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Bougainville secession movement

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H. Hume 87

Whose man on Bougainville?

FATHER JON MOMIS, the Catholic priest elected Regional member for an island that has gone, here and there, now and then, through waves of secessionist sentiment, will be a man to watch in the new Papua New Guinea House of Assembly. Mr. Jim Griffin, the Port Moresby historian, notes in a recent "Current Affairs Bulletin" that Father Momis is known all over Bougainville, for he was born in Buin, worked at Kieta, was stationed in Buka, and possesses influential relatives at Wakunai. Bishop Lemay of Kieta has a high opinion of him. According to Mr. Griffin, he may become "the leading Bougainville sub-nationalist."

The election of a "sub-nationalist", that is, a potential exponent of Bougainville separatism, poses equally significant problems for Bougainville Copper Proprietary Ltd. (BCPL), the company that mines ore at Panguna, is the largest business in Papua New Guinea and unlike the older enterprises operating there, has developed a sophisticated political stance. How will it react to "sub-nationalists" popular with the locals, but anathema to the Administration if they develop into outright secessionists? As of now, BCPL is not universally popular on Bougainville, and is especially disliked among some Nasioi, on whose former land copper ore is being mined.

But there are complexities of attitude in this opposition. In an article which he co-authored with the American anthropologist, Dr. Eugene Ogan, "Bougainville 71 — Not discovered by CRA", published in "New Guinea" June-July 1971, Father Momis noted: "Some Nasioi who are unwilling to work for BCPL for political reasons see nothing inconsistent in accepting employment with one of its sub-contractors."

Mutatis mutandis, this comment might even apply to Father Momis himself. Father Momis, in working as a research assistant to Dr. Ogan, had an indirect relationship to BCPL, who originally approached the Australian National University to carry out research into the effects of and attitudes

to social change among the Nasioi and who now pays for this research.

Sponsoring an indigenous "sub-nationalist" in anthropological research or otherwise does not appear to have been part of the original plan of BCPL. But longterm planning, well into the period of independence, has certainly been part of the company's thinking. In a letter dated September 14, 1967, Mr. F. F. Espie, then of Conzinc Riotinto of Australia Ltd., BCPL's parent company, wrote that contacts with people in Zambia and elsewhere in Africa had been helpful "in indicating some errors that have been made in those areas and advising us of the action they would take if starting a new operation in our environment. Following this advice we have given a considerable amount of thought to the steps we must take to ensure that any investment we make (it would be in excess of US\$150 million) has a higher degree of security than this would have in some other newly independent states in Africa and elsewhere. Our objective is to establish these operations in a manner which will ensure that the rulers of the newly independent nation will want us to continue to operate."

The steps taken towards this objective and the policies decided on were listed by Mr. Espie as: the Agreement negotiated with the Administration which could be regarded by the United Nations or the Government of a newly independent state as a fair agreement; training of local people to replace expatriate employees; and, provision of an integrated staff and organisation in the long term. Further as integration and other policies "are difficult areas in which to arrive at decisions," the company would "seek advice from anthropologists and others as we go." But "advice we have received so far indicates that it may be difficult to attract a first grade anthropologist who would be suitable for this appointment as a specialist to work for a mining company, but we should attempt to interest a group of academic anthropologists and/or sociologists

on a part time basis. We are proceeding on this course."

Finally, Mr. Espie felt at that stage that the company will require a man stationed in Port Moresby who:

understands company policy towards the local people (which he will have helped to frame)

knows and is sympathetic to the newly independent politicians and administrators

is in touch with the advanced thinkers (at say the University)

has a good knowledge of the racial history and political moves (and reasons for them) in a wide range of newly independent states in Africa and elsewhere

can advise our company at a responsible level on the course it should chart in the areas above.

Copies of Mr. Espie's letter, which runs to five pages, were left with Sir John Crawford, the Vice-Chancellor of the Australian National University, in February 1968, and were forwarded to Professor Spate, the head of the Research School of Pacific Studies, and Professor Barnes, then a professor of anthropology at the A.N.U.

BCPL was eventually guided in its approach to Bougainville research by Professor Douglas Oliver of the Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, whom it commissioned to write a memorandum. Professor Oliver carried out extended research in Bougainville before World War II, and appears to have made a number of shorter trips to the area more recently. Dr. Ogan, the chief researcher active in the project, first visited Bougainville in 1962 as part of his Ph.D. work.

Professor Oliver's memorandum is not available from the A.N.U., and BCPL says it is not sure that it is public property. Professor Spate says that the memorandum presented a number of alternatives

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and some of them were "a bit wild". The Faculty of the Research School of Pacific Studies agreed to one of the proposals on the major condition that the work done under the project should be published.

So far, Professor Spate says, there have been no reports, apart from a half-page document that he himself sent to BCPL setting out how Dr. Ogan spent his time. The company can't help either. Perhaps the article in last year's "New Guinea", originally delivered to the fifth Waigani Seminar at the University of Papua and New Guinea, was written while its authors were on vacation.

Given its long term interests, BCPL leaves the researchers it sponsors a good deal of time to come up with the goods. Mr. Brian Barry, BCPL's public relations man, said last week that the project has been going on for the best part of two years, but he didn't expect quick reports. BCPL has also left the researchers a good deal of leeway to criticise the Administration for its historic neglect of Bougainville and the company itself for its early contacts with the villagers which Father Momis and Dr. Ogan say "were deeply flawed by ignorance on both sides", and for the distribution of royalties as between the Administration and the original landowners in the area.

It is only on one point, and that a crucial one, that Father Momis and Dr. Ogan differ from some other commentators on the area. For them, the Nasioi's opposition to the BCPL mining project was overruled "with perfect legality, under the Mining Ordinance". To Mr. Griffin for instance, and to some American clergy back in 1966, the British concept of "eminent domain" under which sub-surface minerals belonged to the Government, does not apply to a United Nations Trust Territory.

Perhaps that will be the issue on which the versatile Father Momis will have to show the colour of his nationalism in the House of Assembly. Has he come to differ in principle from the earlier stand of his clerical brethren, or is he only acknowledging the legality of the Mining Ordinance pro tem?

What's industrial news?

From LINDSAY SMITH

TIME was when the industrial reporters of Australian newspapers formed a close, cozy group.

They helped each other with reporting, swapped information and made sure that one did not send in a good story until the others knew about it. A tale is told by a long-time industrial reporter that at one time a young, ambitious reporter was put onto the industrial round, and was asked by a union official whether he was a "scoop artist". The new reporter replied that he was. The union official then passed on detailed information about a coming strike to the established industrial reporters, but failed to give it to the newcomer. Not surprisingly he was immediately taken off the industrial round.

Since that time industrial reporting has become somewhat more competitive, although there is still a fair degree of co-operation. To be an industrial reporter still involves developing personal friendship and trust with union officials, and often drinking and mixing socially with them. Industrial reporters of a paper which is being boycotted by a particular union for some reason, will often get the news from the union leaked to them by some unionist wanting to help a mate in his job. In addition, union officials will give advantages to various industrial reporters because of personal friendship.

Union officials generally expect industrial reporters to show a degree of identification with the aims of the aims of the Labor movement. There are even a couple of journalists on the industrial scene in Sydney who edit union papers.

The age of the public relations hand-out and dealing with press officers is gradually creeping into industrial reporting, but one industrial reporter claims that his field of journalism is very under-rated because it is the only one where reporters still have to go out and "catch and kill".

As a newspaper reader, I have wondered why news items on industrial matters appeared in and disappeared from the newspapers. Who decided what is "news" from the industrial scene? Such questions were on my mind when I recently spoke to most of the industrial

reporters of the major Sydney newspapers. I discussed their work as journalists on the basis that they would not be identified.

What becomes industrial news arises out of these journalists' knowledge of what their newspapers expect them to cover, and the decisions of the news editors and editors as to what they want reported. The industrial reporters on the evening papers are aware that what their papers want are instantaneous reports that can be quickly read on a crowded bus or train on the way home from work. In contrast, the industrial reporters on the morning newspapers often disagree with the judgements of their news editors and change of their newspaper policy on what is "industrial news".

But it is the news editors and ultimately the editors who determine what the newspapers report on industrial issues.

Over the years there have been changes as to what is considered to be industrial news. This has come particularly through the influence of younger industrial reporters such as Geoffrey Gleghorn (formerly of the "Australian Financial Review" and now a press officer of the A.C.T.U.) and John Hurst of "The Australian". Whereas the industrial round had been concerned with the union affairs and strikes, it has now been broadened to include reporting on white-collar unions, debates on wage-fixation, and the policies of the employer organisations.

Nevertheless industrial reporters are still largely concerned with reporting their traditional concerns, namely union affairs and strikes. In Sydney the industrial reporters operate out of rooms in the trade union building, and inevitably have much less contact with the various business and employer organisations than with trade unions. Industrial reporters also believe, correctly, that the public spokesmen for business and employer organisations are much less capable in their press relations than their union counterparts.

Television has obviously caused a major change in the way industrial news reaches the public, and this is appreciated by many union officials. One industrial reporter complained to me that whereas

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Original on 6/8/558

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

In Reply
Please Quote

CONFIDENTIAL:

No. SR24-6-8/1

Port Moresby.

29th July, 1969.

The Secretary,
Dept. of External Territories,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

VISITOR - GLEN DOUGLAS LIDDELL

The above person visited this Territory from 7th June, 1969 to 29th September, 1969. Liddell first visited the Territory in 1967 and has regularly returned on vacations since that date. He is thought to be the son of a Wangaratta, Victoria, Dentist. He has stated that he has no family in Australia and that on completion of his University course - he has two years to finish medicine - he will practice in Rabaul. He spends most of his vacations in Bougainville where he stays with Donatus MOLA, M.H.A.. According to his file at Migration Records (he has also stated this), Mola has adopted Liddell by native custom and he now considers himself to be a Buka native. He has gone to great pains through the Administrator and the Department of Migration to have himself considered a native of the Territory by some form of naturalisation. This has proven unsuccessful. The Department of Law is of the opinion that a person born outside the Territory cannot emigrate and take the status of an Australian Protected Person.

2. On his most recent visit it is reliably reported that he visited the Territory in the stated capacity of Director of a Volunteer Aids Project of the National Union of Australian University Students (N.U.A.U.S.) to arrange projects for about one hundred and fifty students during the next Christmas vacation. He stated that he was the 'advance guard' gauging the reaction of the people. If he is sponsored by N.U.A.U.S. it would have cost them \$650 in fares alone.

3. His movements and contacts in the Territory are attached as an appendix.

4. Although he was allegedly visiting the Territory under the auspices of N.U.A.U.S., he visited no one who would normally be able to assist him to arrange suitable projects for visiting student work teams. He apparently visited Buka or Bougainville people in each centre visited. He is an "adopted" Bougainvillean and a known Bougainville secessionist. The real purpose of his visit is not known nor is the content of his conversations with the local people at the various centres known.

5. Forwarded for your information, please.

D. O. Hay
(D. O. HAY)
Administrator

Encl. (1)

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SECRET

0825

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APPENDIX

According to a number of reports overall assessed as B.2 LIDDELL's movements in the Territory are as follows:

7.6.69:

Arrived Port Moresby from SYDNEY. Reported to have met members of the students Representative Council at the University of Papua and New Guinea and put forward some proposals. Details of proposals not known.

9.6.69:

Arrived in Honiara B.S.I.P. for a three day visit. Visited David KAUSIMAE, M.L.C. South Malaita, and discussed the prospects of Bougainville joining the Solomons. While in B.S.I.P. claimed to be the son of Donatus MOLA, M.H.A., and gave his address as LIMANKOA Village, Buka Island.

14.6.69:

Arrived Rabaul, stayed with James RENAI, a BUKA Labour Supervisor employed by Burns Philp. While in Rabaul wrote a letter to the A.B.C. Rabaul concerning an incident on Buka Island involving Donatus MOLA and the Hahalis Welfare Society. There was no indication of his having come in contact with the High Commissioner for Ghana who was in Rabaul at that time.

17.6.69:

Arrived at Lae. Spent the night at the house of CLETUS-HAREPA, a Buka native employed by the Lands Department. Reported that HAREPA met LIDDELL in Australia. Departed for Wewak 18.6.69 but overnighted at Madang due to engine trouble.

18.6.69:

Arrived Madang. Spent considerable time with two soldiers, Privates AWI and WITYER of P.I.R.

19.6.69:

Visited TUSBAB High School for two hours in the morning. Visited the Police Station and spoke to Cadet Officer KIPMA, Constable 1/C LARIAS (BUKA) and a Francis LUGA (Bougainville) employed by S.T.C.

Prior to leaving contacted the Senior Local Government Officer, Hugh RICHARDSON, and met the District Commissioner and A.D.C. In conversation with the above stated his reasons for visiting Territory (see paragraph 4) and stated that he knew the Territory as his parents had been plantation owners in Bougainville. (BUKA?).

Arrived in Wewak. Appeared to be accompanied by two P.I.R. soldiers (possibly same two as in Madang).

Went to the Native Compound and entered the house of Christopher MINIARA, an exchange operator in Wewak. A number of natives met LIDDELL at the house, and LIDDELL stayed there that night.

SECRET

0825

- 2 -

20.6.69:

Went to the Police Station, met Sub/Inspector KEREPIA and left with KEREPIA and went to KEREPIA's house. Left the house and later returned with a carton of beer.

21.6.69:

Arrived Angoram. Arranged to stay with a man called KUMAN, and was met by KUMAN's wife ROSA, sister of Michael Tom SOMARE, M.H.A. Visited the Angoram Hotel that evening with KUMAN and met three other natives. Slept at KUMAN's house.

22.6.69:

Visited the store of Peter JOHNSON, M.H.A. In the evening went to the house of a Dr. SOATT and left at midnight.

23.6.69:

Departed for Mt. Hagen. No details yet available.

29.6.69:

LIDDELL departed Port Moresby for Sydney.

Date 6/12/68

NOTE FOR POSSIBLE QUESTION

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA - HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

- Press reports Lapun as stating that he will introduce a motion asking Australia to allow a referendum in Bougainville on whether the Island should
 - remain part of Papua and New Guinea
 - join the British Solomon Islands
 - stand alone.
- Lapun claims support of one other member of the House of Assembly and 30 Bougainville people now living in Port Moresby.
 - Attitude of other 82 elected members of the House of Assembly not yet known. Pangu Pati, of which Lapun is member, reported not yet to have decided its attitude to Lapun's proposal.
- Population of Bougainville - 68,000.
- Exploitation of copper deposits on Bougainville critical to economic development of the Territory as a whole and bringing social progress to parts not similarly endowed.
- If Bougainville joins the British Solomon Islands Protectorate proceeds of the copper would, under Solomon Islands law, go to the development of the whole Protectorate in the same way as in Papua and New Guinea
 - in view of special provisions in P.N.G. law individual land owners would benefit less as part of the B.S.I.P.
- Trusteeship agreement authorises Australia to bring the Territory into Customs, fiscal and administrative union with Papua
 - aim of Australian Government is national unity of the whole Territory and need for this was stressed by Trusteeship Council.

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If pursued with by Bougainville the unity of P.N.G. could be threatened

was Douglas Laible

Not clear how much backing this man would have J.O.B. among responsible people of Bougainville 11/9/68.

Department of External Territories,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

Lapun was the Private Member who a few days ago introduced the National Name Bill

3)

11/19/68

/ /68

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BOUGAINVILLE

MP seeks poll on island's role

PORT MORESBY, Tuesday (AAP). — A Bougainville leader called last night on the Australian Government to allow his copper-rich island to decide its political future by referendum.

The Member for South Bougainville in the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly, Mr Paul Lapun, said his call was supported by more than 30 Bougainville people now living in Port Moresby.

They include an administration officer, university students and the North Bougainville Member, Mr Donatus Mola, he said.

Mr Lapun said a motion asking Australia to allow a referendum would be introduced in the House.

He hoped the referendum could be held in 1970 "so that our future is decided before the Territory becomes independent and a situation like Nigeria is avoided".

Mr Lapun proposed that his people be asked whether they wished to remain part of Papua-New Guinea, join the British Solomon Islands, or stand alone.

He preferred the third course, but thought the majority would opt to join the Solomons.

"There has always been talk about rejoining the South Solomons and it's getting stronger among the people", he said.

"They all have relations in the Solomons and can't understand why they belong to Australia and the others to Britain".

Part of the Solomons

Mr Lapun, a former Parliamentary Under-Secretary, is deputy leader of the Pangu Pati.

A Pangu Pati spokesman said last night the party had not yet decided on its attitude to Mr Lapun's call.

Geographically and culturally Bougainville is part of the Solomons.

In the Anglo-German settlement of 1898, Bougainville was part of the price Britain paid to have her claims to the rest of the Solomons and Tonga recognised.

It became of immense economic importance to the future independent Papua-New Guinea when the mining company, Conzinc Rio Tinto of Australia Ltd, discovered huge copper deposits there.

REV/EMS

Hobart Place,
CANBERRA CITY.

XXXXXXXX

68/5430

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. 2600

BOUGAINVILLE

With reference to your memorandum 936/4/13 of 29th October 1968, we will be pleased to keep you informed of details of British Solomon Islanders or other foreign elements becoming involved in secessionist movements in the Territory.

2. For your information, the Administrator of Papua and New Guinea recently told us that he had received a personal letter from the B.S.I.P. High Commissioner informing him that there is a question on the Notice Paper for the Legislative Council meeting in November/December of this year as to whether it would be appropriate for the B.S.I.P. to extend an invitation to send two Members of the Territory House of Assembly to the Solomons for a reciprocal visit vis a vis the visit of Doctors Kere and Ofai to the Territory earlier this year.
3. Specifically, the question asked whether the invitation would be issued to the Bougainville Members of the House of Assembly.
4. The Administrator replied personally to the High Commissioner to the effect that while the invitation would be welcome there were questions of policy involved. Meanwhile the Administrator sought our Minister's view.
5. The Minister's view, as conveyed to the Administrator was that an invitation for two Members of the House of Assembly to visit the B.S.I.P. could be accepted for a suitable time in 1969 subject to the invitation being extended to the House of Assembly as a whole to enable the House to make its own choice of Members to represent it during the visit. The Administrator was told that the Minister considers that while the B.S.I.P. should not select Bougainville, we cannot exclude it, but no objection is seen to Official Members lobbying discreetly and voting in the House against the nomination of Members from Bougainville electorates.

(J.O. Ballard)
for Secretary.

Resistance to change.

- . Men of all cultures have social organisations, value systems and beliefs which give them security and to which they are deeply attached.
- . People with fairly rigid beliefs, value systems, etc., based on tradition resist change even more tenaciously than most.
- . Change imposed by outside authority will be resisted especially when it threatens traditional values - if outside authority is powerful there is likely to be outward compliance but covert resistance.
- . Yet if government policy is to succeed there must be fundamental changes in Territory society.
- . People of one culture (especially a technically superior one) find it hard to understand thought processes and values of people of another culture.
- . Non cultural factors may reinforce resistance to change, e.g.,
 - self interest, as seen in Bougainville demands for higher mineral royalties
 - suspicion based on earlier experiences, injustices both real and imaginary.
- . Communications problems may complicate position, i.e.,
 - language problems - words mean different things to different people especially when spoken by a person of one culture to a person of another culture
 - wrong assumptions about knowledge - it is easy to assume that because a person has been exposed to western ideas that he must understand them - e.g., British system of rights to minerals is not readily understood by Americans let alone Bukas.

Ways of overcoming resistance to change.

- . Understanding and sympathising with people's motivations
 - it is not enough to be expert in a field - human factor must be understood and respected
 - tendency towards paternalism by some officers must be suppressed.

- . Giving plenty of opportunity for discussion before change is introduced and for participation when it is introduced.
- . Fitting in where possible with existing cultural patterns.
- . Effective propaganda.

Principles of Communication

- . Stress should be placed on telling people what they want to hear.
- . Communication ineffective if it fails to change emotionally held attitudes - facts and logical argument alone often not enough.
- . The more people listen to, read about and discuss issue, the more interest they develop, information they acquire, and decided they become.
- . Active participation in communication - discussion, passing on of information - is more effective than passive reception of message.
- . Opinion leaders exercise great influence - therefore more communications are directed at them the more effective it is likely to be.
- . Personal, word of mouth message from local source better than remote source.
- . In decreasing order of effectiveness, forms of communication are personal address, radio, visual, printed page.

Case Studies - used to show how not to introduce policy.

- . CRA operations on Bougainville - resistance built up because of failure to -
 - obtain expert advice on situation
 - prepare and influence local opinion before CRA began operations and before Mining Bills 1966
 - dependence on alien concepts of national unity, economic development, etc.
- . Reorganisation of Public Service - mistakes were -
 - too much secrecy - no open discussion before introduction of new wage scales

- failure to seek and apply specialist advice on human factors
- failure to consult within Administration.

Rest of report is discussion of effectiveness of various means of communication with people - DIES, ABC, newspapers.

Department of External Territories
Canberra. A.C.T. 2601

13th November 1968.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

NOTES ON THE BOUGAINVILLE SITUATION

Separation Movements Generally

- 1. Independence movements like the "Bougainville Referendum" and the "Melanesian Independence Party" should not be regarded as wilful rebellion against the Administration. They are the normal and predictable results of political education and growing sophistication of the people. If they did not occur the Administration would have failed in its efforts to make the people politically aware.
- 2. The assumed probable causes of these movements are :
 - a. political awareness already mentioned;
 - b. frustrations generated as a result of conflict between the political and economic aspirations of the sophisticated minority and the restraints imposed by the paternalistic control exercised by the Administration;
 - c. conflict between the customary dispersion of native power systems into local units and the western practice of centralisation of control;
 - d. individual motivations: e.g., there is little doubt that Paul LAPUN's political ambitions influenced his support of the referendum proposals. Similarly, there are grounds for suspicion that the economic goals of some expatriates influenced the Melanesian Independence move.

Causes Specific to Bougainville

- 3. In addition to those causes common to independence listed in para 2 above, those specific to BOUGAINVILLE appear to fall under the following headings:
 - a. Historical
 - b. Psychological
 - c. Social

4. Historical

Many Bougainville people harbour a lasting and deep rooted resentment at the treatment they have received at the hands of white men. This has been contributed to by -

- a. "Black birding" of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. There is evidence that stories are still passed from father to son.

- b. Periodic changes of titular 'ownership' of the island - British, German, Australian, Japanese, Australian - have produced on the people a belief that they are regarded as 'chattels'.
- c. The phrase "Black Buka Bastard" has been, and still is, used by some Europeans and redskins. The fact that Bougainville males were used as bodyguards to the Germans in New Britain does little to foster mutual affection between them and the Tolais.

5. Psychological

- a. The people hold strong opinions about their 'superiority' over both 'white skins' and 'red skins'. These opinions are believed to be a compensatory mechanism stemming from basic feelings of inferiority over the marked difference of their skin colour.
- b. The historical factors stated above have led to a denigration of their own 'self-image' which in turn has fostered strong and generalised feelings of resentment.

6. Social

- a. Whether it is justified or not, the people have a strongly held opinion that the Administration has 'neglected' Bougainville in favour of other parts of the Territory. They tend to perceive the Missions as the source of all the benefits they have received.
- b. They have growing feelings of disenchantment with the Missions - in particular with the Roman Catholic sector. This is not based necessarily on religious grounds but on
 - (1) the equivocal political attitudes shown by different mission priests;
 - (2) the slowness with which the Missions have delivered the 'cargo' i.e. produced material progress and personal gains.
- c. Education of younger people has
 - (1) created feelings of inferiority and indecision amongst the older and more conservative leaders;
 - (2) has enabled the younger men to read widely and to become aware of the relevant contemporary situations in Nauru and newly independent African states. These they compare with Bougainville conditions. It might be noted that some of their views are more superficial and emotional than insightful and reasoned.

- d. The advent of CRA has been a precipitating and not a causal factor. It has had two opposing effects:
- (1) the rapid cultural change it will enforce, generates fear and resentment;
 - (2) knowledge of the presence of copper reinforces feelings of superiority over other parts of the Territory and induces the fantasy that the people can exploit this source of wealth.

The Administration

7. Its Dilemma

- a. In an earlier report (1964 Follow Up Study on Mental Health of the Indigines of TPNG) we commented

"Any administrative authority attempting to implement a process of cultural change in an immature pre-literate social group is in the unenviable position of a parent attempting to guide a family of not very co-operative adolescents towards adulthood."

"Any parental figure, real or substitute can exercise his authority at three levels of maturity. Firstly, at the lowest level, he may be authoritarian, "directing" the adolescent to behave to a set pattern. Secondly, he may be "paternalistic", inviting the adolescent to accept one, or several, alterantive modes of behaviour which he, the father, thinks appropriate. Thirdly, at the most mature level, he may set definite limits to areas of behaviour, and within these limits, allow the adolescent complete freedom. The first form of control invites outright rejection except from the submissive and the anxious; the second elicits limited co-operation and the third gains maximum co-operation."

- b. This is the precise situation in which the Administration finds itself in BOUGAINVILLE. It faces the dilemma of deciding to what degree it can relax its paternalistic control and encourage permissive risk taking. If it remains paternalistic it will be resented. If it is permissive, its new attitude may be perceived as weakness.
- c. The only solution to this problem appears to be the application of a masked and subtle form of directiveness which will give the native people greater control and responsibility.

8. Its Image

- a. The Administration's past policy of permitting the Missions, under subsidy to provide the vital social services of Education and Health has had two unfortunate effects:

- (1) it has created for itself the image of a "neglecting parent" and consequently has become the object of paranoid projective thinking expressed in the frequently repeated accusation that "BOUGAINVILLE has been neglected";
 - (2) it has placed itself in a position of weakness vis-a-vis the Missions, a situation which the people are actively exploiting.
- b. The Administration image has not been enhanced by the "go-stop" nature of the projects its officers have undertaken, e.g.
- (1) its failure to proceed with the construction of the JABA-LAMBALAM road after purchase of land for road alignment and after definite assurances that the road would be built;
 - (2) the failure of the successive agricultural efforts attempted in the south of the island.
- c. The task of creating a new image must be undertaken without delay. Steps which can be taken towards this end are,
- (1) better and more direct communication with the people;
 - (2) publicising the Administration's contributions to the Missions in the fields of education and medicine;
 - (3) publicising the Administration's direct contributions to the improvement of the island;
 - (4) recognising that BOUGAINVILLE is, and will continue to be, basically an agricultural economy and therefore making a massive contribution in the form of more and better experienced agricultural advisers and better communication facilities;
 - (5) having in mind that the education of children will affect the policies of the next two decades, provide increased Administration educational facilities;
 - (6) recognising that the quickest way to the hearts of Bougainville women, who exert no mean influence, is through the health of their children, provide increased Administration medical facilities.

9. Communication with the People

- a. Improved communication between Administration and people is vital. Continuing the simile of parent and adolescents outlined above, the adolescents (the people) expect two kinds of communications;
- (1) emotional - in the form of understanding and ACCEPTING their rebellious attitudes;
 - (2) operational - in the form of guiding them to make constructive use of their drives.
- b. The Administration is strong in the latter and lamentably weak in the former. In discussing this question with a number of native persons a propos key figures in the Administration, the common response was -
- "Yes, they understand us and talk to us from here (indicating the head) but they don't understand us and talk to us from here (indicating the heart)".
- c. Some DNA officers are skilled in both kinds of communication, vide the dramatic change that has occurred in the attitudes of the BUKA people over the past 4 years. The Administration would be well advised to identify such officers and ensure they fill key posts in BOUGAINVILLE.
- d. One further point on communication must be made. Native people are literal and pragmatic in their interpretation of the spoken word. They are incapable of understanding the fine shades of 'implication' used by Europeans. They do understand a firm "Yes" or "No". Diplomatic statements the Secretary makes, like "The referendum proposal will be given favourable consideration" are interpreted as an agreement the referendum will be carried out. An audible speculation about "liking to build a road" is interpreted to mean the road will be commenced immediately. This matter has already been referred to in the 1966 Communications Report, page 38. It is vital that no person in authority - Minister, Secretary, Administrator or Administration officer makes these kinds of statements.

10. Control

- a. Mention has been made of the native's resistance to centralised control because it runs counter to their traditional concept of dispersion of power.

- a. Cont.
They suspect and fear the demands of the "Government in Port Moresby". Their attitude was summarised by Mr PITA LUS in the royalties debate, "If the money comes here it will only be used in Port Moresby. All these things are done in Port Moresby and not in other places."
- b. We believe that this attitude can be countered only by permitting the senior Administration official in BOUGAINVILLE a degree of autonomy and by conferring on him the power to implement decisions and authorise expenditure of money on urgent projects without reference to KONE DOBU.
- This approach may appear impossible within the present Bureaucratic framework of the Administration, but the possibility of giving the local DC even limited local financial resources should be investigated.
- c. As an extension of the need for dispersed control the Government would do well to realise that the permissive benign, yet authoritative control required by the Territory as a whole can NOT be exercised from CANBERRA.

The Missions

11. The paper "The Bougainville Situation" prepared by Ashton et al sets out adequately the position relating to the Missions. It is sufficient to comment that although the Missions still exert a powerful influence, the growing disenchantment of the people, the denominational differences between Missions and the internal disagreement in political attitudes within the Marist Mission all create lines of fission which can be exploited.

C. R. A.

12. Role in Current Unrest

- a. The presence of CRA is not a major cause of Bougainville dissention. It is best regarded as a current and a precipitating event but not a crucial one.
- b. The local adverse reaction to CRA's exploratory operations was logical and inevitable because those operations :
- (1) violated customary land rights;
 - (2) threatened to force on the people sudden and unwanted cultural change;
 - (3) created fear.

7.

- c. The objections raised by people in the PANGUNA area were used by vocal anti-Administration, anti-white agitators as propaganda themes to spread anti-CRA attitudes throughout the island.
- d. The success of this propaganda was aided by the attitudes of some Marist priests who undoubtedly saw CRA as a threat to their own material and political control.

13. Current Native Attitudes Towards CRA

- a. The BOUGAINVILLE people are NOT unanimous in their attitudes towards CRA. Their reactions vary widely according to location, status, age and education.
- b. Reasons for pro-CRA attitudes range from specific benefits - more roads, earn more money - to the generalised statement that CRA is "gut pela samting".
- c. Stated reasons for opposition to CRA are :-
 - (1) "If CRA had explained themselves to us prior to operations, and had asked our permission, we would have granted it; but they did not do so, so we are against them".
 - (2) "CRA is taking all our good land and leaving us with no places to live or to plant crops on."
 - (3) "CRA is looting our Island of all its treasure and giving us little or nothing in return. When "Independence" comes our land will be 'skin nothing'."
 - (4) "The money paid by CRA in 'taxes' will all go to Port Moresby, with few or no benefits going to Bougainville in general, or to the dispossessed land owners in particular." (A variant on this theme is that the "tax" is going into building skyscrapers, etc., in Port Moresby, and that when "Independence" arrives Papua (as distinct from New Guinea) will be incorporated into Australia.
 - (5) "CRA people (whites and redskins) are after our women - as evidenced by the 'women wanted' sign that was posted, by the visits of (excursioning) men to our villages, and by many actual (i.e. rumoured) cases of rape and of attempted rape."
 - (6) "CRA will have a bad effect on our young people. They go there, earn lots of money and many evil ways and when they come home they will not do as we tell them any more."

