

SENATE FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DEFENCE AND TRADE
REFERENCES COMMITTEE
INQUIRY INTO PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND THE
ISLAND STATES OF THE SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC
SUBMISSION

Submission No:

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Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee.

Inquiry into Papua New Guinea and the Island States of the South West Pacific

SUBMISSION:

Submission No.

Submission by: Peter Spencer

No of pages.

5 bound volumes - over 1000 pages plus 15
notes.

page introduction and reference

Date: Friday 7th June 2002

Peter Spencer.

Introduction

As this submission is of considerable length I will try and keep this introduction as brief as possible.

Having lived in Papua *New Guinea* for 27 years and most of those years spent in the field I became increasingly aware things were not improving but deteriorating. Each year one felt it could not go down any further but each year new shocks would rock the country. Over 25 years people accepted it all as inevitable. If it had all happened in one year the populace would have recoiled in horror, and demanded to have the rot stopped.

My time was spent in business. This was an ever-increasing challenge.

Towards the end of my stay I was Deputy Chief of Staff to the Prime Minister, Office of the Prime Minister's Administration officer and Press Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Through out my stay I was constantly in touch with all aspects of Tribal Society, especially conflict resolution. I saw at first hand the deep struggle the village man and women had to deal with as they watched in disbelief as their life was turned into one of first small changes, being the loss of a facility, being road or school or police effectiveness down to the horror of the wholesale destruction of every thing they felt was theirs by right in an independent state. I watched as Australia, the UN, advisers from aid Countries and Banks carne and went. I looked on shocked at the constant procession of papers, reports and studies which was sent to all and sundry.-These reports paid for at high cost were in most cases written by academic experts who would spend a few weeks to a few months in the country. Many of the reports were read by persons who needed a report to approve a payment for a donor who had to spent a % of his countries GAP to ensure the international community would give them a pat on the back. Others just added to the pool of information.

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On careful examination by those who new the subject well these reports were filled with lots of information and acceptable, contemporary, academic terms. But alas, a real lack of knowledge in an apparent practical sense.

Often knowledge could be an affront to the host Government or the donor country or the institution concerned. Most of the time the consultant just wanted his/her money to fund his/her office or even more often completed report.-, would mean more ongoing re-search funds for the sponsoring institution. In addition research focus does not necessarily see the broad picture unless that is its *particular focus*.

Some of these institutions today have whole schools as permanent research faculties. And yet the geographic regions of *their focus are* almost destitute.

History of the Problem.

It was considered the anticolonial movement in the United Nations reached a high point on the 14th December 1960 at the 947th plenary meeting with the General Assembly Adopting Resolution 1514(xv).

The Resolution referred above was sponsored by 43 African and Asian states.

The resolution, called the Declaration on the Granting of independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, condemned "the subjection of peoples to alien *subjugation*, domination, and exploitation" and declared that " immediate steps shall be takento transfer all powers" to the peoples in the colonies " without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire ..in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom" . The declaration was adopted by a vote of 89 for and zero against with 9 abstentions.

The resolution smacks of idealistic stupidity. NO studies had been conducted into the ability of Traditional Tribal Nations to take over the reigns so required at independence. Most of them were mostly illiterate and many still are.

By the time Australia through the then Prime Minister Gough Whitlam decided to hand the reins to New Guinea a lot of the entrenched attitudes and policies were already within the decolonization movement and new Tribal leaders could see the support available to them from the media and other decolonization pressure groups.

Since that Resolution was passed the loss inhuman lives through the Tribal Nations and the suffering that has followed has only been intensified by the refusal of the Western Developed Nations the media, individual consultations; institutions and industries that had mutated and fed on the -billions in aid bucketed out each year, to accept the failure of the plan. Even the NGO's often cannot deal with the reality nor the scope of the problem mainly because they cannot holistically deal with the main issues..

This is not the past this is the present and the problems is becoming ever more serious yet there is no apparent solution. As a matter of fact most involved do not even see the problem as a problem. Many involved as advisers in the "SYSTEM" e.g. Persons who earn \$800 pa in their home country earn US\$100,000 with perks advising governments in need. They do not want the system to change and will perpetuate the problem to ensure-they can stay on.

This Destruction of our Tribal Nations has become an industry. Australia alone has spent approx billion RUST \$ 10.8 in the last 27 years. That is nothing to the global position. This figures runs into Billions of US dollars per year.

