

Social and Spiritual Development  
Social Science

Unit 3: Transition and Change

## Bougainville – Case Study



**Additional Support Material**

## Acknowledgements

Materials written and compiled by Sue Lauer (PASTEP)

Cover picture: Painting by Gigs Wena (2001)

Layout and diagrams supported by Nick Lauer.

Date: 2 April 2002



*Primary and Secondary Teacher Education Project*

Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)  
GRM International

*Papua New Guinea-Australia Development Cooperation Program*

## Table of contents

<b>Bougainville - Background Notes.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>Bougainville Copper.....</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>The Bougainville conflict.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<b>Bougainville Peace Process .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<i>Chronology of the process.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<b>The Burnham Declaration .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Embarking on a New Revolution .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>A Return to an Old Promise .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Bougainville - Framework for Lasting Peace Settlement.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<i>Chronology.....</i>	<i>24</i>
<b>Phased Assumption of Powers Over Five Years .....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Islands of Sorrow .....</b>	<b>26</b>

**[Notes]**

# Bougainville - Background Notes

*From 1987 to December 1997*

## Bougainville Copper

The Bougainville Copper Agreement of 1974 was signed with some resentment on the part of the Bougainvillean landowners. It was a resentment bred of an insensitive approach on the part of the Australian negotiators going back to the 60s when the Australian rules, that anything below the surface, namely minerals, belonged not to the titleholders of land but to the government, applied. Bougainvilleans, naturally suspicious of outsiders, thought both the company and government officials, PNG or Australian, were determined to exploit them. Frustration over the land question, hostility and separatism went hand in hand. Therefore, from the beginning, Bougainville was a somewhat reluctant part of the new nation of Papua New Guinea. There was a unilateral declaration of independence in September 1975 on the eve of independence. The provincial government system within the constitution was devised to satisfy the desire of the Bougainvilleans for some control over their affairs. In 1975, it successfully stemmed the desire for succession, at least for the time being.

Prospecting had been carried out around Panguna from the beginning of the 1960s despite the resistance of the Nasioi landowners. The landowners distrusted whites to whom they had already lost land for plantations and they did not understand or accept the regulation which precluded them from the ownership of minerals. Mining on a large scale began at the Panguna site in April 1972. It was based on an agreement, (Bougainville Copper Agreement) made between the company and the Papua New Guinea administration and ratified by the House of Assembly in 1967.

The mine, and the associated infrastructure, was the largest operation in Papua New Guinea at the time. It involved roads, port facilities, power generation, the building of the town of Arawa (with a population of 15,000 by 1988), workers housing at Panguna and health, educational and sporting facilities.

Prior to the crisis the Panguna copper mine was a major employer of Bougainvilleans. Eighty per cent of the 8,000 employees were Papua New Guineans and forty percent of these nationals were Bougainvilleans. The mine contributed forty per cent of the Province's total revenue. Sales of minerals netted about 1900 million Kina, 30% of which was paid to the Papua New Guinea Government in taxes and a further 8% was paid in dividends to the government on shares it owned. This constituted approximately 17% of the PNG Government's internal revenues at that time.

The establishment of the mine involved the relocation of numbers of families caught in the path of its development. There were problems associated with the disposal of tons of overburden and tailings stored on the banks the Kawerong or washed into the Jaba River, changing its flow and poisoning its waters.

Compensation was to be paid for loss of gardens and dislocation, ranging from \$103 to \$60,000 annually with an average payment of \$590. Royalties of 1.25 per cent FPB of the value of production of which 5 per cent went to the landowners and 5 per cent to the

Provincial Government were paid. The complaint was that this was insufficient and that not all Bougainvilleans were eligible for it.

## The Bougainville conflict

### 1987

The present conflict on Bougainville began in 1987 as the dispute over compensation due for the use of land by the Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) mining company, a subsidiary of Conzinc Riotinto Australia (CRA), flared. The Panguna landowners, led by Pepetua Serero and her first cousin, Francis Ona, sought much greater compensation than the company was prepared to offer. They established themselves in opposition to the traditional landowners association which they believed had been too conciliatory towards BCL. They were younger, more radical and more passionate in their demands. Ona demanded K10 billion in compensation, a fifty per cent share in BCL profits and greater environmental protection.

### 1988

By November 1988, the failure of negotiations led to a program of disruption to and sabotage of the mining operation. Violence erupted in January 1989. In the initial stages of the conflict, it was the Mobile Squads (riot police) which sought to restore order. They were responsible to excesses, the burning of homes and villages and the abuse of the civilian population. In March of 1989, the police were reinforced by the Papua New Guinea Defence Forces (PNGDF).

### 1989

Throughout 1989, in April, May and September and in 1990 offers for a settlement were made by the PNG Government to the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). Each offer came to nothing. The peace offers were, unfortunately, accompanied by alternating policies of a heavy-handed military response. Moreover, it was a military response lacking discipline, focused command or clear objectives. The documented human rights abuses by the Papua New Guinea Defence Forces in this period consolidated the population behind the BRA and left a legacy of fear and suspicion which the PNGDF is still overcoming.

The '**Doi Package**' of 25 April 1989 offered to increase the central government's commitment to the development of the province's infrastructure. This included a portion of the 19% equity in the mine going to the Provincial Government. These proposals were largely accepted by the landowners but hostilities continued. The mine closed on 15 May 1989, and, apart from reopening for one day in September 1989, it has remained closed.

A further report on 17 May 1989, the '**Bika Report**', proposed Provincial Government control of the mine and the retention of 75% of the revenue raised in the province. A further offer was made of a truce to the BRA and an amnesty to Francis Ona. In September 1989, a settlement package based on the Bika Report was negotiated by the Namaliu Government with Premier Kabui, the premier of the North Solomons Province. It was a settlement that was abandoned before it was signed because of the killing of Mr John Bika, the author of the proposals.

The assassination of Mr Bika led the cabinet and Mr Diro, Special Minister of State to give the military carte blanche in their operations on Bougainville. Claims of human rights abuses of a serious nature abounded throughout 1989 and 1990 - extra-judicial executions, the burning of

village homes (1600 in 1989) and the beating and intimidation of people. The government promised action in the form of investigation and punishment. Little has resulted.

In June 1989, the PNG Government announced a state of emergency and in July, four Iroquois helicopters were received from the Australian Government

### 1990

In 1990, the dispute worsened considerably. On 14 February 1990 the PNGDF were apparently responsible for the massacre of people in an incident known as the St. Valentine's Day massacre, as a result of which five bodies were dropped at sea from the Iroquois helicopters. After this, in March, there was a cease-fire and the defence forces were withdrawn. The government of Prime Minister Namaliu began to restrict air and sea links to the island.

Francis Ona declared independence on 17 May 1990. The period of sole BRA authority did not deliver effective government.

A major effect towards resolution was made on 5 August 1990 with the signing of the **Endeavour Accords** aboard the New Zealand warship, Endeavour. The agreement sought to restore services but was never implemented after arguments developed about who was to be responsible for the delivery of those services. This was a lost opportunity.

