



# Funding Proposal

FOR A MILITARY HERITAGE  
INTERPRETATION PLAN  
FOR THE KOKODA TRAIL

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WWW.NETWORKKOKODA.ORG // 26 AUGUST 2020



# Andrew Tracy

CHAIRMAN OF NETWORK KOKODA

**Network Kokoda was established as a Not-for-Profit Charity in 2008 to perpetuate the legacy of the Australian and Papuan soldiers who fought in Papua New Guinea during the WWII Kokoda Campaign and the indentured carrier force which supported them.**

Our primary goal is to protect and honour our shared military heritage across the Kokoda Trail.

The discovery of a A\$4.8<sup>b</sup> billion gold and copper deposit on the southern slopes of the trail in 2006 posed a major threat to its wartime historical integrity as it presented an economic opportunity for local villagers to break the cycle of subsistence living.

Government intervention stopped the mine and local villagers were compensated for their loss. The large gold and copper deposit remain undisturbed beneath their land.

Traditional landowners across the Kokoda Trail are custodians of places sacred to our shared wartime heritage. If we wish to protect the trail from the ravages of mining or forestry, we must earn their trust and respect by providing them with philanthropic support and an alternative source of income.

Over the years Network Kokoda has worked with villagers in establishing community learning centres and providing support in the areas of agriculture, health and education.

Since 2006 some 48,000 Australians have trekked across the trail and injected

\$72 million into local village economies for wages, campsite fees and local village services.

During this period the priority for Government has been the establishment of a case for a World Heritage Listing for the Kokoda Trail however a recent expert report has cast serious doubt about it meeting the necessary criteria.

The suspension of trekking due to Covid-19 has resulted in villagers having to revert to subsistence lifestyles.

Current projections indicate it will take at least a decade for trekker numbers to return to pre Covid-19 levels.

It is therefore timely to re-evaluate the significance of the military heritage of the trail and improve its interpretation for future trekkers.

Network Kokoda engaged Michael Pender, a Military Heritage Architect who designed and built the Isurava Memorial, to assist in developing the following funding proposal for a Master Military Heritage Interpretation Plan for the trail.

We ask that the Government give serious consideration to the proposal and we remain willing to provide whatever support is necessary to bring it to fruition.





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# Preface

## Just a day's travel from Sydney, Melbourne or Brisbane and you can be on the Kokoda Trail.

At the foot of the Owen Stanley Ranges in Papua New Guinea you can look into the ancient landscape - majestic peaceful wilderness, nature in its full glory. There have been tracks across the mountains for thousands of years - the people who inhabit the region were gardening at the same time agriculture was developing in Ancient Egypt. The strength of natural and cultural heritage are beyond simple words; fascinating, awesome, daunting - world class.

Yet the battles of 1942 and the contemporary interest in 'Kokoda' are what have made it Papua New Guinea's No.1 tourist attraction. In 1942 it was Australians and Papua New Guineans fighting Japanese for what was then Australian land. Young men in a bloody struggle for 'their land'. The battle has become folklore in Australia - a place of pilgrimage like Gallipoli, Villers-Bretonneux, Sandakan, Passchendaele.

This year we commemorate the 75th anniversary of the end of the War in the Pacific.

As a developing nation Papua New Guinea has numerous problems:

governance, health, education and law are 'major issues'. It is not surprising that protection of heritage is low on the Government's priority list.

Few would argue that the heritage of Kokoda shouldn't be protected, but clearly it is beyond the means of Papua New Guinea. The question of who is the custodian is relevant. The Australian/ PNG Governments' Joint Understanding Kokoda Initiative (2008) held promise of heritage protection. However, implementation and funding would appear to have focused on health, safety and education. Eleven years on it seems that again heritage has been relegated.

There are two purposes to this report:

- {i} The primary purpose is to establish the basis for heritage protection and interpretation on the Trail itself - A Kokoda Trail Military Heritage Interpretation Plan
- {ii} Secondly, to seek funding for the development of the process from research through planning to implementation - An Implementation Process



'New Guinea rises sheer out of the Pacific like some vast thing crouching to spring. It is fiercely beautiful, but a dangerous land, New Guinea - Natures' last stronghold luring the white civilisation she dreads. New Guinea - Land of sudden death and delirious happenings - tragic despair! Land of vivid colour in herself and the deeds of her people! The sun shines across the deep gorges onto mountain peaks hedged by jungle and sombre with scrub. Truly nature here reigns supreme, a land that is as it might have been in the beginning ...' <sup>ii</sup>

// ION IDRIESS



PRIME MINISTER  
SCOTT MORRISON  
SIGNING THE  
PAPUA NEW  
GUINEA-  
AUSTRALIA  
COMPREHENSIVE  
STRATEGIC AND  
ECONOMIC  
PARTNERSHIP  
AGREEMENT

# Executive summary

**The Kokoda Trail is a world class heritage site. It is currently Papua New Guinea's top tourist attraction and a place of significance for Australians due to our involvement in the military campaign of 1942.**

The heritage significance is derived from its cultural diversity, its natural biodiversity and untouched beauty, and the Military heritage of WW2.

The Australian Government approved \$15.8 million dollars in funding to assist Papua New Guinea "to protect the Kokoda Trail" in April 2008. The Joint Understanding Kokoda Initiative (2008) focused on health, safety and education on the trail itself - arguably with limited success.

On Anzac Day 2009 Prime Minister Scott Morrison and his Labor colleague, The Hon Jason Clare MP, trekked across the Kokoda Trail on a 'Mateship Trek' with a group of young leaders from the Cronulla and Bankstown communities. The following month, on 25 May 2009, he reflected on their pilgrimage in a speech to the National Parliament:

'I hope that the Kokoda Trail™ will continue to grow as a pilgrimage for young Australians. We must not allow expressions of national pride to be reduced to a tattoo or a day of drunkenness wrapped in a flag. We must encourage real contact with the spirit of courage, mateship, endurance and sacrifice that defines our Australian character.

'For this to happen, many things have to change at Kokoda.

'First, we must protect the integrity of the trail. It is not an endurance sport or a wilderness adventure; it is a memorial pilgrimage.

'We must ensure that the stories of

Kokoda and similar campaigns gain greater recognition in our national educational curriculum.

**'A memorial master plan for the trail is needed to enable new generations to understand, appreciate and honour the sacrifices of our diggers as they walk the trail.**

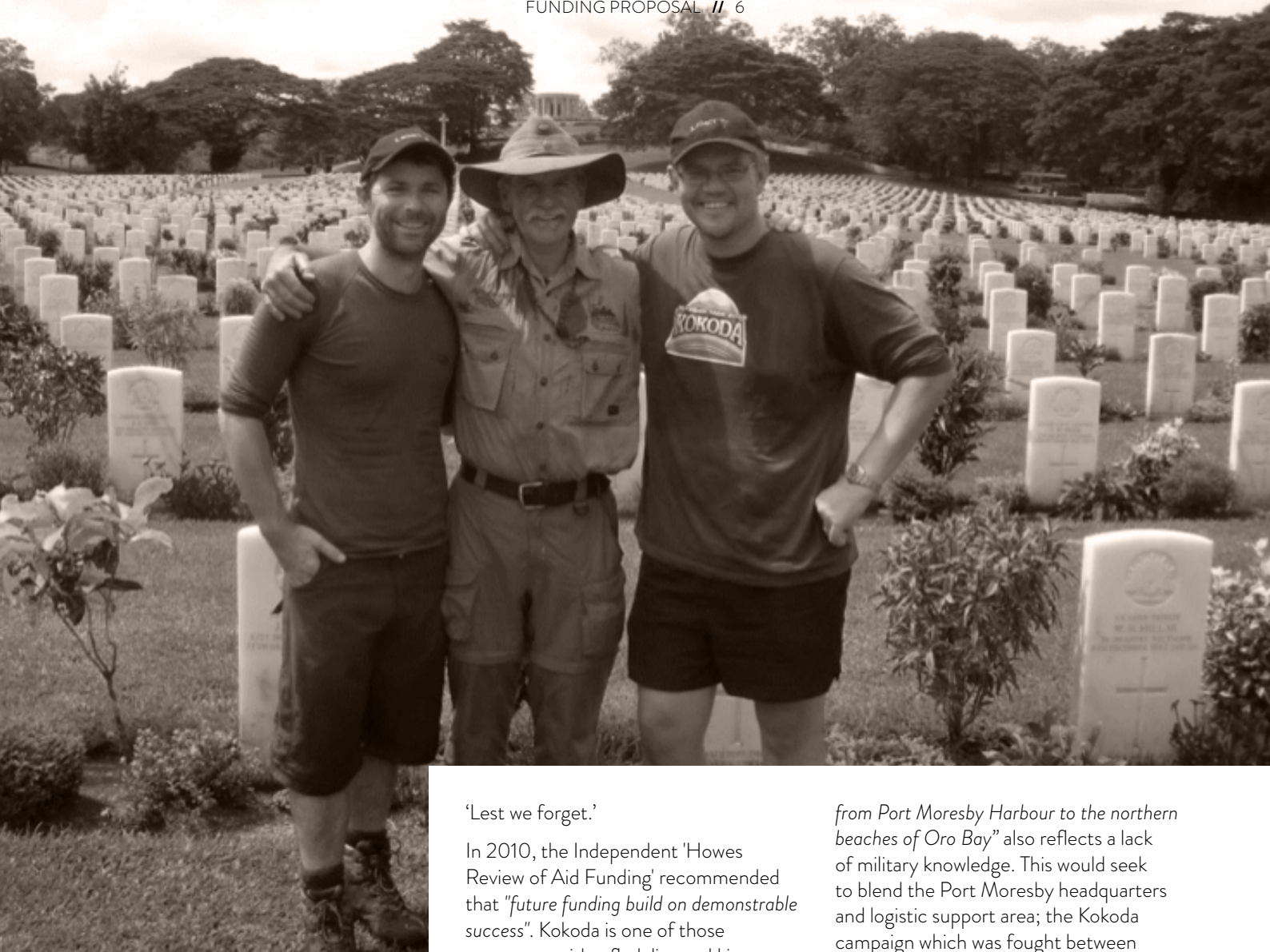
'Tougher mandatory regulation of trek operators must be introduced to keep the trail safe, or more Australians will die needlessly. This is a dangerous trek in a lethal environment. It should not be taken on lightly.

'We also need to make sure that our pilgrimage brings benefits to the local indigenous population. We must ensure that their communities and their environment are not exploited, remembering it was their grandfathers who came to our aid, to carry our grandfathers to safety, so many years ago.

'These issues and many others have been the subject of an almost 20-year campaign by our trek leader, the Hon. Charlie Lynn, who completed his 55th crossing of the trail on our mateship trek. I pay tribute to his tireless and passionate work in this area. He is also a great Australian whose voice must be heard on these issues.

'Whether you walk the trail or not, my hope is that Kokoda will continue to serve as an inspiration to all of us, especially in these tough times, and remind us all of what we are truly capable of when we are true to the values that made our nation great.





THE HON JASON  
CLARE MP, MAJOR  
CHARLIE LYNN  
AND PRIME  
MINISTER SCOTT  
MORRISON AT  
BOMANA WAR  
CEMETERY, MAY  
2009

‘Lest we forget.’

In 2010, the Independent ‘Howes Review of Aid Funding’ recommended that “*future funding build on demonstrable success*”. Kokoda is one of those successes, with a fledgling trekking industry that sustainably supports remote village communities. The growth of this trekking ‘industry’ is derived from the significance to Australians of the Military Heritage that is Kokoda.

In 2017 the Australian High Commission in Port Moresby bypassed the Australian War Memorial and appointed an American anthropologist as Australia’s Military Heritage Advisor for the Kokoda Trail. His lack of military heritage credentials were soon evident from his statement that his Heritage Management Plan “*will also recognise the prominent roles of Japan and the USA in PNG’s war history, as well as the place of other nations, including the UK, India, Fiji, China, Korea, Taiwan, etc.*”

These countries were not involved in the Kokoda campaign.

