

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

EPW-14
 The 1968 Elections-III :
 Campaigning

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

July 7, 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,

Indigenous political activity still usually occurs in languages, places and modes of behaviour that are largely inaccessible to Europeans. Even in those places where Papuans and New Guineans discuss elections in Pidgin or Police Motu to emphasise its foreign-ness from their daily lives, one can only really speculate as to the line of reasoning that leads to such behaviour. In short, most of the horde of anthropologists (who are the least guilty in this regard), political scientists and journalists who descend upon the Territory at election-time are reduced to speculating about what they cannot really see. Many of them generalise about such phenomena as "cargo thinking" or anti-European feeling, or conduct opinion polls which occasionally provide some answers to their queries but tell us almost nothing about what most Papuans and New Guineans think is going on. Indigenous politics is still something "out there", and few of the numerous writers about Territory politics (including the author) have been able, so to speak, to "look out" from the inside, and tell us what is really going on. Peter Hastings, in a singularly honest appraisal of the 1968 elections, perhaps most aptly summed up the dilemma of the outside observer, when he wrote :

"In one sense it is difficult to take the New Guinea elections seriously. And yet they ARE serious and extraordinarily dull. It is why they are so serious that is so hard to pin down.

"Something in the way of political consciousness is stirring in the island, something beyond the interminable parochial talk of bridges and roads and hospitals. Something that indefinably stretches across the insular isolation of electoral districts, tribes and languages.

"It is certainly there in the elites. It is certainly there in the electorates which seem fairly determined, if one can be certain of anything in the island, to reject most white candidates..."

Most observers of the recent House of Assembly elections were reduced to making hunches about, and quasi-mystical projections on-to, the people they were studying. The aim of this 'Newsletter' is to

HIRI OPEN ELECTORATE

VOTE



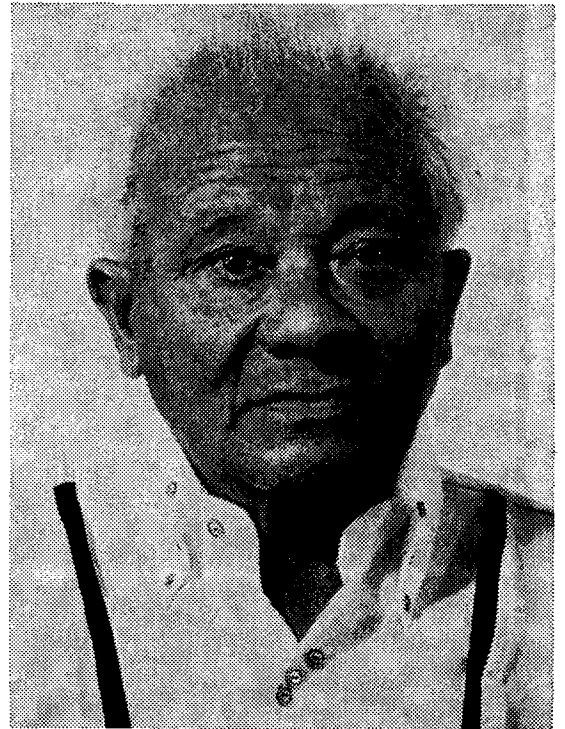
MANUELA ALBANIEL

MANU MAMMA

Sweet utterances, promises, are gestures of no face value.

Devotion and courage to express and inspire with wisdom of knowledge to achieve the needs of the people.

Is your true leader to trust and vote for and with earnestness he must remember that in the palm of his hand lies the destiny of his country whom he shall serve faithfully.



1. Industrial Development.
2. Social Development.
3. Economic Development.
4. National Development.

5. Relief for old age, the infirm, the blind & lame.
6. Reformation of Native land matters.
7. Practical education for the destitute and illiterate youth in rural areas.

outline my own set of hunches and projections, and to set these against the background of those few bits and pieces of tangible information we really do have about the elections.

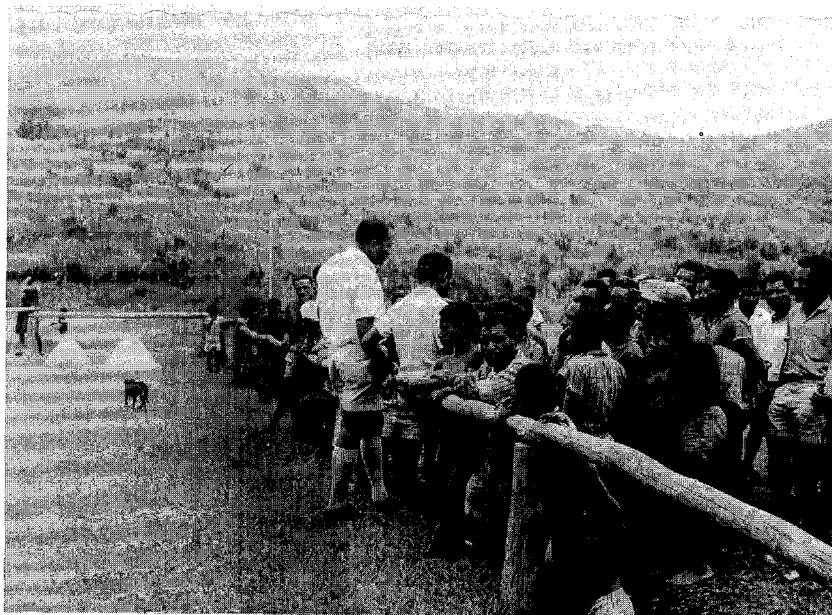
Indigenous candidates

It is probably futile to try to disentangle why particular candidates stood from what they stood for in policy terms, and how they campaigned. If one stands because one's language, dialect or kin group feels the need to assert itself against a rival group that also seeks the prestige of numbering the local member among its flock, are policy considerations really relevant? If a candidate is confident of his language, dialect or kin group's votes, and his opponents are equally assured of theirs, does campaigning make much sense? If only the prestige of a quasi-traditional group with certain "fixed" characteristics is at stake, is a policy, say, in regard to local economic development, any more interesting to study, or relevant to the whole electoral process, than the likelihood that success at the elections will bring a "Toyota" into the area? In short, are not most of the questions we ask about, and the behaviour we look for in studying, elections in more highly developed countries irrelevant in Papua and New Guinea? And yet, many Papuans and New Guineans did take the elections very seriously indeed, and it is with their conception of what it was all about that we shall try to grapple here.

The nomination period

The 84 returning offices throughout the Territory were open to receive nominations for over a month. Nonetheless, a group of candidates at Mount Hagen managed to add some colour even to such a dull procedure as nomination by spending much of the night preceding the opening of nominations on the steps of the Mount Hagen Subdistrict Office, clad in feathers and war-paint, and eager to be the first to nominate.

In many ways, the nomination period provided an opportunity for a rather special form of jockeying for power. Once one man had nominated, the very fact of his nomination often stimulated others to action, while, in other cases, the early nomination of a particular candidate served effectively to dissuade others from standing. Indeed, the whole process of jockeying for power during the nomination period had some rather entertaining consequences. Well after nominations had closed in the Western Highlands, for example, the electoral pamphlets of a European candidate who had withdrawn were in relatively wide circulation, and some of his campaigners were still out in the bush well beyond his reach distributing yet more literature on his behalf. Another European candidate, in the Morobe Regional, had to send some



Oala Oala-Rarua campaigning on the edge of the airstrip at Woitape in the Goilala Subdistrict on his only visit to an area where he could not hope to garner more than a very few votes.

