

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

EPW-13
 The 1968 Elections-II :
 Preparations

P. O. Box 628,
 Port Moresby,
 Papua,
 Territory of Papua
 & New Guinea

April 19, 1968

Mr. Richard H. Nolte,
 Executive Director,
 Institute of Current World Affairs,
 366 Madison Avenue,
 New York 10017, New York,
 United States of America

Dear Mr. Nolte,

The question of electoral reapportionment is pre-eminently a political one in those societies in which elections matter. In Papua and New Guinea, it is, therefore, all the more politically loaded in that any alteration in the number of electorates affects not only the fortunes of particular politicians, but the very constitution of the national legislature. Any increase in the number of legislators ipso facto lessens the Australian Administration's hold on the legislature, while a decrease in their number is nowadays politically impossible. Thus, it is at least difficult, if not downright foolish, to attempt to discuss the question of electoral change apart from the more general political and constitutional issues of the day, especially as the House of Assembly itself basically considers all of these questions as but different aspects of the central problem of where the Territory is going, and how quickly. The aim of this 'Newsletter', however, is to attempt to abstract the specific aspects of electoral change from the more general questions, and, perhaps foolhardily, to leave the latter questions to a more detailed discussion in later 'Newsletters'.

The Select Committee on Constitutional Development

The Australian Government has, at least since World War II, always insisted that the pace and direction of political change in Papua and New Guinea should be determined by the indigenous people themselves. In fact, change always preceded popular demand until 1964, simply because there was no mechanism that enabled the Government to discover what the people wanted, if indeed they knew themselves. In May, 1965, however, the House of Assembly set up its own Select Committee on Constitutional Development, with a clear indigenous majority, "to consider ways and means of preparing and presenting, and to draft for the consideration of the House, a set of constitutional proposals to serve as a guide for future constitutional development in the Territory." The committee's chairman was Mr. John Guise (M.H.A., Milne Bay Open), and the committee came ultimately to consist of 9

indigenous elected members, 4 official members, and 2 European Special Electorate members. Not for Papua and New Guinea the luxury of dictation by 'experts' on decolonisation - even recommendations regarding the future were firmly in the hands of the people's representatives.

The select committee's Second Interim Report was, in fact, its first substantial product. It dealt specifically with the question of electoral reform. In accordance with the time-consuming devotion to democracy which the committee customarily displays, the report was prepared only after various sub-committees of the main body had visited some 93 Territory centres to ascertain the people's wishes. The report was, therefore, presented to the House of Assembly only in August, 1966, leaving but little time for the year-long process of its implementation which had to precede the 1968 elections.

In an odd way, the committee's report was a fairly damning indictment of many M.H.A.'s' faint devotion to duty. The committee found that "an overwhelming majority [of the people] were of the opinion that [the present House of Assembly] did not [adequately (meet) the needs of the Territory], and the principal cause of dissatisfaction was the small number of open electorates. Only several groups considered they were adequately represented, the remainder, without exception, desired an increase." Many members could not, and did not try to, visit all areas of their electorates. In a country where communications are so inadequate, and the people's sense of identity with the central government so tenuous, one of the politician's main tasks is that simply of political education. He must provide people with information about, and attempt to associate them with, what is happening in Port Moresby. As the committee itself found, "the people felt a close relationship with their member and expected him to visit them often, inform them of proceedings in the House, and attend to their problems." The member was often no more than an educational, and more rarely a representational, adjunct to the Kiap. To perform his functions adequately, he could not properly represent more than a fairly small number of people.

The population-member ratio in the first House of Assembly was roughly 49,000 : 1. The committee recommended a new ratio of 30,000 : 1, with a new proviso that the increasing identification of the people with their administrative districts of origin be recognised. In future, all Open Electorates were to be contained as far as possible within district boundaries. The estimated population of each district was, therefore, divided by 30,000, and a total of 69 Open Electorates was suggested. The members of the second House of Assembly will now sit 3 instead of 2 to a desk.

The Legislative Council's Select Committee on Political Development had, with some reluctance, recommended in 1962 that 10 Europeans-only Special Electorates be established. Clearly, the Special Electorates were envisaged as no more than a temporary device set up for quite special reasons, and the committee had recommended that their constitution be reviewed before the second elections were held. The committee's reluctant advocacy of the Special Electorates

may be gauged from the principal relevant section of its 1962 report :

"Although opposed in principle to any form of reserved seats and special racial rolls, your committee was forced to take cognizance of three major factors :-

- (a) the universal and very strongly expressed views that there must be non indigenes on the council;
 - (b) the very strong probability that no non indigenes would be returned from a normal common roll election; and
 - (c) the very marked preference for such non indigenes to be elected by all the people voting together;
- and accepted the fact that in the first elections at least there would have to be special seats reserved for non indigenous candidates."

By 1966, it seemed to be very widely accepted throughout the Territory that the Special Electorates would have to go. There was no consensus, however, as to whether or how they should be replaced. Submissions to the select committee varied between advocacy of their total abolition, and of their retention as was, or perhaps their increase in number to one per district, with no further alteration in their constitution. Advocates of retention based their arguments (a) on the need for some better-educated, if not necessarily white, members to advise the less sophisticated Open Electorate members; (b) on the **desirability** of a special device to ensure representation of the business community; or (c) on the justice of providing definite representation for the Territory's most significant group of tax-payers, the expatriate community.

