THE THEME OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE LITERATURE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA, 1969-1979

Gilian Gorle
University of Reading

The author gives an overview of the English-language literature--fiction, poetry, drama, autobiographies, and essays--written by indigenous Papua New Guineans between 1969 and 1979, a time of intense nationalistic fervor. She then provides a brief historical survey of the country's major changes, including Western colonization and political independence in 1975, before moving into a detailed thematic discussion of the treatment of social change in texts by the country's "first wave" writers during this decade.

SOCIAL CHANGE is a central concern in the literature of the Pacific islands. This article offers a reappraisal of the first ten years of English literature written by indigenous Papua New Guineans.

The period under discussion has already received substantial critical attention. Elton Brash (1973:168-169), Bernard Minol (1987a), Carroll Elizabeth Simons (1979), Subramani (1985:x), and Chris Tiffin (1978b: 1-6) have traced the dramatic emergence of the first "wave" of creative writing in the pre-independence years. Kirsty Powell has examined the work of Papua New Guinea's first playwrights (1978), and William McGaw has discussed aspects of pre-independence poetry (1987). Nigel Krauth has written essays about specific writers (1975; 1979b) and, in broader terms, about the role of writers in Papua New Guinea (1978c; 1978d). Both Krauth (1978c) and Joseph Sukwianomb (1982) have analyzed the decline in literary output after independence and have suggested reasons for this trend.

The present article revisits the 1970s and builds on these scholars' contri-

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butions by adopting a thematic perspective. In focusing on social change as a literary theme, I pinpoint a phenomenon that has characterized Papua New Guinea's recent history. There are good reasons to look again at the 1970s for they were the country's most productive and energetic writing period to date. A major impetus was the political climate at the time, with the push for independence fueling young writers' energies. Much of their work was overtly political, aiming to strengthen their readers' sense of identity and national pride. In contrast, the writing of the 1980s was more measured, placing greater weight on sober self-assessment, consolidation, and growth.

Research Overview

I began researching Papua New Guinean literature in 1991 for my M.A. thesis, titled "Changing World: The Theme of Social Change in Papua New Guinean Writing in English, 1969-1989" (Gorle 1993). The period under investigation begins with Vincent Eri's novel ***The Crocodile*** ([1970] 1981) and represents the country's first twenty years of indigenous literary output in English.

The central argument of my thesis is that Papua New Guinea's first writers sought to do more than simply reflect change as a tangible reality in their society. Their role extended beyond the mimetic into the dynamic sphere as they worked to shape social change by challenging existing attitudes and raising people's consciousness of their unique cultural heritage.

I chose to focus on social change as a literary theme because Papua New Guinea is often cited as an example of unusually rapid change:[1] a phenomenon that the tourist industry, to name just one group, has identified to its advantage. Behind the "stone age to space age" clichés, however, lies the sober reality of the tensions that these changes have brought: tensions between traditional and imported cultures, between urban and rural lifestyles,[2] and between the small, well-educated elite and the mass of ordinary people (many of whom are not part of the cash society and neither speak nor read English).[3] I first visited Papua New Guinea in 1980 and stayed for two years. On my return in 1990 to take up a lecturing post, I quickly learned that a great deal had changed: increased urbanization, greater concern about unemployment and urban drift, the sudden explosion of technology, the presence of a national television network. The rate and the effects of change are vital concerns in the country and in the minds of many of its thinkers.

Because change is a sociopolitical phenomenon, my research ventured beyond those materials that have traditionally been considered literary.

Thus, while concentrating on fiction, poetry, and drama, I also looked at autobiographies, essays, and selected letters to ***The Times of Papua New Guinea*** from the 1980s. In addition, I interviewed several writers in the Port Moresby area, seeking their views on writing, the changes in their society, and the limitations (or otherwise) of the English language as a medium of expression.

Four Centuries of Change

Once described as the "Last Unknown,"[4] Papua New Guinea has changed dramatically in the last four hundred years. The long-inhabited but little-explored island[5] that Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch captains sailed past in the seventeenth century became the fragile scene of brutal clashes between Japanese and Australian soldiers during the Pacific War (1941-1945),[6] and progressed from there to its present role as a major nation in the Pacific region.

New Guinea was first annexed by colonial powers in 1883 (Mackay 1976:21), and as James Sinclair shows, the consequences were painful and prolonged:

> The partition of New Guinea that was completed in the last quarter of the [nineteenth] century was artificial and irrational, imposed upon the land and the people by the imperialism of Holland, Great Britain and Germany. Lines were ruled across the map, cutting through the formidable terrain and across communities in a fashion cavalier, even by the insensitive standards of that era, and in the process, creating political problems that now bedevil the independent nation of Papua New Guinea. (1985:l)

As James Griffin, Hank Nelson, and Stewart Firth point out, the Asians knew of New Guinea very early, but it was the Europeans who "would eventually transform it" (1979:2). This transformation (which was neither solicited nor smooth)[7] has been a major theme in the work of the country's first writers.

It has been a complex transition and one that has been accompanied by considerable anomalies. For example, the growth of cash crops for overseas export (notably coconuts, coffee, cocoa, rubber, tea, and pyrethrum) has brought significant changes to this society with its long tradition of small-scale subsistence farming. Notwithstanding the apparent economic advantages, some difficult questions arise. In the view of Utula Samana, premier of Papua New Guinea's Morobe Province in the mid-1980s such "develop-

ment" jeopardizes traditional patterns of land tenure and weakens family and community ties.[8] As Samana demonstrates, these questions also attend the country's large-scale logging and mining operations--operations that are undeniably lucrative for the government in the short term but potentially devastating to the environment and the life-style of entire communities (198813; 1988c:50-55).

Papua New Guinea achieved its political independence in 1975, after approximately ninety years of colonial administration. The British had claimed Papua as a protectorate in 1884 and established a base at Port Moresby. In the same year, the Germans had claimed "the northern half of what is now Papua New Guinea" (Andrews 1978:38), with headquarters first at Finschhafen, then at Madang, and finally at Rabaul. The British protectorate of Papua became an Australian territory in 1906, and German New Guinea (duly renamed Australian New Guinea) came under Australian administration after the First World War. The two separate territories were brought under a single administration after the Second World War and called the Territory of Papua New Guinea. Almost thirty years later, the country achieved its political independence.

