



**Australia's Role and Papua New Guinea's National  
Goals and Directive Principles**

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As the relevant colonial power, Australia played a significant role in the formation of the nation of Papua New Guinea. Australia's colonial administration and its policies for social, economic and political development in the colony (Territory of Papua and New Guinea) directly influenced the setting of Papua New Guinea's national goals and directive principles. The Constitutional Planning Committee was responsible for the 'home-grown' Constitution of Papua New Guinea and recommended five national goals and directive principles to be integrated in the constitution. The vision for the national goals and directive principles differed from the prevailing social and economic culture previously disseminated by the colonial administration. The primary aim of this paper is to highlight Australia's role during the colonial period which influenced the Constitutional Planning Committee to recommend the National Goals and Directive Principles to be integrated into the constitution. These national goals were to be the corner-post for the social, economic and political development for the modern state of Papua New Guinea during the post-independence era.

It is an historical fact that the primary reason that prompted Queensland to annex eastern New Guinea (Papua) in 1883, against the wishes of the Queen of England, was that Papua was a potential source of labour recruitment for Queensland plantations. Papua was stocked with natural resources and was the closest source of cheap labour that would support the plantation economy of Queensland. The second specific reason was to keep the colony as an

Australian enclave and as a buffer against possible aggression.<sup>1</sup> Australia preserved her economic interest not only throughout the colonial era but also even during the pre and post-independence periods. Between 1905 and 1975, the Australian Government, through its colonial administration, ensured those commercial benefits and the profits from commercial activities were channelled into Australia. For example, companies owned by Australians were involved in plantations (Carpenters, Burns Philip, and Steamship), the mining sector Australian (BHP), and export and import enterprise was control by Australian-owned companies. The Australian Government had no clear and precise policies towards the indigenous people's economic and social responsibility during the colonial era. There was uncertainty whether to prepare Papua New Guinea to become an independent state or whether Papua New Guinea would instead become another Australian state. Even after the Second World War, Australia was uncertain of its purpose in Papua New Guinea.<sup>2</sup>

As Wolfers stated, political interest in the Territory, by Australians, was low during the 1950s. Therefore, both the Government and the Opposition in Australia saw no political capital in arguing over Australia's colonial policies and were content to cloak their indifference in a public bipartisan approach towards Papua and New Guinea's affairs.<sup>3</sup> Debate was general and abstract mostly concerned with principle rather than immediate policy and with what Australia should do rather than with what Papuans and New Guineans might want. The Australian

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<sup>1</sup> Hudson, W.J. (1974) *New Guinea Empire: Australia's Colonial Experience*, Melbourne: Cassell, p. 34; Griffin, J., Nelson, H, and Firth, S. (1979) *Papua New Guinea: A Political History of Papua New Guinea*, Richmond: Heinemann Educational Australia, p. 170; Woolford, D. (1976) *Papua New Guinea; Initiation and Independence*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, p. 96; Turner, M. (1990) *Papua New Guinea: Challenge of Independence*, Melbourne: Penguin, p. 112; Moore, C. (1983) *The National History Course Guide Three*, University of Papua New Guinea Press, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Todd, I. (1972) *Papua New Guinea: Moment of Truth*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 20; Nelson, H. (1970) *Taim Bilong Master: Australian Involvement with Papua New Guinea*, Australia: ABC Enterprise, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Wolfers, E.P. (1968) 'Social and Political Assumption' in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea's Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 34-37.

Government was serious about rapid political development of the Territory only after 1962. This was when the Australian Government was becoming more concerned about the territory becoming a financial burden for Australian taxpayers.

