

80-4-11

108A  
RABAU.

15th June, 1967.

CONFIDENTIAL

The Director,  
Department of District Administration,  
KONEDOBU.

Subject: PAKIA AREA

Reference your memorandum No.80-4-11 dated 12th May, 1967, addressed to the District Commissioner, Bougainville District, Sohano.

Lucas Waka and I proceeded to Kieta and moved into the Pakia village rest house on 26th May 1967. Miss Peters joined us on 29th May 1967. We worked in the Pakia area rather than the Panguna area on the advice of the A/D.D.C. Kieta, Mr. W. Brown.

Apparently many of the people from the Pakia area originally came from the Panguna area and have close family and land ties in the area. It was felt therefore that any impact made on the Pakia people would be carried through to the Panguna area, and any problems or opinions received from the Pakia people would be similar to those of the Panguna people. As it was, we were fortunate in that some of the leading agitators from Panguna - including Gregory Kopa and his grandfather (one of the main land owners affected) - were visiting the Pakia area during our stay.

2. The main objectives of the visit to the area were as follows:

- (a) To advise the people that change was inevitable.
- (b) To invite their opinions as to how these changes might affect them.
- (c) To discuss with them what steps could be considered to lessen the impact of the sudden change.
- (d) To assess the situation with regard to conducting a Community Education Programme in the area, or any other appropriate means, with a view to improving relationships between the people, the Administration and the Company.
- (e) To submit suggestions as to content for Community Education Courses, venue, type of visual aids to be used etc.

3.(a) In order to carry out the tasks outlined in para (2), the team based itself near Pakia village and regularly visited the nearby villages of Parakake, Pakia (the new village near the road is now, I understand from the inhabitants, to be named MAINIERE), BORUMAI, KORPEI and also contacted individuals and groups from MAINOKEI and MORONEI. PARAKAKE and PAKIA appeared to be the

Centre of discontent so most time was spent in these villages. People were contacted in their houses, places of work, at a central fermentery, first aid post and very frequently in the early mornings and evenings when they passed the rest house on their way to and from work.

(b) To begin with the people were extremely suspicious and, in some cases, downright rude and aggressive, and with the exception of a few verbose characters such as Gregory Kopa and Peter Moini, reluctant to talk. The suspicion and distrust continued to a certain extent until we left, but did definitely decrease, and after the departure of Gregory Kopa to his own village the attitude changed somewhat and the people were prepared to discuss matters with us although they still preferred to do so out of hearing of anyone else. This was understandable as the leaders were continually asking us who we had interviewed, what information we had obtained and, on one occasion, demanded to look at my notes which were fortunately illegible but appeared to satisfy them.

(c) Neither Miss Peters, Lucas Waka nor myself had a very good knowledge of the area or the local characters, and this turned out to be a distinct advantage. The fact that we did not know the names of councillors - or in fact if the villages were in council areas - what the predominant religion was, the names of C.R.A. personnel, location of C.R.A. camps etc., helped convince the locals that we were indeed from another area, and in the process of obtaining this basic information, which was readily supplied, we were able to get into conversation more easily and with less suspicion. Every move was closely followed and questioned, and our lack of contact with the Administration and C.R.A., although it puzzled them, did assist in relations with them.

(d) In the course of the two weeks we must have contacted the majority of the inhabitants of Pakia and Parakake at some time or other and attempted to carry out the tasks as mentioned in para (2). Whilst doing this we naturally collected the various grievances and problems of the locals and although I realize that most, if not all of these, have been heard by both Headquarters and D.D.A. staff on Bougainville, I shall record them in some detail in order that they may be compared with any previous information obtained.

Later on during our visit, most of the men of Parake and Pakia arranged a meeting with us at the rest house and although the information obtained at this meeting is very similar to that obtained in our daily rounds I shall tabulate it later in this report.

4(a) The first two people to greet me within half an hour of arrival at the rest house were Gregory Kopa and Peter Moini (an Agricultural Assistant from Pakia village). Gregory, who appeared first, greeted me with, "Who the hell are you? Not another Government officer come to grease us?" When I explained my presence Gregory informed me that this had happened many times - people came and talked to them, listened to their side of the story and then did absolutely nothing. I assured him that everything I heard from the people would be taken to Headquarters in Moresby, either verbally or in writing. I could not say what action would be taken but would guarantee the information reaching Moresby. Gregory informed me that if that was the case he might come back and have a talk with me later.