Australia's legacy to Papua New Guinea is evident in the Westminster parliamentary system that the country inherited-a system with perhaps questionable relevance to a nation comprising hundreds of distinct language groups and a great diversity of cultures. Commenting on the imposition of this form of government, Sir John Gunther says:

> I never had any reservations about it; it was the right thing to do. . . . I think that . . . where you're moving rapidly towards independence, experimentation might be dangerous. So you implant what you know rather than try and find something different. . . . [W]e never proposed that anything we did should be everlasting.[9] (Quoted in Australian Government 1991:26; originally quoted in Nelson n.d.:218)

The choice of the parliamentary system was to prove problematic all too quickly. Fifteen years after independence, Papua New Guinea's prime minister, Rabbie Namaliu, admitted to finding

> a growing cynicism among ordinary Papua New Guineans about politics, especially the contortions of Parliament, which seem to have ever diminishing relevance to questions of principle, policies ***or*** matters of public importance. It's a power game here in Waigani [the location of Parliament House in Port Moresby]. People are out

> to extract things for their own self interest and the nation's interest becomes secondary. ***(The Canberra Times,*** 14 Nov. 1990, quoted in Australian Government 1991:33)

Papua New Guinea is a country of great diversity, both cultural and linguistic. A major contributing factor to this complexity is the ruggedness of the land, which prevented (and still to some extent hinders) contact between different areas. The government's language policy has privileged English, Hiri Motu, and Tok Pisin (also known as "Pidgin English" or simply "Pidgin") as the three official languages of Parliament, and English has for many years been the language of education and administration. Vernacular languages currently have a higher status with the Education Department's plan to begin primary schooling in selected vernaculars and introduce English later--a proposal aiming to strengthen children's links with their cultural roots.

The Literature of the First Decade: National Identity and Political Energy

It is vital for any study of Papua New Guinea's written literature to begin by recognizing the nation's rich oral tradition. Although the transition from oral to written literature is not unique to Papua New Guinea, it is an important and complex transition, and raises some far-reaching questions that have yet to be fully answered. There is considerable concern, both inside and outside the country, about the vulnerability of the nation's oral tradition and the entire system of values, beliefs, and practices that are inextricably woven into that tradition. The presence of a written literature in English is no guarantee that the multilingual oral literature will survive. Nor is there any degree of confidence that written texts can begin to reach the same audience or have the same impact.

In 1969 two significant works appeared: Vincent Eri's ***The Crocodile,*** the first novel to be written by a Papuan;[10] and the pilot issue of ***Kovave,*** a biannual journal of creative and critical writing. Prior to this time, hardly any literature had been published by indigenous Papua New Guineans. A notable exception was Albert Maori Kiki's autobiography, ***Kiki: Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime,*** which was published both in Germany and in England in 1968. As Judith H. McDowell makes clear (1973:301), the book was not the work of Maori Kiki alone, but was a cooperative effort with Ulli Beier, who transcribed and edited the story from a tape recording,

Another, much earlier, exception was Alan Natachee's poetry, some of which had been published in the journal ***Oceania*** in 1951. Carroll Simons

points out that Natachee's unusual childhood may partly account for his equally unusual literary output, written almost two decades ahead of any other English poetry by black Papua New Guineans (Simons 1979:l).

Sociopolitical Background

The dramatic emergence of a Papua New Guinean literature in English at the end of the 1960s can be traced to a succession of social, educational, and political initiatives in the country during the decade. My discussion here is necessarily selective and briefly touches on only the most significant points.

On a practical level, the nation's education system was expanded during the mid-1960s. The secondary school system, first established in 1957, was now extended.[11] In addition, several higher education institutions were formed, including the University of Papua New Guinea in 1964. It was initially at these new tertiary institutions that the "first generation" of writers emerged. Ulli Beier, who arrived in the country in 1967, worked closely with Prithvindra Chakravarti to establish creative writing classes at the university. Greg Katahanas coordinated classes along similar lines at Goroka Teachers College. Within a few years, largely through Beier's initiative, publishing outlets had been created in the form of ***Kovave*** and the new "Pacific Writers" series that was published by Jacaranda Press.[12]

On a philosophical level, there was growing pressure from several sources to bring the national school curriculum into a closer connection with traditional cultures. Thus the Literature Bureau was set up in 1969, with the aim of producing stories, biographies, and other literary material for use in schools. This measure was seen as a counter to the alienating effects of much classroom learning, which introduced young children to a world so different from their village roots that they inevitably grew away from home as they grew up. A uniquely Papua New Guinean body of writing was regarded as crucial in bridging this cultural and linguistic gap.

These changes in educational policy provide just one indication of the country's political climate during the pre-independence years. Looking back on that period, Joseph Sukwianomb observes:

> Literary nationalism in Papua New Guinea in the sixties was born and spread like fire. The speed and the degree of its growth were determined by the build-up of tension, anxiety and restless voices of the local population against the violent and oppressive cultural colonialism and imperialism. . . . Perhaps we might like to call it the period of awakening of national culture, and in particular written literature. (1982:l0)

The momentum lasted well into the 1970s. A Creative Arts Centre was built near the university in 1972, using funds provided by the governments of Papua New Guinea and Australia. High hopes were expressed for the path-breaking potential of this new facility The playwright Arthur Jawodimbari described the new complex as "playing an important role as a catalyst" in the current period of social and cultural change (1977:190). Two years later, again partly through Beier's efforts, the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies was formed with the objective of "promoting research into all aspects of life in Papua New Guinea and publishing work by indigenous writers" (Wendt 1980:xvii).

These developments within the country gained additional momentum from each other, and this momentum was further increased by related concerns in other parts of the world. Ecology was emerging internationally as a new field of scientific inquiry. Linked to this field was a worldwide recognition of both "the value and vulnerability of indigenous cultures" (Simons 1979:7). Ronald J. May expressed a widely shared view when he wrote in 1971: "It rests with Papua and New Guinea writers to record something of their traditional cultures before they disintegrate, and to help to formulate a sense of national identity" (1971:63).

Characteristics of the Early Writing

Nigel Krauth and Elton Brash have pointed out that the first "wave" of Papua New Guinean literature was predominantly the work of young men in their early twenties: undergraduate students who were talented storytellers but had relatively little background in creative writing (1972:l). Many of the texts grew out of creative writing classes at the University of Papua New Guinea and at Goroka Teachers College. The amount of editorial guidance that the student writers received in the process has not been fully established, although Kirsty Powell touches on this in her thesis (1978).

