COUNTRY REPORT: PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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A. VICTIMS OF CRIME

1. Papua New Guinea Legislation
   Papua New Guinea has legislation policies, which are directed at the protection of victims of crime. The Papua New Guinea Constitution speaks of the Basic Rights of all people (Division 3. Basic Rights. Sections 32-56) but not specifically on the ‘victims of crimes’. The Papua New Guinea Department of Attorney General in its 2000 Policy on Community Corrections further made a commitment to protect the victims of crime in Papua New Guinea. The ten year plan – The National Law and Justice Policy and Plan of Action 2001-2010 entitled Towards Restorative Justice pursues very strongly the development of a Victim Support Policy. The Policy states: “Developing a Victim Support Policy promotes another goal of the law and Justice Policy. That goal is to bring the victims of crime and conflict back into the centre of the law and justice process. All too often, victims are either ignored or sidelined under the current system. A vital step towards restoring confidence and genuine fairness in law and justice processes is to recognise the injury suffered by victims and to support when appropriate’. The aim of this policy is to evaluate and strengthen the existing support structures such as the women’s refuges; Police Sexual Offences Section; the parole and probation; Life Line, social workers at the hospitals; the churches; criminal compensation; the courts; and the non-government organizations who are taking the lead to provide assistance to the victims of crime.

2. Customary-Traditional Laws
   In addition to the legislation, in the 865 plus ethnic communities in Papua New Guinea, there is what is called the Customary/Traditional or Tribal Laws, which protect the victims of crime in the individual communities too. The cultural laws are the unwritten laws of the original people-the inhabitants of Papua New Guinea. The Papua New Guinea Constitution allows for the practises of the customary laws; however, it is applied only at the village level and not in the urban areas. The customary laws are only practiced in a society which has the same common norms and values, and the process of the application of the customary laws. Customary laws have been in existence and practised by the common group of people for thousands of years.

3. Non-Government Organizations Support
   Local non-government organizations like Life Line, ICRAF, Peace Foundation, the Salvation Army, and the Christian women and women’s associations also provide shelter, legal assistance and counselling to victims of crime. The churches in Papua New Guinea also offers spiritual, moral counselling, shelter and materials to victims of crime. These are done on a temporary basis.

   (i) Current Situation in Relation to the Protection of Victims of Crime
       Customary-traditional (laws) system
       In the Traditional System (commonly called the Customary-Traditional Laws), the victims are protected from further harm (physical, mental, and spiritual) by the Chiefs, Council of Chiefs or, Council of Elders, their immediate families and extended relatives depending on which region of the country where these laws are practised. The victims are compensated using the traditional laws, through paybacks, sorcery and witchcraft, or through the traditional ways of mediation, and through exchange of goods and materials, to compensate for the shame, the loss of life, or injury suffered by the victim.

   Formal courts

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In the formal courts of law, the victims are protected by the state whereby the offender is remanded in custody without bail. Again depending on the severity of the offence committed, the offender has the right to bail. It is the police that protects the victims and their witnesses, however there is no confidentiality and privacy for victims or their witnesses in giving evidence, or even attending court cases. There are no special services provided by the Government (Papua New Guinea Government) towards the victims of crime. They are treated like any other citizen of Papua New Guinea, who stands before the court, in the presence of those in attendance, in giving evidence. The NGOs, the churches and traditional societal laws help the victims. Families and friends of the victim offer security, moral and spiritual support to the victims.

(ii) Current Situation in Relation to the Active Participation of Victims in the Criminal Justice Process
The victim has the right to lay a complaint to the police through the formal laws. The victim has the right to lay complaint through the traditional laws for hearing and seeking retribution or other forms of punishment as governed under the traditional laws to the Chief, or the Elders of the community.

There is no private prosecution for victims/offenders. The police deal with the victim’s complaint and if the complaint is justified, the offender is placed on trial. The victim has the right to withdraw the case and sort the complaint through other forms of alternatives to imprisonment like restitution, which is the common practice of the Papua New Guinea society. The victims do have the privilege of having a say on the release of the offender; whether the offender should or should not be released. But the final decision comes from the State through its agent, the parole board. The victim has the right to seek compensation to recover loss or damages in material, or money terms for bodily harm, or loss of belongings. Other forms of punishment and correction are made by the formal courts. The Papua New Guinea Criminal Code also allows for compensation to victims and families of victims.

