is our father. A policeman is not the same as a kiap. If policemen are given this work the people will be afraid of being abused, kicked and punched. If we are going to change the name of the kiap, it must be done slowly.'

In 1962 Legislative Council Member Fairfax-Ross explained the problem in DNA thus :-

*'In early years, when visiting an outstation, one was always impressed by its symbolic authority accepted in confidence by the people and visible in orderly villages surrounding the roads, and all administrative activity was co-ordinated by the District Officer...To the native people he was an authority from whom they could obtain local decisions... Today...there is a striking lack of authority...no one is the boss... The District Officer not only has no authority over personnel of other Departments, but frequently one finds him channelized within his own Department of Native Affairs.'*¹⁸

DNA Director J.K. McCarthy also spoke in the Legislative Council meeting :-

'...The speakers who gave their views tonight...are demanding that we do not destroy the very foundations of Government in this country. There has been some mention Sir, of where these changes originated, and the Report of Professor Derham has been mentioned. My view is that this historical document, so long kept in the dark, should be shown the light of day...'

On 23rd April 1963 J.K. McCarthy in a personal communication to Ian Downs stated :-

*'There is no doubt that the pre-war officer and his traditions are disliked, but whatever the opposition to what we know as the 'Kiap System' are, the result is as unfair as it is stupid. It is unfair to the native people who look to the DO as a symbol of direct leadership and guidance, it is stupid because the destruction of the DO system must mean unrest confusion and danger...The multiple powers once necessarily held by the DO...will now be split between several officers...and this compartmentalisation is fatal to good government...The administration of justice is degraded to a technical skill and guilty people escape punishment. This the native people cannot understand...'*¹⁹

Ian Downs noted that the result was that a more effective organization was developed when the Department of Native Affairs became the Department of District Administration and was absorbed into the Department of the Administrator in August 1969.

Conclusions – to 1964.

A quick glance at the 1964 elections serves as an excellent conclusion to this chapter. Three huge electoral tasks needed to be achieved efficiently in a limited time :-

1. The compilation of PNG's first ever Common Roll.
2. Electoral education to inform the PNG people of concepts that were new to nearly all of them
3. The conduct of the election itself.

DNA put 500 patrols into the field to visit 12,000 villages²⁰ to compile the Common Roll and did the lion's share of the electoral education, with great assistance from the Department of Information and Extension Services and the Administration radio stations. All 48 returning Officers were all selected from DNA²¹, as were most of the Assistant Returning Officers, Presiding Officers and others.

*The Department of Native Affairs...was the only one with sufficient staff distributed over the country to ensure a complete coverage in every area. Its staff had for decades been responsible for communicating with the indigenous people and coming to understand local problems, tensions and individual aspirations.*²² [and so were well qualified for such tasks].

This quote could equally have been applied to every other post war issue – War Damage Compensation, Land and Labour administration, the establishment of Local Government, Native Welfare, Cooperatives and the re-introduction of Personal Tax collections. In short, notwithstanding the DNA's capacity and efficiency in dealing with the indigenous people of PNG, it was the rapidly changing social, economic and political environments that caused the Department to almost self-destruct in the early 1960s.

Looking further ahead, there was another underlying threat to DNA. To rural PNG at this time the kiaps and the administrative system under which they operated were referred to in Pidgin as "Gavman". However with the elections of representative governments in 1964, 1968 and 1972, the days of the Kiap System were numbered.

End Notes Chapter 3

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- ¹ Bragge L.W. Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War* – Chapter 47 - unpublished
 - ² Bragge Research Notes Vol 31 16th August 1996.
 - ³ Oliver N & Fingleton J – Settling customary land disputes in PNG P 226-230.
 - ⁴ Encyclopaedia of PNG University of Melbourne Press 1972.
 - ⁴⁹ Hasluck P. A Time for Building. Wilke & Co Clayton Vic, Aust. 1976 P 157.
 - ⁵ Hasluck P 1976 P157/8
 - ⁶ Hasluck P 1976 P160
 - ⁷ Encyclopaedia of PNG P589
 - ⁸ Downs I. The Australian Trusteeship of Papua New Guinea 1845-75. The Australian Government Publishing Service. 1970 . P143
 - ⁹ Downs I. 1970 . P 144.
 - ¹⁰ Encyclopaedia of PNG P659
 - ¹¹ Sinclair J – Kiap – Pacific Publications Sydney 1981 P 185
 - ¹² Hasluck P 1976 P153
 - ¹³ Encyclopaedia of PNG P 213
 - ¹⁴ Latukefu S ed. Papua New Guinea: a Century of Colonial Impact National Research Institute Port Moresby 1988. P368.
 - ¹⁵ Downs I. 1970 . P117-118
 - ¹⁶ Encyclopaedia of PNG P988
 - ¹⁷ Downs I. 1970 . P117-146
 - ¹⁸ Bettison D.G., Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. The Papua-New Guinea Elections 1964. ANU Press 1965 P 63
 - ¹⁹ Downs I. 1970 . P160

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- ²⁰ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P54
²¹ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P70
²² Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P54

Sepik 5 Chapter 4 War Damage Compensation

Writer's Note: Through the post war administration of the Sepik, up until the early 1950s, war damage compensation was a task that occupied most of the time of DDS&NA field staff. Field officers at the time would have learned of policy and implementation through the Circular Instructions. The nine sections of the Agendum contained immediately below in C.I. #8 of 1948 serves to introduce the nature of this chapter :-

Circular Instruction No8 of 1948 dated 18th April 1946 *Compensation for War Damage* and signed by E. Taylor a/Director – alerted staff to four attachments to the Circular :-

1. Agendum No 2015 of 5th December 1945.
2. Appendix A, and,
3. Extracts from a report of a Committee on Compensation to Natives which was submitted to the Commonwealth Cabinet.
4. Appendix D for general guidance

Circular Instruction 8 drew attention to Para 9(1) (a) – the reports called for will be submitted as soon as possible.

For Cabinet - Agendum No 2015.

5th December 1945

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

COMPENSATION TO THE NATIVES FOR WAR INJURIES AND WAR DAMAGE

#1 At a meeting of the Ministerial Sub Committee appointed to deal with matters relating to civil administration in the Territories of Papua New Guinea, held at Canberra on 15th September 1944, approval was given for the establishment of a committee of three persons to recommend a just and practicable plan for compensating natives for war injuries and war damage resulting from military operations or arising out of the state of war in the Territories.

#2. A committee (comprising of Mr. John V Barry, K.C. Legal Member and Chairman, Major J.L. Taylor, Administrative Member and Lieutenant Colonel H.I.P. Hogbin, Anthropologist, Directorate of Research and Civil Affairs, Melbourne) was appointed by the Minister for External Territories...

#3. The committee was asked to recommend a just and practicable plan for compensating natives in Papua and New Guinea for loss of or damage to land and property and death or injuries arising from military operations or arising out of causes attributable to the state of war in the Territories.

#4 The committee visited Port Moresby, Nadzab, Finschhafen, Manus, Aitape, Madang, Mt Hagen, Kerawagi and Benabena. Lieutenant Colonel Hogbin and Major Taylor visited practically every remaining district of New Guinea and Papua which had been affected by the war.

#5 The principle recommendations contained in the report submitted by the committee are shown in Appendix A hereto.

#6. The plans submitted are comprehensive and are designed to compensate natives for death or personal injury and to repair damage to their property.

#7. The Committee has not furnished any estimate of the cost of its recommendations and it is practically impossible to arrive at any reliable estimate of such cost.

#8. As an indication, only of what it is likely to be involved, officers of my Department have ventured the following rough calculations:

Item	Est. No	@cost	Totals in £
Pigs	100,000	£3	£300,000
Buildings	20,000	£20	£400,000
Deaths	15,000	£30	£450,000
Pensions [for one year	5,000	£12	£60,000
Claims for miscellaneous property	30,000	£20	£600,000
3-year campaign to eradicate dysentery – Central Highlands.			£190,000
Claims for milling timber			£10,000
Claims for land impressed or damaged			£200,000
		Total	£2,210,000

These figures are given merely to show the magnitude of the scheme proposal and to give some idea of the financial liability upon the Commonwealth Government if the proposals of the committee are accepted.

#9. It is recommended that:

1. The proposals be accepted in principle and that the Administrator of Papua be asked to -
 - a. Obtain reports from each District of the area under control of the civil administration as to probable cost of the full scheme in each District and whether the proposals are adequate to each area.
 - b. Give effect immediately to such items of the recommendations as he considers should be put into effect forthwith. The Administrator to be advised that a sum up to 100,000 pounds as an instalment payment will be forthcoming from the Commonwealth Government forthwith for this purpose.
2. The total funds required to meet the cost of the proposals herein be obtained from the surplus funds of the Commonwealth War Damage Insurance Scheme.

(E.J. Ward)

Minister for External Territories

APPENDIX A - TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA. COMPENSATION TO THE NATIVES FOR WAR INJURIES AND WAR DAMAGE

The Principal recommendations of the Committee area –

#a. Eligibility – All natives except those who of their own free will and choice accepted service or employment or gave material aid to the enemy should be eligible for compensation as also should half casts provided they have not claimed on the War Damage Compensation.

#b. Compensation for land each native community to receive pecuniary compensation for loss arising out of:-

#1. Permanent dispossession of land - any compulsory acquisition of land by the

Crown to be effected immediately the Defence authorities state their intentions. The Principle of compensation to be followed to be those laid down by the High Court of Australia in Geita-Sebea and others V. the Territory of Papua (1943) 67 CLR., 546, i.e., -

- a. Land should be valued as at 1st January 1939, with such improvements upon it as form part of the land and such structures and buildings upon it as were permanently attached to it.

- b. The Land should be valued on the footing that an estate in fee simple freed and discharged from all trusts and encumbrances whatsoever was acquired by the Crown.
- c. The provision of the Land Ordinance 1911-1935 which restricted the right of natives to sell or otherwise deal with lands were not relevant to the assessment of the value of compensation to be paid for the acquisition of the land.
- d. The principle upon which compensation should be assessed is the same as in English law. It is the value that a willing vendor might reasonably expect to obtain from a willing purchaser for the land with all potentialities, but any enhanced value attached to the land by reason [of] the fact that it is being compulsorily acquired for the purpose of the acquiring authority must be disregarded.

#2. Temporary dispossession of land – if occupied by the Defence forces when civil administration is restored, rental to be assessed on the basis of the annual rental value of the land to the natives to be paid, but no rental to be paid in respect of past occupation.

#3. Permanent damage to land – compensation to be assessed as for the complete loss of the land, otherwise compensation to be proportionate to the damage.

#c. Compensation for death, injury, illness or disease – Compensation to be paid in respect death, injuries or incapacity arising either directly or indirectly from enemy or allied action in accordance with the following schedule of rates –

Details	Amount
[I] For death	
Under 7 years – an amount not exceeding	£5
Between 7 and 15 years an amount not exceeding, But not less than	£20 £7
Between 15 and 50 years an amount not exceeding, But not less than	£60 £4
[II] For total incapacity	
Under 7 years a pension not exceeding per month	2 shillings & 6d
Between 7 and 15 years a pension not exceeding per month	10 shillings
Between 15 and 50 years a pension not exceeding per month, But not less than	30 shillings 10 shillings
Over 50 years a pension not exceeding per month, But not less than	5 shillings 2 shillings

- with appropriate adjustments when a pensioner enters a higher age group or upon recovery from the incapacity. When death occurs within 12 months of the granting of the pension, from causes related to the incapacity the lump sum payment for death to be paid less the amount already paid by way of pension.

[III] For specified injuries or partial incapacity – A pension at 100%, 75% or 50% of the total incapacity rate according to the nature of the injury. For incapacity resulting from a minor injury, a gratuity not exceeding ten pounds is to be paid.

[IV] Compensation for deaths in the highlands caused by introduced diseases – The natives of the Highlands have not yet become acquainted with money and have no use for it. Compensation for deaths which have resulted from dysentery introduced by allied troops during August 1943, resulting in a heavy death toll, to take the form not of individual payments, but in a special grant to the branch of the Administration dealing with public health in Papua New Guinea, earmarked for expenditure in these districts, to enable the disease to be eradicated.

The Director of Hygiene, First Australian Army, has estimated the sum for a three years' campaign to be as follows:

1 st year	-	£90,000	
2 nd year	-	£80,000	
3 rd year	-	<u>£20,000</u>	
		£190,000	£190,000
Air transport for personnel and freight for 3 years			<u>£64,000</u>
			<u>£254,000</u>

#d Compensation for miscellaneous native property.

- i. Lost or damaged property...to be assessed at replacement value. Payments for individual or if dead to next of kin. Communally owned property to be paid to the village treasury
- ii. For milling timber. Compensation to be paid at 10 pence per 100 super feet cut. Community owners to receive two-fifths of the amount and that the balance be paid into a trust fund for re-forestation purposes.
- iii. Livestock. The Administration to establish stud farms for the sale of pigs, poultry and other livestock and nurseries for the supply of seeds and plants.

#e Administration of the scheme.

- i. Management and control. Responsibility to be that of the civil administration but in areas still under control of the military authorities, the Army to continue to provide relief and ameliorate the hardships of the people of the re-occupied territory.
- ii. Investigation of claims. Claims to be investigated and recommendations to be submitted by DOs. The authorities for approving or rejecting claims to be:
 - a. DO for claims not exceeding £10.
 - b. Director DDS&NA for claims from £10-500.
 - c. Director DDS&NA for pensions.
 - d. Administrator for claims over £500.
- iii. Appeals. Claimants have the right of appeal to Director DDS&NA against DO decisions and the Administrator against decisions of Director DDS&NA
- iv. Payment of compensation and Pensions. DO's to be responsible for payment of lump sums and pensions; to be the banking adviser to those receiving compensation; and to establish village councils and treasuries
- v. Village Councils and Treasuries. Village Councils and Treasuries to be established on the lines of those in the British Solomon Islands.
- vi. Savings Banks. Agencies of the Commonwealth Bank to be established in each District and Sub-District, and to facilitate transactions, POs to be appointed as agents of the Bank.
- vii. Native Military Formations. Commanders of native formations to supply the Administration with particulars of members discharged medically unfit and reports of casualties involving death or injury.

Department of External Territories 5th December 1945.

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APPENDIX "D"

CLAIMS FOR WAR DAMAGE BY THE NATIVES OF BUSAMA, MOROBE DISTRICT – UP TO FEBRUARY, 1945. [To serve as a model, a complete record of claims had been made for this village]. SUMMARY. Total claims are as follows:

Details	Pounds shillings & pence
i. Claims for natives killed, died or injured	£420 - 0 - 0
ii. Claims for property owned by the village as a whole	£319 - 2 - 0
iii. Claims for property owned by groups	£300 - 0 - 0
iv. Claims for property owned by individuals	£2,259 - 8 - 0
Total	£3,398 - 10 - 0

(i) NATIVES KILLED OR DIED

Next of kin	Name of Deceased	Status	App. Age	Occasion of death	Compo Due in £
Matu'uri (Widow)	Bangaya	Villager	45	Raid by Lieut. Murphy & RPC1942	£60
Esem	Nga'do	Villager	45	Alleged he was accidentally killed By NPC., 1943, when arrested On Suspicion of collaboration with Japs	£60
Gawawi (Widow)	Nga'balu	Villager	28	Shot by allied troops at Mubo While Carrying for Japanese.	£60
Awidu (Mother)	Nga'sere	Labourer	25	Died at Madang while under contract	£60
Buasi I (Father)	La'angku	Villager	21	Raid by Lieut. Murphy & RPC1942	£60
Yabe (Father)	Tidowi	Villager	20	Blown up by abandoned hand Grenade 1943	£60
Lu'Yawi (Mother)	Gala'bo	Villager	17	Machine gunned in village by Allied plane	£60

The committee was unable to obtain details of any member of the Pacific Islands Regiment or any Labourer who was killed or died.

ii. PROPERTY OWNED BY THE VILLAGE AS A WHOLE.

Notes: Communal property included the church, the school, the European and police rest houses a seine net and a whale boat.

Church was new having been completed in late 1941. The amount of building materials was recorded by several natives in diaries, which survived. [see table overleaf]

Seine net This net was bought from the natives of Lalabia, who are specialists in this type of work. The Busama natives paid them the traditional price of 23 large pigs and a proportionate amount of sago and vegetables. The value of the pigs has been estimated at 3 pounds each:

Value of pigs £69

Value of food £20

Total cost of seine: £89

Whale boat. This item cannot be replaced, but it should be recorded that the cost, corroborated by Major Taylor, who was ADO at Salamaua at the time of its purchase, was £80.

Building	Rate in Shillings/Pence	£Compo
Church		
90 sheets of corrugated iron @ seven feet long	4/10d	£21-15-0
50 sheets of corrugated iron @ six feet long	4/6d	£11-05-0
9 sheets of corrugated iron @ nine feet long	9/-	£4-01-0
8 lengths of guttering	3/-	£1-04-0

9 lengths ridge capping	3/10d	£1-14-6d
86 sawn rafters and studs	5/-	£21-10-0
97 posts cut by natives @ estimated value Nails	2/6d	£12-02-6d
Furnishings		£5 -0 -0
Estimated value of labour		£20- 0- 0
Total value of church		£98-12-0
School		
Estimated value of building material		£12- 0- 0
Value of nails		£3- 0- 0
Estimated value of labour		£9- 0- 0
Estimated value of furniture		£10- 0- 0
Total		£34- 0- 0
Rest Houses		
Posts		£1-10-0
Flooring		£1-00-0
Walls & Roof		£4-00-0
Nails		£1-00-0
Estimated value of labour		£9-00-0
Total		£16-10-0

iii. PROPERTY OWNED BY GROUPS.

Men's club houses are an essential part of village life. Each was owned by a group of from 12 to 20 persons, all of whom contributed labour for the construction and food for the feast with which the completion of the work was celebrated. It is to be noted that a club house cannot be erected unless an adequate number of pigs is available for the feast. It is estimated the value of a house the amount of food accumulated for the feast [the food included rice, bread and tinned meat.] as well as the building materials must have been considerable.

The name of the person principally responsible is given in each case. He can be safely entrusted with the distribution of the money.

House name	Principle Owner	No. pigs killed	Value in £ Of pigs	Value in £ For food	Value in £ Building Materials	Total Value
Hobung	Busilim I	10	£24	£10	£6	£40
Buasi	Mabieng I	10	£24	£5	£6	£35
Tabale	Nga'sale I	10	£24	£5	£6	£35
Mesa	Salingbo	10	£24	£5	£6	£35
Ho'kwa	Sali	8	£19	£4	£6	£29
Sawatu	Aheimbon	5	£14	£4	£6	£24
Iwambu	Yamson II	4	£12	£3	£6	£21
? uang	Toli	3	£9	£3	£6	£18
Mwaeng	Gala'bo I	3	£9	£3	£6	£17
Gai	Samsam	3	£9	£2	£6	£16
Amki *	Mwoangpo	1	£3	£1	£6	£10
Gapo *	Aring-ngam	1	£3	£1	£6	£10
Matu *	Imata	1	£3	£1	£6	£10

*New houses not yet completed

Total value of men's club houses = £300

A fourteenth house owned by Sameki, was in a state of disrepair and about to be rebuilt.

iv. PROPERTY OWNED BY INDIVIDUALS.

Most people in New Guinea living on the coast can read and write in their own language and in pidgin English. The Busama are no exception, and the list of personal possessions destroyed were prepared with the assistance of five of them. The risk of persons making dishonest claims was minimised by each of the assistants collecting the information publically the checking the results with the rest. Native villages being small, everyone knows everyone else's business, and the fact that there are different factions means that each keeps careful watch on the others.

Houses – The majority of the houses in Busama were large, well-built and durable. The Services of three trained carpenters were in constant demand, and house owners insisted that the planks used in the walls should be planed to a fine degree of smoothness.

The value of the building materials can be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy, as there were recognized prices. The value of labour cannot be assessed so satisfactorily, as the work was paid for not in money but in food, a feast was being given by the owner on the completion of number of pigs killed for these feasts varied from 2 to 4. But an average of 2.5 has been accepted here.

Persons making a claim for a second dwelling do so by virtue of kinship to someone recently deceased. Such persons are under obligation of providing shelter for bereaved family. Men with insufficient pigs to hold a feast live in huts built by their own efforts. These huts have not been considered.

Value of materials and labour used in constructing a dwelling:

Posts	£1-00-0
Other timber including planks	£2-00-0
Flooring	10/-
Thatch	£2-00-0
Nails	10/-
Labour – estimated value of 2.5 pigs	£7-00-0
estimated value of other foods	£2-00-0
Total value of house	£15-00-00

Trees & Palms Claims are made for breadfruit and coconuts only

Trade boxes. These are unobtainable, but for the sake of completeness the price paid has been given.

European household goods. These include saucepans, bowls, cutlery, blankets, rucksacks etc.

Native household goods. These include pots, valued from 3/- to 10/- each, wooden bowls, valued 4/- to £1, and woven bags, valued from 3/- to 10/-

Other items. These include spectacles at an estimated value of £2, mats at a value from 3/- to 5/-, Benzene irons, at an estimated value of 1 pound 5 shillings and pressure lamps at an estimated value of £2/10/-.

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Circular Instruction No 27 dated 30th October 1946.

Administration Policy in regard to:

Part 1. Native misdeeds allegedly committed during war.

Part 2. Discrimination in the distribution of Native War Compensation.

PART 1.

#1 As a matter of general policy...police investigations of alleged misdeeds during war...with a

view to prosecutions of indictable offences will be discontinued.

#2. It is considered undesirable to direct the thought of the native community back to the past... No useful purpose can be served by holding post mortems on matters occurring in a period best forgotten by the native people.

#3. The only exception...will be when cases...reported by the natives themselves, is of such exceptional heinousness and depravity as to outrage native and non-native opinion and is of such a nature as to be likely to induce the community itself to take the law into their own hands.

#4. Even in such cases the approval of the Crown Law Officer will be obtained before the prosecution is initiated.

#5. The deportation of a war-time wrong-doer whose very presence is intolerable to the rest of the community as to become a menace to peace and good order, may be desirable. This is subject to the safe guard that deportation may only be carried out by order of the Administrator and provision is being inserted for appeal by such person against such an order. It is of course a recommendation only to be made in the most exceptional cases.

#6. Outstanding native wrongs and grievances will be settled by arbitration and promoting settlement on a compensation basis or by civil claims in Courts of Native Affairs, when such proceedings seem unavoidable.

#7. In addition to the powers already provided for, it is proposed that the Court of Native Affairs, [Native Matters] be strengthened by the promulgation of a Native Administration Regulation giving authority to the Court to order compensation to a native or natives in money or kind of injury to person or persons or property as a result of an unlawful act of another native or natives, but the limitations in the regulation upon such claims is to be carefully noted.

#8. Generally it is hoped, that private redress will be sought in very few instances and it is most desirable...private compensation cannot be taken into consideration when computing the general compensation payable to natives under the Government scheme and vice versa.

PART 2 FACTORS DETERMINING WHAT DISCRIMINATION WILL BE EXERCISED IN DISTRIBUTION FOR WAR DAMAGE.

#9. As doubts have arisen with regard to interpretation and application in passages of the Native War Damage Compensation Committee report, in which it is recommended that only natives who actively and voluntarily assisted the enemy, with a realization that it was wrong to do so, shall be ineligible... the following directions are given for the officers concerned.

In para. 77 of its report, the committee considered that natives "alleged to have actually assisted the Japanese should be interrogated by the D.D.S.&N.A." [Director of DDS&NA] and that unless the officer "is satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that in so acting they did voluntarily and without coercion or duress and with the realisation that it was wrong to do so", they should be entitled to come within the compensation scheme.

#10. Cabinet has approved in principle put by the committee, in para 77 of its report, the DDS&NA will make the final decision whether natives, alleged to have assisted the enemy in the above manner are eligible for war compensation. Since it is physically impossible for the

DDS&NA himself to carry out the preliminary investigations of such allegations against natives, those investigations will be made by DO's and ADO's.

#11. For the guidance of DO's and ADO's in these preliminary investigations, it is necessary that the Administration's view of what is meant by "actively" and "voluntarily" assisted the enemy "with a realisation that it was wrong to do so" be defined as it must always be remembered that these three aspects of a native alleged assistance to the enemy must co-exist, and be established as co-existed, before he may be declared ineligible for war compensation.

#12. "Actively" assisting the enemy is considered to mean something more, e.g., than supplying the enemy, on the enemy's demand, food, house room, canoes, labour and topographical information. Acts such as bearing arms with the enemy against us (*a fortiori*¹) using them against us included in "active assistance". For instance, it is one thing to guide the enemy to a place under duress or coercion, and quite another thing to come to the enemy voluntarily with information of the position of one of our patrols with an offer to guide them thither.

#13. "Voluntarily" assisting the enemy would be the case of a native who elects to help of his own free will, without any duress, and when he could avoid doing so without difficulty. It is stressed that duress may be either direct or indirect; direct duress such as an enemy threat to do violence to a native if he refused to obey an enemy demand, and indirect duress such as a mere presence of enemy troops in a native village, which would be deemed a sufficiently powerful persuasion, of itself by most natives, even though no threat of violence were offered or mentioned.

#14. As to the third requisite "a realization that it WAS wrong" to assist the enemy actively and voluntarily; it is appreciated that it would be rarely that this element is established, especially in the case of natives of areas in which the Japanese were present in strength and were present for some time. The greater the strength of the enemy and the longer the period of enemy occupation, the more likely and reasonable it would be for the natives to suppose that Japan was their new Government and that the Government had to be obeyed – in other words, that it was right and proper to obey the new Government even to the extent of assisting it against us.

But if, while actively assisting the enemy, a native went further and killed, assaulted, or raped an inoffensive persons or destroyed, damaged or took the property of such persons, knowing at the time that such actions of his were no part of the enemy's objective (or to put it another way, were acting on his own account), such conduct it is considered would be something from which an inference might fairly be drawn that, *prima facie*, he knew at the time that he was doing something wrongful, something from which even native standards would bring retribution...

It should be remarked that a *prima facie* inference of that kind may be rebutted or proven unwarranted by the time the whole of the evidence has been heard. It is also stressed that it must be established the native realised at the time he committed the alleged wrong doing, that it was wrong; it is quite possible that such a native, faced by the fact that restoration of Civil Administration, and knowing or learning that the Administration had certain ideas about what is wrong, may passively agree that what he did was wrong, although he did not think so at the time.

#15. The procedure for the preliminary investigation by the DO, or ADO will be as follows :-

¹ Fortiori – Latin – Vigorously, bravely "Fortitude" is derived from *fortiori*

Whereas allegation is made that a native claimant for compensation is a native who “actively and voluntarily assisted the enemy with a realisation that it was a wrong to do so”, the DO or ADO will first hear the evidence in support of that allegation, after which he will warn the collaborator that he need not say anything at all or may speak in his defence, as he wishes, and that in any case he may call witnesses in his defence as he wishes to do so. There is no onus on the alleged collaborator to prove his innocence of the allegations; on the contrary they must be proven against him. No admission made by a complainant upon an enquiry with his war damage claim may be used as Evidence in any other proceeding.

After hearing all of the evidence against and for the alleged collaborator, the DO or ADO, if he is satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the allegation has been proven, will report the case fully to the DDS&NA and, pending the decision by the DDS&NA will withhold payment of war compensation from the alleged collaborator. The DDS&NA will then consider the report and give his decision which will be final. On the other hand, if the DO or ADO, after hearing all the evidence, is not satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the allegations have been proven against the alleged native collaborator, he will give to that native

Sgd. J.H. Jones DIRECTOR.

Circular Instruction No 46 /1946-7 of 21st April 1947.

WAR DAMAGE COMPENSATION.

In reply to my query as to whether there can be any legal objection to a DO opening an account with the Commonwealth Savings Bank in the name of a claimant for War Damage Compensation and paying to the credit of such account the compensation due, with or without the claimant's consent, the Crown Law Officer advises as follows:

“In the absence of statutory provisions relating to the payment of War Damage Compensation, it is considered that natives could not sustain any objection to the method of payment by a credit in a Savings Bank Account.

It is assumed that this method would be restricted to individual payments in excess of a pre-determined sum, but it is not seen how it is possible to prevent the native from dealing with the money as he wishes once the payment is made.

In Papua there is a provision for vesting money in excess of 50 pounds in a trustee where it has been made to appear to the Supreme Court that it is unlikely that the money will otherwise be expended to the best advantage of the native beneficiary. Any procedure involving an application to the Court would be unsuitable where there is a multiplicity of claims.”

In view of the comments of the Crown Law Officer it is proposed in all cases where claims are in excess of the amount of 5 pounds the monies be paid into a Savings Bank Account in the name of the claimant, providing such claimant lives within reasonable distance of an Agency of the Commonwealth Savings Bank [CSB].

In cases where investigation has yet to be made of claims for War Damage Compensation the investigating officer should carry with him an appropriate number of “Authorization Forms”... [there follows a copy of the form, which is not required for this manuscript]

Upon the completion of the Authorization Form, the CSB 1 and CSB 18, these forms will be attached to the War Damage Claim form and submitted to the DO for his approval

Upon approval of payment of the claim by the DO a Treasury Contingency Voucher [for the amount of the compensation] will be prepared and will be acquitted by the Savings Bank Officer certifying thereon that the amount has been paid to the credit of the claimant in Savings Bank Account No....., and will imprint on the Contingency Voucher the Savings Bank Rubber Stamp. will be witnessed by the Investigating officer who may then proceed to deliver the Bank Passbook to the claimant.

It is appreciated that difficulties may be experienced in inducing some claimants to open accounts with the Savings Bank in order to accept payment of War Damage Compensation in the form proposed. All officers are urged to use their persuasive powers to the utmost to further these proposals, the benefits of which will be obvious.

Where claims have already been investigated, approved and at present await payment I shall leave it to the discretion of the DO whether to affect payment in cash or use the new method, but I feel I should add that I would prefer to see the Savings Bank Pass Book method adopted – even where it entails an additional visit to the area of the claim for the purpose of completing the necessary authorization of banking forms.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed on the desirability of continual advice to the native people against the practice of squandering their War Damage Compensation now, and the wisdom of safeguarding their capital until such time as more suitable goods, tools, equipment and livestock are available for purchase.

The procedure to be now adopted affords all Administrative Officers an excellent opportunity to gain a close contact with the people. The payment of War Damage Compensation is too often regarded by some officers as an obstruction through the additional clerical work involved, preventing them from carrying out their normal duties of native administration. On the contrary, the fact that an Investigating Officer has to spend a considerable amount of time in a village and visit the sites of claimants' land etc. can be of inestimable value to the keen administrator, and it is urged that this opportunity should not be lost.

A further contact will come when the person is desirous of withdrawing monies from his Savings Bank Account, and again opportunities arise for discussion of his plans for the use of his withdrawals, and advice and assistance should be offered, even when it is not sought.

No refusal shall be made to anyone who insists upon the withdrawal of his credit from the Savings Bank, even when against the advice of the Administrative officer...

Sgd J.H. Jones DIRECTOR.

Circular Instruction No 58 – 47/48 dated 10th November 1949 To all District officers:

WAR DAMAGE

Forwarded for your information and promulgation. Sgd J.H. Jones DIRECTOR.

WAR DAMAGE COMMISSION,
44 Martin Place

Sydney N.S.W.

15th September 1942

No 42/218.2
The Administrator,
Provisional Administration Papua New Guinea
PORT MORESBY, PAPUA

Dear Sir,

PRE-WAR EUROPEAN PROPERTY NOW ALLEGEDLY
IN THE POSSESSION OF NATIVES.

Mr. L. W. Bell of Sobu and Kebil Plantations in the Kavieng District, has written us as follows :-

“Another matter I would like you to clarify is the matter of salvaged items of plant and fixed properties in the possession of the natives. It is obvious that both before the Japs arrived and after they surrendered much property was removed from plantations and is still in their possession. It seems that during the Jap occupation very little was taken, but only after the surrender when our ANGAU seems to have exercised no control whatever of pilfering and sabotage and in some cases evidently encouraged it.

I fully understand that we have no claim to any of it after accepting War Damage and that all salvage is your property; it seems hardly fair that the natives should get this material free and be paid War Damage for their losses or said losses without too much real investigation of their claims.

DOs seem unable to give any definite rulings as to the disposal or ownership of these items. One DO takes the attitude that as the whites left the stuff behind and natives collected it. Well OK – its theirs and possession is nine points of the law. Another says “No” all natives should bring in everything they have and War Damage Commission sell it giving first preference to former owners, who if they so desire and think the case justified may pay the natives for safe custody.

But none of these officials have committed themselves to a definite procedure, and the sooner the matter is cleared up it will be more satisfactory for all concerned. Your local inspector probably can enlighten more fully on these matters as they stand here. I would thank you for your ruling and views on this subject.”

To this we have replied in the following terms :-

In connection with your advice that certain items of property compulsorily abandoned by Europeans are now in the possession of natives, we point out that in actual fact where it can be proved that the items had been the subject of War Damage Compensation payments, they are the property of this Commission and upon becoming available to us would be declared for disposal through the Provisional Administration as agents for the Commonwealth Disposals Commission.

Previous investigation into the general position has shown except in isolated instances it is impracticable to:

- a. Identify a particular item as being owned by a particular European pre-war because of movements from one district to another by the enemy and our own Allied Forces: and,
- b. To establish that compensation has been paid for the particular item concerned.

Furthermore after three or more years' neglect or use by the Japanese, natives and/or our own Allied troop, depreciation has been so great that with few exceptions values are negligible.

It was, therefore, decided that as a general rule the circumstances do not warrant the expense of attempting to search for and collect the remaining items.

Another complication also could be a possibility of enemy troops or our own Allied Forces having bartered or sold items to the natives. The original owner lost the property by War Damage when it was captured by the enemy and it is not clear without the facts, as to how the natives acquired it, as to whether or not he has at least a moral claim of ownership.

As no detailed information has been received as to the probable extent of the native possession in your district [that was] previously owned by Europeans, we have assumed that it is similar to the position in other districts. If you have any information which would assist us in appraising the position, there we would appreciate your passing the information on to our Plantation inspector when he visits the area shortly or to this office direct. Details of specific instances or other information which would assist us in our obtaining an overall picture would be helpful

It would be appreciated if you could pass on to your District Officers the views of the Commission as conveyed to Mr Bell and request from them particulars of any instances where it is considered that the circumstances warrant action to obtain from natives, property previously owned by Europeans and for which War Damage Compensation may have been paid. Only items representing substantial value should be considered.

Yours faithfully
Sgd R.A. Battersby
CONTROLLER

Circular Instruction No 86 – 48/49 dated 13th March 1949

WAR DAMAGE COMPENSATION – PENSIONS AND THE ISSUE OF PENSION BOOK

Procedural adjustments only. Not required here.

Circular Instruction No 87 – 48/49 dated 21st March 1949

PAYMENT AND INVESTIGATION OF WAR DAMAGE CLAIMS.

It is noted that in some districts, the investigation and payment of claims is being carried out by the same Officer, which is contrary to the procedure set out in para 2 of the Circular Instruction dated 18/10/1947.

DOs are warned that the procedure laid down must be strictly adhered to, and if the staff position makes this difficult or impossible, the circumstances are to be reported to this Headquarters.

To comply with the instruction referred to, it may be necessary to temporarily transfer POs from one sub District to another, and for ADOs to assist to a greater extent in the investigation and payment of claims in villages.

Sgd J.H. Jones DIRECTOR

Circular Instruction No 89 – 48/49 dated 28th March 1949

WAR DAMAGE CLAIMS – FORM “A” – DEPENDANTS.

Procedural adjustments only. Not required here.

Circular Instruction No 92 – 48/49 dated 13th May 1949

WAR DAMAGE CLAIMS.

Audit of War Damage Claims have revealed instances where War Damage Compensation has been made available for the loss of CATS and COCKATOOS. As from the date of receipt of this instruction, payment in respect of these items will not be made. Sgd J.H. Jones DIRECTOR

Circular Instruction No 124A dated 21st November 1950. Sgd by I.F. Champion acting DIRECTOR

WAR DAMAGE COMPENSATION.

Procedural adjustments concerning joint Commonwealth Savings Accounts. Not required here.

Circular Instruction No 128 dated 1st May 1951. Sgd by I.F. Champion acting DIRECTOR

WAR DAMAGE COMPENSATION – IMPLEMENTATION.

Procedural adjustments – re conformity with Commonwealth Savings Bank policy. Not required here.

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Sepik 5 Chapter 5

Policy: All Areas to be Under Control by 31st May 1955¹

On 2nd December 1950, Acting Director Ivan F. Champion advised all field staff :-

The Minister for External Territories had directed that all Uncontrolled Areas in the Territory are to be brought under control within the next five years. Referring to the Minister's statement, I wrote the following memorandum to the Government Secretary on the 28th September 1950 :-

"...I would like to point out and make it quite clear that the extension of Government influence may result in bloodshed. By proceeding very slowly, the risk of conflict with uncontrolled natives is lessened, but where extension is hastened, one must expect to come into conflict with uncontrolled natives. This is not a proposal that we should go slowly, but a warning that bloodshed may be expected."

His Honour, the Administrator, has directed that the Circular Instruction referring to firing on natives should be again brought to the notice of all field staff, and that officers must do everything within their powers to avoid bloodshed when contacting uncontrolled natives.²

The uneven state of development in different parts of the Territory created problems for the Minister's policy of uniform development... The areas most affected were those on the high remote headwaters of the Sepik River and the Central Highlands of Papua New Guinea where almost half of the population lived in an almost totally undeveloped situation in various stages of pacification described in Annual Reports as "Under Administration influence" or merely "penetrated by patrols."³

In 1950 the passing of the Restricted Areas Ordinance saw the Administration declaring vast areas of PNG as "restricted". To enter a restricted area, anyone other than authorized Administration personnel had to apply for a permit which would be granted only in exceptional circumstances and even then, with conditions to be met. A person found in a restricted area without a permit was guilty of an offense and could be gaoled for one year.

While the common words and phrases applied to Restricted Areas included the need for "pacification" and areas not yet "brought under control", the ordinance was designed to protect both outsiders potentially entering Restricted Areas, but also to protect the indigenous residents of such areas as they would inevitably regard strangers as enemies and in the process risk experiencing the firepower of modern weapons of which they knew little if anything.

DS&NA Circular Instruction No 147 of 3rd April 1952 is a ten-page document which states :-

POLICY The policy of the Government is that all restricted areas in the Territory are to be brought under complete control by the 31st May 1955.

OBJECT The object of this instruction is to inform members of the field staff, particularly junior officers, of the problems to be anticipated, the basic methods and procedures to be adopted by patrols...and the correct approach to the contact and pacification of hostile native tribes. It must always be remembered that contact with such groups is to be avoided if at all possible and the principles set forth in this instruction should be carefully adhered to at all times.

GENERAL INFORMATION The line of development of Native Administration commences with initial contact of the first patrol with the people – usually a band of armed warriors – who have no knowledge of our intentions or our laws, and, being ignorant of the effectiveness of firearms, are quite unafraid.

The spread of Administration influence stemming from this contact is developed through the activities of further patrols, the establishment of Outposts and the eventual pacification of the tribes to a stage where they are then fit to be prepared for the basic forms of local government.

In nearly every part of Papua New Guinea we are faced with the problem that there is no hereditary chieftainship and scarcely any framework upon which to hang parallel forms of introduced lawful controls and supporting authority.

There is a special skill and knowledge required in the task of peaceful penetration and consolidation of Government influence in Restricted Areas and the fabric of native customs, social organization and the sanctions which protect native society must be closely studied to ensure that no action is taken that will antagonize the sentiments of the people.

The tension of the first penetration into country belonging to a proud and warlike tribe can be relieved by the almost certain knowledge that within a common language group or even within a clan there are divisions and quarrels which make the sudden coordinated onslaught of the whole tribe very remote.

You will be dealing at first with a group...contact with this group is very important and worth considerable patience. At first do not attempt anything except the establishment of a friendly relationship. To do this it is not necessary to generate contempt and greed by over generosity and a reckless distribution of gifts...

Land for the base camp...should not be prematurely obtained, but when you feel the best site has been found for any permanent settlement, some form of temporary lease should be arranged preparatory to purchase.

There is nothing more difficult to overcome initially than complete evacuation by the people who may choose to hide in the fastness of the forest or hills; but patient waiting will eventually be rewarded. In the absence of the native people your conduct while on their land should be above reproach. Scouts will be watching your behavior. Small gifts can be left near houses or hunting paths.

Try and find out who is the fighting leader and contact him personally as soon as possible. A patrol entering an area for the first time cannot possibly assume any mandate to capture natives as hostages. Contact has to be voluntary.

Whenever a group has been contacted, they will be nervous. By every possible means and signs try to convince them that you do not want war. You should have an interpreter from the adjoining group. Once you have a gathering do not let them imagine you wish to lay hands upon them. The smallest things may cause alarm. If possible, try and get the people to sit down. Your own carriers should be seated to create an atmosphere of casual acceptance of the tribe's friendly intentions. If the people contacted can be induced to seat themselves, the possibility of them suddenly attacking you or running away without warning, will be telegraphed by their

initial movement. Sitting down is not an aggressive posture and is of great use on these occasions.

Remember that all your actions in a newly contacted area will set the tempo of the task ahead of you. If you rush about, show excitement of concern over tribal fighting you may cause alarm. Excitement creates more excitement.

In the beginning, you may be forced to exploit the divisions among the people because it is obvious that a very small patrol cannot cope with a united tribe. This exploitation should take the form of an initial consolidation of your relations with the most useful group and the temporary rejection of any attempt to contact all groups. You must have some group upon which to base your future efforts and as a temporary home base in which you can have confidence. Do not try to do too much. Any attempt by your hosts to have you join them in an attack on others should be resisted but it is legitimate to let it be known that an attack on them would be an attack on you.

In the months to come the position will change, but your gradual spread of the common law must be in fact gradual and you will be forced at first to ignore all sorts of illegalities even to the extent of being a bystander while tribes fight in your immediate vicinity.

THE USE OF ARMED FORCE As the administering authority it is part of our duty to introduce our system of government, our Christian concepts of life and our principles of humanity to the people of the Restricted Areas and to explain to them our plans for their future.

In every country in the world, including the most civilized and enlightened the ultimate enforcement of law and order to preserve the quiet enjoyment of living is based on some power of coercion and is defended by force when unlawfully attacked.

