

## INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

EPW-15  
 The 1968 Elections-IV :  
 The Candidates

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

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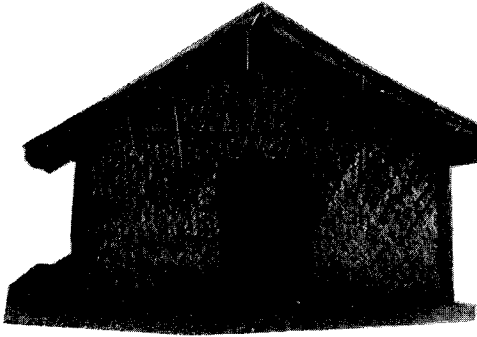
Dear Mr. Nolte,

It should, I hope, be clear from EPW-14 that a great deal of what **normally** passes for electioneering in a country like Australia or the United States is irrelevant, at best epiphenomenal, to the real business of politics in Papua and New Guinea. In short, we just do not know what policies, actions or personal attributes get a man elected, or at least we do not see them. Nonetheless, there are some readily available data on the candidates, both winners and losers, that should help us to understand what kinds of people hope to gain election to the Papua and New Guinea House of Assembly, and what kinds of people succeed. The aim of this "Newsletter", therefore, is to describe **some** of the externally observable characteristics of 1968's candidates with a view to gaining some insight into the kinds of people who think of themselves as being, or are thought by their supporters to be, suitable members of the national legislature. I only hope that the various figures and tables that will appear throughout this "Newsletter" will not frighten my readers away, for, beneath their imposing surface, they provide a valuable insight into the parameters, and the comparative modesty, of Papua and New Guinea's aspiring legislative elite.

### Sex

The primary prerequisite for political success in Papua and New Guinea is to be male. There are presently no female elected members of any local government council in the Territory, although the (expatriate) wife of an Assistant District Commissioner was, until recently, a member of the Kainantu Council, and an indigenous woman stood for the Mt Hagen Council this year.

Traditionally, the social status of women in most areas of Papua and New Guinea was comparatively low. This is not to say, of course, that women never mattered anywhere politically, for they did from time to time, and in various places, most notably perhaps in parts



of Eastern Papua. A few women were even appointed as village officials by government officers in some areas, even in that heartland of aggressive masculinity the Eastern Highlands. In the best United Nations tradition, a woman was nominated as a non-official member of the reformed Legislative Council in 1961. None of the female candidates in 1964, however, did at all well in the election.

Only one woman therefore bothered to nominate in 1968, a mixed race woman from Eastern Papua, the wife of a failed candidate in 1964. She lost. Although some candidates went to considerable trouble to win the female vote (e.g. by campaigning for a woman's right not to do compulsory road work in council areas), their convictions were not strong enough for them to offer to stand down for a female rival, nor sufficiently widely accepted for their female constituents to have a go regardless.

### Ethnic Origins

#### (i) Colour

Race is not yet a widespread, or necessarily a winning, issue in Territory politics. Nervous expatriates never tire of assuring one that this is so, although they have nonetheless repeatedly sought special safeguards to assure themselves of a continued place in the political life of Papua and New Guinea - hence the Special Electorates for which only non-indigenes could stand in 1964, and the thinly veiled educational qualification for the Regional Electorates in 1968.

The 23 expatriates who contested 17 Open Electorates in 1968 clearly did not see colour as an issue, or, where they did, as one that rebounded to the ultimate benefit of the usually more highly skilled, economically better-off, white. A few openly campaigned on the premise that indigenes were not up to the work that membership of the House of Assembly entailed, and were, evidently, believed.





In some other places, however, the local people would not vote at all for Europeans, but usually because they felt it time to give a local man the chance to represent them in Port Moresby rather than out of simple race hatred. It was still unsafe politically for a candidate to espouse an anti-European cause too openly. Generally, at least in politics and in public, Papuans and New Guineans dislike Europeans on an individual basis, although white men start ahead in the prestige stakes still in the more backward parts of the Territory, sometimes for quite irrational reasons.

Two Open Electorates which had remained largely unchanged in the areas they covered, Angoram and Kainantu, returned Europeans in 1968 for the second time, albeit different men, while such long-contacted areas as Rigo-Abau in Papua, and Sumkar near Madang replaced their indigenous incumbents with Europeans. The people there seemed to have lost faith in the ability of their own men to represent them conscientiously, perhaps just as efficiently as white men, in the House of Assembly.

Nonetheless, the political survival rate of Europeans in Territory politics is not high. 4 of the 16 expatriate elected members of the first House of Assembly evidently saw no point in trying again in 1968, while all of those who stood again, bar one, tried to seek refuge this time in a Regional Electorate, although a further one lacked the educational qualifications for a Regional and was forced to try again in an Open Electorate, and lost. Four

expatriate incumbents were re-elected in 1968, all for electorates (3 Regionals and one Open) in which no indigenes stood. The member for the Southern Highlands Regional, Mr. Ron Neville, was re-elected unopposed, for an area where probably no Papuans were eligible to stand and where there are but few expatriate settlers, while Messrs Vortas and Ashton were opposed only by a fellow expatriate incumbent, and Mr. Chatterton won in a predominantly expatriate electorate, probably mainly on the indigenous vote, against a former official member of the House of Assembly.

The size, ethnic diversity, and the consequent cost of campaigning over the huge area of the Regional Electorates made the victory of 4 of the 20 indigenes who stood for them rather more remarkable perhaps than that of 11 of their 31 expatriate rivals.

It seems invidious to pursue the question of race in politics too far, especially as many people of mixed racial origins have become full Australian citizens, without any reservation as to

the perquisites this status entitles them to as "expatriates" in their own country. Some of the more politically astute among them, however, have opted for the status of indigenes, and are paid and treated generally in accordance with this status. They are fully identified with their local indigenous communities, and would rightly be hurt if they were identified as a special category.

Nonetheless, some candidates did deliberately identify themselves as mixed race to polling officials - 4 in Eastern Papua, where there are probably more of them and where they seem more readily accepted into their local communities than elsewhere, one in the Highlands, and 2 part-Asians from New Ireland. One of the East Papuan candidates and one of the part-Asians were elected.

1968 also marked the entry of the first Chinese inhabitants of the Territory into national politics. 2 of them stood, and lost, in the New Guinea islands.

#### (ii) Papuans and New Guineans Away From Home

It is widely assumed in Papua and New Guinea, by expatriates and indigenes alike, that "foreign natives", as they are termed, i.e. Papuans and New Guineans not indigenous to the area in which they live, will never be accepted as full members of the local (non-natal) community. This, presumably, is why such people are given the option to vote at home or where they live, provided that they have lived there for at least a year. If anything, this provision serves only to give official recognition to, and therefore to rigidify, parochialism rather than compel Papuans and New Guineans to think in extra-local terms, and to identify themselves with their place of work or settlement rather than their birthplace.

Nonetheless, a Papuan, Mr. Gaudi Mirau, was elected for the Markham Open Electorate in New Guinea in 1964, and a man from Ialibu for Kagua, both in the Southern Highlands. Both results were widely regarded as accidental, and the men elected as of no longterm importance in the political life of the Territory. In a sense, their detractors were right, for the member for Markham was requested by the Markham Local Government Council not to stand again in 1968, and he did not, while the member for Kagua was replaced by a local man from the same village as that in which he now dwelt at Kagua, and who had also been an Administration interpreter in the area.

It seems clear now, however, that one should not assume anything too easily about the ingrained ethnocentrism of Papuans and New Guineans. Certainly, a number of indigenous candidates did not seem to heed the lesson that some observers drew from the 1964 election. Thus, 4 Papuans stood for seats in the Morobe and Madang Districts in 1968, and 2 of them were elected while another was a close

runner-up to a local man. Although no New Guineans have as yet stood for Papuan electorates, they are no less adventurous than the other 4. Thus, Tolai candidates, from the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, stood at Namatanai in New Ireland, Okapa in the Eastern Highlands, and for the Manus and New Ireland Regional, while a member of the Kainantu Local Government Council who had been born at Finschhafen stood and was not disgraced in the Kainantu Open Electorate. Finally, a Chimbu defeated 3 Enga-speakers and a European to come fourth to 3 other Europeans in the Western Highlands Regional, while, on a more modest scale, the new member for Kikori succeeded in gaining the votes of people closely related to his own people who were to be found in the neighbouring Kerema Open Electorate.

Perhaps, therefore, many of the traditional societies of Papua and New Guinea are gradually opening up to accept outsiders, although it does need to be remembered that the percentage turnout of voters in those Open Electorates which returned indigenous outsiders was exceptionally low. Do only the apathetic or those who feel that the way to the Europeans' cargo has been blocked to them turn to such candidates? If any of these incumbents are returned in 1972,

comfortable assumptions about the likelihood, and form, of Papuan and New Guinean nationalism will be sorely tested, and the shape of indigenous politics perhaps irreversibly altered.

### Age

Legally, all of the candidates in the election were at least 21 years of age, although estimates as to what a 21-year-old should look like vary widely. Detailed records of indigenous births are not kept. Even village census books, which should give a guide on such matters, tend to be irregularly and haphazardly kept, and are still useless in most parts of the Highlands as they often did not begin to be kept until after World War II. Many village mothers tend to hide their children from the kiap anyway.

