
The Prospects of Developing War Crimes Databasing Projects: *A Case Study of the Bougainville Conflict*

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Abstract

Studies of the Bougainville conflict often focus on the causes and consequences and little attention has been paid to casualties of war and war crimes committed. The objective of this thesis is to assess the feasibility and academic value of undertaking databasing projects of reported instances of alleged war crimes in Bougainville. This includes information recorded by organisations such as the Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, noted in government reports, the eyewitness accounts from books and personal statements, or those reported in newspapers and the media. This evaluation is based primarily on events of the Bougainville conflict between 1989 and 1997. This project identifies some of the challenges of locating, accessing and processing reports of war crimes into a single Excel dataset. It also identifies some of the means of mitigating these technical, methodological and conceptual challenges. The dataset from the Bougainville conflict can then be used as basis for further research and deeper understanding of the conflict in Bougainville. Very meticulous and careful work is needed in undertaking this kind of project and that there are multiple ways to mitigate emerging challenges. This type of dataset would provide a significant contribution to our understanding of how to understand and possibly put in place mechanisms to prevent extreme acts of wartime violence such as genocide, mass murder, wartime rape, and systematic torture. Preventing these events requires knowledge, knowledge requires data, and collecting that data must begin somewhere.

Chapter 1: Introduction

For every conflict that has occurred in the past half century there have been a multitude of organisations and individuals ranging from the United Nations to local humanitarian activists who have sought to document breaches of the rules of war. The reports these groups created, such as those found in books, journal articles, official reports and publications are extensive. Moreover, each one of these reports represents a potential instance where an individual has been exposed to extreme violence and, therefore, each one also represents a piece of data that could be utilised to understand that violence. These records, whether they come from Amnesty International or small commentary organisations, have documented not only the possibility of violations of the rules of war that may have occurred, but also other important information such as who may have committed the violation, when they committed it, why they did it, how many victims there were, etc. All of this data exists, documenting wartime violence from across the world, and represents one of our best resources that can be used to make sense of wartime violence through the application of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. There are, however, serious limitations to the current usability of this data, especially in the case of cross-conflict research, as the data is highly dispersed and varied in nature. Therefore, the objective of this thesis is to assess if the same approach of compiling data as has been used for other social phenomenon (such as that of electoral results, criminal activity, the occurrence of wars, or degrees of political freedom) can be applied to reports of alleged wartime atrocities through the development of a database on the Bougainville conflict (1988-1997). To this end there are several key research questions that this thesis will attempt to address:

- 1: What can the experience of constructing a database of alleged wartime atrocities in Bougainville reveal about the feasibility of identifying and gaining access to the relevant documents?
- 2: What can the experience of constructing a database of alleged wartime atrocities in Bougainville reveal about the feasibility of extracting and standardising that data into a single dataset?
- 3: What can be inferred about the value that this kind of project can contribute to the study and understanding of extreme wartime atrocities and violence?

The overall intent of pursuing this line of inquiry is to assess whether it is worthwhile organising all of the data generated on the commission of extreme wartime violence and to do so via the experience gained from developing a database of instances from the war in Bougainville.

The justification for pursuing this topic is the same as that for any databasing project. That is, that there are great advantages to aggregating individual events into one standardised dataset as this can then be used as a tool to facilitate the pursuit of knowledge through the use of quantitative analysis. In the case of extreme wartime violence this means collecting the various reports from a given conflict and presenting these reports laid out in a format that allows other researchers to utilise that data how they wish. As with any such project the idea is that having this data collected in a uniform and structured way can enable the patterns present in hundreds or thousands of separate reports to become visible. From this, hypotheses can be generated, theories can be tested and a greater understanding of extreme acts of violence in times of war can emerge. The practical end result of this process is that, by making use of this type of data, new conceptual frameworks and models can be developed that are capable of guiding practitioners and policy concerning the identification, prevention and reduction of future wartime atrocities.

Not only is the pursuit of this project justified theoretically but also by the pre-existing desire for this type of data and other tools capable of facilitating research into wartime violence. In their 2009 paper “The “Dirty War Index” and the Real World of Armed Conflict” Aelia Hoover, Romesh Silva, Tamy Guberek and Daniel Guzman discuss this need for quantitative research based on large sets of data and provide the following questions as examples of questions that may not only benefit from but may need this kind of approach: Is the crisis in Darfur a genocide? How common is sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo? Is it a “widespread and systematic” tactic of one or more armed groups? Did Colombia’s paramilitary demobilization program actually reduce violence against non-combatants? How many Iraqi civilians have died during the on-going American-led conflict there? How does that number compare to the number of soldiers and insurgents killed?¹

In her 2013 article ‘Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)’ Dara Choen also identifies the need for more available data, noting that there have been few systematic attempts to gather data on instances of extreme wartime violence.² The result of this was that she was forced to develop her own data set for instances of wartime rape from over 30 years.³ Not only does she identify the need for the collection of data on this subject, but her work also demonstrates the limitations of utilising the record of wartime atrocities. The present ad hoc state of the records means that researchers are forced to develop their own datasets for every project which therefore places constraints on conducting research in this area.

For their article “Forecasting the onset of genocide and politicide” Benjamin Goldsmith, Charles Butcher, Dimitri Semenovich, and Arcot Sowmya also sought to apply quantitative analysis in order to develop a predictive model of instances of genocide. Fortunately, however, acts of genocide have been extensively recorded unlike many other forms of wartime violence. Therefore, Goldsmith, Butcher, Semenovich, and Sowmya were able to use the Political Instability Task Force database (which provides information on country years of civil war, regime change and incidents of genocide) to develop a model that could predict incidents of genocide with 90.0% accuracy between 1988-2003.⁴ This not only provides a further example of a desire for large datasets on wartime violence but also demonstrates how similar databasing projects are already being used to develop our understanding of wartime violence in some limited areas.

Despite the possible advantages of trying to pursue and promote the use data gained from reports of wartime violence, it must also be acknowledged that there are serious limitations using this type of data beyond the fractured state of the records. For example, there is the issue of the ‘dark figure of crime’; those atrocities that remain unreported and which therefore result in the impossibility of creating a truly comprehensive database of any ‘criminal’ wartime activity. Additionally, there is the problem of bias and inaccuracies within the accounts of those atrocities which are reported. While these issues are problems found in the use of domestic criminal databases they are never more acute than in a time of war where chaos, limitations on the safety of movement, and the political stakes of controlling the narrative of the war severely impair accurate reporting. However, as authors Strouse and Claude note in their paper ‘Empirical Comparative Rights Research’, “to forswear the use of available, although imperfect, data does not advance

¹Amelia Hoover, Romesh Silva, Tamy Guberek, Daniel Guzman, “The “Dirty War Index” and the Real World of Armed Conflict” *Human Rights Data Analysis Group Working Paper* (2009)

² Dara Choen, “Explaining Rape During Civil War: cross national evidence (1980-2009)” *American Political Science Review*, vol.107, no.3, (2013)

³ Ibid, p.461

⁴ Benjamin E. Goldsmith, Charles R Butcher, Dimitri Semenovich, Arcot Sowmya, “Forecasting the Onset of Genocide and Politicide: Annual out-of-sample forecasts on a global dataset, 1998-2003” *Journal of Peace Research* (2013)

scholarship."⁵ Just because such challenges as reporting bias and incomplete data exist, it does not follow that attempting to utilise this type of data is worthless. It merely means that the seriousness of those challenges and the constraints they present to using this type of data must be taken into consideration. If we are to emulate the types of predictive models such as that developed by Goldsmith, Butcher, Semenovich and Sowmya to predict genocide or to answer empirically the types of questions proposed by Hoover, Silva, Guberek and Guzman then we need data on wartime violence. Therefore it is worthwhile to assess whether developing a databasing project to capture and organise this information in a uniform and accessible way is worth investigating.

1.1 Defining the Term War Crime

Until this point I have avoided using a key term used in this thesis— that of ‘war crime’— as the way it is used within this thesis must first be discussed here. Within the context of this thesis, this term will be used to refer to any instance where a violation of the rules of war might have occurred as the instance is described in a reporting document. The use of this term here could be considered contentious as it often has a very narrow legal meaning. Taken from a technical perspective is a definition used by the International Criminal Court, who describes war crimes as “serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in international armed conflict” and “serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in an armed conflict not of an international character”.⁶ Within the legal conception of the term that this definition is anchored in comes the understanding that an event is not a crime unless it meets the strict legal requirements regarding precedent, levels of evidence and the principle of individual responsibility.⁷ In order to make sense of how the term will be used differently here, it is first necessary to identify the distinction that exists between what can be called the ‘rules of war’ and the narrower ‘laws of war’. The latter refers to the body of international law such as that anchored in the Hague and Geneva Conventions, while the former will be used to refer to a broader category which not only contains the laws of war but other social norms and moral imperatives that are widely expected of combatants during the conduct of military affairs.

The term war crime will refer to possible violations of the rules of war, not just the law as it is the broader type of events that are of interest in this thesis,. This is because relying solely on a legal framework for the collection of reports of extreme wartime violence is insufficient. For one, a legal approach may demand a legal standard of proof that an event occurred. While this may be necessary when charging and punishing offenders it also significantly restricts the number of ‘valid’ data points that could be added to a database as few reports of alleged crimes can ever be established with a level of certainty demanded by the law. Furthermore, a strictly legal approach may also be overly restrictive in terms of defining what a crime is and the caveats or technicalities of when an act is, or is not, permissible. This is important to consider in this context of collecting reports as the individuals or organisations that document violence during times of war do not necessarily do so with a prosecutor’s perspective or understanding. Utilising the more holistic approach of the rules of war permits the inclusion of a broader range of incidents as well as providing more

⁵ J.C. Strouse, Richard P. Claude, “Empirical Comparative Rights Research: Some Preliminary Tests of Development Hypotheses” *Comparative Human Rights* Vol.52, No. 2 (John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p.52

⁶ International Committee of the Red Cross, “Rule 156. Definitions of War Crimes” viewed 10/01/2017 https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/customary-ihl/eng/docs/v1_rul_rule156

⁷ Daniel Thürer, “International Humanitarian Law: Theory, Practice, Context” (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2011), p.167

flexibility in the creation and demarcation of different crimes in order to fit with the normative understanding of those who documented it. While this is not intended to disregard the value of adhering to a stricter legal approach to the topic of war crimes, there is greater value for the proposed databasing project in being more inclusive and having a larger breadth of data. The justification for this is that the database can be constructed in such a way that those who disagree with current legal definitions, or who seek to study phenomena outside of that structure, can do so while those who prefer a legal framework can still use it. Simply, with a broader approach, the data can always be cut down by a user while it is much more difficult for them to expand upon it. A solely legal approach and its restrictive nature is appropriate when placing someone on trial but is not when attempting to collect reports of war crimes for academic research. Therefore, the term war crime will be used more broadly to identify alleged violations of the rules of war.

As well as justifying why the term war crime should be used here it is also necessary to mention why an alternative term would not be better. In the case of the reports from the Bougainville conflict that will form the case study for this thesis, the reports, especially those from groups such as Amnesty International use the term 'human rights violation' throughout their documents. For the kind of incidents that are intended to be collected here, however, this term is insufficient, as, while the use of the term war crime could be contentious because it is traditionally too narrow, the term human rights violation is too vague. This term is not only used to refer to the violations of the rules of war but more often the more nebulous rule set of human rights including those that have not yet been universally translated into law.⁸ This becomes problematic, especially when determining the spatial and temporal limits of a conflict, as it creates the imperative to undertake the far more ambitious task of databasing all human rights violations, a task which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, the types of incidents that will be captured within this database are much closer to the laws of war (as will be outlined in chapter four) than they are the broader guide lines of the edifice of human rights. Therefore, being caught between terms that are too specific and too general, the use of the term war crime is the most appropriate.

With this understanding in mind, there is another, more straightforward key phrase that will be used throughout this thesis and therefore must be understood; that of the 'war crimes regime'. This term is simply used to refer not only to the rules that govern behaviour in war but, additionally, the entire body of literature, norms, and works that outline and justify the rules as they are today. The texts and ideas that are the basis of what is and is not considered a rule of war are essential to discuss within this thesis. These foundations will be used later on in chapter four in order to justify how the different categories of offences will be demarcated within the Bougainville dataset.

1.2 Thesis Outline

In order to address the central research questions of this thesis surrounding the feasibility and value of databasing reports of alleged war crimes, the remainder of this thesis will be divided up into six chapters as follows.

Chapter two will discuss and establish the background theory and the details of what constitutes the justification for the rules of war. This will be done by discussing each of the three theoretical foundations of

⁸ Saladin Meckled-García, Cali Başak , "The Legalization of Human Rights: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Human Rights and Human Rights Law" (Psychology Press, 2006), p.54

these rules; that of the philosophical arguments, descriptions of social norms and legal frameworks which, combined, serve to determine what is and is not considered a rule of war. The in-depth discussion of this literature is also necessary in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the ad hoc and fluid nature of the foundations of the rules of war as well as the ways in which these three sources interact to create it as it is today. Furthermore, establishing this background literature provides the terminology and framework within which later methodological decisions and approaches can be discussed and justified. This is most critical when it becomes necessary to identify, define and delineate the different categories of offences described within the records, such as those of murder, rape or torture, by which the accounts will be divided.

Chapter three will discuss the methodology used in the research and provides a detailed analysis of the Bougainville case study. It examines why the case study methodology is important and why it is the appropriate method for assessing the feasibility and value of creating a databasing project. In order to do this it is also necessary to provide a historical account of the Bougainville conflict in order to contextualise the results and patterns identified within the collected data which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. This historical analysis also provides for the discussion of the spatial and temporal limits of the Bougainville conflict which is needed in order to establish the bounds within which the search for relevant reports will be undertaken.

Chapter four provides a description of the methods which were used to locate, research and process the reports into a single consolidated dataset. This chapter will be divided into two sections: the first discusses how the research phase was conducted and the second establishes how the collected documents were processed in a single dataset. When attempting to search, identify and access the various documents that contain relevant reports for the database, a strict, predetermined methodology is inappropriate. This is due to the explorative nature of this thesis and the fact that the extent of material, type of material, and the challenges using that material cannot be reliably evaluated before actually undertaking the search. Therefore, an approach based on principles of inclusivity, breadth and back-tracing will be employed in order to provide the flexibility necessary to adapt to the state that the historical record is in. This is necessary as to enable the most complete collection of the most varied type of documents containing reports of atrocities as possible in order to adequately assess the feasibility of the databasing concept more generally. The second section of the methodology chapter concerns the processing of the collected reports into a single dataset. Here the primary methodological framework utilised was that of a content analysis which allows for the extraction of key information from the texts. The information within each individual instance in which a crime is documented is divided into categories based on the most common types of information contained within the records. This includes metrics such as the age and sex of victims, the number of victims reported per incident, and who attacked them.

Chapter five constitute an analysis of patterns and trends identified within the data collected from Bougainville. The intention of this chapter is to provide an overview of what type of data was collected and to briefly demonstrate how case-specific knowledge can be drawn from that data. In addition this chapter will also include a critical assessment of the experience of the research phase of this thesis: what documents were collected, what the strengths and weaknesses of these documents are and what lessons can be drawn from this in order to assess the feasibility of a larger databasing project.

Chapter six contains a single detailed example of the type of research outcomes that can be generated using this type of data. This, combined with the trends of the data outlined in chapter 4, will serve to address

the second research question of academic value by providing a demonstration of how a databasing project can facilitate research into wartime violence.

Chapter seven is the last, concluding chapter of this thesis and includes the final evaluation of the feasibility and value of creating war crimes databasing projects. This includes the identification of the key challenges to developing war crimes databasing projects as well as strategies to mitigate those challenges. Not only do I conclude that this kind of project is feasible but also identify the importance of providing access to this information. If our ability to undertake such work is contingent on our ability to obtain large amounts of standardised data then the demands this places on researchers to do this for every project undercuts the feasibility of conducting this empirical research into the commission of wartime atrocities altogether. Therefore, our future ability to understand, predict and prevent the widespread commission of events such as genocide, mass murder, wartime rape and systematic torture will be limited if access to this type of data remains default. Preventing these events requires knowledge, knowledge requires data, and collecting that data must be somewhere.

Chapter 2.0: The Theoretical Foundations of the War Crimes Regime

The rules which govern permissible conduct in times of war are anchored in three distinct foundations, namely the philosophy of just war theory, the social norms of the human rights movement and the regulations of international law. Understanding the basis of these three sources of the rules of war and the relationships between them is essential to this databasing project as this knowledge will form the basis from which methodological issues such as the identification of relevant source material and the categorisation of that material within a database will be resolved.

Of these three foundations the first I will discuss is that of the philosophical arguments of just war theory. This school of thought intends to apply reason and logic to the subject of military ethics in order to create a compelling case for restrictions on the conduct of war. The second component of the regime, that of the human rights movement, intends to limit the burden of conflict on both civilians and combatants primarily compelled by normative reasons. The motivations of this movement can be understood through the use of social normative theory and, while more nebulous than the other two components of the regime, it still plays a significant part in determining the rules of war. Finally, I will discuss the legal component of the regime: international humanitarian law (IHL). IHL is arguably the most important for the three foundations as it is the clearest and most widely accepted source of the rules of war. Additionally, it may be viewed as a mechanism to cement and legitimise the values of the human rights movement and the arguments of just war theorists within the global power structures of the modern world. While these three foundations of the regime provide the identification and justification of the rules they also present a point of complication for a war crimes databasing project. This is because the ad hoc nature of the war crimes regime, originating as it does from three distinct sources, creates points of contradiction, making the interpretation of some crimes contentious, and results in an ever-evolving set of rules to govern war. Therefore, the final section of this chapter will discuss these issues as well as possible means of dealing with these challenges that, when combined, work to minimise the methodological issues stemming from the ad hoc nature of the war crimes regime.

2.2 Just War Theory

Just war theory holds a near-monopoly with regards to the philosophical ethics that surround the rules of war. Most philosophical effort focusing on the war crimes regime is argued or subsumed under the just war framework. This is due to the fact that most scholars and scholarship within other philosophical schools such as realism and pacifism (as well as a large component of just war theorists) are focused on the issues of the legitimate initiation of armed force, known as *casus belli* (*just cause*). The primary interest of scholars from other schools is in providing an account delineating when one can or cannot morally be justified in executing a war in the first place. If armed conflict is always immoral as is argued by pacifist scholars, then the formation of any set of rules of conduct during war is redundant as the only just act would be the immediate secession of violence.⁹ Alternatively, a realist may argue that war is inherently violent and that in such a contest of power a legitimate war crimes regime is unattainable. This is due to the fact that it can always be perverted or ignored by the powerful and imposed upon the weak.¹⁰ Therefore, when it comes to the philosophical analysis of what is permissible or impermissible during war, only just war theorists are really concerned with what is termed *jus in bello* (just conduct). Within just war theory the way a war is fought is equally as important as the conditions under which it is initiated. It is for this reason, the near monopoly of just war theory in the study of *jus in bello*, that I will focus on it exclusively within this section.

Historically, the main theoretical branch of just war theory is situated within the Catholic tradition whose formation and tenets are usually synonymous with the discourse as a whole. The Christian root of the tradition is now centuries old dating back to Augustine of Hippo and his 5th century work 'The City of God'.¹¹ However, today the doctrine's most famous proponent is Michael Walzer, whose 1977 book 'Just and Unjust Wars' is referenced in almost every article concerned with the philosophical formation and delineation of the rules of war.¹² This is due in part to Walzer's revival of interest in the subject from a secular position.¹³ Because of Walzer's prominence within the field, I will primarily focus on his work with its modern, secular focus.

Walzer begins by arguing that, as US General Sherman so famously said, 'war is hell'.¹⁴ With this, his intention is to establish the premise which underpins all philosophical thought concerning the war crimes regime, that war is an ill to be minimised if it cannot be avoided altogether. In war, people are killed, belongings and homes are destroyed, and the ideals of security and freedom that we expect are often suspended. Therefore, war is suffering and we ought to limit both the instigation of violence as well as the bounds of conduct within it. Doing so does not make war tolerable but it is the best we can do to constrain it. This reasoning is simple and intuitive in that it serves as a strong moral and philosophical basis for the denunciation and limitation of conflict. Moving on from this basis, Walzer is not so interested in making a new set of rules as he is with explaining and philosophically analysing the existing moral reasons that logically justify the war crimes regime. This also provides the other reason to focus on Walzer, as his work is un-revolutionary and is concerned with a mainstream conception of the rules of war that is more in line with the

⁹ Steven E. Lee, "Ethics and War: An Introduction" (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.29

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Michael Farrell, "Modern Just War Theory: a guide to research" (Scarecrow Press, 2013), p.7

¹² Michael Walzer, "Just and Unjust Wars: a moral argument with historical illustrations" (Basic Books Inc., 1977)

¹³ Mark Bevir, "Encyclopaedia of Political Theory" (SAGE Publications, 2010), p.1287

¹⁴ David K. Chan, "Beyond Just War Theory: A Virtue Ethics Approach" (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.26

normative and legal foundations of the war crimes regime. Walzer's objective in his book is to create what he calls the war convention: an articulated set of "norms, customs, professional codes, legal precepts, religious and philosophical principles, and reciprocal arrangements that shape our conduct".¹⁵ Critically, this convention is identified by him not through actions combatants take, but through the expectations belligerents have of one another and the words and masks they employ to disguise their deeds. In essence his goal was identify the social norms and laws that govern war and then to evaluate them philosophically.

A specific example of the way Walzer uses philosophical reasoning to critically evaluate the war crimes 'convention' is surrounding the issue of civilian suffering during sieges and blockades, notably the British blockade of Imperial Germany in WWI. During the Great War, the British Navy intercepted all 'contraband of war' to stop it reaching the Germans. This included food stuffs and agricultural technologies as these may have been intended to supply the German army.¹⁶ This action was arguably one of the keys to winning the war, as it lowered morale and strained the military's supplies, culminating in Germany's reduced capacity to wage war. However, this strategy also took a heavy toll on civilians, leading to an estimated death toll of 424,000 people as a result of malnutrition and the related illnesses of scurvy, dysentery and tuberculosis.¹⁷ The British justified the morality of their actions by invoking the doctrine of double effect, arguing that their target was the military and that they had no intention of harming civilians. They argued that blame was on the Germans insofar as they had placed "the German people between the armies and the economic weapons that had been levelled against them by making the civilian populace bear the suffering inflicted."¹⁸ Walzer, however, argues that this defence is morally weak as the civilians were not placed between the army and the blockade, for they were where they had always been within German society. Given the structure of the state and the attitudes that informed it, the army always had priority for resources over civilians. For the Germans, both institutionally and physically, he argues the civilians were in "their proper and permanent abode."¹⁹ Therefore, the argument that the British were using in their defence, the doctrine of double effect, collapses. The harming of civilians was integral to the success of the British plan that the civilian population had to suffer for the blockade to be effective. Thus it broke a key principle of the war crimes regime: non-combatant immunity. Walzer uses this argument, amongst others, to claim that blockades and sieges are immoral if provisions are not made for non-combatants and that destroying crops or denying civilians supplies violates the war convention.²⁰

This represents a demonstration of how philosophers such as Walzer help to develop the rules of war and attempt to anchor them in reason and logic. This philosophical approach is useful as it provides reasoned arguments to back up the norms of the human rights movement and the articles of international law, thereby limiting the extent to which the war crimes regime can be considered to be morally relative. Additionally, it provides a method with which to help discern whether an action is a crime or not and why. Consequently, understanding this body of work is essential to the challenges of demarcating and interpreting cases where it is unclear whether an account describes a possible war crime or the type of war crime committed.

¹⁵ Walzer. "Just and Unjust Wars" (1977), p.44

¹⁶ Ibid. p.172

¹⁷ Alexander B. Downs, "Targeting Civilians in War" (Cornell University Press, 2011), p.87

¹⁸ Walzer, "Just and Unjust Wars" (1977), p.173

¹⁹ Ibid. p.174

²⁰ Ibid. p.171

2.2 Social Norms

The second foundation of our rules for conduct in war and our ideas of what constitutes a war crime can be understood by way of the concept of social norms and its application to the human rights movement. Within this framework the beliefs, behaviours, and structures of our society are not viewed as being on a fixed or predetermined path, instead they change and evolve as society does. They can be considered constructions of what is normal for a particular group at a particular time in a particular place and are potentially open to change.²¹ Because the objective of the war crimes database is descriptive as opposed to prescriptive, the fact that social, emotional, and psychological factors are included within the understanding of the war crimes regime used within this thesis is not much of an issue. The ability of the social normative theory to explain irrational changes in ethical attitudes regarding behaviour in times of war makes an understanding of it indispensable for this project. This is especially true in the context of the human rights movement which lies at the intersection of rational thought and relativist construction and informs much of the war crimes regime.

In order to use the normative framework to understand the social basis of the war crimes regime, as well as the mechanism by which these norms appear and evolve, it is first necessary to understand the concept of the 'norm life cycle'. This concept originated in the 1998 Article 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change' by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink.²² In this work the two authors posit that norms or beliefs go through three stages before they become entrenched into the psyche of a population to a level that makes their adherence all but a given. The first stage of this cycle is known as 'norm emergence'. At this point, moral entrepreneurs, those who believe in a value or who argue for change, seek to convince a critical mass of individuals or groups of influence to adopt their new beliefs. There are many ways this can be achieved such as coercion, financial persuasion, emotional manipulation or rational argumentation.²³ Once there is a critical mass of people who share a norm for whatever reason, that norm will undergo the second stage of its life cycle known as a 'norm cascade'. Here the proponents of the belief seek to socialise others to abide by their emerging rules. At this stage the increased power and influence of those that follow the new norm allows them to use more direct methods to make others comply with the new belief. In the context of more serious moral norms such as those of the war crimes regime these are spread through the use of law, force, incentives, sanctions or a desire to conform to an emerging majority. Finally, once the observance of the new norm is commonly adhered to, the final stage of 'norm internalisation' occurs. At this point norms are so ingrained that their existence is a given, their observance is standard practice, and their denouncement all but unthinkable.²⁴ The construction of these new norms can be created intentionally, starting with a small purposeful group planning and implementing a strategy in order to bring about their desired goal. This is the case with some groups or NGOs like Child Soldiers International or the World Organisation Against Torture.²⁵ Alternatively, norms can grow without concerted direction with those proposing them doing so unconsciously or instinctively in an ad hoc fashion. Either way social norms are important for dictating our behaviour and our code of moral values. Once internalised, these potentially arbitrary beliefs can be more influential than either rational arguments or existing codified laws.

²¹ Michael Hechter, Karl-Dieter Opp "Social Norms" (Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), p.403

²² Martha Finnemore, Kathryn Sikkink. "International norm dynamics and political change" *International Organization* vol. 52, no. 4, (1998), p.887

²³ Within this framework the just war philosophy and its proponents fold into this category as they seek to turn academic reason into common practice.

²⁴ Finnemore, Sikkink. "International norm dynamics and political change" (1998), p.895

²⁵ World Organisation Against Torture, 'About OMCT' viewed 09/01/2017, <http://www.omct.org/about/>

Applying this more directly to the context of the war crimes regime, it is the human rights movement that has had the greatest impact on the way we judge conduct during war. Providing an account of the evolution and somewhat arbitrary nature of this doctrine demonstrates the role of social norms in the development of the regime. The 'touchstone' document as it were for the human rights movement is the UN Declaration of Human Rights which claims to uphold "all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion"²⁶ and suggests that the origin of these rights is by virtue of our shared humanity. The ideology within this declaration is a social construction and its claims and language arguably originate more in the philosophically unpopular idea of natural rights and social norms as opposed to a coherent ethical philosophy based on fundamental foundations.²⁷ Nevertheless, the declaration's concepts of individuality, autonomy and dignity shape many notions of the war crimes regime, especially those concerning the protection of civilian populations.²⁸ The historical foundation of human rights lies originally with the philosophy of natural rights, in which philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Thomas Paine posited the existence of rights that humans have by virtue of our nature, often granted by God, or in our dispositions as creatures with emphasis on our traits of reason and rationality.²⁹ This philosophy informed the language of the French and American constitutions, such as the statement in the American constitution: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights."³⁰ This statement demonstrates the familiar language of human rights, but the constitutional relationship to the authority in God makes its doctrine of natural rights distinct from our modern conceptions as found in the UN Declaration.³¹

Over time this concept of natural rights fell out of favour as its absolute and inalienable tenants created inconsistencies and conflict within the theory. Furthermore, natural rights were primarily negative rights, many of which relied on theological doctrines that became unpopular in an increasingly secular world.³² This meant that by the 19th century Jeremy Bentham argued that natural rights were "nonsense upon stilts".³³ Today there is a case to be made as it has been by people such as Roland Pennock (1981) and Jack Donnelly (2003) that our conception of rights is not grounded in rational argument from first principles at all but in a convention of ethical behaviour; that it is a social construction.³⁴ There may be three possible origins for the influence of our social-norms-based system of rights. First, there is origin from intuition: the common emotional feeling held by those cultures with influence that the preservation of life *just is* morally valuable. Second, there is origin by convention: that human rights exist in our common customs and most states laws because we voluntarily accept them. Finally, there is origin by contract: a form of positive law that says that the moral imperative to obey human rights arises from the fact that state governments have agreed to

²⁶ United Nations General Assembly, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" 10 December 1948, 217 A (III), accessed 22/10/2014 at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3712c.html>

²⁷ Benjamin Gregg, "Human Rights as Social Construction" (Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.1

²⁸ Rene Provost, "International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law" (Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.3

²⁹ David Boucher, "The Limits of Ethics in International Relations: natural law, natural rights and human rights in transition" (Oxford University Press, 2009), p.142

³⁰ Claudio Corradetti, "Philosophical Dimensions of Human Rights: Some contemporary views" (Springer Science & Business Media, 2011), p.68

³¹ Roger Normand, Sarah Zaidi, "Human Rights at the UN: the political history of universal justice" Indiana University Press, 2008), p.13

³² Boucher, "The Limits of Ethics in International Relations" (2009), p.143

³³ Ibid. p.221

³⁴ Jack Donnelly, "Universal Human Rights in Theory" (Cornell University Press, 2013), p.22

observe these rights through documents such as the UN Declaration.³⁵ Therefore, human rights are arguably a complete construction, not based in reason but, purely by communal acceptance, in the same way money gains its specific value, both having no intrinsic worth but gain it because people believe they are valuable.³⁶

It is this social normative component of the rules of war that means that the reports and accounts of crimes can be expected to diverge from the rigid legal definitions, particularly those that are written by NGOs, (especially human rights organisations) and individuals on the ground. The latter of these are likely to include incidents or describe events in a way that would not necessarily be suitable under international law because of their limited understanding of it. Local journalists' or individuals' personal notes can be assumed to be relying much more on an understanding of the normative rules of war when documenting events than a considered reading of the fine points of international law. Therefore, when translating any documents written by such people into the database, this must be taken into account. This limits, to the greatest possible extent, the degree to which the information contained in the original texts is altered. This is important because a databasing project such as the one being explored here should act to facilitate the communication of information from the sources to the end user. Therefore, the definition and categorization of crimes ought to be driven as much by the understandings of acceptable behaviour expressed in the documents as by the laws laid down in international treaties. In addition to ignorance, NGOs or other groups may have an interest in bringing attention to types of acts which may not yet strictly be a violation of the laws of war but in which they have an interest. This would be especially true if they are seeking to shape the norms and law surrounding that act and pushing for its prohibition. Similarly, particular researchers may be interested in attaining data about such acts for a host of reasons. This could include the development of arguments for an acts prohibition or a criticism of an organisation's normative agenda. Having said this however, it is also impossible to include all the information and data categories in which users of a database may be interested or which may be considered a normative rule by someone, somewhere. Therefore, the best option is to place more weight on including those normative rules that are included in the reporting documents. Thereby, the value and importance of acknowledging the place social norms have in constructing the war crimes regime can be included without running into the problem of an untenable proliferation of possible war crimes.

2.3 Humanitarian Law

Legal approaches to the regulation of war represent the third and most widely recognised basis for the rules of war and also serve to entrench the norms and ethical principles on which it builds. The rules of war and hence the idea of what is considered a war crime can be found in the domestic law of many states. International law, however, is the most relevant form of law when dealing with the identification and delineation of war crimes in the 20th and 21st centuries. International law, evolved principally to govern relations between states with the regulation of the war between these actors and its conduct counting amongst its most important features. The subcategory of international law that is concerned with the subject of war crimes lies within International Humanitarian Law, and it is here that efforts to cement the legitimacy and efficacy of the rules of war are most focused.

³⁵ Alison Dundes Rentein, "International Human Rights: universalism versus relativism" (Quid Pro Books, 2013), p.8

³⁶ Cameron Stewart, "The Rule of Law and the Tinkerbell Effect: theoretical considerations, criticisms and justifications for the rule of law" *Macquarie Law Journal* vol. 4, no.7, (2004), p.135

The most prominent sources of humanitarian law are international treaties. At their most basic, these agreements between two or more states are like any other contract. The Geneva, Hague, and Genocide Conventions are some of the cornerstone international documents concerning the regulation of war.³⁷ This modern effort towards the codification of the norms of military conduct originates in the 1863 Lieber Code of the Union army in the U.S. Civil War.³⁸ It forbade such things as orders of no quarter, the use of poison, and the use of torture, as well as defending the status of black combatants as soldiers, not criminals.³⁹ The code is said to be the first western codification of the customs of war, and had a profound effect on the practice of military law with it subsequently being adopted by the Prussians, French and British, as well as leading to the 1907 Hague Convention for which it serves as a basis.⁴⁰ Prior to this, the rules of war in the west came from the church, the moral demands of rulers, or from social codes such as chivalry.⁴¹ The content of the Lieber code was, like the work of Walzer, a compilation of international normative standards of behaviour of European armies.⁴² What is important about the code, however, was that it was the first secular legal code that demanded obligations not only for the American Union army but, crucially, for its civilian population and enemy combatants as well.⁴³ It is critical to the project of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and the human rights movement more generally that the rules ought to apply universally even to those who do not sign the agreements which constitute it. Without this claim to absolute universal application, any state's regime might simply rescind their ratification of the agreements if they thought the utility of breaking a treaty was worth the cost. Furthermore, this focus on universal applicability makes the identification and delineation of war crimes instances easier as it significantly reduces the issues of cultural context and variation.

The way in which the proponents of the legal regime attempt to enforce these laws and therefore maintain IHL's integrity is by making the claim that IHL is a global social norm represented by the assent of the majority of states to these rules in the form of treaty signatures. The body of rules within this category is known as international customary law, a name which reflects its interconnection with social norms and a category in which almost all the laws of war fall under.⁴⁴ The way in which this evolves and the determination of when a law becomes customary or not is a complex matter. Article 38 of the International Court of Justice dictates that the emergence of customary law is observed through state practice and documentation, as well as the laws recognised by 'civilised' nations such as the principles of basic contract law.⁴⁵ The other component necessary for a customary law to be recognised is called *opinio juris* which is, essentially, the requirement that states come to view an act as unacceptable and come to accept a norm as law.⁴⁶ Therefore, not only do states need to practice a norm, but there must also be evidence that they feel it is expected of

³⁷ Machteld Boot, "Genocide, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes: *nullum crimen sine lege* and the subject matter jurisdiction of the international criminal court" (Intersentia, 2002), p.8

³⁸ Richard Shelly Hartigan, "Liber's Code and the Law of War" (Transaction Publishers, 1983), p.15

³⁹ Ibid. p.58

⁴⁰ US War Department, "The 1863 Laws of War" (Stackpole Books, 2005), p.xiv

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Hartigan, "Liber's Code and the Law of War" (1983), p.14-15

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Christopher A. Ford, Amichai Cohen, "Rethinking the law of Armed Conflict in an Age of Terrorism" (Lexington Books, 2012), p.22

⁴⁵ United Nations, "Statute of the International Court of Justice" 18 April 1946, Article 38, viewed 22/10/2014 at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3deb4b9c0.html>

⁴⁶ H.W.A Thirlway, "International Customary Law and Codification" (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1972), p.47: *Opinio juris* is much more complex than this and the details of how a norm becomes a law is a uncertain, contested proposition amongst both states and legal scholars.

them to do so and expect it of other states as well. At its strongest, customary law becomes known as *jus cogens*, the 'unbreakable' law which is said to be in the interest of all states to maintain.⁴⁷ This notion was solidified in the Vienna Conventions on the Law of Treaties in 1969 and 1986 which defined it as "a norm accepted and recognised by the international community of states as a whole as a norm from which no derogation is permitted and which can only be modified by a subsequent norm of international law having the same character."⁴⁸ Although it is unclear how exactly new, unique principles of *jus cogens* can come into force, this is an important concept for humanitarian law.⁴⁹ This is because *jus cogens* laws are the most entrenched examples of international law and the gravest of war crimes such as genocide are counted amongst them.

The legal edifice of international humanitarian law is the primary source on which to rely when attempting to identify and delineate the crimes of war as it is the most recognised of the three sources of the war crimes. For this reason, the treaties and regulations outlined within IHL will form the primary touchstone used in this databasing project when identifying and delineating the different crimes as outlined in chapter four. Additionally, many sources or reports can be expected to follow the letter of the law in their reporting of events, especially those from official sources such as the UN, criminal prosecutors as well as some NGOs and state documents. However, as has been outlined, just war theory and observations of social norms will be used to deal with any definitional problems or when the reporting documents (such as those from local sources or human rights organisations) strongly and clearly diverge from international law and must be accommodated.

2.4 Conclusion

The foundations of the war crimes regime is an ad hoc composition of rules and regulations based on the philosophies of just war theory, informed by the social norms of the human rights movement and articulated within international humanitarian law. An understanding of these components is necessary in order to understand the rules of war and the definitions of the crimes within the war crimes regime. An understanding of this literature outlines how particular actions become impermissible during times of war but it also provides the basis for identifying which actions should be considered a war crime, why and how they ought to be delineated. Furthermore, this serves to demonstrate that there are multiple foundations and sources for the rules of war beyond just that of the law. While the legal regime of IHL may be considered the most important it does not capture all impermissible acts. To disregard the normative expectations that are placed on combatants in times of war, particularly those gaining strong support, is to risk missing a large component of the rules of war and forms of violence that researchers, investigators and practitioners may be interested in.

⁴⁷ Gennadii Mikhailovich Danilenko, "law Making in the International Community" (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1993), p.212

⁴⁸ Ibid. 212

⁴⁹ Ibid. 214

Chapter 3: The Case of the Bougainville Conflict

With the objective of this thesis being to assess the possibilities of developing war crimes databasing projects, the means by which this is to be achieved must be established. While many of the details of how this will be achieved are discussed in chapter 4, it is first necessary to outline the details of the selected case study, namely, the Bougainville conflict. Developing a database for this single conflict will provide the means, through experience, to identify the key challenges facing such a project as well as the means of mitigating those challenges. To that end, this chapter will contain three major components; a summary of the historical background of the Bougainville conflict, a discussion of why that case was selected and, finally, a demarcation of the parameters of the conflict including its spatial and temporal limits. The first of these sections, the historical conflict, will serve to contextualise the content of subsequent chapters by providing the reader with an understanding of who the factions of the war were, why they were fighting and how the war progressed. The second section will contain the justification for why this conflict was selected as the case study by discussing its particular attributes such as its location, scale and the level of coverage which made it the most appropriate conflict for the development of this thesis. The final part of this chapter is intended to establish the bounds of conflict and therefore the parameters of the search for reports on alleged war crimes.

3.1- Historical Background of the Conflict

This conflict, which lasted for a decade (1989-1997), took place in the Pacific state of Papua New Guinea (PNG), in its easternmost province of Bougainville as depicted in fig 3.1 below.

Fig 3.1: Map of Bougainville



Although this territory lies within PNG, Bougainville is part of the Solomon Islands chain, both ethnically and geographically. Its inclusion within the jurisdiction of PNG was a result of its colonial past and the deal struck between Germany and Britain over control of the region. This legacy of colonialism would play a significant factor in the war as ethnic difference aggravated the tensions between Bougainville and the PNG government centred in Port Moresby. As for the island itself, Bougainville is relatively isolated from the rest of the world due to both limitations of infrastructure and distance from the centres of global power. The main island covers 9000sq km and is primarily covered by mountainous jungle terrain that, coupled with limited infrastructure, limits the connectivity of the approximately 170,000-210,000 people who lived on the island before the war.⁵⁰ The islanders have historically been organised into villages led by chiefs and, due to the inhibiting terrain, speak a variety of languages, hold a variety of identities and periodically come into conflict. Additionally, the population, especially prior to the conflict, included a minority of non-islanders. Most of these outsiders were European expatriates, primarily from Australia as well as other PNG nationals called 'redskins' (in contrast to the darker skin of the islanders) and a small Chinese population.⁵¹

The presence of these minorities was the result of an abundance of mineral resources on the island, specifically, large copper reserves buried in the hills in the island's interior. These were discovered in 1969 while the island was still under Australian colonial rule and by 1972 Bougainville Copper Ltd. (BCL), a subsidiary of the Australian-British company Rio Tinto, began operations at the Panguna mine site in the heart of the island. This was the largest open copper mine in the world, accounting for 45% of PNG's export revenue. The presence of Panguna made Bougainville one of the most profitable provinces in all of PNG as a result.⁵² Despite this wealth being generated on the island, tensions began to rise between the local population in their efforts to gain compensation from the government and BCL. Despite Panguna's productivity, the Bougainvilleans only received 0.5-1.25% of the profits, with the rest going to the PNG central government and BCL.⁵³ Additionally, the mine caused significant environmental impacts with the most notable being the poisoning of the local Jaba and Kawerong river systems (the former turned green as a result of discarded chemical waste) and the resulting damage to the marine ecosystems. Furthermore, the dust clouds and emissions from refining equipment caused health problems for locals and led to the reduction of crop yields, added to the disruption of the local wildlife and allegedly led to the extinction of the native flying fox species by the mid-1980s.⁵⁴ Tensions were further aggravated by the lack of consideration given to the desires of the local Panguna landowners, whose land was stripped by the mine with very little compensation.⁵⁵ Concurrently, there was growing discontent among many on the island who felt that their way of life was threatened by the influx of outsiders which had by this time boiled over into all-out violence.⁵⁶ The mounting tensions came to a head when members of the Panguna Landowners Association (PLA) led by Francis Ona became disillusioned with both the government and BCL due to their refusal to

⁵⁰ National Statistical Office of Papua New Guinea, "Population Summary of Findings" viewed 10/03/2016 <http://www.nso.gov.pg/index.php/population-and-social/other-indicators#islands-region>

⁵¹ Kelga-Maria Griffin, Anthony J. Regan, "Bougainville Before the Conflict" (Stranger Journalism, 2005), p.204

⁵² John Braithwaite, Hilary Charlesworth, Peter Reddy, Leah Dunn, "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment, Sequencing peace in Bougainville" (ANU press, 2010), p.20

⁵³ Griffin, Regan, "Bougainville Before the Conflict" (2005), p.327

⁵⁴ Arlene Griffen, "Lalanga Pasifika: Weaving the Pacific: Stories of Empowerment from the South Pacific" (University of the South Pacific, 2005), p.174

⁵⁵ Pat Howley, "Breaking Spears and Mending Hearts: peacemakers and restorative justice in Bougainville" (Federation Press, 2002), p.36

⁵⁶ Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn, "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment" (2010), p.20

acknowledge any responsibility for the damage resulting from the mine or provide 'adequate' compensation for it.⁵⁷ The culmination of all of these factors- the lack of wealth from the mine, the damage it caused, the tensions between the Bougainvilleans and outsiders combined with the unwillingness of the government and BCL to deal with these issues- resulted in the outbreak of war on Bougainville.

The first significant act of violence in the conflict was the destruction of a pylon supplying power to Panguna with explosives that Ona stole in a raid on the BCL armoury.⁵⁸ This attack combined with other small incidents led the PNG government to begin cracking down through the deployment of mobile riot squads in December 1989.⁵⁹ However, while the deployment of these forces (primarily from the highlands) by Port Moresby was intended to end the unrest, it only served to escalate it. The growing anger was the result of the brutal tactics employed by these units that included both the destruction of houses and brutal attacks on innocent civilians. These were often acts of retribution, a collective punishment used when perpetrators could not be located in the dense jungles of Bougainville.⁶⁰ These tactics, combined with the poor discipline of the security forces, led to the violence spreading beyond Panguna as more and more Bougainvilleans sided with those fighting the government. With the situation deteriorating, Port Moresby deployed more force through the Papua New Guinean Defence Force (PNGDF) starting in March 1989 and this only served to make things worse. These events were followed by the closure of Panguna mine in May after attacks on its staff, a declaration of a state of emergency in June and a proclamation by the Australian government in July that declared that it was "in the interests of the defence of Australia" to deal with the rebellion. As such the Australian government increased its military support to PNG and provided them with UH-1 Iroquois helicopters flown Australian and New Zealand pilots which would be used as air support, transport and gunships.⁶¹

As the conflict moved into a new phase of fully-fledged guerrilla war, the rebel elements of PLA reorganised and rebranded themselves into the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). This new name signified the evolution of the rebels' political objective. From this point on their aim was not only the closure of the mine but of securing Bougainville's independence through armed struggle.⁶² In the early part of the conflict this force, led by Francis Ona and commanded by Sam Kauona (a former soldier), had very limited resources and was forced to craft basic firearms or take those weapons captured in combat.⁶³ The BRA was very much a guerrilla army fighting from their hideouts in the jungle and using asymmetric tactics to fight the superior PNGDF and police forces by striking at patrols, attacking outposts, setting up ambushes and destroying infrastructure.⁶⁴

In response to the appearance of the BRA, the security forces began using anti-insurgency tactics, most notably that of depopulating the countryside in order to remove the support and cover of the rebels. They

⁵⁷ Marco Pinfari, "Peace Negotiations and Time: Deadline diplomacy in territorial disputes" (Routledge, 2012), p.68

⁵⁸ Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn, "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment" (2010), p.23

⁵⁹ *ibid*, p.24

⁶⁰ Jake Sherman, "The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: beyond greed and grievance" (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), p.144

⁶¹ Michael J. Field, Max Watts, "Chronology of the Bougainville Civil War" (1998) viewed 10/03/2016 <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/24/157.html>

⁶² Rebecca Adams, "Peace on Bougainville: Truce Monitoring Group" (Victoria University Press, 2001), p.26

⁶³ David H. Capie, "Under the Gun: The Small Arms Challenge in the Pacific" (Victoria University Press, 2003), p.136

⁶⁴ Edward Aspinall, Robin Jeffrey, Anthony J. Regan, "Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific: Why Some Subside and Others Don't" (Routledge, 2013), p.121

achieved this through the directed destruction of approximately 1600 homes in the Panguna region by forces on the ground and in the air. The operation forced the displaced villagers into government run 'care centres' established on the island.⁶⁵ In spite of the name, these care centres were often used as concentration camps that were in some ways similar to the kind used by the British during the Boer War (as opposed to the death and labour camps used by the Nazis). The quality of life in these camps was extremely poor due to a mixture of abuse by the security forces and neglect resulting from the inability of Port Moresby to properly supply these facilities. This tactic was used throughout the conflict and led to great suffering from malnutrition, exposure, diseases from poor sanitation as well as assaults, rapes and murders at the hands of guards.⁶⁶

This early phase of the conflict came to a head when the PNGDF undertook operation Footloose in January 1990 which was a major offensive against the BRA. The objective of this assault was to place the government in a position of strength in the peace negotiations that were underway.⁶⁷ However, the offensive resulted in disaster and the BRA's defeat of the PNGDF utterly humiliated them and, in the subsequent peace agreement, forced the military to pull out of Bougainville by March 1990. The evacuation of the military, however, led to the evacuation of the police forces, whose commander feared for the safety of his men without military protection. The removal of the remaining PNG civil servants and the suspension of government-backed services from Bougainville also followed as government officials evacuated their people and material out of a mixture of concern for their safety and spite for the separatists.⁶⁸ The prison service released all prisoners who, along with the ill-disciplined and over-excited youths in the BRA, proceeded to loot and burn their way through the island with specific attention given to the destruction of the abandoned government infrastructure.

The effect of this evaporation of the state apparatus was to spoil the BRA victory by triggering the disintegration of order in Bougainville. During this time the BRA leadership, despite declaring itself an independent republic as the Bougainville Interim Government (BIG), was unable to re-establish order or governance.⁶⁹ As John Braithwaite comments in one of his books on Bougainville, "this was not at all like a coup in which those with guns declare themselves the new government and take over the management of the old state structure. Nothing much of the old state was left."⁷⁰ The new leadership even struggled to control its own forces in the midst of the chaos as villagers and individuals took the opportunity to increase their own power and wealth or to settle old scores. Communities started arming themselves in order to protect against "skin" BRA members (those who pretended to be BRA in order to loot and pillage), the increasingly unruly BRA itself and each other.⁷¹ The wealthier areas of Bougainville such as the island of Buka, the north east coast and Arawa were especially affected. This chaos led to a fracturing of support for the BRA's cause as the population splintered along ethnic and geographic lines.⁷²

It is unclear to what extent this chaotic outcome was part of a government plan to merely punish the secessionists, an intentional strategy to manufacture chaos in order to enable the re-conquest of the island,

⁶⁵ Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn, "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment" (2010), p.24

⁶⁶ Kristian Lasslett, "State Crime on the Margins of Empire: Rio Tinto, the War on Bougainville and Resistance to Mining" (Pluto Press, 2014), p.135

⁶⁷ Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn, "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment" (2010), p.26

⁶⁸ *ibid*, p.27

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p.28

⁷⁰ *Ibid*.

⁷¹ Field, Watts, "Chronology of the Bougainville Civil War" (1998)

⁷² Howley, "Breaking Spears and Mending Hearts" (2002), p.44

or the culmination of different actors in the government taking independent actions for different reasons.⁷³ The prospects for Bougainville were darkened further with the government decision to institute a blockade around the island following their evacuation which was enforced by the PNGDF with the use of Australian-supplied helicopters and three patrol boats. These forces deployed lethal force to prevent anyone coming or going from the island and they blocked the flow of oil, food, communications, material and medical supplies with devastating effect. This strategy proved to be highly effective (as well as highly destructive) and served to further aggravate chaos in Bougainville, leading to a sharp decline of support for the BRA/BIG cause. This blockade would remain in effect around rebel-held territory until it was fully lifted in 1997. Many deaths during the conflict can be attributed to the blockade as a result of a lack of food and medical supplies, which disproportionately affected mothers and young children.⁷⁴ By the end of 1989, many on the wealthier island of Buka had come into active conflict with the BRA/BIG. In response to this the PNGDF seized the moment to begin their re-conquest, first by funding the opposition with money and weapons before landing in September and taking full control of Buka island by the beginning of 1990.⁷⁵

From 1990 onwards the PNGDF kept pushing the BRA back with the assistance of allied local forces known as the 'Resistance'. With this local support they made gains in the north and south of Bougainville.⁷⁶ They also reinstated the strategy of depopulation, rebuilt the care centres and forced much of the population into them as multiple accounts describe (see database instances no.82, 83, 123, 174, 362, 398, 484, 574, 645). During this time the PNGDF also carried out multiple raids into the Solomon Islands, which lay just across the channel from Bougainville. This was the only artery through which supplies and people (both military and civilian) could attempt to run the blockade, and the PNGDF therefore intended to further disrupt it. In these cross-border raids, the PNGDF attacked not only Bougainvillean refugees but also Solomon Islanders. They destroyed radios, boats and supplies as well as government infrastructure such as airport equipment. The PNGDF were also engaged in multiple skirmishes with the Solomon Islands security forces within the sovereign territory of the Solomon's which resulted in casualties for the Solomon forces.⁷⁷

In February 1993, after a heavy bombardment, the PNGDF succeeded in recapturing the Bougainville capital, Arawa. Here one of the most noted atrocities of the war took place in which the PNGDF detained all of the patients and staff of Arawa hospital along with BIG health minister Kevin Savia (See database instance 36). Mr. Savia was reportedly beaten and forced to stand in the scorching sun for hours before he was skinned alive and tied to the back of a truck and dragged around the car park of Arawa supermarket (See database instance 39). Following the re-conquest of Arawa the PNGDF attempted to retake Panguna mine itself and despite its capture and a declaration of victory by Prime Minister Paias Wingti, the BRA carried out a counterattack and were able to recapture the mine, driving the PNGDF forces back.⁷⁸

Throughout the conflict, PNG Prime Minister Julius Chan attempted to pursue peace efforts with the rebel forces.⁷⁹ These overtures were received by the moderate members of the BRA spearheaded by Joseph Kabui

⁷³ Braithwaite, Hilary, Peter, Leah, "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment" (ANU press, 2010), p.26

⁷⁴ Mary-Louise O'Callaghan, Conciliation Resources "Weaving Consensus: The Papua New Guinea –Bougainville peace process. The Origins of the Conflict" last viewed 14/03/2016 <http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/origins-conflict>

⁷⁵ Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn "Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment" (2010), p.30

⁷⁶ Lasslett, "State Crime on the Margins of Empire" (2014), p.175

⁷⁷ B. K. Greener, W. J. Fish, "Internal Security and Statebuilding: Aligning Agencies and Functions" (Routledge, 2014), p.204

⁷⁸ Field, Watts, "Chronology of the Bougainville Civil War" (1998) \

⁷⁹ Sir Julius Chan had been prime minister from 1980-1982 and again from 1994 to 1997.

(a leader of the BIG). Kabui was more willing to negotiate than Francis Ona and his more hard-line elements.⁸⁰ During this time the PNG government also set up a new administration called the Bougainville Transitional Government (BTG) which was led by a former member of the Panguna Landowners Association, Theodore Miriung, from its capital in Buka.⁸¹ Throughout 1994, 1995 and 1996, attempts at ceasefires, peace plans, the deployment of peacekeepers and conferences in Honiara, Arawa and Cairns were undertaken to no avail as hardliners on both sides frustrated moves towards peace.⁸² These attempts finally ended in March 1996 when the PNGDF made an attempt to assassinate the BRA leadership after they had been given assurance of safe passage to attend a peace conference in Australia. This was further aggravated when Mr Kabui called on Prime Minister Chan to condemn the action and he replied that it “serves you right”.⁸³

This assassination attempt initiated a new round of violence with the BRA carrying out a new campaign in the north. Meanwhile the PNGDF initiated a failed offensive, code-named “High Speed II” in the south.⁸⁴ Following this failure the PNGDF suffered another setback after one of their positions at Kangu Beach was completely overrun, with 10 PNGDF soldiers killed and 5 taken as hostages by combined BRA and Resistance forces. The rebels and pro-government militia had temporarily aligned to attack the PNGDF garrison who had angered the islanders through their ill-treatment of civilians and attacks on Bougainvillean women.⁸⁵ This incident was followed by the assassination of the leader of the BTG, Mr Miriung, by rogue members of the PNGDF and Resistance. Miriung’s assassination was a further blow to the government position and demonstrated their weakness as well as the low levels of morale and professionalism among their forces.⁸⁶ All of these setbacks meant that by August 1996, after almost 7 years of fighting, the PNGDF could only claim control of about 40% of the island.⁸⁷

It was due to this series of setbacks that the Prime Minister Chan attempted to hire the South African mercenary company Sandline to retake Panguna mine and secure victory for the government. However, news of this effort leaked to the Australian and Papuan public as well as the commander of the PNGDF, Brigadier-General Jerry Singirok. In response to this action General Singirok had the mercenaries detained on arrival, ordered his forces to surround the PNG parliament and forced Prime Minister Chan to resign.⁸⁸ This debacle made way for Prime Minister Bill Skate, a moderate, to come to power. Skate opened the door for another round of peace talks in mid-1997 which, finally, led to a ceasefire and the deployment of an unarmed peace monitoring group to oversee the de-escalation of the conflict. This force was followed by a South Pacific peacekeeping force and the signing of the Lincoln Agreement in January 1998 which is seen as the document that ended the conflict. This agreement secured greater autonomy for Bougainville and the promise of a referendum on independence before 2020.⁸⁹ It should be noted however that Francis Ona and a small group of fighters refused to take part in negotiations, as even with the end of the violence he and his men refused to come out of the bush.⁹⁰ With this, Ona broke away from the BRA and BIG leadership and refused to give up the idea of independence which resulted in his declaration of the kingdom of Me’ekamui.

⁸⁰ Richard Green, “Commonwealth Yearbook 2005” (Nexus Strategic Partnerships, 2005), p.263

⁸¹ Adams, “Peace on Bougainville” (Victoria University Press, 2001), p.28

⁸² Adams “Peace on Bougainville” (2001), p.29

⁸³ Field, Watts, “Chronology of the Bougainville Civil War” (1998)

⁸⁴ Field, Watts “Chronology of the Bougainville Civil War” (1998)

⁸⁵ Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn, “Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment” (2010), p.40-41

⁸⁶ Field, Watts “Chronology of the Bougainville Civil War” (1998)

⁸⁷ Aspinall, Jeffrey, Regan, “Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific” (2013), p.122

⁸⁸ Adams, “Peace on Bougainville” (2001), p.29

⁸⁹ Aspinall, Jeffrey, Regan, “Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific” (2013), p.119

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.30

Ona maintained this until his death at Panguna in 2005. His legacy of independence remains to this day under the kingship of Noah Musingku.⁹¹

By the end of the conflict in 1997, it is estimated that there were approximately 800 PNGDF soldiers active on the island at any one time along with 150 “riot” police and 1,500 Resistance fighters who acted as auxiliaries. The BRA are thought to have had approximately 2000 fighters but were poorly equipped, mostly with WW2 weapons, those that were homemade and some assault rifles that they captured from the PNGDF.⁹² It is also estimated that 300 PNGDF soldiers died over the course of the conflict and that between 1,000-2,000 fighters died in combat over all.⁹³ In terms of the total death toll for the conflict, this is unknown but the most frequently cited estimates are between 10,000-15,000 or as many as 20,000 dead. Despite being frequently quoted, there appears to be very little evidence to substantiate these figures. The propagation of the higher estimate of 20,000 can primarily be attributed to the Australian Foreign Minister at the time, Alexander Downer, as well as reports made by the Australian government as early as 22/09/1998.⁹⁴ Examining these reports, the origin of the figure can be linked back to Gerard Sinato, the Premiere of Bougainville at the end of the war who is cited as the source by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Unfortunately, however, no further information is provided as to how he arrived at that number.⁹⁵ The evidence provided for the figure of 10,000-15,000 dead is no better. This figure can, again, be attributed to reports made by the Australian government and originates from a member of the Peace Monitoring Group who was active in Bougainville at the end of the war. The minutes of a meeting held in March 1999 by the Standing Committee of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade records a statement by one of the Senators, John Quirke, that reads, “I asked one of the Peace Monitoring Group personnel up there what the extent of the carnage was during the 10-year conflict in Bougainville, and I was told that it was approximately 15,000”.⁹⁶

In contrast to these estimates, Anthony Regan and John Connell, two experts who have spent their lives researching and operating in Bougainville, provide estimates which are far lower. In an interview from 2001 with The World Today Regan estimated the death toll to be 5,000 at maximum and likely even less with direct deaths in combat at only about 1000.⁹⁷ An even lower figure is estimated by Connell. While in Papua New Guinea I met Connell and in an informal discussion he speculated that the figure was only a few thousand. His evidence for this was his knowledge of the loss of life in villages around Siwai (Central Bougainville) where he has spent decades conducting research. When discussing the conflict with those he knew there they said that only a few people from the village had died and that this was consistent with the

⁹¹ Joanne Wallis, “Constitution Making during State Building” (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.246

⁹² Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy, Dunn “Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment” (2010), p.52

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, “Bougainville Peace Process and Beyond” viewed 11/01/2017

http://www.aph.gov.au/parliamentary_business/committees/house_of_representatives_committees?url=jfad/bougainville/bv_chap1.htm

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, “Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee: Joint: Report, Wednesday 31 March 1999” viewed 11/01/2017

http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/House_of_Representatives_Committees?url=jfad/reports.htm

⁹⁷ The World Today, Graeme Dobell, “Report Claims 20,000 people died during Bougainville Crisis- Wednesday, 21 November, 2001” viewed 11/01/2017 <http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/stories/s422294.htm>

surrounding area. He also stated that another researcher he knew was operating in villages in the Arawa region and reported a similarly low loss of life.⁹⁸

Therefore, given the fact that the estimates of 10,000-20,000 dead are very high and no evidence is provided as to how they were arrived at, it is more likely that the real number is closer to that estimated by Regan and Connell. Their expertise, familiarity with the island and Connell's use of evidence to ground his claim provide more reason to trust their judgment. Having said that, it must be noted that nobody really knows how many people died during the conflict. While battle deaths can be more accurately estimated based on PNGDF losses and data, civilian deaths are much harder to approximate. Whatever the number, the length of the conflict and the level of violence that occurred during it means that the war in Bougainville was the bloodiest since WW2.

