

BOUGAINVILLEAN NATIONALISM

ASPECTS OF UNITY AND DISCORD



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with LEO HANNETT and MOSES HAVINI

PREFACE

This publication is the by-product of another study on Bougainville dealing with rapid urban development and social change. Not long after commencement of our project, we realized that Bougainvillean nationalism, the subject of this booklet, was influencing the nature and direction of social change, and promised to be of considerable significance to an understanding of Bougainvillean participation in the emerging urban economy and society. We therefore decided to record the major political developments and changes taking place on Bougainville to provide a wider frame of reference for our major study.

Unfortunately we have neither the time nor qualifications to present a comprehensive and detailed account of events underlying Bougainvillean nationalism, and its countervailing forces. It is with no small measure of relief that we leave the task of unravelling the deeper philosophy behind this process to the Bougainvilleans themselves.

In publishing this small booklet we convey our respects to the leaders of Bougainville, and to Leo Hannett and Moses Havini for their work in making Bougainville a paradigm case for the development of an autonomous political entity within Papua New Guinea. We acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude to Leo and Moses, in particular, for their continual co-operation and support in our studies. Of the considerable number of Bougainvilleans who have assisted us in our inquiries we would especially like to mention, and thank, Dr Alexis Sarei, Henry Moses, John Dumit, and Peter Sissiou.

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Finally, we would like to express our sincere thanks to Professor Douglas Oliver for the opportunity of witnessing and participating in the momentous social and political changes taking place on Bougainville today.

Alexander Mamak
Richard Bedford

Arawa, Bougainville
June, 1974.

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NOTES ON MODERN BOUGAINVILLEAN LEADERS

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- Dumit, John b. 1944. Buka. Schooling in Sohano and Buin. Teacher training in Port Moresby. Village Relations Operations Officer, BCL. Chairman and founder member Panguna Mungkas Association.
- Hannett, Leo Joseph b. 1941. Nissan. Educated Rigu High School and Catholic seminaries in Rabaul and Madang. BA, University of Papua New Guinea 1971. Chairman and founder member Bougainville Special Political Committee. Founder member Black Power movement for Niuginians. Planning Officer, Interim District Government.
- Havini, Moses b. 1947. Buka. BA, University of Papua New Guinea, 1972. Formerly Interim Executive Officer whose duties consisted of supporting the Constituent Assembly and liaising between it and the central government until Bougainville District Government formed. Ombudsman responsible for community relations, liaison activities, and general oversight of District affairs.
- Lapun, Paul b. 1923. Buin. Ex-seminarian and Catholic Mission teacher. MHA, South Bougainville since 1964. Past President of Napidakoe Navitu. Minister for Mines and Energy. Received knighthood, June, 1974.
- Mola, Donatus b. 1927. Buka. MHA, North Bougainville since 1968. Former Minister for Business Development. Minister for Health.
- Momis, Father John b. 1942. Buin. Queensland Matriculation. Ordained Roman Catholic priest in 1970 and taught at Marist Brothers' High School. MHA, Bougainville Regional since 1972. Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Planning Committee.
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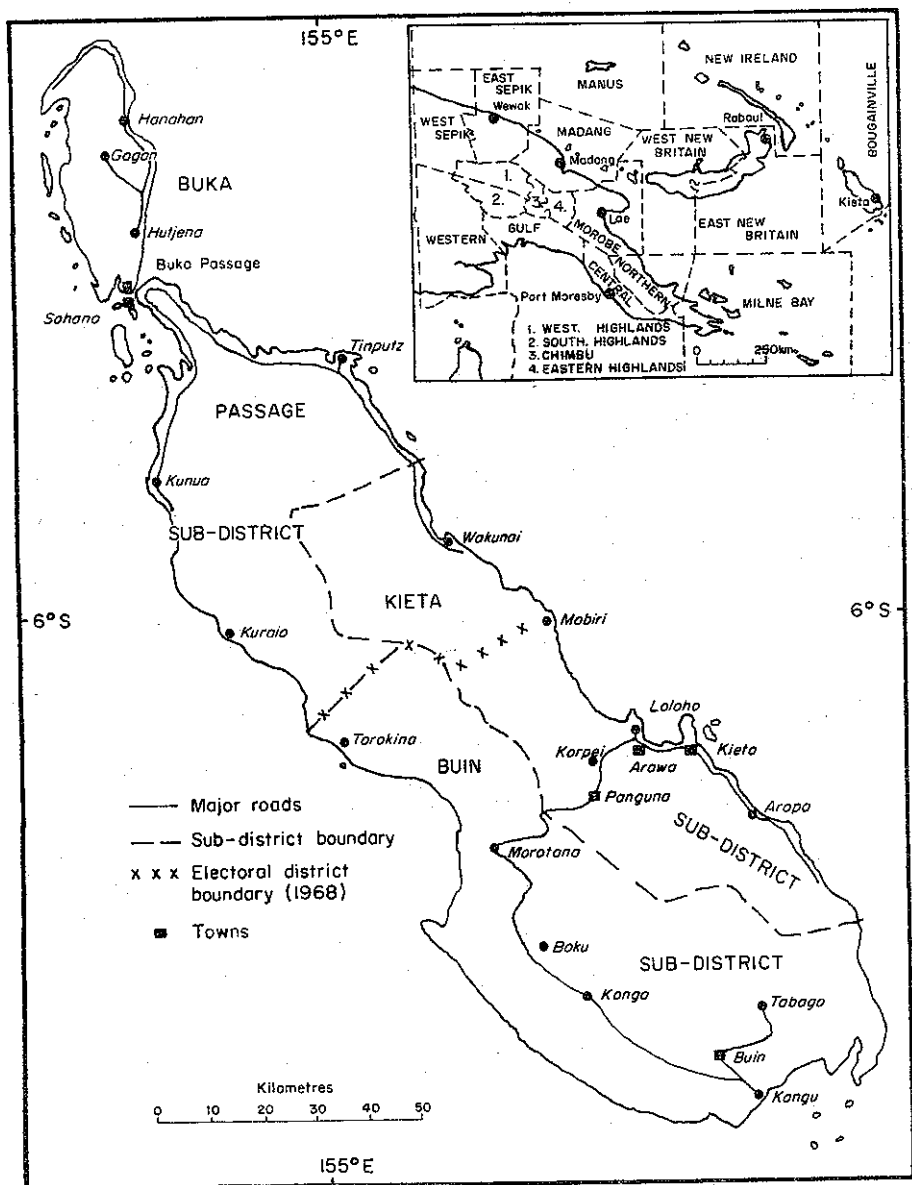


Fig. 1: Bougainville, 1973: Sub-districts, Towns, Major Roads, and Selected Villages and Mission Stations.

THE CONCEPT OF BOUGAINVILLEAN NATIONALISM

While the normal pattern of post-colonial politics is the attempt by at least one minority unit to seek a separate national identity, common opposition to the colonial powers and the struggle for liberation have usually activated various forms of *supranational* unity.¹ Similar incentives to co-operate are lacking in Papua New Guinea as the country moves towards political independence. This point was well expressed by Michael Somare, the central government's Chief Minister, who said, 'There is no common enemy or issue to bind the people together... unless there is a true feeling of *nationalism*, and something common for people to come together and fight for, we cannot get results.'² The failure of colonialism to inspire this aspect of unity between the various units is perhaps facilitating the development of separatist sentiments even before Papua New Guinea has acquired full sovereignty. Differences in language, customs, ideology, and in the degree of economic and political development are already highly politicized in various parts of the country, and it is becoming increasingly clear that the politics of these areas will make the problems of nationalism in Papua New Guinea more urgent and more complicated.

Nationalism in the broader sense of the term, concerns the central government's devotion to, and advocacy of integrating -- both structurally and in terms of values and attitudes -- the country's diverse units into a single nation-state. This is of prime concern to the central government mainly because the move towards political independence is based on the principle of national self-determination or the right of a nationally distinct group of people to decide for themselves their own style of life and political future.* In a parallel way, nationalism may also refer to the manner and process by which minority units seek to organize themselves so as to be politically distinct and partially or fully independent of the central government. In attempting to promote changes which serve to increase their distinctiveness and ultimately their own independence, minority units may employ similar strategies which the central government finds indispensable for the promotion of unity. For instance, they may demand the self-determination principle be applied within their own regions. And they may seek to increase their viability and justify their nationalistic tendencies by jointly invoking the principle of self-determination and the solidarity of their components.³

It is with the second type of nationalism that this book is concerned.

* Also at stake are the promise of at least \$500 million Australian aid for a united Papua New Guinea, and majority ownership of the country's mineral resources.

In few areas is this process so dramatically evident as in Bougainville today. A great deal of recent political activity has been directed towards encouraging Bougainvillean solidarity in order to exert greater control over their affairs.* In examining some aspects of nationalism in this area our concern has been not only with factors which tend to foster a Bougainvillean consciousness and identity but also how Bougainvilleans have attempted to support their actions by making their distinctiveness politically relevant. This in turn has led us to examine both internally and externally generated dissensions or discord among Bougainvilleans, that is, factors which are considered to be disadvantageous to Bougainvillean nationalism. Against this background we will show how Bougainville has proceeded with regard to the central authority.

Bougainville

At this point it may be helpful to look at some basic facts concerning the area of study. Bougainville is one of nineteen Districts in Papua New Guinea (Fig. 1). It includes the islands of Bougainville and Buka, and the smaller coral island groups of Carteret, Nissan, Mortlock, Tasman, and Fead. The total land area is about 9,000 square kilometres. The District is divided into three Sub-districts for administrative purposes. Sohano Sub-district includes Buka Island, northern Bougainville, and the island groups; Kieta Sub-district comprises the eastern section of Bougainville; and Buin Sub-district embraces south and southwest Bougainville. District headquarters are located at Arawa (Fig. 1). There are nineteen distinct language groups on Bougainville. The main division is between Austronesian speakers who inhabit north Bougainville, Buka, and parts of the central coast; and non-Austronesian speakers who are found in the central and southernmost part of Bougainville Island. The *lingua franca* for all these linguistic groups is Melanesian Pidgin.

In June 1971 the total population of the District was estimated at 90,397 with an indigenous component of 84,408 (3.5 percent of the total indigenous population of Papua New Guinea).⁴ Europeans comprise the bulk of Bougainville's non-indigenous population. European influence in this area increased from around the middle of the nineteenth century, when many Bougainvilleans were recruited as labourers for plantations in Queensland and other parts of the Pacific. Bougainville came under German control in 1886

* This is not to say that success in this field will weaken the central government's attempts to inspire supranational cohesion. Much depends on the kinds of decisions the country's leaders make. As we shall see, Bougainville's type of nationalism may in fact be a *sine qua non* for the development of a single nation-state.

but German influence had not yet begun to penetrate beyond the coast when these islands became a part of the Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea in 1921. Except for the period of Japanese occupation, Australian administration continued uninterrupted until late 1973 when Papua New Guinea was granted self-government.

Economic development in the District over the 20-year period following World War II was reflected in gradual increases in plantation primary produce and some minor commercial growth in urban areas. Other economic and political changes were also slow and in sharp contrast to abrupt changes initiated in the late 1960s. In 1964 Bougainville was found to be rich in mineral concentrates -- copper, gold and silver. The ore body lies around Panguna, some 26 kilometres inland from the southeast coast of Kieta Sub-district (Fig. 1). After much detailed assessment of deposits the operating company, Bougainville Copper Proprietary Limited (now Bougainville Copper Limited, BCL) decided to go ahead with mining. Production of the \$400 million* open-pit project is estimated at 180,000 tonnes of copper in concentrate a year, with reserves of some 890 million tonnes of ore.

The central government has a substantial stake in this exploitation of Bougainville's mineral deposits. Its initial outlay was about \$73 million, and included the cost of purchasing a 20 percent equity interest in the company. It is estimated that eventually the total direct revenue to the central government will be between \$38 million and \$96.5 million per annum, partly depending on the price of copper.⁵ In 1973 the central government's share from the copper company's operations totalled \$34.6 million (see Appendix A). (In 1973-74 government expenditure for the District amounted to \$11.5 million, plus \$3 million for Arawa town.) Bougainville's contribution to the growth of the Papua New Guinea economy is indicated by the prediction that the country will more than treble its exports as a result of the copper project. The central government therefore attaches considerable importance not only to the economics of the project but to the political orientation of the District as well.

Astounding rates of change as a consequence of the mining operations are clearly visible at the Sub-district level. By way of example: the number of persons licensed at Kieta to drive a motor vehicle increased from 45 in 1966 to 3,953 in 1970; cargo tonnages at the port of Kieta increased from 35,000 in 1968 to 460,000 in 1971;⁶ and the urban population increased from around 750 in 1966 to over 14,000 in 1971 -- the peak of the construction phase. Most of the new

* Monetary figures are in Australian currency.

inhabitants were 'outsiders' drawn to the mining complex and housed in the two new towns of Panguna and Arawa, and surrounding areas on a temporary basis.⁷ In order to adapt to these rapidly changing conditions and defend their common interests, Bougainvilleans have attempted to evolve a political identity separate from the rest of Papua New Guinea. The people's nationalistic sentiments have been activated at various times in recent years and used by some leaders to mutual advantage. Over the past year there has been a swing towards the creation of a Bougainville District Government within Papua New Guinea, with full decision-making powers and a system of autonomy prescribed by local leaders. However, many Bougainvilleans in the towns and villages still look ahead to a fully-independent Bougainville, and organized moves for separation can easily be encouraged. Any prolonged delays in the establishment of District Government will foster these separatist sentiments and the concept of Bougainville as an independent nation is still very much alive in the minds of many Bougainvilleans.

THE ROLE OF THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE MISSIONS

As noted earlier, a minority unit may invoke the self-determination principle as part of its nationalistic tendencies. This point was well expressed in 1969 by Leo Joseph Hannett, one of the best examples of articulate dissent on Bougainville: 'We are proud that Australia has jealously guarded that right of self-determination towards independence "until such time as the people ask for it". I feel that we (Bougainvilleans) are justified in exercising that right as a separate group of people apart from the rest of our brethren, the Papuans and New Guineans whose long friendships and associations with us we cherish very dearly.'⁸ To what extent have Bougainvilleans evolved as 'a separate group of people'? To what extent, in particular, have Bougainvilleans developed a national identity? A look at the historic roots of Bougainvillean nationalism provides some answers.

Modern nationalistic trends among Bougainvilleans do not accord well with early history. At European contact most Bougainvilleans were thinly scattered over a relatively large territory in hamlets averaging from one to four households. Tribal or neighbourhood residential groups, varying in degrees of corporateness from region to region, were linked together by warfare, kinship, economic and ceremonial activities. But a political unit wider than a grouping of neighbouring hamlets was the exception rather than the rule. Bougainvilleans

differed in language, habits, values, and beliefs. And these differences were reinforced by geographical separation and the presence of European traders and labour recruiters. Hostility seems to have been especially intense between coastal inhabitants and inlanders, but regional and other factors also engendered divisions among other geographic communities. Thus it might be said that by the time of European control Bougainvilleans shared only two things in common: an almost universal dislike of foreigners, and a uniform black skin colour. Consideration of Bougainvilleans as a separate and distinct entity was precluded for some time.

While common values, interests, and social forms gradually emerged with prolonged contact with Europeans, literacy, improved communication, alien political, religious and economic forces all brought new differences and provided the bases for future discord.

Early influences of the colonial administration and missions

Beginning in 1921, when German New Guinea was transferred to Australia as a Mandated Territory, the colonial administration attempted to change the traditional pattern of residential distribution by grouping the thinly scattered settlements into larger administrative units. In addition, the system introduced by the Germans of appointing a head chief and several assistants to represent the government and to supervise the affairs of the unit was encouraged. These measures effectively removed the traditional bases for intertribal hostility while facilitating administration; but while in some places the importance of the traditional village chief was reduced, in other places the older forms of organization persisted and even strengthened, especially when the new structure corresponded closely with traditional lines of authority. More commonly, however, the two systems remained distinct, thus ensuring a great deal of discord among members of the administrative unit.

The colonial administration's attempt to create wider political groupings was given new impetus from the early 1950s with the introduction of a local government council system with elected officials. Once again the scheme operated with varying degrees of success. Predictably it divided those who elected to accept the new form of organization from those who were reluctant to accept any system supported by an external authority. Although by 1970 there were seven local government councils with a combined population of some 55,000 included in council areas, the earlier councils were frequently unable to take into account the diverse interests of its members. These interests became more and more divergent following the arrival of the Christian missions.

The Christian missionary movement is often seen as a major source of discord under colonialism.⁹ The movement in Bougainville was no exception. The first Christian mission was established in 1902. By the 1930s competition for adherents led to a number of violent clashes between members of the various religious bodies. Such clashes were most intense in the southeast region where sectarian divisions were fostered by the stereotypes of government officials concerning adherents to the various faiths. Protestants were considered to be more 'progressive and loyal' than Catholics because of apparent differing attitudes towards economic development, and the distinct relations each were said to have with government officials. In the early stages of the local government council system, for example, some pro-council and anti-council factions developed along sectarian lines with Protestants regarded as more favourably disposed towards the system. Also later, in contrast to the Catholics' anti-copper company stance, Protestant villages are reported to have supported the company's activities during the period of exploration.^{* 10} Be that as it may, Bougainvillean resentment towards the colonial administration and various forms of 'Europeanization' was to continue, and to prove more complex than neat distinctions such as the foregoing would tend to suggest.

Some Bougainvillean reactions

In the mid-1950s residents of Hahalis village on Buka, already disillusioned with the Catholic mission, strove to better themselves by forming the Hahalis Welfare Society. When a local government council was formed in the area a few years later, Hahalis refused to join the council or to pay taxes. The colonial administration sought to divide Hahalis by selecting one of the founder members as President of the local government council. Existing divisions were also encouraged so that the administration might play one group off against another. The following comment made by a patrol officer in one of his monthly reports may provide an example: 'Whereas in most cases the Administration's aim is to break down parochialism, in northwest Buka our aim should be to build it up

* Ogan has advanced an explanation for these distinct attitudes among the South Nasioi on the basis of the Protestant ethics of labour thesis. However, as Ogan himself suggests, such generalizations are difficult to substantiate in his area of study. Also to be noted is the fact that while the majority of Nasiois are Catholics one of the reasons Ogan selected the South Nasioi for study was because he believed the North Nasioi to be more 'progressive'. We suggest the more equitable proposition that the Catholic mission's organization and leadership provided adherents with important alternatives, while the minority Protestants developed out of necessity an overt dependence on the administration.

and cut the Haku (a Buka dialect) group off from the Hahalis Welfare Society, and get them to accept a northwest Buka Council.' Then, in early 1962, the administration launched a massive attempt to collect the overdue taxes. Hahalis's resistance in the north was met by police intervention and repression. While the dissidents were being gaoled, several Bougainvilleans in Kieta were preparing to submit a petition to delegates of a United Nations mission requesting that Australia relinquish administration of Bougainville to the United States.

These isolated events were some of the earliest outward displays of a growing disenchantment with the administration. It was not sufficiently widespread, however, to enable any of the candidates with similar sentiments to win a seat in the 1964 House of Assembly elections. These leaders, including one of the leaders of Hahalis, were defeated by Paul Lapun, a 'moderate' from southwest Bougainville. But by 1968 events in southern Bougainville had generated some of the most vigorous displays of anti-Europeanism ever seen in that area, polarized opinions particularly between some Bougainvillean leaders in the north and the south, and provided the basis for later discord. Before describing some of the causes of this embitterment in southern Bougainville it is worthwhile to examine the extent of north-south polarization on the basis of the electoral results of 1968.

By 1968 the District was divided into two open electorates (Fig. 1). In the north, the dominance of the pro-council Catholic majority was reaffirmed when Donatus Mola, a member of the Buka Local Government Council and a former teacher in the Catholic mission defeated his two opponents -- the manager of Hahalis, and the Methodist member of a local government council. Mola's campaign was discreetly promoted by the local Catholic missions. In the south, the incumbent, charismatic leader Lapun was re-elected, and his success in challenging the administration for an increased share of copper revenue for landowners in southeast Bougainville was a contributory factor. In the regional contest the successful candidate was closely associated with Lapun and received most of his support from Bougainvilleans in the south. In general then, and mainly with the exception of Hahalis, the electoral results of 1968 indicated that the majority of Bougainvilleans residing in the south shared a greater degree of anti-Europeanism than the majority of their compatriots in the north.

This is not to say that there was no similar polarization of opinion in the south. As in the north, the administration's influence has also engendered a negative and destructive impact on unity. One of the first outward manifestations

of this was revealed during a public debate in Kieta in 1968. A large portion of the discussions concerned the extent of discord between council and non-council areas in the Kieta Sub-district. In the end, participants agreed on the need to promote unity. Interestingly enough they spoke of joining with other Districts in common struggle against the colonial authority.¹¹ But the idea was short-lived. As relations with the administration became progressively worse, the thought of separating from Papua New Guinea was once again envisaged.