As Krauth makes clear elsewhere, there was a strong link between writing and politics during this period: not only was much of the writing intentionally political, but many of the early writers went on from their university studies to become influential public figures in the newly independent nation (1978c:45). Discussing the literary output of this period, Ulli Beier has pointed to the prominence of conflict (whether cultural or political) as a theme in the first "wave" of writing: "As in Africa and other 'developing' countries the first motivation of the writer is self-discovery and this necessitates a close analysis and re-interpretation of the recent (colonial) past and a growing awareness of topical issues" (1971b:ix). Given the country's political

climate at the time, it is not surprising to find a strong nationalistic--often overtly anticolonial--emphasis in these early texts.

The spirit of nationalism is evident not only in the writers' characterization and choice of subject matter, but also in their distinctive use of language. Powell notes that the language of the early plays "mirrors the complexity of the Papua New Guinean culture with its blending of diverse elements," thus illustrating "the cultural evolution that can be traced in the sequence, place, colony, nation" (1978:vii).

Major Concerns in the Writing

The writing of this first decade had several major and interrelated concerns. First, there was the need to provide an accurate and uniquely Papua New Guinean record of events, serving to balance the sometimes misleading accounts of the country and its history that had been written by foreigners. The desire to "set the record straight" was strong, expressing itself in poetry, short fiction, and autobiographical pieces.

Second, there was the desire to foster nationalistic energy by recording and celebrating Papua New Guinea's past traditions and building a stronger sense of national pride from this cultural heritage. Both Bill Ashcroft and William McGaw have identified the romantic attachment of many Papua New Guinean writers to the village (Ashcroft 1989:61; McGaw 1987:83). This attachment is evident in Arthur Jawodimbari's short autobiographical piece "Conch Shell Never Blows," which expresses fond nostalgia for the "roaring and colourful days" of his early childhood (1971:22). Similar emotions feature in John Kasaipwalova's poem "Hanuabada" (1972) and Dus Mapun's poems "Change" (1973b), "The Biblical Land" (1973a), and "Oh Meri Wantok" (1980).

Third, there was the desire to incorporate legends and other traditional material in the new English literature, as Turuk Wabei did in ***Kulubob,*** a play based on a deity myth from Karkar Island (1970). Other such texts include ***The Sun,*** a Binandere legend adapted for the stage by Arthur Jawodimbari (1970); and ***Warbat,*** a collection of Tolai love chants and magic poems translated by Apisai Enos (1971). In addition, the play ***Alive*** by M. Lovori (1971) is based on a traditional legend, using material collected by John Waiko. The name Lovori is generally regarded as a pseudonym for a group of writers in one of Beier's creative writing classes (Powell 1978).

The need for self-appraisal was a fourth major concern in the first decade of writing. This concern is evident in the detailed, unsentimental accounts of traditional community life that were written by Michael Somare (1975), Leo Hannet (1973, 1974), and Paulias Matane (1971, 1972, 1974, 1978). It

also emerges in Bernard Narokobi's essays and those of his critics (published as ***The Melanesian Way),*** examining a variety of cultural, philosophical, and religious questions ([1980] 1983). In a different genre, Nora Vagi Brash's dramatic satire ***Which Way, Big Man?*** invites self-appraisal by provoking the audience to consider possible directions for Papua New Guinean society and in so doing to contemplate the dangers of neocolonialism (1977).

Interwoven with these four concerns was the desire to examine and prompt social change.

The Theme of Social Change

The first Papua New Guinean writers sought to do more than describe change: their role was not only mimetic but dynamic as well, and their intentions were sociopolitical as well as aesthetic. They were committed to actively challenging people's attitudes toward themselves, their roots, and their aspirations, and to shaping the forces of change in their society.

Bill Ashcroft has noted that "the romance of the village is pervasive in PNG" (1989:61). A profound sense of loss has been the response to foreign influences that have taken hold in the country and prompted cycles of change. Angry protest against these foreign influences was voiced in the early plays and in much of the early poetry. Joseph Sukwianomb notes the dedication of some of the first writers, who took what he terms an "uncompromising stand": a stance that included the push for complete localization of employment (1982:8).[13] Some emphatically anticolonial writing emerged during the 1970s perhaps most notably from the pen of John Kasaipwalova, whose passionately angry poem "Reluctant Flame" employs as the central image a volcano (1971), a device employed also in Lynda Kasaipwalova's shorter but no less effective poem "Volcano" (1971).

I propose now to examine in some detail four aspects of social change as they emerge in the writing of the 1970s: first, the impact of Christianity on traditional life; second, the broader results of colonialism; third, the alienating effect of modem trends in Papua New Guinea society; and finally the syncretic concept, explored by a few writers, suggesting that change can be viewed as a creative force and may introduce some beneficial elements.

Spiritual Clash: Christianity vis-à-vis Traditional Life. Papua New Guinea's first writers identify Christianity as one of the most far-reaching causes of change to village life and its traditional mores. In most cases, this process of change is seen as painful, costly, and ultimately divisive. In a country that places high value on spiritual perspectives, the introduction of imported religious systems must be recognized as profoundly significant.

Leo Hannet's short autobiographical piece "Disillusionment with the Priesthood" traces his difficult journey through spiritual conviction to gradual disenchantment with the Catholic church. In measured, economical prose, Hannet reveals the growing conflict he observed between the needs of village people (including his own family), the church's official teachings, and the priests' behavior and expectations: "When the Church was not living up to her own vows, must we still believe in Christianity? Or was the crucifixion merely a cruci-fiction? . . . Above all, I felt that the Church was not open and not frank and that they had rejected the dialogue and wanted to continue with their eternal monologue" (1973:49). Hannet concludes by saying that although his religious beliefs have not been destroyed, they have been altered, The certainty and simplicity of faith that he had before have not survived.

Kama Kerpi's drama ***Voices from the Ridge*** (1974) explores the clash between village culture and the imported Western culture (specifically the Catholic church in this case), showing that a degree of change is inevitable in the wake of such contact. One of the strengths of this play is the contrast that it builds up between the two cultures, highlighted, for example, in Boma's mixed feelings about the Reverend Fathers gifts of a cross and a Bible after the Father has fallen ill and returned overseas. While the plot suggests that change is unavoidable, it treats the forces of change with ambivalence and a recognition that the cost in human terms can be very high.