The committee's final recommendation was a compromise. The racial qualification for candidature was abolished, and an educational qualification, the Territory Intermediate Certificate or its equivalent, was established "to bring broader experience to the House" than might otherwise have been available. The Territory Intermediate is awarded upon completion of 6 years of primary, and 3 years of secondary, schooling. The electorates were also rendered smaller in size, and more manageable, by being reduced to roughly district-size. 6 of the smaller districts, East and West New Britain, Manus and New Ireland, the Gulf and Western, districts respectively, were, however, still combined to form only 3 of the new Regional Electorates. The new member for the Western and Gulf Regional Electorate is, nonetheless, still responsible for an electorate that sprawls over 54,219 square miles of mountains, beaches, and, especially, swamps. Altogether, 15 new Regional Electorates were recommended, ranging in size from the Western Highlands Regional, which covers an estimated 305,006 people in 9 Open Electorates, down to the Northern Regional, with a population of only 57,120 in 2 Open Electorates. At least the new electorates were thought, with but 3 exceptions, to give direct expression to the increasingly frequent tendency of the indigenous people to identify themselves on a district basis.

The committee did not recommend any alteration in the

number of official members. The second House of Assembly, therefore, may approximate to the size recommended by the Foot Mission in 1962, but certainly not yet to its composition.

No alteration was proposed in respect of the minimum voting-age, the preferential voting system, or, despite some of the first House's academic detractors, in the open character of the right to vote generally, or to stand for Open Electorates. Voters and candidates were still subject to a one year residence rule in their electorates. A voter was, therefore, entitled to vote in any one of the constituencies in which he had resided for the minimum time, although most voters tended to vote in what they still regarded as their "home electorate". In connection with the elaborate provisions for absentee voting, however, the committee "realized that the tendency to think on a local or village level, rather than a national level, may have the effect of hindering the development of a sense of national unity," although it proposed to do nothing about it at this stage. It did foresee the possible necessity in future of enforcing a compulsory residential voting rule.

An additional residential qualification was placed upon future candidates, that they be resident in the Territory for at least 5 years before being eligible to stand. In part, this measure may have been a reflection of the fear that other, less responsible people, with but brief experience in the Territory, might seek to emulate Mr. Toni Voutas' achievement in gaining election for the Kaindi Open Electorate. It was no small tribute to Mr. Voutas that subsequently the relevant legislation was amended to exempt past and sitting members of the legislature - of whom this provision really concerned Mr. Voutas alone - from the effects of this change.

The select committee's report was readily accepted by the House of Assembly, after a brief debate, by 59 votes to 0. Only 2 amendments were proposed, and both were defeated. One concerned the desirability of renaming "Open" Electorates "Local Electorates", while 2 of the members from New Britain were concerned to provide that the East and West New Britain Districts be declared separate Regional Electorates. Mr. James Meangarum (M.H.A., Ramu Open) summed up the prevailing attitude in the House to the latter amendment rather aptly when he observed: "If [New Britain]... is allowed an extra member then I think that the people from all the other districts will ask for one more..." At this stage, no one seemed to understand the import of Mr. Pople's plea that "some free play" be allowed the Electoral Boundaries Distribution Committee when the time came to set out the actual electoral boundaries on a map.

The report, and its subsequent adoption by the House, aroused little public comment at the time, although there was some discussion of the new educational qualifications for the Regional Electorates. Mr. Eastman, the Liberian representative on the United Nations Trusteeship Council, and a number of other critics felt that the educational qualification was racially discriminatory in effect, if not in intent, in that relatively few Papuans and New

Guineans (perhaps 8,000 at the absolute outside) would be eligible to stand, even if they could not afford to campaign over such vast areas. The almost complete lack of possible opponents, of both the requisite age and education, may explain the election unopposed of Mr. Ron Neville for the Southern Highlands Regional, although, surprisingly, 4 New Guineans stood, and lost, in the Western Highlands. In the West Sepik, the reverse was the case - there were very few resident non-Administration Europeans, and at least one of the few wouldbe European candidates lacked the appropriate educational qualifications, so that Mr. Joe Paul Langro, a young New Guinean law student, was returned unopposed.

The Electoral Distribution Committee

It was in many ways the very democratic character of the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, and its lack of truly expert guidance, that were responsible for the major problems of the Electoral Distribution Committee.

The Territory, as is the case in Australia, leaves the drawing up of electoral boundaries to an "expert" committee, which simply and impartially carries out the broad wishes of the legislature - or so the official story runs. The committee this time consisted of the Chief Electoral Officer as Chairman, the Surveyor-General and the Commissioner for Local Government, together with 2 indigenous "Private Members". One of the "Private Members" subsequently stood in the North Bougainville Open Electorate and came second in a field of 3 candidates. Perhaps, therefore, the Committee did draw up the boundaries impartially, or, more likely, the Private Members' influence was as slight as one of them once implied it was - they added legitimacy rather than expertise, or even popular opinion, to the Committee's deliberations.

Before beginning the actual task of mapping out electoral boundaries, the Distribution Committee was confronted with a number of problems that it had inherited directly from its progenitor, the Select Committee on Constitutional Development. For a start, the Select Committee had been given the wrong, or out-of-date, figures for the Territory's population - it had risen by 95,022 (or 3 electorates) since the Select Committee's figures were compiled. The Distribution Committee was, therefore, tied to a number of electorates (69) that would not allow the distribution to be made in accordance with the prescribed population-member ratio of 30,000 : 1. The real ratio was 31,638 : 1, and the Eastern and Western Highlands Districts at least were simply deprived of one clear, additional seat each.