This principle is nowhere so lucidly nor more properly expressed than in Lugard's "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa" in which he writes –

"The maintenance of law and order depends in every country on the power of coercion by force, and is supported by force if collectively defied. The ultimate sanction for recourse to the use of armed force to compel obedience to the law is derived from the same source as the right to inflict a judicial penalty. It is inherent in the right to govern, and that right entails the obligation of protecting all sections of the community from outrage and violence. The Government which is unable or unwilling to do this ceases to be worthy of the name. Though, as Mr. Chamberlain finely said twenty-three years ago, the idea that colonies were paying dependencies had been replaced by the idea of kinship, and the sense of possession, and the sense of possession in the tropics has given place to that of obligation, for 'our rule could never be justified unless it added to the happiness and prosperity of the people. Nevertheless [he added] you cannot have omelets without breaking eggs, you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force.'"

To have the full support of this inherent right it is necessary for us to observe strict interpretation of the law which we uphold and whenever proper processes can be applied, we must have recourse to those methods which the law provides. The lawful use of force was described in the following terms by Sir Hubert Murray –

“Officers-in-command of Armed Constabulary are reminded that they can never, under any circumstances, be justified in firing upon natives by way of punishment. Without attempting an exhaustive statement of the law of homicide, it may be taken that there are three, and, so far as Officers of Constabulary are concerned, only three cases in which life may be lawfully taken:

1. In self defence, including the defence of police carriers and others. See Criminal Code sections 271, 273;
2. For the purpose of preventing the escape of a person who has been arrested or whom is sought to arrest, upon reasonable suspicion of having committed certain crimes (including murder and manslaughter). See Criminal Code, sections 256, 258;
3. In overcoming a forcible resistance to the execution of process or to an arrest. See Criminal Code sections 254, 255.

The sections referred to does not justify the taking of life except in cases of necessity – that is where there is no other way of protecting the lives of persons who are attacked, or of preventing the escape or of overcoming forcible resistance. The sections should be carefully studied.

It should be borne in mind that these sections lay down the conditions under which life may, in extreme circumstances, may be taken without incurring criminal liability; they should not be taken for guides as a matter of general practice, but should rather be regarded as danger signals marking the extreme limits of legality. Further, officers should never forget that it is the settled policy of the Government not to resort to force except in cases of necessity when all other means have failed, and that it by no means follows that because an officer may have a good defence on a charge of manslaughter that his conduct will, therefore escape censure.

Questions of the capture of fugitive offenders and of overcoming resistance to arrest arise less frequently than that of self defence, and officers make take it that they will not be justified in opening fire, by way of self defence unless they have been actually attacked – that is, unless arrows have been fired or spears thrown. Even then they will not be justified unless their lives or the lives of others are actually endangered. Threats of attack can rarely amount to a sufficient justification.”

In a national emergency, or when the law is defied, threatened or in temporary abeyance so that ordinary processes cannot be applied, the manner in which order and the law is restored must be dictated by the executive head.¹

Such situations sometimes occur in Restricted Areas when an officer in charge of a patrol in the course of his lawful occasions is confronted with the defiance or active hostility of a group of armed native warriors whose code of behavior does not in any way derive from the same traditions of authority and a knowledge of our law as those which stand behind the very presence of this patrol on their soil. It is essential, therefore, to remember that such situations, if properly considered and studied, may still be dealt with in terms of lawful and

¹ Such a situation was the decisions by Director Jones, when he was District Officer in charge of the Sepik in May 1942 concerning the need to eliminate renegade police in the Chambri Lakes; and the actions of PO Hodgekiss to arm former headhunters to achieve that. – L.W.Bragge - The Sepik at War 1942-45 [unpublished] – chapter 18

humane behavior. It is well to consider first the degree of imagined provocation or fear which may be dictating their actions of the natives. Pride and ignorance can also make natives aggressive.

There is always the other aspect of these situations that a certain section of opinion is inclined to pass over too lightly that is the duty that we owe to the Service and the officers of the next patrol.² If you are openly attacked without provocation it is your duty to defend yourself and your party without giving ground. An over-emphasis on humane methods may have the result of encouraging attacks on your party or the ambush of the men who come after you.

As a general rule a patrol should not withdraw from an area after an affray, but should remain in order to regain contact with the people and establish friendly relations; particularly if any casualties have been inflicted upon the natives. Circumstances may be such, however, that it is necessary to withdraw. Where this is so, the patrol should be followed by another as soon as possible, in order that the object of gaining and holding contact can be achieved.³

Officers in their own careful discretions will have to form appreciations and take such salutary action as is essential within the bounds of humanity to ensure that vicious unrelenting killers will not stage repeat performances which give them a mandate to terrorize other native groups and set about the murder of all persons who enter their country upon lawful occasions. Some of our officers have been killed, many native groups been massacred and prospectors and missionaries have been murdered by savage unprovoked attacks. It is part of our duty to establish the law as such for the protection of others as in the immediate defence of our persons and those who may be with us on patrol⁴. Resort to the use of firearms upon the occasion of a serious unprovoked attack is therefore fully justified but patrols are never staged for a punitive purpose and it is part of our duty never to initiate attack.

Because these reflections can hardly be indulged in the event of an emergency the matters referred to must be carefully considered before an officer sets out on patrol into a restricted area. Finally, remember that you will one day become their imposed leader. These impressionable people will look to you and those with you for guidance and they will copy your every example.

With consolidation of influence will come a devotion and enthusiasm born of the extreme impressionism of backward people. Officers must be very conscious of their supreme responsibility towards shaping the hearts and minds of these people. The natural tendency of men in such isolation and given such power over so many is for them to become despots. This

² Director Jones made this point in his scathing comments on the February 1952 report into the Swagup head hunting raid; the tactics the patrol employed and the attack on the patrol.

³ In the case of the war graves party by the Wogamush in 1946. District Officer Niall immediately mounted a patrol into the area. [See above]. But in the case of the attack on Doolan and Orwin's 1952 patrol at Swagup, District Commissioner Temperley instructed 'under no circumstances whatever is the Swagup area to be revisited. At the moment I am considering what steps should be taken to remedy this unsatisfactory situation.'

Mr. Doolan took the initiative and returned almost immediately to the Swagup and made peace with his attackers

⁴ The 1956 murder of four Mianmin traders by enemy Atbalmin tribesmen saw ADO Ron. Neville mount a patrol to Mianmin to warn them not to make a pay back raid; that the Administration would investigate and bring the offenders before the courts. The day Neville's patrol left the Mianmin area, a Mianmin war party left for Atbalmin and took their revenge. In response Neville mounted a patrol into Mianmin to investigate the murders and cannibalism of Atbalmin victims. Mianmin warriors were killed when both Mr. Neville's and Mr. Booth's patrols used the force necessary to overcome force used against them.

danger can only be rejected by such discipline and self-restraint over mind and body that is in itself an exercise for any man aspiring to leadership.

It is the proud tradition of our Service that for thirty years we have been mainly responsible for bringing peace, good order and progress to these people, and it should be the aim of every officer to uphold our reputation in this task of pacification.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:

#1 The demonstration of force: It will be appreciated that when natives attack an armed patrol they may do so without any realization of the consequences, therefore, in their own interest, natives should be taught to understand the effectiveness of firearms as quickly as possible in order to remove any impression they may have that the patrol party can be easily attacked. Demonstration of rifle fire should be staged with great care not to create excitement or panic and to avoid any chance of an accident.

Demonstrations of accuracy are to be avoided as natives always take accuracy with their own weapons for granted. The destructive power and range of rifles are the factors of greatest importance. After a pig is purchased it can be publically shot, and the track of the bullet will illustrate the penetrative power of firearms, particularly if the bullet can be recovered from the ground after passing through the pig. Similarly, destruction and penetration of war shields [which are normally resistant to arrows] can also be a good method of impressing the people.

#2. Officers must always remember that success tends to make us blind to mistakes. Because a single patrol had had good fortune to succeed in the attainment of its objectives, it is not necessarily true that the methods employed were correct. A flaw in the methods used may persist in another patrol with opposite results. Acute awareness of native reactions is essential and we need to develop a rapid appreciation of the personal feelings of primitive people. Our perceptions must never be broadcast by expressions or signs of any such awareness. Any sign that can be misunderstood as weakness or fear may have disastrous results.

#3. Every tribe is distinctive. In widely separate areas the reaction of warriors and their fighting methods will be vastly different. Some tribes are honest, bold and incapable of treachery, whilst others will stoop to the meanest deception and destroy sympathy by vicious brutality.

#4. Arrows, axes and spears delivered from close range or from ambush are very effective. Experience has also shown that they are invariably dirty and under tropical conditions dirt is as dangerous as poison. First Aid Kit should always be readily available.

#5 Vigilance should be tactful but never invite trouble by carelessness. Do not turn your back on armed warriors and be particularly alert if native women are suddenly withdrawn or the natives are decorated for war. It is advisable at first to erect a light line as the camp boundary and to trade outside this boundary. Camp sites should be carefully selected and the patrol party always so disposed in the presence of large numbers of natives that it cannot be suddenly overrun or surrounded by a superior force which, at close quarters, could overwhelm the patrol party by sheer weight of numbers. In such circumstances some police should be grouped unobtrusively on higher ground ready to disperse any sudden rush.

#6. Avoid making camp late in the day. Give your party plenty of daylight to build their huts, secure water, obtain fire wood and purchase and cook food.

#7. The weakness of a patrol faces lies in the relatively large number of unarmed carriers escorted by a few members of the armed native constabulary. This weakness is frequently apparent to hostile natives. For this reason and also because proper supervision is impossible, the detachment of small parties from the main patrol should be avoided and so far as is possible the whole of the personnel should be kept together under the control of the officer in charge.

#8. Never camp near a running stream because the noise of the water will interfere with the efficiency of sentries.

#9. Do not become involved in local quarrels and keep aloof from existing tribal fighting. Interference with tribal fighting should never take place until the country had been mapped, the social organization determined and the local situation and trends fully understood.

#10. Do not occupy an area to establish a base camp unless the Administration has the intention of preserving the continuity of such work and it is included in your orders. Never interfere in any dispute which will not be immediately consolidated by further regular patrols – to disturb the local balance of power is dangerous unless you are prepared to remain indefinitely as the counter balancing factor.

#11. Do not appoint group or village officials or temporary leaders until you know their real worth, usefulness and character. It should be remembered that many fight leaders of tribes lose their power and confidence when warfare ceases as a result of our efforts of pacification, and the people come under administrative control.

#12. If you require firewood, timber or bamboos, arrange for the local natives to bring in supplies or to accompany your working parties and ensure that suitable payment is made to the owners.

#13. As a precaution against fire, do not build grass huts too close together.

#14. Do not attempt to arrest or take native offenders into custody before you have made proper arrangements for their custody and to bring them before a court of competent jurisdiction.

#15. Remember that the wholesale apprehension of a tribe of people who have defied the law is impractical. By concentrating on the ringleaders and the inciters of unrest and unlawfulness, you can provide an example which will teach their followers. Very few aggressive tribes have genuine guilty knowledge. In their own fashion they are reacting within their own forms of custom and tradition. They have not yet learnt our law and have to be taught.

#16. Never make promises or threats that you are not capable of carrying out and avoid any form of trickery of deceit.

#17. Houses, hamlets or villages should not be entered at night for the purposes of making arrests as this creates panic and excitement, Reduces the chances of proper identification and in the event of organized defiance, produces conditions favourable to the

alleged offenders. Movements at night may be useful but any form of direct coercive action is to be avoided.

#18. Although the burning of houses as a form of group punishment has never been practiced by this Administration, it is important to see that natives sympathetic to the patrol do not indulge in such action [ostensibly on the patrol's behalf], for which the patrol may later be held responsible. Attention is drawn to the fact that it is strictly forbidden and will be regarded as arson within the meaning of the Criminal Code.

#19. Stores and Equipment. Stores should be both sufficient and suitable for the projected patrol. Lack of suitable stores can create serious difficulties and embarrass the patrol.

#20. If native foods are not likely to be available, if the area is not well known, or if the country is known to be sparsely populated, food stores will have to be carried; but remember the more food stores you take the more carriers you will need and each additional carrier will have to be fed.

#21. When it is known that locally grown food will be available en route, rely upon suitable trade goods to purchase the patrol's requirements. This is the most satisfying method. But remember that great care must be taken to carry trade goods suitable for the area.

22. When using obviously popular trade goods such as steel knives or plane blades, salt, shell or some other locally valuable item, see that the people do not leave themselves short of food for their own clan needs. This can easily happen when a patrol remains too long in the one camp site and the local natives, in their eagerness to obtain steel or some other trade, temporarily forget their own food requirements...

#31. Police, Carriers and Interpreters. Before a patrol sets out the members of the Native Constabulary should be carefully selected for their character, physical fitness and emotional stability – a frightened man with a loaded firearm can endanger the whole party.

#32. The issue of ammunition to members of the Native Constabulary should never be made without strict supervision and instructions given as to its eventual use.

#33. Care should also be selection of carriers. Do not employ as carriers people from any group who are likely to have a vendetta against the tribes in the area to be patrolled.

#34. Interpreters on engagement should receive the special attention of the officer in charge who is to see that they are well paid and so supervised that they do not become susceptible to outside influence. Officers in charge must be on the alert to the possibility that interpreters are being used by native personnel in the patrol party to make demands or give instructions that have not been authorized or that they are making errors and omissions during interpretation....

#36. Volunteers among contacted tribes who wish to accompany the patrol back to its base should be encouraged to do so with the object of training them as interpreters and witnesses to our good intentions. These men must always be escorted home as soon as they are ready to return.

#37. Mapping. Reference should be made to Circular Instruction DS.15-1-1 of 20th March 1952

It is particularly important to take note of the location of suitable places for airfields or areas that could be used for air-drops so that this information can be made use of in the future work of consolidation and the establishment of new posts and base camps. Some indication should be made on original maps as to the nature of the country – whether heavily timbered, grasslands, swamp, sparse or heavy population and officers should equip themselves with an Australian Military Forces Handbook “Explanatory notes to accompany a Geological Sketch map of Eastern New Guinea.

The patrol report in conjunction with the map should include information as to the location of tribal groups, altitude, drops, soil conditions, water supply and walking times for the information of future patrols. Survey instruments should be tested before departure and information obtained on the nearest known positions for use as control points on which the patrol map can be based.

District Commissioners, from their local knowledge and experience should give guidance to junior officers in accordance with the principles set out in their Instructions, and it is their duty to exercise supervision over the development of Restricted Areas. Above all, the traditions of the Service and their policy of the government must be maintained. If there is any one word which can describe our methods that word is ‘patience’. It may at times have to be relentless, but it will always be humane, without fear and above reproach.

Director, D.D.S.& N.A.

The Ambunti sub district annual report of 1960-61, dated 9th March 1961 noted that of its area of 7,400 square miles, 3,000 were still restricted. Of these 1,200 to 1,500 remained to be penetrated by patrols. These figures relate to one of the East Sepik’s then five sub districts. No figures are held to indicate the total restricted area for all of PNG for 1960-61, but it would have been many thousands of square miles.

In Sepik 3 Chapter 64 we saw that restricted areas legislation was used to prevent Bill Macgregor and others going back into Porgera to commence mining. In Sepik 4 Chapter 19 we saw that in 1954-55 Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development No Liability operated under a restricted areas permit, a condition of which was that they would be escorted by an experienced field officer of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs.

It was no longer acceptable, in exploring new areas to anticipate clashes in which locals would be killed. It was now necessary to have a clear transparent policy on the handling of “affray”. Access to unexplored country was now so regulated that random killings such as those committed by Ludwig Schmidt⁵ in 1936, ceased to happen.

The “by 1955” policy was that of Sir Percy Spender Minister for External Territories. Hasluck endorsed the policy :-

In Oct 1952, I had to assert again “The target set by my predecessor should be maintained. ...The task turned out to be bigger than originally estimated. In the five years to 1956 we were able to report that 142,912 square miles were “under Administration influence”, 10,692 square miles were under partial influence and 9,892 square miles were “penetrated by

⁵ See Sepik 2 Chapter 47

patrols". In the course of this work contact had been made with 400,000 people in "new" areas totaling about 65,000 square miles. For the sake of comparison, the area of the State of Victoria is 87,884 square miles...three quarters of their size of that State over terrain twice as high and rainfall 10 times as heavy...swamps, rivers...where inhabitants lived in a condition of almost constant belligerency...⁴

Mr. Hasluck, quoted a conversation of the then retiring Governor General Sir William Slim in 1962 *Your young chaps in New Guinea have gone out where I would never have gone without a battalion and they have done on their own by sheer force of character what I could only have done with troops. I don't think there has been anything like it in the modern world*

Mr. Hasluck continued :- What moved me was his particular references to our patrol officers. When every word of criticism has been spoken and other defects of our Administration have been discussed, I stand in amazement, close to reverence at what has been done, to my personal knowledge, in the ten years from 1952 to 1962 by young Australian Patrol Officers and district officers in areas of first contact. There were a few mistakes and a few weak brothers, but the achievement, with the resources available, revealed a quality of character and manhood that should make our nation mightily proud that these fellows were Australians.⁵

Ian Downs opinion on the "by 1955" policy was similar to that of Ivan Champion :-

The minimum period for an uncontacted pre-literate people to discard obligations of vendetta, to accept European concepts of law and co-operate in improvements for their social and economic welfare, would under ideal circumstances, be hardly less than 6 years. It should be self-evident to achieve this by 1954 (1955?) was not realistic in terms of the staff, money and resources available...Attempts to accelerate the process of preparation for a program of modernization could endanger the prospects of permanent success. The task had to be done thoroughly, slowly and with care. A mass program of penetration, intervention and control by force would be resisted

There was no way of measuring or predicting the rate of response of primitive people to Administration contact except that of previous experience in similar situations. For example: Goilala in central Papua, Hagen and Goroka [formerly Benabena] Sub Districts in the New Guinea Highlands, the Adelbert Region of Madang, the Otibanda Sub-district of Morobe, and the Maprik, May River and Telefomin areas of the Sepik District all took much longer than six years to come under full Administration control.⁶

This segment of PNG history was closed out by an Administration Press release⁷ :-

TERRITORY OF PAPUA & NEW GUINEA
PRESS RELEASE.
Number 539
PACIFICATION OF RESTRICTED AREAS

25th March, 1971

On 11th March 1971, a notice appeared in the Government Gazette stating that the last two restricted areas in Papua and New Guinea had been de-restricted. This marks the end of a phase in the Development of Papua and New Guinea. The following information was prepared by the Division of District Administration in the Department of the Administrator and was issued by the Acting First Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Administrator Mr. Keith Dyer.

NEW GUINEA.

In the immediate post-war years of 1946-7, the area of 93,000 square miles made up the eight Districts of New Guinea. The Central Highlands was formed from parts of the Sepik, Morobe and Madang Districts [the other four Districts were the New Guinea Islands Districts]. Primarily the main work during the period to 30th June 1949 was to re-establish the Administration and repair the ravages of war. The area shown as under control in 1941 was 39,790 square miles, and at 30th June 1949 it was shown as 56,682; the largest area of uncontrolled country being in the Central Highlands, Sepik and Morobe Districts.

PAPUA.

In the immediate post war years, the Territory of Papua was divided into nine divisions for its area of 90,540 square miles. 8,530 square miles was classed as uncontrolled in 1950. The Central Highlands Division was established in 1946 being made up of parts of the old Western and Gulf Divisions plus all of the Papuan Central Highlands. There was no penetration of the Central Highlands until 1947 when the Lake Kutubu Patrol Post was re-established and patrolling of the area commenced. The Central Highlands [of Papua] had an area of 11,930 square miles. Later the number of Divisions was reduced to the present six and re-named Districts [Northern or Oro, Milne Bay, Central, Gulf, Western and Southern Highlands].

In 1950 Legislation was brought down to control admission into certain areas. (Restricted Areas Ordinance 1950). This gave the Administration power, by proclamation in the Government Gazette, to declare an area which was not fully, or had not yet come, under the control of the Administration, This actually meant that no person except –

- a. Natives.
- b. Officers of the Administration; or,
- c. A person holding a permit under this Ordinance could enter areas proclaimed or restricted.

By controlling entry to restricted areas, the Administration was able to control the rate and extent of contact with the primitive people and so ensure that the rate of development was adequate to the circumstances prevailing and ensure peaceful progress by the people.

As areas were penetrated, continual peaceful patrols brought law and order to the areas classed as restricted so were these areas de-restricted. In 1953 two Patrol Officers were killed while on patrol in the Telefomin area, and their murderers were apprehended. Patrol activity was stepped up in the area and in a short period of time the area was classified as being under control.

In the Papuan Territory steady progress was made to bring areas under control; in 1953 the restricted areas were 8,000 square miles...in 1963 – 2,286 square miles and in 1964 the whole of Papua was classified as being under Administration control... In the Territory of New Guinea the same steady progress was maintained; In 1953 the restricted area was 13,800 square miles...this was reduced to 7,750 square miles...by 1958 and further reduced to 4,108 square miles...in 1963...967 square miles in 1965, 820 square miles in 1967 and finally to 670 square miles in 1968.

The last two restricted areas 480 square miles in the Western Highlands and 190 square miles in the West Sepik...The two areas just de-restricted are inhabited by the semi-nomadic Hewa and Mianmin people respectively.

MIANMIN AREA:

The Mianmin people live in very rough mountainous country around the Headwaters of the May River and the ranges back towards Telefomin [and the headwaters of the August River.]⁸ Initially it was thought that this group consisted of five sub tribes but later patrols showed there were a further

three sub tribes. These groups occupy separate areas and have their own way except when attacked and then some may combine together to repel their attackers.

European contact was first made with the Mianmin area with some factions of these tribes by Charles Karius and Ivan Champion in their patrol which crossed New Guinea. Contact was next made in 1938 when John Black and James Taylor during their Hagen-Sepik patrol...during which they were attacked. The next reported contact with the Mianmin when two patrols set out from Telefomin and visited fringes of their area. .. Patrols in 1953 and 1955 reported wary but friendly contact...which was consolidated in 1957.

In 1957 there was a report of a massacre of Atbalmin people who were killed and eaten by the Mianmin...A patrol visited the area...apprehending the instigator and many of his accomplices...The patrol found that the Mianmin people were feared by their neighbours...As continued friendly relations were established, part of the area was de-restricted in 1968. A new pocket of people was contacted in 1965 in the western sector and friendly contacts established...and further consolidated by later patrols. This was the last remaining 190 square miles which remained restricted until this year

HEWA AREA.

The Hewa tribal group live in an area extending from the Strickland Gorge and east along the Lagaip River for a distance of 50 miles, to the country immediately north of the Porgera valley. First contact was made in 1938 by the Hagen-Sepik patrol. Good contact was made in 1961 when a patrol officer reported that they were more interested in the patrol than hostile but were very shy. Interpretation was difficult but guides were supplied and friendly contact made...

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The total uncontrolled areas in 1946 represented 34% (or 62,740 square miles) of the total area of the joint territories. The population found in this area is over 50% of the total population of the territories, or over 1,000,000 people.

In the 25 years since World War II all this area has been brought under control. This reflects great credit on the officers of DDA, who with their dedication to duty, perseverance and patience, often in the face of extreme danger and under adverse conditions, have advanced the people from a primitive warlike existence to a state of peaceful co-existence with an awareness of law and order ...

End Notes Chapter 5

¹ Hasluck P 1976 P78 The 1955 target was set by Sir Percy Spender [then] Minister for External Affairs.

² DS 1-1-33 2nd December 1950 Circular Memorandum: Extension of Administration to uncontrolled areas.

³ Downs I. 1970 . P 98

⁴ Hasluck P 1976 P78/9

⁵ Hasluck P 1976 P 83

⁶ Downs I. 1970 . P 126

⁷ Bragge reference notes Vol 8 item 267.

⁸ Bragge note.

Sepik 5 Chapter 6 Policy for the Handling of Cargo Cults, Vailala Madness and Other

On the 8th January 1947, less than a year after the return of civil administration to the Sepik District after the war, the DS&NA found it necessary to issue the following instruction :-
CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION No. 37 46/67

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

CULTS: CARGO CULT – VAILALA MADNESS AND OTHER

Reports received during the last twelve months show that minor manifestations of the so-called “Cargo Cult” have appeared in several districts, and, as a result of the war, further outbreaks can be expected from time to time until the underlying cause is removed.

To enable all members of the field staff to have a proper appreciation of the position, the following, which is based on the generally accepted origin of these cults, is for general information, and District Officers will ensure that action is taken on every suitable occasion, particularly during patrols, for officers to inform and advise the natives in regard to the matters specifically referred to in paragraphs 10 and 15 hereunder :-

#2. Under Australian rule, the natives of PAPUA and NEW GUINEA have received comparatively good treatment and while it is possible that they have no great love for the white man, they are satisfied with their lot. They have grown thoroughly used to the European as part of NEW GUINEA life and tend to identify themselves with him. This, together with the fact that officers trained in Native Affairs were available to the Army during the war is the reason why we had such a measure of loyal support even behind enemy lines.

#3. This loyalty, however, had to some extent, to be regarded as unstable, as natives are readily suggestible and liable to think and act en-masse.

#4. Natives, even people who have been under Mission influence for a long time and natives with long periods of association with white man and the indenture system, are keenly susceptible to magico-religious influences and can be led easily into a condition of fear or faith according to the magic believed to be in operation. It may be said that practically all native life in NEW GUINEA is permeated with and influenced by magic, and magico-religious practices over a wide range and variety of activities.

#5. Not all native magical teachings and practices are bad, but a number are and the one that has perturbed the Government of the Territories most is that generally known as “Vailala Madness” or “Cargo Cult.” Pre-war there were many instances of these cults in practically all districts in NEW GUINEA and PAPUA. Though the tribes varied widely in colour, language and social customs, the basic beliefs in each instance were the same, viz. that a spirit of a departed native had re-appeared on earth and met a native or natives, informing them that ships and planes, full of food, clothing and good things of life had been sent by him and that they had been intercepted and stolen by the European who used them for his own benefit; that all our modern inventions and luxuries were not the fruit of the white man’s labour but were part of this magic cargo which had been stolen.

#6. During the last few years the preaching of this Cult has appeared in several districts in TNG and in Papua – in the GOILALA area, LAKEKAMU Districts of Papua, and in District of HUON, BENA and SEPIK in TNG. One of the most serious implications occurred in the MADANG District,

BAGASIN area, late in 1944¹. In that case a native called GOMAIP drilled hundreds of natives, whom he called “Soldiers”, and armed large numbers of them with grenades. GOMAIP lectured the natives in detail, pointing out that the Australians were stealing their ground and it was his job to see that they were chased out of MADANG. Other points brought forward by GOMAIP were: -

- a/ Their present skin was not their real skin but only a singlet and would be shed in the near future. Their real skin would then show and it would be white.
- b/ He was the new King and anyone disobeying his orders would be dealt with.
- c/ Should any white troops come they would soon be dispatched by his troops with their hand grenades.

These lectures were invariably followed by distorted religious talks and the singing of hymns. Of course, GOMAIP was rounded up and his “Army” dispersed.

#7. The late F.E. Williams, who was the Government Anthropologist, PAPUA, made a thorough study of the “Vailala Madness” and came to the conclusion that the main cause was ill-digested Christianity, but that there were other contributing causes, the foremost being that in the minds of many of the natives is an idea that the Europeans are cheating them. The natives have no standards to judge us and believe that all men outside one’s own clan extract maximum from all others. That is what he does himself when he is in power.

#8. The idea that perhaps he is being cheated is due to his own ignorance. Being intelligent but uneducated he draws wrong conclusions.

#9. Therefore we have three main causes originating these Cults.

- a/ Native superstition and belief in magic.
- b/ Ill digested Christianity.
- c/ Native belief that he is being cheated and despoiled.

#10. Experience has shown that coercive action to stamp out the beliefs is wrong in principle and that the only effective means of dealing with the matter is by wide and extensive education. This education will take the form of what may be called “Education in Citizenship”. In simple terms the native had to be taught his social and economic status in relation to other people and be assured of his role in NEW GUINEA – particularly the NEW GUINEA of the future. His greatest assets, land ownership and independence of economic conditions for his food supply will be brought out and a correct sense of economic values instilled by explaining the history and source of our manufactured goods and equipment.

#11. The second line of approach to control the movements will be for the civil administration is to keep a strict control over firearms and ammunition, of every description, and a third, that the native, being accustomed to the rule of the white man, are, more or less easy to control.

#12. In order to appreciate the ultimate effects of the present war on the native and his beliefs and practices, the following factors must be taken into account:

¹ See Sepik Book 3 – *The Sepik at War* - Chapter 53 Captain Neptune Blood’s BAGASIN patrols of Oct-Nov ‘44, with a full description of the GOMAIP cult movement and Capt. Blood’s efforts to defuse it.

a/ Seeing and feeling the weight of the Allied War Effort; weighing the immense quantities of stores, materials, shipping and aircraft;

b/ Suffering the destruction of his property and being the recipient of decimating diseases during the war period;

c/ Previously being dissuaded from warfare and then being made part of the Australian war machine and actively participating in fighting.

#13. If these factors could be viewed broadly by the native, the resulting picture would be one of confusion and real harm done, but the individual's contact with the war has been limited to one or some of the above aspects. The effect that any given set of circumstances produces is the most powerful influence on the native mind and, unless carefully explained, the cause, the origin, is quite beyond him.

#14, the sum of the mounting impression must one day crystallize [unless corrected by education in the meantime] and it is not improbable that the final result will be an intense dislike for the European, coupled with a desire to get rid of him. It is here that we have a very fertile breeding ground for a cult of "Vailala Madness."

#15. The problem is now for the Administration to eradicate these various cults with a broad extended education program to bring to the native a proper sense of citizenship and at the same time make him aware of his position in the economic scheme of things.

#16. This is one more task placed upon the shoulders of the District Officer and members of the field staff, but I am confident that every officer will give his very best towards this very important part of the native's education.

NOTE: Reports by other anthropologists who have made a study of these cults will be supplied to District Officers in due course - it will be noted that Keesing, in particular, does not agree that religion is the main cause.

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ATTACHMENT TO C.I. 37 of 1946/47

The following notes were prepared by Dr. Ian Hogbin for a lecture which forms part of the orientation course for patrol officers attending the Australian School of Pacific Administration [ASOPA] in Sydney

RECENT RELIGIOUS CULTS.

These are usually referred to either as Cargo Cults or as the Vailala Madness, from the earlier full account of such a cult [F.E. Williams, *Vailala Madness*, Papuan Government Anthropological Reports], that of the people of the Vailala River in Papua.

Outbreaks have also occurred in Bougainville, in Wape [Aitape], in Bagasin [Madang], in Karkar Island, in the West Nakanai area of New Britain and at various other places; Kokopo in New Britain, the Duke of York Islands and Namatanai in New Ireland.

Details vary, but the fundamentals of the cult are everywhere the same. They often begin with someone of outstanding influence in the community seeing visions. He dreams that spirits of the ancestors have visited him and said that all the cargo that comes for the white man in ships [or in the

interior, in planes] is really intended for the natives. The ancestors propose to intercept the cargo in future and divert it to its proper owners.

There is nothing unusual about attention being given to visions and dreams, which are always regarded as of considerable significance to the person concerned. But when an important man dreams, he can, if he has sufficient personality, convince the people that his dream is of general significance.

The people become convinced that the ancestors are going to intervene, and they set about building small wharves for the cargo ships, or airstrips for the planes, usually certain that much food will soon arrive, they abandon work on their gardens, though the Bagasin outbreak was in this respect an exception; the leaders persuaded the people to plant larger gardens to be able to buy the cargo from the ancestors.

The leader sets himself up as a sort of a native district officer. He takes his meals at a table with a white table cloth and is waited on by personal servants. As a rule he usually trains what he calls his police force. Sometimes, too, a head tax is levied.

Religious ceremonies are carried out, usually in the traditional form, but sometimes in imitation of Christian services.

There may or may not be an active hostility to Europeans. The Nakanai natives captured a missionary, stripped and bound him and “smoked him like copra”. Elsewhere there have been armed attacks on Patrol Officers and police.

It has been a practice in the past to arrest the ring leaders and sentence them to a term of imprisonment. This had no ultimate effect, however, as the outbreak has spread somewhere else.

What is the reason for these Cargo Cults?

The natives become aware of the gap between themselves and us, in the amount of money they possess and in technical equipment. This gap they naturally wish to bridge. But they can take no practical steps to build the bridge – they have no general education and feel they are deliberately kept in ignorance by the Europeans, who, as an individual is no wiser or intelligent than they are. They have no prospect of earning money and no appreciation of our economic system. [Many Europeans regard it as wrong for natives to know that previous to the outbreak of war there were thousands of unemployed Australians in a state of semi-starvation.]

We know already from lectures on Religion what happens when people want something badly and cannot secure it by any human means – they fall back on the supernatural and carry out ceremonies to achieve it. This gives them an inner satisfaction that there is a brighter future ahead.

In the areas where the natives have a little more knowledge of the white man’s world, as at Kokopo, the Duke of York Islands and Namatanai [and Florida in the Solomons] the outbreak takes a more rational turn. The people endeavor to set up co-operative stores and a “native parliament”. In these areas, too, the ring-leaders have been imprisoned.

The solution to the problem is to take positive steps to bridge the gap – the natives must be educated, and as it is the policy of the Australian Government to encourage native development, patrol officers must consult with them and explain the advantages of what is being done.

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CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION No. 50 46/47 dated 26th June 1947.

NATIVE AGITATION AND SOCIAL UNREST.

A particular manifestation of native agitation and social unrest in the cargo cults has been the subject of a Departmental directive [C.I. 37- 46/7 of 8th January 1947 – above]. These movements are by no means particular to Papua New Guinea, but have been reported among all races and at all times...

In this Territory class differences coincide with an abrupt racial cleavage. These class differences may give rise to social and political differentiation and mal-adjustment.

The inferior class may feel that it has bogged down into a morass of disadvantage and despair. When the class or section of the community in the inferior position vis-a-vis the privileged class – in this Territory the natives as opposed to a racial group predominantly comprising Europeans, with strong social, political and cultural privileges and prejudices – feels itself in unassailable bondage of a type that material action cannot assault, they have recourse to the super-natural and to magic. The mystic demagogue comes into his own – but only because the society he influences is ripe for his leadership – ripe for any panacea.

The punishment of such leaders does not remove the cause of these subversive cults, but merely drives them underground. One must go deeper to find the cause and attempt to locate and modify the social, economic and political mal-adjustments at the real source and replace it with revived hope by indicating a new road to progress and the desired advantages.

Agitation and social unrest may manifest itself in much less exotic forms but usually some form of direct action occurs without any super-natural implications. The Police Strike in Rabaul of 1929 is one example. The representations of the Manus people to be placed under the suzerainty of the United States this year is another [the US post war base on Manus].

Post war British colonial policy...proposes to strengthen Empire solidarity by adopting radical changes...of an acceleration of progress in relation to...welfare and development. The British have learnt the hard way [concerning] the close relationship between a subject people's political, economic and social advancement. The development of one element at the expense of others ...

The practical implementation of such a policy in this Territory...in simple terms:

1. Native administration must be directed towards giving village communities a developmental bias:
 - a. Introduction, development and marketing of cash crops on an individual and communal basis.
 - b. Introduction of better subsistence crops and animal husbandry (poultry, pigs and cattle)
 - c. Fishing and marketing of dried, salted and smoked fish.
 - d. Business enterprises:
 1. The hire of native owned boats and motor vehicles.
 2. Saw milling projects, rice mills etc.
 3. Share farming on European estates
 - e. Producer and consumer co-operatives.
 - f. Construction of houses of more durable materials and of better design – windows are desirable for health and lighting reasons.
 - g. Introduction of simple furniture – beds, tables, stools and forms.
 - h. Introduction of kitchen annexes to houses after the Malay custom.
 - i. Better personal hygiene and washing.
 - j. Better foods, better preparation of food and cleaner customs of eating.

- k. Better village sanitation.
 - l. Introduction of sewing machines, bicycles, gardening tools, carpentry tools, cross cut and pit saws.
 - m. The use of the trade stores as an agent of raising the standard of living should not be lost sight of.
2. The provision of machinery for effective local government:
 - a. Village Councils and Treasuries.
 - b. Village Courts.
 3. Sound inter-racial relations based on:
 - a. Inculcation of the notion of mutuality and inter-dependence of interest of Native and European.
 - b. Mutual respect of each race for the other's background and traditions.
 - c. The strict adoption of an advisory role by administration officers in their dealings with native authorities.
 - d. The provision of opportunities for informal discussion between natives and European officers.
 4. Such schools as the resources permit, as can be provided for the rising generation, will keep the adult's faith in us.

The order in which these activities are arranged is intended to place the emphasis on giving the ordinary villager a constructive and development bias in mastering and improving the world he lives in and to play an active role himself, in his own particular sphere, in doing so.

In fostering this bias the routine activities of the native administrative work should not be allowed to overshadow this vital aspect of the field officer's activities.

Agitation and social unrest cannot become unhealthy in an environment of development and achievement even though the seductive goal of an ultimate European standard of living is a long way off.

Throughout the territory there have been repercussions through careless explanation by Europeans and others of the ideal of ultimate self-government for the indigenes. A garbled account of self-government to the people who have not yet mastered their own local government is manifestly absurd [but] also disturbing. The native people with very few exceptions, are unable to appreciate the long-term nature of this aim of policy and keep it in the proper perspective.

Administrative officers are directed to equate their talks to natives to reality. Discussions about current events are valuable but matters that will not be of particular interest to them for many years should certainly not be overstressed. At this stage, on the higher sphere of political relations, native people need to know how each race depends on the other and the world economy makes all nations inter-dependent.

Writer's Note: The previous two paragraphs are in excellent indicator of the speed with which change was perceived to be happening in mid-1947. If we could have asked Director Jones to define "Reality" in the context of second para, he would almost certainly have indicated a time at least a century in the future...so far in the future as to be of no concern to us.

However, less than 25 years after the C.I. 50 directive was issued, the outlook was very different. In the early 1970's, the Director's office instructed field staff that political education, particularly concerning Self-Government, was to be a central tenet of our every communication with the native communities.

The notion of common citizenship of the Territory, irrespective of race, should be stressed.

Natives should be reminded that although Europeans earn relatively larger salaries, they have developed special skills that have meant long and expensive years of education and training. They should be told that as landed proprietors they [i.e. the indigenes] enjoy an advantage that many Europeans do not. Higher standards of living are costly and may not leave much out of earnings when current expenses are met for provision for sickness, old age and the education of children.

Dissatisfied people should be tactfully asked to stop and ask themselves just why the European – a member of an alien race with overwhelming weight of numbers and material resources [against him?] – should bother to safeguard native land rights and attempt to lift them as a people to a way of life in closer conformity with the Europeans, if those motives were entirely bad.

The active, enlightened, approachable and sympathetic administrative officer who keeps in touch with his people; tells them of the world that he knows; and keeps their thoughts and interest channeled on healthy development projects equated to their capacities, resources and needs and directed towards their own welfare and development; will have little unrest to disturb the tranquility of his district.

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Writers Note: As a conclusion to this chapter, it is suggested that the overall advice and instruction given be reviewed in the broader context of the *Waves of Change* which is the theme of Sepik Book 4. These instructions provided to junior, inexperienced Australian officers of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs in the immediate post-war period were clear, insightful and very helpful in dealing with a major problem of the day.

However, just one and a half decades later, the first indigenous DDS&NA officers might read the same instructions as xenophobic...white men instructing other white men about the quaint customs and beliefs of the “natives”, among whose numbers the new indigenous officers would inevitably see themselves.

A second conclusion is that there is a theme running through the instructions, suggesting that cargo cult and “Vailala madness” and related phenomena are problems that can be fixed by applying correct and appropriate strategies.

Viewed from a 21st century perspective, it is suggested that a better approach would be to regard these issues - along with sorcery - not as problems that are possible to correct, but rather as naturally evolving religious beliefs. These religious beliefs can be expected to endure until information, education and world experience across a broad spectrum either discounts, modifies or further sustains them. Such beliefs will not change quickly, and in all probability, not in any planned or pre-ordained direction.

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Sepik 5 Chapter 7

The Repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance 1951, and Related Issues

The Native Woman's Protection Ordinance of 1951 applied throughout PNG, not just the Sepik. The debate on the repeal of the 1951 legislation in June 1962 also involved a number of people who feature earlier in this story as well as in **Sepik 2 – The Waves of Change** and **Sepik 3 – The Sepik at War**, including Horrie Niall, J.K. McCarthy, Mrs Bates, widow of Charles Bates, and Bonjui of Korogo.

The circumstances of the introduction of the Ordinance involved a 1951 visit to Kavieng in New Ireland by the then Honourable Minister for Territories Mr. Spender and some complaints he received about general behavior there. To put this into context, the Commonwealth of Australia, of which Mr Spender was a minister, still adhered to the White Australia policy, a policy that remained in force until 1973. As such, the Native Women's Protection Ordinance should be seen as a reflection of Australian values of 1950s vintage rather than PNG values; this point was made by Mason during the debate.

There is no known record of the complaints Mr Spender received, but we may get some idea from the Pacific Islands Monthly NEW IRELAND NOTES of December 1949.

No wonder Errol Flynn admired a Kavieng "meri" – they can wear a semi-transparent "Mother Hubbard" with all the sex appeal as the Hanuabadan¹ sways her grass skirt. Meet them anywhere on bush tracks in New Guinea and the "meris" scurry off into the bush in sheer fright. But not the New Ireland belles; they say "Good day Master" as they pass you on the road and give a suitable smile. ²

Sepik 2 – **The Winds of Change** Chapter 4 examines the problem of depopulation in New Ireland in German times through the recruitment of New Ireland girls for plantations throughout Kaiser Wilhelmsland and also Samoa; large numbers of them spent their reproductive years away from New Ireland usually providing sexual services to plantation managers and personnel.

As the only part of the Old Protectorate where women could be persuaded to sign indentures, New Ireland was the colonists' principle source of cheap female labourers, household servants and concubines. In the three years 1905 to 1907, recruiters shipped 475 women from New Ireland for employment on the Gazelle Peninsular and Madang and a further 150 to Samoa.³

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The repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance 1951

There were actually four Native Women's Protection Ordinances 1951, 1954, 1954(1) and 1957. The key wording in the legislation was :-

Section 3 (1) Subject to this section, but not withstanding anything contained in any other law of the Territory, a female native shall not reside or be in or upon any premises of the curtilage of any premises occupied by a person other than a native between the hours of six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning unless the occupier of the premises had obtained the prior written consent of the District Commissioner for the district in which the premises is situated.

(2) A married female native may reside or be in or on the premises or curtilage of the premises occupied by a person other than a native between the hours referred to in the last preceding sub section if:-

1. She is accompanied by her husband; or
2. The premises are those normally occupied by the female native and her husband

A person causing or permitting a female native to reside or be in or upon any premises or the curtilage of any premises; in contravention of this section shall be guilty of an offense:

PENALTY: One hundred pounds or imprisonment for six months.