(in which a \$50 fee was necessary to prevent frivolous nominees unable to gain at least $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the leading candidate's primary votes) came from 2 candidates for the Chuave Open. They said that, first, they bet \$50 at the Chuave Subdistrict Office, and then went out to campaign.

It would be erroneous to assume that, in the absence of parties in most electorates, all who wanted to could stand. In fact, there was a most intense period of politicking before nominations opened in many areas, during which men struggled for the "right" to nominate.

At Kainantu, a man who stood in 1964 and has a considerable reputation beyond the confines of his own electorate was prevented from standing again by a man who had only been the local council clerk when the former had been council president. The latter was, however, the more important figure in local clan politics, and so he stood. In the Kandrian-Pc.mio electorate, the decision of the sitting member, Koriam Urekit, to stand again was sufficient to provoke another man in his own village who was opposed to Koriam's alleged "cargoism" to stand against him. At Lufa, yet another brother of the former member, Ugi Biritu (the third of his classificatory brothers to stand), tried and failed. At Sinasina, one clan decided to put someone up again, and, in place of the man who had failed in 1964, the clan put up his son.

Some candidates applied pressure to one another to stand

of his supporters supporters around his old electorate to tell the voters that he had changed his mind at the last minute and was standing in the Regional rather than the Munya Open electorate. An indigenous candidate for the East Sepik Regional had personally to spend some of his valuable campaign time in inking out the many references to the Angoram Open area in his leaflets.

Perhaps the most delightful description of the nomination process

in a Regional rather than an Open electorate, or in an Open electorate for which only the man being pressured was eligible (of the 2 concerned), but where his chances were less hopeful than in the electorate for which they were both eligible. Finally, relatively close kin sometimes stood against each other, as in the Kikori Open electorate, or one friend gave way and stood where his hopes were less bright in order to help his friend. In the Western District, one family tried to sew up the whole area by putting up the head of the family in the South Fly Open electorate, and his better-educated son in the Regional; both failed. An indigenous candidate, the only Papuan or New Guinean to stand in a Regional electorate where he was not born, again stood in an area where he was not as strong as at home in order to allow his brother victory on the Gazelle.

An important aspect of the nomination process was the selection of the name under which one chose to stand. Presumably, this device was originally introduced to allow indigenous candidates to campaign under any or all of the names by which they may become known from time to time. Now, the device has been put to very effective use by European candidates too, anxious to exploit any favourable connotations that may adhere to a particular name. Thus, a European candidate in the Chimbu Regional took the name of the father, a powerful traditional fight-leader, of a candidate in the Gumine Open in order to capitalise on the resultant confusion (according to the rather cynical Open electorate candidate); the Open candidate won, but **his** namesake in the Regional failed to gain re-election. One candidate in the Okapa Open was able, accidentally, to capitalise marginally upon his name in quite a different way. One of his names was "Makati", the Pidgin spelling of the name of a former Director of the Department of District Administration, and a candidate for the Moresby Open. The Okapa candidate is thought to have been named after the nambawan kiap, who had been responsible for a great deal of the early patrolling of the Okapa area. In 1964, Dennis Buchanan, who campaigns under the single name of Dennis, gained a surprisingly large number of votes in the far west of the Western Highlands where he had done no more than drop pamphlets from an aeroplane. One



Campaigning could be rugged

possible explanation of his comparative success in the area is that the local people thought they were voting for a very popular local kiap whose name is Dennis too.

In sum, there is a preselection system not unlike a rather informal version of the American primary that in some way determines who shall and who shall not stand, despite the absence of parties at the grassroots level. The nomination of one candidate may stimulate others to action, as shown by the prevalence of one language, kin or even mission group provoking a member of a rival group to stand. At Maprik, the preselection process had quite different overtones, in that the 3 European candidates, all of whom lost their deposits, confessed that their primary motive in standing was simply to spoil the chances of a radical indigenous member of the first house, who won again by an overwhelming margin. In other cases, the nomination



of one candidate served to frighten others off, or to standing in electorates where their chances were not so good. In one Western Highlands electorate, the sitting member frightened all of his potential competitors away, by claiming rather more successfully than his fellow incumbents from the area that the House of Assembly requires special knowledge and abilities from its members. He had now acquired these special talents, and it would be a waste if someone else were now elected and had to start learning all over again. So effectively was this message spread that this member was elected unopposed, and all of his fellow advocates of this particular cause were ultimately re-elected too.

Out Campaigning

It is clear that much indigenous campaigning for office takes forms that Europeans simply do not regard as relevant, and often do not see. Certainly, much of what goes on is not regarded as legitimate by many European candidates. In one Western Highlands electorate, for example, a candidate was returned through the simple device of threatening to call up all of his Moka debts, through rather doubtfully successful legal action if necessary. At least one other Highlands candidate gained prestige from publicity given to his dream that he would in fact be re-elected; he was. Is it a coincidence that every indigenous Highlands member who owned a "Toyota" truck was returned? Not all of them gave free rides to their constituents, but all shared equally in the prestige that accrues to the successful entrepreneur, even in areas where European politicians were resented for their success in business, which was often interpreted as having occurred at the expense of the local people.

Many candidates, in effect, ran 2 campaigns. On the one hand, they sought support in relatively traditional terms, while, on the other hand, they gave speeches and distributed policy statements in accordance with modern electoral practice. Perhaps they gained additional prestige by showing that they felt equally at home in both political worlds.

One of the most persistent impressions left by the recent elections is of the degree to which many indigenous candidates regarded the whole process as being predominantly educative in character. They were learning, or showing that they knew already, how Australians go about winning elections. During the elections, for example, the librarian at the University of Papua and New Guinea sent a circular to all candidates requesting copies of any electoral literature or campaign materials they might have. The project was eminently worthwhile, and reactions to it seemed to reveal a great deal about indigenous conceptions of the electoral process.

The librarian's letter was clearly a demand in the eyes of many of the less sophisticated indigenous candidates. One candidate for the Sinasina Open electorate wrote back that he had indeed been delighted to receive the letter from the university, and would be only too pleased to comply with its requests, if only he could read it. He was literate in Pidgin, and had been able to decipher the address, but, unless the librarian wrote to him again in Pidgin, there was nothing he could do to help.

The very idea of receiving a letter from so august, remote and white an institution as the university stimulated many other candidates to action. Quite a number were clearly perturbed that they had nothing to tell or send the librarian. Several wrote apologetic letters including their pictures cut from the "rogues gallery" polling aids produced by the Administration. When they were unclear as to what

the librarian really required, they answered anyway by sending long stories of their lives, or local legends. Some felt that the local people were so primitive that they had not bothered them with policy-issues at all, although they, being rather more sophisticated than the mass, had certain priorities of their own. One perturbed candidate wrote in to tell the librarian what he had told his people. If what he had said or promised were wrong or simply not up to standard, even if the librarian simply had some better ideas, would he please let the candidate know? A more sophisticated candidate clearly felt uneasy at the request; he could not say now what he had promised the people, but, when he was elected, he would come to the university and tell all. His failure at the polls has deprived the university of a most interesting visitor, and posterity of a further insight into local politics.