The requirement that all Open Electorates be wholly contained within district boundaries was then found to be ambiguous, for 15 of the 18 districts of the Territory in fact administer areas outside their gazetted boundaries. Mountains and rivers tend to influence the structure of local administration rather more forcefully

than the law, so that questions of accessibility often determine which patrols go where rather more than the lines drawn upon a map in Konedobu. The Distribution Committee, therefore, gained the informal approval of the Select Committee, and the advice of the relevant District Commissioners, to treat "districts" as actual administrative, rather than strictly legal, entities.

The Distribution Committee finally discovered that it had no statutory authority at all to draw up Regional Electorate boundaries. However, it decided nonetheless to draw up recommendations in this regard, and leave it to the House of Assembly to accept them by resolution. It could not simply proclaim the Regional as it could the Open Electorate boundaries.

Apart from the need for a general equality in size of population, the Distribution Committee kept 7 other factors in mind when drawing up the boundaries of the 69 Open Electorates :

- "(a) community or diversity of interests;
- (b) local government council boundaries;
- (c) proposed future movement of people into existing local government councils;
- (d) means of communication;
- (e) physical features;
- (f) census divisions; and
- (g) existing electoral boundaries."

The proposed electoral boundaries were gazetted early in May, 1967, and a 3 months' period in which the public could lodge objections opened. In all, 20 objections were formally received by the Committee, and 9 were accepted.

Very little information is available about the objections, but 3 of them at least are of particular interest here.

In the case of the Alotau - Kula Open Electorate boundaries in Eastern Papua, the Committee fairly clearly set about carrying out its legally prescribed duties by creating 2 electorates of roughly equal population size. It probably felt that it could not itself take cognizance of those traditional ties which naturally placed Samarai in the Alotau Electorate, but would create 2 quite disparately populated electorates : Alotau, with a population of 41,235, and Kula, with 25,802. It set up 2 roughly equal electorates, and waited for the appeals based on traditional rather than democratic considerations to come in. It finally accepted the tradition-based proposal presented in person by the Presidents of the 4 main local government councils in the Milne Bay area.

In the Okapa - Lufa area of the Eastern Highlands, the Committee did what it, and a number of students of the area, had thought what the people would want, by uniting all of the Gimi-speakers in the Lufa Open Electorate. This measure resulted in a unified language-group, at the cost only of cutting the Gimi Census Division off from its usual administrative centre, Okapa. The rest of the Gimi are administered

from Lufa. In the end, the Gimi language area was split, and the Gimi Census Division returned to the Chapa Open Electorate, on appeal from the local people against the earlier recognition of what appeared to be stronger, traditional ties of language.

In the Goroka area, the relatively backward Unggai were restored on appeal to their closer, more sophisticated, and traditionally linked, neighbours, after being placed more congenially - and equally - with their equally underdeveloped neighbours in the Daulo Open Electorate. The local people's affection for tradition over equality led to the creation of one electorate, Daulo, with only 21,606 people, and another, Goroka, with 39,552 - now, respectively, the fourth smallest, and the sixth largest Open Electorates in the Territory.

In sum, different evaluations of tradition - versus - current practice in 3 separate areas, in each case the option for a loss in equality being left to the local people.

In the Goroka area, the one-year residence rule for candidates was responsible for one of the most fascinating exercises of the whole election. A star-fix had to be taken to determine whether Mr. Sinake Giregire lived in, and was, therefore, eligible for, the Daulo Open Electorate, where most of his supporters live, or the Goroka Open Electorate, with which he has few traditional ties. His home and plantation are on the border of the 2 new electorates, although he had represented most of the area of both of them in the first House of Assembly. In the end, he stood for, and won, Daulo Open.

The New Boundaries and the House of Assembly

The debate in the House of Assembly at the end of August, 1967, on a resolution to approve the recommendations of the Electoral Distribution Committee provided an interesting insight into some members' evaluation of the House's overall significance in the political life of the Territory, and yet further evidence of the lack of expertise on the part of the earlier Select Committee.

The Administration, although not deliriously happy with the result, was content to make do with the boundary distribution as it appeared after the period for objections had closed. A number of elected, especially European, members were clearly displeased with the new boundaries. Specifically, they complained that the Highlands seemed to have been deprived of up to 3 seats to which it would have been entitled had the Select Committee been given more accurate population figures. Clearly, the Select Committee had tied the Distribution Committee's hands in 2 important ways: the firm recommendation of 69 Open Electorates, which had already been incorporated in the Papua and New Guinea Act (an Act of the Australian Parliament), allowed the Committee no flexibility in relation to population changes; or, more seriously, in relation to the desirability

of creating more or fewer electorates in cases where ethnic or other local considerations were held to outweigh the need for a roughly equal number of people in each electorate.