(7) "CRA is digging holes 600 miles deep thereby endangering the Island, since the water will come up through these holes and flood the whole Island."

(8) "CRA is lying to us about 'exploration'; it is already mining copper and selling it."

d. A brief summary of area reactions are

(1) GUAVA Area

Generally no pro-CRA, but being replaced by an unwilling acceptance of the inevitable. All above anti-CRA reasons except (7).

(2) ROVOVANA

Anti CRA reasons (3), (4) and (8) balanced by pro-CRA attitudes.

(3) NORTH & SOUTH NASOR

Same anti-CRA reactions as GUAVA. Some pro CRA sentiments.

(4) BUIN & SIVAI

Anti CRA attitudes (3,4 and 6) outweighed by CRA support and disinterest.

(5) NAGOVISI

Strong anti-CRA attitudes.

(6) WAKUNAI

Evenly divided pro and anti-CRA.

(7) BUKA PASSAGE & BUKA

Generally pro-CRA.

14. CRA Attitude Towards Native People

- a. CRA is taking enlightened course in its relations with the people. It wishes to proceed with the project as quickly as possible, but in doing so is anxious that it disturbs the native situation as little as possible.
- b. It has sought expert advice from two anthropologists (OLIVER and NAYACAKALOU), is employing a psychologist from 1st January, 1969, and co-operates with the Administration.
- c. The CRA submissions attached to the paper "BOUGAINVILLE Situation" sets out the situation much as we saw it.

15. The Future

- a. CRA officers are non-committal about the future, although current indications are that the company will proceed with operations, there is always the possibility that in an adverse political climate it would be prepared to write off the project. If it took the latter course, its departure would NOT solve the BOUGAINVILLE problem.
- b. However, if it proceeds to exploit the copper deposits, its operations will exacerbate the total situation.
- c. It may be accepted that CRA's interests are not altruistic.

Lines of Fission in Bougainville

16. The greatest asset the Administration has in the manipulation of the BOUGAINVILLE situation is that the people are NOT united on practically every major issue. The most obvious lines of fission are -

a. Political

- (1) Current old and more conservative leaders v. younger educated and impatient men aspiring to leadership. This was obvious at the conference of Local Government Councils held in KIETA.
- (2) Local Government Councillors v. sitting members of the House of Assembly. Paul LAPUN and Joseph LUE did NOT attend the KIETA conference. This did NOT please the delegates who sent LAPUN a message to come by the next plane. He did NOT show up.
- (3) Sitting MHA's v. some of their electors. Donaties MOLA has already been warned by his electors that he is in the House of Assembly to REPRESENT THEM and not to exploit his own personal ideas.
- (4) MOLA v. LAPUN and LUE. There is some evidence that they are NOT united in their attitudes to the referendum or to CRA.

b. Religious

- (1) Roman Catholic Missions v. Methodists & SDA. These differences exist on political as well as religious grounds. SDA support the Administration, Methodists are more or less

neutral, Marist priests while divided are generally anti-Administration, anti-CRA.

- (2) Internal Marist differences.
Fr. O'SULLIVAN et al pro Administration v.
Fr. FINGLETON et al anti Administration.
- (3) Younger educated people (and probably others) v. the Church.
Members of the former group expressed opinions that the people were becoming disillusioned with the Church both as a political force and as a spiritual comfort. This thinking tends to be supported by Bishop LEMAY's stated opinion that the Church would be out of BOUGAINVILLE within the next 10 years.

c. Social

- (1) People by areas pro-con Administration.
- (2) People by areas pro-con CRA.
- (3) People by areas pro-con referendum.

Action by the Administration

17. It is our opinion that the whole BOUGAINVILLE situation is ready-made for the application of a psychological operation aimed at manipulating public attitudes in the Administration's favour. If undertaken this operation should include :
 - a. implementation of the action suggested earlier in the paper under the heading "The Administration".
 - b. the mounting of a full scale propaganda campaign having
 - (1) the OVERT aim of advancing the peoples political education and so enabling them to make a more reasoned decision on their future.
 - (2) The COVERT aims of exploiting the lines of fission mentioned above and providing factual information which the supporters of the Administration can use in argument.
18. If such a campaign were mounted, it would need to observe the following principles of the manipulation of attitudes.
 - a. identify specific target populations and direct specific themes to each (the section on lines of fission indicate possible target populations).

C O N F I D E N T I A L

11.

- b. Provide factual information, slanted if necessary in the Administration's favour.
 - c. Provide ample opportunity for the people to discuss the issue. It is by discussion and argument that they clarify their positions.
 - d. Encourage the people to participate in decision making. This aspect is vital. Whether it is in the direction the Administration wishes will depend on :
 - (1) the quality and relevance of the factual information it gives its supporters.
 - (2) the skill in argument and the influence of its supporters.
 - e. Obtain 'feed back' of argument and opinion as a guide for future communication policy.
19. The Media which could be used are :
- a. Radio BOUGAINVILLE
 - (1) Place an emphasis on information relevant to the contentious issues.
 - (2) Suggest discussion groups and encourage feedback through letters.
 - (3) Make full and regular use of the programme "The DC Speaks".
 - (4) Make a feature of "Replies to Letters" with pertinent, if slanted, comment.
 - b. District Staff Activities
 - (1) Identify Administration supporters.
 - (2) Discuss with them the contentious issues.
 - (3) Encourage them to discuss the issues widely and to give 'feed back'.
 - c. CRA Activities
 - (1) A wider distribution of their "Bougainville Copper Magazine".
 - (2) An extension of 'Slide and Talk' programme already given to delegates at the Local Government Council conference.

d. Radio Recording Teams

- (1) Wide coverage;
- (2) invite views of contentious issues;
- (3) record discussion;
- (4) broadcast edited discussion with comments.

20. Some suggested topics might be -

a. Factual Information

- (1) Administration's past support of mission effort.
- (2) Administration's own activities.
- (3) What is involved in independence - organisational, financial, technical competence.
- (4) What is involved in extracting copper, technical competence, finance, organisation, marketing, etc
- (5) Importance of agriculture.

b. Topics to raise doubts

- (1) Real aims of LAPUN et al - personal aggrandizement v. good of the people.
- (2) Honesty of LAPUN et al - where is the money collected? What use will be made of it?
- (3) Competence and clear thinking of LAPUN et al - conflicting motions, common name for Territory v. Referendum for secession.
- (4) Real aims of RC Church - welfare of people v. their political manipulation.

WARNING

21. The statements made in these notes do NOT have the oracular quality as those which emanated from DELPHI. They are merely the results of a bidisciplinary analysis of the information available.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL TERRITORIES

MINUTE

REV/EMS

68/5563.
68/5030
67/3861

Subject: BOUGAINVILLE.

The activities of certain Roman Catholic priests in Bougainville has caused some concern. They include -

Father Wiley of Tunuru Mission (Coastal), who has openly opposed State ownership of minerals after the Minister's statement in February 1966. Father Wiley is American.

Father Moore (now retired) of Maritani, described as "bitter and twisted man" and "considered dangerous." Father Moore is American.

Father Mahoney of Demori (Guava Parish), a New Zealander being influenced by Fathers Wiley and Moore.

Father Fingleton of Buin who has shown continuing hostility to the Administration and Administration policy.

2. These priests are mentioned and their activities described in the Campbell Report of 1966, the Webb Report of October 1968 and various files. In the opinion of Brigadier Campbell, if the missionaries are to be removed, removal must be done at Apostolic Delegate level.

3. Could the nationality of Father Fingleton please be ascertained?

4. Would you please advise what steps should be taken to remove these people from the Territory and whether in your view, after perusing the relevant files, the matter of removing the priests should be taken up with the Administrator.

all

*Miss Douglas
own file pls.*

M. Hubert

JAN

ASST. SEC. (S. & C. A.)

ASST. SEC. (P. A.)

As discussed, the nationality of Father Fingleton would not be relevant to his deportation. I think it would be quite impractical and counter-productive to invoke the deportation provisions (which have to be based on an offence or proof that the conduct of the person is such that he should not be allowed to remain) applicable to an independent tribunal. Any action would have to be along lines of para 4.

21/11/68 SENATE **B2** N.O.S
Bill No.

Date 22-11-68

Territories

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Senator GEORGES - I address a question to the Minister representing the Minister for External ^{Territories} Affairs. I have previously asked questions on secession movements in Papua and New Guinea, and received answers that indicated that the matter was of little importance. In view of the speech made by the Minister for External Territories at Lae and his implied threat of economic action against those areas that sought to secede, can the Minister now advise whether the situation in the Territory is worthy of concern?

END OF QUESTION

Senator WRIGHT - It would be unfortunate if the hon sen ever got the impression that the situation in the Territory was not worthy of concern. All that was indicated by the Minister was that there was a firm adherence to the view that the unity of the Territory must be preserved. That was the viewpoint that the Minister referred to in the speech at Lae to which reference has been made.

END OF ANSWER

F FOLLOWS BREAK

*Copy of Speech at Lae on file 63/5206 (Name of P.N.G.)
folio 58.*

*Mr. [unclear]
Miss Douglas*

Mr. [unclear]



LH.2443

PORT MORESBY,
TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

7th October 1968.

Ministerial Schedule No. 391

My dear Minister,

~~DATE~~ 24/10/68

This letter contains an account of a discussion which I had on 4th October with Ministerial and Assistant Ministerial Members on the question of Bougainville.

There was general agreement that the situation of opposition to the Administration and receptiveness to the idea of a referendum on independence and/or joining with the Solomons as an alternative to continued inclusion in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, was due to the following causes:

- (a) The long-standing feeling in Bougainville that the island had been neglected over the years by the Australian Administration. It had been included in the map of the Territory but had not received its fair share of assistance.
- (b) Administration officers had, in supporting the introduction of C.R.A. survey parties into the Kieta area, not shown sufficient respect for the people.
- (c) The use of police to ensure protection of "scientists" and C.R.A. personnel.
- (d) The imprisonment of a councillor and other persons in Kieta recently for opposition to the police.
- (e) While recent Administration economic assistance was admitted, it was felt to be coming so late in the day that it amounted to an attempt to bribe the people.
- (f) Bougainville has contributed greatly to the Territory revenue but has not got the equivalent back in terms of assistance from the central government.
- (g) The law which the Administration claims it is supporting is not the law of the people.
- (h) The Government refused to agree to a separate development fund for Bougainville.
- (i) The amount of royalty available under the Territory law to the people of Bougainville was too low. After independence it could be substantially increased.

The extent of public support for the holding of a referendum was discussed. The opinion of the only Bougainville member present (Mr. Lue - Assistant Ministerial Member for Education) was that the referendum would be supported by the majority of the people. He quoted an

/2

Mr. Lue
Miss Douglas
for file file
24/10/68

estimate of the percentage of people in favour as being 60% in the Nagovisi, 40% in the Siwai and 70% in the Buin areas. In his opinion, the people would not wish to join the British Solomons because that area was backward in terms of education and economic development and would be a drag on Bougainville. Mr. Lue, of course, comes from South Bougainville and the opinions quoted by him are the opinions of the South Bougainville people. Mr. Lue gave it as his opinion that if the House of Assembly and the Australian Government refused to agree to the proposal for a referendum, then that decision would be accepted by the people providing they got some substantial "compensation" in return. There was no attempt to define what would be considered adequate compensation, but clearly this was intended to be of an economic nature and no doubt it had some reference to the Bougainville Development Fund.

There was some discussion as to whether the students who had recently been meeting in Port Moresby on the question of a referendum were subject to outside influence or not. One or two members thought that this was likely and also thought that a good deal of the stimulus for the referendum was coming from British Solomon students. However, Mr. Lue gave it as his opinion (he had not himself attended the original meeting) that there was no significant stimulus from outside. I know, however, that the organisers of the meeting consulted Professor Davidson of the A.N.U. before the meeting took place. I do not know what contribution Professor Davidson made, either to the holding of the meeting or to its substance. He had left Port Moresby before the meeting took place.

I discussed with Ministerial and Assistant Ministerial Members what might be done to ensure the unity of the Territory which the Government had proclaimed as one of its main objectives. One suggestion was that there should be a special mission of, say, two indigenous Ministerial Members and one expatriate Ministerial Member which would go to Bougainville fairly shortly and hold formal meetings with groups of people in order to ascertain their views and place before them the views of the Members themselves. This proposal received some support at first but in the later stages of the meeting it was felt that a better effect would be obtained if no such formal mission were sent but if the matter were treated at a lower key and if, for instance, Ministerial or Assistant Ministerial Members whose duties required them to visit Bougainville in the ordinary course of events took the opportunity of having discussions with leaders of the people on a more informal basis. It was pointed out that Siwi Kurondo has scheduled a visit during the coming week to Tonolei. There is also to be a Regional Local Government Association conference late in October at which Mr. Kaibelt Diria, Assistant Ministerial Member for Local Government, will be present. It was felt that these two Members could have some discussions and report back in due course to the present meeting. There was general agreement that it would be better not to have an Australian elected member or officer accompanying these office holders in respect of this particular kind of visit.

Differing views were expressed on what should be said to leading persons in Bougainville by visiting Ministerial and Assistant Ministerial Members. On the one hand the view was expressed that the objective of any discussions should merely be to ascertain the views of

the people of Bougainville. Others favoured a more primitive attitude. It was felt that it would be possible for the Ministerial Members to smooth down ruffled feelings. As Mr. Tei Abal put it, it was important that we should not put the unity point of view in such a way as to arouse a reaction. As he put it in Pidgin, "Ol man bilong Bougainville bel bilong im i hot lik lik. Orait yumi ken fixim. Yumi ken pinisim wori bilong ol." The way to do this was to emphasize the respect in which the people of Bougainville were held throughout the Territory. He had himself seen them as teachers, policemen, soldiers, Members of the House of Assembly and in many other situations, and felt that they and the people of the rest of the Territory were truly friends and that it would be a tragedy if the Territory were broken apart ("Mi nolaik dispela kantri i bruk na baut.")

The low key approach was generally supported at the close of the meeting. Mr. Lue himself strongly opposed any formal delegation. He also felt that this was a matter which could not be handled by the Administration as such. As he put it, the Administration officers tended to wear ties and never got down to the level of the village people.

Before the close of the meeting I took the opportunity to present to those present some of the facts which had governed the Administration's actions and attitudes in Bougainville in recent years. I said for a start that the amount of aid and assistance to Bougainville was considerable. Moreover, there were many institutions in the Territory, such as the University, teachers colleges, technical colleges and many others, which directly benefited Bougainville because of the opportunities for Bougainville students to attend them. The island of Bougainville was on the point of a tremendous leap forward economically. The Administration officers in the field had a duty to ensure the observance of the law. The law in relation to mining and in relation to law and order was not a foreign imposition. It had been passed by the House of Assembly and had been accepted by the then Member of the House from Bougainville. It was therefore truly a Territory law and the people of Bougainville could not have a different one. In these circumstances it was inevitable that Administration officers in the course of their duties should find themselves taking action which was not popular with individual people. However, instructions had been issued that on all possible occasions, Administration officers should put themselves out to explain before any force was used the reason for the activities of C.R.A., the position of the people under the law and also their rights. I read out extracts from the confidential instruction to the District Commissioner which had been issued in February 1967. I believe that this explanation was sympathetically received.

A formal assessment of the situation in Bougainville by the T.I.C. on the basis of the most recent information available is nearing completion. A copy of this will be sent to you through the Department as soon as possible.

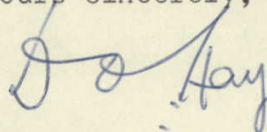
I hope to discuss the action which should be taken by the Administration in the light of the present situation with you and the Secretary when I see you in Canberra on 15th October next. One important element in the situation will be the content of any statement of Government policy in relation to the referendum proposal. It has already been put out on the A.B.C. (and some concern has been felt

on this) that the Government would give consideration to a referendum proposal. What was not included in the report was that this would only happen after a favourable report from the House of Assembly. The opinion is, therefore, in existence that the Government is well disposed towards a referendum. This arises from the fact that to consider a proposition in the eyes of Bougainville people (I am told) is the equivalent of considering it favourably. My own view is that the most that should be said at this stage on a Government view is that it would be influenced very much by the opinions of the House of Assembly.

Whatever may be the arguments for and against a Government acceptance of a referendum proposal, we need to consider its effect on the unity of the remainder of the Territory. There is some restiveness amongst the Tolais, to some extent fostered by European people (who are distrustful of Port Moresby) that the islands of New Britain should go it alone. This has come to my notice most recently in the form of statements by Tolai leaders that they should have absolute preference in respect of newly developed oil palm blocks in the Nakanai (although this is quite outside the Tolai area). If Bougainville has the resources to go it alone, the lesson will not be lost on the almost equally wealthy Tolais. In my view, therefore, and in advance of any expression of opinion from the House of Assembly, the Administration ought to be taking every step possible (with due discretion) to promote the idea of the unity of the Territory. We have as a basis the paragraphs in the Governor General's speech at the opening of the House of Assembly on 4th June, and I believe these could be used effectively.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Secretary, Department of External Territories.

Yours sincerely,



(D. O. HAY)
ADMINISTRATOR.

The Honourable C.E. Barnes, Esq., M.P.,
Minister for External Territories,
Parliament House,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.



MINUTE

REV/RWT

73

Subject: BOUGAINVILLE

Reference your request at folio 72.

2. The only B.S.I.P. politicians mentioned to date in connection with the Bougainville situation are the two who recently visited Port Moresby - Dr. J. W. Kere and Dr. Clement Ofai, and Mr. Baddeley Devesi, all of whom are mentioned in the Australian Commissioner's (Suva) memorandum to External Affairs (folio 7).

3. According to the memorandum, Devesi attended a meeting of influential Solomon Islanders in Honiara on 15th September, 1968 which agreed that it might be a good thing if a referendum is proposed by two M.H.A.s of the P.N.G. House of Assembly on whether Bougainville should be independent, join the B.S.I.P. or remain a part of T.P.N.G.

4. Kere and Ofai, alleged to be representing (unidentified) members of the B.S.I.P. Legislative Council, expressed interest during their visit to P.N.G. in the possibility of Bougainville secession.

5. Other foreign elements either involved in secessionist movements in the Territory or opposed to Administration policy are

- S. G. Simpson (48), New Zealand born businessman in Rabaul who is believed to be the main force behind the newly-founded Melanesia Independence Front which wants the Northern islands of New Guinea to secede from P.N.G. and become an independent nation in the 1970's

- The new party is said to be planning a political referendum in the early 1970's to ask for the formation of the separate nation of Melanesia within the British Commonwealth with its capital in Rabaul

- The president of the Independence Front is a Tolei leader Vin Tobaining M.B.E. (defeated in the 1964 House of Assembly elections by Urekit)


- The joint secretary is Melchior Tomot, a native leader.

- Roman Catholics in Bougainville

- ^(A) Father Wiley. The Campbell Report says he openly opposed State ownership of minerals after the Minister's statement in Feb. 1966, and that he has manipulated the people and warned them against exploitation.

The Webb Report says he (Wiley) accepted the ideas of Father Moore (see under).

- (A)
- Father Moore, now retired. Said by Campbell to be a twisted and bitter man and considered dangerous. According to the Webb Report he is opposed to mining on the grounds that industrialisation of a rural community is undesirable because of the evils associated with it such as prostitution, drink and other vices.
- Father Mahoney, A New Zealander according to Campbell whose report says he is influenced by Frs. Wiley and Moore. The Webb Report says he has accepted the ideas of Father Wiley.
- Fathers Savelle, Toohey and Kuraio have also accepted the ideas of Father Wiley according to the Webb Report.
- The Sisters at Sovele Mission (Father Savelle's Mission?) who, according to the Webb Report, told a D.I.E.S. officer (Iroro of Siwai) and others that it would be best for Bougainville to join with the Solomons.
- Mr. Aloysius Tamuka (nationality not mentioned) who, according to the Webb Report is a former Catholic Priest and is alleged to be strongly in favour of independence.
- . B.S.I.P. High School students in Bougainville
 - The Webb Report says there are two B.S.I.P. Catholic Lay Brother teachers in the Bougainville District and also a number of B.S.I.P. students who were most outspoken for the absorption of Bougainville into the B.S.I.P. during a recent discussion in St. Joseph's School among Form 4 students.


 O.I.C. GOVT. & CONST.
 14/11/68.

ASST. SEC. (P.A.)

Miss Douglas
 19/11/68

Should we inform E.A. of
 Simpson & Cathaleis?

Yes. But we should inform E.A. of
 the letter from the Governor (which should be High Commission)
 in Honore's name to the Administration about a recent visit of
 the ministers direction on it.

14/11/68
 ML 14/11



SECRET

72

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.
CANBERRA.

In reply quote No. 936/4/13

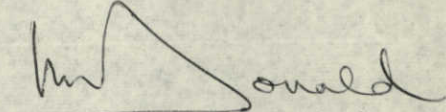
29th October, 1968.

The Secretary,
Department of Territories,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

BOUGAINVILLE

We attach for your attention a copy of memorandum 685 from the Australian Commission, Suva, reporting on developments in the British Solomon Islands concerning proposals for the secession of Bougainville from Papua and New Guinea.

2. We would be grateful if you could keep us informed of details of British Solomon Islanders or other foreign elements becoming involved in secessionist movements in the Territory.


(C. E. McDonald)
for the Secretary

Mr. Westphal

Would you please have prepared from all sources - including the White report - a statement of BSP politician interest in the Bougainville situation.

MR [Signature] 5/11

Quite interesting - will you pls have reply prepared

MS 2/11



SECRET

Mr. Beyond
Mr. prepare
5/11/68



SECRET

71

AUSTRALIAN COMMISSION,

SUVA.

In reply quote No. 235/2/2
Memorandum No. 685

16th October, 1968.

The Secretary,
Department of External Affairs,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

Bougainville
(Your file 936/4/13)

Thank you for your memorandum 478 of 26th September.

2. Your attention is invited to the following extract from the September 1968 Intelligence Summary on B.S.I.P. prepared by the Local Intelligence Committee:-

"A Solomon Islands student at the University of Port Moresby has been in touch with Francis Bugotu in Honiara and asked him to contact some of the local M.L.C.'s and other leading Melanesians to ascertain their reaction to a referendum to be proposed by two M.H.A.'s of T.P.N.G. whether Bougainville should be independent, join the B.S.I.P., or remain a part of T.P.N.C. As a result, a group of influential Solomon Islanders, including the more important local and civil servants in Honiara, but including only one M.L.C. (Baddley Devesi) met on 15th September. It was agreed at the meeting that such a move might be a good thing, particularly as Bougainville was geographically a part of the Solomons and as many of the people of that Island were related to those in the Shortlands. The fact that large copper deposits are located on Bougainville was not ignored."

3. Francis Bugotu is a lecturer at the Teachers' College in Honiara. He recently attended a seminar in Port Moresby where he presumably made contact with Solomon Islands students. Our memorandum 519 of 21st August summarised a paper he delivered at the University.

4. Devesi (see my memorandum 215 of 2nd April) is a schoolteacher and elected member for Guadalcanal. He is articulate, and impresses as a potential leader of the Solomons.

5. During a recent visit to Port Moresby, two other M.L.C.'s from the Solomons, Dr J.W. Kere, and Dr Clement Ofai, expressed interest in the possibility of Bougainville seceding from T.P.N.G. According to the Intelligence Report they said they were "under instructions" from (unidentified) members of the Legislative Council to discuss this matter with Bougainville representatives.

6. Kere, an assistant medical officer, has just been defeated in a Local Council election. He is renowned for his dissolute habits and his stand in the Legislative Council debate in favour of a proportion of mineral royalties going to Local Councils has added to his unpopularity.

(R.N. Birch)
Commissioner

SECRET

1. The information contained in the paper reinforces our opinion that CRA operations are merely a precipitating factor and NOT the cause of the BOUGAINVILLE dissention.
2. The similarities between the AMEI-DAMIEN secession move and the beginnings of the HAHALIS Welfare Society are neither accidental nor coincidental. Both are considered to be examples of that type of Millenerian Movement described by WORSLEY (1) as "clearly passing into an orthodox political movement".
3. The major differences between the two situations are
 - a. where HAHALIS was a domestic affair well within the capacity of the Administration to resolve without attracting world wide publicity, the BOUGAINVILLE secession move is one which will do so unless it is handled with discretion and with apparent justice to the wishes of the people.
 - b. The BOUGAINVILLE movement is being conducted at a higher level of sophistication and because of the pressure of CRA - for higher stakes.
 - c. The Roman Catholic church while not as yet supporting the move openly, undoubtedly is giving comfort and encouragement to its adherents.
 - d. The HAHALIS movement was compact almost unanimously supported and confined mainly to villages between which there was reasonably easy communication. The people who will be affected by BOUGAINVILLE secession are
 - (1) larger in number
 - (2) scattered
 - (3) divided in current attitude towards the movement
 - (4) NOT in close communication.
4. As we understand the current situation the following pertains
 - a. PAUL LAPUN: motion for a referendum will be debated in the House of Assembly in November.
 - b. LAPUN and his supporters are campaigning actively in BOUGAINVILLE.
 - c. The movement is receiving active support from students in PORT MORESBY.
 - d. The Administration is adopting a neutral attitude.
5. It is our opinion that the Administration should make immediate plans to play a more active part for the following reasons
 - a. It must make it clear to the rest of the interested world that justice is at least appearing to be done to the wishes of the people.
 - b. It MUST counter the propoganda of LAPUN et al by presenting to the people the facts - both economic and social - both pro and con secession in an apparently unbiased manner.
 - c. It has a duty to the minority supporters of Administration policy to provide them with information which will reinforce their support and influence the fringe dwellers.

Miss Douglas
Mr. Barnes to see

(1) WORSLEY, PM. "Millenerian Movements in Melanesia" South Pacific Sep-Oct 1957.

Mr. [unclear]
for [unclear]
22.10.68
11/11

- 6. The most powerful instrument the Administration has is the BOUGAINVILLE radio. This it should use to mount a propaganda campaign - the OVERT purpose being to present the FACTS under the pretext of advancing the political education of the people and so enabling them to make a more enlightened decision (which it will do) but the COVERT purpose being to counter anti-Administration face to face propaganda by LAPUN, AMEI, DAMIEN et al.
- 7. We must stress that if the Australian Government wishes to counter the secession move it must support the Administration in an all-out campaign to solidify the support of the few friends the latter has in the region, to influence the waverers and to undermine the influence of its detractors.
- 8. While overtly this campaign MUST take the guise of WHITE propaganda, covertly it must be a no-holds-barred communication battle which should begin NOW. It would be unwise to wait until the issue has been debated in the House of Assembly. LAPUN has taken the initiative and has revealed his hand to the Administration - and the world. There is no reason why the Administration should continually play the role of "gentleman".
- 9. We repeat our contention -CRA is a pawn. If the Administration does not use it, the secessionists will, and in its own long term interests CRA will "fence-sit" until it has a reasonable indication of the probable reactions.

Rampell

8th October, 1968.
EC:JMcN.

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL TERRITORIES

M I N U T E
RR:JJ

Subject: BOUGAINVILLE - FUNDS STATED TO BE PROVIDED BY FREEDOM FROM HUNGER CAMPAIGN.

SECRET

- You asked me to see a statement in the "Webb Report" on funds from Freedom from Hunger for a Bougainville Mission
- You asked -
 - Is the report correct?
 - If so, where did the money come from?
- On 31st January, 1968, the Australian National Committee of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign approved a project entitled "Mechanical Equipment for Bougainville Project".
- The proposal was submitted by Australian Catholic Relief.
- The sum approved was \$69,194.
- It was probably raised wholly in Australia by voluntary contributions.
- The above information was obtained by asking UNDP, Sydney, to check Freedom From Hunger's list of approved projects.
- Do you wish further enquiries made, please?

RR
(R. Rose)
RR/10/68

SECRETARY

c.c. F.A.S.(C.S)
ASST.SEC.(P.A.) *will*

SECRET

23.10.68

Schedule No. N.O.S.
REPS Date 24.10.68

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Mr BENSON - Has the Attorney-General seen reports that a group of people in Rabaul want to break away from the Territory of Papua and New Guinea and form a new territory extending from Manus Island through Rabaul and Bougainville and to be known as Melanesia? What is the legal position regarding the steps proposed to be taken by this group?

END OF QUESTION

Mr BOWEN - I have seen Press reports to this effect. The area referred to would, of course, be only part of the whole area which is the subject of the trust agreement ^{which is} and administered by Aust as X trustee under the UN. It would not, as a matter of international law, be possible for part only of the area to detach itself unilaterally, as it were. Authorities at three levels would need to be considered - The peoples in the total area, Aust as trustee, and the UN - if any proposal of the kind referred to were ^{to be} put forward.

END OF ANSWER

Mr. [Signature]

68/543066

DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL TERRITORIES

MINUTE

RGG:LS

Subject: CONFERENCES BETWEEN BOUGAINVILLE COPPER PTY. LTD.
AND THE ADMINISTRATION 14TH - 16TH AUGUST, 1968.

The following is a summary of the meeting held recently in Port Moresby.

- No change in anticipated production rate of 80,000 tons of ore per day but new figures for reserves to be announced shortly and will confirm the prospective life of the mine.
- Preliminary feasibility decision to be expected by December, 1968.
- Further discussions with Japanese regarding finance will take place in October, 1968.
- The District Commissioner and his staff has remained active in explaining the situation to the people but resistance to the project is maintained.
- District Admin. Field staff feel strongly that the mining legislation is inadequate to support their efforts to control unlawful opposition to the Company's operations.
- There is an ambiguous legal position as to whether limestone should be regarded as a reagent in processing under the Mining Ordinance or as gravel for road work under the Land Ordinance.
- Consideration is being given as to whether lime will be required as a reagent. This may be imported from Japan as back loading.
- A review is being made of the company requirements for power and road easements, port, town and mine areas. The company accepts the concept that the Pakia town site is to be a last resort rather than a first choice.
- The Company considered that their application for a special mining lease could be anticipated by December, 1968.

65/2510

[Handwritten mark]

2.

- This will have immediate impact on the 60 people at Moroni village and also affect about 250 people in the villages of Guava, Musinou, Kokorei.
- The upgrading of Aropa airstrip at an early date to Friendship standards would meet the needs of the Company.
- The next meeting will be held on 12th November, 1968.