The scope of his plan<sup>iv</sup> which “*recognises that the military heritage remaining from the Kokoda Campaign of WW11 extends*

*from Port Moresby Harbour to the northern beaches of Oro Bay*” also reflects a lack of military knowledge. This would seek to blend the Port Moresby headquarters and logistic support area; the Kokoda campaign which was fought between Owers Corner and Kokoda; and the battles for the beachheads at Buna, Gona and Sanananda into one.

The Australian Battles Nomenclature Committee faced a similar dilemma in defining the various battles and campaigns in 1947. According to Peter Provis, a researcher at the Australian War Memorial they may have deemed that the ‘*Battle of the Owen Stanley’s covered a too broader area to describe the Kokoda campaign, suggesting that fighting occurred across the entire range. In June 1949 the provisional list of battles used ‘Kokoda Trail’.*

A more focused Military Heritage Interpretation Plan for the Kokoda Trail requires more informed historical analysis and detailed site planning.

In 2020 Prime Minister Scott Morrison announced a ‘Papua New Guinea – Australia Comprehensive Strategic and Economic Partnership’ which noted ‘*the importance of Kokoda in forging the bonds and friendship between the two countries*



PRIME MINISTER SCOTT MORRISON LAYS A WREATH  
AT THE ISURAVA MEMORIAL IN APRIL 2009

*and we will continue the existing partnership under the Kokoda Initiative, with a focus on protecting the region's unique environmental, cultural and military heritage.'*

The most effective means of protecting the unique environmental nature of the region is to provide local communities with sustainable economic alternatives from mining and forestry operations. The only viable alternative is the attraction of the Kokoda Trail as a wartime tourism destination.

Whilst the broad elements of a development strategy appear an inclusive part of the Kokoda Initiative, a documented and endorsed Military Heritage Plan would appear notably absent; notable as the Trails village sustainability and its fledgling trekking industry are directly related to the military heritage. How this heritage is communicated and how it enhances the 'significance of place', whilst enshrining and protecting the core values inherent in the environment are key questions that are considered in this report.

The Kokoda Trail's military heritage has an important place in Australia's history that has been recognised by past governments. The 'story of Kokoda' has

attracted significant interest over the past 20 years evidenced primarily in trekker numbers on the Trail itself and significant literature sales. However, in stark contrast the Papua New Guinea contribution to the Kokoda battles, affectionately remembered in Australia, as the 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels' is largely absent from literature, and is slowly being consigned to memory alone. Unfortunately for PNG the heritage inherent in Kokoda has become 'a local commercial benefit' through trekking, rather than a shared national cultural heritage experience.

International examples show that heritage and protection of heritage is generally underpinned by a formulated site-specific Heritage Plan. Typically, these documents constitute a foundation from which sustainable practices of development and tourism are derived. A Heritage Interpretation Plan is considered the key mechanism for delivering Cultural and Natural Heritage for the sustainable benefit of the indigenous population, the environment and the visitor.

Currently there is no Kokoda Trail Military Heritage Plan, nor is there any natural or cultural interpretation on the Trail. Generally, military heritage interpretation

has been installed by private 'donors', is poorly built and in many cases shows significant factual inaccuracy. The deleterious effect of the lack of such planning is evident.

This report seeks to establish the reasons, benefits and tangible outcomes that are derived from establishing a Military Heritage Interpretation Plan for the Kokoda Trail and the indicative costs associated with its implementation.

If funded, the program of work would have as, as its primary objective, the enshrinement of the Cultural, Natural and Military Heritage of the Kokoda Trail for the nations of Australia and Papua New Guinea as well as the sustainable benefit of the local people, in accordance with the 'Papua New Guinea-Australia Comprehensive Strategic and Economic Partnership' signed by Prime Ministers Morrison and Marape on 8 August 2020.

***Lest We Forget.***



# Introduction



**Network Kokoda commissioned Mr Michael Pender, an accredited Military Heritage Architect with HPA Projects, to develop a funding proposal for the Kokoda Trail in 2011. Since then the 70th and 75th anniversaries of the Kokoda campaign have passed with little more than token recognition of their significance.**

This proposal draws on the original report provided by HPA Projects and outlines a body of work comprising research, consulting services and capital works. The core of the proposal, if funded, is a master planning document for interpretation of cultural, natural and military heritage across the Kokoda Trail. The proposal also seeks funds for implementation of the Masterplan in a timeframe in keeping with the 75th anniversary of the end of the War in the Pacific in 2020.

The proposal is focused on researching the sites' heritage, planning how this heritage is maintained for the future, and implementing the plan within a known timeframe.

The proposal does not examine infrastructure (roads, buildings, bridges) nor does it propose any works in relation to safety, healthcare, trekking operations or village economic sustainability.

This proposal has been prepared based on research and site investigation funded by Network Kokoda.

Research has focused on the following areas:

- Military heritage of the Trail for both Australians and the people of Papua New Guinea.
- Tourism and trekking operations over the past 12 years and their impact on the sites.
- Works undertaken in the last 12 years under the joint understanding between Australia and Papua New Guinea 'Kokoda Initiative' Program.

Whilst public interest and trekking numbers have increased over recent years, there remains no vision or overall strategy that focuses on the Trail's heritage and how this heritage is protected, retained and interpreted.

This document should be read as a precursor to the research, development and implementation of a coherent Military Heritage strategy to this internationally significant site. If funded, the program of work would have, as its primary objective, the enshrinement of the Cultural, Natural and Military Heritage of the Kokoda Trail for the nations of Australia and Papua New Guinea as well as the sustainable benefit of the local people.



# Background

**In the last two decades approximately 60,000 Australians from all walks of life have trekked across the Kokoda trail.**

The vast majority are young Australians. However, the increased numbers of Australian tourists and the greater importance that Australians have given to Kokoda appears to have had little broad impact in Papua New Guinea. From the recognition of the Trail as a tourism destination, the aim in recent years would appear to 'develop a self-sustaining eco trekking industry for the benefit of local people (Koiari and Orokaiva<sup>vi</sup>). In 2004 a special purpose Authority was set up as a statutory body: The Kokoda Track Authority (KTA). It is similar to local level Government Authorities established elsewhere in Papua New Guinea to represent the interests of landowners in dealings with mining companies.

Following a perceived threat to the Trail caused by mining exploration in 2006 the Australian Government approved \$15.9m funding to assist PNG to protect the Kokoda Trail. The majority of the funding (\$14.9m) was appropriated to the Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts (DEWHA) as the lead agency in a Task Force to work with PNG agencies.

In 2008 the Australian Government established The Kokoda Initiative with goals of management, safety, tourism, health and sustainability being backed by considerable funding packages. The same year they assumed responsibility for the

Kokoda Track Authority. The Initiative states the goal in relation to tourism as 'Building national and international tourism potential of the Owen Stanley Ranges and Kokoda Track Region, supported by a possible future World Heritage nomination'<sup>vii</sup>.

A review of the possibility of obtaining a World Heritage Nomination by Dr Peter Hitchcock and Dr Jennifer Gabriel<sup>viii</sup> concluded that:

As a result, whilst a UN World Heritage nomination would appear a valuable long-term aspiration, the focus on development of international tourism provides a clear direction for both trekking operations and village sustainability. Further, the key tripartite relationship between village sustainability, military heritage and a growing trekking industry could be considered as a mutually reliant relationship.

**'The Kokoda Initiative, a joint arrangement between the PNG and Australian Governments, has resulted in substantial studies, planning and community development, almost wholly confined to the Kokoda Track and its immediate vicinity. . . the IPZ (Interim Protection Zone) has little prospect of being able to stand alone as a World Heritage nomination, at least on natural heritage values. Given the on-going threat to heritage values by mining and other development activities, no part of the Kokoda Track and Owen Stanley Ranges Tentative Listed area should be considered for formal nomination as a World Heritage area until such time as an adequate extent of high value areas is formally protected. Given this prerequisite, it may be years before a suitable tract of land is protected and worth considering for World Heritage nomination.'**

Given the stated objectives of the Kokoda Initiative, protection and development of the Trail through a mandated Strategic Development Plan is warranted.

Whilst the broad elements of a development strategy appear an inclusive part of the Kokoda Initiative, any form of Military Heritage Plan would seem to be absent; notable as the Trail's village sustainability and its fledgling trekking industry are directly related to Military Heritage. How this heritage is communicated and how it enhances the trek experience, while enshrining and protecting the core values inherent in the people and the environment are key questions. Key questions that are possibly being considered under the Kokoda Initiative Program of Works.

In 2009, a report by the Australian War Memorial historian, Karl James entitled 'The Track - An Historical Desktop Study' and commissioned by DEWHA as part of the Kokoda Initiative, is perhaps the first step to a Kokoda Heritage Interpretation Plan. It is a scholarly anthology. Whilst it can be regarded as a sound basis for further development, its objectives and terms of reference are unclear. Further the findings and recommendations of the Report are on the whole recommendations for further academic study that appear inconsistent with the practical objectives of the Kokoda Initiative, in particular village sustainability and tourism growth.

The department of Veterans Affairs website, ([kokoda.commemoration.gov.au](http://kokoda.commemoration.gov.au)), and the Kokoda Trail Section is perhaps the best off-site form of military heritage information. It offers visitors complete and comprehensive Kokoda Track interpretation that covers battle

sites as well as oral histories, interactive diagrams and some extremely good photographic records.

However, research into the site's performance and usage ([alexa.com](http://alexa.com)), show that the average time at the site is less than two minutes, the visit is usually by link and the number of pages viewed is two or less.

The purpose of a Military Heritage Plan is to focus on detailed assessment of how the history of environment, events, actions and people is interpreted (i.e. how it is told) and how this interpretation can directly enhance tourism potential whilst protecting the cultural and natural heritage values of the area. This is the basis of Heritage Site Development globally as defined under the United Nations ICOMOS Charter. The ICOMOS Charter for sustainable tourism in World Heritage Sites provides a simple set of development and interpretation principles. These principles are outlined in the Appendixes of this report.

All the ICOMOS principles are relevant however Principles 4 and 6 are key:

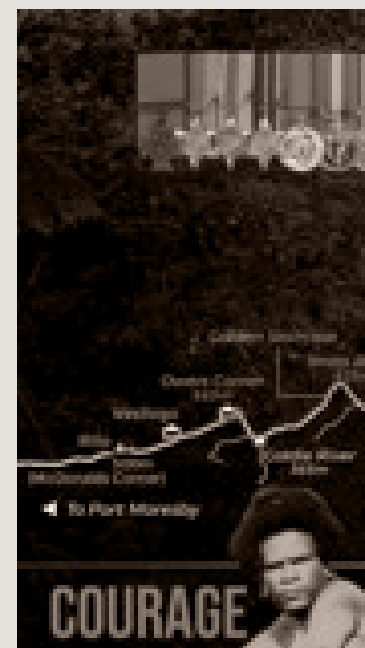
- **Principle 4 - Proactive Tourism Management**

The contribution of tourism development and visitor activities associated with World Heritage Properties to their protection, conservation and presentation requires continuing and proactive planning and monitoring by Site Management, which must respect the capacity of the individual property to accept visitation without degrading or threatening heritage values. Site Management should have regard to relevant tourism supply chain and broader tourism destination issues,

'They died so young.  
They missed so much.  
They gave up so much  
– their hopes, their  
dreams, their loved  
ones. They laid down  
their lives that their  
friends might live.  
Great love hath no man  
than this.'

// **LIEUTENANT COLONEL  
RALPH HONNER MC DSO**

**COMMANDER 39TH  
MILITIA BATTALION**



including congestion management and the quality of life for local people. Tourism planning and management, including cooperative partnerships, should be an integral aspect of the site management system.

• **Principle 6 -Tourism Infrastructure and Visitor Facilities**

Tourism infrastructure and visitor facilities associated with World Heritage Properties should be carefully planned, sited, designed, constructed and periodically upgraded as required to maximise the quality of visitor appreciation and experiences while ensuring there is no significant adverse impacts on heritage values and the surrounding environmental, social and cultural context.

The key points of this Background are as follows:

- The Kokoda Initiative has a stated tourism objective however a Military Heritage Interpretation Plan appears absent from the strategy of development assistance.
- World Heritage listing under ICOMOS provides development principles that focus on the relationship of tourism, heritage and sustainability.
- The absence of coherent planning for protecting the Military Heritage of Kokoda will in time lead to dissolution and weakening of the core heritage values.