One of the motives for the new wave of unrest in southern Bougainville may be traced back to 1967 when an agreement was signed between the administration and the copper mining company, BCL. The company had proved the existence of extensive mineral concentrates at Panguna, southeast Bougainville. Under the terms of the Copper Agreement the administration was responsible for negotiating with landowners on behalf of the company. The discussions proved insufficiently favourable to the landowners and their resentment was understandably directed at the administration. One administration official lamented the fact that the administration had become, in his words, 'the target of antagonism'. An outside consultant was also to report that 'the local indigenes are very definitely anti-administration, not particularly anti-CRA'.¹² Such a condition would not have been as significant had it not followed a list of similar grievances against the administration in southern Bougainville.¹³

The referendum issue

On 8 September, 1968, Hannett, Lapun, and twenty-three other Bougainvillean leaders and students attending tertiary institutions met in Port Moresby to discuss the general grievances of the District; in particular, confrontations between Bougainvillean villagers and the administration. The major decision to emerge from this meeting was a request that the administration carry out a referendum to allow Bougainville to decide its political future. The idea of secession which had been discussed in some areas for a number of years was given new impetus during the period of negotiations between landowners and the Administration. Hannett later explained the group's request in this way: 'If you want fully to grasp why we acted as we did and felt as we did, look at the history of our people as a whole. Look also at recent events. These events did a lot to shape our general frame of mind, acting and thinking as we do now. History has made us what we are; now we want to make our own history.'¹⁴

* Conzinc Rio Tinto-Zinc of Australia, or CRA, is the largest shareholder in BCL, while the ultimate holding company is the UK's Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Ltd.

Following this meeting in Port Moresby, two major public gatherings took place in Kieta the following year. On 27 April, 1969, some 1,700 villagers in the Kieta area attended a meeting chaired by Lapun to discuss the administration's intention to acquire coastal land for additional needs of the company, including land for the construction of Arawa -- the residential centre for company and administration employees. The most important proposal to emerge from this meeting was the threat of secession unless the administration revised its laws concerning administration control over the selling and leasing of native land.¹⁵ The proposal was ephemeral although negotiations over land became prolonged and bitter.

Several months later an association of ethnic components in Kieta Sub-district called Napidakoe Navitu was founded. Lapun was elected Chairman, Raphael Bele (a young Rorovanan) was elected Treasurer, and the new association was given coherence through the organizing talents of its Secretary, an Australian, Barry Middlemiss. In this Sub-district Navitu succeeded, at least initially, in uniting coastal and inland inhabitants, council and non-council members, Protestants and Catholics. It was not long before the association sought to widen its support through the referendum issue. In 1970 some of Navitu's leaders attempted to carry out a referendum but this proved abortive. Their reputation for being 'pro-secessionist' was already too well publicized for the referendum to be credible. Moreover, Navitu's growing strength was perceived by some council leaders outside the association's immediate area of influence as a challenge to their authority. In Buin, 7,000 ballots were reported to have been confiscated by the President of the Buin Local Government Council on the pretext that Navitu had attempted to distribute them without first obtaining the Council's consent. The President of Buka Local Government Council likewise admonished referendum sponsors for acting like spokesmen for north Bougainville.

Ironically, what was supposed to have been a unity-creating reaction to administration policies and practices turned out to be a very contentious issue. When the Combined Council Conference was held later that year four points of view emerged on the subject, reflecting regional differences:

- (i) north Bougainville argued against the holding of a referendum on secession from Papua New Guinea because it would lead to a shortage of technical and unskilled mainland labour necessary to cope with north Bougainville's increased agricultural production;
- (ii) Wakunai and the northeast coast favoured the formation of an official committee headed by Bougainville's four MHAs to present villagers with arguments for and against secession;

(iii) central Bougainville was in favour of holding a referendum but against Navitu carrying it out;

(iv) south Bougainville felt the time was not ripe for secession.

In the end the proposal put forward by the Wakunai Council was unanimously adopted but no progress was made because of disagreements about the composition of the proposed committee.

Although interest in such topics as 'Navitu', 'secession', 'referendum', 'independence and self-government' varied from place to place, in south and central Bougainville Navitu was still a force to reckon with in 1972. Results of the House of Assembly elections in that year seemed to bear this out. Two of its prominent members, Lapun and Bele, won by substantial margins in these two electorates. In the case of the regional seat, Father John Momis, an ordained Roman Catholic priest, emerged as the main contender.* Momis's stand was anti-copper company and anti-administration, and his campaign for greater Bougainvillean participation in economic development was nourished by the Marist mission. He received overwhelming support not only in the south and central electorates, but in the north as well. A well-organized election team brought victory to Mola, the mission-backed incumbent in the north, where he defeated, on the fourth and fifth count, UPNG graduate Moses Havini, and the Hahalis candidate.

'Referendum' and 'secession' were dead issues as far as north Bougainville was concerned, while in the south they seemed to be dampened by the demands of leaders for an as yet undefined system of local autonomy. It was the early, optimistic belief of Navitu that the referendum and secession issues would lead to unity. But with their abortive attempt to conduct a referendum many leaders became convinced that new progress towards unity would have to be made. Before the results of the election were declared Hannett, then on a scholarship in Hawaii, wrote to candidate Havini: 'The next four years are going to be crucial. You must lay the foundation for an independent Bougainville or else see that Bougainville becomes a participating partner in New Guinea politics.' Havini drafted a paper on federalism as a means of achieving political unity and later presented it to the Sixth Waigani Seminar in Port Moresby.¹⁶ Four months after the election Momis addressed a Combined Council Conference and argued for a Bougainvillean administrative organization with decision-making powers. He was supported by Lapun. With a new compulsion to seek compromising solutions to the political problems of the District differences stemming from the influence of the administration and the missions had come full circle. But what of the forces unleashed by the new industrial technology?

* Hannett withdrew from the regional contest when he learned that Lapun and the Marist Mission had asked Momis to stand in his place. However, before leaving for Hawaii to take up a scholarship in public administration, he actively campaigned for Momis.

THE ROLE OF BOUGAINVILLE COPPER

In 1966 Bougainville was described as 'a remote rural-island community'. With the development of the copper mining project from the late sixties has come radical socio-economic change and a clearer perspective of an unsympathetic colonial administration. Access to power, status, and material resources; participation in decision-making and development planning; inequalities in education and employment; and the question of land rights have all been heightened with the arrival of Bougainville Copper. To win goodwill the company has gradually increased Bougainvillean recruitment in the project;¹⁷ it has allotted a number of shares at par to local government councils and local enterprises; and it has provided facilities for council and other political meetings, many of which have included company representatives. In every important meeting held since 1970 the company has been asked for, and has provided some financial assistance to local projects.

So far the company has developed a cautious attitude towards the issue of secession. Yet, not too long ago, Navitu's Secretary was led to remark: 'My own personal view of the situation is that the company would be in favour of a secessionist Bougainville, if only from the point of view of an independent Bougainville being easier to deal with and control than a central government of a unified Papua New Guinea.' Some Bougainvilleans are understandably wary of such a possibility. Said one Bougainvillean writer: 'We do not want to be the rich slaves of CRA.' He added that 'it would be more humiliating to be ruled by a white manager of CRA than by a Papuan PIR (Pacific Islands Regiment) Officer.'¹⁸ Some prominent officials of the company, together with *Newsweek* and *Time* correspondents, tend to view Bougainvillean separatist tendencies as emerging from the prospect of vast earnings from the project.¹⁹ There is no doubt that benefits accruing from the operations have placed Bougainville in a more advantageous bargaining position *vis-à-vis* the central government, but the relationship between the company and Bougainville nationalism is a complex one. Also, a host of social problems associated with the project, such as the influx of 'outsiders', and other social changes have encouraged nationalistic sentiments.²⁰

Migrant labour and social tensions

Mainland labour migration is not new to the District; from the early sixties 'outsiders', especially from the New Guinea Highlands and the Sepik, have been recruited to work on plantations in place of Bougainvilleans who find the pay and working conditions unattractive. But with the establishment of the copper project, and the comparatively better wages and working conditions offered by the

company, many of Bougainville's plantation workers, together with increasing numbers of Bougainvilleans, have left their villages in search of jobs with the company. When a mainland Niuginian arrives at the mine site he is struck by two things -- the lack of female companionship, and the *i tambu* (entry forbidden) signs posted in front of villages. The villages have had good reason to be unfriendly. Large-scale recruitment of male labour outside the District resulted in inevitable social tensions in communities near the mine site. There are parallels here with the secessionist movement in Katanga where a defensive reaction emerged to the growing 'ascendancy of migrants' in the mine areas, many of whom were unskilled and unemployed.²¹

Bougainvillean leaders were not slow to react. On 12 June, 1970, Paul Lapun, speaking in the House of Assembly, demanded the repatriation of unemployed migrants to prevent vagrancy. The next month, following several incidents of intertribal fighting and lawlessness, more than 600 Bougainvillean BCL employees and local villagers met to petition the company to repatriate 'the trouble-makers' and restrict their occupations to Bougainvilleans. To ease tensions, the company very wisely adopted some of the group's proposals. Although the situation is much improved today and the work situation has broadened social identities, many Bougainvilleans still share a common dislike of 'outsiders' or 'redskins'. There is of course no one overriding reason, but differences in skin colour seem to be important. As one Nasioi company employee recently told Mamak: 'Niuginians say we want secession because copper is on our land. This is not true; the truth is that wherever we have worked with them -- in plantations, in offices, or in the company -- and there is a fight, they turn around and call us "black bastards".'

Development issues

While the copper mining project may have provided Bougainvilleans with 'a common predator', its influence on Bougainvillean nationalism as a whole is ambiguous. To begin on the negative side we may note firstly that the company is promoting uneven development and differential rates of modernization in the District. Out of Bougainville's total land area of about 9,000 square kilometres, the project and its infrastructure occupies 150 square kilometres, most of it tailings disposal area. Communities not directly affected by the project are resentful that developments are limited to the new urban areas surrounding the mine site. The people of Eivo and Rotokas, for example, are frustrated because there are no roads they can use to bring their produce for sale to the company. This is creating friction between them and the main beneficiaries of change. There is much bitterness among even the latter -- the local villagers -- because of competition for market space and clients.

Locally, in the mining community, differential rates of pay and working

conditions among Bougainvilleans are becoming increasingly evident as the pace of localization increases. Already, the distribution of Bougainvillean company employees from the various Sub-districts is somewhat unequal in terms of wages and occupations as figures in Table 1 show. Significantly greater proportions of Bougainvilleans from the Buka Sub-district are in higher income groups and more skilled jobs than those from the Kieta Sub-district in particular. This disparity is to be expected in one sense because of the location of the mine and its proximity to numerous villages in the latter Sub-district. However, it is not only this aspect of location that has resulted in some differentiation in occupations and incomes; a lack of opportunity for wage employment in other parts of Bougainville is influencing the nature of migration to this area.

The growing importance of cash income and education is facilitating the development of 'class' distinctions between Bougainvilleans employed in the company.* Technical and skilled workers, many of whom are staff employees, enjoy higher income and living standards, better housing and working conditions than their compatriots who are employed as labourers and manual workers. The latter are housed in unhygienic and cramped quarters isolated from the rest of the mining community.** Because of the distance separating the two distinct types of accommodation very few opportunities exist for mutual visits or socializing even between former village mates and close relatives. In contrast to these differences, Bougainvilleans employed by other companies and the administration in the new urban areas of Bougainville are comparatively not as well-off in terms of pay, social amenities, and working conditions as Bougainvilleans employed by BCL. The resentment that stems from this source is reflected in the formation of distinct friendship networks.

The Panguna Mungkas Association

On the other hand, the 'unitary' structure of the mining complex and the presence of a large number of Bougainvillean employees, working in close association for the first time, have enabled the latter to organize in such a way as to take advantage of new opportunities, and to protect commonly-threatened interests as a distinct and separate unit. In April, 1973, three Bougainvillean workmates -- one from each of the Sub-districts -- sought to develop a common front for all Bougainvillean workers in the mining community. Gradually

* There is little evidence to indicate that the company is actively pursuing such a policy but it is interesting that Rio Tinto-Zinc Corporation Limited, the ultimate holding company, is reported to favour the creation of a 'black middle class' in some of its enterprises.²²

** In June, 1974, the company agreed to effect substantial improvements in living conditions in these camps.

TABLE 1: BOUGAINVILLEANS EMPLOYED BY BCL, APRIL 1973

A: 'WAGES' EMPLOYEES BY OCCUPATION AND WAGE GROUP
(percent)^a

Group	Buka		Sub-district Buin		Kieta		Total	
	Occ.	Wage	Occ.	Wage	Occ.	Wage	Occ.	Wage
1	11.4	12.0	25.2	25.5	39.9	39.2	24.2	24.3
2	36.5	17.7	32.3	18.8	18.7	10.8	30.4	16.5
3	17.8	28.9	15.1	21.3	15.3	18.3	16.0	23.1
4	9.1	23.4	8.5	19.5	6.7	14.9	8.2	19.7
5	10.1	13.1	6.0	11.6	5.2	12.7	7.2	12.3
6	14.7	4.7	12.2	3.1	12.3	4.2	13.1	3.8
7	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.2	1.9	0.0	0.9	0.0
Total (Nos)	367		483		268		1118	

^a Percentage of Sub-district total.

Occupation Group		Wage Group (per wk)	
1	General labourer	1	\$12.00 and under
2	Semi-skilled labourer, technicians and tradesmen	2	\$12.01 - \$15.00
3	Drivers and heavy equipment operators	3	\$15.01 - \$20.00
4	Clerical and security personnel	4	\$20.01 - \$25.00
5	Other skilled personnel	5	\$25.01 - \$30.00
6	Apprentices and trainees	6	\$30.01 and over
7	Others (e.g. students)	7	Not stated

B: 'SALARIED STAFF' BY WAGE GROUP

Wage (annual)	Buka	Sub-district Buin	Kieta	Total
Under \$2,000	1			1
\$2,001 - \$2,500	3	2	2	7
\$2,501 - \$3,000	1	5	1	7
Over \$3,000	1	2	4	7
Total	6	9	7	22

a cross-section of Bougainvillean workers, noted for their 'outspokenness' and representing the various residential quarters of the mine site were co-opted into a committee under the name of Panguna Mungkas Association (PMA).^{*} The PMA was founded on the unity of Bougainvillean workers in contradistinction to other ethnic groups employed by the company, and in opposition to company policies which were perceived to 'threaten' them. In the first few weeks following its formation, the PMA was concerned with cases involving the suspension of Bougainvillean workers which had gone unnoticed by the mine workers' union. The PMA accused the company of discriminating against Bougainvilleans and urged re-examination of its disciplinary proceedings. But very little feeling of community existed among Bougainvilleans at this stage, and most company officials were unaware of the PMA's existence.

Then, towards the end of May 1973, a Bougainvillean villager from Kieta, while visiting the mine site, was arrested on a charge of shoplifting. Several Bougainvilleans who had observed the incident informed John Dumit, the PMA's Chairman, that the police had used excessive force in making the arrest. Dumit, of Buka origin, immediately assembled the rest of his committee to discuss the incident, helped draft a constitution (see Appendix B), and arranged the PMA's first public meeting of Bougainvillean workers. Subsequently, the PMA demanded a full investigation of circumstances surrounding the arrest, threatened arresting officers with legal action, and resolved to be more vigilant concerning the 'legal rights' of all Bougainvilleans. Thus, less than two months following its formation, the PMA was provided with a rallying platform and an opportunity to demonstrate, in Dumit's words, 'that any problems faced by Bougainvilleans from anywhere in the District are problems common to all -- we shall face them together as a separate and distinct group.'

By now the PMA felt strong enough to write to BCL's General Manager, the President of the Bougainville Mine Workers' Union, and the Police:

... to inform you of the recent formation and immediate aims of our Association.

All Bougainvilleans living in and around Panguna and the general Kieta region are automatically members (either honorary or financial) of the PMA. Our Association was formed to identify and effect peaceful solutions to the basic underlying problems affecting our members, and to stimulate their identity and distinctiveness according to common interests, standards, values and aspirations.

This brings us to the most immediate aim of the PMA. In attempting to develop as a unifying influence we are bound to invite the full, unconditional support, and formal recognition of all non-Bougainvilleans

^{*} 'Mungkas' stands for 'black skin'.

(including individuals, corporate groups, and companies) for the PMA to generate, control, protect, and defend the common politico-economic and social interests of our members.

It is understood that just as on occasion the interests of our members may appear in contradistinction to the interests of other individuals and groups, they may also on occasion complement and support one another. In the former case we maintain our right to act as a pressure group and oppose those interests which seem to threaten us; in the latter case we believe that problems common to our members and outsiders alike can be more manageable if we are recognized as a separate and distinct group.

We anticipate a favourable response to our request.

On 3 July, the company officially recognized the existence of the PMA and asked its welfare branch to liaise with the association. This was unacceptable to the association's chairman who demanded, and was granted, direct communication with a more senior department of the company.

In the meantime, another organization, called the Bougainville Special Political Committee (BSPC -- described later), which had recently been formed for wider political purposes co-opted the chairman and another senior official of the PMA. It was not long before the PMA's executive decided (albeit, as we shall see, with some reservations from its members) to adopt the BSPC's general aims and guidelines. The connection induced the PMA to play a more prominent part in the social and political life of its members and to involve the latter in activities which concerned them as a distinct unit.

Meetings held by the PMA in 1973 were generally well attended. At one of these meetings about 200 Bougainvilleans were present, and some of the subjects discussed were:

- (i) repatriation of non-Bougainvillean employees at the end of their contract period;
- (ii) problems of vagrancy in the towns of Bougainville;
- (iii) 'Bougainvillization' of the company's workforce;
- (iv) instant dismissal and repatriation of non-Bougainvilleans involved in fights with Bougainvilleans;
- (v) the need for PMA members to 'stick together' and be *wantoks* (compatriots).

Nevertheless, the PMA has so far been unable to extend its influence beyond the local level. Even then the attempt to develop into a cohesive body has been

a continuous struggle. Exactly one year after its formation the PMA's influence appears to be waning and it no longer seems to be as active as it was in the past. There are several related reasons for this. In the first place, the PMA has to compete with other associations such as the trade union, departmental organizations, staff associations (Bougainvillean staff members occasionally meet to discuss problems common to them), district leaders' committee, and even the BSPC. For instance, when the BSPC set up a District Law and Order Committee to look into the problems of vagrancy, intergroup hostilities, and related problems, the company preferred to deal with this group rather than with the PMA, even though the latter has always been concerned with these issues. The company's reluctance to deal with the PMA is understandable. With Bougainvilleans forming a significant percentage of the indigenous workforce (36 percent in April 1973), there is always the possibility that they can develop into an organized force acting against the company's interests.

In addition to these difficulties there is the problem of socio-economic inequality already mentioned. The PMA has attempted to cope with this problem by co-opting a cross-section of Bougainvillean workers to the executive, and by forming sub-committees in each of the residential sections of the mine site. But the company is reluctant to provide transportation to the PMA's social functions and general meetings (on the pretext that the company is faced with a fuel crisis), or facilities for the use of PMA members on the argument that the association is 'sectarian and political'. Finally, the PMA is faced with a leadership crisis. With the advancement of several PMA executives in the company, Bougainvillean consciousness and identity have been subordinated to individual and company interests. The possibility of further promotions has effectively prevented the PMA executives from voicing any grievances against the company, and it is a 'poisoned pie' so far as the association's activities are concerned. The BSPC has severed its link with PMA leaders, thus causing some resentment. This is discussed in greater detail in a later section. Most ironic is the fact that the PMA's present difficulties stem from the same environment in which the association was fostered.

THE THREAT OF SECESSION

At the Siwai Combined Council Conference of July 1972, Momis informed councillors of the work of Mungkas, an association with which the PMA is affiliated, founded by Bougainvillean tertiary students in Port Moresby. The students could sense the tempo of political change in Bougainville and were

anxious to participate in it, perhaps even direct it. They announced through their special adviser Momis, that they intended organizing a seminar in Bougainville during the Christmas vacation. All councillors were invited to attend. The seminar was held in Kieta just before Christmas. Participants discussed the socio-economic and political future of the District and, when it was over, the organizers were confident that the meeting had at last established a link between the 'educated' and the village elders.

On Christmas Eve two Bougainvillean senior public servants -- Dr Luke Rovin, 32, and Peter Moini, 30 -- drove through a village in the Eastern Highlands and accidentally knocked down and killed a six-year-old girl. They were seized and killed by a group of villagers who were present at the scene of the accident. The incident aroused the anger of Bougainvilleans everywhere. Many Bougainvilleans employed in the Highlands Districts returned home. Locally, the presence of a large population of mainland Niuginians in the copper project served to remind Bougainvilleans of the tragedy. Talk of secession reached new heights.

By a strange quirk of fate, the Chief Minister had previously decided to tour the District to encourage unity with Papua New Guinea. The tour could not be cancelled despite the likelihood of demonstrations. In Kieta the Local Government Council and Navitu had decided to hold a public meeting between the Chief Minister and the people. Hannett, who was on leave of absence from the University of Hawaii, was selected to chair the meeting. He and several other Bougainvillean speakers reviewed the history of grievances in the District. They not only demanded absolute control over the collection and distribution of tax revenues, but also localization of the District Commissioner's post, an end to 'economic imperialism', repatriation of mainland Niuginians, and the return of all Bougainvillean public servants stationed outside the District. They told the Chief Minister that these requests could probably only be met if Bougainville became an independent nation.