Now what has to be asked is what has been achieved? The response to this question is very sad. Nations have lost a great deal including most of their infrastructure. Even the ability to report statistics is distorted or unavailable as there is nothing in place to base this data on. Like Papua New Guinea having child deaths EST. in excess of 27,000 and the reports say it is getting worse not better. Try and find out **the correct figure and incompetence**, ignorance, indifference, and Tribal fear of ones job generally stops the real truth getting out.

The infant mortality stopwatch "Social Watch"

http://www.socwatch.org.uy/1996/mortal_html, says Papua New Guinea is one of only 4 countries going back wards.

In regard to under 5 year olds in particular, in the Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 2000 Special report 78(10) on Child Mortality 1184 Western ,Pacific I quote "Mean mortality dropped by almost 70% from 154 per 1000 live births in 1955 to about 48 in 1995-99 (('Table 6)) Only Mongolia and Papua New Guinea failed to achieve reductions indeed Papua New Guinea experienced an increase." End quote.

Its is so sad when we see the breakdown in law and order the loss of public services children dying the women being abused and now the overwhelming aids/hiv figures. All this spelling out the fact we have a major problem to our north in particular but Tribal Nations generally and yet the ABC Radio on PM 1700/1600 last week featured as the 1st point of call that a dolphin was caught in a net off Darwin (sic) News is not news if its boning or if its not with good visual footage. It is called freedom of the press, which it is if it gets the lead story or the front page - if it sells papers or ups the rating. Other then that, sorry it's not on. The 3rd world is not news it's a basket case

History of the Report. The National Law and Order Policy for PAPUA NEW GUINEA

The National Law and Order Policy and National Law and Order Programme Stage II "Implementation" was written by myself. I became involved following a request by Sir Barry Hollaway to review a paper written by a US criminologist who had been employed by an aid organization to work in PNG.

The Paper I reviewed was very disappointing. It had been written by a person based in Port Moresby for a few months. One who had never seen nor experienced the country and yet he was deciding our future. The paper was disgraceful.

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A committee was formed as an acceptable paper had to be written so that the Joint Declaration of Principles signed by the Australian PM and the PNG PM in 1987 could be pursued.

In 1989 Australia and PNG reached an understanding that there was a need to cooperate in addressing the deteriorating trend of the law and order and security situation generally.

In 1991 the two Governments reached an agreement on a firmer and more concrete way to cooperate in the future in the area of law and order and Security-An agreement to this effect was signed in September 1991.

It took the NBC until 10th March 1993 to provide the terms of reference for the National Law and Order Policy. (See page 1-4 NLOP for a full history of its conceptualization -- in Attachments)

However no one wanted to deal with the matter. Australia was waiting in the wings to fund a major initiative - But PNG and especially the public servants did not want a thing to do with it.

The Prime Minister Mr Pias Wingti was leaving for Australia in 4 months and the Australian Prime Minister W Paul Keating wanted the report Prime Minister Wingti wanted to give him the report.

So as the one produced was not acceptable the Prime Ministers Select group on Law and Order Met in Sept 10 / 12 in Mount Hagen. Followed by the Secretary of the Dept of the Prime Minister appointing a small team to bring the work to finalization. I was on that team and I was appointed to write the document.

The document was approved and passed by cabinet prior to The Prime Minister's trip to Australia in early 1994. It was handed to Prime Minister Keating. The PNG Public service was furious and the Australian Foreign Affairs and Trade were very upset to say the least. The report virtually said PNG was in serious state of melt down.

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This report did not fit in with what they wanted. They wanted to plod along with AusAid band-aid strips here and there, send a few more police to PNG to mentor here and mentor there. To this day Foreign Affairs have completely ignored the rampant cancer while they treat a splinter in **the** finger.

They like others could not comprehend the broad nature of the problem. They could not tack! e_ the only holistic solution. Which was to tie the whole of the aid budget to a huge human resource salvage of the public sector in a massive and robust long-term program and not back off for many many years even possible generations.

This was necessary at least until the public service was capable of delivering the service that the public was entitle to receive. This had to be coupled with education levels where the object had to be 100 % of the population to be educated as an absolute priority in the shortest possible time. If all this meant getting in foreign help on the front line of work to get the wheels back on the cart and save lives then that had to be done and NOW.

Wingti was removed from office before implementation was commenced. My passport was taken and I went thought a period of horror and brutal attacks. All those out to destroy the policy, ,had now won. **Now the people**, are still paying the price.

To the man and woman in the street or the village all this talk about the flag, the color of the leader, the territorial integrity is a nonsense. It's only the power brokers the pigs with-their snouts in the trough who care about such matters and for good reason. As that is what determines how deep he /she can push into the trough.

