

Social and Spiritual Development
Social Science

Unit 3: Transition and Change

Module 3.5: Papua New Guinea at War



Student Support Material

Acknowledgements

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Cover picture from: Beckett (1990). *World War II in the Pacific*.

Layout and diagrams supported by Nick Lauer.

Date: 28 March 2002



Primary and Secondary Teacher Education Project

Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)
GRM International

Papua New Guinea-Australia Development Cooperation Program

Unit outline

<p style="text-align: center;">Unit 3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Transition and Change</p>	3.1	Skills for Investigating Change (Core)
	3.2	Independence (Core)
	3.3	PNG History – an Overview (Optional)
	3.4	Power, Control and Change (Optional)
	3.5	PNG at War (Optional)
	3.6	Technological Change (Optional)
	3.7	Pre-history and Archaeology (Optional)

Icons



Read or research



Write or summarise



Activity or discussion

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Module 3.5 – PNG at War

Conflict exists in all levels of society as well as nationally and internationally. Conflict can lead to change. It can also be caused by change. This module will look at historical conflicts that brought about major changes in PNG and the world.

Objectives

By the end of this module students will be able to:

- Identify movements in PNG and explain their aims
- Identify major conflict situations in particular communities and the resulting changes.
- Identify and discuss the importance of PNG's relationships with Japan, Australia and other neighbouring countries
- Identify and discuss current programs and strategies designed for the reconstruction and development of PNG since World War II
- Discuss and identify types of conflict, causes of conflicts and suggest ways of resolving the conflicts
- Critically analyse the negative and positive effects of conflict and change in P.N.G and other parts of the world

Section 1: Traditional and Contemporary Tribal Conflict

Topic 1: Tribal fighting

Tribal fighting in PNG is intended to display courage and show strength to the enemy. Often clans who do not have reasons to fight help others who do. They become allies. During tribal fighting people may be killed and hurt, gardens destroyed, houses burnt and animals killed. There are many reasons for both traditional and contemporary warfare in various societies throughout PNG. These include:

- Land disputes
- Sorcery/Sanguma
- Pig thefts
- Rape/unsettled bride-price (woman)
- Unsettled compensation demands
- Revenge/payback of past wrong doings
- Demonstration and test of ultimate strength/power
- An act of provocation and/or aggression

Before European colonists established central government, villages were always subject to attack. Most fights started to revenge an insult to a leader or an injury to a villager. Accusations of sorcery or theft could also cause an attack. Disputes over land boundaries occurred often in some areas. Today, the Inter-Group Fighting Act of 1977 gives the authorities special powers to punish groups in areas where fighting takes place.

Shedding of blood was thought to be an evidence of achieving manhood for young men. Headhunting was not normally carried on, but enemy heads were occasionally preserved. At worst, the losers were dispersed to take refuge with friendly groups. Those defeated were not made slaves.

Spears, axes, clubs, and daggers were used as weapons everywhere. In eastern Papua, slings were used. However, in other parts, bows and arrows were the most important weapons. Fighting shields were made of bark, woven rattan, or carved planks. Shields were carried to stop arrows. The shields could represent scared objects or have painted faces that represent clan spirits who would protect the person carrying the shield

Fighting ends only with gift exchange which bound the tribes once again in uneasy acceptance of one another according to the relative power of their positions. The gift exchange is set by tradition and varies according to whether the society is patrilineal or matrilineal, coastal or highlands. There are precise conditions governing the nature and value of gifts, so one group might offer pigs or cowries, another canoes or pottery and yet another dog's or boar's teeth.

Warfare in traditional communities

Warfare was mainly on the part of one group to exact compensation or revenge from another for real or imagined injury. The amount and kind of compensation required varied considerably. It might be a single killing to avenge a death, for example in a death attributed to sorcery, the purpose of the response might be only to achieve the death of an enemy. On other occasions, the results were much wider. They could involve a number of deaths and more or less serious injuries, the devastating of crops, burning of villages and hamlets, rape and capture of women, and so forth. It was not unusual for people under attack to flee their home territory and become refugees.

Generally speaking, fighting consisted mainly of irregular raiding, in attacks and counter-attacks interrupted by peace declarations and festive gatherings. At any given time, one district might be on friendly terms with any number of others; but these relations could alter almost overnight, from friendship to animosity or from enmity to temporary friendship, perhaps, but not always, through the holding of a peace ceremony.

In all acts of warfare and fighting, the general aim was to achieve some kind of balance- to offset, in relatively equal terms, deaths, injuries and damages. This was not necessarily achieved in one fighting sequence but rather over a fairly long period of several years. An immediate response, after an attack from a more powerful enemy, was not always possible. Members of district might be scattered and some time elapse before they recovered their full fighting strength. Ordinarily, refugees nearly always had the expectation of returning to their own district, from which they had probably moved no more than day's walking distance at most, occasionally only a couple of miles. They might have lost wealth, if not lives, in the course of their defeat, but they did not lose the right to their own land and gardens.

One way of dealing with situations which involved retaliatory action was sorcery. Choosing sorcery as a means of attack did not necessarily imply physical weakness or reluctance to engage in a direct confrontation. In local belief, both could be used simultaneously. However, when sorcery was brought into the open, with accusations and counter-accusations and threats, the presence of supposed victims and so on, fear and anxiety were most evident and could lead to direct physical aggression.

Traditional fighting took two forms: the surprise raid and the formal battle. A raid's organization depended on the intention behind it and on the initiator's ability to rally support. A small raiding party often tried simply to kill any member of the offending tribe it might encounter. Frequently it sought to ambush such a victim along a path, and, with luck, did not have deal with other enemies at the time. A raid against a village demanded a larger force and was not usually under-taken unless the enemy was outnumbered.

Raids were also made against enemy groups when they were known to be assembled away from their home villages. The formal battle was normally held only between groups that believed themselves to be evenly matched and took place in an area between the warring villages. At home, the warriors met with a reception that varied according to whether anyone had killed or been killed. Defeat was shameful and usually led to new battles as soon as they could be organized. If an equal number of men from each village were killed, however, it was considered a fair exchange, and no grudge was supposed to be borne. In any event, payment had to be given for each dead man before peace could be established.

3.5 Activity 1

Brainstorm the causes of tribal warfare.

Discuss the social and economic consequences of tribal warfare.

What are the direct and indirect responses to an act of aggression?

Contemporary tribal conflict

Contemporary conflict often involves payback killing, that is, killing for revenge. In some PNG cultures, payback killing is to show sympathy to the other villagers if a relative has been killed by another clan. Under modern PNG law, payback killing is murder and the killer is likely to be sent to a corrective institution (jail or prison). Often, the fighting and killing does not stop at payback once the number of deaths has been equalised. Fighting and killing continue and can spread from one area to another. Many innocent people are hurt in PNG payback.



Compo ceremony ...