The key questions are therefore:

- Does the heritage of Kokoda warrant a long-term strategy?
- Who is the custodian of the heritage?
- Can a heritage plan be developed and implemented?
- What benefits would be delivered?

This document and the following sections seek to establish the reasons, purpose and framework for achieving a Kokoda Trail Military Heritage Site Interpretation Plan.







# Kokoda

## THE KOKODA CAMPAIGN

**The past decade has seen a remarkable increase in the number of Australians visiting the Kokoda Trail, bringing economic opportunities for the Trail's village communities and transforming it into Papua New Guinea's premier tourism location.**

This reflects a generation who recognise the Trail and the region's historic significance, its exceptional beauty and natural landscape, and the unique experience it offers in connecting the people and culture of Papua New Guinea and Australia.

When Australians regained an interest in their Nation's Military History in the early

1970's and crowds returned to Anzac Day Ceremonies, interest focused almost solely on Gallipoli. Whilst the scholarly interest was largely pioneered by Ken Inglis,<sup>x</sup> the public interest was stimulated by the 'Australia Remembers Campaign' and possibly more so by Peter Weirs epic film Gallipoli. Broad public interest was sustained through events such as

the return of the Unknown Soldier in 1993 and the state funeral for the 'last of the Anzacs', Alec Campbell, in 2002. However long before the veterans of World War 1 would walk their final march, public interest firmly shifted to World War II. Both Prime Ministers Paul Keating (in the early 90's) and later John Howard chose the Pacific commitments of 1942





‘Mud and blood . . . the pity of it. The best blood of Australia, and mud . . . and lonely graves in the wilderness . . . and strange stories of the beauty of complete self-sacrifice! Even as I write I have around my neck a little crucifix which was found on that of the skeleton of a missing man recovered from a tree half way down a steep gully. It was tarnished and clotted by mud and blood! God . . . I wish I could express it . . . the fellow was practically crucified on that tree like Christ of the cross he wore around his neck . . . Christ – who gave his life for many . . . the Saviour of the land’s own soul whatever happened to his poor body.’

// GEOFFREY  
HAMLYN-HARRIS

and the Prisoner of War experiences of the region as *‘historic engagements with Asia’* and that *‘partnerships had been formed’*<sup>x</sup>. The Anzac legend, Howard noted *‘had found a new form’*. They had demonstrated *‘mateship, courage and compassion ... enduring qualities of our nation. The essence of a nation’s past and its hope for the future’*.

When Prime Minister Keating kissed the ground at Kokoda in 1992, he drew attention to the special nature of the place. It was the 50th anniversary of the Kokoda Campaign. Ten years later in 2002 Prime Minister Howard spoke at the dedication of the Isurava Monument on the Kokoda Trail – a 60th Anniversary ceremony, unveiling a mountain top Memorial on the Isurava Battlefield. ‘Courage’, ‘Endurance’, ‘Mateship’ and ‘Sacrifice’, the four words inscribed on the monument obelisks, he proposed *‘symbolized the values of both the 1942 troops and the hope of the nation’s future’*<sup>xi</sup>.

In 2002 it did not seem outrageous that the media proclaimed Kokoda as the battle that turned the tide of war and why Kokoda carried greater significance for Australians than Gallipoli.

With the passing of the 60th Anniversary in 2002 one would have expected public interest to dwindle. On the contrary it increased, since 2002 the number of publications on Kokoda has been extraordinary.

Since 2002 more than a dozen books have been published on the Kokoda campaign by historians, authors and Battalion associations. ‘Kokoda’, by Peter Fitzsimons, has sold over 150,000 copies making it one of the most successful

published ‘non-fictional’ accounts of the modern era. All major television networks have produced documentaries on the campaign as well as various trek groups involving professional football teams, celebrities and youth leadership groups.

Trekking companies guiding visitors across the Trail grew from three or four in 2000 to a registered 78 operators in 2010<sup>xii</sup>. Today the number of registered operators has fallen to 33 while the number of unregistered companies has increased due to a compromised management system.

Australian Government officials unfamiliar with the *‘Melanesian Way’* assumed responsibility for the Kokoda Trail in 2009. The management focus switched from trek management to socio-environmental priorities associated with obtaining a World Heritage Listing for the area. Trekker numbers have since declined by 46% (from 5621 in 2008 to 3033 in 2019).

The emerging Kokoda trekking industry is directly intertwined with the Military events, actions and sacrifice of Australian and Papua New Guinea forces on the battlefields of 1942. From Owers Corner in the south, to Kokoda in the north, a sinuous trail through an ancient landscape has captured the imagination of Australians and become a must read about, must know about, or ‘must do’ experience.

In stark contrast for the people of Papua New Guinea, the history and its significant consequences are little known, and unlike Australia, ‘Kokoda’ is certainly not in the national psyche of Papua New Guinea.

## PAPUA NEW GUINEA PERSPECTIVE

**Despite the Papua New Guinea War commitment being over 50,000 men, this significant history has not devolved to a shared history that is able to galvanize a nation or contribute to a national sense of shared experience.**

Seventy-five years after the events there are few (if any) scholarly or popular accounts that cover the range of experiences of the Papua New Guinean people in the War and relate them to a broader context<sup>xiii</sup>. For a nation with a village-based population of under 700,000 people in 1939 the commitment of 50,000 men was enormous. Whole communities were dislocated if not decimated. The War transformed Papua New Guinea.

Where there had been 8000 foreigners in 1939, approximately 1.5 million (mostly military) had passed through by 1945 and over 200,000 had died there. Yet the experience to this day remains largely out of public sight or memory for most people of Papua New Guinea.

The difficulties faced by Papua New Guinea in trying to transform historic events into shared national experiences are illustrated in the many attempts to simply find a day as a means to commemorate the War. In the 50's and 60's Anzac Day was a national holiday. However, in 1975 it was deemed inappropriate to a newly independent nation as the references to the Turkish coastline and the Imperial Forces gave little relevance to Papua New Guinea people.

Searching for a day that Papua New Guinea people would remember, the new Government chose August 15th the day the war ended. It was an internationally significant day that held little for the people of Papua New Guinea. Papua New Guinea ex-servicemen disliked it - a day that celebrated peace had little time for remembering battles, tributes to comrades and commemoration of the

supreme sacrifice.

In 1982, the PNG Government again changed the date, this time to July 23rd.

On 23 July 1942 the Papuan Infantry Battalion (PIB) had gone into battle forward of Kokoda near Awala. That made Remembrance Day more like Anzac Day: it was the first time that the PIB had gone into action, it was a precursor of a national institution entering the international arena, and it was a defeat. But the fighting on 23 July 1942 was a minor encounter before the withdrawal along the Kokoda Trail; there were no casualties among the Papuan soldiers; the fighting was confused rather than heroic; and it was given slight significance at the time or in later histories. When the PIB opened fire with rifles and machine guns the Japanese replied immediately - they

were more numerous and had greater firepower, including mortars and machine guns. In that brief action, some Australian and Papuan soldiers withdrew before they were ordered and went further than expected; and just a few could be praised for doing more than they were asked, including the policeman, Lance-Corporal Sanopa MM, who guided the remaining troops out of Oivi on 26 July. Sergeant Katue MM, of the PIB twice went alone to gather information on enemy positions and became the first Papuan soldier to be decorated, and Sergeant Dani, of the PIB, who from 23 July scouted the Japanese positions between Awala and Kokoda. Even those few names and events are little known in Papua New Guinea and there are few readily available places where citizens might find out about them.<sup>xiv</sup>

# 1440%

**During the period 2002–2008, under the management of a PNG Government Special Purpose Authority trekker numbers increased by 1440% (from 365 trekkers in 2002 to 5621 in 2008).**



PRIME  
MINISTER  
SCOTT  
MORRISON  
CLIMBING  
TOWARDS  
IMITA GAP:  
APRIL 2009

Popular media reports of 50,000 Papua New Guinea carriers are simply incorrect, as this figure is broadly derived from the rounded figure of the maximum number of carriers used by the Australian Army at any one time. It includes men working everywhere from Lae to Milne Bay in all categories of employment . A total number of 3000 on the trail itself can be substantiated<sup>xviii</sup> however a figure closer to 1700 at the height of the campaign is considered more realistic.

The question of who the carriers were and where they came from is perhaps more important. This question and a definitive answer remain unknown. This is largely a result of a lack of scholarly research and/ or an interest in a shared national history. The facts are not known therefore the history has eroded if not simply vanished.

A proposal to proclaim the 3rd November

Papua New Guinea leaders continued to make somewhat grand statements about the significance of July 23 and a National Holiday - with few of their people understanding why. Then in 2004 the Papua New Guinea Government declared that Anzac Day, 25 April in future would again be a public holiday. At the same time July 23 is termed 'Remembrance Day'. Debate continues as to the form of ceremonies which have invariably become simply sporting events or for many just another working day.<sup>xv</sup> There are no ceremonies conducted in schools to

commemorate the Remembrance Day.

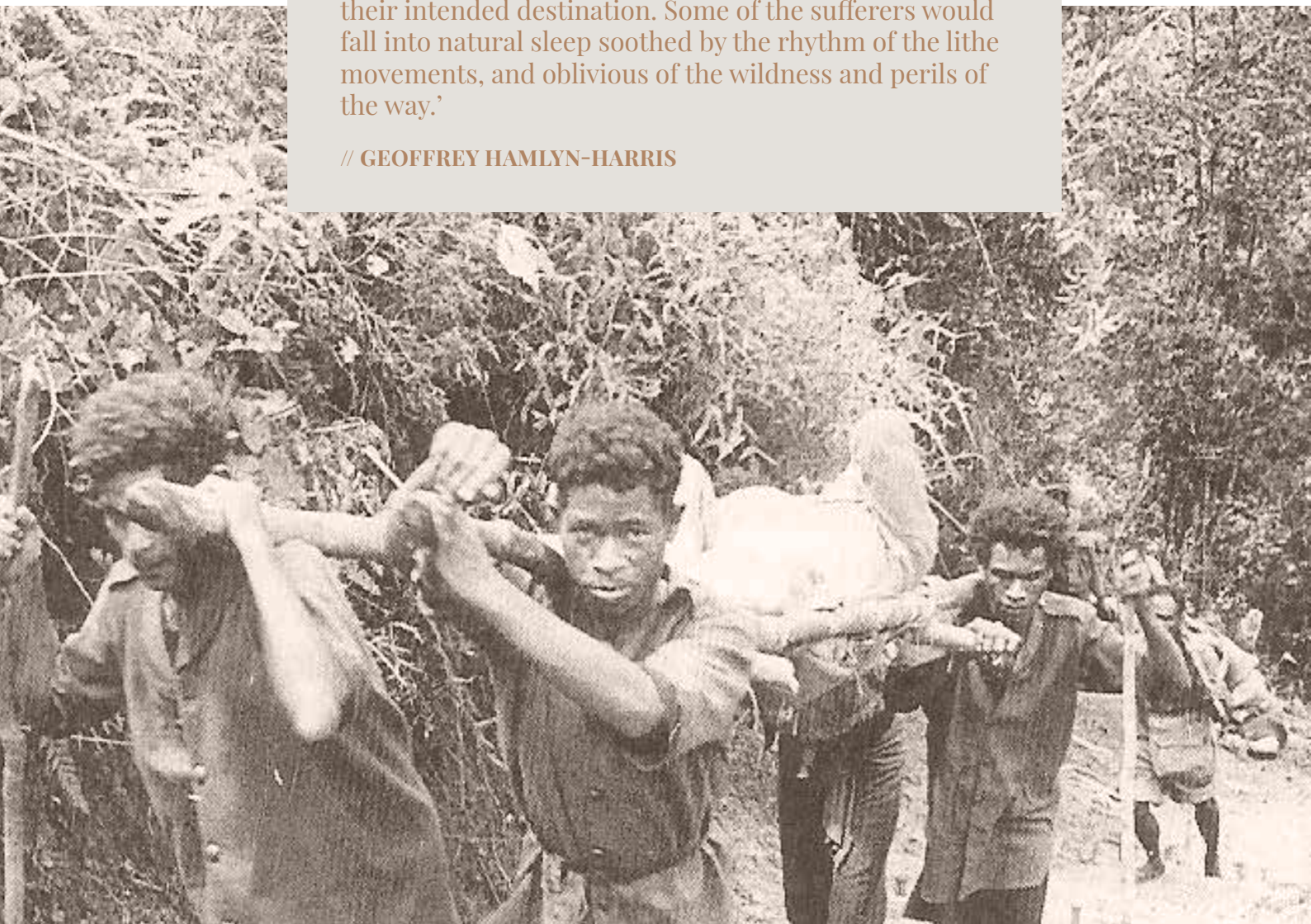
The number of Papua New Guineans serving during the war is almost impossible to determine. On the Kokoda Trail the approximate figures are known – indentured wartime carriers were immortalised by Sapper Bert Beros who wrote a poem '*Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels*' while convalescing in hospital after being carried off the Trail.