### 1991 - 1993

**The Honiara Declaration** signed on 23 January 1991 by both PNG and Bougainvilleans sought to annul the unilateral declaration of independence of the BRA, to restore services cut off by the blockade of Bougainville, to introduce a Multinational Supervisory Team (MST) to supervise the truce and the handover of BRA arms and to offer an amnesty to the BRA. It was repudiated by the BRA delegates within hours of its being signed. They disclaimed any agreement to destroy their arms. This repudiation and the acceptance and then the turning away of relief supplies on 19 February appeared to indicate a leadership dispute within the BRA. Between January and May, the Honiara Declaration was accepted, rejected and then claimed to have been accepted by various spokesmen for the BRA. This confusion resulted in a further lost opportunity.

Throughout 1991 and 1992, the PNGDF gradually returned to Bougainville, usually with the general compliance of the population of the areas into which they moved, first to Buka after the Kavieng Agreement on 5 October 1990, then to North Bougainville in April 1991 and on to Wakunai in January 1992.

The retaking of much of Bougainville by the PNGDF appears to have been accompanied by a change of policy on the part of the government of PNG. More control appears to have been exerted over the defence forces and, over two years, there has developed a change in the relative fortunes and reputations of the contending forces. A series of events in 1991 and 1992 appear to have contributed to a drift of support away from the BRA.

- The BRA attempt to arrest a prominent Wakunai figure in late August - repulsed by local people
- The holding hostage and subsequent burning by the BRA of the relief vessel, Cosmaris, in Kieta harbour

- The rounding up of Roravana villagers by the BRA leader in February 1992 leading to an exodus of Roravans into the Wakunai PNGDF post
- The death of former MP, Tony Anugu and two or three of his supporters at hands of BRA in April 1992; and
- The denunciation of the BRA by Catholic Archbishop Kurongku on 27 July 1992

In April 1993, the Bougainville Leaders Forum (500 Bougainvilleans and 150 traditional leaders) met on Buka. They resolved that:

- The security forces remain firmly in place
- Succession was an impediment to peace
- The Provincial Government be reinstated
- A North Solomons Peace Negotiating and Monitoring Committee be formed
- The BRA leadership be invited to the next meeting

Throughout this period, the reactions of outsiders to the situation on Bougainville varied. Red Cross representative, Damien Wohlfahrt, visited in November 1991 and January 1992. He believed the number of deaths on the island were relatively small compared to other troubled areas in the world. In June 1992, another Red Cross representative, Jerry Talbor, visited the southern care centres and reported deficiencies in medical care.

In July, Rosemarie Gillespie, an Australian human rights lawyer and activist with close ties to the Bougainville successionists, released 30 statements alleging serious human rights abuses by the PNGDF.

In November, an AGE journalist and a Channel 9 team visited Bougainville and reported that the people in the care centres were deeply fearful of the BRA and genuinely grateful to the security forces. In May 1993, Sean Dorney and the ABC Foreign Correspondent program visited Bougainville. Their view confirmed the previous assessment which concluded that the people in the care centres wanted the PNGDF to remain to protect them.

The Amnesty Report, *Under the Barrel of a Gun: Bougainville 1991-1993*, was released in November 1993. It listed many quite specific cases of human rights abuses committed by both parties to the dispute, all of which warrant investigation. In the same month, Medecins Sans Frontieres left Bougainville after operational disputes with the administration on Bougainville. The Sunday Program visited Bougainville in February 1994 with an assessment of the situation similar to that made by Sean Dorney. The program commented in particular on the role of the Resistance as a new and potentially difficult element in the dispute.

Solomon Islands, concerned about the instability on its border and the potential for escalating conflict with PNG created by the war, this year has proposed a six-point initiative to the Papua New Guinea Government. The points are as follows:

- To normalise relations with Papua New Guinea
- To restore normal services on its side of the border
- To close down the BRA office in Honiara and encourage the setting up of a Peace Office in its place to be run by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) such as the Red Cross

- To encourage the convening of the proposed Pan Bougainville Leaders Conference
- To appoint an Honorary Consul in Port Moresby, and
- To negotiate with PNG a Border Treaty

In pursuance of point six, Solomon Islands Government sought models such as the Torres Strait Treaty between Australia and Papua New Guinea.

### *1994*

In April 1994, the Catholic Bishops of Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands were presented with a paper by Archbishop Karl Hesse, the Acting Chairman of the Conference and Archbishop of Rabaul, on the situation on the island. This paper concluded that the problems of Bougainville were urgent and that there was no military solution to the situation. It called for a cease-fire and the appointment of an independent mediator. It condemned the atrocities of the BRA and called on them to agree to a peaceful end to the crisis. For the immediate relief of the suffering on the island, the paper recommended:

- Greater support for the PNGDF in the form of food and fuel so that they could carry out their task of protecting people more effectively
- The supply of urgently needed humanitarian assistance to the care centres
- The replacement of the Resistance fighters whom it believed aggravated the situation, and
- An end to the discrimination against the Catholic Church and permission to the Catholic Archbishop, Archbishop Hesse, to visit the parishes on Bougainville

While the level of fighting scaled down, the violence had not stopped. Moreover, the aftermath of the war - refugees, destroyed infrastructure, lack of schooling and health facilities, unemployment, personal loss, fear and bitterness remain unresolved problems. The restoration and rehabilitation program seeks to address these problems, but is in danger of floundering for want of funds and the efficient delivery of programs. In the end, however, peace is a prerequisite to a rebuilding of Bougainville.

A delegation of Australian Parliamentarians under the leadership of Senator Stephen Loosely visited Bougainville in April of 1994, meeting with PNG Government and local Bougainvillean leaders. In September, the newly appointed PNG Prime Minister, Sir Julius Chan met with Sam Kauona, Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) army commander and member of the rebel Bougainville Interim Government (BIG). Their talks resulted in a cease-fire, followed by the Arawa peace conference. The senior BRA leadership reneged on their agreement to attend, but a break-away group of Bougainvilleans from the North Nasioi area did participate. In November, the Mirigini Charter was signed by Prime Minister Chan and Bougainville leaders, forming the basis for what was to become the Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG).

### *1995-1996*

The BTG was formally established in April 1995, with Theodore Miriung, leader of the North Nasioi people and a former BRA legal adviser, elected Premier.

Moves towards a peace settlement on Bougainville were made with some success. The most significant development was the holding of Bougainville leaders' talks in Cairns in December.

These talks were jointly chaired by representatives of the United Nations and Commonwealth Secretariats, who attended with the agreement of the PNG Government. At the meeting, both sides agreed to re-examine the possibility of another cease-fire.

Prospects for a peace settlement on Bougainville rapidly deteriorated after the Cairns talks. The dialogue process broke down after disagreement between the PNG Government and the rebels on the arrangements for further talks. Confidence in the negotiation process was severely undermined when elements of the PNG Defence Force (PNGDF) attempted to ambush the BRA/BIG delegation as they returned to Bougainville. Following the ambush there was an upsurge of violence and in response to increased hostilities between the PNGDF and the BRA, Prime Minister Chan announced on 21 March the lifting of the ceasefire on Bougainville which had been in place since September 1994.

PNG's Defence Minister Mathias Ijape announced the launch of a new PNG offensive on Bougainville, Operation *High Speed II*, on 20 June. *High Speed II* ended on 15 July when in the face of poor logistic support and intelligence as to BRA locations, mounting PNGDF casualties, and increasing discipline problems among the troops, the local commander stopped the offensive and withdrew.

The Premier of the BTG, Theodore Miriung, was shot dead on the evening of 12 October. An independent coronial inquiry suggested both PNGDF and Resistance members were implicated in the killing, but no charges have been laid to date. The assassination of Miriung was a serious setback to the prospects for a negotiated settlement on Bougainville.