A conversation between Boma and the village elders expresses the discomfort associated with change and the divided loyalties that can result:

> ***Elder 3:*** You have heard voices from the ridges. Your shadow and your heart bend to the ways of the past. But your footsteps refuse to stay. Maybe man is made to walk forward and not turn back. . . .
>
> ***Elder 4:*** **. . .** You have been made to walk on and not to turn back.
>
> ***Boma:*** Yes, you have said it. Man is made to go on and on.
>
> (Kerpi 1974:37)

Boma's words suggest agreement, yet the haunting image of his "shadow" and his "heart" inclining toward "the ways of the past" while his "footsteps refuse to stay" is disturbing and implies a personality torn apart.

A further example of the playwright's ambivalence about change is the treatment of Boma's son's death, a tragic event whose significance is not clearly explained in the play. The spirits announce the boy's death as a punishment, but neither the offender nor the offense is plainly identified. Is the

death to be understood as Boma's punishment for moving away from traditional ways? Is the entire village being censured for accepting Boma as Kola's husband? Perhaps the death is an indication of the cost, the complexity, and the final inscrutability of change: a reality that must be acknowledged and experienced but cannot be fully understood.

Sociospiritual change is a major theme in Paulias Matane's more overtly didactic novel ***Aimbe--the Magician*** (1978). Here two types of change are explored, both challenging the traditional order of things but perceived quite differently by Aimbe's village community. The first challenge comes from the Christian pastor, whose energetic attempt to convert the villagers to a new belief system meets with mixed responses. Although skeptical at first, the people are gradually won over--but neither totally nor permanently. Disenchantment with Christianity slowly sets in and builds up to a climactic outburst in which a large group of villagers angrily accuse the pastor of confusing them, undermining their traditional ways, and damaging their previously cohesive community.

The second challenge to village traditions comes from within the community itself, when Aimbe refuses to marry the young woman his parents have selected for him and proposes instead to use his own considerable powers of magic to woo the girl he prefers. His father, Tua, is dismayed: "You would bring great shame to me" (Matane 1978:93). Relatively quickly, however, Aimbe persuades Tua to change his mind, and the courtship and wedding take place with the family's blessing--and without any permanent damage to community relationships.

It may be that Aimbe's challenge to traditional marriage customs is accepted by Tua and the other villagers because he uses magic to bring it about, and magic is a well-established, widely respected dimension of community life. Thus Aimbe poses no threat to the basic order of the village. In contrast, the pastor's views clash with traditional beliefs, art, and attitudes specifically attitudes toward women and "earthy spirits"). One of the village men, Duar, pinpoints the pastor's most serious offense: "You confuse us by telling us not to believe in other spirits." Aimbe's father, Tua, supports this view: "I find it difficult not to believe in worldly spirits. They are real. They help us when we need their help" (Matane 1978:76).

Aimbe seems strong and intact at the end of the novel. This is not true of Hoiri, the central character in Vincent Eri's novel ***The Crocodile*** ([1970] 1981), set in the Papuan village of Moveave in the 1940s. The story's structure is built around Hoiri's five journeys away from (and back to) the village. The fact that he always comes home after his travels is significant on several counts, not least because it emphasizes the tragic dilemma in which he finds himself at the end of the story. For Hoiri, as for many other characters in

Papua New Guinean writing, the experience of returning home brings a sense of alienation and loneliness, a discovery that this familiar place is no longer where he belongs.

Culture Clash: The Broader Colonial Impact. Like Matane, Eri explores the effect of Christianity on village culture, but he examines it as one aspect of the broader impact of colonialism. Bernard Minol points out that ***The Crocodile*** explores several common themes in Papua New Guinean literature: migration to town, the expectation that a Western education will be a cure-all for social problems, and the subsequent experience of disillusion. ment when this fails to occur (1987a:114). The novel's historical setting means that the Moveave people's experience of colonization includes being dragged into the colonizers' war, and this physical combat serves to illumine the other levels of conflict that the characters in the novel face.

Nigel Krauth has drawn some useful contrasts between Maori Kiki's auto. biography and Eri's novel. He points out that although the two writers share similar aims and concerns, "Kiki's book reveals the strength and flexibility of Papua New Guinean identity; Eri's book reveals its vulnerability" (Krauth 1978c:50). The end of Eri's novel demonstrates the devastating effect of colonial rule: Hoiri is confused and lost, hopelessly torn between two diametrically opposed worldviews, neither of which can offer the security and understanding he craves.

According to Frances Devlin Glass, this confusion comes from "code switching" and is part of the bicultural experience:

> Hoiri . . . naturally encodes the world around him, including the encroaching white culture, in terms of his primary culture. . . . Although he is intellectually and emotionally critical of white culture, Hoiri's admiration for it paradoxically ensures his own defeat at its hands. Finally he is reduced to the status of being destitute of a viable culture: he can never compete with whites on equal terms; nor can he any longer derive emotional security from his own culture. Culturally and emotionally he occupies a wasteland. (1983: 131)

Glass notes the "fundamental ambiguities" associated with Mitoro and the crocodile (1983:137, 138, 140), and suggests tentatively that the crocodile may be linked with the destructive nature of Australian colonialism. My own reading of the novel suggests that the crocodile's magic powers are not fully clarified by Eri, nor is the extent to which Hoiri himself identifies with the crocodile--nor indeed how far the villagers link him with it. Clearly, however, magic is an important part of village life and traditional beliefs.

In John McLaren's assessment, the novel examines "the process of dealing with unsettlement, the task of establishing a new view of the world" (1971). The difficulty of establishing this new view is suggested by the depths of confusion that engulf Hoiri and the other villagers. In their case, Western contact has not only removed their familiar system of sorcery (which had its own internal logic), but has failed to provide a viable alternative to take its place. Bernard Gadd rightly observes that the novel reveals the "radical emasculation of a people" (1983:229). As Minol makes clear, Hoiri has failed in both cultural systems (1987a:114). He is unable to avenge Mitoro's death as his traditional culture requires, and he cannot sign his name.

A careful examination of the novel's shifts in narrative stance suggests a degree of detachment and ambivalence on Eri's part, in contrast with Hoiri's more straightforward emotions. One example of this difference is Hoiri's hope that his son will be able to attend the colonial school and learn to understand this mysterious foreign culture. Hoiri's own schooling has clearly contributed to his cultural disorientation, so it is a little ironic to observe him prescribing similar treatment for his son, in the hope that the end results may be different. It appears that Eri is gently amused at Hoiri's naïveté in the face of culture conflict.