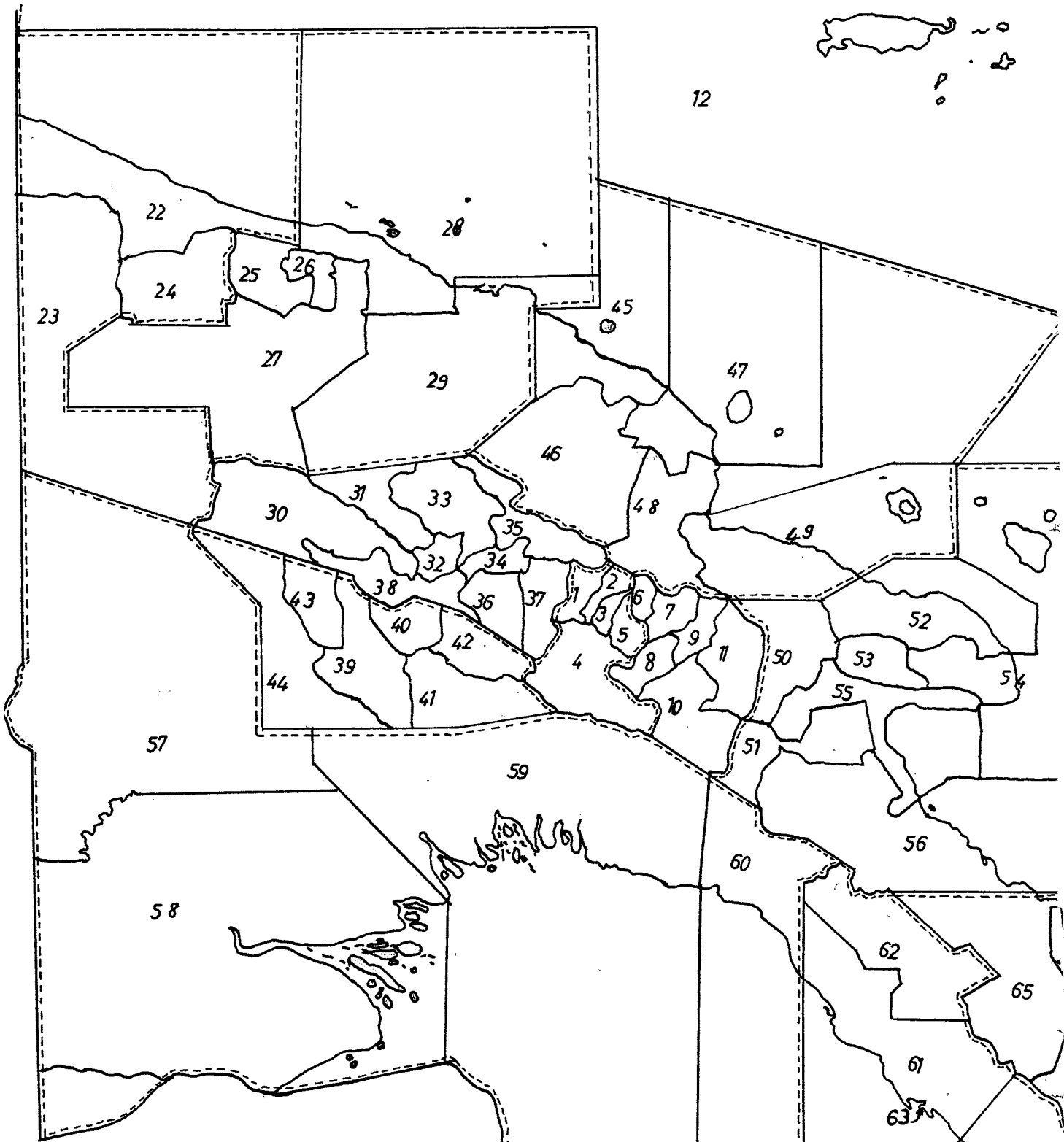
A number of indigenous members were unhappy with the boundaries of the new electorates, but were loth to delay the elections on this account. Mr. Ian Downs (M.H.A., Highlands Special), however, and some other European Special Electorate members recognised that an amendment of the total number of electorates could mean a delay of 3 to 6 months in holding the elections. During this time, the Territory would be without a national legislature. They were prepared to do without a House of Assembly temporarily in the interests of greater equity for the Highlands, and of straightening out some other boundaries. As Mr. Ron Neville (M.H.A., West Papua Special) put it :

"Three months' or six months' delay does not really matter. The country can work; the Treasurer can work and the Government can work. We will have a gap between meetings of three months, but that does not matter..."

After a great deal of tense lobbying, the Administration forestalled an open vote on the issue. The Electoral Distribution Committee's report was unanimously, if with many misgivings, accepted by the House. Hansard scarcely does justice to the apprehension of officialdom at the prospect of having to start all over again, and at the constitutional and budgetary problems posed by the possibility of government-by-public-servants during the interim.

While many members complained at particular aspects of individual boundaries, no one seemed to notice the monstrosity that became the Moresby Open. So great was the delight that finally the coastal sophisticates of the Central District, especially of the Mekeo Subdistrict and the Motu people, had been released from their previous numerical domination by the inland Goilala, that no one complained that the coastal Hiri electorate contained some 44,066 to the Goilala's 23,456 people. Indeed, the need for ethnic consolidation, and for uniformity in sophistication, were so strongly stressed that the pock-marked quality of Moresby Open escaped mention too.

The Moresby Open Electorate (see map *opposite*) formally embraces 36,347 people, of whom most are transients - indigenes who vote at home, or short-term European contract public servants not yet entitled to vote in Territory elections. Its physical appearance outdid even pre-reapportionment Tennessee. The 11 Motuan villages within the Moresby boundaries were simply abstracted into the Hiri electorate, and Moresby was left to the foreigners. Europeans traditionally do not take much interest in politics in Papua and New Guinea - to quote a European schoolchild I discussed this with : "our hausboi ["domestic servant"] tells us to stay out of it" - and most indigenes still vote at home anyway. The final voter turnout in Port Moresby (4,461) was only just over half of the absentee vote cast from there for Mr. Ian Downs in the Highlands Special in 1964. Moresby's departure from the principal of direct area



