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REPORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS VISITING MISSION TO OBSERVE THE ELECTIONS TO THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY IN 1972

CONTENTS

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
Letter dated 19 May 1972 from the Chairman of the Visiting Mission to the Secretary-General		3
CHAPTER I. GENERAL	1 - 19	4
A. Terms of reference	1 - 5	4
B. Itinerary	6 - 11	5
C. Land and people	12 - 19	6
CHAPTER II. ELECTIONS TO THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, 1972	20 - 90	8
A. Organization of the elections	20 - 64	8
Electorates	23 - 26	8
Administration of the Electoral Ordinance	27 - 28	9
Electoral system	29 - 34	9
Date of the elections	35 - 36	10
Qualification of electors	37	11
Enrolment	38 - 42	11
Qualifications of candidates	43 - 47	12
Nominations	48	12
Scrutineers	49	13
Identification tribunals	50	13
Election officials	51	13
Voting arrangements and procedures for voting	52 - 56	13
Scrutiny	57 - 61	14
Return of the writs	62	16
Court of disputed returns	63	16

CONTENTS (continued)

	<u>Paragraphs</u>	<u>Page</u>
B. Political parties	64 - 85	16
United Party	68 - 71	17
Pangu Pati (Papua New Guinea Union Party) . . .	72 - 75	18
People's Progress Party	76 - 79	19
Underdeveloped Districts Party	80	20
New Guinea National Party	81	20
Mataungan Association	82	20
New Guinea Labour Party	83	20
United Political Society	84	20
Peli Association	85	20
C. Results of the election	86 - 90	21
CHAPTER III. PROGRAMME OF VISITS AND MEETINGS OF THE MISSION	91 - 154	23
A. Central District	91 - 94	23
B. Milne Bay District	95 - 98	24
C. Bougainville District	99 - 104	24
D. East New Britain District	105 - 111	25
E. New Ireland District	112 - 114	26
F. Manus District	115 - 116	27
G. Madang District	117 - 119	27
H. East Sepik District	120 - 125	28
I. Morobe District	126 - 130	29
J. Eastern Highlands District	131 - 135	30
K. Chimbu District	136 - 141	31
L. Western Highlands District	142 - 145	32
M. Southern Highlands District	146 - 149	33
N. Western District	150 - 153	34
O. Meetings in Canberra	154	35
CHAPTER IV. OBSERVATIONS BY THE VISITING MISSION	155 - 175	36

ANNEXES

I. ITINERARY OF THE VISITING MISSION	
II. MAPS	
A. Papua New Guinea electorates Elections to the House of Assembly in 1972	
B. Itinerary of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972	

LETTER DATED 19 MAY 1972 FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE VISITING
MISSION TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, in accordance with Trusteeship Council resolution 2156 (XXXVIII) of 21 June 1971 and rule 98 of the rules of procedure of the Trusteeship Council, the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972.

This report is subscribed to unanimously by all four members of the Visiting Mission.

(Signed) W. TAPLEY BENNETT, Jr.
Chairman of the Visiting Mission
to observe the elections to the
Papua New Guinea House of Assembly
in 1972

CHAPTER I

GENERAL

A. Terms of reference

1. At its thirty-eight session, the Trusteeship Council had before it a letter dated 11 June 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Australia inviting the Council to send a visiting mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972. ^{1/} The Australian Government suggested that the composition of the mission should be determined in accordance with paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV) of 16 December 1969 in which the Trusteeship Council was requested to include non-members of the Council in its periodic visiting missions to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, in consultation with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Administering Authority, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

2. At its 1387th meeting, on 18 June 1971, the Trusteeship Council adopted resolution 2156 (XXXVIII) in which it decided to send a visiting mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972. The Council further decided that the Visiting Mission should be composed of members nominated by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and two other States to be designated by the President of the Council on the basis of consultations with the members of the Council, the Special Committee and the Administering Authority. Subsequently, the President of the Council designated Afghanistan and Yugoslavia as the two States to nominate the other members of the Visiting Mission.

3. The composition of the Mission was as follows: Mr. W. Tapley Bennett (United States), Chairman; Mr. Mohammad Hakim Aryubi (Afghanistan); Sir Derek Jakeway (United Kingdom); and Mr. Aleksandar Psončak (Yugoslavia).

4. In its resolution 2156 (XXXVIII), the Trusteeship Council directed the Mission to observe the elections to the House of Assembly in Papua New Guinea in 1972, including electoral arrangements, the activities of candidates and political parties, the casting of votes, the closure of voting, the counting of ballots and the declaration of results. The Council also requested the Mission to submit to the Council, as soon as practicable, a report on its observations of the elections containing its findings, with such observations, conclusions and recommendations as it might wish to make.

5. On 20 December 1971, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2865 (XXVI) in which, inter alia, it welcomed the invitation extended by the administering Power to the Trusteeship Council to dispatch a special mission to observe the elections to the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly in 1972 and the fact that the mission would be composed as recommended in General Assembly resolution 2590 (XXIV); and recommended that the report of this special mission and those of future missions should be submitted both to the Trusteeship Council and to the Special Committee.

^{1/} Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Thirty-eighth Session, Annexes, agenda item 16, document T/1725.

B. Itinerary

6. The Visiting Mission assembled in Port Moresby on 17 February 1972, and remained in Papua New Guinea until 15 March. In the course of its tour of Papua New Guinea, the Mission was accompanied by the following officials of the United Nations Secretariat: Mr. Felipe Antonio Pradas, Principal Secretary; Mr. Nour Eddine Driss, Political Affairs Officer; Mr. Neil Carlberg, Jr., Administrative Officer, and Miss Norma Young, secretary.

7. Upon its arrival in Port Moresby, the Mission met to discuss its programme of visits, and held discussions with the Acting Administrator, Mr. A. P. J. Newman; the Chief Electoral Officer, Mr. Simon Kaumi, and senior officials of the Administration. After observing the commencement of polling on 20 February, the Mission departed from Port Moresby and began its visit of the other districts of Papua New Guinea. On 11 March, the Mission returned to Port Moresby where it observed the beginning of the counting of votes, attended the public tabulation ceremony, visited the electoral office, and had further discussions with the Acting Administrator, the Chief Electoral Officer and other senior officials of the Administration. Throughout the Mission's stay in Papua New Guinea, it had the benefit of the local facilities made available by the Director of the United Nations Information Centre, Mr. N. Oda. A detailed itinerary of the Visiting Mission while in Papua New Guinea is given in the annex to the present report.

8. The Mission departed from Port Moresby for Canberra on 15 March, for discussions with the Minister for External Territories, Mr. Andrew Sharp Peacock; the Administrator of Papua New Guinea, Mr. L. W. Johnson, and senior officials of the Department of External Territories and the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia. On 17 March, the Mission completed its consultations in Canberra.