Wauni tribesmen in the Minamba Valley near Wapenarnanda, Enga province, assemble pigs in Yaramanda village on Saturday to present them as compensation to the neighbouring Palyamuni clan over the death of a clansman in an accident last month. A total of 236 pigs, 3 cassowaries, one cow and about K20, 000 in cash was handed over during the ceremony over the long weekend. Picture by DAVID PHILIP.

The National, 12 June 2001

Topic 2: Compensation

Compensation is also an important aspect of tribal conflict and PNG cultural practises. Compensation is giving somebody something of value to make up for a loss. The payment of compensation can ease social disputes between families, clans and tribes, and can prevent the physical violence of fighting. Compensation can be given:

- To dead person's relatives by the relatives of the person accused of causing the death, whether they died by intentional violence, or by accident or by the supposed action of sorcery
- To replace a dead animal
- When land is used by someone other than the traditional owners
- If belongings are stolen or destroyed

Compensation claims can be more complicated and expensive now. Money, pigs and cassowaries are expected. Often, people fight when they want more compensation. Ceremonial exchanges are important parts of paying compensation. The people making the compensation payment distribute traditional items, animals, foods and money among the relatives and clan of the person being compensated.

'Sorcerers' told to pay hefty compo K70, 000 and 160 pigs sought as 'deterrent'

A hefty compensation demand has been placed on individuals accused of engaging in sorcery and causing deaths in the Lalibu area of the Southern Highlands province. The claimants say the compensation demand of K70, 000 and 160 pigs is a signal that the alleged practice, which is foreign to Lalibu, is not welcome.

Delivering the compensation demand over Radio Southern Highlands recently, Lalibu town mayor Steven Pale said the aim is also to restore Lalibu's 'good name tarnished by the allegation when it surfaced early this year and was widely publicised within the province and beyond.

The compensation claim has been made by the Pekai-Aluwe tribe of Topopugl (Koromi) village, who say that the sorcerers were responsible for the deaths of their councillor and a young man.

The alleged sorcerers have since admitted responsibility for the deaths after intense interrogation by the Pekai-Aluwe tribesmen and the district peace and good order committee.....

Mr Pale said the compensation demand has been made as an 'amicable solution' following the typical Lalibu way of extensive consultation with local leaders and the district peace and good order committee.

The National, 5 September 2001

Riots

Sometimes, when an important person dies in PNG, people are upset and show their unhappiness by:

- Running through the streets
- Breaking windows
- Stealing goods from stores
- Hurting innocent people

These violent riots cause expensive damage to the towns and villages. Tribal fighting, payback and unreasonably high compensation payments make it more difficult for PNG to become a united, developed and peaceful country.

3.5 Activity 2

How has the use of modern weapons changed the nature of tribal conflict? If possible, interview village elders and young men to get a cross-section of opinion.

Survey women to find out their views on tribal fighting. Are their views different from those of the men? Why or why not?

Set up a bulletin board of newspaper clippings about tribal conflict or the practice of sorcery. In groups, select one or two articles for further study. Each group could map the location of the conflict, determine the causes of the conflict, record the extent of injuries and destruction, record any payback or compensation demands, suggest alternate ways of solving the conflict other than fighting.

Debate the proposition (or write an essay) – “Tribal fighting has no place in the modern world”

Discuss and explain why people riot. Are there occasions when rioting is justified? How does rioting harm the innocent?

Section 2: World Wars

Topic 3: World War 1

When Germany occupied northeastern New Guinea in 1884, it was generally a second-rated European power. It had no navy, and its industries were not as developed as Great Britain. Thirty years later, it became a leading European industrial, military and political power. Other important countries were Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, The United States and Austria. Japan defeated Russia in 1905 and entered the ranks of powerful nations. Between 1870-1914, these powers divided between themselves the still un-colonized parts of the world in Africa, Asia and the Pacific.

In 1914, Europe was divided into two camps. On one side were Great Britain, France and Russia (allied powers). On the other side were the central Europe powers; Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy. USA was neutral, and Japan was an ally to Great Britain.

In Sarajevo, Bosnia, a young Serbian student killed Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. One month later, on 28th July 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. World War I began. Britain declared war on Germany early in August. Australians voluntarily went to help Britain. On 6 April 1917, after a number of American ships had been sunk by German submarines, the USA entered the war. On 11 November 1918, the fighting ended all around the world when a truce was signed in France.

World War I was fought in Europe, Asia and the Pacific. In the Pacific, the German colonies were occupied by Australia, New Zealand and Japan. By the end of 1914, all German possessions in the Bismark Archipelago and Kaiserwhilensland were in the hands of Australian Military.

The Australian military occupation of German New Guinea, 1914-21

The northeast area of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain was the site of hostilities between German and Australian troops during World War I. At the outbreak of war in 1914, this area was of considerable importance in the naval strategy of the Pacific Ocean. Germany had a powerful naval force deployed in the Pacific, and Rabaul was a coaling station close to important Allied sea-lanes. Also, the Germans had almost completed the erection of a wireless-telegraph station at Bitapaka, a few kilometres inland from Kabakaul on Blanche Bay. This station was part of a communications network that linked German Pacific Naval Headquarters at Tsingtao in China with Samoa, Nauru and the Caroline Islands. The capture and occupation of this area by British troops was accorded a high priority by military authorities in Britain and Australia. On 12 August 1914, an Australian naval force entered Blanche Bay and naval landing parties destroyed the telephone services at Rabaul and at Herbertshöhe. At the same time, recruiting began in Sydney for a combined military and naval force of approximately 2000 men, the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force (ANMEF). This force was sent to New Britain for the capture of the Blanche Bay area and the military occupation of the whole of German New Guinea.

The ANMEF of about 1500 men landed at Kakabaul Bay, East New Britain on 11th September 1914. The defending German force was about 240 natives and 61 whites. With little resistance, the force, nicknamed Coconut Lancers, captured the German wireless station at Bitapaka and thereafter the whole Gazelle Peninsula was under ANMEF control.



The capture and occupation of Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen (Madang) in 1914 by the Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force from Rabaul.

Source: *A Pictorial History of New Guinea* (1975).



A platoon of German soldiers in Rabaul in 1914 before the capture and occupation of German New Guinea in September 1914.

Source: *A Pictorial History of New Guinea* (1975).

After the occupation

While the territory was under Australian Military control, basically all administrative systems/structures established by the Germans were retained to help the colony function.

- All German laws were retained
- All Germans in the territory (planters and missionaries) were allowed to carry on their normal duties/work
- All German planters took an oath of neutrality
- All German officials for their government were asked to help the Australians to run the colony
- The luluais and tultuls were retained
- Head Tax System introduced in 1907 was retained

One change was the increase of labour to work on the plantations, to keep the colony functioning economically. In 1914 there were 20,000 labourers and in 1921, 28,000 labourers. Most labourers were concentrated around the New Guinea Islands region. The other change was the introduction of stricter labour laws which the Germans passed before the war. These laws meant that labourers could be punished for laziness and desertion, employers could punish their own labourers, plantation managers had a flogging permit and labourers could be put in chains or fined.

