

Bougainville Manifesto



LEONARD FONG ROKA

**The Bougainville conflict was and is
a struggle against exploitation,
indoctrination and genocide**

Bougainville Manifesto

LEONARD FONG ROKA

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ISBN-10:1502917459

ISBN-13:978-1502917454

DEDICATION

To all Bougainvilleans who died over the years, 1960 to 1997, *fighting to uphold our identity and dignity* and those Bougainvilleans who are continuing the fight by *loving Bougainville as they love themselves*.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thanks to all the persons and organizations whose work was used for this series of essays; they are acknowledged at the end of each section. Also thanks to those who answered my questions.

Thanks to Keith Jackson for his hard work in editing and publishing the series on his Keith Jackson & Friends: PNG Attitude website; and also, Philip Fitzpatrick and Pukupuk Publications for bringing this work out.

I owe much to Hans S. Serero, a nephew of late leader Francis Ona, who answered questions for Chapter 5, while a student at Divine Word University in 2013.

And for both Chapters 5 and 6, I owe much to well-known Bougainville Catholic Charismatic preacher, Ignatius Morris Onabari, for insights into the 2012 Konnou peace process related seminar series. Also the Turiboiru Catholic Charismatic youths and late Martin Kongkei of Mongai village. The seminars were held at Mongai and Muguai villages.

And to my daughter Dollorose at Nakorei Village (in Buin), who was born in my absence at Piano Health Centre on 19 June 2014 in Buin, south Bougainville. I was studying and developing this work at Divine Word University in Madang for almost four months before seeing her.

And to all the readers who read the essays with an open mind. As a Panguna man and not a doctorate holder I don't own or create knowledge but simply contribute it for all of us to use to help free our Solomon Island of Bougainville.

Tampara Masika/Meragu Maumani

*Many people, especially ignorant people, want to punish you for speaking the truth, for being correct, for being you. Never apologise for being correct, or for being years ahead of your time. If you're right and you know it, speak your mind. Even if you are a minority of one, the truth is still the truth.
... Gandhi.*

PREFACE

I CREATED THIS BOUGAINVILLE Manifesto at my own initiative to explore the Bougainville conflict from the pre-colonial era, through colonialism and into Papua New Guinean independence.

I began writing in my free time in late 2012. The series began appearing with article 1 on PNG Attitude on 10 May 2013 and continued through to 12 August 2014 when article 16 appeared.¹ There were what I would call both good and bad comments from the readers of PNG Attitude. I did not succumb to the bad criticism because I firmly believed in what I said as a Bougainvillean speaking my dreams.

I consider my island and people were badly treated by colonialism and the state of PNG since its independence in 1975, resulting in the loss of 10-15,000 innocent people.

The articles and essays were not researched particularly thoroughly or done under the guidance of Bougainville elders or academics. They were done out of curiosity about the rich literary sources my Solomon Islands have had since time immemorial.

I do know that some of the essays will be attacked by my fellow Bougainvilleans. Since these would-be critics are not currently writing about their views I hope this work will be an ice breaker to get them thinking about putting something on paper rather than simply attacking others who do. There is much yet to tell the world told about Bougainville and there is much yet to be told to ourselves.

Bougainville is in a political, social and economic transition that

¹ Slight changes in this collected version will be noted from the originals appearing in the online *Keith Jackson & Friends: PNG Attitude* website, especially in chapters 7, 11 and 16.

needs a collective effort by politicians, doctors and nurses, farmers, lawyers, writers like me and so on to join hands and instigate changes for the better.

For Bougainville is a lost island and the people are victims of colonial recklessness.

Thus irredentism is our right. We have being subjected to relegation, exploitation, some forms of genocide and institutional indoctrination, especially under PNG rule with its rootless humanistic lies. The Bougainville Peace Process and the Autonomous Bougainville Government have also failed my people. Most of their demands do not uphold the will of the people. This can be seen in the bias and pro-PNG 2001 Bougainville Peace Agreement.

Thus I comment on what I see as wrong; suggest what I see as needed and indicate a direction in which I can see Bougainville moving towards.

All in all, as Bougainvilleans, we have to appreciate that we still own the stolen island of the Solomon Archipelago called Bougainville and have not yet been defeated by the exploitation, indoctrination and genocide exerted upon us.

1

PEOPLE, CULTURE AND HISTORY

IN THE BOOK, *Bougainville Before the Conflict*, Oliver (1973) refers to Bougainvilleans and Western Solomon islanders as ‘the black spot in an island world of brown skins’.

The book goes on to discuss the Kilu Cave archaeological findings on Buka that shows that Bougainvilleans had existed on their island for almost 30,000 years, far removed from the previous claim of 6,000 years.

These findings in Kilu Cave also solved a puzzle amongst biological anthropologists, who had debated the 6,000 years history of Solomon Islands versus the genetic diversity of Bougainvilleans, symbolised by their extremely dark skin colour.

Some 29,000 years ago the first Bougainvilleans arrived. The latest immigrants arrived some 3,000 years ago.

According to Mathew Spriggs writing in *Bougainville Before the Conflict*, Bougainville was not an island but a northern tip of a larger land mass that stretches from the northern tip of Buka down along Choiseul Province to Nggele, just in sight of Honiara.

This big island, or The Great Bougainville as literature is referring to it now, was made up of what are now Buka Island, Bougainville, Shortland Island, Choiseul, Santa Isabel and Nggele in the Florida Group.

Hugh L Davies, also in *Bougainville Before the Conflict*, further said that the creation of Bougainville and its sister islands began some 45 million years ago from volcanic eruptions on the sea floor of the present Solomon Islands ridge. These were facts derived from airborne geophysical surveys by the Federal Republic of Germany in the late 1980s.

Darrell Tryon states that Bougainville has some 16 Austronesian languages and nine Papuan languages (late arrivals). Bougainville, Buka and Nissan Austronesian languages are inter-related with those of Shortland, Choiseul, New Georgia and Santa

Isabel.

Classical evidence today can be seen in the Torau languages of Central Bougainville and Mono-Alu in the Shortland Islands. So the Bougainville language family of islands is Buka, Bougainville, Choiseul, New Geogia and Santa Isabel.

Thus, as noted by Ata (1988) the late Joseph Kabui's words of 17 May 1991 - 'It is a feeling deep down in our hearts that Bougainville is totally different than PNG, geographically, culturally. It's been a separate place from time immemorial. Ever since God created the Universe, Bougainville has been separate, has been different' - are justifiable.

In 2013 the author wrote a poem containing the line, 'Of the distant places our myths never knew they existed', referring to the political 'oneness' of Papua New Guinea and Bougainville, promoted by Papua New Guineans and their institutions as absolutely lacking substance.

The oral histories tell me that my people lived in harmony with the environment around them. From Nissan Island and our Polynesian atolls, down Buka Island and to the Buin area of South Bougainville, land was our life. We live on it and it feeds us as dear children and when we die, it accommodates us to feed the next generation.

Our island's world was made up three parts that are the flesh, me the human being; the nature that surrounds me, such as the trees, caves and so on; and the marriage between flesh and nature. This is the spiritual world that has governed my people since time immemorial.

The human beings depended on nature and nature depended on the spiritual world that united man and nature. The bond between the three was respect and respect! The upset of one disadvantages this world.

In Bougainville the clan and sub-clans were the government; they spread across great distances but with different names despite the same totem and this is reflective of the languages on the island. They were sovereign and had territorial integrity over land. They created laws that governed their land, rivers, resources, dispute settlements, war, marriage and everything done for the good of the clan.

In decision-making, the clan decentralisation process made its

sub-clan an autonomous entity with own jurisdiction over trivial matters. However, when it came to serious matters, like killing and war, the clan was the heart of decision-making.

From the clan, the power of decision-making then went to the sub-clan; from the sub-clan, power landed on the village governing system or *osi* as it is known in the Kieta area. Within the *osi* network, there were extended families or *piongang* as it we call them in Kieta; from *piongang* power went down to the *nono* or nuclear family.

Such a break up of power was active because it brought the whole population together in the decision-making process.

Bougainvilleans were universe referent people; that is, they were the living symbols of the environment they came from. They were not consumerist but conservationist when it came to exploiting the resources to meet their needs. They took what was needed from mother earth and then left things to nature for a period to replenish in harmony.

In interactions between people, respect was paramount: people have to treat people with respect; people have to treat the environment with caution as not to upset the ecology of life.

It was a source of power for an individual to grow and know the traditions and cultures of his clan. One has to know his place and responsibilities in the world to be a successful person in life.

Apart from the Buin people, the majority of Bougainville societies are matrilineal. Women own the land and decide what change goes with the land. But man is vital in the cultures of Bougainville for they are the defenders and workers of the land.

The woman was the respected sex because in matrilineal societies she owned the land and the male ruled under her blessing ; it needed more than a man to uphold the traditional taboos and norms of the clan. She was the future of the clan; she was the land and the pride of the clan and the peace of conflicting clans.

The man stood as the support base of the woman. The man was the harvester, the traveller, trader, negotiator of trade and warrior. The man was prevented from marrying far away from home. He was also prevented from marrying into a clan that could make him powerless in the kinship system.

Arranged marriages were the power-base of society. Through such systems, communities took support when in need. Such

practices were part of the rights to land and heritage and otherwise were the nourishment of alliances for trade, war, and land ownership.

Life in Bougainville thus depended on alliances or the sustenance of relationships amongst people or amongst the people and the spiritual world that governed their lives.

Between the language areas, there was harmonious co-existence. Trade existed; marriage occurred; travel occurred; migration continuously happened, but still all had sovereignty.

The Nasioi man respected the Nagovis man and his essence of activities. When a Nasioi man entered into Wakunai, he lived in accordance with the dictates of the Wakunai people and their ways. Scaling this down, within Nasioi, a Panguna man kneels to the Kongara people when in Kongara as will the Kongara man when in Panguna.

In the pre-colonial days, Bougainville trade routes extended right across the Solomon Archipelago. Shell money employed in most of Bougainville was processed on the island of Malaita and crossed to Bougainville.

So the Solomon Islands was not a scattered and desolated sea of islands but a functional nation state of autonomous individual islands. Like Bougainville, they co-existed by trading, marriage, migration, war and so on for ages and remained a people with dignity until the dawn of hell that was colonialism.

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DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

THE FUNCTIONAL NATION STATE of Bougainville (within the Solomon Islands), according to Oliver (1973), was sighted by Europeans in August 1767 by sailors on the British ship, *Swallow*, commanded by Philip Carteret. But they did not approach the shores.

The mainland of Bougainville was also sighted on 4 July 1768 when the French ships *La Boudeuse* and *L'Etoile* sailed along the eastern coast of both islands and rested off Buka Island.

The next recorded visit was in 1792 where *d'Entrecasteaux's* ships traded with Buka islanders. Then between 1820 and 1860, British, French and American vessels hunted sperm whales in the area and Bougainvilleans became more acquainted with westerners.

Colonialism for Bougainvilleans did not arrive with humanistic goals in the context of integral human development. It came with the self-centred handshake of capitalism that is trade. That is, the introduction of a culture of exploitation of natural resources for the betterment of some.

The coloniser was not interested in a peaceful transition of people from Stone Age to modernisation but rather entertained them with the beauty of their goods in exchange for Bougainvilleans copra.

The colonisers began to deprive Bougainvilleans of their livelihood and harmonious existence on their land. The process of trading had the other benefit of pacifying the local's attitudes towards the Europeans. It also paved the way for a foundation of Bougainvillean relegation, belittlement, genocide and exploitation.

Douglas Oliver noted again that, with such trade coercion and pacification, by 1870 Bougainvilleans were now being recruited in large numbers as labourers for plantations in Queensland, Fiji, Samoa and New Britain.

Some of the indigenous people went voluntarily, evidently

eager for the Europeans goods to be earned, or to escape from dangerous situations at home.

Bougainvilleans were pushed here and there by the Europeans; there was rivalry over the grab of colonies between Germany and Britain in the 1880s. As Peter Sack, in *Bougainville Before the Conflict*, noted:

On 10 April 1886 Germany and Great Britain signed a Declaration relating to the demarcation of the German and British spheres of influence in the Western Pacific. It defined a 'conventional line' which cut the Solomon Islands roughly in half.

Great Britain agreed not to interfere with the extension of German influence west and north of the line and Germany did the same in favour of Great Britain for the area south and east of it. This declaration gave the two powers a free hand in relation to each other to make territorial acquisitions in their respective spheres.

The German government acted promptly. It did so at the urging of the Neu Guinea Kompagnie—which was governing Kaiser Wilhelmsland, the north-eastern quarter of the main island of New Guinea, and the Bismarck Archipelago under an imperial charter—because the company was concerned that other interested parties had begun to make strategic land acquisitions in the northern Solomons.

On 28 October 1886 the commander of SMS Adler declared all islands in the Solomons north of the line of demarcation—namely Buka, Bougainville, the Shortlands, Choiseul and Ysabel, as well as the smaller islands to the east—to be a German 'Schutzgebiet'. He also prohibited, for the time being, the acquisition of land from 'the natives' and the supply of arms, ammunition and liquor to them.

On 13 December the emperor granted the Neu Guinea Kompagnie a charter to govern the Northern Solomons in accordance with the arrangements made in its earlier charter for Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago.

A major change in the borders of the German part of the Solomons took place as a result of an agreement between Germany and Great Britain 14 November 1899. In this agreement Germany ceded all the islands south and south-east of Bougainville—namely

Choiseul, Ysabel, the Shortlands and the Lord Howe Islands—to Great Britain as a part of a compensation package for renouncing her claims to the western section of the Samoan Islands, which became German.

This was brutal treatment worthy only for animals. Colonialism was casting on Bougainvilleans and the rest of the Solomons a fool-and-kill strategy to destroy the people of the land.

Firstly, Bougainvilleans befriended the colonialists for the goods traded in a barter system; then came labour and money to purchase goods, with thousands of Bougainvilleans lured into the plantation industry.

At the end of it, the colonisers had Bougainvilleans submerged into the bliss of commerce trading their land for prestige and power.

Bougainvilleans, as the rightful owners of their land, knew not that it was subjected to German-British law. They were also engaged in the sweetness of the new concepts of trade and adventure abroad. They were also brainwashed by missionaries who instilled fear of the gods of the Europeans. Colonialism was the vehicle of imperialism.