9. During its visit to Papua New Guinea, the Mission was accompanied by Mr. William Granger of the Department of External Territories; Mr. Robin Ashwin, Minister, Deputy Permanent Representative of Australia to the United Nations; Mr. Terry White and other members of the Department of the Administrator in Port Moresby.

10. Throughout Papua New Guinea, the Mission met district commissioners and their staffs, members of the Administrator's Executive Council, members of the Second House of Assembly, members of local government councils, candidates, electoral officers, representatives of the religious, educational, professional, agricultural and business communities, as well as labour leaders, nurses, students and others. The Mission wishes to express its sincere appreciation for the courtesy and helpful co-operation extended to it, as well as for the many forms of hospitality it received.

11. The Mission wishes to place on record its gratitude to the Minister for External Territories, the officials of that Department and the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Acting Administrator, the Chief Electoral Officer and the officials who accompanied the Mission and assisted it in Port Moresby. No effort was spared to facilitate the Mission's visit.

C. Land and people

12. Papua New Guinea lies to the north and north-east of Australia, less than 100 miles across the Torres Strait. It consists of the eastern half of the island of New Guinea, the second largest island in the world; the islands of New Britain, New Ireland and Manus in the Bismarck Archipelago; the two northernmost islands of the Solomons group, namely Buka and Bougainville; the Trobriand, D'Entrecasteaux and Louisiade islands groups; and a great number of small islands between the Equator and 12 degrees south latitude. Over-all, Papua New Guinea stretches more than 1,500 miles from east to west and 750 miles from north to south. The total land area covers 178,260 square miles.

13. The central core of the island of New Guinea is a massive cordillera which extends the length of the island. This cordillera is one of the great mountain systems of the world, reaching in several places to a height of over 14,000 feet. Although the cordillera forms a complete divide between north and south-flowing drainage, it does not consist of a single chain but forms a complex system of ranges separated in many cases by broad upland valleys. The width of the main ranges vary from 50 miles at its narrowest part to 150 miles at its widest. Running parallel to the main ranges, but separated from them by a central depression, are the northern mountains. The central depression includes the Sepik River basin and the valleys which contain the Ramu and Markham rivers. The Fly River, in western Papua, is over 700 miles long and 33 miles wide at the entrance to the estuary or 10 miles at the mouth proper, beyond Kiwai island.

14. The cordillera of New Guinea continues to the south beyond the Papuan peninsula as a series of small islands which fall into two district groups, the D'Entrecasteaux Islands and the Louisiade Archipelago. A belt of off-shore volcanic islands stretches along the north coast of New Guinea from the mouth of the Sepik to the west coast of New Britain. At the western end of New Britain, the largest island of the Bismarck Archipelago, there is a cluster of volcanic mountains; the low relief of the north coast of the island is broken by many sharp volcanic peaks and catastrophic eruptions have occurred in recent times. On the Gazelle Peninsula, near Rabaul, there is also an area of recent volcanism. New Ireland, which has a length of some 200 miles and a maximum width of 30 miles, is exceedingly mountainous. Bougainville is the largest island in the Solomons group, being about 127 miles in length with a maximum width of 49 miles. A massive mountain range runs the length of the island. It contains two active volcanoes.

15. Papua New Guinea, lying within the tropics between the continents of Asia and Australia, has a monsoonal climate. The north-west monsoon season lasts from December to March and the south-east trade winds season, from May to October. In April-May and October-November transitional periods occur. Both the north-west monsoon and the south-east trade winds reach Papua New Guinea heavily laden with moisture. Some areas have an average annual rainfall of 250 inches, but enclosed valleys in the highland regions have a relatively low rainfall. In some areas, rainfall throughout the year is generally uniform, but most places have a definite seasonal distribution, receiving their greatest rainfall in one of the two main wind seasons.

16. For administrative purposes, Papua New Guinea is divided into 18 districts: 5 island districts (Bougainville, West New Britain, East New Britain, New Ireland and Manus), 12 on the mainland (West Sepik, East Sepik, Madang, Morobe, Western Highlands, Chimbu, Eastern Highlands, Southern Highlands, Western, Gulf, Central and Northern) and one which is mainly an island district, although it includes the extreme south-eastern section of the mainland (Milne Bay).

17. The people of Papua New Guinea, numbering approximately 2.5 million, may in general be grouped with the Melanesians who occupy the greater part of the Western Pacific, although there is a great diversity of physical types and linguistic groups among them. In the north-western islands of Manus District are small groups of people who have been classified as Micronesians, and a few Polynesian groups are found on the islands of Bougainville District.

18. More than 700 languages and dialects are spoken in Papua New Guinea, most of them by a comparatively small number of people. Very broadly speaking, a division may be made between languages of the Melanesian type and those which are often called non-Melanesian. Melanesian Pidgin has become a lingua franca for large areas of Papua New Guinea. Its vocabulary includes a large number of words of English derivation, some Melanesian terms and a few German, Malay and Polynesian terms. Its grammar is based on Melanesian. Motu has also become a lingua franca in large areas of Papua.

19. In the educational system of Papua New Guinea, emphasis is placed on literacy in English. English is the language of instruction in administration schools, and the primary school syllabus requires English to be the medium of instruction from Standard 3. In the House of Assembly, simultaneous interpretation is provided in English, Melanesian Pidgin and Motu.

CHAPTER II

ELECTIONS TO THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, 1972

A. Organization of the elections

20. General elections to the House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea are held every four years. The first general election took place in 1964. Following the second general election, in 1968, the composition of the House of Assembly was as follows: (a) 69 persons elected in the 69 open electorates; (b) 15 persons elected in regional electorates; and (c) 10 official members appointed by the Governor-General on the nomination of the Administrator.

21. On 4 March 1971, the House of Assembly Select Committee on Constitutional Development submitted its final report, which contained recommendations on the composition of the Third House of Assembly, to be elected in 1972.

22. The Committee's recommendations, as agreed to by the House of Assembly, were accepted by the administering Power and the necessary legislative measures to give effect to those recommendations were adopted. According to the new legal provisions, the Third House of Assembly was to be composed of not less than 104 members and not more than 107 members, as follows: (a) 18 elected members to represent regional electorates; (b) 82 elected members to represent open electorates; (c) up to 3 members nominated by the House of Assembly for special purposes; and (d) 4 official members, appointed by the Governor-General on the nomination of the Administrator.

Electorates

23. Following adoption of the legal provisions concerning the new composition of the House of Assembly, and in pursuance of the Papua New Guinea Electoral Ordinance, 1963-1971, section 16, the Administrator appointed a five-member Electoral Boundary Distribution Committee. The Chairman of the Committee was Mr. Simon Kaumi, the Chief Electoral Officer.

24. The Committee was directed to take the following into account: (a) Papua New Guinea was to be divided into 82 open electorates and 18 regional electorates; (b) the 18 regional electorates should generally be contained within boundaries of the administrative districts; (c) each regional electorate should contain a number of open electorates, as applicable; and, as a guideline, each open electorate should contain a population of approximately 30,000.