In summary, the conflict in Bougainville was the result of the unequal distribution of wealth and consideration of interests on the part of Port Moresby and BCL. This boiled over into conflict from 1988-1989 which was only made worse by the government's attempts at a crackdown that created the BRA and helped gain them popular support amongst the islanders. Coupled with the poorly trained and equipped nature of the PNG security forces, this led to their defeat and withdrawal from the island in 1990. However, this withdrawal was followed by chaos on the island, and the failure of separatists to bring stability. This gave the government the climate it needed to begin the re-conquest of the island with support from the pro-government Resistance forces. From 1991-1994 the government steadily gained ground in the north and south. This was achieved in part due to the imposition of a blockade, the forced movement of islanders into concentration camps and the liberal use of gunships. Despite these gains, attempts were made to end the conflict peacefully from 1994 until 1996. These attempts broke down due to a lack of good faith exemplified by the attempted assassination of the BIG/BRA peace delegation. This triggered the final phase of the conflict in which, despite numerous efforts, the pro-government forces were unable to defeat the BRA and saw more atrocities such as that at Kungu beach and the assassination of Miriung. The failed attempt by the Prime Minister to employ mercenaries in 1989 signalled the end of the conflict with the coming to power of moderates and the implementation of the Lincoln Agreement in 1997.

3.2 The Justification for Case Selection

With a historical overview of the Bougainville conflict provided, the reasons for the selection of this conflict as the case study for this thesis can be discussed. There are multiple reasons as to why this was the most appropriate conflict to use, the first and most important reason being the relatively small scale of the war. As discussed, both the death toll and the scale of the fighting were small, with most battles only comprised of a few dozen men on each side and being very low intensity. This contrasts with other conflicts such as those in Yugoslavia and Vietnam. In line with this small scale is the limited awareness of the conflict in the international media and community. The war in Bougainville was, and continues to be, relatively unknown and has received little coverage, especially from international media outlets. Exposure to the conflict was limited further still by the early evacuation of almost all non-islanders from Bougainville. This, combined with the blockade by the PNGDF, which also involved the destruction of radios and the ban on any travel to the conflict zone, stifled the flow of information.⁹⁹ The result of this small scale and coverage

⁹⁸ John Connell, personal contact, (Papua New Guinea, Aug. 2016)

⁹⁹ John Connell, "Papua New Guinea: The Struggle for Development" (Routledge, 2005), p.297

translates into a more manageable-sized historical record that must be located and collected. This makes the process of databasing the war crimes instances swifter as the number of events can be expected to be in the hundreds rather than the thousands as in larger conflicts. Therefore, the size of the conflict is much more appropriate for the limited time and resources available for this master's thesis than a larger and more well-known conflict like that of Rwanda. Conflicts such as this or others such as the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan can be expected to have generated thousands of different reports for sources across the globe and would require far more time to research and process.

Along with the size aspect, there are two other factors that make the selection of this conflict appropriate. Firstly, there is the simple fact that the Bougainville conflict has "ended". This is a great advantage when choosing a case study as it means that the circumstances of the war and the sources that document it will not constantly be changing. The advantage of this is self-evident; namely, that it is possible to identify the war crimes record of conflict once it becomes history while this simply cannot be done while it is still underway. The other key advantage of Bougainville is its proximity to New Zealand. Even in a globalised world, one's proximity to events still affects one's ability to research and document them. This is especially true of lesser-known ones such as the Bougainville conflict. The benefit of this proximity comes from the fact that it allows for more ready access to networks of scholars, NGOs and Bougainvillean expatriates. It is also becomes more possible to travel to PNG than, for example, Kosovo for field work as the proximity to New Zealand makes it more affordable for me to conduct research. The increased access to social networks afforded by close proximity also increases the chances of gaining the relevant contacts on the ground required to conduct such research in the field. Furthermore, the close vicinity means that there are more archives, libraries and documents which require fewer resources and time to access and therefore increases the ease with which it is possible to obtain them.

It is these factors relating to the Bougainville conflict that makes it the most suitable choice of case study to assess the feasibility and value of developing war crimes database projects. Studying Bougainville gives the best possible chance of developing the most comprehensive dataset possible within the limited time, resources and man-hours that are inherent within a master's thesis. Additionally, the selection of this serves to demonstrate the potential value of a databasing project in its potential to raise awareness of lesser-known conflicts and acts of violence such as those in Bougainville and regions like the Pacific more generally.

3.3 Defining the Bounds of the Conflict

With the selection of the Bougainville conflict case study outlined the next step is to delineate the limits of the war. This involves determining which components of the war crimes regime apply as well as the spatial and temporal limits of the war within which the records can be identified. This can be the identification of the war in Bougainville as a non-international armed conflict, an occupation, or a mixed conflict. The importance of this is to serve as a way to indicate which components of the rules of war apply and in so doing provide the definitions necessary to demarcate the conflict from a state of 'not war'. While this is a complex and multifaceted issue that differs depending on the nature of a given war only those definitional issues relevant to the Bougainville case will be discussed here.

With regard to correctly identifying the type of conflict that occurred in Bougainville this may at face value be assumed to be a non-international armed conflict: a domestic crisis fought between a state military and a rebellion within the same borders. However, this is not necessarily the case due to the fact that the war

spilled over into the territory of the Solomon Islands (as will be subsequently described in more detail). This changes the status of the war to that of a mixed conflict, in which there existed both a non-international armed conflict (PNGDF/Resistance vs. BRA) as well as an international armed conflict (PNG vs. Solomon Islands). The involvement of the Solomon Islands and, therefore, the existence of an international conflict can be attributed not only to the breach of the Solomon's territory but also to the fact that there were direct hostilities between the Solomon Island paramilitary forces and the PNGDF as well as attacks upon Solomon Islands citizens and property.

Whether or not such events result in the internationalisation of a civil war or the initiation of an international armed conflict is contested amongst both academics and states. Legal Scholar Gary Solis argues that border skirmishes are not wars and therefore the rules of war do not apply. He contends that it is the specific intention of governments that helps define an international armed conflict as such. He argues that the use of force in a border skirmish may not be authorised or intended by the government of either state and that this lack of intent is the key factor which means that no international conflict occurred. Additionally, it is argued that if neither state in a brief confrontation sees the event as a concerted threat to their territorial integrity then it is not an armed conflict and so the rules of war are not evoked.¹⁰⁰ However, the organisation of the Red Cross disagrees. For the purposes of the observance of the laws of war they highlight the fact that no formal declaration of war is required and that it is the state of affairs on the ground that determines whether an incident constitutes an international armed conflict. The Red Cross's H.P. Gasser argues that as soon as combatants find themselves with the wounded, prisoners, civilians or territorial control that is not their own, the rules of war apply.¹⁰¹

In the context of delineating the rules of war in Bougainville specifically and for developing war crimes databases more generally the ICRC's position is more appropriate. This is due to their focus on facts on the ground compared to Solis' focus on the intent. There are many reasons why states would not want to evoke the term 'war' when discussing minor engagements such as border skirmishes. This word may serve to heighten tensions, aggravate popular sentiments or require certain actions such as the recall of diplomats or the activation of defence arrangements. For these reasons, states on both sides of an armed 'incident' may make a concerted effort to play down its nature. Focusing on intent is also problematic as the size of events that states are willing to spin for reasons of political expediency is extremely broad. An example of this is the battle of Navarino in 1827 that, for political reasons the British determined was an 'accident', not a war. However, in this accident 60 Turkish ships were lost and 4000 men killed.¹⁰² Compare this incident to Admiral Nelson's famous Battle of the Nile in which 13 ships were lost and which resulted in 2000-5000 casualties.¹⁰³ Alternatively, there were the Battles of Khalkhin Gol where, in 1939, the Kwantung Army attacked Soviet forces in Mongolia without orders from the Japanese high command. The engagements lasted 4 months, involved approximately 110,000 men and resulted in 47,000 casualties.¹⁰⁴ As can be seen, the ability of states

¹⁰⁰ Gary D. Solis, "The Law of Armed Conflict" (Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.151-152

¹⁰¹ International Committee of the Red Cross, "How is the Term "Armed Conflict" Defined in International Humanitarian Law?" viewed 19/04/2016 <https://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/opinion-paper-armed-conflict.pdf>

¹⁰² Tucker Spencer, "Battles That Changed History: An encyclopaedia of world conflict" (ABC-CLIO, 2010) p.316

¹⁰³ R.G. Grant, "Battle at Sea: 3000 years of naval warfare" (Dorling Kindersley, 2010), p.180

¹⁰⁴ Edward J. Drea, "In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army" (University of Nebraska Press, 2003), p.3

to stretch the conception of military engagements undermines the value of appeals to states' opinions on the classification of events and gives credence to the "facts on the ground" approach.¹⁰⁵

Whatever the state's choice of words, it does not change the fact that lethal force is exchanged between the militaries of two internationally recognised states. Furthermore, it is the regulation of violence that lies behind the intent of the rules of war, in both the philosophy of Just War Theory and the regime of IHL. The war crimes regime has evolved with the purpose of constraining violence and unnecessary suffering as a result of armed conflict. Therefore, it logically ought to apply to any exchange of force since unnecessary suffering can still be inflicted in a skirmish no matter how brief. If one round of mortar fire is called in on a civilian town it would be expected that such a decision would be investigated for a potential breach of the rules of war. Subsequently, it would be unacceptable for a military commander to claim their defence on the grounds that no conflict occurred and therefore that the Geneva Convention on the protection of civilians did not apply.

As a consequence of this, the case of the cross-border raids into the Solomons during the Bougainville conflict will be considered an international armed conflict. This must be the case since, where the PNGDF attacked, wounded or killed members of the Solomon Defence Forces it would be considered as murder or attempted murder if the rules and status of an international armed conflict were not in effect. However, because these rules do come into effect whenever a situation such as this arises, any documented engagements between the PNGDF and Solomon forces will be considered legitimate within the context of *jus in bello*. Although the events in the Solomons will be considered as being under the rules of war concerning an international armed conflicts this does not internationalise the whole conflict in Bougainville. This is due to the ability to effectively delineate the events of the international conflict from that of the non-international conflict, primarily because of the fact that Bougainville can be divided and delineated geographically. Adding to this division was the PNGDF blockade and the respect the Solomon forces had for the international border which served to effectively isolate the events of the civil war from those of the international one. It is for these reasons that the Bougainville conflict as a whole can be classified as a mixed conflict with two components: the non-international armed conflict on the island and the international conflict in the Solomons.

In addition to identifying the war as a mixed conflict the spatial and temporal limits of the conflict must also be identified in order to establish which documents and events are to be considered for inclusion within the database. The first of these is relatively simple in the case of Bougainville due to the natural boundaries inherent in island regions. As such an investigation of war crimes for this conflict can be restricted spatially to the Autonomous Region of Bougainville (the main island and its surrounding archipelago) and the territory of the Solomon Islands.

More complex than the physical boundaries of the conflict however are the temporal aspects of the war— its beginning and end. For these, the end date is less challenging to identify as the war can be said to have come to an end with the signing of the Arawa Agreement which came into force at 2400h on the 30th April 1998. This agreement brought into effect "a pertinent and irrevocable ceasefire" as well as the deployment of a Pacific Peace Monitoring Group to oversee the complete cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the PNGDF from Bougainville.¹⁰⁶ This permanent ceasefire marked the culmination of the

¹⁰⁵ Solis "The Law of Armed Conflict" (2010), p.151

¹⁰⁶ Peace Accords Matrix, "Cease Fire: Bougainville Peace Agreement" viewed 09/01/2017
<https://peaceaccords.nd.edu/provision/cease-fire-bougainville-peace-agreement>

peace process that began after the coming to power of Prime Minister Bill Skate and the signing of the Lincoln Agreement on the 23rd of January 1997 which was the primary instrument of peace.¹⁰⁷ While the Lincoln Agreement is rightly seen as the most significant of the various peace documents, it is the Arawa Agreement that was the end of the violence. This is because it officially cemented the long period of peace that was already in effect on the ground and served as a declaration of the end of the use of force as a method for resolving the political dispute on the island. There is one caveat to this, however: the failure of Francis Ona, one of the primary actors in the conflict, to be involved in the peace process. Ona maintained his claim to the independence for Bougainville until his death and therefore it could be argued that the conflict did not finish. In spite of this continued resistance, however, the Bougainville conflict can still be considered to have officially ended in 1998, as this was the end of the conflict between the government security forces and Bougainvilleans and the end of the period of violence in general. Therefore the 30th of April 1998, will serve as the end date for events recorded in the database.

Determining the beginning date of the conflict is more difficult than determining its end. This is due to the fact that there are no immediately obvious starting dates, and no declaration of war was ever made. It is even difficult to determine exactly which 'shots' signalled the beginning of conflict. The war was the culmination of a process of escalation that had taken place since the beginning of protests and public demonstrations held by the Panguna Land Owners Association in 1987 and 1988.¹⁰⁸ This conflict became violent with arson attacks and destruction of power pylons in 1989. However, the date of these attacks cannot strictly be said to be the start of the 'war' since at this stage it could still be considered a manner of civil unrest to be dealt with by the police, which it was.¹⁰⁹ Other events such as the declaration of a state of emergency in December 1988 or the deployment of the PNGDF in March 1989 could be considered the start date for the war. However, the BRA was already active and conducting armed resistance by this point.¹¹⁰ Due to these difficulties in establishing a clear start date for the war, I will not attempt to do so. Instead of using a fixed date to determine what atrocities to include at this early stage I will instead log those events that sources record as atrocities within the context of greater compilations of crimes conducted during the war. Furthermore, I will include those crimes which are consistent with the patterns of violence that occurred during the war and therefore can be considered to be so closely related to it as to be considered part of it. This approach is made possible by the relatively isolated nature of the atrocities on Bougainville which occurred only in retaliation to the escalating resistance to the Panguna mining operations. This is in contrast to other conflicts in which this heuristic method may not be suitable due to the employment of high levels of violence and frequent occurrences of humanitarian abuses prior to a war sometimes stretching back years or decades. This did not occur in Bougainville which was relatively peaceful for an extended period of time prior to the actions of the PLA, and the retaliatory violence carried out by the government security forces. It is for these reasons that the complex task of determining an exact date for the beginning of war is not so critical for this conflict. While this method maybe unsatisfactory if the complexities and technicalities of a legal approach were to be applied it is not such a complicating factor, in as far as the purposes of this thesis is concerned. It will be sufficient to collect data that is consistent with the patterns of violence throughout the war starting in the year 1988.

¹⁰⁷ Adams "Peace on Bougainville" (2001), p.31

¹⁰⁸ Pinfari "Peace Negotiations and Time" (2012), p.68

¹⁰⁹ Aspinall, Jeffrey, Regan, "Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific" (2013), p.127

¹¹⁰ Brij V. Lal, Kate Fortune, "The Pacific Islands: An encyclopaedia, volume 1." (University of Hawaii Press, 2000), p.263

3.3 Conclusion

The Bougainville conflict was the largest conflict in the Pacific since WW2 and, due to the limited training, discipline and capacities of the PNGDF and BRA it contained numerous incidents and extreme acts of violence that were in violation of the rules of war. In their efforts to close the Panguna mine and gain independence for Bougainville the BRA committed numerous atrocities while failing to maintain law and order after the government pull-out in 1990. As a result of this they alienated many locals from the more affluent regions of the island and awoke underlying ethnic and familial tensions which boiled over into war between the BRA and the Resistance. As for the PNG government, their forces are reported to have committed many crimes during their re-conquest of the island. These range from those organised at higher levels such as the blockade or the use of care centres to those that resulted from the poor state of their forces and the random and arbitrary assaults, killing, rape and lootings committed by their soldiers over the 9 years of the conflict. While the war ended in 1997 with the Lincoln Agreement its scars still persist 20 years later and the people of Bougainville are still trying to come to terms with the violence that occurred on their island.

The conflict in Bougainville provides the most suitable case study for developing a dataset from the crimes that were alleged to have occurred there. Its small size, proximity to New Zealand and the low level of global coverage provides the greatest possible chance to capture the most comprehensive dataset possible with the limited time and resources available for this master's thesis. While only investigating a single case study such as Bougainville is necessary due to these constraints, it does limit the ability of this thesis to examine what potential value could be gained from comparing data from multiple conflicts. However, being able to more adequately assess the feasibility of such projects in depth is more important as discovering this through experience is much more difficult than imagining the research potential of using this type of data (see Hoover, Silva, Guberek and Guzman).¹¹¹

¹¹¹Hoover, Silva, Guberek, Guzman, "Dirty War Index" (2009), p.1

Chapter 4: Methodology: Data Collection and Processing

The objective of this thesis is to assess the possibility of databasing war crimes using the case study of the Bougainville conflict. Therefore, this chapter will primarily consist of the details and methods by which that case study is to be undertaken both in terms of the collection of sources and their development into a single dataset. The first of these two tasks involved locating, accessing and extracting relevant information from the documents that contain the war record of Bougainville. The location of the documents was done using a principles-based approach that provided the methodological flexibility necessary for the exploratory nature of this thesis. The content analysis methodology was then used to extract the relevant war crimes reports from those documents. The second section of this chapter will detail the methods by which the data was processed and displayed within the database itself. The primary function of this section is to provide a discussion of each category in which the data has been classified, why this is valuable and how the data has been delineated and displayed.

4.1 Data Collection Methodology

Within the temporal limits established in chapter 2 (1989-1998) and spatial demarcation of the conflict (incidents taking place in Bougainville or related issues in the Solomon Islands), the objective of the research phase was to collect as much of the war crimes record as possible. As a result of this, no sampling technique was utilised. However, unlike other projects that have undertaken comprehensive research such as an analysis of all Winston Churchill's speeches, or all 20th century American States of the Union addresses or works of Thomas Hobbes, the exact nature of the material on Bougainville and its extent could not be determined prior to undertaking the research. What could be determined *a priori* however is that any attempt to comprehensively capture every account reporting a war crime incident was strictly impossible. There will always be some book or dairy somewhere that records an event that no other source has reported. Having noted this, however, the primary objective of this thesis is to assess the extent to which such a limitation affects the feasibility and value of attempting to collect this data. A detailed attempt to capture the record of the Bougainville conflict will provide the case study necessary to address this question. Therefore, the over-arching goal of this research phase is to maximise the extent to which the war crimes record can be identified and a comprehensive record of that data can be captured.

As a consequence of this goal, a sufficiently adaptive method must be used that is flexible enough to be adapted and applied to a wide range of paths which the research may lead down. If a highly-structured methodological approach were utilised then that could become a liability as it would not allow for the investigation of new and unexpected avenues of research that were not anticipated and for which it cannot accommodate. The weakness of a more flexible method is that it compromises the reliability of a study and therefore the scientific rigour of the results. However, in this context such a limitation can be tolerated due to the more holistic nature of this thesis objective. Traditionally studies such as this are just the first step in the evolutionary process of a possible research project and once the feasibility and value of a new project is established it is the responsibility of subsequent works to develop more uniform and standardised methods that ensure consistency. For achieving the aforementioned goals of this thesis, the flexibility to explore the existence and nature of the war crimes record takes precedence. With this in mind, the methodological

approach I selected for this component of this research phase was a principles-based one. This meant that the literature search was guided by three principles used to inform the allocation of effort and provide the basis of any decisions that were required concerning which texts could or could not be included within the database. However, there is one category that must be mentioned first due to its importance with regards to the validity of the overall methodological approach used in this case study.

The details category or column-contains a compressed description of each event. For shorter accounts this may constitute the entirety of the account, while more extensive accounts are compressed to the extent that they can be without losing any substantive content. An example of this would be an account which records a survivor's natural conversation in which they identify 12 other victims by name. In the details category this can be compressed into the statement that 'there were 12 victims'. This compression does not lose any data as the naming information is recorded in the 'name of victims' category. The objective of this section, and the reasons why it is important to discuss here, is twofold. Firstly, this category provides a check on any information that requires interpretation in order to categorize it. This will primarily be a concern with the 'category of crime' where events have been logged according to the war crimes that they allegedly describe. The second function of this category is to capture that information which is not included within a distinct category but which may still be of interest to a researcher. This is where information such as the identification of individual offenders is included and so is not lost in the reducing process. This means that the details category serves the critical function of a failsafe category in order to minimise any information loss or that which may be misinterpreted within the databasing process. This maintains the value and integrity of the data by reducing the extent to which the database itself acts as a gatekeeping mechanism which puts distance with the real events on the ground and reduces the margin for error in generating hypotheses from it.

The Principle of Variety-

The first of these principles is that of variety. The ultimate objective of this process was to enable me to make an assessment of the research phase of a databasing project. Therefore, if a trade-off had to be made between spending time and resources searching for and processing sources of different natures versus ones of a similar nature the former is of higher priority. This is because researching a variety of records would allow me to make more extensive statements about the utility of searching for and using such sources in any future project. Consequently, even if some sources are missed and the comprehensiveness of the data impaired, then the extent to which this limits my ability to assess the feasibility of the project is mitigated. This approach increases the likelihood that the claims I make about the nature of types of records I do possess will also apply to any that I may have missed.

The Back tracing of Sources-

The second principle is that of back tracing sources. Where a text cites other publically attainable documents as the source of its accounts I attempted to recover these and repeat the process for that source. This served several purposes with the simplest being as a means with which to locate more documents that record war crimes incidents. Additionally, the more original the source that can be located the greater the chance of it containing more original incident reports. This is based on the premise that the more 'downstream' documents are the more likely to contain the most detailed reports. This is due to the assumption that most documents are not written with the intent of containing large historical records and can be expected to consistently cherry pick the same notable events. Therefore, the more original the

document, the more it can be assumed to contain original and obscure accounts of events. The final advantage of this process is its ability to capture any 'Chinese whispers effect'; that is, any evolution of an account of alleged war crimes account between sources. Having the information that allows reports to be back traced would be useful of any research into the reporting of war crimes in the media or other institutions.

The Inclusionary Principle-

The last of these three methodological principles is what I am terming the inclusionary principle. This simply means that if there is doubt whether the information reported in a document constitutes a report of a war crime or not, then it should be collected. This also applies to cases where the evidence provided in the account lack sufficient detail to be clear. The intention of this was to improve the comprehensiveness of the database and to limit the extent to which this project itself could act as a gatekeeping mechanism affecting the data. Furthermore, striving not to omit data on the basis of a sole researcher's (my) judgment, especially where it could be contentious, is key to the success of a databasing project such as this. As discussed in chapter 2, data can always be cut down by any user of a database but it cannot be added. Therefore including those borderline cases will allow others with divergent definitions for crimes or higher standards of proof to utilise the data in the way they wish.

Content Analysis-

As well as collecting the documents containing information on alleged war crimes, information was also extracted so that each documented incident could be isolated and processed into the database. For this I used the content analysis methodology. This approach can be described as "a technique used to extract desired information from a body of material (usually verbal) by systematic and objectively identifying specific characteristics of that material."¹¹² Within that description lays the justification for why this approach was used here: "extract information" and "identifying specific characteristics". The objective of this thesis is to build a database of information from a widely dispersed and varied set of potential texts and documents. The accounts within these documents were isolated and extracted as discreet passages which explain or describe the occurrence of an event that may constitute a war crime. As previously discussed, this does not mean that the search was restricted to events which are indisputably crimes. Accounts are considered a crime only by virtue of how the events are described within the passage itself as opposed to the level of proof that can be put forward to verify it as such. Consequently, these reports were taken on face value as this project is a descriptive exercise, with the objective being to identify what the content is, not what it means. This further justifies the use of the content analysis methodology as this approach is primarily concerned with identifying the nature of source material more than its relation to reality.

Dividing the accounts of alleged war crimes into distinct units within the framework of content analysis is called the process of unitisation. This is the matter of determining what content is being isolated and coded within the analysis. Within this framework documents can be broken up in many ways and their information can be sorted into different types of units depending on the intention of the researcher.¹¹³ Some studies may wish to understand the use of particular terms and therefore may code the relationship between words and

¹¹² Harry T. Reis, Charles M. Judd, "Handbook of Research Methods in Social and Personality Psychology" (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.314

¹¹³ William Trochim, James P. Donnelly, Kanika Arora, "Research Methods: The essential knowledge base" (Cengage Learning, 2015), p.67

phrases. Alternatively, thematic units may be used in a study where a researcher is seeking to delineate the underlying strands in an ideological text, even when these are not contained within one explicit or continuous block. This division of information within the text is vital if any quantitative analysis of those units is to be undertaken. Failure to do this may result in each unit or data point potentially being delineated arbitrarily and inconsistently or could be counted multiple times and therefore invalidate any results of the research.

Reports from the Bougainville war crimes record were unitized in two different ways depending on how the documents were formatted. The most straight-forward of these approaches was unitizing accounts that were already physically divided within the text.¹¹⁴ Documents that were divided in this way are those which included detailed lists of incidents such as reports from institutions like the UN, Amnesty International, or the Red Cross. Relying on this pre-existing unitisation made this component of the research exceedingly simple and removed any risk of error in the translation of the accounts from the source material into the database.

Where the source material had not been pre-unitized a second approach was needed to replicate the format of these documents. In these cases the categorical distinction method was used. To divide texts categorically is to divide the words and sentences by their shared reference to something, be it an individual, event or act which the researcher has already identified as a relevant point of distinction.¹¹⁵ The division of these texts into independent incidents was determined by whichever of these unifying characteristics a string of sentences shared and what element signalled that they are all referring to the same incident. If a text detailed an uninterrupted sequence of events that occurred to the same victim or a set of different victims who were all subject to the same act it was recorded as one unit. For example; 'John was beaten, then driven to the woods and tortured repeatedly before being shot three days later'. In this case John was the unifying factor in the account. Alternatively, if a text stated that 'the PNGDF burnt red village, then went on to attack blue village and destroyed that as well as killing all the villagers of yellow village' then this would also be one unit. This is because this sentence shares the common fact that the same PNGDF element is responsible for the crime. The most important factor in using this categorical distinction is that the accounts isolated by this means will become identical to those which were already physically divided. This means that the form of content within the physically divided accounts can also act as the overall guide in determining how the other texts are to be divided.

While there are many advantages to using the content analysis methodology there are also potential drawbacks. It can be argued that the content analysis methodology does not address issues such as the reasons why this information was recorded, what its biases are or how the texts' conceptions of events differ from one another.¹¹⁶ Content analysis' lack of attention to the relationship between the text and the world within which they sit can be viewed as limiting the usefulness of the data or result in errors from a lack of contextual understanding.¹¹⁷ In order to address these deficiencies, making use of another method such as discourse analysis would be the most appropriate frame work. However, the process of interpreting the data is primarily for the end user with the objective of the dataset being to collect the raw data for others to use.

¹¹⁴ Klaus Krippendorff, "Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology" (Sage, 2012), p.105

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.106

¹¹⁶ Alan Bryman, "Social Research Methods" (Oxford University Press, 2015), p.305

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

4.2 Data Processing Methodology

Once the documents that constitute the Bougainville war crimes record are collected and the individual incident reports within them isolated the next step is to process that information into a single dataset.

The first stage within this process is to identify the program that the dataset will be contained within. This is essential as the nature of the computer program determines the rest of the process and how it will be laid out. For this project Microsoft Excel is the clear choice. This program is easily manipulated as its row and column structure can easily be reordered and cut or extended with ease depending on how a researcher wishes to use the data. This along with its inclusion of mathematical algorithms makes it extremely flexible. Furthermore, Excel is a widely used program due to its inclusion in Microsoft Office. It can be therefore be expected that any researcher from anywhere around the world will have access to the program. Additionally, a high degree of competency or at least familiarity with Excel can be expected from users and therefore makes it the most appropriate choice for this type of database.¹¹⁸

With this choice of program determined the data must be reduced to a state that is suitable for the excel spread sheet and its rows and columns format. With this in mind the rows within the database will be formed by the individual war crimes accounts. This is relatively intuitive as each distinct account forms a distinct row within the program. However, just placing these large sections of text into a spread sheet by themselves is not sufficiently useful for the researcher who would wish to use it. Therefore, these accounts must be broken down and the relevant data within them made into a format which is much easier to work with. This process, referred to as reducing within the framework of content analysis, is the distilling of a large quantity of text down into a form that conveys the same information but in a more manageable form. Given the objective of the database is to be used for a variety of studies and given the column row structure of the Excel, dividing the information within each account into relevant categories, each with its own column, is the optimal approach. This will allow researchers interested in different aspects of the accounts to more easily isolate and process that data while ensuring that it is standardised across each account.

The drawback of this approach is however that it is difficult to discern exactly what aspects of the accounts researchers may wish to investigate and therefore what categories ought to be included within the database. This is a challenge unique to this form of project as other types of data collections designed for a single user can be organised by whatever is relevant to the work that that researcher is doing. In order to address this problem the data has to be approached deductively by looking at the information within the accounts first and then using that to determine how it should be formatted. Expressed in practical terms the organisation of the data within each account will be determined by what information is most common within the greatest number of accounts. Examples of what will be included based on this approach are the number and sex of the victims. This is due to the fact that a large percentage of the reports recorded this information. Conversely the identity of those individuals that are reported to have committed crimes will not constitute a category due to the fact that their names or those of their units are reported in very few accounts. Were this information to be included as a separate category it would necessitate the existence of many other categories by virtue of consistency. This would drastically increase the time and resources need to create the database, be of limit in its empirical value, and make the data harder to present in paper form. The details on what these categories are, how they are justified and, how the information in the accounts is compiled will form the majority of this section.

¹¹⁸ Robert E. McGrath, "Creating and Verifying Data Sets with Excel" (Sage Publications, 2014), p.107

Bougainville Dataset Categories –

This sub-section lays out the specifics of the categories and sub-categories that are contained within the database, what they are, how they are delineated, how they are formatted and where necessary how they are justified. The importance of this is to act as a reference guide to help the reader understand the database in addition to establishing the method used to construct it. Before discussing each category however the formatting which is common to all categories must be explained.

The first of these is the use of the symbol 'NA', this stands for 'non-applicable' and is used in any data entry where a category is not appropriate for the event being logged. The primary example of this is crimes against property in which case categories such as sex, name or casualties will be labelled NA. As well as this there will also be entries labelled 'UR' which stands for 'unreported'. This differs from NA as UR represents missing data that was not reported by the sources. UR is not only used in cases where entire categories of information are missing but also ones in which there is incomplete data. An example of this would be a case in which two people are reported to have been murdered. One is reported to have been a man but the identity of the other is not known. In a case such as this the 'sex' category would read 1 male + 1 UR. This tells the researcher that there was one male and one other person. Another use of UR is where an exact number cannot be assigned to the missing data. This would be in a situation such as when a man and his family were reported murdered. In this case the 'sex' category would read 1 male + UR to represent the fact that an unknown number of people were victims in addition to those more explicitly reported. Any combination of these unreported entries may appear in the data depending on how and what the sources reported. For example 'Jack Song, Andrew Ryan, + 2 UR, +UR' could indicate that the source reported that Jack Song, Andrew Ryan and their two sisters were murdered along with the rest of the village. This format identifies the two victims reported by name, the fact that there were at least two other people and that there was also an unspecified number of victims. Additionally as the column containing victims' names will be second (after the date of the incident) any subsequent data entered in other categories will be listed in the same order as the names. Therefore if the source went on to report that Song was 20 and his two sisters were 12 the age category would read "20, UR, 12, 12 + UR". The UR in a list will always be noting that one of the specified individuals' information is missing and the + serves to indicate that there is additional missing information in which a total number is unknown.

Category: Event Date-

This category indicates the date that an incident was reported to have occurred. These dates are represented in the standard format of day/month/year followed by the time of day were noted. While it is common to divide this into separate categories for time, day, month and year in order to make the manipulation of data easier this will not be done here in order to make it easier to convert to a paper format. Additionally, there are several variations to this format which are necessary to include due to variations in the reporting of instances. The most common variation is for instances where some dating information is missing from the account, usually the specific day. These are indicated with '??' in the place of the missing information (e.g. ??/12/1989). Events that occurred over an extended time period are represented by a '- 'between the relevant dates be it days, months or years (e.g. 12-14/02/1991.) There are also events that occurred in a single instance but were only identified to have happen within a margin of error between two dates. These instances are represented by the presence of the word 'between' before the dates which then follows the same format as outlined above for events that occurred over a period of time (e.g. between 16-23/03/1996). The next variation is for events where reports provide conflicting dates. These are indicated

with 'or' between the provided dates (e.g. 12 or 14/05/1995). Lastly there are the instances where the dating information provided is so limited as to log the data in the standard way is impossible. These instances occur where the person reporting the event uses terms such as days of the week and do not provide sufficient information to locate that date (e.g. Sunday, or two weeks ago). This information may still be useful, especially for double checking if events are recorded twice and therefore, despite the fact it cannot be turned into numerals, will still be included.

Category: Victims' Names-

The name of victims is provided as a category as this is a very common detail provided in accounts of events in Bougainville, especially amongst local sources. Furthermore, the names of victims provide a good source of evidence with which to prevent replication and to serve as a strong point of data with which the authenticity of an event could be corroborated or proven incorrect if necessary. An important fact to be aware of in the case of Bougainville is their naming conventions. Last names very rarely correlate to relations even between a husband and wife, or parents and children. The names are logged as first names followed by last names as they are stated within the source. Where a singular name is provided, the presence of suffixes such as Mr and Miss indicate that this is a last name. If only a first name is provided or it is unclear whether it is a first name or not the name will be logged as is documented in the source material.

Category: Victims' Places of Origin-

The place of origin logs the recorded residence of the victim/s. Especially within the sources created by native Bougainvilleans this is an important piece of data and it serves to assist with the identification of individuals for the sake of their families and loved ones. It also helps assist in accessing authenticity and checking for duplication of events by adding more data points that can be checked. Most of this information is provided in the context of villages of origin. Other locational data such as areas or islands were also provided and this will also be included. If there are multiple victims and only one location provided in the dataset then this indicates that all the victims are from this location including those whose names are unreported. This is often the case in attacks on villages where the number of villagers is given but not their names. If there are multiple victims from multiple locations then their places of origin will be listed in the same order as their names. Sometimes in the case of long lists it will be preceded with a notification that all location names that follow are villages to save time and space.

Category: Victims' Ages-

This category identifies the age of the victim/s which is done in two ways depending on the nature of the data contained within the documents. The first of these is a fixed age represented by a number for individuals over one year old (e.g. 12, 13 or 47). Additionally, babies will be identified with the addition of 'months' (e.g. 10 months) to prevent confusion with older individuals. The second format is vaguer due to the way this information was reported. In these instances the age of individuals will be identified by a word, for example youth or elderly. Despite being more imprecise this data is still worthwhile to include as a general sense of an individual's age is likely to be more important for answering research questions than a specific age.

Category: Victims' Sexes-

This category simply identifies the sex of a victim as reported in the source. Only males and females have been recorded as none of the sources make mention of any other gender identities for victims.

Category: Type of Crime –

The categorising of incidents according to the war crimes which are reported within them is the most complex and important category in this database while simultaneously being potentially the most controversial. As with the rest of the categories that will be included in the database, those crimes that are discussed below were included because they were the ones reported in the documents. It must be noted however that there are some additional crimes included in the database which are not described below as they were only reported once or twice and will not be discussed in order to save time and space (they will be accompanied by a small note if necessary to identify what they are). Subsequently, the function of the following subcategories will not only be an explanation of the terminology used in the database but also a brief justification of how they are delineated.

The primary way this categorisation is determined is with reference to the articles of the four Geneva Conventions and its Additional protocols. These articles will be most heavily relied upon due to their almost universal acceptance both as principles of law and as a written expression of both the social norms and ethics expected of combatants. These conventions represent the most un-contentious formulation of not only the laws of war, but also the rules of war. Where necessary, reference to the conventions will be supplemented by other relevant evidence or sources of authority needed to defend the formation of a category or on issues that the conventions do not deal with. The evidence provided below however will not contain an exhaustive account of the justification of the relevant crimes as this would be unfeasibly long within the context of this thesis. Therefore the goal is to provide that which is sufficient in order to establish that a type of act is arguably a violation of the rules of war.

Assault: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following [acts] are and shall remain prohibited... violence to life and person”¹¹⁹ Additionally Article 32 of the 4th Geneva Convention states that parties are “prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering or extermination of protected persons ...also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilians or military agents.”¹²⁰ Article 13 of the third Geneva Convention states that “Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited... In particular, no prisoner of war may be subject to physical mutilation... of any kind... Likewise prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation. Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited.”¹²¹ Within IHL there is not a lot specifically outlining the issue of assault as compared to more serious crimes. However the articles as previously stated do imply that assault is prohibited. This is reinforced by the fact that assault is a crime in almost every domestic legal system and commonly accepted ethical philosophy. Within this database an event will be categorised as an assault if physical abuse is inflicted against a protected person that is not

¹¹⁹ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹²⁰ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21,1950, UNTS.75

¹²¹ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

serious enough to constitute another crime such as torture, murder or rape. If the offending party is described as beating, kicking or punching a victim, or words to that effect then this will be recorded as an assault. This is in line with the normative conception of assault as being constituted by bludgeoning attacks using fists, feet or weapons. This is distanced from torture which involves the infliction of pain beyond a normal attack, mutilation which has the intention to do permanent disfigurement or sexual assault which has a sexual component.

Sexual Assault: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following [act] are and shall remain prohibited... violence to life and person... outrages against personal dignity”.¹²² Furthermore, Article 27 of the 4th Convention reads “Protected persons are entitled, in all circumstances, to respect for their persons, [and] their honour”. This article goes on to add “Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault.”¹²³ Additionally, Article 13 of the third Geneva Convention states that, “Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited... In particular, no prisoner of war may be subject to physical mutilation... of any kind... Likewise prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation. Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited.”¹²⁴ The use of the term sexual assault in this dataset is intentionally broad and is intended to capture any incident with a sexual component involving non-consent beyond which is normatively tolerable within a given context against either men or women.

Murder: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following acts are and shall remain prohibited...murder of all kinds”.¹²⁵ This goes on to add that “the passing of sentences and carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognised as indispensable by civilized peoples.”¹²⁶ Additionally, Article 32 of the 4th Geneva Convention states that parties are “prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering or extermination of protect persons... This prohibition applies not only to murder but also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilians or military agents.”. Further, Article 13 of the third Geneva Convention states that “Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited... In particular, no prisoner of war may be subject to physical mutilation... of any kind... Likewise prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹²⁴ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited.”¹²⁷ Within the context of this dataset murder is defined as the killing of protected persons. This includes extrajudicial killings of civilians or combatants.

Torture: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following acts are and shall remain prohibited... violence to life and person... mutilation, cruel treatment, torture;”¹²⁸ Article 32 of the 4th Geneva Convention also states that parties are “prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering or extermination of protected persons... This prohibition applies not only to ...torture... but also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilians or military agents.”¹²⁹ Additionally, Article 13 of the third Geneva Convention states that “Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited... In particular, no prisoner of war may be subject to physical mutilation... of any kind... Likewise prisoners of war must at all times be protected, particularly against acts of violence or intimidation. Measures of reprisal against prisoners of war are prohibited.”¹³⁰ The UN Convention against torture defined it as the “intentional infliction, by act or omission, of severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, in order to obtain information or a confession, or punish, intimidate or coerce the victim or a third person, or to discriminate on any ground, against the victim or a third person.”¹³¹ The line between torture and assault will be determined by the nature and intent of the attack on a protected person. Assault as previously described differs from torture as this requires types of physical violence intended to make the subject suffer via pain beyond a normal attack using weapons or the human body.

Mutilation: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following [act] are and shall remain prohibited... violence to life and person...mutilation”.¹³² Article 32 of the 4th Convention states that parties are “prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering or extermination of protected persons... This prohibition applies not only to ...mutilation... but also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilians or military agents.”¹³³ Article 13 of the third Geneva Convention states that, “Prisoners of war must at all times be humanely treated. Any unlawful act or omission by the Detaining Power causing death or seriously endangering the health of a prisoner of war in its custody is prohibited... In particular, no prisoner of war may be subject to physical mutilation... of any kind”¹³⁴ Incidents of mutilation will be ones in which a victim has extremities or organs removed or is disfigured with the intention of causing permanent physical harm. This differs from assault or torture by intent as the injuries are not intended to be lethal although a

¹²⁷ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹³⁰ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹³¹ Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Jun. 26, 1987, UNTS.1465

¹³² Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹³³ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21,1950, UNTS.75

¹³⁴ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

victim may later be killed. Furthermore, this only applies to the living as any mutilation after death is considered desecration of a corpse.

Desecration of a Corpse: The desecration of a corpse as a war crime is not as firmly established in IHL as acts such as murder or torture. The Geneva Conventions state that “Parties to the conflict shall without delay, take all possible measures to... search for the dead and prevent their being despoiled.”¹³⁵ This is a common article to conventions 1, 2 and 4 and is stated within articles 15, 18 and 16 respectively. Organisations such as the Red Cross state this as evidence forbidding the desecration of the dead. It should be noted however that the primary intention of these articles concerns the burying of the dead rather than focusing on the criminalising of mutilating them, although these two concepts are clearly interlinked. However the primary reason that category is included within the database can be traced back to evidence that it is a breach of customary international law and norms. This can be seen in the prohibition of mutilating corpses in the military manuals of many states including Australia, Ethiopia, New Zealand, Norway, Bolivia and Spain. Furthermore the desecration of the dead can be said to be almost universally denounced within the modern era and is illegal within the domestic legislations of almost every state.¹³⁶ Therefore despite its unclear status as a war crime within IHL it is included in this dataset on the grounds that it breaches the normative rules of war.

Humiliating and Degrading Acts: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following [act] are and shall remain prohibited... violence to life and person...cruel treatment...outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment”.¹³⁷ Article 32 of the 4th Geneva Convention states that parties are “prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering ... of protect persons ...also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilians or military agents.”¹³⁸ The category of humiliating and degrading acts is intended to capture those instances where victims were subject to extreme humiliation by an offender that extends beyond a physical beating. The exception to this is sexual assault which can be regarded as humiliating and degrading yet is a crime in and of itself. This is also different for cruel and unusual punishments as this category will isolate more serious incidents which are often accompanied by murders or mutilations.

Use of a Human Shield: Article 28 of the 4th Geneva Convention states that “The presence of a protected person may not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations”.¹³⁹ Article 23 of the 3rd Convention reads “No prisoner of war may at any time be sent to, or detained in areas where he may be exposed to the fire of the combat zone, nor may his presence be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations.”¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Article 12 of protocol I of the Geneva conventions state “Under no circumstances shall medical units be used in an attempt to shield military objectives from attack.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Clifton D. Bryant, Dennis L. Peck “Encyclopaedia of Death and the Human Experience” (SAGE Publications, 2009), p.328

¹³⁷ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹³⁸ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21,1950, UNTS.75

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

Whenever possible, the Parties to the conflict shall ensure that medical units are so sited that attacks against military objectives do not imperil their safety.”¹⁴¹ The subsequent Article 51 of that document states “The presence or movements of the civilian population or individual civilians shall not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations, in particular in attempts to shield military objectives from attacks or to shield, favour or impede military operations. The Parties to the conflict shall not direct the movement of the civilian population or individual civilians in order to attempt to shield military objectives from attacks or to shield military operations.”¹⁴² These articles, especially those within the 3rd and 4th Conventions are primarily concerned with the use of human shield on a large scale of area bombardment or military operations, hence their reference to points or areas. However, the concept of using non-combatants to shield areas and using them to protect individual soldiers against enemy fire is morally equivalent. Moreover, while the law does not seem to as clearly prohibit this kind of use of human shields as it does torture or rape, its inclusion here as a breach of the rules of war ought to be an un-contentious matter.

Taking of Hostages: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits torture stating “Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed hors de combat by sickness, wounds, detention or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth or any other similar criteria... the following [act] are and shall remain prohibited... the taking of hostages”. Additionally, Article 34 makes this clear, stating “The taking of hostages is prohibited”.¹⁴³ A case will be logged as an instance of hostage taking if protected persons are taken, or if previously detained persons are explicitly used as an item for bargaining in negotiations especially if their lives are threatened.

Unlawful Detention: Where the issue of unlawful detention of civilians is concerned the Geneva conventions by themselves are not sufficient to adequately justify this as a crime. However, Article 42 of the 4th Geneva Convention does note that, “The internment or placing in assigned residence of protected persons may be ordered only if the security of the Detaining Power makes it absolutely necessary.”¹⁴⁴ Additionally, Article 43 reads “Any protected person who has been interned or placed in assigned residence shall be entitled to have such action reconsidered as soon as possible by an appropriated court or administrative board”. “If the internment or placing in assigned residence is maintained, the court or administrative board shall periodically, and at least twice yearly, give consideration to his or her case.”¹⁴⁵ Article 78 states “If the Occupying Power considers it necessary, for imperative reasons of security, to take safety measures concerning protected persons it may, at the most, subject them to assigned residence or to internment.” The complication with these conventions is the possibility to interpret “only if the security of the Detaining Power makes it absolutely necessary”¹⁴⁶ (and the similarly phrased section in article 78) broadly as security being able to justify many actions. Given that most cases of unlawful detention in Bougainville concern the use of concentration camps (care centres), the use of the ruling of the International Criminal Tribunal of Yugoslavia (ICTY) is appropriate as it dealt with the same issue. The ICTY determined that reasons of security means that “there is no such blanket power to detain the entire civilian population of a

¹⁴¹ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I), Dec.7, 1978, UNTS.1125

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹⁴⁴ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21,1950, UNTS.75

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

party to the conflict in such circumstances, but that there must be an assessment that each civilian taken into detention poses a particular risk to the security of the State.” Furthermore, “[T]he mere fact that a person is a national of, or aligned with, an enemy party cannot be considered as threatening the security of the opposing party where he is living, and is not, therefore, a valid reason for interning him.”¹⁴⁷ Therefore cases of unlawful detention will be logged if protected persons as described are being detained without trial and hence violating Article 43 or in cases where entire populations are reported as being detained.

Kidnapping: Kidnapping is not strictly a category of crime like most of the others listed here. Incidents are logged as kidnapping if protected persons are described as being taken away by a party to the conflict for unclear reasons and/ or in which may not be a war crime. This stems from the fact that the ‘arresting’ of an individual is not immediately a war crime as combatants are within their rights to do this as long as the detainee is given due process quickly and as is reasonable as outlined under the explanation for unlawful detention. This is included however as it is important to log these incidents as it may allow for events to be pieced together and the fate of the missing people to be identified within other incident reports. This would allow for a more correct categorisation of events as well as shed light on those interested in the fate of those individuals. Furthermore, these events ought to be included if a reporting document mentions them in the context of other crimes and therefore implies that the writer regards them as such. Additionally, this is in line with the broader principle mentioned throughout this thesis of including fringe cases.

Forced displacement: The impermissibility of displacing civilians is not clearly laid out within the laws of war and there is allowance for combatants to move civilians. Article 49 of the 4th Geneva Convention states that “the Occupying Power may undertake total or partial evacuation of a given area if the security of the population or imperative military reasons so demand.”¹⁴⁸ In spite of this it will be considered a violation of the rules of war to displace civilians if it is not strictly in their interest for reasons of safety. This is intended to capture the acts committed by the PNGDF in which they destroyed villages and forced the population into camps. Including this can be considered a violation of the rules of war as the spirit of the act is consistent with that which is regarded as impermissible such as the displacement of the Armenians in WW1 and the expulsion of Serbs from Croatia. While acts such as this are most commonly associated with genocide this is not the case in Bougainville and so it is not as clearly covered in main instruments of IHL.

Inhumane Detention: The category of inhumane detention is impermissible as the articles of war states that detainees or protected persons must be treated humanely and with respect as stated in Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, other articles concern the rights of detainees, both POWs and civilians, to adequate hygiene, shelter, work standards, and protect their rights to due process and the punishments that can be inflicted on them. An example of this is Article 22 of the 3rd Geneva Convention, which states that “Prisoners of war may be interned only in premises located on land and affording every guarantee of hygiene and healthfulness.”¹⁵⁰ For the sake of space the details of all the relevant articles will not be included as the entire 3rd Convention deals with the correct treatment of POWs and section 4 of the 4th Convention is concerned with the issue of civilian internment. A case will be considered as an instance of inhumane detention if adequate shelter, hygiene or supplies are not provided and therefore severe harm to the wellbeing of the detainees is caused, whether they are civilians or POWs.

¹⁴⁷ William A. Schabas, “The International Criminal Court: A commentary on the Rome Statute” (Oxford University Press, 2016), p.253

¹⁴⁸ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21,1950, UNTS.75

¹⁴⁹ Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (III), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Forced labour: The use of forced labour is not inherently prohibited within the laws of war; however, it can only be conducted within specified limits beyond which it becomes a crime. Article 49 of the 3rd Geneva Convention notes that “The Detaining Power may utilize the labour of prisoners of war who are physically fit... with a view particularly to maintaining them in a good state of physical and mental health.”¹⁵¹ The rest of section III (articles 50-57) details the exact limits and rights of POWs who are used as labour. The legitimate use of civilian labour is defined in Article 51 of the 4th Geneva Convention. This states that civilians may not work unless “they are over eighteen years of age... workers shall be paid a fair wage and the work shall be proportionate to their physical and intellectual capacities. The legislation in force in the occupied country concerning working conditions, and safeguards as regards, in particular, such matters as wages hours of work, equipment, preliminary training and compensation for occupational accidents and diseases, shall be applicable”.¹⁵² Finally, Article 95 of the 4th Convention reads: “The Detaining Power shall not employ internees as workers unless they so desire.”¹⁵³ These articles provide the basis in which instances of forced labour during the Bougainville conflict are categorised as a war crime.

Attack on Civilian Population: While attacks on civilian populations can already be covered as war crimes under the articles that outlaw the murder and harming of protected persons, the inclusion of this category serves to capture acts of indiscriminate violence directed at a population more generally compared to those against a single individual. This includes events such as mortar attacks or runs by gunships on villages. Furthermore, this category allows for the inclusion of instances where, despite an attack taking place, nobody was harmed. There are also additional articles which focus on this collective level of non-combatant, these include article 51 of the additional 1st protocol of the Geneva Convention states that “the civilian population...shall not be the object of attack. Acts or threats of terror of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian population are prohibited.”¹⁵⁴ It goes on to note that indiscriminate attacks are prohibited. Indiscriminate attacks are: (a) those which are not directed at a specific military objective; (b) those whose methods and means of attack cannot be directed at a specific military objective, (c) an attack which may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injuries to civilians...which would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated.¹⁵⁵

Failure to Distinguish Non-Combatants: This category is included within the dataset in order to capture instances where individuals were attacked but manage to avoid being wounded or killed. As such an incident will be included in this category if it is reported to be an attempted attack on a protected person. For example, a combatant opening fire on a civilian who was able to flee in spite of the soldiers attempt to kill him will be considered a failure to distinguish non-combatants. Furthermore, this term is used here as opposed to something like attempted murder in order to capture more fringe cases such as those where a combatant was in a fire fight but may have not made due consideration of the safety of nearby civilians when opening fire. An example of this would be firing in the direction of a crowd of civilians due to the presence of an enemy combatant in their vicinity. In cases such as this there is a line which is difficult to determine with regards to the principles of proportionality and necessity which exists in all three levels of the rules of war (ethics, norms and law). However, based on the guiding principle of the inclusion of fringe cases these will also be added.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I), Dec.7, 1978, UNTS.1125

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

Destruction of Civilian Property/ Looting: Although the categories of looting and the destruction of property are distinguished within this dataset, they are outlined together here as they are rendered illegal under the same laws. Article 50 of the 1st Geneva Convention states that “extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly”¹⁵⁶ is illegal which is repeated in Articles 51 and 147 of the 2nd and 4th Conventions respectively. Additionally, Article 53 of the 4th Convention reads: “Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations, is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations.”¹⁵⁷ The reason the categories of looting and the destruction of property are divided within the database is due to the fact that they are distinct acts with differing intents.

Use of Chemical Weapons: Within the Bougainville conflict the PNGDF are accused of using white phosphorus to attack civilian populations through its dispersal by mortar shells or from helicopters. The use of white phosphorus is not strictly illegal within IHL and it is commonly used as a smoke screen, tracer or incendiary munitions. However this chemical is also toxic, causing burning and illness from breathing it in and ingestion. It is not banned in the Geneva Conventions nor in the Chemical Weapons Convention; however, its use as an offensive weapon is contentious. For example, Peter Kaiser, a spokesman for the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (the organisation that monitors the Chemical Weapons Convention), commented that “it’s not forbidden by the CWC if it is used within the context of a military application which does not require or does not intend to use the toxic properties of white phosphorus...If on the other hand the toxic properties of white phosphorus, the caustic properties, are specifically intended to be used as a weapon, that of course is prohibited, because... any chemicals used against humans or animals that cause harm or death through toxic properties of the chemical are considered chemical weapons.”¹⁵⁸ Despite the unclear nature of the use of white phosphorus it will be included as category for reasons previously discussed.

Violation of Territorial Integrity: The inclusion of a violation of territorial integrity is the most unique in this list of crimes. The reason for this is that it is not a component of *jus in bello* and therefore not strictly a war crime. Furthermore, the criminality of breaching international borders is extremely contentious not only legally but normatively as well. This is especially true since the rise of the American war on terror and the push for humanitarian intervention. However it is because it is contentious that this category has been included. The UN charter article 2(4) reads “All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state”.¹⁵⁹ This key article combined with both the general principle of the sovereign rights of states provides the reasons for this category’s inclusion. Violations of territorial integrity will be recorded when the military or police forces breached the internationally recognised borders of the Solomon Islands.

Perfidy: Article 37 of additional Protocol I of the Geneva Convention states that “it is prohibited to kill, injure or capture an adversary by resort to perfidy. Acts inviting the confidence of an adversary to lead him to believe that he is entitled to, or obliged to accord, protection under the rules of international law applicable

¹⁵⁶ Geneva Convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field (I), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹⁵⁷ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21,1950, UNTS.75

¹⁵⁸ Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction, Apr. 29, 1977, UNTS.1974

¹⁵⁹ Charter of the United Nations, Oct. 24, 1945, UNTS.1

in an armed conflict, with the intent to betray that confidence, shall constitute perfidy.”¹⁶⁰ “Ruses in war are not prohibited.”¹⁶¹ These are acceptable as long as they “infringe no rule of international law applicable in armed conflict” and which do not “invite the confidence of any adversary with respect to protection under that law.”¹⁶² More generally than this, perfidy has always been against the rules of war with the most common being acts such as attacking those surrendering forces under white flags.¹⁶³ Within this dataset an incident will be classified as perfidy not only if the rules of international law are used and betrayed but in the more general betrayal of the rules of war. In this context the essence of perfidy versus a legitimate ruse is still the use of treachery — of making an agreement and gaining trust and then intentionally breaking that trust. The reason for this extension beyond the strictly legal sense is to capture instances of treacherous agreements such as permission of safe travel, a ceasefire or other agreements around ensuring protection from harm and then using that to a military advantage to kill or capture or destroy.

Category: Type of Victim-

This category identifies the status of the victims as described in the reporting documents. This is important as the status of the victim within the different categories of protected or non-protected people affects whether they are a legitimate targets or not and, if so, under which category the crime has occurred. Furthermore, who is being targeted may be of interest for addressing different types of research questions surrounding the use of violence in times of war.

Civilian: Article 4 of the 4th Geneva Convention defines a civilian stating that “Persons protected by the Convention are those who at a given moment and in any manner whatsoever, find themselves, in case of conflict or occupation, in the hands of persons a Party to the conflict or Occupying Power of which they are not nationals.”¹⁶⁴ This includes those who are detained by the hostile power (and are suspected of crimes against the state). They are protected under Article 5 which reads “persons shall nevertheless be treated with humanity, and in case of a trial, shall not be deprived of the rights of fair and regular trial prescribed by the present convention.”¹⁶⁵ Additionally, Article 50 of the 1st protocol of the Geneva Convention states “A civilian is any person who does not belong to one of the categories of persons referred to in Article 4 A(1), (2), (3) and (6) of the Third Convention and in Article 43 of this Protocol. In case of doubt whether a person is a civilian, that person shall be considered a civilian.”¹⁶⁶ Articles 4 and 43 as referenced above identify individuals as POWs or armed forces respectively and are cited in the following definitions of combatants and POWs. Article 4 of the 4th convention states that civilians are not afforded protections against states that they are nationals of. However, as this is a war of the government against a separatist region, the people of that region within the war zone will be regarded as if they were citizens of a hostile country which can be argued to be consistent with the rules of war, the normative expectations of combatants and the spirit of the ethics underpinning the protection of civilians.

¹⁶⁰ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I), Dec.7, 1978, UNTS.1125

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ International Committee of the Red Cross, “Customary International Humanitarian Law: pt. 1-2. Practice” (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.1408

¹⁶⁴ Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (IV), Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I), Dec.7, 1978, UNTS.1125

Combatant: Article 43 of Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions states that “1. The armed forces of a Party to a conflict consist of all organised armed forces, group and units which are under a command responsible to that Party... even if that Party is represented by a government or an authority not recognised by an adverse Party.”¹⁶⁷ Article 43 continues: “In order to promote the protection of the civilian population...combatants are obliged to distinguish themselves... while engaged in an attack or in a military operation preparatory to an attack... where, owing to the nature of the hostilities an armed combatant cannot so distinguish himself, he shall retain his status as a combatant provided that, in such situations, he carries his arms openly: a) during each military engagement, and b) during such time as he is visible to the adversary while he is engaged in a military deployment preceding the launching of an attack...”¹⁶⁸ Within this dataset a combatant will be considered anyone who is identified as such, is a member of one of the parties to the conflict and is currently carrying arms openly. Persons suspected of being combatants but whom, due to the fact that they are not carrying arms at the time of the incident, are acting as civilians will be considered as such. This is consistent with many understandings of the rules of war including that of the ICRC. However, this is contentious as it is the status of these types of people that led to the rise of the concept of unlawful combatants. This provides a demonstration of why the description section is essential as this means that any user that disagrees with the inclusion of such people as civilians can exclude them if they wish.

Non-Combatant: While civilians are usually considered non-combatants as well this is used here as a distinct category to capture those persons who is not civilian due to being a recognisable member of the armed forces or a party to the conflict but is not engaged in a military role. An example of this would be the medical staff of the PNGDF. These people are protected under Article 19 of the 1st Geneva Convention which states that “Fixed establishments and mobile medical units of the Medical Service may in no circumstances be attacked, but shall at all times be respected and protected...”¹⁶⁹

Hors de Combat: Meaning “outside the fight”. Article 41 of Protocol I of the Geneva Conventions state that “A person is ‘hors de combat’ if: (a) he is in the power of an adverse party; (b) he clearly expresses an intention to surrender; or (c) he has been rendered unconscious or is otherwise incapacitated by wounds or sickness, and therefore is incapable of defending himself; provided that in any of these cases he abstains from any hostile act and does not attempt to escape.”¹⁷⁰ In addition to the wounded and sick, those who are shipwrecked or whose aircraft are shot down are also considered hors de combat. These people are protected under Article 12 of the second Geneva Convention which reads “persons mentioned in the following Article, who are at sea and who are wounded, sick or shipwrecked, shall be respected and protected in all circumstances, it being understood that the term “shipwreck” means shipwreck from any cause and includes forced landings at sea by or from aircraft... Any attempts upon their lives, or violence to their persons, shall be strictly prohibited”.¹⁷¹ Despite the fact that POWs are deemed hors de combat they will not be counted as such in the dataset as they have their own category which contains rules and requirements unique to POWs. For the purposes of this database Hors de Combat covers the gap between

¹⁶⁷ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I), Dec.7, 1978, UNTS.1125

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Geneva Convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in armed forces in the field (I), Oct.21 1950, UNTS.75

¹⁷⁰ Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I), Dec.7, 1978, UNTS.1125

¹⁷¹ Geneva Convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded, sick and shipwrecked members of the armed forces at sea (III) , Oct.21, 1950, UNTS.75

the incapacitating of a combatant and their detention as a POW. This often is relevant for instances where the wounded are not given quarter and shot on the battlefield.

Prisoner of war (P.O.W): A prisoner of war constitutes any combatant who is captured and detained by another party to the conflict. When it comes to the detention of irregular forces their status as POWs may be contentious as the term unlawful combatant was debated and used extensively in the American war in Afghanistan with regards to the Taliban and Al Qaeda. Article 4 of the 3rd Geneva Convention goes into extensive detail as to who is classified as a POW and therefore who is afforded full rights under its protection. However, this debate over who is and is not a lawful combatant and therefore who is considered a POW may be avoided for the purposes here. The reason for this is twofold: firstly, the principle of including fringe cases means that the internment of irregulars will be considered as POWs. The Red Cross argues that every person detained by a combatant must be protected as either a POW under the 3rd Convention or a civilian under the 4th.¹⁷²

Solomon Islands: The inclusion of the Solomon Islands as a victim within the dataset is necessitated by the inclusion of a breach of territorial integrity by the forces of the state of PNG. This is because it is the state not individuals that are harmed by this violation.

Civilian Property: This category denotes all property that was intentionally destroyed or looted that is not military in nature and was not harmed as part of an act of military necessity. Even if the state of PNG within a peaceful context would have the power to loot or destroy this property it will still be logged in this dataset in line with the principle discussed for other crimes and categories of victims. This is because the destruction and looting of property in a civil war is impermissible under the normative expectations of the rules of war.