And Smith (1999) said that:

Imperialism tends in turns to be used in at least four different ways when describing the form of European imperialism which ‘started’ in the fifteenth century: (1) imperialism as economic expansion; (2) imperialism as the subjugation of ‘others’; (3) imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms of realization; and (4) imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge.

Based on Smith’s explanations of these four ways of understanding imperialism, it can be said that Bougainvilleans were not really seen as human beings who had owned Bougainville for thousands of years.

Colonialism was lethal and treated Bougainvilleans in a manner described in Roka (2012) that:

For a period of time, the Bougainville people were thrown here and there; screened and scaled as cheap commodities to the liking

of colonial greed and interests. The divine psyche of the people was given a negative whipping and suffered a gradual disintegration.

Smith says that ‘imperialism was a system of control which secured the markets and capital investment. Colonialism facilitated this expansion.’ Bougainville was caught up in the imperialist search for raw resources for industrialisation in Europe. From the simple barter of copra to European goods, the trade moved to labour exports, to the development of plantations on Bougainville and then to labour imports into Bougainville.

This processes secured Bougainville and Bougainvilleans for exploitation and the subjugation of their land. We became nobodies.

The second concept of imperialism, Smith wrote, was more focused on the exploitation and subjugation of the indigenous peoples. The colonisers who landed on Bougainville came with long experience in other parts of the world, and their rule was both sophisticated and tough. In Bougainville, *kiaps* and *tultuls* operated on a basis of ‘do-as-the-government-says’ that resisted people’s consent.

So equal treatment for all Bougainville was not the norm; it is evident in Bougainville colonial literature that discrimination was practiced by both government and churches. Such practices were observed to serve the interests of the colonisers. This made Bougainvilleans more susceptible to foreign changes that attacked the island ways that had enabled them to survive on Bougainville for thousands of years.

In her third way of looking at imperialism, Smith (1999) noted that:

This view of imperialism locates it within the Enlightenment spirit which signalled the transformation of economic, political and cultural life in Europe. In this wider Enlightenment context, imperialism becomes an integral part of the development of the modern state, of science, of ideas and of the ‘modern’ human person.

It was seen that Bougainvillean ways, world views, epistemologies and so on were not worthy but that the distant

European values were what the strange Bougainville world needed in order to function on Earth.

Suppression and genocide are two practices evident in this outlook. Bougainvilleans had to get a European education, government, music, dress and so on to be seen as human beings.

Under this interpretation, integration that respected another people's culture, ideas and so on, was not seen as useful to the betterment of the world. It was forced to give way to European technology, language, culture, ideology, food and so on.

The fourth way of imperialism according to Smith (1999) was that, despite colonised people gaining independence, the impacts of colonialism remained active. This is a situation Audre Lorde's 1981 quote sums up as: '*The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house*'.

Bougainville, despite being under the parasitic rule of an independent Papua New Guinea, still hosted foreigners (PNG included) that exploited its resources and suppressed its citizens.

The discovery of Bougainville led to colonisation and colonisation was the path of imperialism and this equated to the destruction of Bougainville and Bougainvilleans.

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THE NEGATIONS OF COLONISATION

TO THE IMPERIALIST IN the European colonisation era, the discovery of a people or an island in the savage world was good news for boosting one's power and prestige. But it was all detrimental for us, the 'discovered'.

The explorer Louis De Bougainville was a hero in Europe but a problem for the colonised people of Bougainville. Smith (1999) sums up this outlook by saying:

In the imperial literature these are the 'heroes', the discoverers and adventurers, the 'fathers' of colonialism. In the indigenous literature these figures are not so admired; their deeds are definitely not the deeds of wonderful discoverers and conquering heroes.

To answer the question 'why' we can go to the PNG philosopher, Narakobi (1980) who stated that:

Melanesians managed to live on these islands for thousands of years before Europeans came into contact with them. It is assumed therefore that Melanesians have had a civilization with its cultures, values, knowledge and wisdoms which have guided them through the ages. These are their revealed truths.

Our history did not begin with contact with the Western explorers. Our civilization did not start with the coming of the Christian missionaries. Because we have an ancient civilization, it is important for us to give it proper dignity and place to our history. We can only be ourselves if we accept who we are rather than denying our autonomy.

So the landing of colonisation in the Solomon Archipelago was the pollution and interruption of the peoples' harmony and

freedom through unrealistic value enforcement, indoctrination, deprivation, suppression and so on.

Westernisation, after arriving in 1768, systematically enforced a breakdown in the ecology of life that had sustained Bougainville and Bougainvilleans for nearly 30 thousand years. This made Bougainvilleans, a people full to the brim with their own ideas, lose the capacity to function within their own island as a people who know and respect themselves.

Many Bougainvilleans today, deny that they were a nation-state for over 30 thousand years. This is because modernisation has eroded their ethnic embodiment and made them lose their sense of direction. One of Africa's writers, Deng (1997), summed up this sort of crisis:

Ethnicity is more than the skin colour or physical characteristics, more than language, song, and dance. It is the embodiment of values, institutions and patterns of behaviour, a composite whole representing a people's historical experience, aspirations, and world view. Deprive a people of their ethnicity, their culture, and you deprive them of their sense of direction and purpose.

Colonisation came systematically and harshly to Bougainville. Having had long experience in other parts of the world its only role was to bring the savage, uncivilised, evil, stagnant Bougainvilleans into the light of civilisation where human-hood was nothing but the adoption European ways.

The poem, *This New Way*, by Papua New Guinean poet, Landu (2010) says it all for Bougainvilleans:

*This new way is
Whiteman's way
Throw away your digging stick
Here, take my shiny shovel
This new way is
Whiteman's way
Do away with your tiny shells
Here, take my silver coin
This new way is
Whiteman's way*

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*Forget your wantok
Here, take my fellow dimdim
This new way is
Whiteman's way
Dispose of your slimy sago
Here, take my sweet white grains
This new way is
Whiteman's way
Be naked no more
Here, take my loin cloth
This new way is
Whiteman's way
Tear down your sago huts
Here take my steel posts and sheets
This new way is
Whiteman's way
Utter not your chants and spells
Here, take my bible
This new way is
Whiteman's way
Be little no more
Here take my white hand
It's this new way
The Whiteman's way.*

The Bougainvillean ways that served the people of the land for some 30 thousand years were nothing. Since 1868, there was really a 'clash of civilisations' on Bougainville in which the indigenous peoples were uprooted.

An amalgamation of European and Bougainvillean civilisations was not possible because, according to the whites, Bougainvillean ways were savage and barbaric and not suitable for the betterment of the land, even though it had served and sustained them for thousands of years. Modernisation would forge the adaptation process.

The Solomon's world, in due course, was divided. Colonialism made Bougainvilleans see each other differently. Bougainvilleans saw Choiseul islanders as strangers. Labels were put on people by which they had to measure each other: lazy people, pagans or

cargo cultists, show-offs, unproductive landowners, educated, baptised, rascals, godly people, obedient people, the corrupt and so on.

This was a source of discrimination that espoused the weaknesses of Bougainvilleans against being able to stand as a united people for the common good for Bougainville.

A great misconception, for instance, is the well-promoted but unfounded belief that the 19-30 languages of Bougainville are not related. This is what Khosa (1992), said:

Before World War II some 19 languages belonging to the categories of Austronesian and non-Austronesian were identified in Bougainville and Buka. This alone is difficult to reconcile with the claims of a unique Bougainvillean identity.

Careful study of the Nasioi and all the other languages in Bougainville finds Khosa coming up short in his statement.

The Nasioi language has a boundary of people and villages (excluding the late arrivals, the Torau people) around it. This is called the *karatapo* or 'mixture'. This is where cultures meet and fade into each other.

Before modernisation, any trader from the heartland of Nasioi intending to do business with a person from the heartland of Nagovis had to get a third party in the *karatapo* zone to pave his way into the heartland.

This was a natural system that connected all peoples of Bougainville but has been denied (or not observed) in western literature.

Another example of colonisation creating problems on Bougainville was noted in education or religion. Whenever an inland Panguna child did well in education at Tunuru Catholic mission and went on to higher education, resentment and condemnation from the coastal people was high because he was a bushman denying their children's rights to the place he had taken.

If a Siwai child did well at Chabai Technical College, he was the pride of Siwai but not Bougainville.

In the churches there was war; Catholics had their own gods and Protestants had their own gods. Often, they established territories which others were denied access to. Clans were divided and

families hostile to each other's new gods.

Deng (1997) nailed the chaos well by saying that when you deprive a people of their ethnicity, and their culture, you deprive them of their sense of direction and purpose. Bougainvilleans were the windsock at the end of the airport runway blown here and there by Eurocentric forces.

Bougainville thus laid a foundation of its modernisation on the sand of a thousand foreign values, culture, people, technologies and laws injected by colonisation.

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THE FOUR STAGES OF STRUGGLE

BOUGAINVILLE WAS FOUNDED ON the loose sand of colonisation and became attached to the tether of Papua New Guinea as a source of finance to fund its independence.

Most written literature of pre-independent Papua New Guinea points out that the Solomon Island of Bougainville was a backwater in terms of development and progress.

Papua New Guinea was progressing with copra plantations, timber, rubber, coffee, cattle and so on while Bougainvilleans remained locked outside the door or as a garden for planters and missionaries.

But the desire for independence in PNG brought Bougainville to the world. Bougainvillean wealth was attractive to build the PNG dream country; the new country the United Nations was pushing Australia to create.

Thus, as Downs (1980) puts it:

The discovery of copper in Bougainville in 1964 was the greatest single event in the economic history of Papua and New Guinea. It was a giant step towards independence.

The Bougainvilleans, however, were in the dark about these drastic development plans for their island.

So the point was, as Miriori (1996) puts it:

Panguna became one of the largest opencast mines in the world, and the only source of finance for Papua New Guinea's independence. In essence, Australia gave Bougainville and her people as an independence gift to Papua New Guinea.

The Panguna mine was a revolution that showcased the negative side of change in the eyes of the indigenous Bougainvillean people

and gave them the energy to strive for self-determination in order to save their land and culture.

The Panguna mine project, according to Divine Word University Associate Professor Jerome K Semos, was a four-phase affair of colonial coercive slapping of the people of Bougainville.

In an emotional May 2013 presentation entitled, *Empirical and Historical Analysis: The Bougainville Conflict and the Sovereignty Implications for Bougainville, PNG and the Pacific Region* - that saw a few young Bougainvilleans in tears – Prof Semos highlighted the Bougainvilleans' suffering and struggle for 27 years (1963-90) under colonialism, independent Papua New Guinea and Conzinc Rio Tinto-BCL.

The first phase, according to this Bougainvillean academic, was from 1963-70. In this phase:

A policy of colonial lack of interest (by state and CRA/BCL) towards local consultation and participation led to early struggle or conflict by resource owners over state rights and ownership of resources, and over unfair mining and compensation agreements.

Resource owners were convinced they had ownership rights to both surface and subsurface resources; the colonial state policy said otherwise. The mine was considered the economic life blood for PNG's drive towards independence, hence the strong arm approach to getting it into production quickly. The BCL mine was built on one policy alone (upheld in the House of Assembly in those days): Masta i tok, tok i dai'."

Foreigners walked all over Bougainvilleans with their greed. But Bougainvilleans were not stupid, because they stood up for their rights.

As noted by Denoon (2000) by

By the end of 1965 landowner resistance had brought prospecting to a standstill, and in February 1966 the administrator transferred Bill Brown to Kieta...to get the prospecting going again.

The administration was desperate for the mine to develop and thus employed manpower and strategies to suppress the Bougainvilleans and exploit their land for the good of foreigners.

In the second phase, from 1970-75 Denoon says:

The resource conflict, including compensation and beneficiary concerns over the BCL mine developed into a popular secessionist (self-determination) struggle. Come September 1, 1975 - 15 days before PNG's independence - Bougainville unilaterally declared its independence from PNG and Australia.

But that proclamation of statehood was rejected outright. PNG needed the mine and there must be a way of keeping a vital mine as well as having some control over the mine's financial benefits. So to this, PM Somare extended a viable political deal to Bougainville leaders and people.

Bougainvillean oral history claims this period as the most brutal and unbearable for the people. Strangers and strange cultures were brought in by the BCL and PNG that was destroying their life. Adding more pain was watching their land turning swiftly to bare rock and dust. Thus, they realised, the only survival way available for them was independence.

Independence was the only measure seen to be able to save Bougainvillean resources for its own people and save the environment for their own use and management. Australia was seen to be pushing Papuans and New Guineans forward at the cost of Bougainvilleans and independence would be the only way to manage their own advancement.

The third phase was from 1977-85. Denoon says this phase is when:

Secessionist conflict and struggles evolved into limited autonomy for Bougainville, established through the introduction of a provincial government. However, the North Solomons Provincial Government (NSPG) was unable to establish direct negotiations with the PNG Government and BCL with respect to the 1974 Bougainville Copper Agreement (BCA) negotiations. Therefore, the BCA lapsed without being re-negotiated in 1981.

Again resource owners and the NSPG were left out and frustrated. Again the BCL mine was blocked off temporarily to force the PNG government to agree to resource owners and their NSPG being included in the BCA negotiations.

Sadly for the Solomon people of Bougainville, PNG was clever enough to fool them in order to rob them of their wealth. In the negotiations for the Bougainville Copper Agreement, which outlined the breakup of how the benefits of the mine would be distributed, PNG denied them meaningful participation by giving them a powerless provincial government system not capable for upholding the rights of a struggling people. It also created bodies which were designed to fetch locals some wealth but these were bodies governed by corrupt officials.

PNG was not interested in Bougainvillean concerns for their survival and development because its sole interest was money from Bougainville's Panguna mine and plantations.

The last phase ran from 1986 to 1989. In this phase Denoon says:

Twelve years of inaction by the NSPG, 25 years of state apathy and BCL's passing the buck, which led to continual struggle and conflict, plus the irrefutable loss of a subsistence lifestyle forced resource owners to revolt against the state and BCL.

Faced with security problems the BCL mine closed down; many workers and population left Bougainville and thereafter a local rebellion advanced into a Bougainville-wide secessionist rebellion and civil war.

Independence for Bougainville had made its second coming, but this time, it came at enormous cost to Bougainville and PNG.