[Handwritten initials]
 ASST. SEC. (R.D.)
 18/9/68

THE SECRETARY
c.c. FIRST ASST. SEC. (E.A.)

S. 1
 19 SEP 1968
 EXTERNAL TELETYPE

cc F & M Acc.

[Handwritten initials]
18/9/68

Mr Martin

For action as discussed;

[Handwritten initials] 24/9

Reviewed with transport section note in submission to M & S on 24/9.



Secretary's Office
RECEIVED
23 JUL 1968
DEPARTMENT OF
EXTERNAL TERRITORIES

LH. 2211
PORT MORESBY,
TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

19th July 1968.

CONFIDENTIAL

Minister's Schedule No. 255

My dear Secretary,

Date 26/7/68

I wrote to you recently with a brief outline of the situation in Bougainville in the light of recent developments in the activity of C.R.A.

In the last few days consideration has been given within the Administration to the implications of indications that we have had that C.R.A. are interested in utilising an area containing the village of Pakia as the site for the township which will have to be build if the Company proceeds with its mining project. The view of the Administration is that there will be strong resistance if this township site is selected. The area, while suitable for C.R.A. purposes, is a productive one. It is heavily planted up. The villagers have said in no uncertain terms that they will resist. There is no immediate possibility of field staff persuading them either to accept compensation or alternative land elsewhere (even if such land were available).

The Administration field staff have, therefore, been actively seeking an equally suitable site within the same general area. Such a site has been found. It is considered by town planning and engineering staff to be as suitable as, or indeed more suitable than, the Pakia site. The only inconvenience to C.R.A. would appear to be that it is slightly more distant from the Panguna area but it is not felt that this would be a serious obstacle to its selection.

I therefore propose to write to C.R.A. and place before them the implications as seen by us of the choice of the Pakia site as a township area. I shall recommend very strongly that the Company investigate the alternative site proposed, as well as other sites which no doubt the Company intend to investigate in any event.

I shall send a copy of the letter to you.

I should be glad if you would keep the Minister informed of the situation as it is now developing.

A regular meeting between the representatives of the Company and representative of the Administration will be held in Port Moresby early in August and a further report will follow after that meeting.

Yours sincerely,

D. O. Hay

(D. O. HAY)
ADMINISTRATOR.

clerk M. New

21/7/68

G. Warwick Smith, Esq., C.B.E.,
Secretary,
Department of External Territories,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

*P.S. I enclose
a copy of the record of
the latest meeting of the*

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EXECUTIVE MEETING HANDLING BOUGAINVILLE SITUATION
HELD ON FRIDAY 19TH JULY, 1968.

PRESENT:

Mr. F.C. Henderson - Chairman.
Assistant Administrator (E.A.)
Mr. L.W. Johnson - Assistant Administrator (S)
Mr. T. Ellis - Director of District Administration
Mr. W. Watkins - Secretary for Law
Mr. D. Grove - Director of Lands, Surveys and Mines

The Committee was convened to assess the response of the people, following the campaign by field staff to inform the people of the purposes of the work C.R.A. consultant parties are about to begin on port, road, power, townsite and over-burden and tailing dump locations.

Mr. Ellis reported on his recent visit to the Kieta/Panguna area. Reports from the Town Planner Mr. Belton and the Regional Works Engineer, Mr. Wade, were also considered. The latter two officers had been sent to Bougainville to make a quick reconnaissance of possible alternative township sites.

Mr. Ellis reported that he had had discussions with Councillors, including those from Pakia, which indicated -

1. The strongest opposition to the siting of a township on Pakia land on the grounds that -
 - (a) after the War people had moved from the Panguna area to the present proposed townsite to establish economic crops on the advice of the Administration.
 - (b) in the area they have established about 100,000 coconut and cocoa trees (49,000 have actually been counted by Agricultural Officers who are continuing with the census).
 - (c) the Company had now taken the land at Panguna and wanted to take the rest of the land, which includes all the area of any agricultural potential.
 - (d) if the town was built in Pakia, they would be landless.
2. That the Pakia people generally would raise no objection to the construction of roads or power lines through their land.

980 people will be displaced if the town is built in the Pakia area.

D.D.A. field staff and Mr. Ellis believe that there will be blood shed if the Company is permitted to go ahead with the construction of a town in the Pakia area.

Mr. Ellis was informed by Mr. Bishop, C.R.A. Resident Field Manager, that the consultant surveyors who arrived in Kieta last week were under instruction to survey only one townsite - Pakia.

Alternate Townsites

Field staff have recommended to the Administration that alternative sites for the town should be sought and strongly pressed for consideration to be given to the Lower Ketapia Valley, located 3 miles further down the valley from Pakia.

On the 11th July, Mr. Belton, Town Planner, and the Regional Works Engineer in Rabaul, were instructed to proceed immediately to Kieta and make a rapid reconnaissance of alternative townsites. The reports of these two officers were considered by the Committee.

It appeared to the Committee that the Lower Ketapia site was much more suitable for urban development than the Pakia area. There is ample land available, the topography is better and on the evidence available, a township could be developed much more economically than at Pakia. Further, the land belongs to the Lonsoro people who have plenty of land and who would have adequate land with an economic potential left, should the area required for the township be excised. The number of people involved would be 120. Mr. Ellis believes that the people would resist the establishment of a town on their land, but he was confident that the land could be obtained without serious incident.

The Committee was of the opinion that the Company was adopting an unrealistic approach to the selection of a townsite. If it persisted in going ahead in Pakia without even examining alternative sites, a political situation would arise which would be damaging to the long term image of the Company and one which could possibly lead to blood shed.

The Committee resolved that a letter should be written to Mr. Espie, Director of C.R.A., setting out the dangers in the situation and the need for the Company to be more flexible in its approach to the location of the townsite and indicating that on the present evidence the Administration would strongly oppose the Company's proposals.



(F.C. HENDERSON)
ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR (ECONOMIC AFFAIRS).

19th July, 1968.

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TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

CONFIDENTIAL.

Telegrams—
Telephone—
Our Reference..... C. 172(Pt. III)
If calling ask for
Mr.....

23 MAY 1968

The Secretary,
Department of External Territories,
CANBERRA .. A.C.T.

BOUGAINVILLE COPPER PROJECT

Your memorandum 67/4362 of 26th March, 1968 refers.

2. Herewith is a copy of the Minutes of the Conference between officers of Bougainville Copper Pty. Ltd. and of the Administration held at Port Moresby on 15th May, 1968.

D. O. Hay

(D. O. HAY)
ADMINISTRATOR.

per: *[Signature]*

Mr. Loughlin
EP 275

Mr. Menden

1968 A.M. 27 MAY

BOUGAINVILLE COPPER

Minutes of Conference held at Port Moresby on 15th May, 1968 commencing at 09.00 a.m.

PRESENT:

<u>Administration:</u>	F.C. HENDERSON	A.A.(E.A.) (Chair.)
	L.W. JOHNSON	A.A.(S.)
	W.W. WATKINS	Sec. Law
	T.W. ELLIS	Director D.D.A.
	W.T. BROWN	D.D.C. Kieta
	D.S. GROVE	Director of Lands
	I.A. WOOD	Chief of Division, Mines

<u>C.R.A:</u>	E.F. ESPIE
	C.P. BISHOP
	B. FAIRFAX-ROSS

Mr. Espie opened with a general report on the higher level aspects of the project.

SCALE OF OPERATIONS

2. A revised approach to the milling of low grade material rather than expensive removal and stacking has introduced the possibility that the proposed rate of treatment in the mill might be increased from 30,000 long tons to 80,000 short tons/day. This would increase capital requirements in the mill, power house and town, bringing the total requirement into the order of \$300,000,000.
3. Detailed decisions on location and design of facilities would not be available for some time, and because of this and other financial unknown quantities it is not likely that the major decision on feasibility would be made before 3rd quarter 1969.
4. With the possibility of increased rate of production the previously improbable tunnel to convey ore from pit to mill could be revised for further considerations. The tunnel would be in the order of 12,000 feet in length. Several alternative mill sites are still under consideration.

PRE PRODUCTION OPERATIONS

5. In the event of a decision to go to production it would be necessary to remove 80,000,000 yards of material prior to achieving full production rate. This work could occupy a period of about 2 years. The Company would consider preliminary work in this direction prior to the major decision. An amount in the order of \$7,000,000 to be spent on port development, road facility and a nucleus of about 100 houses was mentioned. To facilitate such work it is proposed in the near future to commence preliminary surveys for port design, town planning and realignment of the main road, with power transmission line details also to be surveyed. Quotes for hydrographic surveys are being sought.

LIKELY POWER SYSTEM

6. Hydroelectric power will not be economic and would be logistically defective. Diesel oil plant had been favoured, but with the prospective large increase in the rate of production oil fired steam generators would be most suitable.

COASTAL FACILITIES

7. The Company considers that the port loading facilities and fuel oil tank farm could be located on its plantation property LOLONO. It will be necessary to arrange conversion of the purpose of the leasehold title to that land.

LAND REQUIREMENTS

8. Secure title to land for facilities such as road and power transmission lines would be required. It was pointed out that Leases for Mining Purposes could not be acquired until a parent mining lease is granted. Selection of sites for mill and townsite would not be possible until detailed investigation of alternative sites had been completed. The Company reported that it expected to be able to specify its land requirements by the end of 1968.

PROPOSED IMPENDING SURVEYS

9. (1) townsite in PAKIA area;
 (2) road realignment;
 (3) power transmission line;
 (4) tailings flume to stacking site;
 (5) geological survey for several quarry sites to supply construction aggregate;
 (6) siltation study by Franzini of Bechtel Corporation;
 (7) water supply - possible pumping station near Jaba Kawerong junction.

MR. W.T. BROWN - D.D.C. KIETA

10. Mr. Brown expressed the opinion that the impending extension of field survey activity to areas outside the Panguna locality, and outside the Prospecting Authorities would bring to an end the recent period of comparative acceptance of the operation by local landowners.

11. This would apply particularly in respect of surveys for road, transmission line and townsite if it appeared that these facilities would pass through cultivated native-owned land.

12. Native people of ROROVANA had already opposed airdrome surveys which they feared would result in encroachment on their gardening land.

13. Mr. Brown commented that it is becoming increasingly difficult for his staff to effectively advocate to the landowners the benefits of the operation and the qualification that current programmes represent only exploratory investigations.

14. He considered that the new phase of extensive additional surveys outside the Panguna area would require the support of additional police. A further station near NAIROVI staffed by a European officer would be desirable.

15. The Administration supported Mr. Brown's opinion that it would be preferable to avoid a simultaneous increase of survey activity on a number of fronts. A staged expansion would be preferable in order that Mr. Brown and his staff could be more effective in advance contact with the native people.

16. The Administration desired a time schedule of proposed new survey operations which would allow a period of about 8 weeks for the Administration to inform the people of the proposals, and for the reactions of the people to moderate before the surveys are commenced. Such a delayed starting time would also assist the Director of District Administration in the matter of making the necessary re-distribution of patrol and police staff.

PROJECTED SIZE OF TOWN

17. A work force of 2,000 employees is anticipated. This would yield a town of about 5,000 people. The Director of Lands would look into the matter of probable total area required.

18. The Company noted that detail of design would depend on the European/local ratio of the work force and the anticipated rate of replacement of Europeans by local staff. (The discussion did not cover the possibility of high-density accommodation).

ANTHROPOLOGY

19. The Company reported discussions with Sir John Crawford on aspects of integration, and also reported arrangements to consult Professor Oliver of Harvard, who would visit Panguna to study the problem of township and integration.

COMPANY TRADE STORE

20. Mr. Brown commented on the beneficial effects of the trade store, and expressed the opinion that the circumstances now warranted a more formal establishment such as a General Store. Mr. Grove drew attention to the legal formalities of licence and land associated with such ventures. Persons and Missions have been disciplined in the past for not observing correct legal formalities.

21. The Company reported that cheap radio sets stocked had sold out rapidly.

NEED FOR PERMANENT(?) MINING WARDEN

22. Mr. Brown pointed out that about 35% of the landowners in the DABERA, KOKORAI, MORONI areas and some PAKIA had shown willingness to indicate land ownership, and consequently the need for more sustained and systematic activity by the Mining Warden could be anticipated in respect of assessment of damage and occupation fees.

23. The Administration agreed to provide the necessary service.

PAYMENT FOR TREES

24. The reports by the Department of Forests had not yet been applied in respect of assessment of compensation for timber.

25. The Warden was due to visit the area later in the month, and the matter would be taken up at that time.

(Mr. Henderson to be shown the Forestry Reports).

AIRSTRIPS

26. The Company reported that as the tempo of activity increases there will be a pressing need for major passenger and cargo air support. Such types as Caribou, DC4 or Buffalo aircraft would be needed, and it would be necessary to seek appropriate airport facilities. The attempted survey near ROROVANA had been a preliminary search for such a site.

27. Mr. Johnson reported that the Administration had no plans for additional airports, but the Co-ordinator of Transport might be aware of discussions with D.C.A. The possibility of a suitable site about 10 miles north from TONURU was mentioned.

28. The Administration opposed any attempt to forcefully seek light aircraft facilities against opposition from the people. This was for the reason that it was desired at this stage to keep to a minimum the demand for facilities which would involve acquisition of land from resisting native people.

29

29. Mr. Espie protested vigorously that the need for adequate air support was clearly foreseen, and it was most important that appropriate investigations be not deferred. The need was considered to be a major matter in respect of the scale of operation it would be supporting.

30. The Company accepted the Administration proposition that systematic investigation of an airstrip site near RONOVANA be deferred pending inspection by Mr. Brown and Mr. Espie.

LEGAL ASPECT OF SURVEY OUTSIDE PROSPECTING AUTHORITIES

31. It was pointed out that future surveys will involve land outside the boundaries of the Company's Prospecting Authorities. Road connection to the LCHOLO Plantation (port facilities) will need authority and protection.

32. It is possible that water supply and aggregate surveys might involve land outside the authorities. The possibility of operating under Section 88 of the Land Ordinance and Section 54 of the Mining Ordinance was discussed. This matter was not adequately resolved in discussion, and should be re-examined in more detail.

33. It is possible that airport investigation could be undertaken post hoc in association with data obtained from a survey for alternative tailings dam sites.

OUTLYING PROSPECTS

34. Work at MAINOKI and KARATO had yielded only low results, and it seems unlikely that major programmes could develop in those areas in the near future.

35. The ABARU anomaly will be worked from the vessel Graestar in association with work on P.A. No. 51. The vessel is due to return from Vanimo to the area in July-August.

36. Mr. Brown expressed the opinion that all work on P.A. 51 and ABARU will be subject to strained relations with the landowners.

LANDOWNERS PROTECTION FUND

37. The present position in respect of the funds collected by DAMEN and AMPEI is confused as to the amount collected, the location of the funds and the proposed purpose of the fund. A new suggestion is that the money has been or will be sent to HONIARA in support of political union with B.S.I.P.

U.N. VISITING MISSION

38. DAMEN had offered written submissions to the Visiting Mission thought to advocate getting rid of C.R.A.

39. The question of whether radio publicity should be given to the submission would be examined.

JAPANESE EQUITY

40. An article which appeared in the London Mining Journal of 26th April, 1968 was brought to the attention of the Company's representatives. The article purported that detailed negotiations involving Japanese equity had been undertaken. Mr. Espie explained that loan discussions had occurred but that no arrangements had been made concerning Japanese equity. The Company agreed that the Administration could properly deny any suggestions that Japanese equity is involved.

WEST SEPIK PLATINUM DISCOVERY

41. Mr. Brown drew attention to a recent ABC broadcast in which

reference was made to pegging of claims on behalf of local natives within the area of a Prospecting Authority held by C.R.A. Bougainville natives had enquired why this should be so in the Sepik but not at Bougainville.

42. It was arranged that the problem would be passed to the Public Relations Committee for advice as to policy and action.

WEST COAST ROAD

43. Agreed that the Company should proceed with spare time activity toward the West Coast, but nothing definite could be advanced as to the financing of such work.

CANTEEN INTEGRATION

44. The Company reported no further incidents.

INDENTURED LABOUR

45. It was agreed that any move to introduce indentured labour would be a retrograde step.

FOREIGN LABOUR

46. The Company enquired as to policy if foreign tradesmen were proposed as part of integrated fabrication-installation deals. It was thought that such a move would attract opposition from Australian unions. Policy would be determined by the Minister for Immigration.

TRIAL PIT - HYDRAULICKING

47. The Company reported that the proposed trial pit operation would not proceed.

48. Hydraulicking tests would continue. The consultant specialist Mr. Franzini would study the effect on the carrying capacity of the rivers in respect of the resulting silty materials.

ADMINISTRATION EQUITY

49. The Company suggested that by staging the raising of equity and loan capital it might be possible for the Administration to extend the period over which it must supply its share of equity.

NEXT MEETING

50. 9.00 a.m. Wednesday 14th August, 1968.



(F.C. HENDERSON)
CHAIRMAN.

21 / 5 / 68.

Distribution

Director, Department of District Administration.
District Commissioner, Sohano.
Deputy District Commissioner, Kieta.
F.F. Espie, C.R.A., Melbourne.
Area Manager, C.R.A., Kieta.

68/5438

ices for such documents are similar
able under the Public Service Arbitra-
tions in Australia. In point of fact,
cost in the Territory of producing
most decisions would be sub-
ber than those which are charged
isolation.

Section 60(A) of the "Treasury Ord-
965" the Administrator in Council
for any reason he thinks fit, waive,
fer any amount of fees liable to be
any ordinance in force in the Terri-
of the Territory.

Public Service Arbitration cases,
sions have always been made avail-
arties concerned by the Arbitrator,
t. Any organization wishing to dis-
copies could make its own arrange-
produce whatever number was
the Commonwealth, printed copies
only, but not the transcript, can be
reasonable cost some months after
handed down; but this is only made
fact that many thousands of copies
I and this reduces the cost
This would not be the case in the
respect to most decisions where
demand for additional copies.
t to the decision in the recent
case, because there has been a
for copies of same, arrangements
de with the Government Printer
on to be printed, and it is anti-
e printed copies will be available
cost.

Question No. 1993.

ABALDON REPORT.

EUPU asked the Director of Public

le the Gabaldon Report?

Administration accepted the report
at action has been taken on it?
ve consideration to the establish-
onal malaria eradication board?
y not?

The answer to the Honourable
ion is as follows:—

ited in my answer to question
s under preparation.

able.

ED TIME FOR REPORT—
DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES
963"—SELECT COMMITTEE.

EUPU—I ask leave of the House
n without notice.

PU—I move—

me for bringing up the Report
ommittee on the "Discriminatory
dinance 1963" be extended to
g of the next meeting.

Mr. Speaker, the select committee has not
been around yet. I have been at the United
Nations for two months. After this meeting
we will talk, we will go around and get the
people's opinions and we will report to the
House at the next meeting.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

REFERENDUM—CONSTITUTIONAL UNION
OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

Mr. GILMORE—I move—

That this House considers that before there
is further development towards self-govern-
ment or independence for the Territory of
Papua a referendum should be held in the
Territory of Papua on the question of whether
that Territory wishes to form a full and
permanent constitutional union with the Trust
Territory of New Guinea, its people accepting
the ultimate citizenship of that Territory, or
retain its Australian identity and the people
their Australian citizenship.

Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal of talk
in the Territory and outside saying that Papua
and New Guinea should work together and obtain
independence together, but Papua is a country
different from New Guinea. In the "Papua and
New Guinea Act" it says that Papua is a terri-
tory of Australia and New Guinea is a trust
territory. The newspapers, the Government and
the Minister always say that Papua and New
Guinea must stay together. Well, we must go
right back to the beginning and correct this
matter. We must ask the people of Papua
whether they want to join with New Guinea
or not. We cannot force them to, or make
them do this. The people in the villages must
say what they think, whether they want to join
up with New Guinea or want to remain with
Australia.

Why should we stop these people from making
their own decisions? It is something for them
to decide whether they want to or do not want
to. They must decide whether Papua is going
to join with New Guinea and form one country
and then later on there can be no argument
about this. If this is done in the House and
the people are not told then later on they will
query this and there will be trouble. The people
of Papua will wonder why this law was made
about their land and why they were not asked
about it. The Papuan will say "I belong to
Australia, I do not belong to this country. No-
one asked me whether I wanted to belong to
this country. The people who decided this did
not tell me, but decided this without consulting
me."

If we want to see Papua and New Guinea
become a strong country we must work right
from the base of joining the two countries
together. We must ask every Papuan person
whether he or she wants to join with New
Guinea or not. If one makes a house out of
banana palms it will fall down quickly. One

must always build a house out of strong timber.
When we build this country we must do the
same thing—the foundation of it must be strong.
We must ask the people whether they want
to join New Guinea or whether they want to
remain part of Australia. If they want to join
us and we agree, I think Papua and New Guinea
will be a strong country. However, if we join
and get self-government or independence and
the Papuans decide that no-one asked them
whether they should be joined together or not,
there will be trouble.

This has happened, too, in Africa where people
have decided that groups should be united without
telling them. There are many fights and wars
because of this. The people must be asked.
This is not something for us to decide. This
is something that the people themselves must
decide.

Mr. EDRIC EUPU—Mr. Speaker, I do not
like this motion by Mr. Gilmore. Papua is
not the same as Vietnam. New Guinea is not
Australia or America. Papua and New Guinea
is one country and one people. I do not want
members to spoil the thoughts of the people
of Papua and New Guinea all the time. The
Government can change the Papua and New
Guinea Act. We do not want to hear talk that
may divide the country and the people into
two. Now we are one country and one people.
I do not want bad thoughts brought here.

Mr. ZURE ZURECNUOC—Mr. Speaker, you
have heard what Mr. Gilmore and Mr. Edric
Eupu have said. When I spoke in the United
Nations I said I had nothing to hide and I was
not ashamed of anything in the eyes of God.
Now I say in this House that we have something
to hide and something to be ashamed of. This
is a serious matter.

Who made this law? Australia did it without
the knowledge of our forefathers. Since the
Territory of Papua and the Territory of New
Guinea became the combined Territory of Papua
and New Guinea this law has destroyed us.
Every time we introduce a bill into the House
there is a bill for Papua and a bill for New
Guinea. This is an important matter and Mr.
Edric Eupu has said what the people think.
I do not want to hear any more talk about
this.

Legally we have this thing and it causes
trouble and I ask this House to be serious.
While Australia is here we must correct this
mistake. It would be bad if Australia left and
we were fighting. I have returned from the
United Nations and have heard this kind of
talk. It must be corrected now, but I do not
know how this can be done. Our forefathers
did not know about this nor our fathers. The
people do not know and they do not understand
what is going on. There will be trouble one
day; there is trouble now.

Mr. Speaker, I move—

That the debate be adjourned and made an order of the day for tomorrow.

Question put.

The House divided (the Speaker, Mr. Niall, in the Chair)—

AYES, 34.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. Ashton. | Mr. Momei Pangial. |
| Mr. Carter. | Mr. Muriso Warebu. |
| Mr. Chatterton. | Mr. Neville. |
| Mr. Dirona Abe. | Mr. Newman. |
| Mr. Downs. | Mr. Pasquarelli. |
| Mr. Ellis. | Mr. Pita Simogen |
| Mr. Gaudi Mirau. | Mr. Pita Tamindei. |
| Mr. Gilmore. | Mr. Pople. |
| Mr. Grose. | Mr. Robert Tabua. |
| Mr. Grove. | Dr. Scragg. |
| Mr. Handabe Tiaba. | Mr. Stuntz. |
| Mr. Hendersson. | Mr. Suguman Matibri. |
| Mr. Johnson. | Mr. Tetley. |
| Mr. Koitaga Mano. | Mr. To Liman. |
| Mr. Levy. | Mr. Watkins. |
| Mr. McCarthy. | Mr. Yauwe Wauwe. |
| Mr. Makain Mo. | Mr. Zure Zurecnuoc. |

NOES, 23.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Mr. Barrett. | Mr. Paliu Maloat. |
| Mr. Bono Azanifa. | Mr. Paul Manlei. |
| Mr. Edric Eupu. | Mr. Pita Lus. |
| Mr. Eriko Rarupu. | Mr. Poio Iuri. |
| Mr. Ehava Karava. | Mr. Singin Pasom. |
| Mr. John Guise. | Mr. Siwi Kurondo. |
| Mr. Holloway. | Mr. Stoi Umot. |
| Mr. Kalbelt Diria. | Mr. Tambu Meio. |
| Mr. Leme langalo. | Mr. Tei Abal. |
| Mr. Lepani Watson. | Mr. Voutas. |
| Mr. Martin. | Mr. Wegra Kenu. |
| Mr. Nicholas Brokam. | |

And so it was resolved in the affirmative.

ROYAL PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA
CONSTABULARY BILL 1967.

First Reading.

Bill presented by Mr. Watkins and read a first time.

Second Reading.

Mr. WATKINS—I move—

That the bill be now read a second time.

The purpose of this bill is to incorporate into the "Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary Ordinance 1965-1967" similar provisions to those recently included in the "Public Service (Papua and New Guinea) Ordinance 1963-1967" relating to pro rata leave benefits on retirement or death.

Clauses 1 and 2 of the bill are purely formal.

Clause 3 amends Section 23 of the Principal Ordinance to ensure that the relative seniority of members of different ranks is defined and retains the provisions relating to seniority in the same rank.

Clause 4 amends Section 94A to provide that the Commissioner may—

- (a) grant pro rata recreation leave benefits on resignation or retirement;
- (b) approve payment in lieu of long leave on retirement; and
- (c) after death, authorize payment to dependants of accrued recreation or long leave.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the bill and would indicate that in the committee stage I will move a further amendment to the bill which deals with serious offences.

An amendment to Clause 6, which amends Section 100 of the principal ordinance, is purely a drafting amendment consequent upon a recent amendment made to the ordinance enabling more than one police appeals tribunal to be set up. That was legislation passed in the House at the last meeting.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Bill read a second time.

In Committee:

Clauses 1 to 5, by leave, taken together and agreed to.

New clause—

Motion (by Mr. Watkins) agreed to—

That the following new clause be inserted in the bill:—

"6. Section 100 of the Principal Ordinance is amended by omitting from Subsection (5) the words 'the Police Appeal Tribunal' and inserting in their stead the words 'a Police Appeal Tribunal'."

Mr. WATKINS—It is purely a drafting amendment as indicated in my second reading speech on the bill.

Remainder of the bill, by leave, taken as a whole and agreed to.

Bill reported with an amendment; report adopted.

Third Reading.

Bill (on motion by Mr. Watkins) read a third time.

BUSINESS NAMES BILL 1967.

First Reading.

Bill presented by Mr. Watkins and read a first time.

Second Reading.

Mr. WATKINS—I move—

That the bill be now read a second time.

The purpose of the bill is contained in Clause 4 and the rest of the bill is purely a rearrangement of existing provisions.

Clause 4 has for its purpose the insertion of a new Section 4A into the principal ordinance. That section will make it an offence for a person who has been convicted of an offence involving fraud or dishonesty or of certain offences connected with the running of companies to carry on business under a business name (that is, a name which is not his own name) except with the consent of a magistrate.

It has been found in Australia becoming quite common for certain unscrupulous businessmen with previous convictions, would be managing a company without the court, to attempt to hide names and in effect to mislead creditors as to the real person are dealing.

The amendment in effect brings Names Ordinance into line with Ordinance in this regard. It is these people (who after all have been guilty of very serious offence on business altogether, but at the court approval.

This measure has been carefully not only by the Administration, by Committee of Commonwealth and General, at whose meetings Papua is now represented and has been intended to be a model for the other territories of the

Mr. Speaker, I commend the bill. Leave granted for the debate. Mr. BARRETT—Mr. Speaker bill if for no other reason than of the mover.

Question resolved in the affirmative. Bill read a second time.

Third Reading.

Leave granted for third reading forthwith.

Bill (on motion by Mr. Watkins) time.

Sitting suspended from 3.04 p.m.

SURVEY CO-ORDINATION

First Reading.

Bill presented by Mr. Grove first time.

Ordered that the second reading order of the day for the next meeting.

LIQUOR (LICENSING) BILL

First Reading.

Bill presented by Mr. Watkins first time.

Second Reading.

Mr. WATKINS—I move—

That the bill be now read a second time.

It will be remembered, Mr. private member's bill was passed providing for cabaret licences. was agreed that there should be no licence on those licences, conferring liquor licences, in as much as time would not be permitted on Monday morning, or on Good Friday. provisions were contained in the

objections, nine were accepted and eleven rejected.

Without a doubt, Sir, the new boundaries are not perfect either. It would be impossible, I feel quite sure, to re-distribute electoral boundaries so that everybody could be satisfied. The committee has met the objections as best it could. Whatever amendments to boundaries are made, there would undoubtedly still be some people who are dissatisfied with the results, and the process of objecting and re-objecting could go on for ever. Every new set of proposals would mean a new set of objections.

In the circumstances, Sir, and although I am conscious that probably there are some members who are still dissatisfied with the boundaries, I think we should proceed and approve the boundaries.

I commend the motion, Sir.

Mr. DOWNS—Mr. Speaker, it is true, as Mr. Johnson says, that one would always find somebody dissatisfied, but in this particular matter the dissatisfaction does extend in some cases to a prohibition of being able to stand. Part of the trouble, Sir, stems from the fact that the Select Committee on Constitutional Development recommended that there should be 69 open electorates. This stipulation has made great difficulties for the Distribution Committee. I was a member of the select committee and I therefore share any blame in this respect. In an explanation which I have received, it seems that if we are going to alter this stipulation so as to make the work of the Distribution Committee easier, we would want to amend the figure 69 to read: "Not less than 68 and not more than 72", or figures approximating to that. However, Sir, this figure of 69 is not in the Electoral Ordinance at all; it is in the Papua and New Guinea Act.

Now, Sir, I think what the House has to consider in this particular matter is this: I have been told that the Chief Electoral Officer has advised the legal draftsman that in the event of the House not being prepared to pass this motion and the Electoral Ordinance amendments which may have to accompany it, then the delay in the election could be anything from three to six months. Whether this would be regarded as a national catastrophe or calamity I do not know.

In the circumstances, Sir, I move—

That the debate on the motion be adjourned and the resumption of the debate made an order of the day for the next sitting.
Question resolved in the affirmative.

POSTPONEMENT OF NOTICE.

Ordered—That Notice No. 6 be postponed until a later hour in the day.

REFERENDUM—CONSTITUTIONAL UNION OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

Debate resumed from 29th August, 1967 (vide page 2505), on motion by Mr. Gilmore—

That the House considers that before there is further development towards self-government or independence for the Territory of Papua a referendum should be held in the Territory of Papua on the question of whether that Territory wishes to form a full and permanent constitutional union with the Trust Territory of New Guinea, its people accepting the ultimate citizenship of that Territory, or retain its Australian identity and the people their Australian citizenship.