(iii) Current Situation in Relation to Providing Information for Victims of Crime
There is no information system in place in Papua New Guinea to assist and keep the victim informed of the process taken in the initial investigation, trial and conviction. The police carry out the investigations and information is only given when necessary. This means that if the police require more information from the victim, they will interview him/her again without fully informing the victim of the offenders/witnesses statements.

Furthermore, because of the lack of networking system amongst the major stakeholders within the government, the people, the non-government organizations, and the churches, it is difficult to know the actual total number of victims who have been given assistance by these agencies. In saying that, individual agencies do have their own registers, registering the victim’s names and the nature of their complaint.

B. Problems

1. Lack of Strengthening of Existing Support Structures
The fundamental problem now is the immediate need to strengthen the existing legislation through the reform, which is currently taking place within the law and justice sector. The problem is based on the current ad-hoc arrangements, which are practised, by the law and justice sector, the non-government organizations, the churches, and the people living in the villages, towns, and cities in Papua New Guinea. These agencies are operating separately and in isolation from each other. Although they come together during seminars and workshops to present and exchange information, there is also the need to exchange, share and support each other through technical and human resources. At the moment, it is difficult to manage, to monitor, or even evaluate the services that are provided to the victims of crime by these numerous agencies. On the same note, there is no information system, set up in the country to assist in providing reports and statistics on the number of victims and the kind of assistance offered.

(i) Limitations of Government Legislation
In addition, Papua New Guinea, as a developing nation, is adjusting itself to the dual system of laws; the formal (government laws) and the informal (traditional or customary laws), which are practised in Papua New Guinea. The formal laws do not specifically cater to the “rights of victims” even though there are provisions in the Papua New Guinea Constitution and ‘The National Law and Justice Policy and its Plan of Action’. The formal laws are superior to the customary laws but the constitution and the
numerous legislation, which are currently in force do not state as to what extent. There is no clear demarcation between the government’s legislation and the customary laws.

(ii) Limitations of Customary-Traditional Laws
The informal law is an unwritten law governed by the principles of traditional norms and values where each ethnic group in Papua New Guinea exercises, to address problems (land disputes, marital issues, children fighting, rape cases, stealing of crops, domesticated animals, cutting of timbers on someone’s land, killing of a person during disputes, murder etc.) at the village (hamlets) level. The traditional-customary laws are only exercised by people with the same traditional norms and values and who have the same local language and customs, and practise by other people (through marriage, or adoption) who understand the traditional norms and values of a particular ethnic group, and recognise and accept them as laws. These laws are referred to as “tribal laws” especially by the Aboriginal people of Australia and other Asian and middle eastern countries. Customary laws are difficult and actually do not have a standing in the urban areas or settlements. The customary laws have infinite boundaries because of the limitless options that are exercised and which upon mediation are accepted by a common group of people whereas the powers of the government laws are limited.

3. Contrasting Views on Government vs Customary-Traditional Laws
The government’s legislation are laws, which have no feelings and do not have respect over the people. The customary laws take into consideration the alternatives and options available to the victims and the offenders before decisions are handed down.

4. Poor Coordination of Law Enforcing Agencies within Multi-Racial Groups of People Living in Settlements
And on the other side, there is a very thorny issue, which involves people of different ethnic groups living in the same location (settlements). It is very difficult to apply customary/traditional laws to sort out problems amongst these multiple groups of people. There is a lack of long-term coordination of law enforcing agencies to coordinate and control the lawlessness in the settlements especially in Port Moresby, Lae, and Madang. On most occasions the law enforcing agencies like the police ignore the trouble that crops up at the settlements. And this is due to either manpower and most importantly, its non-presence (the police station and police officers living amongst the people) at the various settlements. Lack of such vital services only adds to the rise of lawlessness.

5. Isolation of Non-Government Organizations
Non-government organizations, in their own ways are contributing a lot to providing assistance to victim of crime and also to the offending persons. Unfortunately, all of these organizations tend to work in isolation from each other. The methods, which are used by them, also vary because of their specific visions and goals, and this creates animosity amongst individual organizations.

6. Poor Information Dissemination
Another problem is the lack of information dissemination to the people at the urban and village levels. The government lacks the resources to disseminate information, which is necessary for the people to understand, including the rights of the victims of crime. The majority of the people (85%) in Papua New Guinea live in the rural villages and only about 15% live in the urban areas. The government system, because of financial problems could not set up or even improve the existing infrastructure such as roads, healthcare, education, law and justice agencies, and police stations. Due to a lack of such vital infrastructure, the communication between the people and the government could hardly take place. People tend to settle problems at their own level either with, or without the presence of the law enforcing agencies.