He asked if I intended to call a meeting of all the people but I informed him that I had no intention of doing so although I would be pleased to attend any meeting arranged by the people.

(b) Peter Moini wanted to know why I was there, what I intended to do and why had I not informed the people of my visit. When he was given this information, he apologised for his manner and stated that had he known I was not a "kiap" he would not have been so rude.

5. General complaints and arguments were as follows:

- (a) Our ground has been taken from us without our being consulted. C.R.A. continues to expand and steal more ground regardless of our wishes. Even if we had been consulted in the first place we would not have agreed, but at least we should have been asked. Many Government officers agree that we have a grievance but do nothing to rectify the matter.
- (b) We want C.R.A. to go and leave everything as it is so that future generations who will be better educated than us and understand business more clearly can work out the matter for themselves.
- (c) We realise that it requires a large amount of money to mine copper but that should be left to us to work out: we will decide who can mine the copper and when. At present we have little idea but things will be different for our children's children in 50 years' time.
- (d) We realise that the presence of C.R.A. has helped with regard to scholarships, employment, communications etc., but the thing most dear to us is our land and no amount of benefits can compensate for the loss of this land.
- (e) Six men were sent to see the mining area at Wau, and when they returned they explained to us what mining did to the ground - it completely devastated it. This is what will happen here and we will be left with permanently useless ground.
- (f) C.R.A. have sent six young men to Australia to learn the copper mining business. This is all very good but should the copper run out or C.R.A. leave the country, what use will this education be to them? They should be trained in something that we know will always be of use to them.
- (g) As Bukas we are often ridiculed and subjected to insults by other people but now we have the biggest insult of all - our land being taken from us without our consent.
- (h) The C.R.A. road is merely "grease" to try to please us - all it will really do is cause accidents in the wet weather.

- (i) How would the Australians like it if we, from another country, took a piece of their land without consulting them? They would throw us out - and that is just what we are trying to do to C.R.A.
- (j) It is no use trying to educate us in mining business or the benefits of having a big company in our area - it is too late. You should have done this before, not after allowing C.R.A. in. You spent a lot of time and went to a lot of trouble educating us about the House of Assembly elections and decimal currency - why did you not do the same in the far more important matter of copper mining?
- (k) We do not and cannot agree with this law that what is on the ground belongs to the owner and what is beneath the ground belongs to the Government. This conflicts with our own law which states that the owner is entitled to all on and below his ground. We realise that the Australian law is common throughout most of the world but that is no reason why we should accept it here. We have accepted many of your laws because we think they are good ones - this one we don't like so we don't have to accept it. The United Nations told Australia to look after this country, not change its laws. Australia can do what it likes in Papua which is Australian Territory but we are a Trust Territory which is entirely different. Our grandfathers before us fought and died for our ground and we will do the same if necessary.
- (l) Over the years the white men, Kiaps, C.R.A. etc., have told us many different stories and given us many conflicting answers. Why are you not all truthfull and frank with us?
- (m) It is quite wrong for the Administration to use force in the form of Police against us to steal our land.
- (n) The Administration is here to help us yet sides with C.R.A. against us.
- (o) Mr. Barnes was a great disappointment to us when he said that all royalties for copper must go to the Government.
- (p) When we speak to Kiaps they don't listen or merely chastise us and tell us we are wrong.
- (q) Various benefits by C.R.A. are good but if they did not provide them they would have been provided by the Administration eventually.
- (r) Royalties offered are not big enough - it must be made clear to us how much of the royalties is to be spent in Bougainville and how much in New Guinea.
- (s) Royalties will only help the present generation and not our descendants.
- (t) We are angry because many of our people have given up hope of getting C.R.A. out and are now working for them.