Mr. WATKINS—Mr. Speaker, one of the questions uppermost in this Territory at the present time has been that of the future status of this Territory. From within the Territory resolutions have been formulated indicating the desire of the people to make their own determination without pressure from outside, and this fact has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Australian Government.

Honourable members are aware that on many occasions the Australian Government has stressed that the future of the Territory is a matter for the people themselves. It is known that there is a degree of uncertainty among some of the people as to the most advantageous course to take for the future, whether to forego a certain status which they now possess, or to seek a status which will be common to all who inhabit this Territory, whether it be the Territory of Papua or the Territory of New Guinea. Whatever decision is made there must be a close national feeling developed among the peoples before complete independence is achieved in whatever form it might be or when. The welfare of the country as a whole must be uppermost and parochial prejudices and jealousies must be pushed aside.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that it would be most inadvisable at this stage if acts of emotion were to precipitate any forms of cleavage or endeavour to affect status before all peoples of the Territory have been given the opportunity of examining the various futures available to them, and then make a determination on mature consideration in close liaison with the Australian Government. This could take some time, but I submit that it was with this in mind that this House was prompted to set up a committee to study the question of constitutional development and this committee with wide terms of reference took on the onerous task of investigating the possibilities and relating them to the situation of the Territory. The foundations for such a study have been laid by the acceptance of recommendations of a constitutional committee which do in effect impose a greater participation in the government of the whole Territory on people who up to the present time have only been concerned with one Territory, and perhaps been more prone to think only of a particular Territory. The acceptance of these proposals and their implementation will inevitably bring the peoples closer together and hasten a national

feeling which I submit is the endeavour of this House.

Your select committee, Sir, in its final report that the constitution should be left until gained in the light of recent consti- ments could be a guide for the tance of the motion would cut ac already made by this House i recommendations of the Selec Constitutional Development and a contradiction of that decision.

The motion before the House there is further development government or independence for the Territory a referendum sl the Territory of Papua on the qu that Territory wishes to form a nent constitutional union with the of New Guinea, its people accep citizenship of that Territory Australian identity and the peop lian citizenship". Honourable appreciate that the motion en but a number of major issues affect the Australian Governme affect the Territory of Papua, is status, issues which effect the one Territory to another and independence and self determi it is unnecessary for me to say ti involved if put to a referendum adequately answered by the pe be unfair to put the question b issues are submerged and not terms of the question itself.

Our Constitution provides for n tive nor optional referendum, alth lian Constitution does provide fo referendum with respect to am own Constitution proposed by Par from the fact that there would : constitutional basis for a refe terms of the motion, I would i wisdom and usefulness of such stage of development.

It is widely recognized that g be shown in framing any questi a referendum and much will actual wording selected. It is tr and politically conscious sociel satisfy themselves as to the i but more care must be taken in c The first part of the motion, n the Territory of Papua wishes and permanent constitutional unio Territory of New Guinea, is a tional issue and should, under no be coupled with any other alterna

The second part of the moti "or retain its Australian identit their Australian citizenship" rais which the Australian Government to say. In any case the relatio

That the House considers that before there is further development towards self-government a referendum should be held in the Territory of Papua on the question of whether that Territory wishes to form a full and permanent constitutional union with the Trust Territory of New Guinea, its people accepting the ultimate citizenship of that Territory, or retain Australian identity and the people their Australian citizenship.

Mr. WATKINS—Mr. Speaker, one of the uppermost in this Territory at the present has been that of the future status of this Territory. From within the Territory resolutions have been formulated indicating the desire of the people to make their own determination at pressure from outside, and this fact has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Australian Government.

Honourable members are aware that on many occasions the Australian Government has stressed the future of the Territory is a matter for the people themselves. It is known that there is a degree of uncertainty among some of the people as to the most advantageous course to take in the future, whether to forego a certain status they now possess, or to seek a status which will be common to all who inhabit this Territory, whether it be the Territory of Papua or the Territory of New Guinea. Whatever decision is made there must be a close national development among the peoples before independence is achieved in whatever form it might be or when. The welfare of the Territory as a whole must be uppermost and any prejudices and jealousies must be set aside.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that it would be most desirable at this stage if acts of emotion do not precipitate any forms of cleavage or division which would affect status before all peoples of the Territory have been given the opportunity to consider the various futures available to them and then make a determination on mature reflection in close liaison with the Australian Government. This could take some time, but I submit that it was with this in mind that the Government was prompted to set up a committee to consider the question of constitutional development in this Territory with wide terms of reference.

This committee with wide terms of reference took on the onerous task of investigating the possibilities and relating them to the needs of the Territory. The foundations of a study have been laid by the acceptance of the recommendations of a constitutional committee which in effect impose a greater participation in the development of the whole Territory on the people. Up to the present time have only been concerned with one Territory, and perhaps prone to think only of a particular Territory.

The acceptance of these proposals for implementation will inevitably bring the Territory closer together and hasten a national feeling which I submit is emerging through the endeavours of this House.

Your select committee, Sir, specifically stated in its final report that the type of ultimate constitution should be left until the experience gained in the light of recent constitutional developments could be a guide for the future. Acceptance of the motion would cut across the decision already made by this House in accepting the recommendations of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development and would amount to a contradiction of that decision.

The motion before the House is that "before there is further development towards self-government or independence for the citizens of the Territory a referendum should be held in the Territory of Papua on the question of whether that Territory wishes to form a full and permanent constitutional union with the Trust Territory of New Guinea, its people accepting the ultimate citizenship of that Territory or retaining its Australian identity and the people their Australian citizenship".

Honourable members will appreciate that the motion embodies not one but a number of major issues, issues which affect the Australian Government, issues which affect the Territory of Papua, issues which affect status, issues which effect the relationship of one Territory to another and the issues of independence and self determination. I think it is unnecessary for me to say that the questions involved if put to a referendum could not be adequately answered by the people. It would be unfair to put the question because the real issues are submerged and not apparent in the terms of the question itself.

Our Constitution provides for neither the initiative nor optional referendum, although the Australian Constitution does provide for an obligatory referendum with respect to amendments to its own Constitution proposed by Parliament. Apart from the fact that there would appear to be no constitutional basis for a referendum on the terms of the motion, I would in fact doubt the wisdom and usefulness of such a course at this stage of development.

It is widely recognized that great care must be shown in framing any question submitted to a referendum and much will depend on the actual wording selected. It is true in a developed and politically conscious society electors will satisfy themselves as to the issues involved, but more care must be taken in our own society. The first part of the motion, namely, whether the Territory of Papua wishes to form a full and permanent constitutional union with the Trust Territory of New Guinea, is a basic constitutional issue and should, under no circumstances, be coupled with any other alternative.

The second part of the motion which reads "or retain its Australian identity and the people their Australian citizenship" raises matters upon which the Australian Government would have much to say. In any case the relationship that might exist between this Territory and the Australian Government and the manner in which that is achieved has been made clear in ministerial statements on government policy.

As I have said before the holding of a referendum raises considerable questions of constitutional law. There are various categories and it is clear that the initiative and referendum, a process by which a law can be submitted to peoples by referendum and carried without ever having been before the legislature, could not be introduced into the Commonwealth without amendment to the Constitution. Similarly, there is no provision in the Papua and New Guinea Act, which is our Constitution, authorizing the holding of such a referendum. It follows, I think, that the motion calls for a public opinion poll and that it be sponsored by the Government which, under the circumstances, could find itself bound in some way, at least morally, to give effect to the wishes of a few to the detriment of the majority after a procedure, the effectiveness of which would be most doubtful.

Mr. Speaker, I would submit that the procedures envisaged will be totally inadequate, unfair to the peoples and create a danger to present relationships if the motion were agreed to at this stage and for that reason I oppose the motion.

Mr. NEVILLE—Mr. Speaker, I think Mr. Gilmore's motion is nothing to get worried about. I am a little tired of these "big heads" in towns saying that they want to join with New Guinea. How does the general public—the people outside—know that what they say is true; know whether it is just their own idea or the thoughts of others. The people of my area, and I represent 186,000 Papuans or 36 per cent. of all Papua, feel that they do not want it. They are quite happy with Australia and are not afraid of the European Government which works with them and does a capable job, but they are a little concerned (and I am only stating what the people think) about being unified with New Guinea.

Do members realize that if Papua joins up with New Guinea, we will have to change the Papua and New Guinea Act? One thing I am afraid of is that if we change the act then some irresponsible people, and there are many in the United Nations, can then order us to make legislation and tell us that we should have self government immediately or in six months or in a year or so. That is what my people are afraid of. For them to join with New Guinea will mean that the act and the Trusteeship Agreement will have to be changed.

I do not want to hear these "big heads" in towns saying we should join together. Some others say that they do not like this either, but how do we know? Some of these people probably do not understand things correctly at all. These men tell lies when they say that they are speaking on behalf of the people from outside areas. It is their own thoughts and

exist between this Territory and the Australian Government and the manner in which that is achieved has been made clear in ministerial statements on government policy.

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their own desires that they express. These they broadcast in the towns and they obtain the ear of the newspapers and the Australian Broadcasting Commission and so their ideas are spread around until people begin to think that this is the opinion of all the people, but this is not true.

It is my belief that the majority of the people in Papua do not want this union. They are a little apprehensive about it. Another thing that concerns them is that there are more people in New Guinea than in Papua—a ratio of four to one. They feel that they will be overwhelmed by the people of New Guinea.

I have also heard some people of New Guinea saying that they do not really want Papua to join with them as Papua is not so economically well off as New Guinea and the people of New Guinea have no wish to carry the people of Papua along economically. This is what they think. I am speaking out about this and I speak the truth. All these thoughts confuse me and I want to know what people think. This motion wants to do one thing only and that is to find out the will of the people—nothing more. It may be true what Mr. Watkins says about there being no constitutional method to conduct a referendum, but this alternative suggestion of an opinion poll is quite good as it is almost the same thing anyway. We should ask the people what they want so that we know what the people want.

I have heard in Papua and in New Guinea that the people do not want this union, but let us find out. I am a little concerned that we may have to change the Papua and New Guinea Act and the Trusteeship Agreement if Papua and New Guinea do join together and then the United Nations will be able to harass us even more. But we must find out what the people think.

Another point about which I am concerned is what is the opinion of the Australian Government on this. In Papua we have Australian citizenship, although it is true that we have only limited benefit from this. I feel that perhaps the Australian Government would think it a very good thing if half a million Papuans joined with New Guinea so that they would not have to worry about them later. This is only an opinion of mine, but one which does cause me some concern.

Mr. Gilmore's motion is nothing to get excited about. He only wants to ask the people what they want. I, too, want to know what they want. If what Mr. Watkins says, that we have no way of initiating a referendum, is true then let us have an opinion poll which is nearly the same thing anyway.

Mr. LEPANI WATSON—I shall speak in Pidgin. The motion is not a cause for being angry with Mr. Gilmore. It is good for us to start thinking now about ways to achieve these things. I am glad that Mr. Gilmore has put this idea before us so that later on this House can think about authorizing a referendum, say, in five years'

time. I feel, however, that now is not the right time for it. Mr. Gilmore wants a referendum for Papua and not for our brothers in New Guinea as well and I do not agree with this.

I would have supported Mr. Gilmore's motion if there had been some education on this matter prior to this. The people should first of all know what a trust territory is and what are its alternatives and then they can decide what they want, whether to be an Australian territory or a trust territory. The man in the village in Papua and New Guinea must know what a trust territory is and what an Australian territory is. We must know what advantages or disadvantages each holds in the future. If the motion had followed this I would have supported it.

We talk about having one country and one people, but we are not ready for this as yet. It would be better if people were educated first. The Department of District Administration, through the councils, can teach the people what the distinction is. But now is not the time. These people that Mr. Neville spoke about—the ones who want this union of Papua and New Guinea—are few in number. They think only about themselves and not about the village people. They do not live in the villages but in Port Moresby with good houses and conditions. It is not right that these men have all the say. It is not democratic because it is not what the people in the villages are thinking. I think it would be better if we opposed this motion now and thought about introducing it in the future. First we must tell the people what the difference between a trust territory and an Australian territory is. Later on, perhaps during the life of the next House, we can reintroduce this motion, but now it would spoil the thinking of the people.

Mr. YAUWE WAUWE—In my electorate in the Chimbu District I have travelled around extensively. I have listened to the people's questions. They tell me that I should know the answers because I am a member of the House of Assembly. Now what are these parties—the Country Party, the Labour Party, the Pangu Party? Many people have asked me this. When we have a party we kill pigs and other things and we have fun. But these things that are brought from Australia are not parties and they should be called something else.

I have travelled everywhere—to Watabung, Sina Sina, Kundiawa, Kerowagi and all the way to Mount Hagen. The district commissioner is there and he knows me and my village. I went to Mount Hagen to talk about the parties, too, but I have heard only one man who was interested in starting a party there. I think he was influenced by a European and perhaps by a Papuan or New Guinean too. These parties are too premature. Everybody has told me this. I am not able to speak to you in English and it is too late for me to learn.

I feel that there has not been enough economic development in Papua and New Guinea. I say

this now because all the people should come first. In Buka some copper and I am glad, this economic development comes. When we ask for schools, we speak to the Director of them, he may say "no", in which case we come later. If he says "yes" we get a school. But it all depends on them.

We should not bother with our development is complete. It will come when I am dead and grown up. Business is like a power. If we have it then we shall be able to stand is far in the future. This is what people are saying.

Mr. EDRIC EUPU—Point of order. Mr. Yauwe Wauwe is not in support of Mr. Gilmore's motion.

Mr. SPEAKER—You are not in support of the motion. You are speaking about such as parties and schools, speaking to the motion. If you want to speak about other matters you go on, but if you want to speak you may continue.

Mr. YAUWE WAUWE (cont.)—I support Mr. Gilmore's motion.

Mr. BARRETT—Mr. Speaker, there are two main points that have been debated. The first point is in relation to the referendum itself. The motion for a referendum be held among the people of the Papuans themselves—see whether or not these people actually want to join with New Guinea. I suggest that the people of New Guinea—should be asked for their views. Surely this is important. Two groups of people to unite and ask both groups their opinion on the motion is incomplete. The motion says that they desire union with Australia but what about the New Guineans to have no voice?

The other point is in relation to the motion made by Mr. Neville. He says that the Papua and New Guinea Trusteeship Agreement in relation to the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1963. This agreement, signed by Australia and received by Papua and the status of the fact they are known.

The agreement permits the Administering Authority for the Territory of New Guinea to join New Guinea Territory under her constitutional union where such union is in the best interests of the Territory and in keeping with the terms of the agreement.

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 We should not bother with parties yet until
 our development is complete. I think this time
 will come when I am dead and my children have
 grown up. Business is like power, schools
 are like power. If we have these two things
 then we shall be able to stand alone. But this
 is far in the future. This is what the Chimbu
 people are saying.
 Mr. EDRIC EUPU—Point of order, Mr. Speaker.
 Mr. Yauwe Wauwe is not talking about Mr.
 Gilmore's motion.
 Mr. SPEAKER—You are not speaking to the
 motion. You are speaking about various things
 such as parties and schools, but you are not
 speaking to the motion. If you are just going
 to speak about other matters we cannot let
 you go on, but if you want to speak to the motion
 you may continue.
 Mr. YAUWE WAUWE (continuing)—I wish to
 support Mr. Gilmore's motion.
 Mr. BARRETT—Mr. Speaker, I think there
 are two main points that have arisen during this
 debate. The first point is in relation to the
 motion itself. The motion proposes that a
 referendum be held among the people of Papua—
 the Papuans themselves—seeking to establish
 whether or not these people desire a full and
 actual union with New Guinea. It does not
 suggest that the people of New Guinea—the New
 Guineans—should be asked to express their
 views. Surely this is important. If one wishes
 two groups of people to unite surely one must
 ask both groups their opinion. As it stands
 the motion is incomplete. The Papuans may well
 say that they desire union with New Guinea;
 but what about the New Guineans? Are they
 to have no voice?
 The other point is in relation to remarks
 made by Mr. Neville. He spoke of changes
 to the Papua and New Guinea Act and to the
 Trusteeship Agreement in relation to New Guinea.
 It would seem that he has not read either the
 Papua and New Guinea Act or the Trusteeship
 Agreement. This agreement, of course, was
 signed by Australia and recognizes the status
 of Papua and the status of New Guinea as in
 fact they are known.
 The agreement permits Australia as the
 Administering Authority for the Trust Territory
 of New Guinea to join New Guinea with any
 other Territory under her control in an admini-
 strative union where such union is considered
 to be in the best interests of the Trust Terri-
 tory and in keeping with the aims expressed
 in the agreement.

These provisions then already exist. There
 does not seem to me to be need for the change
 which Mr. Neville claimed would be required.
 Perhaps if he had studied the act and the
 agreement he would not have spoken as he did.
 I have nothing further to add, Mr. Speaker.
 I think the motion is mischievous and useless.
 Sitting suspended from 11.55 a.m. to 2 p.m.
 Mr. CHATTERTON—Mr. Speaker, I support
 Mr. Gilmore's motion in principle, though I
 think that it would be very hard to hold a
 satisfactory referendum without a great deal
 of preparatory work. I agree with Mr. Lepani
 Watson on that, and I agree with Mr. Watkins
 that it would be a very difficult thing to frame
 satisfactory questions.
 On the other hand, I agree very heartily with
 Mr. Zurecnuoc that there are some very real
 problems here—quite important and serious
 problems—and that we should not just go on
 putting them off and putting them off until in-
 dependence is almost on us. Now these prob-
 lems are in a sense artificial ones. They
 do not arise from geographical considerations
 or from racial or cultural considerations. They
 are, as it were, a by-product of our colonial
 history, but none the less they are very real
 problems in the minds of many Papuans and
 New Guineans.
 I believe, Mr. Speaker, that a great many
 Papuans, and not just the "big heads" to whom
 Mr. Neville referred, are quite worried about
 their future and the future of their country.
 They look at the possibility of being a part of an
 independent country of Papua and New Guinea
 and they realize that not only will they be in
 a numerical minority (that perhaps would not
 matter very much) but most of the areas in
 which they live will be very far down the list
 for economic development. With perhaps the
 exception of the Northern District most of our
 districts are not at all promising for economic
 development, and Papuans feel that in the economic
 "rat race" they will be pushed aside and the
 areas in which they live will be very liable to
 become what are known in Britain as "depressed
 areas". They realize that this may make
 them not very acceptable partners to the people
 who live in much more fertile and prosperous
 New Guinea.
 On the other hand, I think many Papuans
 probably realize that there is very little real
 future for them as a sort of permanent terri-
 tory of Australia, and I think many of them
 realize that their status as Australian citizens
 does not really bring them any advantages, or
 any very apparent advantages anyway, over New
 Guineans who have the status of Australian
 Protected Persons. Now I think these fears
 of the Papuans, or at any rate these doubts
 of the Papuans, about the future are real and
 sincerely held and we have to look at them
 sympathetically. I think there has to be discus-
 sion about them. I hope it will be conducted

temperately and courteously, not in the manner in which a discussion on this subject has recently taken place in the columns of the "South Pacific Post".

What I would like to see, Mr. Speaker, is that a small group of indigenous members of this House, perhaps a couple from Papua and one or two from each of the regions of New Guinea, should get together in an informal group and work on this problem and try to work out a solution, or perhaps some alternative solutions that could form the basis of a series of questions in a referendum or opinion poll or whatever it is to be. It only remains to say that of course questions will not only have to be asked of Papuans, but also of New Guineans.

Mr. MURISO WAREBU—Mr. Speaker, some of the members in this House know that every Monday we hear on 9PA questions asked by people of Papua and New Guinea on the matter of a name for our country. This motion has been introduced in the House now and I welcome it. But we must first go back to the villages because we must know what the people think. Some of the men on stations and in towns know about these things and write letters to 9PA. But we must find out what our people think. After we have heard their opinions we can return to the House and discuss it again.

Papuans and New Guineans all have the same colour of skin and are not different. It is not good for us to talk too much about the motion now for it may spoil our country. We must return with this motion to the people and ask them what they think about this important question. It is not good that we only hear the opinions of a few men in the towns and then, talk about it here to decide the matter. We must first return to the villages and ask the people. We cannot really talk about this motion until we have been to the people.

Mr. PITA TAMINDEI—I want to speak on Mr. Gilmore's motion. Mr. Gilmore does not want to cause trouble in Papua and New Guinea, but just wants to find out what the people think because many people in New Guinea are cross about what they hear on 9PA. They hear things on the news and ask why the Papuan people want to leave us. This is why they get cross with 9PA and that is why Mr. Gilmore has proposed this motion to find out whether the people of Papua and New Guinea want to divide. The people who want to divide are not the real leaders. They think up these things which will spoil the country. We must not listen to these young men. We are the members of this House and we must find the right road to help the country.

Mr. KAIBELT DIRIA—Mr. Speaker, I want to say a few words on this. There is no trouble in New Guinea. We are working well together and that is why I want to ask Mr. Gilmore what is behind this motion. He must explain it truth-

fully to us so that we Papuans and New Guineans can understand it. These two Territories of Papua and New Guinea are small. The people around us know our name and they feel that it is good. They know us as two territories which are already walking together on one road. The Government of Australia looks after us both, not just Papua. We follow one road; we are developing in the same way. This is because we are all brown people and do not have a big country.

All the talk on the radio is started by Europeans. The white men start these ideas which will spoil our country. I am speaking the truth. In the Western Highlands the Europeans are confusing us all the time. They are telling us to start a Highlands Party. My people hear this and they ask what a party is. We have to get the thoughts of the people before we can speak in the House about this motion. Some members have only spoken with their workers in their own compounds and heard this unfounded talk. That is not what the people of Papua and New Guinea really think. We have one thought process, one people and one country.

The Government of Australia says that we are one country. I know that the white men are behind all the parties. It is not the Papuans who say that they know everything and that New Guineans are ignorant. The Papuans know that there are parts of their country undeveloped just as New Guinea has these parts. The Government wants to look after Papua and New Guinea but Europeans bring up this sort of motion. How can they know what we think? They do not know our villages or our languages and they are not our colour. They do not think as we think. But still they stir things up. These parties are things that the white men have started. Papuans and New Guineans know that we are a new country and that we should go slowly to develop to a stage where we can look after ourselves later.

I want to know why Mr. Gilmore introduced this motion. I do not want him to spoil Papua and New Guinea. I want to know what he is after because Papua and New Guinea is already on the one road. I want to hear what other members think so that I can go back and tell my people.

Mr. PITA LUS—In this House we represent many people and we speak with many voices. I have heard this kind of talk before. A woman first brought it up. I do not know her name or where she comes from, but if I met her I would take her outside and tell her to go to the sea and wash her face. She should not stir up problems like this.

I heard what Mr. Barrett had to say about the Australian Government trying to assist our country until we can stand on our own two feet—until we become stronger. This is very good and this is what we want. If we talk

about these things in the House and hear about it they will ask us what we think. They will think that we have divided our countries and if they think like that it will be a fact. This is not good because Papua and New Guinea have the same colour of skin and are under one government.

We cannot continue with this argument. It will spoil our country. This is not good. We should follow what the people think and what they want. I will follow the will of the people. In countries such as Australia or Japan, the population is big and it is all right for them but we are a small country of brown people, and now Mr. Gilmore is trying to divide us. We cannot afford to talk like this and we should not do it.

Once I went to see some members of the division in the Papua and New Guinea division. He told me not to worry about it because it will solve itself when our countries are under one government.

I do not support the motion because it will make us all to worry. It is making us all to do the same in the village cause fighting. Some members are in the villages, but other some areas people will become this and problems will start.

Mr. TEI ABAL—Mr. Speaker, on the motion as it is a good motion for the people in Papua and New Guinea about it. I have heard all the talk on the radio and it is good that the people are settled, but it is too soon. They do not have a clear idea of what is in their mind. I know that Papua is an Australian Territory and New Guinea is a Trust Territory. A border which divides us is on the map only. The Papua division is only on the map. In the country are one kind of people and New Guinean people have the same people. They should divide this country. As I said to me that we are one people and the population is small—only two million. I think we will become one country. I do not want us to be divided now.

If the people in Papua want to divide, or if they want independent government quickly, then it is good so that we can know what we want. I feel that it is too soon. I do not think that committees to go to all the people what they think because it will do this. We must educate the people to see whether they want to be a union or break with it. I do not want to stay with New Guinea. I want to see the two countries.

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... support the motion as it is causing ... It is making us cross and it ... in the villages. It may even ... Some members teach their ... villages, but others do not. In ... people will become angry about ... will start.

... Mr. Speaker, I want to speak ... as it is a good one and all the ... and New Guinea should know ... heard all the arguments on the ... that the matter should be ... soon. The people should ... of what is involved first. We ... is an Australian Territory ... This ... I have not seen ... The Papua and New ... only on the map. The people ... are one kind of people. Papuan ... have the same custom. ... I do not think we ... All the people have ... only two million. Later ... one country and I ... divided now.

... Papua want to break with New ... independence or self- ... then it is up to them to ... by Mr. Gilmore is ... know what the people think, ... soon. It should be left ... think that we should organize ... to all the villages asking ... because it is not yet time ... educate the people first ... want to stay with Papua ... with New Guinea. Person- ... the two countries as one so

that we can develop into a strong nation of Papua and New Guinea later on.

The Minister for Territories said to me when I went to Canberra with the Select Committee on Constitutional Development that he thought Papua and New Guinea should be one country and I agree with him that it should be so later on. The people, too, think that we should be one country when the time comes. I think we should discuss this later on when the people are clear about what is involved.

It is also wrong to start all these parties in the country. The people of Papua and New Guinea do not understand these.

I do not support the motion, Mr. Speaker. Mr. STUNTZ—Mr. Speaker, I think that Mr. Tei Abal in one part of his address to us has put his finger on the history, the origin really, of this motion that has been brought before the House by Mr. Gilmore. He did this when he referred to the trip of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development to Canberra, when he said that he had told the Minister (this was my interpretation of what he said) that, in his opinion, it would be desirable for Papua and New Guinea to become one country. At that particular time the issue was made quite a public one by the circularization to various bodies throughout the Territory of a request to submit suggestions for a name for this country, and I think this issue has been boiling ever since, one way and another.

As members have said, over 9PA we have heard some people suggesting all sorts of names, and other people saying that they would like the country to still remain as Papua and New Guinea. But many of the Papuan people, as I know, and as Mr. Chatterton has pointed out—and I do not think any of us can doubt his wealth of experience in this country or his contact with the Papuan people whom he represents—many of the Papuan people construed this as an attempt to force an immediate constitutional union of the two Territories.

I, myself, realize the significance of such a union at this stage, and I was most gratified to find that many Papuans, including a number of members of this House, realized at that particular time, the significance of this. I was mainly approached by Papuans (but I assume New Guineans realized this) who expressed their fear of this precipitous union of these two Territories. Mr. Edric Eupu was one at that time, about a year ago, who told me that he was very, very worried about Papua and New Guinea being united under one name and one flag. The significance to me of such a union at this particular stage, as I see it, is this. The only way in which Papua and New Guinea could be united prior to the discharge of the trusteeship in New Guinea would be for Papua to be placed under a United Nations trusteeship. I can see no other way in which it could be done. Some members may favour this, but I would point out

that if they did favour this, they would bring about a situation which would cut right across the resolution carried by this House, sponsored by Mr. Matthias To Liman, subsequent to a visit of the United Nations Mission some two years ago, when we called upon people outside this Territory to permit us to decide our own destiny and to dictate the rate of our advance towards that destiny, whatever it might be.

If we were to endeavour to unite Papua and New Guinea at this stage in a constitutional union under one name and one flag by putting Papua under a trusteeship, it would involve not only the negotiation of a trusteeship agreement in respect of Papua but would also involve the re-negotiation of the existing trusteeship agreement in respect of New Guinea.

I firmly believe that the people who advocated this union under one name and one flag—the people who maintained at that time, and still maintain, that the present separate status of the Territories is retarding the development of the country—were well aware of the significance of what they were advocating. I believe that they were working towards this end and I believe that they knew that the temper of the United Nations being as it is now and the composition being as it is now, as against the composition of the United Nations when the existing Trusteeship Agreement with New Guinea was negotiated in 1946, would result in a trusteeship agreement which would set a very early target date for complete independence, with no alternatives. I think that is what they were after and I was gratified to find that many, many Papuans realized the significance of this plea for one name, one flag, one people. Many Papuans realized the significance of it, many of them were worried about it and Mr. Edric Eupu was amongst those who came to me with their worries at that time.

Sir, I think that the re-negotiation of the New Guinea Trusteeship Agreement would be disastrous for this country. It would cut right across the resolution of this House when we virtually called upon the United Nations to keep their hands off us. It would give them the opportunity to really get their claws into us and there would be nothing we could do about it.

Now, Sir, as to Mr. Gilmore's particular motion, what he is really asking is that in a matter such as this—a matter of such importance as this proposal to unite the Territories—we go to the people as a whole.

Mr. Barrett—And that includes the people of New Guinea.

Mr. STUNTZ (continuing)—I would include New Guinea and I think that Mr. Gilmore's ultimate intention would be to include New Guinea in such an approach. I would hope it was and I would support any similar approach. Mr. Gilmore asks that we go to the people as a whole. He thinks that this is an issue of such profound importance that it should be the subject of referendum. As

we know, in Australia, and in many other countries with democratic constitutional governments, there are certain issues that are considered to be of such importance that they cannot be changed by the legislature as such. Admittedly this is not the case in some countries where there is government under one party system as has been advocated by some people of late. I would like to enthrone a little on the one party system. In the days of Hitler such were known as dictatorships. Hitler was called a Dictator and Mussolini was called a Dictator but when Nkrumu, an African, adopted the same approach, people said: "My goodness, we cannot call him a Dictator, let us call this a one party system." and yet we have had the spectacle of people saying: "Give us the one party system, it is the only thing that will work in a situation such as we have here." It works very well for the party in power, but it does not work very well for the rest of the people. They are the subject of a dictatorship under this one party system. I do not know who thought it up. It is quite clever really, quite clever.

Sir, I feel that Mr. Gilmore's request—the essence of his request—is not unreasonable. As to the practicability of it or the timing of it, I am not too sure. Mr. Watkins has told us about the legal difficulties of having a referendum. I can see the practical difficulties of having one and I think that what Mr. Gilmore really wants is that on this issue ultimately we must go to the people. We must go to the people as a whole and we must find out directly what they want, and in that respect I support him. I assume that he will have the opportunity to reply and I think he will clarify that this was his intention really. As far as the timing and everything is concerned, about which there is doubt in our minds, including my own, that is something which can be worked out.