Category: Event Casualties-

This category records the number of victims as recorded by the source material. These numbers have been divided into three categories: those who were killed, wounded and raped. The 'killed' category identifies any victims that died outright during the course of an event or that subsequently died of their wounds resulting from a crime. Therefore, these people are not recorded as wounded as this is made redundant by their deaths. However, those who were sexually assaulted and then killed are logged in both categories. This is because the sexual assault-killing relationship differs from the wounding-killed relationship as it is necessary to the act of killing to wound. However, sexual assault and killing are causally divorced acts. For the same reason, anyone who was recorded to have been sexually assaulted but did not suffer any additional form of assault will only be recorded as having been sexually assaulted.

Category: Event Location-

This category reports where an incident is reported to have occurred. Most instances are relatively clear, stating that individuals were victimised in a specified village or town. However, some sources record an event occurring in a named place without providing details as to the nature of that place and whether it is a village, an area, an island or a region. In instances such as this, the location will be provided as it is detailed in the source. This is done in order to prevent errors. Two examples of where ambiguity occurs is with Buka and Arawa. Buka is an island north of Bougainville but it is also a town on the island. Similarly, Arawa is a town as well as the name of the area around the town. In instances like this the location may just report 'Arawa' or

¹⁷² International Committee of the Red Cross, "Commentary of 1958 on the 4th Geneva Convention" (1958), viewed 11/01/2017) <https://www.icrc.org/ihl/COM/380-600007?OpenDocument>

'Buka'. In addition to this, some events will record multiple locations if an instance is reported to have occurred in different places. These events will have a comma between different locations and any additional information about which component of an event happened to whom, and where, will be contained in the description category of the instance report.

Category: Offender-

This category logs the reported identity of the offender as stated within the source material. The vast majority of those events logged in Bougainville only contain the overall organisation that the offenders allegedly belong to. This is because of nature of the sources, which rarely contain any more information such as the names of commanding officers or unit designations. Where this information is provided it will be contained in brackets following the name of the organisation. In cases where more than one organisation is identified, these names may come in two forms. The first of these are names divided by a '/' which indicates that the specific identity of the offender is unclear. This occurs most often when a source only identifies pro-government forces without specifying whether they are government soldiers or local militia. In the second format, organisational names are divided by a '+' symbol which indicates that all listed organisations were involved in the committing of the crime. Below are the organisations that have been identified by the sources.

PNGDF: The Papua New Guinea Defence Force – This is the military of PNGDF and identifies all uniformed soldiers as well as the naval and air assets. Their air force contains Australian-supplied UH-1 Iroquois helicopters, Pacific class patrol boats 1-4 HMPNGS Rabaul, Dreger, Seeadler and Moresby as well as Nomad light aircraft.

Police: Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary — this is the police force of PNG who were primarily involved in Bougainville prior to their 1990 evacuation of the island. These forces come in three categories. The first two are the regular police forces and prison wardens. The third type is the riot police. These forces sometimes known as mobile squads, are more heavily armed paramilitary units deployed throughout PNG to suppress rebellion and are a halfway measure between the regular police and the military.

The Resistance/BLF/SIBA: pro-government militia — these names represent those Bougainvilleans who fought for the PNG national government after the PNGDF's invasion of the island. These forces were supplied by the government and primarily used in rear operations such as guarding care centres and policing liberated areas. These forces have different names due to their independent nature since the PNGDF recruited different groups in different areas. For example, the BLF is the Buka Liberation Front and was the first resistance force raised. The term Resistance is a generalised term for all of these militia and is the primary way that they are identified.

Rascals/skin BRA/gangs: These titles identify non-aligned groups of fighters who primarily operate for personal gain. Rascal is the general term for gangs in PNG. Skin BRA are those who pretended to be BRA members to allow them a greater ability to extort the populace and are not sanctioned members by BRA commanders or are rebel elements that are no longer directed by the BRA. It should be noted that these organisations' activities may not be war crimes as they are not combatants but regular gangs. However, they are included in the dataset as their activities may be undertaken by freelancing combatants who have not been properly identified.

BRA: Bougainville Liberation Army- This is the rebel organisation that fought against the government for independence. In the context of war crimes the decentralised structure of this organisation is of note. Due to the limits of communication, experience, organisational capacity and the importance of local bonds, the BRA did not have a strong military hierarchy. This means that a lot of the BRAs activities, both legal and illegal, can be attributed to the decisions of local commanders or the immediate group of rebels.

Category: Reporting Document-

This entry identifies the source which reports the incident in abbreviation to save space. Within this section sources are divided by a + symbol which indicates that an incident is reported by more than one source. In cases where there is more than one source from the same group they are accompanied by an abbreviation in brackets such as (AI) for an Amnesty International source. This is used throughout the rest of the entry to identify information that comes from that source if it differs from the information provided by another.

Category: Cited Source-

This entry identifies where a document cited its information as coming from. This is not necessarily a primary source as other human rights documents could be cited and the original person or document that reported the event could be two or three sources down the reporting chain. Sources are divided by commas and in cases where multiple documents report the same event a + symbol and a bracketed abbreviation is used to indicate which document is citing which sources. For example, an Amnesty International document (AI) and a BRA media report (BRA) may cite a source that looks like the following: Arawa Hospital report, eye witness testimony (AI) + survivor testimony, eyewitness testimony (James Huntington) (BRA).

Category: Event Description-

As described earlier, this section allows for the addition of an account of the event as documented as close as possible to that of the original source; abbreviated if necessary to be within the bounds of a reasonable length.

4.3 Conclusion

In order to develop a dataset from the Bougainville war crimes record, that record needs to first be identified and collected. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, the unclear nature of the war crimes record and the different means that may be needed to identify and collect these records, a principles-based framework was the most appropriate methodology to guide this component of the research phase given the ultimate objective in mind; using this case study to explore the possibilities of developing war crimes databasing projects. The first principle is variety: attempting to search for sources of different types, whether that is government files, media reports or medical reports. The intention of this is to enable a greater ability to assess the value and ease of accessing these different types of sources. The second principle is that of back tracing: locating sources that are referenced by other documents in order to find the most original reports possible as a way to find more reports and track the consistency of the war crimes record. The inclusionary principle is the third principle and means that fringe cases and documents ought to be included as they can always be removed later. The final component of this research phase is to extract the relevant passages from the collected documents that discuss instances which may constitute war crimes. This is done by using the

content analysis methodology and by making both categorical and spatial distinctions in order to isolate the relevant material into units. Each of these units will consist of a different instance or war crimes event as they are reported in the documents.

With the data from Bougainville collected the second stage is to form it into a dataset. This will be done in Microsoft Excel and will be defined by the program's row and column structure. Each row will be an individual instance with each column being a distinct form of information taken from each instance whether that is the identity of the offender, the location of the event or the date it occurred. Dividing the data up in this way allows for it to be utilised more easily by any theoretical user who can reorder these for the research and purposes they need. In the case of the Bougainville data, these categories include such information as the number of victims, their sex, age, name, village of origin and status within the rules of war. Also included is the organisation that the offenders belong to, the category of crime/s they allegedly committed, when they allegedly committed it and where this report originated from. Finally, and most importantly, is the descriptive category which provides a description of the event as closely as possible to the original account/s within a reasonable space. This acts as a failsafe in case of a mistake or, more importantly, where definitions are contentious. As with the inclusionary principle, the concept is that for data that is intended to be useful to a variety of researchers and end users, they can always rework it as they see fit.

It is these methods which will guide the development of the dataset of reported war crimes from the Bougainville conflict and it is the successes and failures within this process which will help to evaluate the feasibility of collecting this type of data.

Chapter 5: Data and Document Overview

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. The first is to provide an overview of the data that was collected and processed in to the database of war crimes accounts from Bougainville. This will give an idea of what resulted from the research phase and how that information is distributed. This section will also briefly demonstrate ways in which this data could be used and how it can be used to help understand the nature of a particular conflict. The second and primary section of this chapter is focused on providing an assessment of the research phase with regards to the overall objective of this thesis. This includes the key challenges and strategies which could impact the feasibility of developing war crimes databasing projects more generally. This involves introducing the concept of an efficiency curve which will provide the conceptual model needed to help evaluate the feasibility of the research phase. With these laid out, various types of sources that constitute the Bougainville war crimes record will be discussed and evaluated for their usefulness in this type of project. Providing this type of assessment of the research phase is essential in order to address the central objective of this thesis and to supplement the final assessment of attempting this kind of project that will be discussed in the final conclusion of this thesis.

5.1- Overview of the Bougainville War Crimes Data

705 distinct instances of alleged war crimes from Bougainville were collected and there are many ways that the information within this dataset can be broken down owing to its design and intent to be useful for a variety of research projects. Therefore, those patterns, trends and features discussed below are just some of the most basic or interesting within the data. For example, Figure 5.1 below shows the distribution of reported crimes which are known to have occurred within a known year.

Fig 5.1: Number of Reported Crimes during the Conflict



As can be seen, the first crimes are reported in 1989 when the conflict was beginning and span seven years before sharply declining in 1997 and 1998. This can be attributed to the fact that the Sandline fiasco occurred in February of 1997 and signalled the *de facto* end of the fighting and PNGDF offensive operations.

The main feature of interest, however, is the low number of crimes reported in 1991. This dip cannot be attributed to a lack of attention as this year is covered almost as well as any other (as will be demonstrated later within this chapter) yet only 20 crimes are documented as occurring during this time. The reason for this feature is unclear; there is no immediately obvious reason for this in the history of the conflict or within the event descriptions provided within the database. While speculative, one possible explanation is that during 1991 the PNGDF were primarily moving into friendly territory such as Buka and Tinputz and, therefore, this could have meant less conflict between them and the local population.

Fig 5.2: Number of Crimes over Time during the Conflict

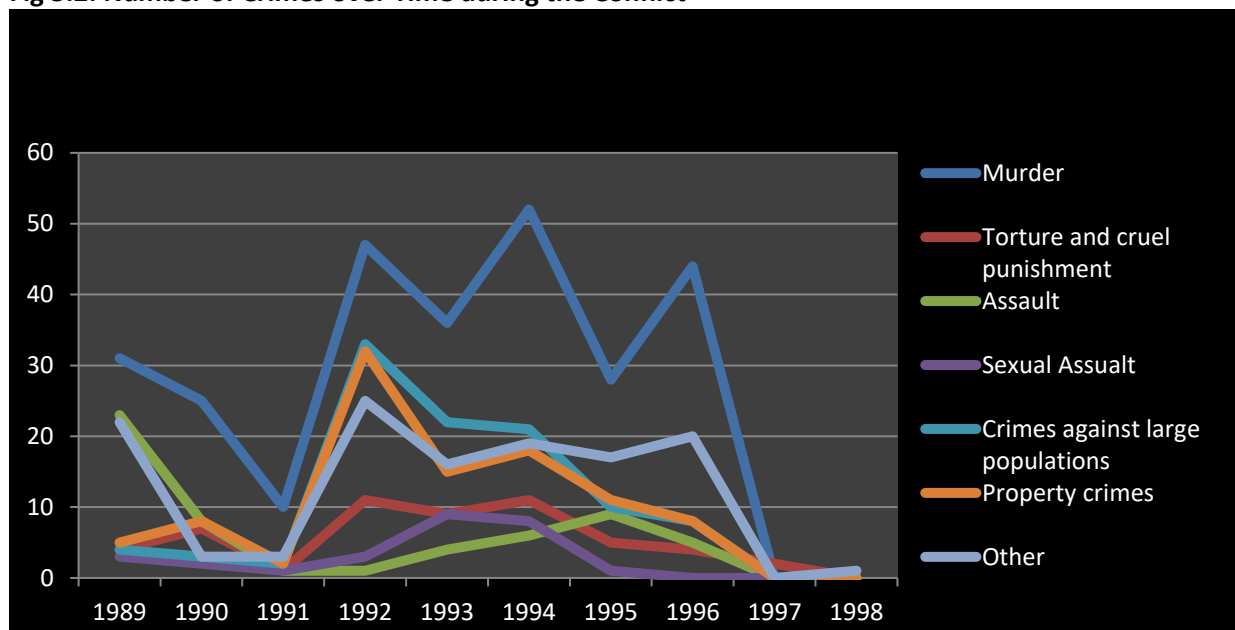
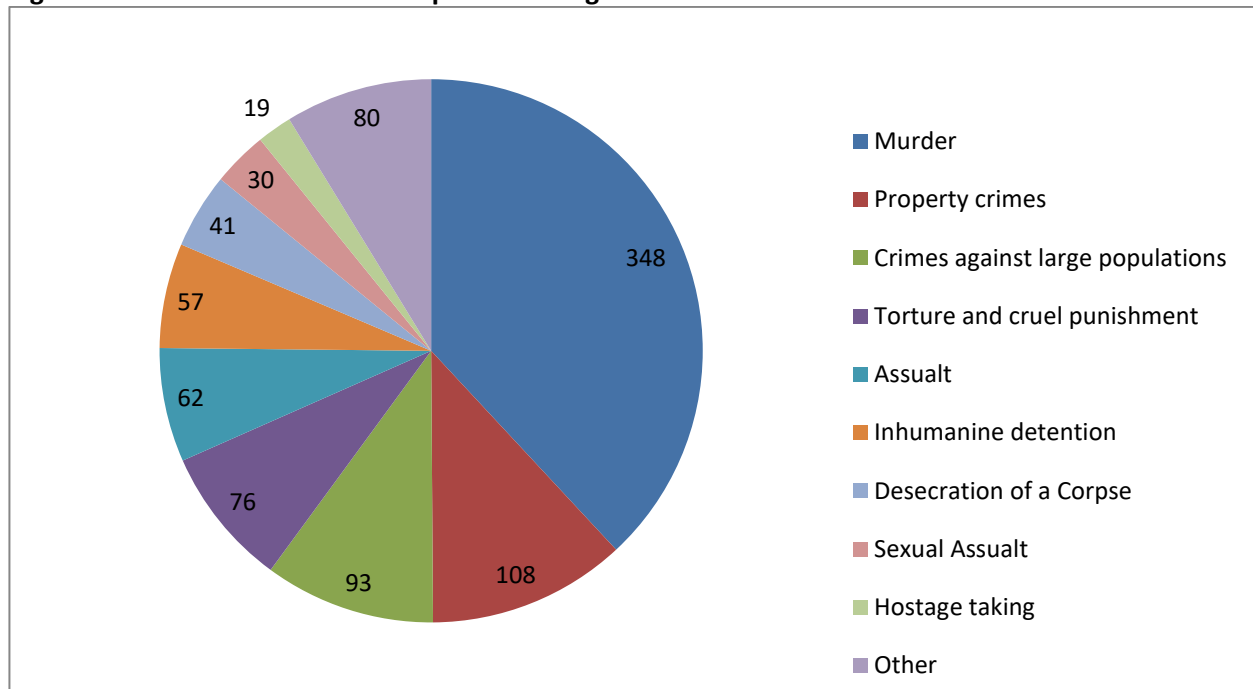


Figure 5.2 above demonstrates the same data as Figure 5.1 broken down in to several categories as well as distributed over time. The categories such as murder and assault are the same as those discussed in Chapter Four while the others are amalgamations in order to simplify the data. Torture, cruel and unusual punishment as well as humiliating and degrading treatment are combined as are crimes against property such as looting and destruction. Crimes against large populations include forced displacement, failure to distinguish non-combatants and attacks on larger civilian populations have also been conflated. The largest crimes within the 'other' category include the desecration of corpses, breaches of territorial integrity and conspiracy/orders to commit crimes. This same data can also be presented in terms of its absolutes with the pie graph below demonstrating this.

Fig 5.3: Total Number of Crimes Reported during the Conflict



Dividing the data this way, without being distributed over time, allows for the inclusion of those crimes whose year of commission was not reported as well. Again, several categories have been combined as they were in Figure 5.2 while others have been separated out. These include hostage taking, desecration of corpses and inhumane detention as many of these crimes did not include accurate reporting of dates.

As can be seen from these two graphs, murder is by and large the most reported crime. This may be for a number of reasons but chief among them is the fact that it is the most likely to be reported as the taking of life is of immense interest to victims, witness and reporters. Due to the intuitive idea of how the escalation of violence works, it would, however, be reasonably expected that, in almost any occurrence of mass violence, cases of assault should outnumber murders. However, the fact that such an intuition is not reflected in the data is most likely attributable to the lack of reporting of assaults vs. murders as opposed to the actual ratio of their occurrence. This may be because, unlike murder, people do not bother to report assaults unless they are of a particularly brutal nature. Occurrences such as a few punches or kicks may simply be too common or not violent enough to be of note in a time of war where murder and torture abound. Unlike assault, however, the reasons behind the low level of reported cases of sexual assault can be confidently attributed to their underreporting as a function of social stigma.¹⁷³ This fact is well-known and documented in times of peace and war alike.¹⁷⁴ It is a consistently observed trend and therefore can be expected to be reflected in Bougainville as well.

As well as the significance of murder, another factor that can be observed in Figure 5.2 is the relationship between property crimes and attacks on civilian populations. These do not follow the general pattern of violence observed in Figure 5.1 as both remain at low levels before spiking in 1992 after which they slowly decline. However, this is consistent with the implementation of the PNGDF's counter-insurgency strategy of depopulating the countryside by forcing people into care centres and destroying their villages as was done in

¹⁷³ Monica J. Casper, Eric Wertheimer, "Critical Trauma Studies: Understanding Violence, Conflict and Memory in Everyday Life" (New York University Press, 2016), p.66

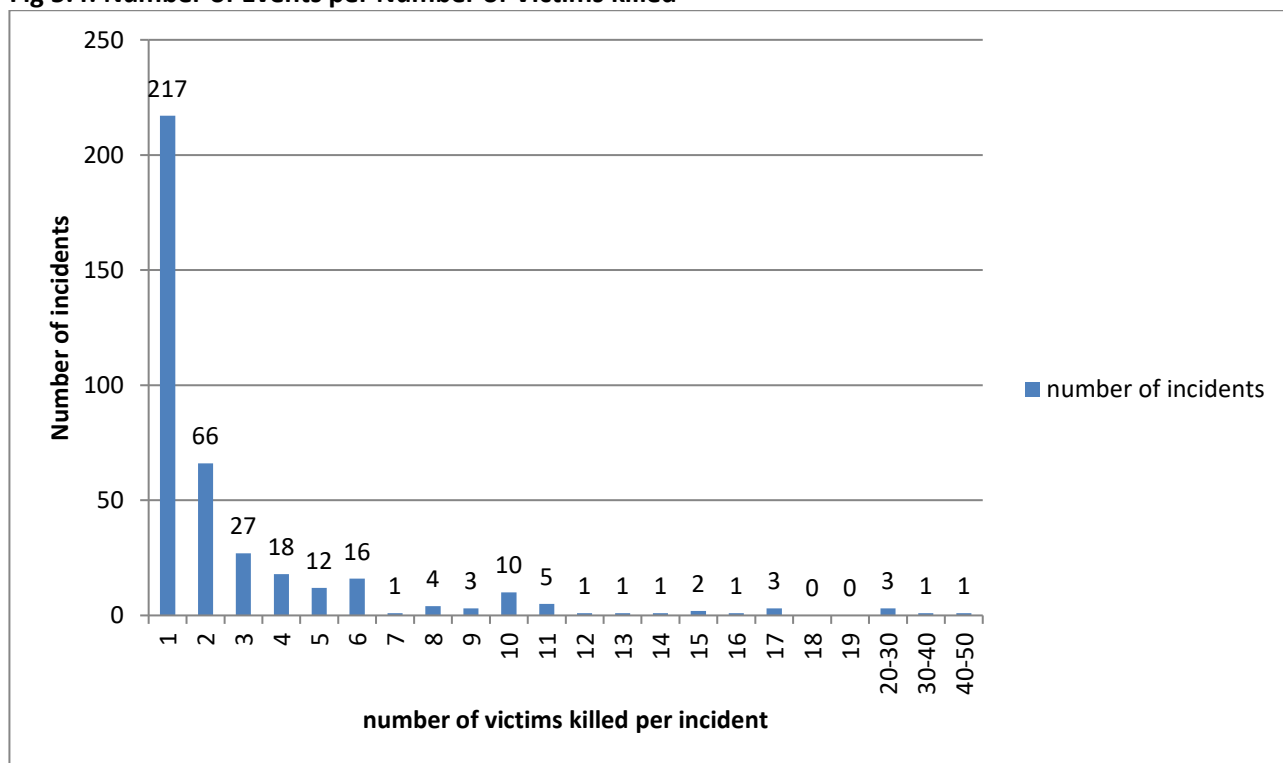
¹⁷⁴ Doris Weatherford, "Women's Almanac" (Greenwood Publishing Group 2002), p.50

the Boer and Soviet-Afghan wars.¹⁷⁵ The decline in this type of violence by 1994 could be explained by the fact that most of the population under PNGDF control had already been displaced. Consequently, the declining number of targets as the PNGDF moved into the more isolated central Bougainville may account for the decline in the number of incidents.

While the graphs presented above demonstrate the distribution of different types of crimes both in total and over time it is also possible to use this data to attempt to understand more specific features of a conflict’s recorded past. The act of murder is the most significant crime in terms of number that was documented in Bougainville. However, it is insufficient to simply examine the total counts; two wars with the same number of murders may have very different stories as to how those people were killed. In the case of well-organised and disciplined aggressors such as that of the German Wehrmacht, these numbers could be the result of methodical planning— the rounding up of a target population and executing them on mass.¹⁷⁶ Alternatively, the same total number of deaths could result from the chaos of a war unleashed with ill-disciplined and control armed forces or roaming bandits killing people arbitrarily and at mere whim. Due to the existence of these two possibilities and that of everything in between, the nature of the killing must be understood as well as its scale.

Figure 5.4 below does this by depicting the disruption of killing in terms of its frequency (how many events occurred within a category) vs. its ‘magnitude’ (how many victims were killed per incident).

Fig 5.4: Number of Events per Number of Victims killed



Each value of the x-axis indicates the number of people killed per incident and the y-axis demonstrates the number of incidents of that category. For example, there were 217 individual events recorded within the Bougainville dataset in which only one person was recorded to have been killed. Additionally, there were five

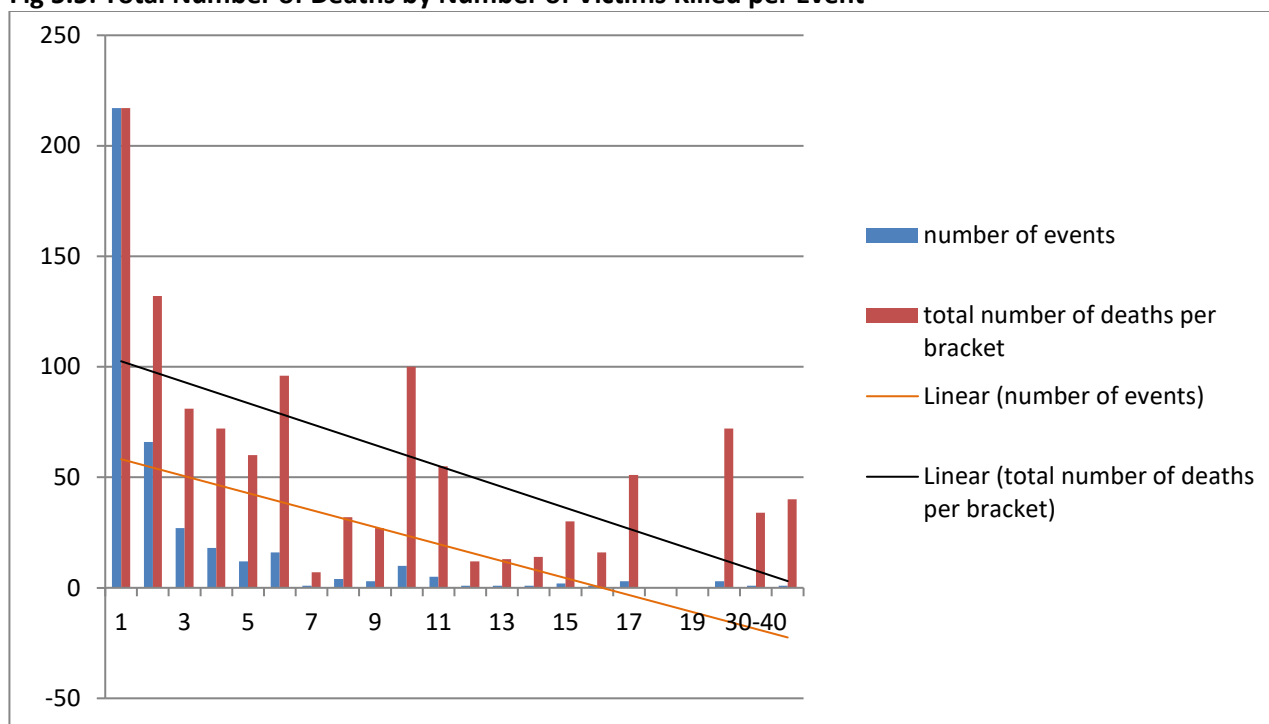
¹⁷⁵ Alex J. Bellamy, “The Responsibility to Protect: A defence” (Oxford University Press, 2014), p.43

¹⁷⁶ Larry S. Krieger, Kenneth Neill, Steven L. Jantzen, “World History: Perspective on the past” (Houghton Mifflin College Division, 1994), p.723

instances in which 11 people died and only one instance in which 16 people died while there were no instances in which 19 people were documented to have been murdered.

Figure 5.5 below shows the same data again but this time the total numbers of those killed in each instance has also been added. This was simply done by multiplying the two axis totals together; for example, $217 \times 1 = 217$ and $66 \times 2 = 132$ thereby demonstrating that, because there were 66 events in which two people were killed, 132 people were killed in these types of events in total. Combining this information with that of Figure 5.4 therefore shows the distribution of killing in Bougainville and whether most people died in a few large scale massacres or in many small, isolated incidents.

Fig 5.5: Total Number of Deaths by Number of Victims Killed per Event



As these graphs demonstrate, there were very few high casualty events during the Bougainville conflict with only five documenting 20 or more deaths. Furthermore, of these, three are larger aggregate lists of killings over time, and one documents deaths due to neglect in the care centres in South Bougainville. Only one instance records a massacre. This is that of 22 males in Buka who were suspected of being BRA members. These men were rounded up during the reoccupation of the island by the PNGDF in 1991, made to dig their own graves and then executed. The majority of crimes which are reported to have resulted in deaths were low-intensity events in which only one or two people were killed. If we take the F.B.I.'s definition of a mass murder (one in which four or more people are killed), then 46% of deaths would not even meet those criteria.¹⁷⁷ If we remove from this data the four large 'events' (over 20 deaths) which are actually aggregate lists, then this disparity becomes even clearer as the number of low-magnitude (3 deaths or less) events rises to 52.8%. This pattern is also clearly demonstrated by the trend lines which show a steep downwards inclination in both the number of events that occurred and the total number of victims killed during those events.

¹⁷⁷ Agnieszka Daniszewska, "Serial Homicide: Profiling of Victims and Offenders for Policing" (Springer, 2016), p.2

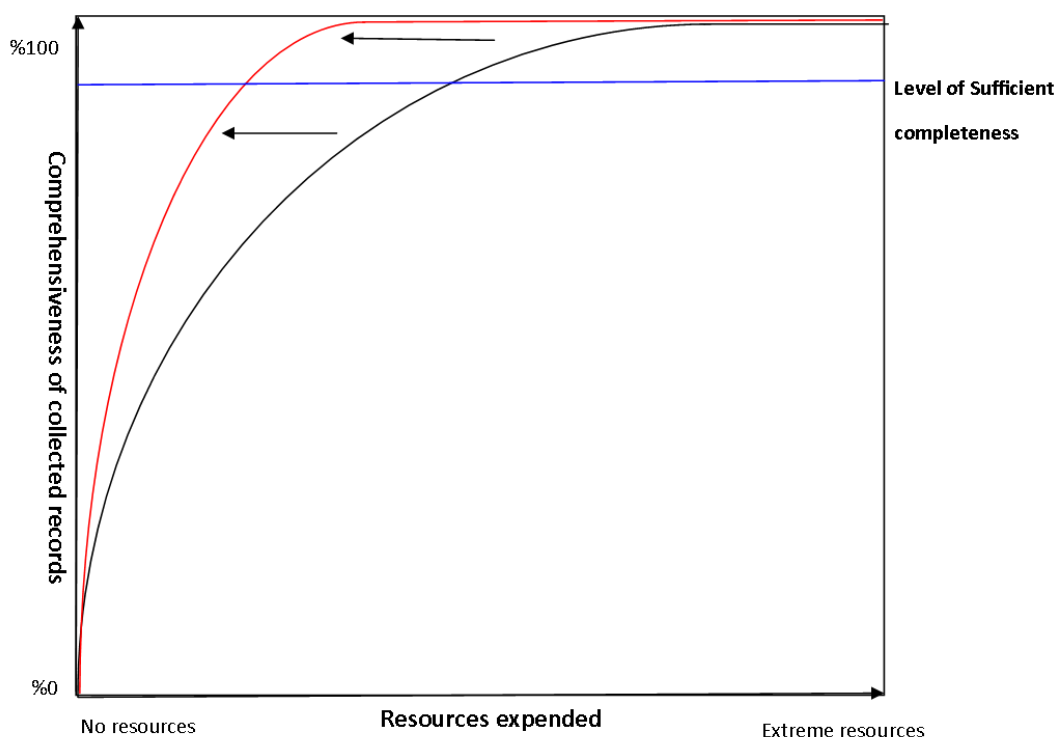
Therefore, this data reveals that the nature of the killing in Bougainville was on the sporadic and chaotic side of the spectrum— it was not methodical with large massacres like those typified by the NAZIs or other genocidal events. This can then be explained by the poor training and discipline of the forces on Bougainville who conducted these killings on their own initiative, and in which high command was either unable or unwilling to stop the sporadic singling out and killing of people. While interesting in its own right, the nature of this killing will be explored in more depth in Chapter Five where the identity of the victims and the reasons why this killing took place will form the basis of an exemplar of the type of research output this data can be used for.

5.2 Assessment of the Reporting Documents

Essential to an understanding of the data that resulted from the case study of Bougainville is the outlining and discussion of the documents from which that data was gathered. This is vital in order for the final assessment on the feasibility and value of the concept of databasing war crimes reports more generally.

In order to adequately assess the reporting documents and those challenges of using them, a conceptual framework for evaluating them must first be discussed. This also will act as a means to discuss some of the issues and challenges of conducting this type of research in and of itself. Determining how to conceptualise the research process can be done by referring back to the intent of that research. In this regard, the idealised objective of the research phase of a war crimes database is to try and collect the entirety of the war crimes record for any given conflict. However, like in any similar endeavour, the more comprehensive the research is, the more time and effort it takes. Therefore, in order to visualise this relationship, we can use the concept of an efficiency curve as displayed below.

Fig 5.6: Research Efficiency Curve



This type of graph is usually used to describe the production of materials and productive efficiency in economics; however, its use here is appropriate as the research phase concerns the economics of locating the documents which constitute a conflict's war crimes record.¹⁷⁸ The most significant feature of this idealised graph is the black curve which expresses the fact that this type of research is subject to the 'law of diminishing returns' in terms of the extent of the records found to the amount of resources (time, money and effort) expended locating them. Locating the first and most famous texts of a war crimes record can be expected to be relatively easy. However, as the obvious sources are located it will become more and more difficult to find those remaining documents that contain original reports. At best this may be because no effort has been expended to make these resources easily available to the public; at worst they are actively being suppressed out of fear of what they may reveal.

Another key feature of this type of efficiency curve is that it never reaches 100%. This is because, as mentioned in Chapter Three, no matter how many resources are expended, the entire war crimes record of a conflict will never be located. There will always be a diary, newspaper article or blog post somewhere that records an original account of a war crime that is not captured by the rest of the record. Consequently, it is impossible and unreasonable to expect any database of this nature to be 100% complete. Fortunately however, such a dataset does not need to be in order to be of value. The data only has to be sufficiently complete as to allow conclusions drawn from the data to be stated with an appropriate level of confidence. If 95% of the war crimes record is captured then the missing 5% represent a margin of error small enough that it should not compromise the value of most research. This explains the third feature of this graph, the blue line which can be termed the threshold of sufficient completeness. This is the theoretical point at which the database is sufficiently complete in order for valuable conclusions to be drawn from it with a low enough margin of error to be compelling. While still not an ideal concession, achieving a high degree of completeness

¹⁷⁸ William Baumol, Alan Blinder, "Economics: Principles and Policy" (Cengage Learning, 2008), p.143

is as reasonable as is possible. The final feature of this graph that must be explained is the shifted red efficiency curve. This feature demonstrates how particular research strategies or the use of particular documents can increase (or decrease) the gradient of the curve. The steeper the curve, the more data is collected with less work and, consequently the feasibility of the databasing project is increased as a whole, while with the inverse the project becomes less feasible.

Not only does this framework allow for the discussion of issues such as the diminishing returns of war crimes research or the identification that the dataset will always be incomplete, it also provides a framework to assist in the discussions around the utility of different types of sources. Within the Bougainville case study there were 17 documents which contained useable reports of war crimes instances which were included in the final database. Figure 5.7 below shows these sources spanning over the time periods they reported, from the date of the first included crime to the last.

Fig 5.7: Timeline of Documents used within the Bougainville Database

Bougainville Conflict: Document Time Line								
1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
AI –Under the Barrel Gun				U.S State Department Human Rights Report PNG				
AI -human rights violations	R. Gillespie –Behind the Iron curtain			Community Aid	AI -annual human rights reports			
Bougainville Interim Government -media releases								
Marilyn Havini -Compilation of Human Rights Abuses Vol 1.							Sen. Margett	
Marilyn Havini -Compilation of Human Rights Abuses Vol 2.								
R.J May –The Bougainville Crisis		AI –Bougainville the Forgotten Tragedy						
			UN –human rights commission					
	MFAT –diplomatic cables							
		R. Gillespie -Krai Bilong Bougainville						
			Community Police watch					
			Gillespie radio					

The nature, contribution, strengths and complications of these documents vary but they can be broken down into the following categories: those reports from NGO’s, those from government entities, those from books and literature, and those from the media. Dividing the record in this way not only allows for a discussion of each of the key sources/ reporting organisations, but also an assessment of each type of source in terms of the efficiency of using documents of that type more generally.

Source Type: NGO Reports-

The first major source of war crimes records is that from NGOs which are concerned with conflict, such as Human Rights Watch (HRW), Medecin Sans Frontiers, and the ICRC. Organisations like these can be expected to publish reports on war crimes around the world as a component of their human rights agendas. Their intention is often to bring awareness to abuses and even provide the impetus for criminal charges. Therefore, their public reports can be expected to be clearly presented with a particular focus on providing details of individual incidents. Furthermore, the notoriety of these types of organisations makes it easy to determine which conflicts they operated in and whether they are likely to have generated reports of war crimes on a given conflict. In the case of primary global human rights advocacy groups such as Amnesty or HRW, these factors make them an essential source to locate in any case.

In Bougainville HRW was not active however, and as we can see in Figure 5.7, Amnesty was involved with coverage of the whole conflict through three different reports. Despite the existence of many similar organisations, Amnesty can be considered the primary watchdog of human rights abuses around the world to the point where they even gained consultative status in the UN.¹⁷⁹ This makes them widely cited and utilized by other NGOs, governments, academics and even other databasing projects such as the 'Political Terror Scale' created by Micheal Stohl and Mark Gibney.¹⁸⁰ This prominence, however, creates potential dangers with the reliability of their reports. In a 2008 article Brendan O'Dwyer and Jeffery Unerman discuss the accountability strategies that Amnesty has implemented focusing on the case of their Irish office. They argue that a hierarchical system of accountability has been developing within the organisation and that this has begun to privilege a narrow range of stakeholders in terms of their control over the articulation and dissemination of information.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, there is reason to be concerned with the quality of the research being undertaken by Amnesty in the context of Bougainville. This is due to the fact that, of all those incidents in which a source was not identified by a reporting document, 40% of them were from Amnesty. This could be attributed to a host of factors such as the decision by them that this information is not critical to their reports or that they have a lower evidence threshold than other sources. It could also be a combination of such factors with the goal being more of an emphasis on dissemination and communication of a holistic sense of the violence in Bougainville than the diligent collection of that information. Despite this, Amnesty's reports form a crucial component of the war crimes record of the war as well as that of many other conflicts and indeed, because of this influence, its research process and reporting should not be taken on blind faith.

Large, as well as smaller, NGO's and local organisations may also collect data on possible war crimes incidents. In the case of Bougainville these included Community Police Watch and the Community Aid Board. These organisations created small reports of incidents that were occurring in Bougainville within much larger reports concerning problems in PNG more broadly. While not as valuable as Amnesty due to their limited resources, documents from organisations such as this may still be worth locating, although this is likely to be an inefficient use of resources if they are not already easily locatable. In addition to these smaller

¹⁷⁹ Jutta Joachim, Birgit locher, "Transnational Activism in the UN and the EU: A comparative case study" (Routledge, 2008), p.44

¹⁸⁰ Steven C. Poe, Sabine C. Carey, Tanya C. Vazquez, "[How are these Pictures Different? A quantitative comparison of the US State Department and Amnesty International human rights reports 1976-1995](#)" *Human Rights Quarterly* vol.23, no.3 (2001), p.658

¹⁸¹ Brendan O'Dwyer, "The paradox of greater NGO accountability: A case study of Amnesty Ireland" *Accounting, Organisations and Society* vol.33, no.7 (2008), p.871

NGOs, there is the case of local NGOs. While doing fieldwork in Bougainville I met with Helen Hakena, the leader of the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency. She informed me that during the conflict she had collected many reports of war crimes committed on the island, especially in Buka. However, the PNGDF discovered this and burned her offices to the ground along with these records. While this meant that this was not a useful source, in the end similar organisations in other conflicts may be more fortunate and therefore the hunt for such records may still be worthwhile. Moreover, I was repeatedly informed that Bougainvilleans have not truly come to terms with the conflict or what was done to, and by, them. Therefore, discussion and the production of documentation of the darker events have continued to be relatively rare. However, this may not be the case for other peoples in post-conflict societies around the world with, for example, East Timor being much more open about the atrocities that occurred during the war there.¹⁸² As such, local NGOs who work to record the memory of what happened may be more prevalent and be a greater source of data than those in Bougainville.

While watchdog organisations such as Amnesty International or smaller NGOs often have the intention of publishing all their reports online, medical organisations may be a different story as in the case of the ICRC. The ICRC was operating intermittently in Bougainville during the conflict (and still does) yet they were not a valuable source of information despite having records of reported incidents. Having made contact with Alfred Grimm the head of the ICRC in the Pacific he informed me via email that, "the ICRC is restricted by confidentiality and, therefore, our possibilities to make information available is very limited."¹⁸³ For those humanitarian institutions that seek to do more in conflicts that report on abuses and that cannot rely on coercion to do it, this policy is almost necessary. To provide medical care to civilians, the Red Cross must have the consent of combatants and therefore cannot threaten them. This policy, which is intended to maintain their impartiality and therefore their ability to operate in war zones, means that, despite their global presence, their utility as a resource may be severely limited.

Humanitarian organisations such as the ICRC may not be a useful resource due to their need to remain impartial however other NGOs are worth pursuing. Reports from smaller organisations may be hard to locate and, due to their limited capacity, contain limited information; therefore, they may not represent a very efficient research path. Local NGOs may possess much more data as a result of their access to the conflict zone and level of investment in its events. Therefore attempting to identify the existence of such groups and the amount of information they contain is worth pursuing despite the fact that this is potentially very resource-intensive (it maybe even more difficult if, like in Bougainville, email communication is limited). Utilising the work of large watchdog groups such as Amnesty International is, however, essential to any databasing project. Not only are reports from these organisations likely to contain a wealth of information but it can be expected to be suitably focused, presentable and in English. Therefore, locating the work of these large NGOs is highly efficient as they can make large contributions to the dataset with the expense of limited resources.

¹⁸² Rebecca Strating, "Social Democracy in East Timor" (Routledge, 2011), p.182

¹⁸³ Alfred Grimm, to Marcus Boomen, "Bougainville Civil War Research" from: agrimm@icrc.org, 17/09/2015

Source Type: Governments Documents-

While NGOs big and small produce a large component of the war crimes record, documents collected by government institutions can also be significant. Naturally the occurrence of war crimes is something that national and foreign governments have an interest in monitoring; consequently, there is usually a good chance that states with a national interest in the conflict possess some documentation on alleged war crimes. In the case of Bougainville the limited notoriety of the conflict meant that there were only a few relevant governments (Australia, New Zealand, USA and PNG) to investigate. The easiest of these was New Zealand due to my rights as a citizen to ask the government for information.

In democratic states such as New Zealand or Australian, freedom of information acts and systems to request information (IOAs) means that they are likely to have information contained in their archives which is 'theoretically' part of the public war crimes record. However, the problem is that such information could have been documented in a variety of places for a variety of reasons whether that be diplomatic, intelligence or defence or in the records of parliamentary commissions. Additionally, reports containing information on alleged war crimes can also be expected to be recorded within or alongside sensitive intelligence reports or those that could risk diplomatic sensitivities if made fully public. This creates a double bind where governments will not release information because a request is too broad. It is difficult, however, to make a more specific request due to the classified nature of the material as the nature of the documents is unknowable.

The result of these factors is that, despite the unique advantages of attempting to gain information from my own government, it is extremely time consuming and difficult. This experience can be safely generalised to that of gaining restricted information from any government in almost any conflict for the same reasons. Despite these challenges I was able to obtain records from the New Zealand government via an IOA coupled with contact from members of the military and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. After meeting officials in Wellington and obtaining documents from them (by asking for information specifically on the Kangu Beach incident and the assassination of Theodore Miriung) I was able to conclude that the only contemporary war crimes records the New Zealand government had were diplomatic cables from the High Commission in Port Moresby. These intelligence updates consisted of photocopies and notated PNG newspaper articles from the Port Moresby High Commission which was not only evident from the documents I received but also in conversations I had which confirmed that the entire record on PNG at this time was of this nature. Though the recording of alleged war crimes may be highly politicised, there can be confidence in the fact that the New Zealand government would want the most reliable information possible and had no reason to spin classified information. Therefore, the only bias is that of their source material which, being in Port Moresby, is more likely to be partial to the government than other sources.

Attempting to gain information from other governments was even less fruitful. The Australian government was less helpful. Whether for cultural reasons, the fact I am not a national or because of their complicity in Bougainville, it was much more difficult to even gain an understanding of what information they may have. Port Moresby was equally unhelpful and difficult to contact, although this could be put down to the limited efficiency of PNG institutions as much as anything else.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, the Bougainville

¹⁸⁴ Even if they were easier to contact there can be little expectation of them being willing to help given their role in the war. Additionally, I was told that the state of the governments records in port Moresby from that time is extremely poor.

government had no useful documents. Visiting various officials such as Robert Aneisia, head of records for the BTG, and James Stanis, minister of Veterans Affairs in Bougainville, they told me how the government authorities recorded very little during the crisis. In addition, anything they did have was destroyed as a consequence of the conflict and the volcanic eruption at Rubal where most of the files were moved when the PNGDF left the island in 1990. From these experiences, the general nature of governments and restricted material, it can be concluded that IOAs and the pursuit of classified documents is not an efficient use of resources. Furthermore, the inability to gain information from Port Moresby and Buka can also be expected of many other post-conflict states which typically have weak institutions, poor historical records and may be especially sensitive to enquiries concerning war crimes.

Having said this, there are other types of freely available government sources that are worth pursuing. In the case of Bougainville these were documents from the USA and UN. The US Department of State releases annual human rights reports on states around the world including PNG. These can be freely accessed online and contained reports from the crisis on Bougainville as well as other human rights concerns in the country. Similarly, documents associated with the UN Commission on Human Rights inquiry into the Bougainville conflict was also publically available and contained many reported incidents. A significant level of detail provided to the commission came from statements made by Moses Havini in Geneva who detailed many of the PNGDF's crimes. Much of that information was reflected in other BRA sources and the media reports organised by Havini in particular. The UN special reporter also made a trip to Bougainville to investigate the human rights abuses there but his investigation in areas outside government control where hampered due to mechanical problems with the helicopter. That information which is contained in the UN report often does not identify the source of information (most likely in order to protect them); additionally, many accusations are vague as demonstrated by the following extract:

"42. As the PNGDF advanced, they set up care centres for, especially, women and children who wanted to come out of hiding to return to their normal lives. It has been claimed that assaults, rape, killing and torture have been committed by both BRA members and PNGDF members".¹⁸⁵

This can be attributed to a combination of receiving vague reports and the fact that it is sufficient for the objective of the report to convey the broad picture of human rights abuses as opposed to that of extreme detail. Having said this, however, the main UN report from the commission does back up its overview with some specific instances such as the killing of BIG Health Minister Ken Savia and the mass killing of six men on their way back from the Solomons. These details are the type of information that is useful for the database; however, very little was original material as most seems to have come from Havini or media reports. Therefore, any bias of reporting in the UN documents would be a reflection of those within their source material. In contrast to restricted or non-digital information that governments may possess, these freely available reports sources contain a wealth of information. Like the NZ government, the Americans were relying on secondary sources such as newspapers, UN investigations and, most likely, the work of Amnesty International possibly combined with PNG government statements. This means that their reports are, like that of the NZ government and the UN, much less damning of Port Moresby than those sources that rely on BRA information.

¹⁸⁵ United Nations, Commission on Human Rights, "Question of the Violation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Any Part of the World With Particular Reference to Colonial and Other Dependent Countries and Territories" (1996), viewed 11/01/1997 <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/commission/country52/4-add2.htm>

Government sources can be expected to contain valuable information but the value of pursuing these may only be worthwhile where they are freely available online. Attempting to gain information from state records via IOAs is unlikely to be of use given the difficulty that such processes entail, the sensitive nature of war crimes reports and the quality of record-keeping of some post-conflict states. However, the global reach and resources of entities like the US and UN means that their public information can be expected to cover conflicts of any type worldwide and therefore they are an efficient source to utilise. In addition to free online material from these international actors, it could be the case that, in states that have gone through truth and reconciliation processes or have adopted an open attitude toward past conflicts, more information may be publicly available. As discussed in relation to local NGOs, this was not the case for Bougainville and PNG but could be an efficient path of research when pursuing state records for conflicts such as those in East Timor or, perhaps, Rwanda.

Source Type: Newspaper Archives-

Newspaper reports and other works by journalists are often information rich and are therefore a vital component of the war crimes record of almost any conflict. The value of newspapers is well understood to academics of the social sciences.¹⁸⁶ Papers' need for new, dramatic stories and the clarity of their formatting along with the frequency with which they publish makes them a generally useful source. While making them valuable, the high frequency of publication also means processing them is resource intensive. This would be especially problematic for high intensity, widely covered conflicts. However, programs such as Factiva exist which are digital databases of newspapers that are intended to reduce this resource expenditure by making these documents accessible and manageable (they also are a demonstration of the value of databasing projects).

In the case of Bougainville the relevant newspapers were those on the ground in PNG due to the lack of international awareness of or interest in the conflict. The local Bougainvillean paper, the Arawa Times, provided a source of war crimes data of the early part of the war (1989-1990) until the capital descended into anarchy. The national newspaper, the PNG Courier, continued to publish reports of events throughout the war and is cited numerous times by other sources. I was only able to gain an awareness of the content of these newspapers through secondary sources, however. While in Bougainville I attempted to track down any remaining archive of the Arawa Times, but confirmed that this was indeed destroyed along with most of the town during the crisis. Furthermore, the PNG Courier proved inaccessible as its historical archive only existed in Port Moresby. I attempted to organise access to this but did not have the funds necessary in order to stay and move around the capital. This is due to the fact that mining interests in PNG have inflated the cost of accommodation in the country to exorbitant amounts. The city is also infamous for being dangerous and quality accommodation is needed to operate safely. This is especially true if attempting to access the newspaper's archive which would require a prolonged stay with a long commute thus increasing the risks significantly. For these reasons, the PNG courier represents the only key source I identified which could not be accessed and is therefore missing from the Bougainville database. Having said that, however, some of its records have been captured in other documents, and I was able to go through some of the papers which were contained at the Macmillan Brown Library at the University of Canterbury.

¹⁸⁶ Sanjica F. Tanackovic, Maja Krtalic, Darko Lacovic, "Newspapers as a Research Source: Information needs and information seeking of humanitarian scholars" In *Digital Transformation and the Changing Role of News Media in the 21st Century*, IFLA Newspapers Section Pre-Conference (2014), p.12

Although utilising newspapers as a source in Bougainville proved difficult and the inability to access the PNG Courier's archive is a hole in the database, as a generalizable rule newspaper archives can still be said to be an essential point of research for other conflicts. Their accessibility might depend on the notoriety of the conflict, the country it took place in, as well as the quality of recordkeeping in that state and potential language barriers. If these are not digitised and therefore not searchable digitally then, depending on the context, they may still be too inefficient of a source to analyse. Newspapers can always be expected to be information rich but making use of them is resource intensive and therefore the efficiency of utilising them is context dependent.

Source Type: Other Assorted Documents-

The last category of resource that contains information on alleged war crimes is that of other sources from individuals, usually in the form of academic and non-academic literature. Books and journal articles are one of the most important resources to any academic work and as such I spent time trying to find accounts of war crimes within them. However, for the purposes of constructing a database this type of source proved to be of limited value. The problem with these types of texts is that very few war crimes are documented within them in contrast to the amount of other material they contain. This can be attributed to the fact that texts within the literature are not intended to provide a compendium of crimes or events. Consequently, the accounts of war crimes that are included are usually intended to provide an example in order to illustrate a point or to make some large scale phenomena more real by focusing on an individual case. Therefore, locating and extracting the relevant data from all the other material in a book is extremely inefficient and therefore they are of limited value.

Despite the fact that books are often information poor, this does not mean that libraries are as well. Their archives may contain unconventional texts or resources that can capture a large proportion of the war crime record. An example of this was found in the library of the Australian National University. This resource was a copy of Marilyn Havini's records of human rights abuses published in two volumes during the crisis. In the case of Bougainville these were an extremely valuable source containing a wealth of information on abuses. Her work was, in some ways, very similar to the type of databasing project being assessed here as Havini sought to collect as much of the war crimes record as possible. However, her endeavours were for a very different purpose with the objective being to raise awareness of the abuses that were still occurring at the time of publication. Furthermore, she was the wife of Moses Havini who was a member of the BRA and so there is potential for bias within these documents. If this is the case, it is more likely to be a bias through omission or distrust of pro-government source and therefore their exclusion in favour of BRA documents. This is more likely than poor research or intentional falsification due to the detailed and meticulous nature of her work coupled with the esteem she is held in by many, both on Bougainville and by others who research Bougainville.

Another wealthy source of information was the reports made by Rosemary Gillespie, a human rights lawyer/activist who travelled to Bougainville in 1991 by running the PNGDF blockade. Her sources also provided a wealth of instance data. However, like in the case of Havini there is potential reason to be wary of bias of omission within her work. The most important of these is the fact that she operated and collected her information in Bougainville under the protection of the BRA and without the consent of PNG. Subsequently, there is the very real potential that the BRA controlled witnesses' access to her, her access to sights, atrocities they committed or, in other ways shaped the narrative of her' work by their ability to exercise control over her movements. Furthermore, while in Bougainville I was informed to be wary of her

work as she was said to be extremely committed to the BRA’s cause and therefore far from an unbiased observer. Having said this, she was also a lawyer and this is reflected in the fact that she collected signed testimonies and letters from victims as a measure to increase the credibility of her reports. Given this, any bias or inaccurate reporting on her part would likely take the shape of omission of PNG government sources, BRA crimes or a much more critical interpretation of PNGDF motives or intention of their actions.

While conventional forms of literature such as academic books are of little worth, other more unconventional documents can be hugely valuable. This is especially true if they are contained in archives which offer a high ease of access to their vast repository of sources as this increases immensely the efficiency of locating them. This means that simple library searches are as valuable as ever and make it possible to find large amounts of information while expending limited resources which therefore makes this avenue of research highly efficient.

Evaluation of Bias within the Sources-

While I have discussed each of the types of resources and the documents that form the majority of the Bougainville war crimes record, a more holistic evaluation of bias within the data is also necessary. Conducting an empirical evaluation of this bias within the data complements and expands upon the topic as described above. Additionally it also serves to briefly demonstrate how this type of war crimes reporting data can be used to reflect on and understand the nature of the data itself and not only the violence it documents.

To explore this issue, the Bougainville data can be organised by the identity of the perpetrators accused of each crime. This can then be divided into the pro-government forces (PNGDF, security forces, and Resistance), the rebel forces (BRA/BIG) and those cases where the allegiance of the perpetrators is unclear (including those recorded as rascal, rebel or unknown). When the data is organised this way the results break down into the following:

Fig 5.8

Recorded Offending Party of War Crimes Events			
	Pro-Government Forces	Rebel	Unclear/ unreported
Number of Events Committed	613 (85%)	73 (10%)	37 (5%)

Within the war crimes record 85% of crimes were allegedly committed by pro-government forces. Of these the PNGDF are recorded to have carried out 536 crimes, the other security forces were involved in 71 and the Resistance allegedly committed 101 (note: some events were carried out by multiple elements of the pro-government forces). While the potential for bias has been discussed, for example, in the rebel media releases or within the documents of Rosemary Gillespie, there are still multiple theories that could explain this pattern and that need to be addressed. The first of these is that the pro-government forces did commit the majority of crimes during the conflict. The second is that the pro-government sources are missing. The final theory is that the pro-government forces did not widely report atrocities, and therefore the war crimes record is in actuality dominated by the rebel sources.

The first of these possibilities is, to some extent, almost certainly true. Due to the offensive nature of the government forces, the extent to which they acted as a hostile occupation force and their anti-insurgency

tactics it can be expected that they committed more crimes than the BRA. However, the reason to discount this argument as the explanation for most of this disparity lies more in the absence of BRA crimes than the total number of government atrocities. From anecdotal comments within the documents it is known that the BRA were responsible for many more crimes than the 73 recorded here. The lack of discipline in their ranks may have been just as bad as that of the PNGDF and the historical record reports that they conducted numerous attacks on civilians throughout the conflict. The strongest evidence for this is that, as previously described, their fighters carried out crimes in the more affluent northern areas like Buka and Tinputz where the local population was more sympathetic to the government. The crimes committed against these communities were the decisive factor that created the Resistance which assisted the PNGDF in the liberation of the island. Additionally, there are elements of the BRA who used their power and position to become, in essence, criminal gangs, extorting and robbing the people. Even if it is assumed that all events which are logged as being conducted by 'rebels', rascals, or skin BRA were conducted by the BRA, then there are still simply too few reported cases to believe that the ratio of BRA to pro-government crimes is accurately reflected in the war crimes record.

The second theory in this dataset is missing pro-government sources. The reason to believe this can be attributed to the difficulty in obtaining records that are more likely to be pro-government as previously discussed. One key source is particularly relevant here: the PNG Courier which may be more pro-government due to its status as a national newspaper headquartered in the capital. As mentioned, the Courier does have a historical archive located in Port Moresby that was inaccessible for logistical reasons. In addition to the PNG Courier, the other possible source of pro-government information is the PNG government itself. However, these accounts are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Not only is the PNG government infamous for the state of its record keeping but it is also, and perhaps unsurprisingly, unwilling to provide documents concerning war crimes in Bougainville. Not only was this made evident while conducting the research and in meeting with BTG officials in Bougainville but there was a general policy of silence during the conflict as well. During the conflict the PNG government attempted to silence, to the greatest possible extent, news of war crimes coming out of the conflict zone. The government restricted the access of reporters, NGOs such as Amnesty International and Red Cross, as well the movement and exposure of official delegations such as the UN special reporter and those from the Australian government. In addition to this, it is alleged by groups such as Amnesty that the government consistently failed to produce reports from almost all of the investigations into alleged atrocities that came to light during the conflict.¹⁸⁷ From this behaviour it can be inferred that the government's objective may have been to hide the true nature and extent of the violence in Bougainville, not only in regards to their own actions but of the violence overall. This tactic used by the government to suppress information on war crimes does, however, provide evidence to believe that the extent to which records are missing from this database is limited as it seems likely that if this were the case very few government records would have been made public anyway.

If it is the case that the government's strategy was to suppress information then the third hypothesis, that the rebels were able to heavily influence the war crimes record, appears to be much more likely. With the government pursuing a policy of silence and restricting the access of third parties to the conflict, they would have effectively handed over control of the story of the war to the second most powerful organisation on the island— the rebels. If the PNGDF did not allow access to the island then the only way to get there was with rebel protection. If news needed to get off the island the rebels had the most organised communications

¹⁸⁷ Amnesty International, "Papua New Guinea: Human rights violations on Bougainville: 1989-1990" (November 1990), p.13-14

system outside of the government. If a report of atrocities was going to be successfully communicated to the outside world, the rebels had the greatest chance of getting it heard. This would then place the rebels in the position to influence the narrative to either omit their own crimes or emphasize that of the government forces.

If this third theory is valid, and the large percentage of crimes that can be attributed to the government forces is influenced by the rebel’s control over information then this should be detectable in the data. If this is the case then it would be expected that a large proportion of war crimes accounts originate from the rebels. If, alternatively, the ratio of documents produced or referenced by the PNG government is close to that of the rebels then it would provide evidence for the first theory that the PNG forces did, in actuality, commit the overwhelming majority of crimes. Furthermore, this outcome would indicate that the argument that the government exercised a strategy of silence is incorrect. If the government did produce documentation of crimes then this can be expected to show up in the data as reported in other documents. Finally, if the majority of documents cite neutral sources (those which are not clearly under the influence of either side) then it would also support the first hypothesis as it would suggest that the war crimes record may not be biased one way or the other. To test this, the sources of information reported in the war crimes documents can be divided into four categories. Those that cite or are produced by the government or PNGDF, those that cite or are produced by BRA/BIG control sources,* those that cite independent sources (such as eyewitness or new papers whose own sources cannot be traced) and finally, those that do not report the source of their information at all. When this is done the following results are:

Fig 5.9

Recorded Source of Information on Events				
	Government	Rebels	Independent	Unreported
Number of reported sources	9 (1%)	504 (57%)	258 (29%)	116 (13%)

As can be seen from the results, very few documents cite PNG government sources. Furthermore, seven of the nine documents that do are from a single source, the US state department. In comparison, the vast majority of sources come from the rebel or sources controlled by them. Many of these are BIG media releases or are crimes recorded by Rosemary Gillespie. This result provides evidence for the failure or lack of will of the PNG government to influence the narrative of the conflict. Even if the government’s strategy was not to suppress information (though it seems likely that it was) then it is clear that they failed, either in their ability to communicate their information or in their ability to present themselves as a reputable source.

The final way that the cause of the disparity within the war crimes data can be investigated is by examining the bias of the rebel documents. This can be done by examining a random sample of rebel influenced documents and comparing this to a control group of neutral sources. If the BRA were influencing the record then we would expect the rebel sources to diverge from the neutral sources in their reporting of both pro-government and BRA crimes. The degree to which this is the case will provide evidence for the degree to which the rebels were using their power to manipulate the war crimes narrative. In order to do this a random sample of 150 incidents that originated from rebel-controlled documents was compared to a random sample of 150 incidents reported in neutral documents. The use of a random sample was intended to control for the disparity in the number of documents that cite rebel sources versus those that cite independent ones. The instance reports were then randomised by sorting the list by the names of victims

in alphabetical order and taking the first 150; the assumption being that there is no relation between the bias of the source and the name of the victims. When this was done the results showed the following:

Fig 5.10

Recorded Offending Party as Reported by BRA and Neutral Sources			
Combatant	Number of alleged crimes		
	Government forces	BRA	Unreported
As reported by rebels sources	139 (93%)	6 (4%)	5 (3%)*
As reported by independent sources	120 (80%)	14 (9%)	16 (11%)

**Of the five crimes logged 'unreported' by the rebels all but one heavily implicates the government forces as the perpetrators. This compares to only one unreported neutral source which implicates the PNGDF.*

There is certainly a visible difference between the rebel and independent sources. The rebel sources attribute a much higher proportion of crimes to the pro-government forces than the neutral sources do. This trend is even more compelling if those crimes that are officially unreported by the rebels but heavily implicate the government are added to those explicitly attributed to the government forces. When this is done, 95% of war crimes are attributed to the government by the rebel sources. This compares to only 80% of crimes alleged by independent sources. In addition to this, the independent sources report more than double the number of crimes that are attributed to the BRA.

This provides strong evidence to indicate that the rebels had control of the war crimes narrative during the conflict; the hypothesis being that the government was attempting to restrict the flow of information from the island and, in so doing, allowed the rebels to monopolise the reporting of war crimes and influence it for their agenda. Furthermore, it seems they may have used this control to downplay the extent of their own crimes and emphasise those of the government. This may have allowed them to further strengthen the narrative communicated to the outside world that they were the just actor in this conflict. This is in spite of the fact that the crimes committed by their men were serious and widespread enough to turn parts of the island against them and to form the pro-government Resistance. This demonstrates both the power of being able to influence the information reported to advocacy groups as well as the negative consequences of attempting to suppress information about the crimes committed during a conflict.

5.3 Conclusion

The intention of this chapter was twofold. Firstly, to provide an overview of the information that was gathered for the Bougainville dataset. This included data on the number of documented instances, the types of crimes that were committed and the bias of the reports in favour of the BRA/BIG. This not only serves as an overview, but also to provide a brief demonstration of how this type of data can be used to gain a greater understanding of specific phenomena within a given conflict.