### 1997

In early 1997, the PNG Government contracted a private military consultancy firm, Sandline International, a British-based firm with South African connections, to equip, train and assist the PNGDF to conduct a special military operation designed to defeat the BRA. Many Governments, most notably Australia, expressed strong opposition to the PNG Government's decision to engage mercenaries to seek a military solution to the Bougainville conflict. The introduction of mercenary forces into the South Pacific was considered to be destabilizing and a dangerous precedent. Within PNG, Prime Minister Chan sought to portray the mercenary activity as part of an overall strategy to develop the capabilities of the PNGDF and force the rebels to negotiate an end to the Bougainville conflict before the June 1997 election. Sir Julius' plan included a proposal by the PNG Government to purchase the giant mining company RTZ-CRA's 53% shareholding in Bougainville Copper Ltd (BCL), operators of the abandoned Panguna mine.

The Sandline operation was prematurely terminated due to widespread opposition by the PNGDF and its commander, Brigadier General Singirok and a Commission of Inquiry was set up to look into the mercenary contract. Sir Julius Chan, Mr Haiveta (the Deputy Prime Minister), and Mr Ijape stepped down from their offices for the duration of the inquiry. Justice Andrews, the Commissioner responsible for the Inquiry, handed acting Prime Minister Giheno the report of the Inquiry on 29 May. Giheno said he would release the Commission's findings publicly after he had read the 125-page report. On 2 June, Giheno suspended Head of the Prime Minister's Department Noel Levi for allegedly leaking the report, after former PNGDF Commander Singirok announced that he had been shown excerpts of the report by an Australian businessman (a close associate of Chan).

In a public statement on 2 June, Sir Julius Chan announced he had resumed the Prime Ministership that day, released the Inquiry report publicly and reinstated Levi. Chan said the report cleared himself, Finance Minister Haiveta and Defence Minister Ijape of impropriety.

On 3 June, John Giheno issued a statement claiming he remained acting Prime Minister. The statement asserted that the sidelined Prime Minister could not resume his position until the Inquiry Report was acted upon, including its "lawful" release to the public, however on 8 June, Giheno reversed his position and told a news conference that he was no longer claiming to be acting Prime Minister.

Polling for the 1997 National Elections commenced on 14 June 1997. On 22 July, Bill Skate, leader of the People's National Congress and National Capital District Governor, was elected Prime Minister over Sir Michael Somare by 71 votes to 35. Skate was the first Papuan to become Prime Minister and headed a coalition government comprising the People's National Congress, the People's Progress Party, Pangu, the People's Democratic Movement and a group of independents.

Talks were held in Honiara from 10-20 June 1997 between the Solomon Islands Government and elements of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army/Bougainville Interim Government (BRA/BIG). (These talks were part-funded by the Australian Government.) This led to agreement between the BRA/BIG and the Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG) to hold discussions at Burnham, New Zealand, in July. These talks concluded on 18 July 1997 with the "Burnham Declaration" which foreshadowed a role for international peacekeepers under UN auspices, called for the withdrawal of the PNG Defence Force, and recognised the right of Bougainvilleans to determine their "political future". It also called for a ceasefire, disarmament on Bougainville and guaranteed negotiations between Bougainvilleans and the PNG Government. Francis Ona, President of the BIG, did not attend the talks, and reacted negatively to the Declaration.

Between 5 and 18 July 1997, representatives of the BRA/BIG, the BTG and Bougainvillean MPs John Momis, Sam Akoitai and Michael Laimo, met in Burnham, New Zealand. The meeting resulted in a Declaration of nine points, aimed at ending the Bougainville crisis. The Declaration was signed by Joseph Kabui, Martin Miriori and Sam Kauona for the BRA/BIG and by Gerard Sinato, John Momis, and Sam Akoitai for the BTG and other Bougainvilleans. The Declaration:

1. Recognised the need for reconciliation and unity among Bougainvilleans
2. Agreed to work together with the PNG Government and to set up negotiations
3. Agreed to ending of the war on Bougainville, once talks with the PNG Government are established
4. Called for a ceasefire once neutral peacekeepers arrive on Bougainville
5. Requested the deployment of a neutral peacekeeping force on Bougainville, with a 'status of forces' agreement with the PNG Government, and with full BIG and BTG consultation
6. Agreed to the demilitarisation and disarmament of Bougainvilleans once a neutral peacekeeping force is deployed
7. Called for the lifting of the Blockade and removal of travel restrictions

8. Allowed for the people of Bougainville to exercise their right to determine their political future
9. Agreed to a meeting between Bougainvillean leaders and the PNG Government no later than September 1997 to set up the process, in a neutral place 'outside PNG or Bougainville'

After discussions with the MPs returning from Burnham, newly elected Prime Minister Bill Skate appointed Sam Akoitai Minister for Bougainville Affairs on 29 July 1997. The new ministry was to coordinate Bougainville policy throughout PNG. Skate was reported on his first day in office to have pledged to "listen to what the people of Bougainville want and assist them in finding a lasting solution to the crisis."

A second meeting was held in Burnham between 1st and the 10th October 1997. It was attended by representatives of all the parties to the conflict at officials level and saw important agreement on an interim truce and advanced the process of dialogue between the parties, including this time the PNG Government. The document established an immediate truce, recommended a return to normalcy and provided for the lifting of some restrictions, including on movement, with some limitations. The delegates also agreed to recommend a leaders level meeting to take place before 31 January 1998.

Further talks between the PNG Government and the Bougainville parties to the conflict took place in Cairns between 18 and 24 November 1997. The main purpose was to pave the way for the proposed Leaders' Meeting, to be held by 31 January 1998. However, preparations for the Truce Monitoring Group on Bougainville (TMG) figured prominently in the discussions. As well as providing the venue, Australia transported the approximately 50 delegates attending the talks, representing the PNG Government, the Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG), and the rebel Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) and Bougainville Interim Government (BIG). At the conclusion of the meeting, the parties issued a Commitment on Implementation of the Agreement Concerning the Neutral Regional Truce Monitoring Group (TMG) for Bougainville. Endorsed by all parties, the proposed agreement facilitates the deployment of the neutral TMG to Bougainville. The Commitment, endorsed by all parties to the Burnham Truce, declares the bodies and groups represented will:

- Ensure the TMG is safe at all times from attack, interference or hindrance
- Provide all possible assistance to the TMG in performance of its mandate and
- Urge all other bodies, groups and persons under their authority to do the same

The parties also agreed to establish a Peace Consultative Committee to facilitate consultation and liaison among themselves; with the TMG; and at the local level.

The Bougainville Truce Monitoring Group, led by New Zealand, is predominantly military in composition, mainly New Zealand Defence Force personnel but with some representation from the Pacific Island Countries, and includes 19 Australian civilians. The Deputy Commander of the TMG is an Australian civilian. The Australian Defence Force is providing the bulk of the logistical support.

The Australian Government accepted a formal invitation from PNG Prime Minister Skate to participate in the TMG. An advance reconnaissance team arrived on Bougainville on

20 November 1997 and the advance team arrived there on 27 November 1997. The rest of the Australian truce monitors arrived on Bougainville on 6 December 1997.

