# **Peace Education for Bougainville**

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#### Abstract

After the 10 year resource based conflict in Bougainville, the people of Bougainville are keen to rebuild their country. The way forward expressed by many Bougainville people is to adopt a development model that will bring about authentic peace on Bougainville. The Western capitalist model of development is deemed adversarial to the Bougainville people who have lived peacefully with one another and with their environment. Peace is not only about absence of violence but absence of structural violence that usually leads to direct violence witnessed in the Bougainville crisis. Peace can never be achieved through wars and direct acts of violence but through alternatives such as peace education being part of the curriculum of educational institutions.

**Key words:** peace, peace education, paradigms of development, conflict resolution, structural violence and absence of war/violence, alternative development model

#### Introduction

The 10 year civil war (1988-1998) led by Francis Ona of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) is deep rooted. Sentiments expressed by Bougainvillians in numerous meetings, workshops and peace processes throughout Bougainville repeat the same message, they want to build a new Bougainville. During a Peace Education Workshop, a group of elders expressed that 'dispela em i niupela taim, yumi mas kamapim niupela sindaun wantaim wantaim nupela visen – this is a new era, we must build a new society with new visions'. In another meeting, women called for 'a new beginning, to start a fresh and develop a society where women will regain the respect and authority vested upon them by custom'. In June 1995, David Onavui, Minister for Communications in Bougainville, stated 'What we want on Bougainville is a clean slate in terms of development. We must learn from our experiences and build a new Bougainville' (Ahai, 1999:113). During the conflict, these views were unified from the Government and BRA controlled areas.

The challenge for the elected autonomous government together with the people of Bougainville is how they can effectively build a *new* Bougainville that would be different to the *old* Bougainville? If Bougainvillians wish to build a new Bougainville, the sentiment has to be grounded in a different social, political and economic ideology. Education is important to conscientize (Paolo Freire, 1973) learners to critically analyse the Western system against the Melanesian system. Geoff Davis in his book *New Economic Systems to Empower People and Support the Living World* (2004) discusses in detail

weaknesses of the Western capitalist model whilst embracing the Gaia principles.

While the 10 years crisis brought suffering to many Bougainvillians, the period of the embargo on the island worked to the advantage of the indigenous people who for the first time were able to exercise their intelligence suppressed through colonialism and dependency to be more creative. For example, Bougainvillians were able to generate their own fuel from coconut oil, designed hydro electricity, used appropriate farming methods and made their own guns. These technological innovations motivated Bougainvillians to believe in themselves and are pushing to be cut off from the rest of PNG.

A key instrument to act as a catalyst for this dream to become a reality is, education. In 1991 at the Hujena education and reconstruction workshop, Fr. John Momis (Ahai 1999) expressed his interest in using education as the catalyst for resurrecting and creating a new Bougainville.

This paper proposes a peace education model for Bougainville to strengthen the spirit and the determination of the people to build a new Bougainville. Support is sought from the Education Department in Bougainville to include peace education as a compulsory subject or course for Bougainvillians at all levels of education including literacy classes and capacity building programs at the grassroots level. The essence of Peace Education is to conscientize learners to the choices available to influence a path of development will have Bougainville grassroots and elite actively participating.

#### **Context**

The causes of the conflict can be analysed in a number of ways depending on ones political and philosophical orientations. Various writers have detail accounts (Kaputin 1989, May and Springs 1990, Springs & Denoon 1991, Oliver 1991, Havini 1991, Regan 1996). A synthesis of the root causes of the conflict should constitute one of the main components of the key issues to study in the proposed peace education curriculum. It is important to know what happened in history for all Bougainvillians but particularly the youths of the present and the future. It is important to know the history of the 10 years civil war to be able to appreciate what is defined as a 'new' Bougainville. The 'new' Bougainville according to many Bougainvillians is to be grounded in their traditional cultures and Bougainville ideologies or worldview that will work in harmony with the local people and not be driven from outside influenced particularly by Western agents for the fear of falling prey to the same adversarial western political and economic system that first gave rise to the conflict.