The other function of this chapter was to provide an assessment of the research phase of this case study. Using the concept of an efficiency curve helped to describe and evaluate the utility of the four different types of sources of the war crimes record, both in terms of their use in Bougainville and at a more general level. The evaluation of the research phase outlined above will, in combination with other key observations, be used to discuss the final evaluation of the feasibility of creating other war crimes databasing projects and to

understand how this could make a valuable contribution to the academic community concerned with understand war and conflict.

Chapter 6: Research Output Exemplar – The Issue of Male Gender Violence

This section is intended to provide an example of how the type of war crimes data collected in this case study can be utilised to generate hypotheses and research. These may not only deal with questions surrounding a particular conflict but also those that concern the nature of violence in conflicts more generally. In order to demonstrate this, the issue of gender violence as it relates to attacks committed against males will be examined.

The understanding of atrocities committed against civilian males in times of conflict remains a relatively under-explored area in political science and the humanitarian community more generally. Utilising the conceptual framework of gender violence to identify and understand these issues can help to shed more light on the types of violence affecting this part of the population. The discourse of male gender violence that does exist focuses on the issue of sexual violence and, while this is valuable the concept of gender violence, can also be used to understand other issues that result from the intersection of gender, war and violence. To do this, I will isolate all 154 incidents within the Bougainville data which involved the victimisation of the 278 individuals of known age and sex. This sample of victims will then be used to create a pyramid of this population for a comparison with the baseline population of Bougainville using the same method to determine any disparity between the two populations. A content analysis will then be undertaken on those reports of instances involving male victims of fighting age to determine the reason why these men were victimised. Finally, with this breakdown of the reasons for the victimisation of this group, along with the known percentage they constitute of the total number of victims (provided by the demographic analysis) an estimate can be made of the percentage of recorded victims of atrocities in the Bougainville Civil War that were civilian males targeted as a form of gender violence.

6.1 Gender Violence and Men

In order to discuss gender violence, it is first necessary to define what will be meant by the term. In the preface of their book “Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives” Laura L. O’Toole, Jessica R. Schiffman, and Margie L. Kate Edwards lay out a definitional understanding of the concept by dividing it down into its two components. Their definition of gender is a “constellation of personal attributes assigned to men and women in any culture.” It is a characteristic that defines relationships, the assignment of labour, social values and the granting of privilege.¹⁸⁸ A person’s gender is also not necessarily the same as one’s sex with the former being cultural and the latter being biological.¹⁸⁹ O’Toole, Schiffman and Edwards’ description of gender also indicates, yet fails to explicitly state, that gender can also be taken beyond the traditional concept of the gender binary (male and female) to include a variety of other identities such as transgender or

¹⁸⁸ Laura L. O’Toole, Jessica R. Schiffman, Margie L. Kiter Edwards, “Gender Violence: Interdisciplinary Perspectives” (New York Universty Press, 2007), p.xii

¹⁸⁹ It should also be noted that many discussion of gender violence also incorporates discrimination against people based on the sexuality such as gays and lesbians.

Bi-gender.¹⁹⁰ As well as gender these authors discuss the issue of violence. They define this as “the extreme application of social control”, usually through physiological intimidation or physical force. The term violence is also intended to go beyond immediate physical violence and can be structural, stemming from organisations and regulations such as the government who exercise control through the threat of violence.¹⁹¹ Finally the authors combine these two in order to describe “gender violence as any interpersonal, organisational or politically orientated violation perpetrated against people due to their gender identity, sexual orientation, or in the hierarchy”.¹⁹²

Analysing violence in this way, through the concept of gender and gender dynamics, represents a major contribution to feminist scholarship. This is even more so for violence in times of war where this construct has helped raise the issue of sexual violence and the widespread rape of women by combatants. These efforts culminated in the recognition of rape as a distinct war crime during the war crimes trials for the former Yugoslavia in 1991 and was cemented in documents such as the UN ‘Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women’ in 1993.¹⁹³

While the academic literature and humanitarian efforts surrounding gender violence against women has come far, the recognition and understanding of gender violence against men remains a relatively invisible issue.¹⁹⁴ This is the common theme of the literature on the subject on male gender violence. Articles such as Ellen Gorris’ “Invisible Victims? Where are male victims of conflict-related sexual violence in international law and policy?”, Chloe Lewis’ “Systematic Silencing: Addressing Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in Armed Conflict and its Aftermath” or Solangon and Patel’s article “Sexual Violence Against Men in Countries Affected by Armed Conflict” also agree that little attention is given to the way males are affected by war.¹⁹⁵ In addition to this common assessment of the visibility of the issue, all these articles and most others on the subject share a second theme: a focus on sexual violence. This focus can also be seen in articles by Linos (2009), Mouthaan (2013) as well as Onyango and Hampanda (2016).¹⁹⁶ The body of literature on male gender violence, broadly speaking, seeks to establish these two facts: that issues affecting men should be included in our understanding of gender violence and that sexual violence against men in times of conflict is an understudied, under-acknowledged and under-reported problem. This focus on gender violence as sexual violence may be identified as a result of the expropriation of the term from the dominant discourse of

¹⁹⁰ While much can be said of the exclusion of these genders from the concept of gender violence this is another issue and, as such will not be discussed here.

¹⁹¹ O’Toole, Schiffman, Edwards “Gender Violence” (2007), p.xii

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Sarah Solangon, Preeti Patel, “Sexual Violence against Men in Countries affected by Armed Conflict” *Conflict, Security & Development* vol.12, no.4 (2012), p.148

¹⁹⁴ Jane Freedman, “Gender, Violence and Politics in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” (Routledge, 2016), p.15

¹⁹⁵ See Ellen Anna Gorris, “Invisible victims? Where are male victims of conflict-related sexual violence in international law and policy?.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* vol.22, no.4, (2015), p.412-427; Chloé Lewis, “Systemic Silencing: Addressing Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in Armed Conflict and its Aftermath.” *Rethinking Peacekeeping, Gender Equality and Collective Security*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.203-223; Sarah Solangon, Patel Preeti, “Sexual violence against men in countries affected by armed conflict.” *Conflict, Security & Development* vol.12, no.4, (2012), p.417-442.

¹⁹⁶ Natalia Linos, “Rethinking gender-based violence during war: Is violence against civilian men a problem worth addressing?.” *Social Science & Medicine* vol.68, no.8, (2009), p.1548-1551; Solange Mouthaan, “Sexual Violence against Men and International Law—Criminalising the Unmentionable.” *International Criminal Law Review* vol.13, no.3, (2013), p.665-695; Monica Adhiambo Onyango, Karen Hampanda, “Social constructions of masculinity and male survivors of wartime sexual violence: an analytical review.” *International Journal of Sexual Health* vol.23, no.4, (2011), p.237-247.

gender violence— that which affects women. Here the main and most graphic expression of violence in the male, female gender relationship is that of sexual violence. Consequently, the most natural place to first develop an understanding of gender violence as it affects men is also around the issue of sexual violence and the role it plays in conflict through the dominating, humiliating and, crucially, the emasculation of ‘hostile’ male populations.

While sexual violence is the predominant form of gender violence discussed within the literature, this analysis is not intended to focus on that issue. Instead, the objective here is to contribute to the literature by demonstrating how the concept of gender violence can be utilised to understand different types of non-sexual violence affecting men in times of war which result from gender roles and dynamics, more specifically, the effect that the gendered role of warrior has on the victimisation of fighting-aged males. Here, the works of Adam Jones, David Benatar and R. Charli Carpenter are of note for their discussion of this issue. In his book ‘the Second Sexism’, Benatar discusses one form of gender violence that results from the gendered nature of war which is that of conscription.¹⁹⁷ At first, this may not seem like a form of gender violence; however, using coercive power to force males into a position in which they have a high chance of being killed, maimed, or suffering horrendous conditions as well as physiological trauma is a form of gendered violence if not a form of slavery.

While many rulers throughout history have sought to minimise the suffering of their forced combatants, others have not. An example of this at its worst is that of Soviet *Shtrafbat* ‘Trampler’ battalions: penal units that were used in WW2. They are so called because these men were forced to stand shoulder to shoulder and walk into German minefields to clear them under fire. Worse than any execution, those that survived a blast were ignored by their officers and fellow red army members to die slowly where they fell with their limbs torn off.¹⁹⁸ Carpenter also briefly discusses this issue in his article “Recognising Gender-Based Violence against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations”. He provides the following quote from UNICEF in 2002 which states: “We don’t protect men from forced conscription. Force conscription is not a human rights violation...every government has a right to conscript men”.¹⁹⁹ This, coupled with the prevalence of the practice in the 20th century demonstrates that, if conscription can be viewed as a human rights abuse and a form of gender violence, then it is so systematically entrenched that it is not even viewed as an infringement of people rights, let alone as a potential form of slavery.

Another form of gender violence that Carpenter describes is that of sex-selective massacres as a component of genocide. He argues that in conflicts where the goal is genocide men are often viewed as the ones carrying both property rights and ethnicity. This mentality can be most commonly seen by the traditional inheritance of the male’s last name, even in Western liberal states.²⁰⁰ In more traditional societies this patriarchal structure can mean that in order to eliminate an ethnic group only the men need to be exterminated for the women to be absorbed into the *genocidaires* population along with property and land.²⁰¹ This behaviour is integrally related to the idea of rape as a tool of genocide, and it is from this literature that Carpenter’s discussion draws.²⁰² Men are the holders of power, and that power needs to be

¹⁹⁷ David Benatar, “The Second Sexism: discrimination against men and boys” (John Wiley & Sons, 2012), p.26

¹⁹⁸ Andy Chambers “Bolt Action: Armies of the Soviet Union” (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), p.27

¹⁹⁹ R. Charli Carpenter, “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations” (University of Pittsburgh, 2006), p.91

²⁰⁰ Caroline Squire, “The Social Context of Birth” (Radcliffe Publishing, 2003), p.68

²⁰¹ Carpenter, “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence” (2006), p.90

²⁰² Carpenter, “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence” (2006), p.89

destroyed; women do not hold power but are prizes of war. This demonstrates how the idea of gender violence is just as applicable to the issues of men as of women. In this example above, the exact same idea of gender dynamics that drives the rape of women as a tool of genocide which also leads to the mass extermination of males.

As well as exterminations as a component of genocide, men are also at risk of other forms of killing. In his article 'Gendercide and gender' along with his book of the same name, Adam Jones and his co-writers discuss a multitude of aspects of gender violence which affect men. He utilises Mary Anne Warren's conception of gendercide, the systematic elimination of a group based on gender, as a framework to discuss such events throughout history.²⁰³ While this does cover the same kind of genocidal killing, Carpenter also examines violence resulting from the relationship between men and the gendered role of warfare. In particular, attention is given to the events in Kosovo with evidence produced in a report by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE report on the conflict notes that: "Young men were by far the most targeted in the conflict...every young Kosovo Albanian was suspected of being a terrorist".²⁰⁴ The acts of Serbian forces in Kosovo and that of others like them can be attributed to a link between young males and their gendered role as warriors, fighters and soldiers.²⁰⁵

Throughout history, combatants have been almost exclusively male and, while this shows signs of changing, it is still very much the norm today. It is a biological fact that young males are the strongest demographic within any given human population.²⁰⁶ Furthermore, strength is one of the greatest advantages in combat and war is therefore an activity that selects for strength.²⁰⁷ Therefore, young males have traditionally made up the bulk of warriors in human history. There are exceptions to this such as the female cavalry of the Steppes, the female soldiers of Eretria or individuals such as Joan of Arc or Milunka Savic.²⁰⁸ However, as Joshua Goldstein states in his book 'War and Gender', the gendered nature of war fighting is one of the most stable gender roles across all cultures and times and that the exceptions to this would be "far less than 1 percent of all warriors in history."²⁰⁹ Even with the emergence of cultures today that allow women in the military, such as New Zealand or Norway, female combatants are rare.

Not only is the role of combatant dominated almost exclusively by males, but it is frequently tied in with the very ideas of masculinity and manhood in many cultures. Being a capable fighter or possessing traits such as heroism, athleticism and stoicism are frequently associated with a male's prestige while the lack of such traits can be seen as a taint against them.²¹⁰ In some conflicts, the pressure and expectations were so great that an inability to enlist could lead to suicides out of shame. The practice of giving out white feathers to civilian men in WW2 led to such acts and forced the UK government to create a badge to identify those exempt on medical grounds.²¹¹ For these reasons, being a warrior is a clearly-defined gender role and even an expectation placed upon those men of the appropriate age. Therefore, when there is a contest of political

²⁰³ Adam Jones, "Gendercide and genocide" *Journal of Genocide Research* vol. 2, no.2 (2000), p.186

²⁰⁴ Ibid.185

²⁰⁵ Adam Jones, "Effacing the Male: Gender, misrepresentation, and exclusion in the Kosovo War" (2001), viewed 11/01/2017 <http://adamjones.freeservers.com/effacing.htm>

²⁰⁶ Joshua S. Goldstein, "War and Gender: how gender shapes the war system and vice versa" (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.10

²⁰⁷ Todd K. Shackelford, Viviana A. Weekes-Shackelford, "The Oxford Handbook of Evolutionary Perspective on Violence, Homicide, and War" (Oxford University Press, 2012), p.374

²⁰⁸ Goldstein, "War and Gender" (2003), p.15

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p.10

²¹⁰ James C. Bradford, "International Encyclopaedia of Military History" (Routledge, 2004), p.508

²¹¹ K. Miller, "British Literature of the Blitz: fighting the people's war" (Springer, 2008), p.89

power through force of arms, it is this group from which all combatants are drawn. Consequently, any violence committed against civilian males within this demographic as a result of an association between them and their expected role as warriors is a case of gender violence.

The final prerequisite which needs to be discussed in order to proceed is that of identifying who is fighting-aged, both in Bougainville specifically and around the world more generally. While the focus of this section concerns gender and the gendered nature of conflict, age is equally important to delineating the warrior class of a society as a four-year-old male is even more clearly a non-combatant than a woman is. Therefore, in order to empirically assess the presence of any relationship between attacks on males and their role as warriors, the delineation of 'fighting age' must also be discussed using the case study of Bougainville. While the demarcation of gender in the binary society of Bougainville is clear, the demarcation of age is more complicated. The subset of men who a society judges appropriately aged for combat varies from culture to culture. Most modern militaries generally begin recruiting from 18 or 20 and will cycle out common soldiers around 35-40. This is not uniform, however, as it is theoretically possible for 14-year-olds to be drafted in Bolivia and reservists to stay in the military until their 60s in Estonia.²¹²

The actual use of men of these extreme ages in combat only occurs (in professional state militaries) in times of existential crisis when a state has already called up every able-bodied man, as was the case for Germany and Russia in WW2 as well as Austria-Hungary in WW1.²¹³ In these situations of total war, these powers drew on any man that could carry a rifle in order to defend their lands. In cases of non-state actors, however, the participation of the very old or very young is much more common. The use of child soldiers in African forces such as those of the Lord's Resistance Army serves as an example of this.²¹⁴ The consequence of this variation in the concept of what constitutes a fighting-aged male means that this term must be redefined from conflict to conflict. In the case of Bougainville, military age males were considered as those being between the ages of 15-49.²¹⁵ This is because many youths took part in the BRA and so the inclusion of teenagers is appropriate. Adolescents were excluded as, while it is likely that at least some were combatants, they can be expected to have done so in extremely low numbers. With regards to the old, 49 were taken as the upper limit as combatants. This is due to the fact there is a lack of any indication of old men acting as combatants in either the war crimes data or the general accounts of the crisis.

6.2 Demographic Analysis

With the delineation of fighting age males established, the first step in assessing any significant victimisation of this demographic is to isolate all instances within the Bougainville data which contain at least one victim of any known age and sex. This will give the largest possible set of data samples with which to analyse this issue and create a sample which can be taken to represent the demographics of all reported victims within the entire Bougainville database. This extrapolation is possible as there is little reason to believe that there is any relationship between the age/sex of a victim and the reporting of that information as an atrocity. This means that the collection of instances isolated for this analysis can be regarded as a random sample. As with all criminal statistics however, the issues of inaccurate reporting and the dark figure

²¹² CIA, "Military Service Age and Obligation" viewed 11/01/2017

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2024.html>

²¹³ Nathaniel Harris "World War II" (Britannica Digital Learning, 2012), p.43

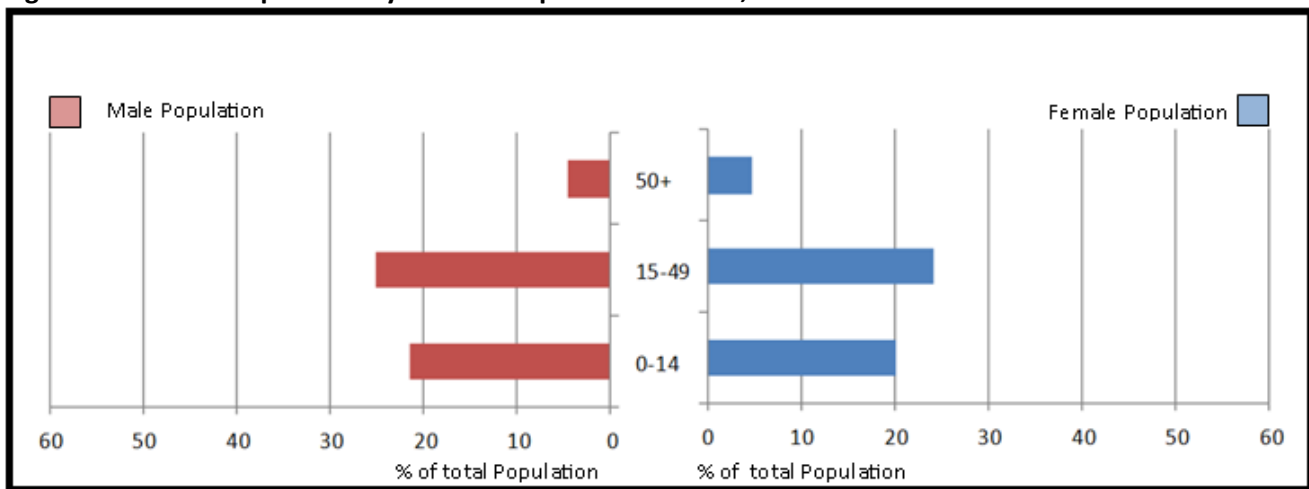
²¹⁴ David M. Rosen "Child Soldiers: A reference handbook" (ABC-CLIO, 2012), p.49

²¹⁵ The age 15 is taken specifically to accommodate demographic data further on.

of crime limits the strengths of conclusions drawn from criminal data, and the impact of these issues will be reflected upon in the final analysis of the data within this chapter. Despite this, using the war crimes data provides the best information available for assessing issues such as the extent of gender violence. From the database there is a set of 154 instances with 278 known individuals of any identified age and sex. This also includes those where a specific number is not given but that do contain a specific enough description in order to classify the victim, such as 'elderly', 'child', 'youth' 'early 20s'.²¹⁶

Having isolated this data, it is now possible to examine the disparity between the baseline population demographics of Bougainville and the comparable demographics of the victimised population. This will show which groups are over or underrepresented as a proportion of victims of war crimes during the crisis. In order to do this the next necessary step is to determine the baseline demographics of the island. Without this information, the demographic distribution of victims is useless as any result could be attributed to the distribution of the population as a whole. A high number of combat-aged male victims could be explained by the presence of a higher proportion of males in the population as a whole. Normally information such as this comes from census data that reliably records the breakdown of a population by both age and sex. However, as a state of war existed on the island for a decade it was not possible to record such information. Fortunately, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs have official population estimates for Papua New Guinea as a component of their official global population projection project. This project uses data on a state's total population, fertility, child mortality, life expectancy and immigration to create a model of that state's demographics in any given year.²¹⁷ Therefore, the UN's model from PNG in 1992 (the midpoint of the violence in Bougainville) can be used to estimate the country's population distribution and, therefore, in the absence of any deviations, that of Bougainville's.

Fig 6.1: UN Model Population Pyramid of Papua New Guinea, 1992



As can be seen from this graph the combat aged male population of PNG constitutes %25.24 of the total population in 1992. This is slightly higher than the equivalently aged female population which is %24.09. Male children also outnumber those of females; however, there are more elderly women than there are men. The limits of this data being at national level necessitate the assumption that the population of

²¹⁶ This information is contained in the age column of the war crimes data along with the more specific ages expressed in numbers for those that are reported as such.

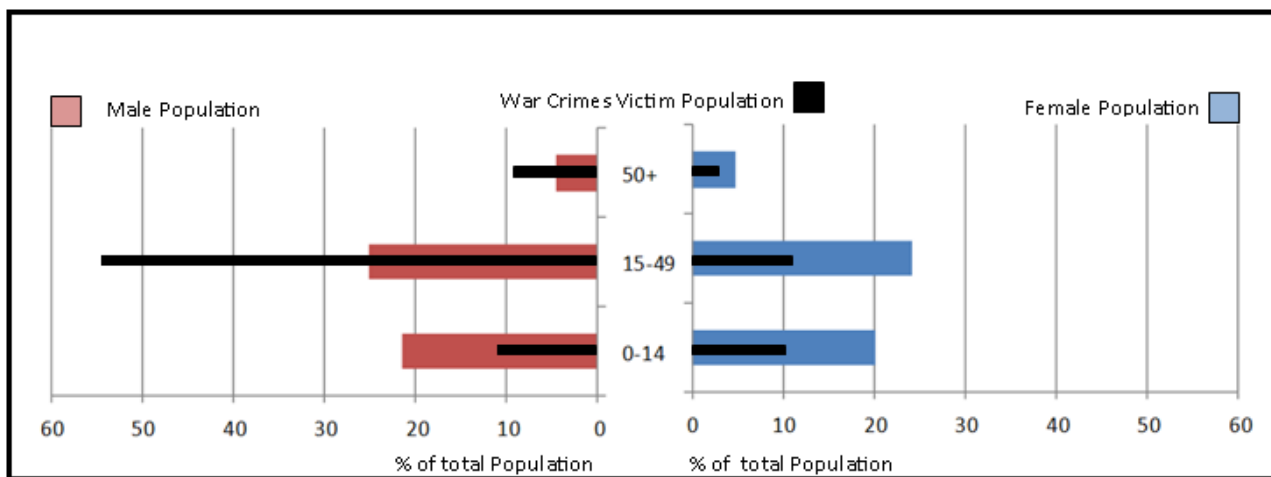
²¹⁷ United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "2015 Revision of World Population Prospects (Population Division)" viewed 25/10/2016 <https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/DataQuery/>

Bougainville approximates that of the rest of PNG at the time. However, Bougainville was in the middle of a conflict in 1992 and war has the potential to disrupt the baseline distribution of any given population. For example, WW2 had a significant impact on many of its participant’s demographics with the Soviet Union’s massive losses during the war reducing its sex ratio to an estimated 1:0.76 (female: male).²¹⁸ Wars can also skew the sex ratio via intentional systemic mass executions such as the type of sex-selective massacres discussed by Carpenter and Jones in their work. Finally, the population data could be significantly affected by the nature of refugee’s movements if culture, circumstance or conscription affects the ratio of men to women fleeing the war zone.

In the case of Bougainville, there is little evidence to suggest that any of these factors were significant enough to invalidate the use of the population data. The battles that occurred during the war were small in scale and, therefore, battlefield deaths would not have an effect. Furthermore, the war crimes data indicates that there were no massacres of a particular sex on a scale large enough to skew the sex ratio with the largest being the 22 men killed in Buka in 1991. Lastly, there is nothing to indicate that the refugee population that left the island during the war was sufficiently gendered as to affect the ratio. Therefore the demographics can be assumed to mostly reflect that of Bougainville during the crisis with the condition that any narrow results will need to be considered with a higher degree of uncertainty.

With this information, the hypothesis that fighting-age men were disproportionately targeted as a factor of population can be evaluated. By creating the same population pyramid as in Figure 6.1 for the 278 victims of know age and sex and then overlaying that with the baseline population data we can determine if any group is over-represented as victims.

Fig 6.2 Population Pyramid, War Crimes Victims vs. Total Population



As can be seen from this graph of the two population distributions, males in the age bracket of 15-49 are a much higher proportion of the war crimes victims than they are of the general population. This demographic represents half of all known victims in the dataset at 54.2% despite constituting 25.2% of the baseline population. Men over 50 are also over represented being 4.5% of the population but 9.8% of victims. All other groups are underrepresented as victims by around half of what they constitute of the population. It can be expected that women between 15-49 are underrepresented. Despite the margin of

²¹⁸ George Gao “Why the Former USSR has Far Fewer Men than Women” (2015), viewed 11/01/2017 <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/08/14/why-the-former-ussr-has-far-fewer-men-than-women/>

error caused by this any deviation between the PNG demographics and those of Bougainville the scale of the over-representation of fighting age males remains statistically significant and therefore indicates that this demographic was indeed targeted during the conflict.

6.3 Content Analysis

While the hypothesis that the males of Bougainville were subjected to some form of gender violence fits well with the demographic results as seen in Figure 6.2, in order to explore this further, undertaking a content analysis on the incident reports in which this group was involved was necessary. In doing this, the instances’ descriptions provided in the Bougainville database can be read and categorised by the nature of the attacks upon them. If the gender violence thesis is correct, then we will expect a significant proportion of accounts to describe violence against the males in relation to their gendered role as fighters. Alternatively, this hypothesis would be shown to be unsupported if the vast majority of cases can be attributed to violence against known combatants, random attacks or some other reason. In order to do this, the 83 instances that record at least one male of fighting age as a victim are isolated. These will then be divided into five categories identified by the specific characteristics of the texts, as follows:

Combatant:

This category captures those instances in which the reason for violence against the victim is attributable to their confirmed status as a combatant in the conflict. Crimes against combatants generally consist of the execution or torture of prisoners. While still a serious form of violence, this is distinct from the type of gender violence I am seeking to examine here. In these cases, the primary reason for the violence against these men is their status as hostile combatants, not their gender. Below is an example case of this category (cut down to only the relevant information).

Age/s	Sex (male, female)	Category of crime	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Details
15	1 male	Murder, cruel and unusual treatment.	1, 0, 0	A 15 year old BRA member was made to dig his own grave and stand in it; he was then beaten to death.

Random:

This category is for crimes in which gender is irrelevant because the victims were not specifically targeted as individuals but were harmed as a result of a random attack such as artillery shelling or sporadic gunfire. This also includes raids on villages in which there is no indication of the targeting of specific individuals but rather intent to destroy, terrorise or to conduct retribution.

Age/s	Sex (male, female)	Category of crime	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Details
25, 28, 12	2 male, 1 female	Murder	3, 0, 0	Three people were killed and two more wounded when the PNGDF carried out an attack on Kunokomok village using fire arms and mortars.

Targeted:

This is intended to capture all instances in which the men were victimised as a result of their gender and relationship between being male and being an insurgent. This will include all cases where the victims are suspected of being BRA members, or the actions of the offenders making an inference of that intent reasonable. This includes cases which describe individuals being detained or arrested as such actions strongly indicate the suspicion that the victim is a BRA member even if the source does not explicitly state it as such.

Age/s	Sex (male, female)	Category of crime	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Details
30	1 male	Murder	1, 0, 0	Mr Akue was extra-judicially executed by the PNGDF. His body was riddled with bullets and dumped in the jungle.

Other:

This category captures all the crimes in which the victims are targeted for a variety of reasons that are not to do with their gender (or role as a combatant or random attacks) but result from other characteristics of the incident. This can include the assault of reporters, acts of retribution against villagers by offenders, attacks on government officials etc. The primary fact is that they are not singled out due to any association between their gender and the assumed role as combatants. This includes incidents that maybe interlinked with other gender roles such as patriarchal position such as that of chief.

Age/s	Sex (male, female)	Category of crime	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Details
15, 14, 13	3 male	Murder, desecration of corpse.	3, 0, 0	3 boys were killed by the PNGDF and their bodies dumped in a toilet pit in retaliation for an ambush that occurred on the 2/1/1994. All were civilians from the Tabago care centre.

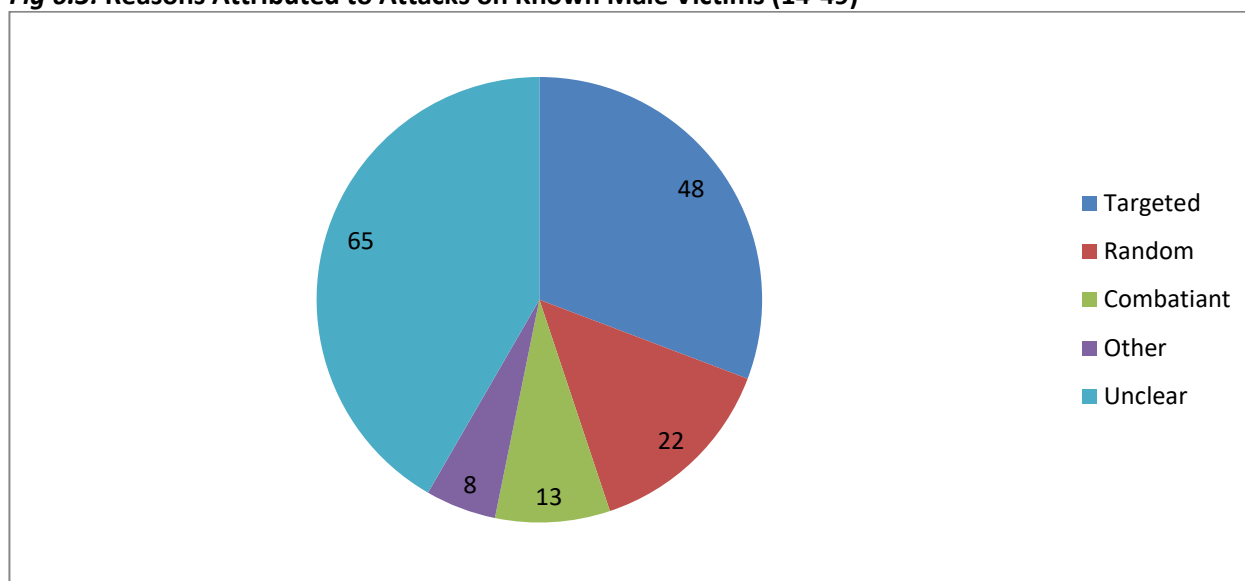
Unclear:

The final category is for those cases in which there is insufficient detail to determine the intent of the offender and their view of the victim. This may be due to the fact that the event description is too brief or that the reporter did not focus on or know that information. Often this constitutes cases in which it is simply stated that the victim was killed.

Age/s	Sex (male, female)	Category of Crime	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Details
16	1 male	Murder	1, 0, 0	Mr Birengori was killed by the riot squad and buried at their camp. After the PNGDF forces moved, the family recovered his body and properly buried him.

With these five categories established, the relevant list of events was sorted and then the 156 male victims of combat- age were counted by category. This gives the number of victims as distributed in Fig 6.3 below.

Fig 6.3: Reasons Attributed to Attacks on Known Male Victims (14-49)



As can be seen, the reason why most of the victims were targeted could not be determined by the details provided by the sources. However what can be observed is that more than one-quarter of the men can be confirmed as being the targets of gender violence, of being targeted as a consequence of their traditional gender role as warriors. This is followed by those that were involved in random attacks and those that were victimised due to their known involvement as combatants or other activates. Furthermore, there is good reason to believe that the proportion of men targeted due to their gender is even higher as 24 of those instances classified as unclear are highly likely to be instances of targeted violence. This is due to the fact that these accounts record specific violence (often against one or two individuals) such as beatings, executions and instances of torture. Because of the nature of this type of violence, these events cannot be instances of random attacks. Furthermore, the relatively small numbers of victims confirmed as combatants or those

targeted for other reasons is so low that the balance of probabilities would indicate that the majority of these 65 are most likely victims of gender violence. If so this means that the number of men in this category could constitute more than 2/3 of these victims.

These results demonstrate that the singling out of males of combat age as victims of violence was a significant problem in Bougainville. The content analysis conducted on the incidents' descriptions show that between 30-70% of all the violence committed against civilian males between the ages of 14-49 can be traced back to the relationship between these men and the traditional role of this group as warriors. With this information on the number of victims, male victims affected by this type of gender violence and the earlier demographic information on the percentage of victims which were males of this demographic, we can estimate the percentage of victims of war crimes in Bougainville who were affected by this type of violence. Incorporating these two sets of information together the results show that between 16.7-39.2% of all war crimes victims were males affected by this form of gender violence.²¹⁹

From this data I estimate the number of victims of this type of violence in Bougainville to be approximately 27%. This figure can be attributed to the fact that, on one hand, the nature of the 65 unclear accounts makes it more than likely that the majority of these instances are also of gender violence. Additionally this data excluded two of the largest events recorded during the conflict. These were the execution of 22 accused BRA members in Buka and the inhumane detention of 108 at Tepou on a similar charge. The majority of victims from these cases were excluded as they were of unknown age yet, in light of the data and the nature of the events themselves, the majority of these individuals may also be victims of this type of gender violence. Furthermore, while I was in Buka and asked about the execution of the 22 men I was told of similar killings of men around town and that their bodies were dumped west of town. While these were mentioned, such crimes are unfortunately missing from the record as the PNGDF discovered that human rights advocate Helen Hakena was recording then and so they destroyed them. While this further indicates the frequent occurrence of this violence, these numbers must be tempered by the expectation that instances of sexual assault on both men and women will be significantly underreported within the data. Therefore, as the halfway mark between 16.7-39.2% the figure of %27 is intend to account for both of these considerations. While the nature of using criminal statistics and the reliability of reporting always limit the strength of conclusions made about this type of phenomenon, the significance of the results demonstrate that, even in the case of a high margin for error, the results still remain statistically significant enough to support the hypothesis that gender violence against civilian men resulting from the relationship between their gender and the role of warrior was a significant factor in this case study of the Bougainville civil war.

6.4 Discussion

This analysis of the Bougainville war crimes data demonstrates that gender violence towards men by men was a serious problem during the crisis with approximately one in four victims of atrocities suffering as a result of violence due to an association between males and combatants. The causal story to explain why the combatants, predominantly the government forces, assaulted, tortured, mutilated and murdered so many male civilians can be attributed to the fact that they occupied hostile territory.

²¹⁹ This is calculated as number of targeted males/total number of victims=% of victims that are target males (low 48-high 113).

One possibility is that this represents a use of what I term 'strategic violence': violence used consciously by high command to defeat or destroy the enemy. Men of fighting age represent the potential manpower reserves of a party in any given conflict. On a strategic level they are a resource that can decide a war.²²⁰ At the strategic level a party to the conflict can make the decision to exterminate all men, destroying the enemy's manpower, and thereby their ability to continue the fight. Like in any war, such a calculation is about defeating the enemy by denying them a critical resource. In this conception a civilian male is just a warrior who has not taken up arms yet and eliminating them can be viewed as being akin to a pre-emptive strike on a hostile nation. Additionally, this can be a component of genocidal behaviour. As discussed previously, humans are predominantly patriarchal— men hold power, women do not. Therefore, the targeting and elimination of males of a particular ethnicity or nation can be the opening component of genocide as the *genocidaire* move to neutralise that component of the population who could take up arms once the threat to their people is comprehended.²²¹ Evidence of this type of strategic thinking can be seen during the Armenian 'genocide' as the Ottoman military quickly moved to eliminate the male Armenian population.²²² An example of this occurred in the city of Bitlis in 1915 where all males over 10 were 'liquidated' in just two weeks with the objective, as described by author Raymond Kevorkian, of "eliminating all possibility of resistance from the onset".²²³ This meant that by the time they sent the Armenians into exile almost the entire population was that of women and children as no men were left alive to send into the desert.²²⁴

In his article on sex-selective massacres, Adam Jones focuses primarily on this type of strategic violence. In examples from Kosovo, Rwanda and Sri Lanka, Jones describes incidents of large scale massacres similar to that of Bitlis where males were consciously rounded up by armed forces and killed en masse. He also notes that, throughout history, combat aged males have been extremely vulnerable as they are perceived as "the group posing the greatest danger to the conquering force".²²⁵ Reinforcing this, he cites the conclusions of Honig and Both (1995) concerning the Srebrenica massacre in which they state: "Muslim men posed a pointed threat to the Serbs who were educated in the traditions of people's war...[this] demands that potential resistance now, and in the future, be minimised. As many men as possible had to be killed."²²⁶

While many sex-selective massacres can be attributed to this type of strategic killing, it cannot explain the violence on Bougainville. Although brutal tactics were used, there is no indication or discussion to suggest that the PNG government ever intended to carry out a genocide. Additionally, given the status of genocide as the ultimate crime and the need for Australian support, this would have been an almost irrational act by the PNG high command. Furthermore, the content analysis demonstrates that it is unlikely that a top down sex-selective massacre occurred. The killings and attacks were not en masse but most commonly targeted one or two victims. This strongly indicates that this was not organised violence such as that of highly coordinated acts like the Holocaust. Additionally, the PNGDF and their Resistance allies suffered from poor discipline and logistics. This means they are much more comparable in capacity to resistance forces such as their BRA opponents than a force such as the German Wehrmacht. Consequently, it is doubtful that, even if the high

²²⁰ Milan N. Vego, "Joint Operations Warfare: Theory and Practice" (Government Printing Office, 2009), p.39

²²¹ Jones, "Gendercide and genocide" (2000), p. 191

²²² It is very contentious as to the status of this chapter of history being labelled a genocide however, this debate is not reliant to point being made here.

²²³ Raymond Kevorkian, "The Armenian Genocide: a complete history" (I.B.Tauris, 2011), p.341

²²⁴ Jones, "Gendercide and genocide" (2000), p. 202

²²⁵ Ibid. p.191

²²⁶ Ibid.

command wished to undertake mass sex-selective killing, their ability to do this is doubtful. Therefore, the strategic use of violence to eliminate the male population of Bougainville can be excluded.

A more compelling causal story to explain the demographic results can be attributed to the guerrilla tactics used by the BRA during the conflict and the effect of this on the opposing government forces. For many rebel forces around the world, it is impossible to win a conventional war against a government or hostile opponent. Limited resources, training, manpower or organisational capacity means that marching out into a field against an enemy's tanks and aircraft is a death sentence. Therefore, these forces often utilise asymmetric tactics: strategies that mitigate the opponent's strengths by utilising ambushes, staying mobile and blending into the population.²²⁷ The latter of these is the most relevant here, for, with the support of the people, the rebel force can hide in plain sight and, as Mao Zedong wrote, "the guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea".²²⁸ The strength of this approach was exemplified in the Vietnam Wars and the tactics of the French Resistance. In both these cases the out-gunned forces would strike at their opponents and then melt away leaving US and German soldiers with no military target to strike back at.²²⁹

In the context of Bougainville it is debatable whether the BRA forces utilised a coherent guerrilla doctrine and had the intention of being 'fish in a sea of civilians'. More importantly, their intentions are irrelevant as the separatist forces did effectively do this as a result of their limited organisational and logistical capacities. The BRA did not have uniforms, their formations were ill-defined and they relied on the villagers for support and shelter.²³⁰ This meant that the only means to identify a hostile combatant may have been his sex, age and presence of a firearm. For these reasons, even if the BRA were not intentionally hiding among the civilians with the same intent or skill as others like the Viet Cong, the effect on the occupying forces is the same.

While hiding amongst civilians is an effective tactic for guerrilla forces, it can put the civilian population at increased risk. This strategy relies on hiding behind the impunity of non-combatants; it uses the rules of war as part of the strategic terrain to even the odds. This can, however, impact the attitudes and physiological states of enemy soldiers. Being ambushed by guerrillas who melt away or being friendly to villagers who, in the night take up arms to attack you as part of a faceless, ill-defined entity can create a dangerous state of mind for even the most-well-trained forces. As one US army veteran recalled, the "constant threat of violence" in Iraq, as in Vietnam, led to the potential for soldiers to become "dangerously violent."²³¹ The frustration and threat of a hidden enemy can reduce the combatant/non-combatant distinction until all fighting age men are viewed as potential or actual targets. This type of dangerous, impulsive violence of individual soldiers is briefly discussed by Carpenter (2006) in relation to his work on sex-selective massacres. He discusses the way the term 'civilian' is understood and that often sex and age are used as mental shortcuts in order to distinguish non-combatants. To support this, Carpenter uses the work of military psychologist David Grossman (1995) who states that "If a soldier kills a child, a woman, or anyone that does not represent a potential threat, then he has entered the realm of murder and the rationalisation process

²²⁷ United States Army, United States Marine Corps, "The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual" (University of Chicago press, 2008), p.109

²²⁸ Paul D'Anieri, "International Politics: Power and purpose in global politics" (Cengage Learning, 2016), p.271

²²⁹ Joel Krieger, Margaret E. Crahan, "The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World" Oxford University Press, 2001), p.343

²³⁰ Richard Jackson, Eamon Murphy, Scott Poynting, "Contemporary State Terrorism: Theory and practice" (Routledge, 2009), p.165

²³¹ Paul Rieckhoff, "Chasing Ghosts: Failures and facades in Iraq: A soldier's perspective" (Penguin Publishing Group, 2006), p.159

becomes quite difficult”.²³² The idea here is that, especially with poorly disciplined troops facing insurgent or guerrilla tactics, it becomes difficult for soldiers to not perceive all fighting age males as representing a potential threat and not to act to eliminate that threat. Although these forces have not been instilled with the training and values of those like the US army they are still institutionalised to engage with the enemy and, after continued exposure to the frustration of facing insurgence, they have the propensity for violence without the discretion to control it, especially in the absence of the age and gender shorthand. Consequently, they fail to regard fighting-aged males as civilians and begin treating them as combatants, or worse, spies.

This type of behaviour and environment can create situations such as the massacres at Kalvryta (Greece) in 1942 or Batang Kali in 1948 where the German and British forces (respectively), executed every man (one did survive the British by playing dead) in each village.²³³ Another example of this is the killings of Bangladeshi men during the Bangladesh war for Liberation. During the war, the same targeting of innocent men occurred as described by R.J Rummel in his book ‘Death by Government’ in which he writes: “the Pakistan army [sought] out those especially likely to join the resistance — young boys. Sweeps were conducted of young men who were never seen again. Bodies of youths would be found in fields, floating down rivers, or near army camps.”²³⁴ Compared to those cases of sex-selective massacres in instances of genocide where they form a single component of a strategy to destroy an entire people, this type of violence is, as Carpenter states, a “far more demographically limited” form of killing and is “particularly associated with low-intensity conflicts and counter-insurgency operations”.²³⁵

In the case of Bougainville, this type of ‘impulsive’ gender violence against civilian males more adequately describes the situation than the strategic violence which is more prevalent in other conflicts such as the case of Armenia or Srebrenica. Attributing the high casualty rates more towards the impulsive violence of individual soldiers, than a conscious decision of the high command fits the data. The lack of large-scale massacres (except for that of 22 in Buka) coupled with the sporadic nature of the violence along with the variety of methods of torture, assault or ways of killing used further supports this conclusion. Examples of this from the instance descriptions within the Bougainville data recount events such as the shooting of civilians on the side of the street or the picking up of a man or two to torture and kill them before mutilating their bodies. This demonstrates the impulsive, semi-arbitrary nature of the attacks on the civilian males and disregard for the combatant/non-combatant distinction resulting from the decisions of individuals or small groups of soldiers acting on their own initiative and without control. These cases point to the final key factor that can explain the nature of the gender violence experienced by the civilian males in Bougainville— the poor training and discipline of the combatants. This factor can explain why the attacks in Bougainville were so numerous. If the professional and ideologically Liberal soldiers of the US army and the UK were at risk of unleashing unrestrained violence, then it may be almost expected of forces such as that of the PNGDF.

With all of this in mind, a model can be created in order to describe the causes of the impulsive violence in Bougainville. The following identifies three key preconditions that, given what we know of the conflict, the physiology of combatants and the nature of the fighting, explain the results of the demographic data and content analysis. These are:

²³² Carpenter, “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence” (2006), p.89

²³³ Paul Mojzes, “Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and ethnic cleaning in the twentieth century” (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), p.108

²³⁴ R. J. Rummel, “Death by Government” (Transaction Publishers, 2011), p.329

²³⁵ Carpenter, “Recognizing Gender-Based Violence” (2006), p.90

- 1) The gendered role of appropriately aged men as exclusively the warrior class and the manpower reserves of the insurgent forces.
- 2) The utilisation of guerrilla tactics of the rebel forces, specifically that of blending into the population.
- 3) The poor training, discipline and/or lack of instilled humanitarian values of the occupying military forces leading to a lack of impulse control and restraint.

While this model is intended to explain the violence in Bougainville, it is sufficiently general that it may serve to model the occurrence of this type of gendered violence in other conflicts as well, as long as all the preconditions are present. The first precondition of this model is concerned with who a society views as possible combatants. While throughout history and, for the most part, in the present this means young men, it is possible that both men and women can be viewed as part of the warrior class and could subsequently experience this type of impulsive violence. The only consequence of this is that it would cease to be a gendered issue and therefore the conceptual framework of gender violence would cease to be appropriate. The second precondition is necessary because, as previously explained, it is the inability to clearly identify the enemy and bring them to battle that leads to the blurring of the line between combatant and non-combatant. If the enemy is clearly defined and combatants are still attacking male civilians, then this will be a case of strategic violence or some other motivation than identified here. The final precondition is necessary in order to explain why the PNGDF in Bougainville and not the Americans in the Iraq committed frequent acts of impulsive violence. In order for this type of gendered violence to exist, the occupying army and its soldiers must lack the desire to observe the rules of war and the combatant/ non-combatant distinction and/or lack the discipline to maintain that observance in the face of insurgent tactics. Without this final precondition, this model would inaccurately predict that American troops would have undertaken the mass, sporadic killing of male Iraqi citizens. While some of this did occur these remained relatively isolated incidents.²³⁶ The fact that this did not occur can be put down to American discipline and intent to follow the rules of war.²³⁷

With the presence of these three preconditions, we may be able to predict that a high degree of impulsive, gendered violence will occur if this model and the demographic results of the Bougainville data can be shown to be generally applicable. In this case, however, we can conclude that it was these three factors which meant that little to no distinction was drawn between combatants and non-combatants and resulted in male civilians being singled out for beatings, torture and execution because of their age and gender. Put simply, the violence can be attributed to the mind-set of the soldiers that all fighters are combat-aged males and, therefore, all combat-aged males are fighters. Therefore, there is no combatant/ non-combatant distinction and, even worse, those men accused of being fighters may be treated as spies, a group who, due to their dishonesty receive the worst treatment of all hostile enemy forces.

²³⁶ See Mahmudiyah killing (2006), Haditha Massacre 2005, Abu Ghraib Prison 2003-04, and the Ishaqi Incident 2006.

²³⁷ Well trained forces such as the German SS are still capable of committing this type of violence. However, as a model to predict a phenomena in contemporary warfare this level of organised violence is characteristic of the current era.

6.6 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to demonstrate how a database such as that created for Bougainville can contribute to the literature on understanding conflict. This example, demonstrated how impulsive violence driven by the association between young civilian males and their traditional gendered role as warriors can lead to widespread assault, torture and killing. This can be observed in the case of Bougainville where the data on reported atrocities coupled with demographic information leads to the estimate that 27% of all victims of atrocities were victimised as a consequence of this type of impulsive violence. While it is necessary to acknowledge the challenges of using wartime reports on atrocities, this figure is significant enough to remain compelling even with a large margin of error. Analysing this data not only allows us to understand the level of violence that occurred in Bougainville but also to understand the causes of it: The poor training and discipline of the PNGDF and other combatants, the use of guerrilla and insurgent tactics by the BRA as well as the gendered nature of warriors in PNG society. Moreover, given the generalizability of these three factors, I propose that this can be used as a model that may predict the presence of this type of gendered, impulsive violence in other conflicts around the globe.

If this model of behaviour can indeed be shown to be generalizable then understanding it is vitally important as the types of conflicts that most often meet the above conditions (insurgencies against unprofessional military organisations) represent the most common type of conflict in the world today. Furthermore, it should be noted that this type of violence may not only be present in a classical type of guerrilla campaign like that of Bougainville but could form a component of a larger and more complex war. While I have contrasted cases of strategic violence, such as the account provided by Honig and Both concerning Srebrenica, to the impulsive violence of Bougainville, they do not have to be mutually exclusive. A conflict may contain well-organised and disciplined forces that conduct coordinated killings, but it may also have ill-disciplined militia who act more impulsively and arbitrarily such as in Yugoslavia. Similarly, a conflict may have multiple components or types of conflict existing at different phases or simultaneously. An example of this is the war in Bangladesh which had both the Indo-Pakistani war and the Bangladesh insurgency occurring during the conflict. Therefore, the prerequisites put forward in this model may be relevant to predicting violence in many wars. However, as identified by Carpenter, we can expect that this type of violence would be most significant in low-intensity counter-insurgency operations such as Bougainville and therefore should be the primary focus.

Bringing light to, and potentially being able to predict, the occurrence of this type of violence could have significant implications. The relatively sparse discussion on gender violence committed against men by men during times of war is resulting in the neglect of a large and vulnerable portion of many victimised populations. This results directly from a lack of awareness of the issue or even active disinterest on the part of humanitarian organisations, media outlets and humanitarian agencies. The lack of awareness of the issue of male victims of gender violence coupled with the fact that almost all human rights offenders are men helps reinforce the 'female victim, male perpetrator' mentality. This can affect the willingness of operators, the public and those providing funding to be receptive to this issue. In a 2005 article on the subject, Carpenter analysed this issue and the entrenched conception of civilians and innocents being women and children. When interviewing human rights advocates about the gendered nature of their efforts, they reported that the media, the parties of conflicts, partnering agencies and governments are simply more receptive to their messages of protecting civilians if those civilians are women and children, not men. They acknowledged that this undermines the protection of men and helps reinforce the harmful stereotypes of

them as perpetrators but that this is simply outweighed by the pragmatic need of getting their message out.²³⁸

This practice of actively silencing is supported by the work of Harry Apperley (2015) who argues that the political discourse of aid denies any assistance to men and that the “elite actors who fund most humanitarian agencies ‘relay on masculine stereotypes to uphold and advance their agendas’.”²³⁹ He argues that due to the success of feminist activists and scholars in gaining recognition for their once-neglected plight in war, the world is receptive to their issues and the path of funding reflects this. An example of the consequences of this at its worst occurred when the Refugee Law Project attempted to raise the issues affecting men and Dutch Oxfam threatened to cut their funding unless women continued to represent 70% of their clients.²⁴⁰ The personal account of a humanitarian worker who operated in refugee camps in Chad for those fleeing the war in the Sudan demonstrates a final example of the invisibility of male victims of war. She recalls how many men mentioned that “you keep on empowering our women - but who comes to talk to us about regaining our dignity and listens to our problems?” and that the trauma of the war had left them feeling powerless. Even more concerning, she states that “I was very surprised to hear that some humanitarian organisations were reluctant to include men and boys in gender and gender-based violence programming.” This is despite the fact that in nearby Uganda it was estimated that one in three Congolese males had been a victims of sexual violence.²⁴¹ These examples demonstrate the relative invisibility of this issue with aid agencies either unaware of the significance of the issue or at worst actively silencing it. As Apperley concludes, many “organisations seem reticent to raise awareness of male victims of violence, perhaps out of fear of compromising the existing systems in place to help women” through a reduction in funding or because a continued belief in the conception of men not being civilians.²⁴²

The consequences of a lack of awareness or resistance to acknowledging the seriousness of violence affecting men in times of conflict has huge ramifications for the safety of civilians around the world. While some work is being done to understand the level and impact of sexual violence against men less is understood about other forms of gender violence such as the sexual-selective targeting and killing of males as a consequence of their perceived role as potential combatants. If we value all innocent lives and seek to try and protect all civilians in times of conflict then that commits us to moving away from the understanding of innocents as just ‘women and children’ and towards a more nuanced understanding of the vulnerability of all civilians and the perils they endure in the face of war and violence.

Chapter 7.0: Analysis and Conclusion

The goal of this thesis is to assess the feasibility and value of databasing the war crimes records of conflicts around the world using the case of the Bougainville conflict to achieve this. Before this could be undertaken it was first necessary to identify what a war crime— a breach of the rules of war— was and

²³⁸ R. Charli Carpenter, “Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups: Gender, strategic frames and the protection of civilians as a transnational issue” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 49, no.2 (2005), p.295

²³⁹ Harry Apperley, “Hidden Victims: A call to action on sexual violence against men in conflict” *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2015), p.96

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Veronique Barbelet, “Male gender-based violence: a silent crisis” (2014), viewed 11/01/2017

<https://www.odi.org/comment/8502-male-gender-based-violence-conflict-humanitarian-response>

²⁴² Harry Apperley, “Hidden Victims” (2015), p.96

what theoretical foundations (philosophical, normative and legal) underpinned those rules. Not only did chapter two establish what phenomenon was being examined, but also provided the background knowledge required in order to justify the identification and delineation categories within the methodology and the data itself. With this background literature established, the next step was to provide the historical context of the Bougainville conflict, explain why it was selected and outline the spatial and temporal limits within which the search for documents would take place. Chapter four served to establish how the war crimes record of Bougainville was to be conducted and how this was to be processed into a single useable dataset. Finally, after months of researching, reading and processing was complete, Chapter five functioned to provide both an assessment and overview of the data itself and an analysis of that which could be learned from the process. Finally, Chapter six was intended to provide a demonstration of how this type of war crimes data could be used to produce research outcomes surrounding wartime violence with an analysis of gender violence against males.

This, the final chapter of this thesis, will not only serve as the conclusion but also to provide the final analysis of war crimes databasing projects. Therefore, the majority of this chapter will consist of a discussion of the four most important challenges facing this type of project, the means of mitigating those challenges as well as the consequences of those challenges in terms of the feasibility and value of conducting this type of research.

7.1 Key Challenges and Strategies of Mitigation

Shifting Definitions:

The first of these challenges to undertaking a war crimes databasing project is the problem of contested and evolving definitions. This is a problem that stems from the root of the war crimes regime and its divided foundations within philosophy, social norms and international law. As discussed in Chapter two, the organic origins of the war crimes regime means that the definitions and delineations of war crimes are sometimes vague, inconsistent and are ever-changing.

An example of this type of problem may be seen in the tensions surrounding the rights of conquering nations to alter the territory they occupy. Article 64 of the Fourth Geneva Convention notes that an occupying power may not alter the penal laws of an occupied territory save for those that are needed for the conquering state to meet its obligations under the conventions or for its own security.²⁴³ Furthermore, Article 53 does not allow for the destruction of state property for non-military purposes along with Article 147 which also prohibits the appropriation of property unlawfully.²⁴⁴ However as events such as the 2003 invasion of Iraq demonstrate, this inability to change the laws and distribution of property within a country as written in the conventions has been disregarded. The US coalition altered the entire structure of the Iraqi state while it was still occupying the territory.²⁴⁵ Not only were the US and its allies violating the Conventions but were even seen as having the moral obligation to do so. This is demonstrated by UNSC resolution 1483 which called on member states to help reform Iraqi institutions, requested member states to assist in the development of representative governance and encouraged legal reforms. Crucially, the

²⁴³ Article 55 of the Hague Conventions also bans the alteration of occupied territory.

²⁴⁴ International Committee of the Red Cross, "Treaties, States Parties and Commentaries", viewed 20/01/2017 <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/ihl/385ec082b509e76c41256739003e636d/6756482d86146898c125641e004aa3c5>

²⁴⁵ Kjetil Selvik, Stig Stenslie, "Stability and Change in the Modern Middle East" (I.B.Tauris, 2011), p.226

resolution also called on all to observe the Geneva and Hague conventions.²⁴⁶ This fact indicates that even at the level of the UN there is a notion that no contradiction exists between the laws of war as written and a right of political, economic and judicial regime change in occupied territory. This therefore demonstrates the inconsistent nature of the war crimes regime with the possibility that different components of it will make different demands on combatants simultaneously.

In addition to these inconsistencies, there is also the challenge of academic and political contestation over the interpretation of the regime and its rules. This is again a consequence of the ad hoc inconsistent nature of the war crimes regime but is also partly due to the challenges of interpreting any set of rules and their application to different situations (especially those with global consequences). Many definitions, delineations and even entire crimes are hotly contested. Even more problematic than this is the intentional evolution of the rules of war driven by political agendas either to make an act permissible or to reinterpret rules to condemn a particular behaviour. This contestation can be argued to exist on issues surrounding the permissibility of drone strikes, the pursuit of rebels over a foreign border, the status of unlawful combatants, the laying siege to a city, or even the classifications of wars themselves.²⁴⁷ Even the first modern legal codification of the rules of war, the Lieber Code may have been ordered by Abraham Lincoln during the American civil war in response to a contest over the rules of war between the North and South concerning the emancipation of slaves and their use in the army.²⁴⁸

These challenges, the ad hoc nature of the war crimes regime and the multitude of conflicting opinions surrounding definitions are a significant problem for a war crimes databasing project. This is because a project's designers cannot be expected to create definitions and categories of crimes that satisfy every researcher and are, therefore, invariably bound to garner criticism for including something, excluding something else or incorrectly interpreting a third thing. This may result in credibility problems for the project in some circles and could negatively impact the number of users who would rely on the data. This could also create problems with the comparison of categories of crimes between different databases as different reporting documents could have different definitions.

While these problems are, to some extent, inevitable, they can be greatly mitigated in various ways. In situations where the delineation of a crime is contested, using the broader definition is optimum. As has been discussed multiple times, a researcher using the data can always strip away cases whose inclusion they disagree with while it is much more difficult to add those which they believe ought to be included. This is why a solely legal approach is not appropriate for a databasing project of this type and why it was not relied upon for developing the Bougainville dataset. Furthermore, in cases where there is an evolution of definitions over time it is possible and perhaps necessary to have multiple altered versions of the same categories for crimes depending on when they occurred, especially if a database records information from a multitude of conflicts. For example a report of a crime that occurred in 1954 may be logged as sexual assault I within the crime category of the database. Alternatively, another which occurred in 2010 maybe sexual assault II if the definition of sexual assault had diverged too greatly from 1954. Doing this indicates to the user that both these events are considered sexual assault within their time periods yet also indicates

²⁴⁶ United Nations Security Council, "Resolution 1483 (2003)" viewed 18/04/2015 <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N03/368/53/PDF/N0336853.pdf?OpenElement>

²⁴⁷ See Elizabeth Wilmshurst book "International Law and the Classification of Conflicts for examples of how complicated such issues can be.

²⁴⁸ Paul Finkelman, "Francis Lieber and the Modern Law of War" University of Chicago Law Review, vol.80, no.4 (2013), p.2071

that the definitions have diverged over time within the reporting documents. Therefore, it is up to the user if sexual assault I and II are close enough in definition to conflate or are too different to compare for whatever they wish to study.

Finally, the inclusion of the description section is vital to mitigating the challenge of shifting definitions through the provision of transparency it provides as well as access to the original (or as close as) content of the reports. As with so many aspects of this type of database, adding this section acts as a failsafe which leaves open the possibility for the user to manipulate the data as they see fit. Therefore this, combined with a mechanism to deal with definitional divergence and a principle of inclusiveness ought to be used to minimise the problems around the conceptual evolution and contestation.

Research Efficiency:

While the difficulties surrounding the problem of definitions is primarily a hurdle at the beginning of a war crimes databasing project, the efficiency and therefore feasibility of collecting the data is an ever-present and, perhaps, the most serious challenge of creating a database of this type. As outlined in detail in Chapter four, the efficiency of data collection is highly dependent on the sources that make up the war crimes record. While the understanding gained from the Bougainville case study can lead us to exclude the use of some sources such as books and identify the essentialness of others such as reports from NGO's, the difficulty of this process is still highly dependent on the nature of a given conflict.

One factor that influences the difficulty of this process is restrictions on access to sources which can result from logistical challenges (such as those which prevented me from accessing the PNG Courier archives), legal challenges (such as semi-confidential information), political challenges (such as an actor trying to discourage research of the records) or language barriers (eg. if all records were in Farsi). There are many specific actions that can be taken to minimise these challenges and strategies which can make research more efficient. Many of these were discussed in detail in Chapters four and five, such as that of avoiding OIA requests for government documents or making use of programs like Factiva to search for newspapers. However, there are also some more general strategies which can be used. One of these key strategies that is worthy of note despite the fact that I could not use it in Bougainville is that of using internet alert systems to flag reports from an unfolding conflict (such as those in Syria or Yemen). With almost all of the modern dissemination of information taking place on the internet, a program flagging key words can solve many methodological challenges.²⁴⁹ This is already a well-utilised method of detailed recordkeeping and its use to capture the record of wars would not be a problem for this type of project.