In contrast with the evenhandedness and wry humor of Eri's novel, many early Papua New Guinean texts draw sharper anticolonial lines. For example, Kumalau Tawali's poem "The Bush Kanaka Speaks" depicts the colonial administrator as a totally flat character, no more than a rigid and angry cardboard cutout, while the villagers possess human qualities such as wisdom, adaptability, and a sense of humor (1970). Tawali has commented on this contrast: "I wanted to express what the ordinary man in the village thinks. . . . [T]he New Guinea villager has an existing body of knowledge which it doesn't matter how long a Kiap stays in an area, he doesn't know" (quoted in Maynard 1970:13). There is a similar demarcation in much of the early drama, including ***The Unexpected Hawk*** by John Waiko (1971) and ***The Ungrateful Daughter*** by Leo Hannet (1971b).

The superficial nature of much Western influence is graphically described in Jack Lahui's poem "The Dark Side of a Niuginian's Teeth," which questions the real nature of "civilization" (1987). Lahui's use of imagery is startling and innovative:

> Education came like a Tek toothbrush
> Refined by the cream of Christianity
> Cleansed by the bloodbath of Christ's resurrection.

Inherent in each of these images is the idea of external or superficial change. This is the poem's central theme, drawing contrasts between the

two cultures in which the poet operates with equal skill. At base is his original world, his "home" where he sings "in slurred legato / The traditional melodies." Temporarily superimposed onto this world is the imported culture in which he was educated and in which he learned to sing "with trills / The foreign-worded songs." The poet's linking of different tenses to the different styles of music is significant here: he uses the past tense for the imported style and the present tense for the traditional music that he learned first of all and that he now sings again.

The central theme is reinforced by the poem's circular structure. The opening lines identify the poet's perspective from the "inside," behind the surface: "Black teeth, ripe watermelon seeds, / I see in the grin of my people. . . ." When he looks at his fellow Niuginians, he is aware of the "dark side" of their teeth. Recognizing external appearances for what they are, he sees beyond them to the real substance underneath. The closing lines of the poem bring us back to its starting point, but this time we see the outwardly white teeth that the Niuginian shows to society. With his final haunting question about how far down "civilization" really penetrates, the poet brings us full circle, working from the inside out and leaving us to consider how thin is the outward veneer of any individual person.

The confusion of modern, independent Papua New Guinean society has been explored in two poems that Loujaya Kouza wrote in 1978 at the age of fifteen. "Kaugere" depicts an ugly side of urbanized society: a squatter settlement in Port Moresby that may seem like "the City of Pleasure" with its bright night lights but in reality is the "Mother of Rascals" and the "Ghetto of the Poor" (1978b). Kaugere offers neither hope, comfort, nor economic stability to its jobless population of school dropouts. Kouza's poem 'World of Today" is more provocative, questioning the future of a society where the "backbone which holds the status / Of many is collapsing" (1978c). Here the poet contemplates a world that has been weakened by many pressures, a world whose traditions are being undermined by modern inventions. Unable (or unwilling) to respond to its people's cries for help, the world of today embodies present chaos and future uncertainty.

The impact of colonialism has received slightly different treatment in Nora Vagi Brash's dramatic satire ***Which Way, Big Man?*** (1977). This play poses some searching questions about neocolonialism and future direction. The playwright exposes the irony of social and political success if the end result is estrangement between public servants and the very people whom they have been appointed to represent.

The drama's central characters are a modem urban couple, Gou Haia ("Go Higher") and his wife, Sinob ("Snob"). The action revolves around Gou's appointment as the new director of national identity, and the party

that Sinob organizes in his honor. Almost every aspect of Sinob's behavior indicates her disdain for village people and her preference for Western customs and attitudes. She ostentatiously nibbles at salad and T-bone steak, rejecting the traditional meal her cook has prepared. She describes a prominent official's wife as "hardly more than a village woman" and is very rude to her own husband's visiting relatives. Gou's new role as the country's director of national identity is celebrated not with a traditional Papua New Guinea sing-sing, but with a lavish Western-style cocktail party. Sinob's hopes for the evening fall apart when her father-in-law arrives unexpectedly from the village. Horrified to hear Gou inviting him to stay for the party, she instructs him to keep the old man out of sight. She is afraid that her important guests may be offended by his appearance, especially his teeth, which are "as black as the bottom of a village cooking pot."

Regis Stella has argued that Nora Brash's plays are flawed because "she forgets that first and foremost she is a woman and therefore her first moral obligation is to write profoundly and faithfully about issues which face women in Papua New Guinea" (1990:52), that is, issues such as the status of women in the country. Brash disagrees. While not denying the importance of raising women's status, she challenges the basic premise of Stella's argument and insists that her commitment is broader and more basic, dealing with fundamental social issues that concern the outlook and welfare of both men and women:

> Although there are a lot of women's issues I could write about, I haven't touched them. I've written my own views. I was at the beginning of nation-building . . . it was a transitional period and all our emphasis was on everybody. As far as I'm concerned, it's still like that. There are young men and women who are out of work. I don't want to dissociate myself from those things and write about women's issues. We have a role in society. . . . At this point in Papua New Guinea there are real problems facing women, but at the same time there are issues confronting all of society. The emphasis should be put on the society rather than the individual person. (Brash 1992)

The danger of neocolonialism in Papua New Guinea society is one issue about which Brash has expressed considerable concern. Speaking of Gou and Sinob Haia and their privileged elitist urban life-style, she comments:

> The minute you start building walls around your house to stop the ***raskols,*** it's not the ***raskols*** you're barring, it's your own relatives

> you're barring from entering your place. They won't want to come and visit you because they have to walk around and yell before you let them in. . . . [Recently] I was invited to a birthday party. There wasn't one village person there: it was exactly like a party out of the play. I didn't last very long. The party got a bit out of hand and I thought, No, I'm going back to the village. I can just go to sleep on the floor, and I don't have to worry about who comes in with clean hands. They are two different ways of life altogether. I like to choose the simpler one. (Brash 1992)

Most of the texts written during the 1970s portray Western influences as unfavorable. However, during this period a different view occasionally surfaces. In his story "The Flight of a Villager," August Kituai writes about the transition from village to town life--in this case in Goroka in Papua New Guinea's Eastern Highlands (1973). The attractions of the town are undeniable, "like a magnet gripping people" (1973:84). Kituai's characterization allows for an unusual degree of variety, in which both local and European characters are afforded evenhanded treatment. A few other writers have tentatively written about foreign influences in positive terms, and their work features in my discussion of syncretism below.