C. Solutions
The Government should seriously look at the legislation through relevant agencies, which are the Department of Social Welfare and Development, the Attorney General, and the police, to formulate legislation to protect the victims of crime. Non-government Organizations, churches, the victims themselves and rehabilitated offenders should also be consulted to provide opinions that will help in the formulation of legislation on the policy of the protection of victims.

The traditional-customary laws should be strengthened and be formally recognised and accepted by the government. This will enable Papua New Guinea to operate a “dual law system”; the formal and the traditional-customary laws. There is an immediate need to set up information technology that can be shared
by all the stakeholders in Papua New Guinea for future planning and policy directions, earmarked to serve the interests of the victims of crime.

D. Future Prospects

It takes the will and commitment of leaders and people to work together, to protect the victims of crime. The mechanisms of implementation of policies lies with the policy makers and those who are in the position to disseminate information to the rest of the people in both the urban and rural areas. The government and the customary laws should work hand in hand together, with a clear set of responsibilities highlighting the powers of these two sets of laws and their jurisdiction boundaries. All stakeholders should work together, to help and assist each other in information, technical and human resources towards a better working relationship for a common cause-helping the victims of crime in Papua New Guinea.

II RESTORATIVE JUSTICE APPROACHES

A. Current Situation

Currently there are no recognized or formal established, legislated procedures or structures to enable the police, correctional service, the probation office, youth and social development department and other related agencies to work together to process a restorative justice approach. But there are relief agencies such as the Melanesian Peace Foundation, Salvation Army, National Council of Women, ICRAF, the churches, and others but their help is very much on a small-scale level.

The government has taken steps to create conditions for its social partners to organise and operate freely, with improved accountability measures that can be taken to promote restorative justice. The Papua New Guinea constitution and directive principles and national goals recognise that traditional villages (hamlets) and communities to remain as viable units of Papua New Guinea society require active steps to be taken to improve their cultural, social economic and ethnical quality.

1. New Directives

In 2000, the National government of Papua New Guinea endorsed a major policy setting the directions for law and justice into the future. This policy recognises that criminal behaviour is a largely youthful and male phenomena and its underlying philosophy is based on restorative justice. The following quote from the policy illustrates the nature of restorative justice within the policy:

“The policy adopts the concept of restorative justice as a core rationale for the long-term future of the law and justice sector. This is the rationale or philosophy that links the work of all the law and justice agencies and other relevant groups in the community concerned with the promotion of peace and good order. The policy proposes a gradual and deliberate shift away from past approaches that have been retributive and adversarial in character.”

“Restorative Justice is a problem solving, forward looking approach to crime and conflict. It can be contrasted with the backward looking focus of most criminal justice systems, which tend to concentrate on establishing, who was to blame for a particular act that has taken place. The restorative approach represents a change from an adversarial and retributive orientation to one of cooperation and partnership between the various stakeholders in the promotion of peace and good order. Restorative justice envisages a central and active role for the community in the maintenance of peace and resolution of conflict.”

2. Restorative Justice is the Ancient Law of Papua New Guinea

Restorative justice is a method of dealing with conflicts in communities. It was the normal process in Papua New Guinea before the village courts were introduced and recently it has been discovered by the legal system in New Zealand (Aotearoa), Australia and other places. As the name suggest its aim is to restore the community, the victim, and the offender so that reconciliation and forgiveness can be restored.

3. Restorative Justice Process Plays a Complimentary Role

At a close examination we may observe that this concept resonates with our traditional modes of dispute resolution in Papua New Guinea societies. Most importantly we can observe that it promotes a more human solution by involving everyone who has a say to express themselves. While in the developed countries that have been using the modern formal systems they are just recognizing restorative justice. In Papua New Guinea, most of our rural population continue to use solutions to settlement of disputes and conflict from our traditional society that easily fall within the restorative justice framework in everyday life. The national law and justice policy merely recognises that Papua New Guinea should examine the existing approaches in our
traditional society, and should reinforce them into practice in the modern justice system. The concept of restorative justice is not new to Papua New Guinea. It embodies many of the values and practices familiar in our traditional societies. As such it provides a framework for building a more responsive and socially appropriate system of justice that is capable of meeting the challenges that lie ahead. Most significant of all, the restorative justice vision resonates with that of the highest law in this land: the constitution of Papua New Guinea. It represents a real attempt to develop a system of law and justice that is truly Papua New Guinea in spirit and practice.