- (u) C.R.A. have offered us a pump and a saw - this is merely "grease" and we have refused it. We have always been taught that we should pay for what we get yet now we are being encouraged to take things free. Free education and medical treatment is a different thing - the Administration is obliged to do this for us.
- (v) The Administration knows it has mistreated us but is doing nothing to rectify this. Now you see a lot of bush in this area but we are steadily clearing it and planting. Only a few years ago the Government went to a lot of trouble to convince us that we must plant on our land - they finally convinced us and now we are reaping the benefit. This suits us as we have large families and wish to live off the land. Before the Government has given us a chance to expand agriculturally they have thrust mining onto us.
- (w) We have no intention of fighting against the Police because we know we cannot win that way. We shall keep talking and arguing until we win.
- (x) We do not know much about self government and independence at present and are not very interested in it because we think it is a long way off and we are not ready for it - our main concern is moving C.R.A. out.
- (y) C.R.A. are trying to turn our women into prostitutes - they have displayed a notice, "All women welcome" outside their camp.
- (z) We know that the Government is trying to drive us off our ground and resettle us down by the sea. We are hill people and will not move.

6. Additional points raised by Gregory Kopa and Peter Moinis

- (a) The Mission has not helped us with our thinking. The Missions and the Government are one and the same - all white-men.
- (b) Working for wages is all very good but what we receive is a pittance compared to what the white man makes out of us.
- (c) Many House of Assembly members probably think we are unreasonable but would change their minds if a large Company moved in on their ground.
- (d) We know we need saws and pumps etc., as offered by the C.R.A. but would rather work hard at our crops and buy them ourselves.
- (e) We know that with the coming of large companies we will progress faster but we are not ready for this and do not want it. We wish to progress at our own pace and by our own efforts.
- (f) Copper is not like a tree or seed which can be replanted and multiplied - once the copper is mined it is finished and we are left as we were years ago: it is far better for us to rely on agriculture.

- (g) The C.R.A. and the people are like two coconuts planted together - the bigger C.R.A. becomes the stronger our efforts to move them out will be.
- (h) If C.R.A. mines the area, not only will the owners of the ground get little if any benefit but the country also will not get the full benefit as most of the money will leave the country and not be used here. Wait until after Independence when we can ensure that the money is used as we wish. Papua and New Guinea is not a united country yet; many of us have never seen anywhere but our own small area, and many people from other areas have never been to Bougainville. In the years ahead we will get to know each other better and become one people and then is the time to start mining and use the money for the improvement of the country. In spite of what the few misguided leaders in Port Moresby say, Independence is a long way off yet. We are a very backward people and not united and cannot manage by ourselves for some time yet.

7.(a) Although we had not a number of people from the BORUMAI and MAINOKEI area previously, on 2nd June 1967 I visited BORUMAI and held discussions with the people of BORUMAI including Councillor DUPELAWAI and some MAINOKEI people temporarily staying in BORUMAI. They informed me that C.R.A. had tried to trespass on their ground some years ago but the people had chased them off and had had no further trouble to date from them. They said that as long as C.R.A. continued to keep off their ground all would be well but if they attempted to use it there would be trouble. They assured me that the reason C.R.A. had left their ground was because all the people in their group of villages were unified against C.R.A. They added that the reason the PANGUNA people were having trouble with C.R.A. was because they were split and not of one voice. They informed me that the PAKIA/PANGUNA people were not of their group and that they were not very interested in their quarrel with C.R.A. I mentioned this point later to the PAKIA people at a later meeting and they obviously contacted the BORUMAIS immediately because very shortly afterwards representatives from BORUMAI came to see me and pointed out that their talk to me had somehow become twisted and that although they were a different people from the PAKIAS they did sympathise with them over the loss of their land.

(b) I mentioned my meeting with BORUMAIS/MAINOKIS to Mr. J. DAGGE who informed me that he had already informed the people from this area on two occasions that C.R.A. would be working on their ground before long but they rejected the information and stated that it was just not possible for this to happen. During my second meeting with the Councillor and another spokesman I raised this matter and they informed me that if I thought C.R.A. might move on to their land then I also must be a misguided Government officer because such a thing could not happen and was not worth considering.