PNG was faced with a serious financial crisis partly attributed to the demise of the profitable BCL mine. Bougainville was completely blocked off from the rest of PNG and the region (by Australia and PNG).

Letting the Solomon Island people of Bougainville sleep and wake up every day in pain eventually and ultimately shaped a populace that could stand no longer the lies of PNG and BCL.

When Bougainvilleans violently shut down the mine and fought for independence, PNG and BCL ran out of creativity for fooling them further.

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LAND, INCEST AND GREED

IN THOSE EARLY DAYS of the development of mining in Bougainville, Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) and the colonial administration were not creative or proactive in dealing with landowners and other affected people and showed no understanding and sensitivity.

Similarly the copper company and the state of Papua New Guinea were playing pranks with the people without really knowing their subjects.

For example, Nakonang, the grandfather of the rebel leader, Francis Ona, invested in division and hatred in his family by marrying his own first-born daughter before the Panguna mine was opened.

Guava village, home to Ona, consists of two clans - *Kurabang* and *Bakoringku* - that intermarry.

But in the Nasioi setting, a clan does not exist within a village. A clan is an umbrella that covers the whole geographical map of the Nasioi people or Kieta society. So a particular clan exists across the Nasioi society in sub-clan units.

Thus, in Guava, the Bakoringku sub-clan of which Nakonang was a member was *Simpirako* and his wife, Hali, who had already a daughter out of wedlock, was from the Kurabang sub-clan of *Karaponto*.

Nakonang was a naturally aggressive village leader known far and wide. His wife, Hali, before marrying him, had a daughter, Siakunu, to another man out of wedlock. After they married, Nakonang and Hali had seven further children, including three daughters.

Originally, Nakonang was known as *Odengkara*, which meant aggressive. But after years of raising his children, he fell in love with his daughter, Nobonu. This is when he was re-named Nakonang which means 'to destroy himself'. So he was in a

polygamous marriage with his wife and their daughter.

Out of the crisis created by household incest and community shame, the only daughter who was immune was Siakunu, since she was not a biological offspring of Nakonang. She had kept her distance while growing up and married a man called Nadaa. One of their notable sons was the late Mathew Kove.

Furthermore, Siakunu, being the first-born child of Hali, was the customary power of the family in land ownership and decision-making; that is, she was in the chiefly position in the family. And, because incest was present, Siakunu mostly disregarded all of Nakonang's children with her biological mother, Hali.

Subjected to rejection by his biological children, the aging Nakonang slowly began to align himself with Siakunu, who was merciful to him. He became a good elder to Siakunu's children as he distanced himself from his own family.

Siakunu exploited this family conflict. She had much authority over the usage of land with her step-father, Nakonang, now by her side. Her children, like Mathew Kove, had more insight of and influence in the land ownership of Guava than Nakonang's blood children and grand-children.

So in the 1960s, when Conzinc RioTinto Australia (CRA) and the colonial administration arrived at what is now the Panguna mine site to lay the foundations of the mine, Siakunu's siblings documented under their name every piece of land available for the company leases. The sibling recognised by the company as the big landowner of Guava (the Panguna mine site) was Mathew Kove.

Nakonang's own biological daughters, including his daughter-wife Nobonu and the last born, Maneu, who was the mother of the late Francis Ona, got nothing.

As BCL became profitable, Mathew Kove rose in status and fortune as his other family members - like Francis Ona who shared the same grandmother but a different grandfather - watched in pain.

With the money from the BCL, Mathew Kove, with his wife and children from the Simpirako sub-clan of the Bakoringku clan, built his position and riches and acquired fine houses and cars.

The children that Hali had with Nakonang pursued their education with what little they earned from the sale of vegetables. When they asked Mathew Kove for financial help, he was known

to burn banknotes before their eyes.

Under this anti-social relationship, the divide in the family widened.

When Francis Ona completed his education and was employed by BCL in the early 1980s, his relative, Mathew Kove was already a tycoon with considerable influence in the Panguna Landowners Association (PLA) that had been formed in 1979 and other bodies associated with the landowners.

The PLA, according to Ata (1998), was formed *as the result of the feelings of inadequate compensation for loss of crops, fishing and hunting grounds*. But for most people, it did nothing positive for the landowners and the people of Bougainville.

Embittered by the family problem and with the backing of his sister, the late Perpetua Seroro, Ona and some other younger people began political sabotage to topple Mathew Kove and his cronies, who they claimed were corrupt and not landowner-oriented.

Nearly all executives in the PLA had become rich men with high standards of living whilst the landowners felt they were in a backwater subjected to environmental pollution from the mine and harassment and exploitation by the rising population of Papua New Guineans brought to Bougainville as mine workers.

The Ona-Seroro group's call for change around 1986-87 did not produce any results and its members rebelled and formed the New Panguna Landowners Association in 1987.

[The] new PLA, under the leadership of Perpetua Seroro and Francis Ona as secretary...was militant, wrote Bougainvillean Associate Professor Jerome Semos in a presentation to Year 3 PNG Studies and International Relations students.

Prof Semos continued:

It pushed for a 1987 Melanesian Alliance campaign proposal for a Bougainville Initiative Fund from BCL and the Namaliu government to get more funds for Bougainville. Francis Ona and the New PLA said that if the demands were not met they would shut the mine down.

In the face of all this agitation and confrontation, it was said that Mathew Kove and his cronies in the old PLA were having

sleepless nights about how to counter the threat to their advantageous positions.

There was worse to come.

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ARMED CONFLICT 1988-1989

MATHEW KOVE KNEW THAT he and the old Panguna Landowners Association (PLA) were in trouble because of the establishment of a new landowners' association; a threat to his prestige and power in Guava village.

Francis Ona had effectively counter-attacked, taking on board the problems created for the people by the mine and the issue of political independence for Bougainville.

These developments also brought BCL and the PNG state into the family feud.

Earlier, the environmental protest against BCL had been spearheaded by the peoples of Tumpusiong Valley, Moroni and Dapera. The Guava villagers generally supported the mine and condemned anti-mining protests.

But Francis Ona had a problem. His power was shrinking against Mathew Kove and the issue of Bougainville nationalism was dominated by the likes of the late Sir Paul Lapun, Fr John Momis and the Napidakoe Navitu group.

If Ona was to attract wider support, he would need to adopt a hard line stand.

The Bougainville nationalism issue swiftly overwhelmed the family feud and attracted the attention of the wider Bougainville community. Ona was now not prepared to give in to any systematic conflict resolution.

With growing support and a team of professional followers Ona and his team, the new Panguna Landowners Association, established a well thought-out compensation packaged that shook both BCL and the PNG government.

In November 1988, Ona handed a four-point demand to PNG and the BCL. According to Divine Word University Associate Professor Dr Jerry Semos, the demand included: (1) K10 billion for environmental pollution, (2) 50% of profits to resource-owners

and the North Solomons provincial government, (3) localization of BCL ownership within five years, and (4) consultation on all new mining projects in the province.

It is believed that Mathew Kove and his men in the old PLA, which included people like Michael Pariu, Severinus Ampaoi and others, laughed at the demands as unrealistic as they awaited results from the PNG government commissioned New Zealand consulting firm that was undertaking an Environmental Impact Study (EIS).

As Francis Ona's four-point demand was hotly debated in late 1988, New Guinean squatter settlers raped and murdered a woman from the Aropa area.

Fighting broke out as frustrated Bougainvilleans, who had for years being victimised, retaliated. The locals mobilised against illegal New Guinean settlers from Aropa to Arawa. In some settlements, homes were torched or settlers shot at with bows and arrows.

The new PLA and Francis Ona were not involved in the anti-squatter settlement campaigns on the Arawa-Aropa front, but they had a direct impact on Ona's decision-making and strategic moves. He visited a number of villages and chaired meetings.

Meanwhile Ona and the new PLA four-point demand had captured the attention of the old champions of the anti-mining protests since the 1960s, the Tumpusiong Valley people. They began holding protests and blocked the Panguna-Nagovis road.

In the same week, the New Zealand consultant held a public meeting at Guava where it was claimed, as stated by Dr Semos, that BCL was not responsible for the social and environmental problems faced by the landowners and the Bougainville people.

On 22 November 1988, while the public meeting was still in progress with Mathew Kove and his cronies in attendance, Francis Ona and his men began arson against BCL and government property and stole explosives.

The explosives were put into action on 4 December 1988 by blowing up the first power pylon at the Police Corner of the port-mine access road.

Fighting against squatter settlers on the east coast between Arawa and Aropa also intensified.

The sabotage campaign around Panguna was infrequent, but the

BCL and PNG government attempts to address it were astonishing. Out of nowhere, BCL suddenly opened the door of employment to the locals, but it was all too late.

Ona was not to be fooled again. On 12 January 1989, he kidnapped his relative, Mathew Kove, and executed him in the jungles of Mosinau².

Meanwhile, the PNG government pushed peace deal after deal to quell the crisis and save its revenue, cut off by the mine closure in May 1989. But police and army brutality against Bougainvilleans motivated Ona to fight on and not trust the government.

PNG army leader Ted Diro, according to *Niugini Nius* (October 1989), boasted that:

The Bougainville problem will be brought under control and solved within two weeks and the militant leader, Francis Ona [who had a K200,000 price tag on his head with eight other BRA leaders] arrested.

But the situation was getting out of control for the PNG government, and in his jungle hideout Ona was feeling more secure.

The PNG government then advanced another major peace initiative, the Bougainville Development Package, and according to the North Solomons provincial government's weekly newsletter, *Weekly Brief: Bougainville Crisis* (13-19 November 1989), the offer had many benefits for Bougainvilleans.

The two significant promises were that the province would receive K282 million a year for seven years and the province would become a state government and retain 75% of all earnings generated by the mine with 25% went to Port Moresby.

It was a deal that Ona was not willing to accept.

But against Ona's wishes, the provincial government under Joseph Kabui accepted it.

This alienated Ona further from the provincial government and he responded irately in a letter to his sister, Cecilia Camel, who was to be the spoke person of the BRA at the peace ceremony in

² See appendix, Timetable of the Rebellion

Arawa.

The note, with a letterhead 'Republic of Bougainville' was dated 20 December 1989 and included these demands: (1) National Government recognise and declare Francis Ona as the winner of the Bougainville crisis and itself the loser; (2) National Government declare North Solomons secession; (3) Property and those killed be compensated before the two parties meet for negotiations; (4) Security force and police to leave before the negotiations where the two parties were to meet to discuss a 50% refund from the national government and K10 billion from BCL. This letter was signed by a Bruno Kobala for Francis Ona³.

It is notable here that now that Ona was in the bush hiding, the provincial government, churches and others were the channel to the PNG government and BCL. But their engagement was often conflicted by their individual leadership characteristics and interests.

Joseph Kabui was open to negotiate and he was a state actor with certain norms to observe while Francis Ona was militant. However, both groups feared one common enemy and that was the PNG government soldiers and police who were so brutal to the Bougainville people.

The most interesting fact about Ona was that he was regarded as a leader, however all BRA groups fighting on the ground were independent without any chain of command, whether from Ona or the defected PNG army officer Sam Kauona.

A *Niugini Nius* (October 1989), told of the PLA, national government and provincial government holding a peace ceremony at Arawa High School on 27 October.

At the ceremony, PNG Prime Minister Rabbie Namaliu said the K200, 000 bounty on Ona was to be removed. Despite refusing to attend, Ona sent a message through central Bougainville MP, Raphael Bele, that the traditional ceremonies of peace would be respected. However, on 28 October 1989, BRA men from the Tumpusiong valley shot a PNGDF soldier.

Ona was a leader to those around him in the jungles of Mosinau but had no influence further away because he lacked mobility.

People knew that Ona was a leader in the jungle but translating

³ See appendix, Letter from Francis Ona to Cecilia Camel

that leadership in terms of practical strategic influence and control was lacking.

The truth is that Francis Ona was blinded by the political pride of his early success in shutting the mine.

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SOURCES OF CONFLICT

IN TERMS OF STRATEGIC political leadership, the late Francis Ona should be considered as lacking both vision and planning capacity. For him, shutting the Panguna mine was the determining factor of his status and power over Bougainville; he saw himself as the liberator and thus the ruler of Bougainville.

In 1990, all the praise he received from Bougainville when Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) and the Papua New Guinea government left the island blinded his conscience. He, with his power, isolated himself from the public and tried to play the role of a supreme commander ruling Bougainville through orders from his Guava village.

As Ona hid himself, the late Joseph Kabui struggled to play the leadership role by leading the politically scattered Bougainvilleans under an abusive and disorderly Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) that was now preying on the very people it claimed to defend against external exploitation and indoctrination.

Francis Ona was now lost in the tangle of politics he had created. Stepping off the rung of the family feud and shutting down the Panguna mine, he was now trying to stand on the independence rung. Also standing on the rung was the BRA sparked chaos of civil war and the re-infiltration by the PNG army. Ona failed to strategize his war based on historical fact and experience.

He got well off-track from the Bougainville problem that began with the arrival of colonialism in the Solomons. The question: "What is wrong with Bougainville?" was not answered by Francis Ona when he decided to wage war against PNG and BCL.

The Bougainville problem was not a 1988 issue as many blindly believed.

Chapter 1 informed us:

Our island's world was made up three parts that are: the flesh that is me the human being; the nature that surrounds me, such as the

trees, caves and so on and the marriage between flesh and nature; this is the spiritual world that governed and is governing my people since time immemorial.

The human being depended on nature and nature depended on the spiritual world that united man and nature. The bond between the three was respect and respect! The upset of one is to the disadvantage of our world.

Broadly speaking, the Bougainville crisis began with the dawn of colonialism. Bougainvilleans were subjected to exploitation, indoctrination and genocide by firstly, the colonial powers, and later, with much more intensity, by the PNG government and people.

Under the stinging colonial administration of the British, Germans, Australians and Japanese, Bougainville faced ruthless exploitation. Oral history and written records highlight a wide range of subjection. Bougainvilleans were cheap labourers, sexual subjects, human commodities and isolated bystanders of their wealth.

They stood by as their plantations were servicing colonial masters and PNG labourers shipped in boatloads. They were forced to despise their traditions and swallow western religions and other secular ideologies without a chance to voice their epistemological views about their land. Bougainvilleans were used to destroy their own land and life.