Most candidates' ages were, therefore, no more than educated guesses at best, sometimes based on local memories of traceable events at the time of a candidate's birth. The following figures are, therefore, no more than individual kiaps' guesses, and should be treated with considerable scepticism. Nonetheless, when broken down into decades, they do provide a useful overview of the general age structure of the Territory's wouldbe parliamentarians:

TABLE I

Age-Distribution of Members of the First House of Assembly in 1964,  
and of Candidates and Members in 1968, by Region

Open Electorate Candidates and Members - Indigenous

Age	Coastal Papua <sup>1</sup>			Coastal New Guinea <sup>2</sup>			New Guinea Islands <sup>3</sup>			Highlands <sup>4</sup>		
	C	M1	M2	C	M1	M2	C	M1	M2	C	M1	M2
20s	8	3		11	3	3	6	1	1	63	3	4
30s	21	2	4	34	7	2	19	3	2	84	17	6
40s	12	3	3	24	4	4	14	3	2	47	4	4
50s	10	1		11	2		4	2	1	9	1	
60s	1			1		2						

C = Number of Candidates in 1968

M1 = Number of Members in 1968

M2 = Number of Members in 1964

1 Information is available for all 52 indigenous candidates

2 Information is available for 81 of the 84 indigenous candidates

3 Information is available for 43 of the 46 indigenous candidates

4 Information is available for 203 of the 218 indigenous candidates



Voting in Town - Lae

The life-expectancy of most Papuans and New Guineans is not as high as that of Europeans. Thus, the age at which a man becomes a village elder needs to be adjusted downward - perhaps the mid-30s age-group would not be a bad guess.

It seems clear from Table I, despite some journalistic frustration with the age and conservatism of the House of Assembly, that the Territory's legislative aspirants are as middle-aged as their Australian and American counterparts. Probably none of the members of the new house, and very few even of the candidates, are traditional fight-leaders, although a number of them grew up, and may have fought, before "first contact". In the Southern Highlands, the most recently controlled area of the Territory, only 2 of the candidates, Messrs Punga Tiri and Handabe Tiaba, were more than forty years of age. They certainly were renowned fight-leaders - the former with at least a dozen deaths to his credit. All of the other candidates from this area on whom data was available (40 out of 46) were less than 37 years of age, and 22 of them were in their twenties. Much the same pattern persisted through the Western Highlands too. The widespread belief that members of the House of Assembly should be at least fluent in Pidgin ruled out many of those leaders at "first contact" who were still alive.

In Chimbu, the candidates tended to be older than elsewhere in the Highlands, although still post-contact men, while policy-considerations, education or some other factor must explain the election of 3 Papuans in their twenties.

Almost all of the candidates, and probably all of the members, seem to have come to maturity after contact. Some of them are products of the post-War educational push, especially on the coast, while the Highlanders tend to be members of the first post-contact generation. They are young "modernisers" who seized the opportunity of associating themselves with, and learning about, the new forces of change very early on. They include early converts to Christianity, Administration interpreters, labourers, domestic servants and a disproportionately large number of anthropological informants. Some of their prestige may be explicable in traditional terms, but they are almost all men with some claim to knowledge of the world of change.

The average age of those elected in 1968 is roughly 37, a drop of 2 years from the average age of the indigenous members of the first house in 1964, while the expatriate members' average age (of those known) has risen from 41 to 43. The indigenous Regional Electorate candidates had to be young - only 3 of the 19 known were over 40 (there were 20 indigenous Regional candidates in all) - for very few Papuans and New Guineans who grew up before World War II had received any formal schooling, much less their Intermediate Certificate, which did not become available in the Territory until the mid-1950s.

TABLE II

Educational Background of Indigenous Candidates and Members for  
Open Electorates in 1968, by Region:

Number elected in brackets

	Coastal Papua		Coastal New Guinea		New Guinea Islands		Highlands	
No Formal Education	4		27	(3)	4	(1)	131	(21)
Some Primary	4		8	(2)	3		10	
Standard 1	1		4				6	
2	2		7				7	
3	2		4	(1)	1		11	(1)
4			3	(1)	3		10	(1)
5	11	(2)	5		3		3	
6	5		7	(5)	4	(1)	5	(1)
Teacher Training	11	(2)	12	(2)	16	(7)	12	
Other Post-Primary	10	(4)	6	(2)	6		10	(1)
Junior					1			
Matriculation	1	(1)						
Local Government	1		1		1		3	
Clerk Training								
Diploma of Public								
Administration					1			

Data was available on all but 10 Highlands and 3 New Guinea Islands candidates

Education

The data in Table II are in many ways a profile of the Territory's differential development - the coast has generally been under control for long enough for men with some schooling to have become powerful, while education is a more recent phenomenon in the Highlands. A post-primary education is still comparatively rare everywhere, and especially so among adults.

Once again, however, precision is impossible. Mission schools especially teach at a variety of levels, for different lengths of time, in Motu, English, Pidgin or local languages, or in those vernaculars which particular missions, having done much of their work in the vernacular in one area, now seek to extend to other parts of the Territory (e.g. the Lutherans' use of Jabim, Kottec, and Graged, all from the Finschhafen area, in the Highlands, and the Methodists' use of Kuanua, the Tolai language, in New Ireland). Anyway, what is the best available in one area, for example a Pidgin literacy school in the Highlands, would not be mentioned by a resentful



coastal dweller, although it may be a source of prestige to the Highlander. Even teacher training has a variety of connotations, depending upon where it was acquired, and when - recruitment standards have risen gradually since the War.

The distribution-pattern too is distorted by such areas as the Goilala in Papua and Dreikikir in the Sepik, both comparatively recently opened up areas in two of the longest and most intensively patrolled regions of the Territory. The Middle Ramu Open Electorate is in the Madang District, and contained within the Madang Regional Electorate, yet it contains many Highlands fringe dwellers who have been brought under government control only during the last 10 years.

The general picture does not, therefore, stand up to detailed examination, although, broadly, Table II does show (a) that the best-educated people tend to come from the longest-contacted areas, and (b) that the candidates and members from almost every part of the Territory constitute something of an educational elite in relation to the bulk of their indigenous constituents. Still, the Highlands are catching up very quickly indeed - the member for Kompiam-Baiyer, which is only barely under government control, has Standard 6-plus, for the fruits of contact have generally come very quickly to those areas that have been regularly patrolled only since the war.

If self-confidence in relation to political progress, and educational attainment, are at all closely related, then the moral to be drawn seems obvious. It needs to be remembered, however, that the exaggerated prestige accorded education in the most backward areas may enable the Highlands' members to catch up with the more radical coastals very quickly indeed. The road is also somewhat smoother still for the educated Highlander, for there are fewer educated dropouts there than on the coast. Education is something one either has or has not in the Highlands; it is less a matter of degree than on the coast.

It is probably superfluous to point out that education is no guide to a person's general ability, wealth or knowledge of the outside world, or even to literacy. Mr. Tei Abal, the member for Wabag, taught himself to read and write very soon after "first contact" with the aid of his children. Although he does not mention it in public, he probably understands English more readily than some coastal people who claim to be literate in the language. He has even been an adviser to the Australian delegation to the United Nations Trusteeship Council in New York. A knowledge of Pidgin is, however, almost a prerequisite for membership in the House, except for some official members, while a number of non-English-speaking members have availed themselves of the opportunity of learning English at a special school for members in Australia next year.

Insofar as Papua and New Guinea has a politically relevant educational elite or group of evolués, their representatives are the men who stood for the Regional Electorates. Two of the indigenous members for Regional Electorates have a year of university study to their credit. Finally, as in East Africa, teachers seem to have the inside running in the New Guinea Islands.

The best-educated Territorians, however, are still usually expatriates : all but 4 expatriate candidates, and one member, would have been educationally qualified to stand for a Regional seat. That they did not do so may be an indication that they did not see colour as an issue, or perhaps, in at least some cases, to their insensitivity in this regard. Nonetheless, the new House of Assembly presents a new and important phenomenon to most expatriates : for the first time it contains a number of indigenes with better educational qualifications than some of their wouldbe expatriate mentors have.

### Occupation

More than 90% of the indigenous population of Papua and New Guinea still lives in the same village or hamlet where it was born. Probably a quarter to a half of the adult males, and a miniscule proportion of the females, have at some time sought employment in town or on a plantation, but have returned to their rural communities after a comparatively short absence. Most villagers have some sort of cash income, or are given cash by relatives, to pay their local government council tax. Some writers have claimed that the subsistence sector has subsidised the Territory's plantations by caring for the very lowly-paid workers' wives and families. Now, however, the 10% of the indigenous population in paid employment and those in receipt of a small cash income from coffee, cocoa, copra, etc., seem to be subsidising the Territory's political development by paying council tax for those who have no income at all.

The average villager probably sees a few dollars a year, and with this he pays his tax, the increasing amounts of money required from him to subsidise his children's education, even at government schools, clothes his family at a very modest level, and buys a few small luxuries. The pattern varies very widely. The annual per capita cash income of those who earn any money at all in one coffee-producing area of the Highlands is only \$1.60 (Aust.). Inhabitants of the more backward areas of the Highlands, the Western District of Papua and the Sepik, probably receive even less, while many a Tolai and some Eastern Highlanders would earn several hundred, some a few thousand, dollars each year.

The candidates in the 1968 election, therefore, constituted something of an economic and occupational elite in Territory terms. All public servants had to resign before standing for election, and many private firms made their employees do likewise, so that a sizeable proportion of the subsistence farmers in Table III were probably only temporarily so. Many of those who claimed to have occupations outside the subsistence sector, however, were probably only stating what they thought was one of their qualifications for office, the last or the highest paid position they had had, perhaps several years ago. Those who claimed to be councillors by occupation probably tended to be village-dwellers. Their view that being a councillor is an occupation at all is an interesting reflection on the degree to which modern politics is seen as a form of work (for the government), rather than a pleasant source of additional prestige to one's normal duties. The tendency to use local government councillors as arms of the Administration, rather than pure policy-makers, makes their role a relatively time-consuming one anyway.