Since coming to power in the July National Elections, the new PNG Government has endorsed in principle the Burnham Declaration and agreed to the Government participating in the next two rounds of negotiations. Australia assisted by transporting delegates to the next round of talks which took place from 15-23 January 1998 at Lincoln University in Christchurch, New Zealand. The Lincoln Agreement on Peace, Security and Development on Bougainville was signed by all parties at this meeting.

Those who signed the Agreement included Sir John Kaputin (PNG Government), Gerard Sinato (Bougainville Transitional Government), Joseph Kabui (Bougainville Interim Government), General Sam Kauona (Bougainville Revolutionary Army), and Hilary Masiria (Resistance). Mr Downer attended the closing ceremony on 23 January.

Main elements of the agreement include:

- A 'permanent and irrevocable' ceasefire on Bougainville, due to take effect from 30 April
- An extension of the truce monitoring group (TMG) until 30 April
- The appointment of a UN special observing mission to monitor peacekeeping arrangements
- Agreement to a phased withdrawal of the PNG Defence Force from Bougainville subject to restoration of civil authority
- An offer by the PNG government to remove bounties and grant amnesty and pardons to 'persons involved in crisis-related activities'
- Agreement to cooperate in the restoration and development of Bougainville
- Agreement to meet on Bougainville before the end of June to address the issue of Bougainville's political future, and
- Agreement to hold elections on Bougainville to elect a Bougainville Reconciliation Government before the end of 1998

The current TMG operation was rolled over for a second rotation in early February and the second group will remain until the end of April when the ceasefire is due to take effect.

*SOURCE: <http://www.dfat.gov.au> (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade)*

# Bougainville Peace Process

## Chronology of the process

1997	
<b>5-18 July</b>	First Burnham meeting in New Zealand, leading to the Burnham Declaration, committed the Bougainvillean factions to a peaceful settlement of the Bougainville conflict.
<b>August</b>	Mr Downer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, announced a \$100 million package of aid to Bougainville to facilitate the peace process, and to promote reconstruction and development in the province via a peace dividend.
<b>10 October</b>	Second meeting leading to Burnham Truce, established an immediate truce and advanced the process of dialogue between the parties, including the PNG Government.
<b>24 November</b>	PNG Government and Bougainvillean officials meeting in Cairns, reached final agreement on an agenda for the leader's meeting and concluded arrangements for the deployment of a regional Truce Monitoring Group (TMG). This resulted in members of the parties signing the Cairns Commitment on Implementation of the Agreement Concerning the Neutral Regional Truce Monitoring Group.
<b>5 December</b>	The Agreement between Papua New Guinea, Australia, Fiji, New Zealand and Vanuatu Concerning the Neutral Truce Monitoring Group for Bougainville was signed. This agreement, of treaty status, provided the legal framework for the deployment of the TMG.
<b>5 December</b>	The regional TMG, deployed to Bougainville under the command of a New Zealand Defence Force Brigadier, had an average strength of about 250. Australia provided between 90-110 personnel to the TMG (December 1997 to March 1998) with 15 to 20 of the participants being civilians and the rest ADF.
1998	
<b>19-23 January</b>	At Lincoln University, the PNG Government and Bougainville leaders signed the Lincoln Agreement on Peace, Security and Development on Bougainville. The Lincoln Agreement provided for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An extension of the truce and TMG until 30 April 1998, when a permanent ceasefire was to come into effect;</li> <li>• The establishment of a successor to the TMG (a peace monitoring group) to be deployed after 30 April;</li> <li>• The phased withdrawal of the PNGDF, subject to the restoration of civil authority;</li> </ul>

- A leader's meeting to be held on Bougainville by the end of June 1998 to discuss the future political status of Bougainville; and
- 
- The formation of a Bougainville Reconciliation Government (BRG) before the end of 1998.

The leader's also agreed to the deployment of a UN Observer Mission to Bougainville.

<b>9 March</b>	A technical meeting of the parties to the Lincoln Agreement, in Canberra, considered strategies for following up the Lincoln Agreement and achieved important progress towards negotiation of a text for the ceasefire agreement, UN involvement and policing.
<b>22 April</b>	The UN Security Council adopted a statement supporting the peace process and asking the Secretary-General to consider arrangements for the UN's involvement. The limited mandate of the UN mission was to monitor and report on the implementation of the ceasefire (consistent with the Lincoln Agreement).
<b>30 April</b>	The parties met in Arawa and signed a permanent and irrevocable ceasefire agreement. The Agreement was modified by a protocol signed by the parties to take account of the shift from a truce to a ceasefire and the establishment of the Peace Monitoring Group (PMG).
<b>2 June</b>	The PNG Executive Council (NEC) announced that it would rescind the call-out order for the PNGDF in Arawa.
<b>10-11 June</b>	The parties agreed to establish Arawa as a neutral zone.
<b>15 June</b>	The UN Security Council wrote to the Secretary-General, agreeing to his proposal to deploy a five-person UNOMB.
<b>July</b>	The UN Observer Mission first deployed to Bougainville at the end of July 1998.
<b>19 August</b>	The PNG NEC rescinded the call-out order for the PNGDF for the whole of Bougainville.
<b>20-22 August</b>	A meeting of Bougainville leaders was held in Buin, resulting in the signing of the Buin Declaration. Bougainvilleans' reconfirmed their commitment to the formation of the Bougainville Reconciliation Government (BRG).
<b>1 October</b>	The PNG Parliament passed the first reading of amendments to both the Constitution and Organic Law that would form the legal framework for the BRG.
<b>7-8 October</b>	The first Peace Process Consultative Committee (PPCC) meeting was held. The Committee was established as a mechanism for the parties to meet, discuss and form recommendations on issues relating to the peace process.
<b>2 November</b>	A second set of amendments to the Constitution and Organic Law, allowing members of Parliament representing Bougainville in the national Government to hold executive office in the BRG, was gazetted.

<b>6 November</b>	At an informal leader's meeting at Petats (Buka, Bougainville), the parties agreed that a second parliamentary vote on the BRG enabling legislation, endorsed by Parliament in October (the constitution required a second vote on the amendments no less than two months after the first vote), should proceed in December 1998.
<b>17-18 November</b>	A meeting of the informal Peace Process Steering Committee (PPSC) took place in Brisbane. Its role is to consult regularly on issues arising from activities of the PMG, including, as appropriate, with the PPCC. The PPSC comprises the PNG Government (as Chair), Australia and the other PMG participating countries and the UNOMB.
<b>4-5 December</b>	The PNG Parliament failed to support the second vote on the October amendments. In response, officials from the PNG Government and the Bougainville parties drafted an alternative agreement for the formation of the Bougainville Reconciliation Government (BRG).
<b>9 December</b>	The UN Security Council voted to extend the mandate of the UNOMB for a year.
<b>11 December</b>	Mr Downer opened the AusAID-funded Buka Hospital and the upgrade of the Buka airstrip.
<b>15 December</b>	PNG Government officials and factional leaders initialled a Basic Agreement on Bougainville. Under the terms of the Basic Agreement, the parties committed to pursuing peace by peaceful means and to cooperate and consult in the implementation of the Lincoln Agreement.
<b>24 December</b>	A BRG Constitution was adopted by acclamation at a 'constitutional convention' attended by Bougainville parties in Arawa (although not approved by the PNG Government). The constitution contained provisions for the establishment of a Bougainville Constituent Assembly (BCA) as an advisory body ahead of an election of a BRG.
<b>31 December</b>	The Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG) expired as the governing authority on Bougainville.
<b>1999</b>	
<b>1 January</b>	As part of a revised BRG establishment strategy, the NEC suspended the new Bougainville provincial government established under the new Organic Law on Local Level and Provincial Governments. This placed the province under NEC control with supervisory responsibility afforded to then Minister for Bougainville Affairs, Sam Akoitai. (The suspension's lapsing would have resulted in Bougainville Regional MP John Momis assuming the Bougainville governorship.)
<b>7 January</b>	The PNG Opposition (John Momis) claimed that the NEC decision to suspend the provincial government was unconstitutional. The Opposition referred the matter to the National Court and sought relief orders to allow Bougainville Regional MP John Momis to act as Governor.
<b>15 January</b>	The Bougainville Constituent Assembly was formed at a meeting of Bougainvilleans in Arawa. The BIG's Joseph Kabui and Gerard Sinato (former BTG Premier) were elected as co-chairman.
<b>15-16 January</b>	The BCA met and adopted the BRG Basic Agreement and the BRG Constitution. The NEC had endorsed the BRG Basic Agreement but had not