In their retreat from Kokoda to Imita Ridge from July 1942 the Australian forces numbered fewer than 3000<sup>xvi</sup>.



‘Some of our soldiers were coming back from the forward lines for rations. They told us of fierce fighting a couple of hours onward, and in their wake came a procession such as I had never seen in my life before, and which moved me to the depths. Picking their way very carefully with expressions of solemn responsibility, came native bearers with the badly wounded. Some of those forms under their coverings were horribly mutilated and might not survive the long, perilous journey back to the base hospital from the R.A.P. Others were straight and very still. Some were in an agony of suffering in spite of all that had been done to mitigate and soothe. The natives moved softly and silently, handling the stretchers with a surprising deftness in rough places in order to save their human burden from the slightest jolt. Their black faces were soft with pity and concern. They would carry those poor fellows along such a route as I have described, through mud and slush and morass, along the razor backs, quickly and softly over the fields of death and pestilence, till they arrived at their intended destination. Some of the sufferers would fall into natural sleep soothed by the rhythm of the lithe movements, and oblivious of the wildness and perils of the way.’

// GEOFFREY HAMLYN-HARRIS







1942, the day they raised the flag on the Kokoda plateau, as Kokoda Day<sup>xix</sup> to honour service and sacrifice of the wartime carriers was amended to 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angel Day' by the PNG National Executive Council in 2010. The amended name failed to resonate, and the original purpose of the proposal was lost.

Other initiatives relating to remembrance of their story such as the erection of a cenotaph or 'Spirit Haus' to provide the missing with a spiritual resting place and the development of a National Honour Roll are worthy of further consideration.

The key points in conclusion are:

- The Kokoda Trail and its heritage have an important place in Australia's history that has been recognised by past governments.
- The 'story of Kokoda' has attracted significant interest over the past 20 years evidenced primarily in trekker numbers on the Trail itself and literature sales.
- The Papua New Guinea contribution to the Kokoda battle affectionately remembered in Australia, as the 'Fuzzy Wuzzy Angels' is largely absent from interpretation or commemorative elements on the Trail.
- The Trail history for Papua New Guinea is largely forgotten and has become 'a local commercial benefit' rather than a shared national cultural heritage experience.

'As we marched in and took up our position for the ceremony, we could all feel in our bones that history was being made. The Australian flag was raised, with soldiers and natives as solemn witnesses. Tribute was paid to all who had died along the track for the victory which had taken place here, making this beautiful valley and its air strip ours once more, and clearing the way for what all of us now felt must be a successful issue.

'Although I find it hard to express precisely what I mean, I felt that the raising of the flag here, as elsewhere in New Guinea where the boys were overcoming the enemies of civilisation, heralded a new epoch of Aussie history. Considering what was accomplished collaboratively in a war such as had never been known in the world before, what might not we do together in a voluntary way for Age of Peace to follow? The thing could be ideal, you see, everybody working as one man for a new and better method of world government which would benefit all equally.

'The faces of the witnesses standing around the flag pole in the centre of the village were a living, though silent, testimony of what had been suffered for Australia and for moments like this, by the lads of the graves up the range and all along the track by which we had come. We were thinking individually of those pals of ours; for the Owen Stanley Range still overshadowed us in memory as well as in fact, an unpleasant monster conquered; and only those who had shared their experience could have understood the extent of the price they paid in advance for victory.'

// GEOFFREY HAMLYN-HARRIS

AUSTRALIAN TROOPS RAISING THE AUSTRALIAN  
FLAG ON THE KOKDOA PLATEAU, 3 NOVEMBER 1942







# Heritage interpretation on the trail



## **This section examines the current Status of Interpretation on the Kokoda Trail.**

Generally, across the Trail the nature of interpretation is that of singular small elements installed on an ad hoc basis over time, but many of the more significant sites have no signage at all. The sponsors/ installers were mostly well-meaning enthusiasts. Government funded sites including the Isurava Memorial, Kokoda Museum and composite museums-trade centres at Alola and Efogi are the exception. Isurava features both commemorative elements and bilingual interpretation. However, it should be noted that Isurava is only accessible by trekkers and is battle site specific. The 'Museum' at Kokoda is more of a photographic display than a museum and, whilst functional, the interpretation is showing signs of deterioration.

The Village Museum-Trade Centres at Alola and Efogi were developed without any consultation with trekkers or landowners. Both villages were relocated to their current sites after the war and have no historical relevance. They are not well patronised as they are largely irrelevant to the needs of trekkers and villagers.

The following section provides an overview of all forms of interpretation on the Trail itself. This includes structures that are called 'Memorials' or other structural elements that provide interpretation for the visitor or trekker. Marking the site began before World War II ended.



## Kokoda

Kokoda is the gateway to the Trail from the airfield at the Northern Provincial capital of Popondetta.

In early 1945 General Thomas Blamey initiated a scheme for a series of historical monuments to be erected throughout Papua and New Guinea to commemorate the Australian Military Force's achievements during the war. When the first large pilgrimage of veterans returned to Kokoda in November 1967, to mark the 25th Anniversary of the re-taking of the village, the commemorative program was centred on the Kokoda Memorial and parade ground.

Alongside the Kokoda Memorial is the memorial of the native carriers of the Kokoda Trail, also called the Papuan carriers' memorial. This memorial, initiated and funded by Bert Kienzle, was dedicated on 2 November 1959. A third memorial built by the Japan-Papua New Guinea Goodwill Society in February 1980 was dedicated to all the campaign's war dead (Japanese, Australian, and Papuan). There are also other commemorative plaques in the grounds of the plateau.

In 1995, Prime Ministers Paul Keating and Julius Chan opened a memorial museum in Kokoda, named after Bert Kienzle. It is more an information building than a 'museum' and whilst functional the interpretation is showing signs of deterioration consistent with its age.

An unauthorised 'Kokoda Track Archway' was erected in 2011 by private donors, much to the surprise of the Kokoda Track Authority and local people – it has been dubbed 'the McArches' because of its resemblance to a McDonalds restaurant sign.

This situation is fairly typical of military heritage sites where there is little control, management or oversight. Unfortunately, whilst the intent is well meaning, the outcome in time will have a detrimental effect on the environment.

## Deniki

There is no signage or interpretation at Deniki, which was a major feature in the initial actions on the Kokoda plateau.

## Isurava

The Isurava battlesite was rediscovered by Major Charlie Lynn in 1996. In 2002, the Howard Government commissioned Mr Michael Pender of HPA Projects to design and build an interpretive memorial at the site. The main features of the site are four granite pillars each inscribed with a single word: Courage – Mateship – Sacrifice – Endurance.

Since then the site has taken on the feel of a sacred shrine rather than a memorial, such is the reverence accorded to it by trekkers.

## Eora Creek

Apart from a plaque by a private donor there is no signage or interpretation to tell the story of one of the most desperate fighting withdrawals in the Kokoda campaign after the Australians withdrew from Isurava.

'The whole battle had become a blind groping in a tangle of growth. One party came in with a story of having travelled for miles just under the crest of a steep ridge, parallel with a party of Japanese. No one on either side was willing to show his head against the skyline for a shot, so they fought it out by tossing grenades at one another over the crest of a steep ridge. The Mills grenade won. It had real, lethal quality. The Japanese were using a light grenade. One man on the patrol had his teeth knocked out by a Japanese grenade striking him in the mouth. It fell to his feet and exploded. All he suffered in addition to loss of teeth was a peppering of shrapnel in one thigh.

'It was seldom that anyone got a glimpse of the enemy. Most of the wounded were very indignant about it. I must have heard the remark 'You can't see the little bastards!' hundreds of times in the course of a day. Some of the men said it with tears in their eyes and clenched fists. They were humiliated



## Eora Creek – Templeton's Crossing

There are no signs or interpretation to tell of the desperate battles along this section of the Trail during the period 11-28 October 1942

beyond endurance by the fact that they had been put out of action before even seeing a Japanese.

'At Eora I saw a 20-year-old redheaded boy with shrapnel in his stomach. He kept muttering to himself about not being able to see the blasted Japs. When Eora was to be evacuated, he knew he had very little chance of being shifted back up the line. He called to me, confidentially: "Hey dig, bend down a minute. Listen ... I think us blokes are going to be left when they pull out. Will you do us a favour? Scrounge us a tommy gun from somewhere will you?"

'It was not bravado. You could see that by looking in his eyes. He just wanted to see a Jap before he died. That was all. Such things should have been appalling. They were not appalling. One accepted them calmly. This was jungle war – the most merciless war of all.

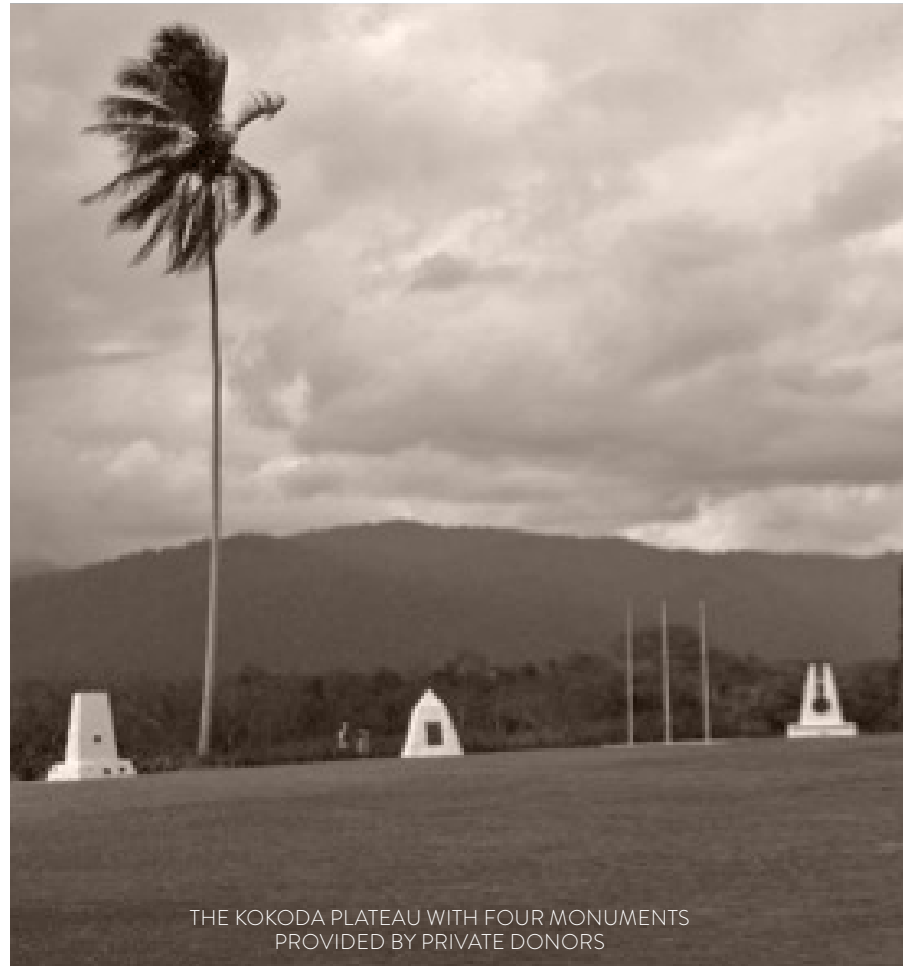
'I was convinced for all time of the dignity and nobility of common men. I was convinced for all time that common men have a pure and shining courage when they fight for what they believe to be a just and shining cause.