If a man and woman cannot marry and build a house, have children, get basic health care, education, be able to walk the street safely, invest a little money, have job security, retire, enjoy their children and hopefully see their grand children then what sense is there in life. That's what life is and THAT is not what they have and the people know it. After 30 years and all the focus of our institutions and our eminent people has added to naught.

Our Diplomats and staff from Foreign Affairs live in Papua New Guinea in a great big Fortress in Konedobu. Why do they not go and live in the suburbs the villages? -Because it's a war zone out there and we created it. Yet still no change of policy!

The report is still I believe the only report which was written on the right side of the front *line, behind the lines*- Holistically dealing with the problem, confronting the real issues. Generally speaking, other reports, come from external theorist or indigenous public servants promoting their own pet concepts to maintain the status quo. Our world of experts is so specialized the whole picture, apparently, when considered in total, *which one* must, treads on two many toes and covers two many disciplines.

The Documents Conceptualization.

Researching and writing the document was when I found the real depth of the rot. From the authority of the Office of the Prime Minister I had the right of access to enter and dig deep into the entire length and breadth of not only the Public Service the Parliament the Institutions and the provincial governments of the Nation but in addition as I was supposed to have the ear of the PM, every man or woman who had a tale to tell, told it to me.

The fact was the law and order problem was not as thought merely to do with policing and law enforcement but it became ever apparent the problem was created by something far more chronic.

It was actually the result of a total collapse of Government services across the entire spectrum of the public service. In fact Government Authority had been completely compromised through nepotism and inefficiency to the point where those in charge of the public purse and those with their noses in the trough were under no circumstances going to have any one come and tell them-to get it out -nor should they have to perform to remain at the trough.

This malaise was so rampant, those indulgent participants could strut, crow and posture so well that any member of the public or aid donor representative or diplomat could be convincingly but falsely put at ease as 8/_

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to there depth of knowledge and professional experience, **from a Papua New Guinea perspective of course.**

In fact generally speaking it was a National disgrace from the top to the bottom the public service was and is a pathetic lie. Not only was the skill levels of the human recourses ridicules but there was no interest or commitment. Once you became a public servant you had a ticket to place your nose in the public trough.

All most the entire budget was a pathetic joke based on nonsense. Once the Budget Funds was approved ors the Floor of Parliament the feeding frenzy would start all over again.

The further I researched and wrote the more I realized the need for an entirely different approach to the decolonization issue in regard to Tribal Nations -simply put it was not working.

The current approach can be altered it can be corrected. It appears as yet no body cares enough, as it just goes on and on. It is not a matter of money. It appears money is the easy component. We have the whop; concept wrong.

Some of the figures are very disappointing.

After Papua New Guinea has had over a quarter of a century of independence they have 82:6 % percentage of the population over 25 with *no formal* education. GNP US\$3;834,000,000 (US \$810 per capita.) Tourism est. US\$12,000,000. Population Just on 5 million.

15 years ago it was much the same after 10 years of independents.

They had 78% of the population above the age of 5 illiterate. GNP was US\$2,480,000,000, (US \$760 per capita) Tourism est. US\$12,000,000. Population 3,397,000.

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Another Pacific Country which adopted a different approach to decolonization, French Polynesia.

15 years ago they had 95% of over 14 year old literate. GNP US\$1,374,000,000, (US\$8330 per capita) Tourism US\$ 66,000,000 Population 180,000.

Current position: Total population over 15 literate 98.314 %. GNP US\$3,908,000,000. (US\$16,930 per-capita) Tourism US\$354,000,000 Population 238,000.

Need I say more look at the growth look at the quality of life that can be afforded. Look also at the public service standards look at the Police the Laws and Justice system in place. Look at the emphasis on education and overall service delivery. Tourism is through the roof in comparison. Simplistic? Yes, as PNG is far more complex with 846 distinct languages etc but the point is our current policies we are going backward not forward. We are on the wrong track.

Eight years ago I would have hoped a submission to this committee would not be necessary, as I believed every one in this field, the thousands of experts that have studied in this region could see the writing on the wall.

I predicted then, if this current approach was not stopped within 10 years from Fiji to West Papua there would be nothing more then groups of little division's cut up and marked out, fiercely defended and controlled by heavily armed war lords.

The Solomon's has seen this start, the last throws of the illness reaching terminal proportions.

If what I am saying is true then even our newest Nation East Timor is doomed. The fundamentals are just not within the provided structure. The Tribal society will rip it apart.