In the meantime, Navitu's Secretary prepared and privately circulated a set of instructions on how to secede from Papua New Guinea. In Buin the students had regrouped to run another meeting. This one opened with a two-minute silence in memory of Rovin and Moini, and was followed by an animated discussion on secession. Adjusting his logic to suit the situation, Hannett placed the responsibility for the deaths of Rovin and Moini on the central government, and moved that Bougainville go ahead with its attempt to be independent from Papua New Guinea. The motion was unanimously carried. The students vowed to develop their association on a national scale and to establish a 'secession planning' committee and a Bougainville-wide memorial fund. They agreed that unity was a problem: 'If we can unite ourselves at home we'll be O.K.' While the students

looked upon 'secession' as a political necessity, Hannett was more cautious. He was inclined to use 'secession' as a prime political tactic, but could see that no groundwork had been laid for the creation of an independent Bougainville. As the students prepared to return to University the cry for secession was already moribund. Nevertheless, grievances remained to be solved, and with Mungkas in Port Moresby for another year, there would be no-one left to articulate the demands of the people. In this regard it was desirable that Hannett remain on Bougainville.

Towards the end of 1972 Momis had warned the Chief Minister of mounting political pressure on Bougainville. He proposed the setting up of a political committee to look into the situation, perhaps even to find an alternative to secession through establishment of a mutually acceptable relationship between the central government and the District. He suggested that Hannett be in charge of such a committee. The Chief Minister liked the idea and Hannett was summoned to Port Moresby and made the Chief Minister's special adviser on Bougainville. Hannett's appointment helped the people to recover from the feeling of hopelessness which had followed from the deaths of Rovin and Moini, and it encouraged them to look at the central government with greater favour. However, Hannett's progress with the Chief Minister's department was, and would continue to be, uphill. He refused to sit on the fence, or to act as a government-directed puppet. On the draft page of his job description he scribbled the following: 'I don't want to be anyone's messenger boy. Enough bugarizing around the problems. The central issues must be spelt out -- I must be authorized to seek the views of the people, the leaders of Bougainville, and the four MHAs, in the interests of working out solutions to our political problems.' And in the end he was.

To initiate and ready themselves for political change Hannett met with the MHAs, several Bougainvillean public servants, and Mungkas members while in Port Moresby. After much discussion, the group made the following major decision

- (i) establish a District Government with power to collect and distribute tax revenues;
- (ii) keep the people continuously informed of plans as it was essential to obtain their approval and support;
- (iii) Bougainvillean leaders and all educated Bougainvilleans must work together in a concerted way so as to preclude further distrust;
- (iv) suspend the government's political liaison programme as it is not considering their problems with any sense of urgency;
- (v) staff the following decision-making positions with Bougainvilleans --

District Commissioner, Superintendent of Police, Business Advisers,
and Regional Medical Officer ;

- (vi) ensure that at least two selected Bougainvilleans are appointed to the Board of Directors of Bougainville Copper ;
- (vii) ensure that a clause be inserted in the proposed constitution guaranteeing the rights of Bougainvilleans and other recognized minorities to secede or enter into an alternative form of relationship with the central government should they wish to do so.

A platform for political action had been devised; Hannett's task was now to obtain a Bougainvillean consensus on the structure and organization of a new relationship with the central government.

UNITY AND DISCORD

'The Bougainville people must tell us what they want, and what they want to try later on', said the Chief Minister in March 1970 in the House of Assembly. Previous attempts to form a committee to determine what the people wanted were not very successful and some of these have already been described. Then, in late 1972 came the inclination to form the Bougainville Special Political Committee (BSPC). Henry Moses, a foundation member, recalled the idea behind it in this way:

We were fed up with the administration for failing to meet its responsibilities. The only sign of government in the village was the presence of a few *kiaps* (patrol officers) who do nothing more than instill fear in the people. We wanted to establish our own political body which would have many purposes but mainly to help the people decide their political future. Hahalis and Navitu were too localized, and seemed to be suffering from divisions created by a few pro-administration councillors. We felt that the best way to block any further attempts to create a rift between Bougainvilleans was to form a new, Bougainville-wide political body capable of incorporating all the presidents of the local government councils on Bougainville, representatives from non-council areas, Hahalis, Navitu, and so on.

A general feeling of anguish after the Robin-Moini incident was in their favour. It effectively silenced those who had doubts about the viability of secession, while drawing closer together those who felt that a secessionist movement was imminent. Although its formation was timely, the BSPC moved cautiously. To establish its legitimacy it would have to seek acknowledgement from an officially recognized body.

THE BOUGAINVILLE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

The formation of the BSPC was formally announced on the final day of the Combined Local Government Council Conference in Wakunai. The need to set up a special committee was discussed among conference delegates at a closed meeting the previous evening, February 22, 1973. The chairman of this meeting, Paul Lapun, began by emphasizing that the meeting was arranged by the four MHAs and had nothing to do with the Mungkas Society. He then went on to state the urgency for creating a foundation upon which socio-economic and political change could be based. He said that it was pointless to agitate for 'secession' without first

considering concrete proposals that would make such a move feasible. He offered these statements in reply to previous accusations that the MHAs were acting as mouthpieces for the students who favoured secession, or that they were becoming lax on this issue. He ended with the warning that unless the leaders 'move in a united way frustrations will mount and there will be bloodshed -- now is the most opportune moment to begin our work together.'

Momis spoke next. He introduced the idea of forming a committee consisting of village elders and the new, young educated leaders which would act as a pressure group for political change. He repeated Lapun's view that concrete proposals were urgently needed. He pointed out that it was up to them to replace goals previously defined by the Australian government with their own set of goals formulated to suit the felt needs and aspirations of the people.

When the MHAs had completed their speeches each councillor and representative of the various organizations was invited in turn by the chairman to clarify their stand on 'secession' and the proposed formation of a special committee. It soon became clear that while they were no more united on the secession issue than in the past there was general agreement that more active political work was required and that this could be the function of a new committee. The formation of a committee represented a formidable beginning to those who were convinced that secession was a political necessity. Kieta councillor Henry Moses perhaps represented this position best when he said: 'We have to form this committee *now*. It can help us to learn the thinking of our people and effect solutions to our problems, perhaps even provide the structure for a Bougainville nation.' Except for making his views on secession very plain the most outspoken 'anti-secessionist', the President of the Buka Council, did not indicate any opinion on the formation of a committee that evening. He was understandably cautious that a new movement might be used to rally more votes for the 'secessionists'. To the majority, a new committee could explore the people's hopes and fears about secession. One of them said: 'My people would like to learn more about the things we have been talking about. We are not against anything that has been discussed here tonight or in the past. All we are asking is that a committee come around to our area and explain secession to us so that we will not be fouled up in our thinking.'

All in all, the meeting had achieved its purpose. It indicated to the leaders, particularly Lapun, Momis, Hannett, and Moses, that their predetermined decision to form a political committee would be accepted, and it provided them with a clearer indication of how the meeting the next day would turn out.

When the delegates convened for the formal conference meeting they approached the subject with more confidence. While the representative from Teop-Tinputz Council* was at first hesitant to replace the central government's political committee with the BSPC, he supported the majority view that the BSPC could instil confidence in the people to solve their own problems. In any case, the BSPC seemed to be a compromise solution and if formed could temper the immediate call for secession. Here is the way the debate went:

Moses: I propose that a committee of six to eight men be formed at this time and shortly thereafter further committees be set up throughout Bougainville, at Buka, Nissan, Mortlock, and all other islands belonging to the Bougainville District, to tell the people the political options that are open to them. I also propose that Leo Hannett, who is the central government's liaison officer, be head of this committee.

Siwai councillor: I would like to second Mr Moses' proposal. There has been much talk of secession but little action. I am all for the setting-up of a committee made up of councillors, but I suggest that in the future 'big men' from the villages be brought into the committee to give the people proper representation. People from all over Bougainville must be on this committee, then no area will be neglected. We must establish a national identity for ourselves.

President of Buka Council: Who is going to be on this committee and how will it be run?

Moses: This committee will be made up of Bougainvilleans to help all the people of Bougainville. The government's committee should be disbanded and all its funds should then go to our new committee.

Momis: When you talk about forming a committee you should also think about people belonging to the Hahalis Welfare Society, Navitu, and so on; their representatives could also be considered for election to the committees.

Moses: It is no good ridiculing people who come from other council areas. Bougainville must become close-knit, like one big family. This new committee must help us gain this unity... I propose that the Combined Council Conference seek donations of \$100 from each council, Navitu, Hahalis, plantations and companies, plus a 10 cents tax on individuals. This money will go to the Bougainville Special Development Committee so that it will have funds to commence operations.

(More councillors were accepting that the BSPC may not be such a radical idea after all if the Chief Minister's appointee is going to head it. The President of

* Established in 1958 as the first local government council on Bougainville.

Buka Council seconded the proposal by Moses. Later the councillors agreed that Hannett should be the leader of the BSPC.)

Lapun: This committee we are trying to form will go out and bring back the ideas of the people; it will be a liaison committee. This committee is to find out what sort of government the people want; it must listen to the people. It is not right to ridicule the people from Buka or Teop-Tinputz or wherever, as they have the right to express their opinions too.

Moses: Thank you Mr Lapun. This committee will be made up of Bougainvilleans whose job it will be to determine the best future for their people. I recommend that an approach be made to the government to replace the present political education officer with our new committee. The committee must be recognized and respected otherwise it will not be able to function properly, and government funds must then be allocated to it...

Momis: This committee is to help the people sort out their problems. There has been talk of referendum, secession, and so on, for some time now, and the Chief Minister recognizes that Bougainville is a 'special case'. If the government's liaison committee is to be terminated then there must be something else in its place for the people to pass on their ideas to. This substitute must be recognized by the government and the government must supply finance for its functions -- but there must be only one committee. If there is more than one committee there will only be confusion and no good will result. Mr Hannett has been appointed Mr Somare's liaison officer and he will be able to pass on information, etc., to Mr Somare.

Hannett: Time is running out. I ask the four MHAs, John Teosin (President of Hahalis), the head man of Navitu, and all the presidents of the local government councils to sit down now and decide who is going to be on this committee. This matter will have to be finalized and the new committee announced before this conference is over.

In the end a representative from each of the eight councils was selected to sit on the committee; also included were representatives from the following organizations: Hahalis, Navitu, and the Port Moresby and Lae branches of the Mungkas Society. Later, the committee would be broadened by the inclusion of representatives from the outlying areas of Bougainville, and the urban centres of East New Britain, New Ireland, and Bougainville. After the conference was over, Hannett toured the District to determine for himself the existing political factions on Bougainville. They reflected the mood at Wakunai:

- (i) The uncompromising secessionists: Kieta, Buin, and Siwai. The people are unsure about their specific goals or the nature of their problems, yet

leaders are very committed to the search for a legitimate government separate from Papua New Guinea and based on a combination of traditional and modern socio-economic values. 'Politics is very much an emotional matter. (At the conference the Buin representative said: 'Bougainville must secede and the fight must go on, if needs be, into the third or fourth generation.')

- (ii) The autonomists: Buka and Teop-Tinputz. Leaders express a strong preference for some measure of autonomy for the District. (At the conference the President of Buka Council said: 'If we were to take a vote today on whether Bougainville should break away from Papua New Guinea, north Bougainville would vote against it. However, should Bougainville decide to go ahead with secession, then north Bougainville would break away from the rest of Bougainville.')
- (iii) Animistic secessionists: Members of the Eivo Council and people living in the south central coast, who advocated secession on unconditional terms. They have a strong desire for ancestral spirits to be involved in the affairs of the people.
- (iv) The uncommitted: The rest of the people: Wakunai, Torokina, Hahon, Nissan, the outer islands. There are no outstanding leaders who can voice the opinions of these people. They are adopting a 'wait and see' attitude. The central government's impact on these people has been minimal.

To Hannett the threat of secession symbolized the people's frustration and rage. It was a symptom of the problem, rather than the problem itself, and so had to be handled accordingly. He would dispense with the catch-phrases and concentrate on effecting solutions to the problem. We do not have a record of what he told the people during his tour of Bougainville, but it must have been very similar to the words spoken in front of an audience of Bougainvillean urban workers in Loloho on 21 May, 1973: 'We may be misled if we tend to see "breakaway" as a step leading to a paradise or a millenium. Priority should first be given to the creation of a sound infrastructure for all forms of development to take place in our District. All this must come even before consideration of the type of government we should have, be it District Government, or a completely independent Bougainville. For the type of government we hope to have will depend very largely on the type of foundation that we lay -- a foundation that is built on the will and strength of the people, and for their betterment.'

The BSPC felt that a good way to begin its work was to evaluate the present system of District administration to see how it could be improved to meet the

aspirations of the people. Accordingly it began to ask such questions as: How much political power should the District have in order to effect rapid changes beneficial to the people? Should the District have the power to tax big business in Bougainville? What degree of power should be given the councils to preserve some of our traditional customs? What role can village elders play in village government? The BSPC asked traditional and council leaders to think about the building of a solid foundation for an independent Bougainville. A form of District Government could provide such a foundation, and they should work to establish one that same year.²³

Early successes

While Hannett was the general co-ordinator and Chairman of the BSPC, he was also, as previously mentioned, the central government's consultant on Bougainville affairs. The two positions did not necessarily conflict with one another because in his capacity as consultant he was empowered to convene meetings, develop and sponsor formal and informal groupings that would assist him in his priorities. The latter included establishing the people's confidence in the central government, promoting their confidence in the four MHAs, and reconciling existing differences while working towards a common goal. The central government was thus provided with a link to the BSPC and Hannett was judiciously asked to submit all proposals emanating from the BSPC to the Chief Minister and his advisers. However, he did not always find it necessary to do so; his loyalty lay with the BSPC and he would solidify, expand, and protect it.

The BSPC had hoped that funds and facilities previously afforded to the government's liaison committee would be available for their use. But Hannett preferred to work in his government-provided house in Arawa after he was made to feel unwelcome by the former expatriate District Commissioner and some members of his staff. With regard to government funding, the committee required a larger amount than allocated and so an auxiliary body, called the Bougainville Development Planning Committee (BDPC), was created to solicit donations mainly from the councils, corporate groups, and companies operating in Bougainville. In April the BSPC sent a circular to village representatives requesting contributions of \$2.00 per adult male, \$1.00 per adult female, or \$3.00 per family. These appeals met with some degree of success. Henry Moses from Kieta was appointed Chairman of the BDPC, and he was assisted in his work by Leo Hannett and Michael Poowa, representing north and south Bougainville respectively.

Moses and Poowa were also executive members of the BSPC. Hannett selected Havini to represent the committee in Buka; Dumit and Sissiou both from Buka and BCL employees, were chosen to liaise with Bougainvillean workers in the mine

site. These six people made up the national body which acted as a co-ordinating authority for all branches with power to issue directives and call meetings. In their written communications with councils and Bougainvilleans the BSPC promised to visit them as soon as feasible, to assist them in planning their own meetings, and to foster discussion on such matters as 'District Government' and 'secession'. But much of this work was left to Hannett as the other executive members were already occupied with full-time jobs. Hannett requested the central government release Havini from his duties as District Education Officer so that he could join the BSPC full-time, but this was rejected on three separate occasions. Despite these problems, Hannett made another extensive tour of the District, this time to prepare the people for the forthcoming BSPC conference.

Not all of the BSPC's activities were directed at the villages. In early May the Panguna Mungkas Association called several meetings of Bougainvillean urban workers to discuss the PMA's adoption of the BSPC's aims and guidelines, and to acknowledge the BSPC as a central co-ordinating body. This was a logical and not wholly unexpected move since two of the PMA's executives, Dumit and Sissiou were also executive members of the BSPC. But while the lower income workers with little formal education unanimously adopted the PMA's proposals, some were apprehensive about the proposed link with the BSPC. The following exchange between PMA officials and these workers shows this:

Q: Is the BSPC aiming at a complete breakaway from Papua New Guinea?

A: One of the aims of the BSPC is to opt for secession if the people so wish.

Q: Some of us are doubtful about the aims of this committee. We feel that the formation of such a committee may be premature. Why was it formed?

A: We Bougainvilleans are just now taking the lead in the development of our District. One of the ways in which we can do this is to become self-reliant and form our own pressure group. The committee is not hungry for power, it is only fighting for our rights.

Q: What sort of rights are we talking about?

A: This subject is too complicated to talk about now. The committee will take up the question of Bougainville's political, social, and economic rights in the near future.

Q: Why can't we simply leave it to our Members in the House of Assembly to enact changes that will be favourable to us?

A: Our guess is that the Members must go along with the dictates of government. It is difficult for them to speak solely for the District.

In the end these members backed the PMA in endorsing the BSPC's proposals. The link with the PMA was a union of convenience since it provided the BSPC with financial aid and working-class support for its activities. There were no further signs of strain. By the time the BSPC launched the first conference its political strength acted as a powerful magnet, drawing together the urban worker and the villager.

THE ARAWA CONFERENCE

For three days in May, 1973, the BSPC held their first plenary conference in Arawa. They invited the four MHAs, the presidents of the local government councils, Mungkas, Hahalais, and Navitu, as well as representatives from the outer islands, and non-council areas. Village elders, and Bougainvillean urban workers employed in Arawa and nearby were also invited to come as guests. The response to these invitations was very good; when the conference was opened on the evening of 23 May, standing room was at a premium.

Why did the executive officers of the BSPC -- in particular Hannett, Havini, Moses, Dumit, and Sissiou-- call a conference? An overriding aim was to assist Bougainville's leaders in working towards a unanimous proposal for presentation to the central government's Constitutional Planning Committee which was to visit the District in July. BSPC executives were now convinced that a system of local autonomy would provide the best possible immediate solution to some of the District's ills. They were determined to push ahead with the establishment of a District Government *on their terms*, but were still uncertain as to how some members would react to this proposal. A conference would enable the BSPC executives to argue for District Government in a realistic manner. To help achieve this aim, Hannett and other convenors planned meetings in such a way that Bougainvillean solidarity would be emphasized,* trust in the BSPC would be inculcated, and the legitimacy of the central government would be re-established.

An abridged version of the proceedings of the conference is given below.** Aside from providing us with a measure of the BSPC executives' achievements, this transcript reveals clearly the difficulties which were confronting them in their quest for a Bougainville-wide consensus on the nature and direction of future political development.

* The words 'unity' and 'unite' were mentioned fifty-three times during the conference.

** All speakers used Pidgin as their language at the conference; the translation presented here was prepared by Mamak.

Evening session, 23 May

(Hannett is chairman for this meeting. He invites MHA Raphael Bele to present the opening address and introduce Bougainville's new District Commissioner Dr Alexis Sarei.)

Bele: Good evening everyone -- Mr Paul Lapun, Dr Sarei, observers, and committee members... We have talked about 'breakaway' and 'referendum' in the past; these topics have come up for discussion again. We have discussed the financial gain of the Bougainville Copper Company and how it is being used to help some parts of Papua New Guinea while little remains in Bougainville. There are many problems. What can we do to solve them? ...Today we have a committee that is truly representative of our island. I believe this committee is sincere in its attempt to awaken our identity. It is helping us to unite and work together for our own benefit, and to express our need for self-determination. This is the genuine basis of self-government and independence. The committee has brought us together from all around Bougainville to find a suitable and common path for us to follow.. The time has come for us to unite. We must work together for a type of government that will correct the mistakes of the past and be truly representative of our way of life. Now I would like to introduce Dr Alexis Sarei, our new District Commissioner.

Sarei: Mr Chairman, councillors, the Minister for Mines, and everyone. I am very honoured to have been asked to open the committee's meeting... When the Chief Minister last visited Bougainville everyone spoke harshly to us... One of your major demands was that educated Bougainvilleans living outside the District should return to help the people. The Chief Minister has now responded to your request..

(Sarei's appointment is a major achievement of the BSFC. Some of Bougainville's leaders have been requesting a Bougainvillean District Commissioner for almost a year. The appointment is tangible evidence of a positive response by the central government and Sarei capitalizes on it.)

The Chief Minister was reluctant to release me, but he is responsive to your demands. In this way, the Chief Minister has demonstrated his responsiveness to your request and he has sent me, his right hand man, to come and work with you... The central government has given us the tools. We must now use them to find the road that will lead us to our goals... This committee has brought us together and if we want to achieve our goals we must work together. I am very honoured to be here but I have not come to tell you what to do, or how to do it; I have come to work with you. I will not say much more as it is not good to put too many obstacles before you. So, once again, let me say how delighted I am to be present at this meeting... I am happy to open this meeting. The meeting is now opened.

(The Minister for Mines, Paul Lapun, stands up to speak. For reasons that will soon be clear, his talk is unscheduled, and neither he nor Minister Donatus Mola is given any prominence at the meeting. In a gesture of appeasement the chairman softly points out that Lapun was the first Bougainvillean Member in the House of Assembly to show his countrymen the road to progress and unity.)

Lapun: We have come here to unite; but to unite for what? We unite to think about and work for our future. In the past, as you know, we came under the care of the colonial administration, and under the influence of Australia. And both provided the constitutional laws they thought were appropriate for us to follow. Now times have changed and we ourselves are involved in this work. At present we are faced with the task of finding a suitable path to follow. This type of work comes under the heading of self-government and independence. Should we have a government that is dependent on the Australian government, or should we have some other type of arrangement?

At the present time many of us are annoyed at the way the Australian government has been running our country. Our time has come and we have the freedom and the right to speak up about the things we want to see changed. There will be no-one to shove you or make decisions for you in the future. You must discuss amongst yourselves, and think for yourselves what are some of the best alternatives available. We in Bougainville -- the people of Bougainville -- must unite and decide positively the kind of life we want. As Dr Sarei has said, this committee belongs to us and to our District. I cannot order you around or tell you what to do; I am here to work with you.