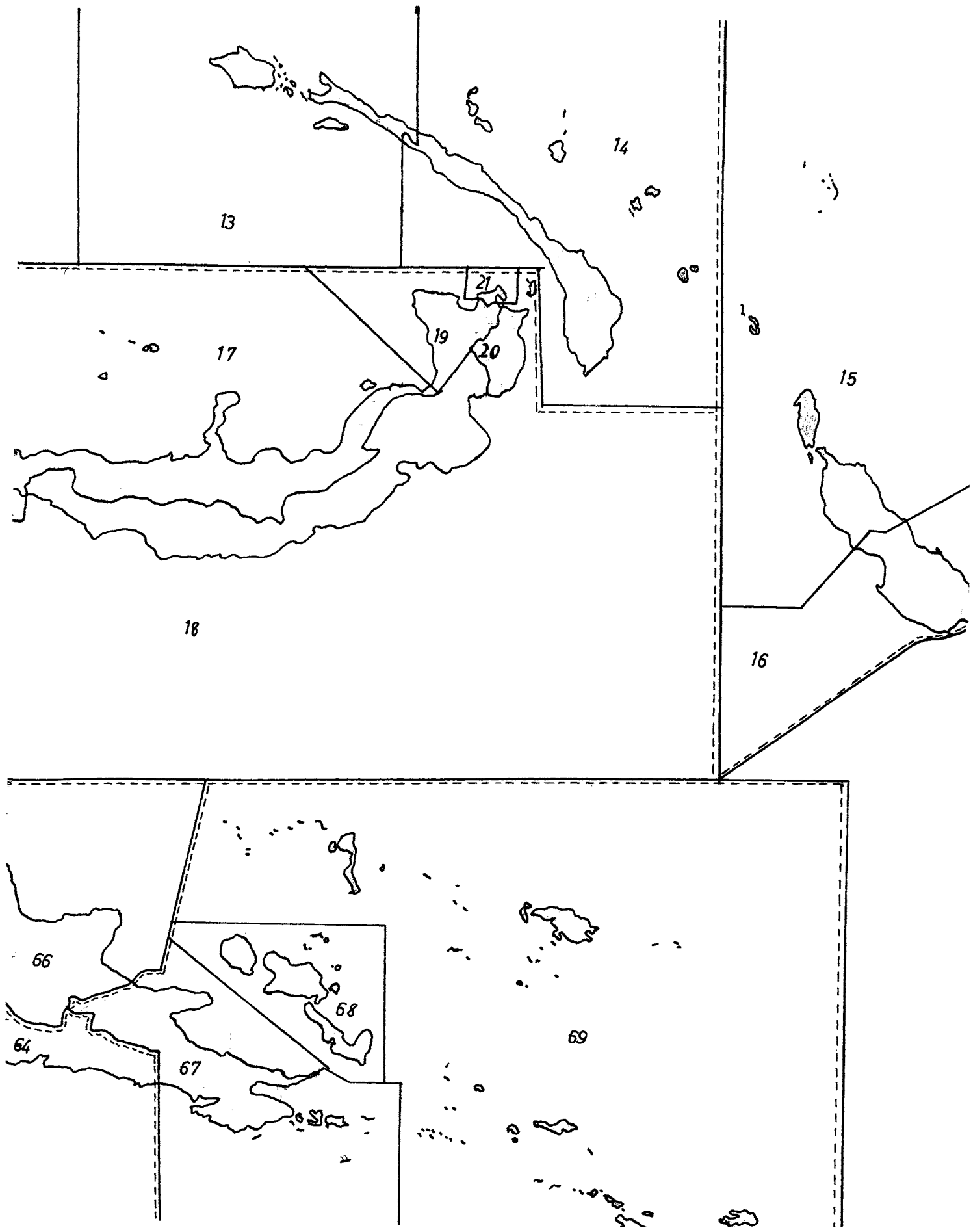
HOUSE of ASSEMBLY
ELECTORATES, 1968

Key to Boundaries

Open Electorates : _____

Regional Electorates : - - - - -

For key to numbers
see page 17.



representation, and its quite obvious external appearance as a piece of racial discrimination - i.e., its basically European appearance - remained unremarked by those liberal commentators who favoured ethnicity, or more simply the Motu, over racial integration, and ~~uniformity~~ in the principle governing Territory-wide representation.

Political and Electoral Education

The study of political socialization in rapidly changing societies has been the subject of a great deal of academic speculation and theorising in recent years, but relatively little straightforward description or empirical analysis. The aim of this section of this 'Newsletter' is, therefore, to provide a brief outline of just what the Administration has attempted by way of preparing the people to take part in national politics. I hope to return to this subject and to deal with it more fully in later 'Newsletters'.

The problems posed by the need for popular political education are perhaps especially serious in Papua and New Guinea simply because the Territory seems to be so close to attaining full internal self-government, and yet has, until now, lacked any viable, popularly based organisations (e.g. political parties) that might educate and mobilise the people politically. Like so much else in colonial society, even political education is seen by critical academics, politicians and the public alike as being an Administration responsibility. Indeed, most of the criticisms of the people's lack of understanding of the 1964 elections, and of the alleged failure of the House of Assembly to "come across" at the popular level, indeed the very lack of a forceful Papuan and New Guinean nationalism, have ultimately landed on the Administration's doorstep.

Since early in 1967, therefore, the Administration has been involved in the rather curious task of "political education". The political education programme ceased only with the opening of nominations for the second House of Assembly, so as not to influence the elections in any way. Then, the narrower task of electoral education began.

Early in 1967, the Department of District Administration issued an allegedly simple 28-page booklet entitled Government in Papua and New Guinea. The pamphlet was written in simple (simple-minded?) English. It opened with the assertion that "All people who live together must abide by social rules or laws", progressed through an historical discussion of the evolution of the English monarchy, to an outline of the Territory's own institutions of government. The discussion of English history - perhaps unfairly cited - is one of the most fascinating parts of the booklet. It describes in terms that the villager allegedly understands how "one leader became boss or king of the whole country." The process of constitutional evolution was, of course, complex and difficult for the British, in that it involved "troubles that led to a lot of fighting between the king's

men and the people," until "after a lot more trouble the big council of the people took over from the king all the power for making laws and **controlling** the work of government." Fortunately, the history of Papua and New Guinea's political development, and the description of its present government, managed to steer a sufficiently clear course between simplicity and indoctrination for no one to be offended at its injunctions except the Returned Servicemen's League (the R.S.L.).