'That which was fine in these men outweighed and made trivial all that was horrible in their plight. I cannot explain it except to say that they were at all times cheerful and helped one another. They never gave up the fight. They never admitted defeat. They never asked for help.

'I felt proud to be of their race and cause, bitterly ashamed to be so nagged by the trivial ills of my own flesh. I wondered if all men, when they had endured so much that exhausted nerves would no longer give response, were creatures of the spirit, eternal and indestructible as stars."

// Osmar White

There is also nothing to interpret the desperate battle for Eora Creek during the period 22-28 October 1942.



THE KOKODA PLATEAU WITH FOUR MONUMENTS  
PROVIDED BY PRIVATE DONORS

and whistled as they stumbled along, groups or trios who talked and chaffed as though at something incomparably funny. Some had aided themselves in a rough and ready way and had mud and blood on their faces. Scarcely any of them had a rag to their backs that was not tattered and bloodied indescribably. All were tired and gaunt, and mostly all were cheerful.

'In the meantime the noise of battle became more defined, the cracking of infantry firing, the clang and clash of machinery, the bursting of mortar bombs, the battle cries of our troops, and shrill screeches of the Japanese – every imaginable sound of clashing forces!'

// Geoffrey Hamlyn-Harris

## Lake Myola

There are no signs or interpretation at Lake Myola which was a vital strategic area and the most significant logistic support base of the Kokoda campaign.

## Brigade Hill

'Brigade Hill is a natural citadel, apparently inviolable, at the summit of Mission Ridge, just south of Efogi. The summit and jungle clad flanks command a strong defensive position ... Potts' troops were strung out ahead, between the summit and the ridge's north facing foothills, overlooking old Efogi, a distance of about one mile or so along the track. The fresh 2/27th Battalion was at the vanguard on the hills near the approaches to the enemy held village'.

## Paul Ham

Brigade Hill is the site of one of the major battles of the Kokoda Campaign – the site was rediscovered by Major Charlie Lynn in 1992 after it had been bypassed and reclaimed by the surrounding jungle. The site itself offers majestic 360 degree overlook views across the Owen Stanley Ranges. Significantly it is one of the few locations where trekkers are able to visualise the scale of the fighting. The site features a small bronze plaque installed by private donors. There are no signs or interpretation of the site.

## Menari

Menari is the site of a historic parade conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Ralph Honner with the 39th Militia Battalion after the battle of Isurava. The parade was captured by famed wartime photographer, Damian Parer. There is no sign or interpretation at the site.

## Ioribaiwa

Ioribaiwa is the furthest point reached by the Japanese in their advance towards Port Moresby. There are no signs or interpretation of this significant location, nor any attempt to preserve the Japanese and Australian military sites.

## Imita Ridge

Imita Ridge was the last line of defence for the Australians. A plaque by a private donor is the only marker at the site. There is no interpretation.

## Owers Corner

Owers Corner is the gateway to the Trail from Port Moresby. It offers visitors a spectacular outlook over the Owen Stanley Ranges and has the potential to be the most popular tourism destination in PNG due to its road access from the nation's capital city.

There is little in the way of explanation as to the sites cultural, natural or military heritage.

Unplanned, informal monuments over the past two decades have created an unsightly and disappointing spectacle for visitors.

## Natural Interpretation

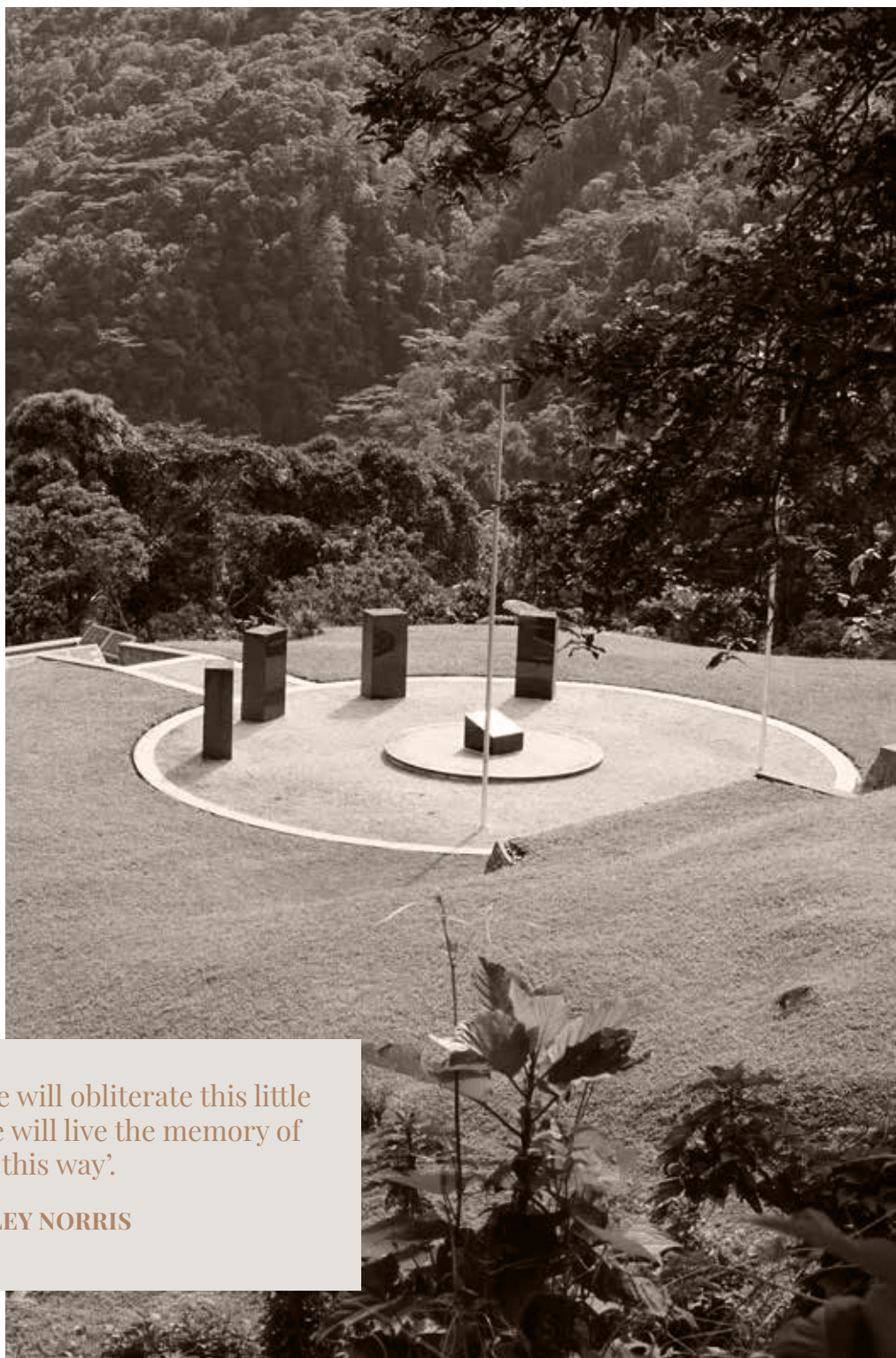
The Kokoda Trail comprises tropical rainforest, ancient moss forest, grassland and volcanic plateau intersected with wild creeks, rivers, unusual features and mail exchange points. There is no interpretation of the native flora and no signs identifying creeks, rivers and features.



## SUMMARY

An overall review of current interpretation on the Trail can be summarized as follows:

- There is no Natural Heritage interpretation on the Trail;
- There is no Cultural Heritage interpretation on the Trail;
- There are several small plaques installed over the years that act as commemorative markers of the Military Heritage;
- The Isurava Memorial is the only major Memorial element on the Trail itself, the Kokoda Parade Ground Memorials are modest 'markers' with little interpretation;
- Generally, interpretation is ad hoc, provides little context and in many cases shows significant inaccuracy and/or inconsistency;
- The Kokoda 'Memorial Museum' is over 15 years old and in relatively poor condition; and
- Except for Isurava and Kokoda Parade Ground/Museum, Military Heritage Interpretation across the Trail is either in poor condition, is inconsistent, inaccurate or non-existent.



**'Time and rain and the jungle will obliterate this little native pad; but for ever more will live the memory of weary men who have passed this way'.**

**// MAJOR GENERAL SIR KINGSLEY NORRIS**



# Proposal detail

**This section provides a draft outline of the scope of work that is proposed.**

The project is separated into three stages and detail is provided as to the tasks involved, roles and expected outcomes for each stage. It should be noted that the scope outline is in draft at this stage. A complete project definition outline is regarded as necessary at project inception.

## STAGE I RESEARCH AND CONSULTATION

Stage I consists primarily of research with preliminary consultation of stakeholders.

### DRAFT TASK OUTLINE

Project definition to be documented to outline terms of reference, stakeholders, limitations of scope and timeframe.

- Establishment of Project Stage Deliverables.
- Establish Panel of Expert Historians - 3 or 4 recommended.

This is a key activity and will require the group to make time available. The role of the historian panel is to provide overview consensus in terms of historical significance, hierarchy and story. A panel of historians has not been selected however the following are

regarded as appropriately qualified with specific academic and practical military knowledge in the field – Mr Michael Pender, Major General Jerry Singirok; Dr Matthew Leaversley UPNG and Lt Col Rowan Tracey.

It should also be noted that the panel identified above are recognised Kokoda military historians, if the scope was to expand to Interpretation of Cultural and Natural Heritage the panel make up would change to include expertise in these fields.

- Field Review and Documentation of existing conditions at key locations across the site. This will require the project team to trek the trail.
- Conduct stakeholder consultation reviews of project activities and anticipated outcomes.
- Formulation of Site Matrix

The purpose of a Site Matrix is to consolidate a large site into singular entity that can then be examined based on a set of criteria. The following is a sample only, the criteria a draft based on like projects.

- Criteria for Site Assessment would need to be formulated around a variety of factors. The following is simply an example:

### A) KEY SITE (MILITARY, CULTURAL, NATURAL HERITAGE)

Site that is accessible and able to support detailed Interpretation that will enhance both understanding and support local sustainability.

### B) SIGNIFICANT SITE (MILITARY, CULTURAL, NATURAL HERITAGE)

Site that provides evidence or can be interpreted for greater understanding using specific evidence.

### C) MARKER SITE

Site that provides context to a greater set of evidential features or actions that may not be present or obvious to the casual observer.

- Key Sites of Military Heritage are currently considered as follows: Kokoda, Isurava Memorial, Brigade Hill, Eora Creek and Owers Corner.
- Significant Sites of Military Heritage are currently considered as follows: Deniki, Abuari, Lake Myola, Templeton's Crossing – Eora Creek, Mission Ridge, Menari, Nauro-Brown River, Ioribaiwa Ridge, Imita Ridge, McDonalds Corner.
- Site Identification Matrix (Draft for illustration purposes only).

**Site Identification Matrix** (Draft for illustration purposes only).

LOCATION NAME	KEY SITE	SIGNIFICANT	MAJOR FEATURES	CULTURAL HERITAGE	NATURAL HERITAGE	MILITARY HERITAGE
KOKODA						
HOI						
ISURAVA						
ISURAVA MEMORIAL						
ABUARI						
WARTIME EORA						
TEMPLETON'S CROSSING						
KOKODA GAPEORA VALLEY LOOKOUT						
MYOLA LOOKOUT						
KAGI						
MISSION RIDGE BATTLE SITE						
BRIGADE HILL						
MEANARI						
WARTIME NAURO						
NAURO WEST						
IORUBAWA						
PIITA GAP						
OWERS CORNER						

## STAGE 2 A DOCUMENTED PLAN

Stage 2 is the process of drawing together the research outcomes, reviewing the consultation, designing a set of solutions and formalizing an implementation plan. This could be termed a 'Masterplan' however it is felt that this is too broad in terminology. A more appropriate name may be 'Military Heritage Interpretation Plan and Implementation Strategy'.