We must ask ourselves this: Has the way in which the white man governed Papua New Guinea been altogether good or not? If it has not, ask what changes are needed. Keep this constantly in mind. Everyone in Papua New Guinea is thinking along these lines. Their thoughts will be directed to the Constitutional Planning Committee (CPC) and when they have been absorbed, the CPC will draft a revised constitution that will be used to govern our country. Before the CPC comes to our island -- north, south, east, and west -- you must first of all decide the sort of government you wish to have. It is useless for us to waste any more time criticizing each other over the wireless. This kind of conduct is not going to bring any changes... I am sorry for being so long-winded but I wanted to make clear what the aim of this meeting should be.

(Over the past few months the MHAs have been criticized for being either too lax or too demanding with respect to Bougainville's political future. Despite Lapun's appeal for solidarity, MHAs and participants will engage in dramatic pyrotechnics over how Bougainville's leaders should act politically.)

The chairman outlines the programme for the next few days. He is hopeful that solutions to a number of grievances, to be brought out at this conference, can be effected immediately. He reminds participants of the need to consolidate their political ideas before the CPC comes to Bougainville.)

Morning session, 24 May

(Sissiou is the chairman for this meeting, and Hannett is the first speaker. He takes recourse to history to argue for independent political and economic action for Bougainville.)

Hannett: ...Bougainville has been affected by too many forms of government. In 1898, in the middle of a dispute between Germany and England, the Solomons were divided into two parts and distributed. The governing powers did not bother to obtain the consent of the people; they were confident of their wisdom. In 1921, after Germany lost the First World War, we came under the wing of Australia and we were grouped together with Papua New Guinea to form a Trust Territory. A few schools were developed and in 1964 a high school was built on Bougainville. By 1960 there were about 130 mission-run primary schools and only 11 government-operated schools throughout our island. Now the big question is this: Who is really acting on our behalf?

(Hannett's tone now becomes uncharacteristically aggressive.)

In Buka we saw the rise of Hahalis and we saw how the government and the Catholic mission tried to break its back without even bothering to find out the basic cause of dissatisfaction. The Hutjena High School came about because Hahalis had put up a fight, and the high school in Arawa developed very quickly because of the copper company. Once again, who is really looking after our interests? It seems the government is only working for itself... The United Nations Charter states that the governing power must look out for the welfare of the people. It certainly cannot give the people's possessions away -- like the land here in Kieta. Much timber was sold to a company but after the contract was finalized the landowners at Tonolei found they would be paid \$30,000 while the government would profit by some \$6 million.

(Hannett describes the origin of movements for referendum and secession, and the ideas behind the recently formed BSPC. These movements are symbolic of the people's search for an administrative structure that would allow them to have a greater say in their own affairs. The establishment of a District Government could meet this need, he says. But they must not be deceived into accepting a form of local autonomy akin to the local government councils of today...)

Now let us take a look at the local government councils. Why are they so weak? How much time does it take for Moresby to answer a request from our councils? How can the councils gain more control over project financing? Some people have told me that the road from Kieta to Daratue should be made into a main road so as to open up the Kongara. It would open up a number of villages to development. At the present time the people from Rotokas say it takes them nine hours to walk down to the coast. There must be decentralization in addition to development. The development of an urban centre reflects the policies of the colonial past. The Arawa centre serves only to attract the undesirable and the unemployed. Many of us have been strongly critical because migrants from elsewhere are coming to Arawa without any visible means of support. This is not in line with the Chief Minister's policy that development must have a meaningful effect on the citizens of Papua New Guinea...

In today's meeting you must discuss the type and degree of power our councils should have. Let the central government give us more power and greater financial control to initiate change. We can wait patiently no longer for the House of Assembly to allocate funds to our District. We must commence talking about District power... The House is currently wasting a lot of time talking about local projects when it should be discussing more important topics... We have been isolated for too long. Too often replies to our requests have been negative because the decision-makers are too far away to comprehend our problems. The central government gets many similar requests from all over the place. What we need is called, in English, 'decentralization'. Do you want to initiate the changes that must come with a District Government or do you want the central government to do your thinking for you? Think clearly about District Government.. We will break for an hour so that group leaders may have an opportunity to consult with their respective discussion groups.

(At the end of an hour group leaders return to present their reports. Dumit, Chairman of Panguna Mungkas Association, takes the chair. The first report is presented by Aloysius Noga, President of Buin Local Government Council.)

Noga: This conference is bringing us much closer together than ever before. In the past our voices were disjointed... Today the BSPC is providing us with a common platform. My group has come to the conclusion that the key to all our goals is through the creation of a District Government. This type of government will be able to look after all our worries, inside and outside the councils, as if we were all under one roof, in one family, and one country... If the central government does not allow us to form our District Government we will say: 'To heck with you, we will break off from you.' So the first thing we must do is create a District Government with the power to look after the people and the

customs of Bougainville.

President of Buka Council: We agree with the points raised by members of the first group. We would like to add that the proposed District Government be given the power to collect tax revenues, court fines, registration fees, and customs duties, with a portion to be returned to the central government for national expenditure.

Personal Secretary to Fr Momis MHA: We did not have sufficient time to cover all the necessary points but here are some of the major ones we wish to make. With respect to District Government, we want to see a system which the people can identify with; which does not permit outside interference and which originates from the 'grass-roots'. We want a systematic examination of our customs so that the good may be incorporated in the new structure. We must examine our system of traditional leadership to ensure that in these changing times our traditional leaders will be brought to the fore again...

President, Hahalais Welfare Society: We have united for this major task. We agree with the need for a District Government with all the specific powers already mentioned. The leader of this proposed government should be elected by the people, and village elders must have key roles in decision-making. In addition to the powers already mentioned, the proposed government should be able to direct all government programmes in accordance with local needs, and all department heads should be Bougainvilleans...

Vice-President, Siwai Council: This group agrees with the need to build on our traditions right up to the level of District Government... traditional leaders could act as judges in village courts with the power to determine penalties. Traditional leaders should be able to raise and allocate funds in traditional ways... Traditional laws from all over Bougainville must be modified and entered into one large code book of law for uniform application.

(In line with the suggestion first made at the Wakunai Conference that traditional leaders be included in decision-making, this speaker is accompanied by two traditional leaders from his home area at this meeting.)

Dumit: A move for secession may be premature. Of course we would like to secede for many reasons, for example, the death of our two brothers, Peter Moini and Dr Luke Rovin. But the idea of District Government has much to commend it. The structure is not unlike our traditional councils in existence before the colonial power arrived. Let us turn this little dot -- the BSPC -- into a big thing. Let it be the seed of our new government.

(Dumit's hopes are realized when, less than six months later, the BSPC is officially recognized by the central government as the 'Preliminary District

Government' of Bougainville.

The assembly breaks up for lunch and returns at 1.30 p.m. to discuss specific issues which require urgent attention. Havini is chairman at the afternoon session.)

The Rovin-Moini case

(On 16 March, 1973, the three Eastern Highlanders indicted for murdering Peter Moini were found to have taken part in a 'vicious assault' on the deceased, but could not be directly linked with the actual cause of death -- strangulation. The verdict handed down in the Eastern Highlands courtroom was acquittal on all charges relating to the death. No further charges were to be laid. Bougainvilleans everywhere reacted with fury. Meetings were held in Kieta, and once again the deaths became the focus of an ideological attack on the central government. 'It is useless to talk of unity with these people. We will be like putty in their hands. These two men died at the hands of the government; the government is responsible for their deaths. We now have the strongest reasons for breaking away. Our brothers' blood must not be shed in vain. We must grow from their blood', argued Poowa, BSPC executive member, acting on his own behalf, at a meeting of 200 villagers, friends, and kinsmen of the deceased. The Rovin case was going to be held soon and they were anxious to prevent another miscarriage of justice.)

Havini: The time has come to discuss the urgent issues requiring immediate attention -- the Rovin and Moini case, the road project, and the need for an inter-island boat.

With regard to the Moini case, as you know, the culprits have all been acquitted and consequently have escaped the calaboose. The court has said that it cannot convict them on the basis of the available evidence. This decision demonstrates the need to have our own court system so that when the law is broken we can be assured of justice. Remember three years ago, around 1970/71, the case of Emmanuel in Rabaul? * You read in the papers about discrimination against blacks. Well here is a glaring example. The court case for Moini took less than six weeks to complete, whereas Emmanuel's case took more than six months. The Queen's Council handling the Emmanuel case was the best lawyer that the government could find in Australia.

What we have today is rubbish law. European justice is not our law.

* Jack Emmanuel, an Australian who had served for many years in district administration in Papua New Guinea, was murdered in 1971 while District Commissioner of East New Britain. The trial of those accused is reported to have cost around \$250,000.

Traditional law is the only law we know. We must appeal against the decision. Let's discuss this case now as there are many other things to discuss.

(After a lengthy discussion which does not seem to lead anywhere Hannett suggests a motion.)

Hannett: We can keep on passing resolutions and nothing will come of them. I suggest we form a small committee incorporating the four MHAs, fly to Moresby, and confront the Chief Minister with our dissatisfactions in the Moini case. Let us now move a motion to the effect that the participants at this meeting wish to state to the government through the BSPC our anger at the way in which the Moini case was conducted. We want to present our request before the Chief Minister and the Cabinet, and we want some reassurance that the Rovin case will not be concluded in the same manner.

(After further discussion this motion is formally moved by Hannett, seconded by Noga, then passed.)

On 7 June, 1973, the four men charged with the killing of Dr Luke Rovin are sentenced on the lesser charge of causing grievous bodily harm, and receive jail sentences totalling nine years and six months.)

The plight of the outer islands

(Inhabitants of the small islands lying off the coast of Bougainville have become increasingly critical of their lack of participation in economic and political development in the District. They feel isolated because of irregular shipping services between Bougainville and the outer islands, and are concerned that their views on political change will be ignored because they have no direct representation at combined council meetings, and never see Mola, their elected representative in the House of Assembly. Hannett, from Nissan, asks his brother to outline their grievances.)

Albert Hannett: Before I present my report from the islands I want to say how happy I am to be present at this meeting... In the past unity had no meaning. When we talked about 'secession' it was just gibberish, it had no meaning. Before we can secede from Papua New Guinea we must first pull our islands together and demonstrate our unity... Now here's the special report from Nissan, Mortlocks, Tasman, and Pead. It is a document of our grievances and wants.

We need a large vessel installed with a deep-freezer for the storage of fish -- something that we can also use to carry copra to the mainland, tourist artifacts, school children, sick people, food from Kieta, Rabaul, the market in Buka, and so on. I ask you to judge this request fairly. Show us in the islands that we are all one with Bougainville... We in the outer islands are asking you to

intercede with the central government on our behalf. We want the central government to provide more development funds to the islands. Support this request and when I return the people will know you are helping us.

The other grievance that I want to bring up is that for a long time now we have had no representative to speak for us. We will never vote for anyone again as it is just a waste of time. In the 1972 campaign Mola's election committee told us Nissan Islanders that Mola would present our grievances to the House of Assembly and to vote for him again. Some people voted for Havini but the majority voted for Mola. Mola has still to come around and visit us. We have still to see his face.

Carteret Island representative: I support Albert Hannett's speech. What he has said is true. We like to come to the big place but there is no way, there is no boat. The government only looks as far as Bougainville. Our people say, 'Bougainville, Bougainville all the time, we are "nothing" people.' The Bougainville mainland must help us. We voted for your representatives with one voice, yet they do not come. Mola once promised us some cement for erecting a seawall; it has now been many years and still no cement has arrived. In another election we will not vote...

Havini: I want to present you people with some *facts*. In March last year 500 bags of copra wasted away because there was no transportation. The stores had no goods to sell because none were delivered. I want Albert to come forward and read out his resolution.

Albert Hannett: The people want the BSPC to ask the central government to increase the islands' share of rural development funds. Demonstrate to us your willingness to unite. Show us that you mean to be united. If no example of your sincerity is forthcoming, then your requests for our support for your goals will be difficult to put before the people.

President of Bana Council: Each year there is a combined council conference but where is the representation? The BSPC is the only body that is uniting us. The government must find \$50,000 to help the Bougainville islanders. I support the motion.

Arawa villager: They are *our people* -- they share the same *culture*.*

(It is moved that the BSPC address a letter to the government through the

* The few village elders attending the conference were not active participants but their brief contributions to the discussion were followed by rousing encouragement and vigorous hand-clapping.

Minister of Transport requesting that \$50,000 be allocated from the Rural Development Fund to supplement other monies collected by the islanders to finance the purchase of an all-purpose boat for trade and social purposes. The motion is seconded and passed. This resolution and the following discussion show the basic dilemma faced by Bougainvilleans in their relationship with the central government. But unlike most political meetings of the past, this conference ends with much more than a request for financial aid from the government.)

Hannett: We have collected some money but not enough. I don't want to shame you we all belong to Bougainville -- but are you people sincere or not?

Noga: I want to ask Leo Hannett and Michael Poowa how much money the Chief Minister has given to the committee to find out what is troubling our people. The Chief Minister is giving money to other Districts and right now we are under the central government.

Hannett: There are some \$2,000 left from the government's fund for travelling expenses but this fund will be exhausted in six months' time. If Bougainvilleans want to stand up on their own there is no need to depend on the government.

Dumit: The sub-branch of this committee, the Panguna Mungkas Association, recently collected \$10 a head from some of the Bougainvillean workers. It is becoming increasingly difficult to collect money, but while our association is only two months old, it is getting to be a strong one. Blacks can help blacks.

Havini: This means that we must begin to raise some money as soon as we return to the villages. In the remaining minutes Leo Hannett will say something about the Korpei to Mabiri road.

The east coast road

(The overriding need for a road that will open up the entire east coast of Bougainville to development was discussed in much detail at the Wakunai Combined Council Conference earlier in the year. Beginning as a localized demand from the east coast councils in July 1972, the proposed road project has become a Bougainville-wide symbol of discontent over neglect by the central government. This issue will foster ill-feeling between some of Bougainville's leaders at the Buin Combined Council Conference in October 1973. There the two Bougainvillean Cabinet Ministers, Paul Lapun and Donatus Mola, will be censured for neglecting to include the project in the national budget.)

Hannett: At the Wakunai Conference delegates wanted to know how much help the government should give to road projects on Bougainville. Some asked the copper company for assistance while others agitated for self-development. We must reach some agreement now, otherwise the government will not know where or how we want

development to begin... It takes these people nine hours to bring their produce down to the coast. During this time their produce -- cabbages, onions, tomatoes, and so on -- becomes spoilt. A new road can unite us...

Havini: There are five minutes remaining to hear your views.

President of Eivo Council: I support this motion. The copper company must help too.

Noga: The BSPC can stand behind the decision reached at Wakunai and even strengthen it. I support the motion.

Evening session, 24 May

(Father John Momis, MHA and Deputy Chairman of the Constitutional Planning Committee, who was not able to present his scheduled address in the morning, speaks now. Aloysius Noga is the chairman.)

Momis: The Chief Minister has assembled a committee which will draft a constitution and examine the sort of government that is suitable for our country. In other words, a system that will be 'home-grown' and straight from the 'grass-roots'...

I want to say a few words concerning the strong positive feelings the CPC has for District Government. As you know, each District has its own distinct problems and it is therefore proper that each looks after its own development. We are thinking of giving the District sufficient powers to make its own decisions. In English we call this 'decentralization of decision-making'. The present councils have no financial power -- forget about your combined conferences, because one *kiap*, one professional, or even one engineer can voice his opinion and the matter is ended. In today's system one person can negate the decisions of the majority, of all the people of Bougainville. This must change... Another thought -- government must ensure that the decisions of the people are heard. There is no need to set up a hospital when no-one has asked for it. The government has no right to force its decisions on the people. You must elect leaders who know the people -- councillors, traditional leaders, and 'big men'. Decision-making must always involve the people...

The CPC has very positive ideas about a system of District Government. When the national government starts to object about relinquishing some of its powers, then be prepared for a fight. If you are true to yourselves you will fight for your rights. Chart your course and don't divert from it. Once you destroy positive thinking you will have no chance. Think about 'District Government', 'independence', 'secession', but remember that ideology is easy to come by, to put it into practice is a different matter. If we are clear about the

advantages and disadvantages of these abstract ideas it will be all right. If we are not, it will only be a waste of time... But making decisions is only the first step. Be ready for the political fight ahead. If we are slack no-one will pay attention to us.

We must ask what the District is lacking in, and what the relationship between the District and the central government should be... District Government must have a stronger say in the type of projects it wants, and it must have the final say. At the present time if the central government wants to build a town like Arawa do they come and ask us? No, they do not. This sort of thing must not happen again. The District must have the final say; it must have a strong hand over everything...

I'm not sure what type of government we should have because we have not yet discussed this matter properly. The CPC will soon be coming to ask you for your opinions -- on the councils, on education, the copper company, and so on. A good government must look after the people; it must have strong economic and social goals and a strong ideology; it must have vision. What is the use of taking over -- of independence -- if outsiders continue to dictate to us because of a lack of firm ideology and leadership?

(Fr Momis shares the socialist philosophy of Julius Nyerere and often refers to Nyerere in his speeches. Concern over poor leadership, emphasis on unity, and education of the people in their political responsibilities, as well as support for measures that would ameliorate economic hardship underlie many of the public statements made by these two men.)

Julius Nyerere once said that the type of system you install after independence will have no positive impact so long as the leadership is poor. You may have a good education system but if you don't have the right person to run it, to look after the rights of the people, the system will collapse... If there is no strong leadership, who is going to fight for the rights of the people?... All right, I have said enough.

Noga: You may address your questions to the four MHAs.

President of Mungkas Society: It is good to see the four of you united for a change. Where do you stand on the question of District Government? Many of you went around before the election asking people for their views. You promised to help us carry out a referendum. Some of you have now forgotten your promises and have gone into party politics. You have forgotten the grievances of the people. The four MHAs must spell out their position clearly. Where do you stand? Are you for party politics or for the people?

Mola: That is a good question. During the elections I never campaigned for a

referendum. With regard to my affiliation with a political party, I joined the People's Progress Party in order to get party support for our District needs. If I stand outside the party it will be difficult to get any support -- for money to build your bridges, airports, roads, and so on.

If the subject of District Government is raised I think the party will support it. If you ask me whether I want to see Bougainville obtain District Government or something else, all right, I stand up to support your wishes because you voted for me. You like District Government, I support District Government. To achieve District Government is neither easy nor difficult, it is both. In the end I would favour District Government. Thank you.

Lapun: When I was Under-Secretary for Forests (1964-67) and directly under the government I spoke up for Bougainville's grievances and rights. And during the time of trouble over land I was a Pangu Pati member and I supported referendum for Bougainville. You ask me where I stand? What has caused me to be silent? You *yourselves*, because you yourselves are in disagreement. All the letters read over the radio, you have heard them, they ridicule this type of talk. They tell us not to listen to the students; they say that we do not have the knowledge, business sense, nor money to breakaway from Papua New Guinea. This type of talk did not come from the outside but from within. The cry for a referendum comes mainly from the Kieta Council. North Bougainville does not want it. This fact came out at the Wakunai Conference. All those who listen to the news know that secession is a sentiment belonging to a minority. The majority do not want to breakaway. That is one reason why I have not talked too much about this subject.

Noga: Speaking for the village people, I can say that we honestly don't know what is going on inside the government of Papua New Guinea. I know the MHAs are loaded with work, but what is really going on in the government today?

Mola: We have plenty of work in the House of Assembly. Paul Lapun, Fr Momis, and I have been tied up. We left it to the local councils to look after our respective areas. At the moment I have appointed a personal Electorate Secretary whose job is to visit all the people and tell them what the government is doing. He will also report to me on what the people want.

Lapun: Last year I was hard at work in my ministry and neglected the people. Perhaps I too can find a man to tell the people what I am doing in the central government.

Bele: I never said 'If you vote for me I will provide you with roads, bridges, and other things.' I was elected to speak for you in a forthright manner. I was nominated by *Navitu* -- let me clarify something. Fr Momis once said that council areas move in one direction while non-council areas move in another.



Plate 1: (from left to right) Henry Moses (partly obscured), Raphael Bele, John Dumit, Poma village leader, Leo Hannett, Peter Tiona, Samuel Kariup.



Plate 2: (from left to right) Joseph Tonacu, Leo Hannett, Samuel Kariup.