Uncertainty gave way to a new policy due to international community pressure, led by the United Nations, which prompted the Australian Government literally to rush the political advancement of Papua New Guinea. In 1962, the United Nations Mission, led by Hugh Foot, recommended a National Parliament, a national university, a national programme for economic development and the elimination of any racist legislation, citing, as an example of racism, the ban on blacks drinking alcohol. An authoritative report from the United Nations weakened Australia's official position of waiting for an expression of popular demand for self-government and independence to occur.<sup>4</sup>

People of Bougainville nearly devalued independence in 1975 because of deep grievances over their land that had started during the colonial era. Australian colonial administration tried to acquire the land without due regard to the Bougainvillian's feelings for their land.<sup>5</sup> Nelson argues that Australian rule in Papua New Guinea was characterised by "the lack of clearly defined policy coupled with the misleading belief that Papua New Guinea would somehow continue to have a formal constitutional relationship with Australia. This belief stopped the Australian government from developing, or allowing to develop, institutions and

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<sup>4</sup> Woolford, D. (1976) *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Dorney, S. (1990) *Papua New Guinea People. Politics and History Since 1975*, NSW: Random House, p. 45.

procedures in law, politics, education and administration that were appropriate for a separate nation”.<sup>6</sup>

Andrew Peacock, the Liberal Minister for External Territories prior to independence, stated in his *Ministerial Memoir* that Australia’s gradualism policy was designed to slow down the progress of indigenous people towards self-determination. The Australian Government’s aim was to slow the social, economic and political development of the indigenous people. However, given the deteriorating security situation caused by separatist movements in the mid-1970s, the Australian Government did not seek to restrain the movement towards self-government and independence because it would bring about a backlash of perhaps even greater proportions in terms of confrontation between Australians and the indigenous people.<sup>7</sup> Thus, from 1970 to 1975, Australia increased the pace towards independence in order to avoid confrontation with indigenous people over pressing issues such as law and order, land tenure and secession on Bougainville.

The historians, and former Ministers for the External Territories Peacock and Hasluck, highlight the fact that Australia’s gradualism and discriminatory policies, over its seventy-six years in the Territory of Papua New Guinea, reflected the colonial regime’s interests. The gradualism strategy led the colonial administration to formulate policies to advance the interests of the coloniser rather than those of the colony. Such policies laid the foundation for

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<sup>6</sup> Nelson, H. (1995) ‘From ANZAC Day to Remembrance Day, Remnants of Australian Rule in Papua New Guinea’ in Lal, B. and Nelson (eds.) *Lines Across The Sea, Colonial Inheritance in the Post Colonial Pacific*, Brisbane: Pacific History Association, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Peacock, A. (1995) ‘Ministerial Memoir: Papua New Guinea’s Transition to Independence’ in Lal, B. and Hank, N. (eds.) *Lines Across The Sea, Colonial Inheritance in the Post Colonial Pacific*, Brisbane: Pacific History Association, p. 7.

the disastrous social and economic experiences of Papua New Guinea before and after independence.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1960 and 1975, the Australian Government eventually changed its gradualism strategy and discriminatory policies. This change of attitude was a response to the adoption of resolution 1514 on the granting of independence to colonies by the United Nations General Assembly session. The Australian colony of Papua and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea came under the declaration. In 1961 the United Nations established a committee to monitor the implementation of the declarations.<sup>9</sup> The United Nations Mission, led by Sir Hugh Foot in 1962, pressured Australia to change its gradualism and discriminating policies and prepare Papua New Guinea for self-government and independence. Subsequent changes in the territory were a result of Australia's positive response to the United Nations. Nelson asserts that "pressures from the United Nations and international community were mainly responsible for the next series of changes, changes that were to lay the foundations for that movement towards self determination."<sup>10</sup> Australia's policy during the 1960s placed controlled economic development before political development, and Australian aid was dependent upon Papua New Guinean's compliance with Australia's development objectives. In the 1970s, Australia continued its desire to retain control even over the process of decolonization. Australia explained its policies to Papua New Guineans, rather than consult, negotiate or compromise with them. The colonial administration did not provide the

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<sup>8</sup> Hudson, W.J. (1974) *op. cit.*, p. 84; Nelson, H. (1982), *op. cit.*, p. 15; Todd, I. (1974), *Papua New Guinea: Moment of Truth*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson; Woolford, D. (1976) *Papua New Guinea: Initiation and Independence*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press; Griffin, J. (ed.) (1978) *Papua New Guinea Portraits. The Expatriate Experience*, Canberra: Australia National University Press; Wolfers, E.P. (1975).