25. The Committee submitted its report to the Administrator in August 1971. On the basis of a population of approximately 2.4 million to be distributed among 82 open electorates, the Committee used as a guideline the recommended figure of approximately 30,000 for each open electorate. The Committee pointed out, however, that, owing to other factors which were taken into consideration, it had not found it possible to follow the quota of 30,000 persons per electorate rigidly. These factors, as specified in the Electoral Ordinance, 1963-1971, section 18, were: (a) community or diversity of interests; (b) means of

communication; (c) physical features; (d) existing electoral boundaries; and (e) local government boundaries. The Committee, as directed, took into consideration the existing administrative district boundaries and also the predictable movement of people into other electorates.

26. The report of the Electoral Boundary Distribution Committee was approved by the House of Assembly at its August-September session. In October 1971, the Electoral (Regional Electorates) Ordinance, 1971, was published. Its schedule lists the 18 regional electorates and the open electorates comprised within each regional electorate. The regional electorates are: (1) Bougainville, (2) Central, (3) Chimbu, (4) Eastern Highlands, (5) East New Britain, (6) East Sepik, (7) Gulf, (8) Madang, (9) Manus, (10) Milne Bay, (11) Morobe, (12) New Ireland, (13) Northern, (14) Southern Highlands, (15) Western, (16) Western Highlands, (17) West New Britain, and (18) West Sepik. Information on the open electorates within each regional electorate are given in chapter III below.

Administration of the Electoral Ordinance

27. The administration of the Electoral Ordinance is the responsibility of the Chief Electoral Officer. Under his authority, a returning officer is responsible for the proper conduct of the election within his electorate. An assistant returning officer may be appointed for a portion of an electorate.

28. On 15 November 1971, the Administrator appointed returning officers for the 18 regional and 82 open electorates. Subsequently, the Chief Electoral Officer appointed 65 assistant returning officers for the regional electorates and 128 for the open electorates.

Electoral system

29. An optional preferential system was used in the general elections held in 1964 and 1968. Voters had to indicate their first choice among the candidates listed on the ballot papers, and they could show their preference for some or all of the other candidates, but were not required to do so. It was not considered possible to introduce in Papua New Guinea the preferential system in its entirety, as is the case in Australia, where ballot papers on which the order of preference is not marked for all candidates in the electorate are declared informal (invalid). It was felt that the application of a strictly preferential system in Papua New Guinea would result in an extremely large number of ballot papers being rejected as informal, thus possibly making the result of the poll unrepresentative.

30. Doubts have been expressed about the suitability of the optional preferential system to Papua New Guinea. It has been criticized on the grounds that not many electors would understand it, and the introduction of the "first-past-the-post" system has been considered.

31. The question was considered by the 1968 United Nations Visiting Mission, which stated in its report: "While the Mission felt that there were drawbacks in the preferential system, it felt bound to acknowledge that it is probably the better system to use in the circumstances prevailing in the Territory. Loyalty to

the clan or linguistic group is so strong in New Guinea that, if the 'first-past-the-post' system were used, it could be expected that the largest clan or language group would succeed in having its candidate elected in every election, even though that clan or language group could constitute only a small minority of the total electorate." 2/

32. The Commission of Inquiry on Electoral Procedures which was appointed by the Administrator in 1969, at the request of the House of Assembly, recommended, in view of the majority of the people's wishes, that the optional preferential system applied in Papua New Guinea remained unchanged. In the view of the Commission, "the understanding of the method of distributing preferences under the optional preferential system by the average Papuan and New Guinean was anything but clear". However, the Commission believed that "the majority of Papuans and New Guineans understand the value of distributing preferences". The Commission further stated: "the people trusted the system and believed in its fairness, even though no deep understanding existed of its detailed functioning". The Commission stated in its report that the rejection by the majority of the people of the "first-past-the-post" system stemmed from the fear of the preponderance of one particular ethnic group.

33. The Commission of Inquiry recognized that the optional preferential system could at times lead to a "first-past-the-post" result. In 1968, out of 82 contested electorates, the outcome was decided on an outright majority in 22 electorates and preferences decided it in 60 electorates; in 50 of these, the final result was the same as the result that would have been obtained in a "first-past-the-post" system; in the remaining 10 electorates preferences changed the final result.

34. Following the recommendation of the Commission of Inquiry, the optional preferential system was used in the 1972 elections to the House of Assembly.

Date of the elections

35. On 29 November 1971, in accordance with the provisions of the Electoral Ordinance, part X, the Administrator fixed the date for the general election and writs were issued to the returning officers for the regional and open electorates instructing them to hold elections according to the law of one member of the House of Assembly for each electorate.

36. The following dates for the purposes of the election were appointed:

- (a) 29 November 1971, beginning of the nomination period for candidates.
- (b) 29 December 1971, closing date for nominations.
- (c) 19 February 1972, commencement of polling throughout Papua New Guinea.
- (d) 11 March 1972, completion of the polling and beginning of counting of primary votes.
- (e) On or before 3 April 1972, return of the writs to the Chief Electoral Officer.

Qualification of electors

37. All persons, whether male or female, other than aliens, as defined in the Citizenship Act, 1948-1969 of the Commonwealth, who are 18 years of age or over are entitled to enrol and to vote at the elections (since the 1968 elections the minimum age has been reduced from 21 to 18). Each elector is entitled to vote both for the open and for the regional electorate for which he is enrolled.

Enrolment

38. Voting in Papua New Guinea is not compulsory, but registration on the common roll is compulsory for all persons entitled to vote. In previous elections to the House of Assembly, a person who had a home in an electorate, or had lived continuously in an electorate for at least 12 months, was entitled to have his name placed on the roll for that electorate. If an elector was entitled under the Ordinance to have his name placed on one of two or more rolls, he could select the roll on which his name was to be placed.

39. Following the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry on Electoral Procedures, the Electoral Ordinance now provides that a person who has his real place of living in the area of an electorate for more than six months of the preceding twelve months must enrol for that electorate. The real place of living of a person includes the place to which a person living temporarily elsewhere has a fixed intention of returning for the purpose of living there. An elector who is absent from his electorate because of statutory contract employment is deemed to be only temporarily living at the place of employment. The provision of the Ordinance under which a person could choose to enrol for his home electorate has been repealed.

40. Under section 124 of the Electoral Ordinance, an elector who is temporarily absent from the electorate in which he is enrolled may cast an absentee vote in any other electorate in Papua New Guinea. The elector who wishes to cast an absentee vote must answer the questions put to him by the presiding officer in accordance with section 117 of the Electoral Ordinance and, if the answers show that he is entitled to vote, he may be allowed to do so on making a declaration in the prescribed form, addressed to the returning officer for the electorate in which he claims to be enrolled.