	considered the BRG Constitution.
<b>27 January</b>	The National Court referred the matter to the Supreme Court to a date to be fixed.
<b>22 February</b>	Guyanese diplomat Noel Sinclair replaced Valery Marusin as Director of the UNOMB.
<b>10 March</b>	The first PPCC meeting for 1999 was held in Arawa, Bougainville, and focused on weapons disposal. On this subject, the BRA's proposal linked the disposal of BRA weapons to the withdrawal from Bougainville of the PNGDF and RPNGC Mobile Squads. The PNG Government paper identified the destruction of weapons as the Government's preferred plan.
<b>14-22 April</b>	A meeting in New Zealand of leaders from the parties to the conflict, culminated in the Matakana & Okataina Understanding. The Matakana Understanding paved the way for the formation of an interim advisory body - the Bougainville People's Congress (BPC) - to replace the BCA.
<b>May</b>	The BPC was formed through a combined election/selection process over a two-week period.
<b>26 May</b>	An Inauguration ceremony of the Bougainville People's Congress was held. Joseph Kabui was elected President and James Tanis (Ex-BIG) and Thomas Anis (ex-BTG) were elected as Co-Vice Presidents.
<b>30 May</b>	BPC President Kabui announced the formation of a BPC executive - the Congressional Executive Council (CEC).
<b>2 June</b>	At a meeting of the PPCC, the UNOMB was mandated to draft, in consultation with the parties to the conflict, a plan for weapons disposal.
<b>10 July</b>	An agreement, on a set of principles governing Bougainville's political future - the Hutjema Minute - was signed by then Prime Minister Bill Skate and BPC President Kabui. The Minute included an agreement by Mr Skate to consider any proposal for a referendum on Bougainville's political status and that Bougainville should have increased autonomy. The Hutjema Minute was not endorsed by the PNG Cabinet before Mr Skate resigned and parliament elected a new prime minister.
<b>14 July</b>	The Morauta Government was elected.
<b>2 August</b>	PM Morauta announced the appointment of Director, Mr Bill Dihm to head the new Bougainville Peace and Restoration Office (BPRO) (replacing the Office of Bougainville Affairs). The BPRO's charter is focus on a political settlement in Bougainville and to bring about an early return to normalcy.
<b>5 August</b>	A report on the suspension of the Bougainville Provincial Government was tabled in PNG Parliament. Subsequently, a National Investigation Committee (NIC) was formed to travel to Bougainville to assess the grounds for the suspension.
<b>26 August</b>	Sir Michael Somare was appointed Bougainville Affairs Minister.
<b>7-11 September</b>	The NIC visited Bougainville and attended nine public hearings.

<b>29 October</b>	Representatives of the parties met on Nissan Island and agreed to discuss issues of full autonomy and a referendum with the PNG Government. This resulted in the signing of 'The Nehan Resolution'.
<b>16 November</b>	The Buka Resolution, adopted by members of parliament and Bougainvillean leaders, endorsed a political negotiation's timetable and agreed on identifying a negotiating team.
<b>26 November</b>	A five-judge Supreme Court bench unanimously agreed that the provincial suspension of the Bougainville Provincial Government on 31 December 1998 and Parliament's decision to extend the suspension for another six months was illegal, null and void. As a result, MP John Momis would become Governor.
<b>29 November</b>	Bougainvillean leaders, in a meeting at Buka, signed a joint "Bougainville Negotiating Position", which outlined an autonomy position, means of implementing and guaranteeing the agreed political package and options for a deferred referendum.
<b>2 December</b>	A meeting of ex-combatant members (BRA and Resistance Commanders) to resolve on the way forward with negotiations with the PNG Government took place in Arawa, culminated in the signing of 'The Arawa Resolution'.
<b>10 December</b>	National Member of Parliament, John Momis was sworn in as Bougainville Governor.
<b>15 December</b>	The "Hutjena Record" on the Bougainville common negotiating position, was signed by the PNG Government and BPC President Kabui.
<b>16 December</b>	The Green House Agreement was signed by Governor Momis and other Bougainvillean leaders, on interim administrative arrangements in the Province.
<b>2000</b>	
<b>21 January</b>	The PNG Government announced the second round of political negotiations, scheduled in the Hutjena Record to take place before end of January, would be postponed until 17 February.
<b>25 January</b>	Prime Minister Morauta announced the formation of a bipartisan committee on Bougainville ("The National Committee on Bougainville"), chaired by Sir Michael Somare, to consider options for the Government's response to the Bougainvillean negotiating position.
<b>25 January</b>	Prime Minister Morauta also announced that the Green House Agreement - a document, concluded by Governor Momis and other Bougainvillean leaders on 16 December 1999 - would be the basis for the interim administrative arrangements in the Province.
<b>8 February</b>	A Bougainvillean delegation, led by BPC Vice-President James Tanis, arrived in Port Moresby to undertake a series of calls on PNG Ministers and officials.
<b>6 -7 March</b>	Second round of political negotiations in Buka between PNG delegation led

	by Sir Michael Somare and Bougainvillean leaders. No substantive outcome achieved but parties agreed to a further round of negotiations in mid-March.
<b>17-23 March</b>	Third round of political negotiations at Loloata Island (off Port Moresby) and in Port Moresby. Bougainvillean delegation to talks led by BPC President Joseph Kabui, making his first visit to Port Moresby since the conflict began. Loloata Understanding concluded by the parties.
<b>30 March</b>	Interim Bougainville Provincial Government sworn in by the PNG Governor General at Buka.
<b>23 May - 9 June</b>	Officials followed by Leaders talks in Port Moresby at the Gateway Hotel. The Gateway Communiqué signed by the leaders on 9 June.
<b>4-6 July</b>	PNG Government Bougainville policy workshop held in Port Moresby.
<b>7-19 July</b>	Technical Talks in Port Moresby
<b>26 August - 8 September</b>	Officials talks in Port Moresby followed by Leader's talks, possibly in Rabaul
<b>01 September</b>	Prime Minister Morauta makes a statement on Bougainville to the National Parliament. The statement confirms the Government's agreement to higher autonomy for Bougainville and announces a review mechanism to determine whether the PNG Constitution should be amended to include provision for referenda on issues of national importance.
<b>4-6 September</b>	National Government and Bougainville leaders meet in Rabaul. The record of the meeting welcomes Prime Minister Morauta's statement on Bougainville and agreed that review mechanism on referenda would be used to deliver a referendum for Bougainville consistent with the Loloata Understanding.
<b>October 2000</b>	Various rounds of officials and leaders talks. In late October, officials produced a draft composite text for a settlement agreement.
<b>November 2000</b>	Talks made little headway with hope of legislative amendments being put to the national parliament before the end of 2000 fading.
<b>December 2000</b>	Officials and Leaders talks occur from 21 November-09 December. On 09 December, the talks conclude with no agreement. The Bougainvilleans return to Bougainville and issue a number of press releases critical of the national government and calling for greater international and regional pressure to be brought to bear on PNG. The National Government calls for the Bougainvilleans to return to the negotiating table.
<b>19 December</b>	The Hon Sir Michael Somare, MP, is replaced by The Hon Bart Philemon, MP, as Minister for Bougainville Affairs.
<b>20 December</b>	Plans for further leaders talks, possibly as early as 29-30 December, are being developed.
<b>2001</b>	
<b>5 January</b>	During talks at Buka, the Acting Minister for Bougainville Affairs, Moi Avei, and the Bougainville leadership reach an understanding on the compromise proposals for a referendum on independence.
<b>26 January</b>	PNG National Government and Bougainville leaders initial a set of agreed