It seems clear that few candidates had any real policies other than to help their people and to try to develop their areas. Nonetheless, at least for European consumption, as well as to show that they understood electoral procedure properly, they produced a wide variety of promises. Perhaps the most radical set of promises was made by a candidate in the Sepik who promised to go to Canberra to discover the (secret) source of the Europeans' wealth, and to have himself crucified on the steps of the Australian parliament to save his people. His sincerity remains untested, for he lost. In another part of the Sepik, a rather radical candidate attempted to explain why Papua and New Guinea should become independent rather than Australia's seventh state. His constituents, perhaps apocryphally, thought that he had been talking of the benefits of "underpants" as opposed to some mystic "seven steps" - his speech is sometimes a little slurred. Independent candidates in another area, that is, candidates who were **not** affiliated with any political party, were supposedly understood to be just those candidates who were advocating independence for the Territory, whereas the reverse was more likely to be the case.

What candidates thought they could do, therefore, varied from the millenarian to the totally passive reception of news, advice and orders from the Government in Port Moresby. The prevailing conception of the politician's role was that of a man supposed to carry the people's wishes to the Government, whatever his own beliefs, and to bring the Government's answers back to the people. An indigenous pastor, who had travelled abroad, and was now a candidate in the elections for the Chuave Open seat, put it rather poetically when he wrote :

"The elected members are like as a donkey. Well, we all know about the donkeys. When one donkey gets a heavy loads on its' back. Then it can go and come as the way it is commanded. Now we know the elected members are just as a donkey. When they wanted to come in the House of Assembly. Then they carry all kinds of questions and problems in. Which they found from their own people. After showing these to the House of Assembly, they carry out the complete answers and Lawes out to their people."

Unfortunately, however, not all of the members of the first House of

Assembly had performed their roles properly :

"But some of those first elected members of the House of Assembly use to say anything. Which is not correct. Also they don't know what they're saying. That is because they don't use their minds and thoughts well enough. Only thing they have to say is because they're elected Members of House of Assembly. So the people can get frightened of them. But includes I think good. Christain man can do better than any other man. Those who were not good Cristain."

Rather more candidates than in 1964 produced electoral literature, although a great deal of it was still stimulated by (apparent) European demands for it, or was even paid for by European supporters. European candidates in Regional electorates often paid for leaflets for "constituent" Open electorate candidates whose support they sought. Many sitting members had such literature. 2 candidates in Eastern Papua who had been somewhat neglectful of their electorates, on their own admission, circulated letters supporting one another. Quite a number of Papuan candidates imitated John Guise's plea in 1964 to "vote for the man you know, not for someone you do not know". An indigenous candidate in the Morobe District imitated Toni Voutas's successful formula of asking people to vote for him (in Pidgin) on "the day of the red (polling) boxes". Not a few candidates showed that they had been present when a European member had told a number of indigenous members that they should have leaflets, how to set them out, and where to have them printed. There was a great deal of fellow-feeling among sitting members, of a variety of political philosophies, who feared that they might not be returned.

For the first time, however, a number of indigenous candidates designed their own leaflets, and thereby gave much truer expression to their own conceptions of what the elections were really about.

A number of leaflets were written in the sort of English that indicates that some Papuans and New Guineans are beginning to regard it as their own language in which they can express themselves with a minimum of self-consciousness. The most poignant of these appeals appears on page 2 of this 'Newsletter'. Tom Koraea, just as touchingly, wrote : "I AM A MAN OF LOVE." beside his picture, and continued : "I have worked for the Local Government Council. I am young, but wise and will do my best to develop our country. I hate discrimination." An intensely serious picture of the candidate was set above the following text : "I, Godfrey Agen Dua of Sinasina Chimbu Regional, know what you, my people want. If you vote me No. 1, I will speak for you in the House of Assembly..." Fortunately, the message was repeated in Pidgin for the indigenous portion of his electorate.

While many a European candidate sought to identify himself with his indigenous electors by dropping all reference to "Mr." or "Masta" from his literature, the former member for Finschhafen

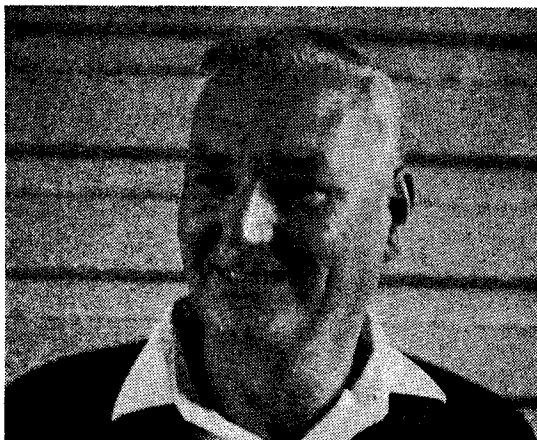
insisted in much of his campaign literature on being called "Mista Zure Zurecnuoc". A relatively wild touch was added by Zure just stamping his name, and an instruction to vote for him, on thousands of sheets of paper, while Sinake Giregire, after a comparatively long period of political inactivity, suddenly went wild for a few days and hand-sprayed his name on rocks, and any trucks whose owners were willing. **Many** posters were illegal in that relatively few candidates had bothered to state by whom their posters were authorised and printed. In most electorates, the candidates agreed informally to do nothing about such posters. The printers must have had a marvellous time printing the posters that appeared in indigenous languages.

One additional poster probably deserves mention for its quite unique note of desperation. Underneath his picture, Dirona Abe wrote : "The man who has been your Member since, 1964 to 1968. You know him. Put your trust in the man you know. The man who has already served and done some things for the people and will do many more things for you. The man who will continue to be the member for **people**. **Do not** put your trust in someone you do not know. **DO NOT VOTE FOR HIM. YOU KNOW DIRONA ABE...**"

By and large, the more sophisticated indigenous candidates rated the electorate's intelligence rather higher than did the European candidates. Many a European poster (see opposite) had only the face of the candidate, his name, and an injunction to vote I next to it. Many indigenous candidates, on the other hand, had some text beside their names. They ranged in sophistication from a simple promise to do one's best, or the repetition of a party platform, all the way to John Guise, who had a 4-page pamphlet with his picture on the cover. Inside, he had a 12-point programme, and a 19-point list of promises achieved and forthcoming - a careful assessment of his achievements as a member. He shared, with a part-Asian candidate for Namatanai, the benefit of a name which rhymes easily. In his view, one should "Be wise Vote John Guise", just as the latter candidate felt that "Julius Chan is THE MAN".

In a number of areas, an issue arose as to whether candidates should accept ministerial office when elected, and thereby, perhaps, have to neglect their electorates somewhat. Many candidates promised never to accept such office. The former Under-Secretary for the Treasury, who was not re-elected, promised, on the other hand, that he would be made "Ministerial Member for Finance", a position which is not yet open to elected members of the House of Assembly.