41. Where the name of an elector has been incorrectly omitted or struck from, or cannot be found by the presiding officer, in the certified list of voters of his electorate, the elector may be permitted to vote in accordance with section 130 of the Electoral Ordinance, if he makes a declaration in the prescribed form before the presiding officer. Upon receiving a ballot paper from a person voting under this section, the presiding officer, in the presence of the voter and of such scrutineers as may be present, and without unfolding the ballot paper, must endorse it and place it in an envelope bearing the declaration of the voter and addressed to the returning officer for the electorate in which the elector claims to be enrolled. Similar provisions are contained in section 131 of the Electoral Ordinance for the casting of votes by electors against whose names on the certified list of voters a mark has been placed, in accordance with

section 120, indicating that a ballot paper had already been handed to them, but who declare that they have not voted.

42. Under section 80 of the Electoral Ordinance, voting by post is allowed by an elector who: (a) will not be in Papua New Guinea throughout the polling period, or will be 10 miles by the nearest practicable route from a polling booth; (b) will be travelling or away from his residence under conditions which will preclude his voting at a polling booth; (c) is seriously ill or infirm, and by reason of that illness or infirmity will be precluded from attending a polling booth to vote; or (d) by reason of his membership in a religious order or his religious belief is precluded from attending a polling booth.

Qualifications of candidates

43. Section 66 of the Electoral Ordinance provides that a candidate for election to the House of Assembly must: (a) be an elector of Papua New Guinea; (b) have attained the age of 21 years; (c) be enrolled for, or entitled to have his name transferred to, the roll of the electorate for which he is a nominee; (d) be born in Papua New Guinea and have resided in the electorate for which he is a nominee for a period of six months; or, if he was not born in Papua New Guinea, have resided in Papua New Guinea for a continuous period of five years; or have been an elected member of the House of Assembly.

44. A person is entitled to have his name transferred to the roll of the electorate for which he is to be nominated if he has at any time had his real place of living in the area of the electorate for a continuous period of five years.

45. A person is not qualified for nomination if he holds an office in the public service. Formal resignation must be made and accepted before a public servant may be a nominee.

46. A person is qualified to be a nominee for a regional electorate if: (a) he is qualified for nomination for an open electorate within that regional electorate; and (b) he possesses the educational qualifications as specified by, or determined under, the regulations.

47. The educational qualifications required for the regional electorates at the 1972 elections were the attainment of the Papua New Guinea Intermediate Certificate or its equivalent. More than half of the candidates standing for an open electorate in 1972 possessed these educational qualifications.

Nominations

48. A candidate may be a nominee for only one electorate at each election. A nomination requires a deposit of \$A 100 and may be lodged at any time after the issue of the writ until noon on the closing day of nominations.

Scrutineers

49. Under section 110 of the Electoral Ordinance, candidates may appoint scrutineers to represent them at polling places during the polling. Not more than one scrutineer is allowed to each candidate at each polling booth.

Identification tribunals

50. The appointment of voter identification tribunals for polling booths during the 1972 House of Assembly elections was approved. Returning officers were directed by the Chief Electoral Officer to appoint for each polling booth of their respective area a voter identification tribunal composed of three members who should be respected persons in the community. Returning officers were directed to consult local government councils, candidates, political parties and any other interested persons or organizations before making the appointments, to ensure that those who were selected to sit in the tribunal would be acceptable to all parties concerned. The main task of the tribunal was to certify the intending voters eligibility to vote at the particular polling place, should there be any doubts as to his eligibility.

Election officials

51. Under the provisions of section 101 of the Electoral Ordinance, the returning officer is responsible for the appointment of a presiding officer for each polling place and all necessary assistant presiding officers and poll clerks. In a circular addressed to all returning officers on 6 January 1972, the Chief Electoral Officer pointed out that the national election in 1972 was likely to be contested on party lines and emphasized the need to appoint election officials who would be completely impartial in carrying out their duties during the election.

Voting arrangements and procedures for voting

52. Under section 25 of the Electoral Ordinance, the Administrator may, by notice in the Papua New Guinea Government Gazette: (a) appoint a chief polling place for each electorate; (b) appoint such other polling place for each electorate as he thinks necessary and practicable; and (c) abolish a polling place. Section 104 of the Electoral Ordinance provides that polling booths must have one or more separate voting compartments, constructed so as to screen the voter from observation while he is marking his ballot paper. According to section 113 of the Electoral Ordinance, the poll shall open at each polling place at 8 a.m. of each day (other than Sunday or a public holiday) during the voting period, and shall not close until all electors present in the polling booth at 6 p.m. and desiring to vote have voted.

53. Section 96 of the Electoral Ordinance provides that, subject to any directive given by the Chief Electoral Officer, the returning officer shall, as soon as practicable after the close of nominations, prepare a polling schedule showing the anticipated dates and times, within the voting period for his electorate, during which the polling booths will open in each polling area in such manner as he considers will give all electors a reasonable and sufficient opportunity to vote. A copy of the polling schedule for an electorate must be forwarded to each candidate in the electorate.

54. In a circular dated 2 November 1971, the Chief Electoral Officer, recalling that polling booths throughout Papua New Guinea would open on Saturday, 19 February 1972, and that the vote would continue until 11 March, directed the returning officers to make arrangements to keep their polling booths in main town centres open after 19 February. They would be open until 11 March unless the returning officers were satisfied that all those desiring to vote had already done so at an earlier date. In the rural and more remote areas, polling would be conducted in accordance with the polling schedules prepared by each returning officer for each electorate. Once the polling schedules had been published they should be strictly adhered to. The polling schedules showing the polling places, time and dates on which the polling would take place were published in the Papua New Guinea Government Gazette on 3 February 1972.

55. The Electoral Ordinance provides that the presiding officer or a poll clerk shall, at the polling, hand to each person claiming to vote a ballot paper initialled by the presiding officer. Ballot papers used in an election must be in the prescribed form. The names of all candidates standing for election at the electorate are printed on the ballot paper. The order in which the names are printed is determined by casting lots. For the 1972 House of Assembly elections, the Administrator's Executive Council approved the inclusion of photographs of candidates on ballot papers. The square for indicating preferences appeared alongside the candidate's photograph and, next to it, the name of the candidate. This new form of ballot paper was not expected to eliminate the "whisper ballot" system but was intended to help an illiterate voter to mark his ballot paper in accordance with his wishes.

56. Provisions for the so-called "whisper ballot" are contained in section 123 of the Electoral Ordinance which prescribes that if a voter satisfies the presiding officer that he is so illiterate that he is unable to vote without assistance, the presiding officer, in the presence of: (a) a person appointed by the voter for such purpose; or (b) in the absence of any such appointment, the poll clerk, shall mark, fold and deposit his ballot paper for him.

Scrutiny

57. Part XIV of the Electoral Ordinance provides for the course to be followed in ascertaining, by means of a scrutiny, the results of the voting at an election. The scrutiny takes place in counting centres appointed for that purpose by a returning officer, and is conducted by a returning officer or by an assistant returning officer. Candidates may appoint scrutineers to represent them at the scrutiny.