<sup>9</sup> Hudson, W.J. (1974), *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Nelson, H. (1982), *op. cit.*, p.15.

indigenous people with opportunities to acquire meaningful experiences and skills in the area of social and economic development.<sup>11</sup>

Andrew Peacock asserts that Australia was very slow to prepare Papua New Guinea to become a separate state. Therefore, during his term, he sought to speed up the pace of self-government and self-rule.<sup>12</sup> He stresses that the Westminster system of government and institutions, which could normally take years to understand and properly exercise, were transferred to indigenous people within fifteen years. Chan confirms that, from the 1960s onwards, the colonial government increased the pace of its development strategy, concentrating heavily on economic growth and modernization. “The strategy assumed that to increase the total measurable income of the country was the best way of promoting the welfare of those who lived in it.”<sup>13</sup> Chan notes that the colonial administration treated the economy of Papua New Guinea as a single unit and its aim was to increase the size and strength of that unit as much as possible within the available resources and override the welfare of indigenous people. The economy, during this period, was owned and controlled by foreign-owned companies such as BHP, Burns Philip, Steamship, and Carpenters.

When the Australian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, returned from the Commonwealth Heads of Governments conference in 1960, he declared that Australia would make a quick exit out of the territory of Papua and New Guinea. The Australian Government perceived that the colony (Papua New Guinea) would be expensive to maintain. The United Nation’s

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<sup>11</sup>Wolfers argued that, “the Administration system and legislation consolidated colonial rule and prevented the emergence of potentially effective opposition to it. Both prejudice and policy under Australian rule delayed the emergence and acceptance of an educated indigenous elite”, Wolfers, E.P. (1975) *Race Relations and Colonial Rule in Papua New Guinea*, Brookvale: Australia and New Zealand Book Co. Pty Ltd, pp. 1-6.

<sup>12</sup> Peacock, A. (1995) op. cit., p. 3.

decolonisation policy was aggressively promoted by former colonies in Africa, South America and Asia who pressured Australia. From 1960 to 1970, decolonisation proceeded rapidly for Papua New Guinea and political parties were formed. For example, in 1967, the first nationalist Pangu Party was formed in Papua New Guinea, which aimed at terminating colonial rule as soon as possible.<sup>14</sup> The Pangu Party's radical position, to push for early independence after the second House of Assembly in 1968, strengthened Australia's determination to make a quick exit out of the territory. Moore argues that the Australian Parliament passed a very important bill to fast-track the political advancement of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, in May 1968. This legislation made way for political advancement leading to independence.<sup>15</sup> Nelson argues that Australia did not spend time and resources to solve the pressing issues such as law and order, land tenure, secession on Bougainville, Gazelle Peninsula, Papua, and lawlessness in the Highlands before preparing the indigenes for self-rule. Instead, these issues were seen as a burden or a threat. Australia's rapid exit escaped confrontation between the nationalist movements and the colonial power.

Contrary to Peacock, Nelson argues that Australia exited the territory of Papua New Guinea for economic, political and international image reasons.<sup>16</sup> Australia prematurely withdrew from the colony leaving behind problems such as law and order, economic dependency and secessionist movements, particularly on Bougainville. On the mainland some, but not all,

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<sup>13</sup> Chan, J. (1981) 'Keynote Address', in Dahanayake, P.A.S et al. *Post-Independence Economic Development of Papua New Guinea*, Proceedings of the IASER Conference 27-29 October 1981, IASER, Waigani Port Moresby, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Pokowin, S. (1982) 'Politics in Melanesia: Papua New Guinea', in Crocombe, R. and Ali, A. (eds.) *Politics in Melanesia*, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Moore, C. (1975) 'A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle 1967-1991 (Australian Journal Political History)', in Moore, C. and Kooyman, M. (eds.) *A Papua New Guinea Political Chronicle*, Australia: Crawford House Publishing, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Peacock A, 1995 op., cit., p 6

<sup>16</sup> Nelson argued, "they confused motive and influence by presenting the selfish and the selfless, but the extent to which they were looking out for themselves ought not to be surprising. In unequal relationships the dominant

Papua New Guinea nationalists welcomed Australia's withdrawal and the opportunity to dispense with colonialism and to build a nation based on self-reliance and equality.