Other pamphlets made claims that varied from one that the incumbent member had been taught at special schools for members in Australia (which was partially true), to attacks that an opponent was attached to the wrong mission. Some leaflets were rather friendlier in tone; they opened by referring to the electors as "brothers and sisters", and concluded with "Thank you. Happy New Year long yupela ologeta." Clearly, a candidate's address on his leaflets could play some part if it were "c/- Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries", or "c/- Radio Station 9PA".



PETER FOX

Masta bilong skulim ol long bisnis

Authorised by S. FOX, Goroka, New Guinea

Printed by [X] Printing Co. Pty. Ltd.

A not atypical European campaign leaflet
(The Pidgin reads : "A European whose work is to teach everyone about business.")

station. In some cases, the kiaps told the candidates finally to get away from the local government office, where they tended to congregate during the elections, and campaign. Where they campaigned alone, candidates tended, for example, to boast that they were literate in English (as did a candidate on Manus), or to appeal directly to their "ethnic" vote. One Kainantu candidate wrote on his poster : "Wantok markim nambawan..." (Pidgin for : "Speakers of my language (less frequently, just "friends") vote I for..."). Those candidates who boasted too openly of their achievements tended often to go down, while candidates of all kinds used a straightforward ethnic appeal of the type outlined.

Some indigenous candidates were still somewhat unsure about the details of electoral mechanics, although none of them were quite as monumentally misinformed as the European candidate whose

In many areas, indigenous candidates again campaigned together in groups, and, in traditional fashion, avoided charges of "bigheadedness" by praising their opponents, and down-grading themselves. One candidate at Mendi just told the people how to cast a vote (and not for whom), and explained that only God could tell who would (or should) win. A candidate at Goroka told the people he was only a "rubbish man", but still quite willing to serve. Another candidate told the people to vote I for him if they liked, but 2 if they preferred someone else. At any rate, he concluded, they should give him number 2.

Many indigenous candidates campaigned in the conventional Australian and American sense only at the behest of their European backers, or sophisticated indigenes on the local government

pamphlet appears on this page, and which is now something of a collector's item. There was quite some controversy during polling about the preferential system. Some candidates became so confused about its operation that they told their supporters not to indicate any preferences at all, in order to avoid helping anyone else to be elected once they were eliminated from the count. The same candidates not infrequently sought the voters' preferences in areas where they were unlikely to gain many primary votes. The leaflet shown seems to have been **designed in the** belief that, as the candidate was placed fifth from the top on the ballot-paper, he would require as many fifth preferences as he could possibly get to win. He recalled as many of his pamphlets as he could find once the actual operation of the preference system was explained to him.

European candidates

23 European candidates stood in 17 Open electorates, and 32 stood in 14 Regionals. By and large, they had more money to spend, and easier access to cars and aeroplanes. It is not surprising, therefore, that European candidates won in 11 of the 15 Regional electorates. The victory of 4 indigenous candidates in Regional electorates was, however, largely unexpected, while several indigenes did amazingly well in such sprawling

VOTE

5

HENRY

LEHTO

Authorised by Henry Lehto

and mountainous areas as the Chimbu and Western Highlands Regional electorates.

Among other things, the superior financial resources at their command, enabled European candidates to employ paid indigenous campaigners, and to equip them with a car and tape-recorder where necessary. They could charter aeroplanes to travel in, and to drop their leaflets in relatively inaccessible areas, and they even

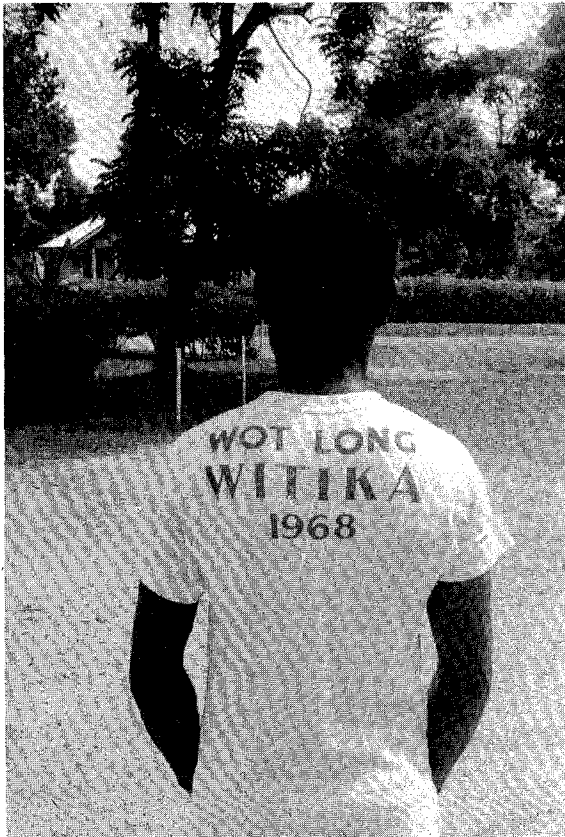


A candidate waits for a crowd to gather in the Eastern Highlands

chartered an occasional helicopter to pay a quick visit to a remote part of their electorates. Some of them gave away presents such as airline bags, badges and shirts to certain groups of voters. Some held parties for groups of local leaders, and gave away tobacco, beer or free trips. In some cases, the indigenous people reacted by regarding such gifts as mere bribery, while others saw them as evidence of what they had suspected all along, that is, that their previous member had done very well in business while in the house, largely, they felt, at their expense. In one area, where 2 candidates were engaged in giving away free shirts, the battle was mounted with some care. One candidate was able to give away a considerable number of shirts with his name printed on them well before the polls opened, while another aspirant had to wait until the last moment until distributing his as they were expected to last for no more than 2 or 3 days.

Badges were quite a common gift, and cloth-tags with the candidate's name on. European candidates ^{could afford} to have more copies of their leaflets printed, and were not, therefore, loth to airdrop them in more remote areas, or to give large quantities of them to illiterate voters who gained local prestige through their possession of a piece of paper with printing on it. One candidate gave away free sticks of tobacco, wrapped in plastic bags with his name embossed. One of his constituents received 14 such bags, while the unfortunate candidate received a grand total of only 370 votes all told.

European candidates varied a great deal in style. By and large, their posters displayed a greater concern (usually negative)



A participant in the battle
of the shirts

certain kind. In at least 2 areas, European candidates were offered local women for the night as a sign of friendship, but the acceptance of such offers did not always result in victory at the polls.

One European candidate, Ron Slaughter, was, perhaps unconsciously, responsible for the most gruesome slogan of the whole elections. He advised his wouldbe constituents to "Succeed with Slaughter".