58. The scrutiny commences as soon as practicable after the end of the voting period. As regards the first count of votes, the officer conducting the scrutiny shall, in the presence of a presiding officer, poll clerk or officer of the public service and of such authorized scrutineers as may choose to attend:

(a) Open all ballot boxes received from polling places within or for the electorate.

(b) Reject all informal ballot papers, and arrange the unrejected ballot papers under the names of the respective candidates by placing in a separate parcel all those on which a first preference is indicated for the same candidate.

(c) Count the first preference votes given for each candidate on all unrejected ballot papers.

(d) Make out and sign a statement, which may be countersigned by the scrutineers, setting out the number of first preference votes given for each candidate and the number of informal ballot papers.

In the 1972 general elections, the first count of votes began on 11 March at 6 p.m.

59. In the event that a candidate has the necessary majority of votes on the first count and the returning officer is satisfied that the result cannot be changed by the outstanding absentee and postal votes, the Chief Electoral Officer may authorize the returning officer to declare that candidate elected by an outright majority. If no candidate has obtained an outright majority on the first count, a period of 14 days after the last day of the polling is allowed before proceeding to a second count so that absentee and postal votes may be received.

60. The scrutiny of absentee and postal votes as well as of votes cast under sections 130 and 131 of the Electoral Ordinance is also conducted by the returning officer or an assistant returning officer in the presence of scrutineers. Special provisions ensure that the secrecy of the ballot is maintained. In the case of votes cast under section 130 of the Ordinance, the returning officer shall examine the voter's declaration to verify whether he was entitled to vote under that section.

61. Section 162 of the Electoral Ordinance contains provisions for the mode of determining the result of the scrutiny, as follows:

(a) The returning officer shall ascertain the total number of first preference votes given for each candidate.

(b) The candidate who has received the largest number of first preference votes shall, if that number constitutes an absolute majority of votes, be elected.

(c) If no candidate has received an absolute majority of votes, a second count is made.

(d) On the second count, the candidate who received the fewest first preference votes shall be excluded and each ballot paper counted for him shall be counted for the candidate next in the order of the voter's preference.

(e) If a candidate then has an absolute majority of votes, he shall be deemed elected.

(f) If no candidate has received an absolute majority of votes at the second count, the process of excluding the candidate who has the fewest votes and of counting each of his ballot papers for the candidate next in order of the voter's preference shall be repeated until one candidate has received an absolute majority.

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(g) If, on any count, two or more candidates have an equal number of votes, the returning officer shall decide who shall be excluded, and if in the final count two candidates have an equal number of votes, the returning officer shall cast the deciding vote.

Return of the writs

62. After the result of an election has been ascertained, the returning officer shall: (a) publicly declare the result of the election; (b) certify on the writ the name of the candidate elected; and (c) return the writ through the Chief Electoral Officer.

Court of Disputed Returns

63. The validity of an election or return may be disputed by petition addressed to the Court of Disputed Returns. The Supreme Court is the Court of Disputed Returns.

B. Political parties

64. At the time of the 1972 general elections, the following political groupings were active in Papua New Guinea:

Mataungan Association
New Guinea National Party
New Guinea Labour Party,
Pangu Pati (Papua New Guinea Union Party)
Peli Association
People's Progress Party
Under-Developed Districts Party
United Party
United Political Society

65. By a decision of the Administrator's Executive Council, the United Party, the Pangu Pati and the People's Progress Party, the three parties with the largest number of members in the Second House of Assembly, were allocated time on the administration radio stations and the Australian Broadcasting Commission. Programmes were broadcast in English, Pidgin and Motu. No broadcast time was given to candidates for individual campaign speeches. It was stipulated that the time should be devoted to party policies.

66. The newspaper Post-Courier, circulated throughout Papua New Guinea, allocated free space to the three parties for publication of their party platforms. The platforms were published each Wednesday over a six-week period, from 12 January to 16 February 1972.

67. The aims and policies of these three parties were published by the Department of Information and Extension Services in a booklet entitled House of Assembly Elections 1972, which appeared in January 1972. The parties were invited to

submit for publication policy statements up to a maximum of 2,000 words in the original language of their choice, together with translations into the two other official languages. The statements had to be signed by the parliamentary leader of the party concerned.

United Party

68. Forty-three members of the Second House of Assembly declared themselves to be members of the United Party. They included five ministerial members, two assistant ministerial members and the spokesman for the Administrator's Executive Council. The parliamentary leader was Mr. Tei Abal, who was ministerial Member for Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries.

69. The aims of the United Party, as stated in the Department of Information booklet, were to:

- (a) Develop a strong system of government at local, area, regional and central levels with laws that expressed the true wishes of the people of Papua New Guinea.
 - (b) Develop a strong economic system by which an independent Papua New Guinea could support such a system of government.
 - (c) Raise the living standard of all people.
 - (d) Strengthen law and order, and promote respect for the Government, so that all people would be safe from harm and would receive fair and equal treatment under the laws of the country regardless of their race, colour or religious or personal beliefs.
 - (e) Develop an educational system that would enable the people of Papua New Guinea to participate fully in all affairs of the country.
70. According to its policy on political development, the Party:
- (a) Regards the development of a strong political party system as essential.
 - (b) Considers that political development from village level through to national level must be pursued strongly.
 - (c) Stands for village participation in local government councils; area authorities; regional participation in a form of regional control; and one central Government elected by the people of Papua New Guinea.
 - (d) Considers that self-government should be given to Papua New Guinea immediately after the people decide they want it.
 - (e) Believes that the final decision for independence and the date for independence should be decided by the House of Assembly, after it has ascertained the desires of the people of the country.

(f) Believes that more attention must be given to the village people of Papua New Guinea in the form of political education, so that all people will be aware of the significance of each step taken in political advancement.

(g) Believes that a prerequisite for independence is the development of experienced political leaders at council, area, regional and national levels, and delegation of more responsibility to each institution charged with control at these levels.

71. No official list of candidates was published, but the United Party unofficially claimed to have 315 candidates in 94 electorates.

Pangu Pati (Papua New Guinea Union Party)

72. The Pangu Pati had 12 members in the Second House of Assembly. Forty-seven candidates in the 1972 elections were included in the list of the party candidates. Although they were not included in the list, two other candidates declared themselves to be members of the party. The parliamentary leader was Mr. Michael Somare.

73. The party's published statement declared for self-government now because this was how people would learn to govern themselves. To prepare for self-government, it was necessary: (a) to have better political education; (b) to give many more important positions in the public service and business to Papua New Guineans as rapidly as possible; and (c) that the Government promote strong political parties.

74. The Pangu Pati aimed to do the following:

(a) Solve land problems and, to this end, form an expert committee to look into all land problems. This committee should find a way to determine the proper payment for land that had already been taken and to enact better land laws and provide better land courts.