Alienation in Contemporary Society. The alienation of educated young people in modern Papua New Guinea has been examined by several of the country's writers. By far the most detailed study of this difficult and complex theme occurs in Russell Soaba's work, which has been described as "muck concerned with cultural and religious confusion" (Goodwin 1979:67). Soaba is a relatively prolific writer whose work presents a challenge to the reader--partly because of its many unexplained literary and cultural allusions and partly because of Soaba's own preoccupation with existentialist philosophy and questions. His vision is clear, however, and the picture that emerges from all his writing is serious and disturbing. In contrast with the beauty, harmony, and peace of rural life, the urban scene is depicted as ugly, noisy, and on the brink of violence. In Nigel Krauth's words (1979b:41), "while others were watching the brassy procession towards Independence, Soaba saw the accidents along the roadside."

Soaba is firmly committed to highlighting the predicament of the lonely individual who has been educated away from his or her cultural roots. For all its attractions, the village is not presented as a serious option for his characters; at least not until his novel ***Maiba,*** which was published in 1985 (and so falls out of the scope of this article). The dilemma facing Soaba's main characters is a familiar motif in much early Papua New Guinea writing, notably the poetry of Pokwari Kale and Kama Kerpi. Like many of the writ-

ers themselves, these fictitious characters have grown up away from the village, only to return years later and make the bitter discovery that they are strangers on their own home ground.

In Soaba's novel ***Wanpis,*** the central character is of mixed racial origin and remains anonymous through much of the story, finally being identified as Abel Wilborough (1977: 146). The creation of this "anonymous Anuki" is probably quite deliberate on Soaba's part. It has the effect of emphasizing the character's rootlessness and cultural dislocation. For example, when the teenaged "Anonymous" returns to his Anuki village after years away at boarding school, he is not even recognized by his own sister. Some years later, now married and looking forward to the birth of his first child in Port Moresby, he thinks back to his childhood and ponders the distance he has traveled since that uncomplicated time: "He missed himself in the days of his youth. It was beautiful, he thought of the period; and innocent. He thought of Mary; of Yaguyawa-Kaburina; of the woman called Enita. But his feelings for them were as remote as one having little or no history attached to one's life" (Soaba 1977:134).

Bernard Minol notes that Soaba's Characters live in a transitional society between the village and the town, not fitting into either setting (1987a). While they live and work in the urban environment, they frequently find it hostile and thus occupy an emotional and spiritual vacuum somewhere between town life and the village that they recall with nostalgia. Nigel Krauth observes that this experience was very familiar to several of the early writers:

> Generally the writers in Papua New Guinea have seen themselves as outsiders from their communities--alienated by education, by experience and by language. Nearly all the writers have used the old values and lifestyles in attempts to reconstruct their political identities; some like Hannet and Kasaipwalova have abandoned writing and returned to involve themselves in village politics and Welfare in order to overcome this alienation. (1978c:57)

Soaba confirms this: "The individual writer is always on his own. . . . He is that ***lusman*** or ***wanpis:*** a creative artist" (Tiffin 1979:17). It is important to note that unlike some of his contemporaries who have entered business ventures or political life full-time Soaba has retained his commitment to write, even if it has meant forgoing economic security. His resignations from full-time, paid employment at the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and the University of Papua New Guinea appear to have been prompted by the desire to devote more time to writing (pers. com., Aug. 1992).[14]

Several other writers share Soaba's concern with isolated individuals who

face cultural alienation. One such writer is Benjamin Evara, whose poem "Forgetting Home" (1973), like the powerfully evocative "Homecoming" by Pokwari Kale (1972), identifies the irrevocable shift in the poet's status from village child to honored--but foreign--guest. The sadness of this experience is sensitively expressed by John Kadiba in "The Widening Gap,)" a moving poem that laments the growing distance between himself and "the dear folk"--a distance that exists on several levels and inevitably becomes harder to bridge with the passage of time:

> Not only are we separated
> By distance in space and time,
> But in way in living [***sic***],
> In experience,
> In thought,
> In outlook.
> As the years move on,
> The gap grows,
> Inevitably,
> Unintentionally,
> Unwillingly,
> Sadly,
> But somehow it happens. (1974)

Other writers concur with Kadiba's observation that differences in outlook and perspective can be just as difficult to bridge as geographic distances.

Syncretic Views of Social Change. Papua New Guinean writing from the 1970s demonstrates the inevitability of social change, so that it emerges as an inescapable part of modem-day life. Vincent Eri's novel ***The Crocodile,*** Kama Kerpi's drama ***Voices from the Ridge*** (1974), and Michael Yake Mel's novel ***Kumdi Bagre*** (1984) are just three of the many texts that treat change as inevitable. There are relatively few voices, though, from this period suggesting that change can benefit society.

One of these is Arthur Jawodimbari, who in 1977 expressed the hope that a uniquely Papua New Guinean art could be developed, blending "traditional skills, beliefs and concepts" with "modern ideas and technology" (1977: 189). Another writer sharing this hope is Albert Maori Kiki, who has argued that the country needs to encourage a blend of the traditional and the modern if it is to develop and has pointed to the Creative Arts Centre as "one step towards making creative arts a living entity" (quoted in Ma'ia'i 1974:22). Kama Kerpi's view of literature would appear to be in harmony

with this approach when he says, "A poet in a developing Papua New Guinea can be a voice of vision playing a redemptive role" (1973:35). Yet his concept of change appears quite complex. It is difficult to see any beneficial aspects of change in his drama ***Voices from the Ridge,*** although a different perspective can perhaps be found in his poetry. Krauth and McGaw have pointed to celebratory and redemptive intentions in some of his poems (Krauth 1975:59-60; McGaw 1987:93).

Two poets who express a direct interest in the syncretic concept are Jack Lahui and Loujaya Kouza. As I have already noted, both of these writers have exposed the unglamorous side of urbanization and certain other aspects of "civilization," so their commitment to syncretism is all the more significant. Jack Lahui's "Poem to My Son, Lahui Lahui" advocates a frankly syncretic vision for the next generation:

> My son, my beloved son,
> Balance your heart and mind simultaneously
> In the see saw of your being
> Eliminate those ways old and new that will ruin you
> Establish those that implant a firm foundation
> Be educated and understanding. . . . (1975c)

Similarly, Loujaya Kouza's poem "Grandfather's Advice" expresses a concern to select the best from both traditional and modern ways of living. In this poem an old man who possesses "the knowledge of years" advises his grandson to "grow in the ways of the / wise and not the foolish, strive for / the future" (1978a) This advice is given on a mountaintop at sunset, and it is from this spectacular setting that the poem's central metaphor is derived. It is an evocative and intensely visual metaphor, intriguing in its understated Possibilities: "Cling fast to your tradition, tradition / dies like the setting of the sun over / the horizon. Civilisation is the rising of / a new moon."