The retention of some German officials and decision to allow all planters to stay arose from practical considerations: without them, the administration and the economy of the colony would have collapsed.

Topic 4: Mandated Territory of New Guinea

League of Nations

On 28 June 1919, a peace treaty was signed at Versailles, France. It created the League of Nations to encourage international co-operation and peace. The League of Nations was part and parcel of the 1919 peace settlement. The Covenant of the League proclaimed that the government of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves was the “scared trust” of civilised nations. Three kinds of mandates were established.

- Former Turkish possessions became “A” Mandates and were to be prepared for independence in the near future
- “B” Mandates (German African Colonies except South-West Africa) were to be treated as normal colonies, subject to certain moral, economic and political obligations on the part of the mandatory powers
- “C” Mandates (Pacific Islands and South-West Africa) differed in that no political or economic restrictions were attached to them

The Mandate

The Mandate to administer New Guinea was conferred on Australia on 17th December 1920.

From: Territory of New Guinea, ***Report to the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, from September 1914 to 30th 1921*** (p.65).

Article 1. - The territory over which a mandate is conferred upon His Britannic Majesty for and on behalf of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia (hereinafter called the Mandatory) comprises the former Germany colony of New Guinea and the former German islands situated in the Pacific Ocean and lying south of the equator other than the islands of the Samoa group and the islands of Nauru.

Article 2. - The Mandatory shall have full power of administration and legislation over the territory subject to the present mandate as an integral portion of the Commonwealth of Australia and may apply the laws of the Commonwealth of Australia to the territory, subject to such local modifications as circumstances may require. The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory subject to the present mandate.

Article 3. - The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labour is permitted except for essential public works and services and then only for adequate remuneration. The Mandatory shall also see that the traffic in arms and ammunition is controlled in accordance with principles analogous to those laid down in the convention relating to the control of the arms traffic signed on 10th September, 1919, or in any convention amending the same. The supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the natives shall be prohibited.

Article 4. - The military training of the natives, otherwise than for purposes of internal police and the local defence of the territory, shall be prohibited. Furthermore, no military or naval bases shall be established or fortification erected in the territory.

Article 5. - Subject to the provisions of any local law for the maintenance of public order and public morals, the Mandatory shall ensure in the territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, and shall allow all missionaries, nationals of any state member of the League of Nations, to enter into, travel and reside in the territory for the purpose of prosecuting their calling.

Article 6. - The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations and annual report to the satisfaction of the Council, containing full information with regard to the territory, and indicating the measures taken to carry out obligations assumed under Articles 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Article 7. - The consent of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of the present Mandate. The Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provision of the Mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present declaration shall be deposited in the archives of the League of Nations. Certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Powers signatories of the treaty of peace with Germany.

Made at Geneva the 17th day December 1920.

3.5 Activity 3 - Document study

There are seven articles in this document. In groups select one of the 'Articles' and discuss what it means in relation to the Mandate System.

Prepare a wall chart about the League of Nations – include details such as its formation, structure, achievements, and failures/problems.

Several events prevented lasting peace after World War I:

- In 1922, an Italian dictator, Mussolini, had ambitions to take over countries in North Africa and to expand the Italian empire.
- In 1929, a worldwide depression, when people could not get enough work or food, caused serious political conflict in almost all the countries of Europe.
- Germany did not like the terms of the peace treaty. Adolf Hitler became leader of Germany. He did not accept that Germany had deserved to lose World War I and wanted revenge.

- In Japan, warlords wanted to rule Asia and seize its rich resources of oil metals and tropical produce.
- Germany took over Austria and Czechoslovakia, its European neighbours.
- Italy took over its neighbour, Albania, and Ethiopia in Africa.
- In Asia, Japan took over Manchuria and began a war with China. It inflicted savage cruelties on the Chinese people, killing millions of women and children.

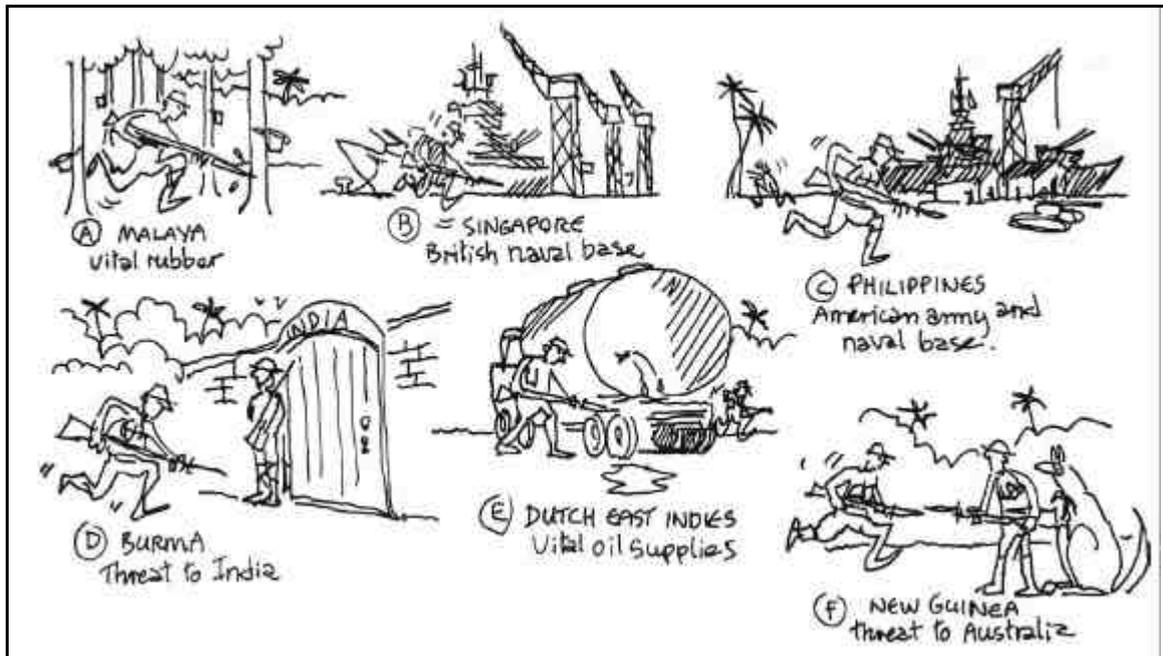
Topic 5: World War II

On 1 September 1939, when the German army went into Poland, Britain and France declared war on Germany. World War II began. Most Commonwealth countries joined Britain and France (the Allies). Germany attacked Russia, so Russia joined the Allies. Germany took over Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and a large part of France. Italy joined the war on Germany's side.

On 7 December 1941, the Japanese made a sudden air raid on the USA naval base at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii. The next day, the USA declared war on Japan and a few days later Germany and Italy.