Sir, I am tempted to carry on about the status of Papua as against the status of New Guinea. I feel justified in doing so as the desirability of a union of the two Territories and the fact that they would not be economically viable on their own has been raised by other members. Let us face it, they will not be economically viable "period", on their own, or together, so that is really not a point to be argued. Mr. Chatterton has stated some of the fears that he says exist in the minds of Papuans—that they will be numerically overwhelmed by the New Guineans. There is nothing racially antagonistic about this, it is just being practical about it. The people of New England in my home State of New South Wales feel that they are not getting a fare shake of the dice, because they are numerically overwhelmed by the people of Sydney, and they are probably right, and they want a new State for New England and because they are numerically overwhelmed they will never get it. That is my opinion.

Sir, as to the matter touched upon by Mr. Tei Abal—this mark on a map—I agree with him

that it is nothing more. There quite a few other international boundaries. There is nothing to show them, but there is there and it is a very important boundary.

It has been said that the status of Australian citizens is useless to them. What do they get as Australians? Well I think it has some consistency to Papuans. I would like to point out that those who have been mentioned—those who have voiced this criticism—been the very Papuans who have profited from their association with Australia. Those about whom I am talking—the people who have had free education, free everything, have been spoonfed and carried along. In normal circumstances, they would have weeded out under the normal process of competition in education and advanced public service or elsewhere. But under the conditions existing at the time people were with them. These are the people who are criticizing their Australian citizens. It is not worth anything to them. They are second rate citizens. They are not citizens, fair enough. They are not citizens of a very wealthy country.

I went to another part of Australia recently, along with other members, to visit the Territory of the Torres Strait Islands. Many people who are Torres Strait Islanders are second rate citizens. Many people say that the Torres Strait Islanders look very much like the Daru people. The Kiwi people of the Fly Delta, and they speak a language very similar to the Daru but I would like anybody, including a gentleman who suggested it, to go to Bogu or Thursday Island and say to you are second rate citizens. Give them a child endowment and unemployment benefit. All the things you are getting for your brothers in Papua and New Guinea become independent as a free country on your own feet. The people are realistic down there and I know what reception this would receive.

Sir, one would have to be, as the Papuans are, very practical about it. To whip up nationalistic fervor in Papua, have seen what happens in other parts of the world when people have taken a spur of organized and whipped up nationalistic fervour, which they are probably most dearly right now. I have seen the Papuan people in this. I have seen realistic particularly where the people are and I think that the bulk of them do not have something in their constitution that links them to Australia. What they have is a desire as they retain that link, in my opinion, is obliged not only morally, but in every other way, to look after the way in which Australia, if it

a, and in many other countries constitutional governments, issues that are considered to be that they cannot be changed as such. Admittedly this is the case in some countries where there is a one party system as has been the case in the one party system. In such cases were known as dictatorships—called a Dictator and Mussolini a Dictator but when Nkrumah, and the same approach, people say, we cannot call him a Dictator. This is a one party system. It is the spectacle of people in a one party system, it is not going to work in a situation such as that. It works very well for the people. They are the subject of this one party system. I thought it up. It is quite clever.

Mr. Gilmore's request—the issue is not unreasonable. As to the timing of it, Mr. Watkins has told us of the difficulties of having one party system. Mr. Gilmore really wants to go to the people as a whole but directly what they want, support him. I assume that opportunity to reply and I think this was his intention really. And everything is concerned, doubt in our minds, including the fact that we are carrying on about the status of New Guinea. It is doing so as the desirability of the Territories and the fact that it is not economically viable on its own, or together, so it is a point to be argued. Mr. Gilmore has some of the fears that he has of Papuans—that they will be overwhelmed by the New Guineans. It is a factually antagonistic about this, and the people are not getting a fare shake because they are numerically over-represented in Sydney, and they are not getting a new State for the same reason because they are numerically over-represented. That is the matter touched upon by Mr. Gilmore on a map—I agree with him

that it is nothing more. There is nothing on quite a few other international borders either. There is nothing to show them, but the significance is there and it is a very important one.

It has been said that the status of Papuans as Australian citizens is useless and worthless to them. What do they get as Australian citizens? Well I think it has some considerable value to Papuans. I would like to point out at this stage that those who have been most critical of this—those who have voiced this criticism—have been the very Papuans who have profited most from their association with Australia. We all know about whom I am talking—the people who have had free education, free everything. They have been spoonfed and carried along where, under normal circumstances, they would have been weeded out under the normal processes of elimination in education and advancement in the public service or elsewhere. But because of the conditions existing at the time people persevered with them. These are the people who are now criticizing their Australian citizenship and saying that it is not worth anything to them; they are second rate citizens. They are second rate citizens, fair enough. They are second rate citizens of a very wealthy country.

I went to another part of Australia fairly recently, along with other members, which was populated by black skinned people—the Torres Strait Islands. Many people will say that the Torres Strait Islanders are second rate citizens. Many people say that the Torres Strait Islanders look very much like the Daru people and the Kiwi people of the Fly Delta, and they do, and they speak a language very similar to theirs, but I would like anybody, including the academic gentleman who suggested it, to go to Saibai or Bogu or Thursday Island and say: "Gentleman, you are second rate citizens. Give away these child endowment and unemployment benefits and all the things you are getting here and join your brothers in Papua and New Guinea and become independent as a free country. Stand on your own feet." The people are fairly realistic down there and I know the sort of reception this would receive.

Sir, one would have to be, and I think many Papuans are, very practical about this. It is easy to whip up nationalistic fervor in people. We have seen what happens in other parts of the world when people have taken action under the spur of organized and whipped up nationalistic fervour, which they are probably regretting most dearly right now. I have some faith in the Papuan people in this. I think they are realistic particularly where money is involved and I think that the bulk of them realize that they have something in their constitutional link with Australia. What they have is this. As long as they retain that link, in my opinion, Australia is obliged not only morally, but legally and in every other way, to look after Papua. The only way in which Australia, if it wishes to shed

itself of this responsibility, can do so is for the Papuan people themselves to say: "We want out; we would like independence." The Australian Government has said that it will accede to this wish, and quite rightly so.

I harbour a suspicion that the Australian Government may have been working towards this end at various times. I harbour a suspicion that it may have been trying one way or another to shed itself of this responsibility. It cannot kick the Papuans out, but I am not so sure that they would not be sorry if Papua said: "We want out." Australia might heave a big sigh of relief, but as far as the Papuans are concerned they should be realistic about this and they should make sure that they do not break this link with Australia until they want to, and only then if they want to. I would not like to see them talked into doing something which they will eternally regret. They want to make sure that they do it when they want to and if they do not want to, there is nothing Australia can do about it.

Mr. WAIYE SIUNE—Mr. Speaker I want to speak on Mr. Gilmore's motion. It is a good motion, but I cannot support it because we must get the thoughts of the people first and then bring them to the House. I do not know how many men spoke with Mr. Gilmore and how many men took their thoughts to him, but there are many people in Papua and New Guinea whose opinions I want to speak about. I am a New Guinean and my skin is black. The people of Papua and New Guinea are one people, although our hair is sometimes a little different. There are two and one half million people in the Territory. We are not a very big country, but if we break Papua and New Guinea into two parts then we shall be very small countries. I do not want to break Papua and New Guinea into two separate countries. I want us to stay together. If we are a united country then we will have many soldiers and we can stand up on our own two feet in later years. I do not want the two countries to be divided. This is something for the members and the people in Port Moresby and Papua. They can ask the people of Papua whether they want to join Australia or New Guinea and they can talk about this later on.

I do not want us to proceed with this motion by Mr. Gilmore. I do not like it. I think that this should be left until later on. We can not decide now to put Papua and New Guinea under one flag because they are still two different Territories. We cannot put them under one name because they are not united yet. We cannot hurry with this now. We must discuss it with the people first.

Debate (on motion by Mr. Pasquarelli) adjourned.

QUARANTINE BILL 1967.
(First Reading.)

Bill presented by Dr. Scragg and read a first time.

iterations which have been made to a proposal should be again sent around the public can see them and possibly the altered boundaries. Some of us think that if we do this it will drag on for a long time.

This could be so, but I doubt that this is the best way to proceed. If the Distribution Committee were able to start this work six months earlier we could have resolved objections to our satisfaction.

The House feels that we should discuss this matter and we should have a chance to say what we can decide to do this. Do not let us be anyone saying that if we do not do this motion today the country will be in a bad way. Things will go wrong. Three months' delay does not really matter. The Government can work; the Treasurer can work; the Government can work. We will have a number of meetings of three months, but that is not the matter. I think that if members want more questions they should do this.

GUMAN MATIBRI—In my electorate nothing wrong. The people all agree with the boundaries. However, something to say about the electoral maps which were sent out and which were not seen. If this matter is not straightened out later will be brought up again later on. Only a few months left before the election. I think that after this election then later will be more elections and this matter brought up again.

MR. ARRETT—I intend to speak at length, but to clear up the allusions under which we appear to be labouring.

Mr. Neville has quite rightly said that there are some objections to the boundaries contained in this report and he believes, I think, that these further objections should be considered by the Distribution Committee which should come up with a new distribution. The report should come to the House. The procedure were adopted and if these objections were considered, it is fairly certain that any amended distribution would not bring further objections. There is no end to this business of report and objections. It is patently ridiculous for the procedure to be followed. Mr. Neville says that the delay would be only three to four months. But if people, including members of the House, kept on raising objections there would be no end to the matter. It is quite impossible to satisfy everyone when a distribution of electoral boundaries is concerned. One cannot expect that everyone will be satisfied; there will always be some persons who are discontented. It is impossible to achieve a perfect distribution. One hears quite often of dissatisfaction with boundary distributions in other countries, including Australia. There seems to be some dissatisfaction and

someone is unhappy. It is a difficult and thankless task.

Does Mr. Neville suggest that we should ignore the ordinances passed by this House in relation to elections? Does he suggest that the enactments of this legislature are of so little import; are not in fact law? I, like other members, have often heard Mr. Neville speak of the status and the powers of this House. There are statutes relating to the life of a House which may not be ignored. This House must pass all appropriation bills; it must vote supply. And this, of course, includes an appropriation for members' salaries.

In June next it will be necessary to vote supply for the service of the year 1968-69. If there has been no election and a House cannot meet at that time Mr. Newman may go on with his functions as Treasurer, but there will be no funds with which to pay him. I would like to correct the interjectors by saying that June is the month in which supply is normally voted. This is not a new procedure. It was followed by the old Legislative Council and has been followed by this House of Assembly. Supply may be voted also in February when supplementary appropriation bills are normally introduced. As a business man, Mr. Downs knows that the financial year ends on 30th June. In June the House votes supply. In August the budget is brought down.

Statute provides that the life of the House is for four years. This is perfectly clear. Mr. Speaker, we could go on indefinitely arguing this issue and never get all people to agree. We could go on and on and never get round to holding an election.

If I were asked I could say that in my own personal case I could object to the fact that whereas under the old distribution there were two special electorates for New Britain, under the report now being discussed only one regional electorate is proposed. However, I have not and do not intend to raise any objection since I can see that there are quite valid reasons for the decision of the committee. We should accept this report, pass the motion and allow the business of preparing for and holding an election to get under way.

MR. JOHNSON—Mr. Speaker, I think we have heard enough on this motion and I am not going to add to it. We are all agreed, I think, that in giving the Distribution Committee 69 electorates—no more and no less—we faced it with a very difficult task. I think there is general agreement that the committee has performed that task well, but it had a task to do which could not possibly satisfy every elector or every sitting member, and it is clear enough that there are some members who are not satisfied with the boundaries that have been drawn.

As a good many members have pointed out, it would be quite impossible to satisfy everybody and there could be a continuous series

of objections lodged every time the boundaries were drawn again.

I note too, Sir, that some members who spoke criticizing the boundaries of their electorate did not take the opportunity of objecting to them and they had 90 days in which to object. The only one who has some reason for this, of course, is Mr. Zurecnuoc who was away serving us in another place at this particular time. The boundaries were drawn, Sir, in accordance with the electoral statute which says: "For the purpose of a proposed redistribution the Distribution Committee shall give due consideration to—(a) distribution of population; (b) community or diversity of interests; (c) means of communication; (d) physical features; (e) existing electoral boundaries; and (f) local government boundaries." I think the committee has done this well, but it could not do it perfectly. I think the boundaries we have are now the best we could get in the circumstances and I urge that we pass the motion.

Question resolved in the affirmative.

Sitting suspended from 4.16 p.m. to 8 p.m.

REFERENDUM—CONSTITUTIONAL UNION OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

Debate resumed from 30th August, 1967 (vide page 2544), on motion by Mr. Gilmore—

That this House considers that before there is further development towards self-government or independence for the Territory of Papua a referendum should be held in the Territory of Papua on the question of whether that Territory wishes to form a full and permanent constitutional union with the Territory of New Guinea, its people accepting the ultimate citizenship of that Territory, or retain its Australian identity and the people their Australian citizenship.

MR. PASQUARELLI—Mr. Speaker, I would like to reserve my right to speak later on in this debate.

MR. GILMORE—Mr. Speaker, I ask leave of the House to move an amendment to my motion. Leave granted.

MR. GILMORE—Mr. Speaker, I move—

That the following amendment be made:—
Omit all words after "before", insert "any irrevocable act towards the constitutional union of Papua and New Guinea takes place, the proposals should be put to the people of both Territories by means of a referendum or plebiscite."

Sir, I have listened to the thoughts of Mr. Lepani Watson, Mr. Tei Abal and other members. They all agreed to my motion, but say we should not hurry it. The people must first of all learn what it is all about and tell us what they think. I agree with this and so I have decided to amend the motion. The point at issue is that underneath everything there exists two laws, one for Papua and one for New Guinea. However, we must ask the people. The two

Territories must join together to be strong, but later on when we are older and when our children are older this matter will come up. We must solve this matter now, so I have altered the motion slightly. I do not want to hurry this. I think the Government can do this in its own time, but it must start to educate the people in this matter also. The people must understand this completely and then when they say something they will be able to say what they feel. I want to change it, too, so that the people of both Territories can talk frankly about this.

Mr. Watkins said that the people of Papua and New Guinea must make their own decision. I asked the members of the House and they agreed that I should amend the motion. I want to change it so that the people of New Guinea can also discuss this matter. There is nothing concealed in this. I have no other motives. If people ask me why I am doing this, I will reply that it is simply to make the Territory stronger. The people themselves must ask for this; it is their decision.

It is up to the Government as to how much time it will require to educate the people so that they will fully understand this matter. There is no question for the time being of independence or self-government. What we are after now is that the people should know fully what it is all about so that when the time comes they will be ready to decide for themselves.

Mr. JOHNSON—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gilmore's amendment has removed most of the features which were criticized so strongly in the earlier debate on this motion. I must confess, Sir, that I still do not like it. Mr. Gilmore has emphasized that we are not in a hurry to make this decision. If we are not in a hurry to make this decision, Sir, I do not see that there is any hurry to pass this motion at all at this particular stage. It does commit us to a particular course of action which now appears to be the most reasonable and the most sensible and the best possible course of action. It does, however, prejudice the position of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, and we have recommended that we should have again a select committee to consider further constitutional development in the new House. There is no danger in the next House that the views of the members are going to change on this issue. There is no danger that the views of the Australian Government are going to change on this issue, so I cannot see why we need to pass this motion, as amended, at this particular stage. I can see no reason, Sir, why we cannot leave things as they are.

Mr. PASQUARELLI—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gilmore's previous motion and now his amendment seem to have caused quite an amount of consternation amongst members of this House and amongst most of the members of the Administration sitting in this House. Briefly, in reply to Mr.

Johnson's recent comments, personally I think there is every reason to have Mr. Gilmore's referendum now or very soon. Mr. Johnson said that we can wait until the next House of Assembly; that there is no real urgency in this. But I think it is urgent for one reason amongst many, Mr. Speaker, and that is that the Pangu Party is going to go to the people of this Territory with a constitutional union as part of its platform. If this party is going to make this part of its election platform, then there is no reason at all why Mr. Gilmore should not be allowed to put his view forward in the life of this House.

The Minister, Mr. Barnes, has said time and time again that Australia will give this Territory its independence, or self-government, or both, when the people want it, and I take it that the only way the Australian Government can get any idea of what the people want is through a referendum or a plebiscite. Mr. Watkins has said that we do not have any machinery to do this. Surely, if the Australian Government intends to heed the wishes of the majority—and I repeat, the majority—of the people of this Territory, it will have no problem at all in setting up the machinery to allow referendums or plebiscites to take place. I consider these are going to be extremely vital.

Time and time again in this House we have heard members say: "We must go back and ask the people." Mr. Guise has said this many, many times. Other members too have said that we must go back and ask the people. Let us adjourn this debate until the next meeting and then we can go back to our electorate and talk to the people.

It could be, Mr. Speaker, that the Administration and the Department of Territories are acting in a type of collusion or some sort of weird and wonderful preconceived plan of actually bringing to fruition a constitutional union of the two Territories. Maybe this is why they do not want Mr. Gilmore's motion to go through now. We do not know. We have not been into the dark rooms of Konedobu or Canberra.

Mr. Edric Eupu has mentioned to me in conversation that we do not want this to be another Vietnam. I would like to remind all members here what has happened when people have had union forced upon them. What is happening now in Nigeria? Nigerian civil war is national suicide. It is here in the "South Pacific Post" if local members want to read it. Four years ago, when we came to this House, the bloodbath of the Congo was just getting under way and it is still going. Four years of bloodshed and national turmoil. When people have had unions forced upon them, these have been forced on them by people who think they know better and they have not asked the majority of the people. It has been a minority all the time that has brought these about. The minority is trying to operate now in this country,

and here I refer again to the which, in my opinion, consists of people who are only thinking of themselves and are not thinking of the people who will be borne out later in speeches made later in the meeting.

Today in a debate Mr. Guise was good for different tribes in the electorate and he said this was for unity, but this is wrong, entirely wrong, only going to help create friction. Tamindai complained about this that he did not like the people of the area being included with the Sepik River and May River as an electorate. He said things would not be that way. I think he is quite right.

Mr. Kaibelt Diria said that the white men "greasing" (using a pig to grease) and confusing them with their parties and I fully agree with him.

Mr. Barrett—You are going to the Sepik.

Mr. PASQUARELLI (continuing) choice in the Sepik, Mr. Barrett cannot envisage myself joining the Democratic Party. Two of the white men, Kaibelt Diria was referring to in this House and one is out of the Territory. These white men, who seem to have tried to ingratiate themselves with the people by trying to not act as a phony as if some wonderful phenomenon had made them become overnight must feel slightly embarrassed. Mr. Oala Oala Rarua refers to them as white men, and now they start the whole sordid process. Mr. Kaibelt Diria was just referring to the sure the majority of this Territory at the present time, that they are things forced upon them. By the way, by Mr. Gilmore we are not forcing on the people. We are giving them a chance, as a majority, as a people themselves, one way or the other. Mr. Edric Eupu and others like him were good men, can turn around and we do not want a Vietnam here. We want a Nigeria or we do not want it, surely if they had read their own just a little they would have seen when the majority of the people are allowed to express their wishes. Party policy. I am quite sure that we want the majority of the people to express their wishes. I think it would be a good idea if the Australian Government proceeded now and some form of constitutional union foisted upon the people without them being allowed to say no.

So I see no reason at all why this motion cannot be passed now. The New Guineans are honest.

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and here I refer again to the Pangu Party which, in my opinion, consists of selfish men who are only thinking of themselves and who are not thinking of the people. This might be borne out later in speeches that might be made later in the meeting.

Today in a debate Mr. Guise said that it was good for different tribes to be in the same electorate and he said this would help to create unity, but this is wrong, entirely wrong. It is only going to help create friction. Mr. Pita Tamindei complained about this when he said that he did not like the people of the Yangoru area being included with the people of the Sepik River and May River areas in the same electorate. He said things would not work out that way. I think he is quite right.

Mr. Kaibelt Diria said that there are white men "greasing" (using a pidgin term) the people and confusing them with this rash of political parties and I fully agree with him.

Mr. Barrett—You are doing pretty well in the Sepik.

Mr. PASQUARELLI (continuing)—I had no choice in the Sepik, Mr. Barrett. I certainly cannot envisage myself joining the United Democratic Party. Two of the white men who Mr. Kaibelt Diria was referring to are sitting in this House and one is out at the university. These white men, who seemingly all their time have tried to ingratiate themselves with the native people by trying to not act as white men, but somehow as if some wonderful form of metamorphosis had made them become native people overnight must feel slightly embarrassed when Mr. Oala Oala Rarua refers again and again to them as white men, and now they will have to start the whole sordid process all over again. Mr. Kaibelt Dira was just reiterating what I am sure the majority of this Territory must think at the present time, that they do not want these things forced upon them. By passing this motion by Mr. Gilmore we are not forcing anything on the people. We are giving the people a chance, as a majority, as a people, to express themselves, one way or the other. Now if Mr. Edric Eupu and others like him who I thought were good men, can turn around and say that we do not want a Vietnam here or we do not want a Nigeria or we do not want a Congo, surely if they had read their history books just a little they would have seen the dangers when the majority of the people are not allowed to express their wishes. This is Pangu Party policy. I am quite sure that it does not want the majority of the people to express their wishes. I think it would be quite happy if the Australian Government proceeded as it is going now and some form of constitutional union was foisted upon the people without the majority of them being allowed to say "yes" or "no".

So I see no reason at all why Mr. Gilmore's motion cannot be passed now if Papuans and New Guineans are honest. Again I would like

to bring all members' attention to the type of people that we might have to deal with at the next elections. When a man like Mr. Pita Lus can say, because some young Papuan has written a letter expressing her ideas on politics in the Territory and it is printed in the local paper, and because it does not agree with Mr. Lus's party line, he is going to take her out and rub her face in the salt water, that is fascism. Because her ideas do not agree with his, he does not want to allow her to express herself freely in the press but wants to muffle her or drown her or do something like that. If the Pangu Party is honest, I think it will have to expel Mr. Pita Lus to keep the record straight.

This word that many people in this House have mentioned "democracy" is just being used as a word. People are rolling it round because it sounds good. Is it for the sake of the press or what? Mr. Speaker, I would call upon the members of this House now, especially the Papuan and New Guinean members, to re-think this situation and be honest to themselves and honest to their electorate. At this stage they cannot sacrifice their electorate's wishes for their own wishes formulated from within the last week or within the last two or three weeks when new parties were started in the Territory. Most people in the electorates do not fully realize or do not really understand what is going on. They do not know what the parties mean. Mr. Yauwe Wauwe demonstrated quite openly the other day what his interpretation of a party was and, therefore, Mr. Speaker, I must support Mr. Gilmore's motion.

Mr. DIRONA ABE—Mr. Speaker, since some European members have spoken honestly on this motion, I am going to express my views honestly. To my way of thinking a referendum would be a very big thing to us. This is because we are going to ask each individual Papuan about his relationship with Australia.

We are living happily under the present political status. We are very familiar with the Australian Government. We have been living peacefully since the British first came to this Territory. Since the British Government came to Papua, the Papuans have been assured that the land belongs to them. The Government did not rule over everything. The Australian people are very friendly to Papuans. We Papuans have realized that living under the Australian Government is very good and the people are happy with the Government. If the referendum is held, the people will tell you that they do not want any other government. The people are very happy and are used to the Australian Government.

If we start asking people now, I am sure that they will not tell us anything new. This is because the people still want to live under the present Australian Government. It is very good of Mr. Gilmore to make such a motion

for the future. However, I am expressing the views of the people of Papua. At present the people of Papua know that Papua and New Guinea is under one administrative union. Also in future the two Territories will be under one administrative union and live together as one country. I do not think we should pass Mr. Gilmore's motion at present because if we pass it without asking the people, as Mr. Pasquarelli said, it is going to be very difficult for the people to follow it. If we pass this motion about a referendum now, there is going to be a conflict between the two Territories.

I think we should wait a while for the people to understand such things, before we start making such motions. If we make such motions now and pass them, I am sure that such motions will create bad relationships between our people. The Papuan and New Guinean members are worried about this. I hope that the House does not agree to this motion.

Mr. DOWNS—This motion by Mr. Gilmore worried me and worried others because if it had stayed as originally drafted it could have caused confusion. A referendum occurs when the Government sends word to the people to ask them whether they want a particular thing. The Government must educate the people so that they understand properly what they are being asked. They must understand first of all. This motion by Mr. Gilmore now says that this House believes that before anything is to be done to join Papua and New Guinea, first of all the people of both Papua and New Guinea must be asked whether they do or do not want union. This does not mean this has to be done now. The motion says that if the Australian Government or the House of Assembly or the United Nations wants to join the people of Papua and New Guinea, they must ask the people first. That is what the motion says now. Previously, it was different. Now I do not see anything wrong with this motion.

When the war began in Nigeria, many people were disappointed. Nigeria was one of the last places in Africa to have internal fighting. In too many African countries they fight amongst each other. Dr. Gunther told me that this was not the fault of the Africans, but the fault of Great Britain because when she gave Africa independence, some of the boundaries were not right. When Holland was looking after Indonesia, when Germany was looking after parts of Africa, when France, Portugal and Spain were looking after other countries they made federations. Now those countries have independence and the boundaries, which were once satisfactory, afterwards became wrong.

This motion now says only that when the time comes the people must be asked first. We cannot change anything unless the people have been asked. If this union took place without the people being asked, I think there could be trouble. Now we are working to make Papua

and New Guinea advance together. There is nobody in the House who does not want this. All want Papua and New Guinea to progress together. If this motion wanted to do this thing tomorrow or in the new year, I would not agree with it. I would not be happy with it. But later on when you have independence, I think it is right that you should hold a referendum or a plebiscite to discuss this matter. I do not think that the motion is wrong. Why should people not like this? Of what are they afraid? Of what is the Government afraid? I think the Government is afraid of the Department of Territories in Canberra; afraid that the Department of Territories will be cross with it because the Department of Territories does not understand much about Papua and New Guinea.

If there is one man here who does not like this motion that the people themselves should be allowed to talk, then he is afraid that people might say what they want to say. I do not now think that this motion is wrong. First of all I thought it was wrong, but now the member has changed the motion and it is not wrong. He has not set a time for this. The motion says that when the time comes for independence and they want to join our Territories together, the people should be allowed to decide on union.

Mr. NICHOLAS BROKAM—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Barrett has spoken about the Papua and New Guinea Act and Mr. Neville has said that this would affect both New Guinea and Papua. Many times I have heard about this on the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

There is one problem here in Papua and New Guinea. This does not come from the people of Papua and New Guinea—from the black men—but I say this comes from the Europeans. Some white men in this country want to divide us. I am not lying, I am telling the truth. I am a Papuan and I know what the young Papuans in the public service in Port Moresby and the people in the villages think. They are the ones who say that the white men are the ones who want to divide this country. Here in the House of Assembly the majority of the members are New Guineans from the Trust Territory. I do not know how many there are. I have one thing I want to ask the Administration. What did it do before the war that makes it call Papuans citizens of Australia? When the select committee of the House of Assembly went down to Canberra, I asked the question: "What did you do for the Papuans before the war?" I was told: "This is a difficult question." If Papuans want to go to Australia, there is a law. If Australians want to come to Papua and New Guinea, there is also a law. They stay for some years, then return to Australia.

I do not want the Europeans to do things here that will destroy our country. We are black men and the Australians have come here

to look after us. They have come to progress and to live side by side. Later on we will have self-government about twenty or 30 years later and independence. But now we have to divide us and this is not good. They come to govern us and show us the way for the future of this country, and bringing up these things that will divide our country.

Mr. Barrett said there was a Papua and New Guinea Act and Mr. Neville said had been "greasing" Papuans and New Guineans. What is the reason for this?

Mr. Speaker, I do not want the country to collapse. Papua and New Guinea are one country. There is the Papua and New Guinea Act. If the House of Assembly passes a motion so that Papua becomes a Trust Territory or if New Guineans become Australian citizens that is satisfactory, but we should not do this as it will cause trouble between the people who do not understand it.

Mr. Speaker—I move—

That the question be now put.

Question—That the question be now put and negatived.

Mr. CHATTERTON—Mr. Speaker, the wording of the amendment is a slight improvement on the wording of the original motion. However, there is one thing that I am not quite happy about, that is a referendum or plebiscite. This could be interpreted by people who do not interpret it that way as a referendum question to be put to all the people of Papua and New Guinea. The question is "Do you want a union or not?". In the past we could have an almost overwhelming "Yes" vote from Papua, but we could have an overwhelming "No" vote from New Guinea, which of course would be completely against the New Guinea vote. Now this is a little fanciful, but I do not think that is a good idea.

Since Mr. Gilmore introduced this motion into the House I have heard that he expressed that Papuans should be asked to choose for themselves, that is, they made to unite with New Guinea if they want to or not. I have heard that during the last few days so that this is fanciful at all, and I was told the wording changed so that that interpretation being put on it was ruled out. If this amendment is passed the substantive motion, Mr. Speaker, I like to foreshadow that I would like to see a further amendment to change the referendum and plebiscite to the plural. The difficulty is that I am not quite sure what plural of referendum is. Perhaps you could help me there.

New Guinea advance together. There is only one man in the House who does not want this, and that is Mr. Gilmore. I want Papua and New Guinea to progress together. If this motion wanted to do this tomorrow or in the new year, I would agree with it. I would not be happy with it but later on when you have independence, I think it is right that you should hold a referendum or a plebiscite to discuss this matter. I do not think that the motion is wrong. Why do people not like this? Of what are they afraid? Of what is the Government afraid? Is the Government afraid of the Department of Territories in Canberra; afraid that the Department of Territories will be cross because the Department of Territories do not understand much about Papua and New Guinea?

There is one man here who does not like the motion that the people themselves should be allowed to talk, then he is afraid that people will say what they want to say. I do not think that this motion is wrong. First I thought it was wrong, but now the Government has changed the motion and it is not wrong. He has not set a time for this. The Government says that when the time comes for independence and they want to join our Territories together, the people should be allowed to decide on union.

NICHOLAS BROKAM—Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gilmore has spoken about the Papua and New Guinea Act and Mr. Neville has said that this will affect both New Guinea and Papua. Many people have heard about this on the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

There is one problem here in Papua and New Guinea. This does not come from the black people of Papua and New Guinea—from the black people I say this comes from the Europeans. The white men in this country want to divide the country. I am not lying, I am telling the truth. I know what the young Papuans think. I know what the young Papuans think in public service in Port Moresby and the villages think. They are the ones who think that the white men are the ones who should divide this country. Here in the House the majority of the members are Europeans from the Trust Territory. I do not know how many there are. I have one thing to ask the Administration. What did you do before the war that makes it call Papuans "the people of Australia"? When the select committee of the House of Assembly went down to Port Moresby, I asked the question: "What did you do for the Papuans before the war?". I was told: "This is a difficult question." If you want to go to Australia, there is a law. If Australians want to come to Papua and New Guinea, there is also a law. They come here for some years, then return to Australia. I do not want the Europeans to do things that will destroy our country. We are not the Europeans and the Australians have come here

to look after us. They have come to teach us to progress and to live side by side with us. Later on we will have self-government and then about twenty or 30 years later we will have independence. But now we have this motion to divide us and this is not good. The white men come to govern us and show us the right things for the future of this country, and now they are bringing up these things that will destroy the country.