Plate 3: Moses Havini



Plate 4: Peter Sissiou

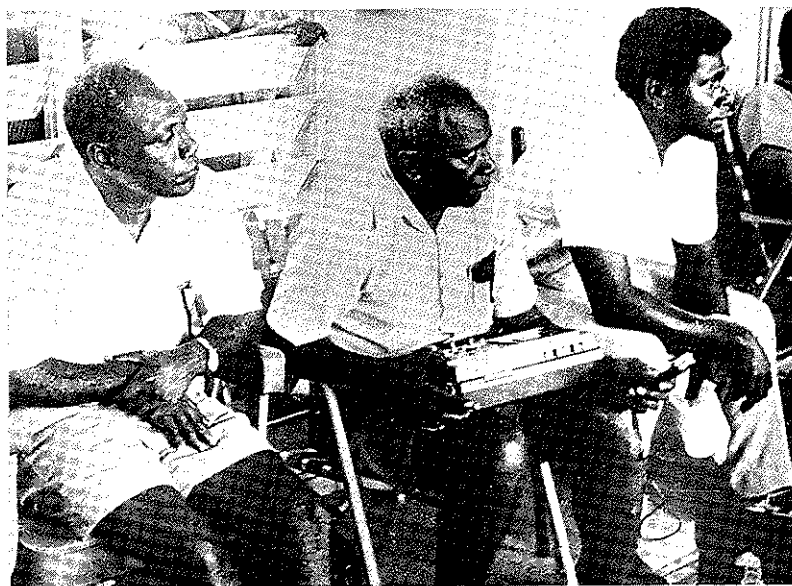


Plate 5: MHAs at the Buin Combined Council Conference, October, 1973:
(from left to right) Donatus Mola, Paul Lapun, Raphael Bele.

Similarly with the Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), and Methodists. The SDA say the Catholic mission is just trash, and *vice versa*. Well, the basic principle of Napidakoe Navitu is to forget about ridiculing each other; to unite and forget about cargo cultism, Hahalis, SDA, and other subjects dividing us. The meaning of Napidakoe Navitu is the unity of the coastals -- people from Panguna, Koromira, Eivo, and so on. The coastals and inlanders must unite -- 'navitu' means 'we unite'. We must 'navitu' and fight for our rights. Paul Lapun helped form this organization to look out for our rights in the Kieta Sub-district. If this organization can envelop the whole of Bougainville we can really be united.

(Contrast this plea with Bele's opening statement at the beginning of the conference where he praises the BSPC for its efforts to unite Bougainville. Here is the first public indication that the BSPC's political strength is causing Navitu leaders concern and jealousy.)

Sissiou: I have some questions. Some say Bougainville must have District Government, others say there must be full independence now. I ask you if you support District Government and why? If you support it why don't you want us to have full independence?

Lapun: These are my own thoughts. We are not yet united. It is not the right time to secede. Where will we go? I support some form of autonomy. Unite, work together inside the District Government, and start something. Independence can be a goal. We are working a step at a time. If there are no steps we will not be able to reach our goal. We can also gain knowledge in the meantime. The students have only one aim -- independence, but the people don't share the students' background. Let us begin with unity, because at the present time I can see we are not yet united.

President of Mungkas Society: Our MHAs must explain the political rights of the people. Referendum is a right of the people. I'm happy to know now who is aware of the political rights of the people and who is not!

Havini: There has already been too much discussion. We are like dogs on heat who spring from the bush to fight, and after the fight return to their masters. This is what is happening today. On the referendum matter it was clear that Joseph Lue (MHA 1968-72) was one of our MHAs who did not voice an opinion at the time. If such a pattern of opposition continues and if District Government is not achieved it is because we have no unity on top. You MHAs must clarify your stance today.

(These repeated requests for clarification of the MHAs' positions with regard to issues such as 'referendum', 'secession', and 'District Government'

were met with loud applause and approval. They reflected an increasing disenchantment with the performance of certain Members in Port Moresby, and their apparent lack of success in persuading central government to support Bougainville's requests for development assistance.)

Momis: No Member can possibly be a spokesman for all Bougainvilleans today. This is because Bougainville is divided. We don't know if Bougainville wants to secede because you keep on asking me about it. Kieta appears to be stronger on the secession issue while Buin is not as united. Buka is also not as united. Kieta is stronger, but it too is not altogether united. Which group am I supposed to be representing? I must first gather the needs and aspirations of all the people. This is not easy (because) the white man has indoctrinated us falsely, and now the copper company is providing us with false values; it is constantly lying to us...

When talk of referendum came up many were ridiculing it. I stood up supporting referendum. I did not say that I supported secession because at that time, and even today -- *today*, I'm still not clear if secession or District Government is the best thing for us. People have a right to determine their own future, and so I supported referendum. If this meeting supports secession I too will support it even though I am not clear about it. This is because I am your spokesman. If you ask me in my capacity as your leader I will not speak of secession to you. You must distinguish between the roles of a leader and a spokesman.

(The President of Mungkas Society) has said that if a man does not recognize the rights of his people it is better that he get up and leave. I support this in theory; in reality it is not so easy. In theory it is easy to stick up for your rights, but the end result is inevitably compromise. If you support secession I will be very happy to stand behind you -- *if you are ready*. But the big question is whether we are ready to stand alone. The United Nations does not like fragmentation. I believe we must fight for our rights, but there are more important things than secession. If we secede, Australia will not be able to control the copper company, and already Papua New Guinea is having a difficult time in their relations with the company. As for us, if we break away, the company will be our new master.

Big business talks big; it talks about its rights but how much has it given to development? People say big business is the backbone of development but this type of business will surely devour us.

Albert Hannett: Donatus Mola's 1972 campaign should be explained.

Mola: Thank you, I...

Dumit: (*pleasantly sarcastic*) He's gasping for breath now.

Bougainvillean priest from Kieta: This subject has divided us. I am sick of listening to grievances ('*bel i hevi*'); I have '*het hevi*'. (*The room echoes laughter.*) For six years we have been talking about secession, and now we are talking about forming a District Government. How can we get a clear picture?

Lapun: Perhaps for the Kieta people it's not so much a matter of having a stomach ache ('*bel i pen*') as a headache ('*het i pen*'). We have known about Kieta's feelings for many years. What we need now is for the north and the south to unite. District Government is one way of preparing a foundation of unity.

Bele: (*strongly*) For the past six years we have sent out deputations on referendum. There is one patrol box full up with such things. Kieta has done its part; Kieta has finished with the subject of referendum. We sent over 1,000 referendum papers to the Siwai and they were buried. Kieta was not asleep. Over in the south they said it was the sole idea of Navitu. That's all I have to say.

Dumit: The MHAs have spoken. We now have a clear picture, and it is obvious that we have been hitting our heads against a brick wall. Hoping for Mola to do something is like hitting our heads against a brick wall. I have no more interest in the Members. I only have interest in the committee which is sponsoring this conference. The Members can work with Somare; they can stay with him, because we don't need them. This committee can provide us with the foundation for a new government -- if we make it strong. We have now reached the stage of maximum confusion. Since I was a child I have not seen much change in north Bougainville. Today, the only change we see is the copper company changing our way of life. We must give our full support to this committee.

Lapun: This committee can form the basis of a new government only when we know how much power it can get from the central government. In the meantime we are Members in a responsible government and we can help give Bougainville more power...

Momis: It is not easy to form a government; a committee is not a government, and you are confusing the issue... I am not against this committee, but you must be realistic. You must enact change at the national level. For instance, if Bougainville wants to change its relationship with the copper company it cannot do so, only the central government has the power. It was not easy to bring Leo Hannett to Bougainville, and it required a lot of political pressure to get a Bougainvillean District Commissioner. These changes did not all come in one day.

The new government must be people-oriented, and not money-oriented. The companies must co-operate and they must consider the country's development. If

we don't control the economy, if we have no economic aim, then everything else is just talk.

Poowa: *(an impassioned oration)* The reason why we are confused is because we have no identity. Ever since the white man came he has fouled us up. We have lost all our sense of values. We have no proper goals -- only half-goals. We follow the white man's ways blindly, we imitate him readily, and we yearn for his goal -- money -- because whiteness is a sickness and it has poisoned our minds.

Before the white man came we had an ideology which was socialist. Today we are asking in what way can the government help the people. This is why I hate the white man. He did not bother to use our traditional values to help us develop. As a result we don't know which way to turn... He has led me to believe that I lack an ideology and the ability to stand up today and say to myself, 'Yes, *this* is the type of government I want; *this* is the economic system I want; and *this* is the social system I want.'

A student: I want to ask a question. If District Government is a first step, will the new constitution allow us to break away eventually?

Momis: The CPC has thought about this provision. I think we can forget about it. Secession may be accompanied by bloodshed if it is attempted later. It could come up now but it wouldn't be easy. If we are ready to face the difficulties then we can go ahead... Are we really ready for secession? Look around you. Not everyone supports the idea. Even if it were unanimous we would have a fight on our hands -- with Papua New Guinea, Australia, and the United Nations. Are we ready for that? If this committee advocates secession I will be your spokesman. In Rabaul on Sunday I can tell the CPC that Bougainville wants to secede. But if you don't weight the pros and cons you are going to drown.

(Hamnett summarizes the main points and concludes the second day's session by entreating participants to take all their ideas and decisions back to the people for further discussion. The meeting ends with a repetition of the submissions made earlier by the various groups. After a long day there is only a single entry in Hamnett's diary: 'They went all the way for District Government.')

Morning session, 25 May

(The general topic is political development and we are approaching the core of the conference. Peter Sissiou is once again the chairman, and he starts off the morning's session with his paper entitled 'Some views on the future status of Bougainville'. This is perhaps one of the earliest occasions when an explicit

statement on policies which would change the present structure of district administration is made in public. Except for a few minor points the proposals contained in his address resemble some of the final submissions made by the BSPC to the Constitutional Planning Committee in July (Appendix C). Also of interest is Sissiou's idea, which is shared by others, that District Government can 'unite' those who favour secession and those who do not. Sissiou's frequent interchange of the words 'District Government' with 'State Government' causes some confusion in the discussion that follows.)

Noga: The various groups must return to their respective areas and examine whether this idea of District Government is feasible or not...

President of Mungkas Society: If we get a State Government we must be sure to eliminate all the colonial attachments of the past -- anything that was put up by our colonial masters. We want new electoral divisions... the divisions of the colonial days divided us arbitrarily...

Buin marketing representative: When I return to Buin and offer this proposal to the people they are not going to give me any money. They want a referendum and they want to break away; they don't want a State Government. Bougainvilleans are crying for 'breakaway'. Why are we not talking about holding a referendum?

Sissiou: The type of State Government we are talking about is a different thing. Under the present system our District has no power. The type of system I envisage will give us more control, and if agreeable to you we could allow Papua New Guinea to look after our defence and other national matters.

The central government will soon be getting about \$49 million from Bougainville. I can't say where these figures come from but I know this money will go to Moresby. We have no control over our financial affairs at present. By 1980 the contribution from Bougainville will rise to some \$180 million. You say we must break away, but if we need help what is going to happen? Even Australia must maintain friendly relations with its neighbours, and with America. If we do not maintain friendly relations with Papua New Guinea we are not going to receive help from them when we need it.

President of Eivo Council: I speak for the people from Eivo census division. We are a minority group, and our old men are still puzzled. I support the idea of a State Government but I am also puzzled -- what are we going to do with our grievances later on? The old man knows only one way and that is change in quick time. When are we ever going to agree? We must unite now.

President of Teop-Tinputz Council: I want to ask the committee about its thoughts on the matter so that I can bring this information back to the people. Should we have a State Government or should we break away? I will address my council

and my people and tell them what the committee believes in and what is required to start the new government off.

The Buin marketing representative has said that he will not be able to get his people to contribute financially if we go ahead with State Government. The same applies to me in reverse, for my people have not changed their mind. If this committee decides to break away from Papua New Guinea in the future it will be difficult for me to collect any funds. 'Forget it', they will say, 'we are not thinking about breaking away.' We want some clarification on this matter.

President of Wakunai Council: A State Government can unite us. If we want to secede later where is the foundation for it? We need some experience in governing ourselves. Later we may decide to secede.

Moses: We talk a lot but seldom give thought to what we are saying. What goals are we really after? This committee is a political committee, not a government. This committee is working for you. We are not administrators. (*Sissiou tells Moses to get to the point.*) My feeling is this. I support the idea of State Government but it should not be our ultimate goal. It does not mean that it should be the government of all time. It must allow room for Bougainville to seek self-determination. I would like to see Bougainville stand on its own feet. I don't agree with those who say we are incompetent. We *are* competent. We can govern ourselves *now*; we can break off *now*. If Nauru can get independence, why not Bougainville? (*Loud applause.*)

I favour referendum. It can tell us what direction to take. We have many more goals to achieve. It is not yet ended. I am not against State Government and I like the idea, but I also feel that after obtaining State Government we should hold a referendum. In the meantime this form of government must come up. If available it must come up *tomorrow*. Thank you.

Sissiou: Thank you Moses. I also agree with Moses. Our goal must be an independent Bougainville. (*Moses yells out 'Sure'.*) We can go ahead and get State Government while working towards an independent Bougainville. We can provide a clause giving us the opportunity to make the break when we are ready.

Torokina representative: As the Teop-Tinputz representative has just pointed out, we are still not clear about what we should tell the people when we get back. I am still confused.

Sissiou: This man has just said he is not sure what to tell the people. Since I am running this meeting I want to see a lot of ideas discussed. Then we can pass on these ideas to the people...

Village elder: Mr Chairman, I want Bougainville to be independent. For many

years now I have been searching for a way to achieve independence. I have found it at this meeting. I favour District Government. Why? Because it is a step to independence. Why independence? Because we want to control our own finances...

(Many villagers look at District Government as a step towards independence and not as an end in itself.)

Momis: Some people, like the Eivo representative, will return to their area and say we are going ahead with independence for Bougainville. The Buka representative will return to his area favouring unity with Papua New Guinea. Buin and Kieta will be divided. Now, *where* is the unity you have all been talking about? This committee was created to find out what the people are thinking, and at least it has provided us with a united stand to start off. But as the Regional Member am I supposed to stand up before the House of Assembly and say Eivo wants to secede, Buke does not? Another day I shall say Kieta wants to secede but a faction does not. What the *hell* are you talking about?

The reason for this dilemma is because we don't want to face reality. When the time has come to decide you yourselves must make the decision. You cannot place your tail between your legs and hide beneath the house... Why aren't you talking about 'power'? Bougainville must have power. If you want to change something, get in the system. If you are outside the system, you can bark all you want and no-one will hear you.

All those of you who do not believe in secession or in District Government should, at least for a start, clarify what you want. If you don't break off now it will be impossible to do so later. If all of Bougainville believes in secession, then secede now. The whole world is working towards one type of movement -- unity. There is little advantage in fragmentation...

Mola: Time is running out. If you are all in favour of District Government, all right, spell it out to the CPC. Stick to your decision. If you want to break away, all right, stick to that. Now later, if we find the District Government system working well, and we are ready, we can then ask for complete independence... Explain to the people in simple terms the fact that a foundation like District Government is needed. Then, when the CPC comes around all will agree on District Government and the matter will be ended...

Sissiou: My question is addressed to Fr Momis. Why do you say it will be hard to break away later?

Momis: From experience you can see that when a man and woman get married and later want to separate, people will say they are breaking the laws of marriage. At the

present time Papua New Guinea and Bougainville are not yet married. You can put anything you like on paper, but how are you going to force people to honour their word later?...

Bele: Despite all the various committees we have we still have not discovered the thoughts of our people, otherwise the task would be much easier now. The old men are asking for a referendum while our leaders yesterday were talking about forming a District Government. I feel the people will still be talking about holding a referendum because group leaders have not yet explained everything to the people. Each area has a different idea. Although group leaders commonly support the idea of District Government, it has not originated from the 'grass-roots'. The idea originated from the committee.

Sissiou: Raphael, I think you mean 'secession', rather than 'referendum'. The time for holding a referendum is finished. If you mean 'secession' don't say 'referendum'.

Bele: I think the idea of District Government came out of the mouth of the committee. I think the 'grass-roots' have another type of thought, that's all I'm saying...

Village elder: I am not a knowledgeable person but my feeling is that while District Government is a necessity it is not enough. If you get married and your wife does not listen to you, well, that's something you are not going to stand for.

Sissiou: Australia has looked after Papua New Guinea until she was ready to stand on her own two feet. We ask Papua New Guinea to do the same... Someone has asked the question what our next move should be if the government rejects the idea of District Government?

Village elder: (*angrily*) If we do not get District Government we will break away immediately.

(A motion is then tabled: 'That the Bougainville Special Political Committee and other Bougainvilleans present at the conference unanimously agree to form a District Government but reserve the option to hold a referendum if one is required later.' The motion seems to have lifted a heavy strain from participants who now become much more animated and light-hearted in their discussion.)

Sissiou: If anyone is against this motion speak up now... You are all 'blacks' then, eh? (*There is a ripple of merriment.*) All right, all those who support this motion please raise your hands. Everyone is in agreement. You are all from the same womb -- from the same mother. (*Someone points out that Mola and Lapun did not raise their hands.*)

Dumit: I have a question. I have noticed that the two MHAs did not raise their hands to support the motion for District Government. I think they feel that as members of the government they can sit on the fence. I ask these two if they are for or against this motion...

(Lapun's reply is that he and Mola are not against the motion but are prevented from voting because of their status as Cabinet Ministers.)

Afternoon session, 25 May

(Fr Morris warns of the divisive effects of the copper mining company and its attempt to flatter Bougainvilleans. Mola gets up to describe the business enterprise he is helping to start in Buka but someone retorts that the proposed complex should not remain centred in Buka, but should be extended to include, and thus unite, all of Bougainville.)

Moses: I disagree with you people. Bougainville is already united. We may disagree on some points but -- come on, we have unity. *(Shouts of approval.)* That's right. We haven't been using this word correctly. We are united. That's one point. My second point is this: I ask Donatus Mola where he was when they were appointing directors to the Board of the Panguna Development Foundation.* What's your answer? The copper mining company came to dig for copper, but business is something else. What do you say? I want your answer, I don't want to listen to your nonsense. *(Applause.)*

The BSPC wants the four MHAs -- you, too, you are the Minister for Business Development -- to demand that a Bougainvillean be appointed to the Board of Directors. There must be Bougainvillean representation in all business activities. It is the Minister's responsibility to see that this comes about...

Dumit: I'm surprised that the Panguna Development Foundation, which is run by outsiders, is using our name. This name is just being used to flatter the black man. I ask the MHAs to look into this matter.

(Quite obviously BCL's attempt to promote a Bougainvillean image for its activities has not been entirely successful.)

Hannett: There is much work ahead of us. We must be ready to unite and present our proposals to Fr John's committee when it comes to Bougainville. There will

* The Panguna Development Foundation was set up to promote and assist in the establishment of businesses (such as supermarkets and taverns) to serve the growing urban population associated with the mining industry. Although the Foundation borrowed a considerable proportion of its initial capital from sources other than BCL, it has close connections in its operations with the latter. It is this factor which has caused many Bougainvillean entrepreneurs some disquiet.

be another conference in June and you must bring advisers who are knowledgeable in the traditional ways of our people... Form your sub-committee and discuss what went on at this conference. Remember that we have already passed the resolution that the BSPC and the people of Bougainville will go ahead with District Government, and that later if we should desire to hold a referendum to see if we wish to break away or remain with Papua New Guinea, this right must be given to us.

If you are unclear about anything, talk to me about it tonight. You must return home united and you must speak with one voice. Send me your reports later. Let us tackle those urgent issues efficiently so that everyone will know that we are united. The MHAs must show respect to all our committees and associations. Only in this way can we demonstrate our unity.

(The conference then terminated.)

THE STRUGGLE FOR DISTRICT POWER

The BSPC's anxieties over the possibility of internal discord had been dispelled by the time the Arawa Conference ended. Participants unanimously agreed to go forward with District Government and the focus of action now shifted to a wider world. The immediate problem confronting the committee was how to convince the central government that it represented a Bougainville-wide consensus of opinion on political development and that it was a force to reckon with. The problem was underlined by a visit from the Minister for State ten days after the conference. During his visit, the Minister snubbed the BSPC. On top of this, when he returned to Port Moresby he announced to the press that Bougainville's leaders had demonstrated confidence in the central government, that they had given up the idea of secession, and had pledged complete support for the government's national policies. If this was an indication of the government's attitude towards their request for District Government, the BSPC were far from satisfied. In reply they sent Hannett to Port Moresby to confront the Chief Minister with Bougainville's real objectives. The meeting ended with the Chief Minister's promise that he would explore the matter further. In any case, he said, the BSPC's request would be placed before the Constitutional Planning Committee. Satisfied, Hannett returned and once again toured Bougainville to prepare the people and the various sub-committees for the second conference.

Meanwhile, in Port Moresby, the Chief Minister's expatriate advisers were discreetly preparing a draft outlining a form of District Government for

Bougainville 'which would have the powers, function, and responsibilities of area authorities.'* The powers that these people were prepared to offer, subject to the approval of Cabinet, lay in the fields of agriculture, business development, forestry extension, health, and social community services. The District would also be allowed to make decisions concerning the maintenance of roads and bridges, staff the Land Board with a majority of Bougainvilleans, and collect transport licence fees to spend as it wished on development projects. (In 1972 the total revenue collected from this source on Bougainville amounted to a mere \$1,100.) Another financial 'concession' which the Chief Minister's advisers were prepared to make was the distribution of some \$200,000 among area authorities. The size of the grant would be proportionate to the District's population. To wrap up the deal the government offered representatives of the proposed Bougainville Authority a back-door approach to decision-making -- they would be 'consulted' on all matters of concern to the District. But the BSPP wereafter an entirely different bundle of goods.

During the last four days in July the Constitutional Planning Committee, accompanied by the Chief Minister, toured the District to receive the people's submissions. In Buin and elsewhere large crowds of Bougainvilleans confronted the Chief Minister with placards stating: '*Somare give us District Government now*'. There were blunt warnings that if the people's request was not met there could be a second Biafra. The BSPP's submission, drafted several weeks earlier, was presented to the Constitutional Planning Committee (Appendix C). It was an urgent and concise document compared with those presented by other Districts. Somare promised that he would seriously consider the people's requests; all the BSPP could do now was wait.