The R.S.L. felt that the booklet paid insufficient tribute to the Allies' defence of freedom and democracy in Papua and New Guinea in World War II, and especially that the booklet emphasised the negative aspects of the military disproportionately. It pressed for publication of a second booklet - which has not yet appeared - to counter the insidious influence of the first booklet's warning :

"In some countries, where the people did not watch carefully that their government worked well, and where the elected members could not govern properly, the government has been taken over by the Army. In places where this happens the boss of the Army becomes a dictator and the ordinary people do not have any say in running their country. This has happened in many new African and Asian countries."

Other simple booklets on local government and related subjects are in circulation too, including a very simple 6-volume series of stories with a moral in English and Pidgin that describe how one can become a nationalist entitled Sowai Finds His Country. This basically school-level series begins with a young villager from Pagei in the Sepik awaiting a medical patrol. An indigenous kiap, who befriends him, then, volume by volume, takes him (1) from Pagei, (2) to Amanab, and (3) on patrol, (4) to Vanimo, and (5) to Wewak, all in the 2 Sepik Districts, to (6) Port Moresby, where he sees the House of Assembly in session and meets the Administrator. The book closes with a "think-piece" in which Sowai reflects upon his conversation with the Administrator :

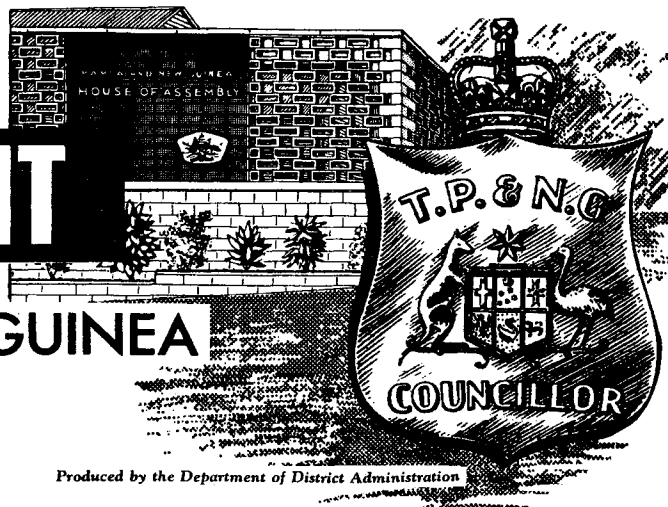
"The Administrator said 'our country'. But it is my country too - this hot dry town, the mountains we flew over, the forests and the swamps at Pagei. All this is mine."

"Yes," the Papuan kiap says, "It is all yours. You have found your country, Sowai." Fortunately, Sowai does not thereupon go off to found a nationalist party, for it is "our" country, not "theirs".

The major instrument of political education was a series of 20 yellow and green leaflets (one of which is reproduced on page 14) in Pidgin and English, based on the first booklet, and called Government in Papua and New Guinea too. For some peculiar reason, Papuans are now expected to read Simple English rather than Police Motu.

GOVERNMENT

IN PAPUA & NEW GUINEA



No. 6

Produced by the Department of District Administration

THE REPRESENTATIVES RESPONSIBILITIES (No. 3)

THE MEMBER SPEAKS FOR HIS PEOPLE

It is important for each Member to do his work well. He must travel round his electorate and talk to many people. He should not only talk to leaders or important people, but should talk to people of all different kinds. In this way he can find out what most of the people in his electorate think.

Then he must go to all the meetings of the House of Assembly and tell the other Members what the people of his electorate want and what they think. If he just sits in the House and says nothing, or if he only speaks about what *he* thinks instead of what *the people* want, he is not doing his job properly.

After a meeting of the House of Assembly, the Member should go around his electorate again and tell the people what he said in the House, and what the Members decided. It is his responsibility to do this. He gets paid for being a Member so that he can spend most of his time doing this work.

There will be many times when there is not enough money for the government to do everything quickly. Then the Members have to vote to decide which things will be done first and which things will have to wait. When they are deciding this it is their responsibility to think about which thing will be best for the whole country. After a meeting, Members must tell their people why they could not have some of the things they wanted.

THE MEMBER HELPS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Because we are working towards the day when the people of Papua and New Guinea can run their country by themselves, the Member has other jobs too. He should explain to his people that they should work hard at their cash crops and other work, because only in this way will there be enough money for Papua and New Guinea to do the things its people want. Another responsibility he has is to try and teach his people to think of themselves as belonging to one country, not just one district. He should teach them to think of everyone in the country as brothers and sisters, in the same way as they think of their clansmen as brothers and sisters.

THE MEMBER AND HIS ELECTORS

The elected Member also has a duty to people in his electorate, to help them. Anyone can ask his Member for help if he is having trouble, or wants something done. But people should not go to their Member with all their troubles. They should try to straighten it themselves first; they should not expect someone else to do everything for them. If it is a Government matter, people should go to the proper Government officer and ask him if he can help. Only if a person cannot get his trouble straightened in any other way, he should ask his Member. The Member will then go to the proper person in the Government (when he goes to the District Office or Port Moresby) or will talk about it in the House of Assembly, and in this way he may be able to get something done about the trouble. But remember that sometimes you will have troubles than no one can do anything about.