Once again, therefore, the data contained in the following table should be used as a guide to a general trend, not a detailed analysis of the existing situation. Two additional reservations as to its use need to be borne in mind too. There is, firstly, no standardised set of occupational classifications in Papua and New Guinea. A trader in the Southern Highlands may handle less than \$100 in a year, while a "subsistence farmer" in the New Guinea islands may earn perhaps the same amount each year from a small cocoa plantation, but can do no more than clothe and feed his family at a very modest level indeed. Thus, individual judgments are very relevant here - Mr. Sinake Giregire, for example, is a "farmer" with 17,000 coffee-trees, and a full-time expatriate manager on his plantation, while some of the other "farmers" and "planters" would have no more than perhaps 100 or 200 trees. The whole group of village-oriented occupations should, therefore, be treated as a general category, ranging along a continuum from a vast majority in the less than \$100 per annum category to a very few - probably no more than 6 - at the same level of income as Mr. Giregire. Secondly, many a farmer is a small trader too, and very many public servants, especially those who are employed near home, like Administration interpreters, use their contacts and incomes to establish themselves as quite substantial entrepreneurs back home in the village. Such people have been classified in Table III in terms of the occupation that most clearly marks them off from the subsistence sector. Finally, members of the first House of Assembly are listed by their occupation at time of nomination in 1964 under M2, but as MHA's in columns C and M1. By 1968, almost all of them were businessmen of some sort, the forerunners of an indigenous middle-class perhaps? Certainly, their incomes were exceptional by indigenous standards, and few of them seemed likely to return to their former occupations. In an important and unique sense, they were Papua and New Guinea's first fulltime and professional politicians, in a way that none of their predecessors in the old Legislative Council had been.

TABLE III

Occupational Background of Indigenous Candidates, and Members, for Open Electorates in 1968, and of Indigenous Members of the first House of Assembly, by Region

	Papua		Coastal New Guinea		New Guinea Islands		Highlands	
	C <sup>1</sup>	M <sup>1</sup> M <sup>2</sup> M <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>4</sup>	M <sup>1</sup> M <sup>2</sup> M <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>6</sup>	M <sup>1</sup> M <sup>2</sup> M <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>8</sup>	M <sup>1</sup> M <sup>2</sup> M <sup>3</sup>
<u>Village-centred and Agricultural Occupations</u> <sup>10</sup>								
Subsistence farmer	6		20	1	4		5	1
Farmer	4	2	3	1	2	5	15	2
Planter	1		2	3	1	1	13	2
Trader, trade-store proprietor	2	1	11	1	4		18	2
Businessman			2			2		3
Local government council president, councillor, etc. or appointed village official (if no other occupation stated)	1		7		1			10
<u>Skilled, Semi-Skilled and Other Occupations Practised Away from Home</u>								
Teacher (including mission-teacher)	6	2	7	2	2	12	3	1
Broadcaster	1				1			
Clerk	2	1	1	1	1	3		2
Local government assistant			1			1		4
Local government clerk	2	1			1			2
Clerical assistant	2							1
Police			2					18
Interpreter	5		2		2			3
Labour-supervisor, foreman, etc.								5
Officer of a co-operative, rural progress society, Highlands Commodity Exchange, etc. (with no other occupation stated)	3	2						2
Low-level medical worker (health education, hospital, medical, aid post, orderly, etc.)	1		1			1		11
Carpenter								1
Driver			1					
Mission-worker (including catechist, pastor, evangelist, etc., but not teacher)	7	2	5	1	1	5	14	11
Member of the House of Assembly			8	2		4		

+ The figures in column C represent the number of candidates who came under each heading in 1968; M1, the newly elected members in 1968 (most of the incumbents being entrepreneurs of some sort by then); M2, the members of the first House of Assembly. Where a member was described as having one occupation at time of nomination, and another, once elected, the latter has been cited in both columns C and M1. Inevitably, therefore, the table contains a number of relatively arbitrary judgments of my own. It provides an indication of the general trend in each area rather than an absolutely accurate portrait of each candidate and member.

Footnotes:

1. The table cannot, for reasons of space, include several occupational categories, which are, therefore, given, where necessary, for each category in footnotes 1 to 9 (inclusive). Thus, a further 9 Papuan candidates in 1968, each had the following occupations: transport contractor; electrician's assistant; bar manager; medical student; hostel manager; secretary of a welfare and a workers' association; radio-operator; agricultural assistant; secretary of the Pangu Pati.
2. Bar manager; agricultural assistant.
3. Welfare assistant; postmaster.
4. Acting Lands Titles Commissioner; retired; postal assistant; plant operator; miner-trader; trucking-contractor; trade-store manager; market-gardener; storeman; goldminer; trade-store manager cum coffee-buyer.
5. Storeman; trade-store manager; miner-trader; market-gardener.
6. Ship's master; motor mechanic.
7. **One** of the farmers was an ex-teacher.
8. **Soldier** in the Pacific Islands Regiment; domestic servant; truck-owner; coffee-buyer; agricultural assistant; student and mission-worker; gold-miner; local government council interpreter; council messenger; council tractor-driver; carpenter's labourer; and 3 further labourers.
9. Student and mission-worker; council tractor-driver.
10. Many of the men in this general section could probably be classified under several of its sub-headings --- those supplied at time of nomination are cited here, although where more than one was given (i.e. if a man were a farmer-trader, etc.), the one that seemed in each case to be the most important in separating candidates from the subsistence economy is cited. The **differences** between a subsistence farmer, a farmer, a planter, and a businessman are often differences of scale rather than of kind.
11. The figures here differ from those in Table IV for local government council employees, because a council interpreter, a messenger, a labour-supervisor, and a tractor-driver, all from the Highlands, are included in Table IV, but not in this category here. Local government assistants are usually employed by the central administration.

Several broad trends revealed in Table III are worthy of more detailed comment :

a) A total of 46 public servants (at least 45 of whom were indigenes) and 2 indigenous policemen resigned directly from the Administration to contest the election. The group included 16 interpreters, 8 teachers, 6 clerical assistants; and, 2 each, assistant broadcasts officers, local government assistants, and clerks; plus a headmaster, a mess supervisor, an assistant agricultural officer, a postal assistant, a bricklayer, an overseer, a co-operatives officer, a ship's master, a storeman, and an education officer.

The figures cited here differ from those in Table III for several reasons : many candidates and members classified themselves in terms of their last, paid occupations, not always the same as that at time of nomination; while some returning officers listed quite sophisticated men who had returned home to campaign well before nominations opened as "subsistence farmers", which they were only temporarily; a number of teachers, an interpreter, and some village medical workers were mission, or, in the last case, local council employees, and were not distinguished from the public servants in the table.

Clearly, then, the Administration is still the largest single employer of skilled and semi-skilled Papuans and New Guineans. The election surely removed some of the discontented from its ranks. We do not know, however, to what degree their experience in the Administration has shaped their political careers, or has been a source of prestige to them, much less to what degree the return of the defeated to the ranks of the public service will, in time, serve as a politicising agent in a formally non-political public service.

b) 6 interpreters were elected for Highlands electorates in 1964, and 7 (including 4 of the 6 incumbents) in 1968. **Altogether**, 18 interpreters (apart from the incumbents) and 13 former interpreters stood in the Highlands in 1968. In some areas, it seemed as if communication between the government and the people simply ceased for the duration of the election.

The position of kiap's interpreter is extraordinarily important in Papua and New Guinea. In a country of probably 700 mutually unintelligible languages and dialects, they are essential, and not only for interracial communication. They are especially important because the Territorial Administration has never encouraged its officers to learn local languages, even in areas such as the Southern, and Western Highlands, and Chimbu, where upwards of 100,000 people speak the Huli, Enga and Kuman languages respectively. Quite apart from a special language allowance, or courses of instruction, the Administration will not even promise to re-post an officer to an area where he knows the language once his normal tour of duty is completed.

The local Administration interpreter is, therefore, the formal go-between in almost all dealings between the government and the people. In the Highlands, his knowledge of Pidgin makes him part of an elite, and in some areas the only possible means of access to the kiap.

In the longer-contacted areas, sufficient people speak one of the linguae francae, or know enough about the government's ways, to check if an interpreter is reliable. In the newer areas, who can tell? Anyway, they have a proven and public record of co-operation with, and access to, the government, and perhaps a reputation, unknown to the kiap, of a special, secret knowledge of the white man's ways. A careful study of the reasons for the political ascendancy of so many interpreters in the Highlands may, indeed, shock many a kiap, when he discovers that his interpreter is not popular because he is pro-government, but powerful because of his ability to control who sees the kiap, and what the latter hears (even in court).

The defeat of 5 Papuan and 2 New Guinea islands interpreters may indicate that being close to the government is not enough, especially if other people know what is going on.

c) The informal police network in Papua and New Guinea, especially among the old police sergeant-majors, is wellknown. Before the establishment of the Pacific Islands Regiment in the early 1950s, the police constituted one of the few organisations in Papua and New Guinea in which indigenes could be promoted (albeit not very high), had power, and were given responsibility. The police bred a loyalty to an institution, and a common body of experience, that surmounted traditional loyalties. Mr. John Guise, for example, the new Speaker of the House of the House of Assembly, is proud of the way in which his old police contacts were able to greet, feed and meet with him when he toured the Territory with the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, while his fellow-committee-members spent their evenings in a long succession of hotels. The older police, like Mr. Pita Simogun, were also famous for their wartime experiences with the coastwatchers, and partook quite eagerly in the fond reminiscence of the camaraderie of war, and the hardship of "first contact" patrols in peacetime.

Two policemen resigned directly from the force to stand for election, and a further 8 Highlanders and 7 East Sepiks (plus the 2 above) who stood were ex-policemen. Indeed, one of the Highlanders, who had been given his old uniform to wear on important occasions, campaigned in uniform, but lost. If an election is not an important occasion, he reasoned, what is?

The police network in the Sepik is justly famous. Two of the members of the first House of Assembly from the Sepik, Messrs Pita Tamindei and Pita Simogun (who had been a nominated member of the Legislative Council from 1951 to 1960) were old police sergeants, and 2 of the Sepik members of the present house were once policemen too.

The contacts that Mr. Michael Somare's father (himself an unsuccessful candidate in 1964) was able to pass on to his son, a candidate in the East Sepik Regional, with his old police colleagues standing in a number of Open Electorates were important during the 1968 election too.