Section 4 (1) The Administrator may, by notice in the Gazette, prohibit all persons other than natives from entering or being in a Native Village, or an area occupied solely by natives, specified in the notice between the hours of nine o'clock in the evening and six o'clock in the morning, except with the consent in writing of the District Officer...[There are another four similar subsections with penalty – as above]

**The 1962 debate extracts from Hansard -
The second reading of the repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance.⁴**

Mr. SLAUGHTER Recently in my electorate there was a party given by a well-known identity, to which all the Administration and Missionary people, together with all the people of mixed race and the native male community of the area were invited. During the course of this particular gathering at which there were 70 or 80 people (it was in the form of a garden party) a couple of suitably dressed native women, who were unescorted by their fathers, happened to come along. Of course, the predicament was that the gentleman giving the party could not very well throw them out, and subsequently he was brought before the court and fined for having these women on the premises

Another account...was regarding some girls returning from school in Australia who had to pass overnight in Port Moresby before they could get a connection by plane to the other side [New Guinea]. Some missionaries in town found it incumbent upon them to put them up, and in fact, these missionaries were breaking the law too.

I feel that this ordinance probably served a very good purpose in the past...but now is causing discrimination...I feel that parental control in this country is probably as great if not greater than in...Australia, England or America. I support the bill.

THE BISHOP OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA Mr. President. Is it in order for me to propose that the debate be adjourned?

THE PRESIDENT May I suggest Bishop Strong that at this stage I do not want to advise an adjournment as I would like to hear some more views...

THE BISHOP OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA May I give the reason for my proposal as I know there is one native member who wishes to speak on this proposal.

THE PRESIDENT That has already been provided for and I hope some more native members will speak before we adjourn the debate.

REV J. McGHEE ... I oppose the repeal... The law is certainly discriminatory, but I am of the opinion that the time for complete abolition of discrimination is not yet present... What Mr Slaughter said about parents caring for their children in some parts of the Territory, but I know of other cases where the parents could not care less...

MR. NIALL ...this is probably the first of the Bills which will do away with any form of discrimination...I do hope...it will go through in this session...The Ordinance as it stands at present more or less sets a premium on breaking the law within certain hours. It is quite open at present for a non-native to enter a village from 6am to 6pm, but not in the hours he must leave the village or the native woman must leave the house. It has always been a stupid ordinance...I have heard members speak many times in this Chamber about the aims of a multi-racial society we will never get a multi-racial society whilst this ordinance remains.

MR McCARTHY ...As Mr. Niall indicated, there is an essence of absurdity in the present law...the hours of prohibition presumed that a physiological change must come in the habits or thoughts of a non-native resident in the hours between dusk and dawn, but the result is that law supposedly gives protection to native females during the hours of darkness. Protective legislation by its very nature must be necessarily discriminatory; it must also contain a patronizing factor in itself...By stating that certain groups require special measures it implies that they are inferior...protective or discriminatory laws should be repealed the moment they appear patronizing to the people they purport to protect.

Twenty three Native Local Government Councils and some 13 other groups all representative of the native people were approached and the result was that only 11 of the 36 groups disapproved...I therefore will have pleasure in supporting it.

MR. FOLDI ...if the ordinance remains on the Statute Books for Heaven's sake let us change the name of it and not appear before the world as if we are a collection of Huns who require a law to prevent the violation of the young women of this Territory.

MR. TOBAINING I oppose the repeal because I think the time is not ready for it yet.

MR. STUNTZ I support the bill...there have been advances to see equality between the races...I consider in any society such as this there must be integration or segregation; there can be no half way measures...some fear the consequences of the repeal...I think their fears are probably groundless ...There should be – to use the words that Mr Watkins used in his second reading speech – no debauching of native women... there are plenty of existing laws that apply to all races...I would also like to point out that Papuan men are just as capable of debauching their own women or women of other groups within the Territory as men of other races... We must not overlook the people of mixed race...The law applies equally to them as it does to Europeans and Asiatics. It is often the case that a person of mixed race in making his choice of a partner, either owing to his preference or to his circumstances, must quite naturally choose that partner from the native people.

THE BISHOP OF NEW GUINEA. I oppose the bill...I would regret very much if the Ordinance was repealed and no longer exists in any form...I believe and indeed I am certain that the repeal of this ordinance will be morally detrimental to this country.

It is all very well for certain speakers to say that...it will not lead to increasing debauchery or make debauchery easier...The Administration is not a free agent it has to dance to the band wagon of the United Nations and the tune of the band wagon at present is abolish discrimination...but as always happens when reform movements get busy they never know when to stop. They go from one extreme to another and the other and what is beneficial is swept away with that which is detrimental...I maintain it is the duty of the Administration to protect its citizens from evils and dangers that may beset them...I think it is a deplorable thing that the Administration is going to deny them that right this is theirs... It is discrimination not against natives but against a certain type of low Europeans.

Interjection: *Hear Hear*

...I think there is little doubt that it will open the floodgates of abuse – of moral and degrading abuses...the kind that exists in large centres in south-east Asia...Mr President I oppose the motion.

MISS WEDEGA ...every country needs to have good laws to become a good nation... Australia has brought so many good things to this country, education, medical help and the Christian faith. ..But wrong things have also come...drink, the wrong kind of pictures...the wrong ways of behaving and many of us feel worried about these things.

Sir, I have discussed the Ordinance in question with many women of my race and without exception we feel that it should not be repealed. The girls of our country are ignorant and immature and they still need protection...I want it to stay as it is for a little longer.

MR. DOWNS... it was not my intention to enter this debate until I heard His Lordship mention flood gates of debauchery. I think...

THE BISHOP OF NEW GUINEA Sir, on a point of order. I did not say “Flood Gates of debauchery” I used the term “Floodgates of abuse”.

MR. DOWNS – Did you use the word “debauchery?”

THE BISHOP OF NEW GUINEA I quoted the word “debauchery” which was used by a speaker yesterday. I did not use it myself.

MR. DOWNS (continuing) ... The Bill is not realistic as the law stands... It forbids all association of non-native males with Papuan or New Guinean females between sunset and sunrise, but apparently approves of it between sunrise and sunset. If there are people who have an evil intent, those people could quite easily get around this type of legislation... It seems to me there is an assumption of evil here by certain people who find evil in everything, and I think this is insulting to the average person in this country... making people feel self-conscious about a matter of which we should not be self-conscious...

MRS BATES Mr. President this is not only a case of “*we girls must stick together*” in a predominantly male assemble. ... It suddenly struck me that the lifting of restrictions on liquor for the indigenes is likely to come about in the near future ...the repeal of this Ordinance in conjunction with the right to drink and you must surely see what I am getting at...very rightly you will say that this is conjecture...you have heard the voice of these women’s representatives..they do not feel ready for this.

MR JUBILEE ... The Tolai people agree that this Ordinance must be repealed. They say they were surprised to hear of such an Ordinance prohibiting Europeans entering native premises and native women entering European premises and they asked my colleague, Mr. Tobaining and myself to ask the Council to repeal the Ordinance.

MR. HURRELL To my mind this discussion has reached absurd limits. The Ordinance is not protective - t is purely discriminatory. The protection is against one section of the population – the Europeans. Even then it is a protection only in the dwellings, not on the lawns, in the parks or in cars. What his Lordship, Bishop Strong wants is protection of all native girls from all men. This is provided for adequately in normal legislation. I repeat that I support the repeal of this Ordinance as it is not only discriminatory but useless. The seriousness of the action depends upon skin pigmentation...Surely Mrs. Bates realizes her claim concerning liquor can equally concern European women and they are

not protected by any law. I sympathize with His Lordship as a missionary, in his attempt to build up a modern Utopia, but he cannot hope to prop up morality with discriminatory legislation.

MR. SOMU SIGOB In my electorate, a number of people say they do not want the law repealed, but men of education...think the ordinance should be repealed... The old people are tied to old native custom. Women, young women that is, have always caused difficulties, even before the Europeans came. All the young men say to me “*we have to find the road to civilization*”, but how? Forget these old customs perhaps.

...we have Christian Missions; these are different from the Administration... The Administration say something is discriminatory and the mission says it is not and the repeal of this law would be anti-Christian...we consider these opposing views and are confused...the young people do not like this law but the old men like it. *You have a broad road. You have placed me in a truck. Now you have put benzene in the truck and we have gone off the side of the road into a ditch*

MR. MASON ...I would like to see the native people decide this Bill. The Bougainville people...consider the original ordinance totally unnecessary...Many of these protective and discriminatory laws were imposed because of outside pressures who believed that would be for the good and protection of the native people... I agree with what Mr. Jubilee said, but I also agree with what Mr Sigob said.... We have many more on the Statue Books which had they never been imposed by do-gooders, would have left the people more capable of standing on their own feet than they are today.

MR. GUISE ...in my electorate... a majority...desire that this ordinance is repealed. If repealed...good Europeans can visit their Papuan and New Guinean friend's homes and Papuans and New Guineans can do the same. Very often European men marry Papuan and New Guinean women. However when Papuan and New Guinean men make friends with European girls, they are arrested straight away and get into trouble. Why is this? Even now when the Native Women's Protection Ordinance is in force European men still marry Papuan women, but only one Papuan has married a European and this after a great deal of difficulty. No Europeans I know of are in gaol for molesting Papuan women, but many Papuans are in gaol today for the same offense...Papuans and New Guineans should enjoy all the liberties and rights in every day practice that Europeans enjoy.

MR. SIMOI PARADI ...my constituents from Western Papua have told me that the ordinance should be repealed. I have nothing more to say.

MR. KURADAI ...I support the Bill.

MR. BONJUI [from Korogo – Ambunti sub-district] The government is our father and has looked after us for many years so we will be guided by the government in this matter. If I have a daughter I will tell her not to run about... If she does not listen to me she can go and become a friend of a European. She can go. It is of no consequence to me if she cannot hear my talk... This law must be repealed.

MR. BROKAM ...the Government must repeal it and leave things as they were years ago...In New Ireland...this law has been broken for many years.

MR. KONDOM AGAUNDO [Chimbu] – Before the Europeans came we had a law that married women had to be loyal to their husbands, but that single women could make many friendships. When the Europeans came...there was a lot of trouble with single girls. They got patrol officers and

natives...into much trouble...I want the law repealed [so] Europeans and other natives can carry out their work without being afraid of courts.

MR. KIBUNKI ...I think the law should stay as it is. The law should be obeyed.

MR. WATKINS ...in introducing this Bill ...it was suggested that the debate be adjourned ...in order to obtain the views of the indigenous people of this Territory. Those views have been obtained...Before I continue there are a few things on which I would like to comment.

It was suggested that this piece of legislation created a fight between the Administration and the missions...no such thing has occurred...everyone has spoken their views are they are fully entitled to do and we appreciate the contribution this has made to the debate.

Mr. Guise has asked that assurance be given that the law will be enforced equally against Europeans as against the native people...I give him that full assurance as there is no distinction in the law that applies to natives and Europeans alike...

In the last 10 years, the situation in many parts of the Territory has changed considerable and what was once considered protective is now considered discriminatory... I have sought the views of each District in the Territory, and it can be said that the native population overwhelmingly favours repeal...

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The Bill read a second time and passed through its remaining stages without amendment or debate.

The Public Service Regulations and Circular Instructions.

Over the years, before and after the repeal of the Native Women's Protection ordinance, Circular Instructions were issued by both DS&NA and the Public Service Commissioner. Some examples:

- DS&NA – date 2nd April 1954 STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.
Subject: Policy regarding Relationships by Administration Officers and Native Women.⁵
- Public Service 4th January 1955 DISCIPLINE – RELATIONS BY ADMINISTRATION OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES WITH NATIVE WOMEN.⁶
- Public Service 13th June 1957 DISCIPLINE – RELATIONS BY ADMINISTRATION OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES WITH NATIVE WOMEN⁷ Typical wording :-

Reports reaching me recently, indicate that it is timely to make quite clear that it is contrary to Administration policy for officers to have sexual relations with native women, and that disciplinary action, with a view to dismissal from the Service will be taken against any officer so offending.

The qualities of self-discipline and self- control are essential to all officers who have, in the course of their duties to deal with natives, and unless an officer's conduct is at all times beyond reproach, he cannot properly carry out his task, nor inspire and maintain the respect of the natives – so absolutely necessary to good native administration.

It should be borne in mind that the title of "Government Officer" carries with it an immense amount of prestige, and that the native people, particularly in areas not under complete control, are impressionable and look to Administration Officers for guidance and any suggestion or requests will be readily obeyed.

One of the surest ways to alienate these people, and at the same time to bring the Administration into disrepute, is for an officer to take advantage of this implicit trust by procuring native women for his own use and/or countenancing promiscuous sexual intercourse between natives under his direct control, including police, and native women, particularly during patrols. An officer who is guilty of either of these actions is unfit to remain in the service.

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The changes that took place through the 1960s saw some of the most capable kiaps marry PNG girls. There was logic in this as the inequalities reflected in the NWPO debate became a thing of the past and genuine relationships flourished. It was the officers who were closest to the communities in their sub districts who were often the most effective administrators. Not surprisingly they were also the ones who married local girls; marriages that were well received locally.

As a sign of these changing times, during the March 1961 induction of the writer's CPO course in Port Moresby two senior officers addressed the writer and his fellow CPOs on the then existing NWPO law and Public Service Regulations forbidding officers having sexual relations with native women:

Mr. Williams strongly emphasized the letter of the law and Regulations and made the valid point that it can be difficult for an officer to perform his duties without fear or favour in the event that he is currently indulging, or has indulged in a relationship with a young lady associated with one of the parties to a village dispute under adjudication by that officer.

DS&NA Director J.K. McCarthy spoke after Mr. Williams and agreed with everything Williams had said but noted that any field officer who said he had never slept with a native girl was either a liar or a poofter [homosexual]. He described the NWPO as discriminatory legislation and said he hoped to see it repealed in the near future – which of course it was.

While I was stationed in a district other than the Sepik, I was asked by the ADO [himself married to a Papuan lady], to sit in on a disciplinary matter involving a junior officer.

SENIOR to JUNIOR officer: I warned you that until I received a complaint, I would not “know” of your dalliances with Miss X. I now have an official complaint. The complaint reads to the effect:

Sir. I am the Councillor of village A and I want to complain about our Patrol Officer Mr J. who is sleeping with Miss X of village B. Village A is closer to the patrol post than village B. Doesn't Mr. J like our girls?

SENIOR: Under the circumstances, I need not inform the Public Service Commissioner.

End Notes Chapter 7

¹ The Motuans of Hanuabada – Port Moresby.

² Pacific Islands Monthly 1949 P95.

³ Firth S New Guinea under the Germans Web Books 1986 Page 125

⁴ Hasard 11th to 14th June 1962 Vol VI No 5. The first reading debate was held on 7th March 1962 vide P 345 of Hansard.

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 21 – pages 75.

⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 21 – pages 74.

⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 – pages 76.

Sepik 5 Chapter 8

The Department of District Services and Native Affairs Standing Instructions of 1962

Writer's Note: This chapter describes of the Standing Instructions that DNA staff in 1962 and thereafter was required to implement. What the chapter does not reflect is the incredible esprit de corps maintained by Kiaps [as DNA staff members were known]. There was an unstated but ever present reflection of the Department's military roots in World War 1 & 2. Cowardice was never mentioned; it was unthinkable. In the course of a kiap's duty he was occasionally in danger.

In my experience and that of colleagues, danger was faced with a care for safety of self and others, often by spending more time in the field to allow issues to run their course and usually to cool down. But in such circumstances the officer was not expected to take a backward step. Our training and experience usually saw us succeed in what we attempted and I believe most of us sought always to operate in the best traditions of the Department, which these Standing Instructions reflected.

With a small staff spread over the whole of PNG, the problem of maintaining the consistent application of policies had been achieved through the distribution of Circular Instructions. [CI]. In the eight years to the end of 1953, about 200 C.I.s were issued along with a similar number circular memos. Policy was changing so fast that Circulars were regularly repealed - see Attachment 1.

I asked a senior officer how he dealt with the flow of Circular Instructions as they reached outstations and he said he read them as they came in and took the instruction they contained on board¹. I suspect that was what most officers did because in my experience of outstation filing systems I do not recall seeing, or being directed to a consolidated file of Circular Instructions.

On the 1st August 1962, the Department of Native Affairs Standing Instructions (SI's replaced CI's) were issued with a preface which read :-

The purpose behind the preparation and issue of the Standing Instructions is to provide each officer of the Department of Native Affairs with a comprehensive and convenient consolidation of those Departmental instructions, some old, some new, which are least likely to undergo significant change and which, therefore, may be regarded as "Basic" of "Standing Orders".

Hitherto, Officers have been obliged to make reference to Station files and records which may or may not be complete, and which, in any case, must remain in the Station Office. In brief, then, the intention of this publication is to be of assistance by presenting instructions and advice in concise and consolidated form to those men-of-all-work – the Officers of the Department of Native Affairs...to young officers, the CPO and PO...it will be of training value...²

The Standing Instructions are divided into 20 Chapters including :-

Chapter I: The Approach to Patrolling pages 5-10 – some key points:

Unquestionably, better results would be achieved if the Officer could establish himself on a residential basis among a community of workable size and concentrate on an intensified administration of that community...we lack manpower and resources to do this. Therefore, patrolling must remain one of our main avenues of contact with the indigenous people

...It is absolutely essential to understand and to accept, that we are dealing with a rapidly changing situation which requires constant, intelligent watchfulness and flexibility...

Complaints, disputes, queries, requests for advice, etc. are best dealt with on the spot wherever possible,

Patrols should not be hurried...Senior officers taking junior officers on patrol should be careful to explain everything they do and do not do, both as to specific tasks and the management of the patrol itself...

Much has been written on the causes and reasons for Cargo Cults and the manifestations there of...Native Affairs Officers are reminded that patience, tolerance sympathetic understanding of the root causes added to explanation and efforts to achieve a better standard of living will accomplish far more than those strict disciplinary measures which might result from regarding the Cult as reactionary stupidity...

Chapter II: "Qualifications" Pages 11-13 in summary:

Not all officers are qualified to patrol in all areas. Senior officers are instructed that, under no circumstances, will they order or permit an officer to carry out a patrol for which he is not qualified in terms of training and experience...The qualifications are listed by rank against area classifications 1 to 4:

1. Under control, 2. Under Influence, 3. Under Partial Influence, 4. Penetrated by Patrols.

Chapter III: The Field Officer's Journal - Pages 14-17:

Regulation 36 of the Regulations made under the Public Service Ordinance reads: "Unless the [Public Service] Commissioner otherwise orders, every officer whose duties are not under supervision or performed at a fixed place will keep a journal showing daily duties carried out by him and time occupied therein and shall produce the journal or copies thereof when called upon to do so by the Commissioner or. Etc."

Chapter IV: The Patrol Report – Pages 18-46

Having carried out a patrol, it is, of course necessary to carefully report what was observed, learned and done. Patrol reports can keep all levels of the Administration au fait with all phases of development and are invaluable when formulating policy and planning the implementation thereof...and are of especial value to officers succeeding the reporting officer

There are two methods of reporting:

1. Memorandum of Patrol –
2. The formal Patrol Report

The instructions provide immense detail as to who must and who must not submit either under what specific circumstances and heading that should be included.

Writer's Note: There is a form of patrol report called an Area Study, which is dealt with in Chapter XVII, but to my mind it logically belongs with "Patrol Reports".

It is necessary for District Commissioners [DCs] and District Officers [Dos], in consultation with other Departments, to forward plan programs for over-all advancement ...Obviously, this forward planning will be best based on known facts and observed trends and, where applicable, the reactions to and results of and previous programs. In order to provide that firm base DOs should arrange for a comprehensive survey or an Area Study to be carried out periodically...

The Area Study should take the form of a really searching and penetrating examination of the social, political and economic current situations and progress over the past two years, as these factors relate to the native people of the area...Particular attention should be paid to leadership and changes in leadership patterns...It is suggested that the interval between such surveys be no more than two years...all that is required is that once in two years each Census Division be patrolled slowly and leisurely...

Once the District is sufficiently covered with these Area Studies, a DO should, amongst other things, be able to make a reasonably accurate forecast of the speed with which Local Government can spread through his district...Officers carrying out this type of survey should not bluntly ask "*Do you want Local Government?*" ...the probable attitude to Local Government should be gauged by observation, listening and personal knowledge of the leaders.

The reports are to closely follow the following form. Preliminary surveys for Local Government Councils will also follow the following form.

- A. Introduction – 3 paragraphs of requirements
- B. Population Distribution and Trends – 3 paras of specifications
- C. Social Groupings – 5 paras of specifications including languages
- D. Leadership – Profiles of leaders also if traditional leadership is changing
- E. Land Tenure and Use – 3 paras of specifications covering Traditional use and leases.
- F. Literacy – 5 paras of specifications
- G. Standard of Living – housing, staple diet introduced crops, any NGOs etc.
- H. Missions – How many, services provided, attitudes towards them and influence of.
- I. Non-Indigenes – Plantations, number of workers, road or sea links and transport.
- J. Communications – Road, Sea and Air links between the area and other centres.
- K. Technical & Clerical Skills – List what is available in the area.
- L. The Stage of Political Development – closely related to leadership, attitudes
- M. The economy of the area: 11 specifications leading to per capita income estimates
- N. Possibilities of Expanding the Economy – 5 paras of specifications
- O. Attitude toward Local Government.

Writer's Note: My own experience of compiling Area Studies particularly in later years was that the research required for a good report, particularly in relation to per capita income, verged upon invasions of privacy. As an outcome of an Area Study was to measure change and attitudes, observations about invasions of privacy were valid contributions.

Chapter V: The Management of Patrols – P47- 61

Inhabitants of the area patrolled will regard every member of the patrol as a representative of the Administration...It is therefore incumbent upon the officer in charge [OIC] of the patrol to ensure that the conduct of every member is governed by an appreciation and understanding of that regard, backed up by constant watchfulness and firm discipline on his part...patrol police and carriers must be sternly warded against making overtures to or molesting local women or taking food from gardens without consent...

There are a number of principles...adherence to these principles **IS** an instruction.

1. Written patrol instructions will be given to the patrolling officer. Clear instructions will be directed towards defining and limiting the objectives of the patrol.
2. All stations shall maintain a "*For attention on patrol*" file. Officers leaving on patrol are to consult this file.

3. Before leaving the Station the OIC of the patrol will check all equipment to be taken and test ammunition is ammunition is to be taken...including everything including medical supplies.
4. Interpreters are to be selected carefully, having regard to ability, honesty and loyalty... it may be necessary to recruit interpreters as the patrol moves...in uncontrolled areas it is essential to ascertain if or not the proposed interpreter is a member of a group traditionally hostile to the group or groups the patrol proposes to visit.
5. ...In new or uncontrolled territory, the police must be selected with great care. Courage, temperament, stability, physical condition and experience should be considered. The number of patrol police should be enough to discourage hostile action; a weak patrol is very tempting to primitive warriors.
6. Carriers cannot be recruited against their will. There is no legal sanction for compulsory portage. Rationing and accommodation for carriers, when necessary, is the responsibility of the OIC of the patrol.
7. Carriers must not be left in a position or left in circumstances whereby they have to return home unescorted through what may be, to them, hostile territory.
8. If carriers are recruited from a bush area [non-swimmers] every precaution must be taken if it becomes necessary to embark the party on canoes or rafts.
9. Under no circumstances should carriers be permitted to bear arms against other indigenous persons, even hostile ones.
10. Generally, all damage to property of any nature is to be avoided.
11. ...keep the patrol line in one compact unit. If the patrol line is allowed to become fragmented in uncontrolled territory the strength of the patrol is weakened and immediate concerted response to orders is impossible. An attack could cut off and isolate one or more fragments...a small detached section...is likely to be very tempting to hostile warriors. The patrol leader, interpreter and a reliable policeman should be at the front of the line, where frequently decisions have to be made quickly. A reliable person at the rear to keep the line compact.
12. If a flooded stream is encountered the OIC of the patrol should seriously consider whether he must cross immediately or whether to wait a day or so. Lives have been lost trying to cross flooded streams.
13. Avoid making camp too late in the day, particularly if tents have to be erected and/or bush shelters have to be built, water and firewood collected and cooking chores attended to.
14. The OIC of the patrol should try to locate a camp site which is safe from flash flooding and in uncontrolled country the site selected should afford a good view of surrounding terrain; in some instances, it is necessary to clear an area around the camp.
15. If it is considered necessary to post night guards, make sure that arrangements are made for relief at reasonable intervals and that every member of the patrol part knows where the guard post is located.
16. In hostile country, all members of the patrol should be alerted to "stand to" an hour before dawn.
17. OICs of stations will, as a matter of training, have arranged rifle practice for the police at regular intervals and therefore the OIC of the patrol should know who is a good shot and who is an indifferent or poor shot.
18. Newly contacted people have little idea of the purpose or power of a rifle. The OIC of the patrol may sometimes judge it necessary to give a demonstration...ensure only the good shots participate...Native people take it for granted that a man is competent in the use of his own weapon and will have nothing but contempt for the patrol if the demonstration is ineffective because of misses...Fighting shields, usually impenetrable to arrows make good targets for such a demonstration

19. Ammunition should not be issued unless the OIC of the Patrol believes, on reasonable grounds, that the safety of the patrol warrants the issue...he should not wait until an attack is imminent...it may then be too late...As soon as the patrol has reached a "safe" region all unexpended ammunition should be withdrawn and accounted for.
20. If the patrol is camped in uncontrolled or new territory the camp area should be cordoned off with rope or a light single rail type fence...to indicate the point beyond which no one is to pass. Discussions with massed groups should take place outside this barrier.
21. Armed parties of men without women and children should be viewed with suspicion... The patrol should be alerted if women and children unobtrusively or suddenly depart.
22. Water and other parties leaving the camp should be accompanied by armed guards.
23. Patrols making initial contact should not become involved in local quarrels and should remain aloof from tribal fighting...Officers should not occupy themselves trying to prevent every infringement of Territory laws which they may observe on their first contact with new people...The situation as a whole must be understood... before a start is made on the introduction of law and order.
24. While Section 552 of the Criminal Code requires that when a person is arrested it is the duty of the arresting officer to forthwith take arrested person before a justice to be dealt with according to law. However, the Crown Solicitor allows that "forthwith" may be interpreted as "As soon as reasonably possible". It is not necessary to abandon a patrol in a remote area to achieve this
25. Female prisoners must always be accompanied by her husband, parent or guardian.
26. Prisoners should never be handcuffed while travelling on a raft or canoe.
27. All officers should make sure that police know how to double lock handcuffs so they do not contract
28. Under no circumstances should hostages be taken.
29. Villages, hamlets or houses should not be entered at night for the purpose of making arrests...Movement by night to strategic positions may be useful...
30. An Officer should never make promises unless he is certain that they can and will be fulfilled...Great care should be taken with statements as they are often distorted into a promise or approval.
31. Any act which may be viewed by the people as trickery or deceit should be avoided.
32. General observations:
 - a. First contact is often with warriors who are ignorant of our intentions and laws. They are usually fearless and regard all strangers as enemies.
 - b. Initial contact requires good judgment wedded to patience. Nothing more can be expected than establishing friendly relations possible facilitated by judicious gifts.
 - c. Complete withdrawal of inhabitants into the forest should be overcome by patiently waiting...The patrol will be under surveillance so the conduct of all members must be exemplary. The people may come in.
 - d. Every effort should be made to show the patrol's intentions are peaceful. Under no circumstance should patrol members sit while new contacts stand.
 - e. If aggression is shown officers are to deal with it in a humane, lawful and above all, patient manner.
 - f. If an affray occurs the patrol should not withdraw from the area but remain in order to re-new contact and establish friendly relations. If forced to leave, a follow up patrol is to follow ASAP.
 - i. After an affray, punitive measures are absolutely forbidden.

Carriers may be employed only if they volunteer or offer their services freely upon request [Sect 6 Native Employment Ordinance 1958-61]

Carrier payment rates are specified at two rates – with rations and without rations. Except in emergency circumstances carriers should not be required to carry for more than eight hours per day. Carrier loads should not be more than 40 pounds. Payment for the hire of canoes is additional to the payment for paddlers

The Secretary for Labour requires a Return of Casual Labour in respect of every patrol operating in the field on each March 31st. **NB.** This requirement was not enforced to the writer's knowledge from 1961 onwards.

Chapter VII The Use of Force – Pages 65 – 93.

The previous chapter made it clear that the Administration...should feature only in absolutely essential minimum of coercion, direct order or any other form of force. Officers who knowingly and without good and sufficient justification act contrary to policy directives, while they may not contravene any Statute Law, will certainly contravene the Public Service Ordinance and Regulation 42 made there under.

This Chapter is...a helpful outline to make officers aware of their personal responsibility which they might incur if they adopt certain courses of action...It is not desired that the comments that follow create in the patrolling officer an over-sensitiveness ...the patrolling officer is not expected to handle such situations with one eye on the approaching arrow and the other on the relevant provisions of the Criminal Code, [which] recognizes the right to protect oneself or another.

PART 1

FIRING ON HOSTILE PERSONS.

Obviously firing upon people...can result in the offence of homicide – willful murder, murder, manslaughter, grievous bodily harm or unlawful wounding. Section 283 makes it unlawful to use except as is permitted in the Criminal Code.

A working rule is to use only that amount of force necessary to overcome the force being used against the patrol or field party, and to preserve the members of the patrol or other party from death or grievous bodily harm, may be lawfully used.

A person may be excused criminal responsibility if the following conditions are proven to exist.

Involuntariness or accident (Section 23 of the Criminal Code)

Mistake of fact (S 24)

Extraordinary emergency (S 25)

Insanity (S 27) – unlikely to be applicable to events on patrols

Immaturity (S 29) – unlikely to be applicable to events on patrols

Obedience to law or to orders not manifestly unlawful (S 30)

Self defense (S 31)

Some likely circumstances:

1. It is lawful for a person who is engaged in the lawful execution of any lawful sentence, process or warrant or in making any arrest, and for any person lawfully assisting him to use

such force as may be reasonably necessary to overcome any force used in resisting such execution or arrest. [S 254]

2. If a person takes flight in order to avoid lawful arrest...it is lawful to use such force as is necessary to prevent his escape, providing that the force used is not indented or likely to cause death or grievous bodily harm...
3. It is lawful for *any person* who witnesses a breach of the peace to intervene to prevent a continuance of it and to use such force as is reasonably necessary.
 - a. Justification for the acts of private persons depends on the actual state of the facts, whereas the acts of a Police Officer [Patrol officer] or Constable are justified by a reasonable belief as to the facts.
4. Suppression of Riot...It is lawful for a justice [of the peace] to use, or order to be used, and for a Police Officer [Patrol Officer] or constable to use such force as he believes to be necessary to suppress a riot and is reasonably proportioned to the danger he believes, on reasonable grounds, is to be apprehended from its continuance [S 262]
 - a. There is much more information on riots than this chapter requires.

All Patrol police should be very carefully briefed in type and number of firing orders they might expect to receive and the circumstances in which they might expect to receive them...

Unless a hostile action takes the form of a totally unexpected onslaught, such as a surprise attack at close quarters from a well concealed ambush...warning shots should be fired before a fire order authorizing direct aim at the attackers is given... in most instances there will be time for a warning shot or shots.

...appreciate that warning shots fired at the wrong moment...a party of warriors, who might otherwise have contented themselves with jeering and hostile gestures, may reasonable conclude the patrol is hostile and react in self defense...which is also available to village people as well as the patrol.

If it is known that a person or persons have been killed...the Stipendiary Magistrate [SM]...should be requested to open a Coroners Inquiry into the deaths as soon as possible. The DO shall proceed to the scene of the incident with the Coroner and later submit a report to HQ. There may be a delay until contact with the group concerned is re-established.

Because an officer had a good legal defense...it does not necessarily follow that his conduct in managing the patrol will escape censure...it is policy to endeavor to avoid such incidents by every possible means and this excludes rashness, carelessness, foolhardiness, intolerance etc.

PART II

UNLAWFUL DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY.

Under no circumstances will Native Affairs patrols...destroy property – housing, livestock, personal possessions, gardens...The basis upon which we extend administration influence is friendship, trust and confidence.

PART III

OBTAINING CARRIERS.

In Papua, no force or compulsion may be used. Carriers are to be recruited on the same basis as any other casual labour. In New Guinea, it is not so clear [due to NAR Reg 117 – which has since been repealed]. In any case, officers in New Guinea are to bring their practices in line with the present practice in Papua.

PART IV HOSTAGES.

Hostages will not be taken under any circumstance whatsoever. However, in both Papua and New Guinea... where a native person is required as a witness in a criminal proceeding in a court, and in the opinion of the Constable, it is desirable that such person be segregated or be detained to ensure his attendance at the proceedings, he may apprehend him and as soon as is reasonable practicable bring him before the Court.

PART V INFECTIOUS DISEASES.

A person commits no offence by contracting a disease; he may commit an offence after contracting the disease if he fails or neglects to comply with statutory obligations to attend a specified place for examination or treatment.

If an officer contemplates taking action to compel a person, whom he knows or suspects ...to be suffering from an infectious disease, to report to a hospital...he should first check to see that he has a legal right to do so in respect of that particular disease. [A list of relevant legislation follows.] ...Consult a Medical Officer before taking any action.

PART VI ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL.

It can be useful to encourage attendance at school, but this is very different from compulsion. Some gazettals under the Education Ordinance allow compulsion. Consult the law. **Writer's Note:** My experience has never required consideration of enforcing attendance.

PART VII ROADS.

Maintenance of roads was covered under the NARs and NROs but these provisions were replaced by the Road Maintenance Ordinance 1953-65. Circular 47/59... no member of the field constabulary is to be used to supervise road works.

The Road Maintenance Ordinance places varying responsibility on the occupiers of adjoining lands to maintain roads of varying categories. [close reading of the section is required to determine exactly who is responsible for what.]

PART VIII CENSUS

It is an offence under the NARs and NROs to fail to appear for census. But before an offence can be committed, there must first be an order by an authorized person to appear for the purpose of census taking.

PART IX ADMINISTRATION LABOUR

The use of Village Officials and police to recruit labour is contrary to Section 26(1) (b) of the Native Employment Ordinance. DNA officers are to make sure that employment in the

Administration is wholly voluntary and they are fully aware they have the right to choose their own employer or not to work at all.

Chapter VIII Powers of Arrest, - P 94-110.

...it is essential that every Native Affairs officer has a thorough and full knowledge of what constitutes unlawful arrest and what constitutes lawful arrest.

There are three methods of compelling persons to appear before the Courts to answer charges preferred or to be preferred against them.

1. Arrest without warrant.
2. Summons
3. Warrant in the first instance

Arrest consists in the actual seizure or touching of a person's body with a view to his detention. Merely pronouncing the words does not constitute arrest unless the person sought to be arrested submits to the process.

Interference with a person's liberty is prima facie unlawful. Any person seeking to arrest another must have some legal authority to do so. The main purposes the law grants the authority to arrest are:

1. Bringing a person before a court for trial.
2. Preventing a breach of the peace
3. Preventing the commission of certain offences

...a Justice who receives a sworn and written information may issue a warrant in the first instance. The power to arrest without a warrant is limited to certain offences and circumstances...specific powers exist under particular ordinances [need to know which] Police, both at Common law and under the Criminal Code have wider powers of arrest than those of the private citizen. These are set out but are beyond the scope of this chapter.

Chapter IX Personal Tax - Pages 111 – 130

The controlling legislation is the Personal Tax Ordinance 1957-60 and its regulations. Most personal tax is collected in the field on patrol as an agency function for the Chief Collector of Taxes. The only statutory obligation cast on DNA is to act as a tax tribunal

This aspect of contact with the indigenous population requires great tact and understanding by the patrolling officer of the reasons for collecting the tax.... everyone feels ... resentment when asked to pay tax...lucid explanations are necessary. [In 1960/61 the Territory itself could produce less than one third of the total amount required each year to administer PNG.]

Special "Tax patrols" are to be avoided as it conveys the wrong impression of the DNA function. Native tax collectors should be used as much as possible.

Tax rates should not be recommended lightly. The economy of each census division must be evaluated carefully before a rate is recommended.

Collection of personal tax has now been carried out regularly since 1958 with wide publicity concerning the aims, methods and requirements of the Ordinance. Our policy for the first two years was to avoid legal action whenever possible...In 1960...it was decided to

enforce compliance with the ordinance...but wholesale prosecutions are not to be implemented. Persons other than DOs, ADOs, POs but not CPOs, except in special circumstances may be appointed as [Tax] collectors.

Writer's Note: Personal taxation as described above, in my experience in the Sepik, was no longer a feature of DNA work in 1964. Local Government Councils were being established which set their own tax rates and made their own tax collections in lieu of DNA's agency function for the Treasury. The personal tax system lapsed in 1966 with the rapid spread of Local Government. (also reference J. Sinclair *Kiap* P 185)

Chapter X Census – Pages 131 – 140

The demographics available from a DNA census are of real value to a number of Departments other than DNA. If, and only if questions are asked and/or attitudes raise the matter, the people being censused should be told...whilst it is correct that the present system relates census directly with personal tax, the primary purpose of a census is not for tax, but to facilitate planning for their welfare and advancement.

Both District and Sub District HQs are to maintain, in an orderly systematic manner, a full set of census statistics for each census division. Each District is divided into census divisions and each has a number.

CI 273 instructs that there will be no further use of the old type village books ...Tax/Census Registers replaced them. Census is to be revised annually.

Writer's Note: The "old type village book" had strong brown cardboard covers and was left in the village with the Luluai. The village book also contained comments from each patrolling officer and as such provided a valuable historic record which was sometimes unavailable elsewhere. New smaller village books replaced the old, so comments continued to be recorded. Unlike the village books which were occasionally lost in house fires, the new Tax Census Registers were kept in the office and taken on patrol when required.

When taking census, police, village officials or Administration employees must not be permitted to behave in an unnecessarily officious manner or to unduly 'herd' the people around.

The revised Village Population Register does not have a column to record the number of pregnant women...DNA figures are not likely to be accurate. Visible or well advanced and definite pregnancies are to be recorded.

Chapter XI Labour Recruitment & Restrictions - Page 141 – 143

It is essential that District Officers keep a vigilant watch on recruitment of labour and general absenteeism...the liberty of free choice by the individual [to seek employment] is not to be interfered with. It is one thing to know a situation and another to intervene. A very good case indeed is required to close an area to recruitment.

If it is considered necessary, an investigation may be conducted along the lines set out in Appendix B.

Chapter XII Village Officials, Ferrymen etc. P144 – 145 **Writer's Note:** *This chapter shows the differences in the Village Official system as it applies to Papua as opposed to New Guinea. In Papua there are Village Constables who were paid 3 pounds per annum. In some parts of New Guinea, but not others, there were Paramount Luluais who were paid 5 pounds per annum. Luluais and Tultuls in New Guinea were not officially paid, but usually received a ration of twist tobacco from visiting patrols.*

Ferrymen, Luluais and Village Constables may only be appointed by the Director Native Affairs, to whom all recommendations should be forwarded. Tultuls may be appointed by the DO.

...Officers are reminded that the issue of a uniform and a cap does impart knowledge of laws, procedures, policies, duties, powers etc...Conduct brief courses

Chapter XIII Unexploded Bombs Page 146-147

The number of unexploded bombs [from World War II] is becoming fewer each year...Procedure – report via chain of command to the appropriate authorities. **Writer's Note:** *I followed these procedures on Goodenough Island in 1968 and a "powder-monkey" from the Defense Force came and blew up a number of 250lb bombs and dumped some 900 mortar rounds well out at sea.*

Chapter XIV Traditional House Styles and Locations Page 148- 149

Because of the intimate relationship between the traditional style of house and the traditional social and religious organization of native communities, DNA officers are to avoid arbitrary interference directed towards radical change in the traditional type of dwelling and pattern of living...avoid innovations to change communal living to individual family living.

The choice of sites for homesteads, hamlets or villages is to be left to the people themselves. The indigenous population in any area is not to be arbitrarily concentrated for reasons of administration convenience. **Writer's Note:** *History has shown that the positioning of a school or health facility will see surrounding populations concentrate themselves in order to receive services they value.*

Chapter XV Rest Houses Page 150 – 151

Rest houses [built by the village community] should be adequate but no more and to be constructed of native materials. It should be situated a discrete distance from the village houses and be adequate for Patrol personnel including police.

It should be a matter of pride for an officer to leave a rest house clean and tidy.

Chapter XVI Patrol Equipment Page 152 – 154 Self-explanatory.

Chapter XVII Area Studies P155 – 168 [this was included with Chapter IV Patrol Reports]

Chapter XVIII The Village Book. Page 169 – 172 see comments under Chapter X

When entering comments on individuals, officers should bear in mind that many indigenous persons nowadays are literate or semi-literate in English. A Village Official's whole attitude may be conditioned or warped by the knowledge that his character, loyalty and integrity have been judged and found lacking.

Instructions left recorded in the village book should be followed up by subsequent patrols. All payments and issues to village officials must be recorded in the village book.

The desirability of bringing the village book with them when they come to the station should be impressed upon village officials... [other than this] the village book will be left in the village at all times

Chapter XIX The Role of the Native Constabulary. Page 173 – 176

Officers...of DNA and the Native Constabulary have for many years worked in close relationship and each has every right to take great pride in the achievements of that partnership...but there is a tendency to use members of the Native Constabulary outside their proper roles. Techniques of and approaches to the administration have undoubtedly changed since the pre-war and immediate post war years and will change again...

The primary role of the Native Constabulary is the introduction and maintenance of law and order and the protection of person and property. In uncontrolled areas...they act as an armed force to protect the Administration patrols and assist DNA officers to bring about a cessation of fighting...

Native constabulary members are not to be left without the supervision and control of a Commissioner Officer of Police... 'Police post' for the purpose of introducing, extending or consolidating influence...would amount to using them in an administrative role, which is not their purpose. There is no objection to police on detached duty in fully controlled areas but they are not to perform administrative work. In particular, they must not interpose themselves between the community and DNA officers.

...The principle is that DNA officers and the Village Officials or Councils are an integral part of the executive machinery of Government, but the Native Constabulary is not.

Chapter XX Weights & Measures. Page 177 – 185 [self-explanatory]

Appendix A Figures to be used when giving explanatory talks on Personal Tax. P186-187
[these apply to the financial year 1961/62]

(a) Dept. of Native Affairs.

Expenditure for 1961/62 estimated at £1,430,000. Field staff in 1962 = 404 officers.

(b) Dept. of Agriculture Stock & Fisheries: extension officers in 1962 = 129 officers.