Reaction and counter-reaction

On 9 August the government rebuffed the BSPP's submission and offered a considerably diluted version instead.** The BSPP were stunned and their first reaction was numb silence. However, they quickly decided to act. The government's decision, they said, was like 'a slap in the face' for all Bougainvilleans. Encouragement poured in from all parts of the District. A full emergency meeting of the BSPP was called on 12 August where the committee once

* An area authority is a form of local government that certain expatriate officers in the central government have zealously attempted to introduce to Districts. Under this system a District is given greater participation in the affairs of the government but lacks key decision-making powers.

** The compromise offered was similar in structure to the Bougainville Authority proposed by the government's advisers in July. These advisers continued to clash with Bougainvillean leaders. See, for example, *The National Times*, 17-22 December, 1973, *Post Courier*, 9 April, 1974.

again rejected the government's offer and vowed to form a District Government on their terms by November, with or without the government's consent. They also threatened to boycott the National Day and Self-Government Day celebrations. The meeting left little doubt that the BSPC and the central government were on a collision course.

The next day, two men attached to the Chief Minister's office -- the First Assistant Secretary for Political Development, and a member of the Public Service Board -- flew to Bougainville to meet with BSPC officials. They argued that under the present laws there was no way they could meet Bougainville's demands; to do so would be pre-empting the work of the Constitutional Planning Committee. The Bougainville Authority the government was proposing would simply be an interim arrangement. But the BSPC determinedly stuck to their original submission. The government's representatives returned to the capital promising to notify the BSPC the moment a decision was reached.

Not satisfied with these delaying tactics, Hannett picked three BSPC committee members representing north, central, and south Bougainville to accompany him to Port Moresby to confront the Chief Minister for the second time. For several days towards the end of August the BSPC and the Chief Minister headed towards an *impasse*. The BSPC refused to budge and took every opportunity to remind the Chief Minister of his promise to provide the 'grass-roots' with decision-making powers. Finally, to prevent further threats to national unity, the CPC was induced to step in. Fr Momis, Deputy Chairman of the CPC, suggested to both parties that certain mutually acceptable arrangements could be worked out before the introduction of any formal system of District Government under the new constitution. BSPC officials grudgingly consented to listen. The Chief Minister was more anxious to break the deadlock, and avoid friction. Pressure was mounting in other directions; Navitu was demanding that MHAs Momis and Lapun re-examine the Copper Agreement after the company had announced a six-month profit of nearly \$52 million. Also, because of the CPC's intercession the government could no longer claim that acceptance of the BSPC's demands was tantamount to pre-empting the work of the CPC. The Chief Minister agreed that his representatives would work out interim plans with the CPC and the BSPC, and present them to Cabinet for approval, on condition that the plans be based on a common legislative framework applicable to all Districts. A meeting was scheduled for the following month.

An interim arrangement

Formal proceedings began on 13 September. While idealistic Teop-Tinputz was preparing for National Day celebrations, Noga, Havini, and Hannett were on

their way to Port Moresby to confront the country's leaders. The 'politics of negotiation' phase they had been anticipating for so long had finally arrived. It would occupy the rest of the month. The BSPC used their July submission to the CPC as a framework for negotiating the District's plans. The government's stance, on the other hand, was based on Papua New Guinea's national priorities. Some of these aims complemented the BSPC's objectives (more equitable distribution of economic benefits; decentralization of economic activity, planning, and government spending), while others were at variance with them (increasing the capacity for meeting government spending needs from locally-raised revenue; government control and involvement in those sectors of the economy where control is necessary to achieve the 'desired' kind of development).

A complicating factor in the negotiations was the burden placed on the central government to prove to Bougainville that it was 'worth remaining with Papua New Guinea'. It had to satisfy the demands of the BSPC but not to such an extent as to alienate itself from the other Districts. In other words, there was the risk that any major concessions made to Bougainville would have to apply to other Districts in the interest of maintaining national unity. The government's representatives were shrewd, and cautious. They conceded that the Bougainville District Government could make its own plans for development, but added the proviso that these plans be consistent with national objectives, and in line with the resources available. The government was prepared to offer two types of grants -- a District grant that would be linked with national objectives, and used subject to central government approval, and a 'no strings attached' grant that the District could use to carry out its own priorities. The latter type of grant would consist of an amount equivalent to the royalties collected by the central government from the exploitation of the District's natural resources. Additional revenue, possibly arising from a new agreement with the copper mining company, could be put into a 'trust fund' and used by the District after revenues from the mineral concentrates were exhausted.

The BSPC were equally sagacious and demanding. The most powerful ammunition they could level at the government was the contribution Bougainville was making to the national fund. 'I don't see why we should be beggars when we have the money', quipped Hannett. At one point in the lengthy discussions the BSPC issued a thinly-veiled threat to close the mine if its demands were not met. 'We know you can cause a lot of trouble', was the government's reply. In order to promote its independence from government 'handouts', the BSPC pressed for District power to tax and raise revenues. But details of this and other proposals were still under consideration at the time this chapter was written. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to summarize the broad interim arrangements that were discussed and agreed to by both parties by the end of the first session:

BSPC SUBMISSION

- * Establishment of District Government by 1 November, 1973.

POLITICAL
STRUCTURE

- * District Head to have strong powers and to be elected by the people. Freedom to decide the political structure of District Government (see Appendix D).

DEVELOPMENT
PLANNING

- * Freedom to initiate the District's development plans; to be able to determine priorities for the District and to be given the right to carry them out.

LEGISLATION
(Judicial)

- * The right to make laws relating to problems specific to the District, e.g., vagrancy, education.

- * Land ownership problems to be settled within the District

- * Village courts to be established and disputes to be settled by custom.

(Financial)

- * Power to raise and collect all major taxes, licence fees, customs fees, court fines, etc., and return a just portion to the national wealth.

GOVERNMENT INTERIM CONCESSION

- * District Government (Interim Provisions) Bill to be submitted to Cabinet in November. Agreed to the setting up of a working group called a Constituent Assembly to work out the District's plans.

- * Various options provided for the selection of the District Head and the District Assembly.

- * District Commissioner to be renamed the District Secretary and to co-ordinate the District's Public Service machine. He will be a representative of the central government but will be responsible to the District Head. His appointment will be with the concurrence of both the central government and the District Government.

- * Development plans to be initiated by the District within the broad framework of national policies.

- * Laws pertaining to the removal of vagrants under consideration. Agreed to District Education Board powers, including location of schools, standard of instruction, syllabi for education classes.

- * District Land Board to be controlled by the District Government. Representative from the National Land Board to be a voting member. Power to veto government acquisition of land unless for a national or public purpose.

- * Agreed to decentralization of judicial powers. Power to codify and apply customary laws, and a system of village courts provided.

- * Not resolved. A proposal that central government collect all major taxes, and royalty payments, and return a portion under two types of grants.

	<u>BSPC SUBMISSION</u>	<u>GOVERNMENT INTERIM CONCESSION</u>
LEGISLATION (Financial) (cont'd...)	* Royalties must be paid to the District Government.	* A sum equivalent to the royalties collected by the central government will be returned to the District.
FINANCIAL POWERS	* An amount to be placed in trust to compensate for the loss of non-renewable resources. * Control over the exploitation of the District's natural resources.	* An annual contribution of \$199,000 will be paid by the central government to a Trust Fund under the complete control of the District. * Power to veto foreign investment proposals after consultation with the central government.

INTERNAL DISSENSIONS

During their negotiations with the central government the BSPC officials learned that both Cabinet Ministers Lapun and Mola had not actively promoted the BSPC's demands for the immediate introduction of District Government. Furthermore, when they pressed the government about the situation concerning the east coast road they were stunned to hear that their own Ministers not only had neglect to see if the project was on the national budget, but had also neglected to bring the matter up in Cabinet. The committee members could only guess at the reason, even though it was already clear at the time of the Arawa Conference that Lapun and Mola were becoming envious of the BSPC, and Hannett in particular, for the support they were getting throughout Bougainville.* During his tour of the west coast of Bougainville in July, Hannett had found that many of the villagers were extremely critical of their elected representatives. When he returned to Arawa he was invited to speak about his tour. Amongst other things, he mentioned how many of the younger village boys had asked him who Paul Lapun was, and whether he was a European or a Papua New Guinean, and how on the west coast of Buka some villagers had told him that they had not seen their MHA, Mola, for close to six years. The Ministers suffered all this in silence. For them the conflict was deeply personal.

Hannett could understand the Ministers' indifference towards him. But he could not forgive them their failure, as the elected representatives of the

* It will be recalled that prior to the conference Hannett had completed an extensive and successful tour of Bougainville on behalf of the BSPC for District Government. Six months later, on 9 November, 1973, Paul Lapun went on the air claiming that Navitu was still a viable force, that it was an association he had founded, and that it would do its best to see that Bougainville achieved District Government.

people, to convince the central government of the urgency of Bougainville's demands. Hannett is hair-triggered and impulsive, and these traits were sparked by the protracted, and often circuitous debates with the central government. He made a spirited attack almost immediately. On 2 October, 1973, less than three days after the negotiations were over, Hannett went on the air to censure the two Ministers for 'not fighting hard for their own District'. He announced his intentions of asking the BSPP to seek the dismissal of the two Ministers, and to have them replaced in Cabinet by the Regional Member, Fr Momis. Two days later, pandering to the opinion of senior expatriate officers in his Department, the Chief Minister fired Hannett from his position as special adviser on Bougainville affairs. He could not, he said, have his special adviser openly criticizing two of the government's Ministers. The dismissal made sensational news. Havini, a newly-appointed liaison officer, also found himself out of a job for no reason other than his close association with Hannett. Would Havini, Hannett, and many others who had helped to promote the political strength of the District have to suffer the consequences of overriding ambition and see their hard-won gains dissipated? There followed days of doubt and disillusionment, suffering and worry.

Hannett summoned up what anger there was left and on 6 October addressed a packed audience at the University of Papua New Guinea. He accused the central government of always being against Bougainville and its people, and then he listed a succession of disagreements. There was little difference between the present government and the colonial administration except for the colour of its elites, he said. The audience contained many Mungkas Society members and they chided the Chief Minister for attempting to turn his special adviser into a government 'robot'.

For a while internal dissensions were mitigated. But they were not over and done with. The confrontation came on 17 October at the Buin Combined Council Conference. Local government council business was overshadowed by an ominous agenda item introduced by Kieta councillor and chairman of the BSPP finance section, Henry Moses. Moses was asking for a vote of 'no confidence' in the two Bougainvillean Cabinet Ministers, and their resignation. 'These elected representatives of the people have previously done some good work', he said, 'but now it seems that they, like the government, have forgotten all about us.' The Ministers were cautious but vague in their reply: they had already accomplished a great deal for Bougainville, and they had the necessary experience to continue to do so. Furthermore, as responsible government men, it was difficult enough to establish priorities for the country as a whole, let alone for a small District like Bougainville. A lengthy and somewhat acrimonious discussion was

terminated by a proposal that the two parties try to establish better understanding and forget their differences, while working towards the common good. The two BSPC officials were crestfallen. Although the councillors were openly sympathetic to the motives behind the agenda item, no-one came out in active support of the motion.

While Hannett and Moses lacked open support for their vote of no confidence at the Buin meeting, this issue was not to halt progress towards the establishment of an interim District Government. The first two officers in the latter were elected when the Combined Council Conference was re-convened in Panguna two weeks later to complete its business. A unanimous decision was reached to nominate Hannett to the position of Assistant District Planner, and Havini to that of Executive Officer.* The 'mini-crisis' was over, and the BSPC's leaders were given a new boost of encouragement to continue with the task of devising a structure of District Government would be acceptable to Bougainvilleans.

The basis for discord

Aside from the personal issues involved, one way of looking at the above dispute is as a predicament arising from a confrontation between the two types of nationalism described in the opening chapter of this book. On the one hand, the two Cabinet Ministers have become increasingly identified with the governing or 'westernizing' elites whose political philosophy was once expressed by the Chief Minister as the need 'to overcome the effects of tribalism in our own areas'.^{24**} The dilemma was well-expressed by Mola who, when threatened with dismissal on the charge that he and Lapun had neglected to attend to Bougainvillean business in the Cabinet, retorted: 'Talk of sacking me is much stronger on the government side.' Similarly, when Lapun suggested to the House of Assembly on 16 March, 1971, that a committee be appointed to determine if Bougainville should hold a referendum on secession, a colleague chided him for attempting to initiate something that was contrary to the government's line on unity.*** Perhaps for this reason, Fr Momis, who also holds a high position in the central government, has on various occasions pleaded for co-operation between the people and their leaders in the government: 'At the government level you have the two Cabinet Ministers, and in

* There was an early, but unsuccessful attempt by the pro-centralist representatives of Teop-Tinputz and Buka Councils to get Michael Poowa elected as Assistant District Planner.

** In this respect they are proving themselves to be mistakenly cautious about Bougainvillean nationalism. Even the Chief Minister and other Ministers of Cabinet have shown that it is possible to achieve the requirements of their respective electorates while remaining loyal to the government's policies and goals.

*** The political slogan of the Chief Minister and Lapun's political party (the Pangu Pati) is 'one name, one country, one people'.

the Constitutional Planning Committee you have me. While we on the top are holding on to the croc's mouth, you must hold on to the tail. If you loosen your hold, the tail will lash those who are holding on to its mouth. The croc' must be controlled or we will all be drowned', Momis told a meeting of Bougainvillean urban workers on 20 May, 1973. But such arguments, as we already know, have rarely helped to erase the people's real or perceived grievances against their elected representatives.

On the other hand, the BSPC's Chairman, Leo Hannett, has often described himself as a traditionalist, although in recent years he has sought to strike a balance between modernity and tradition, between Bougainvillean interests and the interests of the country as a whole. How to ensure that political organization is shaped partly in terms of traditional patterns of behaviour, attitudes, and loyalty has been one of his major concerns: 'Experience has shown us that local government councils are not very much concerned with the problems of daily living', he told a large meeting of Bougainvilleans on 20 May, 1973:

The council system has been with us for more than twelve years yet the old people continue to ask: 'When will change come to our village?' One fault of the system is that it is based on an alien conception of political rule and organization. It does not take into account the traditional system of leadership or the ways in which our elders used to exercise their authority in the past. The method of recruiting people to run the councils, for instance, has always been a source of embarrassment to our established traditional leaders. I have discussed this problem with some of them. They say: 'Why do we have to stand for election when we are big men in our own right?' Yes, if these men wish to work within the council system, why should they first have to shame themselves in front of the people like that? I think the time has come for us to find some way of allowing our traditional leaders to play an effective role in the new political organization we hope to establish here.* In order for this new organization to survive it must be based on those traditional values and customs that are good and conducive to development. Here our traditional leaders could work together very effectively and in harmony with the young men.

Hannett's attack on the legal system is in a similar vein. At the same meeting he argued: 'How often do we hear the case of a village elder attempting to bring some law-breaker to justice, only to find that the offence committed is not recognized under the present regulations? How much more embarrassment must our elders be made to suffer? We must restore the traditional system of justice (customary law) so that our recognized elders can once again dispense justice and help preserve the integrity of village social structure.'

* The BSPC has frequently voiced the opinion that traditional leaders should be nominated to positions of authority at various levels of District Government.

Similarly, other Bougainvillean leaders have attempted to establish a bond between themselves and established traditional leaders. Ever since its inception Navitu has advocated a return to traditional life and customs, and in 1969 co-opted 119 village leaders into the movement. At the Wakunai Conference, John Teosin of Hahalis spoke of the need to incorporate traditional leadership in any new political structure, while Mungkas Society officials have also attempted to relate more positively to the senior generation by defending the latter's right to traditional power and privilege.

Why have some of Bougainville's new elites attempted to coalesce with traditional leaders? No single factor alone provides an explanation, but some combination of the following may provide a semblance of reality:

- (i) Both governing elites and traditionalists have found that traditional norms and values are easily mobilized for political purposes because they are easily identifiable.²⁵
- (ii) An important source of friction affecting the pace and direction of socio-political change is the conflict between generations. In New Britain, for example, a major cleavage has developed between the younger and generally landless Tolais, and the traditional leaders who are also guardians of the land. This division is accentuated by the fact that the former group are better educated, radical, and town-based, while the latter are older, generally more conservative, and rural-based leaders.²⁶ In the Trobriands recent discord between young ambitious leaders and traditional tribal leaders threaten to split the islanders into two distinct units.²⁷ And in Bougainville, it was reported that some of the 'modernizing' practices advocated by the younger Hahalis leaders brought them into disrepute with the traditional leaders earlier on in the movement.²⁸ With respect to the students' Mungkas Society, some village chiefs accuse it of being too radical, while others say it is 'all talk but no action'! Given the potentially disruptive nature of generational conflict for social movements it is not surprising that Bougainville's new elites, who have generally been at the forefront of revisionist ideas,^{*} have sought the support of traditional leaders while attempting to develop a unified leadership structure.

- (iii) Co-operation between the two types of leaders may develop from a

* As early as 1966, *Dialogue*, a journal once edited by Hamnett was bringing grievances of the District to the fore. The student paper, *Nilaidat*, was formerly edited by Havini.

situation of mutual advantage. The new elites are more attuned to the ways of the European and can act as a bridge between the latter and the masses. Many Mungkas Society members, for example, claim that 'in matters relating to the white man's ways our views are respected, and our position in the society is further enhanced to the extent that we sympathize with and recognize the validity of our traditional institutions'. Collaborating with traditional leaders in this way has helped to extend the Society's basis of support. 'These older people are not as conservative as you think. We have been pleasantly surprised to learn that they can be quite hostile and radical in so far as their rights are concerned', said a member.

- (iv) Cleavages that develop from the unequal relations between whites and blacks in general, and between some white and black elites in particular, often lead to a sense of deprivation characteristic of the early stages of nationalistic movements. As access to the predominantly white-dominated power structure is denied to some blacks, they tend to revert to the dominant values, traditional norms, and ideologies of their own community in attempting to rid the society of foreign elements. They also hope to regain psychological satisfaction and self-respect after spending some time in what Hannett has called 'that white sea of loneliness'. The older generation often becomes identified as a corporate personality. 'Not to respect our elders is not to respect ourselves.'
- (v) The traditionalists are often marginal elites who have been excluded from positions of political influence because the more established groups are unable or unwilling to accommodate them, and/or they have become disillusioned with those in government because the latter are more interested in personal power, lack dedication, and emulate their 'white colonial masters'.^{*} On 25 January, 1973, under headlines announcing '*Black leaders follow in step of white masters*', Hannett spoke of the need for 'proven leadership of the kind born of the general will of the people and not through party and party-elected politics... we want leadership defined by the wisdom of our heritage and balanced by newly-acquired values that are incorporated to further the enhancement of our national psyche as well as our individual personalities.' And at the Arawa Conference he said: 'If we cannot find

^{*} The Regional Member, Fr Momis, has also on various occasions voiced a similar viewpoint.

a true leader to bring us forward we have to look back to tradition for a solution and for assistance.'

So far we have been describing two kinds of discord among Bougainvillean leaders -- that between the traditionalists and the governing elites, and that between the new elites and the traditional leaders. Disagreements between some new elites and Bougainvillean leaders employed in the copper mining company provide another source for attack. It will be recalled that senior employees of the company were initially wary of the BSPC's aims and activities. But there have been at least two other occasions when Bougainvillean leaders in the company have been openly critical of their compatriots.

In November of 1972 Bougainvillean leaders, together with trade union officials and other senior staff employees of the company, wrote to the government condemning the attempt by Lapun and Momis to re-examine the Copper Agreement with a view to nationalization. 'These are Bougainvilleans who have become subservient to (the company)', Momis said in reply. But it is not only a matter of loyalty to the company and an overriding concern with job security that have caused them to criticize the new elites outside the company. The trouble here stems as much from the suspicious attitude the latter have towards the company as from any other factor. As a consequence they are less disposed to take Bougainvillean company employees into their confidence or to seek their advice.

More recently, the PMA's Chairman, feeling slighted because the BSPC had left him out of important discussions on District Government, attempted to influence the interim District Government 'to recognize the PMA as a pressure group whose function is to determine in part that the socio-economic and political aims and activities of the District Government are in accord with the wishes of the majority of the Bougainvillean people.'²⁹ For their part, Hannett and Havini took this move seriously. They explained latest developments to the PMA, thanked the Association for the help given to the BSPC in the past, and assured members their views on all matters would always be welcomed. In the end the Chairman's motion was rejected by the members because it would create 'unnecessary disunity'.

These dissensions among others have been recognized by the BSPC ever since its inception. Generally speaking, it has shown considerable tact and perceptiveness in handling them. If the BSPC has had its hands full at times it is perhaps because leaders are, in a sense, microcosms of their society.³⁰

THE REALITY OF BOUGAINVILLEAN NATIONALISM

In any history of the evolution and course of Bougainvillean nationalism the special significance of events during the year 1973 will undoubtedly be recognized. Formation of the Bougainville Special Political Committee, organization of conferences to debate and determine the direction of *Bougainvillean* political development, and a major confrontation with the central government over the nature and timing of an 'interim' administrative arrangement, have all generated a very strong sense of unity of purpose on Bougainville. The issue of District Government has played a major role in breaking down the long-standing north-south polarization which has bedevilled other attempts to generate a common basis for nationalism. Although there were many different views on what District Government would mean for Bougainville, the atmosphere prevailing throughout the District in December, 1973 was one of renewed optimism and confidence. Not only had their leaders outlined an administrative structure which seemed well-suited to a Bougainvillean cultural heritage, but increasing numbers of Bougainvilleans were recognizing the very important roles their proposals were playing on the national scene as well.