### **Economic independence a prerequisite to political independence (1950-1975)**

As Australia was preparing to exit the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, historians, economists and political observers began to issue warnings. In 1968, historian, economist, Fisk argued that it was a mistake for Australia to grant political independence to Papua New Guinea before it had built a strong economic foundation that could enable the nation to be self-sustaining.

In 1962, Fisk stated that political independence limited by permanent economic dependency would be an empty thing. Therefore, a reasonably clear prospect of achieving a viable economy was a necessary prerequisite to effective political independence. Fisk wrote, "it need not have been actually achieved, but the path to its achievement must at least be charted and be seen to be practicable".<sup>17</sup> Fisk stressed that Papua New Guinea would be considered economically viable when it could be self-financing to the extent that it could do without foreign aid. Even though he did not suggest that economic viability is a prerequisite to the granting of political independence, it was a clear warning against the manner and degree of Australia's premature granting of the political independence. He stressed that Australia's rudimentary policy to grant independence could delay and even prevent attainment of a reasonable level of economic viability in the future.<sup>18</sup> Papua New Guinea has borne the fruit

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partners are likely to determine when they come, stay and go", Nelson, H. (2000), 'Liberation: End of Australian Rule in Papua New Guinea', *Journal of Pacific History*, vol. 35, No. 3, p. 280.

<sup>17</sup> Fisk, E.K. (1962) 'The Economy of Papua and New Guinea' in Bettison, et al. *Independence of Papua and New Guinea, What Are the Prerequisites*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Fisk, K.E (1968) 'Economic Base for An Independent New Guinea' in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea's Future Indefinite?* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 7.

of Fisk's warning and it is now considered amongst the poorest countries in the world, despite its natural resources that could make it one of the richest countries.

Crawford warned Australia that complete independence in the Territory was improbable if Australia continued the economic progress of New Guinea along the road to modernisation leading to heavy external aid for a long time to come. Crawford also expressed that, to enable the people to manage their own economic affairs, Australia should have planned for the country's economic advancement. To indicate that the Territory of Papua and New Guinea wasn't ready to be granted political independence without a strong economic foundation, Crawford even suggested that Papua and New Guinea might become a state of the Federation of Australia enjoying a degree of self-government without control of external polices.<sup>19</sup> Watson argued that Australia should have set the right economic policies for future economic independence if Papua New Guinea was to prosper. He stressed that concern for indigenous people during that colonial era was for Australia to assist them with the planned economy. Papua New Guineans have taro, sweet potatoes, yam, banana, places to fish and hunt for fresh meat and were not living in poverty. All they required was cash economies to enable them to contribute and participate in their country's development. Watson also argued that the most immediate need during that time was a small and rural industry suitable for Papua New Guineans. "We should produce those things we can produce ourselves and import only those things we cannot produce".<sup>20</sup> This was a genuine concern and was representative of the representing indigenous peoples' feelings. In 1968, Henry ToRobert, a man groomed to head the Central bank of Papua New Guinea, argued that the Australian Government had placed an

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<sup>19</sup> Crawford, G.J. (1962) 'Emerging Issue in New Guinea' in Bettison et al *Independence of Papua and New Guinea, What Are The Prerequisites*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 61.

<sup>20</sup> Watson, L. (1968) 'Discussion' in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea's Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 17.

emphasis on demonstrable economic development rather than participation. He requested the Australian Government to closely examine the imbalance in economic ownership and control in the Territory. If the Australian Government failed to formulate policies to bridge the gap, that is to allow indigenous people to share the ownership and control the economy of the territory, it would lead to dangerous political and economic situations, disastrous in the long term. Well, there have been many social, economic political crises experienced by Papua New Guineans during the post-independence era as predicated by ToRobert.<sup>21</sup>

Downs argued that economic independence should have been the prerequisite for the political independence. “We are importing a very big proportion of goods that can be grown in Papua New Guinea from Australia. It would be in the best interest of the indigenous people that Australia initiate genuine economic policies that could facilitate industries to produce goods within the territory”.<sup>22</sup> In 1968, Albert Morie Kiki argued for the Australian Government to give opportunities to indigenes to produce things that can be produced in Papua New Guinea. “We ask you (Australia) to assist to raise the standard of our economy and treat indigenous people as equal partners in business”.<sup>23</sup> Lourie argued in 1968 that, if Australia was sincere about assisting Papua New Guineans towards independence, it must help them to establish a strong economic foundation prior to political independence. Lourie stressed that Australia went into the Territory of Papua and New Guinea for crude, selfish, strategic military interests. More than that, it stayed there to protect those Australian companies and individuals’ economic interests. One example was Carpenter Company, which had a capital

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<sup>21</sup> ToRobert, H. (1968) ‘Discussion’ in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea’s Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 22-23.