The European candidates who won were not so much men of a common philosophy as men who attempted to show that they cared for the local people. It was necessary to go into the villages, but, while a polaroid camera or taperecording local songs might gain one some brief attention, the candidate who amused the local people but refused to answer an eager councillor's questions about the House of Assembly was lost. Perhaps the most curious form of campaigning took place at Bongos in the Sepik District. To a man, a group of villages nearby voted for a particular candidate, but, when polling was completed by each village group, it formed itself into an attentive audience, and insisted that the candidate

with the "Big" issues such as self-government and independence than did their indigenous rivals'. In fact, overall, the European candidates were probably more "progressive" in public than the majority of Papuans and New Guineans. Their style varied from that of Barry Holloway, who distributed an 8-page booklet (with cardboard covers) explaining how people could nominate, how to cast a vote, and, finally, for whom, to the more usual picture-plus-vote-I variety. Some candidates did themselves incalculable harm by "rubbishing" other, especially indigenous, radical, candidates publicly by name, and offended local sensibilities. One candidate did well by becoming known as the man who dropped pamphlets from an aeroplane, while another offended local people by walking uninvited into villages, sticking up his posters, and leaving without saying a word to the local people. Personal contact may be the key to electoral success, but it must be contact of a

they had supported give them a policy-speech (which was usually his first to each such group).

European planters, and other well-known figures tended to do well even where they were not particularly liked. Often, this was just because they were well-known, although in some relatively sophisticated areas the people were so disappointed with the work and achievements of their previous indigenous member that they decided that it was better to vote for someone who was not especially popular who could do the job than for another wantok. One European candidate ensured his election by claiming that it was necessary for an effective member to speak English, and was apparently believed. In another area, victory required that certain linguistic blocs that were not likely to support a particular European candidate be dissuaded from voting. Only 25% of the eligible population of this area cast a vote, because, in the absence of any alternative sources of information, they believed the candidate's propaganda that their previous European member had not once in the past 4 years even been into the House of Assembly. If he had been too young, immature and irresponsible to feel confident to face the Government and his fellow members in the house, and had instead remained outside, ashamed, was it not likely that an indigenous candidate, -especially one to whom the local people felt no particular loyalty, would do likewise?

In the Moresby Open electorate, the Reverend Percy Chatterton, who speaks several local languages, appealed mainly to the local Papuan vote, while J.K. McCarthy, a former nambawan kiap, appealed to the European and New Guinean vote. McCarthy succeeded to the extent that many Highlanders referred to polling day as de bilong voutim Makati, but failed to associate it with the elections.



A former District Commissioner campaigns

The key problem for most European candidates concerned the manner in which they hoped to identify themselves with the local voters. Some tried to dissociate themselves completely from local European society, and were called racialists and worse for their pains. Toni Voutas, for example, is known throughout his electorate simply as "Toni", and

gives a relatively remote village as his address. His rival in the Morobe Regional, H.L.R. Niall, a former District Commissioner, was known throughout the area as "Masta Nil". While some candidates walked, without carriers, from village to village, others flew overhead, or gently slipped their leaflets through a small vent at the top of the window so as not to affect the airconditioning in their speeding car. John Watts, a much more conservative politician than Voutas, thought it necessary to emphasise in his leaflets that a coffee company he had set up in the Western Highlands was there to help both indigenous and expatriate businessmen. J.K. McCarthy, the former nambawan kiap reminded the voters in the Moresby Open that he had once been Papa Bilong Ol (Pidgin for : "father (perhaps guardian) of all the people"), a phrase used to describe the true role of the kiap by the autobiographically inclined among their number nowadays rather than by an admiring indigenous public.

The most "swinging", up-to-date attempt at voter-identification was that of an Asian candidate for the Kavieng Open electorate. While many an aspiring Highlander had posed stiffly for his campaign photograph in an ill-fitting suit to demonstrate his modernity, Perry Kwan appeared in a larger-than-life photograph dressed in a white bow-tie and stiffly starched collar, leading, one assumes, to a dinner-suit at least, if not tails. Beneath the photograph appeared the following message to the voters of New Ireland, in English :

"The versatile, modern, democratic young man who is daringly outspoken and had responsibly served the general public, who likes all nationalities, gets along with people of all walks of life, all age groups and already well prepared to improve your income, your social, economic and political advancement!"

In the Sepik, racial feeling was at its most explicit. Alan Davidson, a European candidate, repeatedly emphasised in his speeches that he was aware that many Sepiks hated Europeans, both for their sexual exploits along the river as well as for expanding their businesses, apparently at the local people's expense. He also attacked a rival European candidate repeatedly for advocating a "Recognise Rhodesia" policy for Australia. An apathetic European electorate finally probably became bored at the 2 candidates' recriminations about a country about which most of them knew nothing, and they may even have become apprehensive at Davidson's persistence in raising the issue. The indigenous electorate was scarcely concerned in the argument, if, indeed, any of it even received any of the spate of roneoed charges and denials. The most strident indication of racial tension in the Sepik came finally from the president of the Wewak-But Local Government Council who sent a circular-letter to all local government council presidents in the East Sepik District advocating that none of them should support a European candidate in the Regional electorate. His choice, Michael Somare, finally won, even in areas where he was not directly known, probably because of the Sepik people's long history of quite tragic contact with Europeans (including at least one of their roistering European former members).

That European candidates often failed to understand just what they were about may be shown by the failure of many of them to realise that some of their key supporters in Open electorates managed to receive quite substantial aid from several European Regional candidates at once. Others affiliated themselves confidently with well-known cargo cult leaders, only to discover, after the elections, that charismatics do not always retain their influence over lengthy periods of time. Where the European candidates in the Regional became too bothersome for an indigenous Open electorate candidate, they might even do what one man did in the Eastern Highlands and tell his supporters to give one-third of their votes to each of the Europeans. Perhaps the classic example of complete insensitivity to local feelings was provided by a young candidate at Maprik who thrust his pamphlets forcefully into the unwilling hands of voters too ashamed to look at him. He was so confident that acceptance of his leaflets would lead to victory that he carefully explained in the car going home just why Papuans and New Guineans were incapable of exercising effective political leadership, even among themselves. If called upon, he would be quite willing to serve as the Territory's first prime minister. Did he really not notice that the people had refused to accept his pamphlets, not through shyness before his still **beardless** eminence, but because they were ashamed to confront such youthful brashness with even insincere politeness? Perhaps they realised that he would gain a total of only 25 votes, fewer than any other candidate anywhere else in Papua and New Guinea.

Perhaps the most forceful example of European insensitivity came from a candidate in the New Britain Regional who toured the South coast of New Britain for 10 days in the company of a prominent local leader whom he has since denounced as a cargo cultist. His opponent in the Regional spent less than 48 hours in the area, and did not leave the environs of the Government station in the area, and yet he gained ~~an~~ overwhelming share of the votes cast in the area. The explanation was simple, as the defeated candidate later discovered. Each night, after supporting the eventual loser publicly during the day, the alleged cultist would go forth to tell his supporters that the first, unlike the second, candidate, would block the local people's access to European wealth and power.

A footnote should perhaps be added here on the problem of "feedback" in the social sciences. Many European candidates claimed to have combed the various books and articles produced by a number of academics after the 1964 elections looking for gimmicks and ideas they might profitably use in their campaigns. I was not a little flattered to discover that a successful candidate had somehow gained possession of EPW-6, and used it to identify for him just whose support was necessary to win in the Henganofi and Lufa areas. Shades of an applied political science?