Clearly, the old sergeant-majors were most important, for they represented the top of the old promotional ladder for indigenes, and especially the friends and followers of Mr. Simogun. Perhaps this was because of their very obvious experience in government and with the law, perhaps for quite separate reasons; but the Sepik especially seems to have produced an unusually large proportion of policemen-turned-politician. The explanation may, however, be quite simple: although parts of it have been contacted for a comparatively long time, the Sepik is one of the most neglected areas in the Territory - a sort of developmental midpoint between the better-developed parts of the New Guinea islands and Papua, and the more recently opened up, but still undeveloped parts of the Highlands. Membership in the police force was probably the most prestigious occupation available in the neglected Sepik, and the Sepiks' reputation as a tough and warlike people tended to attract expatriate police-recruiters to that area before many others.

d) Everywhere in the Territory, teaching is a prestigious occupation, and one that is readily accessible to men of quite differing formal educational backgrounds, from those who have matriculated into a university to those who went to, and now teach in, a one year Pidgin school. 10 Highlanders, 12 islanders, 6 Papuans and 7 coastal New Guineans were teachers at time of nomination, and a large number of other candidates, especially on the New Guinea coast, in the islands, and in the Northern District too, were ex-teachers. Four of the indigenous members of the first house, and 12 Open and 3 Regional members in the second were teachers at some stage of their careers.

As a group, teachers probably loom so large in Territory politics for a variety of reasons. They constitute the largest group of well-educated indigenes. They can be presumed by the voters to be capable of representing them effectively in Port Moresby, because they speak well, understand more about the modern world than most villagers, and are often socially acceptable to expatriates. Their low pay and time for reading, as well as the contacts they make at teachers' college probably bring them into politics, and, disproportionately often into political parties. In the absence of further information, however, one can only speculate as to the degree to which mission-teachers (probably a majority among the teachers who stood) received support on the basis of their missionary, as distinct from their professional, affiliations.

In large part, therefore, the candidates', and members', occupational distribution mirrors the comparative "development" of each area. In the more recently controlled areas, Administration interpreters have had the greatest contact with modernity, followed by plantation-labourers, domestic servants and the like, while on the



coast, teachers, clerks, etc., blaze the way. In general, then, the men who stood, and, to an even greater extent, those who won, were men with some experience with the forces of change in Papua and New Guinea, usually with the government, and with some experience of the world outside their home-villages. Although the candidates' occupations could be irrelevant to the real reasons for their election, it seems likelier that experience with modernity, and perhaps a record of co-operation with the government are, in fact, prerequisites, perhaps **necessary but not sufficient** attributes, of local leadership. Furthermore, just as traditional leadership was acquired in a variety of ways, and exercised in diverse spheres of communal activity, so comparative economic success, through employment or ownership of a small business, seems to be a concomitant - part cause, part effect - of political support. As yet, the acquisition, as well as the exercise, of authority in Papua and New Guinea occur in a relatively diffuse manner. Success in one field may well be translatable into success in several others.

The occupational background of the 54 expatriate candidates was relatively uniform. By 1968, all but 2 of the 12 incumbents who stood again had, like their indigenous counterparts, become private businessmen or planters. In a sense, the House of Assembly seems, therefore, to be acting as a sort of middle-class modifier. Few expatriates would be willing to live on an elected member's salary alone, unless they are retired, like Mr. Percy Chatterton, or are dedicated to fulltime, relatively radical, politics, as in the case of Mr. Voutas; and few employers would willingly give their employees enough time off for them to nurse their electorates. It may be, of course, that planters and traders are the most popular expatriates. At least many of them seem to want to live permanently in the Territory, unlike most public servants. Nonetheless, few other expatriates can afford to stand for the House of Assembly, or, once elected, can avoid entering into business themselves. The indigenous members' position is rather different however, for their salary is well above that attainable by even the best-educated indigenes in the public service or elsewhere, and they receive the sort of income - the same as that of expatriate members, but usually subsidised by a house and food supplied predominantly from within the subsistence sector - that enables them to become quite substantial entrepreneurs on the local scene. Thus, the House of Assembly can really only attract in the case of expatriates, and tends to produce among the indigenes, the nearest to a multiracial middle-class to be found in Papua and New Guinea.

The occupational data on the expatriate incumbents in 1968 has, unlike that on the indigenes, been updated here, as the relevant data was quite readily available in a relatively accurate form. The expatriate nominees included - the number elected in each category is shown in brackets : 20 planters (8); 20 traders, sawmillers, and other assorted commercial men (4); 3 retired (1); 2 former missionaries (including one of the retired, who was elected);

2 managers of co-operatives (2); and, one of each, a teacher, a carpenter, an hotelier, an accountant, an airline operator, a surveyor, a research fellow (who was also a former missionary), and a fulltime politician, Mr. Toni Voutas (the last 4 of whom were elected).

Seven of the expatriates elected this year had worked at some stage for the Administration, including 4 ex-kiaps, while 2 of the incumbents who lost had resigned directly as kiaps to stand in 1964.

Apart from Mr. Cecil Abel, who was born in Papua, and Mr. Voutas, who, as an incumbent, was exempt from the 5-year residence requirement introduced in 1967, all of the expatriate members of the house have spent between 7 and 44 years in Papua and New Guinea (average : 20 years). Two of them came to the Territory as children, and several of them would, with some justice, object to being called "expatriates" in the ordinary sense at all. As a measure of their involvement in local affairs, it is worth noting that the 7 expatriate members for Papuan electorates all speak Police Motu, although, unlike their New Guinea counterparts, not all of them speak Pidgin fluently. A further 4 expatriates speak a total of 8 indigenous languages among them. By way of contrast, not all of the 10 official members of the house speak Pidgin, much less Police Motu, although they have, in at least one case, been in the Territory for about 20 years, and in the legislature since 1951.

The 20 indigenous Regional Electorate candidates (on 19 of whom data were available) tended to be in relatively sophisticated employment, although no indigenes stood in the Madang, New Britain or Morobe Regionals, where probably at least half of the Territory's best-educated indigenes are to be found. Even the Western Highlands attracted 4 indigenous candidates, and in the West Sepik, in contrast to many of the longer-contacted areas, a New Guinean, Mr. Paul Langro, won; none of the local expatriate aspirants was educationally qualified to contest a Regional Electorate.

The indigenous Regional candidates included a senior Administration co-operatives training officer, a local government assistant, 2 broadcasters, an apprentice motor mechanic, a life insurance salesman, and a personnel manager for a medium-sized company, as well as 2 clerks, 3 teachers, and a teacher-trainee. Unlike their expatriate rivals, only one of the indigenous Regional candidates had real business experience : he was a junior business executive with WASO, a Lutheran Mission-sponsored co-operative in the Western Highlands. Four of them (and one Open candidate) had been interpreters in the House of Assembly at some stage, 2 as permanent officers. Were they so disgusted or tempted with what they saw there that they decided to stand, or did their supporters back them because they thought them to have a rather special understanding of modern politics?

The Territory's 3 Chinese candidates, all aged between 25 and 31, and only one of whom was educationally ineligible for a Regional Electorate, were, respectively, a commercial artist, a store manager, and a trader and crocodile shooter. One of them has founded a political party since the election, perhaps with 1972 in mind. The Territory's Chinese community would seem to have finally entered local politics, to stay.

The 2 part-Asian candidates, both 28 years of age, one with his matriculation and the other with his Junior Certificate, were a planter and an ex-co-operatives officer turned managing director of a coastal shipping company. The latter, Mr. Julius Chan Sungmen, actually lives outside his electorate, Namatanai, in Rabaul, and rarely visited the area where they both stood. His shipping company, however, services a number of ports in the smaller islands around New Ireland. All of the Asian and part-Asian candidates stood in the New Guinea islands region.

Only one mixed race candidate stood in the Highlands, which were opened up by government officers after the mid-1930s, rather than by traders, recruiters, and missionaries, as on the coast, and mainly when the Native Women's Protection Ordinance had been passed, specifically to prevent indigenous women and expatriate men consorting too frequently and too freely together. Five candidates of mixed racial origins stood in Eastern Papua; 3 of the Papuans were in their forties, the 2 others in their thirties; 2 had their Intermediate Certificates, and the 3 others had reached at least Standard 5. By occupation, they were respectively an education officer, and a trader (who was elected), a technical officer engaged in building research, a plantation owner, and a housewife.



A candidate shows some voters where his picture is on the "Rogues' Gallery" of candidates supplied for each electorate by the Administration.