<sup>22</sup> Down, I. (1968) ‘Discussion’ in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea’s Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Kiki, A.M. (1968) ‘Discussion’ in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea’s Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 26.

and market value of sixty million dollars.<sup>24</sup> Lourie highlighted the vital point that independence meant Papua New Guinea owning and controlling its resources and industries and being able to decide how it wishes to use them.

Owen stated that industrial economy was an essential institution for any nation to become economically independent. In the case of the Territory of Papua New Guinea, industrial economy was owned and controlled by foreigners, mostly Australian-based companies. “Just prior to Independence, the National Investment Development Authority (NIDA) undertook a survey of all industries with Expatriate ownership and found that eight-six percent (86%) of the share capital was in the hands of expatriates and fourteen percent (14%) in nationals”.<sup>25</sup> These statistics reveal that economic control and ownership were in the hands of foreigners, mostly Australians. Therefore, the Australian Government was reluctant to facilitate through policies the ownership and control of the economy by indigenous people prior to independence.

### **Constitutional Planning Committee and National Goals**

The proposal to establish the Constitutional Planning Committee was set up by the House of Assembly on the motion of the Chief Minister in June 1972. The committee included representatives of all parties and groups in the House of Assembly drawn from various parts of the country. The terms of reference for the Constitutional Planning Committee were to make recommendations for a constitution for full internal self-government in United Papua

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<sup>24</sup> According to Lourie, “most of that or at least its initial imputes came from the exploitation of the natural resources of New Guinea and the labour of the indigenous people. To develop Papua and New Guinea is not to continue to pour in tax payers’ money to enable certain wealthy monopolies to get more and more wealth and more and more profits but to establish the basis of New Guinea industry”, Lourie, A. (1968) ‘Discussion’ in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea’s Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, p. 28.

<sup>25</sup> Owen, E. (1968) ‘Discussion’ in Wilkes, J. (ed.) *New Guinea’s Future Indefinite*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

New Guinea, with a view to eventual independence. Without limiting the power of the committee to make any investigation or recommendation which it deems relevant to the objective, matters were to be considered for possible incorporation into the constitution. The committee was also empowered to make investigation or recommendation on the mechanism for implementing the constitution.

In September 1972, the Chief Minister announced to the House of Assembly the names of Committee members and also of the permanent staff and consultants who were to be responsible solely to the committee.<sup>26</sup> In 1974, the Constitutional Planning Committee recognised that Papua New Guinea's development was steadily fitting into the type of development of many Third World countries. The Third World countries obtain money from foreign countries and foreign firms from development activities. For example, borrowing money from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund to support the national budget, grant and loan from former colonial countries. The committee noted that such practices would lead to foreign investment and allow foreign domination of the economy, which would encourage inequality and promote a band of rich people who will reject their traditional obligation and retain money to invest. This kind of investment had not been successful elsewhere and had led to very serious inequalities. The development of foreign domination was emerging in Papua New Guinea at the time leading to self-government and independence. Foreign-owned companies and individuals from foreign countries dominated the economic activities in Papua New Guinea.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Constitutional Planning Committee Final Report (1974) Port Moresby, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Constitutional Planning Committee Final Report (1974) Port Moresby, p. 3.

