

State Society and Governance in Melanesia

DISCUSSION PAPER

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MOBS AND MASSES: DEFINING THE DYNAMIC GROUPS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA¹

From their first arrival in Papua New Guinea, Europeans were quickly defined as belonging to particular groups. What placed them in groups was occupation and intent. The dominant groups of missionaries, miners, planters and traders, and government officers (often reduced to field officers - kiaps - only) accepted that they were indeed different from each other. They wrote aggressive statements about their own interests as opposed to those of the other groups in the Rabaul Times and Papuan Courier. If representatives were needed for a legislative council, then a planter, missionary and miner would be found to join the government offices. It was said that the groups naturally came together on the boats that took them to and from Port Moresby or Rabaul. These groups continued to be recognized as dominant when they were no longer clearly important by numbers or influence. Race and nationality were also significant in defining groups, and much of the defining was in legislation as well as in the unwritten rules that determined how people were expected to behave.

Papua New Guineans were placed in groups by place and family, extended family and culture. That was a result of what was easily observed and because of the concurrent growth of anthropology as a discipline with the timing of the European century of contact in Papua New Guinea. That dominance of place, family and culture has continued to be used to define Papua New Guinean groups and to explain social, political and economic behaviour. Two exceptions have been the police and army. There has been enough written about these two occupational groups that it is possible to write histories of their histories. These reveal much about Australian colonial hopes and regrets. But the police and army aside, we now have a nation of six million, many urban dwellers, many people whose first language is tok pisin or English and almost no analyses of what are the dynamic groups other than those identified in generalities a hundred years ago. This is primitive scholarship.

**HANK
NELSON**

SCHOLARS REQUIRE GROUPS

Margaret Thatcher said, perhaps decreed: 'society. There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first.'² That belief in the primacy of the individual and the absence of any group other than the family was consistent with then common political and economic beliefs in the virtue of small governments and free markets. The result, the free marketeers argued, of unfettered individuals pursuing economic self-interest was going to be greater national growth shared by more. While crude assertions of that dogma have lost favour with pundits and voters, and most dramatically with share market investors and the growing numbers of unemployed, the significance of the individual is retained by those who proclaim the importance of choice (of school, hospital, superannuation scheme, and electricity and telephone supplier) and of the people who make the money, rather than governments, know best how to use it. Although in practice this may mean that individuals and private companies look after profit and governments continue to pick up debt.

Politicians and economists can stress the importance of the individual, and a Margaret Thatcher can assert that 'the quality of our lives will depend upon how much each of us is prepared to take responsibility for ourselves'³; but most of the time social scientists trying to carry out their basic tasks of explaining the behaviour of a population have to be able to identify groups - groups that drive, enable, accept, resist or are by-passed by change. But those scholars working on the Pacific Island states have been unable to agree on which groups have been important and some have written as though there are no coherent groups other than those defined by kinship and place. The problem is now long-lasting and finding a working solution becoming more important in Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands and less urgent in New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Fiji where history, migrations and inherited or assumed rank have resulted in cleavages in populations. The following is a commentary on scholarly and popular perceptions of groups of people in Papua New Guinea.

FIRST ENCOUNTERS: FIRST GROUPS

Those scholars who have looked at early encounters between islanders and the outside world have seen the significance of the men of the beach – those men who left or escaped from their own communities, took up long-term residence near an anchorage and became the interpreters for foreigners and islanders in their interactions.⁴ Harry Maude has pointed out that before they were ousted by more numerous foreigners, there may have been '2000 or more [beachcombers] scattered throughout the South Seas'.⁵ The beachcombers of Melanesia are rarely recalled, but Maude says that, 'James Selwyn came to live in New Britain about 1816 and Thomas Manners in New Ireland during 1826, both being still there in 1835'.⁶ They pre-dated those other 'firsts', the missionaries, miners, government officers, traders and planters, by several decades.⁷

That last sentence illustrates the ease with which popular and scholarly commentators have grouped foreigners in Melanesia by their aim, ideology, and economic interest: planters, traders, missionaries, miners and government officers. Those divisions among foreigners were evident even on the ships that took Australians north. Keith McCarthy on his first voyage to New Guinea noted how the 'civil servants and planters on board began to gather in cliques'.⁸ In 1941 Jim Huxley on his way to a job at Bulolo named the three men who left the *Neptuna* with him at Salamaua. They were all like him, battlers hoping to make a quid on a frontier – a chicken farmer, a Bulolo dredge master and an independent miner returning to Edie Creek.⁹ Huxley was already within a group defined by aspiration and industry. Rodger Brown, a Methodist missionary sailing second class on the *Nanking* in 1939, mentioned three other Methodist missionaries on board and when the ship called at Brisbane he went ashore and met executive officers of the Methodist church in Queensland, and he was greeted on the wharf in Rabaul by his mission chairman.¹⁰ By contrast Pat Boys on her way to marry a plantation manager enjoyed changing each night into a 'long elegant' frock and entering the Macdhui's dining saloon.¹¹ She travelled with a different group defined

by economic interests and conforming to different rules on social behaviour.

The different groups of white foreigners attacked each other with frank fury in the Rabaul Times and the Papuan Courier and their divisions were apparent on particular issues. Planters and traders objected to any suggestion of an increase in wages for labourers or diverting government funds to educate Papua New Guineans. On New Ireland, McCarthy's attempts to assist the villagers to build their own copra driers were taken by the planters as evidence of the 'incompetence and stupidity' of government officers. In that case, the Administrator sided with the planters and McCarthy was shifted and lost his acting rank of Assistant District Officer.¹² But the foreigners may have exaggerated their differences. Jack O'Neill, a miner, mentions going to see the Government officer, Bill Kyle, and the Lutheran missionary, Wilhelm Bergmann ('who had been so hospitable'), at Kainantu in 1933: in the absence of other Europeans and living close to several thousand turbulent Highlanders, miner, kiap and missionary were conscious of what they had in common.¹³

Cadet Patrol Officer Malcolm Wright learnt quickly that he was not to act against planters in a way that would lower the 'prestige of the European', but he did not think that this consideration was extended to missionaries, especially those who were German - and truly 'European'.¹⁴ In New Guinea, but not in Papua, the number of Germans (and Austrians) in the Catholic and Lutheran mission was significant, 399 in 1940.¹⁵

To the 1950s, Chinese and the few Malay, Japanese, other Asians and mixed race people in New Guinea were located on the social scale somewhere between the Europeans and the Melanesians. They were not players in matters of government policy and in so far as it was possible with people so important in the commerce of small towns, they were kept socially and physically separate. As the new town of Wau developed, some its white citizens were worried by 'celestial encroachment' into white residential areas. In 1938, a woman letter writer to the Rabaul Times asked: 'What is the use of some citizens taking an interest in their houses, gardens etc., when a generally

well-kept appearance is ruined by Chinese trade stores in their midst with crowds of bui-chewing natives around?'¹⁶ The Chinese were then seen to be at fault for failing to keep their distance from both white and black.

From 1942 to 1945 the foreigners in Papua New Guinea were certainly divided by nationality: uniforms, accents and behaviour made the differences explicit. But there were also other divisions. The services - navy, army and air force - retained their separate identities, and that continued in the official histories and much scholarship so that an Australian history of Kokoda is likely to leave out the war in the air and the sea.¹⁷ But the Japanese accounts of Kokoda emphasise the air war in which they were initially dominant, enjoyed technical superiority and could fight with a flamboyance that was impossible for their ground troops trapped in rain and mud, suffering from malaria and malnutrition, and facing an enemy growing in strength and competence.¹⁸ More significantly, race blurred distinctions between nationalities. At Talasea, Father Bernard Franke had to decide whether he assisted the Japanese allies of his native Germany or the Australians escaping from Rabaul and later those serving with the coastwatchers. He chose - at great personal risk - the Australians, but he may have been motivated simply by friendship to some government officers and planters whom he had come to know well during his years on north New Britain.¹⁹ In the Madang and Morobe Districts the conflict was more complex because Lutheran missionaries shared a religion and a German heritage but were separated by culture and nationality into Australians, Americans and Germans. (The names of Australians who by age and fitness qualified to serve in the Australian army - for example, Behrendorff, Freund, Obst, Rohrlach and Tschärke - were indicative of their heritage.) At the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939 some Lutheran missionaries known or suspected of being members of the Nazis party were interned in Australia, more followed, but by December 1941 there were still nominally Axis and Allied Lutheran missionaries in New Guinea. The few German Lutherans who were there when the Japanese arrived, may have aspired to be neutral, but in practice were more inclined to assist the Allies than the Japanese.²⁰

THE POST-WAR EXPATRIATES AS DEFINED BY THEMSELVES AND OTHERS

In the post-war, the Australian administration of Papua and New Guinea maintained the old pre-war divisions among the foreigners determined by occupation: in the Legislative Council which first met in 1951 there were sixteen government officers and they were moderated by three mission members, three elected planters, two town businessmen and one miner.²¹ The twenty-eight member Council, presided over by the Administrator, also included three appointed Papua New Guineans: one from Papua, one from the New Guinea coast and one from the New Guinea islands.²² In government, the non-official Europeans represented occupations, the Papua New Guineans places and Asians were not represented. Although the foreign population increased to 35,000 in 1966 and to 49,000 in 1972 and had become more diverse, the old divisions based on occupation were still present in minds and almost in reality.

The number of foreign public servants had increased to 6,000 by the mid 1960s and reached a peak of over 7,000 in 1971. The kiaps continued to write their memoirs and they were still important in the Districts and Sub-Districts, but they were a minority among the foreigners.²³ In 1968 the field staff in the Department of District Administration, ranked from 19 district commissioners to 122 cadet patrol officers, totalled 521.²⁴ The missionaries numbered around 1000, the plantation owners and managers, now including tea and coffee growers, under 900 and miners, in that gap between the decline of Bulolo and before the start of Panguna, were less than 100.²⁵ By contrast, about 4000 foreigners described themselves as 'clerical workers', over 2,000 as building and construction workers, 2,000 as teachers and over 1000 were employed in 'air transport'.²⁶ There were more foreign nurses, 539, than kiaps.²⁷ The numerous clerks, construction workers and teachers were not seen as groups deserving the acknowledgment given to planters, missionaries and kiaps.

Through those last years of Australian administration the foreigners were very British. In 1966 85% were from Australia,

New Zealand and the United Kingdom, all then defined as 'British'. By place of birth, 18,000 were born in Australia, 8,000 in Papua and New Guinea, 2,600 in the United Kingdom and 800 in New Zealand.²⁸ Other than the 'British', only Americans (3%) and Germans (2%) exceeded one per cent of foreigners by nationality. When people identified themselves by race, 2,455 said they were Chinese, but as many were born in Papua or New Guinea and had Australian citizenship, they were not Chinese either by nationality or place of birth. Most foreigners were transitory: half had been in Papua New Guinea for less than three years.