Bougainvillians resented to what they considered as foreign invasion of their land. The seeds of conflict were first sown when Bougainville was separated from Solomon Islands by the early Europeans in 1860 to become part of PNG. Bougainvillians still resent this separation since they have strong cultural ties to Solomon Islands. They prefer being part of Solomon Islands or claim their

own independence. Bougainvillians are physically separated from the rest of PNG by distance and by their dark skin complexion identified as black or *tutak* in Tok Pisin. The mining of the giant Panguna copper mine in the early 1960s by the company Conzinc Riotinto of Australia (CRA) fuelled further resentment. An agreement was signed between the indigenous people, who lived around the mining site and CRA. CRA signed the agreement with the men excluding women who were the group that had traditional rights and power over the land. Bougainville is a matrilineal society but CRA schooled in Western social structure, were ignorant of *seeing* women as playing any dominant role in Bougainville.

Moreover, CRA identified these people as the *landowners* but in the PNG indigenous people's worldview, they do not own land, they are *custodians* of the land. Protected under the British Law the generated profits were divided accordingly with 53% to CRA, 25% to the shareholders, 21% to the PNG Government and about 1% to the people identified as 'landowners'. The mining company secured top management positions for expatriates while the majority of workers were comprised of other Papua New Guineans identified as 'redskins' while few Bougainvillians were employed. Bougainvillians also resented to this disparity in employment by the mine.

Moreover, Bougainvilllians saw their environment destroyed and their resources plundered and profited immensely by CRA, Australia and by the PNG Government to the detriment of the rightful 'owners' of the copper mine. As early as the 1960s several attempts were made by the people whose land had the copper to renegotiate the mining agreement for a fair distribution of the generated profit. Angry and frustrated at not being heard by the appropriate authorities, Ona orchestrated the resistance that led to the eventual closure of the mine in 1988. This briefly highlights some of the critical factors that gave rise to the conflict (Spriggs & Denon, 1991).

The indigenous Bougainvillians eventually took out a lawsuit in America against the mining company CRA for environmental damages and human genocide. This action was intercepted by the Morauta Government pleading to the American judge for the case not to be heard in America. Morauta could have been pressured by CRA in fear of the implications this would have on CRA and the Government of PNG. Morauta however argued that if the case was heard in America, it would jeopardise the good relationship that PNG has with America (Momis, 2006). This is again a clear indication of the PNG Government failing to represent the interest of its own people. Thus, it raises pertinent questions about democracy and the notion of Government of the people, by the people and for the people. Have we in PNG being misled and deceived to realize the truth behind Western political and economic systems that merely exists to serve the interest of Western Governments and their agents rather than the interest of the people of this country? For a more extended coverage of the root causes of the conflict, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 1998) outlined three categories of analysis - structural factors, triggering factors and the conflict dynamics.

#### Structural factors

Factors related to history such as the political annexation by Britain, Germany and Australia, impact of WW1 & WW11:

- Treatment of Bougainville as a back-water by Australian colonial government and the resulting lack of social and economic development
- Continuous denial of calls for Bougainville autonomy
- Problems of transition or rapid change
- Introduction of mining and annexation of land
- Unjust and inequitable socio-economic development
- Resource based conflicts

# Triggering factors – events, actions and decisions which resulted in escalation of disputes & violence

- BCL mining and the failure to renegotiate BCA
- PLA internal politics
- Environmental concerns
- Level of royalty payments
- Inequitable return of mining benefits to Bougainville
- PNG Governments negative response to landowner demands
- Conduct of riot police and security forces
- Rape and killing of a Bougainvillean nurse near Aropa plantation and the subsequent retaliatory killing of plantation workers
- Riots and demonstrations by non Bougainvilleans in Toniva, Kieta in 1989/90

#### Dynamics of conflict-factors sustaining the cycle of conflict

- Economic embargo
- Factors related to witch hunting and retributive killings
- BRA vs. Resistance
- Security forces
- Church, language, geographic, clan, family conflicts
- Black magic and cargo cults
- Siuwai crisis

#### **Reconstruction and recovery process**

A major part of the process of reconstruction and recovery on Bougainville as advocated by most Bougainvillians is the desire to learn developmental lessons from the crisis so that the rehabilitation process does not reproduce the developmental ills that gave rise to the crisis. This requires the rehabilitation exercise to take stock of the development lessons and put in mechanisms and policies that would bring about the desired social and economic development transformation. To enhance an effective and sustainable transformation all Bougainvillians need to critically conceptualise the underlying reasons that gave rise to the crisis, expose them to an education experience that will critical raise their consciousness and empower them with choices to build a different

Bougainville from the old. This process is critical for the children of today and the future in Bougainville. Similarly Kumar (1997:2) states 'civil wars signify failed political systems that could not perform essential government functions thereby generating insurgencies. The need therefore is not to go back to the pre-crisis conditions to move on in a different direction'. According to Ahai (1999) this different direction should be grounded in the Bougainville traditional social and cultural values and ideologies. This sentiment should be explored in detail with all Bougainvillians to help define the political, economic, social and cultural system upon which they would wish to build.