(c) Dept. of Public Health 1962 figures:

Hospitals	62.
Doctors	104.
Dentists	9.
European Nurses	195.
European Medical Assistants	157.
Native Medical Orderlies	1,388.
Malaria Control Assistants	21.
Native Malaria Control Assistant.	165.
[Health work] Grants in aid to Missions	£53,200

(d) Dept. of Education:

There are 386 schools for Native people, with nearly 36,000 attending and an additional 1,950 studying by correspondence. There are also 10 Technical Training Centres with 217 trainees.

In Australia, there are 82 Native students. The Dept. paid 884 Native teachers and 388 European teachers to do this work. The Dept. also paid for all books, paper, pencils and other things used in schools. It also gave £382,000 ...to Missions to assist Mission schools.

Appendix B Questionnaire to be used to support a recommendation to close an area to recruiting. Page 188 – 191 – 19 questions follow – not required here.

Appendix C The type of information required in respect of Anthropological Specimens collected and forwarded. Page 192 -193 – 20 questions to be answered.

Appendix D, E, F Various Court forms Page 194 – 200 [self-explanatory]

Appendix G Instructions for use of the revised Village Population Register Form P 201-208 - Not required for the present manuscript.

Appendix I Safety precautions on a firing range P 209 – 213. [self-explanatory]

Post Script.

Just as the Circular Instructions that preceded the Standing Instructions were quickly made redundant by social and political change, so too did the DNA Standing Instructions. As indicated in Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 54 in late 1974, I found it necessary to ask for written instructions when asked to investigate a murder in the politically sensitive period between Self Government and Independence, as I thought the 1962 Standing Instructions were out of date. The instruction I received back referred me to the Standing Instruction. If worst possible outcomes had occurred, I could have used this instruction in my defense.

End Notes Chapter 8

¹ Personal communication with Ross Johnson.

² DS&NA Standing Instructions 1/8/1962 Preface P 1-3.

Sepik 5 ATTACHMENT 1

Listing of DS&NA Circular Instructions 1946-53

The circulars before 13/3/1950 renumbered and the issue [bound volume] is to be kept up to date as new circulars are issued.

Old No	Pre-Fix	New No	Date Issued	Subject & Remarks
1	DS	1	1/ 1/46	Filing System
2	DS	2	16/ 2/46	Correspondence
3	DS	3	18/ 4/46	Quarters at Outstations – lighting Remark now PSC Office
4	DS	4	10/ 4/46	Separation Allowance Remark Lapsed
5	DS	5	10/ 4/46	Reports - District
6	DS	6	18/ 4/46	Intelligence Information Remark Application lapsed
7	DS	7	18/ 4/46	Registration of motor vehicles
8	DS	8	18/ 4/46	Compensation War Damage
9	DS	9	3/ 5/46	Native Prisoner Ration Scale Remark repealed
10	DS	10	14/ 5/46	Native Soldiers Remark Application lapsed
11	DS	11	16/ 5/46	War Damage Compensation – Native Soldiers
12	DS	12	22/ 5/46	Disbandment of Pacific Islands Regiment
13	DS	13	1/ 6/46	Radio-Telephone Network
14	DS	14	4/ 7/46	Use of Explosives for fishing
15	DS	15	11/ 7/46	Monthly returns – Court Cases
16	DS	16	15/ 7/46	Amendment of Native Administration Regulations
17	DS	17	10/ 7/46	Native Compensation Scale Remark Ref C.I. 8
18	DS	18	18/ 9/46	Revision of Allied Geographical Section Publications
19	DS	19	21/ 9/46	Radio Communications
20	DS	20	1/10/46	Native Administration
21	DS	21	2/10/46	Native Compensation Scheme Remark Ref. C.I. 17
22	DS	22	4/10/46	Patrolling
23	DS	23	7/10/46	Village Councils
24	DS	24	22/10/46	Native Comp. Scheme Remark Amend C.I. 17, Repealed C.I. 95
25	DS	25	28/10/46	Delegation of Duties
26	DS	26	28/10/46	Filing System Remark Amends C.I. 1
27	DS	27	30/10/46	Admin. Policy in regard to Part I – Native misdeeds allegedly Committed during war: Part 2 – Discrimination in Distribution of Native War Compensation.
28	DS	28	13/11/46	Native Compensation Scheme Remark Refer. C.I. 17
29	DS	29	12/11/46	Native Compensation Scheme Remark Amends. C.I. 24
30	DS	30	13/11/46	Native Compensation Scheme Remark Repealed. C.I. 95
31	DS	31	19/11/46	District Vessels
32	DS	32	28/11/46	Patrol Equipment Remark cancelled C.I. 156
33	DS	33	21/11/46	Native Compensation Scheme – Numbering of claims
34	DS	34	26/11/46	Wearing of clothes by natives
35	DS	35	28/11/48	Evidence and Appeals
36	DS	36	-	Not used
37	DS	37	8/ 1/ 47	Native Administration - Cults: Cargo Cults, Vailala Madness and others
38	DS	38	7/ 1/ 47	Native Customs
39	DS	39	3/ 1/ 47	Compensation Native Soldiers Remarks cancels C.I. 11
40	DS	40	1/ 1/ 47	Policy re: Administrative activities affecting changes in native House styles or location of Homesteads, Hamlets & dwellings
41	DS	41	9/ 1/ 47	Native newspapers
42	DS	42	15/ 1/ 47	The Principles of Native Administration and their application
43	DS	43	16/ 1/ 47	Native Administration – the role of the Native Constabulary
44	DS	44	12/ 2/ 47	“The Principles of Native Administration and their application” (Nigeria) by Sir Donald Cameron.
45	DS	45	12/ 3/ 47	Accounting for stores
46	DS	46	21/ 4/ 47	War Damage Compensation

47	DS	47	7/ 5/ 47	Requisition Public Works Dept. Stores Remarks suspended by Govt. Secretary memo	
48	DS	48	30/ 5/ 47	War Damage Compensation Remarks refer C.I. 46	
49	DS	48	25/ 6/ 47	Filing System Remarks Amends C.I. 1	
50	DS	50	26/ 6/ 47	Native Agitation and Unrest	
51	DS	51	7/ 7/ 47	Co-operative Movement	
1	DS	52	10/ 7/ 47	Native War Damage Compensation Remarks refer C.I. 17	
2	DS	53	21/ 7/ 47	District Officers as trustees for Savings Bank Accounts	
3	DS	54	27/ 8/ 47	Motion Pictures – Native peoples.	
4	DS	55	30/ 9/ 47	Native Recreation Centres	
5	DS	56	30/10/47	Patrol Officers: Training & limitations of Work Remarks Repealed .I61	
6	DS	57	5/11/47	Delivery of Radiograms	
7	DS	58	10/11/47	War Damage Compensation	
8	DS	59	1/12/47	Firing on Native People.	
9	DS	60	16/12/47	Check on Circular Instructions Remarks Application lapsed	
10	DS	61	10/ 5/48	Patrol Officers: Training & limitations of Patrols.	
	DNL	62	7/ 7/48	Administration Native Employees – Leave Remarks Repeals C.I. 56	
11	DS	62	15/ 7/48	Employment of natives in bomb disposal work.	
	DNL	64	19/ 7/48	Movement of natives by air.	
12	DS	63	19/ 7/48	Care of Aged and Infirm people.	
13	DS	64	27/ 7/48	Careless use of Fire	
14	DS	65	4/ 8/48	Ferryman	
1	DS	66	11/ 7/48	Papuan NRO and New Guinea NAR	
2	DS	67	15/ 8/48	Census Native People	
3	DS	68	-	Not used	
4	DS	69	-	Not used	
5	DS	70	-	Not used	
6	DS	71	-	Not used	
7	DS	72	-	Not used	
8	DS	73	-	Not used	
9	DS	74	7/10/48	Native Administration	
	DNL	70	23/10/48	Sick Leave – Administration Servants	
10	DS	75	10/ 1/49	Statutory Appointments	
11	DS	76	12/ 1/49	Local Purchase Orders	
12	DS	77	12/ 1/49	Census Natives People Remarks Refers C.I. 67	
13	DS	78	12/ 1/49	District officers Monthly Report	
14	DS	79	13/ 1/49	Patrol Reports	
	DNL	75	3/ 2/49	Administration servants convicted of serious offences	
15	DS	80	18/ 2/49	Purchase of Land by Administration from natives.	
16	DS	81	25/ 2/49	Use of the term “Police Post” and “Police Camps” and policy re manning Patrol Posts with Native Personnel Remarks Refers C.I. 43.	
17	DS	82	2/ 3/49	Census Maps	
18	DS	83	18/ 3/49	Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1948	
19	DS	84	11/ 3/49	War Damage Claims	
20	DS	85	12/ 3/49	Investigation of Land Applications	
21	DS	86	13/ 3/49	War Damage Compensation – Pensions & issue of Pension Books	
22	DS	87	21/ 3/49	Payment and Investigation of War Damage Claims	
23	DS	88	21/ 3/49	District Administration Remarks Refer C.I.s 22,25	
24	DS	89	28/ 3/49	War Damage Claims Form “A” Dependents	
25	DS	90	3/ 5/49	Native Administration - Patrols	
26	DS	91	13/ 5/49	Allocation of Housing in Districts Remarks Suspended by PSC	
	DNL	95	13/ 5/49	Casualty Sheets – Indentured Workers Remarks Cancelled	
	DNL	96	13/ 5/49	Form 16: Return of Signed off Labourers Remarks Cancelled	
27	DS	92	13/ 5/49	War Damage Claims	
28	DS	93	31/ 5/49	Compensation: Barry Report. Authority to approve or reject claims	
29	DS	94	2/ 6/49	Charter of aircraft in districts	
30	DS	95	3/ 6/49	Native Compensation Scheme payments for death or total incapacity Remarks Refer C.I. 17	

	DNL	100	14/ 6/49	Form 16: Return of Signed off Labourers Remarks Cancelled
31	DS	96	14/ 6/49	Depositions
32	DS	97	22/ 6/49	Preparation of S.I.Vs [Stores Issue Vouchers] Remarks lapsed
1	DS	98	14/ 7/49	Unexploded Bombs
2	DS	99	18/ 7/49	Safety of Sea Plane Operations
3	DS	100	22/ 8/49	Recruiting Remarks Cancelled
4	DS	101	6/ 9/49	Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1948
5	DS	102	15/12/49	Land Purchasing
	DNL	113	13/12/49	Casualty Sheets and Form 16 Remarks Cancelled
103	DS	103	19/12/49	Recruiting
104	DS	104	13/ 3/50	Motion Pictures – Native Audiences
	DNL	116	16/ 3/50	Administration Servants convicted of Serious Offences
105	DS	105	24/ 3/50	Transaction of Official Business
106	DS	106	13/ 4/50	Forwarding of Supply Issue Vouchers to Treasury
107	DS	107	22/ 4/50	Prosecution of Natives; Courts for Native Affairs and Courts for Native Matters.
108	DS	108	27/ 4/50	Recruiting of Administration Labour
109	DS	109	3/ 5/50	Attitude of Officers towards Christian Missions
110	DS	110	10/ 5/50	Patrolling
	DNL	119	4/ 5/50	Native Labour travel by air Remarks Cancelled
	DNL	122	3/ 6/50	Uneconomic use of Native Labour
	DNL	123	15/ 6/50	Return of Signing Off Labourers Remarks Cancelled
111	DS	111	13/ 5/50	Rations issued to visiting Native Officials Remarks Also see C.I. 112
112	DS	112	25/ 5/50	Addendum to C.I. 111.
113	DS	113	8/ 7/50	Review of sentences of prisoners serving long terms of imprisonment Remarks Refer C.M. 21-2-6/20-3-50
114	DS	114	8/ 7/50	Use of Prisoners
115	DS	115	25/ 7/50	Census of Native People Remarks Refer C.I. 77
116	DS	116	25/ 7/50	Patrol Reports
117	DS	117	26/ 7/50	Staff- Temporary Employment
	DNL	126	14/ 8/50	Administration Servants Convicted of Serious Offences
118	DS	118	7/ 9/50	Correspondence Channels of Communication
119	DS	119	26/ 8/50	Juveniles accompanying Administration Recruits.
120	DS	120	26/ 8/50	Hand over certificates
121	DS	121	19/ 9/50	Monthly Return of Patrol Reports Remarks Amended by C.I.146
122	DS	122	3/10/50	Maintenance of Marine Craft.
	DNL	129	25/10/50	Administration Servants – Wage Scale.
123	DS	123	31/10/50	Notice of Committal – Supreme Court.
124	DS	124	6/11/50	Officers absent from District.
124A	DS	124	21/11/50	War Damage Compensation
	DNL	A	14/12/50	Employment of Administration Servants under NLO 1950
	DNL	132	20/12/50	Native Labour Ordinance 1950
		133		
125	DS	125	16/ 1/51	Inquests
	ADLAB 1		14/ 2/51	Numbering and Distribution Procedures for circulars issued by N/Labour Section.
	ADLAB 2		14/ 2/51	Cancellation of Circular Instructions issued by the former Dept. of Native Labour.
	ADLAB 3		15/ 2/51	Conditions of Employment of Administration Servants under NLO 1950
	ADLAB 4		20/ 2/51	Use of Prescribed Native Labour forms
	ADLAB 5		26/ 2/51	Employment of Central Highlands natives
	DS	126	Undated	Forms of Address for Correspondence and Documents address relating to Employment of native Labour
	DS	127	13/ 4/51	Magisterial and Coronial Inquiries
	DS	128	1/ 5/51	War Damage Compensation Implementation
	DS	129	1/ 5/51	New Legislation – Import and Implementation
	DS	130	2/ 5/51	Native Local Government
	DS	131	21/ 5/51	Measles Epidemic – Sepik District Remarks application lapsed

	DS	132	7/ 6/51	Rice Supplies 1951/1952	
	DS	133	27/ 6/51	Territory Records	
	DS	134	21/ 6/51	Amendments (NARs and NROs)	
	DS	135	19/ 7/51	Motor Vehicle Registration	
	DS	136	28/ 7/51	Civil Service for Enlisting in PNGVR	
	ADLAB 6		25/ 7/51	Ownership of equipment issued to workers	Remarks Cancelled CI172
	ADLAB 7		25/ 7/51	Transfer of Agreement	Remarks Cancelled ADLAB 11
	ADLAB 8		31/ 7/51	Use of prescribed Native Labour Forms	
	ADLAB 9		8/ 8/51	Inspection of work under NLO 1950	Remarks See ADLAB 8
	ADLAB 10		8/ 8/51	Repatriation of Administration Servants	
	DS	137	1/ 9/51	Administration Servants etc. Monthly Returns.	
	ADLAB 11		19/11/51	Transfer of Agreement	Remarks Cancels ADLAB 7
	DS	138	11/10/51	Census – Average size of family.	
	DS	139	11/12/51	Acquisition of Native owner Land by the Administration	
	DS	140	13/12/51	Policy and Functions of Co-operatives Section.	
	ADLAB 12		15/ 1/52	Identification card for natives proceeding to Australia	
	DS	141	15/ 1/52	Native Local Government Memo No 1 (Organization and Supervision of Councils)	
	DS	142	4/ 2/52	Census Sub Divisions and Maps	Remarks Ref. C.I. 77
	ADLAB 13		25/ 2/52	Workmen's Compensation NLO 1950	
	DS	143	27/ 2/52	Departmental Estimates – Debit of Votes.	
	DS	144	27/ 2/52	Economised use of Administration Labour	Remarks Amended C.M. 268-32/30 of 29-3-52
	ADLAB 14		5/ 3/52	Attestation of Agreements NLO 1950	
	DS	145	11/ 3/52	District Annual Reports – 1951/52	Remarks Application lapsed
	DS	146	21/ 3/52	Patrol Report Returns	Remarks Refer C.I. 121
	DS	147	26/ 3/52	Extension of Government Control to Restricted Areas	
	DS	148	3/ 4/52	Annual Return and Leave Roster	
	DS	149	8/ 4/52	Application of Criminal Code	
	DS	150	21/ 4/52	Use of Native Police in Base Camps and Patrol Posts	
	ADLAB 15		7/ 5/52	Guarantees and Exemptions S 33, NLO 1950	
	ADLAB 16		6/ 5/52	Procedure – Permits to Engage Employees	
	DS	151	10/ 5/52	Establishment – Native Constabulary	
	DS	152	17/ 5/52	Native Labour Ordinance 1950/1951.	
	ADLAB 17		22/ 4/52	Allowance in lieu of rations – employees proceeding on leave.	
	ADLAB 18		22/ 5/52	Native Labour - Attestation	
	DS	153	14/ 7/52	Use of Native Labour Employer's Cards, Complaints Register and Prosecutions Register	
	DS	154	21/ 7/52	Recommendations for Restriction of Employment	
	DS	155	16/ 7/52	Agricultural Machinery	
	DS	156	31/ 7/52	Patrol Gear	Remarks cancels C.I. 32
	DS	157	18/ 9/52	Recommendation for Removal of Natives. Reg. 127 NARs.	
	DS	158	26/ 9/52	Monthly Statistical Signal to Native Labour Branch	Remarks amended C.I.174
	DS	159	1/10/52	Acceptance in District of Employment of Final Wages and subsequent payment in another District.	
	DS	160	30/ 9/52	War Damage Compensation	Remarks Amends C.I.124A, ref C.I. 172
	DS	161	14/10/52	Mosquito nets native employees and casual workers.	
	DS	162	17/10/52	Japanese War Graves in the Field	
	DS	163	31/10/52	Native Labour Ordinance 1952	
	DS	164	11/11/52	Restrictions of employment of Natives – Sect 58(3) NLO 1950/2	
	DS	164A	8/12/52	Native Census Returns	Remarks refer C.I. 152
	DS	165	16/12/52	Cocoa growing by Europeans and Native Cocoa Ordinance.	
	DS	166	17/12/52	Half Yearly Rations Estimates.	
	DS	167	8/ 1/53	Place of Pay off – Sect 58(3) NLO 1950-52.	
	DS	168	19/ 1/53	Hire rate for Administration Labour and Supervisors.	
	DS	169	13/ 1/53	Court Returns.	
	DS	170	22/ 1/53	Monitory Allowance in lieu of Rations.	

	DS	171	6/ 2/53	Introduction of Permit System for Payment of Ration Allowance.	
	DS	172	20/ 2/53	Ownership of Clothing and Other Equipment issued to Workers.	
	DS	173	23/ 3/53	Native Labour Attestation.	
	DS	174	23/ 3/53	Monthly Statistical Signal to Native Labour Branch. Remarks Refer C.I. 158.	
	DS	175	23/ 4/53	Remuneration of Village Constables – Territory of Papua.	
	DS	176	23/ 3/53	Rationing of Native Members of PIR on leave.	
	DS	177	19/ 3/53	District Annual Reports 1952-53. Remarks application lapsed	
	DS	178	14/ 3/53	Exemptions under Sect 33(5) NLO 1950/52.	
	DS	179	9/ 5/53	Native Labour Statistical Returns.	
	DS	180	20/ 5/53	Photographs to illustrate Patrol and other Special Reports.	
	DS	181	9/ 7/53	Exemptions under Sect 33(5) NLO 1950/52.	
	DS	182	13/ 6/53	Vacant Administration Quarters.	
	DS	183	8/ 9/53	Exemptions under Sect 33(5) NLO 1950/52.	
	DS	184	16/ 9/53	Confidential Staff Reports.	
	DS	185	18/ 9/53	Examination of Official Files by Non-Public Servants.	
	DS	186	8/10/53	Live Ammunition – Native Constabulary.	
	DS	187	10/10/53	Warrants of Commitment.	
	DS	188	10/10/53	Geological and Botanical Specimens.	
	DS	189	29/10/53	Native Local Government.	
	DS	190	6/11/53	Rationing of Native Members of PIR on leave.	
	DS	191	17/11/53	Collecting of Ethnological Specimens.	
	DS	192	9/12/53	Trading with Natives Ordinance.	

Sepik 5 Chapter 9 Localisation in the Public Service

“Localisation” of the Public Service, in this context, means to employ Nationals – employing local native Papua New Guineans. In the late 1950’s, the Australian Minister for External Territories Paul Hasluck at first believed a single service with equal pay for Europeans and Nationals performing the same tasks would be best. However, he subsequently accepted advice from economic advisers that salaries of Nationals should not be beyond the future capacity of the country to pay, and the need to maintain social equilibrium within the indigenous community.

Appointments of local officers to responsible positions within the Public Service did not commence until 1958. In that year, a 4th Division was added to the Public Service...a base division from which officers under training could be promoted...there was a shortage to locals trained to the required standard...The Government sought more and more Australian Officers and the Territory Public Service assumed a predominantly European character. This was consistent with the task ahead and an assumption at the time, that control by European officers was preferable to control by a national elite.¹ The first local officer kiaps were not appointed until 1961/62

Field officers gained experience in different districts as patrol officers before taking a senior officer’s course at ASOPA¹ to qualify for promotion to ADOs

Writer’s Note: The 1963 ASOPA Patrol Officer’s course was the largest ever with 46 expatriate kiaps enrolled. No National officers attended the 1963 course. The last permanent career recruitment happened in early 1963. The August 1963 intake of Cadet Patrol Officers was recruited as permanent officers, but then informed that their employment would be on the basis of 6 year contracts.

Each year at this time, senior Territory Officers toured Australian States to interview selected expatriate recruits. Instead of wholesale acceptance of applicants from a demobilizing army [which happened after WWI and WWII], the Territory was now getting selected personnel and providing them with professional and academic training. In November 1963 training functions were taken over by the Administrative College of PNG.²

With the unexpectedly rapid approach of PNG Self-Government and Independence, compensation payments for loss of careers were negotiated for expatriate permanent officers of the Public Service. This so called “Golden Handshake” was provided on a graded scale depending upon age. The formula reflected the fact that officers of the age of 41 years should be compensated at the highest rate because they were judged to be the age group which was too old to be re-trained for a new career, and yet too young to be retired.

On the 23rd July 1969, The PNG Post Courier carried the following article :-

SPEED UP PLAN Localising “won’t be Window Dressing”

The chairman of the Public Service Board said yesterday there would be no “Window Dressing” at the expense of efficiency in localizing the Public Service. The chairman said the Board had the task to localize the service as quickly as possible. But it also had to make sure that efficiency was maintained during the program.

¹ Examinations at ASOPA included Law, Anthropology, Pacific History, Comparative Constitutional Development, Government and Administration

Mr. Uncles was announcing the appointment of Mr. David Chenoweth, 46, as the head of the new localization section of the Public Service Board. Mr. Chenoweth's main task will be to accelerate the localization of the Territory's public service.

"In this new post Mr. Chenoweth will devise means of accelerated training, both centrally and in Departments themselves." Mr. Uncles said.

"He will also examine scientifically the present and projected needs of the public service and the sources of supply of officers."

Enlarging on this statement at a news conference, Mr. Uncles said the public service would be anxious to obtain as many graduates from the Territory's tertiary centres as soon as they become available. "The time for very great competition in getting specialist people is with us" he said.

...Mr. Chenoweth would relinquish his present post of principal of the Administrative College... "Mr. Chenoweth largely set up and controlled the Administrative College and thus had already strongly contributed to the localization of the service" he said...

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A paper presented to the [annual District Commissioner's] conference said that the Division of District Administration had 97 Papuan and New Guinean field staff up to the level of Assistant District Officer. The 97 included 30 first year trainee patrol officers, 23 second year trainees, 30 patrol officers and 14 ADOs.³

The other aspect of the rapid approach of Self-Government and Independence was the need to fast track the career National Officers to replace expatriates. Whereas history showed that an expatriate officer's career typically took 25-30 years for him to reach the rank of District Commissioner, of necessity National officers were appointed as DC as young men with only a decade or less of kiap experience. Also, being appointed so young meant they would hold senior positions for a very long time, thereby limiting the career prospects of those still coming up through the ranks.

By 1964 more than 200 local officers had been appointed to higher levels in the Public Service. The *Public Service Ordinance 1963* allowed local officers to be absorbed into the second and third levels of the Public Service and the educational levels were dropped to NSW Intermediate Certificate or equivalent to qualify for the 2nd level. By 1973, the year Self-Government was granted, there were about 454 national field officers who had been appointed to the Division of District Administration [DDA].⁴

By 1973, DDA including the office of Local Government, a separate organization within the Division that had been set up in 1971...was now combined with the office of the Chief Minister to form the Department of the Chief Minister and Development Administration⁵.

Tom Ellis was replaced as Director by Paul Ryan, who distributed a confidential letter dated 28th May 1973, which read :-

As you are aware it is Government policy to localize all positions within the Public Service as speedily as resources permit and as you will appreciate the position of District Commissioner has to be accorded top priority in the localization process. Accordingly, a schedule tentatively phasing out expatriate District Commissioners by July 1974 has been drawn up...

On 1st December 1973 PNG became a self-governing country and in July 1974, Philip Bouraga took over as Director of the Department of Chief Minister and Development Administration.⁶ Some of the National officers quickly replaced expatriate DCs were Bernard Borok, Jack Bagita, Gorua Gomara, Arnold Smanke, Jack Karukuru, Voro Vele, Gabriel Buanam, Joe Nombri, Jerry Nalau and others.⁷ A few Australian DCs remained at their posts in 1974 and early 1975 [including] at Mt Hagen and Wabag Laurie Doolan and Bob Bell. Few National officers were prepared to take over these districts, which were hot beds of tribal conflict.⁸

My first experience of local officers was when I met and worked with trainee PO Jack Bagita in Chuave in 1962; a decade later Jack was the DC of the New Ireland District. Later in 1962 I met Philip Bouraga, in Minj during a game of Rugby Union between the Eastern and Western Highlands. I next met Philip on 16th August 1965 when I took over Imonda Patrol Post from him. In November 1973, he was DC Rabaul and in 1974, soon after the declaration of Self-Government he was appointed as Director of the Department of the Chief Minister and Development Administration.⁹

On 2nd of February 1964 I took over Green River Patrol Post from Roland Kekedo who in 1975 hosted a reception for Australian politicians at the time of the first PNG budget after Independence. Morrison, the Australian Minister in charge of External Territories took offence at something that was said and tried to punch Roland who in turn “floored him.”¹⁰

I worked with Bernard Borok when he was a trainee patrol officer at Amanab in 1964-65, regularly assisting him with balancing the cash office books and other administrative duties. He took over from Jim Sinclair as DC Eastern Highlands in November 1973¹¹

Henry Veratau [photo below] was posted to Ambunti in 1970 as a Trainee Patrol Officer aged 20 years. One day in Malu village in 1970-71. Henry experienced the tough conservatism of Middle Sepik people towards Self-Government in general and to localization in particular. The men of Malu made it clear to Henry that they did not accept the authority of “black” kiaps – and particularly not the authority of one from Papua.



Henry explained later that he challenged the village – offering to take on anyone and everyone, one at a time. Although young, he exuded self-confidence, usually with an engaging smile. No one accepted his challenge that day and Henry had no further problems with Sepik resistance to his authority. Henry deservedly passed quickly through the ranks to serve as ADC Angoram and then ADC Maprik before going on to a posting in Wewak as Provincial Commissioner and later as PNG’s Chief Electoral Commissioner.

Henry and I stayed in contact over the years and when he was invited to my wedding with Mai Raka in 2007, he contributed a truck load of bananas from his home area of Hula.

Some national officers experienced cultural impediments to their capacity to exercise the authority necessary to function as kiaps in the field; impediments that did not apply to expatriate officers. This is best explained by examples :-

Example 1: One day in 1973 at Ambunti I was surprised to see the Sergeant of Police from Pagwi Patrol Post come into my office. He was obviously ill at ease as he explained that on one hand he had a duty of loyalty to the officer in charge at Pagwi, but something had happened which didn't meet the police standards to which he was accustomed. He felt obliged to report it.

Timbunmeri Islanders had attacked market goers at Indingai on Chambri Island. When members of the Pagwi detachment and the OIC went to investigate, the Timbunmeri men freely admitted attacking the market, but refused to be arrested by a National officer. The officer wisely retreated, but then failed to report the matter and call in a stronger police contingent to physically make the arrests. Instead he went to the security of his own nearby home village and kin folk...

The Timbunmeri Islanders are Nyaula Iatmul people from the Sepik River; people who historically exercised hegemony over the peoples of neighbouring areas – specifically the people of the Chambri Lakes. This included whole Islands, including Timbunmeri which they had colonized. Also within their sphere were the Sawos tribal groups of the Sepik Plains, who were their primary source of heads in the headhunting days. Leo the officer then in charge at Pagwi was from the Sawos tribal group. It would have been a matter of great shame for Nyaulas to be arrested by him.

The sergeant, myself and a small detachment of police proceeded to Timbunmeri, there was no resistance and we made the arrests without incident.

Example 2: Sorcery - PNG National officers, having been raised in traditional Melanesian villages, naturally believe in and feared sorcery. So, while one does not doubt the personal courage of individual National officers, it is recognized that they are vulnerable when taking the hard stands that the kiap duty statement requires of them. Sorcery has been described as the “village policeman”, a regulator of social behaviour. National officers know that if they impose unpopular decisions, they or their wives or children may be sorcery targets.

In 1991 while holidaying in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands I found, in the rest house, a penicillin bottle containing an unidentified black substance. The village people said a National officer had recently stayed overnight there; the bottle would have been his protective measure against local sorcery during his stay.

The clearest example I saw of sorcery being used against local authority was in the Oil Industry. In 1991 I was field manager at Ok Ma near Tabubil for a seismic operation. One of my foremen, a Huli from Koroba came to request leave. He explained that he had come to Ok Ma from a job at Kamusi where the local sorcerer had spoken to all the foremen, telling them that a spell had been placed on each of them to ensure they did not work the Kamusi labour too hard. At the end of the job, for a fee of K5 each he would lift the spell.

“I should have paid the K5” my foreman said. *“I did not and now I am dying.”* He explained that he now needed to go home, and that his only chance was with the powerful spirits of his home clan lands at Koroba; spirits which might be able to overcome the Kamusi spells. I granted the leave and I met him again many months later – he had survived, he believed because of the power of his home area spirits.

Apart from those officers mentioned above, over the years I met and/or worked with Jack Bagita, Kaipu Memafu, Fred Wafingian, Kone Vanuawaru, Noel Levi, Kevin Kaidadaiya, John Gigmai, Albert Baroku, Martin Smanki, Joe Bori, Levi Binjari, Kevin Baibuni, Charles Ali, Michael Todura

wai, D. Giyolibulibu, Titus Mandui and others.

A final judgement on the localization of the public service.

If a crystal ball had been consulted in 1946, which foretold how PNG would come to grips with its future, the localization of the public service ideally should have started immediately. If successful, this might have provided Indigenous District Commissioners with three decades of experience by the time Independence was granted. As it was, without criticism of the local officers who took over from the expatriate District Commissioners in 1975, at most they had 10 years of Departmental seniority, which in no way compensated for the irreplaceable experience of the men whose positions they occupied.

Would it have been possible to commence localization in 1946? Policemen such as Pita Simugon, John Guise and no doubt others would, through 20-20 hindsight have made excellent District Commissioners. But the reality was that the 1946 crystal ball would also have needed to immediately implement a huge education program to produce a reliable on-going flow of educated officers to meet the long term public service requirements. Such a crystal ball concept, even if recognized as critical, would have had to wait for the immediate requirements of the day to be addressed, i.e. national recovery from the devastation of war.

The truth is that the Kiap System which suited the needs of the colonial administration was not so well suited to the needs of an emerging nation with a Westminster style parliament. Effectively under the direct administration of the Kiap System, the system itself was recognized as being the "Government". As described in Sepik 4 Chapter 51, a time came when "Kiap" became a four-letter word. Would the hypothetical District Commissioners Simugon and Guise have handled this transition better than the reality of the 1970s? I expect so.

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What actually happened: Although largely autobiographical in nature, this section helps to demonstrate the professional progression not only of myself but of others in PNG at that time.

As Independence approached, the remaining staff of the Department of the Chief Minister and Development Administration received letters from Port Moresby that either thanked them for services rendered – services no longer required as of 16th September 1975; or the offer of a contract to work for the PNG Government under the same employment conditions. In my case I was offered and accepted a one year contract. I went to bed on 15th Sept 1975 as ADC Koroba, an employee in the Australian colonial service, and woke up on 16th September as ADC Koroba, now an employee in the service of the Independent sovereign state of Papua New Guinea.

At the end of the one year contract, I was offered and accepted a further two-year contract and at the end of that contract, I was offered a further three-year contract, which I declined in December 1978. I handed the Aitape Sub District over to Dominic Tari. By the end of 1978 I found my level of job satisfaction in serious decline. As indicated in Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 58, the kiap system as I knew it no longer existed.

The PNG Petroleum and Mining industries sought ex-kiap expertise - expatriate and national - to manage industry relations with the PNG communities in whose lands they sought petroleum and

minerals. Ex-kiaps brought with them unique experience, but they were also regarded as dinosaurs – unable to reproduce themselves and dying out fast. Expatriate “dinosaurs” with whom I worked included Neil Ryan, Bill McGrath, Dave Henton, Jim Jansen, Mal Lang, Ron Hiatt, Mark Sage, Harry Redmond, Jim Stephens, Deryck Thompson, Ian Thompson, Peter Maynard, John Blyth, Noel Walters and others

A decade after resigning from the PNG public service, while working as a petroleum industry field manager in the Western Province, I met Dominic Tari again in his position as ADC Kuinga.

In 1993, a former National kiap, then a Chevron Lands Officer, Leo Bera suggested that I apply for the Chevron Community Affairs Coordinator position in the Gulf Province, and thus began my employment with Chevron, then subsequently Oil Search and other multi-national petroleum companies. Other ex-kiap National officers I worked with included, Pedro Koaie, Kai Lavu, Ruben Tauka, Wellington Belawa, Sari Mora, Jephthah Marco, Gerson Amen and Willie Kupo to whom I handed over the position of Community Affairs Manager of Oil Search Limited before retiring in 2007. I then spent three years as a Community Relations manager in the Nigerian petroleum industry, and in 2010 again came out of retirement to help resolve Community related problems for Talisman Oil Co in Papua New Guinea.

End Notes Chapter 9

¹ Downs I. 1970 . P 116

² Downs I. 1970 . P 118

³ Post Courier 23rd July 1969

⁴ Ex-Kiap web site, a count of National Officers listed

⁵ Sinclair J 1981 P 278

⁶ Sinclair J 1981 P 282

⁷ Sinclair J 1981 P 283

⁸ Sinclair J 1981 P 283

⁹ Sinclair J 1981 P 282

¹⁰ Denoon D. A Trial Separation. Pandanus books 2005. P 139.

¹¹ Sinclair J 1981 P 282

Sepik 5 – Attachment 2 Veratau – Father and Son. Proud PNG achievers.

Extracts from a letter addressed to the writer, dated 17th October 2016 - from Henry Veratau [See Reference Vol 23: Item No 736.

As you know I left Ambunti in mid-1971 to visit my father who was very sick... My father, Veratau Reuben had been the first PNG Medical Assistant, with 11 others trained at the University of Sydney in 1931. He was a medical doctor and a sergeant in ANGAU during World War 2 and worked and travelled together with Edwin George Hicks [who, by chance, was District Commissioner in charge of the Sepik in 1971], in the Rigo hinterland towards Popondetta. I believe you had said good words on me and that Ted Hicks was sorry that his friend was sick and allowed me to take leave and visit Dad.

After my second year of kiap training at Vunadidir, I left for the Sepik in December 1969. I served under ADC John Corrigan at Ambunti before you arrived in 1970. John gave me Ambunti Council to look after and made me an understudy to ADO Murray Tomlinson in the non-Council areas of Ambunti. Long area study patrols of six weeks and shorter investigative patrols I did with Murray's of JC Corrigan's supervision. When you arrived, you allowed me the benefit to prove myself and you signed and endorsed my training schedule which you gave to E.G.Hicks DC. My paying your bride price, was also to thank you for this.

Patrolling and visits to villages including being on site when good and big things happened in their areas was the most wonderful and satisfying thing to do. It kind of became in-built in my system to be with the people because I went through proper kiap training.

When you were on patrol in Niksek [April River] and the Hunstein areas I received word, there was a canoe load of a war-party from Avatip village going to fight the Malus. I had Corporal Paino with a 303 rifle, accompanying me. I had a pistol, and in a 20ft dinghy, went to confront them at the Screw River entrance and shepherded them back to Avatip... After hearing their reasoning and an attempt at mediation, I told them there was a kiap law and practice in place that says serious disputes must be fairly decided in courts. They must therefore come to Ambunti with me... I told them to bring all their bows and arrows to the front and have them confiscated.

Then I went to Malu and did the same to them. Councillor Garu Jam was shouted down as Lapun [old man] and told to sit down. But good old Garu stood his ground. I was shouted at as "Manki Papua, nogat save" [A Papuan boy who knows nothing]. After allowing them to vent their frustrations... I told them of the kiap rule which they knew about. I personally felt my manhood and status as a kiap was challenged so I told them that if any one of them wanted to pick a fight with me I was more than willing to oblige them. I had the benefit of being trained as a boxer in Sogeri National High School and felt confident about it... [no one took up the challenge] ... They came to Court at Ambunti and the Avatip and Malu people who were involved were given summary sentences.

I constantly visited those gaoled, enquiring after food and welfare and they came to know me as a kiap who was there to maintain the peace...

Quoting now from Henry's resume, which is a proud record by any standards:

1971-73 Assistant District Commissioner [At Angoram]

1973-75 Deputy District Commissioner [At Maprik]

1975 District Commissioner – East Sepik District

1976-77 Provincial Commissioner – East Sepik District

- 1977–79 Administrative Secretary – East Sepik District
- 1979-81 The first Director General of the National Intelligence Organisation [NIO]
 Developed and upgraded the NIO from the Office of Security Intelligence in the Department of Prime Minister and National Executive Council [NEC]
- 1981-86 Chief Electoral Commissioner
- 1986-93 Public Service Commissioner including 1989-90 also serving as head of Dept. of Defence.
- 1992-94 Provincial Administrator and Secretary – East Sepik Province.
- 1994 Provincial Administrator and Secretary Western Province [while Provincial Govt suspended]
- 1995-97 Provincial Administrator and Secretary of Western Highlands Provincial Government.
- 1998-2000 Dept. Head of four Departments: Transport, Works, Civil Aviation and Tourism. Was also, Chairman of National Supply and Tenders and PNG delegate to South Pacific Forum...
- 2003-05 Consultant and Special Advisor on Southern Highlands restoration to Minister for Inter-Government Relations – Sir Peter Barter.
- 2005-08 Special duties attachment to Dept. of prime Minister and NEC: Deputy Chairman of Special Emergencies Task Force, Southern Highlands Province, [SHP] and later as Chairman of Special Police Operations SHP and the Highlands Provinces prior to the 2007 National Elections.
- 2010 Consultant on the Bulolo/Sepik ethnic clash at Bulolo. Achieved peace between the parties and undertook first repatriation of some Sepiks back home. After a stroke, Henry is classified as unattached and remains at home. Henry continues his story:

As a Provincial Administrator, when Provincial Governments were suspended I was proud to correct the government and administration because I was trained by competent colonial expatriate kiaps like you. I had been there, so to speak. People appreciated it because they knew that I could fix their government and administration, and put away those culprits as well...

An experience we, as kiap all shared was that there was transparency and accountability. We had the confidence to achieve that. Classic were the times when Finance Inspectors with their purple pen, flew into a station unannounced and ask for our office and safe keys. The Cash office would be handed over for periodic audit inspections. This has not happened since Independence...

I remember that handing over my powers and authority as District and the Provincial Commissioner at the time of the inception of the East Sepik Provincial Government as being like draining the blood out of my body into an unknown and untrained group of 33 or so provincial politicians and councillors. Here was me; District Commissioner and Chairman of the Provincial Management Team [PMT] consisting of the heads... National heads of Department; Works, Police, PNG Defence Force, Corrective Institutions Service, Commerce, Courts, Education, Agriculture, Health and Kiaps' there were 33 of them to do the job that I had been entrusted to do. I had some sleepless nights worrying about this change process, but I made it my business not to abandon them.

Prime Minister, now Grand Chief, Sir M.T.Somare and Paul Bengo knew and understood my advice to them and allowed me to stay on in the Sepik...I left Sepik in 1979 to go the NIO.

In early November 1953, Australia and the world became aware of a place called Telefomin in the wilds of New Guinea. Two Australian patrol officers and two native policemen had been killed by tribesmen near this remote place with a strange name like ‘telephone’. Newspaper reports *below* – *AU PMB 10-006 Nov-Dec 1953* may have mentioned ‘cannibals’ or ‘head hunters’ or ‘savages’, or at least that was my vague recollection as a young impressionable lad in rural Victoria. There were perceived hints of danger, of adventure, of unexplored places and discovering unknown tribes.



I had a more tangible connection with New Guinea shortly afterwards. Under unusual circumstances I engaged in correspondence with a senior New Guinea administration officer – a story I have told elsewhere - and indirectly this led to my being accepted into an intake in February 1961 as a Cadet Patrol Officer to be trained and to serve in the then Australian Territory of Papua New Guinea. During the training, I recall our lecturers, seasoned former Patrol Officers some of whom carried the scars of old arrow wounds, telling us overly enthusiastic recruits that we would not be venturing out to stop tribal wars, prevent cannibal feasts, or lead patrols into unexplored country in the foreseeable future. However, by good fortune, serendipitous circumstances and sheer application to my job, I did in fact find myself in such situations

over a period of time, just a few years later.

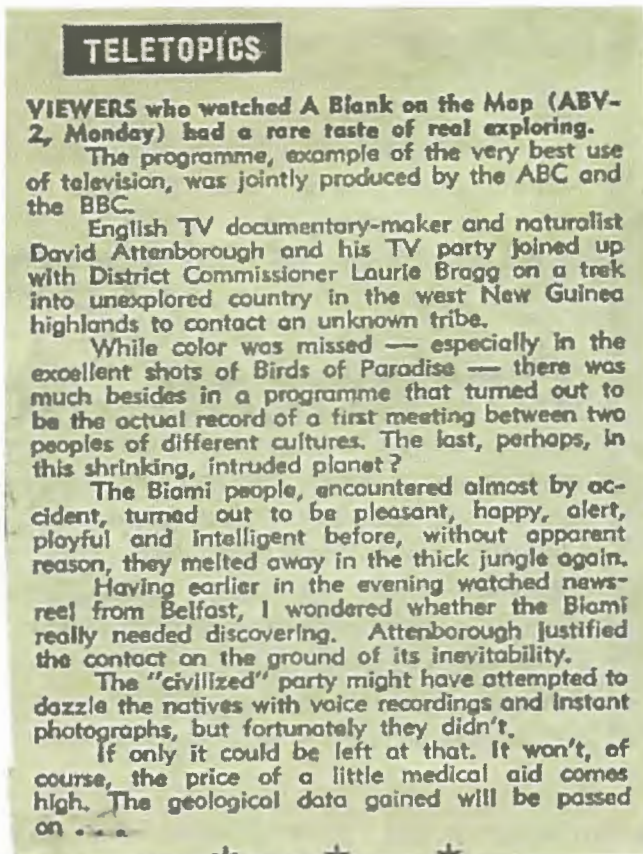
It is not my wish here to promote myself and my achievements – rather I am told I was in a unique position in relation to the history of Papua New Guinea and indeed Australia. I feel it is important to describe aspects of what could be considered the culmination of decades of Australian colonial administration, just a few years before Papua New Guinea achieved Self Government in 1973 and then Independence two years later. I speak of my role in patrolling remote parts of the Central Range between the watersheds of the north flowing Sepik River and the south flowing Fly River [not too far from Telefomin], making initial contact with small pockets of remote tribes-people, and the final de-restricting of the last two Restricted Areas of the then Territory of Papua New Guinea in 1971.