So it is possible to go through the foreigners in Papua New Guinea and allocate them to various groups by origin, length of time in the Territory, education, race, nationality, religion and occupation. Much scholarship has been concerned with groups of foreigners: for example, Hugh Laracy and Di Langmore have written on missionaries, David Lewis on planters, Hiromitsi Iwamoto on the Japanese, Peter Cahill and C. Y. Choi on the Chinese, Marjorie Crocombe pioneered the study of the Polynesian missionaries to Papua New Guinea, and Amirah Inglis, Chilla Bulbeck and Jan Roberts have grouped foreigners by gender and written on women.²⁹ In Jim Sinclair's voluminous writings on topics chosen and commissioned there are more specialised groupings: airmen in the gold industry, coffee growers and the founders of, and workers in, a brewery.³⁰ Little has been written about teachers and clerks, although the teachers have written on themselves. A searching examination of what teachers did would tell us much about the colonial state and its legacy because for five days a week the teachers were in close contact with those who were to inherit the new state.³¹ And a case can be made that it was the clerks who gave the colonial state its operating capacity and it was the failure to replace them with trained lower and middle-ranking public servants that led to many weaknesses in the postcolonial state.³² Where there have been histories of particular areas of Papua New Guinea there has been a dominance of what have been seen as the main groups of foreigners: missionaries, government field officers, planters, traders and miners.³³ Scholarship of foreigners has been influenced by the groups who were thought significant at the time, scholars followed those groups after they

had ceased to be dominant, and scholars have failed to define and write on the most numerous groups defined by occupational classifications, and, more importantly, have failed to define and comment on new groups of foreigners who have been influential in the post-colonial states.

PAPUA NEW GUINEANS BY OCCUPATION

In the writings on Papua New Guineans there are few that take groups selected on the same bases as those of foreigners: by occupation, religion, economic interests and gender. Perhaps that is understandable for the 1920s and 1930s, but even then there were far more Papua New Guineans in the Territories in the cash economy and living away from home than foreigners. In 1940 over 60,000 Papua New Guineans were under paid employment as against a total foreign population of employed and unemployed of about 7,500.³⁴ There is no history of the indentured labourers. The best that they have are those historians who have included them when writing on planters and miners.³⁵ As a group, the most neglected are those who were most observed, judged and discussed by foreigners: the domestic servants. In 1940 there over 3,300 indentured domestic servants in New Guinea, 135 of them women.³⁶ So that means about 5,000 in the two Territories. In 1966 there were more than 7,700 of them, over 6,000 of them men and usually still called houseboys (hausboi) and often residing in the small and separate boihaus unseen from the street fronts of the residential areas of Port Moresby, Rabaul, Madang and other towns.³⁷

The Papuans and New Guineans who were numerous, educated and likely to work outside their home area and commit all of their working lives to an introduced institution were the mission workers. In 1940 the eleven mission societies in New Guinea employed over 3,300 'native workers'.³⁸ As the 900 employed by the Finschhafen Lutheran Mission and the 500 employed by the Catholic Mission of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus may have included men working on mission plantations or engaged in other secular labouring tasks, the totals

could exaggerate the numbers of educated, long-term employees. But the Methodist Mission of Australia on its stations on New Ireland and New Britain claimed to have 457 New Guinean workers and separately it said that on its staff it had two ordained New Guinean ministers, 384 teachers and thirty-three catechists, a total of 419.³⁹ At least in the Methodist mission the figure for 'native workers' is close to that for all teachers and evangelists.⁴⁰ When the Methodist mission was employing over 400 educated New Guineans, the total foreign staff on the mission – including lay and medical workers – was twenty-one. The numerical dominance of the New Guinean pastors, catechists and teachers is apparent in the figures provided by the Lutheran mission when the Australian Administration in 1936 tightened restrictions on outsiders entering and moving in the newly opened Highlands: there were then about seventy Lutheran evangelists in the Ega area of the Chimbu, twenty in Kerowagi and 100 in Onerunka in the Eastern Highlands.⁴¹ In that same area there were then about four 'mother stations' directed by white missionaries. The New Guinean Lutheran evangelists who led the mission advance into the Highlands are named in church histories and in Robin Radford's history of Kainantu. Her giving both the biographical background and achievements of Gapenuo Ngizaki was then exceptional. Gapenuo Ngizaki, born near Sattelberg in about 1898, entered the mission school at twelve, had two additional training courses, and was on the mission frontier by the time he was in his early twenties.⁴² Of the general mission histories, David Wetherell's account of the Anglicans provides most about the Papuan priests. He makes sharp observations:

Nearly all Papuan clergy joined the mission as children; few were ordained before they were thirty-five. Nurtured by older priests, some Papuans had to undergo long trials as teachers. Some were vested when middle-aged; two died within six years of ordination and another while being trained.⁴³

But the Papuan Anglican priests were few - only twenty being raised to the priesthood between 1917 and 1947. And we lack group histories of the Lutheran evangelists, the Tolai pastors who advanced the Methodist frontiers in the Baining and further south

and west in New Britain, the Catholic catechists who worked among the Fuyuge in Papua, the Unevangelised Fields Mission's Gogodala converts of the Western Division who spread the message, the London Missionary Society pastors and those others who went into strange villages, learnt a language and influenced how people thought about this world and the next. What little we know of these groups is largely dependent on documents written by white men and most of the time the Papua New Guineans missionaries worked outside the surveillance of mission or secular Europeans. For some of these Papua New Guinean mission families it is not too late to learn more – from them and those that they instructed.

Similarly, there are few studies of Papua New Guinean medical assistants or school teachers (and there were 7000 of them by 1966; 6,500 by 1972⁴⁴) or village constables, or luluais, or tultuls, or village councillors, although there have been accounts of particular men and councils. Paula Brown's article on Kondom Agaundo published in 1967 was unusual then and is more remarkable now. Kondom became the luluai of the Naregu people near Kundiawa in the Chimbu around 1954 when he was in his late twenties. Brown even has the notes that he made in tok pisin for a speech he was to give.⁴⁵ By contrast the councils have had many commentators and the early observers set a valuable base line, for example, Ian Hogbin who did fieldwork in Busama village south of Lae from 1944, Cyril Belshaw who observed the Hanuabada Native Village Council in 1950-51, Richard S. Salisbury who wrote a history of Vunamami on the Gazelle Peninsula, and Louise Morauta's who made a detailed study of inland Madang.⁴⁶

THE POLICE: ROYAL AND LOYAL

The two groups of Papua New Guineans defined by employment who have been studied and commented on over time are the police and the soldiers. The Papuan police attracted praise soon after their formation, and Sir Hubert Murray made his views official.⁴⁷ In 1927 he wrote to the Minister for Home and Territories and gave two instances of courage displayed by the police and went on to make a general comment:

Similar instances of courage and devotion on the part of the Armed Constabulary are not at all rare, but they are usually taken as a matter of course, and are rarely reported in any detail. Their frequency is, I think, important, not merely as showing that many natives are very brave men, but as evidence of a tradition of loyalty and a sense of duty among members of the Constabulary which is likely to be permanent.⁴⁸

Close to the end of his long years in office Murray forwarded and supported police Commandant Leonard Logan's petition to King George VI that the 'dignity of Royal' be conferred on the Armed Constabulary. Some members of the Canberra public service were reluctant to bother their monarch, pointing out that in all of the British Empire only one police force was allowed the prefix 'Royal', and that was the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. But the petition went forward, was approved, and from July 1939 the police served in the Royal Papuan Armed Native Constabulary.⁴⁹

Lewis Lett, who lived in Papua through thirty years of the administration of Sir Hubert Murray and became his first biographer, published the *Knights Errant of Papua* in 1935.⁵⁰ The 'knights' are the men of the magisterial service but the frontispiece is a photograph of the 'police in marching order' and in his introduction Murray directs attention to Lett's praise of the police.⁵¹ Jack Hides, born in Papua and more fluent in Police Motu than many patrol officers, wrote part of his book on the police by the light of a hurricane lamp while on the 1935 Strickland-Purari patrol with James O'Malley.⁵² In its confrontations with the numerous and turbulent Southern Highlanders, the patrol was often dependent for its survival on Sergeant Orai and his small troop of nine police. While proximity and reality might have influenced Hides, he was also writing of police and situations he had known in much previous 'government work'.⁵³ Hides' praise of the police was frequent and consistent: 'They were indeed', he wrote, 'wonderful men'.⁵⁴ Murray in his comment on the published account of the Hides and O'Malley Strickland-Purari patrol said in his typically understatement: 'The police of course behaved splendidly: they always do.'⁵⁵

Through the comments of the Australians in Papua on the police there are emphases on courage and loyalty. Often it is a personal loyalty. C. A. W. Monckton delighted in referring to the police under Sergeant Barigi as 'my escort' and giving examples of their unquestioning obedience and concern for his personal welfare.⁵⁶ Monckton presented his police to conform to the stereotype of loyal, unsophisticated black servants. But Murray said on the death of Sergeant-Major Simoi in 1934 that he had lost a 'personal friend' and that Simoi had been a 'man of strong character and marked personality'.⁵⁷ By praising the police in the pre-war the Australians were praising themselves as good custodians of Papuan welfare and worthy of loyalty, but they were also seeing qualities in the police worthy of admiration by the measures that they applied to themselves, and that was unusual before 1942.

In the neighbouring Territory of New Guinea, the Australians were less given to praise of the police as a group. The police had been loyal to the Germans: in 1914 they had been most numerous of the armed defenders of German New Guinea and suffered most casualties in the brief fighting before the Australians captured Rabaul.⁵⁸ In 1929 senior police took a leading role in planning and organising the Rabaul strike. Denounced as a 'mutiny' by many of the whites, the strike undermined trust in the police and increased calls for close white command and strict discipline.⁵⁹ But that did not inhibit particular New Guinea field officers writing in praise of the police who worked alongside them. After his 1933 patrol to the Tauri River and Otibanda, Keith McCarthy wrote of the 'splendid men' of the police and how he wept when he learnt that Lance Corporal Anis of Madang had died of arrow wounds.⁶⁰ Having recovered from his own wounds, McCarthy had a stone erected over Anis's grave inscribed: 'He was a man', adapted from the words a fellow policeman had spoken to the dying Anis.

The police, combined in 1942 as the Royal Papuan Constabulary (RPC), won awards and praise during the war. The decorations included two George Medals, eight Member of the British Empire, twenty-eight police valour badges and military awards while serving attached to army units - four DCMs, eight MMs and even a USA Bronze Star.

Reports of the police appeared on Australian movie screens and in newspapers, and, in a reversal of the traffic in people and perceptions, police visited Australia. At least six groups of police were brought to Australia to visit factories and army training camps to see the strength that the Allies had to bring against the Japanese. Then in 1944 the RPC band visited the eastern states, playing to crowds numbering in thousands.⁶¹

In the post-war, Jim Sinclair's 1990 history of the police, a 120 page prelude to the police and the Pacific Islands Regiment in World War II, followed the pre-war precedents that had praised the stalwart police on the frontier patrols.⁶² And soldiers in their reminiscences praised particular policemen.⁶³ Peter Ryan in his frequently reprinted memoir, *Fear Drive My Feet*, gave a striking picture of Lance-Corporal Kari in his

spotless khaki shorts, immaculately starched and pressed. On his bare right arm was buckled a cloth band, with the single stripe indicating his rank He was about twenty years old, and it was hard to imagine a more superb specimen of young manhood.⁶⁴

He may have been just a few months older than Ryan who was nineteen when they first met in 1942. Ryan was to visit Kari on his several post-war visits to Papua New Guinea.