4. Restoration is an Art of Melanesian Practices
The Melanesians people have used mediation and restorative practices for thousands of years in dealing with conflicts of all kinds. Methods varied somewhat from place to place and sometimes the ways of customs were a bit rough and ready, and contained elements of retributive justice, such as cutting off fingers or cooking a man's feet to make him confess to sorcery. This is not surprising because all systems can be expected to fail under stress from time to time. However custom did work and was usually just.

In the present system in the villages of Papua New Guinea, there is a structure that operates within the framework of the Villages Court Act that consist of a village magistrate and a police constable. The village constable is usually the 'big man' in the village and the advisor is the traditional position of the village. The position is not for a single man or woman, this is simply because they may have a conflict of interest, or unwilling for fear of offending others and also they refuse to work if the government fails to pay them.

5. Process of Melanesian Restorative Justice
Restorative justice in a Melanesian way uses three processes by their dealings with one another. 

Consensus is the need to talk about the matter, provide all stakeholders with a chance to express their views and come to a decision which provides some benefits for all. The parties are allowed to tell their story again during the meeting but when parties meet separately they are not allowed to bring up the story again during the meeting this can sidetrack the important part which is the reconciliation.

Win –Win Mediation is the concept used when two parties are in conflict over a matter such as a difference of opinion over land, property, children, or family differences between churches, these are best settled by win-win mediation. Mediation must avoid shame otherwise to save face in the sight of the community the losing party will be generally obliged to find some way of payback. To Melanesians a win-lose decision is abhorrent.

Custom Law: (Restorative Justice) Is the process, which concentrates on mending the broken relationship that brought about the crime and brings a peaceful solution of healing back to the village. This is done when the offender is confronted with his action, which has brought harm to others. The confrontation brings shame to the offender and so that questions can be asked for forgiveness and agreement to restitution. The offender can now be reunited with the victim and the community through a ceremony of forgiveness. Custom law is used when one person commits an offence against another. Many traditional methods are very good, (a meal for reconciliation) checkpoints are also used as preventative measures this is done through extended families. Hence if there were a conflict in the family, a relative would pay visits to check there is normalcy.

6. Restorative Justice Relationship with the Government Initiatives
Restorative justice is not a stand-alone, isolated system; it should have a relationship with government initiatives and the criminal justice system operation. Therefore there has to be a recognized structure in place with the criminal justice system and all new initiatives stated in the new national law and justice policy, which include: justice centres; non-custodial sentencing and rehabilitation; increased community participation; crime prevention; human rights; and corruption, so that it will fully implement the process of restorative justice. In addition attention should be given to the rights of women in the justice system, the issue of development, recognition of informal institutions that prevents criminal acts, and local level government reforms.

7. Can Mediation and Restorative Justice Replace the Courts?
There are numerous cases where the court system is the only road to follow. Mediation and restorative justice can only be used when both parties agree. Mediation and restorative justice cannot be used in a case involving compensation, which looks to making a profit. Any case where the person does not admit his guilt
must go to a court so that witnesses can be called and evidence produced. Also in the constitution of Papua New Guinea it asserts that there has to be rejection of violence and seeking consensus as a means of solving common problems, hence it is crucial for the government to put in place mechanisms and systems for resolving conflicts and to be able to respond quickly so as to avoid further escalation and stimulation of volatile situations. The concept of restorative justice is a key initiative aimed at solving problems through consensus. In light of the concept of restorative justice the practice has been very successful in Bougainville in terms of reconciliation, mediation, and actual training to solving conflicts. There has been a lot of effort that made the process successful and because it really suited the traditional norms and values in terms of solving disputes.

8. A Case Study on Bougainville (see Appendix)

During the Bougainville crisis there were no courts because those few people with weapons reigned in anarchy, so the people went back to the traditional way of solving disputes. That time there was a non-government organization on the island called Peace Foundation Melanesia who took the initiative and began conducting training and activated the concept of restorative justice which the majority of people who had been using the customs law started expressing themselves that the idea best suited the Melanesian way of solving disputes. Restorative justice in the context of Papua New Guinea has been proven to give the villages (Hamlets) a chance to reaffirm their values and mend relationships, it is also cheap; there are no legal fees for lawyers, etc. It is traditional, it is effective and people generally prefer it. Unfortunately there are no records because people thought that it was ‘in the blood’ and didn’t use written records. But time has brought changes and now there is a high demand for records of peace ceremonies, reconciliation, mediation and other restorative justice related events that will shape the future sustainability, improvement and implementation of restorative justice. The main contribution of Western world restorative justice was to provide a firm point-by-point process to follow to obtain the best results of restorative justice. The essential Melanesian contribution is that the community is a major stakeholder and must be actively involved.