The worst case was the Australian and PNG exploitation of Bougainville minerals in Panguna to fund the development of PNG and not Bougainville.

Bougainville's Panguna mine and the many celebrated cocoa and copra plantations, logging operations and so on of the pre-1990 days were not connected by roads (places like Kongara and Torokina); they did not seal our roads from Arawa to Buka or Arawa to Buin; they did not built state of the art bridges over our angry rivers, and they did not build schools and health facilities for Bougainvilleans. But rather all the millions earned from Bougainville went overseas to benefit Papuan and New Guineans who were not Solomon people.

Parallel to exploitation, indoctrination was and is denying Bougainvilleans their right to progress. In Roka (2013), their fate was outlined:

PNG's seven million people do not acknowledge the distinctive qualities of Bougainville's 200,000 people but rather indoctrinates them to pave the way for exploitation and eventual genocide.

The fate for Bougainvilleans starts with the PNG Constitution. The very first line in the Preamble, 'We, the People of Papua New Guinea - united in one nation...' is the foundation of indoctrination for Bougainville people.

Under the real definition of the term 'nation' PNG is not a nation but a country of 800-plus nations. Building a country on lies brings disaster and PNG experiences that in the form of corruption, crime and so on.

PNG further enforces this lie on Bougainvilleans through the education system. PNG has an education system that does not respect Bougainvilleans but rather it is a curriculum that turns Bougainvilleans away from their origins and roots.

This began with the colonial administration and has grown worse since 1975 when Bougainvilleans were swimming in tears. And still, in post conflict Bougainville, we are submerged in it.

PNG's indoctrination of Bougainville people has been successful. Today, most islanders from Choiseul, Shortland, Ovau and the rest of the Solomon Archipelago that come to Bougainville are referred to as 'ol Solomon' (Solomon islanders) in the market place or streets of Arawa or Buin and others by Bougainville people who fail to realize that they too are also people of the largest and northern most island of the Solomon islands.

And Bougainville people cannot see the fact that standing on Kesa beach at the northern tip of Buka Island you cannot see New Ireland or New Britain or all these strange places of Papua New Guinea. Yet you can see all Solomon Islands from Panguna, Siwai, and Buin.

Indoctrination, backed by PNG, is rapidly killing Bougainville identity and dignity. Lost Bougainvilleans insanely classify themselves all over PNG as New Guinea islanders (NGI). This is

really sad because such identification denies the lethal lies promoted by PNG.

Thus the killing of Bougainville began with exploitation and indoctrination that PNG took over during the dying years of colonial rule. Thus, today, indoctrination is backing exploitation and, side by side, the pair will lead to eventual genocide in Bougainville.

Genocide was and is deplored by religious-backed humanistic thinking so accepted by Christianized Bougainville people. Yet, history shows that Christianity-centred legal norms were the ones used by the Europeans to justify calling the indigenous peoples of the colonised world savages and kill them to take over their land to finance the industrial revolution in Europe.

Humanistic thinking, including human rights, is the Third World's guillotine if one is not allowed to interpret it from our own realistic perspective that leads to betterment rather than disaster for one's own people and land.

For Bougainville, the mighty PNG was and is gobbling its race, culture, values, dignity, resources and so on. In the near future Bougainville will be merely regarded as no-more than part of the historical agenda in this process. This will be purposefully done under the blessing of the norms of human rights and the PNG constitution.

PNG wants to end Bougainville identity and dignity and Bougainvilleans misled by indoctrination foolishly support it.

Jonathan Friedlaender's chapter in *Bougainville before the conflict*, 'Why do the People of Bougainville look Unique?', cited Douglas Oliver (1991) as calling Bougainville 'The Black Spot of the Pacific' since science is yet to explain why Bougainvilleans are so dark but exist in the midst of the brown skins (and redskins as Bougainvilleans call all Papuan and New Guineans).

One notable channel in the Bougainville genocide process is the redskinization of Bougainville in the post crisis period where Bougainvilleans are marrying New Guineans and Papuans at an alarming rate. Before the crisis the rate was low but today it is sky rocketing. Regan (2010) said that PNG's ambition with the ABG is to get Bougainvilleans to vote for Bougainville to integrate with PNG the colonizer when the time for referendum comes so that its mission to eradicate Bougainville identity is accomplished.

And PNG is committed to its goal! One of PNG's senior statesmen and so called philosophers, the late Bernard Narakobi while serving as PNG's Minister for Justice attacked the struggle on Bougainville by saying:

There is no basis for Bougainville as an independent nation. Bougainville, like any other province, is a colonial creation for the convenience of administration. There is no such tribe as Bougainville' (Ata 1998).

Did he ever know that Bougainville functions through egalitarian clan leadership and not like PNG's conflict prone tribes? Did he ever see a Bougainvillean 'black man' and not a 'redskin'? Did he ever know that Bougainville was only placed in his German New Guinea as late as 1899?

His words were typical of the PNG desire to exploit, indoctrinate and subject Bougainville to genocide.

Every lost Bougainvillean should realise that the Bougainville crisis was a conflict over right to land, and was a stand against the foreign exploitation of its resources. Bougainvilleans were not rascals, rebels, militants, or criminals, as PNG has been calling them over the years.

PNG Defence Minister, Mathias Ijape on 26 March 1996 (O'Callaghan 1999) was telling Solomon Islands that:

The Solomon Islands continues to provide shelter for criminals who escape Bougainville under the disguise of humanitarian reasons. The ceasefire has been lifted and we will expect [an] unprecedented influx of criminals from Bougainville to Solomon Islands. The Solomon Islands must help us track down those criminals hiding in their territory. I am warning Solomon Islands that if criminals cross the border and want to take refuge in the Solomon Islands, the PNGDF will cross their border in hot pursuit and deal with those criminals on Solomon Islands soil...I expect nothing less than full co-operation...anything less will be treated by [the] PNG Defence Force as [a] slap on PNG's face...All that PNG is asking is for Solomon Islands not to let their soil become a criminal hideout...If they do we will make hell for them.

Such a reckless and trigger-happy leader should have known that Bougainvilleans were fighting on their own land in the Northern Solomons. They were not migrating to New Guinea or Papua and erecting squatter settlements; Bougainvilleans were not the ones who owned BCL and they were not the ones mining on the island or anywhere else. How could they be called criminals? PNG's 'redskins' were the instigators in the harming of Bougainvilleans in their homeland in the Solomon Islands.

The sovereign state of Solomon Islands was a cultural and geographical part of Bougainville, unlike PNG that was a recent colonial introduction to the Solomons. PNG should be ashamed of its dastardly attitude that treated Bougainvilleans as animals on their own island.

Since the dawn of colonialism the world forgot that Bougainville and its people were human beings with their own senses that generated changes within their psyche. They felt pain and joy; they saw disaster and success on their land.

This humanism brought about good and bad development and change to the individual Bougainvillean in his world. As human beings Bougainvilleans had a right to try to maintain the status quo or instigate their own changes to survive the carnage brought to their land and life.

To all that, the colonial administration, and later PNG, just laughed in ignorance and arrogance till hell opened wide in late 1988 for the world to see that somewhere in the heart of the South Pacific a people were being denied their rights for survival by the so-called Christian country of PNG.

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THE 1990-1991 CRISIS

TO THE STATE OF Papua New Guinea, Rio Tinto and Bougainville Copper Limited, Bougainvilleans were nobodies who had to be stripped of their resources to finance PNG and its citizens, a people neither geographically nor ethnically related to Bougainville.

The three entities did not seem to realise that Bougainvilleans were humans who were adaptive to negative or positive changes and needed to be given time and opportunity to absorb the externally driven changes to their land and society.

The late Francis Ona, Bougainville militant leader, with all the pressures of change on his shoulders rushed his numerous goals. History will agree that his ambition for a better Bougainville was not strategically sound.

Itta (2013) implied an organized manoeuvre by Ona when he tasked Philip Takaung to recruit militants, however, one has to ask did he mean to turn the Panguna crisis into a civil war?

The answer is simple: the players were incapable of politically leading Bougainville out of the vacuum created by the departure of PNG state institutions and the demise of the provincial administration.

Roka (2013) suggests:

All these great military men of Bougainville - although at first fighting to get rid of Bougainville Copper Limited, Papua New Guinea and its Redskins - went off-track in mid-1990.

This divide was created by the late Francis Ona's inability to administer and control his men and therefore to control Bougainville.

Fighters forgot our cause of freedom and went for war-gains. Think about Ishmael Toroama's words in the video documentary

Coconut Revolution: When I fought everything got into our hands....

Did we fight for personal property or peoples' freedom? Often, at gun point personal property was removed from owners or guardians; Bougainvillean women were raped, innocent persons were killed.

In May 1989 the Panguna mine was closed and PNG declared a state of emergency on Bougainville, sending its undisciplined Defence Force to fight Bougainville rebels. In March 1990, a ceasefire was reached and international representatives observed the withdrawal of the PNG security forces.

If Philip Takaung was recruiting BRA militants at that time, what structure was he placing them into? What was his power of influence over these men? Bougainville did not have determined leadership from the late Francis Ona.

So in March 1990, as PNG government care centre occupants began to head home to their PNGDF burned villagers, the militants headed into urban areas to experience a lifestyle they had never known before as liberators of Bougainville.

On one of those days, my parents were in an Arawa clothing shop known as *Haus Bilas* when a band of BRA men entered. My parents watched as the militants began helping themselves to new shoes, saying: *Wear shoes boys, we have frozen in the bush fighting for this land.*

But in Panguna, Francis Ona, returning from his hideout and turning his Guava village into the seat of Bougainville power, created a power structure for his militants amidst the tension he had catalysed.

Ona, now the supreme commander of the BRA, was stationed with his followers in Panguna and they lived and ate in the company facilities like the former BCL employees.

In Panguna, entire BRA companies were given sections of the township to reside in. There was law enforcement on the ground and BRA unit leaders were provided with the BCL vehicles to perform their duties. But this was a military job defined by the leaders; absent was a functional political structure.

Ona was not prepared to give away his hard-earned glory to leading political personalities like the late Joseph Kabui, who was now doing nothing in the capital Arawa.

Ona's prestige was to be protected outright. He was guarded 24/7 by armed men and women at his village. He also had a unit of witch doctors guarding him from sorcerers and who kept evaluating his health. With that his home was being maintained.

Some BCL heavy equipment and plant were brought in to beautify his hideout and he also took ownership of a number of expensive BCL cars and other equipment.

All this happened as the BRA watched in disbelief.

So Francis Ona opened the door for trouble. BRA men and other opportunists fought each other for abandoned BCL property in Panguna, especially vehicles. After the BCL goods were done with, reckless BRA elements and other rascals looted private property. Francis Ona kept silent.

The BRA big men created their own spheres of influence in the fight for personal gain. Vehicle after vehicle and other property appeared in the backyards of BRA commanders and a few other dangerous BRA men. The opportunists had gained something for themselves.

The Guava villagers used guns to control Panguna and scare away people that had begun dismantling BCL houses and other buildings to replace their village homes that the PNG government had burned.

Seeing this chaos, former PNGDF soldier and BRA leader Sam Kauona, who had left Panguna for his home in Tororei, decided to involve the Panguna brothers, Joseph Kabui and Martin Miriori, who were doing nothing in Arawa as the result of the August 1990 suspension of the North Solomons (Bougainville) Provincial Government by PNG.

Kauona also got the brothers connected with Francis Ona and, on 17 May 1990, the second unilateral declaration of independence in Bougainville history happened in Arawa with the creation of the Bougainville Interim Government (BIG).

But the BRA-engineered chaos was already out of control and beyond the capacity of BIG to manage.

While 'independence' celebrations went on in Kieta, the BRA, opportunists and their followers in other parts of Bougainville were disturbing the peace and administering their own justice on Buka Island and in much of the north and in a few areas in South and Central Bougainville.

On 13 September 1990, the Buka people (as recorded in *Outline History of the Bougainville Conflict*) invited the PNG army to establish rule on Buka.

Francis Ona now had some myopic reason to accuse fellow Bougainvilleans of ‘*Salim Bogenvil go bek lo PNG na BCL*’ (selling Bougainville back to PNG and BCL).

The BRA then recklessly, as ‘secret police’, tracked down alleged moles inside Bougainville on the orders of Francis Ona. Many innocent Bougainvilleans thus met their fate or lost their property confiscated as punishment by BRA elements.

This led to the birth of anti-BRA groups, the first of which was the Buka Liberation Force (BLF) created on Buka Island.

Under the nose of Francis Ona and his BRA, Bougainvilleans turned against each other.

Bougainvilleans hunted and killed each other throughout the island as Francis Ona and Joseph Kabui played their own politics in Kieta, with no control over the rest of Bougainville.

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THE ONA-KABUI POWER PLAY

THE LATE FRANCIS ONA's will to reign over Bougainville met with disaster early in 1990; and BRA strategist Sam Kauona's sense of Bougainville's political jeopardy was too late to rescue the island's 100,000 people.

Amidst this chaos, two figures stood out as the key leaders of the Bougainville rebellion – Francis Ona and Joseph Kabui. But their views of the conflict were not harmonious and this greatly affected the Bougainville people.

The late Joseph Kabui took over the wheelhouse of the provincial government in 1987. The following year brought challenges - militancy against the Panguna mine and the PNG government being the most outstanding.

From late 1988 Kabui's office was flooded with letters or proposals from ordinary people and leaders seeking help, compensation and ways to address the conflict on Bougainville.

With these responsibilities for decision-making weighing on him, he received his first brutal bashing from the PNG police on the first day of July 1989 while returning from a church service in Arawa.

PNG's suspension of the North Solomons Provincial Government on 29 August 1990 might have relieved Kabui, but he was angered by the PNG Australia blockade of the province.

Kabui and his elder brother, Martin Miriori, were also subject to harassment and looting by elements of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. This led to the formation of a BRA contingent to protect him in his home, the Tumpusiong Valley.

Francis Ona, Kabui's counterpart on the other side, was a hero. He received no flood of claims from his Guava village. People saw him as having a divine right to liberate and rule Bougainville.

After the 17 May 1990 Unilateral Declaration of Independence,

Kabui was in action as vice president of the Bougainville Interim Government (BIG). BIG soon established a Honiara office headed by Martin Miriori. At home, BIG was equipped with Radio Free Bougainville that was donated and set by some Australian sympathisers to spread its political discourse.