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Throughout the Australian colonial history of Papua and New Guinea, legislation and administrative policies addressed issues relating to “uncontrolled areas”. The issues were twofold – concern for the safety of outsiders entering uncontrolled areas, and concern for the safety of the indigenous people of these areas; people who aggressively defended their territory against all comers, and who knew nothing of the power of the firearms which the strangers carried to defend themselves. Before World War 2, when Papua and New Guinea were administered separately, each Territory had an “Uncontrolled Areas” ordinance. After World War 2, when Papua New Guinea was jointly administered, these ordinances were replaced in 1950 with the PNG-wide Restricted Areas Ordinance.

All three ordinances identified geographic areas which were classified pre-war as 'Uncontrolled', or post-war, as 'Restricted'. Entry to such areas was prohibited except to Administration officers on duty, natives, and persons to whom an entry permit had been issued. For anyone found in breach of this legislation the penalty was imprisonment with hard labour, a fine, or both. Following the Telefomin murders, the movements of Baptist missionaries in the area was restricted or curtailed, and also in that post-war period, access by prospectors to the known gold deposits at Porgera was restricted as that area remained uncontrolled.

There had been instances where companies had been allowed into Restricted Areas with appropriate permits whilst under direct Administration supervision. Early Sepik oil exploration saw PO Hodgekiss accompany Oil Search Ltd. into the then restricted Green River area pre-World War 2, and in 1954 PO Brightwell supervised the field exploration of the Australian Petroleum Company in the then uncontrolled August and Upper Sepik River areas.



For my part, following the discovery in the late 1960's of copper mineralization on the Frieda River, a Sepik tributary, as ADC Ambunti I thought it prudent to de-sensitise small groups of uncontacted people who lived nearby in the upper April River to the likely arrival of prospecting parties. The area, initially thought to have been uninhabited, had been de-restricted for some time — nevertheless scattered semi-nomads of the Bikaru, Biimi and Wilialife peoples lived there and they had not been contacted. I led two patrols into the area in 1970 and 1971. The latter patrol was accompanied by BBC broadcaster David Attenborough and a film crew, we contacted a small number of remote tribesmen

and the encounter was filmed and shown to the world as the documentary *A Blank on the Map* — newspaper review *opposite*, dated July 1972.

As my career progressed as a Patrol Officer, the last two remaining Restricted Areas by the late 1960s were the West Mianmin region of the West Sepik District and the North Hewa region of the Western Highlands¹. These isolated pockets were about 120km apart.

It was not surprising that these two regions were the last to be de-restricted as both had histories of tribal aggression and conflict with government patrols, which were decidedly infrequent. Missionaries, prospectors, artefact dealers and others had been excluded, and the very nature of the country mitigated against easy access. West Mianmin and North Hewa are located in some of the wettest, most remote and most inhospitable parts of PNG. The rugged nature of the country, situated in the very centre of the island, had ensured geographic and cultural isolation. Penetration by outsiders

¹ North Hewa was later in the newly created Enga District, and later still, due to a boundary change, in the Koroba sub district of the Southern Highlands District.

required very good planning, endurance and resourcefulness, particularly in the pre-1960 period when communications were rudimentary and air support limited.

I have described the early patrols into this region elsewhere in this narrative, so a brief recap of events :-

Sepik 2 Chapter 47 The Taylor and Black Hagen-Sepik Patrol of 1938/39 describes how in December 1938 this patrol was heavily attacked by Mianmin warriors on two consecutive days with loss of life on both sides. Then, John Black's section of the same patrol on its return leg to Mt Hagen in early 1939, was attacked on several occasions in the Lagaip River area by Hewa warriors, with the loss of Hewa lives.

Sepik 4 Chapter 15 Further Post-war Exploration of the Sepik. Whilst escorting an oil exploration company into the restricted upper Sepik and August River areas in 1954, Patrol Officer Brightwell described "uncontrolled" as '*...not in the sense if you crossed the line you can expect an arrow...but in the sense that we have no control there...that what we say will be taken little note of or more usually ignored.*'

Sepik 4 Chapter 19 The Mianmin Raid on Atbalmin 1956 ... against a background of on-going cannibal raids against its neighbours, the Mianmin, after being warned in 1956 not to take further reprisals against the Atbalmin people, raided an Atbalmin settlement – killing and eating 18 Atbalmin people and abducting female captives. ADO Neville and Patrol Officer Geoff Booth investigatory patrol was attacked by Mianmin warriors who suffered casualties when the patrol was forced to defend itself on more than one occasion.

Sepik 4 Chapter 24 The Suwana Massacre of 1959 ...describes a Mianmin raid on a May River community known as Suwana in 1959 in which village men and one crippled woman were killed and eaten, and the remaining Suwana females were carried off by the Mianmin attackers. The investigation by Patrol Officers Jack Mater and Jim Fenton successfully arrested the offenders and released some captured women without adverse incident.

News of the raid was raised when one of the captured women escaped and made her way to May River patrol post. Judge Gore of the Supreme Court was amazed that the only reason she did so was because her "husband" who captured her, had died and left her without a man.

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My personal introduction to these areas was in mid-1966 when, after five years service with the Administration, I was evidently considered competent to conduct a 10 week long 70-man patrol out of Oksapmin into the country of the Hewa, essentially traversing a large circle from the headwaters of the Strickland River drainage over into the headwaters of the Sepik River to the north, walking in a generally anti-clockwise direction, crossing the Central Range twice before returning to Oksapmin on foot. The chapter describing this patrol - **Sepik 4 Chapter 37 The Exploration of the Strickland-Sepik Divide 1966** – runs to 28 pages, as it was quite an adventure. This patrol, which consolidated the work of previous patrols, made some initial contacts and we spent some days within the North Hewa restricted area. The Hewa people were found to be timid and friendly, despite their reputation for aggression. Up until that time they had been obliged to constantly defend themselves against cannibal and women-seeking raids by Telefol speakers from both Eliptamin in the Sepik headwaters and Unamo in the Frieda River headwaters. Captured women and a captured child were interviewed by this writer during this patrol – they declined my offer to repatriate them.

From today's perspective, over 50 years after this patrol and others at that time, I find it interesting to reflect on some of my notes, e.g. ... '*In the preparation for my patrol in 1966, I noted that the north-eastern corner of the Telefomin sub district - an area of several hundreds of square*

miles - lay north of the Sepik Strickland divide and that no Telefomin or Oksapmin patrol had entered that area. The maps of the area, current at that time, showed rivers as dotted lines and these indicated that tributaries of the generally north-flowing April, Leonard Schultze and Frieda Rivers drained the area – a veritable blank on the map. ... I was not issued patrol instructions, so I set out a set of objectives I intended to achieve :-

- *Revise the census of known Om River groups.*
- *Initial contact and initial census of as yet unknown Om River groups*
- *Make the first patrol crossing of the Strickland-Sepik divide*
- *Initial contact and initial census of all groups north of the Central Divide within the Oksapmin administrative area... and map the area.*

Among the innumerable matter which required attention or consideration before departure :-

- *Exactly how much medicines and associated equipment would a 70 man-patrol require for 10 weeks +/- allowing for the treatment of a native population of unknown size and with unknown ailments?*
- *What trade item to take for the purchase of local foods – salt was always popular. I also packed mirrors, small knives, matches, tomahawks, calico, axes, bush knives, face paint, coloured glass beads and a bag of 'giri giri [small white cowrie shells, used as currency - to my surprise Giri giri was not prized by the people we met on this patrol.]*

Some random disconnected patrol diary entries from Chapter 37 :- ...soon after 5pm an additional five men, all heavily armed with bows and arrows, came in and despite their weaponry, they were quite friendly. Food was brought in and traded for salt. A large pig was offered in exchange for a tomahawk and a mirror.... The pig was shot and the course of the bullet was traced through the pig, then through a buttressed root of a tree and into the ground beyond. The Tomiana men shook their heads to indicate that apart from the ringing in their ears, this was power that was far beyond their comprehension.

... the local people brought out a war shield which I recognized as being of Telefomin design. They demonstrated how a single shield was used to protect one or more archers, who leapt out and fired arrows before leaping back behind the shield's protection. It was explained that strategies against attackers using such a shield was to employ a broad bladed arrow to try to split the shield, or to hit the hands holding the shield or the feet that were occasionally visible beneath the shield.

... in retrospect I believe that Arthur Marks' patrol and its elimination of tribal warfare in the Om valley removed the people's greatest fear – their probable annihilation by Telefomin and Sisimin raids. The exceptional reception my patrol received and local support for the Administration in that still very primitive area, was due to the peace they enjoyed - they were celebrating their very existence!

... with the resupply came some steel tomahawks, so I showed one and some red calico to Feiyau. In exchange for these items, I said I wanted sufficient fresh foods to feed my patrol and the carriers of the resupply patrol for tonight – thus saving one day's rice and tinned meat. This deal was struck.

... the walls of the house were of thick arrow proof bark. I was told that the primary reason for clearing around the house was for defence. The clearing was an arrow shot wide. Sweet potato, cassava, bananas and other vegetables represented the extent of local agriculture in such clearings. These people were otherwise hunters and gatherers who lived off their skill with bows and arrows.

... that ridge was noted as being 7,500 feet above sea level. The crest of the divide was a razorback and it was possible to have one foot in Strickland watershed, draining south into the Gulf

of Papua and the Coral Sea, and the other in the Sepik watershed draining north into the Bismarck Sea. The vegetation was eerie damp moss forest ... and overnight temperatures decidedly cool.

... I turned to the ever-reliable Constable Yanopa, giving him a bush knife and sending him to the Kabian house to bribe the locals to take us to the people they denied existed to their east. Yanopa put the knife on the floor and said "Who wants it? Where are the people over the ridge? Take us there and it's yours." There were immediate volunteers.

... the house was large and there was smoke rising from its thatched roof. To make contact with them I selected the swimmers in my party - Constable Maregori swam with his .303 rifle strapped to his back and I side-stroked across with my gun belt and holstered .38 held high to keep it dry. (Our arrival) caused instant pandemonium. The gardeners sprinted to the house and rushed up the ladder... I thought about the security of my small party... we went to the house and cautiously climbed the ladder to the doorway and went inside. There were 45 people quietly sitting in the house and they seemed pleased to see us. Our guides communicated with them, apparently without difficulty ...

... next day, just under an hour's walk brought us to the PENCH/Hapi junction at which point our Sumwari guides suddenly vanished. I sent police back to the airdrop site to bring them in. The police returned with a man who was said to be the Sumwari leader and his son. The man showed no fear of the police but was visibly terrified of myself and had to be physically held to prevent him running away. His son fled.

... the main concern was the security risk of splitting the patrol. After the Waina Sowanda incident the previous year, DDC Wakeford wryly commented, "Will they never learn from Telefomin?" As for us in 1966 within the Telefomin Sub District - we were among people with far less contact than the Eliptamin people had when they killed Szarka, Harris and Constables Buritori and Purari. And if things went wrong now with that background history, what would Canberra say!?

... after revising the Nenatamun census, I asked them why they fought the Paiemo, Akiapmin, Duranmin and others. Their response was - "Because they were our enemies." They seemed to have less idea why they were enemies. It seemed to me they wanted conquered lands and captured women and clearly, they enjoyed fighting and cannibalism, at which they were reputedly to be very good. They spoke of only one Akiapmin return raid against Unamo during which eight Unamo people were said to be killed.

The word-picture above hopefully portrays some of the elements of patrolling in remote New Guinea in the mid to late 1960's. Compared to patrols in earlier times when much of the country was uncontrolled, such activity in the post-war period could almost be considered 'tame'. However, there were still almost daily issues which had to be dealt with, some of them potentially life-threatening. Such events will never happen again. Fortunately, aside from some minor scuffles and an occasional angry arrow, my patrols were essentially non-violent, an outcome I attribute to 80% sound experience and careful management, 10% youthful sense of invincibility, and 10% good luck.

I had only just returned from the Strickland – Sepik patrol above when word came through that there was fighting in the West Mianmin Restricted Area. Although I was in the process of transferring from Oksapmin to Telefomin, I had to immediately prepare for another major patrol into a remote area. The 24 page **Sepik 4 Chapter 38 The Mianmin Murder Investigation of 1966/7** tells the story of that adventure. An internal Mianmin conflict resulted in the killing of 10 people from an uncontacted Mianmin group called Sanman. The writer and ADO Try investigated and made the necessary arrests. One arrow fired at the patrol passed close to Constable Maregori's ear (the same policeman who swam the river on the former patrol with his rifle strapped to his back). No shots were fired in anger – myself, Tony Try and the police were kept busy during this patrol capturing offenders, feeding them and then preventing their escape, not always successfully.

Just five days after returning from this West Mianmin patrol, I had to go out and stop a tribal war, or at least a serious skirmish, back in the Oksapmin area. A number of Bimin warriors had moved into the Tekin valley with the stated intention of killing a known sorcerer from Tekmin who in turn was accused of killing a man from Bimin. The Tekmin people were not happy with this intrusion. As noted in **Sepik 4 Chapter 39 The Threat of Tribal War in Oksapmin, and Making Peace With The Mianmin ...**² *the quickest patrol route between Telefomin and Tekmin was over the 11,000/12,000 ft. Mt. Womtakin via Feramin. There was no time to lose, and the only way I could leave immediately was to use prisoners from the Telefomin gaol as carriers [as far as Feramin at least]. CPO Neil Robinson accompanied me. We left Telefomin at 2.40pm and arrived at Feramin rest house at 5.50pm.*

After a steep climb and icy cold temperatures, we crossed the range and after a four-day forced march, we found the warring parties quietly awaiting us for adjudication as word of our approach had gone ahead. ...*'The sorcery matter was discussed at length with both sides agreeing the person responsible was the Tekmin man who had suggested the compensation in the first place. It was decided that both sides should take responsibility for their involvement, and that no sorcery compensation was to be paid. I did order however that a pig be paid to the Bimin for the inconvenience of having to come to the Tekin valley to resolve the issue. This seemed to satisfy everyone and the Bimin men returned home. There was a face-saving element involved – the intervention of our two patrols² allowed the Bimin warriors to depart with their dignity intact. Had the administration taken no action it would probably have proved impossible for the Bimin fighting force to have departed from their confrontation with the Tekmin without arrows being fired.'*

Chapter 39 cont. Making Peace With The Mianmin followed the Supreme Court trial in Telefomin in mid 1967. Given the raw tribal nature of the offences and the very limited understanding of Western law by the suspected murderers, as ADC Telefomin I explained to the court that the most appropriate decision in terms of the future administration of the area, and bringing peace to the Mianmin tribal area, would be best achieved by short terms of imprisonment - sufficient for the prisoners to see the coast at Wewak and to learn Pidgin English. The peace process would then involve the released prisoners being sent home to their tribal area as ambassadors for the Administration. Mr. Justice Frost did not agree and sentenced each of the defendants to 10 years with hard labour. I was devastated, having fully expected light sentences. In this clash of cultures, I felt that the kiap system had failed the Mianmins by not convincing the upper level of authority as to the appropriate course of action...The sentences were served in the Boram corrective institution in Wewak. I never did understand why the judge awarded such heavy sentences in that case.

As Chapter 38 mentioned, the patrol was "attacked" [albeit with just a single arrow being fired] - consequently it was government policy that the patrol leader [this writer] must lead the next patrol back into that area. The logic of this was that any Mianmin consequences to the previous patrols' actions must be borne by the same officer. This chapter describes a 3-month patrol led by myself and accompanied by Cadet Patrol Officer Chris van Lieshout, which set out to consolidate the peace between the Administration and the West Mianmin people. A key to achieving this related to a determined Mianmin woman called Wenkriema. She had been taken to Telefomin as a witness in the murder case. She gave birth to a son while in Telefomin and the patrol returned she and her child to her people; an unprecedented act in Mianmin living memory. The Mianmin would never willingly return a captured woman. Wenkriema therefore became the administration's ambassador in securing the peace.

² Tony Try had flown to Oksapmin and patrolled westward up the Tekin valley to position himself behind the Bimin warriors, while my patrol moved east into the Tekin headwaters behind the Tekmin warriors

As a result, in 1967 I recommended de-restriction of West Mianmin. Factors which were taken into consideration included :- 1/... Were the people sufficiently comfortable with outsiders to react to their arrival and behaviour in a predictable manner? 2/ ... Were there any outstanding issue of law and order which needed to be resolved first? 3/ ... What was the overall trend – were the people adjusting positively to the cessation of conflict with their neighbours, and settling into a more sedentary lifestyle? 4/... Could the rule of law be expected to prevail?

Following the challenges of the three major patrols described above, after a four-year stint at Ambunti as ADC, I was engaged upon magisterial duties in the Southern Highlands before being offered the role of ADC at Koroba. The Deputy District Commissioner explained that there had been a murder in the North Hewa area of the Koroba sub district; a government native official, a Tultul, had been killed and his badge of office sent back across the Lagaip River with a challenge to the “*papa bilong bras*” [‘father of the badge’ – the Administration of Papua New Guinea] that anyone who crossed the Lagaip River to investigate would be killed. The 17 page **Sepik 4 Chapter 54 The North Hewa Murder Investigation of Nov. 1974** describes this writer’s patrol into the North Hewa to investigate the reported murder and to do initial contact work. It was only to be a ten-day patrol, but it was definitely action-packed. Secrecy and stealth were required in this exercise as word of our approach would warn those who may have been hostile towards us. It was during this patrol that I felt most apprehensive about encountering hostilities, a concern reinforced by finding a site where bowman had been waiting for us in ambush, during daylight hours. Fortunately for us, we passed through in the early evening after the warriors had returned home.

The last major clash before independence took place in January 1975. A patrol led by ADC Laurie Bragge was attacked in North Hewa Census Division, which had been the very last pocket of restricted country in PNG to come under government control. Some of the North Hewa had still not seen a white man. Bragge’s patrol was to arrest tribesmen wanted for the murder of a *tultul*. It came under arrow attack three times. The wanted men were seized and taken to Koroba for trial.

It is remarkable that some Highlanders were still prepared to seek Western justice. In the remote North Hewa region (the last of the restricted areas of PNG to be thrown open) a party of primitive tribesmen walked five days through enemy territory to Koroba to see the *kiap*. The Hewa had been first visited by John Black in 1938, the author in 1956, and by another patrol in 1970, and were still totally ignorant of the outside world. A *tultul* had been killed. The justice known to the Hewa was sudden death by axe or arrow, but they also knew this was not the white man’s way. So they walked to Koroba to seek his justice.

Kiap Laurie Bragge went in from Lake Kapiago with a seventy-strong patrol, arrested the accused men, and took them back to Koroba to await trial.

Opposite – References to the North Hewa patrol of 1974, from ‘The Middle Kingdom’ by James Sinclair 1928-2017, former patrol officer and noted New Guinea writer. ¹

We had identified suspected murderers and we knew where they were. I decided on a surprise dawn raid. ... ‘It was a long cold sleepless night. Thankfully it did not rain. People coughed and talked and shone torches about. My attempt to maintain silence found my purposeful step in the direction of an offender land on someone I did not see. This made even more noise with exclamations of surprise and muttered apology. Constable Laulau explained next day – to the delight of all - that he got up to urinate during the night and moved well away from the resting patrol, and still managed to urinate on someone he did not see. Incredibly all of this noise and confusion went unnoticed by the people down at the house!’

Blundering into what we belatedly realized was a funeral at first light next morning, targeting the fight leader named Andi ... ‘Constable Nabur and I followed by others ran to the houses where two men were held. Andi fled through a fenced garden into the forest beyond, firing arrows at the patrol as he went. The first arrow passed so close by overhead that I am sure I heard it

go by. The second arrow transfixing a house post within inches of Constable Nabur's stomach as he went around one side of a garden shelter and I went around the other.... (Andi) was a big man with an arrow fitted to his bow string. He was wide-eyed and calling out angrily as he danced, prancing back and forth and pointing his arrow in various directions with the bow string drawn right back. This warrior's aggressive samsam [war dance] was a frightening spectacle. The garden fence between Andi and us was of the Duna style – a pointed split timber palisade, but somehow, we swarmed over it and disarmed him.

... We had seven handcuffed prisoners suspected of murdering the Tultul, but the issue arose as to the protection of their kinfolk with the removal of these fighting men. There was much work to do, ensuring goodwill and trust was engendered with all who we met, not just those who we raided but other groups we encountered, all very interested in proceedings as administration contact in this area was almost nil.

... To the Hewa prisoners, the tedious legal process of a preliminary hearing of their charges in the District Court, and then waiting for the arrival of a Supreme Court judge to hear their case was incomprehensible. One day they decided they would go home. They simply walked past the gaol wardens and set off down the road. A warden arrived breathless in my office and told me of the escape. I got into the Toyota and set off after them ... I soon caught up with the escapees as they trudged along the road - I pulled up beside them and they seemed pleased to see me. I indicated for them to get into the back of the Toyota, which they did – fortunately - and I drove them back to Koroba gaol!

In due course, Supreme Court Judge Sir Coleman O'Loughlan arrived in Koroba and heard the case of the Crown vs. Andi and others. Of necessity Sir Coleman was accommodated with me, there being no hotel or guest house in Koroba. Much of the evidence given at the trial was given by me, and I paid particular attention to the antecedent report, which explained the primitive nature of the North Hewa people.

During a lunch break, Sir Coleman said to me words to the effect: "Not that anything you say would influence me in my decision, but out of interest, what sentences would you give them?" I replied that the best interests of the Administration of the North Hewa would be served by having the defendants returned home as soon as possible after they had learned to speak Pidgin. I suggested two years for the ring leaders Andi and Yasana, and progressively lower sentences for the younger men. By chance those were the sentences he imposed.

I don't recall making any recommendation for the de-restriction of the North Hewa after my 1967 patrol, possibly because it was not my district. In 1970 Chris Makin was in charge at Lake Kopiago, his patrol into the North Hewa and found the people friendly, and it was probably he who recommended the de-restricting of the area. Consequently, then when I set out to apprehend the murderers of the Tultul in 1974, the area had been de-restricted for some years. Notwithstanding the dramas at that time, I don't feel the area was de-restricted prematurely. The mistake was that there was no follow-up patrolling after Mr Makin's 1970 visit to cement friendly relations between the Administration and the Hewa.

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Overview

Bringing PNG tribal groups under control had been in progress since the very beginning of the colonial era. As mentioned earlier, the luck of staff postings saw this writer involved in the de-restriction of both the final two Restricted Areas in March 1971 – West Mianmin and North Hewa. In both cases this was done by taking the time necessary to establish friendly relations. At the time of initial European contact, both the Mianmin and the Hewa learned the hard way about the power of

firearms. By the 1960s when this writer became involved with the Mianmin and Hewa peoples, both groups knew from sometimes painful experience³ to treat administration patrols with caution and respect, and of course the reverse applied. 'Control' was slowly but surely being established in both Restricted Areas.

The concept of 'initial contact', i.e. being the first European to meet remote tribesmen, conjures up all sorts of notions, some fanciful. Today in 2018 such encounters have been long consigned to the past, certainly in the south-west Pacific. However, in the late 1960's I was among a very small number of Europeans who were the first to be seen by natives in the remote rainforests of the Central Range of PNG. These people were among the last to be contacted on the island of New Guinea. We administration officers, had a great responsibility, although we didn't dwell much on it at the time. We represented the future for these remote people – we were the vanguard of changes which were to have a radical impact on their lives and that of their descendants.

We also represented the end of their past. Whether they liked it or not, they had arrived at a crossroads. Our technologies would overwhelm theirs, their cultural practices and spiritual beliefs would be challenged, their relationships within and beyond their tribal confines would change forever, as would their perception of their cosmos. For the first time they would be subject to control by an authority beyond their tribal boundaries and initially beyond their comprehension. Whilst Western medical treatments would alleviate inherent diseases, infection and injury, the West would inadvertently introduce outside diseases with devastating effect.

At the risk of constructing something akin to a feature story in a *Boys Own Annual* [a popular British adventure publication which ceased circulation coincidentally in 1967], I would like to describe here briefly just what it was like to be at this interface – what it was actually like to meet native people who had not previously seen a white person, an experience which never again can be duplicated. Those people I met had only recently emerged from the stone age – whereas I belonged to a civilization which landed men on the moon in July 1969.

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I have been asked if I was ever scared in an enforcement or first contact situation. Certainly, on occasions I spent a restless night prior to a planned apprehension of murderers or implementing some similar law-enforcement event, hoping the assumptions behind my plans were correct, and that all would go well with the dawning of tomorrow. On routine patrols into Restricted Areas [perhaps a contradiction], I felt a heightened sense of awareness, but I was confident all would go well if three sets of circumstances were in play.

- 1/ that I took my time and progressed slowly and carefully ...
- 2/ that I was constantly alert to what was going on around me, and ...
- 3/ that I had full confidence in my accompanying police.

Underpinning all this of course was my confidence in my training and experience – I was equipped to deal with most predictable situations and hopefully, those which were unpredictable.

It is essential to note here the support patrol officers received from their generally loyal and competent native police. Without their support, the process of pacification and control would have been impossible. In patrolling remote places, especially where there was a possibility of hostilities, I often assigned a constable as my personal body guard, not so much out of concern for my own wellbeing but more importantly, an awareness that if I became disabled, very serious consequences could eventuate. Not only was I responsible for my police, they were dependent upon my instructions, and they and I were equally responsible for the welfare of the carrier line and the people in whose area

³ Being unaware of the lethal capacity of firearms, in early encounters with patrols, hostile tribesmen fearlessly approached to within close range, to their detriment.

we were patrolling. The carriers, usually scores of them, were unarmed and possibly would have scattered in unknown territory if the kiap was no longer in control. Fortunately, these outcomes never eventuated, although in both the Mianmin and North Hewa, arrows came perilously close.

The possible political ramifications were also in the forefront of my mind in the North Hewa in 1974. At that critical time in PNG history, I knew exactly how PNG politicians and the media would view an expatriate officer, using firearms to defend of his patrol, against PNG nationals armed with only bows and arrows. In such situations it was perception, rather than hard facts that carried public opinion; decidedly, an area I wished to avoid if at all possible.

It was standard policy to give a firearm demonstration after encountering uncontacted people. The noise alone was sufficient to engender respect for the police, aside from the obvious damage that could be inflicted by a bullet. We usually shot a pig, which had been purchased with trade goods, and ensured the exiting bullet struck a shield, a tree or the ground for further effect.

However, first contact people were usually reserved but friendly, especially if women and children were about, a sure sign that all was well. They were just as cautiously interested in the kiap and the patrol members as we were with them. In the 1960's and '70's, even remote people had an awareness of the white man and the outside world. They had steel axes, some with round holes of Dutch origin, procured through the same trade routes which delivered them stone axes in earlier times. An occasional tin or piece of glass was seen, as well as for instance red calico strip adornments. Trade items we brought with us such as glass beads, mirrors, bush knives [machete], cheap scissors and razor blades etc, added to their inventory of Western goods. In the Amanab area near the Indonesian border, old touch batteries were highly prized for the black carbon rod in the centre, used as a nose plug. Salt was always highly prized – a few dessert spoons of salt would purchase enough sweet potatoes and taro for several men for several days.

I took photos – which sometimes caused some unease – and made anthropological notes on such occasions and collected exceptional artefacts and recorded their provenance for the PNG museum. I attempted to make lists of common words from the local language, although a lot depended on the competency or otherwise of our interpreters. These by definition were bilingual, and sometimes translations of sorts were achieved by the filtering through a number of languages. I could usually tell by body language if my statements or queries were being received as intended. Even if these engagements were unsuccessful, the friendly sometimes funny interactions helped to build a positive relationship. The police circulated on such occasions, keeping an eye on things, trading for food and ensuring the carriers didn't get into any mischief.

One aspect of those encounters I could never get used to was the intrusion into my personal space. After overcoming their initial fear and hesitation, the men in particular would come right up to me and stand very close, smiling up into my face – I was always taller than any tribesmen we met – reassuring me that all was well between us. Perhaps an image flashed across my mind of the standard caricature of a missionary or explorer being cooked in a large iron pot, with heathen savages standing around grinning! Anyway, although many of the remote people I met had been cannibals in the then

recent past, I never did see any direct evidence of cannibalism. Another positive element in developing friendly relationships was the trained native medical orderly who always accompanied remote area patrols. He dispensed medicines and treated minor ailments, infections, ulcers and ‘grille’, a common irritating fungal skin infection. He also cleaned and bandaged arrow, knife and axe wounds, and most importantly gave injections for yaws, a chronic bacterial infection, easily cured by penicillin, which otherwise would cause severe debilitation and death. The almost miraculous cure for yaws alone virtually guaranteed a good reception for follow-up patrols. Regrettably some people had respiratory diseases, sometimes fatal, which has been introduced by the white man. Curiously, the forbears of at some of the uncontacted people I met had probably seen Europeans before, especially in the upper Sepik during the war years when parties of military personnel and others were moving between the Sepik and the Highlands on foot.

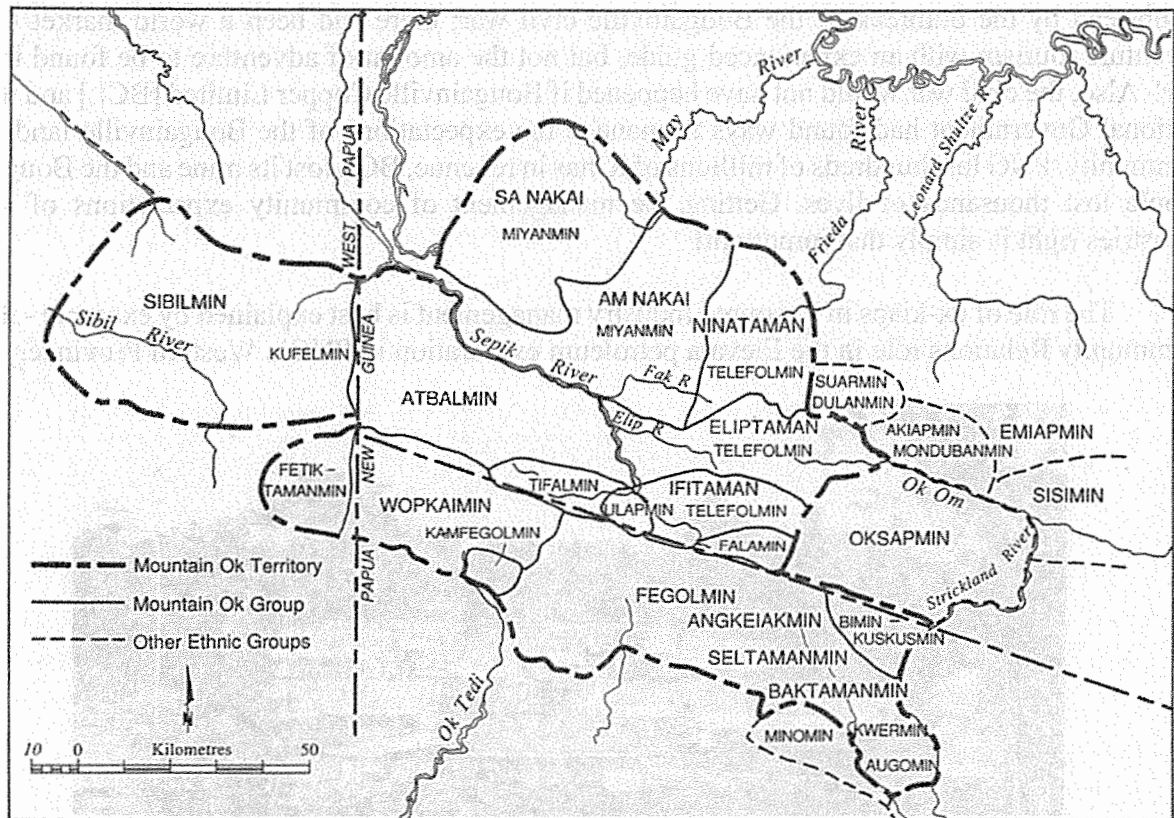


Fig. 1 The Wopkaimin and Other Mountain Ok Peoples of Central New Guinea

The map above, from a paper by David Hyndman published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* vol. 104 in 1995 is self-explanatory. Whilst its accuracy and terminology is somewhat doubtful, the West Mianmin Restricted Area in 1970 can be loosely identified as “SA NAKAI – Myanmin”, whilst the North Hewa Restricted Area in 1970 approximately coincides with the notation “SISIMIN”.

The modern regional centre of Telefomin is identified as “TELEFOLMIN”.

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End Notes Chapter 10

¹ J.Sinclair - Middle Kingdom - Crawford House Publishing 2016 page 408 above and 446.

Sepik 5 Chapter 11 Ex-kiap Experience and Skills Applied to PNG Resource Industries

All of PNG's Natural Resources [Petroleum, Minerals and Timber] are located on "tribal" land. [That is; land that is owned under customary land tenure]. Resource Company access to such customarily owned land is authorized by Government Permits, which are effectively "licenses to deal" with customary landowners. Resource Industries have learned that the people with the skills necessary to do this on their behalf are ex-kiaps. Ex-kiaps are people who have the respect of the land-owning communities, and have the ability to explain corporate culture, to them and explain community culture to the company, while ensuring that both community and company abide by the laws of the land.

The writer qualified as an "ex-kiap" having resigned as ADC Aitape on 31st December 1978 with 18 years of field experience. In 1989 my PNG adventure tourism business was brought to an abrupt end by the outbreak of the Bougainville civil war; there had been a world market for PNG adventure tourism with an experienced guide, but not the amount of adventure to be found in a civil war! Also, the civil war would not have happened if Bougainville Copper Limited [BCL] and the PNG National Government had found ways to manage the expectations of the Bougainville land owning community. PNG lost hundreds of millions of Kinas in revenue, BCL lost its mine and the Bougainville people lost thousands of lives. Getting the management of community expectations of resource industries right is simply that important!

The role of ex-kiaps in Resource Industry management is best explained by example - the 1989 Community Relations role in the Elevala petroleum exploration in PNG's Western Province.



Above - Kumul camp on the bank of the Fly River at Drindmasuk. Bush timber frames, split palm floors, plastic sheeted walls and tarpaulin rooves.

My first day in PNG Resources Industry saw me in the employ of a service company known as Exploration PNG Ltd [XPNG]. I was to serve as both the Field Manager and British Petroleum [BP] rep. at Kumul¹ base camp, – Mal' Lang, who, luckily for me had not yet departed on leave when I received my first message from Mike Hedge – our BP boss ...

I need an estimate of the amount of work outstanding, plant required to complete the work, and a cost for this work (.) Without this information there are no funds to continue with

¹ The pidgin word for Bird of Paradise.

this project (.) From the progress rate that we have seen, when would you anticipate we could start running trucks up the road to the rig site with equipment (.) Casing, mud chemicals and drilling equipment should arrive by the end of October (.) We will need to move about sixty truck loads to the rig site before the rig arrives around the third week of November. The rig will require about sixty truck loads before the end of December.

Regards M.H.ⁱ

Considering that this was my very first morning on the job, a message this was a serious wake up call. There was only one thing to do; I intercepted Mal at the river bank. He read the message, pursed his lips and gave a judicious and resigned nod, before trudging back up the hill with me to help calculate and word a reasoned response for Mr. Hedge.

The original budget to build the 80 km of road had been K3.2 million and this had been fully expended in building a little over half of it. We calculated it would take a further K2.8 million to complete the job. I was in the midst of a huge learning curve.

The “road” construction project involved 80 km from the Fly River at Kumul camp to the “Elevala” well site. Mal referred to the project as “Mission im-bloody-possible”. He explained that there was no stone along the road route – just undulating ridges of treacherous sticky clay under a rain forest canopy that received over 200 inches of rain annually. The extensive river bank gravel bar at Drindmasuk was initially identified by as road surfacing material. But this gravel turned to dust in the hand at the slightest pressure. In lieu of gravel road surfacing, 21 kilometres of the road had to be corduroyed with saplings laid on geo-fabric and then overlaid with a metre of laterite; a very expensive add on!

Mal also believed the PNG Government had “conned” BP into building the road as a viable alternative to the huge cost of using helicopters to fly the Rig and drilling supplies to the rig-site. As discussed in Chapter 40 - two years earlier in 1987 the “East Awin” refugee camp was set up on this road route and an all-weather road was needed to service the needs of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and some 3,000 resident refugees.

In response to our estimate of 2.8 million BPs chartered an aircraft to bring senior managers to site to determine for themselves a best way forward. As BP rep, I accompanied them by helicopter and obtained my first look at the project. We flew directly to the Elevala rig site, which I saw as a huge red clay bench with a helipad and a camp site further down the hill. The whole scene was a raw red muddy wound in the towering sombre green rain forest.

We also landed next at the kilometre point 60 on the road alignment. The “road” at this point was a pioneering stage quagmire of mud adjacent to Kuyu refugee camp. I was more interested in the camp and the refugees than in the road. My initial and lasting impression was of a dilapidated group of housing built from bush materials and plastic sheeting. I was also able to see an immediate problem I needed to address in my role as BP rep. The endless rainforest came right to the back of the settlement. The only place where there was enough light to allow vegetable gardens to grow was along the road alignment clearing.

Below - East Awin's treacherous clay



*Middle photo - Geo-fabric laid over the treacherous clay followed by corduroy of saplings.
Bottom photo - The finished road, after a layer of laterite laid over the corduroy was graded.*

The road construction was achieved by excavating two huge table drains six or so metres apart. Then, as the mud and the rain allowed, the exposed clay was shaped into a road camber between the drains. The geo-fabric, corduroy and laterite then went over the top of that. Gardens were buried in this process and as a matter of urgency I needed to start planning the best way to ensure adequate verifiable compensation was calculated and paid.

The helicopter dropped us off at another of the refugee camps at the 48-km mark and from there we were driven back to Kumul camp in Curtain Star vehicles.

I quickly learned that my duty statement was so broad that there were never enough hours in any day to get everything done. As field-manager I was responsible for managing people who kept the camp running as a commercially functional concern. This included camp maintenance, water and electrical reticulation, catering, laundry, ordering and distributing supplies. Then there was the finance side – Exploration PNG owned the camp and I maintained the “hotel” register. Every meal and each night’s accommodation was accounted for and charged out appropriately.

I was also the paymaster, with a locked patrol box containing tens of thousands of Kinas in cash under my bed. A second field manager, stationed at Gasuke on the Elevala River was responsible for a huge seismic program² that was also under way in the East Awin area. As required by time and circumstance, we filled in for each other. Apart from learning my BP role, I went through a very steep learning curve on Seismic operations – Exploration PNG’s dozens of indigenous foremen had several pay grades. I never did see this documented and I relied heavily on the precedent of previous pay sheets and the phenomenal memory of my occasional counterpart Ian Thompson [blue shirt on the next page], another ex-kiap who had all this information in his head. In addition to pays we monitored the “production” of our seismic line cutting, bridging, survey and drilling crews and paid “incentives” for superior “production” results – The most popular such payment was a case of frozen lamb flaps.

I was also the labour contractor and industrial relations manager. At the height of operations the combined road construction, camp maintenance and seismic program required a total of 850 casual labourers per day. These crews were spread over hundreds of square kilometres at around three dozen locations. Helicopters were used to collect time sheets, deliver pays and rations and to move Seismic camp equipment on regular occasions. Labour recruitment in East Awin was a problem for several reasons:

1. The East Awin region is very sparsely populated. There were simply not enough East Awin people to meet out labour requirements.

² A seismic program requires many two-metre wide paths to be cut through the rainforest by **line-cutting crews** on specified compass bearings for as many kilometres as the program requires. **Bridging crews** then built timber walkways along these paths and ladders up and over any obstacles on the compass line. This is necessary as in 200 inch plus rainfall areas, such as East Awin, the number of feet that traverse the line in the course of a seismic operation would create an impassable quagmire. The next come the **drilling crew**. Their job is to drill holes in the ground at specified intervals and to specified depths. **Surveyors** then accurately map the locations of the drill holes. The **Shot crew** follows the surveyors and place specified amounts of explosives at specific depths in the holes, which are back filled. The shot crew then place measuring devices at each hole and line each to the next by electric cables. Finally, the recording crew sets up seismic equipment and detonates the charges.

Shock waves travel great distances down into the ground and bounce back from any obstructions encountered. The resulting recording, which looks like an x-ray of the earth’s surface, is analysed by geophysicists who seek to identify unbroken bell shaped bands of “cap-rock” which could contain a reservoir of petroleum. This then becomes a drilling target.

The other two necessary ingredients of a petroleum reservoir are the presence of hydrocarbon and a reservoir rock [usually sand stone] of the appropriate porosity and permeability to allow the hydrocarbons to accumulate and to flow once a drill penetrates to cap rock.

2. The Awin ethnic group's diet relies primarily on sago and forest products. This diet does not sustain the level of day-in and day-out labour required of the labourers the various jobs needed.
3. The refugee camps contained thousands of people including more than enough fit young men to fill all of our needs. Unfortunately, employing them would contravene the terms of their refugee status. Government policy on employment of refugees is restrictive; they could only be employed within the boundaries of the proposed 100,000-hectare purchase and then only of suitable PNG citizens were unavailable.ⁱⁱ



The writer [left] & Ian Thompson preparing the pays.

An Awin man. Note the pierced nose.

Bird-dogs. No description of a petroleum job, such as the Elevala project, is complete without mentioning bird-dogs. Bird-dogs are petroleum industry specialists who ensure the work meets industry and corporate standards. The Elevala project we had two bird-dogs.

Don Lewis – BP bird dog ensured, among other things, that of the thousands of tons of drilling equipment that duly arrived on the Fly River bank – items were trucked to the rig site in the order required for the most efficient assembling and erection of the drilling rig.