CHANGED PERCEPTIONS

In one of the first public inquiries into resurgent fighting in the Highlands released in 1973, police discipline was said to have 'held' and that when police had been in sufficient numbers in Mt Hagen there had been a decline in 'lawlessness'.⁶⁵ But the anthropologist Mervyn Meggitt who had first gone to New Guinea in the 1950s and had been in the Highlands in 1973 said that the 'police and the Enga developed over the years an intentionally ambiguous but satisfactory *modus vivendi*'. That relationship between police and villagers, he said, had deteriorated in the 1970s with Engans showing declining 'respect for law and order'.⁶⁶ Ten years later when the committee chaired by Leo Morgan submitted its report

on crime, law and order, public perceptions of the police were 'generally negative' with some people accusing the police of 'brutality, sexism, wantokism, unresponsiveness to events ...'.⁶⁷ The Clifford report, which followed soon after, was more explicit. It concluded that the chance of being arrested and successfully prosecuted for serious crime was 'alarmingly low', the quality of police investigation 'deplorable' and the standard of police investigation 'woeful'.⁶⁸ Based on interviews in Highlands, Mike Mapusia in 1985 said that villagers reported:

considerable evidence of violent misbehaviour by the mobile [police] squads, including arson, malicious damage, murder, grievous bodily harm, rape, stealing and wrongful arrest. It was further alleged that squad commanders could be bribed, and they were easily influenced by powerful politicians.⁶⁹

The shift in perceptions of the police was profound: from the loyal and courageous armed force on the frontier of Australia's administration to those seen as playing a key role where 'crime may be the business in Papua New Guinea with the best profits and least risk'.⁷⁰

By the 1990s Sinclair Dinnen and others were reporting on the defects of the police and some of the details were chilling, such as that some thirty-two Port Moresby raskols had been killed by the police.⁷¹ But by then concern was shifting to the need for reform of the police, and the deficiencies of the police in 'discipline and skills' was taken as given.⁷² From 1988 the police became a special target of Australian aid and at least by 1991 the term 'institution strengthening' was being used to describe the AIDAB police improvement project.⁷³ Now it was being said that it had been long known that the police were incompetent. Sean Dorney was quoted:

The police force that Australia handed to PNG at self-government was the most crippled of any government agency. In the year of Independence police responsibility covered only ten percent of the land area and forty percent of the population [and] ... the force faced 'major problems' because of inexperienced and untrained staff.⁷⁴

That the police was the 'most crippled' institution inherited from Australia may or may not be true, but it was not said in 1973, the year of self-government. Then the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary had a strength of 4,091, and while all constables and non-commissioned officers were Papua New Guineans, among officers foreigners outnumbered Papua New Guineans two to one. Of forty-nine police stations, only thirteen were then commanded by Papua New Guineans. At Bomana Police College there were forty-eight overseas officers and fourteen Papua New Guinean officers, and among the public servants in the administrative branch half were foreigners.⁷⁵ This was a force still commanded by foreigners at the upper levels of administration, training and operation. To criticise the police in 1973 was to attack a force that was still essentially trained and commanded by Australians.

As perceptions of the police were changing in the 1980s August Kituai and Bill Gammage were working on histories that would change and enrich perceptions of the police under Australian administration.⁷⁶ The police were still seen as brave and loyal – to each other and to Australian officers – but both Gammage and Kituai revealed the complex motives that the police carried into the police force. In his introduction to the police on the Hagen-Sepik patrol, Gammage noted that some of the police had been orphan boys escaping being men of no account in their villages, or sorcerers who wanted to broaden their knowledge, or those who hoped to kill.⁷⁷ The police, Kituai said, were proud of their work on the Australian frontier, they had, he said 'taken over the missionary convictions of their officers', and they were also violent.⁷⁸ They kicked, bashed and shot sometimes within and sometimes beyond the surveillance of their officers. Some aimed to retain a decorative show of obedience to a kiap while effectively taking command of a patrol. During the Japanese invasion many police had tough choices to make, choices that might lead to their own deaths and the death of the kiap. John Black explained to Gammage that he did not always guess which way some of the police would react, and of Sergeant Boginau's war record, Gammage says 'Had he been white he might have been among the war's most decorated soldiers'.⁷⁹ The police who emerge from Gammage's

and Kituai's studies are diverse, fallible and admirable individuals far removed from the stereotype of courage and loyalty, the narrow behaviour expected of the warrior serving a just master.

Gammage and Kituai give the home areas of the police and they record beliefs of government officers about the strengths of certain communities, such as the Orokaiva and Waria, to make good policemen, but they do not stress the importance of men from one area forming influential sub-groups within the police. The brotherhood of policemen, surmounting other loyalties to family, culture-group and district, is strongly expressed in Kituai who points to the recognition of the power of police identity in studies of police forces across the globe. In Papua New Guinea, he notes, police often settled in areas where they had served, contributed to bride-price payments of other police as though they were kin, and sometimes retired alongside other police rather than returning to their home areas.⁸⁰

Where few groups of Papua New Guineans identified by their employment have written histories, the police have been written about for over a century, and they have attracted popular and scholarly writers. Given the strong, numerous and changing perceptions of the police, it is now possible to write a history of the histories of the police. It also possible to pick up early comments on the police that were contrary to the public praise then common. For example, Cyril Belshaw, who did his fieldwork in Hanuabada in 1950-51, wrote of police accosting a married woman and when rebuffed, coming back at night in a mob of about thirty looking for a fight. The Hanuabadans refused to fight, defusing the incident. On other occasions the Hanuabadans made it clear that they had little confidence that the police would protect them from theft or violence or investigate cases that occurred.⁸¹ The writings on the police provide insights into the colonial and post-colonial states and how people thought they worked and how they wanted them to work.

THE SOLDIERS: FALLIBLE HEROES

The army, another uniformed group who excelled in defence of the masters, has also been the subject of several writers. Created in 1940, the Papuan Infantry Battalion was in existence before any Australian infantry battalions were sent to Papua or New Guinea. In New Guinea the decision was not to train local men as soldiers but New Guinea Infantry Battalions were recruited during the war and the Pacific Islands Regiment (PIR) combining the regiments formed in 1944. Closed down in 1946, the PIR was re-established in 1951 and continuity with the war-time unit was stressed. Unlike the police and military units in some other colonies, the PIR was a part of the Australian army and a responsibility of the Australian Minister for Defence. Early in 1972 the PIR was integrated with the small naval and air components to form a joint force and in 1973 the joint force became the Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF). Later that year Ted Diro at 30 was to become the youngest Lt Colonel in the Australian Army, and in 1975 as Brigadier-General he was to become the first Papua New Guinean commander of the PNGDF. But in 1973 as the PNGDF was making its rapid shift from being a small unit in one nation's defence to the complete force in another nation's, it was still dependent on many Australians for senior officers and special skills: some 800 out of a total force of about 4000 were Australians.⁸²

During World War II individual Papua New Guinean soldiers were praised in the Australian media and decorated, and as an Australian unit the activities of the PIR were recorded in three volumes of the official history of the army in New Guinea.⁸³ Although dispersed, the references to the PIR in the official history are numerous and they cover triumphs and failures and the resentment of the men at their poor pay, different rations and the occasional ineffective leadership of their Australian officers.⁸⁴ Writings about the PIR in the war against Japan continued in the post-war with an internal publication, scholarly writing, unit histories and reminiscences by Australian officers who served in the PIR.⁸⁵ Some of the praise of the war-time soldiers was extravagant. George Johnston,

then correspondent for the Melbourne Argus and other Australian newspapers and later a distinguished novelist, wrote in October 1942:

To-day, squat, broad shouldered, well-muscled, fierce-eyed Sergeant Katue, coal-black warrior of the all-native Papua Infantry Battalion – a force which has done magnificent work on jungle patrols since the Japanese landed 10 weeks ago – walked into an Australian post with a scared looking Japanese prisoner. Katue created a profound impression. Apparently he intended to, because stitched to his standard khaki tunic was a mass of stripes and badges and regimental insignia which Katue had taken from 26 Japanese soldiers and marines, all of whom he had killed during a spectacular two months' patrol inside the Japanese-occupied areas north of the range.⁸⁶

Katue had been a policeman who transferred to the Papuan Infantry Battalion as a founding member: his army number was PN4. Johnston's report of Katue's 72-day patrol continued in the same boys-own-adventure style with the 'fighting sergeant [moving] like a black phantom through the dripping jungles'.

Praise, in less lavish language, of the PIR soldiers was deserved. By the end of the war, Papua New Guineans had been awarded three Distinguished Conduct Medals, thirteen Military Medals, and two George Medals. Favourable publicity continued in the Australian media, and Australian war artists sketched images of the black soldiers presenting them with humanity, even nobility, rarely seen in pre-war pictures of Papua New Guineans. Sergeant Katue, Military Medal, the badges of rank of four Japanese visible on his shirt, was drawn by William Dargie, and movie and still photographers sought him out.⁸⁷ By the end of the war, Papua New Guinean troops had fought in all the New Guinea campaigns except Milne Bay and their reputation as jungle fighters with special skills in scouting, long patrols into enemy territory and ambush were widely recognised. For the loss of just 65 men (ten Australians and fifty-five Papua New Guineans) the PIR was credited with killing 2201 Japanese.⁸⁸ But even as the Papuan New Guinean soldiers were being publicly praised for their first encounters with

the enemy, senior Australian officers were considering disbanding the Papuan Infantry Battalion. When they first confronted the Japanese advancing through Kokoda, the Papuan soldiers were said to have 'melted away' and 'gone bush'.⁸⁹ The unit was saved because some Australians had fought no better and a few months later small PIB groups living in tough condition on the lower Kumusi and Mambare Rivers patrolled the routes being taken by Japanese escaping from Buna and fought a campaign of great impact - given the few men and resources involved. Again in 1945 the larger PIR was under threat of disbandment as a result of frequent charges of ill-discipline and violence. Most disturbing were the many cases of rape and looting. Reports of troops intimidating and preying on villagers began in 1942 and became so common that WO2 Cavalieri reported from Madang in 1944 that the PIB 'hardly pass a village without attempting rape'. A legal officer sent to Madang had forty-six cases of rape to investigate, but found it difficult to pursue them as the troops had moved on, were engaged in operations and witnesses and victims were not easily found. The cases, accumulated in the one depressing file, include allegations of rape of young girls, a blind woman and a woman who had recently given birth.⁹⁰ In addition, and more distressing to some Australians, members of the PIR had threatened and defied their white officers and made it clear that they resented discrimination against black soldiers. This time General Vernon Sturdee, GOC, First Australian Army, with the approval of his Commander-in-Chief, Thomas Blamey, told General Basil Morris, commander of the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (Angau) that his advice was 'neither desired nor accepted'; the PIR would continue and in the immediate post war would be deployed as guards of the Japanese.⁹¹