Without the presence of Francis Ona, Joseph Kabui attempted to establish order on Bougainville. There were police and a military academy known as the Erama Barracks, where young men were trained by former Bougainvillean PNGDF soldiers.

But all these developments were happening without Ona and other popular BRA greats like Ishmael Toroama, Glen Tovirika, and Chris Uma, who had already created their private armies that were executing their own rules in the name of Francis Ona.

According to the Australian government's *Outline History of the Bougainville Conflict*, in July and August 1990, Joseph Kabui led BIG in signing the Endeavour Accord with PNG to restore services on Bougainville.

Then in January 1991, Kabui led BIG in signing the Honiara Accord with PNG to bring a range of services into Bougainville. And in August 1991, he led BIG to the hearing of UN Committee on Rights of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in Geneva, accusing PNG of atrocities.

Upon his return, Kabui did an all-Bougainville speaking tour. In much of Central and South Bougainville he was attacked by people for not delivering services. The North was not toured since the invading PNG army was there in most areas.

All these BIG achievements were without Ona, who accused Kabui of trying to betray Bougainville; often leading to heated debates on the two-way radio networks that BRA and BIG had established.

The PNGDF also infiltrated the heartland of Bougainville politics in Kieta and the civil war got nastier and nastier. Ona kept silent. He never came and spoke live on Radio Free Bougainville. The little sessions he agreed to were recorded in his Guava village and brought to the broadcast station.

In October 1992, when the PNG army landed on Tunuru and moved to the Morgan Junction, Kabui had a two-front political war to wage.

He was attracted more to peaceful means to address the conflict

because there was disorder in the BIG/BRA and there was also the problem of getting the founding master of the conflict, Francis Ona, to get into the midst of the people and lead.

Kabui travelled from village to village in Central Bougainville encouraging people to stand firm in the face of PNG attacks and to overcome their fear. In all these tours he called in at Guava to brief Ona, the boulder that never moved. At Guava, Kabui's entourage often went hungry because no proper care was provided.

Thus Kabui was lured to engage in peace talks with the Australia-backed PNG government. This led to the Honiara talks between Sir Julius Chan and Sam Kauona in September 1994, where an agreement on a ceasefire was reached and a foundation for further talks set.

This led later to the formation of the Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG) in April 1995. All of this, of course, with Francis Ona isolated.

The moment of shock for Ona came in September 1995 when the BRA/BIG and the BTG met in Cairns, Australia. He began to send his teams on speaking tours throughout BRA controlled areas of Bougainville, especially Central Bougainville.

He even began to engage in his own international deals and began paying visits to communities outside Guava village. In one of these tours he visited Oune village, where he attacked the 'peace lovers' and Kabui as 'betrayers' of Bougainville.

Ona's men led by his commander, Moses Pipiro, terrorised people from the Panguna area who were seeking vital services like health and education or getting Red Cross supplies in Arawa.

Following the political nightmare of his vice president and most of his best BRA commanders isolating him, Ona formed his Meekamui Government and Meekamui Defence Force. He also got himself a radio station, known as Radio Meekamui that aired from Guava.

After the successful BRA defeat of the PNG's military operation High Speed, in 1997 BIG/BRA established their base next to the former Aropa International Airport in a place known as Kangsinari. The spot was easier for negotiations with PNG controlled areas like Arawa and for travel to the Solomon Islands for negotiations and peace talks.

With Francis Ona's anti-peace campaigns gaining momentum in

Kieta, and leaders like BIG Premier Theodore Miriung and peace negotiator Thomas Batakai murdered by the PNG government, BRA/BIG called for a meeting with the Meekamui to reach common ground for a better Bougainville.

The talks were held but, as in 1988 and 1989, Francis Ona, was not satisfied and walked off. Thus in 1997 occurred the break-up of the Bougainville leaders into Meekamui and the pro-peace Bougainville People's Congress, locally referred to as the *Kangsinari Coup*.

Francis Ona influenced a handful of BRA greats, the likes of Chris Uma and Moses Pipiro, to his side of the divide, which strengthened his Meekamui Government.

Joseph Kabui separately went his own way, pursuing peace efforts on Bougainville.

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SOURCES OF CONFLICT AND PEACE

AFTER THE KANGSINARI COUP of 1997, Francis Ona and Joseph Kabui led their groups in separate ways. The Kieta people looked at each leader. Many waited for one of them to create something tangible.

Both Panguna leaders wanted independence for Bougainville but their means to get there conflicted. Kabui and his team wanted 'peace by peaceful means' and Ona wanted a war to the end.

The leaders' common purpose was to liberate Bougainville and Bougainvilleans from the problems caused by the *exploitation, indoctrination and genocide by, firstly, the colonial powers and later with much more intensity by the PNG government and people.*

So what were these underlying problems and how did they come about and how were they destroying Bougainville and its people?

Bougainville was discovered by the French explorer, Louis De Bougainville and his team of sailors, on 4 July 1768. There was a wait of 24 years to 1792 before the island began to be scavenged for opportunities of trade and Christianisation.

Christianisation and commerce were the pillars of colonisation that ruined the peaceful evolution of Bougainville and its black Solomon Islands people. Under Christianisation and trade education, religion, money, agriculture and manufacturing was forced onto the Stone Age people who knew nothing about the modernisation happening in Europe.

Thus Europeans, to keep up the pace of economic, political and social change, held Bougainvilleans by the throat and drove them into the reckless current of 19th century Euro-centrism.

Such a procedure resulted in the exploitation, indoctrination and eventually the genocide of the identity and dignity of the Solomon Island people of Bougainville.

Exploitation was the first problem caused by colonialism in Bougainville. 1792 was the year it all started. I define 'exploitation' as 'using Bougainville's resources for one's own benefit without the Bougainville peoples' consent or without giving back to Bougainvilleans'.

Bougainville, the largest and the richest island of the Solomon Archipelago, was subjected to the worst exploitation in the mid-Pacific. Firstly came the 1800s planters who secured hectare after hectare for coconut and cocoa plantations.

One such case was the land in Arawa. According to Denoon (2000), Arawa began as a plantation in the German era. It was expropriated in 1927 for \$19,800 and after World War II it changed hands for \$46,000.

During the reign of CRA, the owner, F R McKillop, sold it to CRA for \$1.5 million. Traditional owners were not there and Europeans made money out of their rights.

With the trend set, Australia saw Bougainville as a good financial source to fund the independence of its buffer state, PNG. So it went ahead destroying the lives of Bougainvilleans to establish the Panguna mine.

The Panguna mine continued the colonial will of exploiting Bougainville for the betterment of PNG.

The Panguna mine, from its founding and over its 17 years of operation, according to the *BCL Annual Report 2012*, reached production valued at K5.2 billion by 1989; and Bougainvilleans got nothing.

This massive exploitation of the Solomon Island people of Bougainville happened under Australian rule and then guidance. This is notwithstanding that, as a member of the United Nations, it was bound by an international law established around 1950 that included what is known as *natural resource sovereignty*. According to Tomz and Wright (2009) this meant that all indigenous people had power or right over their natural resources.

But Australia, intent on bolstering its buffer state PNG, was not willing to protect Bougainvilleans under the UN auspices of natural resource sovereignty.

Bougainvilleans saw no sealed roads, no bridges across the rivers or the Buka Passage, no rural electrification or road connection to all their villages. All they saw was environmental

destruction and looting of their rights.

The next problem was indoctrination.

I define 'indoctrination' as the colonisers and PNG's desire to *make Bougainvilleans forget about themselves and destroy themselves.*

The first lot of colonisers enforced Christian and secular education on the people so they saw right and wrong from a Eurocentric perspective.

Bougainvilleans were nurtured to look at land and life from a Western world view; to let go their own world views; to accept the destruction of their land and lives as positive development; to accept the PNG state and people as a brother in the name of Christ under one law, that is the PNG constitution of 1975.

In the 2005 book, *Bougainville before the conflict*, Jonathan Friedlaender wrote:

One of the great puzzles of Bougainville is why its people are so distinctive in appearance from most other people in the region, particularly why they are so black.

This is, in fact, the dignity and pride of the northern Solomons!

The PNG government and people coming onto the scene in 1975 did not want Bougainvilleans to know themselves. They designed their constitution to kill Bougainville identity and their dignity as Solomons people; they designed an education system that makes Bougainville people not accept and appreciate themselves as unique in the Pacific; they told Bougainvilleans that they are not Solomons people and, in doing so, Bougainvilleans were to keep selling themselves and their land to the PNG people.

All this was the pathway to genocide.

For Bougainville, 'genocide' meant to 'to wipe out Bougainville identity and dignity i.e. 'redskinize' Bougainvilleans.

With the crisis of the 1990s, Bougainville sought to defeat all these evil systems but a sad chapter dawned with the peace process in 1997 when the Bougainville leaders gave in to Australia, Rio Tinto and PNG.

In 1988 Rio Tinto worked hard to save the Panguna mine. I believe it provided support to the PNG army operations to suppress the militancy. As the army slowly failed, Australia stepped in with

increased military aid but was left with disappointment.

Rio Tinto, Australia and PNG kept up their effort to defeat the Bougainville freedom movement as other Pacific nations, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and New Zealand struggled for peace on Bougainville.

Australia jumped in to hijack the peace effort and make itself appear innocent in the eyes of the Bougainville people.

Thus the Bougainville Peace Agreement of 2001 and the Bougainville autonomy arrangement ended in favour of the external forces.

In the peace agreement, the compliant Bougainvillean leaders and the outsiders pushed for a weapon-free Bougainville. But they had never listened to the cries of the Bougainville people until guns were involved. That was when they decided to listen and respect Bougainville rights.

Despite the many provisions of the peace agreement, autonomy and constitution and so on, they have still not addressed issues that harm Bougainville. They did not create a new education system; they did not create a vagrancy act to control PNG squatters; they did not create a tertiary institution; they did not support Bougainville to establish its own export and import companies.

If all these developments had been established in 2005 when the reign of the first Autonomous Bougainville Government began, Bougainville could almost believe it was in safe waters. But sadly not.

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TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION

BOUGAINVILLEANS NARROW MINDEDLY CELEBRATE 15 June as a day when some form of political establishment was achieved by the multilateral peace process in 1997.

The peace process paved the way for the return of vital services and goods Bougainville had missed under the Australia-backed PNG blockade of the island since 1990.

In Chapter 7, I argued that the Bougainville crisis was the result of foreigners' disrespect for the Bougainville nation.

Under the stinging colonial administration of the British, Germans, Australians and Japanese, Bougainville faced ruthless exploitation. Oral history and written records highlight a wide range of subjection. Bougainvilleans were cheap labourers, sexual subjects, human commodities and isolated bystanders.

They stood by as their plantations were servicing colonial masters and PNG labourers shipped in by the boatload. They were forced to despise their traditions and swallow western religions and other secular ideologies without a chance to voice their own epistemological views about their land. Bougainvilleans were used as part of a process to destroy their own land and life.

The worst case was the Australian and PNG exploitation of Bougainville minerals in Panguna to fund the development of PNG's independence.

Parallel to exploitation, indoctrination was denying Bougainvilleans their right to progress for the better. In Roka (2013) I outlined my islanders' fate as:

PNG's seven million people do not acknowledge the distinctive qualities of Bougainville's 200,000 people but rather indoctrinates them to pave the way for exploitation and eventual genocide.

The first line of the preamble to the PNG Constitution says: *We, the People of Papua New Guinea— united in one nation...* This is the foundation of the indoctrination of the Bougainville people."

This is the truth behind the Bougainville conflict (1988-1997) that most literature blames on the unequal distribution of BCL money and BCL's environmental carnage. Most people today think that if BCL had been operating in an independent Bougainville there would not have been long years of violence and disruption.

One of Africa's greatest thinkers and writers, Deng (1997) wrote:

Traditionally, African societies and even states functioned through an elaborate system based on the family, the lineage, the clan, the tribe, and ultimately a confederation of groups with ethnic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics in common. These were the units of social, economic, and political organizations and inter-communal relations that saw long conflicting results and efforts in the struggle for self-determination and nationhood.

Bougainville has some 40 languages and each of these Bougainvillean societies had its own way of acting and thinking; each also had its own pace of transitioning to the Eurocentric changes that happened on Bougainville after its 'discovery' in July 1768.

Each society had its own perception of each other as they watched development taking place. Two hundred years later, modernisation sped across Central Bougainville with the development of the Panguna mine; but the pace was not the same in, for example, Buin, which only watched as the Kieta people were advancing.

The same for the Nagovis people, who were receiving all the debris from the Panguna mine; they observed the Kieta people raising their standard of living with mine royalties.

This could be the reason why, when Kieta people created the Napidakoe Navitu as a body to create unity across Bougainville in 1969; so many local government councils saw it as a threat to their power.

Mamak & Bedford (1974) noted:

.... Navitu's growing strength was perceived by some council leaders outside the association's immediate area of influence [especially Kieta] as a challenge to their authority.

Such attitudes led to the diminution of the group towards the end of the 1970s.

Such differences amongst Bougainvilleans did not exist only across language groups, but also in the midst of single language groups. In Roka (2011), I said that:

Bougainvilleans came to see each other differently; mountain people as 'backwards' and coastal people as 'progressive' in response to the developing mission, plantation and Panguna mine in Kieta.

This was never reconciled by positive development or progress in terms of equity and equality in education and other services that could have fostered unity for the entire Bougainville population. BCL and PNG were exploiting and suppressing Bougainville, not developing the owners of the wealth.

In 1988, Bougainvilleans of the Kongara area attacked 'redskin' plantation labourers who had raped and killed a local woman at Aropa Plantation. At about the same time, the Bougainvilleans in Panguna saw fit to rebel against BCL and the PNG government.

The young fighters had no central authority educating them for the cause they were to fight for; but a militant leader emerged, Francis Ona, who was gaining power and prestige from the way he behaved in combat against the government security forces.

Thus, when the 1990 ceasefire was reached, there were two forces that could repel each other. This led to chaos since both parties had conflicting interests as explained in Roka (2012) that said:

To the late Francis Ona and his followers, closing down the Panguna mine was the bliss that blinded them. Keeping order and governing Bougainville was neglected. Thus the BRA recklessness grew and spread.