The relevance of political parties

Several different kinds of inter-electoral organisations and intra-electoral machines were set up both before and during the elections. None of them were as well organised at the local level, as likely to turn out the vote, or to cause people to identify themselves with a particular candidate in other than the most personal way, as those organisations that are called "political parties" in Australia or America. For the purposes of this section, therefore, a political party is any group that so defines itself, or it is any organisation that is a priori deemed to require investigation because someone of prominence has claimed that it exists and has called it a party. Political organisations that did not call themselves political parties will be discussed in the next section of this 'Newsletter'.

Political parties were significant electorally in 2 principal ways : as an issue in themselves; and as bodies linking candidates across electoral boundaries, and, less frequently, linking some candidates and their supporters.

Before the elections, there was considerable public dispute as to whether Papua and New Guinea was ready yet for political parties. One group of prominent planters and businessmen (mainly Europeans) in the Highlands attempted to set up a regional Highlands party during the second half of 1967 in an obvious attempt to forestall "outside" interference in local politics by those parties that already existed. Fear of such organisations as agents of change on the part of many indigenous politicians, coupled with local European self-doubts as to whether parties may not acquire too great an organisational momentum of their own, ensured the demise of the proposal. At about this time too, a seminar was held at Mount Hagen which was attended by many prominent Western Highlands leaders, European and indigenous, to discuss the concept of parties. The meeting was chaired by a European member of the first House of Assembly, and a number of Administration officials allegedly attended too. Without any evident feeling of being pressured towards such a conclusion, most of those who attended the meeting came away convinced that political parties were not a good thing, at least at this stage and in the Highlands. Since then, there has been a consensus throughout most of the Highlands that parties are a premature phenomenon on the Territory scene, and the Highlands Farmers and Settlers Association has gone so far as to insist that public servants not be allowed to join any political parties at all.

During September or October, a group of prominent indigenous businessmen from the Eastern Highlands, Soso Suvi, Sabumei Kofikai, Mikaive Ahuzare, Kirupanu Ezae and Andreas Kauba, prepared a document attacking the very notion of political parties. They admitted publicly that they had received assistance from some local Europeans in preparing the document, and several of them certainly

did not know how much the pamphlet had cost to print, how many copies had been printed, or where they had been sent. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that all of them agreed with the document's contents. Despite the protestations of a European candidate, who distributed several thousand copies of the pamphlet in his own campaign, that only a group of indigenes could have prepared such an authentic sounding document, there can also be little doubt that the men who signed it opposed the introduction of parties into the Highlands at this stage for a variety of more complex and sophisticated reasons than that they ^{thought} of parties only as celebrations. Translated from the Pidgin in as literal a form as possible, with the original sentence-structure preserved intact, the document said :

" What About Political Parties
It Is Not Time To Start Them Now?

We have heard a great deal of loose talk about this thing called a party.

First of all, we thought a party was some kind of feast just like those we have at Christmas or at wedding celebrations for a young couple or when opening a new council or store or something like that when we have a party or "singsing".

Now however we understand that this word party deals with something else. It has something to do with elections and with men who are standing for the House of Assembly.

Some men say : I am a member of a party. Then another man says : I belong to another party. Then another man gets up and says : I belong to yet another party and so on and on and our heads are almost dizzy with this talk about all kinds of parties.

We do not like parties because we are unsure just what parties are for. Is a party supposed to help us all or just some individuals? We think parties are no good and can cause damage in our area. We are very disturbed at all this talk of parties and we are worried that if many parties are begun they will start to quarrel all over the place and create all sorts of new conflicts and our present good conditions will be destroyed.

We five are not men of no account. We have acquired considerable status through our good work. We have travelled around and we have not found anyone who really understands parties.

We know that all of the people must work together to develop Papua and New Guinea. We must all follow a single road and not wander about all over the place on all sorts of little tracks and it is no good if some kind of disturbance such as a party arises and destroys our present situation

completely. We think as follows. In the 1968 elections you should not vote for a man if he says he is a member of a party. We must all vote for men who say : I do not like parties and will not join one. I will support the government's work in looking after the people and support all laws that help the people's businesses. You must all vote for this kind of man in the elections.

We can do without this talk of parties we do not like them and we will not vote for them."

The foregoing statement provided the most forceful demonstration of the degree to which parties themselves were an issue in the Highlands. 2 of the document's signatories were themselves candidates in the Goroka Open electorate, and those few Highlands candidates, both European and indigenous, who were active members of parties had either to conceal the fact, or even, in one case, to preach publicly against parties altogether. In one Highlands electorate, 2 candidates who were members of quite opposed parties agreed informally to keep parties out of the elections. In the interests of fostering a viable party system in Papua and New Guinea, it would be better, they felt, not to frighten the local people, though neither candidate ever denied his party affiliation if asked about it. One indigenous candidate discovered to his cost that it could be an electoral liability even to be related to a man who was a prominent party functionary in Port Moresby.

Of the 6 political parties described in EPW's 5 and 10, only 5 actually claimed to have put up any candidates in the elections. The Country Party was moribund before the end of 1967.

Perhaps a note should be added here, however, to explain that it is impossible to compile complete lists of party-sponsored candidates. Most of the parties had a small public list, but some of their legislative members, for example, were not prepared to stand for election as party candidates. There were, then, private members of the parties, men who agreed with them, and were not opposed so far as possible by a fellow-member of the same party. Some candidates were members of up to 4 separate parties in an attempt to be on the winning side whatever happened, and to keep the number of their possible opponents as low as possible. Other candidates supported a particular party without the party's headquarters necessarily knowing anything at all about it, as one candidate did, for example, in the Goilala. He supported Pangu in the belief that it was the most conservative of the parties. Other candidates, on the other hand, were regarded by party headquarters, where these existed, as members, although, in fact, they either denied it, did not know about it, as someone else had "spoken for" them, or were members of quite another party. Perhaps the picture may be a little clearer at the end of this section.

Pangu put up more candidates in the elections than any other party. It was by far the best organised of the parties, with a fulltime secretary and an office in Port Moresby, as well as membership cards, badges, and even shirts to sell. Not all of the members of the party's Parliamentary Wing found it advisable to campaign openly as party candidates. Altogether, 13 candidates were named to the press as being publicly identified in their electorates with the party, while individual party members publicly claimed anything up to 30 affiliated candidates in the elections. At least one party official hoped for the longterm support of up to 52 candidates in almost 50 electorates. The degree to which individual candidates identified themselves as Pangu Pati men, therefore, varied considerably from place to place, and among individual candidates in a particular area.

Albert Maori Kiki, the party's secretary, identified himself more openly perhaps than anyone else with the party. His 4-page campaign leaflet (pictured overleaf) contained a picture of the candidate in his Pangu shirt, a summary of the party's policy in Motu, and a reprint of the party symbol. Toni Voutas advertised himself as a "membra bilong Pangu Pati", and circulated a 3-page document with his picture at the front and containing a complete version of the party's platform. Cecil Abel circulated roneoed pamphlets in 4 Papuan languages and English in which he explained :

"The time for independent members is over. If you put in one man who stands alone in the House of Assembly he will be very weak. His vote and his voice is only one. He can do very little. But if 20 men, 30 men or 40 men stand together in the House as one they will be very strong. They will speak with one voice. They will vote like one man with 40 manpower.