The wartime PIR retained high prestige, deserved on its operational record, and that was passed to the reformed PIR in 1951. Several incidents of ill-discipline within the post-war PIR did not diminish general appreciation of it as an efficient unit. In 1952 Kerema soldiers believed one of their group had been ill-treated by regimental police from other districts and the Keremas, armed with clubs, defied officers and attacked the police. In 1953 PIR troops shot six head of

cattle belonging to an Australian farmer at Bootless Bay, and in 1957 in a more serious incident over 200 soldiers were said to have 'ran riot', fought with Kerema people in Port Moresby and then attacked the court where charges against soldiers were being heard.⁹² Other acts of defiance of officers and actual or threats of violence occurred every two or three years through the 1960s, including further conflict with police. The appearance of the PIR on public parade, the performances of the pipe band, reports of patrols on the Dutch and then Indonesian border, the building of bridges and roads in the civic action program and engagement in exercises with Australian troops effectively countered the brief publicity that came with reports of ill-disciplined soldiers fighting each other or their fellow citizens.⁹³

SEEING SAVIOURS, THREATS AND FAILURES

As Papua New Guinea approached independence, a new public debate emerged: the armed services were either an institution building a nation or they were a threat to the emerging democratic state. Major Harry Bell, an Australian serving in the PIR, argued that the army was 'headed for rapid de-tribalisation'.⁹⁴ Bell conceded that in the past there had been conflict and this had been particularly marked between Keremas and Tolais, but drawing evidence from those recruited since 1965 with at least a pass at standard six in the territory schools, he 'confidently predicted' that the young and educated Papua New Guineans would overcome 'tribal divisions'.⁹⁵ The new recruits were not, he said, influenced by 'tribe' when nominating fellow soldiers for promotion, voting in the Taurama village elections or choosing friends. Perhaps, Bell wrote, the army was 'creating yet another tribe'. That notion of the 'new tribe', armed and trained, fed into fears that the army would assert political influence in a post-independence state, perhaps stage a coup, and the civic patrols were already said to be establishing the idea among villagers and troops that the army was more likely and more able to bring 'development' than the government.⁹⁶ The debates took place at

a University of Papua New Guinea forum, Papua New Guinea Society meetings, in the press, the Australian parliament and the Papua New Guinea Constitutional Planning Committee. Bob O'Neill, himself an ex-army officer and then a scholar at the Australian National University, claimed in 1971 that if the army did intervene in politics it would probably be when the civil government was 'incompetent and corrupt' and the army in conjunction with others seized power. In such circumstances, O'Neill said, the army would be the 'spearhead' of the force for change, a 'stabiliser' and the outcome would not necessarily be to the country's disadvantage. O'Neill did not doubt that the army had a 'general superiority in administration and training by comparison with the Police and the civil service' and that no other agency could call on such highly qualified staff from Australia.⁹⁷ Paul Mench, writing just before independence, also saw the PNGDF as an 'elite military organisation' and he thought that the way to contain the army was to give it a 'legitimate political role' so that it would become a 'force for stabilisation, national integration and development'.⁹⁸

The constitution adopted by the new independent state of Papua New Guinea allowed the PNGDF to continue its work in building civil infrastructure and in internal security, although it did try to ensure that it would act under civil authority.⁹⁹ The army was then seen as one of the most efficient and nationally integrated institutions in the new state. That impression seemed to be publicly confirmed in 1980 when Kumul Force landed at Santo in 1980 and quickly crushed or dispersed the Jimmy Stevens' Nagriamel movement which had opposed the new Vanuatu government of Walter Lini. Kumul Force returned to the cheers of thousands gathered at Port Moresby's Jackson's Airport.¹⁰⁰ The intervention had been both a political and military success. Summing up the events of the year, David Hegarty said that the PNGDF force in Vanuatu had been 'well disciplined and well led'.¹⁰¹ That was then a reasonable conclusion.

Problems with the PNGDF gradually became public. The Force was chronically short of funds: it could not provide a campaign medal for the Kumul Force troops,

equipment was running down and training and patrolling were curtailed. In a combined exercise by troops and police to curb tribal fighting in the Southern Highlands, village after village complained of threats of violence and destruction of property; in 1988 officers openly defied the government's order to close Lae airport; the Minister for Defence was said to have selected a commander and sacked other officers on grounds that had nothing to do with military competence; and soldiers demanding increased pay marched in Port Moresby and joined by others threatened people and smashed property.¹⁰² The report into the reasons for the anger among the troops 'portrayed a demoralised, discontented Defence Force with discipline problems, poor training and indifferent administration'.¹⁰³

In March 1989, after the riot over pay and before the report on its causes came out, the first PNGDF troops were sent to Bougainville. The war on Bougainville would have been difficult for well-trained and equipped troops: the terrain favoured guerrilla forces; it became a complex civil war in which the Bougainvilleans were divided so that it was difficult to distinguish between enemy and ally; it could not be all-out-war when the PNGDF was fighting fellow citizens; atrocities and looting had already occurred on Bougainville; and the government was often unclear about what it wanted its army to do. The PNGDF was frustrated by its inability to strike effectively against a mobile and dispersed enemy, some units refused orders, and there were reports of troops using violence indiscriminately. In one of the most notorious incidents Iroquois helicopters, which were being deployed contrary to an agreement with Australia as 'gunships', were used to dump at sea the bodies of killed civilians.¹⁰⁴ All this was a prelude to the government, disturbed by the incapacity of its own army to quell the rebellion, turned to Sandline to recruit mercenaries. The army then demonstrated unexpected efficiency, expelled the mercenaries, and, amid threats of mob violence in Port Moresby, a group of officers and men forced the resignation of the Prime Minister Julius Chan. The PNGDF had briefly asserted control over and changed the elected government, but it then made an orderly retreat from politics: there would be no coup.

The war on Bougainville also revealed deficiencies and corruption in the PNGDF administration. Soldiers complained that they did not get enough food even when in base camps, worn out uniforms and boots were not replaced, the special allowance for fighting on Bougainville was not paid, and medical supplies were inadequate. Tenders were let to suppliers at two or three times a reasonable price, money allocated for one purpose was used for another, no records could be found of some transactions and the Department of Defence was spending way over its budget.¹⁰⁵

The failure to impose order on Bougainville; the incidents involving soldiers in rape, torture and wanton violence; the changes, conflict and political interference in the leadership of the PNGDF, the expulsion of the mercenaries in operation 'rausim kwik' and the defiance of the government at the highest level; and the cases of corruption and inefficiency in administration were all reported at the time, investigated by public enquiries and written about at length by journalists and academics.¹⁰⁶ One of the most important and well written testimonies was by Yauka Liria who had gone to Bougainville as an intelligence officer in 1989. He recorded the intense and debilitating fear of sorcery that infected men and officers, the burning of 'many villages', ineffective operations, disputes among senior officers and the bashing of an innocent villager. When the commanding officer told the men to stop, the bashers own officer intervened, pointed his M16 at his commander and the assault briefly continued.¹⁰⁷ Liria's frank Campaign Diary remains one of the few books by a Papua New Guinean holding a key position in an important institution who has written frankly, without apologies or excuses, or deflections of blame.

An additional and concurrent factor undermining confidence in the army were the allegations made against Ted Diro, the first Papua New Guinean commander of the PNGDF. Having resigned from the PNGDF, Diro gained election to parliament in 1982, and by 1987 was Minister for Foreign Affairs. During his appearance before Justice Tos Barnett's inquiry into the forestry industry, it was revealed he had accepted large sums of money from General Benny Murdani,

commander of Indonesia's armed forces. To many, that was an extraordinary relationship: a Minister for Foreign Affairs being funded by the commander of the army in a neighbouring nation. Barnett also found that Diro, previously Minister for Forests, had been involved with a company which had engaged in 'corruption, transfer pricing and the abuse of government policy of a very serious nature'.¹⁰⁸ Barnett also wanted Diro charged with perjury and other offences. Evidence of continuing problems with the administration of the PNGDF and its use of public monies, was provided by the inquiry conducted by Justice Gibbs Salika into the escape of Juian Moti from Port Moresby to Solomon Islands in 2006.¹⁰⁹

Like the police, the PNGDF had gone from an elite force admired for its efficiency and seen as a prestigious institution able to provide basic strength to a new nation to an organisation in desperate need of reform at all levels. But there is an important difference between the public records of the police and the army. From its formation, there were critics of the Papuan Infantry Battalion and doubts about its performance. The many reports of men in the PIR looting and raping in villages and occasionally defying their officers convinced some of the critics that the unit should be disbanded. Those misgivings continued in the post-war with recurring incidents in which soldiers directed their aggression at each other, civilians or the government. By contrast the violations of the law by the police – except for their role in the Rabaul Strike – were largely ignored. It has been current scholarship on the police that has been picking up the early and ignored evidence of ill-discipline or, more importantly, of police having ambitions and acting in ways that had little to do with their white officers' characterisation of them as brave, loyal and obedient. The research and experience of Trevor Rogers an Australian who served in the PIR, 1971-73 and then in the PNGDF 1985-88, points to an army with officers factionalised and men influenced by groups based on regions and wantoks.¹¹⁰ The comments by Rogers and the reported performance of the PNGDF indicate that the integration in the PIR observed by Harry Bell in 1967 was less than it appeared and his confident predication of 'rapid detribalisation' has not taken place.¹¹¹ Similarly, the claims on the eve of independence that the PNGDF

had superior administration and leadership and as the one strong institution able to hold the nation together deserved to be integrated into the political system has quickly been denied by events.

In the writings on the police and the army, the only two groups on which there has been substantial popular and scholarly comment, there has been a tendency to attribute to both institutions the qualities that were desired and which threw the best light on those Australians who trained and commanded them. The changes in both institutions over the last thirty years have been profound, but less profound than the published perceptions of them.

In post independence Papua New Guinea there have been studies of a few groups. Raskols, by their appearance in the streets and in the media and accused of being the perpetrators of the increasing theft and assault, excited popular interest and were also the subject of serious study. The research on the urban raskol gangs by Harris, Dinnen and Clifford place the gangs in time; test common assumptions about bases in ethnicity, permanence of membership and relationships with those who live in the same communities; and they give biographical sketches of the lives of particular raskols.¹¹² As Dinnen comments, the gangs have been 'fluid' in membership, may include members of more than one ethnic group and are often 'well integrated into their surrounding communities'.¹¹³ But as Dinnen and others have shown, the gangs have also been changing in activities, in their relations with politicians and other leaders, and in their mobility.