Ahai continues to highlight key principles expressed by Bougainvillians of the type of development envisaged by Bougainvillians:

- Bougainvillians must be in control of the development process, both its genesis, implementation and its sustenance so that Bougainvillians not become mere objects but also be its subjects;
- Bougainville values to shape the nature of development;
- Primacy on People Development (a development that accords human dignity);
- Holistic development geared towards integral development of the person; Respect to land, ecology and sustainability;
- Primacy of collective good over individual interests;
- Equitability and accessibility;
- Pursuance of Human Rights and Justice-not only in legal terms but also realisation of social, economic and political development

(Ahai, 1999:122).

We begin this process by critically analysing the modern political, economic and social system that gave rise to the 10 year crisis. This system is then contrasted with the indigenous Bougainville system. In the proposed peace education curriculum, comparative analysis of the two systems should comprise a major component of the curriculum. The theme 'Melanesian System' captures the key aspects of the Melanesian cultures, though every social and cultural context of PNG is different and adds to the uniqueness that is reflective of the diversity of the PNG culture. This should be captured in our national education curriculum and not continue the practice of 'one size fits all'. In Bougainville, the variations added in the proposed peace education curriculum would appropriately be suited to the different social and cultural context of Bougainville (Ahai, 1999:124).

# **Comparative analysis**

In PNG, we are exposed to two systems that have a dominant impact in our lives, namely our Melanesian system and the Western system brought to PNG during Australian colonialism.

A comparative analysis of the two systems should comprise a vital process of conscientization for Bougainvilleans to comprehend the underlying value systems that sets these two systems apart. For example, the Western system

values individualism and competition and materialism. On the other hand, the Melanesian system values people, relationships and communal decision-making. Making a comparative analysis of the two systems is necessary to help shed light on the root causes of the 10-year crisis. At the same time, it explains why Bougainvilleans want a 'new' Bougainville, a model of development that would promote a 'culture of peace' and not a 'culture of violence' as in the 'old' Bougainville.

After 30 years of independence, PNG has made very little progress in 'economic growth'. The country is rated as one of the poorest in the Third World. Worse still, it is branded by Western critiques as a failed or vulnerable state. Counteracting these arguments are local critiques arguing that the Western social, political and economic system is inappropriate for the PNG cultural context. The country should work on an alternative system based on its own Melanesian social, political and economic systems and not allow itself to be controlled and manipulated by Western governments to merely perpetuate the status quo.

#### **PNG Melanesian system**

Europeans saw the rich Melanesian culture as backward while Christian churches branded it as sinful. Though Melanesian societies may not have been advanced and sophisticated systems, they had their own social, economic and political systems that kept the societies together. The function of the diverse Melanesian societies was about maintaining peaceful relationships that they had designed laws to serve as moral guiding principles, guiding every person's behaviours in society. Appropriate sanctions were used to punish acts of immorality. Social relationships were based on fairness and justice; no one was more superior than another. Every person had a role to play and a place in society instilling in them a strong sense of responsibility.

Women, children and the elderly all had a place in society. Women played a powerful role in society often 'behind the scenes' giving men power to display in public. Matrilineal societies were different in that women took leading roles in the public domain to make major decisions in their communities such as land issues. Children were valued because they were the future generation of the different communities and would carry on the tribal traditions. Every individual had access to a piece of land. Although women had no decision making power on issues concerning land, male members of her family would still allow her a portion of their land for her to settle and garden. Land gave indigenous Melanesians their true sense of identity, power, freedom, and security. Melanesian cultures, customs, languages and names instilled in them their identity and gave them their sense of belonging. Melanesians have a spiritual connection to the land and the environment and believe everything in cosmos is intricately connected.

Traditional methods of resolving conflicts were effective to reach peaceful resolutions. The perpetrators, the defendants and the community owned the problem; they were the judge and the jury in the decision-making processes.