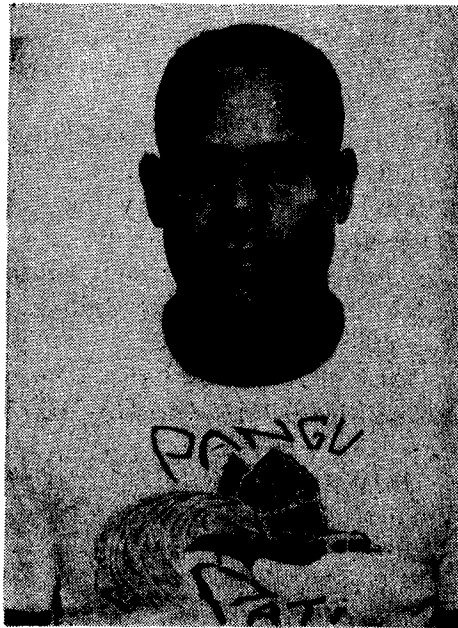
"This standing together is a key. It is called PARTY. PARTY POWER is the secret gigibori. That is why PANGU PATI will have the power. Dim dims (Europeans) have known this secret for a long time. Papuans and New Guineans must wake up and stand together and learn this secret too."

Cecil Abel was opposed for the Milne Bay Regional by a Papuan fellow-member of Pangu, Elliott Elijah, who listed briefly the 12 main points of the Pangu platform on his posters, but did not mention the party by name. Quite a number of other Pangu candidates did likewise. They wanted to stand on the party's platform, but avoid needless arguments about the party as such.

Indeed, the campaign against Pangu in particular, and parties in general, was so intense in some areas, especially the Morobe District, that it was the party's opponents that often indirectly set the pace for party candidates. Niall, the Regional candidate, campaigned against Pangu in a number of different ways, while Zure Zurecnuoc, who supported Niall in the Regional, warned the electors of Finschhafen that Pangu would destroy the country.

The campaign by what was sometimes termed the "anti-party party" in the Eastern Highlands was so intense that neither Barry Holloway nor Dennis Buchanan mentioned their affiliations with Pangu and the All Peoples Party respectively in the villages, although neither of them ever publicly denied their affiliations when asked about them. In one area of the Morobe District, Pangu had a special problem. Although many of the local people supported their local Pangu candidate, the men would **not** wear their Pangu shirts because the women would jeer at them quite mercilessly when they did. "Pangu" has rather strong sexual associations in the local language.

**PANGU PATI CANDIDATE
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ELECTION. 1968.**



**VOTE
ALBERT MAORI KIKI, WHO
Stands for
PANGU PATI AND YOU**

F

At Maprik, Pita Lus signed up several thousand members for Pangu, and collected over \$800 in subscriptions for the party. It is unclear whether the party was simply Lus's language-group in another guise or a policy-oriented body in its own right, although the bitter denunciation of his activities on the party's behalf by his rivals certainly made many of his supporters aware of the political consequences of party membership. Curiously, Lus's party organisation gained such a momentum that his opponents all but gave up campaigning. There is so far no evidence to substantiate the charges of some of them that Pangu was little more than a new type of cargo cult in the area. One of Lus's opponents gave an interesting insight into the meaning of party organisation in Papua and New Guinea. He was an endorsed All Peoples Party candidate but had not mentioned his party during his brief campaign. He had joined the A.P.P. because he was opposed to Pangu especially, but was really opposed to indigenous party organisation in general, so he did not mention his party a great deal at all.

In the East Sepik Regional electorate, Pangu operated indirectly in another way. It provided a link between Lus and Michael Somare such that Lus devoted a great deal of his attention to the party's Regional candidate, and brought in a sizable proportion of the vote for him in an area where Somare was not particularly well-known, and one of his rivals had lived for quite some time. Somare was also well-known throughout the Sepik in other ways : as a former broadcaster over Radio Wewak, and as a fervent advocate of the cause of indigenous public servants. His membership of Pangu's central executive can only have cemented his identification with relatively radical indigenous politics in the public eye, and so he was able to mobilise the support of many disgruntled public servants, especially teachers, and local government councillors, who brought in the vote for him even in areas where he had never been. Pangu, then, cemented the liaison between candidates in the Sepik, and between some candidates ~~and~~^{and} the more sophisticated opinion-leaders in the remoter areas. The party was, in the end, as much an issue in itself as a means of identifying candidates for the voters. In this last respect, Maprik was probably unique in the Territory, although Pangu did get into the villages in parts of the Morobe and Bougainville Districts too.

The United Democratic Party dropped the "Christian" from its title during the elections. It claimed to have put up 6 "endorsed" candidates in the 2 Sepik Districts, though not all of them admitted that the party had payed their nomination fees, and to have the support of most other candidates in the Sepik, and several others in other parts of the Territory. It claimed 18,000 members, mostly in the Sepik.

In view of the U.D.P's later attempt to join up with Pangu, the following policy statement issued by the party during the elections would seem to imply its disagreement with the All Peoples Party in a number of important respects as much as its desire to bring parties in general out into the open:

"The U.D.P. intends to give second preferences to genuine mainly indigenous (my underlining) political parties rather than to independents, as strong political parties help to promote democratic government. It appeals to native political leaders to actually endorse candidates rather than merely recruit elected Members of the new House of Assembly. The latter practice does nothing to help the people develop their ability to choose between two different sets of policy."

The portion underlined above would seem to refer to the rather widespread feeling around Maprik that the All Peoples Party was an essentially European led and sponsored organisation, although the party's critics often added that it was not really organised at all, that both Pangu and the U.D.P. were more genuinely "organisations".

Just as it was safer not to join any party at all in the Highlands, so most candidates in the Sepik who were not already members of another party sought security in membership of the U.D.P. At Maprik, for example, the party had one endorsed candidate, and 3 other candidates owned party membership cards (or so they claimed).

Missions of all faiths played a considerable role in the Sepik elections, although never formally as institutions. The U.D.P. had some trouble dissociating itself from the Catholic Church after one newspaper had reported that its candidate in the East Sepik Regional was touring his electorate in the company of a European missionary. More than one party leader, however, explained his membership of the U.D.P. in terms of his missionary affiliations, although the party's central executive strenuously denied the link. In non-Catholic areas, however, the picture scarcely differed; one missionary, for example, gave a sermon warning that the new local member should neither drink nor smoke. The message was scarcely lost on the local people, for only one of the local candidates filled the bill.

The All Peoples Party has since reconstituted itself as the All Peoples Group on the ground that it does not feel that Papuans and New Guineans are ready yet for party politics. Certainly, its candidates spent considerable effort attacking all of the other parties, both for their particular policies as well as for existing at all and so hurrying things unduly. The A.P.P. contested 2 Papuan electorates, and had one publicly announced candidate in the Eastern Highlands. It put up at least 5 further candidates in each of the East Sepik and Madang Districts, including 2 candidates at Angoram. The party consisted primarily of a few Europeans and indigenous sympathisers who selected whom they would sponsor in particular electorates. In some cases, the party's candidates were little more than anti-Pangu. The party also claimed sympathisers in a number of other electorates outside the Sepik and Madang areas, but none of them, apart from the 2 in Papua, identified themselves publicly with the party, and some of them were also claimed by other parties.