From Nigel Oram's research on the settlements around Port Moresby, there has been a number of publications on groups who have moved into urban areas, and for the most part they are ethnic groups who have re-located: in popular and scholarly writing most Papua New Guineans have been described and explained as members of groups determined by place, culture and family and clan.¹¹⁴ Michael Goddard has recently added to understanding of residents, migrants and justice in Port Moresby.¹¹⁵

THE ARRIVAL OF COLONISTS AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS

From the start of their close observations of Papua New Guineans, Europeans saw peoples within peculiar groups. As Nicolai Miklouho-Maclay went to live among people on the north coast and just before the London Missionary Society sent its first representatives ashore and Captain John Moresby found a fine harbour on the south coast, E. B. Tyler had defined and commented on cultures close to the way social scientists would write about them for the next century.¹¹⁶ That coincidence in time of the growth of anthropology as a discipline with the development of European settlement and administration in Papua and New Guinea continued. In 1884, European governments claimed authority over eastern New Guinea, and it took more than a decade for the Germans in the north and the British in the south to fix their governments in place, form and policy. It was not until 1899 that the German Imperial Government took over from the New Guinea Company and in 1910 Governor Albert Hahl moved to Rabaul and the town and buildings that were to provide the postcard pictures of the German administration. After the energetic pioneer patrolling of Sir William MacGregor, British New Guinea stumbled between the disasters of the killing of the missionaries, James Chalmers and Oliver Tomkins and brutal punitive responses, the tragedy of the suicide of an Acting Administrator, Christopher Robinson, and absence of direction as Britain withdrew and the Australians failed to set up their administration of the Territory of Papua until 1906.¹¹⁷ There were then just 687 Europeans in the entire Territory, and only one station, the newly established Kokoda, was beyond the coast. During those hesitant years of colonialism in eastern New Guinea, the Cambridge anthropological expedition to Torres Strait led by Alfred Haddon had taken place in 1898. With its multi-disciplinary approach and fieldwork, it set new standards in social science approaches to peoples on colonial frontiers, and some of the scientists involved extended their work into New Guinea. Nearly every year from 1891 to 1921, Sidney Ray published something on the languages of British and German New Guinea; and Charles Seligman, who had also shifted his research north from

Torres Strait, was equally productive.¹¹⁸ Like Seligman, Walter Mersh Strong was a doctor of medicine who came to the area with an anthropological expedition, the Daniels expedition of 1904.¹¹⁹ Strong stayed in British New Guinea as an anthropologist, administrator and doctor. Richard Thurnwald first went to German New Guinea in 1906, was publishing on New Guinea by 1908 and was on the Sepik River when war broke out in 1914.¹²⁰ Seligman's student, Bronislaw Malinowski, arrived in Papua in 1914, and it was Seligman who, Michael Young says, 'urged upon him the crucial importance of field research'.¹²¹ Through the 1920s and 1930s Papua and New Guinea continued to attract anthropologists: W. E. Armstrong, Gregory Bateson, Beatrice Blackwood, E. W. P. Chinnery, Ian Hogbin, Diamond Jenness, Gunnar Landtman, Margaret Mead, Hortense Powdermaker, F. E. Williams. Observations made in Papua and New Guinea contributed to changing perceptions of other cultures and to the fashioning of the discipline of anthropology.

Anthropologists, and more generally the development of the discipline, had an impact on how Europeans saw Melanesians. It is apparent in the Circular Instructions, the printed instructions that guided Papuan field officers and in the New Guinea equivalent, The District Standing Instructions. In the Papuan instructions there are references to books that were supplied to outstations such as *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* by Barbara Freire-Marreco and J. L. Myres, *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* by W. H. R. Rivers, and *The Practical Value of Ethnology*, by Haddon.¹²² The notes on collecting artefacts, buying land, recording vocabularies and describing and tolerating customs all owe something to a growing awareness of anthropology. The influence of anthropology is clear in the notes that appear on 'the natives' in yearbooks and handbooks.¹²³ The interaction between the early anthropologists and Europeans in Papua and New Guinea is obvious in Seligman's acknowledgments to his massive survey published in 1910, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*. The Administrator of British New Guinea, F. R. Barton, had contributed a chapter; Sacred Heart, London Missionary Society, Anglican and Kwato missionaries provided information, read draft chapters and acted as interpreters; and

Seligman selected six government officers for special thanks for their assistance.¹²⁴

The readily observable differences between groups of Papua New Guineans, often living close together, re-enforced one influence of the anthropologists. A traveller moving along the Papuan coast saw houses built out over the water; houses built facing each across a clean, swept street; small, thatched shelters with a dirt floor; and giant men's houses with a decorated front over 15 metres high and sloping back for over 30 metres. The dominant weapon might be a bow and arrow, a spear or an axe; and canoes might be single-hulled, hull with outrigger, double-hulled or multi-hulled, and women might be clothed in a grass skirt falling below the knee, a skirt that was little more than a grass fringe, a tapa cloth or naked.¹²⁵ Even after a few weeks ashore, foreigners were aware of the differences in languages; in appearance; in the ways that people organised themselves and in their values. The miners quickly learnt where they could recruit workers, where to find a woman prepared to provide sex and where they were likely to be met by violence. As in Seligman's descriptions of the Melanesians, the peoples of Papua New Guinea were being seen as belonging to specific groups - Koita, Motu, Roro, Mekeo, Massim - each distinctive in material and non-material culture, each assumed to have qualities that made it amenable or resistant to the foreigners who wanted to rule, convert or employ them.

Through a century of scholarship after Seligman, anthropologists continued to write with increasing detail and subtlety about particular communities. They drew upon theories being developed elsewhere, moderated them in the light of what they found in Papua New Guinea and suggested new explanations for the ways that people behaved based on what they found in Papua New Guinea. The accumulated monographs and articles by anthropologists on Papua New Guinea are one of the great accomplishments in the social sciences. While anthropologists worked on topics that crossed communities, most notably on cargo cults, and they wrote comparative articles on major topics such as leadership or land tenure, the century of scholarship reinforced the perception of a land of particular communities. The linguists, from their earliest realisation that the Melanesian,

later Austronesian, languages were linked, mapped relationships between peoples, but they too reinforced the observations of missionaries and government officers and casual observers that they were in a developing country with a 'Parliament of a Thousand Tribes' or as it was to be expressed so often, a nation of 800 languages.¹²⁶

WANTOKISM AND ETHNICITY

From the scholarly and popular perception of Papua New Guinean diversity and kinship have come two terms, 'ethnic fragmentation' and 'wantokism'. They are presented as both descriptive and diagnostic. In Hugh White and Elsinia Wainwright's 2004 Australian Strategic Policy Institute publication, *Strengthening our Neighbour: Australia and the Future of Papua New Guinea*, simple labels are avoided, but the importance of both terms are stressed: 'it is evident that PNG's ethnic diversity is itself a major inhibition to economic development, complicating its service delivery and infrastructure development'. And:

'Wantokism' is sometimes offered as a one-word diagnosis of PNG's problems. Clearly it is an important issue: obligations to wantoks evidently impose real and often debilitating stresses on Papua New Guineans with authority or resources at all levels of society. Those who criticise PNG administration, and those who seek to improve it, must take this simple cultural fact into account.¹²⁷

As with other writers, White and Wainwright shift from talking about over 800 languages to cultural diversity to ethnic diversity. They are using 'ethnic' in an expected way: it refers to people who have a language and other cultural markers in common. But 'ethnicity' does not explain much of the violence in Papua New Guinea. In Enga Province where the village courts record over 1,500 deaths in tribal fighting in the five years 2001-2006, many of the people fighting each other speak the same language and many wives come from enemy groups.¹²⁸ If Engans fight their brothers-in-law, fragmentation and conflict are not a reflection of ethnic diversity. It is also apparent that in national elections the multiplicity of candidates has little to do with

'ethnicity'. It cannot account for an average of around twenty-five candidates in each national electorate. In the Northern Province in the 2007 elections, Ijivitari had thirty-eight candidates, Sohe forty-eight and sixty-nine stood for the provincial seat, but most people are Orokaiva or related peoples such as the Binandere. Diversity and fragmentation clearly have causes other than 'ethnicity'. But ethnicity still matters. People have a group consciousness based on culture and they also have a learnt 'ethnicity', a sense of a group discovered with the greater movement of people following the imposition of colonial rule. Goilalas, Chimbus, Sepiks, Papuans and others have become identifiable 'ethnic' groups within the last one hundred years, and for, say Southern Highlanders it is within the last fifty years. Some of these groups such as the Goilala have a cultural homogeneity, others, such as the Chimbu, have some cultural characteristics in common although they include different language groups, and some, such as Papuans and Sepiks, include a wide range of cultures and owe their sense of unity to lines drawn on colonial maps, a sense of a common past and coming from what has become known as a particular region.

The wantok system is related to and overlaps with 'ethnicity'. The origin of the term, those who share the same tok ples or village language, immediately connects wantok with the 800 languages. But wantok is often used with two different meanings. In its restricted sense it refers to those of the one family or extended family or who maintain the obligations of family – they contribute (and expect a later return) at times of deaths and marriages and they might host another's wayward son, or pay school fees, help get a driver's licence or find someone a job. In its broader meaning, it means those who are from the same area. They are most likely to think of themselves and are seen by others as wantoks when they are outside their home districts. They might, such as Tolais, speak the same language, although with dialect differences, or they might be from Milne Bay or Bougainville and come from several different language groups. In its broader use a wantok group can coincide with one of the ways 'ethnic' is used, that is Tolais, Goilalas and Chimbus may be characterised as ethnic groups or wantoks.

When wantok is used to refer to those with kin obligations, writers rarely point to the variations in the construction of local groups across Papua New Guinea.¹²⁹ Because the Fore were suffering from a mysterious degenerative disease of the central nervous system, *kuru*, and it was thought it might be genetic, detailed studies were made of Fore families and personal affiliations. Shirley Lindenbaum who did fieldwork in the South Fore in two periods from 1961 to 1963 and returned in 1970 wrote:

Fore in one location have ties with kin and friends in a variety of other places.... Individuals and groups readily change residence and their personal affiliations, and mutual support requires constant demonstration...¹³⁰

The Fore kinship system may be characterized as one that is spread laterally and based on optional bonding. This is kinship by election rather than ascription, and the suffix in many kin terms ('my special friend,' 'little eye') conveys qualities of intimacy and affection. Yet bonds of sentiment may quickly fade, particularly under severe stress. Fore ties are a pastiche of biology and fiction, of legality and affect, and close relationships are clouded by ambiguous loyalties...

In South Fore perception, both individuals and groups have porous boundaries. The composition of political groups encourages mutual mistrust at close quarters.¹³¹

Among the South Fore a wantok, that is one who has the intimacy and obligations of close kin may or may not be related by blood, those considered wantoks may well change, and suspicion of disloyalty among wantoks is common.

In her doctoral thesis on the Duna in the Southern Highlands, Nicole Haley makes similar points about the mobility of people. The Duna are about as far as it is possible to go from the Fore and still remain in the Highlands. Haley points that many Duna shift residence during their life time and may well be known by different names at different times. The Duna can live in either their mother's or father's parish, and that increases the likelihood of people having claims to land in several parishes. One reason why they shift is to maintain land rights, but nearly a quarter of the people, Haley found, were

living in parishes where they had no known previous connection.¹³² With residence and identity – or at least name – changing and with people able to assert rights in several places, who are wantoks varies with time and is open to negotiation.