9. Penalties

In mediation and restorative justice the parties decide for themselves what they must do to make up for the wrong. Restitution is expected in restorative justice: e.g., “A pig for a pig and a house for a house”. Money stolen by a person at any level must be returned. If the individual is not able to meet the restitution then the burden falls on the extended family.

10. Compensation Payment

One particular practice, which appears to be fast developing in Papua New Guinea especially in the highlands of Papua New Guinea where compensation is widely practiced, is the payment of customary compensation by the offender to either prevent the matter being reported to the police or the authorities. Money compensation is a very bad way of making up for the wrong done to a person or the community. It is not traditional and leads to bigger and bigger payments and there is no sorrow or forgiveness, as the victims become more and more money face. There will be times when the community will be unwilling to forgive the person immediately. Offences such as murder, rape, and incest cannot be settled easily. In this case a decision may be made whether to exile the offender for a time and make arrangements for reconciliation and forgiveness when he returns after a set time. Another traditional payment for murder is for the family of the offender to pay a certain amount of land to buy back the blood. Land can buy blood but money cannot.

B. Problems

1. Unwritten Laws

Custom law in the past has failed because it is not written and so is unable to stand against the written law of the land. It is therefore essential that the decisions of the mediation be made in writing and be signed by both parties as well as outside witnesses. The moral and cultural fiber of the society is being eroded through the extensive use of formal court proceedings.

2. Adverse Impact of Development Trend

The rapid change process brought about by modernization and development while it has brought many benefits, it has been at the expense of the peoples’ spiritual growth as evidenced by a weakening of the community spirit and environment, corruption, cultural confusion and others. This has generated feelings of insecurity, fear, and distrust in the hearts of people and led to civil conflict as a lead up to lack of enforcement of the constitution.
3. Failure of Innovation and Accountability
   Also the existing centralized system of government administration (including political aspects) at all
   levels needs to be improved upon in terms of accountability and innovativeness in dealing with the country’s
   cultural and geographical diversity, in considering the restorative justice approach.

C. Solutions

1. Political Commitment and Responsibility
   There are wide ranges of solutions for the concept of effective restorative justice implementation in Papua
   New Guinea. Political commitment and responsibility will be necessary to direct financial and technical
   resources to restorative justice. This support has to be consistent over the long term as many good projects
   and activities have been made ineffective by severe budget cuts, and lack of continuing support from changing
   governments; as a matter of fact everything starts with politics and ends with politics.

2. Deliberate Legislation Intervention
   Deliberate legislation interventions are required to ensure that restorative justice serves to improve the
   quality of life of all the citizens and that it progresses in a fair and equitable manner. The government will
   need to review its legislation and policies and identify ways of establishing a core restorative justice
   department for processing and administration purposes.

3. Effective Governance
   Effective governance also means being responsive to what the norms and values of society requires. We
   learned from previous cases that minor offences which can be solved through community justice have been
   an after-thought, but the consultation and social participation by the local communities must be an integral
   part of the decision making process from the start, concerning all matters that will affect the process of
   restorative justice. The people and the government need to be made aware (in an empowering way) that
   restorative justice is not just the responsibility of the government but also the civil society, non-government
   organizations, churches, individuals, community, and interested groups.

4. Community Empowerment
   Encouraging people and agents of the civil society to participate in the process of restorative justice does
   not just mean decision by consensus. It can be as simple as giving people an opportunity to have their say.
   The government’s role should be to establish the processes of restorative justice and mechanisms necessary
   for promoting civil participation, to facilitate this process and to ensure that resources are directed to groups
   and individuals to undertake their work.

5. Information is an Important Mechanism
   There is a need for information that is relevant, accurate, and reliable in order to be able to plan, monitor
   and evaluate the impact of restorative justice development. Having an informed society or government is
   necessary for understanding the nature of down falls and the trends that may occur as disturbing mechanisms.
   This will enable the government to make policy choices based on unshakable facts rather than assumed facts.
   Hence not only should ‘bottom up’ feedback be promoted, but also the research community will need to be
   supported to produce facts that have seeds of new scenarios and action strategies in them; information that is
   outcome related.