principles on a deferred conditional referendum on independence at Kokopo, East New Britain province.

**February**

Weapons Disposal Talks in Townsville (19-26 February) between the PNG National Government and Bougainville factions. No final agreement is reached

**March**

Since 8 March leaders and officials from Bougainville and the PNG National Government are engaged in talks on autonomy

*SOURCE: <http://www.dfat.gov.au> (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade)*

# The Burnham Declaration

## BY BOUGAINVILLE LEADERS ON THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROCESS FOR LASTING PEACE AND JUSTICE ON BOUGAINVILLE - July 5- 18, 1997

We, the leaders of the people of Bougainville, having met in Burnham, New Zealand, from 5-18 July 1997, in order to end the war and restore lasting peace on Bougainville, hereby commit ourselves to the establishment of a clear process for the achievement of a political settlement to the war on Bougainville with the Government of Papua New Guinea, and declare that we are united in our common stand on the following:

### 1. Unity and Reconciliation

We recognise that the war on Bougainville has divided our people. In order to achieve lasting peace, we must reconcile with ourselves as leaders to ensure that there is unity and reconciliation among our people at all levels of the community.

### 2. Process for Negotiation

We will work together with the Government of Papua New Guinea to set up a process for negotiations between Bougainville Leaders and the Government of Papua New Guinea.

### 3. Ending the War

As soon as the process referred to under Clause 9 below is established between Bougainville Leaders and the Government of Papua New Guinea, we will jointly bring about an end to the war on Bougainville.

### 4. Declaration of Ceasefire

In order to help create a peaceful environment for a neutral peacekeeping force to come and maintain peace on Bougainville, the Bougainville Leaders urge all parties under force of arms to agree to a declaration of a ceasefire, which shall take effect simultaneously with the arrival of the first contingent of the peacekeeping force on Bougainville.

### 5. A Neutral Peacekeeping Force

5.1 We believe that a neutral Peacekeeping Force is essential to the peace process. We, therefore, request that such a force be invited to Bougainville at the beginning of the process for a period of not more than three years under the auspices of the United Nations.

5.2 We desire also that before a 'Status of Forces' Agreement is agreed to by the State of Papua New Guinea and countries contributing to the Peacekeeping Force that the Bougainville interim Government and the Bougainville Transitional Government be fully consulted, and be party to it.

### 6. Demilitarisation of Bougainville

6.1 The demilitarisation of Bougainville is an essential step in the peace process. We, therefore, call for the complete withdrawal of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force within a time frame to be agreed to between Bougainville Leaders and the Government of Papua New Guinea.

6.2 As part of this demilitarisation process, there shall also be the laying down of arms by all Bougainvilleans, currently under the force of arms over a period of time, which will be supervised by the Peacekeeping Force in conjunction with the Bougainville Transitional Government and the Bougainville Interim Government.

#### 7. Lifting of Blockade and Removal of Restrictions

We agree that there is a need for access throughout Bougainville to relevant donor organisations and other humanitarian agencies, including ICRO and UNICEF, for the implementation of health and education programs, and for the restoration of basic needs. We further undertake to pursue discussions with the Papua New Guinea Government to this end.

#### 8. Political Process

We undertake to ensure that the people of Bougainville, as a people, freely and democratically exercise their right to determine their political future.

#### 9. Commencement of Process and Venue for First Meeting

We will move to have the first meeting of Bougainville Leaders with the Government of Papua New Guinea no later than September 1997 to set up the process and begin its implementation. We further agree that this meeting be held in a neutral place outside Papua New Guinea or Bougainville.

Declared at Burnham this 18 July 1997.

Joseph Kabui, Leader of BIG/BRA Delegation

Sam Kauona, Leader of BTC Delegation

Martin Miriori

John Momis MP

Sam Akoitai

*SOURCE: <http://www.dfat.gov.au> (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade)*

## Embarking on a New Revolution

*'Enhancing national unity by empowering people through autonomy'*

In our determined, bi-partisan effort to put an end to the bloody revolution which cost 15,000 lives and reduced the once premier province, North Solomons, to basic humanity, we tried to adopt an analytical and creative approach to help us have some appreciation of the root causes of the biggest tragedy in peace-time in our country's history. And as we understand what made the normally peace loving Bougainvilleans take up arms in defence of their rights against a perceived aggressor and discern the signs of the times. As we learn from the collective experience, knowledge and wisdom of our people who expressed their legitimate aspirations and needs in various ways, we'll be in a better position to offer a prescription to heal the past and chart a new future that embraces integrity, legitimacy, freedom and justice etc.

From the outset we have determined as our mission statement to evolve a new political regime based on the Principle of Subsidiarity to devolve substantial autonomous powers to Bougainville within the parameters of the national constitutional framework. Permanent peace and civil authority would be restored as a consequence of the granting of autonomy because it would make the people of Bougainville legitimate stakeholders in the creative national enterprise of nation building and national development.

The Bougainville tragedy is truly a man-made problem because leaders in government and in private enterprise dismally failed to pay heed to the National Goals and Directive Principles of the National Constitution. I guess the leaders did not feel obliged to adhere to them because they were not legally enforceable.

The National Goals and the Directive Principles of the Constitution call upon the leaders and the people of PNG to create an egalitarian society and to promote a participatory self-reliant development. Had past successive governments demonstrated creative political and moral leadership and proactively tried to establish the kind of egalitarian society as envisaged in the vision enshrined in the goals and principles of the National Constitution, I believe there would have been no rebellion.

The people were forced to rebel against the process of systematic and consistent marginalisation that made them powerless and alienated. Institutionalised monopoly of governmental power and responsibility which is prevalent in modern PNG is contrary to the second goal of the Constitution which calls for decentralisation and power sharing and also out of place with the highly diversified society of PNG.