Pressure for early establishment of a District Government on Bougainville sparked similar demands elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, and Bougainvilleans justifiably felt a sense of pride in their role as innovators in this respect. The eventual victory in obtaining significant concessions from the central government gave them a confidence in their ability to plan successfully for their own future -- a confidence which has done much to cement the unity of purpose generated at the Wakunai and Arawa Conferences. Purposive, constructive, and well-articulated demands of the Bougainvilleans have undoubtedly given support to those leaders in the central government who feel that in order to develop a genuine Papua New Guinea nationalism it is necessary to work with, rather than against, nationalism of the minority unit. By granting Bougainville a District Government the central government has demonstrated that it recognizes establishment of local autonomy may be a precondition for the successful creation of a nation-state.* They are accepting the view of most Bougainvillean leaders that a broadly-based nationalism and sense of unity in Papua New Guinea can best be developed by working from cohesiveness in local communities, through the District,

* A Bill for the immediate introduction of District Government in Bougainville was passed in the House of Assembly on 5 July, 1974. It should be noted that the term 'Provincial Government', rather than 'District Government', has been proposed by the CPC. However, we have continued using the latter because this is the name which has meaning to Bougainvilleans.

to the nation-state.

IDEALS TO REALITY: STRUCTURING A DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

Bougainville's achievements during 1973 must now be rendered operational in the local context in order to satisfy rapidly rising expectations of a new and better era. Agreement by the central government to the establishment of a District Government on Bougainville will not, in itself, satisfy Bougainvilleans unless there is a continuing sense of progress towards desired objectives. To promote this sense of progress, Hannett and Havini, as the elected officers of the interim administrative arrangement, have organized two major meetings of Bougainvillean leaders to examine various proposals on the structure of District Government. The first of these Constituent Assembly meetings was held in early January, 1974 in Kieta. Representatives from local government councils, major rural and urban-based associations (e.g. Hahalis, Navitu, Arawa Municipal Commission) were present, together with invited representatives from the House of Assembly and the Central Planning Office in Port Moresby. This meeting was designed essentially to be a working session where participants would examine a number of provisional plans for establishing effective District Government. In opening the first session, Sarei pointed out that the Constituent Assembly was to provide the foundation on which to build a District Assembly which would be the major policy-making body in the new government. He stated that the Constituent Assembly had taken over the original function of the BSPC in evaluating local opinion on political development, and disseminating relevant information to the 'grass-roots'. This does not mean the immediate demise of the BSPC. Some of the most influential leaders believe that the District Assembly is still not a group with a clear conception of how the District should be developed. There is also a need for a smaller group to hammer out an ideology of unity. It is therefore intended that the BSPC carry out this work, revitalize the existing movement for change, and attempt to make District Government more effective.

The Constituent Assembly discussed a number of the proposals which had been included in the submission to the Constitutional Planning Committee (Appendix C). In particular, the composition and responsibilities of village government were debated at length -- it was in this area that the majority of representatives felt they could make some meaningful contribution, rather than with the less familiar matters of administrative and financial organization at the District level. Consideration of village government revealed two major problems which could not be resolved immediately at the meeting. These were firstly the fact that no one village government structure was likely to be acceptable to all groups, given the

diversity in patterns of traditional leadership and organization at the community level. Secondly, it transpired that there was a general lack of willingness on the part of many representatives to put forward concrete proposals because 'we do not represent all the big men at home'. The only detailed proposal came from the Siwai representatives who reported that there had been extensive discussion on this matter prior to the Constituent Assembly and a general consensus of opinion had been reached on the structure and functions of village government in their area. (A summary of their proposal is presented in Appendix D.)

The second major item of discussion was District development planning. It was in this context that a major communication problem became evident between the more educated urban-based representatives and many of their rural counterparts. The general concepts underlying District planning and regional development, which were outlined by some of the invited specialists, were not readily grasped by a number of representatives. Although there had been numerous discussions on District development priorities at combined council conferences during 1973, the approach had always been piecemeal and unco-ordinated. In addition, protracted delays by the central government in carrying out requested projects had given rise to the cynical view that further talk on such matters was rather pointless -- what was needed now was *action*.^{*} Another widely-held attitude which also influenced many representatives' thinking on this question was the feeling that BCL should contribute heavily to major development projects such as road construction. This reflected two things: firstly, a sense of envy at some of the changes which had taken place in the area around the mine site as a result of the company's activities, and secondly a concern that the large profits arising from the latter should be directed towards assisting development in all parts of Bougainville.

The final item for discussion concerned the overall structure of District Government and methods of election and power distribution. Attention quickly focused on the method of electing the District leader. There were two bodies of opinion -- one favouring a general election by the adult population, the other favouring election by the District Assembly on behalf of the people. Agreement was finally reached on the former.

Actual achievements of the first Constituent Assembly are difficult to assess. Although the meeting served to demonstrate that progress was being made in the formulation of an administrative structure for District Government, a number of representatives were clearly becoming impatient with the continual debate. It was the fifth major discussion on District Government in less than twelve months and a

* The central government is not entirely to blame, as some of the delays in implementing change have been caused by administrative ineptitude at the District level.

sense of frustration with the inevitably slow progression from ideals to a reality was becoming evident. This frustration was also experienced by Hannett and Havini who foresaw the major problem of trying to satisfy rising expectations which had been created by perceived successes in the fight for District Government. Despite extensive touring of the District to sound out opinion on the structure of District Government and to get local leaders actively involved in discussing some of the ideas raised at earlier meetings, as well as organizing a second Constituent Assembly meeting in May, Hannett and Havini have attracted criticism for attempting to initiate and direct plans for the District. One criticism has revolved around the belief that the central government would have paid more attention to a larger body like a District Assembly during the crucial phase of negotiations over the establishment of a District Government. Hannett does not agree: 'It was essentially easier for a small group like the BSPC executive to reach a compromise with the central government. If a larger body had confronted the government a permanent deadlock would have probably ensued. There was also the likelihood of major differences in opinion and a split among members of a larger group.'

On their part, the two executive officers are becoming increasingly disillusioned with the slow progress towards general acceptance of an administrative system which can effectively process Bougainvillean wants. Hannett reflected this in a recent comment:

The people want to see quick returns, they want to see tangible evidence of their own effectiveness. At the moment what we are doing is creating a system that will localize their frustrations. The people are now aware of their rights, but the system has not changed sufficiently to allow them to realize their political demands. We have become too complacent in our success. We are emulating the past system of *kiaps*. We haven't yet tested our strength in decision-making and the danger is that the central government can keep confusing us with technicalities. What we must now create is a responsible system that will regularize decision-making and that will speedily process the people's impending frustrations.

A widespread consensus of opinion favouring District Government continues to bolster Bougainvillean nationalism and a sense of unity of purpose. As one writer has recently stated: 'Probably nowhere in Papua New Guinea is public opinion so unswervingly dedicated to a political objective.'³¹ But Bougainvillean nationalism is not a static condition. With the establishment of District Government will come new problems associated with the transformation of ideals into practice. These will undoubtedly cause new frustrations and tensions. Partly in anticipation of these, partly as a result of their emergence, Bougainville's leaders are working towards a political and economic solution based heavily on the notion of decentralization.

Decentralization

In a deliberate attempt to promote the widest participation in the machinery for making and implementing policies under the new District Government, a structure has been devised which emphasizes considerable local autonomy. A schematic representation of the evolving District Government structure, as it was conceived by Havini in June, 1974, is presented in Fig. 2. (A brief descriptive outline is contained in Appendix E.)^{*} Although the operational details of this structure have yet to be finalized, it is readily apparent that considerable thought and emphasis has been given to political and economic power at the village, local area, and Sub-district levels. To Bougainvilleans the most important component of the District Government structure is village government. There will be centralization of some policy making, especially in the realm of District planning but the basic objective behind the structure is to give local areas the greatest possible flexibility in working out and implementing their own priorities. Most importantly, the proposed structure aims at giving local groups the freedom to act quickly to find solutions to their problems without having to suffer the inevitable delays which arise with a more centralized system.

Hannett and Havini are aware that with the formation of District Government some solutions to socio-economic problems must inevitably be 'national' (i.e. District-wide) in scope. But rather than having an all-pervasive centralization of political and economic power at the District level, with corresponding loss of autonomy at the 'local' (village) level, they are working towards a system which will ensure that the goals for each area are achieved. There will be centralization, but as Hannett advised us, 'any decision which is central in character will be there only because it is an effective instrument to check the pulse of the whole District, and to see that a united view is achieved'.

The logic behind this decentralization of power within the District complements that which underlay Bougainvillean claims for considerable autonomy at the national level. The basic argument that Districts should be given powers to devise and implement policies which affect their peoples, without having to rely on a centralized authority to activate laws and development plans is being applied in the local context. There are a number of problems inherent at both levels. In the first place there is the shortage of trained and experienced personnel to handle the more numerous administrative and technical tasks which decentralization generates. In the context of District Government on Bougainville, to implement the structure outlined in Fig. 2 requires a much more extensive team of

^{*} Considerable assistance in formulating a structure for District Government has been given by Dr Diane Conyers of the New Guinea Research Unit, who has been appointed Bougainville's District Planning Adviser.

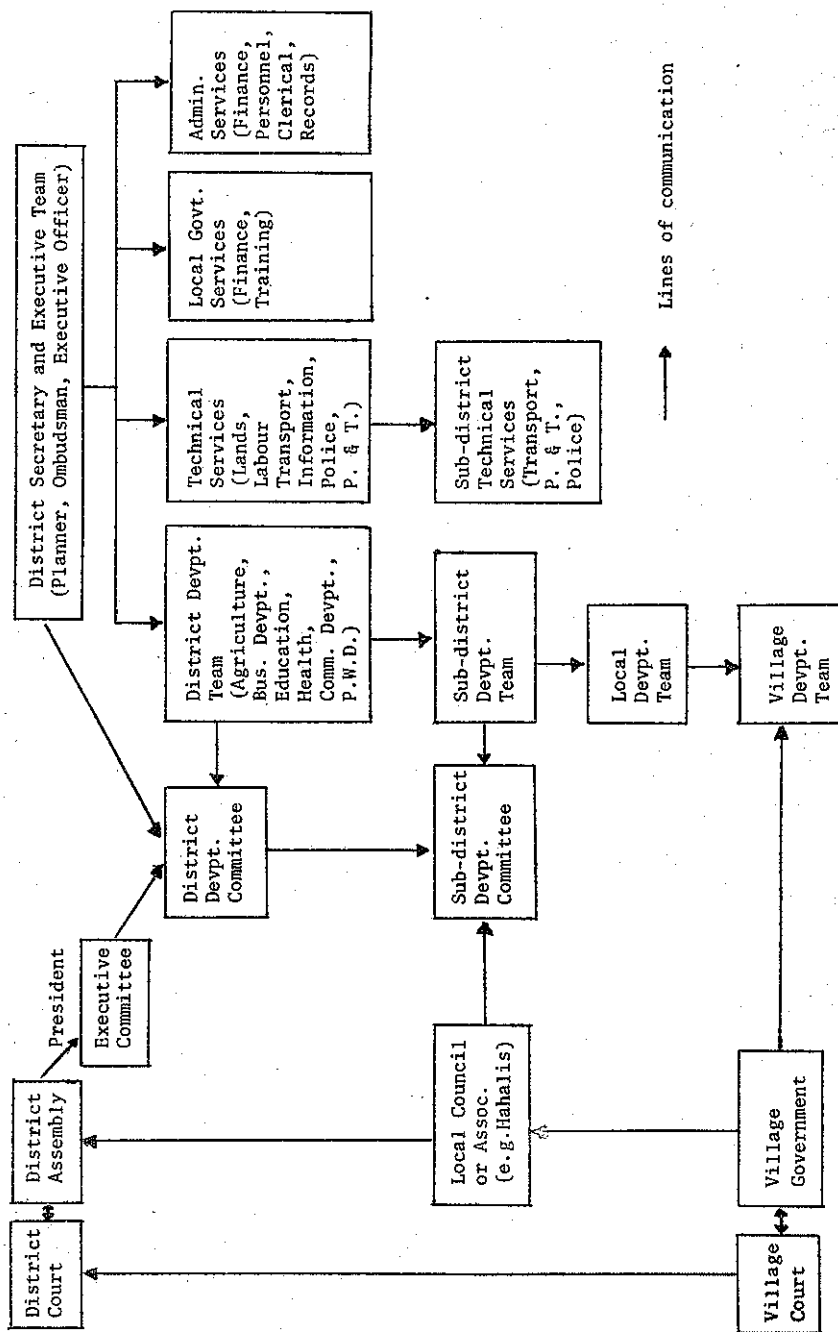
POLITICAL STRUCTUREADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Fig. 2: Proposed Structure of District Government on Bougainville

agricultural and clerical officers, as well as business development, education and public welfare staff than exists at present. This manpower problem is one which will obviously be overcome in time, but effective initiation of all facets of the proposed District Government cannot take place immediately. One factor which could be to Bougainville's advantage in this respect is the extensive interest in political development among the rural-based population. Tusha Moulik, a psychologist currently undertaking research into village economic activities on Bougainville, recently commented that all sectors of the village population are deeply interested in politics and public affairs at the District and national levels.³² Widespread awareness of problems confronting leaders in their implementation of the District Government structure could help in containing frustration with a slower rate of progress than expected.

However, quite obviously, the reverse situation could also emerge, especially as the villagers have high expectations of rapid change with District Government. Moulik has also commented that one of the most serious problems facing Bougainvillean nationalism is unrealistically wild expectations of the villagers. This is partly the result of ignorance on the part of the latter of the complex issues involved in establishing a viable administrative structure, especially by people with little formal experience in such matters, and partly due to the generous promises by leaders during the phase of confrontation with the central government. The greatest problem facing the leaders is time: how long will the villagers endure 'postponement of gratification' of their expectations before the forces maintaining unity, and a common basis for nationalism, succumb to regional and local interests? The potential for friction between these latter interests and those of the District as a whole will be contained as long as the villagers are convinced that the District's leaders have their interests at heart. At present there is a general feeling that they have, but other aspects of 'decentralization' may provide foundations for future discord.

One example concerns the siting of the new District Government headquarters. At the Constituent Assembly meeting in May, 1974, there was a strong move by representatives from the Buin Sub-district to have these headquarters located in Buin. They argued that Arawa and Kieta were expatriate-dominated areas and heavily influenced by western ideals; the District headquarters should be 'where the people are, or else Bougainvilleans will think it is still part of the colonial structure'. Although a decision was finally taken to locate the complex in Kieta, this issue reflects the emerging resentment at the concentration of 'development' in the central part of the Kieta Sub-district. Centralization of urban development in the Kieta/Arawa area is being strongly criticized, and deliberate efforts by the District Government to promote growth in regional centres are expected. Evidence

that consideration has been given to this can be found in the proposed structure of District Government where the already partially decentralized education, medical, agricultural, and public works services will be strengthened and given more local autonomy.

Finally, mention must be made of the effects growing inequalities in incomes between Bougainvilleans resident close to the mine site, and those in other parts of the District could have on Bougainvillean unity. This is a complex question which cannot be considered in any detail here, but it should be noted that villagers and leaders alike feel strongly that there must be an equal sharing of the benefits of economic development, and that regional disparities in cash incomes must be minimized. The massive concentration of development in the mine site area, with an associated increase in opportunities for local residents to participate in the cash economy, has caused sporadic outbursts of critical comment. In general, however, concern over this has been mitigated by fortuitously high prices villagers have been receiving for their cash crops over the past two years. In a sense political pressure to distribute more widely the benefits of development associated with mining activity has been delayed by favourable world market prices for cash crops. It is highly unlikely that this situation will persist, and the problem of regional disparities in cash incomes, and opportunities to participate in the monetary sector of the economy, will become a major source of friction unless there is evidence of attempts to 'decentralize' the benefits of the mining operation in particular. This problem is receiving highest priority in development planning for the District. Effecting long sought-after extensions to the road network to link north and south Bougainville with the urban-industrial complex in the southeast, thus improving access to marketing and employment opportunities, is one of the most immediate objectives of the Bougainville District Development Plan for 1974/75 (Appendix F).

Decentralization of political power, economic development, and opportunities (or access to opportunities) for participation in the monetary economy, are likely to be essential prerequisites for the persistence of Bougainville's newly-found unity and nationalism. That the District's leaders are well aware of this is evident in the political and administrative structure which they are devising to turn to a reality some of the ideals which so successfully united Bougainville in 1973. Obviously there are numerous potential avenues for future friction between groups and regions. Maintaining the existing spirit of unity will depend, in the long run, on the success of the new political and administrative structure in re-integrating traditional values and norms into a modern *Bougainvillean* cultural identity. In this respect, the processes of educating traditional leaders to accept the ongoing social, economic, and political changes on Bougainville, while

at the same time re-educating the young in their Melanesian customary forms of livelihood and government will play a vital role. The very healthy symbiotic relationship between the educated young elites and the older generation of leaders in the villages was noted earlier. But this is only part of the story; there is inevitably increasing generational conflict in both political and economic spheres. So far this has not disrupted or threatened the convergence of interest in and common allegiance towards those goals which have united Bougainville. How long this common allegiance will last remains to be seen. In the short term there is good reason to believe that Bougainvillean nationalism will persist as a dynamic and viable force given the continual need to protect common political and economic interests as Papua New Guinea moves towards independence, and as the terms governing operations of the copper mining company are re-negotiated.

APPENDIX ABOUGAINVILLE COPPER LIMITED:SUMMARY OF DISTRIBUTION OF EARNINGS, 1973

	<u>\$A million</u>
<u>EARNINGS</u>	
Profit from Operations	144.6
Exchange Gains on Loan Repayments	13.8
Consolidated Net Earnings	<u>158.4</u>
<u>DISTRIBUTION</u>	
Net Loan Repayments to Banks	53.1
Dividend paid to Conzinc Riotinto of Australia Limited (largest shareholder in BCL)	36.5
Dividend paid to Public Shareholders	18.2
<u>Payments to PNG Government</u>	
Dividend and Withholding Tax paid to PNG Government	25.5
PNG Government Royalties	3.1
PNG Government Withholding Tax on share issue	.1
PNG Government lease rents, employee taxation, customs, and levies	<u>5.9</u>
	<u>34.6</u>
Total Distributions from 1973 Activities	<u>142.4</u>

SOURCE: BCL

APPENDIX BCONSTITUTION OF THE PANGUNA MUNGKAS ASSOCIATION

1. The Executive body of the Panguna Mungkas Association shall consist of the following:
 - One Patron
 - One ex-Officio who will be an ex-Chairman
 - One Chairman
 - One Vice-President
 - One Secretary
 - One Treasurer
 - Nine other committee members -- three from each Sub-district
 - One other committee member who shall be a Liaison Officer
2. The Executive committee members shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting in July of each year. Outgoing members of the Executive committee shall be eligible for re-election.
3. Members of the PMA shall be Bougainvilleans living and/or working in Panguna, Loloho, Arawa, and Birempa. These members remain honorary members unless they pay their prescribed fees and become financial members. All other Bougainvilleans are automatically honorary members of the PMA. In this context a 'Bougainvillean' is any person whose parents were born of Bougainvillean parents, or persons proven by the Committee every year to be genuinely interested in the affairs of Bougainville.
4. Membership fees shall be revised by the Chairman and committee members each year at the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman shall have the power to ask members to contribute to any fund in cases of emergency.
5. The paramount aims of the PMA are:
 - (i) to bring all Bougainvilleans together so that they might think and act as one unit, one group, and the people of one area;
 - (ii) to provide Bougainvilleans with the means to voice their grievances whether they be social, economic, political, or industrial;
 - (iii) to awaken Bougainvilleans to their problems and the need to find solutions to these problems;
 - (iv) to act on behalf of members in cases of industrial dispute;
 - (v) to see that all Bougainvilleans are adequately involved in economic and social development on the island.

APPENDIX CBSPC SUBMISSION TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

Bougainville,
July 26-28, 1973

The Chief Minister,
Papua New Guinea Government,
Chairman of the Constitutional Planning Committee,

Mr Michael Somare;

The Deputy Chairman Constitutional Planning Committee,

Fr John Momis;

All Honourable Members of the Constitutional Planning Committee.

Subject: Report of the Bougainville People in Conjunction with the
Bougainville Special Political Committee

Introduction:

This report is a result of discussions held between all Bougainville people and members of the Bougainville Special Political Committee.

The Bougainville Special Political Committee was formed at the Wakunai Combined Council Conference in February this year. It is composed of council representatives, members of associations and Members of the House of Assembly.

The Bougainville Special Political Committee is in fact taking the place of Government Liaison Offices in other districts and its task is to find out true opinion of the people of Bougainville to present to the Constitutional Planning Committee.