The series consisted of 2 pamphlets on "Majority Rule", one on "The Rule of Law", 3 on "The Representative's Responsibilities", one on "Electing a Representative", 3 - quite appropriately - on "How Government Grows", one each on "Employment and Industrial Relations", "Industrial Organizations", "Interest Group", "Political Parties", "Economic Development and the National Government", "How Government Works" and "Taxation", and 3 on "Elections".

The series tended to be produced so late in the year, and to take so long to arrive at outstations, that its circulation seems to have been minimal. The stacks of pamphlets in local government council chambers, subdistrict and patrol post offices, are mute testimony to their late arrival, and incomprehensibility to the local people and kiaps alike. They also testify to the uselessness of sending simple-minded, rather than Simple English, documents to non-English-speaking areas. The definition, for example, of a political party as "a group of like-minded people who aim at gaining effective power in the Government of a self-governing country," is not only tendentious, but incomprehensible to people who have not heard the term before, or, if they have, fear it simply because it is associated with political change. The failure to find an adequate Pidgin term for "majority rule" is as apt a comment on the pamphlets' effectiveness as such beautiful pieces of explanatory Pidgin prose as :

"Ol lain i gat wankain tingting (Interest Groups) ol i
save trai long kamapim lain bilong en i bigpela tru na i
strong moa."

(Translation : "All groups of people that think alike (Interest Groups) try to make themselves big and strong.")

Political education probably depends more than anything else upon participation, and upon the degree to which the people identify themselves with their government. Information about political institutions and ideas was valiantly presented, but will remain essentially peripheral to the political life of the Territory until Papuan and New Guinean politicians themselves begin to carry out their educational function through popular mobilisation and participation more effectively than at present.

Unfortunately, political education is still very much something that the Government imparts to Papuans and New Guineans. Before the first session of the House, in fact, the members of the House of Assembly themselves will attend a week-long course on parliamentary procedure, which, if it resembles the 1964 course, will be extended to include a measure of general political and social education too. Later on in the life of the House, many of the members will probably receive the opportunity again to travel to Australia on what are termed "political education tours". The aim, and usually the conduct, of these courses seems to be generally fair, but one, nonetheless, anxiously awaits the day when the political, as distinct from the general social and educational, content of these courses can be dropped.

The final task of electoral education was more mundane. It consisted of up to 6 or 7 spot broadcasts a night over the local Administration radio stations, pamphlets and talks on the procedures for nominating and voting. With the rise of indigenous political organisations, however, uncertainty has set in, so that in one district, according to the local returning officer, the District Commissioner was so concerned to preserve the appearance of impartiality that the kiaps were not allowed to tell the people the names of the local candidates. Only the returning officer himself could do this, and he simply could not patrol the whole of his electorate - otherwise, the people had to rely upon the few literates in their midst to read to them the names of all those standing. In many cases, it even seems doubtful that many of the polling officials understood fully how, say, the preferential voting system works. Perhaps the greatest contribution that the second elections made to the political life of the Territory, however, was the Chief Electoral Officer's insistence that the electoral machine be staffed by indigenes wherever at all possible. The Territory's indigenous polling officials are perhaps the best guarantee of at least a semblance of a fair electoral system after self-determination.

Then, electoral rolls revised, political education and the initial electoral patrols completed, the nomination period opened. EPW-14 will deal with the nominees and their campaigns.



Yours Sincerely,

*Edward
Wolfers*

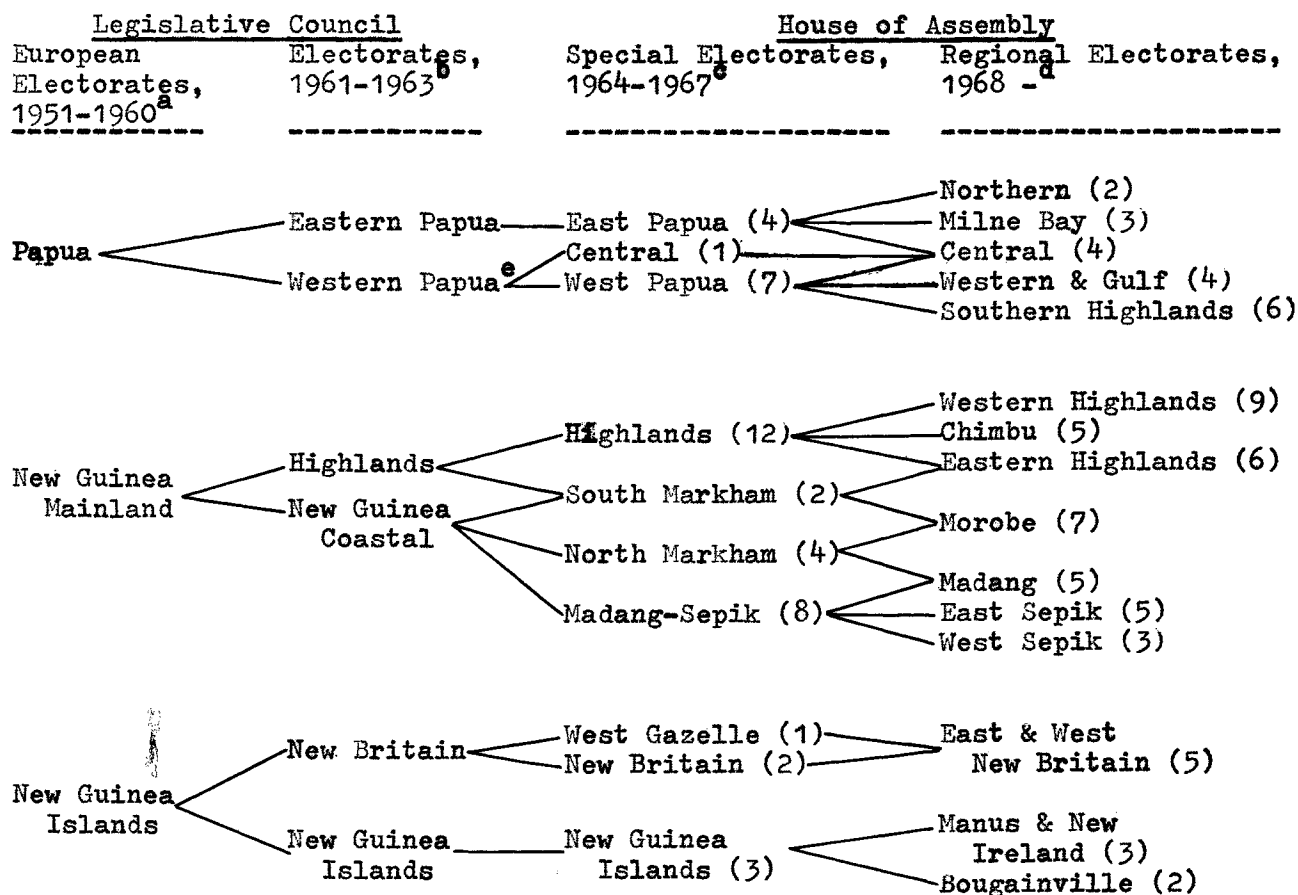
The names are drawn from the box in Madang to decide their order on the ballot-papers for the Mabuso Open and the Madang Regional Electorates.