The stark contrast between night and day, between darkness and light may appear at first glance to suggest that the poet regards tradition and civilization as mutually exclusive and the modem world as completely undesirable. I believe such a reading would be simplistic, however, because it would fail to acknowledge the complexity of the poet's message. The night / day contrast needs to be understood in conjunction with the old man's stated hope that his grandson will be able to accomplish what he himself has "failed" to do He looks to the future with some measure of anticipation and regards civilization as a new order. He counsels the boy to enter this new order with a strong sense of purpose and a commitment to aim for specific goals while retaining the traditional wisdom of his ancestors. This interpre-

tation seems to be in harmony with a recent comment of Loujaya Kouza's "No society is immune to change. The ***pace*** of change determines whether, it is destructive or otherwise" (pers. com., June 1992; my italics).

Among the few other poems from the 1970s that consider change to contain some positive elements are Rose Paru's "Accepting Change," Anne Tanby's "Independence," and Rosina Hipokak's "Changing Times." All of these poems adopt a rather didactic tone and assert the importance of approaching the future with openness and adaptability. As Rose Paru acknowledges, "It is hard to accept these Western ways," but she also asserts ". . . old and new can work together, / If from each we take the best" (1976). Anne Tanby exhorts "men from every clan and tribe" to forsake their traditional "arrows and clubs" and instead

> Bring back to this land some ways of old.
> Bring forth the peace of Christianity,
> Striving to live together as brothers. (1976)

In Rosina Hipokak's poem "Changing Times," a young woman pleads with her father to

> Move with the times, accept new ways;
> Don't cling to customs our ancestors made;
> Give a chance to your daughters
> To live in the world as women with rights. . . . (1976)

The poem concludes on a positive note, with the father accepting his daughter's viewpoint. He stresses, however, that "this new-found freedom" carries with it the responsibility to make wise choices.

The most direct expression of syncretism during this period emerges in some of the essays, for example, "Melanesian Way?" by Bernard Minol (1987b) and "Art and Nationalism" by Bernard Narokobi (1980). Other notable examples can be found in Narokobi's "Melanesian Voice" series, originally published as newspaper articles in the daily ***Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*** between 1976 and 1978, and subsequently collected and printed in book form as ***The Melanesian Way*** ([1980] 1983). Since the collection also features pieces by some of Narokobi's critics and supporters, it provides lively reading and a fascinating glimpse into the periods vigorous debate over issues of culture and national identity.

For example, Kumalau Tawali reveals his impatience with corruption among both whites and locals, and expresses hope that the future may bring more enlightened leaders: "Students and youth are meant to be the flowers of this nation. From them will come fresh insight into the crookedness in

society, From them will come the new creative leadership spirit that may have been missing in the old generation of leaders" ([1976] 1980:295). Not all contributors adopt a stance sympathetic to Narokobi's views. Some accuse him of inciting racial prejudice, while others dismiss his description of a uniquely Melanesian mode of operation as "puerile balderdash" (Narokobi [1980] 1983:x).

In his essay titled "The Melanesian Way," Narokobi underlines the need to be both coolly objective and highly selective in forging a path for his country's future. His choice of metaphor is particularly potent for a nation composed of small islands:

> Melanesia has been invaded by a huge tidal wave from the West in the form of colonization and Christianisation. Like any tidal wave, the West came mercilessly, with all the force and power, toppling over our earth, destroying our treasures, depositing some rich soil, but also leaving behind much rubbish. . . . Western influence has a negative and destructive aspect. "Melanesian Voice" also sees it as a wave that has helped to set free our creative forces. It is a wave whose moving ripples should be used as a living light for a new future. . . . We can make conscious decisions to opt for what is best in both worlds. (Narokobi [1980] 1989:98)

Conclusion

Social change emerges as an important issue in the literature of the 1970s: the causes and consequences of change feature in almost all the serious writing in English from this period. The writers saw their role as pivotal and sought to employ their writing to shape society as well as reflecting it. Generally they appear to have seen change as an unfortunate aspect of the modern world. In the body of their work, the colonial encounter emerges as the single most important force prompting changes away from the country's original traditions and cultures. Christianity and Western education are identified as significant specific influences within the general colonial contest.

The early writing provides considerable support for the perception that Western influences tend to be materialistic rather than spiritual, divisive rather than cohesive and destructive rather than supportive of indigenous cultures and traditions. There is also substantial agreement among the writers that modern society tends to alienate rather than welcome its educated youth. Thus education itself a powerful vehicle of sociopolitical change, is presented as an agent with potentially disturbing implications.

However, while the literature from this first decade expresses poignant

nostalgia for the village and its calmer life-style, it does not appear to adovcate a simple return there. It is significant that Russell Soaba--the most prolific and philosophical of all the creative writers in this period and the one most consistently concerned with the plight of the alienated individual--does not present village life as a viable option for his characters. The village remains an important motif in his work, having the significance perhaps of a touchstone or a reference point, important in helping to define a character's roots and values, but no longer offering practical solutions or a real home.

Thus social change emerges as inevitable: a painful and costly loss of innocence, an uncomfortable but unavoidable reality in contemporary life. Relatively few writers from this period discuss change in positive terms. Although the syncretists' voices are significant among those raised during the 1970s, it must be stressed that they form a relatively small minority.

In 1978 Subramani wrote that the "full flowering of Oceanic art and literature" was still to come (p. 35). Although his comment was about the Pacific region in general, it was also an accurate description of the situation in Papua New Guinea. It may be argued, however, that the succeeding years brought a diminishing rather than a "full flowering." By the end of the decade, scholars and writers were already noting the decline in the country's literary output. For example, the Samoan writer Albert Wendt said in 1977: "There has been a lull in Papua New Guinea writing since Independence, and the Workshop last year was an attempt to start it again. The ones who are going to make it now are probably the true writers--writing for the sake of writing, not nationalist reasons" (Davidson 1978: 115).

A number of possible reasons have been suggested for the lull in creative writing. Prominent among them is the fact that some of the nation's "first-generation" writers became involved in politics, public service, or the business sector, and simply grew too busy to keep writing (Sukwianomb 1982:8). Indeed, political involvement was arguably a logical next step after working for the country's independence--perhaps particularly for writers who viewed literature as a political tool.