The following is a list of members of the Bougainville Special Political Committee:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Samuel Kariup | - | Buka Council |
| 2. | Hamao Tato | - | Buka Council |
| 3. | John Teosin | - | Hahalais Welfare Association - Buka |
| 4. | Francis Borepiri | - | Kunua Area |
| 5. | John Rivieviri | - | Kereaka Area |
| 6. | Albert Hannett | - | Nissan Island |
| 7. | Clement Dana | - | Teop-Tinputz Council |
| 8. | Samson Purupuru | - | Teop-Tinputz Council |
| 9. | John Kungkam | - | Wakunai Council |
| 10. | Simon Putu | - | Wakunai Council |
| 11. | Fabian Tonepa | - | Eivo Council |
| 12. | John Dakeni | - | Kieta Council |
| 13. | Peter Teona | - | Napidakoe Navitu |
| 14. | Luke Kankana | - | Busiba Association |

15.	Aloysius Noga	-	Buin Council
16.	Mathias Wape	-	Buin Council
17.	Andrew Komoro	-	Buin Council
18.	Tony Anagu	-	Siwai Council
19.	Thomas Sipana	-	Siwai Council
20.	Abraham Sapuruku	-	Pikel Christian Customary Association
21.	Paul Kaile	-	Bana Council
22.	Rupina Moi	-	Carterets - Tasman - Mortlocks - Nuguria
23.	Nicholas Pita	-	Mungkas Association - Port Moresby Branch
24.	Simon Tania	-	Mungkas Association - Lae Branch
25.	Joseph Tatsi	-	Torokina Area
26.	Raphael Niniku	-	Arawa Village Leader

Members of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Bougainville Special Political Committee:

1.	Henry Moses	-	Kieta Area and Chairman of Finance Committee
2.	Michael Poowa	-	Buin Area
3.	Moses Havini	-	Buka Area
4.	John Dumit	-	Panguna Mungkas Association
5.	Peter Sissiou	-	Panguna Mungkas Association
6.	Leo Hannett	-	Overall Chairman of Bougainville Special Political Committee

Ex-Officio Members of the Bougainville Special Political Committee:

1.	Fr John Momis	-	MHA (Member of the House of Assembly)
2.	Raphael Bele	-	MHA
3.	Paul Lapun	-	MHA
4.	Donatus Mola	-	MHA

Each member of the Bougainville Special Political Committee has formed Sub-Committees in his area and these Sub-Committees have fully discussed the issues in question.

To obtain the final results of all discussions, i.e. the thoughts of all the Sub-Committees and their opinions, there have been two large meetings called Plenary Conferences which are to bring every committee member to a central point for summary discussions.

The first of these meetings was held at Arawa from May 23 to 25, 1973.

The second meeting was held at Pakia Village, Kieta Sub-district, and at this meeting all reports of all committee members were discussed.

At this meeting discussions were held between members and the Co-ordinating Committee and all grievances, thoughts, opinions, attitudes of the people of Bougainville were summarised as follows:

Listen members of the Constitutional Planning Committee to what we have to say in this report.

Hear our cries, hear our shouts, take notice of our feelings, take notice of our strong thoughts and our thinking. All our opinions and all our thoughts; you must listen to them thoroughly and put such thoughts and opinions in the new constitution so that this constitution can become law; can become the basis of

our country. After listening to and considering and evaluating this report we have made we believe you can establish a good constitution and a good government for this country so that it stands up with honour and truly represents the thoughts and opinions of the people of this country and will also serve and strengthen the people of this country.

The people who have made this report are firmly convinced that the following changes which they have outlined must be put into practice quickly.

A. DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

1. We the people of Bougainville strongly want District Government as a first step

The reason we want District Government is made clear in the following motion that was passed at the Plenary Conference of the Bougainville Special Political Committee at Pakia Village, Kieta Sub-district, where all gathered members of the committee unanimously agreed.

Motion: The Bougainville Special Political Committee together with all the people of Bougainville want District Government on 1 November, 1973. Bougainville wants recognition of its right to determine that, if some time in the future it wishes to remain within Papua New Guinea or independent, it must have the right to decide its own future.

(Mr Clement Dana, the President of the Teop-Tinputz Council, moved this motion and Mr Hamao Tato, Buka Council representative, seconded the motion. Every person present agreed with the motion.)

Reference Resolution 1 - First Plenary Conference: Arawa, May 23-25, 1973.

2. The people of Bougainville and the Bougainville Special Political Committee asked the Central Government to give their District Government the following powers.

(The following motion was moved by Anthony Anagu, Vice-President of the Siwai Council, and seconded by Samuel Kariup, President of the Buka Council; all agreed with the motion.)

3. The following is a list of powers that the District Government requires:

(a) Legislative Powers: the power to make laws.

1. The District Government must have the right to make some laws; these laws should cater for specific problems associated with individual districts. An example of this would be a law relating to unemployment and vagrancy.
2. Some laws should also try to alleviate specific district problems such as Standard 6 leavers or children who are retrenched from school at an early age. Also some schools should be established to cater for the traditional aspects of individual districts. Culture and tradition should form an intricate part of education and law.
3. There are also certain matters relating to individual districts that are taking up too much of the time of the Central Government. Such problems should be catered for at the district level.

(b) Policy and Decision Making Powers: These laws will apply to determining priorities of the district, and the right to carry out these priorities.

1. The District Government must have the power to make laws pertaining to individual requirements within the district, e.g. where a new High School must be established, where hospitals must be built, the work of agriculturalists, surveyors, road-makers, rural industries, tourist industries; specific district problems are businesses, education, culture and tradition, and the economy.

(c) Executive Powers: laws to carry out the administration of the district.

1. The District Government must have the power to control the public servants and also those public servants working with the Public Service must be responsible to it.
2. The District Government must control each individual department within the district and each department must be responsible to the District Government leader.
3. The District Government must have the responsibility to allocate work and to correct or change work within their district so that maximum efficiency is obtained within the district.

(d) Judicial Powers: courts.

There must be within the District Government the right to hold District Courts who have the power to adjudicate matters pertaining to individual districts.

1. Ownership of land must be settled within the district. (Land titles)
2. The District Government must be able to settle disputes on land.
3. Village elders should be able to settle land problems, but in the event of such elders being unable to settle such disputes, people have the right to appeal for District Court.
4. Village Courts should be established in each district. Now in such cases matters should be settled according to custom by the elders. In each instance the custom should be recorded and laid down as law within the district. Visitors to the district must abide by the laws of custom and it is up to them to learn such laws.

(e) Financial Powers: the power to raise taxes, customs, etc. This right must belong to the District Government.

The Bougainville people consider the right to raise taxes, customs, within the district an important one.

1. The District Government of Bougainville must have full power to control the land belonging to them and control over the exploitation of their natural resources.
2. With regard to non-renewable resources, such as copper, iron, gold, the District Government must establish a law along the following lines:

If a company exploits the natural resources of a district, such as copper, iron, gold, or any other precious metal which cannot be replaced, a law must be established so that whatever company exploits such business resources must place in trust money to compensate for the time when these natural resources are finished.

3. The Bougainville District Government must have the power to raise taxes from such companies as Bougainville Copper or any other big companies which establish themselves in Bougainville.
 4. Royalties received from any mining ventures such as BCP must be paid to the District Government.
 5. The Bougainville District Government must have the power to collect licence taxes, storekeepers' fees, liquor licencing fees, motor car drivers' licence fees, or any other type of registration taxes.
 6. All Court fines must be paid into the District Government.
 7. All income taxes and excise or custom taxes must be collected by the District Government. It is better if the District Government allocates a proportion of collected taxes to the Central Government and not *vice versa* because in the past the Central Government has exploited the district and only allocated a small amount of what it has collected.
4. District Government and the types of government within it.
- (a) Village Government:
1. The people of Bougainville in association with the Bougainville Special Political Committee realise that District Government will only be as strong as long as the people themselves at village level have some representation.
 2. We believe that District Government must recognise that traditional leaders must have the major say in the government at village level.
 3. Each individual area must find out for itself how traditional leaders or elders can make their own village areas good places to live in, and eliminate some of the troubles which we are having with the present system.
 4. Leadership within each individual area must be established in the manner it was done traditionally.
 5. It will be important for the traditional leaders to work closely with young educated people in village areas.
 6. It is hoped that by incorporating traditional leaders in Village Government positions, such leaders will be recognised as before in helping to establish a sound country.
 7. At Village Government level it is hoped that such traditional leaders will be able to settle traditional matters such as landownership, marriages, and minor troubles in the village areas. It will be important to incorporate these traditional aspects which have a chance of survival in the modern situation.
 8. There should be two ways in which traditional leaders may fit into the Village Government level. They can either be appointed as per traditional methods or elected as per modern method, according to the choice of the people.

(b) Ward Committees:

It will be important to have a Ward Committee to co-ordinate the activities of the traditional leaders. These Ward Committees will act as a type of senate and will meet on matters which will affect more than one leader's area.

(c) Council Government:

The next level of government will be a type of Council Government and this Government will be responsible directly to the District Government.

1. Most of the people of Bougainville recognise that the Local Government Councils of today have no powers and have not got the right to establish strong laws.
2. The Local Government Councils of today are weak and have not got the right or power to collect taxes to any great extent.
3. Local Government Councils existing today also do not recognise the position of traditional leaders.
4. Local Government Councils of today do not recognise traditional laws. It is important that the type of Local Government Council which exists today changes to suit the people.
5. The first important change must be that traditional leaders must be accepted in the council system.
6. It may be that traditional leaders have to be accepted without the normal western type election, although it will be important to have younger people elected in the modern manner.
7. It will be important for representatives of the Council Government to work in close association with the District Government so that there is a co-ordination of development occurring in individual council areas. This type of Council it is hoped will encourage proper development to suit the needs of the people.
8. Representatives of the Council Governments, say one or two from each Council, will be appointed to form the District Government.

(d) District Government and District Assembly:

A strong opinion of the Bougainville people and the Bougainville Special Political Committee is that the District Government must have all the powers that we have stated, which in effect are:

- A. There must be strong laws pertaining to the political, social and economic development of the district.
- B. The political head of the district must have strong powers.
- C. This political head must be elected by all the people of the district.
- D. The right to govern the district must belong to the President, or whatever name is decided upon, but only in association with his Cabinet.
- E. The Cabinet of the President which administers the District must come from those elected to the District Government.

- F. The members of the District Assembly are elected by each Council Government as in (c) 8.
- G. The District Assembly must sit with the President of the District Government and must have the power to make laws or to ratify the administration of the district and must also be in a position to allocate funds to each Council area. Within each district there must be a Chief Secretary or position similar to this.
- H. The role of the Chief Secretary will be to administer the laws made by the District Government and the District Assembly. The Chief Secretary will be in effect the senior public servant and, as such, will work in association with each administrative department and the public servants working for those departments.

Final Summary

Members of the Constitutional Planning Committee:

We have discussed in this report at great length the type of District Government we want and how it will be composed. Why we are worried is that we do not consider that we are prepared to go ahead with the rest of Papua New Guinea in obtaining Self-Government and Independence. We want you to hear our plea and give us District Government so that we can incorporate some of the changes we feel necessary before we go ahead. If the Central Government cannot give us District Government by 1 November, 1973, we have moved the following motion to speed up changes on Bougainville. The motion is as follows:

"While waiting for the House of Assembly to ratify submissions of the Constitutional Planning Committee and make them law, we the people of Bougainville ask the Central Government to give us a special purpose authority so that we can assume the responsibility in Bougainville for the requests we have made in this submission."

(Motion moved by L. Hannett and seconded by Raphael Niniku representing his people; the motion was passed unanimously.)

We want to repeat the motion that we have passed which is: "The Bougainville Special Political Committee together with all the people of Bougainville want District Government on 1 November, 1973. Bougainville wants recognition of its right to determine that, if some time in the future it wishes to remain within Papua New Guinea or independent, it must have the right to decide its own future." We repeat once more that Bougainville wants the Central Government to give it District Government on 1 November, 1973.

We thank you for hearing this submission.

Henry Moses
Michael Poowa
Moses Havini
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Leo Hannett

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We thank you for hearing this submission.

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APPENDIX DSIWAI VILLAGE GOVERNMENT:
PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

The following is a condensed version of the proposal placed before the Constituent Assembly in January, 1974 by Siwai representatives.

Village Committee

Each village will select their *Munih Mouhe* (traditional leaders) and form a committee comprising six members. This committee will run village affairs and make laws in a fashion similar to that which existed before the white man came.

Village Government Assembly

Members of the village committees will be elected or chosen to represent their villagers at the Village Government Assembly. Both traditional leaders, and educated young men will comprise this Assembly which shall have 21 members. There will be five Departments associated with the Assembly:

- (a) Planning and Development: A committee of five members will consider development projects to be undertaken by the Assembly. This committee will draft estimates of expenditure and submit these with its plans to the Sub-district Rural Improvement Planning Committee.
- (b) Finance: A committee of six members will be responsible for administering the area's finances, and approving all expenditure on Assembly projects.
- (c) Law: A committee of six members (including both wise old men and educated young men) will investigate customary law, and bring proposals concerning legislation before the Village Government Assembly for discussion and approval.
- (d) Police: Two officers of the peace will ensure people attend the Village Court when required to do so, and see that sentences imposed by the Court are enforced.
- (e) Judiciary: Four members of the Village Government Assembly will be nominated to the Village Court. One of these nominees will be the Court Secretary, and all four must be present at every hearing to ensure court sessions are conducted properly.

APPENDIX ENOTES ON THE PROPOSED ADMINISTRATIVE AND
POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF DISTRICT GOVERNMENT

The schematic representation of the District Government structure, as proposed in June, 1974, clearly indicates the importance of village and Sub-district levels in the administrative and political hierarchy. As noted elsewhere, most influential leaders on Bougainville believe that, in order to develop a genuine District cohesiveness and identity, it is necessary to work from local village groups, through Sub-district committees, to the District. This is considered preferable to imposing a 'flag-type' ideological unity from the top. The functions and composition of certain components of the proposed District Government structure are outlined below.

District Assembly

The directly-elected governing body, will comprise five members from each Sub-district, plus additional members representing the urban areas and outer islands. The Bougainvillean Members of the House of Assembly are also members of the District Assembly. The head of the District Assembly will be a President (provisional title; an appropriate local title will probably be chosen at a later date), who is elected directly by the people. An executive committee, comprising the President and five or six members will be responsible for administration of the Assembly.

Local Council/Association

Below the District Assembly will be more localized political structures associated with existing local government councils and major regional associations such as the Hahalis Welfare Society. These groups will also have representatives (probably ex-officio) in the District Assembly.

Village Government

At the bottom of the political hierarchy are the village assemblies which will comprise representatives of major language groups/census divisions. Each village government area will have its own meeting and information centre, and its assembly will be responsible for all village affairs.

Executive Team

The apex of the administrative structure will be an executive team comprising the District Secretary, Ombudsman (provisional title only), Planner, and Executive Officer. The District Secretary will be the head of the public service, and undertake most of the work currently performed by the District Commissioner. He will be directly responsible to the District Assembly. The Ombudsman will be responsible for general oversight of District affairs -- community relations, liaison activities, and information services. The Planner will co-ordinate departmental activities within the District, and prepare and

monitor development plans, while the Executive Officer will be responsible for overall organization and co-ordination of government at the District and local levels.

Development Teams

Departments concerned with various aspects of 'development' will have District, Sub-district, local and village committees which will service the different levels in the District Government. Eventually it is planned to have rural-development officers, teachers, and medical personnel at each village government centre, while business development staff will be provided at the local council/association level. Associated with the District Development Teams and the Executive Committee of the District Assembly will be a District Development Committee whose primary task will be the preparation and review of District development programmes. Members of this committee will include the Executive Team, a representative of the Executive Committee of the District Assembly, Assistant District Commissioners from the Sub-district development committees, and co-opted representatives of missions, co-operatives, local businesses where considered necessary. The chairman of this committee will be the District Secretary.

Courts

The final structure of courts at the village and District levels has not yet been decided by central government. Each village government will, however, have its own court (see Siwai proposal, Appendix D).

APPENDIX FBOUGAINVILLE DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1974/75Introduction

1. The Cabinet of the central government has approved the following financial appropriations to Bougainville for the financial year 1974/75:
 - (i) Normal expenditure and staffing of all government activities other than capital works;
 - (ii) Average annual capital works programme and rural improvement programme for Bougainville for the last five years. This is about \$1 million;
 - (iii) \$2.3 million for a development programme approved by Cabinet;
 - (iv) \$200,000 for operating expenses for Bougainville Constituent Assembly;
 - (v) \$199,000 contribution to Non-Renewable Resources Trust Fund.

Category (v) is a sum conceded by the central government as some form of import tax money for the non-renewable resources taken out of the District, e.g. copper. (This sum does not exclude our further bargaining with central government for the annual \$3.3 million royalty from the exploitation of copper from Bougainville.)

2. A provisional development plan was prepared by the District Co-ordinating Committee (now known as the District Development Team) together with the planner and executive officer and approved by the Cabinet.

Aims of the plan

3. The plan is designed to achieve four major objectives:
 - (i) To provide the basic political and administrative organization required for the successful establishment of District Government, especially at the village level.
 - (ii) To improve the District's basic infrastructure, especially communications.
 - (iii) To initiate a long-term programme of rural improvement and mobilization in line with the government's Eight Point Plan. Particular emphasis will be placed on community education and involvement, integrated development projects and the use of intermediate technology.
 - (iv) To alleviate some of the acute social problems which have arisen in the Kieta/Arawa urban area and for which no provision is made in the existing town plans. This will be part of a major review of urban development policies and programmes in the area.

The plan

4. Some of the proposed projects are summarized below, under five headings: development, communications, community facilities, accommodation, and administration.

<u>Development projects</u>	<u>Estimated Cost (\$A)</u>
1. Abattoir and tannery, Kieta: Construction of abattoir, with facilities for provision of tannery urgently required to provide market for developing cattle industry and to begin to meet local meat demand.	40,000
2. Community education: Pilot projects in informal community/vocational education in rural area, involving inter-department co-operation and directed particularly to primary school leavers.	5,000
3. Fisheries project, outer islands: Provision of boat and freezers to operate experimental fisheries project in the outer islands; most of the cost will be met by private enterprise and the islanders, but some additional funds are required.	9,000
4. Village improvement: Commencement of research and experimentation in rural technologies improvement, including cottage industries, rural power supplies and animal transport.	50,000
<u>Sub-total</u>	<u>104,000</u>

Communications

5. Roads: A number of major road projects will be undertaken subject to final approval by Standing Committee. These include construction of the Korpei-Mabiri road, the first stage of the Torinonapu-Buin road, sealing of the Aropa-Kieta road, and construction of the Aita and Red River bridges.	?(+1.5m)
6. Bougainville Air Services: Purchase of equity in Bougainville Air Services to provide control and rationalization of air services in District; negotiations currently in progress.	40,000
7. North Bougainville Road Authority: Purchase of equipment to establish road authority in north Bougainville similar to that which is already operating successfully in south Bougainville; this authority is essential for the efficient operating of Council works programmes.	235,000
(excluding roads) <u>Sub-total</u>	<u>275,000</u>

Community facilities

	<u>Estimated Cost (\$A)</u>
8. Cultural Centre, Arawa: Construction of first stage of combined cultural and community centre in Arawa. The centre will be constructed largely on traditional lines and local communities will be involved in design and construction.	50,000
9. Community Centre, Boku: Construction of second stage of women's community training centre at Boku (stage one under construction with rural improvement programme funds).	51,300
<u>Sub-total</u>	<u>101,300</u>

Accommodation

10. No-covenant housing, Toniva and Arawa: Provision of no-covenant housing areas to alleviate acute housing and squatter problems in Arawa-Kieta area. Provisional proposal already submitted to Housing Commission, from which some financial assistance may be available.	?
11. Arawa Hostel: Construction of hostel to provide clean accommodation for visitors to Arawa (including members of District Assembly) operated by Arawa Municipal Commission or charitable organization; urgently required because of complete lack of accommodation at present.	150,000
12. Single government accommodation, Arawa: Construction of residential hostel for single male government employees. To be operated by Arawa Municipal Commission.	60,000
13. Guardian houses, Arawa, Buka, and Buin: Construction of simple accommodation facilities for guardians of patients at Arawa Hospital and health centres at Buka, Sohano, and Buin.	100,000
14. Field staff housing: Construction of simple housing in villages for Department of Agriculture, Stock, and Fisheries field staff as part of programme of decentralizing extension staff to village level in conjunction with establishment of village government.	15,000
(excluding no-covenant housing) <u>Sub-total</u>	<u>325,000</u>

Administration

15. Information services: Facilities for production and distribution of political and educational material within District; aim will be to improve and co-ordinate information produced by all relevant departments and institutions.	5,000
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16.	Village Government Centres: Provision of basic equipment and small grants to assist village governments to establish meeting/community/information centres; required as a means of developing grass-roots involvement in District Government and development.	<u>Estimated Cost (\$A)</u>
		5,000
	<u>Sub-total</u>	<u>10,000</u>
	(excluding roads and no-covenant housing) <u>TOTAL</u>	<u><u>815,300</u></u>

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In order to disseminate some of the results of our research into recent social and economic change in southeast Bougainville (Papua New Guinea), a short series of booklets will be published under the abovementioned label. These booklets are being printed at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand, and inquiries concerning them should be addressed to:

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All profits arising from the sale of these booklets will go to the Bougainville Cultural Centre, Arawa.

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