Tony Kenny – The Santos bird-dog over saw the seismic program, ensuring efficiency in its day to day management and coordination.

My urgent priority after my day routine tasks was to go to Iowara to put in place mechanisms to record road construction damage caused to refugee property – particularly gardens, and to make compensation payments. But it was in the nature of the job that other people's priorities usually took precedence over those of field managers.

On 26th September 1989

I received two day's warning of a VIP visit to the project by the Premier of the Western Province, the honourable Norbet Magmop and party. I called BP Port Moresby and requested the preparation of a briefing paper. Visits by politicians to commercial operations in their area of political responsibility inevitable cause corporate nervousness. I learned, not only that the premier's home was one day's walk out of Telefomin station, but that he too was a former kiap. With this useful information, I introduced myself as a former ADC of Telefomin. Norbet and I were immediately on first name terms. He and his party arrived in an aluminium barge, bringing with them their own Suzuki four-wheel drive. Clearly a priority was to experience the province's newest road.

The premier's party included his wife, a Daru lady, the District Coordinator – John Kup and Mr. Kup's teenage daughter. I gave them a project briefing and then took them to the mess for lunch time. Both tables were well occupied. I addressed everyone in loud voice:

"Gentleman, I would like to introduce the Premier of the Western Province and his wife..." Both tables went quiet then there was the noise of chairs being pushed out. People smiled and nodded as they made what seemed to be hasty retreats - *"... got to get back to work"*, someone mumbled as they passed by the visitors.

"I hope I did not drive them out" the Premier said. *"Of course not"* I assured him. Miss Kup had apparently not previously encountered a smorgasbord and, to the visible embarrassment of her father she filled her plate to overflowing. The cooks nodded their approval when she did her duty as a growing girl and wolfed it all down and took some fruit away for later. At 2.30 pm I took my leave of the Premier's party as the helicopter was waiting to take me to Iowara.

At that time, there were thirteen refugee camps strewn out between the 40 and 60 kilometer marks on the road alignment. I did not know which was Iowara, nor did the pilot. I asked to be dropped at the sawmill. He knew where that was – I didn't, but I knew it was at Iowara.

At Iowara I was met by Chris Kati. He was a District Officer who had been stationed at Blackwater camp in the West Sepik and when the residents were transferred to Iowara he came with them and was now responsible, in association with the UNHCR, for the administration of the refugees. I learned in talking with Chris that he was a native of Lumi and that he had been educated in Aitape. I mentioned that I had been ADC at Aitape a decade earlier and the kiap system's military-style automatically authority clicked into place with me as the respected senior officer.

We spoke of mutual acquaintances: *"Brian Webb!"*³ he said in tones of mock accusation *"He married Liz, my teacher from St Ignatius High!"*. When I explained my concerns about garden damage and associated compensation it became clear that these were his concerns as well. Provided I could supply a drum of fuel for his vehicle so he could do the necessary running around, Chris would coordinate garden surveys in each of the camps and to record any damage done to date. This was quickly done and it provided base line data against which compensation claims could be calculated after the road works were finished in the area of the refugee camps.

I stayed overnight at Iowara and discovered to my delight an establishment called the "Hollandia Restaurant". The restaurant was owned and operated by Yance Hermbring. That evening I enjoyed chilli chicken, rice and chilli vegetables and sweet black Indonesian coffee. When I indicated that I would be a regular customer Yance told me that his restaurant had a problem getting fresh meat and fish, so I agreed to bring chicken, beef, barramundi and/or prawns from our mess each time I planned to spend time in Iowara.

Next morning, the 29th I attended the morning market at Iowara. I was amazed at the wide variety of vegetables on sale there. One item that I expected to see, but did not, was sago. I learned that the lack of sago was a major problem for the majority of the refugees who came from lowland areas of West Papua, and whose staple diet had been sago.

³ Brian had been headmaster of Tadjji High school at Aitape. Nearby St Ignatius was Aitape's second high school. It was run by the Franciscan mission



Left - Yance Hermbing as an OPM guerrilla fighter.ⁱⁱⁱ

Sago subsistence people living on their ancestral lands harvest sago palms from stands planted by their fathers and ancestors before them. They, in turn, replenish the stands by planting several new sago shoots for each palm they harvest. The problem with the East Awin rainforest, into which they were relocated, was the lack of ancestral sago stands. To western tastes traditional sago

seldom excites the taste buds. But to sago subsistence people it is their 'daily bread'; without which, no matter how much other food they eat, their hunger remains.



A Iowara market scene.

Faces in the market crowd reflect the diversity of ethnic origins among the refugees



The refugees were still rationed weekly, but the road construction had resulted in the contractor Curtain-Star closing the road to private traffic and promising to deliver the rations with contractor vehicles, but this was not happening. On 29th I went back to Kumul base in a truck with a team of refugees and raised the ration problem with the Curtain-Star manager. The refugees loaded 14 tons of rice and meat onto the delivery truck in record time.

Timber cutting agreements had to be drawn up and monitored with residents of several refugee camps, both for corduroy timber and saw logs for the sawmill run by Warren Dutton at Iowara. Such agreements can be legally questioned as Section 132 of the Land Act makes null and void any agreements concerning native land unless conducted through the PNG Lands Department. The Petroleum Act provided for a broader interpretation, so I ensured that copies of the agreements were lodged with the Petroleum Registrar Mr. C. Warrillow. another ex-kiap.

I noted in passing that there was an employment agreement that allowed Mr. Dutton to employ refugees at his mill. On the 3rd October, I met with Chris Kati and “Jock” the UNHCR representative and discussed the possibility of employing refugees on our seismic teams. Agreement was reached on condition that refugees could be employed only after all available Awin people who wanted jobs had them. The provision that such employment could happen only within the 100,000-hectare purchase area was not policed. This employment opportunity for hundreds of refugees met with great enthusiasm from them and there was a noticeable increase in the productivity of the seismic crews.

On 30th September, the first of many barge loads of gravel was delivered at great expense to the river bank at Kumul. This gravel was trucked from Rumgenae – inland from Kiunga and loaded onto the barge at Kiunga. The gravel was to be used sparingly to surface critical areas of the road. My immediate task was to negotiate a land lease with the Drindmasuk village people as a storage dump for this gravel.

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Writer’s Note: A “Kiap guiding principle” ex-kiaps applied in their work for resource companies was “*Relationships are more important than agreements.*” Legal signed agreements fixed in time by the date next to the signature are a cornerstone of the Western business world. “Agreements set in stone” have no place PNG traditional society, where human interaction is governed by fluid the rules of reciprocity. Each landowner action expected a reciprocal action. These rules are reflected in western sayings such as “*You scratch my back and I will scratch your back*” and “*There is no such thing as a free lunch*”. To these sayings we can add a PNG original: “*An agreement is a pause in negotiations.*”

Given the fluid nature of reciprocity, ex-kiap Field managers like me focused on maintaining viable working relations. At Elevala I maintained relations with Western Province administration officers, the Awin tribal people, the UNHCR and the refugees. This meant I had immediate access to negotiate with each and every party who might in some way present a problem to the smooth running of the Elevala petroleum project.

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5th October 1989, I went to Kiunga to meet with The ADC Mr. Fafeng Bibin concerning a report I had received of an apparent land ownership claim over the Elevala well site. We agreed to call the disputing parties to Iowara so the ADC could establish if that a dispute exists he will arrange a hearing with the appropriate authorities.

Experience has shown that the declaration of a well site usually leads to competing claims of land ownership because of the future potential petroleum wealth that might accrue to the well-head landowner. Experience shows greed drives the truth out the window as soon as the location of a well site is declared. The chances of obtaining solid evidence *after* the declaration are nil. The recording evidence of landownership need to start much earlier.

As such disputes can be anticipated, the field officers should document evidence of land ownership from the very beginning of field work in the area. It can be done like this:

1. Seismic programs typically involve a grid of seismic lines covering hundreds of square kilometres of prospective country. Jealousy between adjacent groups of customary land owners ensures that when a boundary is reached by a seismic line that “clan”, whose land is about to be entered, demands that their men replace the last clan’s men and are employed in the seismic crews.
 - a. That specific location should be recorded as a point on the boundary between clan A and clan B. Over the course of the seismic operation a detailed map develops showing every boundary point on the seismic lines.
 - b. The compensation payments made for damage caused to crops, improvements, forest and the earth’s surface also provide firm evidence of land ownership. Any disputed identified at this point should also be noted. In the writer’s experience, there are usually few such disputes.
2. There is little at stake between the landowning entities at this point – merely the right to be employed and compensation; neither issue is serious enough to cause a major confrontation. The evidence of landownership is reliable, and the best available.
3. As the seismic recording is interpreted to reveal the well-site location there is a need for confidentiality while the evidence from employment crews and compensation data is refined to identify the actual landowners of the well site.
4. There may be claim and counter claim and jockeying for position as always, except that now the field managers have firm land ownership evidence which can be presented in a court of law if need be to prevent years of disputation and costly project delays. – as occurred later on the Hides Kutubu and Gobe oil fields.

These landownership discussions were still underway when I handed over to ex-kiap Mark Sage 13th October and went out on leave. I arrived back at Kumul and took over from Mark on 28th October.

Sorcery: The project was moving very quickly and my diary noted many minor items which need not trouble these pages Then on 3rd November I found myself in casual discussion with Nelson, one of my Awin foremen. He told me he had been sick for weeks. He spoke with a croak in his voice and complained of bodily aches and pains.

“Em sanguma tasol.” I said as a joke [It’s just sorcery] I should have known better. Nelson had been heading out the door, but then he stopped and came back into the office. Clearly he wanted to discuss his fears with someone who apparently understood sorcery. The pidgin discussion is translated here into English:

“Yes!” he said “sorcery!,” he had taken my joke seriously, apparently thinking I had words of wisdom for him on the subject of sorcery. All I could offer was:

“If it is sorcery, then it probably means you did something to offend someone. You must know what you did and who was offended. If you fix it the sorcery should go away.”

Nelson nodded agreement with this assessment. “That is right except that I have not done anything. The problem is jealousy and they are making sorcery over that.”

Nelson explained that his employment with us allowed him and his father to buy an outboard motor and a freezer and to start a fishing business. Tall poppy syndrome is another reflection of the rules of reciprocity – ideally everyone is equal but when someone has more than someone else sorcery is made to make to restore equality – either by death or forcing the fortunate one to share his new wealth. Nelson was the only one who could decide what to do in his particular circumstance.

White Ants: My November camp inspection revealed that we had a white ant problem. Petroleum camps, such as Kumul, are not permanent structures; they are erected quickly and inexpensively from locally available bush timber and plastic sheeting. Such camps are expected to last for the duration of the exploration program – usually about three months; a period that usually coincided with the rate of the white ant, camp demolition program. But at Kumul base camp the petroleum program was extended, but no one told the ants and they kept munching away. The camp structure remained sound, and the inhabitants become accustomed to an ever-increasing “snow-flurries” of borer dust that silently drifted down from the rafters.

The question of camp maintenance seemed to fall somewhere between the areas of responsibility of myself as field manager and the Don Lewis as bird dog. BP arbitrated and most of the responsibility went to Don.

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In order to meet the BP deadlines, Curtain-Star had been building the road by shift work around the clock under flood lights. On the 8th November, I accompanied bird-dog Don Lewis on an 80-km drive to the rig site where we inspected progress on the construction of the Holmic and Payne drillers’ camp.

On the 9th I reviewed the daily reports from when this project started, and from them commenced consolidating a final report on the road construction phase of the Elevala project. On the 13th November, the ocean-going barge *Sea Beach* arrived in Kiunga direct from Huston, Texas. The instruction was to unload the thousands of tons of equipment at Kiunga from where it would be moved to Drindmasuk. Don Lewis and others convinced the Captain to continue up stream and unload at Drindmasuk. He agreed and luckily the river was running sufficiently high that the journey upstream was achieved without incident.

My first task to do with the unloading of the *Sea Beach* was to employ stevedores. The best workers available were the refugees. It was then that I discovered that among the ship’s crew were Indonesians; citizens of the country that caused these West Papuans to seek political asylum in PNG in the first place. Some of the refugees would like nothing better than to kill Indonesians. What horrified me most was that no one recognized this danger until I explained it. We sourced our stevedores from elsewhere and the security arrangements and good luck resulted in no incidents between the refugees and the Indonesians.

My first meeting with Helmric and Payne’s Texas drillers was memorable. At first I could not attune my ears to their Texan accents. The first real words I understood were the introduction of a “Tool-pusher” who was described as being “a bit like a shifting spanner - Chuck can fit onto and slip off of just about anything.” English was spoken in that meeting by people with accents from Australia, Papua, Texas, Pakistan and elsewhere, and I, [among others] struggled to take in everything that was said.

Days later, at the rig-site, I explained PNG's system of industrial relations by which the Helmrice & Payne drillers would have to comply. On my way, back through Iowara I spoke with Chris Kati and reiterated the basis upon which we and now the drillers could employ his refugees.

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Pagini Transport was now on site and almost immediately the refugees complained to me about the speed at which Pagini truck convoys charged through their camps. In yet another of my many roles I raised this as a Health and Safety issue with the Pagini rep. There had been a threat to kill an expatriate driver the refugees regarded as an endangering the people living along the road.

Over the coming weeks a conflict situation evolved between Pagini Transport and me. As BP rep, I insisted on a safety policy requiring convoys to travel at a speed through camps that did not endanger people or livestock. This was important in its own right, but doubly important as if there was a fatality that immediate payback could be expected take the life of the driver, that threat had already been made, and the truck and cargo might, predictably set on fire.

BP responded well to my report on the issue by sending a Health and Safety officer to site. I accompanied him to each of the refugee camps and Awin settlements for discussions. Notices concerning convoy movements were drawn up in Bahasa and pidgin languages and distributed. But the problem did not go away. The argument from Pagini was that my "so-called safety" instructions meant that I was telling specialists how to do their job.

Neither I nor the Pagini rep. and an expatriate driver refused to back down. Finally, BP, Pagini and Exploration PNG management became involved and the offending Pagini individuals were removed; an inevitable result – arguments against "Safety" seldom succeed in the oil industry.

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On 21st November, I drew up documents for Helmrice & Payne to take over the camp that Exploration PNG had built for them. I drove to the rig site where I had the document signed off, then drove back to Kumul camp where I faxed the take-over document for "the camp...as built" to Exploration PNG for billing.

On the morning of the 22nd everyone at Kumul camp heard a resounding crash from the direction of the *Sea Beach*. I rushed outside with everyone else and ran into the BP safety officer Eric Hodges "What the hell was that?" he asked. Someone said the crane had fallen over. We saw it then on lying on its side with the jib lying flat reaching out along the wharf. "Oh shit" said Eric as he turned to me "Laurie, I am going to need a full report. Would you go and interview everyone involved please?" There appeared to be no limit to my field manager responsibilities. I interviewed a very shaken crane operator and load master.

My investigation revealed that the mud pumps were too heavy for the crane we were using. The crane operator found that he could lift the mud pump only with the jib in near vertical position – as soon as the jib was extended the centre of gravity shift caused the crane to tip. The crane was able to shift the pump along the deck of the barge by repeated short lifts and crane repositioning of only a few feet at a time. The problem occurred when the operator turned the crane while trying to swing the pump out over the water to put it on the wharf.

When the right track of crane started to lift alarmingly, the operator hit the quick release lever. The 27-ton pump dropped instantly into the Fly River. The abrupt release caused a whiplash effect, causing the right track to crash back down and the left track to suddenly lift, tipping the crane over on its right side and slamming the jib down with great force onto the wharf. The crane operator said he lost all sense of direction as the crane went through its spontaneous pirouette. He leapt for his life and happily nothing landed on him. I wrote the report for Eric and went back to preparing pays.

In the late afternoon that day the National member for North Fly Philip Dipai arrived to investigate a report circulating in Kiunga that the project was seeking to employ another 2,500 people. I assured him that this was not so and invited him to stay for the night.

After staying overnight at Iowara on November 27th and dining at the Hollandia restaurant I went to Niogamban refugee camp to make compensation payments. It was immediately obvious that the claims were inflated and bore no relationship to the base line garden survey which had been signed off by each garden owner. I declined to make any payments and set about checking claims against the base line survey and the actual gardens. This tedious procedure was worth the effort because word of it quickly spread. In the days that followed the claims presented at Dome, Wamena, Mambramo, Amora, Trakpritz, Kungim, Korona, Kuyu, Komokpin and Camp 12 were checked and paid without problem.

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With the road compensation payments completed, my attention turned to growing industrial issues at the rig; problems were reported on 19th November. I assessed the cause to be a combination of the presence of the drillers at the rig site and Awin growing interest in who would be recognised as the customary owners of the Elevela rig site land.

The nearest major Awin settlement to the rig site was Gasuke on the Elevela River. On the 7th December, a helicopter dropped me at the rig site and I walked from there to Gasuke village, a couple of hours walk from memory. By holding landowner discussions in the village rather than at the rig site, the landowners would not have to be accommodated and fed and they were not in a position to disrupt the work of the drillers.

I spent several days at Gasuke, talking with landowners and compiling a 12-page social mapping and landowner identification report. This was a relaxed and enjoyable exercise which disclosed the fact that the Gasuke village community was 50% Awin speaking and 50% Pare speaking. Until 1962 some twenty social groupings, which for convenience I called clans, each lived on their own land among their ancestral sago stands. In 1962 they established Glasena village and in 1966 moved to the present site at Gasuke. Each family had a house in the village, but most of their time was still spent in their remote sago stands.

My report ended by stating: *At this stage, it seems clear that no other Gasuke clan disputes DOWE clan ownership of the rig site. I suggest that nothing further be done unless and until questions are raised by DOWE clan members from other than Gasuke village. At that time genealogies, should be drawn up to include all living DOWE clan members...Nothing further should be done now because the need may never arise. If it does, this report provides a starting point.*

Sgd Laurie Bragge BP Representative.

At this point with the road completed and the seismic operation being conducted from Gasuke, I was transferred to Gasuke to run the seismic program and handed over at Kumul to ex-kiap George

Clapp. The Elevala well spudded and commenced drilling in mid-December and I went out on leave on Boxing Day.

My three months' experience on the Elevala project involved me in every aspect of community interaction that a patrol officer might expect to encounter as OIC of a remote patrol post. I was the pay master, the camp manager, the law man, the person who met visiting VIPs, the person responsible for the peace order and good governance of the region, the person who anticipated what might happen next and head off the issues before they became problems and finally I was the one responsible for the management of all chance occurrences that no amount of prior planning could anticipate.

It did not surprise me therefore that the Resource Industries sought out ex-kiaps to manage their projects throughout rural PNG.

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PS. Concerning Yance Hembring.

Yance was far more than the owner and chief chef of the Hollandia Restaurant at Iowara Refugee Camp. Yance found his way from Iowara back to Jaya Pura. Human Rights Watch's *Protest and Punishment – Political Prisoners in Papua: Indonesia* at page 36 states:

Charges against Yance revolved around his involvement in independence meetings in November 2003...In August 2004 Yance Hembring was convicted of treason and sentenced to ten years in prison by Jaya Pura's District Court. The sentence was particularly severe considering the prosecutors in the case had requested only five years.

End Notes Chapter 11

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Volume 25 – 18th September 1989

² Glazebrook D. A history of flight, repatriation and resettlement of West Papuans seeking political asylum in Papua New Guinea 1962-2000. P 18.

³ Photo from R.J. May ed – *Between Two Nations*. Robert Brown & Associates 1986 – P 40

Sepik 5 Chapter 12. The Aitape Tsunami of 1998

The Aitape tsunami of 1998 did not occur in isolation. On 17 February 1996 a strong earthquake shook the Island of Biak in Irian Jaya and an 8-metre wave flooded the north east coast of the island killing 107 people. In the opinion of scientists this tsunami was connected with the Aitape one. Both were caused by earthquakes involving movements of the same tectonic plates; The Pacific and Australian Plates are along the same New Guinea Trench.¹

In the 20th century alone, the following tectonic events occurred in the Aitape sub district:

1907 – an earthquake caused the Sissano lagoon to form through coastal subsidence.

Warapu village, which had been located near the centre of what became the lagoon, was flooded and the Warapu people settled on the sand-spit facing the ocean. The resulting land shortage resulted in major land dispute with the Sissano community. [See Sepik 1 Chapter 1 and Sepik 4 Chapter 57.]

1935 – In September a severe earthquake in the Torricelli Mountains south of Sissano, causing landslides, which in turn caused a large death toll. Father Luttmmer who travelled to Wilbetei [a village immediately south of the top of the divide], just after the quake, estimated that 60% of the forest and subsoil slipped off the ridges. He counted 50 dead and saw much damage to property.²

PART 1 - The Aitape tsunami of 17th July 1998.



At 6.49 pm on 17th July 1998 there was a strong earthquake of magnitude 7...Cracks developed in the ground at Arop and Warapu and muddy water bubbled up from below as water bearing sediments buried below the surface lost cohesion and liquified. There was a loud thunder-like boom, and some minutes later a roaring sound. At the beach the water was seen to be “boiling” or bubbling as it receded some 50 metres, exposing the sea floor. Then a wave developed some 200-300 metres from the beach. The people ran...Three tsunami waves came in quick succession...³

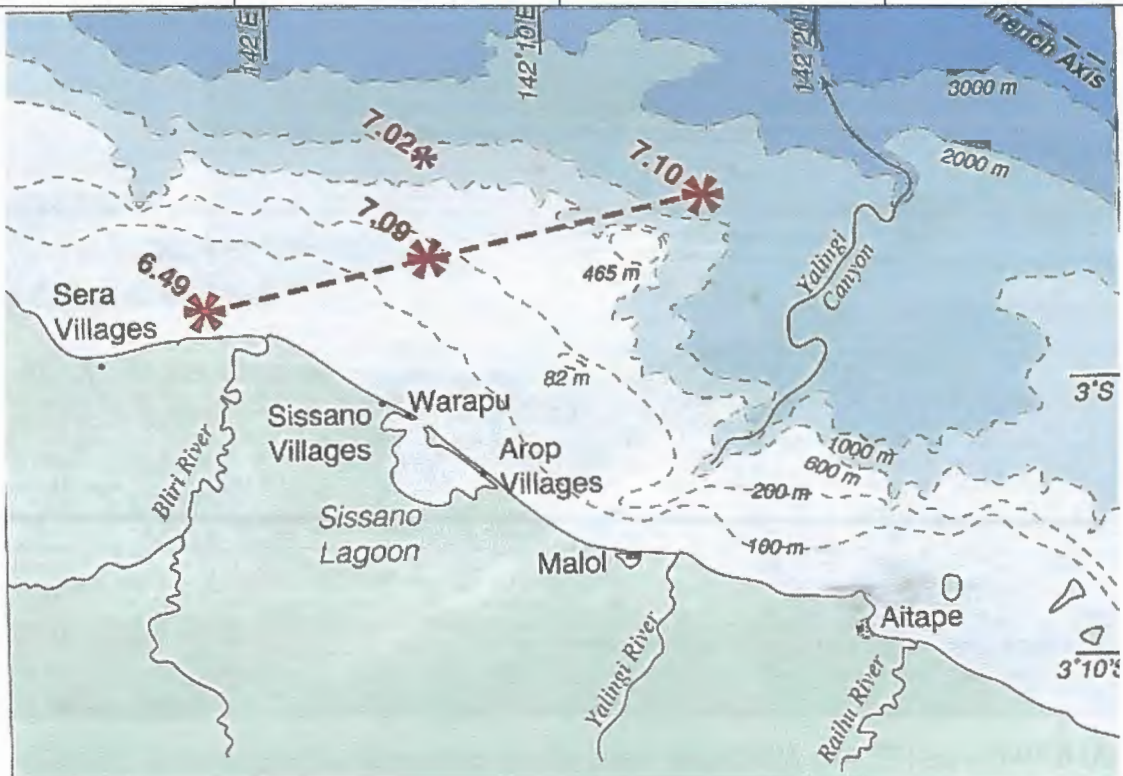
Pascal Urum had taken up duties as District Officer at Sissano in May 1998. His family had joined him there just a few days before the tsunami. Following the earthquake, which did some damage to his house, he heard a strange sound coming from the sea and so he sent his family away, then walked towards the ocean to investigate, a distance of about 250 metres...

The noise lasted about 15 minutes, after which he decided to return to the house, Then, hearing a shout, he looked back. The sea was approaching as if driven by a storm, but there was no wind of rain. The first wave swept him past his house and out into the lagoon beyond.

When he could get ashore he walked towards the District Office to put a report in by radio, but nothing of the office remained. He turned and walked to the Catholic Mission to use the mission radio, but survivors told him that the mission too had been swept away. Next morning, nursing an arm that was broken in two places, he made his way to Aitape by dinghy to bring word of the disaster. His wife and one child were lost in the wave.⁴

Estimates of wave heights of 10 to 15 metres are incorrect. The wave heights were about four metres. This was established by measuring the height of a tree branch to which Anton Manuwai climbed and escaped the waves which passed below.⁵ Such measurements indicate this tsunami was a category 2 [a wave height of 10-15 metres would indicate a tsunami category 3]. The death toll table below is from Aitape Story P 49.

Village	Population after tsunami [Oct 1998]	Recorded Deaths	Population before tsunami
Malol	3816	66	3882
Arop	1508	922	2430
Warapu	1883	504	2387
Sissano	2178	144	2322



The map above⁶ indicates the epicentres of the initial earthquake [four kilometres offshore from the Sera villages] and the aftershocks.

Writer's note. The tsunami occurred two decades after I handed over as District Officer in charge at Aitape and as a result I had no involvement in, or direct knowledge of the disaster or of its management. In July 1998, I was employed in the PNG Petroleum Industry. A staff member, with whom I had worked closely was Raymond Morere of Warapu. Raymond reported that 20 members of his extended family died in the disaster.

I was deeply saddened for Raymond, and the many people I had met in Warapu, Sissano, Malol, Sera and Arop, while stationed at Aitape 1976-78 I wished that I could get back there to interview people and get their story and beliefs concerning this terrible event, but that would have been an inappropriate intrusion in the people's time of trauma and grief.

Then, in March 2018, my research led me to SVD Brother Bogdan Zieba's 2005 publication *Tsunami in the Land of Magic*. I was delighted to discover that Brother Zieba had the rare ability to suspend judgement, in order to listen and record events, on a day to day basis, and to sufficiently gain the people's confidence in order to capture their responses, beliefs and thoughts in a similar way to how I documented the interviews of elders in the course of my many patrols. The rest of this chapter relies heavily upon Brother Zieba's account as recorded in his *Tsunami in the Land of Magic*.

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Brother Zieba is an SVD brother who served at Marienberg in the Sepik District before being transferred to the Goroka diocese in the Eastern Highlands Province. He and many others came to Aitape to serve in the Care Centres which were set up inland from the Sissano lagoon to feed, treat, console and care for the tsunami survivors. He arrived in Aitape a week or so after the tsunami.

Action taken immediately after the tsunami.

Along the shoreline groups of religious brothers and male workers from the Aitape diocese [and others] searched through the debris for survivors and bodies. Upon finding a corpse they dug a grave and without sermon or coffin covered the body with sand, marking the spot with a simple cross made of two sticks. By the end of that first day they had recovered over 700 people. By the end of the third day more than 1,000 people had been buried.⁷ Most of the bodies were either never found, or positively identified.⁸

The force of the tsunami inflicted terrible injuries and, in many cases, tore the clothing from the victim's bodies. Soon decomposing bodies became food for crocodiles, sharks, fish, pigs and dogs. In order to prevent the spread of disease, the people ceased fishing and areas were declared by the Director General of National Disaster and Emergency Services as "No-go" zones. People who entered these zones, if caught, would be prosecuted.

Five weeks after the tsunami, one might think the survivors would have given up hope of finding the bodies of their loved ones. But many were still searching the lagoon and the mangroves despite the official prohibition and health hazard warnings. Some were lucky and some were not.⁹

In the days after the tsunami. Defence Force personnel patrolled by helicopter, shooting any dogs and pigs they saw – until their ammunition ran out.¹⁰

Gangrene and amputations. The combination of the remote location in which the tsunami occurred, the resulting time delays before some of the injured were treated, the nature of the injuries, and the humid tropical climate all contributed to the development of gangrene.

Some of the patients had had their wounds left untreated for five days. That morning 15 patients with gas-gangrene were brought in... In cases of gangrene, the wounds are filled with dead tissue and decay, due to insufficient blood supply...once it starts gangrene spreads like wildfire, and the doctors had to cut out entire infected parts of the bodies.

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Understanding and dealing with Trauma. Father Makario addressed the Care Centre personnel. He defined trauma as - An overwhelming event that renders one helpless and/or places one in fear of dying. One's capacity for coping with such an overwhelming event, is usually outside the range of

one's experience and would be distressing to anyone. Often a traumatized person will ask themselves questions such as;

- “What is happening to me?
- “What is going to happen to me?
- “What if I do not get better?
- “Am I safe?
- “When can we return to the beach?
- “When can we go fishing again?

Understanding reality objectively. Father Makario explained – “We must help the people understand reality objectively. Usually people do not link their strange reactions to their post traumatic experience. Therefore, our task is to help these victims to link what is happening in their lives after the natural disaster to the reality of post-traumatic stress. They may be confused and lost and they may try to blame others and themselves for their actual conditions. An objective explanation of what they may be experiencing...will help them understand and accept the challenges they have to face. For this reason, they should be familiar with the various phases of post traumatic stress...especially the use of fantasy to counteract reality...

In our situation this point implies to focus on reality and to exclude intervention of the supernatural in a natural disaster. The people must know that what has happened to them is not God's punishment...You will hear different stories from the people and you are in danger in believing in what they are saying. ¹¹

Father Makario explained to the carers that “trauma is toxic and you all have it. All of you had to struggle to suppress your emotions, even without knowing it. Those who buried the bodies are most affected. If you share your memories with others you will purify your memory.”¹²

The carers were mainly dealing with the so-called “unintentional trauma” – the direct result of the tsunami. But it was also evident that some of the survivors were also affected by “intentional trauma” as a result of abuse. It was explained that intentional trauma is much more difficult to deal with because it implies relationships with others. “all abuse is traumatic, but not all trauma is abusive.”¹³

Some examples of “Intentional abuse:”

At Pou¹ there were repeated rape cases. A seventeen-year-old girl was gang-raped by 10 men as she was washing laundry in the river. Pou men were reportedly raping Arop women in order to force them to leave Pou land, where a care centre had been established. This however was only one informant's hypothesis, and not necessarily the right one. Another informant said the rapists were Arop men. Both immediately after the tsunami and later in the camps they raped their own women.

Rape is almost considered to be an acceptable form of retribution by the indigenous people. They do not see the psychological ramifications of the act. They view it more as a territorial and ethnic attack; the expression of one group's dominance over another. The police tend to be village-oriented men who see it in a similar way, thereby expressing a half-hearted attempt in their part to respond to rapes.

Then in April 1999, women finally began coming out with accounts of rape and abused by the men. The media reports mentioned that dying women were raped and corpses of dead women were violated. Only then in April 1999, when the matter became public, did the police begin an active investigation.¹⁴

¹ The inland village where the care centre for Arop survivors was located

Writer's note: As shocking and disgusting as these reported rapes were, a fair-minded observer might also consider the state of mind of the rapists; they too, were dealing with an overwhelming traumatic event which placed them far outside their comfort zone: the world as they knew it seemed to have ended. While their actions were criminally wrong in the extreme, a good defence lawyer would have ample evidence to argue for clemency in a court of law.

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Were either the Care Counsellors or the victims prepared for proper counselling? Brother Zieba suggested “I think the problem is not whether we are ready or not...we should elaborate on a method based more on the traditional value system. They [the victims] believe that bad things happen because people are doing bad things. Their way of fixing the problem is by fixing the relationship with others first: with God, with their ancestral spirits and with each other, and not necessarily in that order”.¹⁵

Probable cultural changes will result from the tsunami. From an anthropological perspective, probably a big cultural change will occur particularly in Warapu and Arop, where the losses were greatest. Considerable numbers of those killed by the wave were elderly people. Their sudden deaths deprived them of the opportunity to hand down the richness of the traditional lore in the form of oral history and customs. Probably with the elders' deaths many of the ancestral stories and beliefs will be lost for good. Lack of interest by the younger generation in their past makes this even more likely to happen.¹⁶

Suicide watch. Father Makario advised the carers to be on watch for possible suicides. He explained that there had been a recent spate of pre-tsunami suicides, almost all of them from Arop. They had been mostly females between the ages of 18 and 25 years...most were single.

Traditionally suicide might have been a kind of self-punishment for loss of esteem, or it might be committed in order to shame those who caused such a depressing situation for the woman. Brother Zieba noted. “We agreed that this might have been the case here, but we did not know anything about the causes of the shame”.¹⁷

Care camps for the living in the “world of the dead.”

John Woichom's *Beliefs in life after death* mentioned that both the people of Ali and Tumleo Islands off Aitape township, believe in another world after death. As material for making coffins, the Ali people used timber from broken canoes. It is believed that after being buried, the deceased paddled his or her coffin/canoe to Sissano and then either headed to Rainbrum² by walking overland or continued in the coffin canoe along the coast and into the Rainbrum River. It was there the spirits settled down and enjoyed their second lives. So, it was that the Rainbrum and Rowoi care centres were located in the “world of the dead.”

Sadly, if Brother Zieba asked who selected these care centre site and why, he did not mention it in his book, leaving the reader to assume that the Sissano survivors themselves chose their “world of the dead” location, perhaps in the hope of meeting their dead kin when they arrived.

Writer's note: Given that the people of Tumleo, Ali and Sissano are all of Austronesian origin, I pondered whether the “World of the Dead” concept was of Austronesian origin. Two other “Worlds of the Dead” within my personal knowledge each accommodate Austronesian spirits – Tuma Island off the north coast of Kiriwina Island and Mount Dobwesa on Normanby Island, both in the Milne Bay Province.

The importance of the relation between the living and the spirits of the dead, were brought home to me during one of my art buying trips to Kiriwina Island. I heard of a local medium who

² In Sepik 4 Chapter 57 I used the spelling Rhaimbom for this river

arranged guided tour for the living to the World of the Dead on Tuma Island. I heard about an elderly couple's experience. They went to the medium's house in the evening and were put into trances, Abruptly the old lady started striking her husband, saying.

“We are here to meet deceased relatives, not for you to go looking for your old girl friends.”

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PART 2 – Exploration of beliefs as to what caused the tsunami

It was to be expected that in the light of a natural disaster such as the Aitape tsunami, that the survivors would review their shattered world and lives in quest of answers as to what had just happened.

In this, I am doubly indebted to Brother Zieba for his research and documentation, which makes it clear that the impacted communities were and are Christian, but that their traditional beliefs also continue to influence their thinking. And, more than that, the disaster saw them questioning which set of beliefs would best suite them into the future.

The nature of Christianity among the Sissano Lagoon communities.

Father Limbrock of the Order of the Divine Word, established the first mission station in the Sepik on Tumleo Island in 1896. He and his staff quickly established mission stations throughout the Sepik and parts of the Madang District. The Sissano Mission was established in 1911.

Through sound management the SVD mission thrived through the German colonial administration, the Australian military occupation and from 1921 onwards, the Australian civil administration of the League of Nations Mandated territory of New Guinea. These events are covered in detail in Sepik 2.

As described in Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War*. Chapter 25 in March 1943 the Japanese loaded the Sepik's German Missionaries onto the destroyer “Akikazi”, which then sailed to Manus and Kavieng where more civilians were taken on board. When the ship arrived in Rabaul there were no civilians on board. They had all been executed and the bodies disposed of at sea.

There were two important mission developments in the immediate post war period.

1. In 1947 The SVD Catholics accepted that too few of their pre-war missionaries had survived to properly man all their Sepik mission stations, so they invited the Franciscan Catholic Order to take over the stations in what became the West Sepik District, with headquarters in Aitape, while the SVD missionaries manned the stations in what became the East Sepik, with headquarters in Wewak.
2. Whereas, pre-war, the only mission in the Sepik District was that of the SVD Catholics, after the war, the Sepik was thrown open to all denominations. While this allowed for “Freedom of religion”, it seriously confused the Sepik people and led to unhealthy competition between the multitude of religious denominations in what became known as the Sordid Scramble for Souls. [See Sepik 4 Chapter 7.]

That is the general background against which the tsunami survivors sought to understand what happened. There were also some finer Christian divisions within the tsunami impacted communities.

The Revivalists³

Brother Zieba sought to identify the difference between Catholics and Revivalists by talking to Nekon, a Revivalist leader.¹⁸ Nekon's explanation, as documented, was nothing more than a tirade of accusations against the Catholic church. Suffice to say there is a serious division between the two with no clear line between them, or any indication of the number of people involved in either group.

The Charismatics.

A Chronicle was kept at the Sissano mission. In an entry dated November 1990 Father Giles noted. "At Warapu Frank Pumere started the charismatic movement over a month ago. He did not bother telling me. On Sunday I told the people the charismatics were alright as long as they prayed, even very loud, clapping hands, singing, even speaking in tongues, as long as it was for the Holy Spirit, with interpretation, and not fake or for the wrong spirit – Satan...However, trembling shaking, hissing and rolling on the ground etc was not alright, as this in the bible happened only to the possessed¹⁹

The Charismatic group at Sissano was said to be in conflict with the Franciscan parish priest because the priest did not like the way they behaved during their meetings. The Charismatics were said to combine Christian worship with the traditions of the ancestors. It was said that their prayer meetings in the bush ended with sexual orgies..."and that is why so many girls were mothers bearing the fruits of adultery." Other opinions indicated that a pregnancy that resulted from sexual activity associated with charismatic prayer, was considered an "immaculate conception"²⁰

Brother Zieba asked: "Why do so many people blame the Charismatic group for causing God's punishment?... Mbambare replied. "A lot of the Charismatic group died and were found naked. Satan's army took off their clothes. Many of the females had big sticks in their vaginas, and there were a lot of males whose bodies were without genitals."²¹

Josephine of the Charismatic group disputed the suggestion that God caused the disaster because of them. "They are lying" she said "They say that because they are jealous. We are filled with the Spirit. We are converted. We have changed the way of our lives for the better."²²

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Brother Zieba was told by a Sissano informant "God saw what was going on and said to Satan, 'I am fed up with them and I give them to you.' That is why it [the tsunami] happened."

Part of *what was going on* involved the Statue of our Lady. The same informant continued on to discuss **The Statue of Our Lady**.

In May the Sissanos organised a procession with the statue of Our Lady, but some other churches in Warapu did not allow it to proceed through their land...They blocked the road and threatened the participants of the devotion with bows and arrows. At the end of the month someone broke into the church during the night and stole the statue. On the following day in the early morning a man on his way to church came across the head of the statue freshly washed ashore. The head emitted a blue light. He brought it to Father Giles.

Later on, another man found the trunk of the statue buried near the beach under a tree. People asked the priest whether Our Lady would punish those who did this. "She is a good Mother and I do not think she will, but if she does, that is ok" the parish priest said. After a while he added "The

³ I assume, but do not actually know that the Revivalists mentioned here are probably related to the "Rebibal" movement described in Sepik 5 Chapter 10

Warapu did not allow the procession to go through their land and they have lost the biggest number of people”.²³

Post tsunami reflections of the age-old dispute with Warapu.

The history of this dispute is detailed in Sepik 1 Chapter 1 and in Sepik 4 Chapter 57. Against the background of this long-standing, bitter dispute, and associated suspicions and hatreds, a number of beliefs came to light after the tsunami. While the Warapu people were apparently not asked to comment, I feel it is important to document what was said in order to record the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust that hangs over the Warapu and Sissano communities.

#1 Warapu worship “something”

Warapu [in ancient times] worshiped “Something” and the recent wave was caused by this “something”. The Warapu took this “something” after the sinking of their island [in 1907]. Now again someone has used this “something” ...combined with “something” from Rabaul. It was this mixture that caused the tsunami. The body of the man who mixed it was later found in a tree on the island in the lagoon.”

“What really was this “something.”? Brother Bogdan asked.

Informant Y⁴ said “This something they started to worship it because they did not have many children. When the people began to multiply quickly, many earthly conflicts occurred”. Informant Z added “The Warapus were followers of the *Tela Tela* cult, brought there by the black Portuguese. [Whatever it was and whoever they were, was not explained.] “A week before the tsunami struck, there was a man doing this “something”. This caused lightening and a voice could be heard “Do you really want to make me angry?” Three days later the tsunami occurred²⁴.

Writer’s note. One of the reasons I was so interested in Brother Zieba’s account concerning tsunami beliefs, was that following my 1977 investigation of a sequence of sanguma-related murders in Warapu [Sepik 4 Chapter 57], I concluded:

a cosmic hypothesis. The only support for this hypothesis is that logic suggests that it, or something like it must be behind the annual sequence of murders of Warapu people that the Warapu themselves keep as their own terrible secret. Could it be that they believe that:

An extremely powerful deity lives on or under the Warapu/Sissano lands or in the Sissano Lagoon; a deity which periodically wreaks Armageddon-like havoc upon the Warapu people and lands, as was done through history and more recently in 1907, 1935 and 1998, unless it receives annual sacrifices from within the Warapu community. The Warapu community accepts this brutal loss of loved ones as part of the religious ritual requirement of placating the hunger of the deity and as a necessary part of the price of their cosmic existence.

If this hypothesis is anywhere close to the truth of the matter it seems likely that the advent of the unique *glassman cult* as an open and powerful instrument of community *good* may have some of its foundation as a social counter-balance to and defence against the hidden *sanguma cult*...²⁵

Nothing in Brother Zieba’s writings suggests that he was aware of the 1977 Warapu murder investigations, but his descriptions of the power of Warapu’s “Something” is a good fit for the “Powerful Deity” of my cosmic hypothesis.

Writer’s note: During the year long murder investigations at Warapu in 1977 I warned my officer at Sissano Patrol Post that I believed he needed to be constantly on guard concerning his own,

⁴ Given the intensity of feeling between Sissano and Warapu, I believe it is necessary not to reveal informant’s names

and his family's safety in the event that we ever came close to uncovering the perpetrators of the murders. As it turned out neither he nor I found any evidence of plots against ourselves; so perhaps we never came close to uncovering the perpetrators. Maybe one day a social researcher will discover the truth, or perhaps, more likely, a police officer may do so when investigating the discovery of yet another mutilated body.

#2. The Black Hole.