(b) Make it possible for all children to go to school up to Form 2 or higher, and to have more high, vocational and technical schools.

(c) Develop agriculture and find better ways to sell agricultural products; Papua New Guineans should produce their own food instead of buying it from other countries; it should be made easier for Papua New Guinea farmers to obtain loans.

(d) Give more help to Papua New Guineans to obtain loans and training to start their own business;

(e) Help workers' unions to obtain better pay and conditions of employment for workers in business and in the public service.

(f) Make villages better places to live in and to this end provide more training for business and farming in the village and provide roads and electricity for the villages.

75. According to the statement, the party was for national unity and would help all the people of all the districts of the country. Self-government would promote economic development and, consequently, self-government should come first. When the party talked about self-government it meant the right of the people to run their country except in regard to defence and foreign affairs.

People's Progress Party

76. The People's Progress Party had 10 members in the Second House of Assembly. They included one ministerial member and two assistant ministerial members. Twenty-nine other candidates were endorsed by the party for the 1972 elections. The Chairman of the party is Mr. Julius Chan.

77. The statement of the People's Progress Party called for a strong, stable and progressive system of government. These aims were to be achieved by seeking the views and aspirations of the people rather than by laying down a dogmatic platform, and by co-operating both inside and outside the House of Assembly with any person, group or party with similar objectives for the orderly and progressive development of Papua New Guinea.

78. The stated objectives of the party were to:

(a) Preserve democracy through the parliamentary system of government and the rule of law.

(b) Build a nation, dedicated to political and religious liberty and freedom and dignity of man, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

(c) Promote and maintain a system of responsible government in which co-operation, control and authority can be exercised on both the local and central government level.

(d) Create a balance of growth whereby opportunities are equally distributed between the towns and rural areas.

(e) Recognize, encourage and protect private ownership and its security, as well as the advancement of free enterprise through individual participation.

(f) Provide opportunities for full employment by means of balanced industrial expansion with population growth.

(g) Strive to ensure that every person receives an education suited to his abilities and suited to each successive stage of the country's development.

(h) Preserve the traditional places, arts, cultures and languages of Papua New Guinea and at the same time press for scientific and technological research to better the way of life of future generations.

(i) Align Papua New Guinea's defence arrangements with those of Australia and her allies, and specifically work for greater regional co-operation within the Australasian, Asian and Pacific Region.

79. The People's Progress Party would ensure that the House of Assembly becomes and remains the most important body in the Government and would resist any attempt to concentrate the power of the Government in the hands of a few men. The party would press for the establishment of area authorities in all districts, and for the progressive and flexible development of these institutions to suit the differing wishes and needs of the people of each district. The People's Progressive Party was not concerned about the timing of self-government. Its concern was that Papua New Guinea gets the type of self-government its people deserve: strong, stable, progressive government.

Under-Developed Districts Party

80. The Under-Developed Districts Party had two members in the Second House of Assembly.

New Guinea National Party

81. The New Guinea National Party had as its leader Mr. Thomas Kavali. He was the party's only member in the last House of Assembly.

Mataungan Association

82. The Mataungan Association had one member in the last House. At the 1972 elections, it had four candidates in East New Britain, including the president of the Association, Mr. Damien Kareku.

New Guinea Labour Party

83. The New Guinea Labour Party had no incumbent member, but its leader, Mr. William Hawarry, was a candidate for the Wewak Open Electorate in 1972.

United Political Society

84. The United Political Society with headquarters at Kavieng, New Ireland, had as its President. Mr. Perry Kwan, who was a candidate for Kavieng Open Electorate in 1972.

Peli Association

85. The Peli Association was led by Mr. Mattias Yaliwan Wabigan, who was a candidate for Yangoru-Saussia Open Electorate in East Sepik District in 1972.

C. Results of the Elections

86. The total number of candidates for election in 1972 was 611, of whom 553 stood for open electorates and 58 for regional electorates; 4 candidates were women. Of the total number of candidates, 74 were members of the Second House of Assembly (10 members of the Second House did not stand for the 1972 elections).

87. In accordance with section 78 of the Electoral Ordinance, Mr. Michael Somare and Mr. Brere Awol were declared elected for East Sepik Regional Electorate and West Sepik Coastal Open Electorate respectively as unopposed candidates. In Middle Rama Open Electorate, in Madang District, the election failed in consequence of the death of one of the candidates; pursuant to the provisions of section 79 of the Electoral Ordinance, a supplementary election will be held after the general elections.

88. The total number of voters enrolled was 1,384,780. Except for the Chimbu and West New Britain regional electorates and the Talasea open electorate, preliminary figures were made available to the Mission on 10 May show that the total number of votes cast in the electorates where the elections were contested was: 685,996 (of which 76,555 were informal) in the regional electorates; and 818,736 (of which 18,508 were informal) in the open electorates.

89. The number of newly elected members of the House of Assembly whose political affiliation was known at the time of the election was as follows:

Mataungan Association
New Guinea National Party
Pangu Pati
Peli Association
People's Progress Party
United Party
United Political Society

Information available at the time of writing the present report indicates that a large number of independent and other candidates have decided to join or support specific political parties. On 26 April, the Papua New Guinea House of Assembly approved a new 17-member coalition Ministry. The senior partner is the Pangu Pati, with seven portfolios, headed by the Assembly's Chief Minister, Mr. Michael Somare. The People's Progress Party and the New Guinea National Party each have four portfolios and the independents have two.

90. Of the 74 members of the Second House of Assembly who contested the elections, 38 were returned. A large number of newly elected members had been members of local government councils. Many members are agriculturalists or teachers; others are interpreters, businessmen, traders, health and administrative personnel, clerks, mechanics or labourers. One of the women candidates was elected.

CHAPTER III

PROGRAMME OF VISITS AND MEETINGS OF THE MISSION

A. Central District

91. The Mission arrived in Port Moresby in Central District on Thursday, 17 February. This district extends for a distance of some 260 miles along the south coast of the mainland east and west of Port Moresby. Back from the coastal section, the country rises to the Wharton range and the Owen Stanley Mountains. Along the seaboard there are fertile coastal flats. The district covers an area of 12,600 square miles. It has a population of over 167,000 inhabitants. Port Moresby is the headquarters of the Administration of Papua New Guinea and of Central District. A valuable rubber growing industry has been established on the low plateaux and slopes between the central coast and the mountains. Village copra production was started in pre-war years, and a start has been made in establishing cattle herds. Income from shipments to Port Moresby of market garden produce, fish, fruit and other village products is also of importance.

92. The Central Regional Electorate includes within its boundary five open electorates. Seven candidates stood for election for the regional electorate. The number of candidates for the open electorates was as follows: Goilala, 4; Kaikuru-Hiri, 9; Moresby Coastal, 11; Moresby Inland, 4; and Rigo-Agau, 11.