Mr. Barrett said there was a Papua and New Guinea Act and **Mr. Neville** said that people had been "greasing" Papuans and New Guineans. What is the reason for this thing arising?

Mr. Speaker, I do not want this country to collapse. Papua and New Guinea must become one country. There is the Papua and New Guinea Act. If the House of Assembly amends this so that Papua becomes a Trust Territory or if New Guineans become Australian citizens, that is satisfactory, but we should not push this as it will cause trouble because we do not understand it.

Mr. Speaker—I move—

That the question be now put.

Question—That the question be now put—put and negatived.

Mr. CHATTERTON—Mr. Speaker, I think the wording of the amendment is a very great improvement on the wording of the original motion. However, there is one thing in it that I am not quite happy about. It refers to a referendum or plebiscite. This phrase could be interpreted by people who wanted to interpret it that way as a referendum—a single question to be put to all the people of Papua and New Guinea. The question might be: "Do you want a union or not?". In that case you could have an almost overwhelming "No" vote from Papua, I do not say you would, you might have a "Yes" vote from Papua, but you could have an overwhelming "No" vote from Papua which of course would be completely outvoted by the New Guinea vote. Now this may seem a little fanciful, but I do not think it is.

Since **Mr. Gilmore** introduced the original motion into the House I have heard the view expressed that Papuans should not be allowed to choose for themselves, that they should be made to unite with New Guinea whether they want to or not. I have heard that view expressed during the last few days so that I do not think this is fanciful at all, and I would like to see the wording changed so that any possibility of that interpretation being put on this motion is ruled out. If this amendment should become the substantive motion, **Mr. Speaker**, I would like to foreshadow that I would wish to make a further amendment to change the words referendum and plebiscite to the plural. My practical difficulty is that I am not quite sure what the plural of referendum is. Perhaps **Mr. Johnson** could help me there.

Mr. BONO AZANIFA—Mr. Speaker, I want to say something about what **Mr. Gilmore** has said. In 1961 up to 1963 there was no talk about this matter. New Guinea and Papua were happy together. The people of Papua were happy to see the people of New Guinea and the people of New Guinea were happy to see the people of Papua and the two countries were happy together. If a Papuan came to New Guinea we gave land to him and we told him that he could plant his food there and he could have his business there. We told him that we could live together and be friends together and he would say: "If you come with me to Papua, you can do this too. We will give land to you and we will be happy to live together and be friends."

Now in 1967 the countries want to divide. If we talk about this for a long time, it will go on and eventually the country will collapse. The people from Papua who have gone and lived in New Guinea and taken our land and the people who have come from New Guinea to live in Papua did not start this talk. This talk started in the House of Assembly and will destroy the country. It is not good that the two countries should compete with each other. I think the House of Assembly must straighten this out and give one name to Papua and New Guinea.

Mr. TEI ABAL—I have heard a great deal of talking about this. It has been said that the white man is trying to destroy us. What the white man is doing to destroy us I do not know. What is this \$77 million from Australia? We should not be too anxious to get something and then, if we should collapse, blame the white man. This motion by **Mr. Gilmore**, as **Mr. Downs** has said, is not wrong. It is a good thing, but we are thinking of hurrying up too much. In Papua and New Guinea there are 700 languages, but the people all think that our country is one. If we ask them they will be confused and later on some men who have been to school and had an education will say it is wrong to have divided the country. We must not be in a hurry to have a referendum in Papua and New Guinea. The country is not ready. It is a good thing that we should ask the people, but not yet.

It is not the Europeans or the Government that are destroying us. It is individual men who are doing this. As **Mr. Gilmore** has said, we must ask the people whether they want to become two countries.

The Europeans are from the Government of Australia to help the people of Papua and New Guinea and help them until Papua and New Guinea can stand on its own feet and then Papua and New Guinea will get self-Government and independence. I have told **Mr. Gilmore** that we should not ask the people now, that this referendum should wait. Later on, when the people want it, we can hold this.

I do not disagree with Mr. Gilmore's amendment. The people should be asked and it is a good thing that we should ask them. I agree that we should ask the people, but we should not be in a hurry. If we hurry too much then when things go wrong the people will say: "The Europeans did this to us." When things go wrong the people will be anxious to get the Europeans back again. When the people themselves fully understand and want this thing it will be time, but now everybody is talking all over the place and that is because when men are drinking they talk about independence and self-government and they talk in the House of Assembly. It is not the reasonable men—it is not the people from Lae or Goroka or Mount Hagen—who are saying this. I do not want the young men telling us what to do, saying what we should do and where we should go. The young men are anxious to do this and that and anxious to have the Pangu Party and do all kinds of things.

When Mr. Edric Eupu and I went to Canberra, Mr. Edric Eupu said that he did not want Papua to cease being an Australian Territory and become a Trust Territory or part of a Trust Territory. New Guineans say that if the Papuans want to join with Australia that is satisfactory, but the people do not want to divide like that. The people want the Territory to become one country. This border between Papua and New Guinea is on the map only. If we start this kind of talk the people will become very confused. They will not understand and will just follow what was done before. That is why I do not want us to hurry with this. Later on, this referendum can take place, but first of all we should educate the people.

Mr. WAIYE SIUNE—I do not agree with this motion that Mr. Gilmore has introduced. I do not like it. I am not cross. Mr. Gilmore is my friend and doing the same work as I am, but the main thing is that this is something that concerns Papua and New Guinea. It will only be right if the people's wishes come into the House. A member should not bring these things up and try to confuse the people. I do not like this and my people do not like this. We should not listen to one or two or ten men. If 100 people or thousands of people tell you something to bring to the House, then this is right. This House is not a place to play. We must tell the truth here.

The Australian Government is looking after this country properly. It is not destroying it. Mr. Gilmore is a white member. He is doing this thing and he does not know what will happen later on. He will destroy us. At present we are living together properly. We are not cross and fighting. In my district, Mr. Speaker, there are seven councils. The councils say that the people should not join a party. The Australian Government is looking after us and it is a good country. That is what my district has to say.

I do not agree with all the different parties the people are starting. We must think of the people.

I am telling the truth. I do not want Mr. Gilmore bringing this talk here. He wants to destroy this country. He wants to divide us into two very small countries. We do not know what will happen later on. Papua and New Guinea must remain together. The two Territories must stay together. The people have one kind of skin.

Mr. EHAHA KARAVA—I also want to talk about this motion. I did not talk to this motion before because I felt it was wrong. Now I have heard the amendment, I agree that it is a good motion. It is a good thing for the members to think about it and talk.

My friend, Mr. Nicholas Brokam, said that the Australian Government has not done anything good for Papuan citizens. This is wrong, however. The Australian Government is helping both Papua and New Guinea. The Australian Government is not destroying us and the members of this House must think about this.

We should not have bad thoughts about this matter which has come up. We have already discussed a number of good things that could arise. Some members are lying to other members, but we should keep talking about this. I agree with this amendment. This is not only the talk of the members, but this matter has been discussed outside also. I think Mr. Gilmore made a good speech. Mr. Downs agreed with it and told us that the motion by Mr. Gilmore is something we must decide on as it is our duty. I agree with the amended motion.

Sitting suspended from 9.04 p.m. to 9.15 p.m.

Mr. POPLÉ—Mr. Speaker, my electorate covers people who are both Papuans and New Guineans. However, the status of these people is different. Papuans are Australian citizens and British subjects. They are living in Australian territory. The land they occupy is called Papua, but it is part of Australia. In 1884, some 80 years ago, this land was annexed on behalf of Australia. The people of New Guinea however, have a different status. These people, who live in the larger and more populous part of this island were under German rule until Australia was granted a mandate over this Territory in 1921 by the League of Nations. At this time there were two different governments looking after the two separate territories. The Government of New Guinea cared for that territory.

When the second World War ended the United Nations at one of its meetings granted a trusteeship to Australia over the Territory of New Guinea which still stands to this day. Papua is not a trusteeship of the United Nations and is not discussed as such in United Nations meetings. The Government of Australia accepted the Trusteeship over the Territory of New Guinea but stated that it would have difficulties as it would have to have two separate administrations

to care for the two Territories. We should have two administrators, two administrations, two directors and so on for all departments. The Government then requested the United Nations to govern under the one Administration granted. The Papua and New Guinea Act, I think, 1949, authorizes that of the two countries has not still remains an Australian Territory. New Guinea a Trust Territory.

When the United Nations comes to this country eventually has the right to inspect the status of New Guinea. It has the right to travel through Papua, to visit Port Moresby which is the seat of government. The different status of the people are only Australian Protectorate subjects. If the 54 electors of the House should vote for a union of Papua and New Guinea, it is as saying to the people, "We have taken away your Australian citizenship."

Should the Australian Government be rid of the people of this country and British subjects. They can be rid of Papua is by themselves electing to leave and giving their citizenship to the United Nations. That it is appropriate for this decision, as there are members here from the United Nations who do not feel that we would be making a decision of this magnitude for a million people.

If the people of Papua and New Guinea can so do is by a majority of themselves. This should be asked to unite with New Guinea. They themselves must decide. There are only a very small number of people of this Territory who are the elected representatives and entitled to make decisions for a question of this magnitude. We should go back to the United Nations to decide, as we cannot do it ourselves. I also feel that the magnitude of what we are doing is not discussed. This motion by Mr. Gilmore is not a good motion for New Guinea. I feel that the United Nations should be forced upon the people and they also should have the right to decide or not they wish to unite.

agree with all the different parties the starting. We must think of the people, telling the truth. I do not want Mr. bringing this talk here. He wants to this country. He wants to divide us very small countries. We do not know I happen later on. Papua and New must remain together. The two Terrist stay together. The people have one in.

HAVA KARAVA—I also want to talk motion. I did not talk to this motion because I felt it was wrong. Now I d the amendment, I agree that it is tion. It is a good thing for the members out it and talk.

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suspended from 9.04 p.m. to 9.15 p.m. PLE—Mr. Speaker, my electorate ple who are both Papuans and New However, the status of these people . Papuans are Australian citizens subjects. They are living in Australy. The land they occupy is called y. It is part of Australia. In 1884, ars ago, this land was annexed on stralia. The people of New Guinea ve a different status. These people, the larger and more populous part nd were under German rule until as granted a mandate over this n 1921 by the League of Nations. e there were two different govern- ng after the two separate terring Government of New Guinea cared tory.

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to care for the two Territories. They would have two administrators, two directors of district administration, two directors of public health and so on for all departments. The Australian Government then requested permission of the United Nations to govern the two Territories under the one Administration and this was granted. The Papua and New Guinea Act of, I think, 1949, authorizes this, but the status of the two countries has not been altered. Papua still remains an Australian possession and New Guinea a Trust Territory.

When the United Nations Visiting Mission comes to this country every three years it only has the right to inspect the Trust Territory of New Guinea. It has no right whatsoever to travel through Papua, although it usually visits Port Moresby which is, after all, the seat of government. This is because of the different status of the people. The New Guineans are only Australian Protected Persons whilst the Papuans are Australian Citizens and British subjects. If the 54 elected members of this House should vote for a union of the Territories of Papua and New Guinea it would be the same as saying to the people of Papua: "We have taken away your Australian citizenship."

Should the Australian Government become tired of caring for the people of Papua and wish to be rid of the country it could not do so as the people of this country are Australian citizens and British subjects. The only way Australia can be rid of Papua is by the Papuans themselves electing to leave Australia and relinquishing their citizenship rights. I do not think that it is appropriate for this House to make this decision, as there are only some fifteen members here from the Papuan side and I do not feel that we would be justified in making a decision of this magnitude which would affect the future status and citizenship of over half a million people.

If the people of Papua wish to relinquish their citizenship, I feel that the only way they can so do is by a majority vote of the people themselves. This should also apply should they be asked to unite with New Guinea. The people themselves must decide. We, in the House, are only a very small portion of the total people of this Territory. It is true that we are the elected representatives of the people and entitled to make decisions for them, but for a question of this magnitude I feel that we should go back to the people and let them decide, as we cannot be certain what everybody wants. I also feel that many people in this country do not fully understand the magnitude of what we are discussing here tonight. This motion by Mr. Gilmore also involves New Guinea. I feel that before any constitutional union is forced upon the New Guineans, they also should have the right to decide whether or not they wish to unite with Papua.

I personally feel that a constitutional union between the two countries is the only solution leading towards future good government. However, I am only one voice and feel that on this question I cannot vote for all the people I represent. We must take the question to the people and let them vote to decide it. I do not feel that it is appropriate for the 54 elected members of this House of Assembly to decide the future status of the more than two million people of this country. I also feel that we should first, before carrying out such a referendum or plebiscite, heed the words of Mr. Lepani Watson when he said that we must first educate the people to fully understand the significance of the step and to further realize their present status and to realize the consequences of a constitutional union between the two Territories.

Mr. Speaker, I support Mr. Gilmore's motion.

Mr. HENDERSON—Mr. Speaker, I think it is unfortunate that this motion should have been brought before the House. At this stage of our development, I think it will do nothing more than cause unnecessary dissension between Papuans and New Guineans. The people of this Territory have been repeatedly assured that nothing will be done in the course of their constitutional development without the fullest consultation with the people of this Territory. In my opinion, it is much better that a question such as this should be left to the time when the issues are clearer; when the people have had more experience in political affairs.

Should this motion be passed now, in my opinion, it will be nothing more than a running sore in the relationship between Papuans and New Guineans. It is inevitable if it is on the statute book that there will be letters to the press, seminars and constant talk to keep this debate alive at a time when it can serve no useful purpose. The time to solve this problem is when the issue is real and self determination is round the corner; when the issues are clearer and the people are in a better position to assess the advantages and disadvantages of union or two separate Territories.

Mr. ROBERT TABUA—Mr. Speaker, previously a motion introduced by Mr. Matthias To Liman was unanimously passed by this House. This motion said that we did not want any other country to force Papua and New Guinea in any way towards independence or self-government. This motion by Mr. Gilmore is quite clear to me, but the Papuans and New Guineans living in the bush will not understand. This motion will only confuse the Papuans and New Guineans.

We do not want anyone to push us around and this motion really tries to push us into a plebiscite, to decide whether to be Australian citizens or members of the Trust Territory, which gives the right to the United Nations to force us at any time.

I feel that there is a danger in whichever way we, the Papuans and New Guineans, are

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prepared to go and I think Mr. Henderson has explained very clearly. I quite agree with him that it is best to leave things as they are now until the time is right.

I oppose the motion.

Mr. GROSE—Mr. Speaker, I respect Mr. Henderson's judgement and his speeches are usually to the point. But he says that he regrets the matter being brought up in the House at this stage. I am also sorry to hear members stand up and become emotional about this, but this matter did not originate in this House. This matter is being widely discussed outside the House—in the newspapers and on the wireless. If members listen to their radio at night they will hear letters about this very thing. The new parties that are being formed in some cases use it as a plank in their platform. One party has even incorporated in its name that the two Territories should come together. This is something for them to decide. But in the House we cannot bury our heads in the sand. We have a duty to place ourselves on the right footing and it is proper for the House to debate the matter.

We should not be angry with this motion asking the Government to hear what the House has to say. If independence should come to this country the first thing that the Government should do is find out the wishes of all the people in Papua and New Guinea as to what they want for the two Territories—not just the talk of the parties or individuals, but the wishes of all the people of the Territory.

The motion does not say that we should decide today, but it says that if the time comes for self-government then we must first ascertain the desire of all the people of the Territories.

Mr. Speaker, I support the motion.

Mr. PITA LUS—Mr. Speaker, I heard what Mr. Gilmore had to say before and now he has amended the motion. It is as if he speaks with two voices. Before he said that Papuans only should be asked about the matter. Now he has turned around and wants to include the New Guineans as well. What is he trying to do—develop our country or destroy it? Mr. Speaker, one of the objectives of the Pangu Party is not to divide the country but unite it. This motion does not do this. I do not agree with it. I have heard many men saying that they do not want parties, but I have been around and seen that many parties are being formed. The people are learning something. We should not be told to do things in a certain way. I have heard this kind of talk before and I do not feel that it is right.

Mr. Gilmore has changed his mind and that is not good. If he wants to say something, he should not change it and let the discussion become confused. I am confused. I want to tell you that the Government of Australia has given us a promise and has said it will hear what the Papuans and New Guineans have to

say. When the country has developed to the stage that the people want independence then they can decide. Therefore, until that time leave us alone. We have to gain knowledge first. When we are ready we can tell Australia that we want to become one country. This is not a matter for now, it is a matter for discussion in the future.

Mr. ASHTON—Mr. Speaker, this amendment will enable both sides an opportunity to make a decision. No matter whether the Administration realizes it or not, there is resentment at the prospect of amalgamation on my side of the globe. There is apprehension, as members from our areas are aware, (Mr. To Liman certainly is aware of it) and they are violently opposed at the moment to any form of amalgamation. They have been most emphatic in what they have said and I feel a referendum will be necessary to clarify this position. We may not like to hear some of the talk that is going around, but we must face the facts. As Mr. Zurecnuoc stated, he does not want anything hidden.

When I am going around in my area, many men come to me and ask: "Why do you want to join the two Territories together?" I reply that it is not my idea. They say: "If you want to join the two Territories, later on we will divide again." This is not my idea—it came from the native people. Now I have heard Mr. Nicholas Brokam say that this is something the Europeans want. I did not start this talk. This talk arose in my area. It is my job as a member of the House to bring this to the House of Assembly. I have heard a great deal of talk in the House today with which I do not agree. I agree that this motion should not be implemented and I agree with the amendment.

Mr. PALLAU MALOAT—Mr. Speaker, I wish to talk to Mr. Gilmore's amendment. Many members here are wasting time in discussing this matter back and forth and it is nearly time to adjourn. I feel what we have said is enough. We all know that the people of Papua and New Guinea are talking about this matter. We should not try to hurry it. The matter should be referred to the district commissioners and the members of some areas and they should go quietly and find out what the people think about this, but to bring the matter up now I do not feel is right. We should not do this. The people of Papua should make up their minds and the people of New Guinea should make up their minds later on. I feel that this matter should be referred back to the Administration and brought up in all districts of Papua and New Guinea through the district commissioners, district officers and patrol officers, who must work with the members of the House of Assembly to slowly discuss this with the people and find out what is to happen later on. If we are in a hurry to put this question to the

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people of Papua and New Guinea do not agree to stay together, be divided and what will happen that we have said enough about. We should not keep talking a long time.

Mr. PAUL LAPUN—Mr. Speaker, a few things to say about this motion. I spoke about this matter on Bougainville said: "Now we want self-government, and later on we then what will you members of Territories? Have you discussed this to me and I came to it in the House of Assembly. The members of the select committee in Australia to talk to the Government about the things that the common people. The Minister said a good thing to ask the people of Guinea about this. A year ago of the select committee heard. They heard me ask in Canberra and New Guinea could later on. They heard the reply given to laws separating Papua and New Guinea very important; that they would New Guinea from obtaining. These laws will be nothing what Papua and New Guinea indicate government they desire. They do to join with New Guinea to become. The Government of Australia and the people of Papua and New Guinea that it will become one country. great difference between Papua and New Guinea. It is not a big thing. Later on New Guinea want their own government let the Australian Government know and the Government of Australia and Papua to follow New Guinea. If we to join with Papua that is something—something for the two Territories.

In Canberra they said that Papuan citizens, but the Australian hold Papua to itself. Tasmania, but Papua only has Papua citizenship and is outside the law of Australia. Papuans are called Australian citizens. the same as Tasmanians are. is actually part of Australia. They are free to do whatever they like. is true. We cannot make New Guinea as Papua because Papua is a do this the United Nations will be.

When I was talking about this many members of the select committee. I went back to my people that they should not worry about we should all work together. The difference between us. We are to marry Papuan women and we can marry Bougainville people.

When the country has developed to the point that the people want independence then we can decide. Therefore, until that time we are alone. We have to gain knowledge. When we are ready we can tell Australia that we want to become one country. This is a matter for now, it is a matter for discussion in the future.

ASHTON—Mr. Speaker, this amendment enables both sides an opportunity to make a decision. No matter whether the Administration realizes it or not, there is resentment and a prospect of amalgamation on my side of the globe. There is apprehension, as members of our areas are aware, (Mr. To Liman is aware of it) and they are violently opposed at the moment to any form of amalgamation. They have been most emphatic in what they have said and I feel a referendum will be necessary to clarify this position. We may like to hear some of the talk that is going on but we must face the facts. As Mr. Ashton stated, he does not want anything

I am going around in my area, many people come to me and ask: "Why do you want to join the two Territories together?". I reply that it is not my idea. They say: "If you do not join the two Territories, later on we will divide again.". This is not my idea—it is the idea of the native people. Now I have heard from the Europeans that this is something they want. I did not start this talk in my area. It is my idea as a member of the House to bring this to the House of Assembly. I have heard a great deal of talk in the House today with which I do not agree. I agree that this motion should not be implemented and I agree with the Government.

ALIAU MALOAT—Mr. Speaker, I wish to refer to Mr. Gilmore's amendment. Many people here are wasting time in discussing it over and over and forth and it is nearly adjourn. I feel what we have said is not new. We all know that the people of Papua and New Guinea are talking about this matter. I do not try to hurry it. The matter should be referred to the district commissioners and members of some areas and they should find out what the people think and then bring the matter up now I feel is right. We should not do this. The people of Papua should make up their minds and the people of New Guinea should make up their minds later on. I feel that this matter should be referred back to the Administration and brought up in all districts of Papua and New Guinea through the district commissioners and patrol officers, who are working with the members of the House of Assembly to slowly discuss this with the people and then bring it to the House. If we do not hurry to put this question to the

people of Papua and New Guinea, and if they do not agree to stay together, the country will be divided and what will happen then? I feel that we have said enough about this matter now. We should not keep talking about this for a long time.

Mr. PAUL LAPUN—Mr. Speaker, I also have a few things to say about this motion. Two years ago we spoke about this matter. My people on Bougainville said: "Now we are talking about self-government, and later on independence, and then what will you members do about the two Territories? Have you discussed it?" They said this to me and I came and spoke about it in the House of Assembly. Later on I and the members of the select committee went to Australia to talk to the Government of Australia about the things that the committee was asking the people. The Minister said that it was a good thing to ask the people of Papua and New Guinea about this. A year ago the members of the select committee heard me say this. They heard me ask in Canberra how Papua and New Guinea could later on be one country. They heard the reply given to me that the two laws separating Papua and New Guinea were not very important; that they would not stop Papua and New Guinea from obtaining self-government. These laws will be nothing when the people of Papua and New Guinea indicate what kind of government they desire. They do not force Papua to join with New Guinea to become one country. The Government of Australia is educating the people of Papua and New Guinea together so that it will become one country. There is no great difference between Papua and New Guinea. It is not a big thing. Later on when Papua and New Guinea want their own government they can let the Australian Government know what they want and the Government of Australia will not force Papua to follow New Guinea. If New Guinea wants to join with Papua that is something it can decide—something for the two Territories to decide.

In Canberra they said that Papuans are Australian citizens, but the Australian law does not hold Papua to itself. Tasmania is part of Australia, but Papua only has nominal Australian citizenship and is outside the jurisdiction of the law of Australia. Papuans are only nominally called Australian citizens. They are not the same as Tasmanians are because Tasmania is actually part of Australia. The Papuan people are free to do whatever they like. I say that this is true. We cannot make New Guinea the same as Papua because Papua is a colony. If we do this the United Nations will be angry.

When I was talking about this in Canberra, many members of the select committee heard this. I went back to my people and told them that they should not worry about this and that we should all work together. There is no great difference between us. We are not forbidden to marry Papuan women and Papuan people, too, can marry Bougainville people. There is no

great division between us. The Australian Government has said that it is a matter for us when we want self-government or independence. When we finally get close to gaining self-government or independence this matter will come up. It cannot be shelved, it must come up.

Mr. Gilmore has introduced this motion so that we should think about this matter, not now but later on. I wish to say to Mr. Gilmore that he should not worry about this matter as it will come up later on.

Mr. MATTHIAS TO LIMAN—Mr. Speaker, it is true what Mr. Ashton has said about the feelings of the people at Rabaul. I think that prevention is better than cure. It is our idea to stop any possible problems that may arise in this Territory. The members who are supporting the motion to divide the countries are not many in number and it is our procedure to support the majority. We want to help the people be settled in their thinking and if we encourage this sort of talk it will mean that later on the country will be unsettled. I agree that this is prevalent in the Territory, but it is the fashion of leaders to lead our people in every way. We cannot encourage this talk that will unsettle the people and unsettle all the areas.

I also want to speak on what some of the members have said here today. They think that the Europeans want to destroy our country. This talk about Europeans is not right. It is too general. We have seen all these members in the House of Assembly. They have been here for many years and they are trying to help us in Papua and New Guinea to develop our country. We must be specific and refer only to the Europeans who are trying to destroy our country. If we find such Europeans we can talk to them and find out what exactly they are saying to unsettle the people. If we find that they are doing this, then we must tell them they are doing the wrong thing. However, this general talk is not right. This talk of some saying that all the Europeans are spoiling our country will make those Europeans who have been here for a long time and who have said wise things, feel sorry that we should talk like this about them. I feel it is better for us to talk straight. It is not good saying that no Europeans are any good.

It is my opinion that we should unite Papua and New Guinea in one country. This motion says only that we should find out what the people are thinking. I think it is quite a good idea that we should find out what the people are thinking. It is not good that one country should be just a colony and the other a trust territory. I feel, therefore, that the motion is good.

There is one thing more that I want to say. Later on I think we can find out what the people are thinking, but I think that we should not encourage the people to be unsettled and later on to destroy our country.

I want to say, too, that this talk is present in Rabaul. It is true, but this thinking in Rabaul is not what all the people think, only a few people. This idea that Europeans are trying to destroy our country is not right. If members hear a European man saying these things they can tell us who he is and what he is saying.

I feel that we cannot divide the two countries. I want both of them to remain together.

Mr. LEPANI WATSON—I want to say something on this matter. I am a little confused. There has been too much talk on this motion and the members have become confused. There would appear to be a desire to divide the country which to me is not a good thing. Now we have a House of Assembly which represents the entire country. However, I feel that there are apparently two laws. We should settle this matter first of all. It is important that the whole matter be cleared up now. We cannot have one country if we have two legislations. It is not good waiting until some future date to do this. We want to know now what the position is, not later.

It is good that Mr. Gilmore has raised this matter. We are not quite clear about what this law implies as it was made a long time ago and I think that the time has come to clear the matter up so that when the time comes we will be able to make our decisions accordingly.

Mr. KAIBELT DIRIA—Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk on the amendment. I am only a simple man and live as such. I feel that the amendment by Mr. Gilmore should not be passed. To me it would appear that Mr. Gilmore has erected a barrier between Papua and New Guinea. As far as I am concerned Papua and New Guinea should be one country. I am a man who belongs to this country and I am saying what I think about this amendment.

We have the parties being created. The coastal people are starting them. They do not give any thought to the people from the Highlands, where there is a large population. They should give some thought to us for we are numerous. They talk about self government and independence in their parties and forget about the primitive people of the Highlands.

I will have more to say about this later. I feel that this amendment should be rejected.

Mr. ZURE ZURECNUOC—Mr. Speaker, I feel that this is a more important matter. This debate has now gone on for three days. I think we should adjourn the debate so that all the members can give the matter much thought. I do not have any bad feeling towards any particular person or group and I speak in good faith. I can foresee what is to come and I am very serious. When Mr. Gilmore moved this motion I did not agree with it and I wanted to adjourn the debate, but I did not want to hide anything in this House.

Many say that we should discuss this matter later. I do not think so. We should discuss it now. I have heard much talk outside between members. Some have said that Mr. Gilmore

wishes to make a boundary between the countries, but he does not want to do this. The question is not to cause disruption between Papua and New Guinea and Australia. The question is that we think seriously about the matter now and not leave it to a later date. I do not believe that the leaders should decide for the people. I believe that the people should decide for themselves and that the views of the minority should be heard. We hear it said that the people are not able to decide for themselves. This is not true. If we think this then we are avoiding the truth and avoiding our responsibilities. I feel that a debate such as we are holding now is good.

When I spoke in the United Nations I said openly that we should be given more time. The Russians, the British and the French made mistakes. The Australian Government must remain here until we are ready. We have seen the African countries, the Asiatic countries—Malaysia, Singapore, Borneo, Sarawak—and the trouble in those places. We have also seen in East Germany and West Germany, North Vietnam and South Vietnam, Eastern Samoa and Western Samoa. Political boundaries cannot be avoided.

It is good that we discuss matters openly, thus showing what we are thinking. We must let everyone know—the local government councils the teachers, the mission workers and the plantation workers, etc. Many people keep saying that we should wait. That is fair enough as far as political parties are concerned, but we cannot wait to discuss matters such as the one we are debating at present.

Some people consider what Mr. Gilmore is moving as the work of a European. They consider Mr. Holloway and Mr. Vougas and their work in forming a party as the work of Europeans. This is not so. They are white New Guineans. I am neither anti-Australian nor pro-Australian and when I speak I say what is in my mind. Mr. Speaker, I support the motion by Mr. Gilmore.

Mr. BARRETT—Mr. Speaker, I spoke strongly against the original motion introduced by Mr. Gilmore, with, I think, justification.

The motion in its amended form does not seem to me to be objectionable. However, I do find myself in agreement with Mr. Henderson when he says it is to be regretted that the motion was ever brought before this House. The motion has caused much heated debate. There have been frayed tempers. This is to be regretted.

As the motion now stands it suggests that before any final act—any constitutional act—of union is made between Papua and New Guinea that the opinion of the peoples of both Territories should be sought by referendum or some other form of opinion poll. If we reject the motion as it is now worded, what will be the reaction of our constituents? Is it not likely that they will be angry with us, particularly the elected members? Will they not ask if it is our intention to prevent them having the opportunity of expressing their individual opinions on this vital matter?

I do not think that any elected member of the House can fairly vote against the amended motion. If he does then he must face the possibility of his constituents when he returns to his electorate. Personally then, Mr. Speaker, although I was strongly opposed to the original motion, I feel that I must support the amended motion or face the justified anger of the electorate.

Mr. STUNTZ—Mr. Speaker, I think I spoke at considerable length yesterday on the original motion and set forth my ideas on Papua's position in respect of its current association with Australia. I will now confine my remarks to the amended motion submitted by Mr. Gilmore and the remarks made by a few of the speakers who have spoken on this amendment.