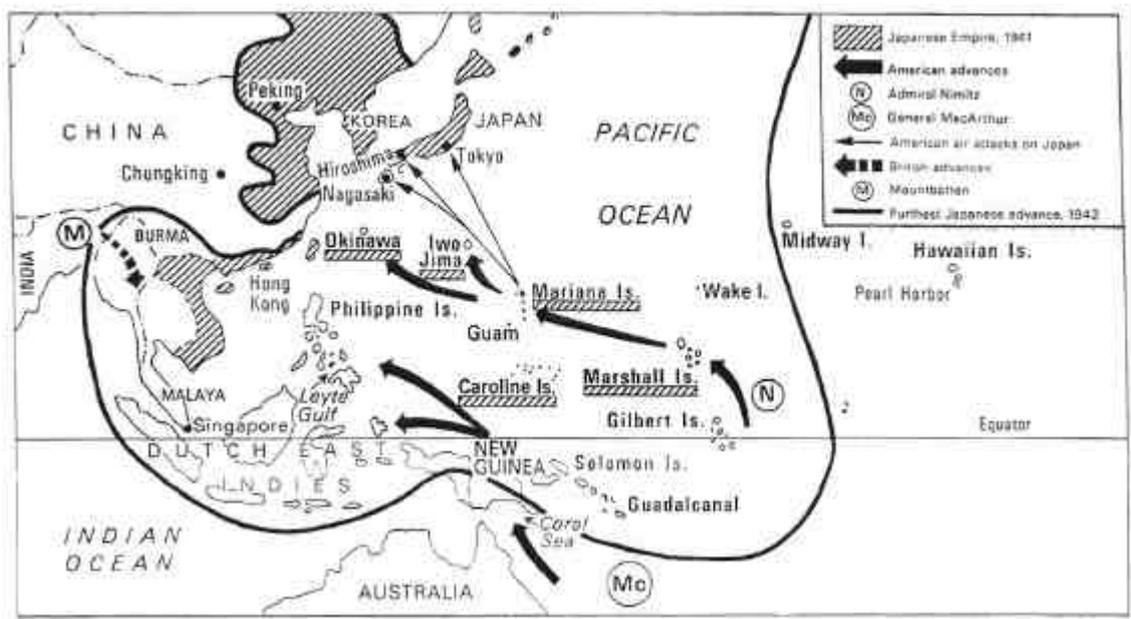
On 7 May 1945, the war in Europe ended when Germany surrendered. On 2 September 1945, Japan surrendered after atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. These bombs killed thousands of people. World War II was over. The damage and death in World War II was greater than anything the world had ever known.

War in the Pacific



Areas attacked by the Japanese army and why those sites were important to the Allies (from Our World This Century)

The major objective of the Japanese military forces during the 1941-45 Pacific War was to secure access to the oil mineral resources of Southeast Asia. Japanese Forces landed at Rabaul in January 1942 to secure the southern flank of their supply lines from Asia, and quickly occupied the New Guinea mainland to protect Rabaul. They were opposed by Australian and United States forces which were combined in the Southwest Pacific Area command.



War in the Far East (from: 'Decades of Change')

World War II in PNG

From 1942-1945, part of World War II was fought in PNG. On 23 January 1942, a Japanese force landed at Rabaul. About 300 civilians and 900 Australian soldiers were captured. Many people died when their prison ship *Montevideo Maru*, was torpedoed on the way to Japan. Some people escaped. The Japanese made Rabaul their base. With the help of the local people, they dug tunnels, which hid them and their equipment until 1945.

3.5 Activity 4

Choose a battle location from the list below and research it. Provide a map, as well as details of who was fighting, what type of battle it was (e.g., naval), the strength of each side and the outcome of the battle

Coral Sea Midway Guadalcanal Milne Bay Bougainville
Lae and Salamaua Aitape

Other research questions

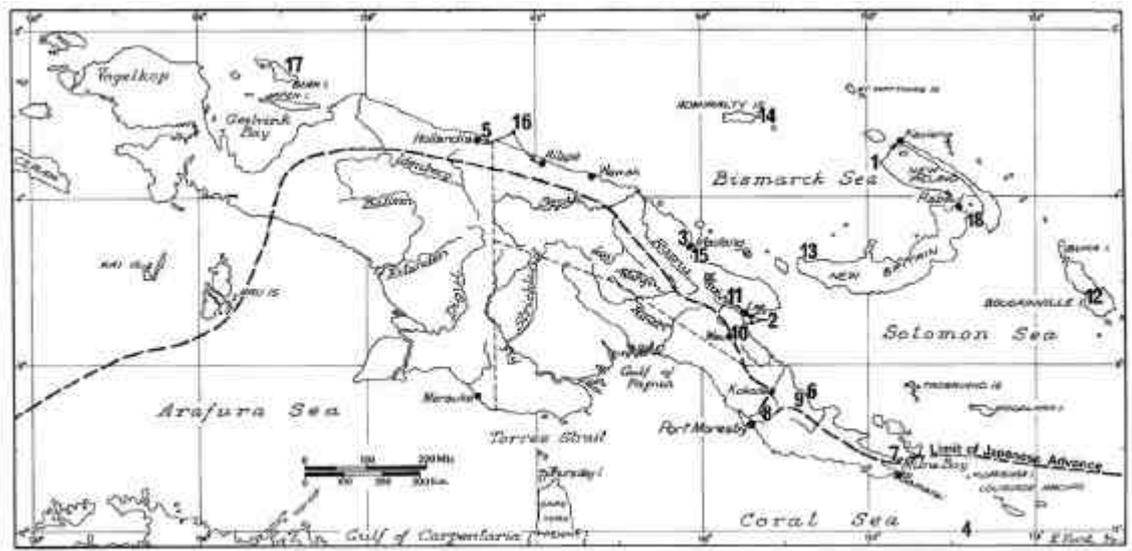
- How did the war in Europe end?
- What happened at Pearl Harbour?
- How did the Japanese use Rabaul during the war?
- How did the war against Japan end?
- What is the 'Holocaust'?



The Japanese attack on Rabaul, January 1942 (from 'A Pictorial History of New Guinea').

The nature of the Papua New Guinea environment and the complete lack of road or rail development meant control of the air to facilitate air supply and air-to-ground and air-to-sea attacks became a critical factor in the fighting. The Japanese constructed airstrips from which they attacked and bombed Port Moresby and defended their ground troops, but they did not develop a method of air supply. In contrast, the American and Australian armies rapidly learned the supply lessons forced on them by the Kokoda and Wau campaigns and developed their major thrusts around efficient air supply, striving to achieve air superiority. As a result, air field construction became a most important engineering task. Major air bases were developed

at Port Moresby, Dobodura and Nadzab). Elsewhere strips were constructed at Goodenough, Woodlark and Kiriwina (from which Rabaul could be bombed and Port Moresby and Dobodura defended), at Kaiapit and Dumpu in the Markham, at Cape Gloucester, Talasea and Hoskins on New Britain, and at Torokina on Bougainville.



World War II in New Guinea. The war began in Rabaul with an aerial bombardment on 4th January 1942. The front in New Guinea was the limit of the Japanese advance southward. Japanese forces in Rabaul surrendered on September 6, 1945 (from 'A Pictorial History of New Guinea').