Brother Zieba heard repeated stories of a black hole in the sea floor of the Sissano lagoon near its entrance, the Otto. The hole was said to lead into a tunnel, which came out somewhere in the deep sea. A number of unusual and supernatural beliefs attributed to the Black Hole and tunnel were mentioned:

- It was the home of the mother fish and crabs. It was a great fishing spot and the reason why the people had so much sea food. It was also a dangerous place, some people who went near there never returned. The currents could be very strong.²⁶
- Following the tsunami, people believed that the black hole in the lagoon must have been filled with corpses²⁷
- There was/is a village in the black hole tunnel. People lived there and they could breathe the water as if it was air.
- The black hole has two different exists – one in the deep sea and one near Wutung on the border with Irian Jaya. Many of the bodies were sucked into the hole and released at Wutung.²⁸

#2.1 Cargo Cult beliefs associated with of the Black Hole.

- Brother Zieba wrote “I found there were many more of these kinds of holes in the lagoon. Warapu people [were said to be] getting iron roofing, timber, radios and motorbikes out of that hole.”²⁹

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On the first anniversary of the tsunami, a coffin containing the names of each of the victims was lowered into the watery depths as a visible reminder and marker of the event. It was a very personal expression of love and grief for thousands of coastal people who were unable to find their dead and bury them properly in sacred ground near their families.³⁰

End Notes Chapter 12

¹ Brother B Zieba – *Tsunami in the Land of Magic* 2005 Page 184

² Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 163

³ Hugh Davies – *Aitape Story*. Halstead Press 2016. Pages 23-25

⁴ Hugh Davies – 2016. Pages 53

⁵ Hugh Davies – 2016. Pages 40

⁶ Hugh Davies – 2016. Pages 26

⁷ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 19

⁸ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 88

⁹ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 163

¹⁰ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 62

¹¹ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 89

¹² Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 87

¹³ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 87

¹⁴ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 185

¹⁵ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 92

¹⁶ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 88

¹⁷ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 92

¹⁸ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 104

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- ¹⁹ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 140
 - ²⁰ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 71
 - ²¹ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 71
 - ²² Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 121
 - ²³ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 65
 - ²⁴ Brother B Zieba - 2005 pages 155 & 156
 - ²⁵ Bragge L. Sepik 4 Chapter 57 - unpublished
 - ²⁶ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 76
 - ²⁷ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 75
 - ²⁸ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 183
 - ²⁹ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 103
 - ³⁰ Brother B Zieba – 2005 Page 184

Introductory Note:

Chapter 34 of Sepik 1 relates to the all-important legend of Afek the ancestress and the religious unity it brought to the Min people and their relationship with what might be described as the “Min cosmos”. The geography of the Min cosmos is centred on New Guinea’s rugged central divide at the headwaters of the south flowing Fly and north flowing Sepik Rivers - and their tributaries in Papua New Guinea – as well as the headwaters of the north west flowing Idenberg and south flowing Digul Rivers and tributaries in the Indonesian Province of Papua, formerly Irian Jaya, and, prior to 1962, Dutch New Guinea.

The sporadic contacts between scattered groups of “Min” people and the outside world – [including Austen 1913/14¹ Thurnwald in 1914², Austen again in 1921-22³, Karius and Champion 1926-7⁴ & 1927-8⁵, the Ward Williams expedition 1936/7,⁶ the Archbald expedition 1936/7⁷, Taylor and Black 1938/39⁸, the Thurston Expedition of 1942⁹, and the wartime construction of the Telefomin emergency landing field in 1944.45¹⁰], were each of relatively short duration and, overtly, generally peaceful in nature.

It was not until 1954¹¹ that the outside world became aware of the incredible religious and cosmological unity that the “Min” world owed to the legend of Afek, which was effectively the traditional Min ‘bible’. This discovery came from lawyer and Crown Prosecutor Paul Quinlivan’s enquiries into the 6th November 1953 murders of Administration officers Gerald Szarka, Geoffrey Harris and Constables Buritori and Purari.

In 1983, Pamela Swadling, Theodore Mawe and Wilfred Tomo of the National Museum in Port Moresby conducted an archaeological dig at Telefolip, which is the Jerusalem or Mecca of the “Min” cosmos. They concluded :-

Although pollen core results indicate that people were present in Ifitaman [the Telefomin valley] as much as 17,000 years ago, the clearing of forest 3,500 years ago, the Telefolip site is the oldest archaeological site so far investigated in the Mountain-Ok area. Our findings indicate that this important village site was founded about 300-400 years ago. If the Afek cult has been practiced since the time the village was established, the widespread distribution of the cult throughout much of the Mountain-Ok area can at least be in part attributed to the many migrants that have subsequently moved out of Ifitaman.¹²

The archaeological evidence tends to suggest that the Afek legend may have triggered a mass religious conversion in relatively recent times, probably coinciding with the Ipomoean¹³ revolution in the New Guinea highlands, although the only Min community that uses sweet potato as a staple crop is Oksapmin.

The “Telefomin uprising”¹⁴, as the four murders and associated planned annihilation of all outsiders at Telefomin became known, was the first indication that Telefomin and the wider Min cosmos was significantly “different” from other tribal groups in Papua New Guinea with a five-year history¹⁵ of settled contact. The Telefomin people quietly viewed the arrival of outsiders as being a destructive impact on their cosmos, and this resulted in the development of a plan to eradicate all outside people and influences, and return Telefomin to the perceived pre-contact utopia. This is described in detail in Sepik 4 Chapter 12.

The Telefomin uprising came as an unprecedented “wake up call” to the Administration of PNG as well as to the Min people themselves ...

*The Administration was stunned...nothing like it had ever happened in the history of Papua or New Guinea...the killing of Szarka and Harris and their police was a perfectly timed and well organized demonstration against the Government, made by the most primitive people in the Territory*¹⁶.

As for the Min people, they had only ever seen small numbers of Europeans, and were astounded at the numbers of them who came to Telefomin in response to the murders. The “Min-cosmos” had no traditional understanding of the outside world from which they sought to isolate themselves. Their attempted isolation had the opposite impact; it brought more Europeans.

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Subsequent evidence that suggested reasons why the Min believed that their cosmos was threatened by the outside influences – resulting in the uprising.

Each of the following points are dealt with in detail in Sepik 4 Chapter 12

1. **Death tolls from epidemics.** A dysentery epidemic associated with the Taylor and Black patrol, and an influenza epidemic associated with the Australian- American airstrip building party, represented new diseases to which the locals had no resistance, killing many people.¹⁷
2. **The government ban on fighting and cannibalism, and the failure of the taro crops.** *It was said that the reason for the uprising was resentment at the Government ban on raiding and cannibalism, and that the old men believed that their taro crops had suffered since the establishment of the Government.*¹⁸
3. **Unfulfilled “Min” expectations of sexual relations between Min girls and outsiders.** Men from the outside world were delighted to experience open invitations from Min girls to indulge in sexual relationships¹⁹, without any apparent objection from the wider Min community. PO Nolan was criticized for having a local mistress and most Telefomin police were “married” to Min girls without marriage obligations to the community being fulfilled – bride price or a woman/sister married into the group.
4. **Lack of timely compensation for dead patrol carriers.** Bureaucratic delays in the payment of compensation for five carriers who lost their lives on PO Nolan’s May River Patrol of 1952
5. **Complaints of mal-administration.** These included unlawful imprisonment, adultery with local women, burning of houses, theft of pigs and garden produce etc.

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An interim cosmology check. When the writer was posted to Telefomin in 1966, thirteen years after the uprising, the men convicted of the 1953 murders had served their sentences and appeared to be integrated seamlessly back into village life. My 1966/67 patrols throughout the Sub District found that the legend of Afek and traditional religion was still firmly in place.

*Traditional Telefol religion is based upon an elaborate cult, which men enter through a series of graded initiations. Knowledge of myths plays an important part.*²⁰

In the Upper Leonard Schultze River at Tuwari [Akiapmin] in 1966, I discovered that Afek was acknowledged and known as Babasubai. The Telefolip haus tambaran was well maintained and highly revered and I photographed haus tambarans in the Tekin valley at Oksapmin²¹, the headwaters of the Frieda River at Nenatamun²² and in the Aki valley of West Mianmin²³. To all intents and purposes, the “Min cosmos” appeared to me to still be firmly in place at that time.

Appendix F of my Oksapmin patrol report No 1/1966-67 was entitled *Human Sacrifice – Oksapmin*. Yuanku [the Oksapmin name for Afek] decreed that to ensure soil fertility and to prevent drought, the Oksapmin people must capture men from the Duban group in the Strickland Gorge, kill

them and plant their bones in places towards Telefolip, and place the skull in the Telefolip haus tambaran. These sacrifices were said to be beneficial to the whole Min region, but it was suggested they had died out 40 – 50 years before 1966 due to lack of victims after the Duban people crossed the Strickland River and cut the bridge behind them.

In 1975, Independence coincided with talk of large-scale mining at Ok Tedi and many hoped this would bring prosperity, but there were also fears that Australia would leave, making for an uncertain future. Prohibition on exposed burials – imposed during the colonial era, made it impossible to retrieve bones of the recent dead, whose relics were kept in the spirit houses. Because there was a steady attrition of such relics, the ranks of the spirits [usong] looking after the village welfare had become depleted, and with little hope of replacement. Traditional religion was in crisis in the mid-1970s, some men characterized their plight as akin to a sick man who had no one to look after him.²⁴

A cosmological shift: “Rebaibal” [Revival] 1977.



Fig. 54a. Man's soul house (usong) at Telefolip village, Telefolip speakers, Telefomin central New Guinea. Photo: B. Craig DC23: 29, July 1964

It was during the mid-1970s that the Baptist mission, which had been operating in the area with a notable lack of success since the start of the 1950s, embarked on a new scheme by establishing a bible college at Duranmin [in the Om River valley]. This decision was driven in part by the new government policy of calling for a replacement of expatriates – the purpose of the school was to train local pastors to take over the task of evangelization.

Much to everyone's surprise, in late 1977 the wife of the principal and eleven other local women in the bible college began having visions and talking in tongues as a result of possession by the Holy Spirit; something that quickly became dubbed as “Rebaibal”. The mediums or spirit women provided the channel through which the Holy Spirit made its plans for the future of Telefomin known ...speaking through the mediums, it reproached the Australian missionaries for remaining aloof from local people and failing to their professed fellowship in Christ. The Holy Spirit also insisted that the traditional religion be put aside and urged the abrogation of traditional food taboos – permitting

the consumption of one's own pigs and allowing the sale of pork meat. The aim was to do away with divisions between men and women and to promote closer relations within the context of the Christian family.



Fig. 54b. Inside man's cult house (maga) at Teleship village, Telefomin, Telefomin, central New Guinea. Photo: B. Craig BCIT 11, 27 August 1963.

Finally, and most importantly the Holy Spirit urged the Telefomin to do away with the spirit houses and relics in order to prepare the way for the mass conversions that were to follow. The *Spirit Women* fanned over the Telefomin territory and began a program of evangelization which succeeded spectacularly where the mission had failed. In a span of less than two months, thousands were baptized...relics were discarded, and the spirit houses in all but two villages were either destroyed or converted into churches.²⁵

Caption below: Despite the fact that haus tambaran Telefomin and its contents were declared as National Cultural Property on 30th July 1982, the collapsing structure was burnt by Christian



fundamentalists in late 2001, destroying the sacred contents. This criminal act of desecration appears to have raised little or no concern at official local or provincial levels and the museum does not have the resources to investigate the matter. Photos provided by Barry Craig of the South Australian Museum. It is understood that Fundamentalist Christians were of “Operation Joshua”; their theme was that of Joshua of the Old Testament challenging the gods of the original inhabitants of the “Promised Land” and conquering them. Operation Joshua, was independent of the Baptist mission.

The Telefomin spirit house as an ancient centre of Ok ritual activity along with its ancestral relics, became a strategic target and was burnt down...it was not necessarily the past that was at issue, but rather the main realms of social control. When society is grounded by ritual forms, shamans, oracles and kinship based leadership, it is demonic by the Pentegostals...²⁶

Pentecostal activity in Telefomin 2001 was not an isolated case. *In late 2013 in Post Moresby, the devout Christian Speaker of Parliament Theodore Zurenuoc, tried to expunge a number of spirit carvings from Parliament House. These had been intended to represent the country's cultural diversity, but he referred to them as ungodly images and idols...Zurnioc claimed that the images represented Ancestral Gods and Spirits of idolatry, immorality and witchcraft*²⁷.

Joel Robbins²⁸ who studied in Urapmin noted ... *The Urapmin...had not practiced their traditional religion since 1977. That was the year of the Christian Revival began to sweep through many of the groups in their region...the Urapmin] took the revival's Christian message to heart. They quickly began to see themselves as sinners, and to call out in various rituals to ask the Holy Spirit for help addressing the moral problems their sinfulness caused...Though the revival had its most proximate origin in movements then flourishing in the Solomon Islands, it brought with it a recognizably Western form of Christianity focused on the revivalist and charismatic themes of the need for a conviction on human sinfulness to accompany conversion, the role of the Holy Spirit in helping converts to address their sinful nature, and the potential imminence of the Second Coming.*

Writer's Note: Based upon my experiences of the Min people in 1966-67, it was almost impossible for me to comprehend the destruction of the Telefolip Haus Tambaran and other haus tambarans I had previously seen. In view of what I had accepted as the most firmly entrenched traditional religion that I had experienced, I struggled to understand how this faith could be so completely over-run by a Christian revival movement.

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Of ancestral spirits and mining wealth: The location of the Ok Tedi ore body is at Mt Fubilan, and when plans for the mine were announced, Telefomins were unsurprised that this should be the site of mineral wealth. Situated astride the trade routes through which shell valuables and stone adzes entered the area, presumably from the Yali tribal region of West New Guinea, in pre-colonial days, Mt Fubilan is located above the traditional land of the dead (Bagelam). Telefol myth explains how Afek killed her younger brother, Umoim, and then sent him underground to establish the Land of the Dead in the west...

When mining began at Mt. Fubilan, Telefomins understood that the mineral wealth extracted from the mountain was transmuted from the wealth their ancestors had established, and on that basis laid land claims and rights in relation to the mine site. Although they were not officially recognized as landowners, Telefomins succeeded in gaining recognition of their claims in the form of the Telefomin Development Agreement, which provided a package of benefits including a new High School and annual development funds...²⁹

At the end of the 1980s the possibility of a new mining project in the Frieda River area north of the Min province was announced. This has given Telefol ancestors a new lease on life.³⁰ Now, in early 2017, the Frieda copper/gold mine is still yet to be developed, although pre-mining processes and procedures are being addressed.

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Developments in Oksapmin. As indicated above, in Oksapmin history there has been a form of traditional behavior, directed towards the conservation of natural resources. The ritual of fertility called *Yuan-han* was based on a human sacrifice.³¹ (See Brutti, 1997¹). People recognized different types of sacred sites, ceremonial houses and mythical foot tracks related to the *Yuan-han* ritual. Several of these sacred sites are located on the Strickland riverbanks.

¹ Also, see Bragge Patrol Report Oksapmin No 1/1966-7

With the massive conversion to Christianity in the 1970s, all ceremonial houses were destroyed during the process of evangelization, and portions of the forest which were once forbidden for gardening started to be cultivated.³²

The conversion to Western religion has been a superficial process with a materialistic orientation, through which the traditional cosmological infrastructure has been consciously removed in order to introduce the new cosmology. The traditional beliefs have not entirely disappeared, but have been hidden from the sight of the church and the “white man” in general – the white man is supposed to follow the same corpus of religious tradition. Practice of sorcery, witchcraft, divination and garden magic are still alive as they are more deeply embedded in the social and cultural psyche, and cannot be washed away in a couple of generations... Their cultural heritage has not been erased by a forced process of conversion in a couple of decades.³³

In Oksapmin mythical and historic times, innovation came from the east - from the Highlands through the Strickland, following the sun rise. This was also the case of cosmological renewal brought by the old woman *Afek* ... It was the case of the introduction of the sweet potato... And it was the case of the arrival of the first white man... Later when the first missionaries came, they had their headquarters in Mt Hagen [also to the east]. These details are important in order to understand the effects of PJV on the Strickland River Operations, coming from the East.³⁴

Oksapmin people who converted to Christianity are rediscovering river spirits and sacred sites, in order to enable them to play a role in the claims for land rights. These had been fundamental elements in previous generations, and that is why the spiritual significance of the Lagaip and Strickland Rivers in indigenous culture has been taken into account, and people have to be compensated for cultural as well as ecological damage to their environment...

[Yuan ku] arrived in Oksapmin crossing the Strickland River and it was on the river banks that people started the cyclical *Yuan-tal* ritual of thanks to AFEK (*Yuan ku*) for having civilized them. Several ritual sites, whose functions remain secret, have been washed away by erosion. In summary - the impact of mining operations on the sacred sites has provoked a resurgence of Oksapmin traditional cosmologies.³⁵

The Telefomin and Oksapmin pragmatic assimilation of Christian and Traditional religious beliefs. Having dismissed traditional religious beliefs during “Rebaibal”, both the Telefomin and Oksapmin people needed to reassess their relationship with their traditional religious beliefs in order to receive financial benefits from mining companies. They seem to have achieved this by recognizing the reality that their ancestors exercised these beliefs and rituals, and although today’s Min people are staunch Christians, they acknowledge the past as historic fact rather aspects of traditional religion.

The Telefomin uprising revisited 48, 50, then nearly 60 years after the event.

48 years on: To mark the 50th anniversary of the arrival of the first Baptist missionaries in Telefomin in 1951. **Letter of Repentance for Wilful Murder of Innocent men.**

- (1) *Gerald Leo Szarka Cadet Patrol Officer (sic)*
- (2) *Geoffrey Brodrigg Harris First Field officer (sic) of the then Department Services and Native Affairs of Australia were killed by natives on 6th November 1953 at Komdavip and Komprenmin [Korobrenmin] villages in retaliation for raping of native women and killing of native pigs...*³⁶

Writer's Note 1: At no point in the investigation was evidence reported that either Szarka or Harris raped women or killed pigs. Such accusations were levelled at others but not at either of the murdered men. Also, wrong in fact were the ranks attributed to the murdered men.

Note 2: The motivating factor for repentance is assumed to be driven by the "Rebaibal" movement, which the writer would classify as a "Nativistic Movement" primarily aimed at serving the cosmic and spiritual needs the "Min" people of the late 20th century and also possibly also tempered with some genuine personal regrets.

Note 3: Repentance for the murders of Constables Buritori and Purari was apparently not sought, presumably because they were less news worthy than the Europeans.

Note 4: The fact that Ivan James recorded these inaccuracies, without explanation of the true facts, in his *From Murder to Reconciliation*, is unforgiveable as it unnecessarily tarnishes the reputations of good innocent men.

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50 years on: On 6th November 2003, half, a memorial service was conducted at the Dural Baptist Church, NSW to mark the 50th anniversary of the massacre and invited the Eliptamin people to send a spokesperson. Miden Fegim, a school teacher of Korpremin [Koroborenmin] was selected.

The service at Dural would be considered worthwhile if it served to bring some closure and relief to the Szarka and Harris families.

Note 5: Mr. James record of the Telefomin uprising joins a long list of others - include. Frank Jones, ADO - the investigating officer, Mr. Justice Gore, W.A. Lalor, James Sinclair, Barry Craig, Paul Johnson, Phil Fitzpatrick, Bill Brown, Tim Flannery and Paul Quinlivan.

Nearly 60 years on. The Weekend Australian Magazine – January 23-24 2010 describes the Telefomin uprising in an article entitled *Law of the Jungle*. Interestingly this account made no mention of the 2003 memorial service.

End Notes Sepik 5 Chapter 13

¹ Murray No 45 pp 202, 205 F., Annual report 1913-14 mentioned a cuirass with shoulder straps Austen found

² Sepik 2 Chapter 17.

³ Alphonse Riesenfeldt – Rattan Cuirrasses and Gourd Penis cases in New Guinea – *Man* Vol 46 – March-April 1946 pp 31-36

⁴ Sepik 2 Chapter 30.

⁵ Sepik 2 Chapter 31.

⁶ Sepik 2 Chapter 44.

⁷ Sepik 2 Chapter 45

⁸ Sepik 2 Chapter 46

⁹ Sepik 3 Attachment B

¹⁰ Sepik 3 Chapter 52

¹¹ Sepik 4 Chapter 13

¹² Pamela Swadling, Theodore Mawe and Wilfred Tomo -*Archaeology of Telefolip* in Children of Afek

¹³ Ipomoean Batatas – Sweet Potato

¹⁴ Sepik 4 Chapter 12

¹⁵ Telefomin Patrol Post was established beside the war-time emergency landing strip established in 1944-45.

¹⁶ I.F.Champion. *Across New Guinea*. Landsdowne Press 1966. Page 219

¹⁷ Barry Craig and David Hyndman ed. – The Telefomin murders – In *The Children of Afek* - Sydney University 1990 Page 125

¹⁸ I.F.Champion. 1966. Page 219

¹⁹ Bill Gammage *The Sky Travellers* - Melbourne University Press 1998 Page 112 also Confidential Tel 31/2 of 21st

June 1954 from ADO Zweck. Para 4 - *Unmarried women enjoy complete sexual freedom and it is considered impossible to prevent sexual relations between them and the police. However, the police are full aware that relations with married women are forbidden by local native practice...*

²⁰ D.Jorgensen – History of genealogy of myth in Telefomin – Paideuma 47:103-128 (2001) P 105

²¹ Sepik 4 Chapter 36

²² Sepik 4 Chapter 37

²³ Sepik 4 Chapter 38

²⁴ D.Jorgensen 2001 P 106-107

²⁵ D.Jorgensen 2001 P 107-108

²⁶ Ed. Knut Rio, Michelle McCarthy and Ruy Bienes. Pentecostalism and Witchcraft in Africa and Melanesia – Springer 2017 Page 26

²⁷ Ed. Knut Rio, Michelle McCarthy and Ruy Bienes. 2017 Page 2.

²⁸ Joel Robbins – Becoming Sinners University of California Press 2004 P 1 & 2

²⁹ D.Jorgensen – WHOSE NATURE? Invading bush spirits, Travelling Ancestors, and Mining in Telefomin – Social Analysis issue 43/3 1998 page 105

³⁰ D.Jorgensen 1998 page 107

³¹ LW Bragge Oksapmin patrol No 1 1966/67 Appendix F and Lorenzo Brutti. From fertility rites to mining companies: eco-cultural issues and land rights in Oksapmin. – Le Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes 2005

³² Lorenzo Brutti. 2005 P 251.

³³ Lorenzo Brutti 2005 P253/4

³⁴ Lorenzo Brutti 2005 P253

³⁵ Lorenzo Brutti 2005 P254

³⁶ Ivan James – From Murder to reconciliation page 21

Chapter 14 The Hewa cosmos in the 20th & 21st centuries and S.Hatanaka, as a catalyst for change.

The situation in which the Saiyolof [also known as the Sisimin or Hewa] of the remote Sepik/Strickland divide area found themselves in 1967 was described as follows;

“Recent pacification [in the 1960’s] altered the Saiyolofs life from a semi-sedentary to a sedentary way of life. In the semi-sedentary stage, the size of community in which men were able to live was controlled by supply...accordingly the individual group did not exceed 20 to 30 people. Pacification in the area permitted a great expansion in travel...A prerequisite of the development of Saiyolof society was caused by the end of warfare and the introduction of the sweet potato”¹.

The rate of change that pacification and sweet potatoes generated among the Saiyolof, was enhanced by the arrival of a catalyst in the form resident anthropologist Doctor [now Professor] Sachiko Hatanaka.

The known history of the “Hewa” up until Dr. Hatanaka’s arrival is recorded in Sepik 4 Chapter 37. *The exploration of the Strickland/Sepik Divide*, and Chapter 42. *Dr. Hatanaka and further exploration of the Hewa region. 1967-1971*.

An Anthropologist’s presence as a “Catalyst” for change.

The positioning of Dr. Hatanaka at Yoliape, with a secure house and police protection, as described in Chapter 42 above, might be seen as detrimental to her intention of studying the semi-sedentary/semi-nomadic “Hewa” lifestyle. Did her own presence there effectively “anchor” the semi nomads to the Yoliape location? And, did the police presence not ensure the recently established peace continued to prevail?

The answer to both questions was a qualified “yes”. The primary consideration behind the resident administrator responsible [the writer], agreeing for her residing with, and studying the Saiyolof at Yoliape, was her safety. “Pacification” had already been achieved. The police presence was to ensure that the newly established peace was maintained. As it turned out, Dr. Hatanaka arranged with OIC Oksapmin, Chris Van Lieshout to have the police and the interpreter withdrawn after she had been in residence for three months². By then, she knew her host community well enough to have no concerns for her own safety; The short-lived police presence had achieved its purpose; the Saiyolof and their immediate neighbours were indeed now at peace with each other.

Administration and anthropologist purposes often were, and are, diametrically opposed. The Administration acknowledges its role as a change agent. The Administration aim was to pacify, where necessary, and then develop PNG communities to a point where PNG could be a self-governing independent sovereign state; a status which was achieved on 16th September 1975.

Anthropologists, on the other hand, usually seek to study their chosen community in its uncharged state, while recognising that their very presence in the community tends to change it. In Dr.Hatanaka’s case at Yoliape, while this change was inevitable, the Saiyolof elders had so recently began their transition to a sedentary lifestyle that Dr. Hatanaka was able to not only draw upon their knowledge to thoroughly document the Saiyolof near hunter-gatherer past, but also record the transition to a sedentary lifestyle as it happened around her. Her documentation is recorded in her book in Japanese language [unfortunately without English translation] ISBN 978-4-7503-3913-9.

As it was, Dr. Hatanaka’s personal arrangements at Yoliape, also secured her personal security. Her house became her “castle”. She allowed women and children inside, but not men³, with whom she communicated in places other than her house. Masiu/Morubin who the writer arrested and

gaoled in 1967 [Sepik 4 Chapter] and whom Dr. Hatanaka met at the Oksapmin gaol, became her close friend and informant until his death as an old man in 2016. Luluai Faiyau had died some time before and been replaced as leader by Masiu's brother.

After being established at Yoliape in late 1967 Dr Hatanaka stayed there for fifteen months. She continued her studies at Yoliape throughout the years until 2018, usually staying for one or two months at a time.

The problem of learning the language.

Prior to coming to Yoliape Dr. Hatanaka spent time with the Saiyolof prisoners at Oksapmin gaol. As none of them spoke pidgin, Dr. Hatanaka drew upon the language skills of Administration interpreter Wuniot. There proved to be a problem with this, as like many Administration Interpreters, Wuniot learned pidgin while serving a gaol sentence. He had been arrested by Mr Marks 1963 patrol and convicted of offences against the "Sisimin" [Saiyolof]. It follows that Wuniot was the enemy of the Saiyolof prisoners, and while Dr. Hatanaka did learn a language at the Oksapmin gaol, it was Wuniot's Morubanmin language, not Saiyolof. At Yoliape, Dr. Hatanaka did learn the Saiyolof language and found it far easier than Morubanmin, at least for a Japanese speaker.⁴

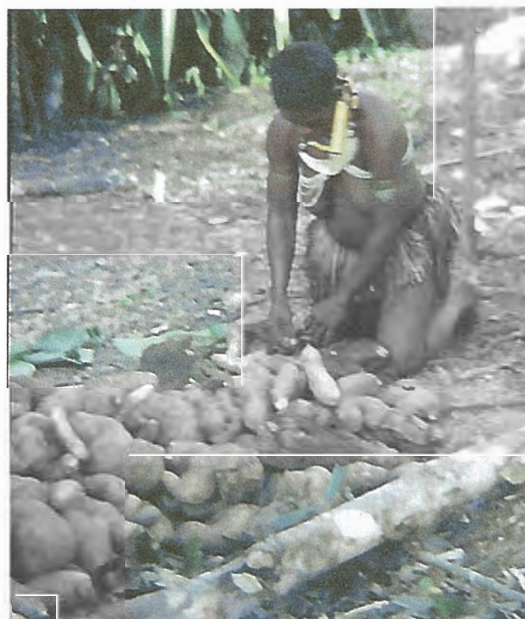
The Saiyolof choice of lifestyles.

It did not take long before Dr. Hatanaka's presence started making changes in Saiyolof society. People came to see her from both the Om River area and the North Hewa restricted area.

Many Saiyolof were afraid of contact with the government and hid deep in the bush before 1966 ...Bragge had contact with 43 people living at the Om/Lagaip junction in 1966 but in 1967, 220 people appeared to Hatanaka. 79% had not previously seen a non-indigenous person.⁵

Traditionally the Saiyolof encountered food security problems at gatherings of neighbours such as happened with ceremonial occasions such as the establishment of a new fortified dwelling, a marriage, preparation for a raid on an enemy or the funeral of an elder. The duration of such occasions was restricted by the amount of food that could be gathered to feed the additional mouths.

By the time Dr. Hatanaka arrived at Yoliape, the Saiyolof were becoming more engaged in the agricultural economy, particularly in the growing of sweet potatoes. Feeding visitors, as a result was much less of a problem. **Photo** A Saiyolof woman offering food for purchase by the Bragge patrol of 1967.



In 2018, during a visit with the writer in Australia, Professor Hatanaka described the following changes she witnessed in the Saiyolof people and their life style.

With the establishment of peace and the resulting increased mobility of human populations, Oksapmin people began visiting the Saiyolof at Yoliape. This resulted in a range of outcomes:

- The Okaspmin men hunted on Saiyolof land, greatly reducing the amount of game in the area. The availability of game was already a problem for the Saiyolof, who no longer migrated to new areas rich in game, as they had in the past.
- In 1967 there were no European garments evident among the Saiyolof. Probably the first such item acquired by them was the writer's bush hat, which I gave to former fight-leader Feiyau. In recognition of our friendship, his acknowledgment of the authority of the Administration and in commemoration of his appointment as Luluai.

From that time on, the Oksapmin visitors brought second hand clothes to Yoliape to trade. This quickly, and sadly, resulted in Saiyolof traditional dress becoming thing of the past.

- In 1967 not one Saiyolof person spoke either English or Pidgin. The combined short presence of police at Yoliape and visiting Oksapmin people saw the rapid introduction of Pidgin as the lingua franca at and around Yoliape.

An interim measure of “pacified” compared with “unpacified” Hewa, and the immense value of the presence of Dr. Hatanaka.

Sepik 4 Chapter 53 describes a patrol led by the writer into an uncontrolled “Hewa” area three days walk north of Lake Kopiago Patrol Post¹ and three days walk north east of Yoliape. In 1974, the Tarei Hewa had killed a government official and warned the administration that they would kill anyone who came north of the Lagaip river to investigate the murder. It was the writer who led the investigation patrol, which came under arrow fire on three occasions. Apart from their aggression the main difference observed between pacified and unpacified Hewa was the terrible state of health of the latter.

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Dr. Hatanaka's reception by Government Officers.

The precedent the writer established with Dr. Hatanaka in 1967 was continued by subsequent officers stationed at Oksapmin. Officers made her welcome and found accommodation for her, as there was no other place than Oksapmin from where she could walk into the Saiyolof area.

Unfortunately, after Independence the situation changed. Upon arriving at Oksapmin, Dr Hatanaka learned there was no where for her to stay. Local officers were not prepared to help her. The wives of Oksapmin police and school teachers stepped in to help. They found and cleaned an abandoned house to make it a fit place in which she could sleep.

A short-lived Seventh Day Adventist Mission station in the Sisimin area.

While posted as Oksapmin as Patrol Officer in charge in 1966 I had a visit from representatives of the SDA church. They had reportedly been established at Gaua village in the Oksapmin area since 1965, although at the time I was unaware of this. They met with me in 1966 to enquire about establishing a mission station in the “Sisimin area”. I suspect that I did not offer very much encouragement and there was no immediate evidence of an SDA involvement in the area.

¹ Lake Kopiago had been in the Western Highlands, until boundary changes had it in Enga Province, Then, by the time of the 1974 patrol it was in the Southern Highlands Province. Lake Kopiago, in 2018 is in the new Hela Province.

Sometime later, Dr. Hatanaka advised me that an SDA airstrip had been opened in the Lower Lagaip area, not far from Yoliape. She also advised me that her request to the SDA mission for her to fly into this airstrip had been declined. It seemed the mission did not want an experienced scientist communicating with and influencing their ‘newly contacted congregation’. That said, the writer was able to use that airstrip during his adventure tourism operations in 1989. That operation flew one group of tourists in and one group out during a four-month trek from Daru to Madang.



I was surprised that all the Hewa men I met at Kneebone airstrip in 1989 spoke pidgin. I asked who “Kneebone” was, but no seemed to know. Then one face lit up with recognition. “Long hap” [over there] he pointed to the west and said “Remban” [a community in the Om River area.]. “Kneebone, not Remban” said I, to clarify my question. The people were mystified and the Kneebone identity remained a mystery.

The writer learned from those present that the airstrip had been opened in 1977.⁶ There was no missionary in evidence in June 1989, and I wondered who opened the airstrip that morning and by what means. Dr Hatanaka advised that the administration permanently closed Kneebone airstrip soon afterwards. She did not know why. Perhaps there was no one in residence to undertake the necessary metrological reporting and airstrip maintenance.

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In the 21st Century Professor Hatanaka learned that air access to Oksapmin via Wewak or Mt Hagen; the routes of the past, were now less viable than flights from Kiunga or Tabubil, from whence regular flights were made to purchase vegetables for the Ok Tedi mine mess.

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While all the people we met at Kneebone airstrip were in Western clothes, they quickly changed into traditional dress to entertain my trekking party. The photos overleaf were shown to Dr. Hatanaka who said “Never did I see such dress!” I believe Dr Hatanaka was questioning the authenticity of the “traditional dress”.

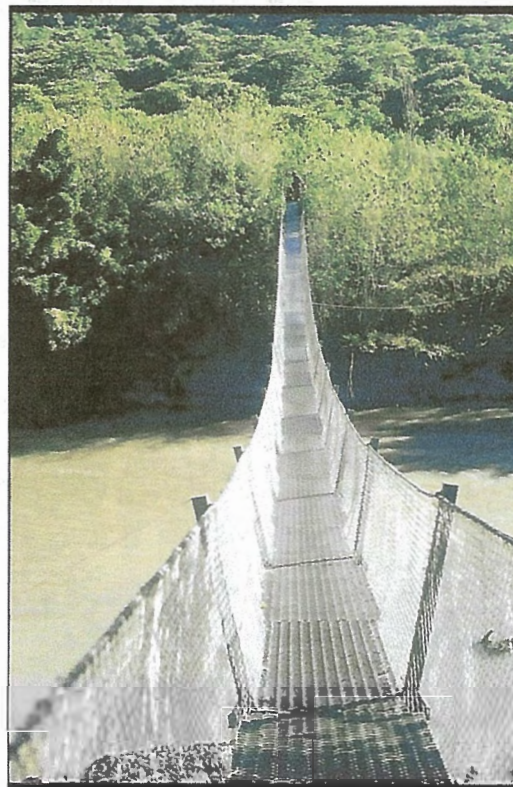


The differences I saw between this dress and that I saw on newly contacted people in 1966, was the people wearing the dress appeared to be freshly scrubbed and the garments and decorations were all new and more ornate than those seen in 1966. The latter had obviously been worn for the days and weeks before on bodies that had apparently gone unwashed for similar periods.

Also, the 1966 people I met behaved differently; they displayed either fear or awe of myself, much as I might have done if suddenly confronted with someone from outer space. The 1989 people, by contrast, were at ease with outsiders, but less at ease with their “traditional” dress; like actors suddenly required to don unfamiliar costumes.

Dr. Hatanaka’s continued memory of social change among the Saiyolof:

- As time passed Dr.Hatanaka noticed that the health of the people improved, there were less deaths and the average age of the population increased. This was no doubt due primarily to a combination of three factors.
 - The introduction of western medication and medical care, and,
 - The adoption of a sedentary lifestyle in which the sweet potato provided food security, and,
 - The abandonment of a semi nomadic hunting and gathering existence, which might be regarded more as a quest for survival than a lifestyle.
- Yoliape became a focal point for the Saiyolof people and as the sedentary life style was established, so the population increased and for the first time the scattered Saiyolof extended family settlements came together as a village community for the first time.
- During the 1980s, the Porgera Joint Venture built community projects downstream of its mining operations in order to compensate any communities which might have been inconvenienced by mine runoff. At Yoliape, the JV built a suspension bridge across the Om River near the site where the writer’s patrols built cane suspension bridges in order to cross, and where Patrol Officer Marcus Watkins was drowned while crossing the river in 1972.



- Contact with outsiders resulted in Saiyolof interest in seeking education for their children. Some went to each Lake Kapiago and Oksapmin as boarders. Dr.Hatanaka’s friend Masiu resided at Oksapmin for some time as guardian and carer for Saiyolof children attending school there.
 - In 1985 Dr Hatanaka met former fight-leader Feiyau’s son Aria in Oksapmin. Aria had just graduated from Lake Kapiago high school and was preparing to commence his tertiary education. Dr Hatanaka was so astounded at Aria’s sophistication and his excellent command of the English language, that she had difficulty reconciling him with his Saiyolof origins.⁷

Sadly, tertiary education did not eventuate for Aria. The writer understands that Aria was to be sponsored by the SDA Church, but that the money ran out.

- **Gold:** With the aid of a Chinese gold buyer, the Saiyolof became gold miners. They sluiced the alluvial gravels of the Lagaip River near its junction with the Om River. The gold was obviously shedding from the fabulously rich Porgera gold field upstream. In retrospect the writer walked over these Lagaip gravel bars many times, but never once thought to wash a pan of gravel to prospect for gold.
 - The gold seems to have caused a role reversal. Oksapmin people had been the rich ones, trading second hand clothes with the Saiyolof. But now gold wealth made the Saiyolof richer than the Oksapmin.

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The increasingly large Saiyolof population drew the attention of the administration and the site for a primary school was selected on the opposite bank of the Om River from Yoliape. The teachers, selected were from Oksapmin and they brought family and friends with them. The “Sisimin” primary school had also been established north of the river, so there was a shift from the Yoliape area across to the north bank of the Om River.

The community built a two-story school [photo overleaf] and actively supported the teachers. This proved to be just as well, because for an extended period, the administration neglected to pay them. Dr Hatanaka intervened with the Education Department and the pays eventually came through. Now in 2018, the school teaches grades 1 to 6.

Professor Hatanaka negotiated with the Japanese Government to provide a sizeable grant for the development of education facilities at the Utouki school. Given her advanced age and restricted mobility, negotiations are currently underway with the PNG Volunteer Services Scheme to identify and appoint a trustworthy manager to oversee this Japanese aid project.

- In about 2015, a new “Sisimin” airstrip was opened at Utouki on the left bank of the Karu River near the Karu/Om River junction.
 - An enterprising individual purchased canoe in Kiunga and had it flown into Utouki airstrip and commenced a ferry service across the Om River so people could travel from Yoliape to the airstrip without getting wet or walking the extra distance to the Porgera JV suspension bridge. The ferry fare is K5 per person per crossing.

Traditionally the Saiyolof used small wooden rafts with a mast upon which to hang their belongings [see overleaf]. With these they regularly crossed the rapidly flowing Om and Lagaip Rivers as well as the headwaters of the Leonard Schultze and April Rivers north of the Strickland/Sepik Divide.

Photos: Top left. Traditional Saiyolof raft crossing the Lagaip River. Top right Utouki airstrip. Bottom left: Headmaster snapping a photo of Anthropologist Sachiko Hatanaka. Bottom middle. The two-story bush material Utouki primary school. Bottom right School roll call.



- Professor Hatanaka mentioned with some small embarrassment that there are quite a lot of Saiyolof girls and young ladies with the unlikely Christian name “Sachiko”.
- Professor Hatanaka recalls two helicopters coming to Utouki airstrip. The first one landed and someone jumped out and rolled a red carpet out on the grass of the airstrip. The second helicopter then landed and an apparently important lone personage alighted onto the carpet. He waved to the people and said a few words, then re-boarded his helicopter and flew away. The person who rolled out the red carpet then re-rolled it and put it back into the helicopter. He too boarded and the helicopter departed.
 - As far as the writer is aware the Saiyolof have no recollection of who this personage was, or what prompted his visit than they knew the identity of “Kneebone” from page 4. They welcomed him anyway. He apparently represented the government, and the people had an airstrip, medicines, a school, and government teachers for which to be thankful.

On my first meeting with Saiyolof people half a century ago, I formed the opinion that they were, a very gentle and friendly people. Everything I have heard of them since has reaffirmed that first opinion.

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In March 2018 my friend Sachiko, now 88 years of age visited us in Cairns. She indicated she wanted to research some references in my Sepik archive. But it quickly became evident that her primary reason for coming, was to convince me to go back to “Sisimin” with her for one final visit. Sadly, I had to decline as my health no longer allows me to venture that far afield.

This chapter would be so much better had it been written by her², rather than from notes I made of discussions we had during her visit. My kiap spirit in me says that what is needed is an area study including thorough demographics, and interviews with elders to record their views of their social, political and economic progress. I am sure, that had we both been up to it, that Sachiko would like to have us collaborate on an update of our 1973 Oceania paper *Habitat, Isolation and Subsistence Economy in the Central Range of New Guinea*.

What a valuable contribution such an update would be! In the last 60 years the Saiyolof emerged from a near hunter-gatherer existence, as progressive, self-sufficient and self-reliant citizens of the independent State of Papua New Guinea.

Overwhelmingly, this success-story was due to both the direct and catalytic impact of Sachiko Hatanaka’s involvement with the Saiyolof. For her own part, Sachiko indicated to me that of all her life time of studies around the world, her time with the Saiyolof was the most important and rewarding.

End Notes Chapter 14

¹ Hatanaka S and Bragge L.W. *Habitat, Isolation and Subsistence Economy in the Central Range of New Guinea – Oceania* 1973; page 40

² Personal communication with Professor Hatanaka in 2018

³ Personal communication with Professor Hatanaka in 2018

⁴ Personal communication with Professor Hatanaka in 2018

⁵ Hatanaka S and Bragge L.W. 1973; P45

⁶ Bragge Reference Volume no 25 *Trekking from Daru to Madang diary 26th June 1989*

⁷ Personal communication with Professor Hatanaka in 2015

² The information required is not lost. Unfortunately, the present writer cannot read Japanese.

Sepik 5 Chapter 15 – Boats and shipping mentioned in Sepik 3 & 4 1941 – 1975 Ships such as *Gabriel*, *Osprey* and *Thetis* mentioned here have their origins recorded in Sepik 2 Ch 49.]