Tribalism requires a different approach. It is easy to check back on what has transpired in Africa since the 1960 resolution. If you doubt me watch Afghanistan over the next few years. We, the West have and in fact still are giving them the tools to self-destruct. One well might wonder if it is not selfdetermination but self-extermination.

In regard to Solomon's, last year Australia and New Zealand put in \$30 Million to solve the problem- Now look at the mess. One might ask, "Who is in charge of these decision's:"

To hear the Foreign Minister talk about the Solomon's 2 days ago regarding police going in from Australia and NZ and the suggestions that the Solomon's would have to deal with the Eagle Force shows how little he understands the real issues.

All the signs are there to indicate to me Australia is heading for a self-made disaster of a huge magnitude, as in my opinion, there is nothing holding our entire north together. It is about to implode.

Why? Because it is has been Australian Dept of Foreign and Trade's policy over the last 30 years that has in fact created the problem. In their defense, many aspects of that policy approach were accepted as politically correct.

Conclusion

In many cases I was aware of the services provided to the Dept of Foreign Affairs and Trade by varies institutions. My concerns were predominantly that the status quo was being maintained apparently in the hope that all would by way of miracle sort itself out, or the problem would go away, or when it blew up then all could blame the indigenous political machine.

I could not reconcile the fact that their had been no area or region that had received more attention from foreign study experts and institutions. How then did we get it so wrong?

In light of the entrenched culture regarding Policy on such matters I sent my work to a number of academics who I felt would be prepared to look at it 1 l/.

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Objectively. One was Paul Wilson The Dean of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Bond University.

In his letter to me dated April 27 1994 he said and I quote

" By way of background I was the Director of Research at the Australian Institute of Criminology between 1985 and 1991, am the author of over 25 books on crime and criminal justice issues and have been a consultant for

- numerous government departments and private organizations on law and

order matters. I have recently completed the official position paper of the use of mass media in crime prevention-for the 1995 United Nations World Congress on Crime Prevention.

Researching this position paper and attending a preliminary planning

◦ workshop for the 1995 Congress in Saudi Arabia earlier this year has

acquainted me with both published and unpublished research in this area.

There is, I believe an -important role both for the mass media and for personal communication with significant officials in the implementation of your report.

My professional background has equipped me to judge reports on social change. Together with Professor John Western I began the first Masters Program in Social and Development Planning at the University of Queens- land. The work *I did during* the years I was associated with the Social Planning Program (1981-1985) brought me into contact with a great number of social change reports and issues. So I am very familiar with what has been proposed in the law and order and social change field.

I can categorically state that I find your NLOP. The most comprehensive and well-planned document I have yet come across

It is broad in its conception yet pragmatic and driven by a necessary vehicle, the Policy Implementation and Management Authority

(PIMA)." Un quote. (His full report along with others is in the attachments)

As .I. do not work for an institution I have sought support and been assured Paul Wilson still holds my work in very high regard and I have received his assurances should this committee wish to pursue the NLOP report and its

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Potential then Paul Wilson through Bond would be prepared to provide the human recourses necessary to research the plan and continue the ongoing support to bring the program up to speed for and during implementation Naturally Bond University would have to qualify this in very clear terms I do not here claim to speak for Bond University and their policy on such matters. I am sure however Dean Wilson would be in better position to talk to this committee about such things and any other matter they may wish in regard to this submission.

Finally I would like to inform the committee of my-willingness to attend a committee hearing if it is required I do so. There is much to tell.

The deliberations of this committee are complex to the extreme, I wish you well.

Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to present these documents- to your committee.

eter- Spen er

Attachments:

Document 1.

Comments

National Executive Council (NEC)

Submission

"National Law and Order Policy and Programme "

Document 2.

An Executive Summary on The

National Law and Order Policy and National Law and Order Programme
Stage II - " IMPLEMENTATION "

Document 3.

National Law and Order Policy and National Law and Programme
Stage II "IMPLEMENTATION "

Document 4.

National Law and Order Policy and National Law and Order Programme
Stage IT " IMPLEMENTATION"
BOOK 2 - APPENDAGES.

Document 5.

Policy Submissions

To The Law and Order Conunittee.

From: Peter Spencer

A copy of the UN Resolution Number 1514 (2 pages.)

Note. The articles in the Book 2 Appendages where not all written by me. They are material in support of the Law anal Order Policy. Also the article in the Policy Submission on Tourism was written by Peter Van Fleet. Peter has worked for my company for 20 years and the subject matter in that report T concur with.