Aletta Biersack has used her field research to illustrate that the Paiela of Enga province are certainly not in groups based on unilineal descent, and do not think that that is an ideal. A Paiela man can become a member of the mother's or father's clan, and the clans of grandparents and great-grandparents may give further choices. The 'multiplicity of memberships' provides options about where a man lives, gardens and whom he marries.¹³³ Biersack emphasises the importance of war as a reason for people shifting residence, and so in some hamlets groups might have entered the area to escape war or to consolidate an alliance. And she calls attention to 'strategic marriages' designed to strengthen the links between groups and advance the leadership of ambitious men.¹³⁴

Writing of the Baining of the Gazelle Peninsula, New Britain, Jane Fajans says they have:

no indigenous corporate groups to organise activities in district or village life. There are no big men or chiefs, no men's houses or cult houses, no moieties, clans or lineages. The traditional unit of social organization is based on the hamlet and household families. These families might all live in one house or they might be divided into several houses. There is no particular rule of residence.¹³⁵

Fajans adds that adoption of children is common and that genealogical knowledge is shallow with some people not knowing their grandparents. The Baining have generally not migrated to nearby Rabaul or other centres: they do not have think of themselves as having wantoks in town that they might call on for food and shelter.¹³⁶

The many variations on the group, the people bound by mutual obligations that conform to the narrow definition of wantoks, has been known to, and its significance debated by, anthropologist for over fifty years. But this diversity in the size, bonds and

changes over time in wantok groups has not been picked up by most of the commentators on the contemporary social and political order. The wantoks, undefined or loosely defined as a descent group, are presented as a force that is largely peculiar to Melanesia and the behaviour of the wantok system is seen as basic to understanding those things seen as impediments to building an efficient Melanesian state – fragmentation, corruption and disregard for good of the nation, state and electorate in favour of the group which can be called on for a commitment that overrides other obligations.

Carefully defined and applied to a particular community or used in its broader sense about mutual recognition among people from one area when away from home, wantok is a valuable descriptive and explanatory term. But when explaining the dynamic and inhibiting forces in a nation its usefulness is either unknown or limited. It takes little account of those people who have moved away from the traditional system. This is true of some people who continue to live in villages but within a nuclear family rather than the extended kinship system with its numerous obligations, but is most obvious in those who live in towns and particularly among those born in towns. By 2000, over 400,000 Papua New Guineans were living in towns of over 20,000 and 600,000 in towns of over 5,000.¹³⁷ If the population growth is just under 3% per annum and the towns are growing faster than the population in general then there are now close to a million Papua New Guineans living in centres with over 5,000. The town people are likely to be educated above the national average, have a higher cash income and be more aware of national politics. Another significant characteristic of the town population is the number who no longer speak tok ples, the language of their home village – or perhaps it is the home village of their parents or grandparents. Some 121,000 speak tok pisin as their first language and of these 50,000 are fluent in no language other than tok pisin.¹³⁸ As a first language tok pisin is surpassed only by Enga. About a million people, then, are removed by distance and perhaps by sense of obligation from an extended family and clan. And they include most of those holding positions of high office

CASH AND CLASS

In the 1960s the success of a few Papua New Guineans in the cash economy stimulated a search for an explanation of why some had succeeded in business and what policies would see the emergence of more. The anthropologists generally found cultures that were, as Finney said, 'preadapted' to *bisnis*, but also pointed out that the Tolai and the Eastern Highlanders had been blessed by history and geography.¹³⁹ These anthropologists did not see the development of a new group or class. Scarlett Epstein concluded that among the Tolai the 'customary social system had been so flexible' it had largely survived radical economic change, but she did expect that the 'corporate ownership of assets', including land, would eventually be undermined.¹⁴⁰ Finney speculated that the Gorokan practice of disbursing the assets of a bigman on his death or decline would mean that Eastern Highlanders would not be 'divided into rigid classes of haves and have nots'. This research into the entry of Papua New Guineans into positions above that of wage-takers in the cash economy concentrated not on the emergence of a class or group of businessmen with mutual interests, but on individuals – the Papua New Guinean entrepreneur. That term, implying the importance of the innovative individual, recurs in the title of many studies of the time.¹⁴¹ The search for the entrepreneurs – and assumptions about the transformative role that they could play in the economy – faded as some Papua New Guineans acquired riches beyond the imaginings of Papua New Guineans of the 1960s, but few of the new rich had gained their wealth by producing and selling in ways analysed and promoted before independence.

In 1979 Kenneth Good concluded: 'The tacit alliance between the rich peasantry, educated bourgeoisie and metropolitan capitalist bourgeoisie is perhaps the most outstanding social characteristic of Papua New Guinea in the 1970s.'¹⁴² In a longer investigation of the divisions arising from the transition from traditional to capitalist agriculture, Good and his co-author, Mike Donaldson, argued that 'the leadership of the rural rich transcends their old personal linkages with clans and villages'. They saw that the 'poor peasants faced a difficult future:

there was just a chance that their 'political emancipation' could be 'approached' through collaboration with a 'middle peasantry ... or an educated petty bourgeoisie or working class from the towns'.¹⁴³ This placing of Papua New Guineans into classes, or embryonic classes, was then unusual although discussions about the rise and role of rich peasants had gained currency.

Herb Thompson and Scott MacWilliam in their *The Political Economy of Papua New Guinea* presented a strong case for a class interpretation. The conflict on Bougainville was still in its early years when they wrote 'An understanding of the development of class structures – bourgeois and working class in both the plantation and mining sectors, a petty-bourgeoisie in retail, services and finance, and a lumpenproletariat is essential to understanding the Bougainville rebellion'.¹⁴⁴ But interpretations based on class have not gained favour. Firstly, the classes have been difficult to find. Often membership of a class has to be qualified to indicate that it is as yet ill-formed or members have been diverted by populist nationalism or provincialism or old ties to clan and family. And secondly, where class has been used to explain events it has been unsatisfactory. The people engaged in clan warfare in the Highlands and those who have observed it do not see it as an incipient class struggle and the cleavages within Bougainvilleans during the fighting and the divisions manifest during the formation of the Autonomous Government of Bougainville defy a class interpretation. The reminder of the importance of group economic self-interest, of those who have control of rich material rewards and of the ambitions of those who feel excluded, was valuable. But 'class' with its origins in Europe and influenced by what has been claimed to have happened in Africa or Latin America, has so far told us little about groups and how they operate in Papua New Guinea.

THE MISSING SCHOLARSHIP

Those who wish to understand the social, economic and political dynamics of Papua New Guinea need new studies on those institutions that attracted comment in the past, the police and the army. Sometimes divisions in the armed services are only too obvious to

the public, as they were when Gari Baki was appointed Commissioner of Police and his opponents attempted to have him arrested on a charge of perverting the course of justice in a case involving the misappropriation of money. In one confrontation the different factions were said to have been armed and cocked their rifles and there were claims that some officers were shifting supporting police to Port Moresby.¹⁴⁵ Yauka Liria in his account of the fighting of Bougainville provides evidence of both division and comradeship in the PNGDF. As intelligence officer, he was surprised to find himself omitted from prior knowledge of a major operation: he wondered whether this was because he was a Highlander and his commander and operations officer were 'both from Rabaul'.¹⁴⁶ But he and Sam Kauona, then commanding the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, could spend time talking to each other on the radio. A shared past in the PNGDF enabled the then enemy officers to be frank, recall old times, but not to be friendly and not to agree to meet.¹⁴⁷ While both brotherhood and factions in the uniformed services are apparent, knowledge about the strength and constancy of factions and their links to those outside the services is necessary for anyone concerned with the role of the police or army in the nation now or in the future.

In most countries, various parts of the media are known, or believed, to favour certain interest groups, broad ideologies and particular campaigns. In Papua New Guinea, the Government, or individual members, are often in conflict with the media, but it is nearly always over what are claimed to be the misreporting of particular incidents. On 16 March 2009 Dame Carol Kidu, Schola Kakas of the National Council of Women and other leading women 'slammed the Post-Courier for what they called its "unprofessional" reporting' of differences among women over the failed attempt to appoint three women to parliament.¹⁴⁸ In May 2008 Sir Michael Somare referred the Post-Courier to the Parliamentary Privileges Committee because it had implied his involvement in the Taiwan dollars for diplomacy scandal. The Post-Courier's headline, Somare said, was 'deceitful and irresponsible'.¹⁴⁹ When Fiji's Prime Minister Frank Bainimarama expelled Russell Hunter editor of the Fiji Times, Somare told reporters they were lucky some of them were not deported. He might have

been joking, but he warned that those who gave a false impression of a country faced consequences of their own making.¹⁵⁰ The National has made its own defence of the media, pointing out that those who claimed the country lost 'millions' because of negative reporting should remember that 'outright theft, blatant corruption, bribery, self-serving agendas and the failure of publicly employed legal staff 'to recover funds was costing 'hundreds of millions'.¹⁵¹ Government moves to create a new television station and perhaps a newspaper are seen in part as a reaction to media criticism of the government.¹⁵²

Apart from pointing to the fact that the National is owned by Rimbunan Hijau and is therefore likely to be sympathetic to that company's other commercial interests, especially logging, and that other sections of the media are subject to Australian or other foreign influence, the Papua New Guinea media are not seen as advocates for particular groups, except for those obviously doing good – cleaning up rubbish in town or raising money for a philanthropic cause. It is not just the scholars and commentators from outside who do not identify groups asserting influence – or losing influence.

But associations and alliances of national significance are talked about. These may include those parliamentarians who support the government, those who are in cabinet, or a sub-group in cabinet. Ministers are seen to have close links with some staffers, party officials, senior public servants, police and PNGDF officers, businessmen, lawyers, university staff and other professionals, religious leaders or adherents to fundamentalist movements and to those promoting legitimate and illegitimate projects and even to raskol gangs. While being wantoks and from the same district or province connect some members of the group, they are often a minority. What binds these groups together is usually thought to be money, position and power, and the groups are characterised as shifting alliances. While some of the group may stay together, others leave and by doing so give greater power to a new alliance. These groups are not seen as being brought together by long-term group self-interest, by commitment to broad ideology about how an economy should be run or society ordered, or by an immediate program of reforms based on changes across

several broad areas of government such as health, education, police and transport. But the groups known to be important in terms of cash, position and influence are rarely the subject of public comment - sometimes there will be just a brief aside - and they are even less likely to be subjects of scholarly analysis.