The Constitutional Planning Committee firmly believed that Papua New Guinea must avoid repetition of the experiences of many Third World countries forced, by economic relations with industrialised countries, to build their countries more in accordance with the interests of the industrialised countries than their own national wishes. The committee firmly believed that, in order for Papua New Guinea to avoid a situation where foreign capital controlled the destiny of its people, the five national goals and directive principles should be incorporated into the constitution. The five national goals and directive principles reflected people's experiences and reactions against the colonial aspirations and visions for the new modern state of Papua New Guineans. As historians have pointed out, the gradualism strategy favoured the colonial power and discriminatory policies and 'soft' approach towards self-rule influenced the Constitution Planning Committee to include the national goals and directive principles as part of the constitution of Papua New Guinea. The vision was that the national goals would be the basis of the political social and economic development during the post-independence period.

The five national goals and directive principles were:

1. *Integral Human Development-Liberation and Fulfilment.* All activity of the state should be directed towards the personal liberation and fulfilment of every citizen, so that each man and woman will have the opportunity of improving him or her as a whole and achieve integral human development.
2. *Equality and Participation.* All citizens should have an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, the development of Papua New Guinea.
3. *National Sovereignty and Self-reliance.* Papua New Guinea should be politically and economically independent and its economy should be basically self-reliant.

4. *National Resources and the Environment.* The national resources and the environment of Papua New Guinea should be conserved and used for the collective benefit of the people; and should be replenished in the interest of future generations.
5. *Papua New Guinea Ways.* Development should take place primarily through the use of Papua New Guinean forms of social, political and economic organisation.<sup>28</sup>

The significance of the National Goals and Directive Principles at the time of self-government and independence of Papua New Guinea was that, when Papua New Guinea achieved self-government and independence, its constitution tended to be concerned largely with the tensions and colonial policies of that time. The significance of Papua New Guinea's attainment of self-government and independence is the transfer of power into the hands of the people of Papua New Guinea. It gave indigenous people the chance to define themselves, the philosophy of life by which they want to live, and the social and economic goals they wanted to achieve. "A clear definition of Papua New Guinea's most fundamental national goals, and a statement setting out the implications of their acceptance for the ways in which the Government seeks to achieve those goals, is of great importance to the welfare of our people and to the effectiveness of the constitution in promoting it. When a country becomes fully self-governing and its duly elected leaders have taken over virtually complete control of all internal government activity, the need for definite, widely known, long-term objectives to guide them in their decision-making is apparent. With the need for development so widespread, it is crucial that national priorities be in accordance with these objectives."<sup>29</sup> The leaders and the people of Papua New Guinea must know where they want to go before they can decide how they should get there. The road, which Papua New Guineans should follow,

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<sup>28</sup> Constitutional Planning Committee (1974) *Final Report of Constitutional Planning Committee*, Port Moresby, p. 2.

ought now to be marked out so that all will know the way ahead. Therefore, the Constitutional Planning Committee believed that the country's leaders have a unique opportunity to change the existing foreign-imposed system of government, which is widely recognised as being inappropriate to our needs.

It was an historic moment in Papua New Guinea's search for identity and self-fulfilment to take the necessary measures to make substantial social and economic changes in old institutions, create new ones and redirect development when things are fluid and tractable. The objectives must be clearly established. Therefore, the Constitutional Planning Committee decided that, as the constitution was the basic charter of the country, it was essential that it incorporate the fundamental national goals towards which the people and leaders of Papua New Guinea had to work. This would help to ensure that these objectives would become known throughout the country and provide a yardstick against which government performance could be judged.<sup>30</sup>

There had been much discussion about the kind of society that the people of Papua New Guinea wanted. There was wide ranging debate on the socio-economic aspects of this topic in the House of Assembly. It resulted in the unanimous adaptation of fundamental guidelines known as the "Eight Aims", which have been summed up in the ideas of equality, self-reliance and rural development. In evolving the National Goals and Directive Principles of Policy, which the Constitutional Planning Committee proposed to incorporate in the constitution of Papua New Guinea, they took full account of the eight aims. The national

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<sup>29</sup> Constitutional Planning Committee (1974) op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

goals were generally consistent with the eight aims but more specifically aimed at achieving a free and just society in Papua New Guinea.

The Constitutional Planning Committee did not determine the national goals in a matter of days or weeks. They distilled them after a great deal of thought and discussion over the twenty-two months during which the committee had been at work. The Constitutional Planning Committee held well over one hundred meetings in all parts of Papua New Guinea and received thousands of submissions, verbally and written. Many submissions were concerned either directly or indirectly with the type of society Papua New Guineans sought to build for themselves.