8.(a) Miss J. Peters will be submitting a separate report and will probably deal more fully with the women's views. We found it harder to communicate with the women as only a few of the younger ones spoke 'pigini'. They appeared to be quite pleased with the fact that some of their husbands working for C.R.A. were receiving good wages but stated they were quite prepared to revert to living off the land and giving up the few benefits brought about by wages should they have to.

They seemed fairly interested at the mention of women's clubs but were not prepared to discuss the matter at length.

(c) The men were asked if the women had any definite views on the situation and assured us that they had, particularly as land was inherited through the female line. They stated that men were insignificant compared to women who were like "running water" in that they carried on the human race by producing children and were thus naturally very concerned that the children they bore should have sufficient land when they grew up.

(d) It is interesting to note that when Gregory Kopa left Pakia for Moronei he warned Miss Peters that she was not to "grease" the women and change their attitude.

9.(a) During the course of our stay in Pakia we received a visit from Father Wylie and although his views were very similar to those of the local people I shall record them for comparison with any other views he may have expressed. It is possibly a coincidence but for four days he covered the same villages we had visited and stated that he was doing a census.

(b) He feels that the time for the C.R.A. is not now; the people are not ready for it. Education and agriculture are just getting under way and this is being spoilt and interrupted by mining. Young lads are leaving school to work for the Company and to enjoy truck rides up and down the road.

(c) No one can give any guarantee to the C.R.A. at present - it all depends on what happens after Independence. The people may elect to allow them to work the mines or may order them out.

(d) To date Bougainville has received nothing compared with other parts of the Territory. People have lost faith and interest and are now suspicious of any move by the white man. They have been "let down" too many times.

(e) The general feeling of the people is that all mining operations should be suspended until after Independence when

- (1) guarantees can be given by the people themselves, and
- (ii) the people can lay down their own terms, i.e., what percentage of profit stays in New Guinea and how it will be spent.

(f) Bougainville has suffered in the past from lack of finance, poor standard of Government officers and broken promises.

10.(a) A visit to the KORPEI area resulted in a meeting with MARTIN of PAKIA village, at present an aid post orderly at SIPARAKO. MARTIN informed us that he and his two brothers, THOMAS and OHI, were the people who had allowed C.R.A. to move on to their land (PENKARATU) and as a result were now detested, and had even been threatened, by the people. Because of this OHI had to leave the area to work in his brother Martin's tradestore.

(b) They had given up their land because they thought it was the right thing to do - the Administration wanted them to do this and as the Administration was the law they felt they must obey.

(c) To date they have received no money for the land because as soon as they agreed to C.R.A. using the land many others had claimed ownership of the land and in the confusion that followed they had suffered.

(d) Martin claimed that the payment of \$2.00 per acre was ridiculously low. Also if the owners had been offered more money, or had been guaranteed that a larger percentage of the profits would be spent on Bougainville - or even New Guinea - they might have been more agreeable.

(e) Paul Lapun's request for a percentage of the profits had been far too low.

11 (a) The people of KOROMEI informed us that none of the men from the village were now working for C.R.A. Previously a large number had been employed by C.R.A. but they had realised that their gardens and crops were being neglected so they had ceased work with the Company and were now busy cultivating their gardens.

(b) C.R.A. employees from PAKIA village also informed me that they would be leaving C.R.A. in the next few days due to pressure applied by other villagers.

12.(a) On Tuesday 6th June, in the evening, we were approached by approximately 35 men from PARAKAKE and PAKIA villages who stated that they would like to have a meeting with us. Everyone fitted into the rest house and MOSES, who was nominated as spokesman, opened the meeting by asking three questions:

- (i) Why are you here?
- (ii) When will you go back?
- (iii) When you go back from here what will you do about your visit now?

Answers having apparently satisfied the meeting he proceeded to inform us of the various grievances and requests as follows:

(b) The Government thinks that only the people of PAKIA and KOROMEI are concerned about land: this is wrong. - all Bougainville and New Guinea feel strongly about the matter. Look what happened when the Army wanted land from the BUTIBUMS at Lae.

(c) People feel that this land law (what is on the land belongs to the owners and what is under it belongs to the Government) has been sneaked in. When Australia first came to this country they planted their flag, said they were here to help the people and that the ground belonged to the people. Now we find things are different.