We the people of PNG stand at the threshold of a new DEAL, a new covenant between the people and the National Government poised to take a plunge into the realm of possibilities and potentialities. Out of this we can, by taking creative measures, transform society by promoting equality and the ethical dimension of society rather than just being involved in the process of integration of our people into the existing unjust structures. Such structures promote the gap between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the powerless, the literate and the illiterate, the healthy and the sick, the elites and the grassroots, which is the source of breakdown in law and order and the rebellion against authority

Under the new DEAI, we are embarking upon a NEW REVOLUTION that rejects war and violence, corruption and greed, injustice and marginalisation etc. Rather it embraces peace and justice, equality and freedom, good governance and transparency, empowerment of people and democracy and the ethical dimension of development. Under the new socio-economic political regime we will be guided and motivated by the National Goals and Directive Principles of the Constitution.

Based on the conclusion of the process of structural analysis of issues and problems, we ought to have the political will and the moral courage to effect a paradigm shift to enable us to attain the desired goal of our human endeavours and aspirations. If we listen to our people's grievances and desires and by discerning the signs of the times, we will know that they are calling for empowerment. They want to be liberated from being dependent and therefore vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation at the hands of the powerful who are unscrupulous and unprincipled.

Development is not just about growth in Gross National Product (GNP,) nor is it about distribution of benefits only. These two factors form only part of the solution to the problem of the ever-expanding gap between the rich and the poor. And unless we have the political will and the moral courage to provide the missing link, we will be subjected to the perennial evil of powerlessness. Together with the need for capitalisation and distribution of benefits, it is important, if not more important to empower the people through structural distribution of political/governmental power and responsibility to take control of their own affairs in a self-reliant manner.

Autonomy is about real reform which has to do with the fundamental question of distribution of POWER (which is the source of the benefits) and not just the distribution of benefits whilst the distributing power, the source, is monopolised at the centre.

The real reason why a rapidly increasing number our people are finding it difficult to make ends meet is not because our country is poor, but rather because the system is unjust Greed has been institutionalised and to great extent is perpetrated through public structures and institutions. Our problems in PNG are not so much economic, social, or political as they are moral. At the root of these socio-economic, political problems we find a disturbing moral problem whereby many people are not prepared to accept the Principle of Equitable Distribution and the rejection of the Principle of 'The end justifying the means. Unless the national leadership is prepared to accept substantial decentralisation of power to the provinces to enable them to take control of their own affairs, the rural people will be further marginalised and disempowered. No matter what the National Government does in terms of providing services to the rural areas it will remain a cosmetic treatment to the problem as the Centre will always take the 'lion's share' of the funds and other benefits.

The National Government and the combined Bougainville Leadership representing the various factions on the ground have adopted a cooperative all-inclusive approach in dealing, with the issues in the negotiations. When the negotiations are completed we are hopeful and confident that the Comprehensive Political Agreement on Referendum, Weapons Disposal and Autonomy will result in a win/win situation for all.

Let us grasp this historic moment and creative opportunity with faith to seal the covenant of reconciliation, justice, peace and unity for all our people.

**By JOHN MOMIS - Governor of Bougainville**

**The National, 18 June 2001**

## A Return to an Old Promise

Bougainville Governor Mr John Momis referred to the new deal on Bougainville as an embarkation upon a "new revolution that rejects war and violence, corruption and greed, injustice and marginalisation ... etc. 'Rather,' he argued, 'it embraces peace and justice, equality and freedom, good governance and transparency, empowerment of people and democracy and the ethical dimension of development.'

The new deal calls for transfer of powers over policing, teaching and the courts to Bougainville with possibly more to follow. Mr Momis' arguments for the most part and as always were succinct, compelling and authoritative. They must be because his is the only voice that has been consistent since Independence on the matter of decentralisation and devolution of power to the people. His description of the Bougainville deal as a 'New Deal' and as an embarkation of a 'New Revolution' may be so for Bougainville specifically but such descriptions are inaccurate from the national perspective.

This is no new revolution. This is no new deal. This is a return to an old promise. A promise made 27 years ago to the people of Papua New Guinea by the Constitutional Planning Committee under the stewardship of the Deputy Chairman of that committee Mr (then Fr) John Momis. Mr Momis admits as much himself when he refers repeatedly to the national Goals and Directive Principles in his 'new deal' statement. The Constitutional Planning Committee in its Final Report made statements which are remarkably identical to the sentiments just expressed by Mr Mornis.

In the Underlying Principles on Nation-Building the CPC stated: "At this stage in our political history we must all be concerned with the vital but difficult task of building a nation. True nation-building, however, especially in a land with peoples as diverse as ours, cannot be achieved by the central government imposing its will through bureaucratic processes. That would be a mere continuation of the old colonial system, an exchange of masters, in which the gap between 'they' the government and 'we' the people remained as large and unbridgeable as ever. True nation-building can come only through the active and meaningful involvement of the people in their own development.

- On Development of the People the CPC stated: It is development of the people rather than development of the country that we have sought to emphasise.
- On Participation and Decentralisation: "To be actively and meaningfully involved in their own development our people must have the right to participate in the political process of decision-making at all levels of society."
- On Consultation and Consensus: "True participation in our societies requires consultation and consensus. In addition to political decentralisation, this must also mean that our national institutions of government are so designed that participation in decision-making is spread among our elected representatives.

These are the considerations that the man in charge of the deliberations in 1974 is repeating right now. If Mr Momis' "New Deal" contains the very same proposals and suggestions that were put to PNG at the time of its Independence then what are the guarantees that the current deal will work where the former one did not?

Is it exclusively for Bougainville or will it be applied elsewhere in PNG at some later period? If the original deal as contained in the Constitution failed miserably as it did then what are the lessons we can learn from it so that this revitalised deal does not only work for Bougainville but for the rest of Papua. New Guinea? It is important to take a measured stride down our historical lane for these lessons. When the Constituent Assembly passed the PNG National Constitution in August 1975, it dropped the important provision for Decentralisation and Devolution of powers to the provinces, a brainchild of Mr Momis.

The Government at that time felt, quite rightly it turned out, that the nation was not quite ready for devolution of powers to the provinces. Mr Momis, the Regional Member for Bougainville thought otherwise. He was right also it turned out. Bougainville was one of the few provinces which was administratively capable of managing its own affairs at the time of independence. In addition its economy was robust. It was the largest producer of copra and cocoa in the country and in 1974 PNG had signed into existence and operation the largest open-pit copper mine in the world - Bougainville Copper Ltd. So a justifiably angry John Momis led his Bougainville MPs out of Parliament threatening independence for Bougainville when the newly adopted Constitution did not have what for him was one of the central pillars of democracy - a provision for decentralisation of powers to the provinces. In October 1976 the young Parliament capitulated to the Bougainville demand. Parliament enacted the very first amendment to the Constitution for the inclusion of the dropped decentralisation provision.

That is our History Lesson No 1: Never give in to demands by a few when the welfare of many might be at stake. In 1976 one province, Bougainville, was ready for provincial government. Many others were not ready. Perhaps a few other provinces were ready too but nobody bothered to find out which were ready and which were not.

History Lesson No 2: Research and study carefully the full effects, benefits and drawbacks of a law or policy before applying it. Provinces in any country or any district in any province never develop at exactly the same rate. Some advance ahead of others and others lag far behind for a variety of reasons. Applying certain policies uniformly across the board, particularly of the kind such as decentralisation of powers can have detrimental effects. The history of governance in this country is replete with examples of failed but magnificent laws and policies for precisely this reason.