D. Future Prospects

1. Enabling Conditions for Effective Restorative Justice Practices
   The pursuit of restorative justice should not be driven by the desire to improve the country’s
   international credibility, for example, but a desire to create a harmonious and healthy society and to put the
   meeting of their basic human needs first. The furthering of educational training endeavours to equip officials
   and advisors with knowledge and skills essential for dealing with developmental planning and administration
   of restorative justice.

2. Central Mechanism Organ
   The establishment of a central organ, that has the responsibility for improving, maintaining and
   administering restorative justice development. The culture of Papua New Guinea has educated and
   sustained generations of people for thousands of years. It will also mean that a great deal of systematic
participatory research into culturally based knowledge and processes must accompany development planning efforts so that traditional knowledge and ways of doing things can contribute to building effective solutions for restorative justice.

3. Practical Positive Support

There are many aspects of life in Papua New Guinea, which, if given positive encouragement and practical support, could promote social progress in our country. For instance, the people have a capacity for creativity and giving, as in all human beings, but many Papua New Guinean still value social relationships above the desire to acquire material things. The objectives of restorative justice in Papua New Guinea can be achieved only within a context of enabling conditions that will ensure that peace, harmony, promotion of human rights, public accountability and effective governance of the restorative approach that will build upon the strength of the existing cultural and social system.

The manner in which progress has been introduced from the modern world raises important questions about the concept of development in Papua New Guinea. Much of what has been presented to Papua New Guinea by the outside world as development has brought an imbalance in a number of aspects of integral human development. It is crucial that the concept of restorative justice be revisited and activated for development and understood as a process of sustainable improvement, then it is far more likely that future programmes of national development will be sustainable and will lead to a better life for the people of Papua New Guinea.

4. Role of the Media

The media often moulds public opinion and if the media is prepared to do so, it can play a significant role in the public education as to the proper treatment of restorative justice. This has been very evident in the societies of Papua New Guinea where a lot of mediation, reconciliation, peace ceremonies and practices of restorative justice have been performed in isolation and without media coverage. It is simply because there have been a lot of miscalculations on the importance of such occasions which has led to an adverse long-term impact on the survival of the society.
APPENDIX

The following is an extract from the author’s PowerPoint presentation at the Seminar.

**Map of Papua New Guinea**

- Population 6 million
- About the same size as New Zealand
- 800 languages
- Largest population is found in the highlands

**Bougainville**

- Population about 160,000
- Largest population is in the south
- Mountain regions are very cold
- Two active volcanoes

**Surrender of Guns**
Three Traditional Processes for Dealing with Crisis Related Crime

1. Reconciliation between groups of fighters and the community.
2. Custom Law (Restorative justice) for dealing with individuals who have committed a crime within the community.
3. Official execution for unrepentant re-offenders.

Common Process for Reconciliation: 1

- Reconciliation uses a win-win mediation process.
- In the first step there is no attempt to identify the offenders.
- Mediator shuttles back and forth to obtain agreement that both sides want to end the fighting (Months).

Common Process for Reconciliation: 2

- Mediator shuttles back and forth to decide on the details of the reconciliation package – place, gifts, speakers, who carries out the ceremony, etc (more months).
- Gathering of gifts and all stakeholders from all over Papua New Guinea to give credibility to the ceremony.

Common Process for Reconciliation: 3

- The two groups meet for the ceremony which is conducted by the chiefs. It is essential that all parties are given due respect and are satisfied with the process and their part in the ceremony.
- Speeches, exchange of gifts, shaking of hands, outpouring of grief and relief by all present.

Common Process for Reconciliation: 4

- This is just the first step. The step which declares a cease fire - no more fighting.
- Further ceremonies continue for years to cement the first agreement.
- At some such ceremony the offenders will confess their killing to the families of the victims.
- The reconciliation ceremonies may continue for many years.

Reconciliation Ceremony

- The outward form of Reconciliation ceremonies vary from place to place but the basic process is the same.
- Major reconciliations require chiefs.
- Minor reconciliations are carried out by appropriate persons.
Reconciliation at Kunua

Note
- The offenders
- The victims
- The coffin
- The pig
- The food
- The witnesses
- The chiefs

Execution of Criminals

- At present in Bougainville the police are not in a position to deal with men who have gone feral during the years of crisis.
- A number of traditional style executions have been carried out.
- Some people tell me that it is a much more civilized way than sending a person to jail where they lose their humanity and are treated as animals by warders and each other and return as hardened criminals.