The Japanese built airstrips at Tadjji (near Aitape), Lake Sentani (near Jayapura), Dagua, Wewak, Bogia, Alexishafen, Madang, Rabaul and Kavieng, but they lacked heavy earthmoving equipment and had to rely on human labour. As a consequence, they rarely constructed adequate dispersal areas, a serious problem which resulted in the loss of the majority of their aircraft on the ground.

The Kokoda Trail

Following the bombing of Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the Japanese made a rapid thrust down the Malayan archipelago and across to New Guinea. Their unsuccessful involvement in the Battle of the Coral Sea caused a brief pause in their advance and a reassessment of their strategy.

They decided to attack Port Moresby via a totally unexpected 'back-door' assault. The plan was to land on the north coast near Gona, travel south to Kokoda and then march up and over the central range to Sogeri and down to Port Moresby. They made one serious miscalculation: the Kokoda Trail was not a rough track that could be upgraded for vehicles. It was a switchback footpath through some of the most rugged country in the world, endlessly rising and falling, infested with leeches, and hopelessly muddy during the wet season.

The Japanese landed about 13500 troops at Guna-Buna on 21 July 1942 and stormed down the trail, battling an increasingly desperate Australian opposition. At that stage, with most of Australia's military effort concentrated in Europe, the only troops available to garrison Port Moresby were poorly trained and poorly equipped militia. It was not until they were reinforced by battle-hardened veterans of the Middle East conflict that the tide started to turn.

The Japanese advanced as far as Ioribaiwa, 48 kilometres from Port Moresby, which they reached on 20 September. The Australians had established a strong defensive position on Imita Ridge between Ioribaiwa and Uberi. The Japanese now faced the formidable difficulty of supply from their Gona-Buna base along an extended line of communication through extremely difficult country. This, combined with their defeat at Milne Bay in August and the diversion of forces to Guadalcanal to meet the American attack there, meant that the Japanese had reached the limit of their effort. They thereupon retreated from Ioribaiwa back across the Owen Stanley Range with the Australians in close pursuit.

As the Japanese commander withdrew up the track, lines of defence were drawn first at Eora Creek, mid-way along the track, then at Om, on the road from Kokoda to Buna. Both were taken by the Australians after drawn-out and bloody fighting. Finally, the campaign to dislodge the Japanese from Buna on the north coast resulted in the most bitter fighting of the Pacific theatre of the war, with disease and starvation taking as high a toll as actual combat.

Rarely did the Allies meet the Japanese head-on during WWII. The policy for the rest of the war was to advance towards Tokyo, bypassing and isolating Japanese strongholds. Rabaul in New Britain, for instance, was sidestepped, while the front moved closer and closer to Japan.



A section of the Kokoda Trail – the Golden Stairs – ascending to the 825 metres of Imita Ridge in the Owen Stanley foothills, 48km from Port Moresby (from 'A Pictorial History of New Guinea').

PNG forces

Papua New Guineans took part in every major campaign fought in Papua New Guinea. In April and May 1944, the Pacific Islands Regiment was formed and the Papuan Infantry Battalion became the 1st New Guinea Infantry Battalion. The 2nd NGIB was raised, followed shortly after by the 3rd and 4th Battalion. The Royal Papuan Constabulary and the New Guinea Police Force were both paramilitary forces before the war and immediately became active as guides and scouts and in many cases, combatants, against the Japanese. Sixty-one constables and non-commissioned officers received medals for their brave deeds. PIB and NGI were eventually combined into the Pacific Islands Regiment (PIR).

Approximately 170,000 Japanese soldiers and airmen died in Papua New Guinea between 1941 and 1945 from all causes. Australia's battle casualties were 14, 500, and 166 Papua New Guinean soldiers and police were killed and 201 wounded in action. Actual battle casualties among Papua New Guinean combatants were low, but the number of deaths among carriers and labourers, and among civilians is unknown.



Men of the Papuan Infantry Battalion with their Australian officer at a forward post. 1942 (from 'A Pictorial History of New Guinea').



Wounded Australian soldiers being carried to a dressing station at Buna in 1942 (from 'A Pictorial History of New Guinea').

At the peak of fighting approximately 55,000 men were conscripted as carriers and labourers. The Kokoda and Bulldog carrier lines worked under extreme conditions and were poorly fed and clothed. In the battle zones village life was completely disrupted, houses, gardens and animals destroyed and casualties occurred, particularly from bombing and strafing by Australian and American aircraft which frequently had difficulty in correctly locating ground targets. In areas occupied by Japanese troops hygiene was poor, dysentery common and food short, increasingly so as Japanese soldiers were forced to scavenge for their lives.

Japanese forces also conscripted Papua New Guineans as carriers and labourers from all areas which they occupied, but apparently rarely employed them as soldiers or policemen. Many Papua New Guineans worked voluntarily with Japanese troops as guides and scouts, but no formal military units were formed and large numbers of people were not armed. In areas of long occupation, some Papua New Guineans were attached to Japanese military police units to assist in civilian administration and both they and Japanese troops have been accused of cruelty and murder of civilian villagers.

3.5 Activity 5 – Using primary sources

Write a report about people's war experiences using primary sources (first hand accounts). Either interview an elderly person about their experience of war in PNG or collect extracts from dairies or reports written during the war. Try to include the experiences of women as well as men.

Australian New Guinea Administration Unit (ANGAU)

The war with Japan completely disrupted the peace time governments of both Papua and New Guinea, and large sections of New Guinea were actually occupied by the Japanese for over three years. Australian civilians were either evacuated or enlisted in the armed forces. In 1942, the Australian New Guinean Administrative Unit (ANGAU) was formed. Most ANGAU staff were experienced officials of the Australian administration. ANGAU administered all the country until civil administration took over after the war.

Major-General B. M. Morris, was appointed General Officer Commanding ANGAU in August 1942. More important, however, was the appointment of Brigadier D. M. Cleland as Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster-General in March 1943. As ANGAU's principal staff officer, he was the chief influence on the unit's organization and policy.

The main practical work of ANGAU fell upon officers who had been members of the pre-war civil administrations. As ANGAU grew, this experienced staff was supplemented, first by persons with New Guinea background in some other capacity, and later by officers and men who had no acquaintance with the Territories.

ANGAU had three main functions:

Operational:

These tasks included the recruitment and management of native labour to carry supplies for the army, and for other military work such as wharf labour, road-building and airfield construction; the conduct of propaganda campaigns among the indigenous people; the gathering of military intelligence by reconnaissance patrols in operational areas or in regions actually occupied by the Japanese. There was considerable actual fighting, involving not only ANGAU's European officers and non-commissioned officers but also the indigenous non-commissioned officers and constables of the Royal Papuan Constabulary, the police force under ANGAU command. Many other civilian indigenes helped in this work, and the casualties among them are not accurately known. Of ANGAU European personnel, forty-six died on active service. The intelligence obtained by these scouts was of the highest value to Allied operational commanders, who could not have secured it in any way.