Decision-making used a circular system where everyone was involved to reach a consensus for a win-win, not win-lose outcome as in the modern court system. Leadership was about power with the people and not power over the people whom they could manipulate and control. What the leader accumulated was eventually shared among other members of society. Selfishness, greed and competitiveness were undesirable among leaders and indigenous people as a whole. In fact, corruption is not a word found in the 800 different languages and dialects in PNG. People valued truth and liars were ridiculed by society and in the process, they lost their honour.

The Melanesian societies had their own educationalists, environmentalists, biologists, philosophers, linguists, artists, musicians, navigators, fortune-tellers, magicians, skilled fishermen and fisherwomen, agriculturists, doctors and health specialists. Without a written culture, knowledge of these different disciplines was passed down orally from generation to generation. Melanesians have yet to capture these different domains of knowledge in modern textbooks.

# Western imported system

The modern social, political and economic system in PNG was modelled on the Australian and British system. According to critical analysts, this is a foreign system and it is adversarial to the Melanesian system for a number of reasons. The pyramid structure centers all decision-making powers and control at the top of the pyramid. It breeds social stratification and perpetuates injustices and inequalities, creates rich and poor, all powers vested in men, discriminates against the female gender and is open to abuses of human rights and the extensive exploitation of our resources. Women, children and the elderly remain ever so vulnerable and discriminated against and the majority are forced to live in poverty. The Western system thrives on values of competition embracing Darwin's theory of 'survival of the fittest', individualism and selfishness and greed. Individual's greed and desire for wealth, money, profit and power to manipulate using corrupt practices are so evident in PNG contemporary society. Some individuals who enjoy the perks and privileges have adopted the culture of unethical behaviour; the system perpetuates such immoral behaviours. This is what is called institutionalized crime where individuals are protected by laws and policies and with influence and money they continue to remain in power often at the cost of the people and the country.

The Western democratic system and its economic order designed trading policies to perpetuate dependency on Australia and other developed countries. Foreign aid works effectively to perpetuate this dependency with fly-in-fly-out consultants who, with little or no experience in the country or knowledge of the subject matter, offer advice in various capacities. The advice is usually irrelevant and the projects end up being total failures while the country is forced to secure further donor support to try and fix the problems and the cycle is repeated. Loans must be repaid and with the Kina devalued, it explains why PNG is trapped in debt repayment while every year the interest rates accumulate. PNG is now highly dependent on Australian aid. Australia is

interested in PNG more to secure its own political and economic interests than the desire to develop the country and its people. Aid paves the way for the continued influence of Australian and other foreign ideologies to infiltrate the system to lock PNG into a status of dependency. In the process our minds are controlled and our eyes are blinded. The act of colonisation, neo-colonialism and globalisation in Third World countries is about spreading Western imperialism.

While democracy is about government of the people, by the people and for the people, the system has failed in the more recent years to uphold this principle of governance. Democracy is really about promoting the capitalist ideology that drives profit making, competition, individualism, selfishness, power and control for the benefit of a few external and internal elites and their governments. Capitalism drives consumerism, materialism and the so-called white men's cargo. To access these things, one must have money. Money has now become such a dominant factor in all aspects of life that respect for human life has diminished. It appears that Western influence is leading people to trade their human values for money and profit. The money culture is having an adverse effect in society when only a few can afford education and imported goods while the majority are struggling to make ends meet. The power of buying is seriously affecting the livelihood of the rural and urban poor who cannot afford medical fees, school fees and be able to fulfill their basic essentials of life and thus, denying their rights to have a respectable and dignified standard of living.

Organizations such as the Ombudsman Commission, Transparency International, Conventions on Human Rights etc., created to make a difference to combat inequality, injustices or corruption, are making some impact in raising awareness on corruption; these efforts still remain peripheral to a structure that perpetuates corruption.

The education system in PNG has been designed to benefit a few while the majority are left to fend for themselves. Education is used effectively as an instrument of oppression and domination. This begins with the use of the English language that alienates a child from their culture when they first enter school. Throughout their education, learners are indoctrinated into mainly Western ideologies, depicting predominantly Western experiences that are foreign to a child's own background and experiences. Textbooks also use sexist languages and pictures depicting males as the dominant sex by using words like policeman, manpower planning, mankind, businessmen, etc. instead of language inclusive of women.