In addition to issues surrounding limited access to the war crimes record, there is also the more abstract obstacle of not knowing what you don't know; that is, identifying when the data for a given conflict is sufficiently complete and all major sources of information have been identified. This is a problem because, as discussed in Chapter four, the data needs to be sufficiently complete in order to be able to draw useful conclusions from it. One strategy that can be used during the research phase in order to deal with this issue is simply that of making contact with regional experts or those who specialise in the study of a given conflict. Rather than trying to rediscover the wheel, as it were, being able to contact those who have studied a conflict for years, either as academics or local historians provides an invaluable source of information and part of the solution to this methodological challenge. The understanding that experts may

²⁴⁹ Natalie Sappleton, "Advancing Research Methods with New Technologies" (Idea Group Inc (IGI), 2013), p.172

have of the nature of the war crimes record of a conflict provides one of the best mechanisms to discover how large the record is, where it is, how to access it and who else to contact. This was invaluable in Bougainville where making contact with locals and regional experts both on and off the island allowed me to quickly determine that my data was sufficiently complete, with the exception of the PNG courier.

There is also the challenge created by problems of scale both in the number of crimes committed during a conflict and their coverage. The feasibility of collecting the war crimes record of a conflict of a war is highly dependent on these aspects and their variation across different cases presents different challenges. Here it is necessary to understand the place of the Bougainville case study and other types of conflicts in terms of the differing nature of their respective war crimes records. Doing this not only allows for the opportunity to briefly assess the advantages and challenges of researching other types of conflict but it also provides the framework with which to explain how applicable the evaluation of different aspects of the Bougainville research are to those of other types of conflict.

Fig 7.1

Conflict Typology		
	High Intensity	Low Intensity
High Coverage	E.g. Rwanda	E.g. Kosovo, Iraq
Low Coverage	E.g. Congo civil war	E.g. Bougainville

This table categorises conflicts by virtue of their relationship between the perceived scale or number of wartime atrocities (intensity) and the perceived level of documentation of those events (coverage) in a given war. As can be seen, Bougainville can be classified as a low intensity, low coverage conflict as the scale of the war was relatively small and global attention devoted to it was also low. This is why the Bougainville conflict was selected as an appropriate case study for this thesis as this type of conflict represents the least challenging type of war to research. The low coverage of the war means that there are relatively few reporting documents which, along with its low intensity, meant that this gave the best possible chance to capture the most comprehensive dataset of those reports as possible.

In contrast to Bougainville are conflicts such as that which occurred in Rwanda during 1994. This conflict was widely documented, and many crimes were committed during its occurrence. These types of conflicts would be the most difficult to research as the documentation that contains details of atrocities would be vast and varied. There could however be a potential advantage in this as the high level of attention given to them may mean that a lot of work may already have been done to capture their war crimes records. This is especially likely in cases of genocide such as Cambodia or Rwanda where efforts have been made to locate victims or hold offenders accountable, and public accessibility to the record could be more likely (the major exception being Turkey).²⁵⁰ Additionally, very few wars can be considered to be in this category with some of the most notable being Somalia, Vietnam and Syria. The other two types of conflicts— low coverage, high intensity and high coverage, low intensity— could be expected to be more similar in difficulty to the research conducted in Bougainville. In the case of highly visible wars such as the two Gulf Wars or Kosovo, there will be a lot of sources yet the limited number of crimes may mean that a sufficient level of

²⁵⁰ Paul R. Bartrop, Steven Leonard Jacobs, “Modern Genocide: The definitive resource and document collection [4 volumes]” (ABC-CLIO, 2014), p.135

completeness will be achievable very quickly and a few key sources may possibly capture almost all of the alleged war crimes. On the other side of things, the limited coverage of wars such as those in the Congo or Yemen may result in very few leads to pursue. Despite the fact that the war crimes record would not reflect the reality of the conflict in these types of low coverage conflicts, the collection of that record may be very easy due to its small size.

While there are many challenges in trying to identify and access the war crimes record of conflicts around the globe, by doing so in Bougainville it can be concluded that these complications would not render the creation of war crimes databases infeasible. The undertaking of this project here has demonstrated that the collection of a conflicts war record is possible. Additionally, the research component of the Bougainville conflict took approximately four months. While this conflict was chosen in order to give the best odds of locating and retrieving the war crimes record of the conflict, this was merely intended to compensate for the limitations faced in terms of time, financial resources, and the absence of a team. Most importantly, however, it was intended to compensate for the experimental nature of this databasing process which resulted in many delays, dead ends and wasted efforts. There would be greater challenges which would arise from databasing the crimes reported in other large conflicts; however, any such projects can reasonably be expected to have more time and resources. Furthermore, the greater time available to undertake such a project would also lead to the development of more experience which leads directly to greater research efficiency.

Research Output Challenges:

As well as discussing issues surrounding definitions and the collection of documents the final, key challenge concerns the extent to which useable conclusions and hypotheses can be drawn from this type of data. Here the primary concern is the same as that of using criminal statistics more generally. This is the disjuncture between what is reported and what actually occurred and is known as 'the dark figure of crime'.²⁵¹ This problem, which inextricably results from attempting to capture data on illicit behaviour, includes false reporting, varying conceptions of different crimes, the misinterpretation of events, an absence of surviving witness and, most importantly, the non-reporting of crimes.²⁵² In addition to these issues inhibiting the accurate recording of normal criminal activities, the recording of wartime data presents further problems. These can result from the destruction of evidence or reports, the death of witnesses, an inability for reporters, officials and human rights advocates to access locations. A researcher may even encounter resistance in the form of intentional obstruction or have the truth distorted by the manipulation of facts as political actors seek to control the narrative of a conflict. As discussed in Chapter five, this was a factor in Bougainville where the PNGDF destroyed the records collected by Helen Hakina, where the flow of information was dominated by pro-BRA sources and particular crimes such as sexual assault were likely underreported as a result of existing social norms.

As with other criminal statistics and data collection projects the result of all these difficulties is the dark figure of crime: the difference between what is reported and what actually occurred. Unlike the other challenges discussed in this section, there is no way to avoid this or mitigate it without undertaking primary research. Even then, the research would still face many of the same problems. It is in light of these

²⁵¹ Anthony Walsh, Craig Hemmens, "Introduction to Criminology: A text/reader" (SAGE, 2008), p.44

²⁵² National Research Council, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, Committee on National Statistics, Committee on Law and Justice, "Measurement Problems in Criminal Justice Research: Workshop summary" (National Academies Press, 2003), p.1

complications that cautious language such as reported, alleged, or documented crimes have consistently been used throughout this thesis and why the meaning of 'war crime' in this thesis needed to be explicitly discussed within the introduction. This dark figure of crime is a permanent limitation of trying to study these kind of violent events empirically; however, as quoted at the very bringing of this thesis "to forswear the use of available, although imperfect, data does not advance scholarship".²⁵³ There is simply no better alternative way to access empirical information on the occurrence of war crimes than to utilise the records that already exist. This does mean that the conclusions drawn from this type of data must be tempered and will often be much less rigorous than, for example, data gathered from electoral ballots. However, as long as the users of this data and their readers retain a conscious awareness of these limitations and maintain a critical mind towards them, then, while this is inconvenient, it does not sufficiently detract from the value of this type of data.

While it is essential to the viability of a databasing project to establish that the data is not useless it is also necessary to identify its value as well. This was demonstrated in Chapters five and six where the breakdowns of the data showed how it can be used to understand the historical patterns of a particular conflict such as the sporadic nature of the killing in Bougainville. This type of information can be of immense value in the case of conflicts where a component of the historical record is contested or unclear. Restating those questions asked by Hoover, Silva, Guberek and Guzman demonstrate this:

Was Darfur a genocide? How common is sexual violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo? Is it "widespread and systematic" tactic of one or more armed groups? Did Colombia's paramilitary demobilization program actually reduce violence against non-combatants? How many Iraqi civilians have died during the on-going American-led conflict there? How does that number compare to the number of soldiers and insurgents killed?²⁵⁴

In addition to this type of conflict-specific knowledge that is of interest in the questions above, Chapter six was intended to provide a demonstration of how the data from war crimes records can be used to generate generalizable theories concerning the nature of violence more broadly. The issue of gender violence against civilian males during insurgencies is not only one that is specific to Bougainville, but applies to many conflicts across the globe. This demonstrates how the data from even one conflict's database can be of value for facilitating more empirical research into wartime violence. With more cases, further topics could be explored such as those that identify vulnerable populations, the behaviours of offenders or the preconditions for different types of violence. Not only can the violence itself be researched but so can the records themselves. With the inclusion of references, event descriptions and means of back tracing, a database can be used to discern who is reporting war crimes, the way the information is being reported and how it influences the narrative of conflict.

This final, and in some ways most fundamental, value of creating a war crimes database is the retention of the historical record. Not only is preserving this information valuable in its own right, but history is also the closest thing to a laboratory political science has. The more that is lost to time, the less useful history can be and the extent to which we can empirically investigate phenomena that are rare or occur over a long time span becomes limited. The less of the historical record that survives, the less political scientists

²⁵³ Strouse, Claude, "Empirical Comparative Rights Research" *Comparative Human Rights* Vol.52, No. 2 (1976), p.52

²⁵⁴ Hoover, Silva, Guberek, Guzman, "The Dirty War Index" *Human Rights Data Analysis Group Working Paper* (2009), p.1

(or any social scientist) can use the past to develop our understanding of what is happening now and what will occur in the future. Therefore, if we do not attempt to retain this information, its scattered, decentralised nature makes it vulnerable to being lost, forever limiting the extent to which studies of the events they documented will be known and can be utilised in order to prevent them in the future.

Funding and Limited Resources:

While the majority of this thesis has sought to discern if databasing projects are feasible in principle, it must be acknowledged that the prospects of undertaking such a project must also face the challenge of securing funding. This is because fierce competition can exist and there are constraints imposed on a project due to the limits of what can be done with available resources. The existence of other similar projects such as that being funded by the CIA, the Correlates of War database, or legal databases such as the International Criminal Database demonstrate that there is interest in these types of undertakings.²⁵⁵ However, it is still worthwhile to briefly address some means that can be used to undertake a databasing project with limited financial resources.

If sacrifices must be made, the most important decision is whether to sacrifice depth for breadth. In the case of Bougainville, the intention was to maximise depth and to collect as much of the war crimes record as possible as opposed to creating a cross-conflict database. This is because the more complete the dataset, the stronger the conclusions that can be drawn from it and the more it preserves the historical record. However, if this is simply not possible, this level of detail can be sacrificed by restricting the search for data to select types of sources such as newspapers, the reports of the top five humanitarian agencies or public government records. This means that the data can remain complete within this restricted metric and allows for a much faster research time. Additionally, restricting the research so that it can be collected and remain internally complete in this way can increase the prospects of creating multi-conflict databases with more utility for generating and testing general hypotheses concerning wartime violence. The use of this strategy may be of value if necessary; however, it does risk missing significant amounts of data and restricts the extent to which that data can be used to critically assess the reporting of alleged war crimes itself. This is because there will be less data to compare with the major reporting organisations and this therefore limits the extent to which their control of the narrative and gatekeeping practices can be detected.

The other way in which the value of a multi-conflict database can be increased given limited resources is in the order with which cases are selected. While limiting the number of sources is a permanent sacrifice of depth for breath the value of developing a databasing project with limited cases can be increased by making the cases selected first have a common theme or trait which is more attractive to researchers. An example of how this might be done is by beginning with conflicts within the same region such as Europe, the Pacific, the Indian sub-continent or Central America. This would create a regional database that can be used for regional studies. Alternatively, it may be worthwhile to start with the more famous conflicts such as Kosovo, Rwanda, or Syria. Starting with these cases with high coverage may take longer but the higher levels of interest in such conflicts could increase the value of the data to other researchers and its justifiability to those funding it. Finally, cases could be selected by a common theme such as conflicts in which the US intervened, those involving religiously motivated combatants, or ones which resulted in UN

²⁵⁵ Political Instability Task Force, "Worldwide Atrocities Dataset" viewed 17/01/2017 <http://eventdata.parusanalytics.com/data.dir/atrocities.html>, "The Correlates of War Project" viewed 17/01/2017 <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>, "International Criminal Database" viewed 17/01/2017 <http://www.internationalcrimesdatabase.org/>

peacekeeping missions. These alternative methods of case selection are intended to increase the value of the first cases by making the data of greater interest to a targeted audience. Utilising either of these methods of limiting the number of reporting documents or picking the order of research can act to increase the viability of a databasing project. These, combined with the other methods explored in this thesis, demonstrate that, even in light of limited resources or constraints resulting from the realities of funding, such projects can be undertaken.

7.2 Conclusion

This thesis has sought to assess whether the collection and databasing of war crimes reports is realistically possible and, if so, if it would be of any value for enabling further research into topics surrounding the occurrence of extreme wartime violence. As the lessons learned from undertaking this project in the case of the Bougainville conflict demonstrate, collecting and processing this type of information into a uniform dataset is feasible. There are challenges inherent in undertaking this kind of project such as those of shifting definitions, limited access to documents, the dark figure of crime, and the fight for funding but none of these are crippling and there are means of mitigating the problems they pose.

Moreover, the contributions that can be made if only the war crimes record were made more accessible are significant. The use of this type of data can add to our understanding of the history of specific conflicts such as how many people died, how fast they died, the motivation for their deaths; all important questions that those who study particular conflicts have a great interest in. This can also add to the literature concerning the general trends of violence within conflict. These can include questions such as: what are the preconditions for widespread sexual violence, when during conflicts are civilians at most risk of being killed, or how effectively do peacekeeping forces stem violence? The existence of these kinds of questions as well as the examples of research outcomes provided in this thesis demonstrates that the existence of these kinds of datasets would be an asset to the academic community and are therefore worth pursuing.

As well as understanding its positive value, the cost of not undertaking these projects must also be understood. If such endeavours are not undertaken, then we have to face the prospect of losing that data and the limitations that this brings in our ability to understand wartime violence and to undertake research (especially quantitative works) into it. Consequently, this could result in limitations in our ability to develop theories and to understand phenomenon which can be disseminated to practitioners involved in attempts to mitigate the damage of wartime violence from the UNSC to local NGOs. The result of this is its impact on those people on the ground who may suffer from either our lack of awareness of what occurs in war, our flawed reporting of what is being done to them, or our misunderstanding of what actions can be taken to alleviate their suffering. This is not to say that if only a large datasets of wartime violence existed we would be able to solve the world's problems. What I am claiming is that being able to increase the accessibility of such data to a greater number of researchers increases the likelihood that rigorous studies will be undertaken, will propagate debate and, hopefully, generate useful research outcomes which can help us navigate the violence of war. Such a project as the development of war crimes database projects which cover multiple conflicts would be a large undertaking; however, undertaking worthwhile endeavours often are and our knowledge of the world, with all the advantages that this brings, is better as a result.

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War Crimes Database for the Bougainville Conflict

Marcus Boomen

This version of the database has been edited to be printable using the 'over then down' printing option.

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
1	16/12/1996 10am	Attempted murder	One mile offshore on the Loluai river	PNGDF	0,0,0		Civilian
	Brother Bryan Leak, an Australian Roman Catholic Marist Brother, claims that his boat to Bougainville was targeted by a PNGDF helicopter due to the fact that he is white. He claims that this is part of a pattern and identifies the case of Rosemarie Gillespie as another who was targeted. The PNG government claims that the BRA on the boat opened fire first and that the soldiers did not destroy the boat due to the presence of non-combatants. Brother Leak disputes this and says that the soldiers fired first and continued to fire until after the boat was ashore. He claims that it was only the fire from their boat that saved them from being killed.						
2	23-24/08/1994	Murder, humiliating and degrading acts	2 UR, Loloho, Loloho army camp	PNGDF	4,0,0		UR
	Fourteen people "suspected of being BRA supporters" escorted an ill woman to Arawa Care Centre for treatment. Two of these people were taken from the camp at midnight and killed. Two more were taken to Loloho the next day and killed. The other ten were taken to Loloho army base and subjected to mock executions.						
3	6 weeks before 26/03/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	20 miles South of Bougainville	PNGDF	2,1,0		Civilians
	A boat carrying four people was attacked by a helicopter. Two people were killed and a third, Mr Thomas' brother-in-law, was wounded.						
4	??/??/1998	Hostage taking	Abducted Kieta village	BRA	UR		UR
	In April 1994 a man claimed to have been a captive of the BRA for six years after being taken hostage while leaving Kieta in 1988. He was released after negotiations with his family. No information on other hostages is given in the report.						
5	7/31/1993	Murder	Aidia river	PNGDF/ Resistance	4,0,0		Civilian
	Four people were murdered while returning from their food gardens at the Aidia river. The body of one Henry Solomon was later found by his family floating down the river.						
6	5/2/1992	Destruction of civilian property, looting	Aita villages	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	Four homes were burnt to the ground by the PNGDF and others were looted after the people were forced into the care centres.						
7	UR (Saturday)	Looting	Anganai Kerei	PNG security forces	NA		Civilian property
	In a raid on two villages, 94 people were arrested and their possessions stolen by government forces.						
8	4/18/1989	Assault	Anganai village	Police	0,13,0		1 Civilian, 12 UR
	Mr Bangi was in the village on business when he was beaten by police. He also states that he saw 12 other men in the village being beaten as well. Mr Bangi filed a complaint with the supreme court of PNG over this incident.						
9	??/04/1989	Assault	Anganai village/ Arawa police station	Police	0,1,0		Civilian
	In a raid on Anganai village the villagers were beaten by police then taken to the police station where they were further beaten.						
10	27/16/1994 6pm	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Aoopa village	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A fixed-wing aircraft indiscriminately attacked Aropa village.						
11	10/23/1992	Destruction of civilian property	Arawa	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	Civilian property was destroyed by mortars fired from Tunuru and patrol boats. This includes Arawa supermarket, Westpac bank, PNGBC and Arawa police station.						
12	23-24/10/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	The PNGDF carried out a mortar attack on Arawa during heavy fighting. Several shells were fired from offshore along the coastline at civilian targets.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Brother Bryan Leak	1 male	50	Australia	BIG press release 23/12/1993	The Times of Papua New Guinea
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1995	UR
Thomas, 3 UR	2 male, 2 UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Survivor testimony (Thomas)
6 UR	1 male, 5 UR	UR	Central province, PNG + UR	U.S. State Department, 1994 Human Rights Report: Papua New Guinea	Survivor testimony
Wester Minou, Felix Minou, Pito Monopa, Henry Solomon	4 male	UR	Leulo area	BIG press release 12/09/1993 + Compilation of human rights abuses Vol. 1	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 09/09/1993 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale, Radio free B'ville, BIG press release 01/06/1992
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 20/10/1989
Vincent Bangi, Jo Tsinoung, Zacharis, 10 UR	13 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Survivor testimony
James Koibo, 1 UR	1 male, 1 UR	UR	Anganai village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Survivor testimony (James Koibo)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (28/01/1994)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992	BIG press release 08/11/1992
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 25/10/1992

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
13	after 14/02/1993	Murder	Arawa	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilians
Mrs Tovue and her two children are believed to have been murdered.							
14	??/??/1992	Use of chemical weapons, failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
Over multiple weeks the PNGDF were bombarding Arawa. White Phosphate rounds hit Arawa hospital and medical clinic.							
15	31/08/1996 3am	Assault	Arawa	UR (PNGDF are accused)	0,0,0		Civilian
Five female members of the Inter-Church Forum at Arawa were mugged by three masked men with shotguns. They were subject to explicit body searches and one video camera, CDs, a passport and \$2000.00 were stolen. The Women's Forum (a more detailed name is not reported) issued a statement accusing the PNGDF. Their commander denies involvement.							
16	5/5/1989	Assault	Arawa	Police	0,1,0		Civilian
Reporter Moresi Tua claims to have been assaulted by police on the way to the police station for a reported curfew violation.							
17	??/01/1996	Murder	Arawa	BRA	3,0,0		Civilian
BRA killed two civilians; no further details are reported.							
18	??/??/1991	Sexual assault	Arawa	BRA	1,0,1		Civilian
A sixteen-year-old girl from Buka living in Arawa was raped in her house three times by BRA at gunpoint.							
19	1/25/1990	Torture, murder	Arawa	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Kokiai was taken to Arawa for interrogation where he was tortured, stabbed and then shot.							
20	??/04-07/05/1996	Assault	Arawa	PNGDF	0,6,0		Civilian +non-combatant (BTG)
Civilians in Arawa were brutally beaten in the context of more general harassment following the BRA victory at Koromira.							
21	9/3/1995	Assault	Arawa	PNGDF	0,2,0		Civilians
Two men were captured by the PNGDF who assaulted them with their rifle butts and accused them of being involved in an earlier attack on the PNGDF.							
22	13/??/1992 7.50am	Attack on civilian population	Arawa	PNGDF (patrol boat)	UR		Civilians
A PNGDF patrol boat opened fire in the direction of Arawa motors and Kina trading on the shore of Arawa. The attack was unprovoked, and the BRA are reported to have never opened fire during the incident. The PNGDF used M79 grenades and machine gun fire in the attack which caused Arawa motors to catch fire and burn to the ground. Additionally, a grenade round damaged Kina trading. Mr Harty says the raid was a punitive action.							
23	??/??/1992	Attack on civilian population	Arawa	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
At midday Sunday a few weeks prior to the 1st of June a PNGDF aircraft flew low over Arawa low and fired into the centre of the town.							
24	??/07/1995	Murder	Arawa	PNGDF	4,0,0		Civilians
Four men living in Arawa who were suspected of being BRA members by the PNGDF disappeared without a trace in mid-August 1995. They are presumed to have been killed.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Sipora Tovue, Miss Tovue, Gideon Tovue	1 male, 2 female	31, 9, 3 months	Wakunai	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 26/02/1993, RFB
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Statement of chief Peter Diba to Ms Gillespie Situation report, confirmed by Sam Kaona 02/12/1992, 07/12/1992
5 UR	5 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Survivor testimony
Moresi Tua	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Survivor testimony (Mr Tua) (AI), Arawa Bulletin 12/05/1989 p.2
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
UR	1 female	16	Buka Island	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Hearsay
Kevin Mali Kokiai	1 male	UR	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Witness testimony (Jay)
Felix K., Osaiah Lvona, Eric Pua, Karl Pua, Jack, Simon Tovirika	6 male	UR	Tava village (Jack) + UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	BIG press release (08/05/1996)
Louis Mokari, Peter Ariete	2 male	UR	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Report obtained by Ms Gillespie 06/1995-01/1996
Richard Harty, 1 UR	1 male, 1 UR	UR	Arawa	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Survivor testimony (Richard Harty, Manager of Kina trading)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	Eye witness Robert Minou
Charles Marota, Mr Nukaia, Tony Kansitea, Camilus Birekau	4 male	UR	The following is a list of villages: Siredonsi, Tabiduia, Damaosi, Tabidua	Amnesty International Report 1996 +forgotten human rights tragedy AI + UN commission	BIG press release 07/09/1995

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
25	5/29/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa	PNGDF	0,0,0		Civilians
In May 1992 a PNGDF landing barge carried out a punitive raid on Arawa. The PNGDF yelled abuse at the BRA to get them to open fire with a .50 machine gun (possibly at pedestrian traffic as the witness estimates 30 civilians were in the vicinity). This failed and then the PNGDF opened fire which succeeded in provoking the BRA to return fire. The fight lasted 30 minutes before PNGDF withdrew. There were no casualties, but there was major damage to Arawa.							
26	8/06/1992 1pm-3pm	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa	PNGDF	0,0,0		Civilians
On June 8th, 1992 at 1pm three PNGDF boats opened fire on Arawa firing mortar rounds, .50 machine guns and small arms at coastal defences on the beachfront of the town. No warning was given before the attack, and many civilians were walking and shopping in the fire zone.							
27	5/31/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
A Nomad aircraft fired indiscriminately over Arawa.							
28	20/11/1992 5am	Use of chemical weapons	Arawa	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Ms Gillespie states that the PNGDF carried out a mortar attack on Arawa from their base at Tunuru Catholic mission using white phosphorus rounds. She found fragments of the shells believed to be WP 80 grenades made in Australia that were still giving off fumes. An eye witness, Mrs Korokoro, stated that the fumes were very toxic and was one of many mothers who told Ms Gillespie of the health of their children. This attack is believed to be payback for heavy casualties suffered by the PNGDF during a battle at Tunuru Junction (12/11/1992). The original radio transcript from Ms Gillespie adds that 10 shells were fired.							
29	??/07/1989	Assault	Arawa	Police	0,1,0		non-combatant (PNG)
The Premier of the North Solomons Province, Mr Kabui, was stopped in his car (along with his elderly mother and several small children) by police and was subsequently beaten and forced to lick the blood off a slain policeman from the police vehicle.							
30	4/16/1992	Restricting movement of the Red Cross	Arawa	PNGDF	NA		red cross
On April 16th, 1992 the BIG had awaited the Red Cross' secluded arrival at Arawa airport but the delegation did not arrive due to restrictions by the PNGDF. The statement then says that the PNGDF have consistently restricted the movement of Red Cross personnel and supplies from entering rebel territory. It is stated that this is one of four times Red Cross delegations attempted to enter BIG controlled areas.							
31	??/12/1994	Murder	Arawa	PNGDF	4,0,0		UR
Four men were arrested by the PNGDF following a BRA attack. All are believed to have been murdered, but Seeto's body was never found.							
32	??/01/1990	Murder	Arawa	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
Kearimi was found butchered. He had been stopped whilst driving a 24-seater bus and taken away by the PNGDF.							
33	??/01/1990 8am	Murder, torture	Arawa	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
Kaea was picked up by the PNGDF in a truck. Kaea's body was found in the morgue. His chest was blown open with a gunshot, his teeth had been knocked out, and he had knife wounds all over.							
34	10/22/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa	PNGDF	0,2,0		Civilians
3000 civilians are reported to have fled Arawa after a night of heavy bombardment on the town.							
35	??/??/1991	Murdered	Arawa	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
The travelling merchant, Mr Sahoto, was detained as a spy by the BRA in Arawa. He has not seen again (per the time of the report) and was believed to have been murdered.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	Arawa village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Eye witness (Richard Harty, Manager of Kina Trading Co. (RG); Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
Michael Tai, Richard Harty, Nathan Biross, Dr Cyril Imako +UR	4 male, UR	UR	Arawa village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	eye witnesses: Michael Tai, Richard Harty, Nathan Biross, Dr Cyril Imako (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	Arawa	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 31/05/1992-from Joe Kabui
UR	UR	UR	Arawa	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of human rights Vol 1.	Australian Foreign desk report (whose source is Ms Gillespie + eye witness Mrs Pauline Korokoro.) + original report of Ms Gillespie as a radio transcript.
Joseph Kabui	1 male	UR	UR	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992	UR (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Shane Seeto, Damien Ona, Robert, Apiato Bobonung	4 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	PNGDF commander (statement of ??/02/1995) (AI 1996) +forgotten (AI) UR
Kearimi	1 male	UR	UR	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992	BIG report to delegation for negotiations Cairns Conference
Kaea	1 male	UR	UR	BIG media release 02/09/1996	Statement Marcelline Tunim 18/12/1995
3000, UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 22/10/1992
Ligoro Sahoto	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	none, family fear dead

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
36	2/13/1992	Detained, disappeared	Arawa Hospital	PNGDF	11,0,0		rebel government official, civilians
The patients and staff within the Arawa hospital were rounded up by the PNGDF, up into trucks and taken away. Reports indicate that the fates of the detainees were not known as they had disappeared. The victims included BTG health minister Ken Savia who was reported to have been tortured and killed as detailed in a separate incident.							
37	14-26/02/1993	Sexual assault	Arawa "white house"	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Young girls in the 'white house' were being detained separately from the others. Screaming could be heard by the BRA in the surrounding bush.							
38	14/02/1993 and prior	Torture, murder	Arawa "white house"	PNGDF	6,0,0		UR
These six people are believed to have been tortured and murdered.							
39	2/14/1993	Torture, murder	Arawa "white house" and Supermarket car park	PNGDF	1,0,0		non-combatant (BIG)
Mr Savia was last seen tied by a rope to a truck and being dragged around the supermarket car park. He is believed to have been skinned alive after being made to stand in the heat in the car park for hours.							
40	11/5/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa & Tumuru villagers	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
Mortar rounds were fired indiscriminately into two villages.							
41	??/04/1992	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Arawa area	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
A man was killed, then his eyes were plucked out and his insides pulled out.							
42	between 13/03-19/03/1994	Murder	Arawa care centre	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
Two men were executed for allegedly being BRA. They had surrendered, but the PNGDF suspected this was not genuine.							
43	UR	Murder, torture, desecration of a corpse	Arawa care centre	PNGDF	5,0,0		Civilian
Four members of the Taberio family were killed at the Arawa care centre in retaliation for a BRA ambush (at the Lolofo old bush depot 3/03/1994). The witness describes how Mr Pius had his ear cut off and was then forced to lick the brains, blood and waste of Mr Miringtoro (who had been killed earlier with his head split open). Mr Pius was then killed.							
44	3/4/1994	Sexual assault	Arawa care centre	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
Ms Baria was raped to unconsciousness by two PNG soldiers at Arawa care centre.							
45	6/10/1995	Torture	Arawa care centre	PNGDF	0,2,0		Civilian
Mr Ona and Mr Teona were tortured and beaten by the PNGDF which left them in a very critical condition.							
46	2/15/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Arawa Hospital	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
Mortars and grenades were used to set fire to the Arawa Hospital.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Ken Savia, Toromura Nava, Gabriel Tameung, Torome Karoai, Nathan Bireo, Diven Hoara, Peter Taving, Nick Tobai, Mrs Siporaa Tovue her son gideon Tovuo and her daughter (name unreported)	5 male, 2 female, 4 UR	9 year, 3 month baby	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 +Amnesty International Report 1994 +USDS human rights report 1993 +Community aid Abroad, Police Watch No.15 November 1993 + Compilation of Abuses vol.2 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	unreported (AI, UN commission) + BIG press release 14/02/1993 (vol. 1)
UR	Female, UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 26/02/1993
Toromura Nava, Torome Karoai, Nathan Bireo, Diven Hoara, Peter Taving, Nick Tobai	6 male	UR	The following is a list of villages: Tuinung, Kapikabe, Pabaire, laung No. 2, Laung No. 2, Hiruhiru	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 26/02/1993, RFB
Ken Savia	1 male	UR	Tearaka village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	RFB report 21/02/1993, Press release' "26-93", 28/04/1993, AI report
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 05/11/1993
1 UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons) p.23
Danny Nanuma, Kurua Mirio	2 male	UR	Bairima village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 28/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Taberio Naru, Pius Taberio, Taberio (first name not given, but niece of Pius) , Mathew Taberio, Nathan Miringtoro	4 male, 1 female	UR	Donsiro village	BIG press release, 17/03/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eyewitness (BIG) +BIG situation report 17/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Aberta Baria	1 female	UR	UR	BIG press release, 17/03/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Eyewitness, Mr Donatus Mirinpara (BIG) + BIG media release 17/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Nakunu Ona, Ito Teona	2 male	UR	UR	BIG press release 29/03/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	BIG press release 11/06/1995, reported by David Onavui
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 16/02/1993

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
47	14/02/1992 10am	Assault, destruction of civilian property	Arawa Hospital	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	Staff and patients at Arawa Hospital were captured and taken to the 'white house' as hostages. (Vol 1.) The PNGDF sprayed shots at Arawa hospital before jumping the fence and then continuing to fire. The soldiers went to the staff quarters and started beating the nurses (including one named Emily) and their small children. At the same time, the soldiers captured patients who were injured during a mortar attack on Arawa on the 28/01/1992 along with all other patients in the hospital. The PNGDF herded the prisoners onto a truck while yelling abuses at them and then took them to be removed by helicopter. (Vol 2., MFAT, AI)						
48	5/25/1989	Attack on civilian population	Arawa- Panguna Mine road	militants	UR		Civilians
	A convoy of four buses carrying employees of the Panguna mine was shot at by militants in an attack that left several wounded.						
49	04/10/1989 4pm	Murder	Arawa Sect 16 Bush Camp	militants	4,0,0		UR
	Four people were murdered at their bush camp.						
50	17-18/02/1993	Torture, murder	Arawa supermarket	PNGDF	2,0,0		UR
	Two men have been believed to have been tortured to death as they were last seen being forced to stand in the heat in the car park of the supermarket.						
51	2/7/1990	Sexual assault	Arawa supermarket car park	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
	A woman was raped at gunpoint by the PNGDF.						
52	10/13/1994	Assault	Arawa Town	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	A peaceful women's protest march was held to persuade the PNGDF to withdraw from the neutral zone for the peace conference. At the end of the march one woman was assaulted and knocked unconscious by the PNGDF.						
53	10/12/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Arawa Town	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	A civilian walking towards the Arawa neutral zone to attend the peace conference was fired upon by the PNGDF.						
54	??/04/1993	Looting, destruction of civilian property	Arawa Town	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The PNGDF was seen pulling down houses and looting them.						
55	10/11/1994	Perfidy	Arawa Town	PNGDF	NA		combatant (BRA)
	Mr Toroama was a BRA commander who was in Arawa for a peace conference. Armed PNGDF troops who had refused to withdraw opened fired on the truck Mr Toroama and his men were in. They all fled into the bushes.						
56	UR	Torture, murder	Arawa, Aropa, Tinputz area	PNGDF	8,0,0		Civilians
	Eight Bougainvilleans (including a pastor) who were arrested in the Tinputz area were beaten, taken to Arawa and beaten again. They were then hospitalised but soon removed and taken to Aropa. There they were tortured and killed after which their bodies were dumped at sea from a helicopter.						
57	12/3/1989	Assault	Army Camp 10	PNGDF	0,7,0		7 Civilians
	Seven men travelling to Arawa by truck were detained at a road block after being accused of making rude gestures to the troops. They were taken to Camp 10 where they were beaten (Two to unconsciousness) and hosed with water. A lieutenant interviewed and said that he knew the men, that they were not BRA. The detainees were subsequently taken to hospital and released.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Miriam Ron, John Wesley, Jake, Emily +UR	1 female, UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' +Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 +MFAT +Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 07/03/1993, RFB, (Vol 2.) Statutory declaration David Paul of Poponang village (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 23/05/1989
Thomas Mara, Siong Loge, Yasong Hay, Michael Tito	4 male	22, 22, 21, 32	Bush camp, Bush camp, Morobe, Sepik	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 06/10/1989 p.3
Mr Toromura, Mr Tameung	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 21/02/1993, RFB
UR (Araon Mirana Nawason sister-in-law)	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary account 07/02/1990
1 UR	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	ABC/ NBC radio news (13/10/1994)
1 UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release (12/10/1994)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	RFB (14/04/1993) & BIG press releases (08/04/1993)
Ishmael Toroama, 3 UR	4 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG media release (12/10/1994), Media reporters attending the conference
8 UR	1 male, 7 UR	UR	UR	BIG press release 23/12/1993	The Times of Papua New Guinea (there source is a statement from Moses Havini, spokesman of the BIG)
Edmond Benny, Clement Haroko, Eric Sihan, Jerry Moki, Jacob Pauru, Ismael Parurei, Nasua Parurei	7 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Survivor testimony (Edmond Benny)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
58	??/04 or 05/1992	Murder, sexual assault	Army camp Asatavi (former Catholic girls' school)	PNGDF	2,0,2		Civilians
	Two boys were detained, forced to perform sexual acts with one another and then were tied down on a beach and left to drown with high tide. They were civilians according to the statement by Mr Patu.						
59	??/06/1992	Murder	Army camp in Bonus	PNGDF	2,0,0		P.O.W (BRA)
	Two BRA members surrendered to the PNGDF camp in Tinputz. They were then taken to the army camp in Bonus and executed.						
60	between 2/07- 12/07 1996	Murder	Aropa	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	A civilian, Mr Mimi, came to see the fighting at Aropa. While there he panicked and ran, but was caught by the PNGDF. His hands were tied behind his back, and he was shot.						
61	08/07/1996 7.15am	Use of chemical weapons	Aropa airport	PNGDF	UR		combatants (BRA)
	The BRA report the firing of phosphorous bombs from two patrol boats prior to the landing of PNGDF forces at Aropa airport						
62	8/16/1992	Murder	Aropa airport	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilians
	A PNGDF aeroplane flying over Aropa plantation ridge fired on the people there. After that, it flew down towards a truck driving next to Aropa airport. The truck was driven by a man identified as Martain who was coming back home after collecting coconuts with his children; he was unaware of the plane's presence. The aeroplane came up from behind and started shooting which killed one of the boys (Rodney Datuu) on the back of the vehicle						
63	23/05/1993 10am	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Aropa airport	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	An aircraft fired indiscriminately around the airstrip.						
64	7/24/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Aropa area	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	A helicopter fired indiscriminately at villagers around Aropa.						
65	21/03/1989 (AI) or 21/04/1989 (Vol.1)	Torture, murder	Aropa Plantation	Riot Squad	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Korelava was beaten by the riot police who thought he was part of the militia. The injuries to his leg meant it had to be amputated. He died of complications as a result of his injuries.						
66	??/06/1994	Murder, looting	Asatavi high school	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
	The security guard of Asatavi high school was shot when the BRA stole his vehicle.						
67	5/25/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Asikopan & Karato villagers	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The PNGDF burnt down seven houses in Asikopan and Karato villages.						
68	5/15/1992	Torture	Asitavi	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	Mr Siuwa was taken to Asitavi where his fingers were cut off as a lesson not to celebrate Bougainville independence.						
69	??/05/1996	Murder	Asitoki care centre, Tohei	BRA	2,0,0		Civilian
	Two civilians from a care centre were killed by BRA while collecting food from their food gardens.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Jeffrey Pukuto, Jeffrey Retoviri	2 male	18, 19	Pokoia village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 + "Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	UR (AI) + statement Nelson Patu (inside Bougainville)
Benedict Airapako + 1, UR (brother)	2 male	2: 20-29	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	UR
Temunu Mimi	1 male	16	Davitu village	BIG media release 12/07/1996	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 09/07/1996	UR
Rodney Datuu, Matian, 1 UR	3 male, UR	10, 2 UR	Arawa	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1	statement Tony Croft (inside Bougainville), Resolution passed by the Panguna Landowners (18/12/1992) (Krai Bilong 1993)+ Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	RFB & press release 20/06/1993
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 07/08/1993
John Sedede Korelava	1 male	30	Koromira	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	Arawa Hospital report + UR (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol.1)
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
Bubi Siuwa	1 male	UR	Pipiaia village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale, Radio free B'ville, BIG press release 01/06/1992
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1997	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
70	4/25/1995	Murder	Atomo village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Namaia was a civilian who was killed by the PNGDF in retaliation for the killing of a PNGDF member by the BRA.							
71	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Bakavori	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
72	??/04/1996	Breach of international sovereignty, destruction of property, dispossession of civilian property	Balalae airstrip, Moli Island, Solomon Islands	PNGDF	NA		Solomon Islands
In a raid on Balalae Island airport, the PNGDF destroyed a navigational beacon and stole three radios including that from the Moli mission.							
73	4/8/1989	Murder	Banei village, Kongara No 2	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
Mr Birengori was killed by the riot squad and buried at their camp. After this, the PNGDF forces moved, and the family recovered his body to bury him properly.							
74	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Barenai	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
75	??/??/1994	Sexual assault, assault	Bari care centre	PNGDF	0,1,1		Civilians
A woman was raped before her husband was beaten.							
76	27/03/1994 2am	Forced displacement of civilian population	Barubaru village	PNGDF/ Resistance	NA		Civilian
Six men were taken into Bolave care centre in a raid on Barubaru village.							
77	26-28/03/1994	Forced displacement of civilian population	Barubaru village	PNGDF/ Resistance	NA		Civilian
Seven men were taken to Bolave care centre during a raid on Barubaru village.							
78	27/03/1994 2am	Assault	Barubaru village	PNGDF led by Colonel Kukuram	UR (no deaths)		Civilian
Villagers from Barubaru were beaten, tortured and forced to move to the Sovele detention centre in a second raid on their village.							
79	26/03/1994 6am	Assault	Barubaru village	PNGDF lead by Colonel Kukuram	UR (no deaths)		Civilian
Villagers from Barubaru were beaten, tortured and forced to move to Sovele detention centre in a raid on their village.							
80	6 weeks before 26/03/1994	Assault, murder, torture	Barubaru village, Palavi Army Camp, Marau	Resistance (Col Lodoma), PNGDF, (Corporal Kukulan)	6,0,0 +1 UR		UR
Seven young men were collecting coconuts when they were approached by Resistance members. They were accused of being BRA members, beaten and taken to an army camp. They were interrogated, beaten and made to lie in the hot sun. On the second day they were interrogated again. Later that night they were taken to Marau, lined up and shot. Michael was the only survivor.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Mr Namaia	1, male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (18/04/1995)
Karebo Oni	UR	UR	UR (Manta Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG update by radio from S.I. (15/04/1996)
Mr Birengori	1 male	16	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Letter form David Sisito, MPA to North Solomons Premier 19/04/1989
Phillip Lampama	1 male	UR	UR (Bompo Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
2, UR	1 male, 1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release (12/08/1994), BIG situation update (12/07/1994)
Mr Kanka, Mr Utanu, Mr Parinara, Mr Simba, Alex Abena, Tande Narito	6 male	UR	Barubara village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (01/04/1994)
Michael Tandira, Patrick Dompua, Peter Torunara, Chief Mathew Laboo, Mr Labinko, Minster Kusi, Andrew Bambu	7 male	UR	Barubaro village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (01/04/1994)
Report details the following men and their families: Karika (wife, 6 children), Utanu (wife, 10 children), Parinara (wife, 2 children), Simba, Alex Abena, Tande Narito (wife, 9 children)	6 male, 4 female, 27 UR	10 adults, 27 children	Barubaru village	BIG press release 03/04/1994	Radio free Bougainville mentioned abuses Vol 2
Report details the following men and their families: Michael Tandira (wife, 1 child), Patrick Dompua (wife, 4 children), Mathew Kabou (wife, 8 children), Mr Labinko, Pastor Kusi (wife, 9 children), Andrew Bambu, Peter Toronara	7 male, 5 female, 26 UR	12 adults, 26 children	Barubaru village	BIG press release 03/04/1994	Radio free Bougainville mentioned abuses Vol 2
Michael, 6 UR	7 male	UR (young men)	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Survivor testimony (Michael), interview with Jason Cornelius and Francis O'Neil (26/03/1995)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
81	5/17/1992	Murder, cruel and unusual treatment	Barusitoro area	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
In May 1992 The PNGDF moved into the Barusitoro area. While there they captured a 16-year-old boy. They questioned him then forced him to write a note saying "today me die". They then shot him in the ear with a pistol and pinned the note to his chest.							
82	??/07/1989 (AI), 21/05/1989 (Vol 1.)	Murder	BCL Exec Hostel outside Panguna	BRA (AI) "criminal activists" (Vol 1.)	0,1,0		Civilian
Mr Bell, an advisor to BCLs percent company, CRA, was seriously wounded in an attack upon him, but survived. He received wounds to his shoulder, hand and abdomen.							
83	2/26/1990	Looting	BCL houses Panguna	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
The PNGDF looted the houses of BCL employees.							
84	9/23/1989	Murder (attempted)	Behind Angamostas Store, Toniva	UR	0.6.0		UR
Six people were wounded by shotgun pellets by an unknown gunman.							
85	3/8/1994	Murder	Bentaraio village	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
A mother and her son were killed by the PNGDF in direct retaliation for the death of four troops and five Resistance fighters (including a commander Walter) during combat at Bentaraio village on the 08/03/1994.							
86	??/11/1994	Murder, perfidy	Between Tonnu & Konga	PNGDF	1,0,0		combatant (BRA)
Sania, a BRA commander, was killed by the Resistance during the ceasefire.							
87	4/18/1989	Humiliating and degrading treatment	Biruna village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
Mrs Kinima was stripped naked and held up in public view by the PNGDF.							
88	4/24/1989	Sexual assault	Biruna village	Police	0,0,1		Civilian
Three (AI) or Four (Vol.1) police members entered Mrs Kinimas home, stripped her, and gang raped her at gunpoint.							
89	1/27/1994	Murder	Bitumen road between Loloho and Itakara	PNGDF	1,0,0		combatant (Resistance)
A Resistance fighter was picked up and dropped out of a helicopter onto bitumen road. He was accused of poor planning after the PNGDF was turned back at the Inei bridge at the cost of two officers.							
90	12/7/1993	Murder	Bogiaago village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Turupia was extrajudicially executed by the PNGDF for allegedly receiving a letter from his son, a BRA member.							
91	11/26/1996	Murder, assault	Bogisagu village	PNGDF/ Resistance	2,3,0		Civilians
Pro-government forces raided a family home and attacked the occupants. Two were killed and another child had her fingers chopped off. Their grandfather was shot in his back and had one of his hands broken while their grandmother was seriously wounded. The attackers left a note in Pidgin which reads (translated)- "you too are going to be punished as from now on".							
92	9/21/1993	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Boku	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilians
Three BRA members surrendered to the chiefs of Murua on 21/09/1993 on the condition of fair treatment. Without warning, they were executed in public by a company commander and dumped in the Boku station's toilet.							
93	8/28/1993	Torture, murder	Boku	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Kitore, a former BRA commander, was tortured and killed without explanation.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	1 male	16	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	statement Cosmas Abia (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
Mike Bell	1 male	45	Australia	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (AI), Arawa Bulletin 02/06/1996 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 26/02/1990
6 UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
Mrs Luka and Mr Kunka	1 female, 1 male	UR	Bentaraio village	BIG press release 09/05/1994	UR
Sania	1 male	25	Matukori village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bougainville HR Concern Group Arawa (16/02/1995)
Barbara Kinima	1 female	16	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	AI report 27/11/1990
Barbara Kinima	1 female	16	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' +Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol1	Bougainville Justice and Peace Commission of the Catholic Church (AI), Amnesty International report 27/11/1990 (Vol.1)
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 28/01/1994
Jerry Turupia	1 male	UR (elderly)	Bogiaago village	BIG press release 13/12/1993 +Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witnesses (BIG) +BIG situation report 09/12/1993 (Vol 1.)
following killed- Kenneth Ariku, Iroba Ariku, following wounded- Bouai Ariku, Mr Kasia, Mrs Irawia	2 male, 3 female	3, 6, 8, 2 UR	Bogisagu village	BIG media release 05/12/1996	eye witnesses
3 UR	3 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Guardian 18/05/1994
Bruno Kitore	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Document at Catholic Bishops Conference of PNG & Solomon Islands

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
94	9/3/1993	Murder	Boku	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
Civilians were shot near Buin high school.							
95	7/7/1994	Murder	Boku	UR	1,0,0		Civilian
The remains of a 15-year-old boy, Mr Mongko, was found in Buka. He disappeared after his mother sent him to get coconuts.							
96	7/4/1994	Murder, torture	Boku	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Kimits was tortured and killed by the PNG.							
97	??/06/1994	Murder, desecration of corpse	Boku care center	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
Two people were taken from Boku care centre, killed, dismembered and dumped from a helicopter.							
98	UR	Murder, torture	Boku care center	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
A man from Siwai suspected of helping his BRA brother was tortured and his skull was split open.							
99	07/12-28/12/1989	Assault	Boku police station/Army Camp 10/Joint forces Headquarters Arawa/ Arawa police station	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Minitong was detained for his criticism of the environmental damage from Panguna. He was moved between mutable detention facilities and beaten and mistreated at all of them. He was seriously ill but was refused treatment and is believed to have died from pneumonia.							
100	??/12/1993	Sexual assault	Bolave	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
A 15-year-old girl was raped by the PNGDF and was left in a life threatening condition.							
101	12/14/1993	Murder	Bolave	PNGDF	1,0,0		P.O.W (BRA)
Taruma was shot dead while trying to surrender							
102	15/04/1995-onward	Sexual assault	Bolave care center	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
After being taken in a raid on Panam No 1. village, Ms Kornabia was detained and repeatedly raped at Bolave care center. As of the time of the report she was pregnant.							
103	??/01/1994	Murder	Bolave care center	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilians
Mr. Ambrose was executed at the Bolave care center in retaliation for his older brothers (Tamiri dopana) defection to the BRA.							
104	11/1/1995	Murder	Bolave care center	PNGDF/Resistance forces	2,0,0		UR
Kaita and Kaiku went to see Kaitas mother at Bolave. There they were captured and shot dead. Later their bodies were dumped in a toilet pit, and the area was booby-trapped.							
105	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Borumai	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is concerns about the health disaster that was reportedly resulting from the PNG curfew as recorded in the Arawa Bulletin.							
106	??/02/1994	Conspiracy: Attack on civilian population	Bougainville	PNGDF	NA		NA
Messages from the PNGDF HQ to all its units on Bougainville were intercepted by the BRA. They report that command ordered its troops to use mortar bombs strikes to make civilians surrender. They ordered them to drop mortar bombs in all thick areas of the jungle in order to force them out and to surrender.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Bruno, Sanko Parape	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 29/09/1993
Akuila Mongko (BIG) or Monko (Vol 1.)	1 male	15	Boku	BIG press release 24/07/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR ("reports are gradually reaching the [BIG] on foot from PNG military occupied areas" (BIG) + BIG situation report 18/07/1994
Mr Kimits	1 male	UR (elderly)	Saposa island	BIG press release 24/07/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR ("reports are gradually reaching the [BIG] on foot from PNG military occupied areas" (BIG) + BIG situation report 18/07/1994
Mavi, Matomali	UR	UR	Birosi village	BIG press release 14/08/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG press release 12/08/1994, BIG situation update 12/07/1994 (Vol 1.)
UR	1 male	UR	Siwai	BIG press release 14/08/1994	UR
Aloysius Minitong	1 male	43-48	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR +unspecified medical authorities, presumably from Arawa Hospital
1 UR	1 female	15	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 25/11/1993
Taruma	1 male	UR	Orami village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 14/12/1993
Mary Kornabia	1, female	UR	Panam No 1. village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement John Koroara to Ms Gillespie (22/10/1995)
Ambrose Kauto	1, male	15	Nagovisi	BIG media release, 08/02/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG situation report 07/02/1994 (Vol 1.)
Kaita, Kaiku	2, male	UR	Pakain village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Iliarius Kovere 10/11/1995
Areona	UR	UR	UR (Basiking Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release, 16/02/1994	PNGDF communications intercepted by the BRA.

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Category of victim
107	??/02/1994	Conspiracy : murder (POW)	Bougainville	PNGDF	NA	NA
	Messages from the PNGDF HQ to all its units on Bougainville were intercepted by the BRA. This reads as follows..."As from the 15th of February, all rebel commanders who walk into any of the military camps must be executed or arrested or placed in custody." "Those rebels who are found to be key fighters must be interviewed, questioned and then wiped out, there will be no alternatives for such people."					
108	1/8/1995	Conspiracy: failure to distinguish combatants, breach of international sovereignty.	Bougainville border Soloman Islands	PNGDF (Port Moresby HQ)	NA	Solomon islands +civilian
	BRA intelligence intercepted the following orders "You will shoot at anything that moves in the border area between Solomon Islands and (PNG) Bougainville. Wipe out rebels crossing the border. Shoot and destroy any Solomon Islands Field Force patrol boats which move near the border."					
109	UR	Conspiracy: failure to distinguish combatants.	Bougainville border Soloman Islands	PNGDF	NA	Civilians
	BRA intelligence intercepted the following from the PNGDF which ordered its forces "to destroy anyone crossing the border as of today 3rd November 94. Kill all civilians who are found crossing the border. Order is to kill and not to save or release anyone anymore."					
110	5/5/1995	Failure to distinguish non-combatant	BRA camp Koromo	PNGDF +Resistance	2,0,0	Civilians
	Mr Tainui and Mr Sirunoim were killed when they and two others walked into an ambush. Mr. Sirunoim was unarmed.					
111	5/3/1995	Murder, perfidy	BRA camp, central Bougainville	PNGDF +Resistance	1,0,0	Hors de combat (BRA)
	Mr Dika was shot five times in the head during an ambush on a BRA camp during a ceasefire. The PNGDF had reportedly been out searching for BRA members who had not surrendered.					
112	2/14/1990	Assault, murder	Bridge near Aropa airport	PNGDF	6,0,0	1 Civilian, 6 UR
	Seven men were accused of being BRA militants and were beaten. They were then taken to Tinputz, then to Arawa Headquarters. Following this, they were taken to hospital before being driven by truck to Aropa (they were beaten en route). En route, the truck stopped and the men were stripped naked and shot. One man survived. Amnesty International suspects the other bodies were dropped into the sea.					
113	??/06/1996	Murder	Buin	PNGDF	1,0,0	Civilian
	Angela is believed to have been killed by the PNGDF in Buin.					
114	12/12/1989	Murder	Buin	UR	2,0,0	non-combatant (BIG)
	Two men from the 'commerce department' were shot dead.					
115	??/??/1992	Murder	Buin	PNGDF	1,0,0	UR
	Mr Akue was extrajudicially executed by the PNGDF. His body was riddled with bullets and dumped in the jungle.					
116	??/06/1992	Forced displacement of civilians, looting, destruction of civilian property	Buin Area	PNGDF, SBIA	UR	Civilians
	In June 1992 the pro-government forces came into villages in the Buin area and forced the villagers into care centers. They also burnt down many homes and looted others. This occurred in the villages of Laitaro, Ula, Kuhumaru, Mamaro, Duahua, Kararu, Laguai, Malobita, Mituai, Okoirahua, Kukumai and Suru. In Chief Diba's village of Laitaro, the pro-government forces burnt down four houses and looted the others. In Siuru, eight houses were burnt down along with three cars, a bus and a store.					
117	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Buin area	PNGDF/ Resistance	1,0,0	Civilian
	Mr. Naisi was killed by the PNGDF. His head was then cut off and he was dumped in the bush where they were later found.					

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release, 16/02/1994	PNGDF communications intercepted by the BRA.
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 12/01/1995	BRA intelligence intercepts
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 07/11/1994	BRA intelligence intercepts
Titus Tainui, Alphonse Sirunoim, Gregory Taborai +1, UR	4 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Gregory Taborai
Thomas Dika	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Gregory Taborai
Pastor Raumo Benito, Sira Devatavi, Lazarus German, Joe Siravia, Allan Mateavi, Moiva Sivanai, Mr Kurangik	7 male	UR	Teanana village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	survivor testimony+ eyewitness +UR (AI)) +AI report, The Times (22/09/1990), "many other reports" (Vol 1.)
Angela	1 female	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
2 UR	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 15/12/1989
Andrew Akue	1 male	30	Kokopo village	BIG press release 06/10/1993 +compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 05/10/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	Buin area	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory declaration of Chief Peter Diba of Laitaro village (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Michael Naisi	1 male	UR	UR	BIG press release 12/09/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 09/09/1993 (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
118	10/2/1995	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Buin area	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	In retaliation against the burning down of Buin High School, the PNGDF carried out indiscriminate shooting in the surrounding area for an hour.						
119	8/26/1996	Murder	Buin Care Center	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	A single mother was extrajudicially executed 800m away from Buin care center by the PNGDF. She was returning from her food garden when killed.						
120	4/13/1994	Murder	Buin care center	PNGDF	1,1,0		Civilian
	The chief of Marouku village was killed and another man was wounded after they were taken from the Buin care center. This was in retaliation for the theft of an SLR rifle from the center.						
121	3/23/1994	Murder	Buin care center	PNGDF	5,0,0		Civilian
	Five civilians from Buin care center were killed in retaliation for the killing of 17 soldiers and Resistance fighters and the wounding of 26 in an ambush near Tabago in Feb 1994.						
122	UR	Assault	Buin care center	PNGDF	1.0.0 +UR		Civilians
	10 civilians were beaten then forced to find BRA members in the jungle and convince them to give up. Upon their return, the men were assaulted again and made to swallow M16 bullets and told to give them back from their own waste. Later, the PNGDF soldiers, frustrated about being unable to find the BRA, assaulted the men again. This time at least one, Mr Hotu, was killed.						
123	01/07/1995 to ??/??/????	Forced labour, torture	Buin care center	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	Village chiefs and other suspects in Buin care center had their heads shaven and were forced to work long hours cutting grass by hand. They were tortured with blows to the hands and fingers with hammers and axes.						
124	UR	Disappearance	Buin care center	PNGDF	UR		POW
	BRA commander Makis was taken from his prison at Buin and disappeared. The BRA presume him to have been killed, while the PNGDF while not reveal his fate.						
125	4/13/1994	Murder	Buin care center	PNGDF	1,1,0		UR
	Chief Out was killed and Mr Potu was wounded by the PNGDF						
126	??/??/1993	Murder	Buin care centers	PNGDF/Resistance	5,0,0		Civilian
	This event is a list of people that were reported to have been killed in Buin care centers by the PNGDF and Resistance fighters.						
127	Between landings at Buin and 22/01/1994	UR	Buin district	PNGDF	23,0,0		Civilians
	This is a list of civilians killed by the PNGDF in Buin district since they landed.						
128	10/2/1995	Destruction of civilian property	Buin high school	BRA	NA		Civilian property
	The BRA raided and burnt down Buin High School in retaliation for human rights abuses by the PNGDF.						
129	??/??/1993	Murder, cruel and unusual treatment	Buin military camp	PNGDF	1.0.0		POW
	Mr Tukina was a former BRA member who had surrendered and was living at Tobago care center. He was summoned to the PNGDF camp in Buin where it is believed he was made to dig his own grave before being killed.						
130	6/23/1992	Destruction of civilian property	Buin town	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The PNGDF scouts entered Buin town and burned the Buin office complex.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 05/10/1995
Angela Nukuitu	1 female	20	Buin (?nauro village)	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR
Chief Joachim Out, Simon Potu	2 male	UR	Marouku village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR
UR	3 male, 2 female	UR	UR	BIG press release 02/06/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG situation update 03/06/1994 (Vol 1.)
Joshum Moto, 9 UR	10 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG information sheet 12/08/1995
Aloyisous Makis	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 02/03 1995
Chief Joachim Out, Simon Potu	2 male	UR	Marouku village (Mr Out) +1, UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (03/06/1994)
Paul Mona, Martin Motai, Moses Munau, Peter Kakeri, Mouni Tania	5 male	47, 25, 22, 45, 25	The following is a list of villages: Bouluko, Lukauoko, Lukauoko, Lukauoko, Kaitu	BIG press release 12/09/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG situation report 09/09/1993 (Vol 1.)
Christopher Baubake, Peter Bamparu, Hare Mongkei, J. Mongkei, Gabriel Kungkei, John Kungkei, John Imu, Romani Nakuma, Kuri Lonsi, Bogin Kakatuna, Peter Naii, Frank Komanai, Mekai Pias Tairum Kakatuona, Paul Nunu, Tony Masia, Nukui Ubun, Thomas Mokui, Henry Bugegui, Pauline Kakapo (female), James Barai, John Luakenu, Jacob Kepino	22 male, 1 female	23, 33, 28, 49, 38, 34, 45, 17, 9, 60, 20, 17, 32, 62, 28, 11, 46, 58, 49, 55, 25,25	The villages of makamuku, makara, kikimogu, kikimogu, mamarominno, laguai, morura, morou, tantareke, rerouiu, nakorei, laguai, siuru, reroutu, kokopo, kokopo, reroutu, malabita, malabita, nabaku, kanauro, malabita	BIG media release, 22/01/1994 +compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG press release 20/01/1994 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 05/10/1995
John Tukina	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness Chief Mathias Wape (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped) (killed,	Category of victim
131	??/09/1996	Murder	Buin, Southern Bougainville	BRA	5,0 + UR (wounded)	Civilian
	BRA killed 5 civilians and wounded several others in an ambush in Buin.					
132	8-9 months before 10/02/1991	Sexual Assault	Buka	BRA (man from Kieta)	0,0,1	Civilian
	Mrs Nahi was raped by a BRA member. This resulted in the birth of a baby on the 02/02/1991.					
133	UR	Assault	Buka	PNGDF	0,14,0	POW
	Hanahan rebels who had surrendered were flown to Buka. When they arrived they were put on show and beaten.					
134	??/05/1996	Assault	Buka command post	PNGDF	0,1,0	Civilian
	A man told AI that his cousin had been detained and taken to Buka Command post and beaten by the PNGDF. He was released the same day with damage to his ear and jaw.					
135	??/06/1996	Cruel and unusual punishment	Buka harbour military check point	PNGDF	NA	Civilian
	A man was forced to run and swim the Buka channel (200-300 meters) because he did not have the correct documentation for travel. The witness tried to intervene but was threatened with a gun.					
136	UR	Hostage taking	Buka Island	PNGDF	NA	non-combatant (BTG)
	Mr Miriung was detained by the PNGDF for four hours. The PNGDF issued an ultimatum that unless the Charter of Mirigini for a new Bougainville was accepted and the deaths of PNG troops stopped Mririung would be "severely dealt with."					
137	UR	Humiliating and degrading acts	Buka Island	Resistance	UR (detained)	Civilian
	PNG police in Buka arrested one militia member and were going to arrest others for detaining villagers at their camp, forcing them to drink urine and crawling naked along the ground.					
138	??/05/1996	Unlawfully detained	Buka Island	UR	NA	Civilian
	Mr Togel was detained overnight without a warrant for allegedly trying to contact a pro-independence church leader. He was later released without charge.					
139	??/05/1996	Unlawfully detained	Buka Island	PNGDF/Resistance	NA	Civilian
	Mr Tulo was detained without a warrant by Resistance forces and questioned by the PNGDF over complaints he had made about the PNGDF. He was later released without charge.					
140	4/13/1996	Cruel and unusual punishment	Buka Island	PNGDF +Police	NA	Civilians
	Three youths were caught drinking on Easter by the PNGDF. They were forced to run 20km at gunpoint while fearing for their lives.					
141	??/08/1993	Murder	Buka Island	PNGDF	1,0,0	Conflicting: Spy/Combatant/Surrendering
	Mr. Tseraha of the BRA went to Buka for reasons that remain unclear and was hunted down and executed by the defence forces. The BRA claim he wanted to surrender but the PNGDF say he was there to destroy infrastructure.					
142	??/01/1991	Murder, cruel and unusual treatment	Buka island	PNGDF	22,0,0	P.O.W (BRA) + Civilians
	On Buka island the PNGDF made 22 suspected BRA members dig their own grave and shot them.					
143	??/09/1990	Murder, destruction of property	Buka Island	BRA	UR	UR
	A former BRA commander was sentenced to 17 years by the PNG courts for murder and arson in 1990s BRA attacks on Buka.					
144	4/13/1996	Cruel and unusual punishment	Buka military camp	PNGDF	NA	Civilians
	After speaking out against the punishment of three youths, the village elders were taken to a military camp and, at gunpoint forced to sit in the scorching sun all day without cover.					