### Draft Task Outline

Review of stakeholder response and Site Matrix/Matrix Criteria.

- Research and review of trekking operations, campsites, pacing and visitor numbers. This is essentially to gain an understanding of the current 'audience' and how interpretation can best inform a future audience.

- Review of cultural and natural heritage interpretation imperatives and formulate a site wide methodology of incorporating Military Heritage Interpretation. Formulate an Interpretation hierarchy ranging information markers to 'major' elements based on the Site Matrix information.
- Formulate and document a definition of prohibited elements and/or a system of controlling future proposed elements, i.e. akin to a set of development control plans (DCP).
- Identify any existing elements for removal.
- Facilitate a stakeholder process whereby understanding and consensus is achieved around the above proposal.
- Develop detailed costing.
- Identify/design a palette of materials that is consistent with the DCP objectives that are considered appropriate, highly durable and fit for purpose.

- Develop the proposed implementation strategy.
- Establish a document around Stage 1 and 2 that is endorsed at Papua New Guinea Government level, endorsed by stakeholders and finalized for Implementation Review by the Australian Government.

## STAGE 3 IMPLEMENTATION

Stage 3 is the implementation of the Plan.

At this stage Implementation should be considered a phased process and would require a detailed site plan for Owers Corner and the Kokoda Plateau which will be both accessible by road.

The Isurava Memorial Program was 14 weeks from concept to completion and involved a supply chain from central Australia (stonework) to site in Papua New Guinea.

# Stakeholders & consultation

The following key stakeholders should be involved in the consultation process:

- Department of Veterans Affairs (Office of Australian War Graves)
- The Australian War Memorial
- The Returned Services League of Australia
- PNG Tourism
- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade - PNG
- The Kokoda Initiative
- The Minister for Tourism, Arts and Culture
- The Governor of Central Provincial
- The Governor of Northern Provincial
- The PNG Flag Officers Association
- The University of Papua New Guinea

# Indicative cost

Cost has been assessed based on the following:

(i) Previous experience with similar historic site projects and the processes associated with development of site interpretation.

(ii) Experience of working and implementing capital works on the Trail itself.

(iii) Implementation costs are allowances based on assumptions regarding scope.

Costs are provided as indications in terms of order of cost. They are not quotations or lump sum offers.

## STAGE 1 COST RESEARCH AND CONSULTATION

Stage 1 outlines a process of project definition, research including research input by eminent historians, field review,

stakeholder consultation, site assessment and site detail documentation. (Refer Section 6 pages 21, 22 for detail.)

**Order of Cost: \$185,000**  
(Based on 2012 assessment)

## STAGE 2 COST PLAN

Stage 2 draws together the research phase outcomes to produce documentation that can be endorsed, and implemented. (Refer section 6 pages 22, 23).

**Order of Cost: \$245,000**  
(Based on 2012 assessment)

## STAGE 3 COST IMPLEMENTATION

The scope assumptions are that allocations will be in two tiers, Major Site and Other, (Isurava Memorial is considered a Major Site), Kokoda Plateau and Owers Corner as the two 'gateways' to the Trail are considered Major Sites. Owers Corner could be considered of greater importance given its accessibility from Port Moresby. Brigade Hill is considered the other Major Site given its military heritage significance, its location and its beauty.

**Order of Cost: TBA**

**TOTAL INDICATIVE ORDER OF COST FOR STAGE 1 AND 2: \$430,000-\$550,000**



# Indicative time

**For the purpose of this proposal a preliminary timeline will be dependent on the lifting of travel restrictions Post Covid-19**

The key stages are as follows:

**Funding Proposal Report Submittal**  
Three months

**Stage 1 Research and Consultation**  
Three months

**Stage 2 Masterplan Development**  
Two months

**Stage 3 Implementation**

Commencement immediately after  
Masterplan Development

**Completion**

Six months after implementation

# Conclusions

- The Kokoda Trail is an important heritage site for both Australia and Papua New Guinea.
- The heritage values of the Kokoda Trail are unique and in evidence.
- As custodian, Papua New Guinea does not have the capacity to protect or manage the heritage.
- The Kokoda Initiative cites tourism as a key driver for development and the aspiration for World Heritage Listing.
- There is no current Plan for protection/ interpretation of the sites Military Heritage.
- A trekking industry has developed that clearly demonstrates the key relationship between the sites heritage, tourism and sustainable long-term development.
- There is little interpretation of 'Kokoda Trail' Heritage; Natural, Cultural or Military on the site itself.
- The majority of current interpretation is by private donors, is in poor condition and presents an ad hoc, incoherent approach to the stories, events, actions and environment.
- An overall plan for interpretation on the Trail is warranted as one of the key means of safeguarding and protecting the sites heritage.
- An interpretive strategy focused on the trail's history, its military heritage and its special nature is the first step to enshrining the Kokoda Trail for future generations of both Australians and Papua New Guineans.
- Deploying permanent interpretation (consistent with an overall plan) will enhance the visitor experience whilst enshrining the environments core values and heritage.
- Deploying permanent interpretation (consistent with an overall plan) provides (demonstrably) opportunities of sustainable long-term economic development for the traditional landowners.
- Cost for development of a Heritage Interpretation Plan is in the order of \$250,000.
- Cost for implementation of the Plan TBA
- The 75th Anniversary of the end of the War in the Pacific provides a timely opportunity to announce a vision to identify, honour and interpret our shared wartime heritage for future generations of Australians and Papua New Guineans.

## Recommendations

**We recommend the Minister for Veterans Affairs allocate funding for the development of a Master Military Heritage Plan for the Kokoda Trail between Owers Corner and Kokoda.**

# Appendices

## KOKODA TRACK OR TRAIL?

'On the Kokoda Trail it was again the young and inexperienced militia men – this time of the 39th and 53rd battalions – later reinforced with soldiers of the 7th Division, who fought gallantly – and eventually won.'

// Prime Minister Paul Keating  
Port Moresby - 25 April 1992

### AUSTRALIAN BATTLES NOMENCLATURE COMMITTEE

Immediately after the war against Japan the Australian Government established a Battles Nomenclature Committee to define the battles of the Pacific.

According to research conducted by Peter Provis<sup>xx</sup> at the Australian War Memorial the committee conferred with official historians 'including Dudley McCarthy. He reported:

'The Battles Nomenclature Committee used the 'Battle of the Owen Stanley's' in a provisional list of battles, actions and engagements of the war in the South West Pacific Area produced in May 1947. For the preparation of the final list, Warren Perry, Assistant Director, wrote that the geographic boundaries required further work with 'very detailed research into the original day to day records of the various campaigns'. The Committee may have deemed that the 'Battle of the Owen Stanley's covered a too broader area to describe the Kokoda campaign, suggesting that fighting occurred across the entire range. In June 1949 the provisional list of battles used 'Kokoda Trail'.

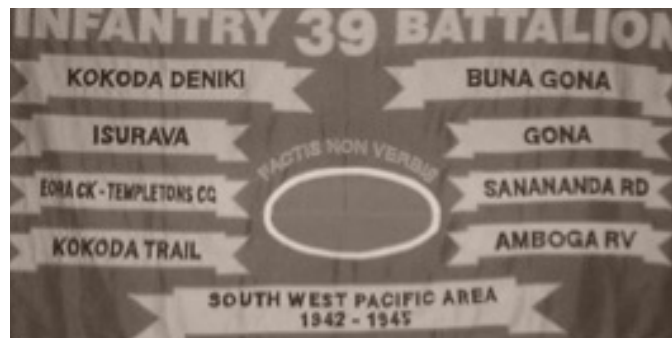
'The final report, completed and

published in 1958, listed the 'Kokoda Trail' as the name of the battle, which included the actions Isurava, Ioribaiwa, Eora Creek-Templeton's Crossing 11 and Oivi-Goari as well as the following engagements: Kokoda-Deniki, Eora Creek-Templeton's Crossing 1 and Efogi-Menari.'

### KOKODA TRAIL BATTLE HONOUR

The Battle Honour 'Kokoda Trail' has been emblazoned on the colours of the Papuan Infantry Battalion and the 10 Australian battalions who fought in the Kokoda campaign for the past 57 years.

Battle Honours or colours symbolise the spirit of a regiment for they carry the names of battles that commemorate the gallant deeds performed from the time it was raised. This association of Colours with heroic deeds means they are regarded with veneration. In a sense,



39TH BATTALION REGIMENTAL FLAG WITH BATTLE HONOURS

they are the epitome of the history of the regiment<sup>xxi</sup>.

The full history of a regiment is contained in written records, but these are not portable in a convenient form. On the other hand, the Colours, emblazoned with distinction for long and honourable service, are something in the nature of a silken history, the sight

of which creates a feeling of pride in soldiers and ex-soldiers.<sup>xxii</sup>

This is a significance that commentators who have never worn the uniform cannot be expected to fully understand.

### PAPUA NEW GUINEA GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE NAMES COMMITTEE

During the establishment of self-government in 1972, PNG government officials from the Department of Lands decided to examine the name of the mail route between Owers Corner and Kokoda with a view to formalising an official name for it. They determined that the name 'Kokoda Trail' would be proclaimed. One can assume they would have been influenced by the name of the Battle Honour which had been awarded to their Papuan Infantry Battalion in 1958.

Chief Minister Michael Somare assumed office on 23 June 1972 when the nation achieved self-government as part of the process to independence in 1975. Somare accepted the recommendation of the Place Names Committee and the name 'Kokoda Trail' was gazetted four months later on 12 October 1972 (PNG Government Gazette No. 88 of 12 October 1972, page 1362, column 2. Notice 1972/28 of the PNG Place Names Committee refers).

The Australian Department of Veterans Affairs recently advised that 'the notice included in the PNG Government Gazette of 12 October 1972 was a declaration of the Australian Administration of Papua and New Guinea and not a declaration of the PNG Government!<sup>xxiii</sup> This doesn't

reconcile with the fact that the name ‘Kokoda Trail’ has been on the PNG Government statute books since they obtained independence 40 years ago!

Another patronising ‘historian’ went further when he declared *‘this was a bureaucratic decision, made under the Australian administration, and therefore doesn’t necessarily reflect the view of the people of PNG’*.<sup>xxiv</sup> No references were listed to support this opinion.

On the contrary the views of the people of PNG are reflected in their own publications.

## PAPUA NEW GUINEA PUBLICATIONS

The Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea compiled by Peter Ryan in 1972 refers to the ‘Kokoda Trail’. Ryan served with intelligence behind enemy lines in New Guinea during the war. He was decorated with a Military Medal and mentioned in despatches. Ryan was later a Director of Melbourne University Press. His book, *‘Fear Drive My Feet’* has been described as ‘the finest Australian memoir of the war’.<sup>xxv</sup>

Wartime journalist, Osmar White, reported directly from the Kokoda Trail in 1942. Books on his experiences in PNG include *Green Armour*, *Parliament of a Thousand Tribes* and *Time Now Time Before*. These books, along with the ‘*Handbook of Papua New Guinea*’, ‘*Port Moresby, Yesterday and Today*’, and ‘*Papua New Guinea*’ were all published well before the PNG Government gazetted the name ‘Kokoda Trail’.

Professor John Dademo Waiko, a former Member of the PNG National Parliament, academic and respected historian published a ‘*Short History of Papua New Guinea*’ in 1993. Professor Waiko is from Oro Province which contains a large section of the Kokoda Trail.