Administrative:

Attempts were made to continue the maintenance of law and order among the indigenous people and to guard their general welfare. Nominally, health services remained an ANGAU responsibility but these had been little more than embryonic in peace-time and almost ceased in the villages. Medical attention to natives employed by the army was provided, and this rose to a good standard as the war proceeded. The quartering and rationing of refugees, and relief and rehabilitation in devastated areas recovered from the enemy, were substantial administrative tasks. The most important duty however, was the 'recruitment' of able-bodied male natives for service as army labour or as plantation workers. The later repatriation of these men was another administrative responsibility.

Recruitment for the newly raised battalions of indigenous infantry was also entrusted to ANGAU; so was the control of civilians who were gradually permitted to return to Papua to manage plantations and similar undertakings.

Production:

Copra and rubber, the chief strategic products of New Guinea, were in urgent demand. ANGAU was charged with securing maximum production of both, together with smaller items such as gum copal, manganese and timber. Many abandoned plantations were brought back to production, and substantial quantities of copra and rubber exported to Australia. ANGAU continued this work until May 1943, when the Australian New Guinea Production Control Board was set up under National Security Regulations. The Board was created as a result of pressure on the Australian Government by plantation owners whom it enabled to resume operation of their properties. Although the Board was not responsible to the army, but to the Minister for External territories, its Chairman was Brigadier Cleland, who remained Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster-General in ANGAU. Copra and rubber production thus remained inseparably connected with ANGAU's responsibilities, and the unit itself continued to supply timber and other products. The Board's production work was effective enough for rubber production in 1944 to exceed of even the best peace-time year.

Conflict of functions

It was soon apparent that some of ANGAU's operational duties, e.g. the provision of all possible help to fighting services, must conflict with those of administration, e.g. the maintenance of native welfare. This conflict centred upon the army's ever-increasing demands for labour, which could not be reconciled with the necessity for a population with a finely balanced subsistence economy to keep most of its able-bodied men at home to grow food, to fish and to carry out other essential tasks. The Deputy Director of District Services and Native Affairs issued an order on 15 May 1942 stressing that the 'native population must be safe-guarded'. He set a recruitment limit of 25 per cent of able-bodied males and warned field staff to watch for signs of hardship in the villages.

The inherent conflict and a change of emphasis in policy are illustrated by General Morris's order of 20 August, which states that the needs of the fighting services must be met, 'even if a temporary sacrifice of native interests is involved'. During the Kokoda Trail fighting of 1942, native carriers had proved their remarkable effectiveness in bringing supplies forward and evacuating wounded, over mountainous jungle country so rugged that neither mechanical nor animal transport could be used. From that time onward, the army's demands upon ANGAU for labour became constantly heavier.

The Australian official war historian estimates that, at the peak, 55,000 native male adults—defined as male persons apparently over the age of fourteen years—were serving. This was more than the entire peace-time labour force. The effect in the villages was extensive hardship, including starvation, ill health, grossly increased infant mortality and widespread malaise and loss of the desire to live. Though demands for labour were often dictated by pressing operational necessity, they were inflated by lax administration which allowed the employment of large numbers of natives as officers' servants and in similar tasks.

Labour conditions

In 1942, conditions were uniformly bad. Rations, clothing, shelter and medical attention were all inadequate. Sickness rates among carriers on some important lines of communication were as high as 25 per cent, and 14 per cent was regarded as acceptable. The ration scale had

been condemned as inadequate by the Director of Army Catering in 1942 but was not improved until 1944, when the so-called 'New Guinea Force ration' was introduced. This was a plain but balanced diet and the health of carriers improved remarkably. Sickness rates dropped to 4 per cent. Adequate rest periods were not given and the official war historian reports instances of gross overwork of carriers right up to the end of hostilities.

The Production Control Board, in spite of the protests of the Director-General of Medical Services at Land H.Q. and of ANGAU's Assistant Director of Medical services, secured permission on grounds of economy, to feed its labourers on the old ration scale. Its work force continued to suffer beriberi and other deficiency diseases. However, for all employed natives medical attention improved markedly and the standard and extent of health services far exceeded even the best effort of the pre-war administrations.

Other duties

As the Japanese fell back in New Britain, the Solomons and in northern New Guinea the attacking Allied forces, both Australian and American, usually went into action accompanied by special selected ANGAU teams with local knowledge of the terrain and of the inhabitants. Both the European and the indigenous members of these teams performed bravely and effectively, assisting operations and reducing casualties. As soon as purely military operations allowed, the teams turned to the re-establishment of Australian government and relief work.

The people in areas occupied by the Japanese had suffered extreme hardship. Emergency rationing and medical attention were the first concerns, followed by the distribution of seeds and plants, gardening tools and other necessities, and assistance in the construction of shelter. Though the resources available were rarely equal to the full scale of the needs, the work accomplished was of the highest usefulness and humanitarian importance. When Brigadier Cleland returned to Australia to be demobilized early in 1945, the main burden of ANGAU's work was complete. On 30 October that year a provisional civil administration was set up in all that part of the Territories south of the latitude of the Markham River, to be extended as operations made this possible. Finally, on 24 June 1946, the provisional civil administration assumed control of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, and the military administration of ANGAU ended.

Problems faced by ANGAU included:

- Shortage of supplies and personnel
- Lack of ships and air transport
- Shifting demands of armed services engaged in severe fighting.
- Lack of access to government at high policy level
- Dependence on the advice of remote directorate of research and civil affairs at land h.q. in Melbourne.
- Conflict between the philosophies of the former Papuan and former New Guinea officers
- Sharp divisions of feeling between those in the field and the headquarter staff
- The pursuit of personal ends and petty vendettas

It had all those internal problems of any organization obliged to expand rapidly, for it grew from nothing in early 1942 to a large, complex and geographically scattered unit which in 1945

had some 300 officers and 1,400 other ranks. Nevertheless, it is scarcely conceivable that the Allies could have achieved local victory in New Guinea without ANGAU's management of supply and transport through the native work force.

3.5 Activity 6

Summarise the main features of ANGAU by completing the following table

FUNCTIONS	DESCRIPTION
OPERATIONAL	
ADMINISTRATIVE	
PRODUCTION	
OTHERS	

Draw up a spider map or chart depicting the social, economic, political, and psychological effects of WWII on people in PNG.

War and its aftermath

During the war old people, women and children lived in the villages by themselves. They had to grow enough food without men to do the heavy work. When some of the places became army bases, food and medical attention were available, but there was no normal village life. Many friendships began between white and black men while they fought and worked alongside each other. Before the war had been white 'master' and black 'servant' relationships. Black American troops performed skilled duties, which showed Papua New Guineans that black-skinned people could do trained work. The PNG highlands were the least affected by the war, as the Japanese did not go up there.