(d) The Government must tell us first about any laws they wish to enforce. If the laws suit us we will accept them; if not, we must be allowed to reject them, but in any case the decision must be left to us.



(e) This present House of Assembly is not a competent body to pass laws - they are not truly representative of the people because although we voted the members in it was the first elections and we consider it only a trial - we did not have much idea what it involved.

(f) Our ground has been passed down through generations; our forefathers fought and died for this ground which you now take from us. When Independence comes our true Government will decide on ground laws. The present House of Assembly is still inclined to be swayed by Europeans and a few natives who think they are smart. After Independence when we have complete control we will listen to the House of Assembly and recognise them as our ruling body.

(g) United Nations instructed Australia to look after us, not to impose her laws on us - particularly if they clash with ours.

(h) We are still slaves to the white man. He comes up here and although he pays us a wage it is negligible to what he makes and then takes out of the country.

(i) When agriculture was introduced we were well schooled and slowly introduced to it, but this is not the case with mining which is suddenly forced on us. It is now too late to educate us or pacify us - the people are too bitter.

(j) We think C.R.A. is good but it is not the time for them yet. We feel that we are being deceived about something we know nothing about.

(k) When C.R.A. finishes and Independence comes we will revert to agriculture so let us not advance and then retreat again.

(l) Money from the copper must stay in New Guinea. The amount promised is too small and we will not have the bulk of it leaving the Territory.

(m) At the end of the war we were told by Australia that we would be equals. This is nonsense. We are still where we were - nothing. The Government must change its policy of buying us and keeping us down.

(n) We are not being selfish about the copper. We are happy to see the profits distributed throughout New Guinea, just as we expect profits from minerals found in other districts (if any) to be shared with us.

(o) What happened to the Bulolo people who lost their land for gold mining. Their land was ruined; most of the money left the country and they were resettled in an area foreign to them. This is the kind of treatment we do not want.

(p) In big business we understand that some profits must leave the country but not the percentage that is leaving now.

(q) The Administration not only forced mining on to us, but used Police to do this, and went to the extent of gaoing some of our people. Now they want to start educating us when it is too late. First get C.R.A. out of here, then further our education in agriculture, keeping of cows, pigs etc., and then after Independence when we are agriculturally sound and understand something about mining we will sort out the matter ourselves.

(Discussion followed on C.R.A. progress, its possible future, exploratory work etc.)

(r) Mr. Ken, previously of C.R.A., told us that when C.R.A. found enough copper to go into full production they would build a road to PANGUNA. The road has now been constructed, which means to us that exploration is over and C.R.A. intend to stay.

(s) Another European engineer told us that exploration would only be on the surface to start with and when enough copper had been located drills would be brought in. Drills are now here so obviously they have found all the copper they want.

(t) A senior employee of C.R.A. was heard to say, "the copper find was far greater than expected": this again leads us to believe that C.R.A. have found enough copper.

(u) At present we do not really have our own Government who can speak for us or order us around. Paul Lapun has not expressed our feelings fully. He seldom visits here and when he does he only sees the kiaps and C.R.A. Dr. Gunther visited us and was on our side but has now changed his job and cannot help us.

(v) Why must the Administration and C.R.A. keep telling us lies. When a C.R.A. man was found putting in pegs he said he was measuring distances from a road, when in actual fact he was surveying for mining purposes. We are told that the policemen were being sent here to school us: next thing we find they are here to suppress us with bayonets as if we were at war. What is the Administration trying to do - school half of us and gaoil the other half? This trouble cannot finish. The Government is merely pouring petrol on to a fire and we must all die if necessary before giving in. Our customs are still very strong and we will fight for our ground. Why does the Administration insist on making us fight.

(w) At present we have two suggestions for solving this problem:

(i) We want an independent body to investigate the whole matter. This body should consist of 2 or 3 very senior lawyers/judges from outside this country - from England, Australia and preferably from some country like Africa where people would understand our side. This body should be appointed quickly, must be strictly neutral and the cost of appointing it must be paid for by the Administration. We must be given ample notice of the formation of such a body so that we can prepare our case. The body must actually come to the area and see the people concerned - not just visit Kieta and talk to the Kiaps. We are not going to be satisfied with someone like the "lik lik lawyer" who came here from Rabaul merely to change our thinking and not to help us. He is similar to Mr. McKenzie the Mining Warden who listens to us and talks back to us but is merely trying to change us. He makes us swear to the evidence we give in court and then disregards it.