These national goals and principles were to guide the government and people of Papua New Guinea during the attainment of self-government; they expressed the needs and aspirations of the people of Papua New Guinea in meaningful terms, and were stated in a manner people would readily understand and remember. The national goals and the directive principles were given the widest possible publicity at all levels of government; in towns and villages, in schools and tertiary institutions, in churches and other organisations. This ensured that people would become fully aware of the goals and principles, discuss them and obtain a clear sense of the direction in which Papua New Guinea was heading. It gave each man and woman a clear appreciation of the need for every Papua New Guinean to participate fully in the building of the new nation – a nation firmly based on equality and social justice.<sup>31</sup>

The Constitutional Planning Committee believed that a fundamental goal of the people of Papua New Guinea was for the new nation of Papua New Guinea to make its own decisions

and that its sovereignty should not be reduced by external political, economic or military dependence. The national leaders should always be free to make their own decisions that would bring social and economic changes. It is true that the economies of the developing countries of the world are, in most cases, strongly affected by foreign interest and Papua New Guinea is no exception. A study made in 1973 by the Australian Government's Joint Intelligences Organisation reported that almost two-thirds of the developed sections of Papua New Guinea's economy was controlled by Australian Companies and individuals. It was also noted that Japanese involvement in large-scale economic activity was rapidly increasing in Papua New Guinea. In 1973, it was clear that Papua New Guineans controlled only a very small part of the Papua New Guinea economy. The national sovereignty and self reliance goal and directive principle was aimed to allow Papua New Guinea's economy to be held in the hands of nationally-owned companies and individuals.

If self-government and independence are to have real meaning they must be accompanied by a substantial measure of control by Papua New Guinea over economic enterprises throughout the country. This can be only achieved by developing solidarity between all Papua New Guineans and give second place to relationships with outsiders. It will be necessary for Papua New Guineans to forgo some immediate material benefits, which might be derived from dealing with outsiders, in order to enhance Papua New Guinea's own political sovereignty.

## **Conclusion**

Papua New Guineans who made submissions to, and held meetings with, the Constitutional Planning Committee were members of nationalist movements in the different parts of Papua New Guinea. These submissions reflected the indigenous

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

people's expression of anti-colonialism and their reaction against oppression, racial discrimination regulation and exploitation of resources. Australia continued to utilize the legislation not only to prepare the indigenous people to achieve political independence, but also to install a dependent economy. From the indigenous perspective, the colonial era is best remembered for the lack of sensitivity to the complexity of indigenous Papua New Guinea's social and economic culture, and the introduction of a lasting Western culture and its institutions. Papua New Guineans remember Australia's role in guiding and creating a nation and also in creating an economy leading to competition, inequality and a class society and life style that is contrary to Papua New Guinea's traditional ways.

The Constitutional Planning Committee played a significant role in integrating the National Goals and Directive Principles as part of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea. The national goals were concerned largely with the tensions and colonial policies of that time and to bring meaningful social and economic changes to all citizens. The significance of Papua New Guinea's attainment of self-government and independence was the transfer of power into the hands of the people of Papua New Guinea. This gave indigenous people a chance to define themselves and the philosophy of life by which they want to live and social and economic goals they wanted to achieve. A clear definition of Papua New Guinea's most fundamental national goals, and a statement setting out the implications of their acceptance for the ways in which the government seeks to achieve those goals, was of great importance to social and economic welfare of the people of Papua New Guinea.

However, Australia's premature departure from the colony leaving behind problems such as law and order, economic dependency and secessionist movements, particularly on Bougainville, could be the challenge to the vision of the national goals. Australia did not consider requests from the mainland for a referendum on independence. Some, but not all Papua New Guinea nationalists, welcomed Australia's withdrawal and the opportunity to dispense with colonialism and to build a nation based on self-reliance and equality. The current economic, social and political crises and the continuing external assistance are clear evidence that the Australian Government did not give due consideration to the economists informed warnings or to the advice and pleas from indigenous leaders arising from discussions and debate.

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