A whole generation of Japanese, Americans and Australians became aware of the existence of New Guinea and thousands of soldiers, many of whom were conscripts, were deeply influenced by their wartime experiences. In Papua New Guinea the old separate administration were abandoned and one command created. After the war, the country was administrated as one territory, the precursor of the present independent nation.

Civilian officers took over the Administration of New Guinea from the military on 30th October 1945. They had a difficult task before them. The civil administration was not only under-staffed, but many stations had to be rebuilt, and there was a shortage of materials and skilled workers. The main things the civil administration had to do were:

- Take over from the military government, find staff and continue work in the districts
- Rebuild the towns and stations which had been damaged or destroyed (mainly in the Territory of New Guinea)
- Give the villages reparations for the damage caused during the war
- Make plans for the future of workers on plantations
- Plan the economic development of the Territory
- Provide more schools and hospitals for the people
- Make policies for the political development of New Guinea

The post-war developments were not a complete change from the past. All of the old problems remained and there were new ones brought by the war. Australia had always intended to develop both New Guinea and Papua, but had been held back by a lack of interest and finance. After 1946, interest in the Territory grew and increasing amounts of money were sent there by the Australian government.

World War II brought great suffering and loss to Papua New Guineans. It also brought many changes:

- Some traditional building materials were replaced with sheet iron used during World War II
- Traditional tools were replaced with steel tools, which were more efficient
- Papua New Guinean people wore more clothes
- More Papua New Guinean people wanted to have an education
- More English and less Tok Ples languages were spoken. New words were put into Tok Pisin
- Radio broadcasting, which had begun during the war, was extended around the country

Papua New Guineans travelled widely during the war within their own country and to Australia, facilitating a great inflow of ideas to previously isolated communities and stimulating an unprecedented burst of innovative social, political and economic movements in the 1950s. Papua New Guinea retains its strategic location, north of Australia and southeast of Asia and now shares a common border with Indonesia. Trade critical to the Australian and Japanese economies passes through the China Straits off Milne Bay and across the Bismark Sea, and oil from the Middle East travels through Torres Strait. Thus it seems inevitable that in the event of any future major regional or world conflict, Papua New Guinea will again become directly involved.

Relics and cemeteries

Signs of war still in PNG are:

- Rusting hulks of wrecked ships around the coast
- The tunnels and weapons at Rabaul
- Roads and airfields, including the huge paved area near the modern Nadzab airport
- Guns and concrete shelters along the coast
- The remains of crashed fighter aircraft
- Unexploded bombs and gun shells, which are very dangerous



Seabees laying steel mats during the construction of an airfield on Bougainville in December 1943. These mats were known as Marsden mats and remnants can still be found throughout PNG (from 'World War II in the Pacific').

Thousands of Australians and many Papua New Guineans are buried in the three war cemeteries at; Bomana near Port Moresby; Bitapaka near Rabaul; and Lae. In Bitapaka and Lae cemeteries lie the bodies of many Indian prisoners of war brought by the Japanese from Singapore to PNG, where they worked, starved or were beaten to death. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission looks after the cemeteries.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, the North Solomons began a push to break away from Australian colonial control, climaxing in land disputes over the proposed Panguna mine and the landowner's right to share in the mine's profits.

During the years prior to independence, Bougainville pushed for an independent grouping of the Bismarck Archipelago, but the plan quickly faded. In 1974, secessionist movements sprang up, with Father John Momis being one of the leaders. North Solomons leaders won the right to establish a provincial government, but the following year the PNG House of Assembly did not include this provision in the constitution.

On 1 September 1975, two weeks before independence was proclaimed, rebels raised a 'Republic of North Solomons' flag at Kieta. Parliament quickly made a first amendment to the constitution: the provincial government was established.

Civil war

The Panguna mine produced huge profits, and huge royalties flowed to the landowners and the PNG government. A small group of traditional landowners were doing very well out of the mine, but not much community development was taking place. In addition, the environmental destruction caused by the mine was affecting many more people than those directly compensated for it. There was a growing that the people had been cheated in the initial negotiation with CRA – that they had cheaply signed away their land without realising the consequences.

In 1987 the Panguna Landowners' Association was formed, led by Pepetua Sereo and Francis Ona. It demanded better environmental protection, huge back-payments of profits from the mine and US\$10 billion in compensation. These demands were not met and in 1988, the BRA, an offshoot of the landowners' association, began to sabotage the mine. Relations between the locals and police sent to protect the mine deteriorated sharply. Several politicians, including the premier, were beaten up by police, and mine workers and police from other parts of PNG came under attack from the BRA. The BRA's numbers were increased by sympathisers from other parts of the country, local thugs and even a religious cult. Increasing attacks on mine workers resulted in the mine's closing in 1989 - an enormous blow to the PNG economy. After the mine closed, a state of emergency was declared, the PNG army moved in and the conflict spread to the rest of the island. Whole villages were moved into 'care centres', areas outside of BRA control. To ensure that the people moved, the army burned their villages; stories about rape and murder flooded out Bougainville.

The Panguna issue had become a civil war. At the height of the conflict, there were 60,000 people displaced. In 1990, the PNG government withdrew its forces and instituted a blockade, resulting in great hardship for the Bougainvilleans. The BRA declared independence. The BRA brought over supplies from the nearby Solomon Islands and the PNG army, in retaliation, caused international tension by raiding suspected BRA bases in the Solomon Islands, killing innocent people. The PNGDF landed on Buka on 13 April 1991 but had trouble paying and feeding its Bougainville troops and morale was been poor. In April 1995, there was some real hope with the election of Theodore Miriung as premier. He had been a lawyer, national court judge, senior public servant and member of the BRA, and was widely respected both in the government and with Bougainville sympathisers. On 12 October 1996, Miriung was assassinated. The country was shocked; it was assumed that the Bra had killed him. An inquiry revealed the killers were PNGDF soldiers, although where their orders

came from is still unclear. Miriung was buried as a martyr and Bougainville plunged into darkness again. In February and March 1997, the controversial Sandline Affair hit the headlines. In a highly covert operation Prime minister, Julius Chan contracted a mercenary company, Sandline International, to solve the secessionist problem by military means. When the deal became known, there was international condemnation of Chan's actions.

The Sandline affair

The secessionist movement on Bougainville in the late 1980s and the closure of the Panguna mine dealt a seemingly insoluble blow to the PNG government. The conflict became more and more entrenched as time went on to the point where, in late 1996, three members of the government- the then prime minister Sir Julius Chan, his deputy Chris Haiveta and the defence minister Mathias Ijape- decide to take pre-emptive action to resolve the matter using outside military force. This became known as the Sandline Affair and was to be a crucial factor in public perception of PNG's leaders in the lead-up to the June 1997 elections, described as the most important since independence. With US\$ 36 million (funded by 'budget cuts', Chan and his allies employed a well-known mercenary company, Sandline International, which was tasked to provide men and equipment via an associated company, Executive Outcomes, to help train the PNG Defence Force in anti-guerrilla tactics and deploy them in an attack on the secessionists.