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Rose Nahi	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 10/02/1991
14 UR	14 male	UR	Hanahan	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 04/01/1991
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	Report by cousin to AI
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	eye witness (UR)
Theodore Miriung, 1 UR	2 male	UR	UR	BIG press release 16/12/1994	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
James Togel	1 male	UR	Buka Island	Amnesty International Report 1997	UR
Sam Tulo	1 male	UR	Buka Island	Amnesty International Report 1997	UR
3 UR	3 male	3 youths	Buka island	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Post Courier written by Neville Togarewa (18/04/1992) -three eyewitness reports
Moses Tseraha	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
22, UR	22 male	UR	Buka island	Released documents from MFAT IOA 10/11/2015	3rd session of the commission on human rights, Geneva. -Brief on the situation in Bougainville by Martin Miriori secretary of the Bougainville Interim government (march 1997)
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	PNG government courts
UR	UR	UR	Buka island	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Post Courier written by Neville Togarewa (18/04/1992) -three eyewitness reports

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
145	??/??/1993	Assault	Buka passage	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
The PNGDF made a woman show them the area where her husband was hiding. He did not come out despite the soldier's attempt to make him by beating her.							
146	??/??/1990	Murder	Buka passage	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
Chief Havang of Bel village and another chief Was were taken from Bel care centre and shot at Buka passage; their bodies were then thrown into the sea. This was done in retaliation for the deaths of soldiers in combat.							
147	??/??/1991	Murder	Buka passage	PNGDF	1,0,0		POW
Soldiers took Mr Thomas from Kohinou care centre tied him to a gear box and threw him into Buka passage.							
148	2/28/1990	Murder	Buka passage	PNGDF	3,0,0		UR
Three bodies were found floating in the Buka passage.							
149	prior to 13/05/1991	Murder	Buka passage area	BLF Resistance group (Michael Komu)	11,0,0		combatant (BRA)
Mr Komu, a founding member of the BLF, was heard bragging about his exploits. He claimed to have executed 11 BRA members with a shotgun and cutting the throats of those who did not die immediately.							
150	??/??/1990	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Buka passage, Bonis Plantation	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Three people were caught in gunfire on the beach of the Buka passage. The PNGDF were also shelling the entire shoreline.							
151	UR	Murder	Buka town	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
Mr Was was taken to a command centre at Buka where he was murdered.							
152	6/5/1990	Murder, destruction of civilian property	Buka town, leta village	"skin BRA's" or Tinputz "Rascals"	15,0,0 +UR		UR + Civilian property
A feud reignited between the villages in Tinputz and Buka township. leta village was attacked and 15 people were killed in the fighting. In Buka, chinese shops were burnt down, namely Wong Kui store and Kina trading.							
153	24-25/06/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Bush near Buin town	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
During June 1992 the PNGDF attacked civilians (Chief Wape and his family) with helicopters, machine guns and mortars.							
154	11/26/1996	Murder	bush track between Lambaram and Detosi villages	PNGDF/ Resistance	1,0,0		Civilians
Mr Mutampoko was intercepted by pro-government forces, taken to Lambaram village and executed there.							
155	??/06/1996	Murder	Bwest Coast, Bougainville	BRA	6,0,0		Civilian
The BRA killed six civilians including one elderly women, no further details are reported.							
156	??/03/1994	Murder	camp Toperuru	PNGDF	6,0,0		Civilian
Six people were killed after the Barubaru village raids in conjunction with the execution of another five at Mar camp.							
157	1992-1993	Sexual assault, murder	care centers	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Men were killed, and women were raped in care centres as retribution for BRA activities							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
1, UR	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons) p.29
Chief Kehon Havang, Chief Was	2 male	UR	Bei village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	statement Simon Kikero
Benedict Thomas	1 male	UR	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	statement Simon Kikero
3, UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Diary 21/03/1990
11, UR	11 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 13/05/1991 -from alleged admission from murderer
Dale Hollis, Anne Hollis, Stella.	1 male, 2 female	UR	Ieta village (Stella) +2, UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	survivor testimony 20/01/1995
Mr Was	1 male	UR	Bei village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
UR	UR	UR	Ieta village, Buka town	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 05/06/1990 (expat)
Chief Mathias Wape	1 male, UR	NA	NA	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness Chief Mathias Wape (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
Peter Mutampoko	1 male	32	Destosi village	BIG media release 05/12/1996	eye witnesses
UR	1 female, 5 UR	1: (elderly) +UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
UR	UR	UR	Barubaru village	BIG press release 03/04/1994	Intercepted PNGDF radio communications + overheard PNGDF discussions
UR	UR (male, female)	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons) p.34

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
158	??/05/1993	Inhuman detention, sexual assault	care centers Nthn. Areas	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	The residents detained at care centres were dying due to the poor living standards and diet provided by the PNGDF. Furthermore, women were commonly gang raped and killed.						
159	UR	Inhumane detention	care centers South Bougainville and at Wakunai	PNGDF	34,0,0		Civilians
	A failure to provide sanitary living conditions as well as a lack of food and medicine lead to an outbreak of dysentery and whooping cough in South Bougainville and at Wakunai in which at least 34 people died. In response, the people of Arawa were allowed to return to their village as the PNGDF could not support them with food or medicine.						
160	??/06/1996	Cruel and unusual punishment	Carteret island	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	An old man was accused of using sorcery and had the barrel of a M16 shoved into his mouth and cocked.						
161	8/27/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Coast of Loloho near Rorovana	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	Fishermen of Loloho just escaped a rain of bullets from a PNGDF patrol boat.						
162	??/02 or ??/03/1995	Assault	coast off Koromira	PNGDF	0,2,0		Civilian
	Two fishermen were attacked by the PNGDF out at sea. They were beaten and dumped on the beach and their canoe was destroyed by the PNGDF.						
163	UR	Murder	coast off Koromira	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	A PNG national living with his wife in Koromira was shot by the PNG sea patrol while fishing by her village.						
164	2/2/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Coastline Arawa to Toboroi	PNGDF	UR		Civilian
	Civilians fishing along the coast were hit by mortars from a motorised canoe.						
165	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Damara	PNG Security Forces	2,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
166	12/4/1993	Forced displacement of civilian population	Damparai village	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A village was raided, and its people forced into a care centre.						
167	UR	Forced displacement of civilians	Dampari village	PNGDF/Resistance	UR		Civilian
	Pro-PNG forces raided Dampari village and forced four families (against their will) into a care centre near Bolave.						
168	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Dapera	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
169	11/25/1993	Destruction of civilian property, failure to distinguish non-combatants	Daponai village	PNGDF	NA		Civilians +Civilian property
	the PNGDF burnt down houses in and indiscriminately fired at civilians.						
170	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Darenai	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
171	18/04/1989 6-8am	Assault	Donsir Village	Riot Police	UR		Civilians
	"People homeless from demolished village 22 houses destroyed plus betel nut & cocoa trees many of the people were beaten". In a second section on the same event, the source states that Mr Ampona died during the attack. (Vol.1). Police burnt down Donsiro village and beat the villagers. (AI)						
172	3-15/01/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Donsiro and Korokoro villages, Arawa surrounding villagers	PNGDF	0,20,0		Civilians
	Mortar shells from a Colombia OH -43202 USA weapon was alleged to have been poisoning the people and livestock if villages attacked with white smoke (phosphrous gas).						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Disaster Committee Document 23/02/1993 +PNG red cross Gen. Secretary
UR	UR	UR	Arawa village +UR	BIG press release 17/12/1993	UR
UR	1 male	UR (elderly)	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	
3, UR	3 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 28/08/1992
Chris Bienug, Leonard Batari	2 male	UR	Amamong village	BIG press release 14/08/1994	BIG press release 02/03 1995
UR	1 male	UR	PNG national living in Koromira	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (07/02/1994)
Anthonia, Metonarua	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	UR	UR	Damparai village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 04/12/1993
UR	UR	UR	Dampari village	BIG press release 13/12/1993	UR
Davea Arevoka	UR	UR	UR (Bakorinku Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 28/11/1993
Oaona Kareme,	UR	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 21/04/1989 p.3 + AI report 19/04/1989 (Vol 1.), witnesses (AI)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 27/01/1993, RFB

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
173	4/29/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Donsiro village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	PNGDF troops burnt Donsiro village to the ground.						
174	3/03/1994, 4am	Destruction of property	Donsiro village	PNGDF/ Resistance	NA		Civilian property
	PNGDF/ Resistance raided Donsiro village. They burnt down 12 semi-permanent buildings and bush camps.						
175	UR	Murder	Donsiro village	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Allen was killed during a PNGDF raid on Donsiro village.						
176	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Dupanta	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
177	UR	Murder	Elutupan village	PNGDF	1,0,0		civilian
	Mr Sinki was murdered by the PNGDF.						
178	UR	Murder	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BRA	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Maki was killed by "criminal elements of the BRA & PNGDF".						
179	UR	Murder	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Hamal was killed during a village raid.						
180	UR	Murder	Elutupan village	BLF	1,0,0		UR
	William was killed by the "Parasite group" of the BLF.						
181	UR	Murder	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BLF	2,0,0		UR
	The Williams were taken from their village and killed.						
182	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Peter was killed in a village raid and his body was cut into pieces.						
183	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Petero was killed in a village raid and his body was cut into pieces.						
184	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Kaleana was killed by pro-government forces. They shot him multiple times then cut his body into pieces.						
185	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Elutupan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Kuku was killed in a village raid and his body was cut into pieces.						
186	UR	murder +destruction of civilian property	Elutupan village	BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Chief Sebou was murdered by BLF members who burnt his house down with his body inside.						
187	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Enamira	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
188	7/31/1996	Attack on civilian population	Following villages: Guava, Mosinau, Poaru, Kokore	PNGDF	UR		Civilian
	Two PNGDF helicopters attacked four villages near Panguna. The BRA claim the fire was unprovoked and that it was dropped on defenceless civilian targets.						
189	UR	Assault, murder, torture	From Keupan village to Buka town	PNGDF	1,0,0		civilian
	Mr Otto was beaten, forced to run through barbed wire and then buried alive.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release p30 P.R. 15/01/1993
NA	NA	NA	Donsiro village	BIG press release, 16/02/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG media release 03/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Bare Allen	1,male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Commission on human rights 52nd session, item 10.
Bataro	UR	UR	UR (Bompo Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Mr Sinki	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Gibson Maki	1 male	14	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Kubea Hamal	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
William	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Mr Williams, Mrs Williams	1 male, 1 female	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Felix Peter	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Gerard Petero	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Kaleana	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Patrick Kuhu	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Cheif Sebou	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Arinama Bimei	UR	UR	UR (Basikang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 31/07/1996	eye witnesses
Robert Otto	1 male	UR	Keupan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
190	28/06/1996 4.30pm	Attack on civilian population, forced displacement of civilian population	From Tavatava- Kitea villigers.	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A PNGDF helicopter staffed villagers between Tavatava and Kieta in an attempt to force the villagers into care centres. The BRA claimed that that in the attack two mothers and a child were narrowly missed by fire from the gunship. The orders for this attack were incepted by BRA radio intelligence on the 27/06/1996. This was part of PNGDF operation high speed 2.						
191	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Gihuneh village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		civilian
	Mr Keris was killed by pro-government forces. He was shot several times before dying then had one of his hands was chopped off.						
192	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Gogohe village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		civilian
	Mr Ragu was killed and his body was cut into pieces.						
193	UR	Murder	Gogohe village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Nohu was used as target practice and subsequently killed in Gogohe village.						
194	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Gogohe village	PNGDF/BLF	2,0,0		UR
	The brothers Koal were taken to Gogohe in the Soloa area and killed. Lawrance Koal's body was cut into prices.						
195	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Guava	PNG Security Forces	3,0,0		Civilians
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
196	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Guava	PNG Security Forces	5,0,0		Civilians
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
197	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Guava	militants or BRA	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Kove was murdered by militants or the BRA.						
198	UR	Murder	Hagus village	PNGDF	1,0,0		civilian
	Mr Banabbas was thrown alive of a cliff.						
199	UR	Murder	Hagus village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Sarno was murdered by pro-government forces.						
200	??/??/1994	Murder	Hahon	PNGDF	2,0,0		UR
	Two men were burned alive by the PNGDF in automobile tyres.						
201	UR	Destruction of civilian property	Hahon area	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	When fighting broke out in Hanhon the PNGDF entered each village and burned down all permanent bush material houses.						
202	UR	Murder	Hanahan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Hakelul was murdered by pro-government forces.						
203	UR	Murder	Hanahan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Pakaho was killed in his village by pro-government forces.						
204	UR	Murder, humiliating and degrading treatment	Hanahan village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Limen was stripped, treated inhumanely and shot.						
205	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Hanahan village, Buka town	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Scorpion was killed, and his body was taken to Buka were it was tied up and cut to pieces.						
206	11/24/1992	Use of chemical weapons, failure to distinguish non- combatants	happy velly, Kieta	PNGDF	UR		Civilians

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	2 female, UR	1: (child) +UR	UR	BIG media release 02/07/1996	BRA commander Sam Kauona
Alex Keris	1 male	UR	Gihuneh village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Jacob Ragu	1 male	UR	Koheno village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Alex Nohu	1 male	UR	Tohatsi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Lawrence Koal, Sinly Koal	2 male	UR	Tohatsi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Maria Banki, Joyce Banki, Ambrose Dateransi	1 male, 2 female	UR	UR (Bakorinku Clan, Bakorinku Clan, Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Chrustophille Kevin Duru, Perpetua Seroro, Agatha Miringtoro, Perpetua Seroro	2 male, 1 female, 2 UR	3 +4 UR	UR (Barapang Clan, Data Clan, Kurabang Clan, Kurabang Clan, Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Mathew Kove	1 male	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Mr Banabbas	1 male	UR	Hagus village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Clement Samo	1 male	UR	Hagus village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Gordon Kimar, Sam Ngosei	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	R.Siara of the BRA relaying witness accounts
NA	NA	NA	NA	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992 (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Gordon Hakelul	1 male	15	Hagus village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
This event should be taken with caution due to the lack of detail in the source.					
Pakaho	1 male	UR	Hanahan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Andrew Limen	1 male	UR	Hanahan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Sagalo Scorpion	1 male	UR	Hanahan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 25/11/1992

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	There was an indiscriminate bombardment of Happy Valley. Poisonous chemicals from the mortars were also alleged to have been made the people sick.						
207	??/08/1989	Destruction of property	Honiara, Solomon Islands	UR (presumed to be the PNGDF or Resistance)	NA		Civilian
	The houses of the Martin Miriori and of the Premier of the North Solomons Province was burned to the ground. Mr Mirior, his wife, daughter and six refugees were inside, but no casualties were reported. It is not known who burnt the house down, but it is suspected to be the pro-government forces. Under interrogation, PNGDF Corporal Luke Korake identified a Resistance member (Another BRA POW) as one of those who carried out the attack.						
208	??/06/1992	Murder, torture, looting	Hukohah village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Komoru was killed while feeding his pigs. He was robbed of K7,000, and his body showed signs of torture as some of his body parts (fingers, arms and toes) were cut off and thrown away.						
209	3/12/1991	Murder, assault	Iagit village, Tulein	PNGDF	11,0,0		Civilians
	11 male villagers playing football during a peace ceremony were detained beaten and burned alive.						
210	??/09/1996	Murder	Inus	BRA	2,2,0		Civilians
	Two people were killed and two others were wounded when the BRA opened fire on a truck in Inus. All the occupants were civilians.						
211	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detainment	Irang	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		Civilian
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
212	12/9/1993	Attack on civilian population.	Irang, orami, panga, Toniva, Toboroi villages + UR	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	Gunships sprayed gunfire and bombarded the villages of Toborai, Toniva, Irang, Ormai, Panga.						
213	??/03/1994	Murder	Itakara army camp	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr. Basiku, a youth from Sinpaku village was executed at Itakara camp and his body was dumped at sea.						
214	1995	Murder	Itakara Industrial area, Arawa	PNGDF + Resistance	1,0,0		Civilian
	Chief Dovae was killed after being called up to cut grass at a military camp.						
215	1/23/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Itakara junction	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
	Civilians were caught in a crossfire between the PNGDF and BRA at Itakara junction.						
216	??/11/1992	Torture	Iula village	PNGDF +SIBA	0,1,0		Civilian
	In November 1992 Mr Pinkei went to get food from his garden in Kugumaru village for which he had permission. While there the PNGDF and SBIA arrested him and took him to Iula village. They told him to go home and then shot him twice in the back. They then lanced his legs and arms with Knives and left him. He was able to get to his village in the heavy rain but was disabled as a result of this incident.						
217	9/2/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Kaino village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	During a clash in Kaino village burnt down seven semi-permanent.						
218	??/06/1992	Dispossession of property	Kakotokori village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	A Suzuki 4WD was stolen by the PNGDF from Mr Moki.						
219	??/05/1993	Sexual assault	Kanabitu village	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
	Ms Maslmo was pack raped by soldiers at Kanabitu village. She gave birth to a child in february 1994.						
220	9/1/1995	Perfidy, murder	Kanaro Community School	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	A former BRA commander was killed in an ambush. He had expected to be safe during a ceasefire so had returned to civilian life when killed.						
221	5/7/1995	Murder	Kanavitu village	PNGDF +Resistance	2,0,0		Civilians

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Martin Miriori, Skollyl, UR (daughter) +6 UR	1 male, 2 female, 6 UR	UR (including young girls and children)	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' +Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 +MFAT	UR (AI), BIG press release 01/02/1996 (CHA Vol.2), BIG update by radio with S.I. (15/04/1996) +Geneva (MFAT)
Peter Komoru	1 male	UR	Hukohah village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992)Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
Peter Rohen, Cornelius Senga, John Memes, Micheal Kahu, Dominic Kamit, Vincent Tukan, Bun Hakel, David Tsihon, Bom, Tuit, Tombat	11 male	UR	Iagit village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	Witnesses testimony (UR)
4, UR	UR	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Victoria Damen	1 female	UR	UR (Basikiang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	UR	UR	Irang, orami, panga villages + UR	BIG press release 13/12/1993	UR
Mr. Basiku	1 male	UR (youth)	Sinpaku village	BIG press release 03/04/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG press release 29/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Chief James Dovae	1 male	UR (elderly)	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (09/01/1994)
Karimo Pinkei	1 male	UR	Kugumaru village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1. +Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" - 34/05/1993	Statutory declaration of Kara Mege of Laitaro village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG media release 06/09/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 06/09/1993 (Vol 1.)
Samuel Moki	1 male	UR	Kakotokori village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992) Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
Siro Masimo	1 female	UR	UR	BIG press release, 17/03/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG media release 17/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Rikui	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Report obtained by Ms Gillespie 06/1995-01/1996
Herry Duai, Gabrielle Marimanau +UR	2 male, UR	UR	Kanavitu village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Gregory Taborai

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties (wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	During a raid on Kanavitu village one unarmed man, Mr Marimanau was shot in the back of the head. Another Mr Duai was killed after attempting to wrestle a rifle away from a soldier while resisting arrest.						
222	9/8/1996	Murder	Kangu beach	BRA+ Resistance (commander Thomas Tari (BRA))	12.0.0		combatant (PNGDF/ Police)
	In retaliation for abuses by the PNGDF (specifically the raping of local women and attacks resulting in the harming of children) the Resistance and BRA attack the Kangu Beach care center. While the soldiers were lured to play volleyball and drink by the local women. While they relaxed the Resistances gathered up their weapons. After killing the commander as he slept the Bougainvillians attacked. The soldiers attempted to fight back but were unable to as they were unarmed. Twelve were killed, and five were taken hostage. After being gunned down their bodies were mutilated.						
223	9/8/1996	Taking of hostages	Kangu beach	BRA	0,0,0		POW
	The BRA sent a communication to Lt Col. Tokam Kanun of the PNGDF demand the independence of Bougainville in return for five PNGDF soldiers captured at Kangu Beach. In a later realise Commander Kauona states "prime Minister Chan, you have just as much responsibility for the lives of these men as I have". In a statement on 03/10/1996, the Commander Kauona claims the captured soldiers are POWs and not hostages.						
224	??/09/1996	Detained, murder	Kangu Beach care center	PNGDF	UR		non-combatant (BTG)
	The chief coordinator of the Kangu Beach care centre disappeared after being detained by PNGDF soldiers.						
225	4/14/1996	Violation of territorial Integrity, Dispossession of civilian property	Kariki village, Solomon Islands	PNGDF (PNGDF patrol boat 04. commanded by Nathan Kompota)	NA		Solomon Islands
	PNGDF patrol boat 04. commanded by Mr Kompota landed at Kariki in S.I. and stole a 2-way radio and the motor of a banana boat. Mr Kompota threatened the villagers with reprisals if they reported the raid.						
226	4/14/1996	Violation of territorial Integrity, Dispossession of civilian property	Kariki village, Solomon Islands	PNGDF +Resistance	NA		Solomon Islands
	The PNGDF conducted a second raid (referenced in Vol. 1, 12/09/1992 p.23 (13/09/1992) on the S.I. village of Kariki. The raiders stole a 2-way radio and 30hp outboard engine. They threatened the villagers if they reported the raid.						
227	01-/08/1994	Dispossession of property	Kekesu	PNGDF+ Resistance	NA		Civilian property
	The pro-government forces took a Landcruiser belonging to Kekesu hospital and a Hilux belonging to the minister of the United Church of Kekesu. Additionally, the engine of the Tearuki hospital's banana boat was taken. These examples are given in the context of a more general statement about the seizure of property by government forces, sometimes at gun point and other times resulting in murder.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Major Paul Panas?, Delta Company	12 males	UR	Papua New Guniea	BIG media release 06/10/1996 +AI human rights tragedy +MFAT +Reconciliation and Architectures of Commitment (Braithwaite)	Geneva, Post Courier 10/09/1996), (25/10/1996), National (25/10/1996) (MFAT) Interviews with relevant BRA and PNGDF members (Braithwaite)
5, UR	5 male	UR	PNG	BIG media release 1708/1996 +BIG media release 06/10/1996 +BIG media release 03/10/1996 +Forgotten human rights tragedy AI	BRA leadership
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG update by radio from S.I. (15/04/1996)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Moses Havini BIG update from contacts in Ghizo (16/04/1996)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Rights office on their visit to PNG 21-28/10/1995

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
228	7/13/1994	Assault	Kekesu area	PNGDF	0,3,0		Civilians
	Three young men who were BRA members surrendered to the chiefs (months earlier) were take by the locals to the PNGDF. The soldiers then lined them up and beat them . They were then taken behind the local trade store and forced to dig their own graves. However, the soldiers released the after this with threats to never join the BRA again.						
229	7/6/1994	Forced labour	Kekesu PNG security camp	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	Kikis had been shopping at Buka however due to mechanical problems was unable to reach a checkpoint at Kekesu by 5am (for curfew). The next day he was forced to build huts in the PNGDF camp. This was part of a PNGDF policy where all travel required permission. If the civilians did not return by 5pm, they were required to do forced labour regardless of age (over 10), medical conditions or breastfeeding mothers.						
230	7/3/1994	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Kekesu United Church +Sabah Plantation	PNGDF (Michael, Col. Keri, David) +Resistance (joseph Vaapesi)	1,0,0		P.O.W (BRA)
	Mr Veoriva was beaten to death in from of the Kekesu church delegation (of which he was a member). His body was then taken to the Sabah Plantation and riddled with bullets until his head and intestines fell out. His body was then taken to his family at Teopsina plantation as a warning. The reason for this attack was the accusation that Mr Veoriva was a BRA member despite the fact that he surrendered to the chiefs a year earlier.						
231	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Kerei	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster attributed to a PNG curfew.						
232	UR (Friday 4pm)	Murder	Kerei Capable Construction Camp	militants	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Marum was shot dead whilst sitting with a friend.						
233	9/27/1989	Murder	Kerei's Selite Trading	UR	2,0,0		Civilians
	Two civilians guarding for the Selie company were shot dead.						
234	after 21/12/1992	looting	Keriaka	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	Following the murder of an army orderly for adultery PNGDF members went on a looting rampage.						
235	12/21/1992	Murder	Keriaka	BRA	1,0,0		non-combatant (PNGDF)
	An army medical orderly was hacked to death by the BRA for adultery with the BRA commanders wife.						
236	??/09/1990	Murder	Kessa, buka	PNGDF	2,0,0		combatants (BRA)
	Two BRA members were executed by the PNGDF were they landed to re-take bougainville.						
237	4/18/1989	Humiliating and degrading treatment	Keuru School	Police	NA		Civilian
	A school girl was stripped naked by the police and held up in public view.						
238	prior to ??/01/1993	Destruction of civilian property, failure to distinguish non-combatants	Kieta	PNGDF	NA		Civilian +Civilian property
	A family of five were escorted by the BRA to the mountains "to escape bombardment of the coast. Their house was sprayed from PNGDF boats for 11/2 hours on one occasion, and choppers fly over and spray too. Two months later the house was burnt down."						
239	1993 or 1994	Murder	Kieta	BRA	5,0,0		Civilians
	Five village elders from Kieta were suspected of poisoning other people. Those people asked the BRA to kill the five which they did after which they attached tyres to their bodies and dumped them off Kieta wharf.						
240	UR	Attack on civilian population	Kieta	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A NOMAD aircraft fired at people tending their food gardens in Kieta.						
241	UR	Perfidy, destruction of civilian property, failure to distinguish non-combatants	Kieta	PNGDF	UR		Civilians +Civilian property
	PNG Patrol boat 03. came into Kieta harbor flying a red cross flag. The BRA fired one warning shot then the PNGDF opened fire, specifically at the houses. They then must have seen Mr Ririan because they started firing at him. He ran to the BRA who then started opening fire.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR (They were sons of Abono (Yokomori village), Voesi (kaskuris village), Panovoosu (Nebasiorevi village))	3 male	UR (teen)	Kaskurus village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement by witness' for the UN special rapporteur visit (20/10/1995)
Kikis	1 male	UR	Laun village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement by witness' for the UN special rapporteur visit (20/10/1995)
Renas Veoriva	1 male	18-20	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	eye witness' (Kekesu church congregation)- statement for the UN special rapporteur visit (20/10/1995)
Ampona	UR	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
George Pupul Marum	1 male	36	Kapa Koda	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 20/10/1989
Jack Awite Kokaepese, Sam Euyone Sakapana	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Krai Bilong 1993 RG
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Krai Bilong 1993 RG
2, UR	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 23/09/1990
1, UR	1 female	16	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
5, UR	2 male, 3 female	16, 21, 18 +2, UR	Kieta	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons) p.24
UR	5 male	UR (elderly)	Kieta	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Max Watts "Bougainville: blockade tightens as war heats up" (rn 2951.42 gen)	UR
Rev. John Wesley +UR	1 male, UR	UR	Kieta	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	survivor testimony (Wesley Ririan to Ms Gillespie) 06/1992

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Category of victim
242	??/07/1996	kidnapping	Kieta	BRA	UR	UR
The BRA was accused of scores of disappearances, the example given is the disappearance of a man after being picked up by the BRA.						
243	??/11/1989	destruction of property	Kieta district	PNGDF/Police	UR	Civilian
It was reported that the security forces burned down 1600 homes in Kieta district, principally around Kongara, Panguna and the Port Mine access road. As a result, 3500 villagers were moved to 18 care centres.						
244	11/10/1993	Attack on civilian population.	Kieta district/ villages of Kongara	PNGDF	0,0,0	Civilians
Gunships sprayed gunfire onto villages in the Kieta district and the villages of Kongara. No casualties were reported.						
245	24/11/1992 6.30-7.30am	Attack on civilian population	Kieta harbor	PNGDF (patrol boat 03)	UR	Civilians
PNGDF patrol boat no.3 entered Kieta harbour and opened fire on civilians using small arms and mortars. After an hour the BRA arrived and returned fire forcing the boat to retreat. The attack was unprovoked.						
246	??/04/1992	Attack on civilian population or failure to distinguish non-combatants, destruction of civilian property	Kieta harbour	PNGDF (Patrol boat 01)	UR	Civilians
At the end of April 1992 PNGDF patrol boat, 01. sprayed machine gun fire into Kieta village in which civilians were present. The witness reports no casualties, but there was damage to property.						
247	25/05/1992 3pm-430pm	Perfidy	Kieta harbour	PNGDF (patrol boat 03)	UR	UR
PNGDF patrol boat 03. came into Kieta harbour flying the flag of the red cross. The boat, armed with an M60 machine gun and mortar came within 150-200m of the beach when the BRA fired a warning shot. The boat returned the shot and a firefight last 1 1/2hours ensued.						
248	16-27/01/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Kieta to Toboro	PNGDF	UR	Civilians
A helicopter bombarded all areas between Kieta and Toboro for 24 hours.						
249	6/2/1994	destruction of property, looting of civilian property	Kieta village	PNGDF +patrol boat 03	NA	Civilian property
Kieta village was looted then bombarded by patrol boat 03. from Makati point.						
250	5/30/1989	Attempted murder	Kira village	militants	0,1,0	UR
Ampaai nephew to Severinus was shot at while driving and sustained injuries to his right arm.						
251	8/29/1989	Attack on civilian population	Kira village Pakia	militants	UR	Civilians
A "family at home under attack in night"						
252	10/1/1994	Torture	Kiribai (Taboromau)	PNGDF	0,0,0	UR
The Son of Donsira of Pokpok village was taken by the PNGDF and had his head held under water for several minutes before he was allowed to breathe.						
253	12/5/1989	Attempted murder	Kobuan	PNGDF	0,1,0	Civilian
Dr Aitken, a lecturer at UNZ, was shot and wounded by the PNGDF while driving a car with his friend, wife and baby.						
254	7/10/1989	Murder, destruction of property	Kobuan residential compound	BRA	3,1,0	Civilian +non-combatant
Three civilians were shot and hacked to death in a raid on a residential compound as payback for the death of militants. An Amry doctor was shot in the back and survived, and three houses were burned down. All those killed were not from Bougainville.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
UR	UR	UR	Kieta district	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	North Solomans Emergency Evacuation Committee
UR	UR	UR	Kieta district/ villages of Kongara	BIG press release 12/11/1993	UR
UR	UR	1, 3 months old+UR	Kieta	BIG press release 12/11/1993	survivor testimony
John Wesley Hanavia+ UR	1 male, 1 female, UR	UR	Kieta	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	survivor testimony (John Wesley Hanavia)
Bishop John Zale +UR	1 male, UR	UR	Kieta	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness (Bishop John Zale) (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 16/01/1994
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 02/06/1994 +BRA media release 02/06/1994	eye witnesses
Ampaoi	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 02/06/1989
UR	UR	UR	Kira village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 02/06/1989
1, UR (son of Donsira of Pokpoko island)	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update, BIG press release (04/10/1994)
Dr. Graham Aitken	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 12/12/1989 by Biabe Nangoi
4, UR	UR	UR	Kobuan residential compound	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
255	2/8/1990	Assault	Kobuan Roadblock (north of Kieta)	PNGDF	0,1,0		non-combatant (PNG)
Mr Tsmilili, the assistant controller of the state of emergency, was beaten by soldiers.							
256	4/8/1989	Assault	Kobuan village	Police	0,2,0		2, Civilians
Two men were arrested in a raid on their village. A short distance from the village they were beaten and reported multiple facial injuries. Mr Devata sent a letter of complaint to the police, the PM and his cabinet ministers.							
257	2/18/1994	looting	Kobuan village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
PNG troops looted Kobuan village, going so far as to dismantle houses for transport.							
258	21/02/1994 (BIG)	Attack on civilian population	Kobuan village +surrounding area	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Mortars were used to target Kobuan, the surrounding villages and area. They were also reportedly being used to fire on the civilian population living in the jungle.							
259	1989-1990	looting	koikoi	BRA	NA		Civilian property
A trading store was asked for food on a daily basis under the threat of force from 1989-1990. A list of what was taken was kept and a promise to repay at the end of the conflict.							
260	1/29/1990	looting, destruction of property	Koikoi 1 tradestore	BRA or Rascals	NA		Civilian property
Mr Hatsire was a manager of Koikoi 1 trade store. He was asked for the keys to the store. When he refused the store was looted and burned.							
261	??/02/1997	Murder	Kokopau	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian +combatant (Resistance)
12 PNGDF members allegedly murdered a pro-government Resistance member and a telephone technician.							
262	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Kokore	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
263	9/12/1992	Murder, violation of territorial integrity, attack on civilian population, unlawful detention	Komaliae village, Shortland Island Solomon's	PNGDF	2,1,0		Civilian
The PNGDF carried out an incursion into Solomons; they claim that this was to capture two BRA members. Brother and sister Peter and Jacinta were killed, and Jacinta's three-year-old daughter was wounded. Peter, a local shop owner, was, along with Jacinta's husband was abducted and interrogated for owning a wireless radio. They were later released. All three were Solomon Islanders who were targeted due to information from a civilian informant that they were assisting the BRA.							
264	4/22/1996	Violation of territorial integrity	Komaliae, Shortland Island, Solomon Islands	PNGDF +Resistance	NA		Solomon Islands
The pro-government forces engaged in a shootout with S.I. forces in the territory of the Solomon Islands. This resulted in three PNGDF soldiers being wounded while none were reported amongst the S.I forces.							
265	6/11/1992	Murder, torture	Kome village	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
Two men were picked up by the PNGDF tortured and shot at Kome village							
266	10/12/1996	Murder	Konga	PNGDF/ Resistance (5-10 men)	1,0,0		Government official

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Peter Tsamilili	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 09/02/1990 +evacuee's diary
Bernard Devata, Steven Ona	2 male	UR	Kobuan village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	survivor testimony+medical report from North Solomons Medical Center
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (18/02/1994)
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 21/02/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BRA intelligence 11.30pm intercept army report, M. Havini media release from RFB (21/02/1994) (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	20/01/1995 diary of victim
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Diary of witness next door filmed by ABC- Frank Mills 20/01/1995
UR	1 male, 1 UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1997 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Joachim Kaiiku	1 male	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Peter Kamaraiia, Jacinta Popo +2, UR (Jacinta's daughter and husband)	2 male, 2 female	1: 3 (female) +UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 +Amnesty International Report 1994	Solomon Star Limited, survivor testimony,
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG update from contacts in Ghizo (26/04/1996)
David Sirup, Sivetai Muinana	2 male	22, 21	Kunokomok village, Kurur village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992 (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Theodore Miriung	1 male			BIG media release 13/10/1996, M	World 7, Europe-Pacific Solidarity Bulletin (vol.4, no.5), Report from Justice Sunthernlingham-Commonwealth Secretariat, Focus 19/02/1997, Time & Tide, Sydney Morning Herald 16/10/1996 (MFAT)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Category of victim
						<p>On the night of the 12th of October armed men entered the home of Mr Miriung's wife and assassinated him in front of his family. It was later revealed that the assassins were members of the PNGDF members from Tonu army camp and Resistance who conducted the attack. Mr Miriung was head of the BTG, the Port Moresby installed government of Bougainville.</p>

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
267	between 12/1995-03/1996	Murder	Konga	Resistance	1,0,0		UR
	Huruma is believed to have been shot by the Resistance near Konga.						
268	??/01/1995	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Konga, Siwai area	Resistance	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Namake was forced out of his office and tricked before being killed and chopped into pieces.						
269	Saturday previous to 21/09/1990	Murder	Kongara	PNGDF	4,0,0		UR
	Four bodies were riddled with bullets and sustained injuries which suggest a motor attack. The PNGDF described the victims as hardcore rebels.						
270	8/27/1989	Murder, (PNGDF claim collateral damage)	Kongara area	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
	Ms Bangi and her daughter were killed in disputed circumstances. Officials claim the women were walking with three men mistaken as members of the BRA and were caught in a crossfire with the militants. Eyewitnesses claim the women were walking with two other females when they were shot. Medical authorities claimed that there was no evidence of rape as some people allege. Ms Bangi was the wife of Vincent Bangi who had previously been assaulted by the PNGDF.						
271	mid Jan-mid Feb/1990	Failure to distinguish non-combatants, use of chemical weapons	Kongara area	PNGDF	27,0,0		Civilian
	At least 27 villagers including the elderly and children were reported to have been killed in mortar and aerial attacks during the PNGDFs Operation Footloose. There is also unconfirmed reports of the use of chemical weapons in the form of white phosphorous.						
272	??/11 or 12/1992	Murder	Koniguru village	PNGDF/SBIA	4,0,0		Civilian
	The sons of village chief Andrew Purai were killed in retaliation as he would not bring his family to Tokaino care centre.						
273	??/09/1992	Murder, destruction of civilian property, theft	Kopani village	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
	The PNGDF carried out a raid on Kopani village. Most of the villagers saw them coming and fled into the bush. However, an elderly man (Mr Tapatoman) and his wife were shot and wounded while sleeping in the house. The soldiers stole K7000 from them and then burnt the village to the ground, the elderly couple were burnt alive in their house.						
274	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Kopei	PNG Security Forces	5,0,0		Civilian +UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
275	??/04/1993	Destruction of civilian property, looting	Kopikiri village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The PNGDF burnt down three houses and stole property in Kopikiri village.						
276	??/09/1992	Murder, destruction of civilian property	Kopikiri village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilians
	The PNGDF carried out an attack Kopikiri village in which they burnt down all the houses and killed one civilian, Gabriel Dape.						
277	5/15/1993	Murder, desecration of corpse	Kopikiri village	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Two men had their bodies chopped up and dumped.						
278	5/9/1994	Destruction of civilian property	Korakun village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The PNGDF burned down civilian bush camps.						
279	8/12/1994	Murder	Koromira	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	A man originally from New Ireland was shot at by a PNGDF patrol boat while fishing off his wife's village.						
280	UR	destruction of property	Koromira coastline	PNGDF	NA		non-combatant property
	The PNGDF burnt a boat given to the BIG by the Solomon Islands Christian Association to deliver medical supplies to Bougainville and evacuate those who needed medical treatment.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Huruman	UR	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Ignatius Namake	1 male	40-49	Haisi area	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (18/04/1995)
4, UR	4 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 29/01/1990
Maria Miringori Bangi, Joyce Bangi Manenu	2 female	UR, 15	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	eyewitnesses+ Paul Tohian Controller of the State of Emergency +unspecified medical authorities
27, UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
Raphael Moriei, Iamu Kupui, John John, Bana Kuriai Purai	4 male	UR	Koniguru village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 + Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	national press (AI) + survivor testimony (Chief Andrew Purai) (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Peter Tapatomam +1, UR (his wife)	1 male, 1 female	2: UR (elderly)	Kopani village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village (Krai Bilong) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights -Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Nawete P., Sikau Joseph, Bareai, Sikau, Joyce Areka	1 female, 4 UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
Gabriel Dape	UR	UR	Kopikiri village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
It is unclear whether the victim's were alive when he was cut up, however it is most likely that this occurred after death.					
Kevin Nomia	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (03/06/1994)
1, UR	1 male	UR	New Ireland	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update, BIG press release (04/10/1994)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Interview with Bishop Zale

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
281	1/15/1995	Murder	Koromira Mission army camp	PNGDF (Pte Job Tuka, authorised by Lt. Cpl. Jack Goi)	2,0,0		Civilians
Two men, one of whom was a PNG national (Mr Santa) were beaten to death for allegedly stealing ammunition.							
282	UR	Murder	Kotopan village	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
Mr Kom was killed by the PNGDF.							
283	29/11/1991 6am-	Destruction of civilian property, looting, forced displacement of civilian population, inhuman detention of civilians, murder, hostage taking	Kotopan village, Hanahan care center	PNGDF +BLF rebels (Administrator of care centre Sam Tulo)	UR		Civilians, POWs
On the 29th of November, the pro-government troops forced villagers to relocate to the Huholo care centre. After they had moved out of their homes, the soldiers immediately when about looting and burning the village. At the care centre, the detainees were not given sufficient food, were crowded into small tents, were not provided proper sanitation and health care, and were punished with forced labour. Furthermore, they were used as hostages and some were killed in retaliation for BRA attacks.							
284	4/2/1995	Murder	Kotu village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Hikun was shot by the PNGDF in front of his family. He was a former Resistance commander involved with the late Anthony Anugu. He was suspected of communicating with the BRA.							
285	22/05/1992 8pm	Murder	Kunokomok village	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilians
Three people were killed and two more were wounded when the PNGDF carried out an attack on Kunokomok village using firearms and mortars.							
286	10/06/1992 10pm	Murder, destruction of property	Kunokomok village	PNGDF	6,0,0		Civilians
Two families were burnt to death in the houses by the PNGDF.							
287	11/24/1989	Forced displacement of civilians, Destruction of civilian property	Kupei & Boro valleys	PNGDF	UR		Civilians +Civilian property
The PNGDF raided villages, destroyed houses and forced their population into Kaino care centre.							
288	UR	Failure to distinguish combatants	Kurai village	PNGDF	4,0,0		Civilian
During operation high speed 2 a PNGDF motor destroyed a civilian house killing the entire family inside. BRA Commander Sam Kauona claims this was a war crime as the military indiscriminately bombarded village areas with no military targets present. He argued that statements made by PNG forces (21/06/1996) warning villagers to clear out or face the consequences did not legalise their actions. Commander Kauona compared this to 'free-fire zones' in Vietnam.							
289	??/08/1992 - unknown	Sexual assault	Kuraio	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
The army set up a brothel in a priest's house at their mission station. They raped both girls and boys, especially those that were young and single.							
290	1/16/1993	Murder	Kuraio mission	PNGDF	1,0,0		non-combatant (BTG)
A PNG Interim Authority member was killed as a reprisal for a BRA raid.							
291	1/25/1990	Assault	Kutin, Buka Island	PNGDF	1, wounded, 2 raped?		2, UR (suspected BRA by PNGDF)
Mr Moseka and his friend were detained as suspected BRA members. After failing to provide intelligence that they were suspected of having Moseka was forced at gunpoint to sodomise his friend who was tied down. Moseka was then beaten.							
292	16-17/01/1990	Murder, destruction of property	Kuveria Jail Complex	BRA	6,15,0		Civilian +non-combatants (PNG)
100 BRA members stormed Kuveria jail, freed all Bougainvillian prisoners and seized the complex's arms. A prison inspector, three wardens and two of their female relatives were killed. 15 people were injured, and 20 houses were burned. This was done in retaliation for the killing of Ms Williams and her son as well as a BRA member killed at Panguna police station.							
293	23/02/1994, 10am	Murder	Laguai village	PNGDF/ Resistance	2,0,0		Civilians
Two civilians were killed by the PNGDF/ Resistance, and their bodies were left to decompose in the bush.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Peter Narunsi, David Santa	2 male	1: teenager (Peter) +UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Report obtained by Ms Gillespie 06/1995-01/1996
Lesley Kom	1 male	UR	Kotopan village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Jacqueline Oti +UR	1 female, UR	UR	Kotopan village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	survivor testimony (Jacqueline Oti) (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Julius Hikun	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (18/04/1995)/(21/04/1995)
Jude Muinana, Micheal Nototsi, Amos Ariran	2 male, 1 female	25, 28, 12	Kunokomok village, Goton village, Rukusia village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992 (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Regina Rando, Blaze Rando, Frida Rando Rando Dion, Kikoi Mario, Jackline Mario	2 male, 4 female	20, 3, 8 months, 25, 19, 6 months	Kakapara village, Sun village (Mr Rando Dion)	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992 (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
Andrew Miridoi, Magareth Taire, John Bakuai, Mary Nuku	2 male, 2 female	39, 36, 12, 9	Kurai village	BIG media release 11/07/1996	UR
UR	UR (male, female)	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Krai Bilong 1993 RG
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	kari Bilong 1993
Nihai Moseka +2, UR	2 male	27 +1, UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
21, UR	2 female, 19 UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
Francis Kerepe, David Montai	2 male	UR	Laguai village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2+ Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.1	UR (BIG) + BIG media release 26/02/1994 (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
294	6/20/1993	Murder, torture	Laguai village	PNGDF	6,0,0		UR
6 men from Laguai village were forced to eat bullets by the PNGDF and then murdered.							
295	UR	Murder	Laluai area	Riot Police	1,0,0 +UR		UR
Mr Bakao was shot and killed by riot police (others sustained injuries) while travelling on the back of a truck returning from Buin.							
296	03/01/1996 10.30pm- 04/01/1996 7am	Perfidy, failure to distinguish non-combatants	Laluai river mouth area	PNGDF	UR		Non-combatants (BIG delegation) +Civilian
A BIG peace delegation from the conference at Cairns in Australia was returning to Bougainville along with a group of civilians returning from the Solomons (including very ill women) when they were attacked by three PNGDF boats from three directions. The BIG Boats fled to Koromira and made it to the bush. The PNGDF continued to spray the area with gunfire and bombs including two sorties by helicopters. This attack was carried out despite written assurances that the delegation would be granted safe passage.							
297	7/12/1995	Destruction of civilian property	Lehu	PNGDF	NA		Property United Church + other Civilian property
The PNGDF damaged a church building belonging to the United Church along with another with fire from a helicopter.							
298	4/24/1989	Sexual assault	Leira village, Mananau area	Police	0,0,1		Civilian
A woman was raped at gunpoint by two policemen who forced their way into her house (while another stood watch).							
299	11/3/1990	Murder, torture, looting	Lemanmanu village	BRA or Rascals	2,0,0		Civilians, Civilian property
BRA members or rascals broke into the Tsang's house and looted it. They tied up Mr Tsang who was tortured and then killed. They shot Mrs Tsang in the back as she tried to flee.							
300	UR	Violation of territorial integrity, destruction of civilian property	Liuliu village Solomon Islands	PNGDF (patrol boat 02.)	0,0,0		Solomon Islands +Civilians
PNGDF patrol boat 02. attacked the village of Liuliu in the Solomon Islands. No casualties were reported.							
301	11/13/1989	Assault	Loloho	Police	0,1,0		1, UR
Mr Tanuhero was arrested, interrogated and beaten. His fate was not recorded, but it is implied he was later released.							
302	20/09/1995 3.30am- 23/09/1995	Torture	Loloho	PNGDF/ Resistance forces	0,1,0		POW (BRA)
During a raid on a BRA camp, the PNGDF captured Mr Monate and took him to Loloho. He was taken to Tabago care centre where 6-inch nails were drilled into his elbows, knees and ankle joints. He was paralysed and denied medical treatment.							
303	UR	Use of Chemical weapons	Loloho Forward Base	PNGDF	NA		NA
An eyewitness report stated that the PNGDF was stocking white phosphorus at Loloho base.							
304	??/10/1994 (AI, Vol 2.) 23- 24/08/1994 (vol 1.)	Murder	Loloho military camp (AI, Vol 2.) Arawa care center & military clinic (Vol 1.)	PNGDF	4,0,0		Civilians
Mr Ono and three other men were killed in cold blood carrying a sick woman to Arawa for treatment. This was done in retaliation for soldiers killed in a military operation at Panguna.							
305	1/25/1990	Assault	Loloho/ Road near Toboroi plantation	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Lali was arrested and beaten on suspicion of supplying the BRA because he worked for the SHRM catering company which supplied BCL in Panguna. He was loaded onto a truck and, near Toboroi plantation was shot and killed.							
306	3/21/1995	Murder	Luagua village	PNGDF+ 3 Resistance	2,11,0		Civilians
The PNGDF carried out a raid on Luagua village in which they shot and killed two civilians (brothers Potu and Siperai) and wounded many more. Furthermore, they forced three Resistance members to kill and wound civilians.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Henry Papatam , Joachim Otu, Edward Tauria , John Posena, Joseph Lowaro , Thomas Baubake	6 male	UR	UR	BIG press release, 23/02/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Commission on human rights 52nd session, item 10. (Vol 2.) +BIG sistuation report ??/08/1993 (Vol 1.)
Robert Bakao +UR	1 male	19	Take village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 31/03/1989 p.2
UR	1 female, UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement Philip Miriori to Ms Gillespie 05/01/1996
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG media release 16/07/1995
UR	1 female	UR	Leira village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 05/05/1989
Felicity Tsang, Willy Tsang	1 male, 1 female	UR	Buka	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 07/11/1990 +evacuee's diary about verbal reports
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 03/06/1996	UR
Tony Tanuhero	1 male	27	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
Joseph Monate or Joe Monei	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement Aloysius Siikuu to Ms Gillespie 29/09/1995 +BIG press release 05/10/1995 +eye witness Pui Pui (Mr Monates son)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Bougainville media information update (02/06/1996)	eye witness
John Ono, Jimmy Dupineo +2 UR (AI, Vol 2.) John Ono, Perol Iso, Jim Nupiun, Tavekau Bana (Vol 1.)	4 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 + Human rights Tragedy + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (AI) + Letter written by Charles Mikua to Australian education Unions (Compilation Vol.2) +Bougainville Human Rights Concern Group, Arawa Press Release 16/02/1995 (Vol 1.)
Kevin Kokiai Lalai	1 male	25	Vito villiage	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	eye witnesses +UR + Arawa Hospital report (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
Potu Mukunu, Siperau Mukunu, Kakaro Numauki, Umai Pauro, Maria Mukunu, Nuhari Nupa, Kopano Nupa, Nupa Toke, Kata Toke, John Tom, Booru Mukunu, Josephine Kari, Margaret Nomuki	5 male, 6 female, 2 UR	17, (14 or 13), UR, 10, 9, 20, 8, 5, 6, 17, 18, 15, 15, 16	Luagua village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG information sheet (28/03/1996)+ BIG information sheet (09/05/1996)+ Solomon Star newspaper (26/04/1996)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
307	3/21/1996	Murder	Luagua village	UR (PNGDF inferred)	2,12,0		Civilians
	12 civilians were injured and two killed in an attack on luagua village. This was followed in May 1996 with the killing of two men at the same location.						
308	5/13/1996	Murder	Luagua village	UR (PNGDF inferred)	2,0,0		Civilians
	A Catholic church worker Mr Kaima, accompanied by Mr Disin were killed in Luagua village. This occurred at the same location as an earlier attack in March 1996.						
309	??/06/1993	Sexual assault	Luaguai village	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
	Miss Tumare, a young girl was raped at gunpoint.						
310	2 weeks prior to 19/03/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Lully village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The house of Sam Tulo was set alight.						
311	??/05/1994	Attack on civilian population	Mabes village	BRA	0,1,0 +UR		Civilians
	The BRA attacked Mabes village and injured a former MP.						
312	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Mainoki	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
313	??/??/1989	Assault	Makossi Trading Company at Makaki point, Arawa Nafig Club	Police	0,1,0		Civilian
	Mr Kuypers owner of Makossi Trading was assaulted by police with rifle butts and whips. He was accused of gun running. The source says that the attack on him aggravated his cancer which he suffered from along his back and spine and of which he would die eventually of. The police released him due to a lack of evidence.						
314	28/11/1996 7am	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Malabita care center	PNGDF	9,5,0 (BIG) or 11,5,0 (MFAT)		Civilians
	A mortar bomb from a 120mm coming from Buin township landed in a Catholic church at the Malabita care centre during mass killing and wounding the parishioners. Those who suffered minor injuries are not listed. Amnesty International believed that this was an indiscriminate attack directed at the civilians as there were no known military targets in the area.						
315	UR	Sexual assault, unlawful detention	Manatai Catholic Mission	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	The PNGDF kidnapped young girls and held them as sex slaves at the Catholic mission.						
316	7/13/1996	Perfidy	Manetai	PNGDF	5,0,0 (PNGDF), 1,5,0 (BRA)		combatants (BRA) +non-combatants (BIG)
	Members of the BIG/BRA travelling in a National Emergency Services vehicle to a PNGDF initiated peace ceremony in Vito village were ambushed by the PNGDF. Mines and assault rifles were used to ambush the men. Brig. General Jerry Singirok is said to have immediately issuing a statement about the successful killing of five rebel members including commanders Mr Kokiai and Mr Pokio. Mr Ona reports that only one man (Mr Madoi) was killed but that five were wounded and accused General Singirok of using peace ceremonies to trap and killed rebel members.						
317	10/17/1994	Murder	Manetai	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Ama was killed by the PNGDF while sitting with his pregnant wife.						
318	19-20/11/1993	Forced displacement of civilian population	Manetai area	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	Atamo Nasibaubau villagers of Eivo were forced into care centers.						
319	??/10/1994	Murder	Manetai care center	Resistance	2,0,0		Civilian
	During the time that south pacific peace keeping forces were on bougainville 3 men went to a care center believing it to be safe. They were attacked and two were killed.						
320	8/8/1995	Assault	Manetai care center	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	On the night of the 8th of August 1995 'rebels' looted Manetai care centre. They then ambushed the workers at a cocoa fementary and burnt it down.						
321	8/8/1995	Murder, attempted murder	Manetai care center	Separatist rebels lead by Ishmael Toroama	1,3,0		combatant (Resistance) +Civilians
	Rebels lead by Ishmael Toroama lead a night raid on Manetai in which Resistance commander John Chola was shot dead, and three chiefs were wounded.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
12, UR	UR	UR	UR	Bougainville Media release, 22/5/1996	UR
Anthony Kaima, John Disin	2 male	26, 40	UR	Bougainville Media release, 22/5/1996	UR
Miss Tumare	1 female	UR (young)	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report ??/08/1993
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 19/02/1993
Sir Paul Lapun +family	1 male, UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
John Tuka,	1 male	UR	UR (Basikang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" Panguna Landowners
Peter Kuypers	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 14/04/1989 p.2
following killed- Cathy Tumare, Nanny Makau, Alvina Makau, Brenda Ruinai, Cecilia Ruatu, John Tuburu, Nicholas Nakei, Albert Makau, Boisi Kauri, following wounded-Makiwa Baubake, Kauvina Tom, Leona Nike, Francis Baubake, Catherine Tom +2 UR	7 male, 7 female, 2 UR	4, 5, 6, 14, 36, 38, 39, 42, 60, 2, 24, 24, 39, 50 +2 UR	Maluoko village	BIG media release 05/12/1996 +MFAT +Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR +Geneva (MFAT)
UR	UR (female)	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR same as another
Jeffery Pokio, Justian Kokiai, Jeffery Madoi +(2 UR/3 UR)	3 male, (2 UR or , UR)	UR	UR	BIG media release 22/09/1996 + MFAT	Statement from Francis Ona (BIG) + statement Geneva
Pius Ama	1 male	UR	Pirurari village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bougainville HR Concern Group Arawa (16/02/1995)
UR	UR	UR	Atomo Nasibaubau villagers	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 17/11/1993
John Biani, Lucas Sinimai + 1 UR	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Gregory Taborai
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release Aug/Sept 1995
John Chola, Peter Kuria + 2 UR	4 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	The national newspaper reported T Masiu and F. Rangatin 14/08/1995

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
322	??/08/1995	Unlawful detention	Manetai Community School	BRA	UR		Civilian
	In August 1995 the BRA undertook a series of abductions, the abduction of two young boys is specifically mentioned. However, what became of them or the intent of the BRA is not reported.						
323	UR	Murder, desecration of corpse	Manetai Mission health post	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	After a shootout between the PNGDF a man named Sindi walked to the health post at Manetai to get medicine. The PNGDF shot him dead. They then took his body to the side of the road and riddled it with bullets until it was unrecognisable. The source did not mention if he was a civilian or armed or not.						
324	8/8/1995	Murder	Manetai school	rebels	UR		Civilians
	Two boys were taken by force from school by rebels. Security forces reported the sound of gunshots a short distance away.						
325	UR	Desecration of corpse, murder	Manob village	UR	1,0,0		combatant (PNGDF)
	BRA intelligence intercepted a report that a PNG soldier was "chopped up" with an axe and died instantly.						
326	3/24/1996	Murder	Mapisi village	PNGDF +Resistance	1,0,0		Civilian
	Chief Riario was captured by the Resistance and killed in a revenge attack for the death of a PNGDF soldier on the 17/03/1996.						
327	9/24/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Marai area	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	A helicopter fired indiscriminately at villagers near Marai.						
328	27/03/1994 2-3pm	Murder	Marau (Jaba river mouth)	PNGDF (Colonel Kukuram)	4,1,0		Civilians
	From two groups of men taken in raids from the 26-28/03/1994 five men were gunned down. One man, Mr Tandira survived.						
329	??/09/1994	Murder	Marau care center	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	The PNGDF surround a care centre in the night where the BRA were present. A young man who had entered the centre to talk peace with them was shot in the back and killed by the PNGDF while trying to flee.						
330	8/1/1994	Murder, torture	Marau to Boku	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Tameleko, who was living in Moratona care centre was taken to Boku care centre where he was tortured and killed.						
331	??/05/1996	Murder	Margia river	PNGDF	3,0,0 +UR		Civilians
	Three men who had left Tonu care centre were shot by the PNGDF. Mr Magung and Mr Tarokuru were believed to have been shot while fishing at the Margia river mouth. They were reportedly fishing with two other men.						
332	??/03/1994	Murder	Mars camp	PNGDF lead by Colonel Kukuram	4,1,0		Civilian
	Five men from the Barubaru raids believed they would be taken to from Sovele detention centre to Buka Island. Instead, they were lined up and gunned down according to a survivor Mr Tandira. He further attests that the soldiers talked about heading back to the centre to "take more people to Buka".						
333	7/29/1994	Destruction of property	Masiuwakore village	PNGDF/Resistance	NA		Civilian property
	Pro-government forces raided and raised Masiuwakore village.						
334	5/13/1992	Attack on civilian population	Matukori village	PNGDF/Resistance	UR		Civilians
	The PNGDF entered Matukori village and began shooting indiscriminately at which point the villagers fled to the bush.						
335	5/16/1992	Murder, attack on civilian population	Matukori village	PNGDF/Resistance	1,2,0		Civilian
	On the 16th of May 1992 villagers from Matukori, three women escorted by four men returned to the recently abandoned (due to PNGDF attack) village to gather food from the gardens when they were shot at by the PNGDF and Resistance members. Mr Namake was wounded in the legs at which point a Resistance member split his head open with an axe. Another two men were wounded.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	2 male	9, 11	UR	U.S State Department, 1995 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Sindi	1 male	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
2, UR	2 male	UR (children)	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement Mathy Mainako to Ms Gillespie 16/08/1955
Lance Corpral Koua	1 male	UR	UR	BIG media release 12/07/1995	Intercepted radio message by BRA
Chief Riario	1 male	47	Mapisi village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG radio transmission to S.I. refuges 28/03/1996
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 25/09/1993
Micheal Tandira, Patrick Dompua, Mr Parinara, Mr Simba, Mr Karika	5 male	UR	Barubaro village (Mr Tandira, Mr Dompua), Barubara village (Mr Parinara, Mr Simba, Mr Karika)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	survivor testimony- (Mr Tandia) (01/04/1994)
1, UR	1 male	UR (young man)	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement Anthony Minu
Mr Tameleko	1 male	UR	UR	BIG press release 14/08/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG press release 12/08/1994, BIG situation update 12/07/1994 (Vol 1.)
Isaiah Magung, Ampo Tarokuru, Nasuri +UR	5 male	UR (1-20)	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Micheal Tandira, Patrick Dompua, Parinara, Simba, Karika	5 male	UR	Barubaru village	BIG press release 03/04/1994	survivor testimony (Tandira) mentioned abuses Vol 2
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 14/08/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG press release 12/08/1994, BIG situation update 12/07/1994 (Vol 1.)
Joachim Sikuhi +UR	1 male, UR	UR	Matukori village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	eye witness Joachim Sikuhi
Phillip Mounope, Joe Mousari, Gerard Kukui, Rumasei Namake	4 male, 3 female	UR	Matukori village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statement Joachim Sikuhi (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights -Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
336	??/09/1992	Murder	Mihero village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Manguta was shot dead in front of his family.							
337	UR	Murder	Mihero village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Mangura was shot to death in front of his whole family at Mihero village.							
338	??/09/1994- ??/07/1995	Murder, torture,	Moirue	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
A group of unarmed people were ambushed by the PNGDF. All got away save two, one of which died on the spot. The other was wounded and tortured. The soldiers cut the meat of his arms like a pig. They hit him in the neck, face and lower back with an axe until he died.							
339	1/12/1996 4- 5.30am	Murder, use of prohibited weapons	Mokakuru village	PNGDF/ Resistance	11,11,0 (Vol 1.), 16,11,0 (AI), 14,?,0 (MFAT)		Civilians
The residence of Mukakuru village were sleeping when the pro-government forces open fire on their village. 14 people including women and two young girls were killed and another 11 were wounded. There were no BRA members in the village. Ms Moiru said that her husband was made to watch as they shot their son. Her husband called for them to shot him instead, however, they just shot his son and then shot him. It is claimed that some of the attackers were using homemade 'dum-dum' bullets.							
340	4/1/1996	Violation of territorial integrity	Moli Island, Soloman Islands	PNGDF	NA		Solomon Islands
The PNGDF engaged in a firefight with the S.I. field forces in the waters offshore of Taro Island who prevented a landing there. There were no casualties but Bougainvillean refugees and S.I. civilians were caused to panic and evacuated the island.							
341	4/1/1996	Violation of territorial integrity, dispossession of civilian property	Moli Island, Soloman Islands	PNGDF	NA		Solomon Islands
The PNGDF landed on Moli Island at the same time as a firefight was underway at Tonu island. They entered the Catholic mission and stole the two, 2-way radios from the mission and the rural nursing centre.							
342	??/02/1996	Murder	Monoitu, South Bougainville	Resistance	1.0.0		UR
Mr. Lakana is believed to have been shot by the Resistance.							
343	??/09/1994- ??/07/1995	Murder, torture or assault	Moratona hospital	PNGDF	1.0.0		Civilian
A boy bring food to sick relatives in hospital was taken in the night by the PNGDF. He is believed to have been assaulted, tortured and then killed by his family. No trace of his body was found.							
344	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Moroni	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
345	1/6/1994	Destruction of civilian property	Motirui and 5 villages	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
The PNGDF burnt down five villagers in anger of the civilians running to join the BRA.							
346	5/18/1994	Murder	mouth of Kaluai river	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
Two men were shot and killed when their canoe was attacked, another escaped.							
347	between 06/06- 06/07/1994	Failure to distinguish non- combatants	mouth of Laluai river	PNGDF	2,1,0		UR
A canoe was gunned down by the PNGDF. The wounded were treated in the Solomons.							
348	11/16/1992	Destruction of civilian property	Mouth of the Laluai river	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
Canoes coming from the Solomons with relief goods from the United Churches in Munda were intercepted by the PNGDF. The cloths they were carrying were stolen or destroyed with the canoes. The crew escaped.							
349	14/09/1995 10am	Attack on civilian population	mouth Sigan river	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
A PNGDF patrol boat fired on a group of civilians fishing at a river mouth. They used M16s, mounted machine guns, and grenades in the attack but all the civilians escaped unharmed.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Sipiu Manguta	1 male	UR (elderly)	Mihero village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Australians role in arming violators of human rights. Ms Gillespie- Chiefs of Siwai Dec' 1992
Sipiu Mangura	1 male	UR (elderly)	Mihero village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992)Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
2 +UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR
Ann Moiru, Robin, Victoria + 24, UR (Al.) or 22, UR (Vol 1.) or 14 +UR (MFAT)	2 male, 3 female, UR	4, 6 (two girls), 16 (Robin) +UR	Mokakuru village	BIG media release 05/12/1996	survivor Ann Moiru in The Australian 13/12/1996 (MFAT and Al) + Newspaper article by Mary-Louise O'Callaghan "Villagers claim 11 killed in dawn raid by PNG troops" (name of newspaper not recorded) (7-8/12/1996) (MFAT) +survivor testimony (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Max Watts transcript phone interview S.I. (08/04/1996)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Max Watts transcript phone interview S.I. (08/04/1996)
James Lakana	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1997 +forgotten human right tragedy (Al)	UR
1, UR	1 male	UR (child)	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR
Jerry Tao	1 male	UR	UR (Bakorinku Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 09/01/1994
Jerry Bogasin, Jemmie Zioto (vol 2.) or Pioto (vol 1.) + 1, UR	3 male	UR	Marigoe village, Tunoi village (Solomon Islands) + UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Commission on human rights 52nd session, item 10. (Vol 2.) + BIG situation report 20/05/1994 (Vol 1.)
5, UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG press release 06/07/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG media release 06/07/1994, RFB (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 19/11/1992
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement Naveung David to Ms Gillespie 21/03/1995