**GUINEA**

# 1968 ELECTORATES

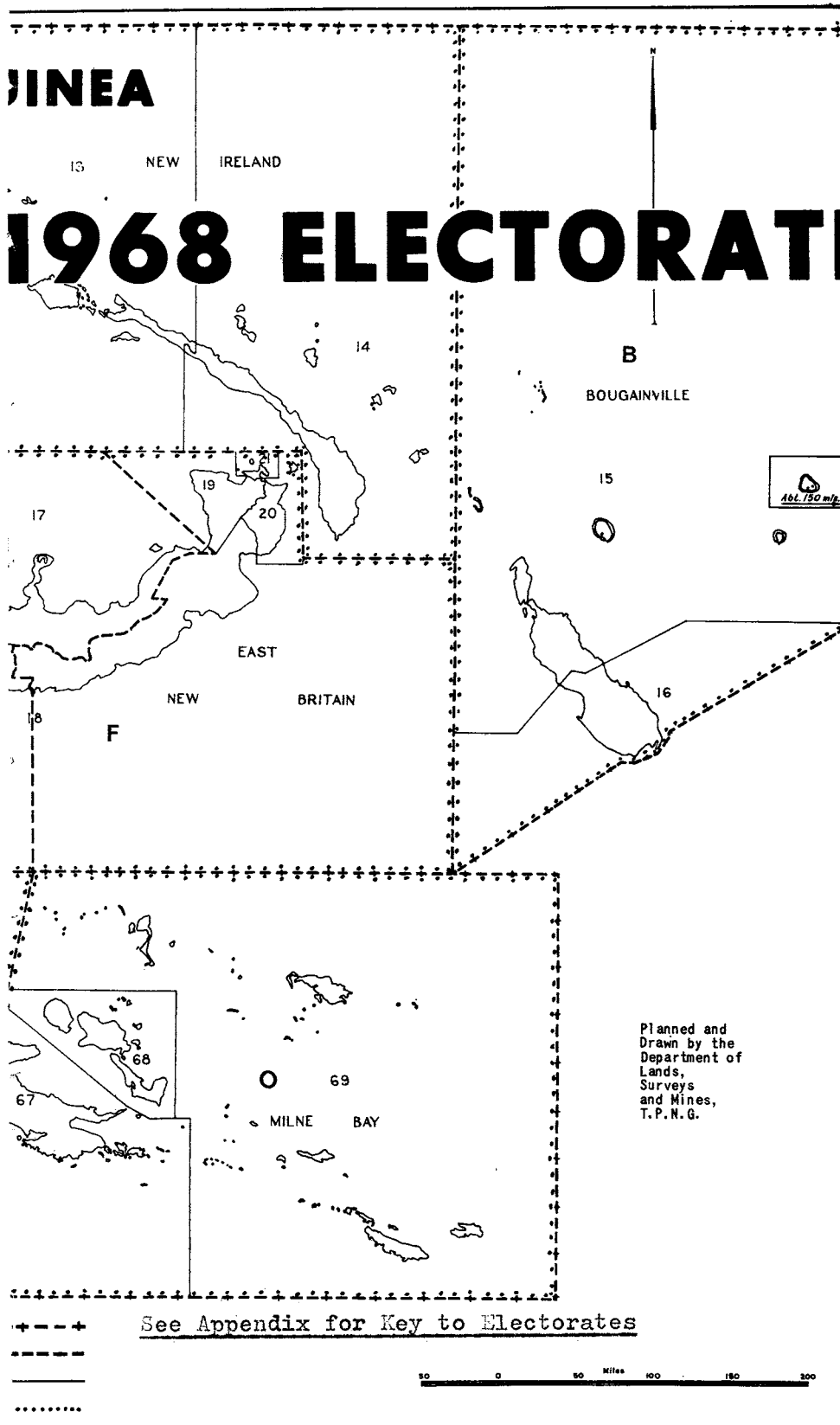


TABLE IV

The Political Experience of the Candidates and Members in 1968, and the Members in 1964

	Coastal		Coastal		New Guinea		Highlands	
	Papua	New Guinea	New Guinea	Islands	C	M1 M2	C	M1 M2
Former Members of the Legislative Council								
- expatriate	3	1	1	1	1			1
- indigenous	2	1	2	1	1	1		1
Indigenous Incumbents of Open Electorates	7	2	7	8	2	11	5	3
Local Government Council <sup>1</sup>	10	1	1	20	3	2	3	1
- Presidents	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	1
- Vice-Presidents	4	2	1	14	4	4	7	3
- Councillors	2	1	1	1	1		2	2
- Employees <sup>2</sup>	1			4			1	7
Appointed Village Officials <sup>3</sup>								

Column C in each category gives the figures for candidates in 1968, M1 for members elected in 1968, and M2 for those elected in 1964.

Footnotes:

- 1 : Only the highest council office attained by each individual is shown.
- 2 : Including Local Government Assistants. This category is included as a gauge of the extent to which association with, as distinct from elective office within, local government councils may be of electoral relevance.
- 3 : These positions are counted only if the men involved did not later become councillors, for the old Iluvals, tultuls and village constables have now been replaced in more than 80% of the Territory by elected local government councillors.

### Political and Other Organisational Experience

In the early 1950s, when self-determination for Papua and New Guinea was still widely thought to be at least a generation off, if not longer, local government was seen as the base of a future political pyramid, with the national legislature at the top, probably elected through a set of regional electoral colleges of local government councillors. This plan is now in ruins, although the Administration still tries to push the idea that local government is a useful training-ground for national politics. Table IV provides a crude guide to the degree to which the electorate agrees with this proposition, although almost all of the figures for local government office-holders are probably serious under-estimates, because the data on this subject (unlike that on occupations, education, etc.) were not systematically collected by the Territory's returning officers.

The political preparation of Papua and New Guinea for self-determination has proceeded in the usual colonial pattern - in reverse. Local government councils are, above all, administrative extensions of the kiap, at best consultative bodies for largely predetermined administrative policy. The House of Assembly, on the other hand, is supposed to be a law-making body as well as a means for the Administration to consult indigenous opinion. In short, experience in local government does not only not prepare most candidates for national politics, but robs them of the very initiative, and responsibility to public opinion, which the House of Assembly is supposed to foster among its members. Secondly, the Territory's electorates have become smaller over time, rather than consolidated into ever larger units - a complete reversal of the old "building-blocks to nationhood" theme. Partly in consequence of these factors, and for other, more important and more purely political reasons, the survival-rate from the old Legislative Council to the 2 House of Assembly to date has been low. Each new body has started off only very slightly ahead of its predecessor in political experience.

Information on candidates' experience on District and Town Advisory Councils, District Education and Broadcasting Advisory Committees, etc., are not included here, as information on them was not systematically collected, and they are not elective bodies anyway. By and large, they are but Administration-appointed consultative committees with no real power vis-à-vis the executive.

The political mortality rate of expatriates in national politics is very high : all of the expatriate former members of the old Legislative Councils, 5 men in all, *who stood in 1968, lost*, as did 9 of the outgoing members of the House of Assembly (including 2 former official M.L.C's, one of whom had also been an official M.H.A.). Mr. John Guise is the only remaining non-official member, expatriate or indigenous, of any of the old Legislative Councils still in the legislature.

Papuans and New Guineans may not vote on racial lines, but they rarely vote for expatriates a second time. Only one of the 16 elected expatriate incumbents in the first house stood for an Open Electorate in 1968, Mr. Percy Chatterton, a former member, for the Central Special Electorate, who stood for Moresby Open against a former official member, Mr. J. K. McCarthy, and in a predominantly expatriate electorate. The other 12 who stood again all contested Regional Electorates, and only 3 of them were returned. In all, 2 expatriate and 2 indigenous incumbents survived at the expense of a fellow-incumbent of the first House of Assembly, while in the West Sepik Coastal Open Mr. Brere Awol defeated 2 indigenous incumbents.

It is an interesting gauge of their involvement in local society to note that 3 expatriate M.H.A's were members, and 2 vice-presidents, of the local government councils in their areas.

It would appear from Table IV that local government councils have probably gained wider acceptance in the Highlands than elsewhere as a training-ground for national politics. This may be because the people genuinely do regard local government experience as a valuable training for national politics, although it could be that they feel that all of the institutions of modern government are so recondite in operation and so irrelevant to their daily lives that whoever masters the one should be given the job of mastering the other. In some parts of the Highlands, it seems likely that some traditional rivalries have now been subsumed by inter-council rivalries, i.e. if one council puts up a man, then so does another. This only explains why councillors stand, however, not why they win. The simplest explanations are, therefore, the likeliest : (a) the introduction of local government into the Highlands was comparatively tension-free, and so the presidency of a council there may be less compromising politically than, say, on the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, where many people still will not join their local council; while (b) the large, almost Open Electorate size of many Highlands councils has probably made it easier there for council office-holders to gain electorate-wide prestige than in areas where the population is more thinly spread out, and councils are often quite small in size.

The interests of local government as an institution are quite well catered for in the new House of Assembly. Three of the executive members of the new Local Government Association of Papua and New Guinea are now members of the house. Only 2 of the indigenous Regional candidates, however, and one of the members, have ever held elective office in a council - an indication of the degree to which the Territory's elite has established its political reputation and gained its prestige away from home.

It would be futile to attempt to catalogue the organisational experience of all of the members of the new House. Anyway, most Western-style organisations in Papua and New Guinea exist only on paper, or while expatriates are around; otherwise, they organise and operate in ways that, although organised by indigenous standards, do not conform to the patterns and expectations set down by expatriates.



Probably most of the members of the house are members of a savings and loans society (a communal savings bank arrangement), or have shares in a co-operative. Even in Chimbu, most of the members have shares in the successful Chimbu Co-operative, of which the member for Chimbu Regional, Mr. Pyne, is managing-director. Indeed, some association with the Chimbu Co-op. is probably politically essential in Chimbu, especially as it paid its first dividend just before the election. At one extreme, Mr. Lepani Watson, originally from Eastern Papua and for long a resident of Port Moresby, has been associated with more than 16 different urban associations at various times, while most of the Highlands members have never been members of any Western-style organisation. If anything, the only really important development during the election, was the apparent resurgence of the co-operative movement, which had been thought to be fading politically.

Several Highlands members are associated with the Highlands Farmers and Settlers Association, which is still an important force in Highlands economics and politics, especially as its membership, if not its leadership, is now multiracial in character. At least 2 expatriate members for Regional Electorates are members of the Madang and Mt. Hagen Chambers of Commerce, and may be expected to press hard for a road linking those two centres. Five indigenous members have had some experience in workers' association affairs, and it was to their potential common interest that Mr. Michael Kaniniba was appealing when he advertised during the election that he hoped to set up a Labour Party afterwards. Quite a number of members have also been connected with such bodies as the Public Service Association, and various teachers' bodies too.

In sum, the Territory's various economic and social interest groups would seem to be better represented in the new house than before, although only the co-operatives helped candidates to gain votes outside the towns, where some of the workers' associations, especially the Lae body, played a small part. The Administration, therefore, now faces more and better-informed pressure in the House from its potential critics than ever before, especially in relation to co-operatives.