The Agricultural Reform Party failed in its sponsor's

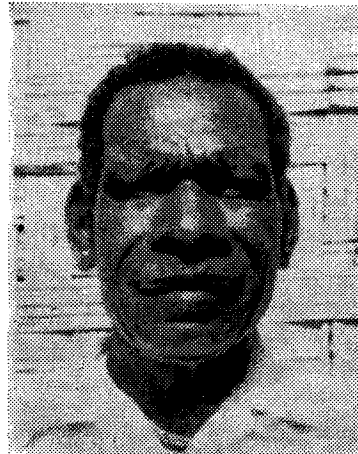
principal ambition; Albert Price was not elected for the Gazelle Open electorate. The party, however, performed a useful function in local Tolai politics. Probably most local candidates joined it, and thereby clearly hoped to keep other - "foreign" - parties out of the area, so as to have some sort of organisation behind them if party politics became a reality in the Territory. Common membership in the one party also allowed local politicians to concentrate on more immediate issues such as land, and leave party politics to another day.

The National Progress Party had a rather cute pamphlet (pictured overleaf) which was used by its 7 public candidates, all Papuans. Only the pictures and names were changed on the leaflets that sought support for "your Napro candidate". The party claimed to have the informal support of roughly a further 23 sympathetic candidates, although none of them seem to have made any public play of their party associations. The party's standard pamphlet was probably one of the most useful electoral giveaways used in the Territory; it had a calendar on it.

In the end, political parties as such probably got no one elected, although they may have deprived a few candidates of some support, or caused one party-member to stand down, or stand elsewhere, in favour of another member. In several electorates fellow-party-members stood against each other, while some candidates managed to become members of up to 4 separate parties. Everyone wanted to be able to claim them, while they wanted to be "on side" whoever won. Perhaps the best demonstration of the overall irrelevance of parties in the villages, though not in the House of Assembly, and of the cynicism with which many candidates viewed their activities, was provided in the campaign of H.L.R.Niall for the Morobe Regional.

"Masta Nil" formed liaisons with a number of indigenous anti-Pangu candidates in his constituent Open electorates, while Toni Voutas propagated Pangu with the help of the party's official candidates in the District and attempted to remain friendly and helpful to those candidates who felt that parties were as yet premature but were not definitely anti-Pangu. Niall made probably more extensive use of the Goroka pamphlet than any other candidate, and distributed several thousand copies of the attack on parties. Nonetheless, Niall was claimed as a member of the United Democratic Party, from whom he had allegedly purchased a membership ticket, and sought the assistance of the All Peoples Party to combat the Pangu menace in his electorate. The A.P.P. sent the rather dubiously effective assistance of several loyal Sepiks to Niall after he had written to Jim McKinnon. Niall's campaign assistants on polling day in Lae went to considerable trouble to pencil in on their campaign material just who the local Pangu candidate was, in the rather dubious conviction that this would discredit him. In the same Open electorate, however, Niall's chief ally was a candidate who, when elected, joined Pangu, but, while a candidate, promised that he and Niall would set up a Labour Party together after the elections. Niall lost, as did most of his supporters in the Open electorates in the area.

VOTE 1 NAPRO



TOM KABU

KIKORI OPEN

**YOU TOO CAN JOIN
AND WORK FOR:—**

- ★ PRIMARY INDUSTRIES & PRODUCTION
 - ★ SELF HELP HOUSING SCHEMES
 - ★ STABLE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
 - ★ SECURITY OF INVESTMENTS
 - ★ NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES
- ALL INQUIRIES PH. 5808. P.O. BOX 218 P.M.**

1968 CALENDAR

JANUARY							FEBRUARY							MARCH							APRIL							
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Authorised by E. N. Karara, Napro Publications Officer, P.O. Box 218, Port Moresby
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Conclusion

Despite the comparatively large number of electoral studies that have so far been undertaken in Papua and New Guinea, a Territorial psephology seems no more likely to emerge here in the immediate future than in Australia or America. Individual candidates still win for a variety of reasons, with the aid of many different electoral gimmicks, forms of electoral organisation or personal attributes. In a few areas, a man's association with such introduced bodies as workers' associations, co-operatives or even political parties may have been relevant. Despite their many declarations of political neutrality, if not apathy, very many missionaries and missionary organisations throughout the Territory were actively involved in the elections, as witnessed by the protests of many disgruntled losers and the loud boasts of hopeful seekers after ecclesiastical sanction for their campaigns. Business firms, officials, indeed the whole gamut of the Territory's many occupational and social groups, took part in the elections, as did organisations as varied (although sometimes mutually coextensive) as cargo cults, local government councils and political parties, and other forms of linkage between candidates.

In the end, we probably do not know really why particular candidates won in certain areas any more than we know these same facts about more highly developed societies, although a great deal of what does happen is probably less visible to the outside observer in Papua and New Guinea than, say, in Australia. In some ways, the 1968 elections provided an interesting insight into the impact of the 1964 elections on the indigenous population. Fewer people voted in many areas in 1968, and the ostensible reason that many officials seemed to prefer was that voters were more sophisticated this time, and, therefore, less likely to confuse a voluntary electoral patrol with a compulsory census-taking patrol. The suspicion that the lower voter turnout in 1968 may have been connected with the first house's failure to "come across" at the popular level, or to deliver the "cargo", received a certain amount of support from the experience of at least one candidate in Western Papua. When he arrived in one of the remoter villages in his electorate, he told the curious gathering that greeted him that he had come to talk to them about the House of Assembly. His announcement was greeted with hostility, and a prospective constituent began to wave an axe rather menacingly in his direction. When order had been restored somewhat, he was asked why he had dared to come to this village to talk about the elections. The previous member had promised the local people great wealth if they voted for him, and so they had cast their ballots accordingly. Not only had they not seen him since, but none of the promised beer or other goods had arrived. How dare this new man talk to them again of such a dubious fiction as the House of Assembly!

The picture varied widely, then, between some areas where knowledge of the elections was at best slight, and those where it was not only relatively great, but quite rational and well-informed too.

The triennial visiting mission to **New Guinea** from the United Nations Trusteeship Council, ostensibly here to observe the elections, did its bit by providing a platform at its public meetings for many an electoral aspirant. Knowledge about, and the apparent significance of, the elections varied widely. Clearly, however, the elections were deemed to be important in the towns, for no alcohol could be bought on the first day of polling. Until recently, hotels and public bars in Australia were closed on polling-day, but, fortunately, they did not remain closed in Papua and New Guinea for the whole of the period (nearly a month) during which polling took place. When asked why hotels were closed at all, the Administrator replied in the same form he might have used to explain almost any aspect of the election's organisation and administration, which made but few concessions to local conditions : "A similar ban also applies in some Australian States."

EPW-15 will attempt to analyse the character of the second House of Assembly, to contrast, where possible, the membership of both the first and second house, and to compare the men who stood with those who won. It will also attempt a brief appraisal of the organisation and administration of the elections.

Yours Sincerely,

Edward Wolfers.

I should like to thank the Library of the University of Papua and New Guinea for allowing me access to their files of electoral material, and for permission to reproduce some of the materials in their possession.

Received in New York July 23, 1968.