Received in New York April 29, 1968.

APPENDIX I - Key to the Map of Electorates (pages 10-11)

Regional Electorate	Number	Open Electorate	Population (actual)	Population Estimate given to Select Committee
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Chimbu			155,622	165,699
	1	Kerowagi	25,342	
	2	Chimbu	35,704	
	3	Sinasina	30,029	
	4	Gumine	37,936	
	5	Chuave	26,611	
Eastern Highlands			203,820	188,092
	6	Daulo	21,606	
	7	Goroka	39,552	
	8	Lufa	32,063	
	9	Henganofi	29,838	
	10	Okapa	35,434	
	11	Kainantu	45,327	
Manus & New Ireland			70,776	62,636
	12	Manus	20,647	19,564
	13	Kavieng	25,222	43,072
	14	Namatanai	24,907	
Bougainville			72,490	67,574
	15	North		
		Bougainville	33,987	
	16	South		
		Bougainville	38,503	
East and West New Britain			154,188	118,688
	17	Talasea	34,373	
	18	Kandrian/Pomio	32,699	
	19	Gazelle	22,714	
	20	Kokopo	28,636	
	21	Rabaul	35,766	
West Sepik			89,895	268,405
	22	West Sepik		
		Coastal	31,664	
	23	Upper Sepik	28,034	
	24	Wapei/Nuku	30,197	
East Sepik			168,697	
	25	Dreikikir	31,999	
	26	Maprik	28,169	
	27	Ambunti/Yangoru	35,899	
	28	Wewak	39,842	
	29	Angoram	32,788	
Western Highlands			305,006	296,861
	30	Lagaip	38,287	
	31	Wabag	37,319	
	32	Wapenamanda	27,637	
	33	Kompam/Baiyer	28,203	

	34	Mul-Dei	29,514	
	35	Jimi	28,113	
	36	Hagen	45,197	
	37	Wahgi	36,394	
	38	Kandep/Tambul	34,342	
Southern Highlands			186,471	181,458
	39	Nipa	33,892	
	40	Mendi	35,004	
	41	Kagua	30,571	
	42	Ialibu	34,360	
	43	Tari	27,628	
	44	Koroba	25,016	
Madang			152,350	155,413
	45	Bogia	26,714	
	46	Middle Ramu	29,413	
	47	Sumkar	31,375	
	48	Mabuso	39,177	
	49	Rai Coast	25,671	
Morobe			209,595	220,637
	50	Markham	21,579	
	51	Munya	28,434	
	52	Kabwum	37,576	
	53	Nawae	21,008	
	54	Finschhafen	29,863	
	55	Huon Gulf	34,891	
	56	Kaindi	36,244	
Gulf & Western			114,798	120,966
	57	North Fly	25,001	} 59,534
	58	South Fly	34,895	
	59	Kikori	23,922	} 61,432
	60	Kerema	30,980	
Central			142,152	118,734
	61	Hiri	44,066	
	62	Goilala	23,456	
	63	Moresby	36,347	
	64	Rigo-Abau	38,283	
Northern			57,120	53,631
	65	Sohe	34,883	
	66	Ijivitari	22,237	
Milne Bay			100,056	96,610
	67	Alotau	41,235	
	68	Esa-Ala	33,019	
	69	Kula	25,802	

APPENDIX II - Legislative Representation, by Area, 1951-1968

Note the proportionate decline in importance over the years of New Britain, and the rise of the 3 New Guinea Highlands districts, and of the Southern Highlands District of Papua.

Footnotes

- a : By convention, the nominated indigenous M.L.C's came one from each electorate.
- b : The separate European and indigenous electorates covered identical areas. Nominated, non-official M.L.C's are not considered in this list.
- c : The number of Open Electorates embraced by each Special Electorate is shown in brackets.
- d : The number of Open Electorates embraced by each Regional Electorate is shown in brackets.
- e : Indigenes from the Southern Highlands played no part at all in the 1961 elections.