It was hoped there would be a speedy military victory on Bougainville, the kudos from which would sweep Chan's People's Progress Party into power at the elections. After learning of the plans in February 1997, Australia and a number of other regional governments urged Chan to negotiate with the secessionists rather than take military action. However, the PNG leader was adamant and much of the money had already been spent on equipment and upfront payments; mercenary troops were, at that stage, stationed at Moem Barracks near Wewak and training was under way. The controversy became the subject of much public debate in PNG and, to complicate matters, the popular PNGDF Commander, Brigadier General Jerry Singarok, decided to do an 'about-face' and publicly condemn the government for undertaking such an affair. He was duly sacked, but the military stayed loyal, leading to rioting and looting in the streets of Port Moresby by his supporters.

Widespread doubts that 'something was wrong' related to three issues:

- The source of the funding for the affair in this cash-strapped country,
- The way in which the money was spent and
- How the decision was made without wider consultation within parliament

Bowing to pressure from both his parliamentary colleagues and the international community, Chan suspended the Sandline contract in March and announced a commission of enquiry into its circumstances. The mercenaries were sent home. As a result of further pressure, Chan announced, on 26 March, that he and his two associates would 'stand aside' pending the outcome of the enquiry. John Giheno was named acting Prime Minister in the interim. The enquiry, conducted by Justice Warwick Andrews, cleared Chan of corruption. On hearing of this, in the early June, Chan resumed his position as Prime Minister – until he lost his seat in the national elections two weeks later. However, the enquiry noted that it 'remains suspicious of Mr Haiveta's actions and motivations [concerning alleged insider trading associated with a trip

he made to Hong Kong to meet Sandline executives, and, in parts, rejects his evidence as untruthful'.

PNG signs peace deal with rebels

PORT MORESBY: The decade-long war of secession on Bougainville finally ended yesterday with the signing of a peace deal in which Papua New Guinea promises the island state-like autonomy and the choice of total independence in 10 to 15 years.

The historic agreement, which marks an end to the civil war on the island, was signed in Port Moresby by representatives of each side led by PNG's Minister for Bougainville Affairs, Mol Avei.

The agreement will go before the National Executive Council (cabinet) for ratification after Prime Minister Mekere Morauta returns from Beijing this weekend and then before parliament for approval in September. Details of the final agreement were not made public.

However, if approved by cabinet and by parliament -which must muster a two-thirds majority for necessary amendments to PNG's founding 1975 Constitution - the agreement will give Bougainville a status similar to an Australian state, with almost all its civil war aims achieved. These include a separate police force and the virtual exclusion of the PNG Defence Force from the Island. Under the deal, PNGDF numbers will be limited to around seven unarmed personnel to refuel coastal surveillance patrol boats and aircraft.

Mr Avei said the main break-through in the search for a final peace deal came a month ago when the opposing Bougainville guerrilla factions agreed to cache their arms in shipping containers controlled by the UN and the multinational Peace Monitoring Group, on condition that the PNGDF withdrew from the Island.

"We will be asking the governments of Australia and New Zealand to help us with our home-grown weapons disposal plan," he said.

The Weekend Australian, 2-3 June 2001

3.5 Activity 8

Using material in this section and additional resources such as the case study complete one of the following activities

Draw a cause and effect chart of the civil war on Bougainville.

Discuss the latest political arrangement for the government of Bougainville. Is it suitable? What impact might it have on other provinces?

Debate the topic – ‘Bougainville be given independence’ or list the arguments for and against the statement.

Make a list of the key persons involved in the crisis from 1989 to the present and briefly describe their role.

Collect newspaper clippings about the current state of affairs in Bougainville and assess whether the peace process is successful.

What is Bougainville’s ‘lost generation’?

Section 4: And Still There Are Wars

We live in a troubled world. We see conflict in wars between nations and civil wars between different groups within the same country. There is conflict between political parties and mistrust between people of different cultures. Even neighbouring communities can get involved in mini-battles!

The twentieth century has seen the largest and bloodiest wars in history. Weapons today are, from the military point of view, 'very efficient' - they can kill more people. In the media, war is mostly portrayed as being a glamorous affair full of glory, bravery and bravado. The realities of war, however, are very different. At the beginning of this century, nine out of ten victims of war were soldiers. Today, due to technology, the arms trade and the nature of war itself, the situation is reversed. Nine out of ten victims now are civilians, and the vast majority of these are women, children and the elderly. Since 1945 there have been hundreds of wars all over the world, and it is estimated that nearly 30 million people have been killed using conventional (non-nuclear) arms. The average death toll from armed conflict is put at between 33,000 and 41,000 a month since 1945.

The cost of war in human terms is tragic. Millions of people are maimed and tortured. As well as shattered bodies there are shattered minds. Between 200,000 and 400,000 women were raped in Bangladesh during a nine-month conflict there in 1971. It is estimated that there are over fifteen million refugees in the world, many of them victims of war.

A government has a responsibility to oversee the effective defence of the nation and to be able to make all necessary laws needed to respond to this as the situation arises. However, this

does not necessarily give it the right to involve citizens in wars outside its territorial boundaries unless explicit evidence can be shown that this is in fact a direct defence of the country. Nations such as Switzerland and Sweden have strong defence organisations, and have exerted great influence for good by successfully remaining neutral in other nation's conflicts. With the exception of strictly defensive wars, a nation's involvement in external conflicts not only causes division within the community and loss of citizens' lives, but can in fact prolong the conflict and increase the total lives lost and the economic burdens of nations.

With the exception of the two world wars, in which aggression by nations against many others on an unprecedented scale needed to be faced, most other wars and international disputes have been armed internal civil or localised regional disputes. When foreign intervention has occurred whether in the form of supplies or troop involvement the conflict has but escalated and been more prolonged than what it would have been if intervention had not occurred. This has resulted in significantly increased loss of life, immense wastage resources, increased damage to property and the environment and intolerant and distrustful attitudes being fostered which threaten to repeat the destructive cycle.

3.5 Activity 9

The United Nations has helped to prevent fighting in many parts of the world by sending peacekeeping forces. Identify two peacekeeping operations by describing the location, source of conflict and the role of the UN forces

Select one of the persons listed below and research how that person has contributed to war or peace in the world in the last 60 years

Nelson Mandela, Adolf Hitler, Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden, Mikhail Gorbachev, Moshe Dayan, Ho Chi Minh, Lech Walesa

Who are the superpowers? What do you think each of the superpowers see as the major threat to their independence and security?

What do you think could be the biggest threat to the peace of Papua New Guinea? Identify the best ways to ensure PNG remains a safe and peaceful place in which to live.

Study the map which shows where military conflicts have occurred since 1980. Choose one of these conflicts and find out

- *Which countries were/are involved*
- *The main causes of the conflict*
- *Whether conflict still exists in the area*



Collect newspaper articles and pictures on wars or conflicts taking place now. Make a wall display with short captions describing precisely what the situation is.

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