Sepik 3 1941 to 1945

Date first Noted	Navigator & Ship Name	Notes.	Reference to Chapters in Sepik 3
1941	Bulolo	Coastal supply vessel belonging to Burns Philp	Chapter 1
10/12/41	MacDhui	Coastal supply vessel belonging to Burns Philp brought 6 months supplies for the Sepik, but was ordered back to Port Moresby before it could unload. MacDhui was later bombed and sunk in Port Moresby harbour	Chapter 1
21/1/42	Gabriel	Catholic mission boat often used by the Administration. Gabriel did not survive the war	Chapter 5
26/1/42	Japanese Carrier and two destroyers sighted		Chapter 6
Feb '42	Duai	Madang Plantation owner Roy Macgregor's boat	Chapter 8
Feb '42	Excel	Ship used by R. Macgregor to contact Garamambu miners	Chapter 8
14/2/42 19/2/42 1/3/43>	Osprey	40 ft. Government work boat stationed at Angoram With Thetis, Duai and Winon to help "NG's little Dunkirk" evacuation from New Britain Osprey with Capt. Taylor behind Japanese lines Osprey - captured by the Japanese and not heard of again	Chapter 10 Chapter 10 Chapter 24> Chapter 33
14/2/42 20/12/42	Thetis	50ft Ketch – the Sepik District's Government boat Thetis sunk in Madang by Neptune Blood	Chapter 10 Chapter 24
Feb'42	Winon	Chu Leong's 45 ft. boat – 15 tons' cargo capacity Chu Leong cut Winon in half to render her useless to the Japanese – Post war reassembled the halves as a 60footer	Chapters 10 & 11 Chapter 64
17/2/42 20/2/42 20/3/42	Kingfisher	Moving miners between Lake Yimas base and Angoram Kingfisher commandeered at 4 am – bid to escape Kingfisher arrived Samarai with 6 refugee miners	Chapter 10 Chapter 10 Chapter 10
17/2/42	Fanny	Angoram security measures to prevent commandeering Accompanied Thurston Expedition to May River	Chapter 10 Chapter 18
19/2/42	Nereus	With Osprey Thetis and Duai to assist New Britain evac. Nereus in the Angoram Incident – Capt. Jock Laird Nereus commandeered, arrived Australia	Chapter 11 Chapter 14 Chapter 14
19/2/42	Total	80ft Lutheran ship involved in New Britain evac	Chapter 11
19/2/42	Bavaria	Larger Lutheran ship based at Finschhafen used in evac	Chapter 11
19/2/42	Umboi	Lutheran ship involved in New Britain evacuation	Chapter 11
19/2/42	Iowa	Lutheran ship from Kranket Isle used in evac.	Chapter 11
July '42	Montevideo Maru	Japanese ship carrying POWs from New Britain, sunk by US submarine Sturgeon off Luzon	Chapter 11
19/2/42 28/3/42	Lakatoi	Burns Philp coastal vessel used by McCarthy in evacuatn Lakatoi arrived in an Australian port with 214 on board	Chapter 11
1/2/41	Laurabada	Papuan Govt yacht captained by Ivan Champion to Palmalmal, New Britain to evacuate 150 Australians	Chapter 11
Jan '42	Mascot	Alan Timperley [future DC of the Sepik] reported troops at Palmalmal awaiting evacuation	Chapter 11

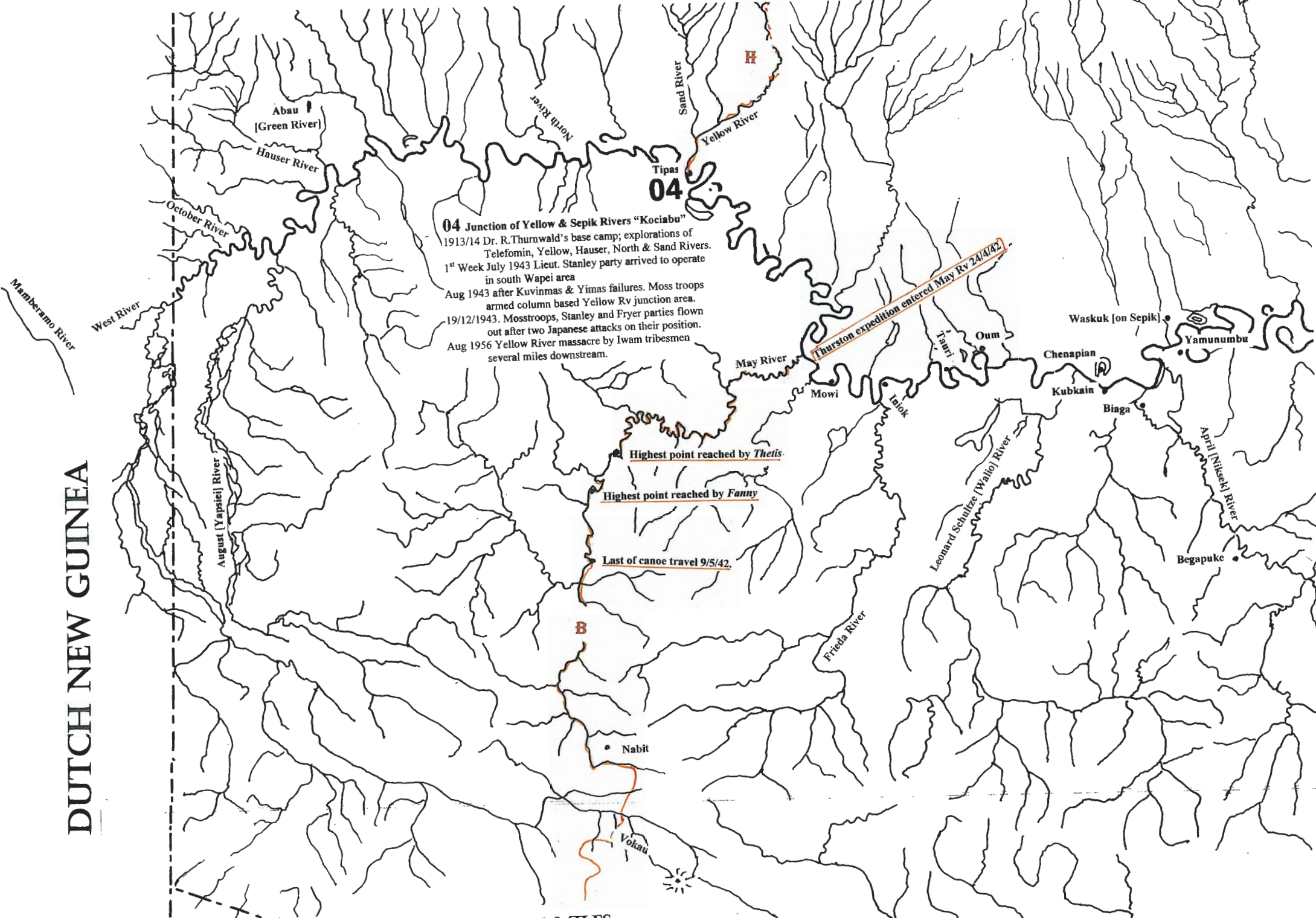
April 15/4/42 15/8/43	Pat	Miner George Eichorn's boat captured by renegade police then escaped and met Thurston's party on Thetis Used by Macgregor. Captured by Japanese at Begapuke	Chapter 17 Chapter 18 Chapter 33
25/5/42	Edith	DO Jones and party visit Hollandia and return	Chapter 20
Apr'42 29/4/42	Maria	Mission boat spotted by Japs at Timbunke Maria taken by Nuns and priests into Karawari for evac	Chapter 25
3/4/42	Pius	15 ton Catholic missn. vessel – Taylor asked that Pius be put out of action to allow him upstream to meet Ashton	Chapter 25
Mar'42	Akikaze	Japanese destroyer, collected missionaries from Kairiru, Manus and Kavieng and executed them en-route Rabaul	Chapter 25
28/2/43 -4/3/43	Shirayuki Arashio Tokitsukaze And eight troop ships	3 destroyers and 8 troop ships sunk in battle of the Bismarck Sea	Chapter 26
6/2/44 8/2/44	Dorish Maru		
22/4/44	217 ships	Allied invasion of Aitape [Persecution Task force] & Hollandia [Reckless Task force] with 80,000 troops	Chapter 43
30/4/44	LST459 barge	Shipping Dorish Maru survivors from Humboldt Bay to Finschhafen	Chapter 44
7/6/44	Unnamed TP boat	Took Cpt Searson and troops on reconnaissance of Tarawain Island	Chapter 45
Apr'45	HDLM1312	Military vessel which transported “Operation Copper” from Aitape to Muschu Island	Chapter 58
15/8/45	USS Missouri	Japanese unconditional surrender signed on USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay	Chapter 61
10/9/45	Fairmile launch	Rear Admiral Sato sign surrender on this Fairmile in Kairiru Strait.	Chapter 61
Oct.'45	M.L.1347	Lieut Marsden Hordern transported the Indian POW survivors from Angoram to Wewak	Chapter 62

Sepik 4 1946 to 1975 and beyond

1947	AK 94	Presumably an ex war-time vessel used at Aitape	Sepik 3 Ch 65
1/11/49	Poseidon	Govt Trawler – moved Jim Hodgekiss from Vanimo	Sepik 3 Ch 65
Various	1812	Standard ex WW2 40 ft. work boats such as Opal, Onyx, Zircon, Sapphire and Osprey?	Sepik 3 Ch 65
May '47	Osprey	Osprey took PO Kershaw to Marui	Sepik 3 Ch 68
Oct'46	Kauri	BGD vessel facilitating minerals exploration and labour recruiting trips	Sepik 3 Ch 68
All chapter references below this line relate to Sepik 4			
Aug '48	SSAdmiral Chase	Stores and equipment for establishing Telefomin transported from Port Moresby to Madang	Chapter 11
Oct '49	Mubo	BGD vessel- Cahill on board - reported no sign of life Kouiambi Hills.	Chapter 1.

5/11/51	Susu	PHD work boat, used by OIC Green Rv, PO W. Crellin & PO Williams to investigate the Swagup raid. Low river level prevented their access to Swagup	Chapter 9.
6/2/1952	Nanagai	A small Pinnace belonging to PO Gilbert accompanied the Osprey with Doolan and Orwin to Swagup.	Chapter 9.
Late 1954	Tiari	Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development No Liability supporting August and Upper Sepik petroleum survey wit ADO Brightwell	Chapter 15
Late '56	Mala	Government 40 ft work boat used in the investigation of the Yellow River Massacre by ADO Brightwell	Chapter 16
1967	HMAS Madang	Australian Patrol Boat despatched from Vsnimo to Wutung to assess the border and save PO Try if need be	Chapter 29
1935	Hermes	60 ft boat used by Administrtor McNichol to carry art collected in the Sepik with J.K.McCarthy. Hermes was lost with its art and all hands en route Madang-Rabaul	Chapter 34
1935	La Korrigane	French Brigantine visit to Sepik so Comte de Ganay could collect for the Trocadero museum, Paris	Chapter 34
1970	Copper Queen	Frank Martin's barge that transported fuel and equipment to the Frieda River Project	Chapter 40
1970	Andra	Government Trawler that moved Bragge family from Wewak via Sepik River to our posting at Ambunti	Chapter 44
1971	Opal	40ft Govt workboat used on the Blank on the map patrol	Chapter 46
1971	Sapphire	40ft Govt workboat used on the Blank on the map patrol	Chapter 46

DUTCH NEW GUINEA

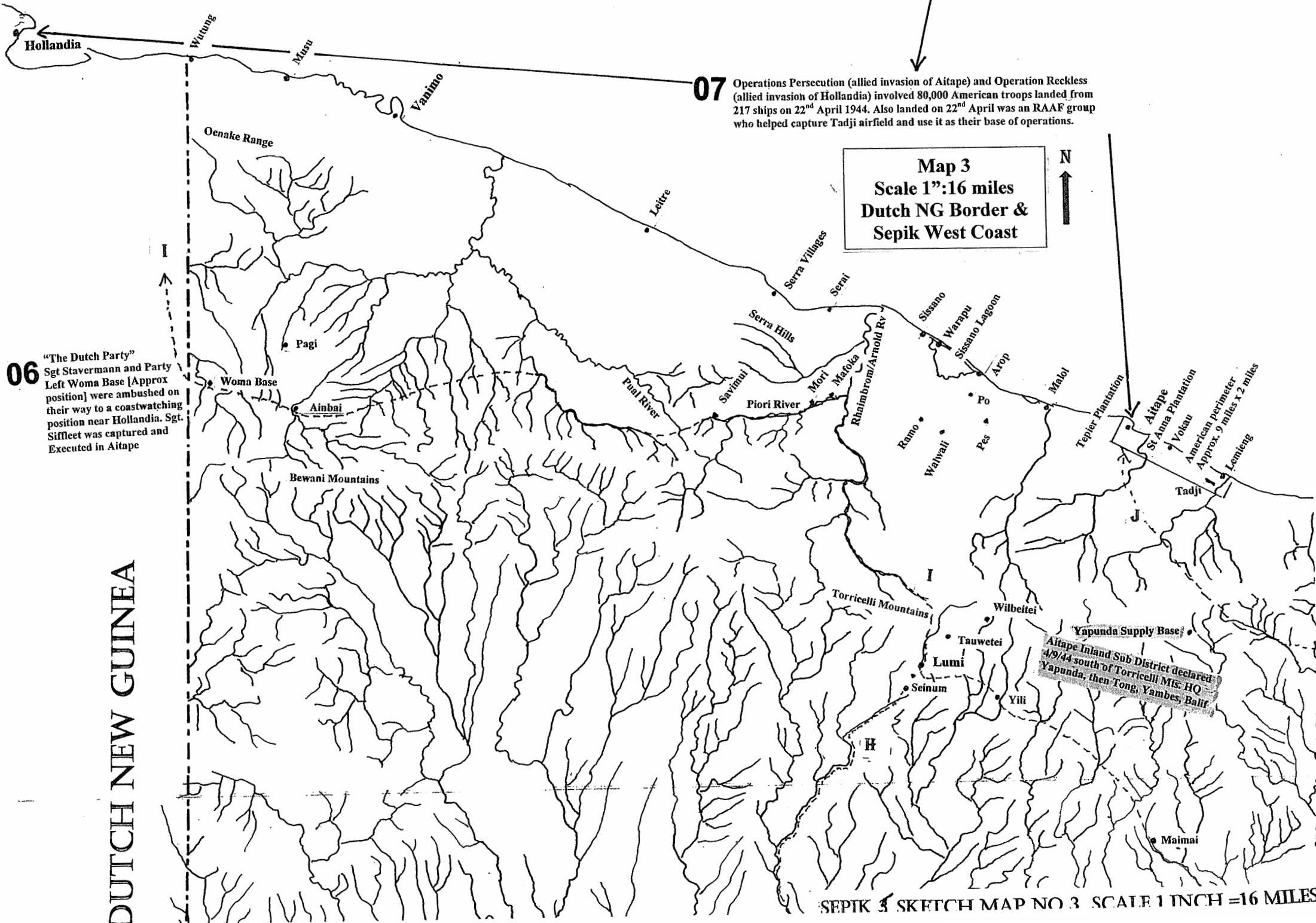


04 Junction of Yellow & Sepik Rivers "Kociabu"
1913/14 Dr. R. Thurnwald's base camp; explorations of Telefomin, Yellow, Hauser, North & Sand Rivers.
1st Week July 1943 Lieut. Stanley party arrived to operate in south Wapei area
Aug 1943 after Kuvinmas & Yimas failures. Moss troops armed column based Yellow Rv junction area.
19/12/1943. Moss troops, Stanley and Fryer parties flown out after two Japanese attacks on their position.
Aug 1956 Yellow River massacre by Iwam tribesmen several miles downstream.

Thurston expedition entered May Rv 24/4/42

Highest point reached by Thetis
Highest point reached by Fanny
Last of canoe travel 9/5/42.

SEPIK SKETCH MAP NO 4 SCALE 1 INCH = 16 MILES.



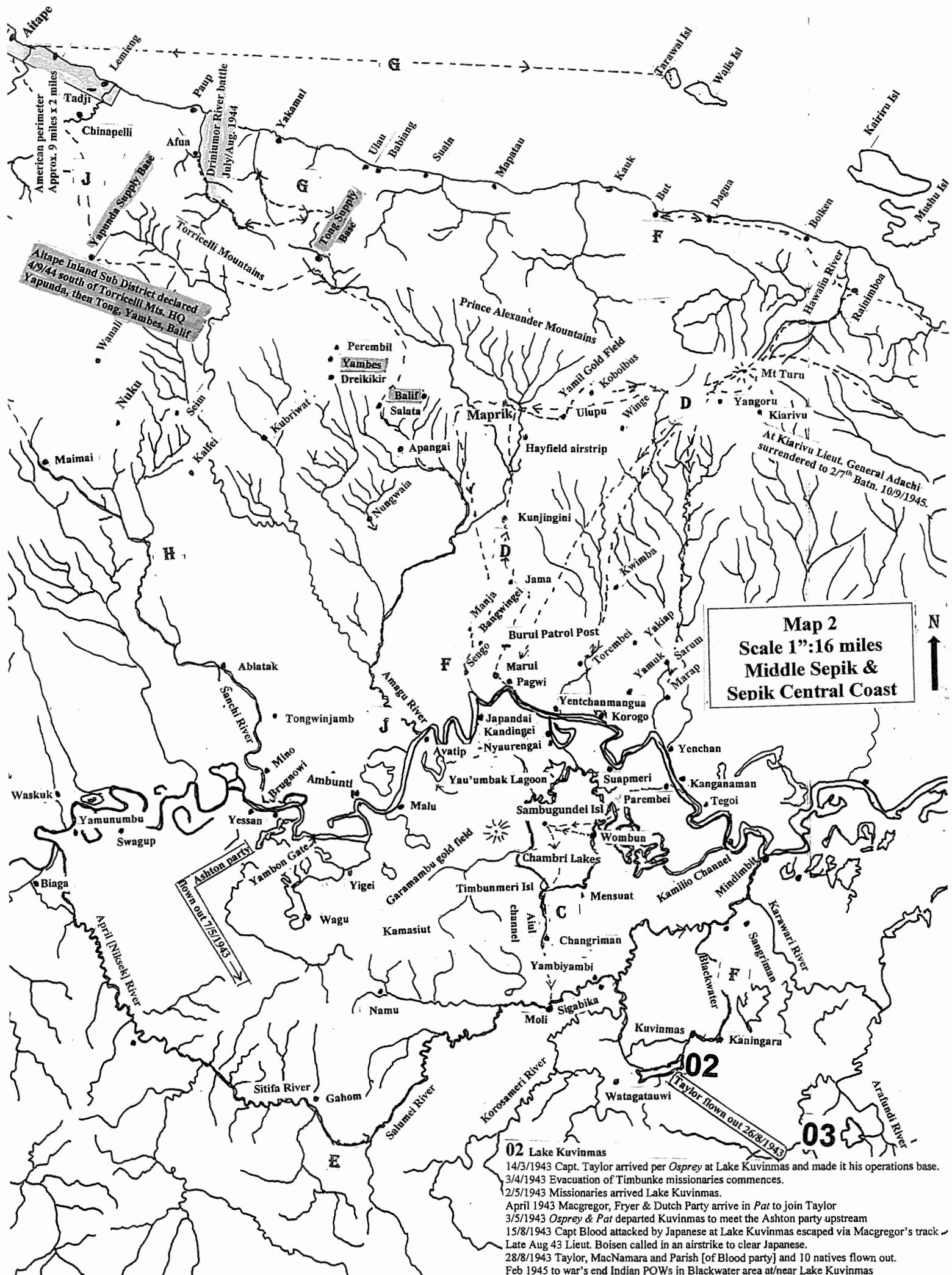
07 Operations Persecution (allied invasion of Aitape) and Operation Reckless (allied invasion of Hollandia) involved 80,000 American troops landed from 217 ships on 22nd April 1944. Also landed on 22nd April was an RAAF group who helped capture Tadji airfield and use it as their base of operations.

Map 3
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border &
Sepik West Coast

06 "The Dutch Party"
 Sgt Stavermann and Party
 Left Woma Base [Approx
 position] were ambushed on
 their way to a coastwatching
 position near Hollandia. Sgt.
 Siffleet was captured and
 Executed in Aitape

Yapunda Supply Base
 Aitape Inland Sub District declared
 4/9/44 south of Torricelli Mts. HQ
 Yapunda, then Tong, Yambes, Balif

DUTCH NEW GUINEA



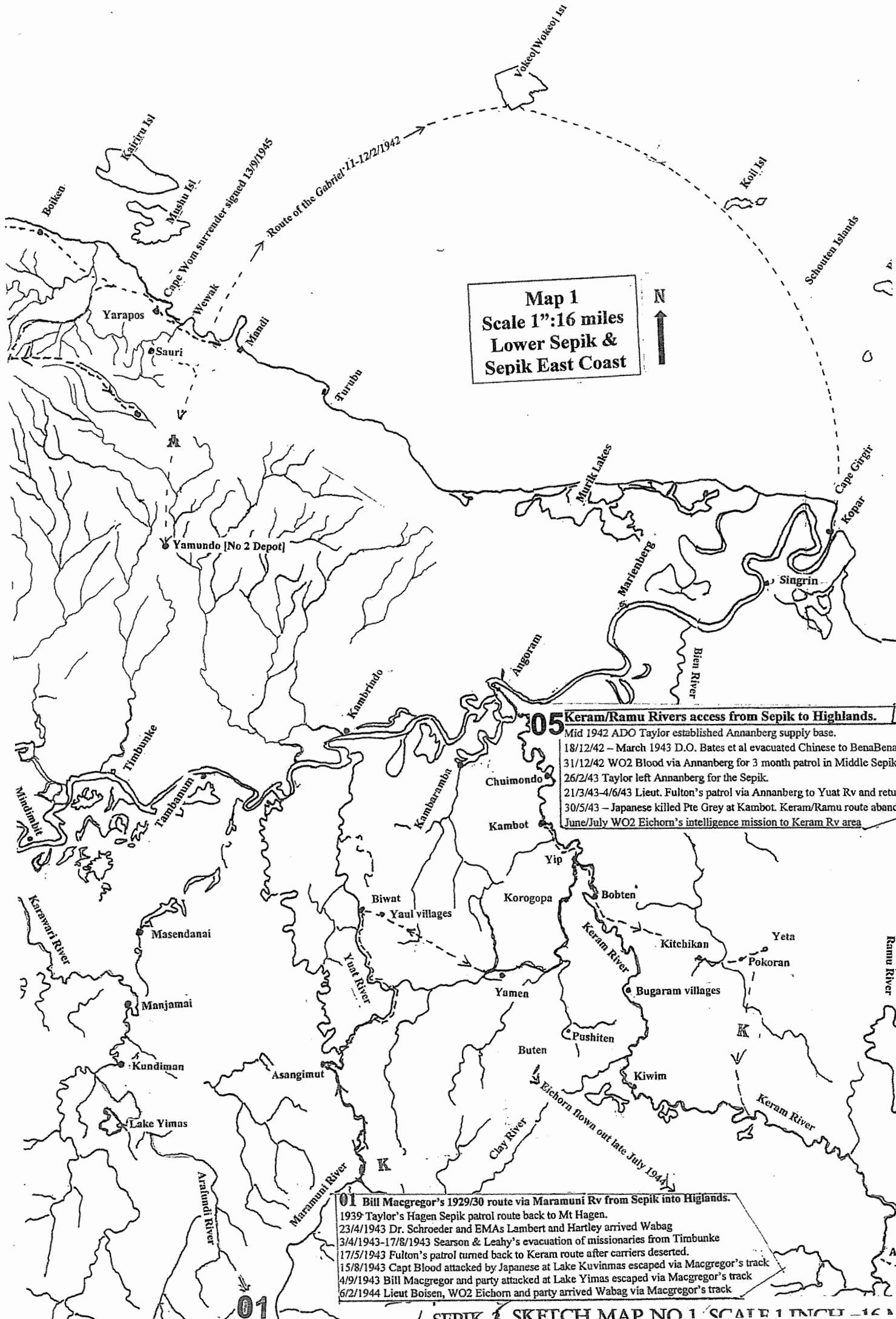
Map 2
 Scale 1":16 miles
 Middle Sepik &
 Sepik Central Coast

SEPIK 3

SKETCH MAP NO 2 SCALE 1 INCH = 16 MILES.

02 Lake Kuvinmas
 14/3/1943 Capt. Taylor arrived per *Osprey* at Lake Kuvinmas and made it his operations base.
 3/4/1943 Evacuation of Timbunke missionaries commences.
 2/5/1943 Missionaries arrived Lake Kuvinmas.
 April 1943 Macgregor, Fryer & Dutch Party arrive in *Pat* to join Taylor
 3/5/1943 *Osprey* & *Pat* departed Kuvinmas to meet the Ashton party upstream
 15/8/1943 Capt Blood attacked by Japanese at Lake Kuvinmas escaped via Macgregor's track
 Late Aug 43 Lieut. Boisen called in an airstrike to clear Japanese.
 28/8/1943 Taylor, MacNamara and Parish [of Blood party] and 10 natives flown out.
 Feb 1945 to war's end Indian POWs in Blackwater area at/near Lake Kuvinmas

03 Lake Yimas.
 21/1/1942. DO Jones ordered Jack Thurston to establish the rear supply base at Lake Yimas.
 21/3/1942. PO Strudwick ordered from Lake Yimas to Timbunke, where he was murdered.
 1/4/1942-10/4/1942 *Thetis* & *Fanny* Timbunke - Yimas - Timbunke

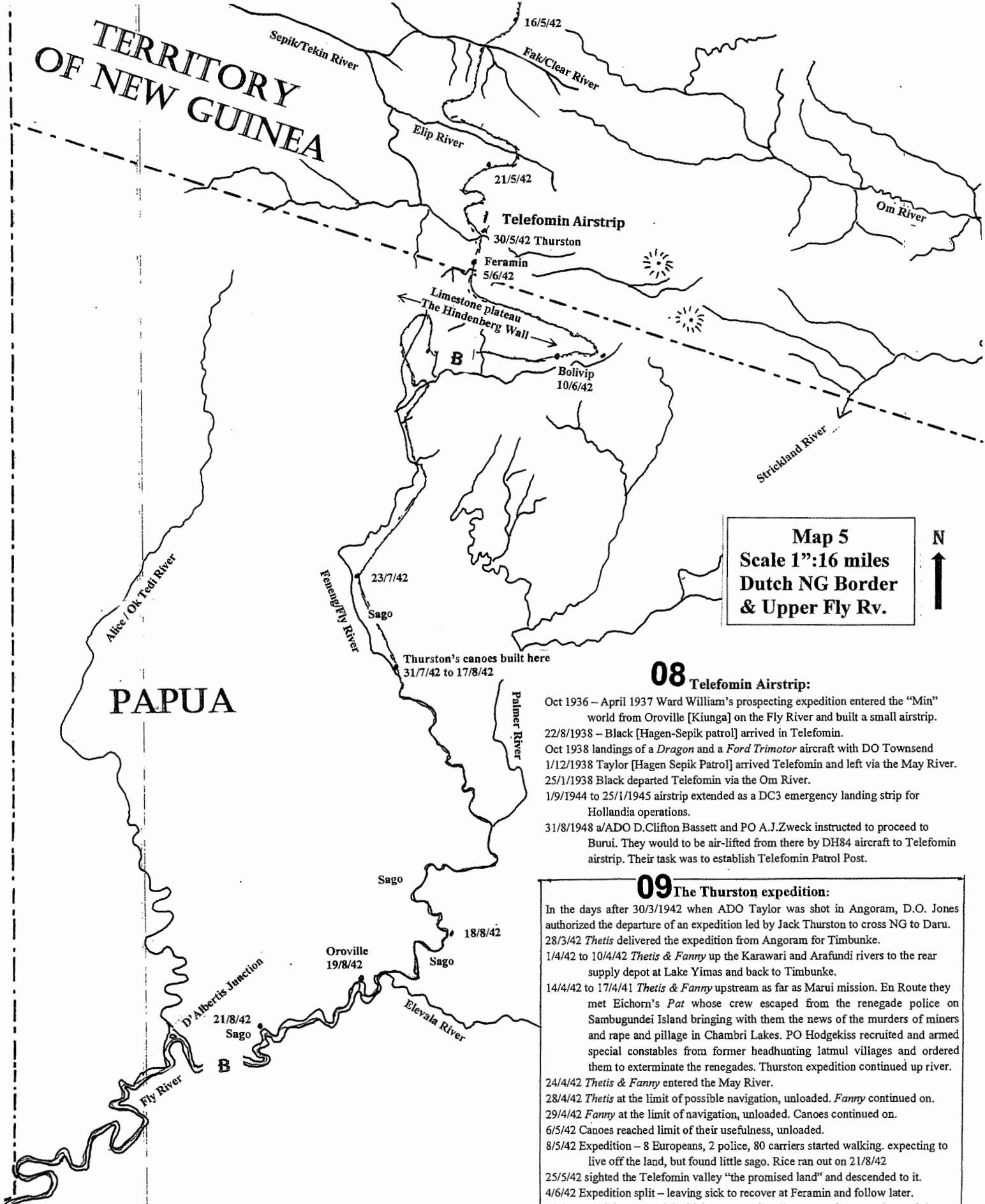


Map 1
 Scale 1":16 miles
 Lower Sepik &
 Sepik East Coast

05 Keram/Ramu Rivers access from Sepik to Highlands.
 Mid 1942 ADO Taylor established Annanberg supply base.
 18/12/42 - March 1943 D.O. Bates et al evacuated Chinese to BenaBena
 31/12/42 WO2 Blood via Annanberg for 3 month patrol in Middle Sepik.
 26/2/43 Taylor left Annanberg for the Sepik.
 21/3/43-4/6/43 Lieut. Fulton's patrol via Annanberg to Yuat Rv and return
 30/5/43 - Japanese killed Pte Grey at Kambot. Keram/Ramu route abandon
 June/July WO2 Eichorn's intelligence mission to Keram Rv area

01 Bill Macgregor's 1929/30 route via Maramuni Rv from Sepik into Highlands.
 1939 Taylor's Hagen Sepik patrol route back to Mt Hagen.
 23/4/1943 Dr. Schroeder and EMAs Lambert and Hartley arrived Wabag
 3/4/1943-17/8/1943 Searson & Leahy's evacuation of missionaries from Timbunke
 17/5/1943 Fulton's patrol turned back to Keram route after carriers deserted.
 15/8/1943 Capt Blood attacked by Japanese at Lake Kuvinmas escaped via Macgregor's track
 4/9/1943 Bill Macgregor and party attacked at Lake Yimas escaped via Macgregor's track
 6/2/1944 Lieut Boisen, WO2 Eichorn and party arrived Wabag via Macgregor's track

TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA



Map 5
Scale 1" : 16 miles
Dutch NG Border
& Upper Fly Rv.

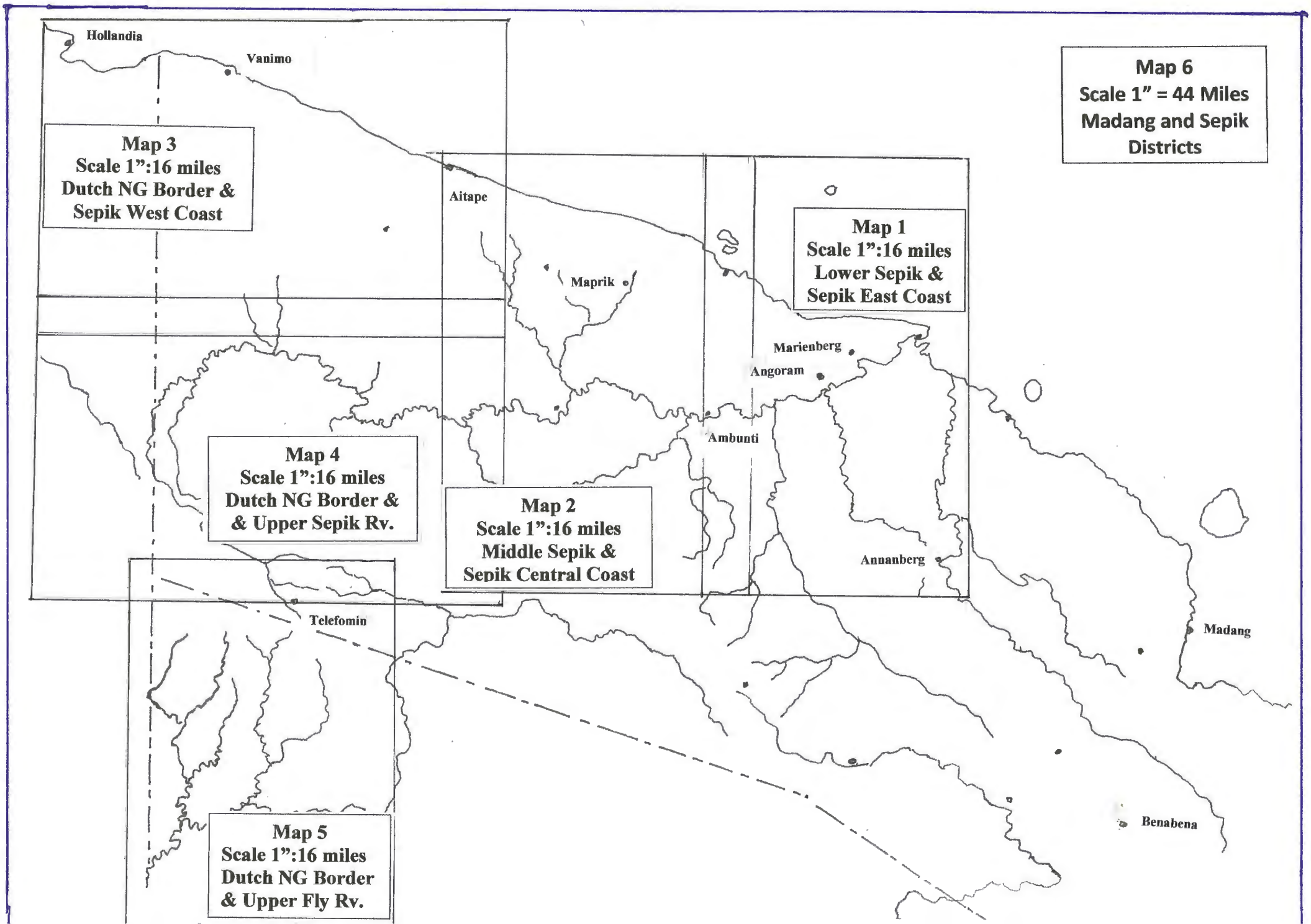
PAPUA

08 Telefomin Airstrip:

Oct 1936 – April 1937 Ward William's prospecting expedition entered the "Min" world from Oroville [Kiunga] on the Fly River and built a small airstrip.
 22/8/1938 – Black [Hagen-Sepik patrol] arrived in Telefomin.
 Oct 1938 landings of a *Dragon* and a *Ford Trimotor* aircraft with DO Townsend
 1/12/1938 Taylor [Hagen Sepik Patrol] arrived Telefomin and left via the May River.
 25/1/1938 Black departed Telefomin via the Om River.
 1/9/1944 to 25/1/1945 airstrip extended as a DC3 emergency landing strip for Hollandia operations.
 31/8/1948 a/ADO D.Clifton Bassett and PO A.J.Zweck instructed to proceed to Burui. They would to be air-lifted from there by DH84 aircraft to Telefomin airstrip. Their task was to establish Telefomin Patrol Post.

09 The Thurston expedition:

In the days after 30/3/1942 when ADO Taylor was shot in Angoram, D.O. Jones authorized the departure of an expedition led by Jack Thurston to cross NG to Daru.
 28/3/42 *Thetis* delivered the expedition from Angoram for Timbukne.
 1/4/42 to 10/4/42 *Thetis* & *Fanny* up the Karawari and Arafundi rivers to the rear supply depot at Lake Yimas and back to Timbukne.
 14/4/42 to 17/4/41 *Thetis* & *Fanny* upstream as far as Marui mission. En Route they met Eichorn's *Pat* whose crew escaped from the renegade police on Sambugunde Island bringing with them the news of the murders of miners and rape and pillage in Chambri Lakes. PO Hodgekiss recruited and armed special constables from former headhunting latmul villages and ordered them to exterminate the renegades. Thurston expedition continued up river.
 24/4/42 *Thetis* & *Fanny* entered the May River.
 28/4/42 *Thetis* at the limit of possible navigation, unloaded. *Fanny* continued on.
 29/4/42 *Fanny* at the limit of navigation, unloaded. Canoes continued on.
 6/5/42 Canoes reached limit of their usefulness, unloaded.
 8/5/42 Expedition – 8 Europeans, 2 police, 80 carriers started walking. expecting to live off the land, but found little sago. Rice ran out on 21/8/42
 25/5/42 sighted the Telefomin valley "the promised land" and descended to it.
 4/6/42 Expedition split – leaving sick to recover at Feramin and follow later.
 4/6/42 to 10/6/42 crossed the high and waterless limestone plateau to descend the Hindenberg Wall into Bolivip.
 5/7/42 The two halves of the expedition re-united amidst celebrations.
 31/7/42 On Fenning [Fly] River started making canoes; launched 17/8/42.
 19/8/42 At Oroville [now Kiunga] – 1936/7 base of the Ward Williams expedition.
 20/8/42 to 19/9/42 Down the Fly River to "civilization" at Madiri Plantation, stopping en-route as required to make sago.
 20/9/42 Arrived Daru.



Map 3
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border &
Sepik West Coast

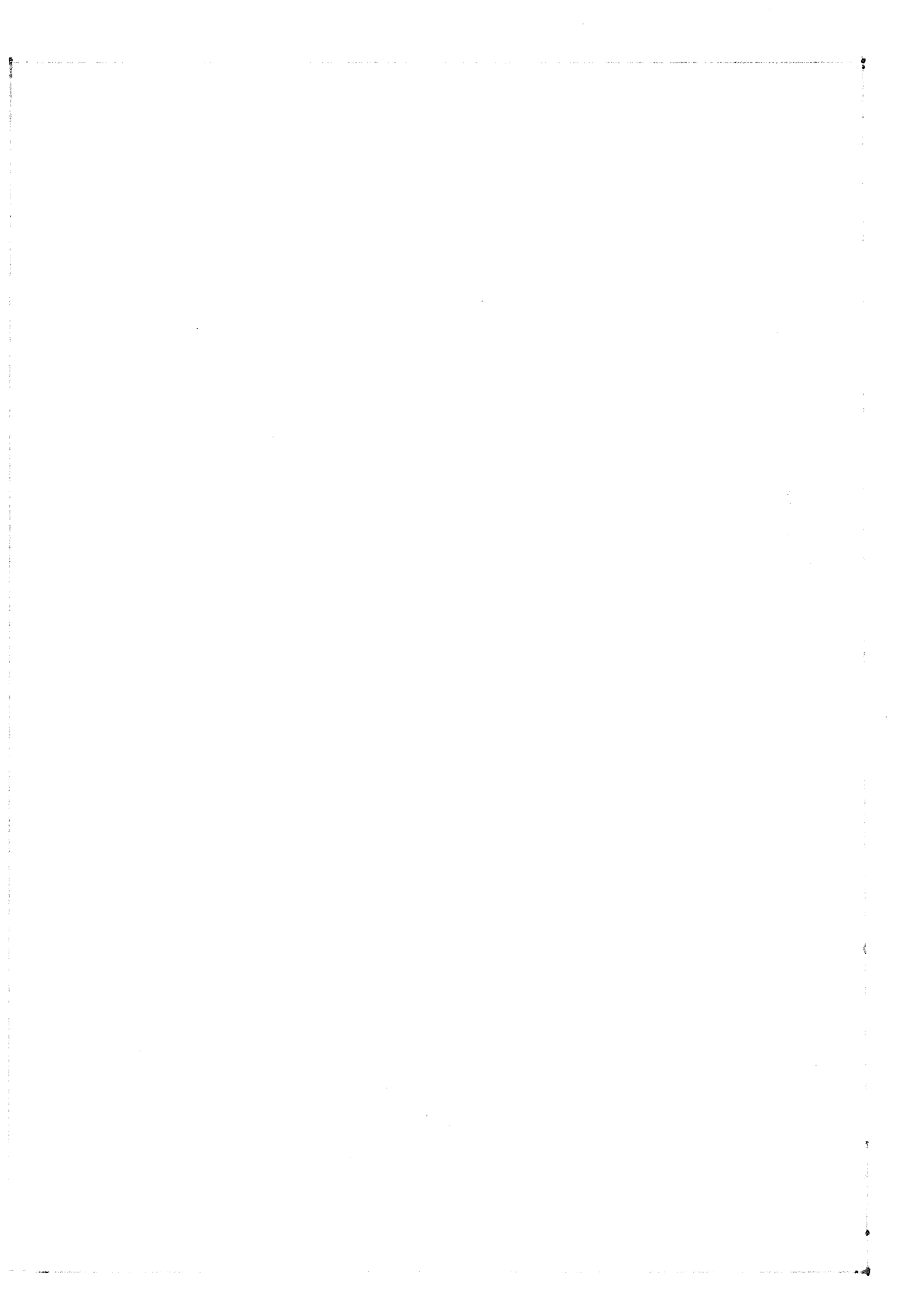
Map 4
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border &
& Upper Sepik Rv.

Map 5
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border
& Upper Fly Rv.

Map 2
Scale 1":16 miles
Middle Sepik &
Sepik Central Coast

Map 1
Scale 1":16 miles
Lower Sepik &
Sepik East Coast

Map 6
Scale 1" = 44 Miles
Madang and Sepik
Districts



The District Commissioner,
Sepik District,
W. N. A. E.

DROWNING OF PATROL CARRIERS

In reply to your NK 31-1/38, please find covering natives drowned. Forms supplied by to allow a Notice of Death to be made out for reported to have been killed by the Miamins

As the carriers were to have been paid requesting information on wages earned has b

Telefemin

TERRITORY OF PAPUA & NEW GUINEA

DS. 11-3-5

Department of District Services
and Native Affairs,
PORT MORESBY.

28th July, 1950.

MEMORANDUM TO :
District Officers

CONSUMPTION OF LIQUOR BY

It is reported that the consumption of liquor by natives is on the increase. Officers of the Department point out to the natives that drinking liquor is a point out to the natives that drinking liquor is a

Para No.	Description
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33	two to
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35	Slept P
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41	Slept Pabulumu
42	Checked census
43	Collected informa
44	for Magara populat
45	collecting outstand
46	Political education
47	on Independence and Co
48	People conservative and
49	Discussion turned to Cou
50	Heard twolocal court case
51	disputes
52	Demarcation Committee membe
53	while awaiting the result ha
54	under debate.
55	Evening took notes on social
56	Discussions going well, with
57	2100hrs retired. Slept
58	Pabulumu
59	Rain. People slow to come in
60	Councillor and others gath
61	for Pabulumu
62	Discussions on
63	Commenced on
64	outside

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