Looking back on her own enthusiastic involvement in the pre-independence years, Nora Brash has observed that independence brought with it a sense of completion and of fulfilled objectives, and writers may have felt either that they had nothing more to fight for or that they should put their writing aside and become more involved in community affairs instead (1992). Similarly, Loujaya Kouza has said:

> English literature allowed Papua New Guinea writers' experimentation with imagery that our people were familiar with and they

> (the writers) used this to provoke and invoke sentiments such as the need to be independent, Papua New Guinea's heritage in need of preservation and elements of nationalism. . . . The very writers who were at the forefront of the cause of an Independent PNG are "FATCATS" in the government bureaucracy. Their cause achieved, they see no other causes worth fighting about. (Pers. com., June 1992)

There are a few exceptions to this trend, including Loujaya Kouza herself, Nora Brash, Jack Lahui, and Russell Soaba, who have all retained their commitment to write.

Nigel Krauth suggests two other possible reasons for the reduction in imaginative writing after Papua New Guinea's independence: "the crisis of writing's appropriateness" in such a multilingual, largely illiterate society, and the fact that copyright legislation waned in conjunction with the colonial administration (1978c:58). In addition to these factors, Sukwianomb notes the paucity of publishing outlets and the general "lack of enthusiastic support for the literary themes of the time" (1982:9).

My study of the second decade (1979-1989) reveals that the writers retained their commitment to the dual function of their work: both a dynamic, nation-shaping role and a mimetic, nation-reflecting role. It also shows that, while "literary" writing dwindled during the 1980s other forms of writing continued to flourish, and there was no decline in cultural activity or dialogue.

NOTES

1. For instance, the title of Albert Maori Kiki's autobiography is *Kiki: Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime* (1968).

2 The drift into urban areas has increased visibly as young people (particularly young men) have been lured by the apparent advantages of a cash society. Whereas in 1966 only 5 percent of the country's population lived in the towns, by 1980 the proportion had grown to 13 percent (Australian Government 1991:42). Norlie Miskaram reports the following population figures for Port Moresby, the capital city: 1966, 41, 848; 1971 (enumerated), 69, 276; 1977 (estimated) 106,600, 1980 (estimated), 110,000 (1982:78). The latest available information confirms the trend documented by Miskaram. Table 3 of the census indicates population growth in the National Capital District (Port Moresby and its suburbs) as follows: 1980 population 123,624; 1990 population, 193,242; annual growth rate for the National Capital District, 4.47 percent (Papua New Guinea 1991).

3. The literacy rate in Papua New Guinea is 45 percent according to the Australian Government (1991:40). Its report notes: "The population growth rate is 2-3 per cent, a rate

now much faster than the economic growth rate which has stagnated since the mid 1980s. Lack of economic growth in sectors which are employers of labour has exacerbated the unemployment situation." It further comments: "Less than one-third of the population over 15 years of age is literate compared to an average of three-quarters in comparable developing countries. Educational participation is among the lowest in the world, particularly for girls" (p. 46).

4. The term is used by the twentieth-century poet Karl Shapiro, quoted by James Sinclair (1985: 1).

5. James Griffin, Hank Nelson, and Stewart Firth state: "Man has lived in New Guinea for about 50,000 years. His history has been dominated by New Guinea's geography, unique for the natural barriers which it placed in the way of human movement" (1979:l). The advent of aerial transport in the twentieth century has made some remote parts accessible. However, the country's topography is such that there are still vast areas where rugged mountains or mosquito-infested swamplands prevent exploration by anyone, including the local inhabitants. This landscape accounts in part for the great diversity of languages in Papua New Guinea.

6. Bryant J. Allen's account of the Pacific War offers these facts: 166 Papua New Guinean soldiers were killed during the war, 201 were wounded in action, and an unknown number of carriers, laborers, and civilians died during the fighting. Approximately 55,000 carriers and laborers were conscripted at the "peak of the fighting." Villages were severely disrupted in the battle zones, and entire communities suffered from food shortages, poor hygiene, and, consequently, dysentery. Much damage was caused by Australian and American aircraft bombs that were dropped inaccurately, the result of gunners having difficulty finding their ground targets (Allen 1992:14-15).

7. For example, Griffin, Nelson, and Firth offer this unflattering account of early Spanish explorers' behavior:

> Torres and Prado, sailing west from Peru in 1606, wanted fresh food and water. They reached Mailu Island on the Papuan coast. They made what they thought were signs of peace, but the Mailu Islanders responded by brandishing spears; so, saying the Lord's Prayer and a war-cry, the Spaniards attacked, "shooting them as they fled." The Papuans lost the battle, and Captain Prado chose "fourteen boys and girls of from six to ten years and sent them on board." They were taught the Lord's Prayer, the "Ave Maria," the Creed and "the Commandments and Articles of the Catholic faith" by Spanish fathers in Manila, and were baptised "to the honor and glory of God." The Mailu Islanders had fought the Spaniards without any desire to convert them to Mailu beliefs. The Spaniards, by contrast, were early representatives of a European proselytism which continues to this day and which aims to save Papua New Guineans from the error of their traditional ways. (1979:4)

8. Samana is not alone in his concern. Writing from the Land Administration section at the University of Papua New Guinea, Peter Eaton observes: "Land is probably one of the most important and contentious issues in Papua New Guinea today The tenure system has been described as the 'basis of economic and social relations for most of Papua New Guinea,' and as 'the institution affecting most profoundly the organisation of agricultural production' " (1982:38).

9. Dr. (later Sir) John Gunther was director of the Department of Public Health from 1946. In 1961 he chaired the select committee that was appointed to make recommendations about constitutional change in the Territory of Papua New Guinea.

10. *The Crocodile* was published the next year, 1970, by Jacaranda Press (Milton, Queensland, Australia).

11. Student numbers grew rapidly during this period. In 1960 the total post-primary enrollment was 2,217 in Papua and 2,932 in New Guinea, making a total of 5,149 students (Australian Government 1961a:257; 1961b:97, 98). By 1969 there were 15,437 high school students in Papua New Guinea (Weeks and Guthrie 1982:28), and by 1971 the figure had grown to 20,882 (Australian Government 1972:200). Minol's (1987a) and Simons's (1979) theses both provide substantial information about the growth of Papua New Guinea's formal education system.

12. These were expatriate publications that featured writing by Papua New Guineans.

13. Sukwianomb's term is "indigenousation."

14. At the time, Dr. Soaba had recently returned after a period of full-time writing to lecture on a temporary basis in the Department of Language and Literature at the University of Papua New Guinea.

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