93. The Mission's activities during the first two days of its visit to the district are mentioned in paragraph 7 above. On Saturday 19 February, the Mission began its observation of the polling in Papua New Guinea, visiting several polling places appointed for the Moresby Coastal and Moresby Open Electorates. The Mission discussed electoral procedures and observed voting at the following polling places in Moresby Coastal: Port Moresby Town Council office; Koki Centre; Public Health Clinic, Tatana; and the former council chamber, Hanuabada. The Mission then visited the polling places of Moresby Inland located at the Administrative College Hall, Waigani and the Hohola Primary School. At all these places, the Mission observed the polling and had talks with voters, electoral officers and members of identification tribunals. On Sunday, 20 February, the Mission departed by plane from Port Moresby for Alotau, in Milne Bay District.

94. On its return to Port Moresby after the tour of the other districts, the Mission held two private meetings to discuss matters concerning the preparation of its report, and visited the House of Assembly, the headquarters of the Papua New Guinea Command, the Pacific Islands Regiment, the museum and the University of Papua New Guinea, where it held a meeting attended by a large number of students and other participants. The Mission also held conversations with Mr. John Guise, a candidate for Alotau Electorate, and Speaker of the Second House of Assembly.

B. Milne Bay District

95. Milne Bay District comprises the extreme south-eastern section of the mainland and extends over 300 miles eastward into the Coral Sea. The district includes D'Entrecasteaux, Lusiade, Woodlark and Trobriand archipelagos, and covers a land area of 7,800 square miles and a sea area of some 70,000 square miles. The district has a population of 109,000 inhabitants. Alotau, a new town, is now the district headquarters. Copra is the basis of the district's economy. Coffee output is small but provides a valuable cash crop for people of the mountainous inland regions.

96. Two candidates stood for election for the regional electorate. Candidates for election for the three open electorates within the boundary of the regional electorate were: Alotau, 3; Esa'ala, 8; and Kula, 7.

97. On Sunday, 20 February, the Mission arrived in the district at Gurney airstrip where it was met by the Acting District Commissioner, Mr. W. J. G. Lambden, and senior officials, and was then driven to Alotau. On 21 February, the Mission proceeded by trawler across Milne Bay to Gwavili, a polling place in the Alotau Open Electorate. The Mission observed the polling and had talks on voting procedures with electoral officers and local people who were present at the polling places. It also visited the local primary school and boat-yard. On 22 February, the Mission proceeded by car to Bubuleta, in the Alotau Open Electorate, and observed the polling.

98. Other places visited in Milne Bay District included the Alotau Primary School, Koeabule Vocational Centre, Cameron High School, Ahionma Welfare Training Centre, Ahionma Co-operative, Bubuleta Agricultural Training Centre, and Alotau Hospital. In the course of its visits, the Mission met with teachers, students, doctors, nurses and welfare workers from whom it received valuable information. On Wednesday, 23 February, the Mission departed from Alotau for Port Moresby and Kieta.

C. Bougainville District

99. The district comprises Bougainville Island, the largest island in the Solomons group, the smaller island of Buka to the north and many small islands and atolls, including the isolated Mortlock Islands and Tasman Atoll, inhabited by Polynesian communities. Two mountain ranges with peaks rising to 8,000 feet extend from north to south of Bougainville Island. The interior is jungle and inaccessible. Along the coast there are extensive areas of rich volcanic soil. The district has an area of 4,000 square miles. Kieta is the district headquarters. The district has a population of about 80,000 inhabitants. Plantation development was started before the First World War, when Bougainville was under German administration. Copra and cocoa are the main agricultural products. A dominant economic factor, however, the one which has transformed the life and economy of central Bougainville, is the copper mine at Panguna, with its investment of more than \$A 400 million.

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100. The Bougainville Regional Electorate includes within its boundary three open electorates. Two candidates stood for election for the regional electorate, and 15 for the open electorates as follows: North Bougainville, 6; Central Bougainville, 5; and South Bougainville, 4.

101. The Mission arrived in Kieta on Wednesday, 23 February, and was met by the Acting District Commissioner, Mr. R. F. Hearne, and senior Administration officials. On the same day, the Mission held a private meeting to consider a number of points relating to its visits to the various districts, such as number of polling places to be visited, contacts with candidates and indigenous people, and publicity in the newspaper and over the radio. The Mission then met informally with candidates and political leaders.

102. On Thursday, 24 February, the Mission separated into two groups: one departed by plane for Buin, in the South Bougainville Open Electorate, and the other flew to Wakunai, in the northern area of the Central Bougainville Open Electorate. The first group observed the polling places located at Amio and Kanauro and discussed a number of points with the electoral officers concerning voting arrangements. The second group observed the elections at the polling place of Numa Numa. Mission members had the opportunity of talking to voters from mainland electorates voting at Numa Numa as absentee voters. In the course of the day, members of the Mission visited a primary and a secondary school in the area.

103. On Friday, 25 February, the Mission drove to Arawa and observed the polling at the North Massioi Society. In Arawa, the Mission held a meeting with local people at the request of Mr. Raphael Niniku, a candidate for the Central Bougainville Open Electorate, and Messrs. Narug and Ari Suisa, political leaders from the village of Arawa.

104. After the meeting, the Mission drove to Panguna, visited Bougainville Copper Pty., Ltd. and attended the ceremony of the granting of certificates and awards to trainees who had completed their courses. At the Sub-District Office, at Panguna, the Mission met with indigenous political leaders. Present were Mr. Henry Moses, a candidate for Bougainville Central, and Mr. Peter Stamoe and other members of the Panguna Local Government Council.

D. East New Britain District

105. The district consists of the northern and eastern parts of the crescent-shaped island of New Britain and also includes the Duke of York Islands. Volcanic activity is particularly evident in the north, near Rabaul, where two volcanoes, Matupit and Vulcan Island, erupted in 1937. The island covers an area of 14,000 square miles, of which 6,000 are included in East New Britain. The district is one of the most productive in Papua New Guinea because of the early establishment of coconut plantations in the rich volcanic soil of the Gazelle Peninsula. The district has a population of about 105,000 inhabitants. Some 80 per cent of the total population is concentrated in the Gazelle Peninsula where the Tolai people numbering over 60,000 live.

106. Within the boundary of East New Britain there are a regional electorate and four open electorates. Two candidates were contesting the regional seat. The number of candidates standing for election for the open electorates were: Gazelle, 4; Kokopo, 6; Pomio, 4; and Rabaul, 4.

107. The Mission arrived at Rabaul on Saturday, 26 February, and was met by the District Commissioner, Mr. T. T. Carey, and senior officials of the Administration. The Mission had a meeting with the District Commissioner and his staff and visited polling places in the Gazelle, Kokopo and Rabaul Open Electorates to observe the election. The Mission drove first to the polling place at Nonga Base Hospital in Rabaul Open Electorate, then proceeded to the village of Bitagalip, in the Kokopo Open Electorate and Vunapalading and Kerat Hall in the Gazelle Peninsula Open Electorate. On its return to the Rabaul area, the Mission visited the polling place at Katava Plantation in the Rabaul Open Electorate. At the polling places, the Mission met candidates, electoral officers and scrutineers.