PNG publications which refer to the ‘Kokoda Trail’ include:

- **Handbook of Papua New Guinea** published in 1954<sup>xxvi</sup>.
- **Parliament of a Thousand Tribes.** Osmar White. Heinmann: London. 1963. P.125
- **Port Moresby: Yesterday and Today.** Ian Stuart. Pacific Publications. 1970. P. 362
- **Papua New Guinea.** Peter Hastings. Angus and Robertson. 1971. P. 53
- **Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea.** Peter Ryan. Melbourne University Press. 1972. P. 147
- **PNG Fact Book.** Jackson Rannells and Elesallah Matatier. 1990<sup>xxvii</sup>
- **A Short History of Papua New Guinea.** Professor John Dademo Waiko. Oxford University Press. 1993. P271
- **Sogeri: The School that helped shape a nation.** Lance Taylor. Research

Publications. 2002. P337

PNG military history books relating the Papuan Infantry Battalion and the New Guinea Volunteer Rifles which also refer to the ‘Kokoda Trail’ include:

- **Green Shadows:** A War History of the Papuan Infantry Battalion. G.M.Byrnes. 1989. P. 12
- **The New Guinea Volunteer Rifles 1939-1943 – A History.** Ian Downs. Pacific Press. 1999. P. 164
- **To Find a Path. The Life and Times of the Royal Pacific Islands Regiment.** James Sinclair. Boolarong Publications. 1990. P. 143
- **The Architect of Kokoda: Bert Kienzle – the Man who made the Kokoda Trail.** Robyn Kienzle. Hachette Australia. 2011. P.311

Stuart Hawthorne, author of the most definitive history of the Kokoda Trail<sup>xxviii</sup> (a 30 year research project) recently wrote on the Australian War Memorial blog:

‘Exploration and development of the early parts of the overland route near Port Moresby began about 130 years ago. In this light, the campaign constitutes a very small part of the track’s history (about a third of one percent) yet the importance ascribed to the WW2 period often assumes a considerably high significance. Of course, the Kokoda campaign is very important in Australia on many levels but notwithstanding this, I often wonder whether the presumption that our Australian perspective displaces all others and borders on the arrogant’.

These publications span a 70 year period and make a mockery of the statement that the decision of the PNG Government Place Names Committee *‘doesn’t necessarily reflect the view of the people of PNG’*.

// STUART HAWTHORNE



## OFFICIAL MAPS

The Royal Australian Survey Corps published a series of 1:100 000 topographical maps in 1974 (*Port Moresby – Efogi – Kokoda*). The source data for the maps were wartime aerial photographs, sketch maps and survey patrols. The maps identify the original mail route across the Owen Stanley Ranges which are clearly marked 'Kokoda Trail'.

The PNG National Mapping Bureau published a 'Longitudinal Cross Section of the Kokoda Trail' in 1991. The map was derived from the Department of Works and Supply, Drawing Number A1/100897 dated May 1982 with field verification by 8 Field Survey Squadron in June 1991 and May 1992.

The PNG Department of Lands and Physical Planning produced a 1:200 000 'Kokoda Trail Area Map' of Oro and Central Provinces.

There are no known maps published by the PNG National Mapping Bureau which contain the name 'Kokoda Track'.

## AUSTRALIAN MILITARY HISTORY PUBLICATIONS<sup>xxix</sup>

The following books include the unit histories of the three battalions (2/14th, 2/16th/2/27th) of the 21st Brigade who fought at Isurava, Brigade Hill and Imita Ridge – all refer to 'Kokoda Trail'. Other distinguished historians including Professor David Horner, Colonel E.G. Keogh and Raymond Paull, refer to the 'Kokoda Trail' in the following publications:

- **Khaki and Green.** Published for the Australian Military Forces by the Australian War Memorial in 1943<sup>xxx</sup> P.157
- **Jungle Warfare.** Published for the Australian Military Forces by the Australian War Memorial in 1944<sup>xxxi</sup> P. 70
- **Green Armour.** Osmar White. Angus and Robertson. 1945. P. 187

- **The Coastwatchers** by Eric Felt published in 1946<sup>xxxii</sup>.
- **The History of the 2/14th Battalion.** W.B. Russell MA B.Ed. 1948
- **Blamey. John Hetherington.** Cheshire Press. 1954. P174
- **Retreat from Kokoda** by Raymond Paull published by William Heinemann. 1958. P. 314
- **A Thousand Men at War: The Story of the 2/16th Battalion.** Malcolm Uren. Trojan Press. 1959. P. 119
- **The Brown and Blue Diamond at War: The Story of the 2/27th Battalion.** John Burns MM. 2/27th Battalion Association. 1960. P. 105
- **The South West Pacific 1941-45.** Colonel E.G. Keogh MBE ED<sup>xxxiii</sup>. 1965. P.169
- **Crisis of Command.** David Horner. Australian National University Press. 1978.
- **War Dance: The Story of the 2/3rd Battalion.** Ken Clift. P.M. Fowler. 1980. P. 286
- **New Guinea 1942-44.** Timothy Hall. Methuen Australia. 1981. P.101
- **High Command.** David Horner. Allen and Unwin. 1982. P. 549
- **Recollections of a Regimental Medical Officer.** H. D. Steward. Melbourne University Press. 1983. P. 167
- **The First at War: The Story of the 2/1st Battalion.** EC Givney. Macarthur Press. 1987. P. 261
- **The Odd Couple: Blamey and MacArthur at War.** Jack Gallaway. University of Queensland Press. 1990. P.266
- **Blood and Iron: The Battle for Kokoda 1942.** Lex McAulay. Hutchinson Australia. 1991. P. 23
- **A Young Man's War: 37th/52nd Battalion.** Ron Blair. 37/52 Battalion Association. 1992. P. 106
- **Forever Forward: The History of the 2/31st Battalion.** John Laffin. Australian Military History Publication. 1994. P.329
- **Damien Parer's War.** Neil McDonald. Thomas C. Lothian. 1994. P. 365
- **Salvos with the Forces.** Lieutenant Colonel Walter Hull. The Salvation Army. 1995. P. 154
- **Inside the War Cabinet.** David Horner. Allen and Unwin. 1996 P. 137
- **Blamey.** David Horner. Allen and Unwin. 1998. P. 674
- **The Kokoda Trail: A History.** Stuart Hawthorne. Central Queensland University Press. 2003
- **Kokoda Commander.** Stuart Braga. Oxford University Press. 2004. P. 368
- **Strategic Command.** David Horner. Allen and Unwin. 2005. P. 441
- **The Silent 7th: History of the 7th Australian Division.** Mark Johnston. Allen and Unwin. 2005. P. 271
- **All the Bull's Men: 2/2nd Commando Squadron.** Cyril Ayris. 2/2 Commando Association. 2006. P. 384
- **Wartime: Kokoda Then and Now.** Official Magazine of the Australian War Memorial. P. 11
- **Hell's Battlefield: The Australians in New Guinea in WW2.** Phillip Bradley. Allen and Unwin. 2012. P. 494
- **Kokoda Secret.** Susan Ramage. Eora Press. 2014. P. 101
- **To Kokoda (Australian Army Campaign Series-14).** Nicholas Anderson. Big Sky Publishing. 2014. P. 234

## KOKODA TRAIL SIGNAGE

All signage between Owers Corner and Kokoda referred to 'Kokoda Trail'.



THERE ARE NO SIGNS ACROSS THE KOKODA TRAIL THAT REFER TO 'KOKODA TRACK'. FROM LEFT: OWERS CORNER: 1992, PLAQUE AT MCDONALD'S CORNER MONUMENT: 1945, ALOLA VILLAGE: 1991, KOKODA PLATEAU: 1992

# Principles for Sustainable Tourism at World Heritage Sites

## PREAMBLE

The *Principles for Sustainable Tourism at World Heritage Properties* define cooperative stakeholder relationships among all relevant government agencies, public and private tourism sectors, civil society including NGO's, visitors, site management, museums and community members, such that tourism and visitation associated with World Heritage Properties contributes to the long term sustainability of their heritage values and

sense of place, while generating cultural and socio-economic benefits to the local population and surrounding region. These cooperative relationships are built on a shared concern for the long-term protection and conservation of natural and cultural heritage places and their visitor attraction

World Heritage Properties represent ecological, geological, material, intellectual and spiritual resources that are the common heritage of humanity. They provide an important narrative of environmental and historical

development and serve as foundations for contemporary social identity and development. Properties inscribed in the World Heritage List are recognised for their Outstanding Universal Values. Many listed properties may have a range of additional or complementary heritage values that are established by further research or ascribed by the community.

World Heritage Properties are also among the most popular and heavily promoted visitor and tourist attractions in many countries. The dramatic current and projected growth of international



and domestic travel represents both challenges and opportunities for World Heritage sites and surrounding populations. Poorly managed tourism or excessive visitor numbers at a site can pose major threats to the heritage significance of the place and degrade the quality of the visitor experience. Tourism development and visitor activity should enhance the visitor's understanding and appreciation of the heritage values through interpretation, presentation and visitor services. Sustainable tourism relies on the development and delivery of quality visitor experiences that do not degrade or damage any of the Property's natural or cultural values and visitor attraction.

Much tourism promotion, visitor activity, cultural exchange and economic development associated with World Heritage Properties takes place in the surrounding locality, the nearby tourism destination, elsewhere in the country or internationally. Sustainable and responsible tourism development and visitor management requires effective, cooperative commitment and coordination between site management and all relevant public agencies and private enterprises.

The World Heritage Convention requires States Parties to protect the Outstanding Universal Value

of the inscribed properties under their responsibility. Article 4 of the Convention identifies "Presentation" of the Outstanding Universal Value as being of equal importance to its "Identification, Protection, Conservation and Transmission", to future generations. Responsible tourism management and the generation of widespread public support for protection and conservation should be a major contributor to the aims and objectives of the World Heritage Convention.

These Principles recognise and build upon the Charters and Guidelines already developed by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, UN World Tourism Organisation, ICOMOS, IUCN, ICOM and other international stakeholders to ensure best practice tourism at heritage places.

## **PRINCIPLE 1 - CONTRIBUTE TO WORLD HERITAGE OBJECTIVES**

Tourism development and visitor activities associated with World Properties must contribute to and must not damage the protection, conservation, presentation and transmission of their heritage values. Tourism should also generate sustainable socio-economic development and equitably contribute tangible as well as

intangible benefits to local and regional communities in ways that are consistent with the conservation of the properties.

## **PRINCIPLE 2 - COOPERATIVE PARTNERSHIPS**

World Heritage Properties should be places where all stakeholders cooperated through effective partnerships to maximise conservation and presentation outcomes, whilst minimising threats and adverse impacts from tourism.

## **PRINCIPLE 3 - PUBLIC AWARENESS AND SUPPORT**

The Promotion, Presentation and Interpretation of World Heritage Properties should be effective, honest, comprehensive and engaging. It should mobilise local and international awareness, understanding and support for their protection, conservation and sustainable use.

Principle 4 - Proactive Tourism Management

The contribution of tourism development and visitor activities associated with World Heritage Properties to their protection, conservation and presentation requires continuing and proactive planning and monitoring by Site Management,





which must respect the capacity of the individual property to accept visitation without degrading or threatening heritage values. Site Management should have regard to relevant tourism supply chain and broader tourism destination issues, including congestion management and the quality of life for local people.

Tourism planning and management, including cooperative partnerships, should be an integral aspect of the site management system.

#### Principle 5 - Stakeholder Empowerment

Planning for tourism development and visitor activity associated with World Heritage Properties should be undertaken in an inclusive and participatory manner, respecting and empowering the local community including property owners, traditional or indigenous custodians, while taking account of their capacity and willingness to participate in visitor activity.

### PRINCIPLE 6 - TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE AND VISITOR FACILITIES

Tourism infrastructure and visitor facilities associated with World Heritage Properties should be carefully planned, sited, designed, constructed and periodically upgraded as required to maximise the quality of visitor appreciation and experiences while ensuring there is no significant adverse impacts on heritage values and the

surrounding environmental, social and cultural context.

### PRINCIPLE 7 - SITE MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

Management systems for World Heritage Properties should have sufficient skills, capacities and resources available when planning tourism infrastructure and managing visitor activity to ensure the protection and presentation of their identified heritage values and respect for local communities.

### PRINCIPLE 8 - APPLICATION OF TOURISM GENERATED REVENUE

Relevant public agencies and Site Management should apply a sufficient proportion of the

revenue derived from tourism and visitor activity associated with World Heritage Properties to ensure the protection, conservation and management of their heritage values.

### PRINCIPLE 9 - CONTRIBUTION TO LOCAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Tourism infrastructure development and visitor activity associated with World Heritage Properties should contribute to local community empowerment and socio-economic development in an effective and equitable manner.