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
350	10/16/1994	Murder	Munnu village	Resistance forces	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Lautu was approached by a girl Rebecca who was a relative. She asked Mr Lautu for a shirt which she brought to the resistant as evidence that he was in the BRA. After this Mr Lautu was taken and shot in the head and then had his throat cut. They cut his body into pieces and buried him. His body was never found and the Resistance was given K400 reward for his death.						
351	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Musinau	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
352	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Musinau	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
353	??/??/1993	Conspiracy: taking hostages	NA	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	The PNGDF conspired to kidnap a man's children (4months-14 years) to force him to surrender. Upon hearing this, the man fled with his family to the Solomon Islands.						
354	9/1/1993	Conspiracy : Destruction of civilian property	NA	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	BRA intelligence intercepted communications concerning the PNGDFs military operation "Let None Live". This operation was to take place in central Bougainville and included the following directives. A) destroy all the people's houses. B) destroy all their gardens C) kill anyone who refuses to surrender or go to care centres. D) kill all domestic animals.						
355	UR	Conspiracy to: murder civilians, murder POWS, destroy civilian property, forced displacement of civilians	NA	PNGDF	NA		NA
	The source provides the following transcript of orders found at a PNGDF base at Koromira- "Your orders are given on this message -are as follows:... 2/ your orders not to give alternative questions to any BIG/BRA supporters but to kill them. 3/any civilians who are suspected hovering (sic.) theBRA must be killed without question... 5/you are to destroy all food gardens. houses... 6/ any civilian found to be an ordinary civilian are to be forced into care centres. If anyone is found to be disorderly must be beaten but not cause their death. 7/... The operation is to search carefully the following most wanted people: [I have abrvated the following orders to just a list] Ishmael Toroama, Demas Tintare, Joe Sindau, Aloysius Sinka, Simon Topasi, Mr Mowo, John Neipa, Dominique Batani, Sam Kaona, Joesph Kabui, Francis Ona, Andrew Miriki, Etiuva Epeli, Morris Siriapi... to be killed without question. For OC IO FUPU, MLO, DMI, DDP, OPSO end order"						
356	UR	Failure to count casualties	NA	PNGDF	NA		Resistance
	BRA commander Mr Kauona accused the PNGDF of not including the deaths of Resistance members in its casualty lists. The bodies of Resistance members were found in shallow graves at Aropa airport, and three were found at the remains of the Orami 'battlefield' left by the retreating PNGDF.						
357	7/14/1996	Breach of international sovereignty (ordered)	NA	PNGDF	NA		Solomon islands
	The BRA intercepted an order from FMB Buka to FMB Loloho and SBT Taorato. The order was to send a company of 170 men to attack the Solomons. The reason for this was due to the accusation by the PNGDF that the Solomon Islands forces shot at and damaged one of the Iroquois helicopters on earlier that day.						
358	UR	Murder	Nagovis	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	PNGDF soldiers murdered an old man in Nagovis.						
359	??/11/1994	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Nagovis area	Resistance	1,0,0		Civilian
	An old man was killed and chopped into pieces by the PNGDF.						
360	??/03/1994	Assault	Namatoa village	BRA	0,1,0		non-combatant (interim authority member)
	The BRA confronted Avu at gunpoint and proceeded to beat him. This was done due to his involvement with the Tinputz Interim Authority (the PNG govt.). Later the BRA apologised and said they would not harm him..						
361	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Narimai	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Christopher Sania	1 male	UR	Munnu village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	R.Siara of the BRA relaying witness accounts
Kamaung	UR	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Mathew Miringtoro	1 male	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
7, UR	UR	UR (children)	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons) p.29
UR	NA	NA	NA	BIG media release 2/09/1993	BRA intelligence reports
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Instructions found at Koromira military base at 26/04/1996. These details were transmitted from the BIG situation report (26/04/1996) to the Solomon Star +Solomon Star (03/0501996)
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG media release 12/07/1996	BRA commander Sam Kauona
NA	NA	NA	NA	?? Priority 140630k July 1996. From FMB Buka to FTB Loloho and SBT Taurato. The PNGDF army secret plan to attack the Solomon islands	Intercepted radio message by BRA
UR	1 male	UR (elderly)	Nagovisi	BIG press release 15/12/1994	eye witness
1, UR	1 male	UR (elderly)	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release (14/12/1994)
Avu	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement by witness' for the UN special rapporteur visit (20/10/1995)
Tamunonu	UR	UR	UR (Basikang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties (killed, wounded, raped)	Category of victim
362	??/09/1992 4am	Murder, destruction of civilian property	Nasivauvau bush camp	PNGDF	3,17,0	Civilians
After forcing a captured man, Lawrence Sirapui to show them the location of the Nasivauvau villagers bush camp the PNGDF surrounded it in the night and attacked. Opening fire on all the houses in which people were sleeping they wounded 17 people and killed three. Mr Deaita was shot in front of his house and Mr Tokorot and Mr Koitoi were shot in their beds. Their houses were burnt and their bodies turned to ashes. Of those wounded, ones was shot in the thigh, one lost his hand, one was						
363	??/??/1992	Murder, destruction of civilian property	Nasivauvau village	PNGDF	1,0,0	Civilian
The PNGDF carried out a raid on Nasivauvau village and burnt down every house on the way. They spotted Mr Batuan walking along the road to his food garden and shot him dead. The next morning as the villagers were preparing to bury Mr Batuan the PNGDF came again. The villagers fled into the bush while the soldiers proceeded to burn the village to the ground and kill all domestic animals including pigs, fowl, dogs and cats. They then set up camp for the day and left by helicopter the next morning at which point the villagers returned and buried Mr Batuan.						
364	8/31/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Near Aropa in the bush	PNGDF	0,1,0	Civilians
Civilians were hunting for food when they were attacked by a PNGDF patrol. Mr Iraba was injured and all fled.						
365	11/10/1994 10am	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Near Kobuan	PNGDF	0,1,0	Civilians
An Australian filmmaker Wayne Cole Joachim Matture and one other unarmed civilian were shot at over 25 times when they encountered a PNGDF patrol. The Patrol should not have been in the area as it was part of the neutral zone. Mr Matture was wounded in the elbow.						
366	7/8/1992	Looting	near Kokikoi plantation	Rotokas Resistance	NA	Civilian property
Resistance members stole parts of a tractor and broke into a plantation house near Koikoi plantation.						
367	5/17/1994	failure to distinguish non-combatants	near Lului river mouth	PNGDF	0,3,0	Civilians
A patrol boat fired indiscriminately at people. One man had his leg blown off while two others sustained minor injuries.						
368	5/17/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	near Oria	PNGDF	0,2,0	Civilians
A helicopter fired indiscriminately into a crowd celebrating Bougainville independence day. They launched six grenades which injured two young boys and a BRA soldier. They also fired into the people.						
369	11/2/1992	Use of human shields	near Tabago	PNGDF	UR	Civilians
During an ambush on a PNGDF army truck, the BRA discovered young women being used as human shields. It was also believed they were originally taken as sex slaves.						
370	??/09/1996	Murder	near Tinputz	BRA	2,0,0	Civilian
The BRA killed two civilians who were described as "dedicated peace workers".						
371	??/12/1992	Murder, desecration of a corpse	near Tokaino care centre, Buin	PNGDF	1,0,0	Hors de combat (BRA)
A BRA member Kungkei was wounded in combat. He was executed while wounded. His body was then dismembered and left as a warning at the Tokaino care centre near by.						
372	??/??/990	Humiliating and degrading treatment	North Bougainville	PNGDF	NA	Civilian
A suspected BRA sympathiser was interrogated in his home. The PNGDF cut off his hair and forced him to eat it at gunpoint.						
373	??/06/1996	Assault	North Buka island	PNGDF	2,0,0	Civilian
Two youths were detained for breaking curfew. They were then kicked and beaten unconscious before being released.						
374	405 or 06/1996	Murder	North Nasoi	BRA	1.0.0	Civilian
Mr Rangai was killed by the BRA for travelling to the PNGDF command post in Arawa. His body washed up in Lolohe at which point the BRA admitted to the crime.						
375	??/02/1996	Murder	Northwest, Bougainville	BRA	2,0,0	Civilian
The BRA killed three civilians including one elderly women.						
376	??/??/1989	Assault	Office at Makaki pt.	Police	0,1,0	Civilian
In a second attack, Mr Kuypers four front teeth were knocked out and he was again hit by rifle butts. This attack along with an earlier one are claimed to have contributed to his death as the source says the attacks 're-activated' his cancer of which he died of.						
377	7/31/1995	Destruction of civilian property, looting	Okaru and Wesikau	PNGDF and Resistance	NA	Civilian property

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Chief Joseph Sikonim, Philip Deaita, Fabian Tokorot, Robert Koitoi +17, UR +UR	4 male, UR	UR	Nasivauvau village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Patrick Batuan	1 male	UR	Nasivauvau village	Krai Bilong 1993	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village
Iraba Kavona +UR	1 male, UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 02/09/1993
Joachim Matture, Wayne Coles +1, UR	3 male	UR	Australia (Mr Coles)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG media release (12/10/1994), filmed by survivor (Mr Coles) (15/11/1994), 3rd source is a south pacific peace keeping member
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 08/07/1992
3, UR + UR	1 male, UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (20/05/1994)
2, UR +UR	2 male, UR	9, 10 +UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (20/05/1994)
UR	UR (female)	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 08/11/1992
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Taitus Kungkei	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	UR
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	New Guinea Times 22/02/1990 reported by Julia Daia Bore
UR	UR	youths, specific ages UR	North Buka	Amnesty International Report 1997	UR
Joseph Rangai	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
UR	1 female, UR	1: (elderly) +UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Peter Kuypers	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Evacuee's account
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG information sheet

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties (wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	In retaliation for earlier battles with the BRA the Resistance and PNGDF looted and burnt down villages. No civilians were killed but two BRA troops defending them were.						
378	5/18/1992	Murder, destruction of civilian property	Okogupa village, Aita	PNGDF	17,0,0		Civilian +Civilian property
	THE PNGDF advanced into Okogupa village during celebrations. When questioned Chief Ausi admitted that the villagers were celebrating Bougainvillean independence. He was then shot in the head followed by his wife and five children. Next, the soldiers lined up the villagers including one Mr Kapuitoi and his entire family and gunned them down. In all 17 people were killed and the village was burned to the ground.						
379	12/7/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Omaia village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	28 homes were burnt down in Omaia village .						
380	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Orami	PNG Security Forces	4,0,0		UR
	These are some of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG cerfuew.						
381	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Orami	PNG Security Forces	4,0,0		UR
	These are some of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG cerfuew.						
382	4/6/1989	Assault	Orami Community School	PNGDF +Riot Squad	1,0,0		UR (detained)
	Seven men were detained by PNGDF and riot police. On hearing that two soldiers were killed by the BRA the security forces started to beat the detainees. One soldier then shot and killed Peter Kaura. The same soldier started to aim his gun at Joseph Tarnuto who subsequently ran as the soldier fired at him but missed. The chase when out of the witnesses view. The final fate of Mr Tarnuto is not reported but he is presumed to have fled in the report.						
383	4/9/1989	Assault	Orami village	PNGDF	0,1,0		1, Civilian
	15 to 20 soldiers surrounded Mr Mungtu and his family and beat him. They accused him of supplying the rebels. They stated he was lucky his family was there or he would be a dead man. He was later released without charge.						
384	12/14/1993	Murder	Orami village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Hors de combat (BRA)
	Mr. Tamura was shot dead as he tried to surrender to the PNGDF.						
385	7/19/1995	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Oria	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	A PNGDF helicopter fired at both civilian targets.						
386	7/16/1995	Murder	Oria	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Oina was fatally wounded during an ambush by the PNGDF.						
387	7/1/1995	Inhumane detention	Oria army camp	PNGDF	UR		POW +BRA
	Three BRA soldiers receiving medical care in Arawa were forced to act as guides for the PNGDF in an attempt to abduct Mr Miriki a leader of South Bougainville.						
388	7/14/1995	Murder	Oria military camp	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	PNGDF forces detained two church leaders, two chiefs and Ms Kakaro (the wife of Pastor Nuagona) and took them to Oria military camp. Three escaped but one unidentified chief did not.						
389	UR	Sexual assault	outskirts Arawa	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
	Mrs Baria was raped by two PNGDF members in the presence of a young boy named Donatus.						
390	12/7/1993	kidnapping	Pabaire village	UR (pro-government)	NA		Non-combatant (BIG official) +UR
	A number of people were 'kidnapped' in Pabair village including Mr Baraka an office of the BIG.						
391	50r4/05/1993	Forced displacement of civilians	Pabaire village	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	During a raid on Pororan village Mr Taniung and 10-15 others were forced at gunpoint into Arawa care centre.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Silas Ausie (or Ausi), Mr. Kapuitoi +15, UR	2 male, 1 female, 14 UR	UR	Okogupa village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 + "Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	news sources' (AI) + Statement by Nelson Patu and eye witnesses Cosmas Abia and Lawrence Lobia (inside Bougainville) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 17/12/1993	UR
Agnes, Teori, Keruta Peren, Anthony Nanuna	1 male, 3 UR	1: child (Agnes) +UR	UR (Data Clan, Bakorinku Clan, Data Clan, Data Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
This event should be taken with caution due to a lack of detail from the source					
Taruito Simi, Mathias Kaunona, Peter Baradansi, Simon Ampona	3 male, 1 UR	UR	UR (Bakorinku Clan, Barapang Clan, Data Clan, UR)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Joseph Tarnuto, Peter Kaura, James Baku +4, UR	7 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Survivor testimony (James Baku)
William Mungtu	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	eye witness
Mr Tamura	1 male	UR	Orami village	BIG press release 17/12/1993	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG media release 26/07/1995
Mark Oina	1 male	21	Oria	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG media release 16/07/1995
Andrew Miriki +3, UR	4, male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 04/07/1995
Pastor Nuagona Karkaro, Mrs Esther Karkaro, Pastor Paul Kakai +1, UR	3 male, 1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG media release 16/07/1995
Mrs Alberta Baria	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	eye witness (Donatus)
Joseph Baraka +UR	1 male, UR	UR	Pabaire vilage	BIG press release 17/12/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG situation report 14/12/1993 (Vol 1.)
Mr Naona Taniung +10-15, UR	1 male, 10-15 UR	NA	Pabaire village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	5/5/1993 BIG press release

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
392	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Pakia	PNG Security Forces	6,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
393	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detainment	Pakia, Mary Miranuka, Mena	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		Civilian
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
394	4/15/1995	Murder, assault, destruction of property	Panam No 1. village	PNGDF	4,1,0 +UR		Civilian +Civilian property
During a ceasefire the PNGDF carried out a morning raid on Panam No 1. village. While rounding up the villagers (some of whom were attempting to escape) Tavario (a young girl) was shot in her house. The people were lined up and three teenage boys were shot on the spot. Other villagers were beaten, and one woman in the line Ms Kornabia was beaten and taken away. All the villagers were unarmed.							
395	4/16/1995	Murder, attack on civilian population, destruction of civilian property, looting	Panam village	PNGDF	4,4,0 (1, disspared)		Civilians
During a raid on Panam village, the BRA killed four people, wounded another 4 and abducted Mrs Kuabia Tito whos fate is unknown.							
396	13/12/1993 v3.30pm	Assault	Panam village	PNGDF	0,2,0		Civilian
Two women were severely beaten while resisting being moved to a care centre and were literally dragged there by the PNGDF.							
397	??/05/1995	destruction of civilian property	Panam village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
During an attack on Panam village, the PNGDF destroyed a duck breeding project started by a development NGO (Bougainville Community Based Integrated Humanitarian Program).							
398	10/9/1989	Assault	Panguna	PNGDF	0,1,0		1, UR (suspected BRA by PNGDF)
Mr Kani was taken by the PNGDF as he got off the bus. He was beaten and interrogated on suspicion of being a BRA member. He and his family were later moved to Arwa care centre.							
399	UR	Murder	Panguna	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
An ex-army man was burnt to death after being detained in a prision cell by the BRA.							
400	31/051992 11.30am	Attack on civilian population	Panguna	PNGDF	0,0,0		Civilians
On the 31st of May 1992 an Israeli made Arava aircraft flew low over Panguna firing (M16) at people and launching a grenade at them. The attack took place during Sunday mass. Father Baria states that it was lucky that no one was hurt as most of the people were at church.							
401	23/05/1993 7am	Failure to distinguish non- combatants	Panguna	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
An aircraft fired indiscriminately in the vicinity of Panguna mine and township.							
402	6/4/1990	Assault, murder	Panguna	BRA	1,0,0		UR
Mr Naisi, Chris Siriosi and two others had secretly gone to Rabaul to negotiate with the PNG government against the wishes of the BIG. Back in Bougainville Mr Naisi was taken to Panguna by the BRA who beat and later executed him.							
403	1/6/1990	Murder	Panguna police station	Police	1,0,0		combatant (BRA)
A BRA member was killed with a bush knife while being detained by the police at Panguna.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Peter Tarupiu, Clement Kauona, Ienu Dapoi, Duaung, Sienung Duaung, Mena Nanuma	2 male, 4 UR	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan, Kurabang Clan, Barapang Clan, Kurabang Clan, Kurabang Clan, Bakorinku Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Dakumari	UR	UR	UR (Bakorinku Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Tavario, Opu, Puipui, Simbunau, Mary Kornabia, Tavario	3 male, 2 female, UR	13-15, (three boys, Opu, Puipui, Simbunau) +1: (young girl, Tavario) +UR	Panam No 1. village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement John Koroara to Ms Gillespie (22/10/1995)
Miss Tabario, Puipui Keara, Simpunai Sinkiri, Oku Oa, Kuabia Tito, Micheal Tito, John Moena, John Tababua, Austin Iwaliaikoa	7 male, 2 female	19, 21, 8, 10, 24, 45, 52, 57, 6	Panam village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG situation report (21/04/1995)
UR	2 female	UR	Panam village	BIG press release 17/12/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witnesses (BIG) +BIG situation report 14/12/1993 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BCBIHP report on self reliance efforts of NGCAs 01/10/1995
Frank Kani	1 male	35	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	survivor testimony + unspecified medical reported
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 01/07/1990
UR	UR	UR	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness Father Patrick Baria (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	RFB & press release 24/05/1993
Joel Naisi	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 01/07/1990
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
404	10/21/1989	Attempted murder, assault	Panguna road/ Army Camp 10	PNGDF	0,2,0		8, Civilians
A group of men were fixing their truck when they were shot at by the PNGDF without warning. One man Joseph Kuanai, the elderly chief of Toitoi village, was shot but survived. After a few minutes of firing the men were able to convince the soldiers to let them surrender. The soldiers then drove them to camp 10 and began to beat them before another soldier intervened and pointed out they were not BRA. All men were later released without charge. When asked why no warning was given before opening fire the soldiers stated, "were not cowboys".							
405	??/04/1993	Murder	Panguna, Rangai killed at the Loloho wharf	BRA	6,0,0 (AI) or 7,0,0 (Vol 1.)		Civilians
Southern Bougainvillean leaders that accepted money from PNG were executed by the BRA over an extended period of time after surrendering in exchanged for hostages.							
406	week of 24/11/1998	Torture, murder	Panguna/ Army Camp 10	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Amora was a BLC worker was beaten, taken to Army camp 10, beaten again then shot. This was because he was suspected of being a militant and was also in revenge of a recently killed soldier.							
407	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Parakake	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		Civilian
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
408	1/6/1990	Murder	Paum village	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
Soldiers questioning two men ordered them to lead the way to Paum village. Fearing an ambush they fired indiscriminately into the bush and killed Ms Williams and her infant son in their house.							
409	??/11/1996	Murder	Pets Pets	BRA	1,0,0		combatant (PNGDF)
Corporal Gareitz was a PNGDF soldier who was killed while attending a peace ceremony in Pets Pets. He was unarmed and believed he was safe as he was from the area and was accompanied by chiefs and church leaders. He was taken away by the BRA and shot point blank.							
410	05 or 06/1996	Murder	Piano care center	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
Ms Lewasi is believed to have been shot by the BRA in her food garden near Piano care centre.							
411	6/16/1994	Destruction of civilian property	Pidia village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
Pidia village was burnt to the ground.							
412	27/03/1994 11.30pm	Attack on civilian population	Pidia village	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
The civilian target of Pidia was bombed by a motorised canoe.							
413	1/11/1994	Unlawful detention	Pidia village just of the coast)	PNGDF	2, missing		Civilians
Two men were kidnapped by the PNGDF while fishing outside Pidia village.							
414	2/1/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Pidia village, Arco Motors Arawa	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
A motorised PNGDF canoe fired mortars indiscriminately at the civilian population along the coast.							
415	UR	Murder	Pinei river	Resistance (men from Tarara village)	1,0,0		Civilian
Resistance fighters from Tarara village were seen killing unarmed civilians. This includes the execution of Mr Maike.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Joesph Kuanai, Peter Simili, Jacob Punaha, Paul Hoorah, Francis Toumo, John Manako, Henry Lotima, T. Rakarapo	8 male	3: 70-79 +5 UR	Toitoi and Hukohah villages	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	survivor testimony (Francis Toumo)
Anthony Anugu, Joe Rangai +4, UR	6 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 +Jeff Atkinson, Bougainville: Civil War and Human Rights Abuses on Our Doorstep. No. 8 community aid board July 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	survivor testimony, witness (AI) + Canberra Times 07/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
Vincent Amora	1 male	20	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	Post mortem report, Arawa Hospital +UR (AI) +AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
Does cerfuew mean concntration camp? This event should be taken with caution due to a lack of detail from the sorce.					
UR (Blaise Iruinu's daugther)	1 female	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Lucy Willians, Patrick Williams	1 female, 1 male	21, +3 months	Paum village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of human rights Vol 1.	UR (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
Corporal John Gareitz	1 male	UR	Bougainville	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Mary Lewasi	1 female	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	05/07/1994 four men now at Panguna & BIG media release
UR	UR	UR	Pidia village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (28/03/1994)
Jacob, William	2 male	UR	UR	Republic of Bougainville press release, 16/01/1994 +BIG media release 16/01/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG/BR) + BIG situation report (16/01/1994) (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Krai Bilong 1993 RG
Jeffery Maike	1 male	UR	Kopei village	BIG media release 07/11/1994	eye witness

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
416	5/15/1992	Forced displacement of civilians	Pipiaia village	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
All the villagers from Pipiaia were taken to a care centre except Budi Siuwa.							
417	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Pirurari	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
418	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Pisinau	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.							
419	2/14/1993	Sexual assault	PNG army camp near Arawa	PNGDF	UR		Civilian
Two eye witnesses reported women screaming and being pack raped.							
420	3/7/1993	Torture, murder	PNG army camp near Arawa	PNGDF	UR		UR
This source recounts the torture of men and women, killings and bodies of men being dumped at sea.							
421	12/5/1994	Murder	PNGDF camps Arawa +Loloho	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Seeto lived in Kobuan village in which two PNGDF members were previously ambushed by the BRA. He was arrested on his way to Arawa for medical treatment after being in a motorbike crash. It is believed that he was taken to Arawa military camp and is reported as missing presumed dead.							
422	??/12/1994	Murder	PNGDF camps Arawa +Loloho	PNGDF	3,0,0		UR
Mr Ona, Bobunung and Robert were killed after being detained on a bus in which weapons were found during a search.							
423	12/14/1995	Disappeared	PNGDF command post Buka +UR	PNGDF	UR		UR
Three young men were taken to the PNGDF by Buka chiefs from the Hanon region. One boy named Alfonse was shot in the foot by the soldiers but managed to escape and received medical treatment when interviewed by a PNG television crew. He said he did not know what happened to the other two but interviews with villagers near the command post said that in that night they heard screams, shots and no more screams. After this interview the fate of Alfonse is unknown but he may have been killed (Amnesty International could not confirm).							
424	1/05/1994 or 1/06/1994	Destruction of civilian property, looting	Pokpok village	PNGDF (patrol boat 03)	NA		Civilian property
The PNGDF burnt down the entire village of Pokpok. The village was also fired upon by patrol boat 03. The village had been abandoned 18 months prior as the villagers fled into the jungle.							
425	early 1993	Murder	Poma village	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Roka was killed by the BRA after travelling back to Bougainville from the Solomons via Port Moresby. He was suspected of collaborating with the PNGDF.							
426	3/3/1994	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Pomaua village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
In retaliation for an ambush (at the loloho old bush depot 3/03/1994) the PNGDF killed Mr Tobonu, chopped up his body and dumped it in the bush.							
427	mid-1992	Murder	Poroan Island	UR	1,0,0		Civilian
Mr Tonias was searching for his niece who had run off after an argument. He returned shortly afterwards with knife wounds to the back of his neck and died. The identity and reason for the attack was unknown.							
428	7/18/1989	Attack on civilian population, destruction of property	Puempe village	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
A PNGDF helicopter attacked Puempe village forcing the villagers to flee into the jungle. The attack destroyed their homes and food gardens as well as their livestock.							
429	??/10/1994	Perfidy, destruction of civilian property, destruction of property (medical)	Puskakae village	PNGDF	UR		combatants (BRA), Civilian property, BIG property
During a 'static positions' SPPKF treaty the PNGDF attacked the village of Puskakae. They burnt it to the ground, destroyed a BIG health post and school, and captured two BRA members.							
430	1/27/1993	Attack on civilian population	Radio Free Bougainville	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
Mrs Gillespie and RFB technicians were strafed on approach to the hidden RFB equipment.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	Pipiaia village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale, Radio free B'ville, BIG press release 01/06/1992
Michael Tori	1 male	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
Mathias Sipoko	1 male	UR	UR (Barapang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 07/03/1993, RFB (eye witnesses)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release 07/03/1993, RFB
Shane Seeto	1 male	UR	Kobuan village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2+ UN commission	The right to life 51 (d)
Damien Ona, Apiato Bobunung, Robert	3 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 + UN commission	The right to life 51 ©
Alfonse +UR	3 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	survivor' Alfonse interview PNG television crew +UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1+BIG press release 02/06/1994 +BRA media release 02/06/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	BIG situation update (03/06/1994) +Intercepted PNGDF radio communications+ BRA eye witnesses (BIG/BRA) + BIG situation update 03/06/1994 (Vol 1.)
John Roka	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Mr Tobonu	1 male	65	Pomaua village	BIG press release, 17/03/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eyewitness (BIG) +BIG situation report 17/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
Augustin Tonias	1 male	40	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	family report to Marilyn Mavini
Mr Ivomei +57, UR	1 male, 57 UR	18: (children)	Puempe village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	survivor testimony to the red cross (Mr. Ivomei 28/08/1989)
Dominick, Michael +UR	2 male, UR	UR	UR	R.J.May/ Matthew Spriggs "the Bougainville crisis" Crawford House Press 1990	Report obtained by Ms Gillespie 06/1995-01/1996
Rosemary Gillespie +2, UR	1 female, UR	UR	Australia, UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	ABC radio-Gemima Garrett interview Mrs Gillespie 27/01/1993

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
431	11/22/1995	Destruction of property	Ramazon	BRA	NA		BTG property
	The BRA 'hijacked' an Ambulance at Ramazon and used it for there own ends.						
432	3/14/1994	Murder	river between Sorele & Bolave	PNGDF	5,0,0		combatants (Resistance)
	Five Resistance fighters were killed while fishing.						
433	1/28/1993	Attack on civilian population	Road between Arawa bay and Arawa township	PNGDF	1,8,0 (AI), 1,7,0 (KB, Vol 1,)		Civilian
	A mortar round was fired from Tunuru military base at a civilian truck returning from a fishing trip in Arawa Bay. One civilian was killed and all the other passengers were wounded.						
434	Friday previous to 21/09/1990	Murder	road between Aropa military and Camp 6 Residential Area	PNG Corrections officers	1,0,0		Civilian (BLC worker)
	There were conflicting reports about the death of Mr Kokiai a manager of camp six residential area (BCL). Account A- Mr Kokiai was arrested on suspicion of giving food to the militants and was shot while escaping from a moving vehicle. Account B- Mr Kokiai was drinking with CIS officers on the road near Aropa. Some officers became cross about an attack on Kuveria prison and started taking it out on Mr Kokiai. Despite one officer's attempts to stop it Mr Kokiai was tied to a tree, beaten, shot and bayoneted. He was then cut down and left in a hole. A nurse at the morgue recognised him.						
435	6/24/1995	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Road between Boira village and Manetai care center	BRA	0,4,0		Civilian
	Two vehicles ran into a BRA roadblock and were shot at. The occupants received pellet wounds.						
436	4/10/1989	Assault	Road between Dongeta village and Kieta, Aropa Army camp, Arawa police station	PNGDF/ Police	0,4,0		4, Civilians
	Four men were stopped at gunpoint by 50 police and soldiers. They were beaten with sticks, and rifle butts and their possessions were confiscated. They were taken to an army camp for questioning and were beaten again. They were then released without charge. Dominic Itta is on of several Bougainvillians who submitted a complaint to the PNG Supreme Court due to this incident.						
437	??/04/1992	Murder, attempted murder, desecration of a corpse	road between Vito and Rorovana	PNGDF/ Resistance	2,1,0		Civilian
	Mr Asitai, his father and another boy took a ride to the Manetai clinic with BRA. On the way the BRA stopped to undertake a scouting mission. PNGDF/Resistance forces in trucks arrived and subsequently killed Asitai, his father and shot the other boy who managed to survive by fleeing into the jungle.						
438	4/12/1992 4.30pm	Attack on civilian population	road from happy valley near Kieta	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A helicopter fired at two civilian trucks returning from a fishing trip near happy valley. The helicopter flew low over the trucks twice then started shooting. They did four runs in which they continued to fire and threw two grenades at the vehicles.						
439	30/01/1990 (AI)	Murder	Road from Kobuan Army Camp to Panguna	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Kanea died from multiple gunshot wounds while in military custody. An eye witness last saw him alive being driven from Kobuan Army camp to Panguna. His body was delivered to the hospital the next day.						
440	9/21/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Road from Morotona to Marau	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	The PNGDF fired indiscriminately as they travelled from Marau to Morotona.						
441	??/09/1992	Murder, cruel and unusual punishment, corpse mutilation	Road junction leading to Buin health center and Kangu beach, road outside PNGDF army barracks Buin, Kangu road crossroads near Laguai village.	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	A man known as Peter was carrying rice out of Turiboiru care centre during the aloted time. He was picked up by the PNGDF who were on the way back to thier base. He was taken on to their truck and was pushed off the moving vehicle breaking both his legs. This was done a second time which resulted in his death. His corpse was moved to the crossroad near Laguai village and sprayed with bullets as a warning to not remove items from the care centres. This is in spite of the fact that he did permission to do so.						
442	4/11/1992 11am	Attack on civilian population	road near aropa airport	PNGDF	none		UR

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 25/11/1995
5, UR	5 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (24/03/1994)
Ellen Divai +8, UR (AI) Helen Diwai, Miriam Ron, Albert Ron, John Junior Wesley, Jack Tovue, Francis Tima, Martian Umbigona, Natuai Toromura (KB, Vol 1.)	6 male, 2 female	35, 32, 11, 28, 28, 27, 28, 17	Pabaire village, Vaai village (Rubal), Kieta, Matuoit Island (Rubal), Tingalom village (Rubal), Livuan village (Rubal), Vitu village (WNB proviance), Rorovana village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 +Amnesty International Report 1994 + Krai Bilong 1993	survivor testimony (John Wesley) (AI) + video footage and report Ms Gillespie (KB) + KB 1993, BIG press release 02/02/1993, BIG report 31/01/1993 (Vol 1.)
Kevin Kokiai	1 male	UR	Vitu villiage	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Post Courier 29/1/1990 -UR (account A)+ eye witness (CIS officers involved) (Account B)
Joshua Mirimu, Mr Sohia, Paul Patam, Albert Sakete	4 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	PNG Post Courier 27/06/1995
Dominic Itta, Steven Miringtoro, Steven Moidan, Epraim Tauparai	4 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' +Compilation of abuses 'Vol.1'	survivor +medical report (AI), AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol.1)
Bade Asitai +2, UR	3 male	15 +2, UR	Atomo village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	Survivor testimony (UR)
Maxwell Mirintoro +12, UR	1 male, 12 UR	UR	Arawa + 12, UR	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	survivor testimony (Maxwell Mirintoro) (KB) + 27/01/1993 ABC radio Gemima Garrett with Mrs Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Mathew Kanea	1 male	UR	Piruana	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	eye witness+ Arawa Hospital report + UR (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update, BIG press release (04/10/1994)
Peter	1 male	UR	Laguai village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 +Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Witness testimony (UR)+ Statutory declaration of Kara Mege of Laitaro village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	On the morning of the 4/11/1992 a PNGDF helicopter attacked a truck carrying food supplies from Tavatava to Arawa. The attack was unprovoked.						
443	UR	Attack on civilian population	road near Kieta	UR	0,1,0		Civilians
	A NOMAD aircraft fired at a family travelling by truck for Easter celebrations in Kieta. Their ten-year-old son was badly injured.						
444	18/04/1989 5.30am	Assault	road near Kobuan camp	Police	0,1,0 +1 or 2 more wounded		Civilian
	Two or three victims, one being John Sabur were dragged from a car at which point they were beaten and stamped on.						
445	UR	humiliating and degrading treatment	road to North Bougainville	PNGDF	NA		UR
	A man who was walking to find aid for an ulcer on his leg was stopped by the PNGDF. He was forced to remove is bandage and eat it.						
446	2/7/1990	Assault	roadblock between Arawa and Kieta	PNGDF	0,1,0		non-combatant (PNG)
	Mr Tsiamalili, a senior civil servant for the North Solomons Province, reported to have been beaten by soldiers at a roadblock.						
447	??/??/1992	Murder	Romsis village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian or combatant (BRA)
	The man known as Bruno was suspected of being a BRA member by a PNGDF patrol. A scuffle then occurred with the patrol who subsequently requested reinforcements from the PNGDF camp in Tinputz. The PNGDF subsequently tied Bruno to their vehicle and dragged him along the road until he died.						
448	5/29/1994	Attack on civilian population	Roreinang	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	A PNG helicopter fired indiscriminately at a church service (United Church) wounding one man.						
449	2/2/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Rorovana and Vito villages	PNGDF	UR		Civilian
	The PNGDF attacked the villages of Rorovana and Vito. Civilian occupation of these villages at that time is inferred. However, the BRA was fighting in the area.						
450	2/2/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants, forced displacement of individuals	Rorovana village	PNGDF/BRA	UR		Civilians
	Some civilians were caught off guard in the middle of a firefight during the PNGDF invasion of Rorovana village. Some villagers were forced into Wakunai care centre.						
451	UR	Murder	Rotokas area	Rotokas Resistance Group	6,0,0		combatant (BRA)
	Six BRA members were sent to Tokerau village to escort Sam Akoitai to Kieta. They were all wiped out by pro-government forces.						
452	5/22/1992	Murder, destruction of civilian property	Rukusia village	PNGDF	4,4,0		Civilians +Civilian property
	Four civilians were killed, and four were wounded by the PNGDF during a raid on Rukusia village. Another, a youth (son of Mr Tuiki) was picked up while working and went missing. The soldiers also destroyed the health centre and looted all its medical supplies.						
453	11/9/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Rumba	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The PNGDF fired mortar rounds at civilian food gardens.						
454	10/3/1993	looting	Rumba (Aropa)	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	PNGDF troops were surprised by a BRA patrol while stealing food from the villager's food gardens.						
455	1995	Murder	Rusei village	Resistance	3,1,0		Civilians
	Four former BRA members were shot by the Resistance due to their suspected links with the BRA. One survived but was wounded.						
456	5/31/1996	Attack on non-combatants	Sea between Bougainville and Soloman Islands	Resistance (commanded by Neta Kompita)	1, missing		Civilians
	Two unarmed boats carrying medical supplies from the Soloman Islands were attacked by Resistance members lead by Mr Kompita. All the members of the crew were able to flee except for one Thomas Pinaun who was wounded in the thigh.						
457	3/21/1995	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Sea between Koromira and Arawa	PNGDF	4,0,0		Civilian
	A PNGDF patrol boat sunk a civilian vessel, its four occupants were killed.						
458	??/01/1993	Murder	Sea between SI and Bougainville	PNGDF	9,0,0		Civilian or combatant (BRA)
	Nine people were killed at sea in two boats that were attempting to run the blockade. The BRA claims they were civilians. The PNGDF claims they were armed.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	1 male, UR	10 +UR	UR	Max Watts "Bougainville: blockade tightens as war heats up" (rn 2951.42 gen)	UR
John Sabur +(1-2, UR)	1 male, UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 21/04/1989
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	New Guinea Times 22/02/1990 reported by Julia Daia Bore
Peter Tsiamalili	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	survivor testimony (Mr Tsiamalili)
Bruno	1 male	UR	Romsis village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	UR
UR	UR	UR	Roreinang	BIG press release 02/06/1994 +BRA media release 02/06/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG/ BRA) +BIG situation update 03/06/1994 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	Radio Australia 06/02/1992
UR	UR	UR	Rorovana village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 02/02/1992
UR	6 male	UR	Kieta	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 22/09/1991
Chief John Peretsi, Mr Kukurrai, Micheal Mario, Amos Arivan, Don Peretsi, Joseph Piri, Ronald Arivan, Tavenis Wansis +1, UR (son of Mr Tuiki from Saposa)	9 male	UR	Rukusia village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 07/04/1992
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 09/11/1993
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 06/10/1993	BRA
Sandy +3, UR	4 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Thomas Pinaun +UR	1 male	UR	UR	BIG media release 03/06/1996	UR
4, UR	1 male, 3 UR	UR	Buka island +3 UR	BIG press release 26/03/1995	UR
9, UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	PNGDF report/ BRA report

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
459	6/10/1992	Violation of territorial integrity, failure to distinguish non-combatants	sea of Kariki, Soloman island	PNGDF	0,0,0		Civilians
	Ms Gillespie attempted to run the PNG blockade of Bougainville as a passenger in one of two unarmed boats trying to get a shipment of rice to the island. While still in the territorial waters of the Solomon Islands a PNG plane opened fire on them. The plane made multiple attack runs on the boats but its occupants were able to take cover on shore. Nobody was harmed but one of the boats was damaged.						
460	10/15/1994	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	sea off Southern Bougainville	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A boat trying to make it to the Solomons for humanitarian reasons was fired upon and forced to turn back to Bougainville.						
461	10/5/1989	Murder	Section 16 Bush Camp, Arawa	BRA	6,0,0		Civilian
	Six civilians were killed in a retaliatory attack by militants on a squatter camp. Those killed were not Bougainvillians.						
462	12/5/1994	Torture, murder	Security forces camp Arawa	PNGDF	UR		civilian
	Mr Seeto was travelling to Arawa hospital to dress a burn caused by his bikes exhaust pipe. On the way, he was stopped by the PNGDF who took him to Arawa military camp. He was never seen again. It is believed he was tortured and killed at the military base.						
463	??/03/1992	Breach of international sovereignty	Shortland Island, SI	PNGDF	UR		Solomon Islands
	Two times in one week the PNGDF assaulted the Solomon Islands. The PNG government denies commanding this.						
464	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Sideronsi	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
465	7/12/1995	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Siipi	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	The PNGDF helicopter fired at both civilians and civilian targets.						
466	3/2/1995	Murder	Sikoreva PNGDF camp	BFL Resistance	1,0,0		combatant (BRA)
	Mr Miriori was extrajudicially killed during an attack on a PNGDF camp.						
467	25/01/1995 4am	Murder	Simbo village	PNGDF +Resistance	12,2,0		Civilians
	The pro-government forces conducted a morning raid in which they shot everyone in Simbo village. All were unarmed civilians. 12 were killed and two, Cecilia Tarorua and Uliar Noutau were seriously wounded.						
468	25/01/1996 4am	Murder	Simbo village	PNGDF	14,0,0 (Vol,1) or 12,0,0 (MFAT)		Civilians
	12-14 civilians, men, women, children and one baby were massacred at Simbo village including 2 babies and a child.						
469	24/04/1996 5am	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Simbo village	PNGDF	10,1,0 +UR		Civilians
	Peter Naurai a boy who survived an attack on Simbo village told how the PNGDF carried out a morning raid in which they gunned down ten civilians and wounded others. Furthermore, Mary Kugunei a pregnant woman was shot dead and her belly cut open and her fetus removed. This story is corroborated by neighbouring villagers who saw the dead and Ms Kuguneis fetus left laying on the mother's chest.						
470	2/19/1996	Murder	Sinkondo village	PNGDF +3 Resistance members	1,0,0 +UR		Civilian
	Mr Ankuma was shot and killed by the PNGDF while fleeing a PNGDF raid on his village. Several others were wounded in the attack.						
471	Prior to 29/09/1989	Inhumane detention	Siorovi	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
472	8/5/1994	Destruction of property	Sipa village, Sironpa village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	A PNGDF patrol utterly destroyed the villages of Sipa and Sironpa.						
473	??/06/1996	Murder	Sipai, West Bougainville	PNGDF/Resistance	8,0,0		Civilian
	Eight former BRA members are reported to have been killed. The men had left the BRA two years earlier but were killed on suspicion of contacting the BRA.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Rosemarie Gillespie, Steven, Thomas +4, UR	2 male, 1 female, 4 UR	UR	Australian, Bougainville, +UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	survivor testimony (Ms. Gillespie)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG media release (17/10/1994)
6, UR	2 female, 4 UR	1: (elderly female) +5, UR	Section 16 Bush Camp	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
Shane Seeto	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1 + UN commission	BIG press release (14/12/1994), statement Mr & Mrs Joseph
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	Reuter 19/03/1992
Nicholas Naikang	1 male	UR	UR (Barapang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG media release 26/07/1995
Donny Miriori	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 02/03 1995
Josephine Beti, Usiah, Pampam Ligitai, Theresia Monta, David Nusirau, Charles Ona, Mary Oateri, Minou Roitua, Andrew Sairin, Piruke Tumo, Patrick Utumu, Cecilia Taroroa, Uliar Noutau	5 male, 4 female, 5 UR	4, 8 months, 20, 9, 7, 15, 23, 22,18 months, 11, 21, 16, UR, 20	The following is a list of villigers: Simbo, Simbo, Morou, Simbo, Simbo, Simbo, Simbo, Mainika, Simbo, Simbo, Tuarokai, Simbo, 2 UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Radio message from Morris Siriapi to Sydney BIG office 23/02/1996
12, UR	1 female, UR	8 months, 18 months, 9	Simbo village	Bougainville Media release, 22/5/1996 +MFAT	UR +Geneva (MFAT)
Peter Noutai, Mary Kugunei, Patrick Korila, Banbam, Tumo, Theresa Kuenai, Betty Kuenai, Ngusira, Eddie Kenuai, Kunna +UR	3 male, 3 female, UR	16, 24 +UR	simbo village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	survivor account (Peter Naurai) 09/05/1996
Jeffery Ankuma +UR	1 male, UR	8 +UR	Sinkindo village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG Information radioed S.I. refugees (29/03/1996)
Roger Jakis	1 male	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 14/08/1994 +compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG press release 12/08/1994 (Vol 1.)
Hubert Oparive +7, UR	8 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1997	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
474	UR	Forced displacement of civilian population, attempted murder	Sipi village	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilians
The people of Sipi village were taken to a care centre. One boy escaped but was shot in the leg while doing so. He made it to the BRA.							
475	between 1/06-7/06/1994	Murder, torture, desecration of a corpse	Siredonsi village	PNGDF	1,0,0		POW
In a counter attack against a PNG offensive by two platoons into Siredonsi village a BRA soldier, Mr Oke was captured alive (how is not recorded) and was subsequently tortured, killed and cut to pieces which were dumped in the bush and found on the 7th of August.							
476	6/23/1992	Attack on civilian population, looting, destruction of civilian property	Sirei village	PNGDF/ Resistance	0,1,0		Civilians, Civilian property
After avoiding being forced into Monoitu care centre Mr Kasai and three others from another village went back to Sirei village to collect belongings. They found his house amongst others that had been burned down and found Resistance members looting the houses of those at the care centre. When seen the Resistance fighters open fire on them and wounded Mr Kasai.							
477	??/05 or 06/1992	Forced displacement of civilian population	Sirei village	PNGDF/ Resistance	0,0,0		Civilians
The villagers of Sirei were taken at gun point to Monoitu care center.							
478	??/09/1992	Murder	Sirokori	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
Mr Lising was shot dead in a raid on his village.							
479	??/09/1992	Attack on civilian population	Sirokoro village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
The PNGDF sprayed shots at random on the villagers at Sirokoro. They wounded one elderly woman and (it is stated) that more would have been hit had the villagers not escaped into the bush.							
480	6/6/1994	Destruction of civilian property	Sirawai 2 villages	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
2 villages were burnt down. Only a church partially remains.							
481	??/11/1996 5am	Murder	Sisiapai village	BRA	6,5,0		Civilians, combatants (Resistance members)
The BRA carried out a retaliatory killing in the village of Sipai in return for the deaths for two BRA members who were relatives of Sylvester Vane. This included two school children, a church worker and three Resistance fighters. Five others are believed to have been wounded in the attack. The two BRA members died during an attempt to rescue 3 soldiers taken hostage in Selau in 1996.							
482	11/23/1995	Destruction of property	Siwai	BRA	NA		BTG property
The administrative building of a BTG hospital and school was burnt down by the BRA.							
483	??/03/1996	Murder	Siwai	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
Matthew is believed to have been arrested and killed by the PNGDF for suspected links with the BRA after an attack on the police in Buka in March 1996.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	Sipi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG update press release (29/03/1994)
Steven Oke	1 male	UR	Moroni village	BIG press release 08/08/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	BRA (BIG) + BIG press release (08/08/1994) (Vol 1.)
Ignatu Kasai +3, UR	1 male, 3 UR	UR	Sirei village +3 Ameu village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	survivor Ignatu Kasai (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	Sirei village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness Ignatu Kasai (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
Peter Lising	1 male	UR	Sirokori	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Australians role in arming violators of human rights. Ms Gillespie- Chiefs of Siwai Dec' 1992
Mary Rauvasi +UR	1 female, UR	UR (1: elderly)	Sirokoro village	Krai Bilong 1993	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992)Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (20/06/1994)
11, UR	3 male, 11 UR	UR (2: children)	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 25/11/1995
Matthew	1 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
484	??/01/1994	Sexual assault	Siwai	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
	A women was pack raped and was in serious condition at Tonu clinic						
485	??/12/1992	Destruction of civilian property	Siwai	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	Sister Cathrine was working in her village in december 1992 when it became crowded with refugges fleeing the PNGDF. She was told that the army had burned houses and most of there possessions. The villigers withheald the name of the village for fear of reprisals.						
486	2/6/1995	Assault	Siwai	PNGDF +Resistance	0,1,0		UR
	Mr Makis is reported to have been beaten by pro-government forces and taken to Buka.						
487	??/01/1994	Sexual assault	Siwai	PNGDF	0,0,3		Civilians
	3 women were hospitalized at the siwai aid post after being pack raped. They were in serious condition.						
488	11/26/1996	Murder	Siwai area	PNGDF	UR (22 killed or wounded)		Civilians
	The PNGDF carried out a raid on a village in Siwai and killed or wounded 22 people, mostly women and children.						
489	??/01/1995	Murder, perfidy	Siwai area	Resistance	1,0,0		combatant (BRA)
	Mr Dauta was a BRA member killed during the ceasefire by Resistance members						
490	??/01/1995	Murder	Siwai area	Resistance	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Dea was killed during the ceasefire by Resistance members						
491	UR	Murder	Siwai care center	PNGDF/ Resistance forces	1,0,0		Civilian
	Lauta, a boy of 18 was arrested by the the Resistance forces and has since disspered, presumed dead.						
492	UR	Torture	Siwai care center	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	a youth at Siwai care center was beaten and torture by soilders.						
493	previous to 14/12/1994	Assault	Siwai care center	PNGDF	0,1,0		combatant (BRA)
	A BRA soilder who was in Siwai care center was badly beaten and accused of being a BRA spy.						
494	29/06- 17/07/1995	Foreign nationals Detained	Sohano Island	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	A New Zealand Yacht carrying medical supplies to bougainville and were detained under boat arrest dispite having gaind pramition from Port Morsbey, having been granted concent by radio 25 miles off shore and having immigration approval. The local military commanders detained and interrogated them for 17 days before they escaped on the ship.						
495	4/16/1996	Disappearance	Sohano Island	PNGDF/ Resistance	UR		UR, suspected of being a BRA by PNGDF (detained)
	Mr. Ugua "disappeared" after being arrested , this was on suspicion of links with the BRA after going to hospital with gunshot wounds.						
496	3/3/1994	Murder	Solale cear center	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilian
	The PNGDF killed two brothers in cold blood. The men were both civilians.						
497	9/14/1995	Assault	Soloman Islands	Resistance including Thomas Kanabe	0,1,0		Solomon islands +civilian
	Five men believed to be members of the Resistance crossed into the Soloman Islands looking for BIG members. They beat up a small boy who refused to give them the information they wanted.						
498	26/10/1993 3.30pm	Conspiracy: violation of territorial integrity, kidnapping	Soloman Islands	PNGDF	0,0,0		Solomon Islands +Civilian
	PNGDF commandos were stopped trying to cross the border by the Soloman Islands Field Force on the 26/10/1993. It is believed they were trying to capture Mr Miriori. The kidnapping Mr Miriori is believed to be the goal as the BRA intercepted information on this plan at midday 25/10/1993.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
1, UR	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (07/02/1994)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Krai Bilong 1993	survivor testimony (refugees communicating to sister Cathrine)
Aloysius Makis	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	R.Siara of the BRA relaying witness accounts
3, UR	3 female	UR	Siwai	BIG media release, 08/02/1994	UR
22, UR	UR	UR	Siwai area	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	3rd session of the commission on human rights, Geneva. -Brief on the situation in Bougainville by Martin Miriori secretary of the Bougainville Interim government (march 1997)
John Dauta	1 male	17	Matukori village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bougainville HR Concern Group Arawa (16/02/1995)
Albert Dea	1 male	17	Matukori village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (18/04/1995)
Lauta	1 male	18	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 + UN commission	The right to life paragraph 52 (Vol 2.) + UR (UN commission)
UR	1 male	UR (youth)	UR	BIG press release 15/12/1994	UR
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release (14/12/1994)
Ruth Banton, Sean Hardley, Reverend David Alley, Ed Banton, Melanie Banton	3 male, 2 female	12, 20, 55 +2, UR	New Zealand	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 04/07/1995 + Official report Co-ord committee NZ uniting church council of missions 11/08/1995 (p.15) + radio interview transcripts Radio pacific, Talkback ABC, NZ national radio interview 07/08/1995
Peter Ugua	1 male	20-25	Sohano Island	Amnesty International Report 1997 +forgotten human right tragedy (AI)	UR
Channel Posboi, Mr Posboi	2 male	UR	Bakoran village	BIG press release, 17/03/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG situation update 17/03/1994 (Vol 1.)
1, UR	1 male	UR (child)	Bougainville	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release Aug/Sept 1995
Martin Miriori	1 male	UR	UR	BIG press release 28/10/1993	BRA intelligence intercept

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
499	6/1/1996	Violation of territorial integrity, destruction of civilian property	Soloman Islands	Resistance (commanded by Neta Kompita)	0,0,0		Solomon Islands +Civilians
	Mr Kompita led a raid of Resistance members to seize radios from civilians that were the property of the Soloman Islands government. The radios were taken to PNG army bases at Loloho and Taurato.						
500	6/8/1996	Violation of territorial Integrity	Soloman Islands	PNGDF	UR		Solomon islands
	BRA intelligence reported a PNGDF patrol boat entering the Soloman Islands with a platoon of soldiers heading to a destination only know by the codename "Quebec 5".						
501	2/1/1996	Violation of territorial integrity, destruction of civilian property	Soloman Islands	PNGDF (suspected)	0,0,0		Solomon Islands, Civilian property
	The house and office of the BIG in the Soloman Islands were firebombed in an attack on the 'mission' and on the BIG leader in the Solomons Martin Miriori. The attack was believed to have been carried out by the PNGDF and caused \$450,000 damage.						
502	??/04/1993	Violation of territorial Integrity	Soloman Islands	PNGDF	UR		State of the Solomon Islands
	A PNG boat sailed 50km into the Soloman Islands and landed troops who engaged in a fire fight with Solomon Police. The PNGDF repeated this two days later.						
503	??/04/1993	Violation of territorial Integrity	Soloman Islands	PNGDF	UR		State of the Solomon Islands
	A PNG boat landed troops in the Soloman Islands on the same island as that on which they engaged in a firefight with the SI police two days earlier.						
504	??/02/1992	Murder, destruction of civilian property, breach of international sovereignty	Solomon Islands	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
	The PNGDF carried out a raid into the Solomons and blew up a fuel depot killing two citizens of the Solomons.						
505	19/06/1992-25/06/1992	Forced recruitment of foreign civilians, violation of territorial Integrity, Conspiracy: murder	Solomon Islands (Honiara), Vella island	PNGDF +Siwai men (supporters of the late Anthony Anugu)	NA		Civilian +non-combatant (BIG) +UR
	Three Siwai supporters who made a failed incursion into the Solomons recruited Mr Ama at gunpoint. They took him to the PNGDF army base at Taurato island where he was interrogated and ordered to assassinate Mr Miriori, Mr Rutane and Mr Magasu within a week. He was given a gun and cash. In Honiara, Mr Ama confessed under duress and later confirmed it when talking to Mr Miriori in the street.						
506	UR	Murder	Solos area	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr George Koal was taken to the Solos area and shot.						
507	8/22/1995	Assault	South Bougainville	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	Father Nawata was beaten for allegedly giving services in BRA territory. He survived but was in critical condition pending evacuation.						
508	??/12/1992	hostage taking	South Bougainville	BRA	NA		Civilian
	Southern Bougainville villagers were held hostage by the BRA in exchanged for their leaders. They were released when ten leaders surrendered including one Anthony Anugu. These men were accused of collaboration with PNG as they had signed a reconstruction agreement with the government.						
509	7/12/1994	Murder	South Bougainville	PNGDF	1,0,0		combatant (Resistance)
	A Resistance fighter accused of aiding the BRA had his head split open and was killed by the PNGDF.						
510	??/??/1989 5am	Murder	South Nasioi	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
	In a statement concerning the lack of legal punishment of PNGDF soldiers Mr Havini sites an example from 1989. In this event, a drunken PNGDF soldier indiscriminately fired his rifle into a village killing a mother and baby as they slept. Mr Havini says the man was charged in Kieta in 1989 but was still roaming the streets in 1996.						
511	??/04/1996	Murder	South, Bougainville	BRA	2,0,0		Civilian
	BRA killed two civilians; no father details were reported.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 03/06/1996	UR
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG media release 10/06/1996	BRA intelligence reports
Martin Miriori +UR	1 male, UR	UR	UR	Media release Dee Margetts, Senator for Western Australia 02/02/1996	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Jeff Atkinson, Bougainville: civil war and human rights abuses on our doorstep, no.8 Community Aid Abroad. July 1993	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Jeff Atkinson, Bougainville: civil war and human rights abuses on our doorstep, no.8 Community Aid Abroad. July 1993	UR
2, UR	UR	UR	Solomon Islands	Released documents from MFAT IOA 10/11/2015	3rd session of the commission on human rights, Geneva. -Brief on the situation in Bougainville by Martin Miriori secretary of the Bougainville Interim government (march 1997)
The forced recruitment of civilians was not previously defined in the methodology due to the fact that this is the only instance of it. However it is a breach of the rules of war as defined under (add geneva convention					
Martin Miriori, James Rutane, Lembias Magasu, Timothy Sorokonu Ama	2 male	UR	Bougainville	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	survivor testimony - Martian Miriori 02/07/1992
George Koal	1 male	UR	Tohatsi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Father Anthony Nawata	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release Aug/Sept 1995
UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	witness testimony, survivor testimony
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG press release (12/08/1994)
2, UR	1 female, UR	UR (1: adult +1: child)	UR	BIG media release 06/11/1996	Statement Mr Moses Havini
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
512	??/04/1996	Murder	Southwest, Bougainville	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
BRA killed one civilian; no father details were reported.							
513	??/02/1996	Murder	Southwest, Bougainville	BRA	2,0,0		Civilian
BRA killed two civilians; no father details were reported.							
514	3/21/1995	Attempted murder	Sovele	PNGDF	0,0,0		combatant (gunship pilot)
Out of frustration at not being paid PNG troops shot at a civilian helicopter hired by the government. The Australian pilot managed to fly the damaged aircraft to safety on Buka.							
515	01/01-01/05/1994	Murder, torture	Sovele Catholic Mission	PNGDF or Resistance (USDS) Resistance (AI)	1,0,0		UR (USDS) or allied combatant (AI)
(USDS) At a meeting of Bishops' in May, it was asserted that the PNGDF or Resistance torture and killed one Mr Patoe at the Sovele Mission compound (USDS). According to Amnesty Thomas was a Resistance member suspected of helping the BRA and was killed by the Resistance due to this fact (AI).							
516	UR	Murder	Sovele military camp	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilian
Three people were killed by the PNGDF after being suspected of crimes (which are not specified).							
517	UR	Murder, torture	Sovele military camp	PNGDF	1,0,0		POW or Civilian
After running away with a gun taken from a care centre Mr Pakowi turned his self into the PNGDF. He was subsequently tortured and then executed in front of civilians.							
518	??/08/1995	Forced displacement of civilian population	Stemas Cear Center	BRA	UR		Civilian
In August 1995 the BRA undertook a series of abductions, the abduction of several civilians from the Stemas care centre is specifically mentioned. However, what became of them or the intent of the BRA is not reported.							
519	7/25/1992	Murder	Stonwara village	PNGDF + Resistance	5,0,0		P.O.Ws
Five youths who surrendered to pro-government forces were executed.							
520	4/6/1992	Murder	Stonwara village	PNGDF	6,0,0		UR
Six young boys were lined up against a wall near the Stonewater bridge and shot.							
521	??/08/1992	Murder	Suagu village	PNGDF/ Resistance	1,0,0		Civilian
PNGDF and local Resistance forces drove into Suagu village at night, identified Mr Pasupava, executed him, and left the village.							
522	7/22/1995	Attack on civilian population	Tabago	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
The PNGDF heavily bombarded civilians residing in Tabago. No casualties were reported.							
523	3/23/1994	Use of human shield	Tabago and Maisuru	PNGDF	UR		UR
The BRA accuse the PNGDF of using human shields during battle, specifically around Tabago and Maisuru villages.							
524	3/23/1994	Use of human shield	Tabago and Moisuru	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
The BRA claimed that the PNGDF were using people from the detention centres (care centres) as human shields.							
525	??/07/1993	Inhuman detention	Tabago care center	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Residents detained at Tabago care centre were claimed to have been dying due to the poor living standards and diet provided by the PNGDF.							
526	prior to 12/11/1993	Inhuman detention	Tabago care center	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
Civilians were forced to remain in Tabago care centre despite the lack of basic supplies.							
527	??/09/1993	Murder	Tabago Care Center	PNGDF	5,0,0		Civilians
Five civilians were reported to have been killed in care centres; no further details were given.							
528	UR	Murder	Tabago care center	UR	6, missing		Civilians
This is a list of people reported missing from the Tabago care centre.							
529	??/08/1994	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Tabago care center	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
Two chiefs suspected of being BRA spies were taken from their homes, shot, cut up and thrown into a toilet hole.							
530	1/9/1994	Murder, desecration of corpse.	Tabago care center	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilians

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
1, UR	1 male	UR	Australia	BIG press release 26/03/1995	UR
Thomas Patoe	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea+ Amnesty international report 1995	Catholic Bishops Conference
Mr Misinko, Sanu Sakoy, Ms Sakoi	2 male, 1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Interview Tony (BRA commander)
Thomas Pakowi	1 male	20-22	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Interview Tony (BRA commander)
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1995 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
5 UR	5 male	UR (youths)	Stonwara village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 25/07/1992
6 UR	6 male	UR (children)	Stonwara village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 07/04/1992
Alex Pasupava	1 male	UR	Suagu village	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG information sheet(no.6) 02/08/1995
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	BRA
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG press release 29/03/1994	BAR Commander Sam Kauona
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 23/07/1993
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 12/11/1993
5 UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	BRA spokesman
Minnou kindi, william nukuma, kauki puipui, tukina kara, mona tanadi, kakeri	UR	UR	LURau village, IURau village, tabago villiage, tabago villiage, IURau village, lukauko village	Republic of Bougainville press release, 16/01/1994 +BIG media release 16/01/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG/BR) + BIG situation report (16/01/1994) (Vol 1.)
Chief Jacob Iamu, Cheif Raphael Siangka	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statement by Paul Porake to Ms Gillespie 28/11/1995
William Keneri, Thomas Minou and Winifred Abe	3 male	15, 14, 13	Kaitu village, LURau village, Dunioku village	Republic of Bougainville press release, 16/01/1994 +BIG media release 16/01/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG/BR) + BIG situation report (16/01/1994) (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	Three boys were killed by the PNGDF and their bodies dumped in a toilet pit in retaliation for an ambush that occurred on the 2/1/1994. All were civilians from the Tabago care centre.						
531	??/08/1993	Murder	Tabago care center	PNGDF	5,0,0		UR
	Five people from the Tabago care centre were murdered as payback. No further details were provided.						
532	10/11/1993	Inhumane detention	Tabago care center	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	Civilians were barred from returning to their villages despite severe food shortages in the care centre.						
533	8/7/1995	Murder	Tabago village	BRA	1,0,0		combatant (Resistance)
	A BRA hit squad entered the home of a know Resistance commander and shot him dead in front of his family.						
534	11/8/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Taberomau village	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	A helicopter fired indiscriminately at civilians.						
535	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Tairima	PNG Security Forces	1,0,0		UR
	This is one of the civilians from a list in the Arawa Bulletin who died from a health disaster due to a PNG curfew.						
536	10/22/1996	Hostage taking, murder	taken captive at Siara Junction in Selau	BRA (Sylvester Vane)	3,0,0		P.O.Ws (PNGDF)
	The BRA lead by Mr Vane captured three PNGDF soldiers and used them as hostages in return for the killing of five Resistance members. The hostages were believed to have been killed.						
537	05/05/1993 4am	Murder	Tamaisi village (RFB station)	PNGDF	2,1,0		Civilians
	During a raid on Tamaisi village, Mr Paul and his son were shot and killed. His four-year-old daughter was shot in the leg and was taken by the PNGDF. His wife escaped to the Solomons.						
538	??/04/1996	Violation of territorial integrity	Taro Island, Soloman Islands	PNGDF	NA		Solomon Islands
	At Taro Island the PNGDF and S.I. Field Force was engaged in a shootout in S.I. waters while the S.I. forces were attempting to evacuate civilians from the Island.						
539	UR	Attack on civilian population	Tatarei village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Miss Hanisah was killed by artillery fired at the civilian population.						
540	UR	Murder	Tatarei village	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
	Mr Hermes and a youth were shot dead by gunfire from a helicopter in the Solos area.						
541	??/01/1991	Murder or failure to destining non-combatant	Tatarei village	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Hemes was shot dead by a PNGDF helicopter at Tatarei village in the Socos area.						
542	8/29/1992	Murder	Taurato Island	PNGDF	2,0,0 (1 dissapared)		Civilians
	Three mission workers were returning from a trip taking the sick to the Solomons. Two were shot, and Mr Kikira was not heard from again.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Matin Duaskenu, Mona Kamo, Munau, Kariri Karapetu	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report ??/08/1993
UR	UR	UR	Tabago village	BIG press release 12/11/1993	UR
UR	1 male	UR	Tabago village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	The Independent (newspaper) 05/08/1995
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 09/11/1993
Joseph Kamena	1 male	UR	UR (Data Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
3 UR	3 male	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI +MFAT	UR +Geneva (MFAT)
Hoffman Paul, David Paul, Everlyn Paul, UR (daughter)	2 male, 2 female	4, UR (daughter)	Tamaisi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	RFB 05/05/1993 +survivor account 16/02/1995 (Mrs Paul)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	The Australian, reporter M. L. O'Callaghan (11/04/1996)
Josephine Hanisah	1 female	16	Tatarei village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Henry Hermes +1 UR	2 male	14 (1: UR) +1, UR	Tatarei village (Mr Hermes), Koheno village (1, UR)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Mr Hemes	1 male	UR (elderly)	Tatarei village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	statement Simon Kikero
Micheal Vinas, Kevin Tabu, Richard Kikira	3 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	PNG times 24/09/1992

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
543	11/18/1994	Unlawful detention, divestment of property	Taurato island	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	After gaining permission to take the sick off Bougainville the boat of Thomas Duninu was intercepted by a PNGDF patrol boat. The occupants were detained and interrogated, and Mr Duninu's boat was confiscated.						
544	2/9/1995	Murder	Taurato island	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Raphael was killed by the PNGDF. The reason was not provided unknown.						
545	12/4/1994	Murder	Tavidua village	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilians
	Three men were killed in retaliation for the deaths of two PNGDF members in an ambush on 30/11/1994. Their bodies were left in the sea for three days before being buried in a mass grave on the beach. Later they were returned to their families.						
546	12/4/1994	Murder	Tavidua village	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilian
	Three civilians were executed, and their bodies were dumped at sea. This was in payback for the death of a soldier in an ambush a month prior.						
547	2/9/1990	Murder	Tenakau	PNGDF + a CID officer Raphael Doa	1,0,0		Civilian
	Villagers at the Tenakau plantation fled to an offshore reef when a unit of the PNGDF arrived. The soldiers yelled out that this made them look guilty and so the men swam back to shore. One officer shot Mr Boto as he did so. The rest of the men were taken for questioning.						
548	??/01/1993	Forced labour	Teop area	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	The PNGDF had been using the people of the Teop area as forced labour to build roads. The civilians are forced to work at gunpoint no matter their sex, age or health.						
549	9/7/1994	Forced labour	Teop area	PNGDF +Resistance	NA		Civilians
	Every Monday the people of the Teop area were forced to build roads at gunpoint. Late comers hid due to fear of hard labour and detention. The people were forced to work until the guards were satisfied in spite of hunger, rain or scorching heat and under the threat of violence.						
550	11/07/1994 5am	Forced labour	Teop Island	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	Due to confusion and poor communication about the rules of the curfew and registration to travel the spectators and players from Teop Island failed to properly register their movements while going to a sports day. Due to this, the PNGDF herded the villagers into the rain at 5 am (including mothers, babies, children and the old) using gun fire. They then separated those who went to the sports day and used them for forced labour from 6am-6pm that day. This included mothers with infants. This was part of a PNGDF policy where all travel required permission and if the civilians had not returned by 5 pm they were required to do forced labour regardless of age (over 10), medical conditions or if they were breastfeeding.						
551	??/06/1994	looting	Teop Island	BRA	UR		Civilians
	BRA members came to Teop island and went about shaking down the locals for their cash and looting buildings. The victims included two fathers one of which had 20k stolen at gunpoint.						
552	prior to 09/11/1992	Destruction of civilian property, looting	the following is a list of villagers- Wakoya, Osokori, Inong, Usokori, Tohu, Hokohau, Tonnui, Hongorai, Dongpotoru, Posou, Rapauru, Matukouri, Kawoo, New Camp, Sasu, Korokai, Tongoi, Torowiru	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The houses in many villages were looted and burned down leaving over 10 thousand homeless.						
553	7/2/1996	looting	the following villages: Orami, Adiera, Sirikui +unknown	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	After being engaged by the BRA during a failed advance on Panguna a PNGDF company changed direction towards Orami. On the way they looted multiple villages stealing chickens and pigs along with other civilian property.						
554	??/??/1995	Disappeared	Tiaroki medical post	PNGDF	UR		UR
	Mr Teumo disappeared after being arrested by security forces. It is believed he may have been shot near Tinputz. His arrest followed a clash between the BRA and police in which a policeman was shot. Mr Teumo was arrested after arriving at the Tiaroki medical post. Whether he was a BRA member from that class is not known.						
555	UR	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Tinputz	BRA	2,0,0		Civilians
	The BRA apologised for attacking a PNGDF truck carrying civilians to celebrate PNG independence. The BRA said that it was unfortunate that two civilians were killed but argue that the truck was clearly a military target.						
556	9/23/1995	Murder	Tinputz area	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Wesley Tiamu was reported missing and feared dead after being taken by the PNGDF in Tinputz.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Thomas Duninu, Raphael Banai +13, UR	2 male, 13 UR	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	survivor testimony (Mr Duninu to Ms Gillespie)
Raphael	1 male	UR	Lamuai village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	R.Siara of the BRA relaying witness accounts
Damien Ona, Apiato Bobonung, Robert	3 male	UR	Tavidua village, Buka island (robert)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1 + UN commission	BIG press release (14/12/1994), statement Mr & Mrs Joseph
UR	UR	UR	Tavidua village	BIG press release 15/12/1994	UR
John Boto	1 male	UR	Teperoi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 09/02/1990 +police report
UR	UR	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993	UR (this is to protect the identity of the people involved.
UR	UR	UR (all ages)	Teop Island	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	eye witness (visitor to Teop area who was forced to participate)
UR	UR	UR (all ages)	Teop Island	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement by witness' for the UN special rapporteur visit (20/10/1995)
UR	2 male, UR	UR	Teop Island	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement by witness' for the UN special rapporteur visit (20/10/1995)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992) Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG media release 02/07/1996	BRA communication network
Wesley Teumo	1 male	UR	Tinputz	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 17/08/1996	BRA statement
Wesley Tiamu	1 male	UR	Waropa	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 05/10/1995

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
557	2/13/1990	Murder, use of human shields, torture	Tinputz to Arawa	PNGDF	2,0,0		UR
	Two people, a local man and a 'redskin' were tied to the bullbar of a PNGDF truck and used as human shields. Both died by the time the truck reached Arawa.						
558	4/19/1993	Murder	Tobago Catholic mission	PNGDF	3,0,0		UR
	Three men were executed.						
559	Prior to 29/09/1989	Murder	Toboroi	militants	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Bika was murdered by militants.						
560	11/6/1993	Destruction of civilian property	Toboroi village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	PNGDF members burned the deserted village of Toboroi to the ground while drunk.						
561	UR	Murder	Tohatsi village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Ringin was murdered by the PNGDF & BLF.						
562	UR	Murder	Tohatsi village	PNGDF/BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Ringin was murdered by the PNGDF & BLF						
563	4/19/1994	Destruction of civilian property	Toipnang village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	25 mortar bombs were launched at villages in the Boro valley. Five destroyed the houses of the villagers from which the people had already fled into the mountains.						
564	6/20/1992	Unlawful detention	Tokaino care center	PNGDF	UR		Civilian
	The PNGDF arrested and detained Mr Morui for four months without trial on suspicion of being a BRA member.						
565	??/09/1992	Murder, torture	Tokaino care center	PNGDF +1 Resistance member Kakei	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Powake was confronted by a PNGDF member and a Resistance member (Kakei). He was interrogated and tortured by them. Kakei repeatedly stabbed Mr Powake with a hot bayonet while the soldier cut open his mouth at the cheeks. When done they took him down the road and shot him leaving him body were it fell.						
566	UR	Assault	Tokaino care center	PNGDF+ SBIA	0,1,0		Civilians
	Mr Kibau was assaulted by the PNGDF who used the butts of there rifles to beat him along his back, shoulders and body. Chief Purai used this as an exsample of the pattern of assaults and beatings (some times lethal) inflicted on the people in the Tokaino care centre.						
567	UR	Forced displacement of civilians, inhuman detainment	Tokaino care center	PNGDF+ SBIA	NA		Civilians
	Pro-government forces came to Konigulu village looking for those who had fled the PNGDF. The villagers were captured and taken at gunpoint to Tokaino care centre along with chief Purai. He was detained there for three months in which time he was not allowed visitors and starved. While there he witnessed many instances of sexual harassment, assault and murder. Under the guise of bringing his family to the centre he escaped. The pro-government forces murdered his sons in retaliation.						
568	UR	Sexual assault	Tokaino care center	PNGDF+ SBIA	0,0,1		Civilians
	The daughter of Mr Naisi was raped while being held in the care centre. This is mentioned by chief Purai as an example of a broader pattern of rape and sexual harassment in the Tokaino care centre.						
569	28/06/1996 7.30am-11.30am	Violation of territorial Integrity	Toluvi Island, Soloman Islands	PNGDF (patrol boat 03.)	0,1,0		Solomon islands
	PNGDF patrol boat no.03 penetrated the territory of the Soloman Islands to a point 250m off Shortland island at 7.30am and fired on Soloman Island forces until 10.50. It returned and repeated this action from 11-11.30am. The only casualty reported on either side was one SIFF member who was slightly injured on his left ear.						
570	5/9/1996	Failure to distinguish non-combatants, Perfidy	Toniva	PNGDF	0,2,09		Civilians
	Mrs Kivi and her daughter were critically injured by indiscriminate PNGDF bombardments of the Toniva and Kieta peace areas.						
571	12/9/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Toniva & Toboroi villages	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	The PNGDF conducted an indiscriminate bombardment before launching a ground attack from Torokina.						
572	11/4/1993	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Toniva and near by villages	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	A helicopter fired indiscriminately at Toniva and surrounding villagers.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
2, UR	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 13/02/1990 (the truck passed by him)
John Korakei, Thomas Soba, John Kara	3 male	28, 28, 30	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Mike Foster Press Release 28/04/1993
John Bika	1 male	UR	UR (Kurabang Clan)	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Arawa Bulletin 29/09/1989 page 10 "Enough is enough" - Panguna Landowners
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG press release 10/11/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	BRA witnesses (BIG) +BIG situation report 09/11/1993 (Vol 1.)
Lawrence Ringin	1 male	UR	Tohatsi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Mark Tobi	1 male	UR	Tohatsi village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report (04/05/1994)
Lazarus Morui	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Lazarus Morui (28/11/1995)
Christopher Powake	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Lazarus Morui (28/11/1995)
Umin Kibau	1 male	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness (Chief Andrew Purai) (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Chief Andrew Purai +UR	1 male, UR	75-79 +UR	Konigul, Parrio, Maskikuru and Kuguai villages	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	survivor testimony (Chief Andrew Purai) (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
UR (Leo Naisi's daughter)	1 female	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	eye witness (Chief Andrew Purai)(KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	BIG media release 02/07/1996	UR
Mrs Kivi +UR (daughter)	2 female	UR +14	Anganai village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release (10/05/1996)
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 09/12/1993
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 09/11/1993

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
573	UR	Assault	Tonu care center	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
	A woman was beaten to unconsciousness by the PNGDF after refusing to go on the radio in order to plead for the BRAs surrender.						
574	1994	Sexual assault	Tonu care center	PNGDF	0,0,2		Civilians
	In separate instances, two women were raped by security forces at Tonu care centre. These were believed to have occurred in their food gardens.						
575	10/10/1993	Murder	Tonu care center	Resistance fighter	1,0,0		Civilian
	A young girl was shot dead in her sleep by a Resistance fighter in the Tonu care centre.						
576	1/13/1995	Murder, desecration of corpse	Tonu care center	Resistance (Commander Sylvester Maneu) +Rebecca Noro	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Sania was a BRA soldier who had laid down his arms during a ceasefire. He had decided to return to his home when he encountered a Resistance roadblock. They shot him dead and when asked why by his family they replied: "because he is trouble/ worthless to PNG and so he must die".						
577	between 12/1995-03/1996	Murder	Tonu military camp	Resistance	1,0,0		UR
	A man from Pikei village was believed to have been shot by the Resistance.						
578	3/7/1996	Murder	Tonu PNGDF army camp	PNGDF	1,0,0		combatant (Resistance)
	Mr Kamisu, a high-ranking Resistance member, was ordered to the PNGDF camp at Tonu. He went as ordered and was killed. The reasons for this are unknown. (CHRA Vol.2) The AI report says he was a former BRA leader who surrendered.						
579	UR	Destruction of civilian property	Tonuline village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	The village and houses of Tonuline were bull-dozed into a nearby river valley. This incident is provided as an example in a statement concerning the systematic destruction of villages by the PNGDF.						
580	3/25/1993	Murder, desecration of a corpse	Tulaboo Catholic Mission	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilians
	Gabriel of Buin confronted PNGDF members over the disappearance of his family. In response, the soldiers broke both his knees then shot him. They continued to shoot his body down the middle until it was split in two.						
581	1991	Murder	Tulane Plantation	PNGDF	11,0,0		Civilians
	11 people from Hetal village were killed after being arrested by the PNGDF.						
582	2/8/1993	Murder	Tunuru Beach	PNGDF	1,0,0		POW (BRA)
	Kaupa was burnt alive tied to a pole on the beach after being captured in Arawa.						
583	06-13/02/1995	Murder	Turau village	rebels	1,0,0		Civilian
	Kakaia was killed in an ambush while in a group of villagers looking for food.						
584	??/09/1992	Forced displacement of civilian population	Turiboiru care center	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	In September 1992 Ms Mege was captured and taken to Turikoiru care centre. She was unable to run away as she was looking after an old blind and lame man Peter Vauvau. While there Ms Mege witnessed people who broke the rules being beaten and jailed.						
585	??/10/1992	Sexual assault	Turiboiru care center	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilian
	A 13-year-old girl, Margaret was raped in front of witnesses (Ms Mege) in October 1992 by the PNGDF.						
586	3/21/1993	Murder	Turiboiru Mission	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Kungkeiu, a Catholic church worker, was killed by the PNGDF while returning home from a service.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	1 female	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
UR	2 female	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
1, UR	1 female	UR (child)	UR	BIG press release 14/10/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR
Mr Sania	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	R.Siara of the BRA relaying witness accounts
UR	1 male	UR	Pikei village	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
James Kamisu	1 male	30	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 + Human rights Tragedy	BIG Information radioed S.I. refugees (29/03/1996)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992 +Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Krai Bilong) + Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
Gabriel	1 male	UR	Buin	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Interview with Saviours
11, UR	UR	UR	Hetal village	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Kaupa	1 male	UR	PNG Highlands	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2 +Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.21	Commission on human rights 52nd session, item 10. (Vol 2.) +BIG press release, J. Kabui 12/02/1993 (Vol 1.)
Kakaia	1 male	25	Oria village	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	PNG Post Courier 15/06/1995, reported by T. Masiu
Kara Mege, Peter Vauvau	1 male, 1 female	UR (1: elderly male)	Laitaro village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory declaration of Kara Mege of Laitaro village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Margaret	1 female	13	Laguai village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory declaration of Kara Mege of Laitaro village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Gabriel Kungkeiu	1 male	UR	Buin	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR (25/03/1993)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
587	10/05/- 25/08/1992 ->	Inhumane detention, forced labour	Turunru + Tonu airport	PNGDF	1,0,0		POWs + Civilians
<p>On the 10th and 11th of May 1992, 109 BRA members and suspected sympathisers were arrested and were detained for 14 days in a cocoa dryer in Turunru. The prison was overcrowded with no bedding, toilet, washing facilities or places to exercise. From here 59 prisoners were taken to Turunru prison camp and were used as forced labour at Tonu airport where they were made to build barricades. The men were given only two meals a day which included no greens, meat or fish. One man, John Kourai died after being refused medical attention. The men were held for months without charge. On the 25th of August Mr Kangku and 11 others escaped.</p>							
588	14/02 1996	Murder	United Church Mission Station Tonu	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
<p>Mr Kurogai was taken to a public place and shot point blank between the eyes as a warning.</p>							
589	UR	Murder, torture	United Church plantation, Buka island	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
<p>Mr Geius was taken from a care centre and was shot several times (but not killed). His stomach was cut open, and intestines were taken out. He was then half buried and left to die in the sun.</p>							
590	UR	Murder	United Church plantation, Buka island	PNGDF	13,0,0		Civilians
<p>13 villagers were taken from care centres to the United Church plantation and burned to death.</p>							
591	??/??/1991	Murder, desecration of corpse	UR	PNGDF (D Company)	8,0,0		2, Civilians +6, P.O.W
<p>D company of the PNGDF took eight men from the Bei care centre and shot them on the side of the road. They burned the bodies and prevented the families from burying them until they were bones. Six were BRA members who had surrendered and two, including Mr Tomba were civilians. This was done in retaliation for the deaths of soldiers in combat.</p>							
592	4/15/1997	Murder	UR	PNGDF soldier Taylor Bojori	1,0,0		combatant or Civilian
<p>Taylor Bojori was arrested for killing a pro-government Resistance member.</p>							
593	UR	Murder	UR	Resistance (Lawrence Sirapui of Nasibaubau and John Tsiora of Tarara village)	1,0,0		combatant (spontaneously armed Civilian)
<p>Mr Sirapui and Mr Tsiora are Resistance fighters who were seen extrajudicially executing an armed civilian Mr Dateo.</p>							
594	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		civilian
<p>Mr Kasin was murdered by the PNGDF</p>							
595	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		civilian
<p>Mr Manhen was killed by the PNGDF then his eyes and ears were cut off.</p>							
596	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	UR	UR	1,0,0		civilian
<p>Mr Tusu was shot several times before he died. His body was then cut into pieces and his genitals were cut off.</p>							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
John Kourai, Joshua Kangku, Philip Kuhena, Steven Iror, Steven Seru, Paul Tupuru, Steven Toumo, Cleland Sania, Jubilee Putu, Uming Maurua, Francis Kinnna, Micah Piyo, Moroura Manaseh, Oko Pasuwa, Paul Minnou, Thomas Pokonoming, Thomas Komung, Jepter Solomon, Boniface Irisia, Simeon Lautiko, Albert Samah, Misak Pinoko, Bath Humani, Job Kepino, Peter Paibi, Andrew Pekuwaka, Brian Koreruwa, William Kaima, Bennett Loumu, Luke Lucas, David Sarimana, Edward Komonai, Peter Koona, Dominic Kiaku	1 male, UR	32 +58: UR	Th following is a list of villages: UR, Kunnu, Kunnu, Mosiraka, Duiisei, Duiisei, Mosiraka, Mosiraka, Musiminnoi, Musiminnoi, Musiminnoi, Musiminnoi, Kunnu, Kunnu, Kunnu, Siroi, Kotu, Kotu, Siroi, Siroi, Siroi, Siroi, Hari, Siroi, Siroi, Hire, Ameu, Ameu, Kotu, Kotu, Piano, Piano, Piano, Hari, Tonnui, Tonnui, Tonnui	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992+ Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	survivor testimony (Joshua Kangku 20/11/1992) (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Stephen Kurogai	1, male	NA	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG information sheet (29/03/1996)
Micheal Geius	1 male	UR	Barikua village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Mr Bomes, John Memes, Kamit, Micheal Kahu, David Tsihon, Jude Tuit, Cornelius Sengga, Peter Rohen, Ambross, Bun Hakel, Mr Bin, Mr Paul, Mr Tombat	13 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Mr Thomba +7, UR	8 male	UR	Tolai	Released documents from MFAT IOA 10/11/2015	statement Simon Kikero
UR	1 male	UR	UR	BIG press release, 23/02/1994 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR
Pius Dateo	1 male	UR	Manetai	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	eye witness
Bernard Kasin	1 male	UR	Tatarei village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Clement Manhen	1 male	UR	Tatarei village	BIG press release 01/10/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
Micheal Tusu	1 male	UR	Kahule village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
597	??/10/1996	Assault	UR	BRA	0,1,0		Civilian
	A member of the Arawa Peace Conference in October 1994 was beaten by the BRA on return to her village.						
598	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Nunu was killed and dumped in the bush.						
599	??/??/1996	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Chief John Esi disappeared and was believed to have been shot following being arrested and beaten by the PNGDF at the Kunua care centre. Two Bougainvilleans were later told (separately) by the soldiers that they believed Chief Esi had been shot.						
600	??/09/1992	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Kanugere was given permission to bring his wife to Turiboiru care centre. However, his wife refused to recognise him and so the PNGDF shot him dead.						
601	2/11/1990	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	A local driver who helped one Sidney Bond through militia held territory was later accused of being a BRA member and shot.						
602	??/??/1990	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Two weeks after a raid on a village near Kuveria a man from that village was sought out at his workplace by government forces, taken away and killed.						
603	2/14/1990	Murder	UR	PNGDF	7,0,0		Civilians
	On Valentine's day, 1990 a United Church congregation of six members and their minister were murdered, and their bodies were dumped at sea by a helicopter.						
604	??/??/1993	Murder, desecration of a corpse	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	The PNGDF killed a man and cut up his body in order to force his family to come to a care centre.						
605	??/09/1992	Attack on civilian population	UR	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	The morning after raids on Kopani, Kopikiri and Nasivauvau villages a helicopter flew over the area where the Nasivauvau villagers were resting and sprayed the area with gunfire. The attack was unprovoked, and nobody had fired at the helicopter.						
606	1992 or 1993	Disappeared	UR	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	Mr Kulahe, his son and two nephews Micheal and Dominic were arrested on suspicion of links with the BRA. They were not seen again since and were believed to have been killed by the PNGDF.						
607	UR	Murder	UR	UR	2,0,0		Civilians
	A woman and her grandchild were murdered.						
608	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	6,0,0		Civilians
	Six people returning from the Solomon Islands were killed by the PNG while trying to ferry essential supplies and patients through the blockade.						
609	??/08/1992	Murder, attack on civilian population, forced displacement of civilians	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilians
	One week after a previous raid on a bush camp the PNGDF carried out another. The civilians fled into the bush, however, a young boy and his mother were caught. After asking him why the civilians were fleeing they told him to run after them. As he did they shot him in the back while his mother watched. She was then taken away to Manetai care centre.						
610	prior to 08/09/1989	Murder, torture, sexual assault	UR	militants	2,0,2		Civilians
	A mother and her daughter were raped, sexually mutilated, tortured and then murdered.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
Paul Nunu	1 male	59	Kokopo village	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI +MFAT	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
Chief John Esi	1 male	UR	Sikeo village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	eye witness (arrest and beating), reports from solders to locals. UR
Christopher Kanugere	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1996	Statutory declaration of Kara Mege of Laitaro village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 11/02/1990
UR	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	New Guinea Times 22/02/1990 reported by Julia Daia Bore & video of the aftermath by Frank Mills
7, UR	UR	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	3rd session of the commission on human rights, Geneva. -Brief on the situation in Bougainville by Martin Miriori secretary of the Bougainville Interim government (march 1997)
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons)
Chief Joseph Sikonim +UR	UR	UR	Nasivauvau village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village
Peter Kulahe, Michael, Dominic +UR	4 male	58 +UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
2, UR	2 female	1: (child) +UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1997 +forgotten human right tragedy (AI)	Arawa Bulletin 13/10/1989 p.2
Gibson Tampura, Zachary +4, UR	UR	UR	Pabaire village (Mr Tampura) +UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Krai Bilong 1993 RG
Pota +UR	1 male, 1 female, UR	1: young (Pota) +UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
2, UR	2 female	14 +UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Fax from Mark Roberts to Justice and Peace Commission 08/09/1989 - relaying verbal testimony

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
611	??/09/1992	Torture, murder	UR	PNGDF	2,0,0		Civilians
	Two men collecting food from their gardens were captured by the PNGDF. Their fingers, toes, feet and eyes were cut off before they were killed.						
612	??/08/1993	Assault	UR	BRA	0,1,0		Civilian
	A man who fled to Australia and who's name was unreported claimed to have been beaten four times by the BRA on suspicion of being an Informer.						
613	24/09/1993 (BIG) 14/09/1993 (vol 1.)	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	UR	PNGDF/ Resistance	0,1,0		Civilian
	Pro-PNG forces shot and injured a civilian while on his way to his pig farm.						
614	??/??/1991	Murder or failure to distinguish non-combatant	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Mamak was shot dead by a PNGDF helicopter while eating coconuts in the mountains with other boys.						
615	27/05/1992 1pm	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Tsuki, described as an innocent young man was shot at point blank by the PNGDF. He was the son of an ex-PNGDF soldier.						
616	8/16/1989	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Tarupiu (a university student) was beaten to death in front of his parents with wood and rifle butts. His body arrived at Arawa Hospital along with that of John Tuka.						
617	4/3/1990	Murder	UR	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Lavane, an ex-soldier was reportedly shot by the BRA.						
618	??/??/1991	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Latu was wounded by a bullet, tied to a log, taken up in a helicopter while still alive thrown to his death.						
619	??/02/1995	Attack on civilian population	UR	BRA	UR		Civilian
	BRA opened fire on a commercial commuter aircraft as it was taking off.						
620	??/01/1993	Murder	UR	BRA	17,0,0		Civilian
	The PNGDF accuse the BRA of killing seventeen civilians in an attack on a relief convoy.						
621	1994	Murder	UR	BRA	17,0,0		Civilian
	The PNG Government reported that the BRA killed seventeen civilians over six days while they were going to tend their food gardens.						
622	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilian
	Two chefs from the Eultpan care centre were killed by the PNGDF. Chief Sevo was burned to death and Chief Torohin was gunned down along with his wife Agnes.						
623	3/29/1990	Murder	UR	BRA	3,0,0		Civilian
	Three non-Bougainvillean plantation workers were reportedly shot by the BRA.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
John Tupana, Timothy Unatah	2 male	UR	Usokori	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Australians role in arming violators of human rights. Ms Gillespie- Chiefs of Siwai Dec' 1992
1, UR	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	survivor testimony
William Daviona	1 male	UR	Dobi village	BIG press release 01/10/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) + BIG situation report 09/09/1993 (Vol 1.)
Geobun Mamak	1 male	13	UR	BIG press release 24/07/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	statement Simon Kikero
Patrick Tsuki	1 male	19	Saposa island	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992 (KB 1993) + KB 1993 (Vol 1.)
Peter Tarupiu	1 male	UR	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	Post mortem report, Arawa Hospital +eye witness account (AI) +AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
Robert Lavane	1, male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	UR
Stenis Latu	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1997	statement Moses Tseraha Kukun
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1995 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
17, UR	UR	UR	UR	Republic of Bougainville press release, 16/01/1994 +BIG media release 16/01/1994 + Compilation of abuses Vol 1.	PNG Government
UR	UR	UR	UR	Republic of Bougainville press release, 16/01/1994 +BIG media release 16/01/1994	PNGDF
Chief Joshua Sevo, Chief William Trohin, Ms Agnes	2 male, 1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	statement Moses Tseraha Kukun
3, UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
624	UR	Sexual assault	UR	PNGDF (4)	0,0,1		Civilian
Four PNGDF soldiers took turns raping Ms Pitehe.							
625	UR	Torture, murder	UR	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilian
Brothers Lawrence and Micheal along with another man Tobias were provided as examples of people who were tortured to death during interrogations. Mr Kukun describes how the PNGDF used knives and razors to cut pieces off the men until they bleed to death.							
626	??/09/1995	Assault	UR	PNGDF	0,1,0		Civilian
The PNGDF admitted that its troops had beaten and seriously injured a priest while questioning him.							
627	12/2/1989	Assault	UR	PNGDF/ Police	0,1,0		Civilian
Mr Lalai was beaten by police officers and soldiers while his car was strafed with bullets.							
628	1/17/1990	Assault	UR	PNGDF, prison (CIS) warders	1, wounded+ severl others		Civilian +UR
Mr Lali and several other men from Vito village were detained and beaten on the suspicion of supporting the BRA. They were later released.							
629	7/12/1994	Murder, torture, desecration of a corpse	UR	UR	1,0,0		Civilian
Chief and elder Mr Duni was an unarmed civilian who had his eyes plucked out and ears cut off before having his brain bashed out of his head. He was then cut up and fed to wild pigs.							
630	??/06/1996	Hostage taking	UR	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
A women and her family were taken hostage by the PNGDF in exchange for a PNGDF soldier and a priest her brother was alleged to have captured. The family was released after several days.							
631	??/08-??/11/1995	Torture	UR	PNGDF/ PNG Police	0,1,0		Civilian
A Catholic priest was detained and beaten by PNG security forces. He was released later after intervention by PNGDF HQ.							
632	9/18/1996	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		non-combatant (BTG)
Mr Napitalai was shot and killed by the PNGDF. Mr Napitalai was a co-coordinator of a Kangu care centre and part of the Telei Interim Authority. Additionally, he was part of the team of John Momis who was trying to gain the release of five PNGDF POWs. Mr Ona regrets his death saying he only wanted peace in Bougainville. AI reports that his death is believed to have been retaliation for the events of Kangu beach.							
633	12/15/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	UR	PNGDF	0,0,0		Civilian or combatant (BRA)
A women and her grandchild were murdered.							
634	??/07/1992	Dispossession of property	UR	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
An Isuzu truck was stolen Mr Devkari in June 1992.							
635	26/06/1992 3pm	Attack on civilian population, destruction of civilian property	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian +Civilian property
An unarmed banana boat ferrying fuel, rice and soap to Bougainville was attacked by a PNGDF helicopter. The skipper Mr Birenung was shot and fell into the water. Another man Mr Boros took over while still under fire which continued even after the boat reached the shore. Its occupants fled into the bush after which the soldiers turned their attention to the now empty boat and shredded it and its cargo with gunfire.							
636	??/??/1990	Unlawful detention	UR	BRA	UR		Civilians +non-combatants (PNG)
In 1993 a BRA member was charged by the PNG judiciary with kidnapping government officials and businessmen in 1990.							
637	UR	Attack on civilian population	UR	PNGDF	0,3,0		Civilians
The BRA claimed that part of the reason for their attack at Kangu Beach was due to an attack that resulted in the wounding of three children returning from their food garden. The badly wounded children were taken to the Solomons for treatment.							

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Joice Pitehe	1 female	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992) (RG)+ Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Lawrence Koal, Micheal Koal, Mr Tobias	3 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	statement Moses Tseraha Kukun + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights -Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
UR	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1995 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	PNGDF
Kevin Kokiai Lalai	1 male	25	Vito villiage	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Arawa Hospital report + UR
Kevin Kokiai Lalai +UR	1 male, UR	25 +UR	Vito villiage	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
Clement Duni	1 male	UR (elderly)	Amiong village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR ("reports are gradually reaching the [BIG] on foot from PNG military occupied areas" (BIG) + BIG situation report 18/07/1994
UR	1 female, UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
Father Nawata	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1996	UR
John Napitalai	1 male	UR	South Bougainville	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Statement from Francis Ona (BIG)
Ceilia Nagu +UR	1 female, UR	UR	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	UR
Simon Devkari	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992)Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
Mona Birenung, Jim Boros, Puki, Dan	4 male	UR	Tavatava village (Mr Birenung) +UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	survivor testimony (Jim Boros) (RG) + Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992 (Vol 1.)
5, UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	PNG government courts
Lluhu, Tondy +1, UR	UR	16, 10, +1, UR (child)	UR	BIG media release 06/10/1996	UR

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
638	2/23/1994	Forced displacement of civilians	UR	PNGDF/Resistance	10, forcefully moved		Civilians
	Ten civilians were forcefully rounded up and put into the Arwa care centre.						
639	1/20/1994	Conspiracy: forced displacement of civilians	UR	PNGDF	NA		Civilians
	PNGDF intercepted a radio communication which read; "all villages must be raided and all civilians must be brought to care centres. Reference BROVO air support will be available throughout operation. Advise date of commencement of operation -" ends.						
640	5/25/1992	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilians
	Mr Lohia was killed by the PNGDF when they sprayed him with bullets.						
641	6/24/1992	Murder	UR	UR	1,0,0		Civilians
	Mr Petros was shot dead returning from his parents hide-out.						
642	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0 +UR		Civilians
	Mr Kapuitio and his entire family were killed by the PNGDF from Asitavi army camp.						
643	??/??/1993	Murder	UR	PNGDF	UR		Civilians
	John, a boy of 12 and a refugee living in the Solomons, claims his entire village was massacred in 1993.						
644	between 01/01/-16/01/1994	Sexual assault	UR	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilians
	It is claimed that Mrs Abena, wife of Joe Abena was pack raped by PNGDF members based at Mortona in the Nagovisi area and Arawa.						
645	between 01/01/-16/01/1994	Sexual assault	UR	PNGDF	0,0,1		Civilians
	It is claimed that Mrs Mantaung, wife of John Mantaung was pack raped by eight PNGDF members based at Mortona in the Nagovisi area and Arawa.						
646	9/30/1995	Perfidy	UR	PNGDF	2,1,0		combatant (BRA)
	During an official ceasefire, the PNGDF approached BRA members drinking and relaxing in town and opened fire. Two were killed, and one (Commander Bobby) escaped wounded into the bush.						
647	UR	Murder	UR	BRA	NA		combatant (military contractors)
	Two Australian helicopter pilots and one engineer were shot at while driving home from the airport. These men were hired by the government to assist their military operations.						
648	2/12/1990	Murder, torture	UR	BRA	1,0,0		combatant (PNGDF)
	Private Taguna was one of four soldiers who died on the 12/01/1990 at the hands of the BRA. One report says he was tortured beforehand. Amnesty International is dubious of this.						
649	9/13/1995	wounded	UR	BRA	0,1,0		combatant (Resistance)
	Mr Ariku was a Resistance member who was seriously wounded by the BRA.						
650	??/??/1993	Murder, cruel and unusual treatment	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		combatant (BRA)
	A 15-year-old BRA member was made to dig his own grave and stand in it; he was then beaten to death.						
651	6/19/1996	Murder	UR	PNGDF	8,0,0		combatants (Resistance)
	Eight former BRA members lead by Mr Oparive had surrendered and were fighting for the Resistance when they began to be suspected by the PNGDF. On the night of 19th of June the men were arrested at Pokarai care centre, taken away and shot.						
652	??/07/1989	Assault	UR	Police	0,1,0		non-combatant (PNG)
	The provincial minister of primary industries Mr Laimo was beaten by police, and his eye was severely damaged when it was jabbed by the barrel on a gun.						
653	??/09/1989	Murder	UR	BRA	1,0,0		non-combatant (PNG)
	The provincial minister of Panguna and Kieta was executed by alleged militants when seven men stormed his home at night. He was accused by the BRA of spreading propaganda and his death crippled negotiations between landowners and the government.						
654	1-7/12/1989	Murder	UR	BRA	2,0,0		non-combatant (PNG)

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
10, UR	UR	UR	Apiatai area and Arawa village	Krai Bilong 1993	UR (BIG) + BIG media release 26/02/1994 (Vol 1.)
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	PNGDF radio communications intercepted by the BRA
Stanton Lohia	1 male	18	Rukusia village	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992
Mark Perots	1 male	22	Larum village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Report from Mr Thomas Tonnos, Black Thunder Warrior Operations Commander Hahon area 16/11/1992
Mr Kapuitio +UR	1 male, UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	BIG press release
John +UR	1 male, UR	12, +UR	UR	BIG press release 02/03 1995	BIG press release 02/03 1995
Mrs Abena	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BRA (BIG/RB) + BIG situation report (16/01/1994) (Vol 1.)
Mrs Mantaung	1 female	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BRA
Paul Bobby +2, UR	2 male	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993	BIG press release 05/10/1995
3, UR	UR	UR	Australia	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR
Private Mano Taguna	1 male	23	Sothorn Highlands Proviancance PNG	BIG press release 06/10/1993 +compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR
Marea Ariku	UR	UR	UR	BIG press release 06/10/1993 +compilation of abuses Vol 1.	BIG press release 22/09/1995
1, UR	1 male	15	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	WCC Womens Report July 1993 (interviews with evacuee's to the Solomons) p.25
Hubert Oparive +7, UR	8 male	UR	Keriake	BIG media release 07/11/1994	UR +Geneva (MFAT)
Michael Laimo	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
John Bika	1 male	39	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
James Iroro +UR	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	UR (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	Mr Iroro Commerce Dept. Comm. Govt Chairman and another man were reportedly killed by the BRA after allegedly informing on the militants.						
655	??/09/1996	Hostage taking	UR	BRA/ BRA commander General Sam Kauona	NA		P.O.W (PNGDF)
	Five soldiers were taken hostage by the BRA. General Kauona for the BRA threatened to kill them if the PNGDF did not withdraw from Bougainville. The fate is not reported.						
656	??/10/1996	Hostage taking, murder	UR	BRA	3,0,0		P.O.W (PNGDF)
	Three soldiers were taken hostage by the BRA and were believed to have been killed soon afterwards.						
657	1994	Murder	UR	BRA	15,0,0		P.O.W (PNGDF +police)
	The PNG government report that the BRA killed twelve PNGDF members and three police over the course of 1994. Whether these were all in combat or not is unreported.						
658	??/09/1995	Murder	UR	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
	A peace officer from Hahon was killed by the BRA.						
659	5/29/1996	Hostage taking	UR	BRA (Francis Ona, Sam Kauona)	UR		POW
	The BRA high command has sent a communication to President Julius Chan concerning the fate of Sgt. Petueli. Via two-way radio the BRA stated- Time is running out and demand that PNG to withdraw all forces from Bougainville and to recognise its independence. They demanded a yes or no answer from Sir Chan before 31/05/1996.						
660	3/08/1993 10am (BIG) 03/09/1993 9Vol 1.)	Murder	UR	PNGDF	3,0,0		POW
	Three men driving to a peace ceremony in order to surrender when they were stopped at a Resistance roadblock. They were taken to a helicopter to be flown to Buka were they never arrive. The BIG claim they were dumped at alive at sea.						
661	late 1994	Torture, murder, desecration of a corpse	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		POW
	Mr Okai was a BRA member who was captured and interrogated with a knife. His body was later recovered cut into small pieces.						
662	9/1/1995	torture, murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		POW (BRA)
	BRA commander Likui surrendered to the PNGDF and was subsequently tortured and killed.						
663	??/04/1989	Murder	UR	UR (PNGDF suspected)	1,0,0		UR
	The circumstances of Mr Tukas death are unknown by AI. His body arrived at Arawa Hospital with that of Peter Tarupiu. He had been beaten and shot.						
664	3/15/1989	Assault	UR	Riot Squad (Enos Mong, Ronnie Langlang, Aquila Moab)	1,2,0		UR
	Mr Kavuna was beaten then pushed from a moving police vehicle which resulted in his death. A Mr Kili and Kauvari were also assaulted by the police. The courts found the police guilty.						
665	UR	attempted killing	UR	PNGDF	0,1,0		UR
	Aloysius and three other boys walked into a PNGDF ambush in which Aloysius was shot three times. He survived and was last reported to be recovering in the Solomons.						
666	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	2,0,0		UR
	Two people were killed by the PNGDF.						
667	03/17/1993	killed, desecration of corpse	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Topiru had his eyes plucked out and his body chopped up and dumped						
668	3/25/1990	Murder	UR	BRA	0,1,0		UR
	A non-bougainvillea was reportedly shot by the BRA but survived.						
669	??/??/1992	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
UR	5 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	UR
UR	3 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
UR	15 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	PNG government sources
Francis Kavere	1 male	UR	Hahon	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR
Sergeant Samuel Petueli	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	BRA statement to PNG government
Amos Mataku, Samson Pasako, Pauin Nomiai	3 male	UR	Matukori village	BIG press release 01/10/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 09/09/1993 (Vol 1.)
Steven Okai	1 male	20	UR	BIG media release, 22/01/1994	Interview with Saviours
Dominu Likui	1 male	30	Kanauro village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	BIG press release 22/09/1995
John Tuka	1, male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Post mortem report, Arawa Hospital
Clement Kavuna (or Kavana), Jonathan Kili, Philip Kauvari	3 male	19, 16, 17	Pakia village (Kavuna)	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Kieta District Court case, eye witness (Kili, Kauvari), (AI). Arawa Bulletin 14/04/1989 p.3, 15/05/1989 p.5 (Vol.1)
Aloysius	1 male	UR	UR	BIG press release 01/10/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Interview Tony (BRA commander)
Philip Irara, Paul Tailun	2 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
Tony Topiru	1 male	UR	UR	BIG media release 06/10/1996	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
1, UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
Michael Piruke	1 male	25	Dolotu village	BIG press release 06/10/1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	UR (BIG) +BIG situation report 05/10/1992 (Vol 1.)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	Mr Piruke was extra-judicially executed by the PNGDF and was left to rot in the bush.						
670	7/18/1989	Murder	UR	UR (security forces are suspected)	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Leos body was left at Arawa hospital with a note, "this is the first billion of your ten billion" (a reference to the BRAs demand for money. He was kicked, stabbed and then shot.						
671	6/8/1990	Murder	UR	BRA	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Naisy was reported to have been killed by the BRA.						
672	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Kearei was shot by the PNGDF.						
673	9/26/1989	Murder	UR	BRA	2,0,0		UR
	Two men were reportedly killed by the BRA after allegedly informing on the militants.						
674	01/01-01/03/1994	Murder	UR	BRA	40,0,0		UR
	The PNG government accused the BRA of killing 40 people in eleven attacks. However, the report does not specify whether these were troops killed in combat or civilians.						
675	??/12/1994	murder (implied)	UR	UR	3,0,0		UR
	PNGDF announced an inquiry into the three killings; no father details were reported.						
676	UR	Murder	UR	PNGDF	7, missing (suspected killed)		UR
	The BRA report the dumping of bodies at sea from helicopters. This list is of those who were missing at the time and were believed to have been killed and dumped.						
677	UR	Murder, destruction of civilian property	UR	BLF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Hoba was murdered by BLF members who then burnt his house down with his body still inside.						
678	UR	Murder, desecration of a corpse	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Piruke was chopped up and dumped.						
679	3/4/1993	Murder, torture	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Sipin was thrown off a cliff by the PNGDF. He was then recovered alive, tied to a pole and slowly chopped to pieces with an axe.						
680	UR	Torture (leading to death)	UR	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Bakao was tortured which led to his death.						
681	UR	Torture (leading to death), murder	UR	Police	1,0,0		UR
	Mr Boreure was tortured which led to his death.						
682	??/03/1990	Torture	UR	BRA	0,1,0		UR (BRA suspected informer) (detained)
	Mr Autaha was reportedly tutored by the BRA as a suspected informer. Friends also sore bad burns on his shoulder.						
683	UR	Torture	UR	BRA	0,1,0		UR (BRA suspected informer) (Detained)

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Ambrose Leo	1 male	UR	Guava village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' + Compilation of Abuses Vol 1.	Post mortem report, Arawa Hospital (AI) + AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
Joel Naisy	1 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
Jude Kearei	1 male	UR	Teilatu village	U.S State Department, 1993 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
2, UR	UR	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	PNG government sources
Damein Ona, Apiato Bobonung, Robert	3 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International Report 1996	PNGDF commander (statement of ??/02/1995)
Sam Poss, Gibrel, Karabasi, Baebasi, Wille Usilip, Akoro, Kubuin	7 male	UR	Hahon village, Hahon village, Lanpoint 2 village, Batarairo village, Batarairo village, Muna small village, Batarairo village, Kaupaitai village	BIG press release 09/05/1994	BRA reports
Mr Hoba	1 male	UR	Elutupan village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Bishop John Zale BIG list Buka 1990-1991
David Piruke	1 male	19	Kokopo village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
Francis Sipin	1 male	UR	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	BIG situation report 12/10/1993
Robert Bakao	1 male	19	UR	"Inside Bougainville, behind Papua New Guinea's iron curtain" Rosemarie Gillespie 05/07/1992	Coronial Inquest 27/11/1990
Moses Boreure	1 male	32	UR	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	Arawa Bulletin 14/04/1989
Misac Autahe	1 male	UR	Panakei village	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Survivor testimony (Mr Autahe), eye witness
Philip Mapah	1 male	UR	Siroi village	Max Watts "Bougainville: blockade tightens as war heats up" (rn 2951.42 gen)	Survivor testimony (Mr Mapah)

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	Two weeks after a raid on a village near Kuveria a man from that village was sought out at his workplace by government forces, taken away and killed.						
684	??/08/1992	Failure to distinguish non-combatants,	UR (bush camp)	PNGDF	2,0,0		2, Civilians +UR
	The PNGDF caught a man named John Mate and forced him to show the PNGDF were people were hiding in a bush camp. The PNGDF raided the camp and killed two men who were civilians. A BRA member was also wounded.						
685	??	Sexual assault	UR (care center)	PNGDF	0,0,3		Civilian
	An escapee from a care centre, Mr Marako reported the rape of at least three women in the centre. The report does not detail the relationship between the three attacks or the dates that they occurred.						
686	??/09/1992	Murder, desecration of corpse	UR (food gardens)	PNGDF	2,2,0		Civilian
	Four men were out collecting food from there gardens when they were attacked by the PNGDF. Two were killed (Mr Tupanna and Mr Unatah), and the others were wounded as they fled. The body parts of the dead men were cut off including there fingers, toes, feet and eyes.						
687	??/??/1992	Desecration of a corpse	UR (in the area around Nasivauvau village)	PNGDF	1,0,0		combatant (BRA)
	On the same day as a raid on Nasivauvau village, the PNGDF saw a BRA member walking along the road. They shot him then sprayed his body with bullets making and "X" on his chest. They then cut out his eyes and tongue, cut off his legs and forearms and threw them away.						
688	7/11/1994	Murder, torture, desecration of a corpse	UR care centres	PNGDF	3,0,0		Civilians
	The BRA claims that the PNGDF killed three people at their care centres (US). Chief and elder Mr Duni was an unarmed civilian who had his eyes plucked out and ears cut off before having his brain bashed out of his head. He was then cut up and fed to wild pigs (BIG). Mr Duni was killed by the PNGDF for suspected involvement with the BRA (AI).						
689	10/18/1989	Assault	UR/ Aropa airport/ Joint forces headquarters Arawa.	PNGDF	0,1,0		1, UR (suspected BRA by PNGDF)
	Mr Teona was detained by the PNGDF on suspicion of being a BRA member. He was beaten and interrogated on multiple occasions and at three different locations. He was later released without charge.						
690	8/10/1989 10am	Assault	UR/ near Joint Forces Headquarters Arawa.	PNGDF (5)	0,1,0		1, UR (suspected BRA by PNGDF) (detained)
	Mr Kauva was detained and interrogated by the PNGDF on suspicion of being a BRA member. In addition to being beaten the soldiers "tried to push a can drink into [Mr Kauvas] mouth", shaved his head and forced him to eat it. The officer also pointed a gun at him, told him he was a dead man. However, he was later released.						
691	7/20/1992	Dispossession of property	Usokori village	PNGDF	NA		Civilian property
	A Toyota Hilux was stolen from V Taima in Usokori village.						
692	01/06-30/07/1996	Murder	village near Kurai	PNGDF	4,0,0		Civilian
	Four members of a family were killed by a PNGDF mortar that landed in their village during a government offensive from June to July 1996. The PNGDF apologised but stated that civilians had been warned to leave the conflict zone.						
693	??/06/1996	Murder	village near Torokina	PNGDF/ Resistance	6,0,0		Civilians
	The PNGDF and its allied militia killed eight ex-BRA members when called in to mediate a local dispute.						
694	6/9/1994	Use of chemical weapons	villagers near Aropa	PNGDF	UR		UR
	the PNGDF fired mortar rounds containing a poisonous smoke [white phosphorous] at villagers near Aropa.						
695	21/06/1996 to 20/07/1996	Use of chemical weapons	Villagers from Wisai to Potulia +/- Wakunai area	PNGDF	UR		Civilians

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
Kenneth Kenamaita, Mr Pekanoia +UR	2 male	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village (RG) + Australia's role in arming violators of human rights - Ms Gillespie (Vol 1.)
Mrs Kore, (wife of Mr Kroe), Ms Kabukiri, Ms Masina	3 female	UR	Mankotoro village, Arawa village, Arawa village	BIG press release 26/05/1994	Eye witness, Mr Clement Marako
John Tupanna, Timothy Unatah, Hampo Here, Francis	4 male	UR	Usokori village (Mr Tupanna, Mr Unatah)	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992) Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Krai Bilong 1993	Statutory Declaration of Chief Joseph Sikonim of Nasivauvau village
Chief Clement Duni +2, UR (US)	1 male, 2 UR	1: elderly +2 UR	Amoing village (Clement) 2+ southwest Bougainville	U.S State Department, 1994 Human rights report Papua New Guinea, +BIG press release 24/07/1994 +Forgotten human rights tragedy, (AI)	BRA spokesman (US) +UR "reports are gradually reaching the [BIG] on foot from PNG military occupied areas" (BIG) +Forgotten human rights tragedy, (AI)
George Teona	1 male	21	Bairima village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990'	UR+ unspecified medical report
Trevor Kauva	1 male	UR	Toniva village	Amnesty International, human rights violations on Bougainville. 'Nov. 1990' +Compilation of abuses 'Vol.1'	Survivor testimony +Arawa Hospital report (AI), AI report 27/11/1990 (Vol 1.)
V Taima	1 male	UR	Usokori village	Krai Bilong 1993 + compilation of abuses Vol 1.	letter from the chiefs of Siwai (09/11/1992) Krai Bilong 1993 +Letter from the Chiefs of Siwai 09/11/1992 (Vol 1.)
UR	UR	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
UR	8 male	UR	UR	U.S State Department, 1996 Human rights report Papua New Guinea.	UR
UR	UR	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	BIG situation update (20/06/1994)
UR	UR	UR	UR	BIG media release 12/08/1996	Eye witness/victims

No#	Date	Category of crime	Location of event	Offender	Casualties wounded, raped)	(killed,	Category of victim
	During operation, high speed 2, PNGDF helicopters used white phosphorous bombs (and smoke directly from the helicopters) to attack villagers across central and south Bougainville. In Wakunai villagers report the loss of their animals with one man losing 16 chickens. From June 21st farm animals were killed, rivers and vegetable gardens were poisoned, and the BIG attributed a spate of illness to the bombs. Reports say there was an increase in diarrhoea, runny noses, respiratory illness, mumps, dizziness, sore eyes and skin rashes. Commander Kauona also claims that the BRA had seized two types of bombs from the abandoned PNGDF base at Koromira Mission.						
696	6/6/1994	Torture, murder	Vito village, Manetai beach	Resistance	2,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Nomoka and Mr Maisimam were picked up by the Resistance from Manetai care centre and taken to Vito village. On the beach, they were forced to eat sand and then murdered.						
697	17/05/1992 7-8am	Murder	Wakauni Boitiko area	PNGDF	1,0,0		UR
	Erima the son of village leader Peter Erieka was murdered.						
698	11/20/1995	Destruction of property	Wakunai	BRA	NA		BTG property
	The BRA burnt the BTG office in Wakunai to the ground.						
699	??/06/1992	looting	Wakunai	PNGDF	NA		Red Cross
	In June 1992 47 cartons of Red Cross medicinal supplies disappeared while under PNGDF control. Ms Gillespie or her unreported identified sources believe this theft was part of a systematic plan to restrict medical relief to people in rebel territory in order to entice people to leave.						
700	UR	Murder	Wakunai district	PNGDF +Resistance	1,0,0		Civilian
	Mr Utep was a civilian killed by the pro-government forces.						
701	prior to 08/09/1991	Murder	Wakunai hospital	BRA	1,0,0		Civilian
	The BRA shot a doctor who was accused of working for the government.						
702	??/04 or 05/1992	Murder	Waropa village	PNGDF/ Resistance	2,0,0		Civilians
	Former BRA commander Mr Tamakoa was targeted and killed at his home. Additionally, another man who was staying at Mr Tamakoas house was also killed while relaxing outside.						
703	2/10/1990	failure to distinguish non-combatants	Watagu Plantation	PNGDF	NA		Civilian
	A PNGDF gunboat fired indiscriminately at the Watagu plantation where Mr Bond was staying.						
704	26/01/1993 (AI, UN) 28/01/1993 (Police watch)	Failure to distinguish non-combatants	Waters between Taro, Choiseul Island, Solomon's and Bougainville	PNGDF	6,0,0 (Mr Ogio claims 9)		Hors de combat
	A BRA supply boat running the blockade was attacked, and a man known as Zarchrias was killed. The others jumped into the sea to escape however they were rounded up in water and executed one by one.						
705	6/23/1996	Murder	waters of Taiof island	PNGDF	1,0,0		Civilian
	Jack was an ex-Resistance member who had a history of mental illness according to the locals. He had previously been beaten by the PNGDF after a dispute with them. In the morning of the 23rd of June, he stole a boat during curfew and made away with it. He was pursued by a PNGDF helicopter. He died when he was shot multiple times although it is unclear if it was from the air or by those on the ground after trying to land. He was believed to have had a gun, but there is no indication he shot at the soldiers.						

Victims Name/s	Sex (male, female)	Age/s	Place of victims origin/s	Reporting Document	Cited source
John Nomoka, Daniel Naisimam	2 male	24, 20	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 11/06/1995, reported by David Onavui
Erima	1 male	UR	Wakauni Boitiko area	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Bishop John Zale, Radio free B'ville, BIG press release 01/06/1992
NA	NA	NA	NA	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	BIG press release 25/11/1995
NA	NA	NA	NA	Rosemarie Gillespie/ Max Watts radio transcript 1992	UR
Ray Utep	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of Human rights abuses Vol.2	Official statement from BIG lawyer
UR	1 male	UR	UR	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 08/09/1991 -recorded from verbal account given by Sam Akoitai
John Tamakoa +1, UR	2 male	UR	Waropa village and Solos, Buka	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993	Witness testimony + second hand testimony (PNGDF captain admission)
Sidney Bond +UR	1 male	UR	Watagu Plantation	Compilation of human rights abuses Vol.1	Personal diary of evacuee 27/11/1990 (talked to Mr Bond)
Moresi Tua, Boniface, Joseph Naviung, Rodney Soguwan, Alex Solomon, Steven Tampura, Zarchrias (Zachary according to Krai Bilong)	7 male	UR	Koromira village (Moresi Tua)	Amnesty International Report "under the barrel of a gun 1991-1993" -34/05/1993 +Amnesty International Report 1994 +Community aid abroad, Police Watch No.15 November 1993 +Compilation of human rights abuses vol.2 +Krai Bilong (1992) +Compilation of Abuses Vol 1. + UN commission	Survivor testimony (Mr Tua)+ Press report (Michael Ogio) + survivor testimony (Mr Tua)+ Press release 09/03/1993, interview with survivor (Mr Tua) 03/02/1993, AI report (Vol 1.)+ UR (UN commission)
Jack	1 male	20	UR	Forgotten human rights tragedy, AI	Eye witnesses UR