The education system also creates false hope in students for a job and in the end, alienates them from their cultural setting. The system has failed to socialize children to fit back into their own communities but become misfits of the modern contemporary society. Only children of the rich and those who have access to money find themselves jobs in the modern sector. Our resourceful 80% of young men and women roam the streets of some of our major towns and cities searching for jobs while others engage in criminal

activities to make ends meet. Our Melanesian societies socialized their young to be productive members of society and not equip them to be misfits in society. Any child who could not perform their expected roles was shamed and ridiculed and was forced to learn survival skills as expected by the community.

Critically important to acknowledge is that children in the traditional societies had an identity, and knew where they belonged, equipped with appropriate skills and moral values; they were able to relate to one another and enjoyed total freedom on their own land and became, 'masters' of their own destiny. These societies had in place effective social security networks that protected children, women and the old. In the Western system, children at the age of 18 are expected to leave their parents' home and live on their own. Old people are sent to retirement homes to be cared for. In Western individualistic and money oriented society, children of these aging parents cannot afford the time to look after their old parents.

Moreover, the Western court system uses the British written set of laws and punishment that are still foreign to the people of PNG. Worse still, a human act is owned by the court, which literally becomes technical jargon. The perpetrators and the defendants do not own the problem. It is the court's problem and lawyers and judges have the power to interpret the law and determine punishments. Prison confinement is also a foreign form of punishment so as death sentences and the more recent proposed idea by politicians to castrate rapists. Using Western defined legal and court system and laws to solve problems in PNG is absurd. This still stands as the main reasons why the British court system will not effectively solve problems unique to the PNG social and cultural context.

There must be a place where custom law is actively encouraged and practiced outside of the courtroom where the victims, perpetrators, mediators and the community are involved in solving their conflicts and problems. The escalating social problems in contemporary PNG have deeper underlying reasons and until the country is prepared to confront these problems and take appropriate actions, more laws to punish perpetrators will not solve problems of various dimensions taking shape in PNG such as: rape, gang crimes, corruption, bribery, incest, spread of pornographic activities, prostitution, increased divorce rates, homeless children and hardship faced by the majority of poor families in urban centers and so called middle class families due to high inflation where the Kina has been devalued and floated impacting badly on prices of basic goods and services while salaries remain the same.

Take another example where statements and agreements require signatures in the modern system of doing business. This is done because the system practises lies, deceptions and double standards. In the Melanesian system, the word of mouth was law demonstrating a high degree of trust and commitment. Trust and commitment are virtues missing in PNG contemporary social context. Another introduced system that is foreign in PNG is the taxation system. In the Melanesian system, dependents include the extended families and the whole tribe not the nuclear family, which is a Western concept. Currently, the

majority of the rural people lack the power of money and do not have access to good drinking water, a modern home, electricity, good road networks and other necessary services. However they have their land that gives them total freedom, where they can find and grow their food, build their traditional homes from readily available materials, have access to an abundance of healthy local organically grown food and, people are generally happy living the same way their forefathers have lived.

# Redefine poverty in PNG

In reality, there are no indigenous local people who are poor. Poverty is a Western introduced concept. The yardstick used to measure poverty are mainly material wealth such as owning television sets, cars, a modern home, eating three meals a day, access to basic services etc to measure quality of life. Poverty in PNG needs to be defined differently in the context of PNG. Although the majority of people do not have access to these items of material wealth, they have access to land; they have their rich cultures and traditions built on sound ethical and moral values; there is social security by way of family and strong tribal bondage and support, food is in abundance from the highlands to the coast; and Melanesian people are kind and compassionate and they live a generally happy fulfilling life. Poverty is a created modern problem misleading indigenous Melanesian people in this country to trade what has been described as their quality of life for Western material trash.

#### A clear conscience for peace to germinate

Comparing the two systems, Western and traditional, should help to develop a clear conscience about the main differences in the two systems for Bougainvillians who wish to build a *new* Bougainville. Peace education can help the process of raising awareness and instil this dream in every young Bouaginvillian to appreciate the underlying reasons behind the push to build a new Bougainville.