The BRA men, most of them illiterate, went astray grabbing private and ex-BCL property, looting shops and exploiting women, often with the gun.

These unorganized BRA bands falsely accused innocent people of being PNG spies and tortured them. Others were accused of sorcery and killed.

The politically incompetent Francis Ona was nowhere to be seen or heard in this anarchy created under his name.

I was hearing that the BRA's ill treatment of innocent Bougainvilleans was executed under the 'standing orders' of Ona. But this was a lie as I heard later that Ona was not aware of any 'standing orders' and he was not responsible for the suffering endured by Bougainvilleans.

The BRA posed as a body with a central command fighting for Bougainville freedom when in fact it hosted dozens of independent individuals or bands [that] operated at will across Bougainville.

Since all Bougainvillean societies had own characteristics and views of modernisation, the BRA impact was perceived in their own way of thinking, resulting in the revival of old problems that resulted in the loss of nearly 20,000 lives from Buka to Buin.

Bougainvilleans had resisted all foreign intervention and suffered with blood since the 1700s and the 1800s to no avail. The 1800s era of black-birding is an example. Oliver (1973) has highlighted one such incident of an attack on Bougainville by inhuman labour recruiters:

They never had such a shock in their lives. Large lumps of pig-iron or canon slung in ropes crash down on the canoes; then immediately, as they struggled in the water, with many of them badly gashed and bruised, the boats among them, hauling them in like tuna.

But the powerful and determined intruders walked over all them without a second thought. This is especially so of Papuan New Guineans, in the post crisis period under the guise of bringing services to Bougainville and developing Bougainville.

This ill-treatment needs be acknowledged by the Bougainvillean people and the aggressors have to admit their evil deeds of treating Bougainville people as animals in their own homeland.

In the 1960s Australian miner, Rio Tinto, entered Bougainville without any permission to enforce and enhance what early

occupiers did to the island and the people.

The colonial administration in an effort to develop its buffer state, PNG, exploited the people of Bougainville and their land resources like copper in Panguna and the cocoa and copra plantations. And PNG, the main benefactor of all this exploitation, indoctrination and genocide, jumped obediently when the world told them that Bougainvilleans were ‘rebels’, ‘militants’, and ‘criminals’.

PNG’s copy-and-paste culture of foreign political, economic and social concepts had made it lose control of its own nation building project. Bougainvilleans must be aware of the insanity of the PNG state where the predatory leadership exploits its own blind citizens.

In the Pacific political sphere PNG seems to be a notorious state where citizens elect leaders to power so that they can rob or exploit them. PNG leaders, after their voters mandate them to parliament turn to manipulating the laws to ensure their aggressive hold on power and benefits at the cost of their own people.

PNG parliamentarians and its people are good friends only at election time and Bougainville must move away from this curse.

For Bougainville to attain lasting peace for their island home, they have to concentrate on the domestic peace effort and not try to reconcile wounds with any non-Bougainvillean entities.

Unity and peace should be established on home soil first, then Bougainville can look elsewhere for peace making opportunities.

The Bougainville peace process that began in 1997 was commercialised by the leaders of the peace effort. Only big issues concerning big people were looked into and the little people were ignored. The resulting outcomes are the continuous negative problems faced by Bougainville.

Bougainville needs a peace process that comes from the heart of Bougainvilleans.

The peace effort in Bougainville should begin in the Panguna area addressing the crimes against Bougainvilleans and by Bougainvilleans against each other.

Leaders associated with the creation of the Bougainvillean Revolutionary Army (BRA) and their soldiers should admit to the people of Kieta, and Bougainville as a whole, their failure of

strategic leadership, and the crimes committed with self-interest and pride, and so on.

The former BRA men are in denial of all the damage they did to Bougainville and still put the blame on the pro-PNG Bougainville Resistant Force (BRF), but the BRF were responding to the cruelty and injustice of the BRA. The BRA created its own enemy, the BRF, during the crisis.

The Panguna leaders and the Kieta BRA have to explain to the people why they created the BRA and where they went wrong. Why they stole from people; why they raped Bougainville mothers; why they disobeyed the Bougainville Interim Government (BIG); why they committed extrajudicial killings and torture and why they used propaganda on people and so on.

The Panguna rebel politicians and the Kieta BRA should apologise to the Kieta people from village to village and family to family. From Kieta they should be going from district to district, again from village to village until all Bougainville is covered.

This process will not be simple since the Panguna leaders and their Kieta BRA inflicted pain on individuals, families, villages, clans and districts that even the peace process has ignored.

Once the Panguna leaders and the Kieta BRA admit all their wrongs, then all others – BRA men and leaders from other districts of Bougainville and the BRF - can follow the same process of reconciliation.

This peace exercise needs a powerful leader and a Bougainville government that educates and keeps all Bougainvilleans under its wing as a free independent Bougainville.

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PROTECTIONISM FOR BOUGAINVILLE

THE LACK OF A powerful leadership that exerts influence over all of Bougainville is an issue that time has not offered the island and its people, and has resulted solely from the half-heartedness in the history of struggling for self-determination since the 1960s.

Furthermore, post-crisis Bougainville should now be producing Bougainvilleans who are well aware of the long struggles of the island in the past. The Bougainvilleans and their leaders tend to ignore the past as a tool to design the future. It is here that Bougainville should invest.

In history most Bougainvillean pro-self-determination organisations and independence movements, like the 1969 Napidakoe Navitu movement formed to foster unity across the island, failed because they did not build themselves up strategically.

The people within these organisations did not invest time to build a concrete foundation for Bougainville's cause for the long term. Instead, they were unprepared and only attempted to act in the short term; starting and running a government with an unsustainable amount of resources.

This paved the way for negative external forces to invade Bougainville, its people and their values. Bougainville was thus affected at individual, family and community level and beyond.

The landing of colonisation in the Solomon Archipelago was the pollution and interruption of the peoples' harmony and freedom in their land. This was done through unrealistic value enforcement, indoctrination, deprivation, suppression and so on.

Westernization, after arriving in 1868, systematically enforced a breakdown in the ecology of life that had sustained Bougainville for nearly thirty thousand years.

This has resulted in Bougainvilleans now lacking the capacity to function within their own island as a people who know and respect

themselves. Instead they are a people full to the brim, and made weak, by alien ideas and concepts that they are now trying to practice while, at the same time, attempting to repel foreign intervention.

Bougainvilleans, today, deny that they were a nation-state for over thirty thousand years. This is because modernisation has eroded their ethnic embodiment, thus causing them to lose their sense of direction.

Deng (1997) summarised this crisis by saying:

Ethnicity is more than the skin colour or physical characteristics, more than language, song, and dance. It is the embodiment of values, institutions and patterns of behaviour, a composite whole representing a people's historical experience, aspirations, and world view. Deprive a people of their ethnicity, their culture, and you deprive them of their sense of direction and purpose.

Having built a multilateral peace process since 1997, Bougainville is now seen to be drifting off track from the very cultural values that instigated the 10 year Bougainville crisis. This is being done for the sole reason of pleasing donors because it is not financially equipped. It is also being done to please PNG, the culprit that inherited all the game rules and concepts from its colonial masters used to abuse the Bougainville people.

By identifying exploitation, indoctrination and genocide as the tools that killed the Bougainville nation, Bougainvilleans should now focus on creating a democratic protectionist regime within the autonomy arrangements and even into its future after the referendum constitutionally scheduled to be held between 2015 and 2020.

Protectionism is defined by the Oxford Dictionary as the *theory or practice of shielding a country's domestic industries from foreign competition by taxing imports*. This policy should be aligned to the economic, political and social aspects of running the Bougainville government by Bougainvilleans, in whatever form it eventually takes.

Bougainville needs to protect and defend itself from the three lethal elements: exploitation, indoctrination and genocide that were used to deprive Bougainville of its identity and dignity and deny

the attainment of the maximum benefit from all its resources.

Under the current status of Bougainville as an autonomous region within PNG the very people and organisations that Bougainville had long resisted and which caused the loss of thousands of its people are now rushing back to the unprotected and vulnerable island in the name of developing Bougainville.

How can Bougainville shield its land and people from this PNG backed exploitation?

Most of these parasites, backed by small-minded and lazy Bougainvilleans, are not interested in a self-reliant Bougainville.

Under autonomy, the Bougainville Constitution (Section 24 (1)) states that: *In order to facilitate development, private initiative and self-reliance shall be encouraged.* But, to this day, the ABG and all Bougainvilleans have failed to put this into practise.

The ABG is solely looking at multinational companies to start up impact projects. These sorts of projects are the basis of exploitation across all Third World states. Individual Bougainville citizens are also allowing foreigners, like those Asian businesses protected by police in Buka, to exploit them.

The Bougainville Constitution (Sections 23 and 24) seeks to make good use of the island's vast natural resources. For example, cocoa can boost the internal revenue of the Bougainville economy if we get all non-Bougainville cocoa buyers such as Agmark and Monpi out and set up our own company that is 100% Bougainvillean owned.

Such demands were made to the ABG by the ex-combatants of Central Bougainville in an article published in the *Post Courier* in October 2013. They said businesses the ABG must protect for Bougainvilleans include:

Retail trading, including trade stores, canteens and takeaway food bars or eateries, supermarkets, liquor supply and import including brewery and distillation of liquor, guest houses and hotels up to three star status, wholesaling and merchandising in any white goods, consumables and building hardware materials, Fuel supplies and fuel stations, including import of oil products, alluvial mining and gold trading, commodity exports of cocoa and copra primary and secondary products, cocoa and coconut plantations and other cash crop development, dealings in handicrafts and

artefacts, including the export of such items, timber production and exports, PMV and freight transport, including trucking and earth moving, marine products extraction and exports, fisheries and fish exports, tourism and tour operators; any manufacturing, including cottage industries with cash capital value of K100 million or less should also be exclusively reserved for Bougainvilleans, with partnerships and joint ventures in any of the above activities prohibited.

Upholding the call from the concerned fighters is a key step forward to minimise exploitation on Bougainville and raise internal revenue generation as Bougainville learns the basics of running businesses in a conducive environment protected by a responsible government.

Another key strategy for Bougainville to fight indoctrination and genocide is to create an independent education curriculum.

Under PNG rule Bougainvilleans have lost their identity as Solomon Island people. With the Anglo-German Declaration of 1886 and the Anglo-German Convention of 1899 their island was separated from the British Solomon Islands, which was their rightful place (Khosa, 1992).

Thus the Bougainville government, as it staggers towards the referendum, has an enormous task to design an education curriculum suitable for the post-war Bougainville population so it can learn why and how their island faced the long history of struggle for self-determination. Bougainville needs to know its political, cultural, geographical, economic and social history.

From this knowledge the move towards genocide can be halted. By preserving the identity of the Bougainville people Bougainvilleans can avoid engaging on paths of self-destruction.

An example of this self-destruction can be seen in how the Bougainville musical identity is fast being replaced by Tolai rock, which is in sharp contradiction to our root Solomon Island styles. Another example is how Bougainville's God-given skin colour is being diluted by PNG people through marriage under the cover of democracy and human rights.

Bougainvilleans falsely accept their classification under the New Guinea Islands Region of PNG as rightful when it is not. It's really only a way of negating the unique Bougainville people.

Such illicit acts are not crimes in the eyes of the world but if we want to save Bougainville identity and dignity and stand firm against exploitation, indoctrination and genocide Bougainville has to endure short-term pain in order to ensure a long future of happiness.

Only protectionism in politics, culture and economy could pave the way for Bougainvilleans to see and re-possess the lost values of their identity and dignity and to build a better and prosperous Bougainville.

After all, Bougainville is a tiny island and people in the midst of the Pacific Ocean and in need of protection to enjoy and promote its own uniqueness and place in the world in the face of globalization and other known dangers and challenges.

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AN ECONOMIC ROAD FOR BOUGAINVILLE

BOUGAINVILLE NEEDS PROTECTIONISM FOR its politics, economy and cultures so the island and its people can gain the maximum benefit from their resources.

The late Francis Ona stated in the film *Coconut Revolution* (1999) that:

My fighting on Bougainville [is] based on these factors: (1) that is, we are fighting for man and his culture, and (2) land and environment; and (3) independence.

Francis Ona believed that Bougainville and its people were staggering under PNG's and BCL's three burdens: exploitation of the Panguna mine; forceful indoctrination through the PNG education system; and a foreseeable fate through genocide, where Bougainville identity and dignity would be nothing.

Ona had in mind that the only way to save the Bougainville people was through independence, where Bougainvilleans would at least have a say in the development of their island, which was geographically, ethnically and culturally not related to Papua New Guinea.

Bougainville is the largest and most resource rich island in the Solomon Archipelago but that resource had been stolen to develop PNG, shareholders of BCL and Rio Tinto, and for the benefit of the many non-Bougainvillean business tycoons who had rushed to the island during the colonial era to set up coconut and cocoa plantations. Others benefited by getting contracts with BCL.

This massive exploitation of Bougainvillean wealth happened as the indigenous people sang the PNG national anthem and preached PNG perspectives of democracy that had no relevance in Bougainville and the rest of the Solomon Archipelago.

It led to the civil war of 1988-97; its aftermath still felt in post-

conflict Bougainville.

The Bougainville Constitution prepared itself to accommodate such resource matters under Section 44 (*Land*) and Section 47 (*Fisheries*). Here, all of Bougainville's resources are catered for, thus creating the best investment policies for mining, agriculture, fishing and so on and making a positive economic leap practical.

The base of Bougainville's economic drive should start from Section 22 (*General Social and Economic Objectives*) of the Constitution. With this in focus, Bougainville must be aware of Section 27 (*Environment and Conservation*), which is sustainability of development, which is paramount in a small island state in the midst of the Pacific.

With these fundamental requirements activated, Bougainville must connect the above provisions to Section 23 (*Land and Natural Resources*), since the right path to build a nation from scratch involves using the resources available; not from exploitative foreign direct investment built upon a shattered domestic foundation.

In order to facilitate Section 24 (*Development*), private initiative and self-reliance must be encouraged. The right decision-makers in parliament are the vital resource to uphold Bougainville's constitutional ambitions.

However, Bougainville had a leadership that fears the economic status quo; it fears being associated with a cash-strapped nation and wants an economic miracle.