Firstly I think we should be most grateful to Mr. Zure Zurecnuoc for the masterful way in which he set up of the import of this motion and the need for this debate. It is in direct contrast to the ostrichlike attitude of the leader of the Government who wants to bury his head in the sand. The Papuan members and New Guinean members told us that this situation exists—that people are aware of the difference in status between the two territories. Mr. Johnson, too, surprised me when he stated that he was not aware of the difference in status between the two territories. Mr. Johnson, too, surprised me when he stated that he was not aware of the difference in status between the two territories.

I do not know whether Mr. Johnson or Mr. Henderson have ever heard about a fait accompli but this motion by Mr. Gilmore is designed solely to guard against the people of Papua and the people of New Guinea being presented with a fait accompli. That is all it asks that before any irrevocable act is taken to the constitutional union of the two territories takes place the people themselves be consulted whether they want this act to take place. And I must agree with Mr. Barrett that I do not see how any member here in a democratic government, as we contend we are, can vote to his electorate and say: "I feel that the wishes should not be consulted" in a matter of such magnitude.

Sir, I support the amendment.

Mr. SUGUMAN MATIBRI—Mr. Speaker, I have a few things to say about this amendment. I am somewhat confused after all the talk that has been going on. I feel that Mr. Gilmore moved this amendment because he felt that there was a division through the middle of the country and he wanted to eliminate this division. This has been there for a long time with the Government looking after both of us. The House of Assembly looks after both countries. Mr. Gilmore wants to have this boundary removed. Many of my brothers in this House want this thing to be done much later. But if it is done later then trouble will occur.

I feel that I must support Mr. Gilmore's motion. Mr. GILMORE—I have not much to say. The members have said what they think. I think that some were cross about this because

to make a boundary between the countries, does not want to do this. The question is cause disruption between Papua and New and Australia. The question is that we seriously about the matter now and not to a later date. I do not believe that others should decide for the people. I believe people should decide for themselves and views of the minority should be heard. It said that the people are not able to for themselves. This is not true. If we is then we are avoiding the truth and our responsibilities. I feel that a debate we are holding now is good.

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Mr. STUNTZ—Mr. Speaker, I think I spoke at considerable length yesterday on the parent motion and set forth my ideas on Papua's situation in respect of its current association with Australia. I will now confine my remarks to the amended motion submitted by Mr. Gilmore and the remarks made by a few of the speakers who have spoken on this amendment.

Firstly I think we should be most grateful to Mr. Zure Zurecnuoc for the masterful summing up of the import of this motion and the necessity for this debate. It is in direct contrast with the ostrichlike attitude of the leader of the government who wants to bury his head in the sand. Papuan members and New Guinean members have told us that this situation exists—that people are aware of the difference in status between the two territories. Mr. Johnson, too, rather surprized me when he stated that he thought there was no immediate necessity to pass a motion such as this amended motion by Mr. Gilmore.

I do not know whether Mr. Johnson or Mr. Henderson have ever heard about a fait accompli, but this motion by Mr. Gilmore is designed solely to guard against the people of Papua and the people of New Guinea being presented with a fait accompli. That is all it does. It asks that before any irrecoverable act towards the constitutional union of the two territories takes place the people themselves be asked whether they want this act to take place or not. And I must agree with Mr. Barrett that I do not see how any member here in a democratic government, as we contend we are, can go back to his electorate and say: "I feel that your wishes should not be consulted" in a matter of such magnitude.

Sir, I support the amendment.

Mr. SUGUMAN MATIBRI—Mr. Speaker, I have a few things to say about this amendment. I am somewhat confused after all the talking that has been going on. I feel that Mr. Gilmore made this amendment because he felt that there was a division through the middle of the country and he wanted to eliminate this division. This boundary has been there for a long time with the one Government looking after both of us. This House of Assembly looks after both countries. Mr. Gilmore wants to have this boundary removed. Many of my brothers in this House want this thing to be done much later. But if we do this later then trouble will occur.

I feel that I must support Mr. Gilmore.

Mr. GILMORE—I have not much to say, because members have said what they think. It is true that some were cross about this because they were

emotional. I am sorry about this because this motion was not to cause trouble. It was to eliminate the legal division between the two countries and make sure that nothing wrong could happen later. I am sorry that the Government does not agree with me. It has heard what Canberra has to say and Canberra is opposed to what I have to say, but I think that really official members are not opposed but agree with me. I am sorry that they must stand up and say that they do not agree with this. I agree, too, with what Mr. Barrett said. We must all think about this.

If this motion is defeated and forgotten about and members go back to their electorates and tell the people that they have stopped them from deciding about what they want, there will be trouble. The people must be allowed to decide whether they do or do not want this motion.

Question—That the amendment be agreed to—put.

The House divided (the Speaker, Mr. Niall, in the Chair)—

AYES, 19.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. Ashton. | Mr. Makain Mo. |
| Mr. Barrett. | Mr. Neville. |
| Mr. Bono Azanifa. | Mr. Pasquarelli. |
| Mr. Chatterton. | Mr. Pople. |
| Mr. Downs. | Mr. Stuntz. |
| Mr. Ehava Karava. | Mr. Suguman Matibri. |
| Mr. Gilmore. | Mr. Tetley. |
| Mr. Grose. | Mr. To Liman. |
| Mr. Koitaga Mano. | Mr. Zure Zurecnuoc. |
| Mr. Koriam Urekit. | |

NOES, 30.

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Mr. Carter. | Mr. Newman. |
| Mr. Dirona Abe. | Mr. Palliau Maloat. |
| Mr. Edric Eupu. | Mr. Paul Lapun. |
| Mr. Ellis. | Mr. Pita Lus. |
| Mr. Henderson. | Mr. Poio Iuri. |
| Mr. Holloway. | Mr. Robert Tabua. |
| Mr. John Guise. | Dr. Scragg. |
| Mr. Johnson. | Mr. Singin Pasom. |
| Mr. Kaibelt Diria. | Mr. Siwi Kurondo. |
| Mr. Leme Iangalo. | Mr. Tambu Melo. |
| Mr. Lapani Watson. | Mr. Tei Abal. |
| Mr. Levy. | Mr. Voutas. |
| Mr. McCarthy. | Mr. Waiye Siune. |
| Mr. Momei Pangial. | Mr. Watkins. |
| Mr. Muriso Warebu. | Mr. Yauws Wauwe. |

And so it was negated.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion (by Mr. Henderson) proposed—
That the House do now adjourn.

CRITICISM—PRESS.

Mr. DOWNS—Mr. Speaker, this afternoon I think that the press of Papua and New Guinea did a great dis-service to the Administrator of this Territory at the opening of the Administrative

MINUTE

68/5430

Subject:

Transfer of Bougainville Secession Papers

Asst Sec (PA) has asked that all Bougainville secession papers be transferred from 67/3861 to this file.

In this connection see the following folios flagged on 67/3861 ff. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 28-40.

Please return both files on completion of transfer.

Please leave this minute on file.

L. Lalson

28th Oct '68

O.C. Registry

14 OCT 1968

67/3861

Dear

With reference to our telephone conversation concerning a proposed referendum for the people of Bougainville to decide on their constitutional future, I have set out below the information we have on the matter.

On 9th September, 1968, the Papua and New Guinea A.B.C. broadcast a report of a meeting in Port Moresby on 8th September between the Bougainville Members of the House of Assembly (Paul Lapun and Donatus Mola) and about twenty of their electors. The text of the release (which has no authorisation on it) on the meeting reported by the A.B.C. is attached.

According to the release, it was moved at the meeting that the Bougainville Members of the House should ask in the House that the Administration carry out a referendum in Bougainville in one or two years time to ascertain whether the people there wish either to remain as part of Papua and New Guinea, or to be independent, or to become part of the B.S.I.P.

On 10th September, at question time in the House of Assembly, Casey (Kainantu Open Electorate - Eastern Highlands) asked the Senior Official Member (Henderson) the Government's attitude towards the A.B.C. report concerning the Bougainville referendum proposal. Henderson replied that he would be surprised if this represented the views of all the Bougainville people.

Middleton (Sumkar Open Electorate - Madang) then asked Lapun (South Bougainville Open Electorate), as mover of the National Name Bill, how he reconciled his association with the proposal in view of his National Names Bill. Lapun replied all peoples had the right to determine their own future.

The questions and answers in full are attached.

There was neither previous nor subsequent discussion on this matter in the House during the last meeting, neither was a motion moved nor was notice given of a motion for the referendum. Nevertheless a motion was forecast in the South Pacific Post of 11th September either for the then current meeting of the House or the next meeting. The newspaper article, a copy of which is attached, referred to the Port Moresby meeting of Bougainvillians and quoted Lapun's stated intention to move for a referendum.

Paul Lapun was a member of the first House of Assembly also. He was born about 1923 at Makakau Village near Buin. He was mission educated and formerly a seminarian in the Catholic Church. He reads and speaks English and is fluent in Pidgin. He taught for the Catholic Mission for thirteen years before taking up farming. He was a member of a party of Papuan and New Guinean leaders which visited Australia in 1962 to observe Parliament and study other political institutions, and also a member of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development. He is Deputy Leader of the Pangu Pati, Parliamentary Wing.

Lapun introduced a Bill, to provide for one name for Papua and New Guinea, on 30th August, 1968. The debate was adjourned following the second reading speech until the next meeting of the House which commences on 18th November, 1968.

A copy of the Constitution of the Pangu Pati is attached, together with a copy of a circular letter dated June 1968 issued by the Pati.

During the last meeting of the House in August/September 1968, Pangu's numbers, in terms of membership, were reduced and it probably can now count on not more than eight genuine members, not all of whom will stand fast on all issues. Party members' contributions on many policy issues, and tactics in giving several members the opportunity to introduce positive, non-controversial member's bills, have been effective. The party seems to be fairly well organised but its leader, Somare has antagonised some members of the House by his interjections and occasional personal attacks.

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The Pangu Pati receives publicity out of proportion to its membership.

In the event of a firm motion calling for a referendum to determine the future constitutional status of Bougainville, the attitude which indigenous members would adopt is unpredictable, although strong and reiterated support in the House for national unity suggests that such a motion would be defeated by a large majority.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(J.O. Ballard)

Mr. D. J. Wyatt,
First Secretary,
British High Commission,
Commonwealth Avenue,
YARRALUMLA. A.C.T. 2600

DESPATCHED

Following is the text of a release (which has no authorisation on it) on the Bougainville meeting reported by the A.B.C.

The following are the main results of a political meeting between the Bougainville Members of the House of Assembly and some of their electors in Port Moresby.

In Port Moresby on Sunday, the 8th September, Paul Lapun and Donatus Mola, both members of the House of Assembly for the two Bougainville Open Electorates, had a political meeting with a group of about twenty Bougainvilleans and discussed with them various problems faced by the Bougainville people in Bougainville itself today, and about the political future of the whole district itself.

Among the major resolutions and motions passed are the following:

(a) We wish to make it known to the Administration that we certainly do not agree with the way our people at Kieta behaved in the recent incident against C.R.A. geologists and surveyors. We agree that such illegal actions should not be condoned or tolerated. However, we deeply deplore and disapprove of the unduly excessively hard measures taken against those men convicted. We strongly feel that the penalty meted out to them is more than warranted by the illegal deed done. Accordingly, we deeply regret that the Administration should still persist in subscribing to unenlightened policies of bygone years, especially in taking such provocative action.

(b) A motion was moved also that the Bougainville members of the House of Assembly should ask in the House that the Administration carry out a referendum in Bougainville in one or two years' time to ascertain whether the people there wish either to remain on with Papua and New Guinea or be an independent state, or else join up with the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. That it also should be made known to the House that already there is an increasingly growing feeling amongst Bougainvilleans from various strata of the society to be on their own as a people of a separate nation. In that way they hope to be master of their own destiny and retain their own identity as a people, as well as having a direct hand in seeking partial solution to their many nagging problems and having full control over their own affairs.

One of the main topics discussed too in that meeting was the feasibility of forming a Bougainville landownership association. Membership of this Association would be open to all land owners in Bougainville. The Association would have as its aims to advise and control the people concerned in selling or leasing of their land to anyone. Norms and regulations are to be laid down to which applicants and their applications are subjected. It is our wish that this body would be totally independent of any Administration control.

Questions without notice in the House of Assembly
Meeting on Tuesday 10th September, 1968

N.M. Casey (Kainantu Open- Eastern Highlands) asked
F.C. Henderson (Assistant Administrator-Economic
Affairs) -

"Did he hear the statement made by the Australian Broadcasting Commission last evening concerning the independence move in Bougainville? If so has he any comments to add on this statement?"

Henderson replied -

"I heard the news broadcast last night and must admit I was rather surprised and I would be surprised if it represented the feelings of the people of Bougainville. I find it rather surprising, if the newscast is true, if this Bill has the support of Mr. Paul Lapun, because it was only earlier in this meeting that Mr. Paul Lapun brought in a Bill suggesting that we have a name for the two Territories. I think reports such as this tend to emphasize divisions in the Territory whereas we should all be striving with one aim for unity in this country."

J. Middleton (Sumkar Open-Madang) asked P. Lapun (South Bougainville Open) as Mover of the National Names Bill -

"I heard a certain thing that came over the news and I want to ask him. It is a good idea to have this unity in this country and to have one name for the whole country. It is very good to have this but when we heard the news we heard a different conception as to what these people want to do. The news suggested that they wanted to have a country of their own. They want to secede from Papua-New Guinea. Now I would like to know what he has to say about his own Bill".

Lapun replied -

"This is a very big question for me to answer straight away. This National Name Bill that I am trying to bring I know that all sorts of people want to have the country united and so I am bringing in this Bill. I do not know whether this answer will suffice the member or not".

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S.P. Post

11/9/68

p.3,

Bougainville move for independence

The House of Assembly will discuss a proposal that the people of Bougainville hold a referendum to decide their political future.

The debate will take place either this week or at the November sitting.

The motion will be moved by Mr Paul Lapun (South Bougainville Open) and will be supported by Mr Donatus Mola (North Bougainville Open).

It will call on the Administration and the Minister for External Territories, Mr Barnes, to allow the people of Bougainville to hold a referendum to decide whether or not they want to remain part of the Territory.

The alternatives will be political union with the British Solomons or an independent Bougainville.

PANGU

The motion is expected to be strongly opposed by the Government.

Although Mr Lapun is a member of the Pangu Party his motion does not at this stage have full party backing.

Mr Lapun said yesterday

that the referendum proposal was the outcome of a meeting on Sunday.

This meeting was attended by about 25 people — Mr Lapun, Mr Mola, students, and a number of other native leaders.

"At the meeting we formed an association to press for the referendum," Mr Lapun said.

"We also agreed on the motion that I will move in the House."

"We took this action because originally the people of Bougainville were from the Solomons."

"We now want the people to be given the chance to decide if they want to become part of the Solomons again."

SETTLED

Mr Lapun said the meeting had decided that the matter should be settled before the Territory gained independence.

"Then we will all know where we stand,"

he said.

Mr Lapun is confident that if the people decided to join the Solomons, the Government of the British Solomons would be amenable to the move.

He said that he had discussed the matter with members of the Legislative Council of the Solomons in the past.

"This matter was raised at the last South Pacific Conference in Lae in 1965," he said.

"It has been discussed between us from time to time since then."

The question of Bougainville wanting to leave the Territory would create important constitutional problems.

The British Solomons is a British Protectorate and would not be able to admit Bougainville to its Territory without the permission of the British Government.

Bougainville itself is part of the United Nations Trust Territory of New Guinea.

DEPT. OF EXTERNAL TERRITORIES

INWARD

TELEPRINTER MESSAGE

PMC 418
18 1435 OCT 68

TERRITORIES
CANBERRA



8450.....FOR WARWICK SMITH FROM HAY. SUMMARY OF TEXT OF TELEGRAMS RECEIVED FROM ADMINISTRATION BROADCASTING STATION KIETA YESTERDAY AND TODAY AS FOLLOWS:

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3. A STRONG MINORITY SUGGESTED BOUGAINVILLE SEPERATE FROM NEW GUINEA BUT RETAIN AUSTRALIAN ADMINISTRATION. THERE WAS A SUGGESTION SUPPORTED BY BOTH SIDES, THAT A POLITICAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE BE FORMED TO TOUR BOUGAINVILLE AND EDUCATE THE PEOPLE IN THE CHOICES AVAILABLE.
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END OF SUMMARY.

ADMR

(8450)
ENDS MSGE. 1502

Mr Ballard advised Mr Kirkpatrick that it is now too late to inform the minister 28/10

Mr. Butler was 21/10
Mr. Ballard
Mr. [unclear]
28/10

ACTION COPY TO Mr Ballard

26

Mr. K. H. Smith

that you were away - and
at some length. I asked that
a proper file be made wh. to
contain copies of material
on earlier files.

Please have this done. to
must cover moves to ~~the~~
~~the~~ Bonqainville from P. N. C.
This must include the
proposal during the last hours
for a referendum. Also the
letter request to the Rules
High Commission.

Mr. Paterson

Mr. Ballard said he asked you
to do this while I was away
pls. complete as
told to you by
Mr. Ballard.

Ac Mr. Ballard
has been
holding this
file for the
past week.
R/S 10

Q 28/10/68

'No NG support' for breakaways

SUN (Melb)
22/10/68

CANBERRA. — Most New Guinea islanders knew nothing about the threatened Melanesian breakaway party, a New Guinea parliamentarian said last night.

He is Mr John Poe, of Rai Coast, one of 12 NG House of Assembly members on a tour of Australia.

"I understand only 20 or so educated islanders have been talking about the party," he said.

"They have no support. The majority of islanders are against breaking away."

Mr Poe said neither Papua-New Guinea nor any of its islands was in a position to seek independence yet.

"We are not yet ready for independence," he said.

"We must remain with Australia. We need Australia's help—we are happy with the help we are getting."

Mr Poe said he was con-

fidant the proposed new party would not get popular support.

"We are not worried about the influence these few educated islanders will have on the majority," he said.

But another delegate said the suggested party was causing some concern.

"It is like the Fangu Party—wanting independence too early," he said.

The parliamentarians agreed that they and the vast majority of islanders as yet knew little about the running of the House of Assembly.

"We are here to learn and to pass on our knowledge to the people," they said.

"But this could take between four and 12 years."

B
24

Bougainville Situation Administrative
Arrangements

- 14th April 1967 - a meeting was held in Port Moresby re the Bougainville situation.
- The Asst Adm (Gen Affairs) Mr Henderson made a confidential report on this meeting in an undated unreferenced memo received 19th April.

- The Committee was described as -
"Executive Committee Handling Bougainville Situation"

- Those present were -

FC Henderson	(Chairman)
ICG Addison	ADDA
D.S. Grove	DISM
W.W. Watkins	Secy for Team

- They considered a proposal made by C.R.A. and signalled an answer to Mr Espie on ^{possible} repercussions of any action before the Company and Administration resolved certain matters.

- Approx 16-17th October 1968 - meetings of the Bougainville District Combined Councils Conference and the Administrator's Executive Council have discussed recent developments.

Mr Ballard

K. Hudson
21 Oct 68

ACTION COPY

PMC 418
18 1435 OCT 68



TERRITORIES
CANBERRA

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END OF SUMMARY.

ADMR

(8450)

ENDS MSGE. 1502

W. C. Ballard

PMC 379
17 1605 OCT 68

TERRITORIES
CANBERRA

P R I O R I T Y

8427....FOR WARWICK SMITH FROM HAY. PRESS RELEASE.

TEXT OF STATEMENT ISSUED FROM AEC TODAY AS FOLLOWS:

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS ISSUED ON THE INSTRUCTION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WHICH IS MEETING TODAY. THE AEC TODAY CALLED UPON PAPUANS AND NEW GUINEANS IN ALL DISTRICTS TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE UNITY OF THE TERRITORY.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL FEEL THAT NATIONAL UNITY IS ESSENTIAL IF THE TERRITORY IS TO MAKE THE PROGRESS WHICH ALL PEOPLE EVERYWHERE WANT. EACH DISTRICT IS HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON ALL THE OTHERS FOR ITS FUTURE. EACH DISTRICT BENEFITS FROM THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BUILT IN MANY DIFFERENT DISTRICTS SUCH AS THE VUDAL AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE AND TEACHERS COLLEGES.

EACH DISTRICT HAS MUCH TO GAIN FROM UNITING IN A COMMON EFFORT TO MAKE THE TERRITORY INTO A VIBBLE, SELF RELIANT COUNTRY WITH SUFFICIENT NUMBERS TO SUPPORT A MODERN ECONOMY.

THE COUNCIL RECALLS THE STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL LORD CASEY, WHEN OPENING THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ON 4TH JUNE, 1968, WHO SAID THAT MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY HAD AN IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITY IN BRINGING ABOUT NATIONAL UNITY.

THE COUNCIL CONCLUDED THAT THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE ASKED TO DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL UNITY AT ITS MEETING IN NOVEMBER.

END OF STATEMENT.

ADMR

(8427)
ENDS MSGE.

16/10/77

21

PH 372
17 1430 OCT 68

TERRITORIES
CANBERRA

P R I O R I T Y

9416....FOR WARWICK SMITH FROM HAY STOP TELEGRAM DATED 17TH OCTOBER FROM ADMINISTRATION BROADCASTING STATION RABAU READS QUOTE R34 AT PUBLIC MEETING HELD NEAR RABAU LAST NIGHT ONE HUNDRED NEW GUINEANS MAINLY TOLAI UNANIMOUSLY ELECTED VIN TOBAINING AS PRESIDENT OF NEW POLITICAL PARTY STOP PARTY TENTATIVELY NAMED MELANESIAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY STOP PARTY PLEDGED TO WORK CONSTITUTIONALLY TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE FOR NEW GUINEA ISLANDS STOP PARTY HAS ADOPTED FRANGIPANI AS EMBLEM TO REPRESENT NEW BRITAIN COMMA NEW IRELAND COMMA BOUGAINVILLE COMMA THE ADMIRALTY GROUP COMMA AND OTHER ISLANDS WITHIN REGION

STOP PARTY AIMS AT NEXT ELECTIONS OF HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY TO SUBMIT CANDIDATES FOR ALL OF THIRTEEN ISLANDS ELECTORATES STOP THESE CANDIDATES TO PRESS FOR REFERENDUM OF PEOPLE FOR OR AGAINST INDEPENDENCE NOT LATER THAN NINETEEN SEVENTY FIVE REPEAT 1975 STOP PARTY ENVISAGES CALLING NEW COUNTRY MELANESIA WHICH WILL BE MEMBER OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS WITH ITS OWN GOVERNOR BASED IN RABAU AND ALSO WILL BECOME FULL MEMBER UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY STOP PARTY SPOKESMAN SAID PARTY MEMBERS UNDERSTOOD WIDESPREAD THROUGHOUT NEW GUINEA ISLANDS STOP THIS INFORMATION ISSUED IN PRESS STATEMENT FROM TOLAI LEADERS ALSO MEMBER OF NEW PARTY STOP PRESENTLY PARTY HAS FIFTY FINANCIAL MEMBERSHIP UNQUOTE STOP ABC MIDDAY REPORT SAID TWO REASONS GIVEN FOR FORMATION OF PARTY FIRST MORESBY WAS TOO REMOTE FROM THE ISLANDS AND THE PEOPLE THERE FELT OUT ON A LIMB SECONDLY THE ISLANDS PEOPLE FELT THEY HAD NO REAL AFFINITY WITH NEW GUINEA MAINLAND PEOPLE FROM WHOM THEY REGARDED THEMSELVES AS DIFFERENT.
ADMR

(9416)
ENDS MSGE.

1445

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPTERR AA62012

X

CPM 424

ROUTINE

170920K OCT

FM TERRITORIES CANNBERRA
TO ADMIN PORT MORESBY

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L 282/7403 PERSONAL FOR HAY FROM WARWICK
SMITH

THIS MESSAGE IS TO CONFIRM THAT IN YOUR DISCUSSION WITH MINISTER RE
BOUGAINVILLE IT WAS AGREED THAT ADMINISTRATION SHOULD START MOVE
GOING TO COUNTER SUCCESSION IDEAS. THIS MIGHT BE DONE WHEN PRACTICABLE
IN HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS BY BROADCASTS OF APPROPRIATE
MATERIAL ON ADMINISTRATION RADIO
BT

Mr. Palmer

Mr. Richards

Mr. G. M. + J. H. B.

rs 17/10

CONFIDENTIAL Sec.

sh

ENDS RR TOD 0932K
ADMIR PNG 104



ADMR PNG 104
1/23PM. 11TH SEPT. 1968

TERRITORIES
CANBERRA

7568...WARWICK SMITH FROM HAY STOP

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A RELEASE (WHICH HAS NO AUTHORISATION ON IT) ON THE BOUGAINVILLE MEETING REPORTED BY THE ABC. BEGINS:

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MAIN RESULTS OF A POLITICAL MEETING BETWEEN THE BOUGAINVILLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY AND SOME OF THEIR ELECTORS IN PORT MORESBY STOP

IN PORT MORESBY ON SUNDAY, THE 8TH SEPTEMBER, PAUL LAPUN AND DONATUS MOLA, BOTH MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY FOR THE TWO BOUGAINVILLE OPEN ELECTORATES, HAD A POLITICAL MEETING WITH A GROUP OF ABOUT TWENTY BOUGAINVILLEIANS AND DISCUSSED WITH THEM VARIOUS PROBLEMS FACED BY THE BOUGAINVILLE PEOPLE IN BOUGAINVILLE ITSELF TODAY, AND ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE WHOLE DISTRICT ITSELF.

AMONG THE MAJOR RESOLUTIONS AND MOTIONS PASSED ARE THE FOLLOWING:

(A) WE WISH TO MAKE IT KNOWN TO THE ADMINISTRATION THAT WE CERTAINLY DO NOT AGREE WITH THE WAY OUR PEOPLE AT KIETA BEHAVED IN THE RECENT INCIDENT AGAINST C.R.A. GEOLOGISTS AND SURVEYORS STOP WE AGREE THAT SUCH ILLEGAL ACTIONS SHOULD NOT BE CONDONED OR TOLERATED STOP HOWEVER, WE DEEPLY DEPLORE AND DISAPPROVE OF THE UNDULY EXCESSIVELY HARD MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST THOSE MEN CONVICTED STOP WE STRONGLY FEEL THAT THE PENALTY METED OUT TO THEM IS MORE THAN WARRANTED BY THE ILLEGAL DEED DONE STOP ACCORDINGLY, WE DEEPLY REGRET THAT THE ADMINISTRATION SHOULD STILL PERSIST IN SUBSCRIBING TO UNENLIGHTENED POLICIES OF BYGONE YEARS, ESPECIALLY IN TAKING SUCH PROVOCATIVE ACTION STOP

(B) A MOTION WAS MOVED ALSO THAT THE BOUGAINVILLE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY SHOULD ASK IN THE HOUSE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION CARRY OUT A REFERENDUM IN BOUGAINVILLE IN ONE OR TWO YEARS' TIME TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER THE PEOPLE THERE WISH EITHER TO REMAIN ON WITH PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA OR BE AN INDEPENDANT STATE, OR ELSE JOIN UP WITH THE BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE STOP THAT IT ALSO SHOULD BE MADE KNOWN TO THE HOUSE THAT ALREADY THERE IS AN INCREASINGLY GROWING FEELING AMONGST BOUGAINVILLIANS FROM VARIOUS STRATA OF THE SOCIETY TO BE ON THEIR OWN AS A PEOPLE OF A SEPERATE NATION STOP IN THAT WAY THEY HOPE TO BE MASTER OF THEIR OWN DESTINY AND RETAIN THEIR OWN IDENTITY AS A PEOPLE, AS WELL AS HAVING A DIRECT HAND IN SEEKING PARTIAL SOLUTION TO THEIR MANY NAGGING PROBLEMS AND HAVING FULL CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN AFFAIRS STOP

ONE OF THE MAIN TOPICS DISCUSSED TOO IN THAT MEETING WAS THE FEASIBILITY OF FORMING A BOUGAINVILLE LANDOWNERSHIP ASSOCIATION STOP MEMBERSHIP OF THIS ASSOCIATION WOULD BE OPEN TO ALL LAND OWNERS IN BOUGAINVILLE STOP THE ASSOCIATION WOULD HAVE AS ITS AIMS TO ADVISE AND CONTROL THE PEOPLE CONCERNED IN SELLING OR LEASING OF THEIR LAND TO ANYONE STOP NORMS AND REGULATIONS ARE TO BE LAID DOWN TO WHICH APPLICANTS AND THEIR APPLICATIONS ARE SUBJECTED STOP IT IS OUR WISH THAT THIS BODY WOULD BE TOTALLY INDEPENDENT OF ANY ADMINISTRATION CONTROL STOP ENDS.....ADMIR

(7568)
ENDS MSGE.
DEPTERR AA62012

First seen and put on file 25/11/68. and.

W. K. [Signature] 11/11/68
To the [Signature]

Battle Secession
#28-40

260
~~40~~
19



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

In Reply
Please Quote

No.

Port Moresby,

CONFIDENTIAL

The Secretary,
Department of Territories,
CANBERRA. A.C.T.

...

Enclosed are Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee handling the Bougainville situation, held in Port Moresby on the 14th April, 1967.

As regards the proposal made by C.R.A. in relation to the native - Batoi - who brought in specimens from the Numa Numa area, a signal has been despatched to Mr. Espie, pointing out possible repercussions of such action on the Panguna people, and suggesting that no action be taken until discussions are held between the company and Administration officials.

...

I am also enclosing a report made by Mr. N.H. Pratt, Deputy Crown Solicitor, Rabaul, following his visit to the Moroni people, to explain their legal rights under the Mining Ordinance.

Although this report turns up nothing new, it is an interesting assessment of local thinking by an outside person who previously has had no dealings with these people or the mining situation in Bougainville.

Mr. T. Gifford 18-20/4.
Copies to minutes,
Secretary, & Mr. Gifford,
encl. *[Signature]*

[Signature]
(D.O. HAY)
ADMINISTRATOR.

REC'D A.M. 19 APR

[Signature]

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CONFIDENTIAL

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HANDLING BOUGAINVILLE SITUATION
HELD ON 14TH APRIL, 1967.

PRESENT

Mr. F.C. Henderson (Chairman)	Assistant Administrator (Economic Affairs)
Mr. T.G. Aitchison	Assistant Director, Department of District Administration
Mr. D.S. Grove	Director, Department of Lands, Surveys & Mines
Mr. W.W. Watkins	Secretary for Law

The Committee was called together to discuss D.D.C. Brown's preliminary report on Moroni, as outlined in signal 1842 of the 13th April, and the report of the Deputy Crown Solicitor, Mr. Pratt. Although Mr. Pratt's report threw up nothing new, it was considered by the Committee to be a valuable document as it was an independent outside assessment of the thinking of the Moroni people.