(ii) When the United Nations visit the Territory next they must be brought here to meet the people. On previous occasions the Government has either been frightened or embarrassed and has managed to keep the team in Rabaul.

(111) We are tired of people listening to us and nothing happening and we want a guarantee from you that our problems will reach Fort Moresby and that you come back here to assure us that this has happened. We would like to hear of any Administration comments on our problems over the radio but if this is not possible you must return here to tell us what has happened.

(I assured the meeting that either myself or another officer would again visit them, not necessarily with answers but at least to give them the picture to date however gloomy it might be for them)

13.(a) At about this stage MOSES more or less ceased his role as spokesman as others decided they would like to voice their opinions themselves. Most of the points raised were similar to those already mentioned, with the exception of these additional few:

(b) When C.R.A. first arrived they promised to help us. They searched for copper on top of the ground and said that before boring they would ask us for permission: this was not done.

(c) C.R.A. assured us that transport for employees would always be provided to and from work. This has ceased and we now walk.

(d) Originally we received good wages. These have now decreased. These points are minor ones as far as we are concerned: our main concern is the removal of the copper without our consent.

(e) We have tried to have royalties raised but the Government refused.

(f) The owners of the ground get \$2.00 per acre per year. If they planted up this ground as they have been taught by the Department of Agriculture they feel their produce would yield up to \$200.00 per year and all the money would be theirs.

(g) The Administration would like to resettle us on ground elsewhere. Even if the Administration bought this ground and made us settle on it, the land would never be ours. After Independence when the Australian Administration leaves the country the original owners would claim back the ground and we would be left without anything.

14.(a) Two further points were raised which had nothing to do with C.R.A./Administration/local relations but may be of interest:

(i) The people from PAKIA village did not want to move their village next to the road but were forced into this by Councillor SEVERITIUS who told them they would be gaoled if they did not move.

(ii) The locals were particularly pleased with the educational system in the area, particularly over the past 8 years.

15.(a) I do not intend to go into details of how the team carried out the tasks as mentioned in para 2 (a), (b) & (c),

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but you may be assured that members of the team contacted as many locals as possible and were always available for discussion. Generally speaking the people were quite prepared to listen, to the extent that on one occasion after Peter Peters had been to considerable time and trouble to explain a situation and was about to leave, Peter Hoini commanded, "Come back here and explain that again - you are being paid to do this!"

They were also prepared to talk quite freely, but whether they were listening or talking, their one main theme was that C.S.A. must leave before advice or assistance of any kind would be accepted. They are firmly fixed on this point and, in my opinion, no amount of talking or demonstrating will shake them.

They quite openly informed us of various past incidents against C.S.A. and about the action they intended to take against surveyors who came on to their land in future. Any impact we may have had on them will possibly never be known, but their action in removing three C.S.A. European employees from their area the day we left would indicate that the influence, if any, was negligible.

They are conscious of the fact that they are in the limelight and I think that anything in the way of a Community Education Programme, or such-like, would be considered as "grease" and an attempt to change their thinking, and should definitely be avoided. Quite possibly there was a number in the area who would respond to an education programme if it were forced on them, but the influence of the leaders and the majority would nullify any effect it might have on them. The only possible way to get anything across would be through films and hand-out literature in the villages, but their feeling is so strong that I do not think that this would have much effect.

(b) They are aware of the benefits to be derived from a large Company moving into the area, but they have dug in their toes and will not be moved from their agricultural set up which, from my observations, is advancing steadily in the area.

(c) In many ways one must see their point but it is going to be impossible to explain to them in their present state of mind that they must be uprooted for the benefit of the country in general.

(d) I feel that definite future plans for their area should be explained to them quite clearly and it should be emphasized at the same time that legislation exists for our actions, and that if necessary force will be used to ensure that mining operations proceed unhindered.

(I.S. DAE)  
District Officer.