On the purely political front, however, the picture is rather different. Only Pangu really survived the election as a party, with 10 members in the house after Mr. John Guise became Speaker, and Mr. Siwi Kurondo became an Assistant Ministerial Member, and before Mr. James Meangarum left the party in November. Messrs. Michael Somare, the leader, Paul Lapun, his deputy, and Pita Lus, the whip, plus Messrs. Voutas, Abel, Paliau Maloat, Mangobing Kakun, and Michael Kaniniba now sit and vote together in the house, while Mr. Ebia Olewale, still a member, prefers to sit alone close by. Pangu does operate as a party in the house, has some operating branches, in the Sepik and the Morobe District, and has opened an appeal for more than \$50,000 (Aust.) to expand its permanent secretariat. Pangu at least may be able to contest the 1972 election as a party.

Otherwise, 2 other members of the house claim to belong to the United Democratic Party, although this does not seem to mean anything in practice, while another claims to belong to the otherwise quite dead Agricultural Reform Party. The All Peoples Party had 2 expatriate members in the house, who renamed themselves the All Peoples Group, because they felt the Territory not to be ready yet for political parties, while one of the signatories of the Goroka "anti-party's" manifesto outlined in EPW-14 is now a member of the house too. Although it has no visible members in the house, Napro is not dead yet either. Its members have recently re-elected one another to its executive.

Since the election, at least 3 new parties, all of a regional character, but only one of which is secessionist in policy, have emerged in the New Guinea islands, and they, or their successors, seem likely to be the vanguard of future tensions in that area. Inside the House, most of the non-Pangu, non-official members have tended to meet and vote together as an Independent Members' Group of remarkable cohesion. The group is expatriate-led, and some of its leaders have ambitions to convert it into a party, in which case it will probably split. It was formed originally just to put Pangu in its place, but it has become a cohesive, sometimes anti-Administration, force in its own right since. I shall leave a detailed discussion of its activities to date, and its longterm significance, to a later "Newsletter".



The central tally-room in Port Moresby as results were being radioed in from all over the Territory after the polls had closed.

## Conclusions

### (i) The Type of the Aspirant

Most of the indigenous candidates for Open Electorates who contested the 1968 election were members of the local occupational, economic and educational elites in their areas. They were also Christians, for, as an Anglican canon in Port Moresby wrote, "...in a country where the churches have great influence, an anti-mission candidate would have little chance of being elected unless, possibly, he was a strong cargo-cult leader." Clearly, however, their notions of what Christianity entailed varied widely, as did the parameters of "eliteness" as between certain broad areas of the Territory. Indeed, the candidates tended to vary along what might be termed a comparative "development" scale, which, with some exceptions, could be measured in terms of the length, density and type of "contact" in each area.

The modal Highlands candidate spoke Pidgin, had a small business - a trade store or some coffee trees - and had probably been employed by expatriates, as a domestic servant or a kiap's interpreter at some stage of his career. He tended also to be young enough to be a member of the first generation in his area to have reached adulthood after "contact", although not yet a product of the post-War educational push. Quite a number of them, especially from the Highlands, had at least seen, if not taken part, in traditional warfare, while quite a proportion of them had acquired more than one wife before being converted to the Christian faith. The modal Highlands candidate tended also to have had some association with the Administration, and some political experience as a local government councillor, or, earlier, an appointed village official.

The modal Papuan candidate, on the other hand, had about 5 years schooling to his credit, a government job, and was in his thirties. In the New Guinea islands, most of the candidates outside the Kandrian-Pomio and Talasea areas of New Britain, and the Manus District, were ex-mission-teachers, and, more rarely, former government teachers, and were in their thirties too. Much the same pattern held on the coastal mainland of New Guinea outside the Sepik. In the Sepik, many of the candidates were older, little-schooled, ex-policemen.

In sum, the candidates, and members, from the longer-contacted areas tended to be comparatively more "elite" than those from the more recently opened up parts of the Territory, although the failure of both Papua's and New Guinea's successive administrations to "develop" either Territory until after World War II has meant that the Highlands especially is not as far behind the coast and islands as its comparative length of contact alone would imply. Indeed, the most recently controlled areas, especially the Western and Southern Highlands, may well catch up to the longest-contacted

areas out of turn, precisely because they were first pacified at a time when indigenous development was already firm Australian policy. They did not undergo the lengthy and demoralising neglect, and even exploitation, which marred the early history of so many coastal areas after contact.

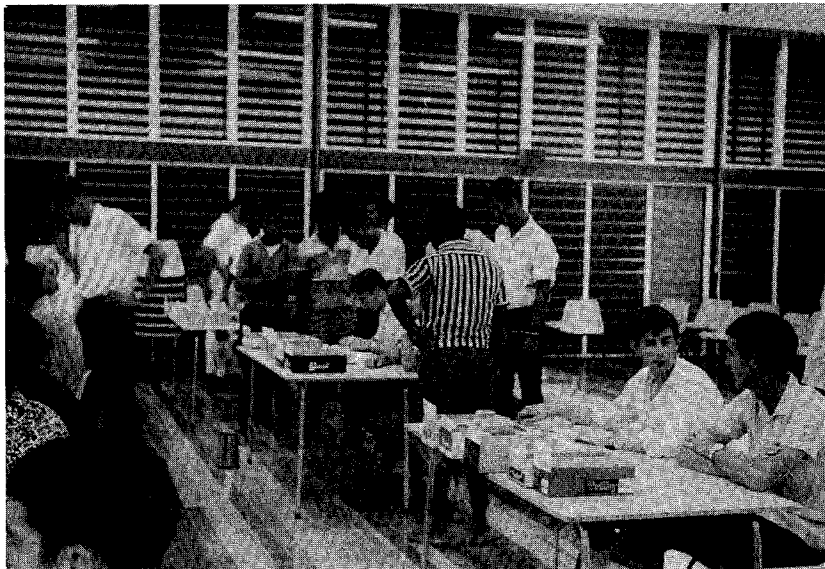
All of the indigenous candidates for Regional Electorates were, of course, fully-fledged members of the Territory's still youthful educational elite, usually educated since the War, and with some form of post-secondary education at least begun. Unlike the younger, better-educated men now at the University of Papua and New Guinea and at other training institutions, they know what frustration, both educational and career, means, and what broken promises (e.g. to pay indigenous public servants the same wages as expatriates) are.

A comparison of the Appendix to this "Newsletter" with Appendix II of EPW-12 should show that the new house represents a modest advance in education and experience beyond the village from its predecessor. Its members are also something of a modest elite from among the candidates.

It is not impossible, of course, that the characteristics analysed in this "Newsletter" were largely irrelevant to the votes most candidates gained. Perhaps their reputations as sorcerers, holders of a special key to the white man's "cargo", or possessors of pigs, shells or birds of paradise feathers were what gained them votes. If so, then the degree to which such men have acquired some knowledge of, and entree to, the world of change, represents a truly incredible coincidence. It seems likelier, therefore, that comparative wealth, education and experience away from home, are some of the attributes of popular leadership in Papua and New Guinea, although it seems to be far less important outside the Highlands than within them to have a reputation as a "government man".

In the New Guinea islands, a reputation for being "difficult", even anti-Administration, i.e. for pushing the local people's wishes whatever the kiaps and the missions think, seems to be almost a prerequisite for electoral success. Expatriate accusations of cultism seem to be an attribute of such men's leadership too. Even in the Highlands, however, where development is still a matter of co-operation, and where Christianity is just accepted along with councils as part of the modernisation process, a reputation as a "government man" is becoming less useful as the people realise that they really are free to vote for the man of their choice, and as disappointment with the fruits of progress sets in in some places. Nonetheless, most of the Highlands men are "government men" in national politics, conservative on constitutional questions, although quite radical modernisers on the local scene. Finally, it needs to be remembered that a "difficult" man in missionary or official eyes is not necessarily a radical except in that respect, and that not all radicals are potential nationalists rather than present, if sometimes still implicit, proponents of varying types of regionalism.

If linguistic identity and regionalism are at all related, and they seem to be, especially in the Highlands, then a note needs to be added that, for the first time, the House of Assembly contains several groups of wantoks (Pidgin for "speakers of a common language"). 7 indigenous members from the Western and Southern Highlands claim to understand Enga, from the Wabag-Wapenamanda-Laiagam-Kompiani area of the Western Highlands, at least 3 speak Kuman, from Chimbu, 3 Kuanua, from the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain, and 3 Wedau, from Eastern Papua. An unknown, although not large, number could communicate with each other in Kottec, Jabim or another mission language if they wanted to speak privately in the corridors, while the House also contains 2 Dobuan-speakers, from Eastern Papua, 2 Gahuku, from the Goroka area, and probably more than the 2 Southern Highlanders known to me speak Huri, while at least 2 Western Highlanders could communicate in Medlpa, from the Mt. Hagen area, if necessary. Insofar as Pidgin and Motu divided the Papuan from the New Guinean members, the struggle for Motu seemed to be all over when the member for Hiri, the original home of the pure Motu language, Mr. Toua Kapena, arose in the House to say: "Mi bilong Motu stret, tasol mi laik tok Pisin..." (Pidgin for "I am from the original Motu-speaking area, but I should like to speak in Pidgin..."). There are still Motu interpreters on hand in the house, but not permanently on duty, as most of the house's official business is transacted in English, while most of the elected members - almost out of a sense of Pidgin nationalism - speak Pidgin. Indeed, the Motu interpreters have scarcely been used at all this year.



Counting the votes in the **Hiri** Open and Central Regional - the only indigenes here were spectators at "our" election, or scrutineers for Papuan candidates.

(ii) The Appropriateness of the System

The whole apparatus of national government, and the operation of elections, are still remote from the lives of most villagers. The central government is "out there", and of little concern to them except when the kiap is on patrol. If anything, the percentage of those eligible Papuans and New Guineans who actually voted, as well as their geographical distribution, tend to confirm this impression, for the Territory-wide turnout in 1968 was only 64% for Open Electorates, as against the 72.3% turnout recorded in 1964. These figures, incidentally, look rather worse to Australians, who are compelled by law to vote in state and federal elections, and can be fined if they fail to do so, than they probably do to the more permissive Americans and British.