It was recommended that the Rabaul police be withdrawn on the completion of the Moroni operation, but should be replaced by another group of police from Rabaul for the move to the Korroni Creek and Mautango area.

Two or three weeks ago C.R.A. informed the Director of the Department of Lands, Surveys & Mines that a native - Batoi - had brought in some interesting specimens and mineralisation from the back of the Numa Numa area. C.R.A. Headquarters, Melbourne, rang Mr. Grove this morning and informed him that Batoi, an employee of C.R.A., and a land owner in the Numa Numa area, had brought in further specimens which the company consider are so attractive that they propose :-

- (1) Batoi should take out a prospecting authority;
- (2) The Company take up an option over the prospect for six months, and pay Batoi \$2,000;
- (3) Should mining operations result from prospecting, the finder be given \$500 reward plus \$20,000 a year for 10 years or \$200,000 worth of shares in the venture, at par;
- (3) In the testing period Batoi be paid \$1,000 per year.

The Committee was unanimous in its opinion that this proposal should be handled with the greatest of care, and should be discussed fully with C.R.A. before any move is taken.

(F.C. HENDERSON)
ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR (ECONOMIC AFFAIRS).

c.c. Secretary, Department of Territories - for your information.

COPY.

Crown Law Office,
RABAUL.

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10th April, 1967.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Secretary for Law,
Department of Law,
KONEDOBU, PAPUA.

The enclosed transcript and material from my notes indicate that the people are quite adamant that the company should not move into their land.

At both sessions there were possibly 30 or 40 people present and the impression I gathered from those who spoke at the meeting was one of determination, even to the point of engaging in physical violence, to prevent the company from coming onto the land. In any assessment of future action the possibility of physical force would have to be given real weight.

It is also apparent that whatever lay at the start of the business, the question of mineral ownership has now become inextricably mixed up with self government and a somewhat veiled threat of separation or at least a new state movement. I feel that one of the root causes of the present stubbornness is a general lack of understanding on the nature of government, and a possible belief that a government of indigenes will respect above all else customary land law. Were it not for the fact that Mr. Brown and other officers have already sat down in the villages and endeavoured to discuss the issues with the people I would have suggested that a crash programme of elementary government and economics carried out by a person who lived in the village over a period of months, was one worthwhile alternative to forcing the issue. The person selected of course would have to obtain the confidence of the villagers before he could make any headway at all.

Unfortunately, the current Supreme Court sittings is occupying a great deal of my time at the moment so rather than delay the report any longer I have taken the opportunity of knocking it into shape over the weekend for posting on Monday. As the meeting was primarily one to exhort the government to action against C.R.A. rather than ask legal questions I decided, after a number of futile attempts to draw out questions, to use the opportunity for gaining general information in the fond hope that something worthwhile might emerge despite the fact that it had obviously been done by many other officers before.

Please advise if you wish for any further comment on the meeting.

(SGD) (N.H. PRATT)
DEPUTY CROWN SOLICITOR
(RABAUL)

encl.

c.c. Mr. W. Brown,
A.D.C., Kieta.

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MEETING OF THE MORONI PEOPLE AT BARAPINA

Commenced 10.30 a.m. 4th April, 1967.

Interpreter: from English to local dialect - SEVERINUS AMPAOR

It was explained to the meeting that I had arrived in Barapina at the request of the people in order to answer questions which the people wished to ask. This was confirmed by the gathering and the man Gregory Kopa stated that some of the people wished to speak. The following, until indicated, is a transcript of a tape recording made at the beginning of the interview. Thereafter I have relied on my notes.

From tape :

I am a government lawyer from Rabaul. My boss is in Port Moresby. There are a number of people in my department who are specially trained to examine the laws. We go to school and after that we train at a special school which teaches all about the law. My work is to advise the government in law matters. That is the work of my department. We do not make the laws, we merely examine the laws to tell the government what the law is.

As you probably know the law is made by the government and the House of Assembly - they are the people who actually make the laws. When they make the laws they write them on paper and everyone who can read English can read the laws. When they get many laws they put them altogether in a book. There are a great many laws made in this Territory and there are a great many books like this one with various laws in it. In this book I have laws on matters which deal with marriage, people who are sick in the mind, laws dealing with people who commit criminal offences and laws dealing with mining. I also have some laws dealing with mining in this book here. I have the laws dealing with the land laws of the Territory in this one. Now I am here today because I understand that you people have asked for a government lawyer to come down here so that you may ask him questions. Is that true that you wish to ask some questions of me. I have nothing to do with the changing of the law - I can only tell you what is written in the book of the law.

I think maybe we can start by having some questions asked and I will see if I can answer these questions.
Interpreter: "Now who will start".
Me: "Anyone".

Gregory says that we do not think that you will be able to stand between us and the government to hear this Court. Gregory says that he and his people do not think that you will be standing between the people's ideas and the government idea to carry out this Court. You are on the government side rather than the people's side.

Me: Well, I am a government lawyer - I am a man who advises the government on what the law is. I understood that you asked for a government lawyer - is that correct?

Answer: "That is correct".

Me: "Are you happy to ask me questions".

Answer: "The people would like to ask you as many questions as they could think of".

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DAMIEN DANEI:

In the early days when the Germans came in the people were in the native warfare and as soon as the government - the German Government - came in the government stopped the war, the native war. As soon as the government came in they put an end to the native war, the people of this island Bougainville were glad that the Germans stopped the war. That war was about the land, the people had a lot of disputes about land. As it stands one person would not take the other person's land. As we understand today, the government is not doing right. The government brought in C.R.A. without warning or without telling the landowners what was coming on. Because of this we, the people of this island, think this is not right what the government is doing today. You remember when the German Government came in they stopped the war about land. Nowadays the government is bringing a strange company to take the land away from us. The law is made not only by the experts, some laws are made almost according to the natives. As the people settle into the land they have their own law. Because of the ways of the government nowadays we think the government is not doing right to us. As I understand I am a man, a human being, I can think I know what could come later on and maybe later on in future I will be able to do this operation which is going on today.

Question: "That is to mine the copper?"

Answer: "Yes".

We think that when our own government comes into being later on will not be able to stand up strongly.

Question: "They won't or the government won't?"

Answer: "The government of this country - when we get self government. We think later on Bougainville will be a separate country. According to our law the land, the landowners own both the surface and underneath as well. I think later on this land will be a weak land. We have been making all these talks and complaints for a long time now - about three years have gone by. We would like that C.R.A. must go. If anyone says C.R.A. will remain he will bring the company on his land. The landowner has his own ideas, he can think. Later on he might be able to introduce another company as there are many other companies in the world. We do not feel well because the government is not following the law of this land - the law of Bougainville. The owner of the land will be sorry later on when he comes to think that the mineral was useful. That's the end of my story.

May I ask some questions from Damien?

Question: "Have you other land apart from the land the company is working on. Have you more land apart from the land the company wants to work on?"

Answer: "The mineral is not found in any other place than Bougainville, as far as we know the mineral is found right here".

Question: "Are you people worried about losing your gardens or are you worried about losing the minerals, the copper?"

Answer: "We worry about three things; (1) land (2) the garden on the land and (3) the minerals".

Question: "You mentioned that another company, if C.R.A. went away, another company might be able to come in. That would be with your consent, is that right?"

Answer: "Yes, another company could come in providing that this company would work according to the laws of this land".

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Question: "And what would they have to do to work in accordance with the law of this land. How would they do that?"

Answer: "That company would not come immediately but I would bring that company in when he makes me a nation by myself before the company comes in. We have heard many stories about mining and things like that. The Americans went into Wau and were working there and the people were not happy and then another company started in Nauru and today the Nauruans are not so happy".

Damien asks: Was there any law, English law in England saying that a piece of land was owned by a person himself personally and it was bilong him alone?

Answer: The English law a long time ago had all the land belonging to the King or the big chief and he gave some of this land to some of the people who assisted him in his fights as a reward for the fighting but very often he would only give them the land, if there was any gold or silver the King said you cannot have that, that is mine. I will give you the land but not the gold underneath the land. Then the people, the ordinary people became strong and they formed a government like our House of Assembly and said to the King it is no good that you one man or you and some of your helpers have all the gold to yourself, you must allow the government to have all this gold so that all the people can share in the money that comes from the gold. And the government said it is not our business to mine the land for the gold and silver, we will allow companies to come in and do this work and they will pay some of the money to the government so that the money can be spread around all the people and they will be able to keep some of the money themselves.

Because the government is made up of many people the government said that it is not good that all the money for this gold should go to one small group of people, it must be spread out amongst all the people in the country. If it went to one small group of people it would be the same as in the days before we, the government, were strong and it went all to the King.

If the money from the gold went to a small group of people it would be the same as in the old days before the government was strong and all the money went to one man - the King.

You mentioned something about a separate law on Bougainville, but your representative from Bougainville is a member of the government in Port Moresby.

The government in the House of Assembly last year - not only last year - the government has made a law which says that all the minerals in the ground in the whole of the Territory would belong to the government so that when a company comes in and mines and takes away the minerals they must pay the government some money and the government can then build the roads, hospitals, schools and other things for the whole of the Territory including the people from where the minerals were mined.

In addition to that the people from whose ground the minerals have come must get compensation for the loss they have suffered. Now tell me would you people be prepared for example to share your wealth from this copper if it were your own, with all the people on Bougainville from Sohano down to Buin?

Answer; "We would be willing to share the wealth but not immediately as nowadays we feel like a baby, in other words we are not able to govern ourselves and this company has come in at a time when we are still unable to do anything for ourselves that is before self government. The copper will be dug out before the self government is granted to us and by the time we are granted self government our own government will not be able to have any wealth because the mineral copper will be dug out before self government.

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Question: "Do you mean by this, self government for Bougainville itself or for the whole of Papua and New Guinea?"

Answer; "For the whole Territory - Bougainville included".

Question: "Don't you agree that the work the government is doing now is assisting all the people of Bougainville and Papua and New Guinea?"

Answer: "The government has brought C.R.A. without asking the landowners before the company came in, the C.R.A. came and for this reason we do not think the government is doing right. We do not want a lot of talks now because we have found the government has had many courts already. The Japanese war came in - it was not our war - it was a European war, Australian war and when that war came in I stepped in willingly, I took part in the war in spite of my poor way. I did participate in the war and may of my people fell in the war with many Australians, Americans and people of other countries.

After the war the government said that because you in your own way participated in the Japanese war, from now on I'll treat you as equal to myself but from that time no change took place and since then I have not been brought up this forty three years".

Question: "How do you mean not brought up?"

Answer: "I do not progress in the standards of living".

Question: "And why was this. What reason do you think was behind your not progressing?"

Answer: (by interpreter) "The first part might mean that since the end of the war and the government might have said that from right after the war the government will treat the native people and will try to bring them up to the equal standard of the European and since then there is no change in the whole country".

Question: "Well I think there may have been a lot of changes. Don't you agree that to do this the government needs money to build schools, roads and things like that?"

Answer: (Damien) "He is now summarising the faults, the faults with the government". (interpreter)

The second point is that the government introduced the C.R.A. without getting the rights from the landowners.

The third point because of this land dispute the government imprisoned a fight man from Masino.

Question: "Did the fight man break the law?"

Answer: "These fight men were acting according to the land and they were fighting for their own land. They did not really fight, they just claiming the land. We do not want these people to come up to our land".

Question: "What did these men do to make them go to prison?"

Answer: "The fight men chased some of the drillers up on the hillside. They went up on the hillside to put the new site for drilling. Actually, it was the land belonging to the Mosino people, when the day of their putting up the tent the fight men appeared from the bush, without doing anything they vocally told the drillers and the workmen to pull up their tents and go back to Wakunai.

The fourth point, the C.R.A. put up a notice on the

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entrance of the Nairobi road inviting all the women of this area which is against our law. We have no law in this country to invite all the women.

Question: "What was this, a notice which everyone could see on the road or what sort of notice do you say it was?"

Answer: "It was on the junction on the entrance to the road into Nairobi. It was written there and the people read it there."

Question: "Do you mean C.R.A. or some man from C.R.A. the company or some man who was working for the company?"

Answer: "It was written by the Snowy Mountains workers from the other side of Nairobi or Nairobi camp. The words were "all women welcome".

Question: "You recognise even in your own village one man may do the wrong thing but you don't blame the whole village for that?"

Interpreter: He says where was the European who wrote that notice, where was he standing, was he standing in behind the government law?

Pratt: There is no government law which says that you can put up notices like this - no government law says you can do it.

Answer: He must have been advised from somebody in the government.

Question: I presume that it is understood by you people that he wanted these women to go to bed with him, to lie with him. This is not supported by the government or the company. It is just one man's thoughts, own want.

The fifth point, the government did not act according to the law of this land.

The sixth point, the government has put up a police force into this camp and we are afraid that the government found this police force to fight the people here. We have our own law, the law of this land.

Pratt: Well you know of course the police force is in New Guinea and any other country - anywhere in the world - in Australia or America or England, to take before the court people who do not obey the laws of the country. The police are not concerned with people who obey the law, only with people who break the law.

I know that you say you have one set of laws for the people around here concerning the land.

Interpreter: He says that law is for the whole of Bougainville.

With very great respect I would suggest that you do not know a lot about land laws of the people around Sohano, you only know the land laws of the people around the Kieta area. (Assent nodded).

The government has made a law concerning mining and that law states that all gold and minerals in the ground shall belong to the government and not to the people of one village. If the government makes a law it must enforce it otherwise it is no longer a government.

As you know the government has a law against killing and a man who kills is arrested by the police and brought before the court. If this were not so this country would still be fighting, the people would be fighting one another from one village to the next village. The people live in peace because the law is enforced.

The same problem arises with the mining. If the law is not enforced

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then the government is not doing its job.

This law concerning mining was passed last year when there were many of your own people from Papua and New Guinea and Bougainville sitting in the House - the law making House.

If the law is a bad law people cannot change it by refusing to obey it - they must prevail on the people in the law making House to change it.

If I break the law I must go to gaol or pay a fine, the same as anyone else - so that also if the people from Moroni and other areas here break the law this will lead to trouble because the law has to be enforced also.

As I understand it, you people will obtain money for the work that will be done by the company and the government will obtain money to build roads, hospitals, schools, pay the police, doctors, teachers, and all the other people the government has to pay. And the government law is also that a person who wishes to look at some land and see if there are minerals on it may apply to the Warden and the Warden can give them permission to go on to the land - only to look for minerals.

(end of tape)

The following is from my notes :-

I then said to Damien "The Mining Warden had told you that you can get compensation for the loss of the use of your land and probably a portion of the wealth which comes from minerals".

Damien replied "You cannot have the minerals because this would create too much hardship for us".

"But the law states that the company has a right to prospect over your ground. This law was made by the House of Assembly and the House contains many people from Papua and New Guinea as well as your representative from Bougainville. Damien replied "That is so but we are not happy about these matters -

1. We were never properly advised as to the extent of the company's activities.
2. The members of the House should have told us about the law.
3. The laws should be made after collecting the ideas of the people.
4. We are not too happy about the members thinking they are our members".

I said "During some of the sessions your own member for Bougainville has spoken strongly on the issue". Damien replied "During the sessions there were too many members opposing him. Our ideas about this matter will go on for quite a long time and we will not change our thinking. C.R.A. must go. We would like Paul Lapun to come to Guava". I said "I do not think that your custom deals with anything existing under the land but is restricted merely to the surface". Damien replied "We own not only what is on top but what is underneath. That custom developed after the first government came to this country. The gold prospecting in this country before the war has strengthened our custom in this matter". I said "I am sure from what you have seen you must realise that to work the minerals requires a lot of money, a lot of people and a lot of knowledge. If you wait until you everyone of you has received sufficient knowledge of these matters the copper would still be there when your children's children's children are dead". The answer -

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"We would not mind the copper remaining there until the time of our children's children".

Question: "But such a company requires a lot of money and a lot of equipment".

Answer: "We can eventually form our own company".

The next speaker was an elderly woman PUAREKO,

"I don't want C.R.A. to remain. I am the mother of this land and I want to continue possessing the surface of what is underneath it. I will not give over the land - it is mine. I came to this place to give my case in the Court but the government does not listen. The young people here today will tell you how the company came here. My grandchildren will not have land later on. The company has ruined a lot of my land already".

Question: "Do you know that the company has already paid in a lot of money for compensation for land damaged?"

Reply: "C.R.A. should not be on this land. It is my land".

Question: "Would you be prepared to accept compensation for this land?"

Answer: "Yes".

Question: "Would you be prepared to mark out the boundaries of your land for the Warden and tell him who owns it?"

Answer: "No".

Question: "How can the compensation which the company has already paid for damages be paid out if the government do not know whose land has been damaged?" No answer.

The next speaker was EDWARD TEORI,

"I would like to give you an account of how C.R.A. came in right from the beginning. Six men came to Kupe. We have had gold prospectors in the area before but we have never seen any results from it. Two men in particular we recall. Mr. Robbie and Ken Phillips (apparently Mr. Robbie was used by Mr. Phillips as interpreter). We had a talk with them and this is what took place.

We said "We don't want any prospectors in this area". They said "We have a government licence". We: "It is not right as you have not obtained a licence from the government of the Territory which is yet to be formed (the independent self government). For this reason the company must not come in. They said "If you do not let us in we can return and bring police with us". We said "We have committed no wrong - we are speaking of our own rights". Mr. Phillips said "It is a big job and his company had sufficient money and knowledge to do it". We said "That is true, but we know you were once like us with little experience. Later on we shall gain skill and experience. Work should not be done for the copper until we have our own government and until we have acquired a knowledge of mining". They said "We have only hand drills - we will not be like the gold prospectors and destroy a lot of your land. It will be to your benefit for us to come in". We said "It is true we can get paid for working for the company but we do not get any profits, they go abroad to your country. Mining is not like a tree which grows after it has been cut. When the copper is gone it is gone for good, it is like the gold". Mr. Phillips said "In the Philippines the Americans told the people that if they would let the mining company come in they would show all the people how to do all the work of mining and later on they could take it over themselves". We said "It is too early to talk to us about this for by the time we are able to carry out the work you will have dug out all the copper and gone away".

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Mr. Phillips also then said "The leader that is the paramount Luluai has given us permission to enter". We said "True, but he does not own all the land and can only give permission to work on his own land". Mr. Phillips said "We are paying good money and if the mine is set up we can pay big money for your labour. I do not think you can prevent me from doing my work, I am acting within the law". We said "The Queen governs all - in England, Australia and all the Territories of the Commonwealth - the Queen governs everyone in different countries, but we all have different laws and customs and in our land we think if the copper is all dug up when we get our own government our copper will be gone. We want wealth for our own country. Would you let us do the mining in Australia as you are doing to us here?"

Mr. Phillips said "So far as I know the company has a right to do what it is doing". We said "Later on our grandchildren will be able to do the mining themselves. At the moment we are now like your ancestors were before". Mr. Phillips said "If the copper can be worked then you and us and the judge will all get together to decide whether a drilling machine would be set up. A big sum in compensation will be given. The compensation will be paid wherever the drills go". That was the end of our talk. From that time to this there has been no compensation paid out until Mr. McKenzie started a little while ago. The people are not happy about the amount of compensation which it is proposed to pay. This amount is decided by Mr. McKenzie but we want it decided by the land owners. After Mr. Phillips had left, Mr. Denehy collected a number of our elders and gave us a talk trying to convince the people about the advantages of the mining company. From then until recently however we did not hear much about the company's proposals. We are not happy about the talk that the government is giving us now".

Question by me: "I understand that a large amount of compensation has been paid out to the old man who lost part of the garden where the road has now gone through and that in addition to this large amount of money he has received rations for himself and his family and that the company has made a new garden for him. Is this man happy about his compensation?"

Answer: "No, he is not very happy".

Question: "Even though he has received all these things?"

Answer: "I do not think he is very happy about it".

Question: "Have you anything further to say?"

Answer: "All this talk I have given to you is our own talk. It has not been given to us by someone else".

Next speaker - an elderly man TARATORO.

"I used to be an assistant carpenter in Kieta and I finished my work in 1953. Many times I was a witness in land disputes and I heard from the government that the Kiaps that the land laws follow native custom. Anyone who plants coconuts must plant on land inherited from his grandmother. When the government came up here they advised the planting of coffee on our own land. The government has given us a fairly good idea of land, and its importance and what we can do with it, but now it wants to take it away from us. We feel that the government is not doing right to us and that it will spoil our ways. The government is turning us and our customs upside down. Who is to be blamed for this, me or the government?"

The meeting then adjourned at 1.15 p.m.

On resumption, at 2.15 p.m., I again explained to the people that the government had sent me to Barapina to answer any questions which the people might have concerning the laws relating to

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mining or to land and that the government had sent me to answer these questions because the people had asked for this to be done. "If there are any questions which are troubling you they should be asked now. This morning I have heard a great deal of talk about the land and I know you have given this talk to many other people but my job is to answer your questions. Is there someone here who has any questions to ask?"

The man MOSES then came forward and said "I would like to know what will be the answer to the talk we are making today".

Reply: "I am not the government. The talk you have given will go to my boss, but I can tell you that the law gives the company the right to move in on your land. This is the law of the whole Territory and the company has the power under this law to come in and search for minerals".

Question: "We have had a number of court cases and many of my people have come here - very often we do not see any results from all this activity. We desire a member of the United Nations to come; if the government does not listen to this request by the people we will ourselves invite a member of the United Nations to come. From now on we do not want the government to increase the police force here".

Question by me: "Why is that?"

Answer: "We have nothing against the government so why should they increase the police force. The police force is here only as a threat to the people".

Question by me: "What would happen if the company went across the river next week?"

Answer: "It would be better if the company did not go across".

Question repeated: Answer: "It is not right whilst the idea is not settled with the people".

Question repeated: Answer: "The people would come and chase them off the land but there would be no fighting".

Question: "But what if the company did not leave but continued their work as they are entitled to do?"

Answer: "We all know there is no fighting but we don't think this should be done, while the issues are unsettled the government should not force the issue. It is against the wishes of the people".

I then pointed out that if one of the company men was on your land doing his work properly and one of your people struck him with a stone or a stick that person could be arrested by the police and brought before the court and put in gaol. Do you clearly understand this?"

General reply: "Yes".

Question by MOSES: "The people say that in the last court in February they opposed the issue of a new licence to the company. We still have not heard the results of this case. The company should not continue without a licence".

Answer: "I understand that the licence may expire this week. It had not expired at the time the company made its application to the court. The decision will be made before the expiry date and may have been made today. You will be told when the decision comes through.

Moses continued: "We will not allow the licence to be renewed. We will wait for a member of the United Nations to come so that he may hear the thoughts of the people".

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Question by me to Moses: "Do the people understand that they can receive:-

1. compensation for the land;
2. occupation fees and, I understand, a part of the royalty payment which the company makes to the government?"

Answer: "Yes, we all understand this".

The meeting concluded at 3 p.m.

British Secession

232.

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Have the question &
answer put on in the House
of assembly attached to
these papers.

Then the papers can go
on an appropriate file
[or a new file if necessary]

10/4

~~Mr. Patten~~

Mr. James

pls file - check whether 67/1347
is the appropriate file

10/4

Write Secession

23/1/66

Administration of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate would be any less ready to exploit the copper of Bougainville than the Papua and New Guinea Administration has been. Nor would it be any more sympathetic of ~~kindness~~ to this exploitation. Therefore the Bougainville Islanders could gain nothing in this respect.

Thirdly constitutional developments are no so far advanced in the B.S.I.P. as in P.N.G. There has been a very strong growth of local government in B.S.I.P., local government extends to all the territory and has considerable ^{power and} ~~provisional~~ influence. However until 1960 there was only an Advisory Council at Protectorate level. This was composed of Official, Non-official and Native Members all appointed by the High Commissioner to advise him in his exercise of responsibility. In 1960 Executive and Legislative Councils were established. All members were appointed by the High Commissioner. The Legislative Council consisted of 11 Official members and 10 Unofficial members. The Executive Council consists of 4 official and 4 unofficial members drawn from the members of the Legislative Council.

In 1965 a new Constitution came into effect under which eight of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council are elected by universal suffrage. These elected members have no executive responsibility and it does not seem to be likely that any will be given as yet. There also seems to be no thought of self determination or independence for B.S.I.P. The British governments policy on the remaining colonies seems to envisage Associated States (the 'Antigua' type of Arrangement) and this is what B.S.I.P. can expect in years to come. In this context therefore Bougainville could be worse off in B.S.I.P. than with P.N.G.

Pr. Jan

you wanted to see. This is an interesting & quite thoughtful paper. As you know the question was answered in the House of Assembly. The next move, if any, is up to Mr. Hakim.

I do not think it ^{is} warranted to send on to the admin. at this stage. We could hold for action if required.

Hope
[Signature]

Mr. Parns *[Signature]* 23/3

Act Sec *[Signature]*

A useful piece of research. Add to that the fact that the Babel would be unlikely to be willing to accept any responsibility for Bougainville. They would prefer to pass the B.S.I.P. to Britain. *[Signature]*

The Status of Bougainville

In a geographic sense the island of Bougainville together with its neighbour Buka ~~from~~ the northern part of the Solomon Islands chain. Its people are Melanesian, as are the Southern Solomon Islanders although skin pigmentation gets darker from north to south through the chain. The majority of Bougainville languages are of the Melanesian type although some show distinct relationships to Papuan languages providing some evidence of past links with New Guinea.

Trade and mission contacts with the Solomon Islands grew during the 19th Century, Britain and Germany becoming the dominant nations opening up the group; Britain from the South and Germany from the North from its established administration in New Guinea and the Bismark Archipelago. In an agreement in 1886 Britain and Germany delimited zones of interest in the Solomons; Buka, Bougainville, Ysabel and Choiseul were left to German interests and the rest were to be British. A British Protectorate was established over the ^{Solomon} islands in 1893.

In a further Agreement in 1898 Britain agreed to give up claims to Bougainville and Buka and Samoa in return for Germany giving up claims to Ysabel and Choiseul and to part of the Tonga group. Subsequently to this agreement in 1899 Bougainville and Buka were annexed and made a part of the German protectorate of New Guinea to be administered as a part of the Bismark Archipelago.

In September 1914 the German administration surrendered the whole of the German New Guinea Protectorate to an Australian Expeditionary Force. Accordingly in 1920 Australia was granted the League of Nations Mandate over the whole Protectorate including Bougainville. This mandate was subsequently converted into the Present United Nations Trusteeship under its 1946 Agreement effected by the Papua and New Guinea Act 1949 commenced on July 1st 1949.

Bougainville is therefore part of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea because it was a part of the German Protectorate of New Guinea, and was a part of that Protectorate and not the British Solomon Islands Protectorate because of agreements between the British and German Governments in 1886 and 1898.

Bougainville Secession

Mr Lapun's question concerning Bougainville seceding from Papua and New Guinea and joining the British Solomon Islands Protectorate is presumably prompted by the difficulties in Bougainville over the exploitation of the copper deposits there. Whatever may be the reason behind the questions it seems evident that Bougainville could have little to gain from joining the British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

Firstly British Solomon Islands Protectorate has laws concerning property and mineral rights that are essentially the same as those in operation in the Australian territories. All minerals are vested in the Crown and prospecting and mining rights are controlled by the government under the Mining Ordinance and Rules.

Therefore the Bougainville islanders could gain nothing in the respect of compensation, royalties or ownership from joining British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

Secondly British Solomon Islands Protectorate has over the years pursued a very vigorous policy with regard to mineral discovery and exploitation. Since the 1939/45 war the territory has been mapped and geologically surveyed in varying degrees of thoroughness to encourage discovery and exploitation. Small quantities of gold and manganese have been worked. The manganese deposits proved too small to be economic but every effort was made by the administration to encourage the exploitation even though it was so small. It is therefore most unlikely that the

DEPARTMENT OF TERRITORIES.

BOGANVILLE SITUATION: IMPLICATIONS OF SECESSION

Please research the background to and the future constitutional implications of the threat to secede from Papua New Guinea and join the British Solomon Islands.

As Bougainville Island is part of the Trust Territory the implications re Australia's responsibility as the Administering Authority with certain trusts which the Trusteeship Council is interested in should be covered in your inquiry.

Please draft a paper for Mr. Payne recommending an appropriate course of action, documenting the objective features of the political and constitutional problem, on the assumption that the threat could be tried.

Mr. James

K. Markson
10 March 67

BW/Secession

Ministerial Schedule 93

Date *15.3.67 D.*

DEPARTMENT OF TERRITORIES.

RSS:MT

*228
3*

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA - HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr. Hay telephoned on the afternoon of 8th March. Paul Lapun has placed a question on the Notice Paper reading somewhat as follows -

- "1. As Bougainville is part of the British Solomon Islands can he explain how it became part of the mandated Territory of New Guinea.
2. Should the Bougainville people decide to join with the people of the British Solomon Islands, what would be their obligations to the Australian Government."

2. We agreed that the appropriate answer to the first question would be that Bougainville, though geographically one of the Solomon Islands, is not part of the British Solomon Islands. It became part of the mandated Territory of New Guinea because it was part of the former German New Guinea.

3. As to the second part of the question, Mr. Hay considered that this would need some careful thought. I suggested that because the question contained hypothetical matter and because it was asking either for an expression of opinion or a statement of the Administration's policy it was almost certainly out of order and it may also be out of order on a question of doubt whether it was a matter of public affairs with which an official member was officially connected or a matter of administration for which he is responsible.

4. Mr. Hay agreed that it would be best to have the question ruled out of order on these technical grounds.

5. For your information.

[Signature]
DEPUTY SECRETARY

THE MINISTER:

[Signature]
14.3.67

9 MAR 1967

Mr. Parn.
You are having
some work done on \$
10/10/3

Write Session

802
227

RSS:MT

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DEPUTY SECRETARY

THE MINISTER:

c.c. MR. BALLARD: ✓

*Mr. Pateron
get Mr James
on to this.
11/3*

*Mr. Pateron
Please have
some research done on
the history of Bougainville
J.H.C.*

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY

CLASSIFYING INSTRUCTIONS

FORM 2501

FILE TITLE

OTHER INSTRUCTIONS

BOUGAINVILLE SECESSION

MOVEMENT

- INDEX Subject:
1. METALS & MINERALS / COPPER - P/M
 2. LAND - P/M
 3. DEVELOPMENT / POLITICAL - P/M

Action taken

Am.

Names:

1. C.R.A.

2. _____

Action taken

Am.

CROSS REFERENCE TO FILE NO. _____

PREVIOUS PAPERS ARE ON FILE NO. _____

SUBMIT FILE NO.

MR H. PATERSON



TELEGRAMS : 'TERRITORIES'
TELEPHONE : CANB. 4 0477

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HOBART PLACE
CANBERRA CITY

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PROTESTANT L. DEPARTMENT

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