Recently, two important appointments were made by the Somare Government. In mid 2008 Chronox Manek was appointed Chief Ombudsman. The government had already been in conflict with the previous Ombudsman, Ila Geno, and the parliament had debated a bill to curtail some of the powers of the ombudsman.¹⁵³ Michael and Arthur Somare both had cases in the courts where they were seeking to show that the Ombudsman had acted inappropriately. In both cases the allegations were serious: it was claimed that Michael Somare had not submitted completed financial returns for some thirteen years, and Arthur was alleged to have misused a K250,000 grant to his electorate and also failed to supply several annual financial statements.¹⁵⁴ It was therefore thought that the Government might take the chance to appoint someone sympathetic to curbing the Commission's powers and likely to take a benign view of several particular cases before the Commission. But Chronox Manek from Boana in Morobe was not known to be a close friend of the government, he had a reputation for fighting corruption, and as Public Prosecutor had already been involved in the Arthur Somare case. The second appointment, announced by the Attorney-General Dr Allan Marat, was that of Justice Gibbs Salika as Deputy Chief Justice. But Salika had chaired the Defence Board of Inquiry into the escape of Julian Moti from Papua New Guinea. That report had been scathing in its criticism of the Government and among its many recommendations said that Sir Michael Somare should be charged with conspiracy and lying under oath. The government's response had been to suppress the report and go to court to argue that the Inquiry had acted outside its powers.¹⁵⁵ Salika, from Daru in the Western Province, has had over eighteen years experience as a judge of the supreme and national courts and had previously acted as Deputy Chief Justice. Like the appointment of Chronox Manek, Salika was well-qualified for his position, and rather than being an

appointment of someone known to come from an insider group, or to be a wantok or ideologically aligned with the government, he was recognised as independent and when his office demanded it, had acted against senior members of the government.¹⁵⁶

CONCLUSION

To sum all this up is difficult, but this seems to be the past and present state of both scholarship and popular perception of groups asserting influence on government, the economy and society in Papua New Guinea. Europeans were defined by themselves and outsiders by occupation and those divisions were recognised formally, and remained important after their numbers and power derived from position in government, the economy or the church had declined. The Chinese were defined by race, irrespective of their occupation or economic significance. From their arrival as settlers, Europeans have been aware of Papua New Guineans belonging to many diverse cultures. But conceptions of 'ethnicity' are fluid. Some of those who are now seen, and see themselves, as belonging to a group include several cultures. Even those groups that are more tightly defined by a culture may have recently discovered what they have in common and where their group begins and ends. The precolonial Tolai had no name for their group, lands or language.¹⁵⁷ And it may be that the homogenised conception of wantok is replacing specific obligations confined to particular communities.

Two groups of Papua New Guineans were defined by occupation and described by popular and scholarly writers, the police and the army. The assessment of both has changed sharply, from disciplined, loyal and efficient to ill-disciplined, inefficient and with many members breaking minor laws and a few defying major laws. That change in perception came late, and both the praise and condemnation have been influenced by foreign judgments of what they wanted the uniformed services to be and disappointment at what they became. Other Papua New Guineans, readily identified as groups by occupation, such as the domestic servants and the school teachers, have almost no written histories. At the same time, the

belief that Papua New Guineans' group consciousness is dominated by wantokism and ethnicity has continued and become the starting point for explanations about the weak sense of nationhood; the concern for the benefit of the family or the local group rather than the population of an electorate, a province or the state; the fragmentation of politics with its many candidates and parties; corruption; and inter-group violence. Both ethnicity and wantokism are important, but the terms and what they are thought to explain are applied nation-wide in spite of the well-known diversity of who different communities consider wantokism, the various ways that 'ethnicity' is used in discussions, and the fact that readily available empirical evidence shows that much inter-group violence, corruption and political fragmentation has little to do with either ethnicity or wantoks. The anthropologists have helped others see a country fragmented into many cultural groups; most social scientists have not picked up from anthropologists that generalisations reducing group identity and group obligations to ethnicity and wantokism cannot be justified by the empirical evidence. Also, it should be apparent that those Papua New Guineans whose first language is tok pisin and who are long-term residents of towns and who have married outside their home groups or live on oil palm estates are likely to have different perceptions of self and group from those who have remained in the villages.

Interpretations based on class have been few and they have not been taken up by other scholars or by commentators in the media. They have been reminders of the value of broad theory and of the specific need for studies in political economy (and political geography) but they have also shown the deficiencies of explanations created and refined elsewhere and failing to come to terms with local empirical observation.

In a nation of over six million, a nation with increasing urbanisation, significant natural resources and billion dollar projects, we have a situation strange to social scientists: the media is seen as committed to particular causes not to broader issues or interest groups, and the coalitions that form and reform in parliament and include party officials, ministerial staffers, senior office holders and business leaders are not associated with ideologies or interest groups. Analyses that

were made of the defence forces and their sense of belonging to a new tribe or being divided into regional or ethnic groups seem to have stopped. There are no observations of the present police force to match the subtlety of those made of the police in the past by Kituai and Gammage. Some events take place and appointments made, such as to the judiciary and the Ombudsman Commission, and it is difficult to see any relationship to them and the self-interest of those in government. No new descriptions of the European population have arisen to replace the old categories, and we are left to wonder whether the employees of governments and non-government agencies concerned with what is broadly called development, or capacity building or governance are now the most numerous and influential. The interaction between foreigners from outside government and Papua New Guinean leaders is not studied. The differences in origin of the Chinese, by nationality, time of residence and relationship to the government of the People's Republic of China have been noted, but there is little detail about how they assert influence.¹⁵⁸ There are almost no studies of other nationalities.

In the absence of any definition of dominant interest groups, any examination of what holds them together and how they operate, sophisticated description and explanation is difficult. At the same time, the repetition of the importance of groups recognised and homogenised through a century, a century during which the population has tripled, and many people have been urbanised and politically, socially and economically transformed has provided a part answer, but accepted as the whole answer and the answer accepted by insiders. This is primitive scholarship.

AUTHOR NOTES

Hank Nelson is Professor Emeritus and Visiting Fellow, Division of Pacific History and Asian History, and Chair, State Society and Governance in Melanesia Program at the Australian National University. Most of his writings (*Taim Bilong Masta*, *Prisoners of War*, *Black White & Gold*, *Papua New Guinea: Black Unity or Black Chaos*) and films (*Angels of War*) have been on Australian

and Papua New Guinea history. His most recent books are: *Chased by the Sun*, on Australians in Bomber Command and *The Pacific War in Papua New Guinea* (Ed with Yukio Toyoda). He is currently working on a book on Rabaul.

ENDNOTES

1. A summary of this paper was given in a seminar in the State Society and Governance Program on 2 April 2009. It has benefited from comments from colleagues in the Program.
2. Interview, Woman's Own, 31 October 1987.
3. Woman's Own, 31 October 1987.
4. Dening, 1980, has provided a sustained expression of the metaphor of the beach as a cultural, rather than physical, boundary.
5. Maude, 1968, p.166.
6. Maude, 1968, p.145.
7. The whalers, pearlers and labour traders have been omitted here as they were not settlers. Gray, 1999, pp.23-43, has detail and see maps pp.27-8 for place and frequency of contact.
8. McCarthy, J. K., 1963, p.7.
9. Huxley, 2007, p.6.
10. Brown, Rodger, 2001, pp.7-8.
11. Boys, 1993, pp.5-6.
12. McCarthy, J. K., p.82.
13. O'Neill, Jack, 1979, pp.73-4.
14. Wright, Malcolm, 1966, p.3.
15. Report to the Council of the League of Nations of the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, from 1st of July, 1939 to 30th June, 1940, (Annual Report) Government Printer, Canberra, 1941, p.128. The total of Germans and Austrians in New Guinea was 462, slightly down from 1939 as a few were already interned.
16. Rabaul Times, 8 April 1938.
17. Brune, 2003; Fitzsimons, 2004; and Ham, 2004.
18. Iwamoto, 2006, pp.58-76.
19. Menis, 2007, pp.116-20.
20. Nelson, H., 1978, pp.199-217. Christine Winter has extended knowledge of German Lutheran loyalties eg Winter, 2003, pp.85-108.
21. Three of the non-official members were elected by those who were not a 'Native or an alien' and the others nominated by the administration. The miner, Doris Booth, was the only woman.
22. New Guinea Annual Report, 1951-52, pp.26-7.
23. In addition to McCarthy, J. K., 1963, and Wright, 1966, other kiap reminiscences of the time included: Townsend, 1968 and Sinclair, J. P., 1966.
24. New Guinea Annual Report 1967-68, p.238. There were also 46 field officers.
25. Territory of Papua and New Guinea Population Census 1966 Preliminary Bulletin No 20, Bureau of Statistics, Konedobu, No date, pp.56-60.
26. 1966 Census, pp.64-5.
27. 1966 Census p.56-7. The nurses were not silent, for example, Burchill, 1967.
28. 1966 Census, p.21. Among those foreigners born in Papua New Guinea, were many 'Chinese'.
29. Langmore, 1989; Laracy, 1976 [Laracy is primarily concerned with Bougainville]; Lewis, 1996; Iwamoto, 1999; Nelson, 2007A, lists writings on the Chinese; Crocombe, 1968; 1972; and 1982; Inglis, 1974; Bulbeck, 1992; and Roberts, 1996. Nelson, 1976, is another example of a book on a group of foreigners defined by occupation. There is no book on traders, but there is on trading companies eg Buckley and Klugman, 1981; and 1983.
30. Sinclair, 1978, and later books, 1983;1986; and 1995.
31. Burke, 2005, is an example of teachers recalling their own experiences. See also Taylor, 1992.
32. Nelson, 2006, argues this point.
33. See, for example, Radford, 1987; Sinclair, 1998 and 2006.
34. Annual Report, 1938-39, pp.32 and.129; Robson, 1942, pp.229 and 239.