The first president, the late Joseph Kabui, attempted to sell 70% of Bougainville's wealth to Canada-based businessman, Lindsay Semple for K20 million. The next president, James Tanis, stood undecided in the centre of the economic continuum. The current incumbent, Dr John Momis, looks at China and BCL. But the people's *tide of stubbornness* has been sweeping his government everywhere.

In an island economy like Bougainville, where the citizenry is not all literate, the focus for take-off should be the agricultural sector.

WW Rostow's 1960 work, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, outlined the basic steps for building a nation's economy to maturity from zero.

Rostow's steps are: (1) traditional society, (2) preconditions for

take-off, (3) take-off, (4) drive to maturity, and (5) age of high mass-consumption. Bypassing the steps fails a state unless the political masters are creative.

Rostow's order of progress is centred on agriculture; and Bougainville has agriculture and fisheries that need restoration in accordance with the growing intellectual and technological capacity of the citizens. We also need to introduce new technologies related to downstream processing to move to Stage 2. There is no slowing down of progress now that Bougainville is in the age of foreign donor funding.

But in utilising resources, Bougainville's government and people must focus on the United Nation's *Agenda 21* that, according to Estes (n.d.), seeks:

...the husbanding of the planet's wasting resources. Along with the roster of problems familiar to environmentalists—the ozone layer, global warming, deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, biodiversity—Agenda 21 addresses action to be taken against poverty, infant mortality, malnutrition, epidemic disease, illiteracy and other afflictions that waste that other resource of the planet: its human population.

Bougainville is a tiny island and running with Agenda 21 is a way to success for the government and its people.

Since its discovery in 1767 Bougainville's natural resources have been exploited by non-Bougainvilleans. In the drive for change, it is Bougainvilleans who must use these resources for their betterment.

The primary task for a responsible government is to create and implement economic and social laws that build for Bougainvilleans an environment conducive to business and economic advancement and which reflects Section 24 of the Constitution.

When that is done plans can be framed for each region (North, Central and South) about which goods and services each will specialise in, depending on climate and topography. Especially important will be agriculture, downstream processing and light manufacturing.

Harnessing agriculture, fisheries and tourism is what Bougainville should be investing in during this period of low fiscal

and monetary power. And the focus must be on both wealth *and* social cohesion so as to avoid failure, such as experienced by Nauru where wealth was supreme over social cohesion.

Bougainville must *think big but start small*.

Here are a few ideas on income earning resources from Tim Ashton, an Australian who has had a long association with Bougainville.

Agriculture

Cocoa: Take over the marketing of your own beans as they have done in Vanuatu. Fresh coconuts to Australia: Currently they are imported from Thailand. Develop industry around laminated bamboo products.

Fishing

Fresh reef fish for the Australian market. Fresh frozen Yellowfin Tuna brings \$5000+ in Tokyo properly killed and prepared. To do this you need ice machines so your fishermen can chill the catch and transfer it to strategically located freezers

Tourism

Japan: Buin is where their wartime hero, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto died. Build a shrine. Torokina War relics. The Japanese are the most prolific birdwatchers in the world. Guided tours, Butterfly farms, Orchid nurseries, Adventure tourism (Bagana; Green island; Feid island, the most beautiful in the Pacific). Build guest houses like the Arawa women's centre. Feed them fresh reef fish. Be respectful and above all, do not be greedy and the money will flow.

Bougainvilleans should look at growing banana, taro, fruit and other staple garden stuff and secure markets for this produce. We should look into fresh river farming for prawns and eels and other stock. We should look into animal husbandry for animals like chickens, ducks and pigs, which require less land area for domestication.

Rice sucks much of the income out of Pacific countries. It can grow on the plains of south Bougainville alongside sugar cane. The Wakunai-Torokina area produces some of the best vegetables - peanuts, cabbage and potatoes - and needs investment. Coffee grows well across Bougainville.

With all this, we now need local Bougainvillean companies to take control of the export function. For a start, a state enterprise or joint ventures with ABG backing is vital, together with the removal of foreign companies like Singapore's Agmark Industries and Asian businesses that the myopic ABG loves so much.

The Bougainville directive is: if cocoa grows in Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce chocolate powder; if coffee grows on Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce coffee powder; if a coconut palm sways on Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce oil cosmetics; if the sea girds Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce fish products; and if the Bougainville child is born on land, then that child owns the land and everything that grows on it belongs to him but he must care for it and trade it.

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A POLITICAL SYSTEM FOR BOUGAINVILLE

A BOUGAINVILLEAN IS A person with a culture and that culture is secured in the land known as Bougainville in a territory known as the Solomon Archipelago, which is a self-sustaining entity.

In Chapter 13 I said:

If cocoa grows in Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce chocolate powder; if coffee grows on Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce coffee powder; if a coconut palm sways on Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce oil cosmetics; if the sea girds Bougainville, then Bougainville must produce fish products; and if the Bougainville child is born on land, then that child owns the land and everything that grows on it belongs to him but he must care for it and trade it.

And in the tiny sea of Pacific islands that Bougainville is part of self-sustaining economic and political models are vital. Such a system must not be too capitalistic but should be centred on the welfare of the people.

In Section 40 of the Bougainville Constitution (Structure and Levels of Government) it is stated:

Government in Bougainville shall consist of—the Autonomous Bougainville Government in accordance with Division 2 (Autonomous Bougainville Government); and a level or levels of formal government below the level of the Autonomous Bougainville Government in accordance with Division 3 (other levels of formal government); and the traditional system of government in accordance with Division 4 (traditional system of government).

Under the autonomy arrangement this three-level system is already active and it has proven to be inclusive of all Bougainvilleans in the decision-making process. Currently Bougainville has four levels of government, the Village Assembly being added recently.

The first level of government is the Village Assembly and is centred in the village where there are different clans with their own governing structures that come together to make decisions about village affairs.

Village Assemblies have representation at the next level, the Council of Elders (CoE), whose members are elected.

CoEs come together at District level with a more public policy oriented than political agenda.

The fourth and top level is the parliament of the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG).

Whatever the level of government, the fundamental question relates to the roles and responsibilities of each level.

There's a general answer to this: at any level, the major collective task is the sustenance of a mutual state-citizen relationship.

The Bougainville state should be advancing in regional and international politics, its economy should be functional in the global capitalistic system and the citizens of Bougainville should be a happy lot and not experiencing chronic disparity and struggle.

For a tiny island like Bougainville with few resources and a growing population, a happy state-citizen relationship is paramount.

Perhaps there is scope in Bougainville to design a political system based on the Bhutanese politics of Gross National Happiness (GNH), whereby material and spiritual development occur side by side and complement and reinforce each other.

Bougainville and its people are known for struggles against exploitation, indoctrination and subjection to genocide.

So the four pillars of Gross National Happiness can be the way forward. They are the promotion of sustainable development, the preservation and promotion of cultural values, conservation of the natural environment and the establishment of good governance.

The application of the welfare concept of development in Bougainville points to government working to alleviate poverty, focusing on human wellbeing and improving equality.

Participatory or social democracy should be the system for Bougainville; making Gross National Happiness, welfare, human capital investment and sustainable development the national Bougainville state pillars.

This also reflects the Nordic model, as Wikipedia (n.d.) explains it:

.... a "universalist" welfare state (relative to other developed countries) which is aimed specifically at enhancing individual autonomy, promoting social mobility and ensuring the universal provision of basic human rights, as well as for stabilizing the economy; alongside a commitment to free trade. The Nordic model is distinguished from other types of welfare states by its emphasis on maximizing labour force participation, promoting gender equality, egalitarian and extensive benefit levels, the large magnitude of income redistribution, and liberal use of expansionary fiscal policy.

Bougainville must encompass such political models to survive. For Bougainville to exist under globalisation, the people of Bougainville must be secure and safe, they must be in a peaceful environment, they must be free, they must be participating, they must be educated, and they must be standing on their traditional values to become a stable and advancing democracy.

The success of Bougainville's political system will depend on a peaceful citizen-state relationship. And the citizen-state relationship must be enhanced by getting every person to know their place in society, know their culture and other Bougainvillean peoples, know their land and environment and know their country's place in the global village.

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AN ISLAND EDUCATION BASE FOR BETTERMENT

THE LAST CHAPTER ENDED by saying that the success of a Bougainville political system will depend on a peaceful citizen-state relationship. It continued:

The success of Bougainville's political system will depend on a peaceful citizen-state relationship. And the citizen-state relationship must be enhanced by getting every person to know their place in society, know their culture and other Bougainvillean peoples, know their land and environment and know their country's place in the global village.

Bougainville, despite holding to its traditional ways of life like many other Pacific island states, is staggering through the phenomenon of globalisation. And globalisation is an uncontrolled and irresistible integration of cultures, technology, economy, politics and so on.

Globalisation has been defined by popular globalization educator Anthony Giddens, according to Tejada (2007) as:

The intensification of worldwide social relations linking distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many thousands of miles away and vice versa.

And Bougainvilleans, their government and whatever government that will obtain after the 2015-2020 referendum have no power to resist globalisation. This is because the education system is not nurturing a Bougainville reality.

The basis of a viable education system for a stable and progressive Bougainville can be found in the words of Chapter 4:

Papua New Guinea was progressing with copra plantations, timber, rubber, coffee, cattle and so on while Bougainvilleans remained locked outside the door or as a garden for planters and missionaries.

Bougainville, according to May and Spriggs (*et al*) (1990), was a ‘Cinderella island’:

North Solomons became ‘the Cinderella district’ not because it was worse off but because it was unable to realise its potential.

Bougainvilleans who so love their island should ask: Why were we seen as behaving like that in the colonial era?

Chapter 3 answered this by pointing out African Francis M. Deng’s comment that:

Ethnicity is more than the skin colour or physical characteristics, more than language, song, and dance. It is the embodiment of values, institutions and patterns of behaviour, a composite whole representing a people’s historical experience, aspirations, and world view. Deprive a people of their ethnicity, their culture, and you deprive them of their sense of direction and purpose.

As noted in the works of Nash and Ogan (1990) Bougainville was brought to the focal point of economic, political and social development only with the discovery of the Panguna mineralisation. Thus, when planning for a stable, progressive and participating Bougainville state, it is vitally important to get Bougainvilleans to know more about their island so they can make decisions based on reality.

This is where the education system on the island must come into play.

In this post-crisis period, as Bougainville staggers along on its political journey, education is still lagging behind when measured against the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals that PNG is a signatory to.

Goal #2 states that all signatories should *achieve universal primary education* for all citizens by 2015. Currently and alarmingly in Bougainville one in nine children that enter Grade 1

do not make it to Year 12.

This is the fruit from the lack of economic progress for the islanders due to political blindness by leaders who cannot take ownership of the few available resources.

The Bougainville education system must address the core issues of exploitation, indoctrination and genocide.

In the terms of Francis M. Deng's ideas, Bougainvilleans are a lost people under the rule of PNG. The colonial legacy of exploitation exercised by PNG has negated the islander's willpower and ability to innovate and advance in this modern world.

Using indoctrination, PNG made the Bougainvilleans forget their foundations and cultures in the social, political and economic systems of the Solomon Archipelago - things that could be real sources of advancement.

This is leading to a natural death or genocide of the unique people of the northern Solomon chain of islands.

The development of an appropriate education curriculum should open the eyes of the Bougainville people so they can see their identity and dignity fading. They should then be able to recognise and act upon the real issues affecting their sea girded island.

This curriculum should emphasise Bougainville cultural studies so that Bougainvilleans learn more about themselves and their neighbours.

Bougainvilleans should learn about their geography. They should be aware of the resources in the land and sea available to them; they should understand the patterns of change and issues like global warming so their decisions and actions are practical and that they enhance sustainable development.

Bougainvilleans should be taught in detail their island's prehistory so they see the changes their land experienced after the dawn of westernisation. And of course Bougainvilleans should also learn of their own recent political, economic and social history.

With this awareness, Bougainvilleans can turn to changes in the modern world; including economics, trade, politics, technology, science, culture and global conflict.

A Bougainvillean subjected to such an education process from kindergarten, through primary school, on to secondary school and finally in tertiary institution will be intellectually well-equipped to

make decisions that are not harmful to the people and to Bougainville.

The best educational principle for Bougainville was espoused in the 2009 YouTube film, *The Reeds Festival*, by the late Bougainville film actor, William Takaku when he said:

The old leaves must fall to allow the young leaves to grow, leaving their wisdom of the trunk to the young leaves to carry on the culture of the tree.

That is, the old with the experiences of the past and the present, must nurture the young to carry on leading the island along the paths of justice and advancement.

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MAKING A MODERN STATE ON BOUGAINVILLE

BOUGAINVILLE WILL NOT MOVE along the path of advancement under the current notion of *dancing to the PNG and BCL tune*. The Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) should step outside the box and streamline the politics in a way that meets with public approval and create a reputation that Bougainvilleans can like and be proud of.

Bougainville is not a fragile state. Boege (2008) argued:

Although, state institutions on Bougainville are still rather weak, it is misleading to see Bougainville as a fragile state. It is instead a hybrid political order in the process of state formation. This process is driven by actors and institutions not only from the realm of the state, but also from the customary sphere and civil society.

The state-building process on Bougainville is a participatory one. All factions in the field of political conflict have one goal and that is an independent Bougainville in its rightful place in the northern Solomon Islands.

But the problem on the ground is that the current legitimate government, the ABG, is overpowered by a lack of financial strength to deliver to the people such a state. And it does not see that the Bougainville conflict is about the people's stand against exploitation, indoctrination and genocide that the islanders have faced since 1886-99 when Bougainville was removed from the British Solomon Islands and dumped into German New Guinea.

This problem is still going on and the ABG is having a hard time dealing with criticism and there must be a stop to it. The ABG is now in a better position with the Bougainville Peace Agreement and the Bougainville Constitution underpinning it than ever before.

Bougainville, under the Bougainville Peace Agreement directives of Paragraph 57 (subjects not now known or identified)

and Paragraph 58 (transfer or delegation of powers and functions) has the right to streamline its politics. It has to get all the people and factions behind it and to focus itself in all its endeavours.

Currently Bougainville is financially dependent upon PNG and its leadership is not willing to creatively and aggressively pursue economic growth from available resources, especially in the agricultural sector.

Indoctrination of the leadership has trained Bougainville to host a massive exploitative industry that does not equally distribute wealth from the economic heart of the island.