History Lesson No. 3: Evolution is better than revolution. Gradual application of a new idea is far better than wholesale application across the board. That is because pilot projects, like laboratory experiments, have defined boundaries. Certain variables are introduced and studied for their effects and benefits. Mistakes are corrected and new ideas added to the original to improve the concept before it is ready for broader application. Were it done in the application of the Organic Law on Provincial Governments no doubt a check-list of minimum requirements for the attainment of provincial governments would have been circulated and administrative and financial preparedness of the province would have been thoroughly checked before it were declared fit and ready. In that way some provinces would have had provincial governments before others. And the competition between provinces to gain acceptance would have spurred some of our lax provincial bureaucracies into greater productivity.

History Lesson No. 4: If a law appears not to be functioning, look first not at the law but at the people and system which is meant to implement the law. The former Organic Law of Provincial Governments was well reasoned out. It arose from broad discussions carried out into every province and town of the country. It just was not applied as progressively and methodically as pointed out above. If it were a defective law, how come the new Organic Law

on Provincial and Local Level Governments appears even more defective and the system of government ineffective. Indeed the former OLPG sought clearly to devolve powers and benefits to the lower tiers of government. The new OLPLG has withdrawn and centralised some very important functions.

In many respects the lessons referred to above had not been learnt at the time of its application. Most importantly, as PNG is poised on this embarkation onto a higher plane of decentralisation for one of its provinces, its leadership ought to apply some of the checks referred to above as regards its applicability to the rest of the nation.

John Momis, in 1975 and now, is convinced it can be done in Bougainville. That is good for him. That is what his people elected him to do. Now for the rest! Can other PNG leaders stop treating Bougainville as a one-off case and begin to think about how Bougainville's "new deal" might be received by the rest of the country? Let there be no blind application of the Bougainville case across the board as was the case when it first threatened secession and we all ended up with the Provincial Government system.

Because one thing is certain, when the Bougainville deal is finally unveiled every other province will want the same. Why? Central Province, another province where there had been secessionist sentiments but under a different leader at the time of Independence, only this week wanted the very same treatment as Bougainville. Yet where has there been the consultation, the consensus, the head and heartaches, the soul searching and bloodletting to equal that which has gone into Bougainville these past ten years? What comes out for Bougainville is going to be the by-product of ten years of physical and verbal fighting, of meetings, of soul searching and brain-storming.

We may want none of the bloodletting but there must at least be the dead serious consultation, the soul searching and the wide consultation at every level that has gone into the Bougainville case, in other provinces if they want the same deal. In other words not only the leadership but the people must be involved, must be consulted, must be aware and most importantly, must agree.

PNG made a bad mistake once. It paid a heavy price for it. Bougainville's new deal should become the rest of PNG's second chance. This time, with the benefit of hindsight, with the lessons from history, it should not make the same mistake again. The price it pays this time might be too much - that might include its very survival as a nation.

By Frank Senge Kolma

*SOURCE: The National, 20 June 2001 – PNG daily newspaper*

# Bougainville - Framework for Lasting Peace Settlement

## Chronology

Yesterday's Bougainville Peace Agreement is one of more than 20 agreements signed in the pursuit for peace, normalcy and a political settlement on Bougainville since 1989.

These, with the dates of signing, include:

1. Joint Declaration for Peace and Recreation – 30 November 1989.
2. Agreement to end hostilities (first ceasefire) – 1 March 1990.
3. Endeavour Accord – 5 August 1990.
4. Malagan Accord – 5 October 1990.
5. Honiara Declaration – 3 January 1991.
6. Tamba Accord – 27 August 1994.
7. Honiara Commitment – 3 September 1994
8. Ceasefire Agreement on Bougainville – 8 September 1994
9. Agreement between National Government, Department of North Solomons and BRA Commanders – 18 October 1994.
10. Mirigini Charter – 25 November 1994.
11. Waigani Communiqué – 18 May 1995.
12. Joint Statement on Amnesty – 29 July, 1995
13. Areas of Common Understanding – 3 August 1995
14. Honiara Record of Understanding – 16 August 1995.
15. All Bougainville Leaders Talks in Cairns – 1996
16. Burnham Declaration – 18 July 1997.
17. Burnham Truce – 10 October 1997.
18. Agreement on Truce Monitoring Group – November 1997
19. Cairns Commitment – 24 November 1997
20. Lincoln Agreement – 23 January 1998.
21. Ceasefire Agreement – 30 April 30 1998.
22. Hutjena Minute – 10 July 1999.
23. Hutjena Record – 15 December 1999.
24. Loloata Agreement – 23 March 2000.
25. Gateway Communiqué – 9 June 2000
26. Bougainville Peace Agreement – 30 August 2001.

*Post- Courier 30 August 2001*

## ***Phased Assumption of Powers Over Five Years***

THE autonomous government of Bougainville will start with powers currently enjoyed by the interim provincial government and assume other powers and functions within five years after establishment. Its jurisdiction will extend to sea-areas where the National Government has power (200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ)) but its territory will extend to three nautical miles from the coasts of islands within the borders specified in the Organic Law on Provincial Boundaries.

Arrangements for cooperation in exercise of powers and equitable sharing of revenues from activities at sea and sea-bed beyond the territorial area and the EEZ will need to be developed between the two parties. The Bougainvilleans during the negotiations of the Bougainville Peace Agreement wanted the maritime boundaries to be extended beyond the three nautical mile but these will be determined through consultation with the National Government.

As highlighted by Bougainville Affairs Minister Moi Avei, this phased assumption of powers will take up to five years. The Bougainville Government will need to give advance notice of any initial powers and functions required within the 12 months. Additional Powers and functions required will require 12 months advance notice to the National Government. The transference plan is that closely linked powers and functions will be transferred together as capacity is developed and any differences on links or transfers will be resolved through an agreed dispute resolution procedure.

Bougainville will phase by phase assume powers and functions as they develop capacity and meet certain benchmarks except those on the National Government's list. The latter includes defence, foreign relations, immigration, highly migratory and straddling fish stocks, central banking, currency, international civil aviation, international shipping, international trade, posts and telecommunications.

The National Government has also held back powers required for direct implementation of the (to be amended) PNG Constitution and all other powers reserved to the National Government under other provisions of the agreement. Bougainville's list of powers and function will include all known or identifiable powers not on the National Government list but these will be subject to Papua New Guinea's international obligations and human rights. Existing international obligations of the national Government will remain in place; and the National Government will consult the autonomous Bougainville Government before new obligations are entered into.

According to the agreement, the objectives of the autonomous arrangements are intended to facilitate the expression and development of a Bougainville identity and the relationship between Bougainville and the rest of PNG. It also aims to empower Bougainvilleans to solve their own problems and work to realise their aspirations within the framework of the PNG Constitution.

*SOURCE: Post-Courier – PNG daily newspaper*

## Islands of Sorrow

Standing shoulder to shoulder under a malmai tree in the grounds of the forlorn and student-less Arawa High School in October 1994, the Bougainvillean women's choir sang the lines of the song, 'Islands of Sorrow', that one of them, Elizabeth Borein, had written:

*Bougainville is an island, an island of sorrow.  
 Bougainville is an island, an island of pain.  
 There are people dying, there are people crying.  
 Who is responsible?  
 There's no education, there's no hospital.  
 Who is responsible?  
 There are people dying, there are people crying.  
 Not knowing why.  
 Bougainville island is an island I love.*

SOURCE: Dorney, S. (2000). **PNG Since 1975**, ABC Books, Sydney



*The National*, 20 July 2001