The drop in voter turnout may just be a sign that the electoral rolls were more accurate in 1968 than they had been in 1964, although, more probably, they reflect a lack of interest in national politics once the excitement of the Territory's first elections had been experienced, some disappointment with the first House, and perhaps some disillusionment that elections are not the secret key to gaining possession of the white man's wealth. The last explanation seems to be the only tenable one for the Rai Coast Open, which has a long history of cargoism, and where only 35% of those eligible actually bothered to cast a vote. Generally, town-dwellers and expatriates seem to have been the least interested voters, perhaps because they have been most disappointed with the sorts of men who sat in the first House, perhaps because for many expatriates Papua and New Guinea is not home, and, therefore, of little interest politically to them, and, in the case of the indigenes, because they did not want to vote for anyone outside their home electorates but did not know who was standing there. Voting generally tended to correlate inversely with length of contact (see the Appendix):

TABLE V

Range and Median Percentage Turnout  
Figures of Voters, by Region, in 1968

Region	Lowest %	Highest %	Median %
New Guinea Coast (19 contested Open Electorates)	35	73	57
Papua (13)	38	70	58
New Guinea Islands (10)	54	73	65 (approx.)
Highlands (25)	61	91	72
Territory-wide	35	91	66

Only 4 Highlands Open Electorates recorded less than the Territory median, and one was on it, while 10 non-Highlands electorates were above the median.

6 Open Electorates, all in the Highlands, recorded an 80% turnout or higher : Chimbu, Nipa, Ialibu, Jimi, Kandep-Tambul, and Tari. Ialibu recorded a phenomenal 91% turnout, while 97% of the eligible males voted in the Kandep-Tambul Open. These figures, however, are probably indications of (a) imperfect electoral rolls; and (b) the voters' failure to distinguish between compulsory census-taking patrols and voluntary electoral patrols; plus (c) their naive belief that voting is a form of co-operation with the kiap, whose visits are still welcome in areas where tribal fighting is a recent memory, and, in parts, still an actuality.

The type of men elected, and the high turnout of voters in the New Guinea islands would tend to indicate that modern politics has "caught on" there, and that people vote against overly pro-Administration candidates rather than abstain from voting to make much the same point. This is not to say that the New Guinea islands will be the scene of the birth of the Territory's long-awaited nationalism. It may be, but to date it has tended to be expressed through the secessionist nationalism of an emergent Bougainville, perhaps pan-Solomon, consciousness, or as a narrower form of Tolai ethnicity on New Britain's Gazelle Peninsula.

In general, as great a proportion as possible of all polling teams was indigenised, although only one of the Territory's 84 returning officers was a local man. Nonetheless, however many Papuans and New Guineans retain a belief in the values of democracy, and receive some tuition in the administration of elections, their task remains difficult, for many of their expatriate mentors cannot operate the polling system efficiently themselves.

Very few returning officers filled in all of their returns correctly at the first attempt. Several I spoke to did not seem to understand the preferential system at all. There is just too much paperwork, and the procedures are too complicated, for the Territory's semi-literate indigenous polling officials of the future to be able to run an election on their own, although the Chief Electoral Officer expects to be replaced by his indigenous deputy perhaps even before the next election.

The whole electoral system needs to be simplified : electoral rolls, sectional and absentee votes should be replaced by a system that allows people to vote only where they live, and have, say, a finger painted with an indelible paint to prevent multiple voting until the polling team has moved on. The abolition of absentee voting might, incidentally, be a mild stimulus to nationalism, if it forces "foreign natives" to take an interest in the politics of an area other than their birthplace.

It may or may not be more democratic to have a preferential voting system - Australians tend to believe it is almost a prerequisite of democracy, although the Americans and the British get by without it - but it is too complicated for Territory conditions. Voters have difficulty in following the results it produces; polling officials have trouble in counting the votes and then making the figures balance. Its abolition in favour of a first-past-the-post system would allow illiterates to vote more easily (e.g. with a symbol for each candidate) than at present, and without assistance, while the Territory's less sophisticated officials would find the necessary paperwork much less complicated, and perhaps less likely, therefore, to lead to corruption among those who cannot balance their books.

The renomination of 70 of 1964's indigenous losers, and 3 subsequent losers and one winner at his second try in by-elections, shows that perhaps many Papuans and New Guineans do not believe the whole electoral system to be permanently rigged against them. Nonetheless, there were a number of complaints against certain polling officials during the elections, although none of them were ever officially filed, and most were against the activities of local officers. Very rarely were these complaints that a particular officer was unfair, but the simpler the system, and the fewer people actually involved in handling the votes, the less likelihood there is that the volume of complaints will grow too substantially in the future.

It may be too late, after two elections, to change the system the people know too drastically, although the House of Assembly has recently asked the Administrator to help set up a select committee to investigate polling procedures. It would be a shame if democracy collapsed, or were betrayed through corruption, in Papua and New Guinea because of the technical complexities of the electoral system, however bright or gloomy its future might be on other grounds.

If this series of "Newsletters" (EPW-12,13,14,15) has no other justification it is that there are now comparatively few developing countries where elections are still held at all; it has, therefore, at least the merit of uniqueness. Nonetheless, I apologise for not attempting to provide a general guide to "where Papua and New Guinea is going", although the election study was intended to provide some clues to this itself. I hope, however, to devote a further series later on to the constitutional development and longterm political future of the Territory to place this series in perspective. Finally, if much of what appears above seems unduly dated, I must apologise again, although the Chief Electoral Officer's report on the election has not appeared yet, and we both rely on much the same sources for our information. Some of the remoter outstations have still not, at time of writing, furnished all of the requisite data to permit completion of a formal analysis of the election as a whole.

Yours Sincerely,

*Edward Wolfers*



Symbols and Abbreviations Used in Appendix

- + : Stood, but lost, in the 1964 election
- ☒ : Successful at the 1964 election, or at subsequent by-elections in the case of A. C. Voutas and Bono Azanifa
- ☒☒ : Member of the last (reformed) Legislative Council, and the first House of Assembly
- P : An indigenous Papuan
- NG : An indigenous New Guinean
- MR : Of mixed racial origins
- A : Australian-born; all other non-indigenes have the date of their arrival in the Territory indicated, but not their place of birth
- WWII : Served in Papua and New Guinea during World War II, and returned at later date indicated to settle
- x : In appropriate columns means "speaks this language"; "member of a local government council"; "has travelled out side Papua and New Guinea"
- A.O.G., S.S.E.M., and 4 Sq. Gospel stand for three Pentecostal missions : the Assemblies of God; the South Seas Evangelical Mission; and the Four Square Gospel Mission.
- United : the United Church of Papua and New Guinea and the British Solomon Islands

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I should like to thank the Chief Electoral Officer and his Deputy, as well as the Principal Information Officer, Department of Information and Extension Services, for their assistance in gaining most of the information about the candidates and members in 1968. They, and various of their publications, as well as D.G.Bettison, C.A.Hughes, and P.W.van der Veur (eds) book, The Papua-New Guinea Elections 1964 (Canberra, 1965), provided most of the data on the members of the first House of Assembly.

Background Data on All Elected Members

Electorate's Symbol on Central Map	Electorate	Turnout of Voters %	Member	Year of Birth	Ethnic Origin/ Year of Arrival	Religion
Open Electorates						
1	Kerowagi	73	✠Siwi Kurondo	1920	NG	Catholic
2	Chimbu	80	+Karigl Bonggere	1924	NG	Catholic
3	Sinasina	74	Kantigane Endekan	1935	NG	Lutheran
4	Gumine	73	+Ninkama Bomai	1934	NG	Lutheran
5	Chuave	72	✠Yauwi Wauwe Moses	1916	NG	Anglican
6	Daulo	61	✠Sinake Giregire	1937	NG	Lutheran
7	Gotoka	61	+Sabumei Kofikai	1930	NG	S. D. A.
8	Lufa	74	+Pupuna Aruno	1935	NG	Faith Mission
9	Henganofi	70	+✠Bono Azanifa	1936	NG	4 Sq. Gospel
10	Okapa	61	✠Muriso Warebu	1933	NG	4 Sq. Gospel
11	Kainantu	66	+Noel Michael Casey	1923	WWII 1952 A	Anglican
12	Manus	62	✠Paliau Maloat	1915	NG	Independent Christian
13	Kavieng	72	Daniel Lisagai Bokap	1933	NG	Catholic
14	Namatanai	69	Julius Chan Sungmen	1939	MR	Catholic
15	North Bougainville	64	Donatus Mola	1927	NG	Catholic
16	South Bougainville	71	✠Paul Lapun	1923	NG	Catholic
17	Talasea	66	John Maneke	1934	NG	Catholic
18	Kandrian-Pomio	66	✠Koriam Michael Urekit	1916	NG	Catholic
19	Gazelle	60	✠Matthias Tutanava To Liman	1925	NG	Catholic
20	Kokopo	54	Oscar Tammur	1942	NG	Catholic
21	Rabaul	63	+Epineri Titimur	1932	NG	Methodist
22	West Sepik Coastal	64	+Brere Awol	1927	NG	Catholic
23	Upper Sepik	-	+Wesani Iwoksim	1940	NG	Baptist
24	Wapei-Nuku	69	Yakob Talis	1939	NG	Catholic

of the Second House of Assembly

Electorate's Symbol on Central Map	Language Engl. Motu Pidg.	Occupation	Education	Local Govt. Exper- ience	Travel Outside P-NG	Political Party
1	x	Planter	-	Pres		Pangu till A.M.M.
2	x x	Farmer-Trader	Std 6	Pres		
3	x	Planter	-	x		
4	x	Farmer	-	Pres		
5	x	Planter	-			
6	x x	Planter-Trader	Std 4	Pres	x	
7	x x	Planter-Trader	Std 3	x	x	
8	x	LGC Tractor-Driver	-	Employee		
9	x	Planter-Trader	-	Vice-P	x	
10	x	Interpreter	-	x	x	
11	x x	Planter	Leaving	Vice-P	x	
12	x	Subsistence Farmer	-	Pres		Pangu
13	x x	Teacher	Teach. Tr., Inter.		x	
14	x x	Managing-Dir. Shipping Co.	Matric.		x	
15	x x	Planter	Teach. Tr.	x	x	
16	x x	Farmer	Teach. Tr.		x	Pangu Deputy; Leader 1967.
17	x x	Teacher	Teach. Tr.			
18	x	Subsistence Farmer				
19	x x	Teacher	Teach. Tr.		x	
20	x x	Teacher	Teach. Tr., Motor Mech.	x	x	
21	x x	Businessman	Std 6	x		Agric. Reform
22	x x	Teacher	Teach. Tr.	Pres	x	
23	x x	Pastor	Some Primary		x	
24	x x	Teacher	Teach. Tr.	x		United Democratic