Bougainville needs to see development from the perspective of the 1960's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* that outlines economic growth and development as an incremental step-by-step process.

Bougainville is engaging in state building in an era of globalisation and the leadership needs to create its own political culture. Bougainville already has a relevant and manageable system in the Bougainville Constitution, where we have a marriage of republican and Westminster systems. But this is a system and not a culture.

A culture needs to be developed from the amalgamation of the system with the traditional egalitarian leadership modes throughout Bougainville. This is a challenge but the government system known on Bougainville has gone down well with the people and a culture of participatory politics has emerged.

The challenge now is to invest in economic power which will drive the developing political culture and system. Developing Bougainville's agricultural sector is a way forward, along with the small-scale mining operations that Bougainvilleans are now employing.

These economic avenues should be owned by the Bougainville people and the Bougainville government and resist or remove all non-Bougainvillean businesses already on Bougainville or trying to enter.

By so doing, Bougainville will nurture and develop the business culture that is still foreign to the island. This engagement will be a source of self-reliance and independence, an independence that thousands of people died for.

With a secure economic base and the subsequent benefits,

Bougainville should march towards a situation where development frees the citizens from poverty by investing in social capital to support sustainable development and modernisation.

And both social capital and sustainable development, as pointed by Cwy-jcm (2012), should be seen through human capital theory where the focus is social and human development as the starting point to economic development and modernization and the road to secession.

This will pave the way in for social capital that is about creating a fine line between people and the political, social and economic environment within Bougainville. The focus on human development must be one where the men and women of Bougainville are the priority concern.

This approach will naturally bring in sustainable development where a Bougainvillean will experience a development and modernisation based on social justice, culture and environment. It is not a modernisation that will increase inequality and degrade the lives of future generations of Bougainville.

With these strategic approaches and development processes Bougainvilleans can be a free and independent and happy people.

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AFTERWORD

BOUGAINVILLE IS PART OF the Solomon Islands and independence from the cruel and problematic Papua New Guinea state is our right and we paid for it with our struggle during the colonial era and with suffering and bloodshed since 1988.

We have made a so called 'peace' with our enemy but how much had PNG showed us it is now working to help us to attain what we had all along struggled for, freedom?

PNG ambitions are not good for us but are prevalent and have control in the peace agreement. As Anthony Regan (2010:127), considering the reasons in the peace process for timeframe settings from autonomy and referendum, noted:

The logic is that in the 10 to 15 years from the establishment of the ABG in 2005, the PNG government has the opportunity to work closely with the ABG to promote all forms of development in Bougainville in a way that could be expected to encourage Bougainvilleans to consider the possible merits of remaining a part of PNG when it comes time to vote in the referendum.

This is how much PNG is playing around with the memory of the thousands of innocent Solomon Island people of Bougainville who died in the 1988 to 1997 conflict. It does not see us as people who need freedom from its exploitation, indoctrination and genocide.

But that said, we Bougainvilleans are also irresponsible about our fight for freedom. We brought disaster on ourselves in 1990 but did not learn our lesson.

We have too many governments, self-appointed kings and warlords, prime ministers, presidents, commanders, you name it, that harm our peaceful political drive and our nation building project in the northern Solomons.

We ask, which government are we to follow? We can bring

chaos to the island again and at the end of the road we will become losers if we do not stop this stupidity.

We are too stubborn to see that there is a wider world out there bigger than our tiny Bougainville; we think we can control our world instead of learning to swim in the 21st century current and make our way with it to the other bank for freedom.

And a major problem is that our population in terms of education is way back. Many blame the 1988-1997 crisis - yes I agree to some extent but disagree also. I see the education system we get under PNG as irrelevant for Bougainville. It does not help nurture Bougainvilleans to know Bougainville and to create better policies for their homeland.

Our politicians cannot think like Bougainvilleans to deal with Bougainvillean problems but rather see Bougainvillean problems through PNG eyes. Yet we all know (Ata 1998) that one of our leaders, late Joseph Kabui said:

It is a feeling deep down in our hearts that Bougainville is totally different than PNG, geographically, culturally. It's been a separate place from time immemorial. Ever since God created the Universe, Bougainville has been separate, has been different.

But this does not mean we have failed. Like the struggling West Papuans, the Kanaks in New Caledonia, or any others who are subjected to exploitation, indoctrination and genocide by self-indulging countries like PNG in the name of democracy we will fight on till freedom is won.

And this fight needs unity and education for all the people of Bougainville, from my adopted home district of Buin through the island to Buka and the Atolls.

Bougainville must be free because the Bougainville conflict was and is a struggle against exploitation, indoctrination and genocide.

APPENDIX – TIMETABLE OF THE REBELLION

Chronological events marking the militant uprising on Bougainville as noted by the security force during its *Operation Tampara*.

22 Nov 1988—explosive stolen from Panguna Mine magazine.

26 Nov 1988—arson at Panguna guesthouse.

27 Nov 1988—arson at Pink Palace Administration Block, Panguna.

—attempted arson at Crystal Palace Administration Block, Panguna.

—helicopter damaged and building burnt down, Panguna.

2 Dec 1988—Arson on repeater station on Mount Kabara.

3 Dec 1988—Bougainville Limestone compressor set on fire.

4 Dec 1988—power pylon blown up at Policeman Corner, Panguna Road.

6 Dec 1988—power pylon blown up at Waterfall Corner, Panguna Road.

7 Dec 1988—Arson, Arawa Maintenance building.

30 Dec 1988—burning of a backhoe in Panguna; 5 arrested.

12 Jan 1989—alleged kidnapping of Mathew Kove; 3 arrests.

15 Jan 1989—attempted arson on Mananau chicken farm.

16 Jan 1989—arson on repeater station on Mount Bon Martin.

17 Jan 1989—arson on Arawa water pump station.

—attempt to blow up bridge on Mananau road.

30 Jan 1989—police patrol ambushed at Karuru Bridge; one police man wounded.

2 Mar 1989—helicopter fired at Kakusira Community School, Kongara.

8 Mar 1989—ambush of police vehicle at Aropa bridge; two

policemen wounded.

15 Mar 1989—attempt to blow up Aropa fermentary.

16 Mar 1989—double murder at Aropa plantation compound fermentary.

19 Mar 1989—arson at compound 4000 at Aropa.

—arson on Aropa plantation office.

—arson on assistant manager's residence at Aropa plantation.

—arson on Kansinari compound at Aropa plantation.

—attempted murder on Aropa road.

—arson at Aropa sawmill.

21 Mar 1989—arson at Aropa airport and destruction of a Bougair aircraft.

—police vehicle ambushed at Lului bridge and one militant body recovered.

. —arson at Buin police station.

—arson at Paraiano village, Aropa.

22 Mar 1989—arson at Toborai plantation.

—arson at Aropa vegetable farm.

—arson at houses at Aropa crusher.

—arson at AEL Buin supermarket.

—arson at Manetai village; two arrested.

26 Mar 1989—arson at Torokina District Office; 6 arrested.

6 Apr 1989—shoot out between army and militants; 2 soldiers and 1 militant deaths.

—burning of exploration drills at Panguna.

15 Apr 1989—damage to BCL Power Pylon No. 43 at Pine Bridge.

16 Apr 1989—arson at Tinputz District Office.

—damage to BCL Power Pylon No.32 at Birempa.

18 Apr 1989—shooting of policemen at Kobuan Camp.

—police shot at Kerei Hill at Anganai. One militant death.

23 Apr 1989—wounding of a policeman at Pakia Gap.

28 Apr 1989—killing of a soldier.

5 May 1989—damage of a civilian vehicle by setting it on fire at Sipuru.

6 May 1989—wounding of 2 army personnel at Karuru bridge in Kongara no.1.

14 May 1989—damage to water tank at Buin High School.

- 15 May 1989—damage to a BCL dozer in the Panguna mine area.
- 16 May 1989—possession of ammunition and loitering at Aropa airport; 6 arrested.
- 17 May 1989—robbery of SP Bank, Buka.
—arson to shovel no.4 at Panguna mine.
—shooting at policemen in Mananau.
—attack on police patrol with petrol bomb at the Panguna mine site.
- 18 May 1989—shooting at BCL buses at Pakia Gap.
—arson at Bolave Community Government office.
—arson at Ioro Community Government office.
- 21 May 1989—shooting of expatriate, Mike Bell, at Panguna guesthouse, Panguna.
—shooting confrontation with security forces at Panguna mine site.
—threats to blow up Limestone mine magazine.
—bomb blast at Panguna bus depot.
- 22 May 1989—shooting at BCL bus at Pakia Gap.
—arson at BCL Power Pylon no.58 at Pakia.
- 23 May 1989—arson at Kumo Crusher by explosives.
- 24 May 1989—shooting of a policeman at the Panguna stand-by generator.
—attempt to blow up power pylon at Birempa.
- 25 May 1989—attempt to burn down Jaba Pump Station at Panguna.
—shooting of SHRM vehicle at Pakia.
- 26 May 1989—bomb threats to defence vehicle.
—wounding of a CID officer at Policeman Corner by shotgun.
- 28 May 1989—shooting at Tunuru Junction by militants with a shotgun.
- 30 May 1989—wounding of Severinus Ampaoi's son at Pakia village and damage to his 15-seater bus.
- 1 Jun 1989—threatening letter to William Baidu, a BCL employee.
- 6 Jun 1989—murder of two children at Nambis Camp, Arawa.
—shooting at policemen near provincial government building.
- 7 Jun 1989—shooting at Section 4, Arawa.

- 8 Jun 1989—arson at Jaba Pump station.
—shooting at Mr. Greg Boochat, Section 12, Arawa.
- 9 Jun 1989—threats to blow Limestone magazine.
- 12 Jun 1989—damage to BCL vehicle by shotgun pellets at Pakia village; driven by Mr. George Kriticos.
—damage to BCL vehicle by shotgun pellets at Jaba.
—shooting at Mr. Geoff R. Ranson with a .22 rifle at Jaba.
- 13 Jun 1989—damage to police hire car ZGJ880 by an M16 rifle at Jaba.
- 14 Jun 1989—shooting at Boku road block; one killed and arrest made.
—attempted murder at Kerei with an arrow.
- 15 Jun 1989—threat call to blow up Shell compound at Aropa airport.
- 16 Jun 1989—arson at Section 16 Morobe Camp at Arawa.
- 17 Jun 1989—confrontation and shooting at soldiers and security at the Panguna water treatment facility at Panguna with shotgun.
—Attempted murder of Const. Kandos, shot at Finger Point, Panguna road.
—shooting at S-Bend, Episi Highway, Panguna.
- 18 Jun 1989—shooting at Pakia village; 2 mobile policemen shot and injured.
—shooting at Pakia village with M16 rifle.
- 19 Jun 1989—aiding militants - James Singko.
—shooting on BCL vehicle at Policeman's Corner.
—attempted murder of Martin Atobu at Mananau.
- 20 Jun 1989—shooting at Birempa, Camp 5.
- 22 Jun 1989—shooting at Birempa, Camp 5.
—armed robbery at SP Bank, Arawa.
- 23 Jun 1989—attempted arson at Pine Bridge.
- 24 Jun 1989—attempted murder of Issac Kameng by shotgun.
—arson at Severinus Ampaoui's D/House at Piva village.
—threat call to blow up Arawa police station.
- 25 Jun 1989—arson at power generator at Mananau Farm.
- 26 Jun 1989—threatening with actual violence by suspected militants from Kieta.
—shooting at Pakia by militants with M16.

1 Jul 1989—Det. F. Conot was shot with a pellet to his right arm; treated and discharged at Panguna Medical centre.

—constable 9962 Tode, shot with pellets to his chest; no internal damage. Shooting took place at Finger Point, Panguna Road. Member treated and discharged.

2 Jul 1989—Constable 7820 Bouba and Constable 7818 Kagent were shot at; Constable Bauba was shot with pellets in both his eyes. Constable Kagent was shot with pellets in his right shoulder blade; both admitted in Arawa with stable conditions.

3 Jul 1989—3 security force members shot and wounded:

S. Const. Memepe recovered with a pellet in the right side of his head. He was treated and discharged at MFC, Arawa. Const. Aipa was shot and received pellets to his left side chin and right middle finger. His condition was stable. Const. Kauba was shot in his right thigh. Under operation and stable; members were shot at Pangkivai village, a stronghold of militants.

—wilful murder of Jovi Ambros Vesome, 45 years old from Oremuka village, EHP. He was married to a woman from Momau in Jaba Road. He was attacked by 60 militants and shot with 6 arrows in the back. His body was chopped and was found in the bush by his brother. Incident occurred on 2 July 1989 at 1400 hours. No suspects arrested. Source: *Post Courier*, Wednesday, July 5, 1989. Page 12.

APPENDIX: LETTER FROM FRANCIS ONA TO CECILIA
CAMEL

REPUBLIC OF MEKRAMUI

Mrs Cecilia Camel
Road Mining & Tailing Limited
Arawa
North Solomons Province

20th December 1989

Dear Cecilia,

We are writing to officially inform you and your fellow members ~~that~~ the militant leader Mr. Francis Ona would not sign the agreement of withdrawing the security force from the North Solomons Province.

This is because the National Government still has a commitment to answer to Francis Ona's demands.

These demands are;

1. That the National Government recognise and declare that Francis Ona is the winner over the Bougainville Crisis and the National Government the loser of the crisis.
2. That the National Government shall declare North Solomons Province to succede from the rest of Papua New Guinea.
3. That properties (Buildings, gardens, pigs etc) and those people killed be compensated immediately before the two parties meets for the negotiation.
4. That security force and normal duty police in the North Solomons to leave before negotiation table whereby the two parties will meet to negotiate 50% refund from the National Government, and the demmand of 10 Billion Kina from Bougainville Copper Company.

Please be advise that you listen to the recorded audition by Francis Ona as supplied today.

I hope you will take this matter to right officers concerned.

Thanking you for you co-operation.

Yours Faithfully,

Bruno Kobala
Bruno Kobala
for
FRANCIS ONA

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Leonard Fong Roka hails from the Tumpusiong Valley of the Panguna District in Bougainville.

He was born in Arawa in 1979 and has a degree in *PNG Studies and International Relations* (PGIR) from Divine Word University, Papua New Guinea.

He now lives in Nakorei Village in Buin, South Bougainville, with his wife Delpine and his children.