# Redefining development for a peaceful Bougainville

Peace in Bougainville will be a reality and long lasting when the concept of development is redefined. Development in the old Bougainville was aligned with economic growth or profit. For the new Bougainville, Bougainvillians have vehemently expressed their desires to have the following key principles outlined by Ahai (1999,121-122):

- Bougainvillians must be in control of the development process, both its genesis, implementation and its sustenance so that Bougainvillians not become mere objects but also be its subjects
- Bougainville values to shape the nature of development
- Primacy on people development (a development that accords human dignity)
- Holistic development geared towards integral development of the person

- Respect to land, ecology and sustainability
- Primacy over collective good over individual interests
- Equality and accessibility
- Pursuance of human rights and justice not only in legal terms but also in realisation of social, economic and political development.

Bougainvilians have redefined the concept of development to focus on human development, not growth with the assumption that wealth will trickle down to the masses. The growth model of development benefits only a minority and the majority functions merely as slaves of the system. Bougainvillians are to be made *masters* of their own destiny. In other words, people are made the centre of development and empowered with knowledge, skills, values and ethics to make informed decisions about their own lives and those of their future children.

Peace education for Bouaginville means that Bougainvilleans will be liberated from all forms of oppression and domination through a new social, political and economic ideology that can help preserve their traditional cultures, protect their environment, instils ethical and moral principles and where they are active participants in all aspects of development. Peace education can also be described as 'a process of conflict resolution that is self-generated, self-perpetuating and long term' (Harris 1992) and one that aims to eliminate the violence in present conflicts to continually build and rebuild socioeconomic environments which minimize new sources of violence.

The process of building a new Bougainville can effectively be done through education; the type of education that will help change the mindset of people to support the idea of building a new Bouganivlle. The future children will continue this dream by being educated formally and non-formally in a peace education curriculum to be made compulsory for all Bouaginvilleans. The following describes what the writer proposes as the key component of this proposed peace education curriculum. The focus on a peace education curriculum begins with defining peace, the study of peace and the concept of peace education.

# The study of peace

Peace is often linked to absence of war and any overt acts of violence. This definition of peace is described as negative peace. Peace education in the developed countries focuses more on negative peace or indirect violence. The study of peace in the Third World focuses on violence, both direct and indirect or structural acts of violence and the need to critically address root causes of these types of violence to promote real peace. In the developed countries, peace education is concerned about absence of war or negative peace. Peace education in the Third World that is more to do with indirect or structural violence embedded in the structure of society that gives rise to violence should be changed or eliminated (Galtung 1995).

Violence in Third World countries can be seen in the form of malnutrition, lack of buying power among the poor, unemployment, rise in both white and blue collar crimes, corruption, bribery, illiteracy, HIV/AIDs, prostitution both in the form of physical and intellectual prostitution to make ends meet, and various forms of human suffering often seen in the death of women, children and many poor people struggling on the periphery of modern development. Peace in the Third World therefore crucially requires the resolution of underdevelopment (Toh Swee Hin (1987:59).

Another scenario of structural violence is the outbreak of civil wars within a country. Many Third World countries have encountered civil wars that arise as a result of people uprising against the ruling government and the influence of foreign governments that appear to have greater influence in governments of sovereign states. The crisis in Bougainville was an example of this.

Hence, a deeper meaning of peace is about addressing the root causes of poverty, injustices and inequality among the people. This is what is often referred to as positive peace where the desire is to search for alternative systems or ideologies to counteract injustices and inequalities in society to experience real peace through non-violence and human development. A further development to positive peace is Christly peace, that is, peace in view of a relationship with God or someone greater. It explores ethics, morals and values in view of not only God's Law, but the Law of Nature. Human beings are born good and therefore they are rational beings and can make ethical decisions distinguishing right from wrong with compassion and empathy, necessary prerequisites to peace at all levels of society.

#### An alternative development model for Bougainville

The new Bougainville would carefully be crafted out by the people of Bougainville based on their own development ideology. In other words, development is to be determined by the people of Bougainville and rooted in the Bougainville culture as the way forward after the experience of the 10 year Bougainville crisis.

#### Conclusion

To assist in the process of building a new Bougainville, critical thinking and alternative peaceful means are necessary prerequisites for empowering Bougainvillians. Bougainvillians should be grounded in the Bougainville cultures and given top priority across all aspects of development on Bougainville. A peace education curriculum needs to be adopted for teaching at all levels of society and even in adult education classes. Curriculum experts in peace education comprising of Bougainvillians, other local and internal peace education experts would need to be approached to write the curriculum. The desire for a mindset shift is a necessary prerequisite to making a difference for Bougainville and most importantly, building a future for the children of Bougainville.

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