35. Healy, 1967, chapter 12 is on labour conditions for both black and white; Lewis has several chapters concerned with labour (4, 9-13 and 19) and while the perspective is often that of the planter or government officer much is revealed about the life of the labourers; Nelson, 1976, deals with labourers, police and villagers within chapters.
36. New Guinea Annual Report, 1939-40, pp.35-7.
37. 1966 Census, p.55. Other paid workers were classified as 'maids', 'cooks', 'housekeepers' and 'other domestic service workers'. The number of those who were loosely 'domestic servants' could have been close to 10,000.
38. New Guinea Annual Report, 1939-40, p.128.
39. The Missionary Review, April 1942, statistics on inside back cover.
40. The figures are rarely consistent. The Missionary Review said there were two ordained ministers, but the 1941 Synod report said four New Guinean Ministers were present.
41. Wagner and Reiner, 1986, p.199.
42. Radford, 1987, p.29. Gapenuo wrote an unpublished autobiography and it was translated by J. C. A. Flierl.
43. Wetherell, 1977, pp.304-5.
44. 1966 Census, p.51; Annual Report, 1971-72, pp. 416-7. The apparent decline may be because the combined government and non-government system had excluded many lowly qualified mission teachers.
45. Brown, Paula, 1967, pp.27-34.
46. Hogbin, 1951; Belshaw, 1957; Salisbury, Melbourne, 1970; and Morauta, 1974.
47. Sir William Macgregor said that 'the two finest and best institutions' he left in British New Guinea were the police (including the village constables) and the missions. Quoted in: Jinks, Biskup and Nelson, 1973, p.69.
48. Murray to Minister, 24 February 1927, Papua and New Guinea Armed Native Constabulary, National Australian Archives (NAA) A518 AA840/1/4.
49. Royal title for Armed Constabulary, NAA, A518, U918/3.
50. Lett, 1935.
51. Lett, 1953, p.xii.
52. Sinclair, 1969, p.132; Hides, 1938.
53. 'Government work' was a term used by Sgt Orai in other circumstances, Sinclair 1969, p.169.
54. Hides, 1936, p.113.
55. Hides, 1936, p.x.
56. Monckton, 1922, for example, pp.4-6
57. Sinclair, 1990, p.55. In 1932, Simoi's portrait was produced on a Papuan stamp. Other unnamed Papuan in traditional dress appeared on stamps, but Simoi was named and in his police uniform
58. Mackenzie, 1936, p.30 says 'about' thirty New Guineans and one German died among the defenders and six of the attacking Australians.
59. Gammage, 1975, pp.3-29.
60. McCarthy, J.K., 1963, p.112.
61. Powell, 2003, pp.232-3.
62. Sinclair, 1990.
63. Wright, 1965, has numerous references to Peta Simogun, introduced on p.20. In his Introduction, Feldt, 1967, referred to the 'deep and abiding friendship' between Wright and Simogun.
64. Ryan, 1959, p.18.
65. Paney, 1973, pp.19-21.
66. Meggitt, 1977, pp.170-2.
67. Morgan, 1983, p.251.
68. Clifford, 1984, p.188.
69. Mapusia, 1986, p.63.
70. Clifford, 1984, p.188.
71. Dinnen, 2001, p.85. The figure came from the raskols and may be inaccurate, but even a slightly lower figure is disturbing. And see Dinnen's bibliography.
72. Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, Papua New Guinea Update: Report on Proceedings of a Seminar 11 and 12 November 1996, Canberra, House of Representatives, Canberra, 1997, p.45.

73. Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, Australia's Relations with Papua New Guinea, Senate Publishing and Printing Unit, Canberra, 1991, p.72.
74. Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 1991, pp.45-6.
75. Papua New Guinea Report for 1972-1973, Government Printer, Canberra, 1975, p.15.
76. Gamage 1975; 1996 and 1998; Kituai, 1986, 1988, and 1998. Tom Dutton wrote on language in the Papuan Police: Dutton 1985.
77. Gamage, 1998, pp.42-3.
78. Kituai, 1998, p.268.
79. Gamage, 1998, p.234.
80. Kituai, 1998, p.136.
81. Belshaw, 1957, pp. 218-20.
82. Papua New Guinea Report, 1972-73, p.18.
83. McCarthy, Dudley, 1959; Dexter, 1961; and Long, 1963.
84. Long, 1963, pp.262-4 has a good account of PIR resentment and a fine defence of them by B. G. Dawson.
85. Granter, 1970; Nelson, 1980A and 1980B, Byrnes, 1989; Sinclair, 1990 and 1992; Barrett, 1969; and Hooper, 1994.
86. Johnston, 1943, p.167. Johnston called the PIB 'all-native'. Its officers were all white.
87. See Australian War Memorial website, awm.gov.au, and then 'collections', 'art', 'Katue'.
88. Byrnes, 1989, p.269, sets out statistics.
89. McCarthy, Dudley, 1959, p.125.
90. 'Reports submitted by Major-General Morris, General Officer Commanding ANGAU Reply by Lieut-General Sturdee ...', Australian War Memorial, 419/5/6.
91. Sturdee to Morris, 25 September 1945, Australian War Memorial 419/5/6.
92. Sinclair, 1992, Vol 2, pp.51, 53, 61-5.
93. The Civic Action program officially began in 1967 but before then patrols had completed 'civil' tasks (Sinclair, 1992, Vol 2, p.114).
94. Bell, 1967, p.49.
95. Bell, 1967, p.58.
96. Sinclair, 1992, Vol 2, notes the commentators: Ron Crocombe, Vincent Eri, 'Kokou Warubu', Charles Rowley and Percy Chatterton, pp.134-8.
97. O'Neill, Robert, 1971, p.25. O'Neill lists articles on the PIR published in New Guinea ... (p.32). Another contributor to the debate, Ulf Sundhaussen, wrote after O'Neill compiled his list: Sundhaussen, 1973.
98. Mench, 1975, pp.50 and 217. Mench refers to the PNGDF as a 'transitional organisation', that is one between a cohesive nationalist organisation' and one in which 'traditional values persist' pp.154-5.
99. Goldring, Sydney, 1978, p.55.
100. Dorney, 2000, p.177.
101. David Hegarty, 'January-December 1980', in Moore and Kooyman, eds, A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle 1967-1991, Crawford House, Bathurst, and Hurst & Co, London, 1998(?), p.344.
102. Yaw Saffu, 'January-June 1988', 'January-December 1989', in Moore and Kooyman, pp.449, 459 and 479.
103. Saffu, Y., 'January-December 1989', in Moore and Kooyman, p.480.
104. Saffu, Y., 'January-December 1991', Moore and Kooyman, p.499.
105. Dorney, 2000, pp.178-83.
106. Two books on the Sandline case by journalists were: Dorney, 1998; and O'Callaghan, 1999. Another book was a collection essays: Dinnen, S., May R. and Regan, A., 1997. There have been several general studies of Bougainville: May, R. and Spriggs, M., 1990, was one of several books coming out of conferences; and see Claxton, K., 1998, (and note his bibliography). On Bougainville and more broadly the PIR/PNGDF, Ron May of the Australian National University, has produced several studies, and because of his work on other issues in Papua New Guinea

- and on countries in Southeast Asia he has been able to place his research in a broad context: May, 1993; 1995; 2000 and Editor (with Selochan, V.), 1998. Reports: Papua New Guinea: 'under the barrel of a gun', Bougainville 1991 to 1993, Amnesty International, November 1993; Dibb and Nichols, 1996; and two inquiries conducted in Papua New Guinea by Justice Warwick Andrew and Justice Kubulan Los (referred to by Dorney, 1998, p.27).
107. Liria, 1993, pp.98-9, 118-20, 121.
 108. Dorney, 2000, p.269.
 109. 'Papua New Guinea Defence Force Board of Inquiry', chairman. Justice Gibbs Salika, Port Moresby, 2007; Nelson, 2007B.
 110. Rogers, 2002, pp.278, 301. Rogers and Mench were both serving in the PIR in the early 1970s, but Rogers' second term was later and he wrote after the intervention on Bougainville.
 111. Bell, 1967, p.49.
 112. Clifford, Morauta and Stuart, 1984, Vol 2, Appendix B2, 'The Rascals of Papua New Guinea' and Appendix B5, 'The Papua New Guinea Offenders', pp.173-202. Dinnen, S., 2001, Chapter 4, 'Rot Bilong Raskol: Passing through Crime' pp.55-110 and see the bibliography; and Harris, 1988.
 113. Dinnen, 2001, p.71.
 114. Oram, 1976, includes material on the settlements, and lists his earlier writings on Rabia Camp (1967) and the Hula in Port Moresby, 1967 and 1968.
 115. Goddard, 2005; and 2009.
 116. Taylor, 1871.
 117. Incidents through the period from the end of MacGregor's administration to the Australian assumption of control are outlined in Jinks, Biskup and Nelson, 1973, pp.71-96.
 118. Herle and Rouse, 1998. Details on the six volumes of reports published by the Expedition are on p.4. Publications by Ray and Seligman are listed in An Ethnographic Bibliography of New Guinea, Vol 1, Author Index, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1968. Seligman spent three months in British New Guinea in 1898.
 119. Seligman was also a member of Major Cooke Daniels Ethnographic Expedition.
 120. Griffin, 2005, pp.210-6.
 121. Young, 2004, p.161.
 122. Circular Instructions, Government Printer, Port Moresby, 1931.
 123. For example, Smith, S., 1913, p.20-3; and Robson, 1935, pp.234-5.
 124. Seligmann, 1910, pp.v-x. Seligmann later changed the spelling of his name to Seligman.
 125. Williams, 1930, p.33 notes a growing sense of modesty but young women among the Aiga and Binandere sometimes went completely naked. Married women wore a tapa cloth covering.
 126. From the title of Osmar White's book: White, 1965.
 127. White and Wainwright, 2004, p.33.
 128. The numbers of deaths in warfare is from the typescript: Wiessner P., et al, Warfare in Enga Province: From prehistory until Modern Times, Tradition and Transition Centre, Wabag, November 2007, p.50.
 129. Francis Fukuyama has written that 'The wantok is simply the local version of what anthropologists call a segmentary lineage or descent group'. Fukuyama was referring specifically to Solomon Islands and generally to Melanesia. That covers extraordinary diversity in what makes a 'descent group', typescript, State-Building in the Solomon Islands'.
 130. Lindenbaum, 1979, p.37.
 131. Lindenbaum, 1979, pp.54-5.
 132. Haley, 2002, pp.89, 92, 107 and 122.
 133. Biersack, 1996, p.21.
 134. Biersack, pp.30 and 38.
 135. Fajans, 1997, p.19.
 136. Fajans, 1997, p.124.
 137. www.citypopulation.de/PapuaNewGuinea.html
 138. www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=PG

139. Finney, 1973, on 'preadaption' pp. x, xi, 124; T. Scarlett Epstein, 1968; and Salisbury, 1970.
140. Epstein, S., 1968, pp.165-9.
141. The list of titles of New Guinea Research Bulletins, 1963-75, published at the back of most issues, illustrates the assumed importance of entrepreneurs and related topics.
142. Amarshi, Good and Mortimer, 1979, p.159. Peter Fitzpatrick, another contributor to this book, also wrote *Law and State in Papua New Guinea*, Academia Press, London, 1980, 'a Marxist perspective on law and the state in the third world, which is then applied and refined in a historical analysis of the Papua New Guinea case' (p.v).
143. Donaldson and Good, 1988, pp.156-7.
144. Thompson and MacWilliam, 1992, p.49
145. Radio New Zealand, 11 January 2007.
146. Liria, 1993, p.38.
147. Liria, 1993, pp.179-81.
148. National, 17 March 09.
149. Post-Courier, 22 May 08.
150. Post-Courier, 3 June 08.
151. National, 16 April 08.
152. Post-Courier, 27 March 09, has a letter favouring a new TV station which will provide PNG news rather than be dominated by Australian programs
153. National, 12 March 09. The Bill also made it an offence for a leader not to comply with an instruction from a parliamentary committee.
154. Post-Courier, 26 March 09. ABC News, 26 June 08.
155. Nelson, 2007B.
156. Sinclair Dinnen has pointed out that while these are government appointments, the process places a distance between the selection of candidates and the government's formal approval. What is significant is that the process has survived any executive pressure.
157. Epstein, A. L., 1969, p.13.
158. Nelson, 2007a.

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Contact:
Telephone: +61 2 6125 8394 Fax: +61 2 6125 5525 Email: ssgm@anu.edu.au
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