25	Dreikikir	73	Kokomo Ulia	1916	NG	S. S. E. M.
26	Maprik	70	✘Pita Lus	1935	NG	S. S. E. M.
27	Ambunti-Yangoru	64	Nauwi Sauinambi	1926	NG	Catholic
28	Wewak	52	Beibi Yembanda	1910	NG	A. O. G.
29	Angoram	56	Peter Garth Johnson	1938	1961	Methodist
30	Lagaip	70	✘Poio Iuri	1928	NG	Lutheran
31	Wabag	-	✘Fei Abal	1932	NG	Lutheran
32	Wapenamanda	68	✘Leme Iangalyo	1930	NG	Catholic
33	Kompian-Baiyer	74	+Traimya Kambipi	1939	NG	Baptist
34	Mul-Dei	65	Mek Nugintz	1936	NG	Catholic
35	Jimi	90	Kaura Duba	1938	NG	Lutheran
36	Hagen	70	+Pena Ou	1932	NG	Catholic
37	Wahgi	69	✘Kaibelt Diria	1920	NG	Lutheran
38	Kandep-Tambul	89	✘Koitaga Mano	1930	NG	Lutheran
39	Nipa	81	Tegi Ebei'al	1942	P	Catholic
40	Mendi	69	✘Momei Pangial	1930	P	Non-Christian
41	Kagua	74	Yano Belo	1941	P	Catholic
42	Ialibu	91	+Turi Wari	1933	P	United
43	Tari	84	Matiabe Yuwi	1935	P	Catholic
44	Koroba	71	+Andrew Andagari Wabiria	1938	P	Catholic
45	Bogia	57	✘James Meangarum	1937	NG	Catholic
46	Middle Ramu	51	James Connell McKinnon	1921	WWII A 1950	Presbyterian
47	Sumkar	62	+John Middleton	1930	1930 A	Anglican
48	Habuso	60	Angmai Bilas	1938	NG	Catholic
49	Rai Coast	35	John Baptist Poe	1932	P	Catholic
50	Markham	66	+Thomas Joseph Leahy	1929	1947 A	Catholic
51	Munya	48	Mangobing Kakun	1939	NG	Lutheran
52	Kabwum	46	Rauke (Dana) Gam	1934	NG	Lutheran
53	Nawae	43	Patik Nimambot	1933	NG	Lutheran
54	Finschhafen	47	+Neck Singiliong	1934	NG	Lutheran
55	Huon Gulf	49	Michael Naraveta Kaniniba	1927	P	Anglican
56	Kaindi	61	+Anani Maino	1926	NG	Lutheran

25		x	Planter-Trader	-	Pres		
26	x	x	Evangelist	Std 3		x	Pangu Whip 1967-8
27		x	Farmer-Trader	Some Mission			
28		x	Subsistence Farmer	-	Pres		United Democratic
29	x	x	Trader	Matric.		x	
30		x	Interpreter	-		x	
31	x	x	Medical Orderly	Literate		x	
32		x	Interpreter	-			
33	x	x	Mission-Worker	Std 6, 4 yrs Mission Tr.	x	x	
34		x	Council Road Supervisor	-	Employee		
35		x	Interpreter	-	x		
36		x	Farmer	-	Vice-P	x	
37		x	Med. Field-Worker	-	Pres	x	
38		x	Interpreter	-		x	
39		x	Subsistence Farmer	-	Pres		
40	Simple	x	Farmer	-	Pres	x	
41		x	x	Interpreter	-	x	
42		x		Interpreter	-	x	x
43		x	x	Medical Orderly	-	Pres	
44		x	x	Farmer-Trader	-	Pres	x
45	x	x	Teacher	Std 8			Pangu till Nov. '68
46	x	x	Sawmiller-Trader	Primary		x	All Peoples
47	x	x	Planter	Leaving		x	
48	x	x	Planter	Std 6	Vice-P		
49	x	x	x	Storeman	Std 7	x	
50	x	x	Farmer-Grazier	Junior	x	x	
51	x	x	Farmer	Std 6	Pres		Pangu
52	x	x	Store-Manager	Std 6			
53	x	x	Market-Gardener	Std 6			
54		x	Planter	Std 4	x		
55	x	x	x	Clerk	Std 6		x Pangu
56		x	Miner-Trader	-	x		

57	North Fly	69	Warren Herbert Decourcy Dubbon	1938	1962	A	Anglican
58	South Fly	68	Niwia Ebia Olewale	1940		P	United
59	Kikori	51	Tom Koraea	1941		P	United
60	Kerema	42	Tore Lokoloko	1930		P	United
61	Hiri	58	Toua Kapena	1920		P	United
62	Goilala	69	Louis Sebu Monu	1941		P	Catholic
63	Moresby	38	*Percy Chatterton	1898	1924		United
64	Rigo-Abau	52	+Nathaniel Ian Uroe	1913	1950		Anglican
65	Sohe	59	Wilson Suja	1921		P	Anglican
66	Ijivitari	64	+Paulus Arek	1929		P	Anglican
67	Alotau	55	*John Douglas Guise	1914		P	Anglican
68	Esa'ala	53	Norman Frederick Evennett	1929		MR	Anglican
69	Kula	70	*Levani Raiwakalu Watson	1925		P	Methodist

## Regional Electorates

A	Manus and New Ireland	68	Walter Andrew Iussick	1923	1925		Catholic
B	Bougainville	67	Joseph Adrian Lue	1932		NG	Catholic
C	West Sepik	-	Joseph Paul Langro	1939		NG	Catholic
D	East Sepik	63	Michael Tom Somare	1936		NG	Catholic
E	Madang	52	Jason James Garrett	1937	1961	A	Anglican
F	East and West New Britain	63	*Oriiel Irving Ashton	1920	1948	A	
G	Western Highlands	70	Raymond John Watts	1920	1955	A	Anglican
H	Chimbu	74	Eric James Pyne	1924	1950		Catholic
I	Eastern Highlands	64	+Ronald Dennis Buchanan	1932	1949	A	Anglican
J	Morobe	51	*Anthony Constantine Voutas	1943	1961	A	
K	Southern Highlands	-	*Ronald Thomas Dalton Neville	1929	1949	A	Catholic

57	x	x	x	Co-operative Manager	Matric.			x	
58	x	x	x	High School Tch	Teach. Tr.,	Matric.		x	Pangu, but sits alone
59	x	x	x	Agricultural Asst	Form 2				
60	x	x	x	Co-op. Secretary	Std 8, Co-op. Tr.			x	
61	x	x	x	Bar Manager	Sub-Junior	Pres		x	
62	x		x	Local Govt Clerk	Std 9	Employee			
63	x		x	Missionary, retired	Lic. Coll. of Preceptors			x	
64	x	x	x	Planter	Matric.		x	x	
65	x	x	x	Chairman, Coffee Growers' Society	Teach. Tr.		x		
66	x	x	x	Teacher	Teach. Tr.	Vice-P		x	
67	x	x	x	Clerk	Std 5	Vice-P		x	Pangu, till Speaker
68	x	x		Planter-Trader	Inter.			x	
69	x	x	x	Welfare Assistant	Std 5			x	
A	x	x		Planter	Matric.			x	
B	x	x		Life-Insurance Salesman	Teach. Tr., Inter.			x	
C	x	x		Interpreter, House of Assembly	Matric., Local Court Magistrate Tr.			x	
D	x	x		Journalist	Teach. Tr., Matric.			x	Pangu Leader
E	x	x		Surveyor	Matric., Lic. Surv.			x	
F	x	x		Planter	Higher Educ. Cert., R.A.N.			x	
G	x	x		Planter	Matric.			x	
H	x	x		Co-op. Manager	Leaving		x	x	
I	x	x		Managing-Dir. Airline	Leaving	Vice-P		x	All Peoples
J	x	x		Cadet Patrol Officer	B.A.			x	Pangu
K	x	x	x	Assistant District Officer	Leaving, ASOPA Dip.			x	

Electorate's Symbol on Central Map	Electorate	Turnout of Voters %	Member	Year of Birth	Ethnic Origin/ of Year of Arrival	Religion
L	Western and Gulf	56	+Virgil Baden Counsel		1948 A	Catholic
M	Central	54	+Oala Oala-Rarua	1934	P	United
N	Northern	61	William John Fielding	1924	WWII 1951 A	
O	Milne Bay	58	Cecil Abel	1903	born Papua	Kwato

Electorate's Symbol on Central Map	Language Engl. Motu Pidg.	Occupation	Education	Local Govt. Exper- ience	Travel Outside P-NG	Political Party
L	x x x	Sawmiller-Trader	Matric.		x	
M	x x x	Personnel Manager	Matric.	x	x	Left Pangu 1967
N	x x x	Planter	Dip. Agric.		x	
O	x x x	Research Fellow, University; retired Missionary	B.A., Dip. Anthrop.		x	Pangu

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