# I Glossary

**This glossary has been prepared to provide those who use and implement the ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter with a consistent terminology.**

**Access** to significant features, values and characteristics. includes all form of access, including physical access, where the visitor experiences the place in person. intellectual access, where the visitor or others learn about the place, without possibly ever actually visiting it and emotive access where the sense of being there is felt, again even if a visit is never undertaken.

**Authenticity** describes the relative integrity of a place, an object or an activity in relation to its original creation. In the context of living cultural practices, the context of authenticity responds to the evolution of the traditional practice. In the context of an Historic Place or object, authenticity can encompass the accuracy or extent of its reconstruction to a known earlier state.

**Biodiversity** describes the variety of life forms, the different plants, animals and microorganisms, the genes they contain and the ecosystems they form.

**Conservation** describes all the processes of looking after a Heritage Place, Cultural Landscape, Heritage Collection or aspect of Intangible Heritage so as to retain its cultural, indigenous or natural heritage significance. In some English-speaking countries, the term Preservation is used as an alternative to Conservation for this general activity.

**Conservation Community** includes all those who work towards the protection, conservation, management and presentation of the world's cultural and natural heritage.

**Culture** can be defined as the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a community, society or social group. It includes not only arts

and literature, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs. Cultural encompasses the living or contemporary characteristics and values of a community as well as those that have survived from the past.

**Cultural Exchange** describes the process or processes whereby a person or group of people experience the respective Culture, lifestyle and Heritage of another person or group.

**Cultural Heritage** is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expression and values. Cultural Heritage is often expressed as either Intangible or Tangible Cultural Heritage.

**Cultural Heritage Significance** means the aesthetic, historic, research, social, spiritual or other special characteristics and values a place, an object or a custom may have for present and future generations.

**Cultural Landscapes** describe those places and landscapes that have been shaped or influenced by human occupation. They include agricultural systems, modified landscapes, patterns of settlement and human activity, and the infrastructure of production, transportation and communication. The concepts of cultural landscapes can be useful in understanding the patterns of activity as diverse as industrial systems, defensive sites and the nature of towns or villages.

**Cultural Resources** encompass all the Tangible and Intangible Heritage and living Cultural elements of a community.

**Cultural Tourism** is essentially that form

of tourism that focuses on the culture, and cultural environments including landscapes of the destination, the values and lifestyles, heritage, visual and performing arts, industries, traditions and leisure pursuits of the local population or host community. It can include attendance at cultural events, visits to museums and heritage places and mixing with local people. It should not be regarded as a definable niche within the broad range of tourism activities, but encompasses all experiences absorbed by the visitor to a place that is beyond their own living environment.

**Domestic Tourism** generally refers to those who travel within their own country or region for pleasure, business, learning, holiday, recreation or to visit friends and relatives. It includes those who visit another part of their larger living environment, beyond the sphere of their daily lives.

**Ecosystems** means a dynamic complex of organisms their non-living environment, interacting as a functional unit.

**Geodiversity** is the range of earth features including geological, geomorphological, palaeontological, soil,

hydrological and atmospheric features. systems and earth processes.

**Heritage** is a broad concept that encompasses our Natural, Indigenous and Historic or Cultural inheritance.

**Heritage Collections** include all the moveable articles that may be associated with a place, an activity, a process or a specific historical event. They also include collections of related or unrelated items that have been gathered into museums, art galleries, scientific repositories, archives and libraries, both public and private.

**Heritage Place** describes a site or area of heritage significance that contains several buildings and structures, cultural landscape, monument, building or other structure, historic human settlement, together with the associated contents and surroundings or curtilage. Heritage places include those which may be buried or underwater.

**Heritage Significance** recognizes both the Natural and Cultural Significance or important values and characteristics of places and people.

**Host Community** is a general concept

that encompasses all the people who inhabit a defined geographical entity, ranging from a continent, a country, a region, a town, village or historic site. Members of the host community have responsibilities that include governing the place and can be regarded as those who have or continue to define its particular cultural identity, lifestyle and diversity. They contribute to the conservation of its heritage and interact with visitors.

**Indigenous Cultural Heritage** is dynamic. It includes both Tangible and Intangible expressions of culture that link generations of Indigenous people over time. Indigenous people often express their cultural heritage through 'the person', their relationships with country, people, beliefs, knowledge, law, language, symbols, ways of living, sea, land and objects all of which arise from Indigenous spirituality. Indigenous Cultural Heritage is essentially defined and expressed by the Traditional Custodians of that heritage.

**Intangible Cultural Heritage** can be defined as embracing all forms of traditional and popular or folk culture, the collective works originating in a given community and based on tradition. These creations are transmitted orally

<sup>i</sup>The Kodu Deposit has an inferred Resource of 507,000 tonnes of copper equivalent, within 108 million tonnes grading 0.33% copper + 0.42g/t gold + 60ppm molybdenum. The in ground value of this resource is presently approximately US\$3.4 billion (not \$1.7 billion, as stated by most media), however, not all of this deposit may be extractable'. P.A. McNeill. Managing Director. Frontier Resources. 6

<sup>ii</sup>Gold Dust and Ashes.

<sup>iii</sup>'Kokoda Trail' is the name of the Battle Honour awarded to the Papuan Infantry Battalion by the Battles Nomenclature Committee in 1953 and the official name legislated by the traditional owners of the land i.e. the PNG Government in 1972.

<sup>iv</sup>[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334822254\\_KOKODA\\_TRACK\\_Military\\_Heritage\\_Management\\_Plan\\_Papua\\_New\\_Guinea\\_National\\_Museum\\_and\\_Art\\_Gallery](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/334822254_KOKODA_TRACK_Military_Heritage_Management_Plan_Papua_New_Guinea_National_Museum_and_Art_Gallery)

<sup>v</sup><https://www.pn.gov.au/media/papua-new-guinea-australia-comprehensive-strategic-and-economic-partnership>

<sup>vi</sup>Kokoda Track, Sustainable Development Pion, Scoping Study Draft Report; TRIP Consultants. 2007. Kokoda Track, Pion for Sustainable Tourism; The Kokoda Track Foundation. 2007.

<sup>vii</sup>Second Jome Understanding, between Papua New Guinea and Auscrolia on the Owen Stanley Ranges, Brown River Cocchmenc and Kokodo Track Region: The Australian Government, Kokoda Initiative, 2010-2015.

<sup>viii</sup>A detailed review of the Kokoda Trail by the late Mr Peter Hitchcock AM (who was regarded as one of the world's senior specialists on World Heritage and forest conservation) and Dr Jennifer Gabriel – an anthropologist at James Cook University

<sup>ix</sup>Ken Inglis had pioneered scholarly interest in the commemoration of war in Australia: 'The Anzac Tradition'. *Meanjin Quarterly*, 1 (1965), 25-44. Bill Gammage. *The Broken Years: Australian Soldiers in the Great War* (Canberra 1974; repr. 1975) was important in stimulating increased scholarly and public interest.

<sup>x</sup>The speech that Keating gave at Ela Beach is in Mark Ryan (ed.). *AdvanCing Austraba*; the speeches of Paul Keating, Prime Minister (Sydney 1995), 279-82; and see Don Watson, *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*: a portrait of Paul Keating PM (Sydney 2003). 180-4; and H. Nelson, 'Gallipoli, Kokoda and the Making of National Identity'.

<sup>xi</sup>Nelson, 'Kokoda: the track from history to politics'. *Journal of Pacific History*, 38 (2003), has examples of newspaper responses.

or by gesture and are modified over a period. through a process of collective re-creation. They include oral traditions, customs, languages, music, dance, rituals, festivals, traditional medicine and pharmacopeia, popular spores, food and the culinary arts and all kinds of special skill connected with the material aspects of culture, such as tools and the habitat.

**International Tourism** generally refers to those who travel to another country for pleasure, business, learning, holiday, recreation or to visit friends and relatives.

**Interpretation** means all the activities, including research, involved in the explanation and presentation of the Tangible and Intangible value and characteristics of an Historic Place, object, collection, or activity to the visitor or member of the Host Community.

**Limits of Acceptable Change** refers to a process of establishing the key values and characteristics of a place and the maximum extent to which they may change before the core of their importance is degraded to an unacceptable extent. Tourism and other activities can then be monitored or evaluated to determine the rate at which

these values are threatened.

**Natural Heritage** consists of ecosystems, biodiversity, and geodiversity considered significant for the existence value for present and future generations in terms of their scientific, social, aesthetic and life support values.

**Natural Heritage Significance** means the importance of ecosystems, biodiversity and geodiversity for their existence value or for present and future generations, in terms of their scientific, social, aesthetic and life support value.

**Sustainable Future** refers to the ability of an action to be carried out without diminishing the continuation of natural processes of change or damaging the long-term integrity of natural or cultural environments, while providing for present and future economic and social well-being.

**Sustainable Tourism** refers to a level of tourism activity that can be maintained over the long term because it results in a net benefit for the social, economic, natural and cultural environments of the area in which it takes place.

**Tangible Cultural Heritage** encompasses

the vast created works of humankind, including places of human habitation, villages, towns and cities, buildings, structures, art works, documents, handicrafts, musical instruments, furniture, clothing and items of personal decoration, religious, ritual and funerary objects, tools, machinery and equipment, and industrial systems.

**Tourism Industry** encompasses all those who work in support, facilitate or provide goods and services to Domestic and International Tourism activities.

Tourism Projects include all the activities that enable, facilitate, or enhance a visit to a destination, including the provision or upgrading of related infrastructure and facilities.

**Traditional Custodians** are those people who have by tradition or custom been responsible for the protection, conservation and continuity of the established significance of the place or cultural value. They include indigenous people and those from religious sects or other defined groups who have a strong and established relationship with a particular aspect of the cultural or natural heritage.

<sup>xii</sup>Kokoda Track Authority Website. Licensed Track Operators

<sup>xiii</sup>The journal of Pacific History, Kokoda: and Two National Histories; H. Nelson. 2007.

<sup>xiv</sup>The journal of Pacific History, Kokoda: and Two National Histories ; H. Nelson. 2007.

<sup>xv</sup>The journal of Pacific History, Kokoda: and Two National Histories ; H. Nelson. 2007.

<sup>xvi</sup>Angau War Diary. table at the end of the Oct. 1942 diary.

<sup>xvii</sup>Angau War Diary. table at the end of the Oct. 1942 diary.

<sup>xviii</sup>Angau War Diary. table at the end of the Oct. 1942 diary.

<sup>xix</sup><https://blog.kokodatreks.com/2010/11/03/why-kokoda-day/>

<sup>xx</sup>'Track' or 'Trail'? The Kokoda Debate. Peter Provis. Australian War Memorial. 27 July 2009

<sup>xxi</sup>Looking Forward Looking Back: Customs and Traditions of the Australian Army. Christopher Jobson. Big Sky Publishing. 2009. P 50

<sup>xxii</sup>Ibid P.50

<sup>xxiii</sup>Department of Veterans Affairs letter to Charlie Lyn (sic) dated 23

February 2011 advising why they would not use the official title 'Kokoda Trail.

<sup>xxiv</sup>Kokoda Spirit. Patrick Lindsay. Hardie Grant Books. 2009. P. 243

<sup>xxv</sup>Peter Ryan's Fear Drive My Feet remains Australia's finest war memoir. The Australian. 27 June 2015

<sup>xxvi</sup>Handbook of Papua and New Guinea. Sydney and Melbourne Publishing, 1954. P103

<sup>xxvii</sup>PNG Fact Book. Jackson Rannells and Elesallah Matatier. Oxford University Press. 1990. P. 260

<sup>xxviii</sup>Stuart Hawthorne, 'The Kokoda Trail – A History' Central Queensland University Press, 2003

<sup>xxix</sup>These books are from my own library - according to Australian War Memorial historian, Garth Pratten, there are many more.

<sup>xxx</sup>Khaki and Green. Halstead Press. Published in 1943. P157

<sup>xxxi</sup>Jungle Warfare. Australian War Memorial Canberra. 1944 P.70

<sup>xxxii</sup>The Coastwatchers by Eric Feldt. The Oxford University Press. P190

<sup>xxxiii</sup>Greyflower Productions 1965 P. 177