108. On Sunday, 27 February, the Mission held separate meetings with candidates for election of various political affiliations. One group was composed of members of the United Party: Mr. Mattias Toliman, Ministerial Member for Education and a candidate for Gazelle; Mr. Joseph Tolau, a candidate for Rabaul; Mr. Nason Tokiala, a traditional Tolai leader and a candidate for Gazelle; Mr. Samson Patiliu, a candidate for the East New Britain Regional Electorate; and Mr. Josiah Wartovo, a candidate for Rabaul.

109. The Mission next met Mr. Oscar Tammur, a leader of the Mataungan Association, an incumbent member of the House of Assembly and a candidate for Kokopo.

110. The Mission then met a group of four independent candidates and one from the People's Progress Party. They were: Messrs. E. Tade, M. Tomakala and L. Tarum, candidates for Kokopo; Mr. J. Tarutia, a candidate for Gazelle; and Mrs. Nellie E. Lawrence, a candidate for Kokopo who had declared to be for the People's Progress Party.

111. Before its departure from Rabaul on 28 February, the Mission visited Rabaul High School, the Volcanological Observatory and the recently established War Museum.

E. New Ireland District

112. The district comprises the long, narrow island of New Ireland, New Hanover Island, the San Mathias group to the north and some other smaller islands. A mountain range extends almost the full length of the main island. The district covers an area of 3,800 square miles and has a population of over 50,000 inhabitants, most of whom live in the coastal areas. The district headquarters is at Kavieng. New Ireland is one of the major copra producing districts in Papua New Guinea. Cocoa production and fishing are on the increase. Rubber is a comparatively new crop for the district.

113. In addition to a regional electorate, the district includes two open electorates. At the 1972 general elections, two candidates sought election for the regional electorate, four in the Kavieng Open Electorate and four in the Namatanai Open Electorate.

114. On Monday, 28 February, the Mission departed from Rabaul and, on its way to other districts of the mainland, stopped at Kavieng where it was met by administration officials. The Mission held conversations with two candidates for the Kavieng Open Electorate, Mr. Perry Kwan, President of the United Political Society, and Mr. Sirenda Apasi. The conversations centred on the current political election. Mr. Kwan criticized the publicity facilities made available by the Administration to the three major political parties. However, he expressed general satisfaction with the way in which the elections were being conducted. Afterwards the Mission departed for Manus.

F. Manus District

115. The district, situated two degrees south of the Equator, comprises the Admiralty islands, of which Manus is the largest, and other groups of small islands scattered over an ocean area of 80,000 square miles. Manus Island has a central range of hills rising to over 2,000 feet. It is heavily timbered but has poor agricultural potential. Most of the small islands are low-lying atolls. The land area of the district is 800 square miles and has a population of about 23,000 inhabitants, most of whom live on Manus island. They are excellent seamen and fishermen and earn a cash income from copra. The district headquarters is at Lorengau.

116. The district includes the Manus Regional Electorate and the Manus Open Electorate. Four candidates sought election for the regional electorate and six for the open electorate. The Mission arrived in the district at Momote, on Los Negros island, adjacent to Manus, and was met by administration officials. It held talks concerning the elections with Mr. Joel Maiah, a Pangu Pati candidate for the Manus Open Electorate, and Mr. Silas Pokupen, an independent candidate for the regional electorate. The Mission then departed for Madang.

G. Madang District

117. Madang District extends along the northern coast of New Guinea from just east of the mouth of the Sepik River to the western border of Morobe District, a distance of about 220 miles. It includes a narrow coastal plain, where copra is grown, rugged inland mountains, swamp areas in the lower Ramu Valley, tropical grasslands and ranges of the central cordillera rising to nearly 15,000 feet. It also includes several off-shore islands. The district covers an area of 10,800 square miles and has a population of about 177,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom live on the coast or in the coastal hills. The district headquarters is at the town of Madang. Copra is the major export of the district and timber is becoming of great importance. Aviation, trading, construction, engineering, ship repairs and tobacco are the major industries.

118. The district includes the Madang Regional Electorate and six open electorates. Three candidates contested the regional seat. The candidates for the open electorate were: Bogia, 6; Madang, 6; Middle Ramu, 8 (as stated in paragraph 88 above, a by-election is to be held in this electorate); Rai Coast, 7; Sumkar, 4; and Usino-Bundi, 6.

119. At Madang, members of the Mission held informal conversations with senior administration officials, the Chairman of the Madang Town Council, the returning officer of the Madang Open Electorate and the following candidates: Mr. Angmai Bilas, Ministerial Member for Trade and Industry, United Party candidate for Madang; Mr. Rawad R. Mayun, an independent candidate for Sumkar; Mr. Kaukesa Kamo, a People's Progress Party candidate for Madang; and Mr. Jerry Kaon, a Pangu Pati candidate for the Madang Regional Electorate. Following these conversations, the Mission departed for Wewak.

H. East Sepik District

120. East Sepik District extends for some 120 miles along the northern coastline of the mainland and covers an area of approximately 17,000 square miles. The district consists of a narrow coastal strip rising abruptly to the relatively low, but rugged, Prince Alexander Range. Beyond and to the south lie the plains and swamps of the central depression which also form the flood plain for the Sepik River. The depression separates the low coastal hills and ranges from the central ranges. Wewak is the district headquarters. Coffee and rice are the two main agricultural products. The production of both these crops is entirely in the hands of indigenous farmers and is grown mainly in the Maprik and Wewak sub-districts. Cattle production is being fostered on the coastal plain in conjunction with coconut farming. Promising samples of copper have been discovered near the southern border of the district.

121. The district has a population of approximately 207,000 inhabitants. About half the population is concentrated in the Maprik Sub-district. Some 90 different languages are spoken in the district, but Pidgin is also spoken by the majority of the people.

122. Within the boundary of the East Sepik Regional Electorate, there are six open electorates. The only candidate for the regional electorate, Mr. Michael Somare, was declared elected unopposed. The number of candidates for the open electorates was: Angoram, 6; Dreikikir, 5; Maprik, 9; Wewak, 10; Wosera-Gau, 8; and Yangoru-Saussia, 7.

123. The Mission arrived at Wewak airport in the evening of 28 February and was met by the District Commissioner, Mr. E.G. Hicks; the parliamentary leader of the Pangu Pati, Mr. Somare; the President of the Wewak-But Local Government Council, Mr. H. Bevi; and other officials.

124. On 29 February, the Mission departed by road for Maprik. On its way to Maprik, the Mission visited Paparum, a polling place for the Yangoru-Saussia Open Electorate. At Maprik, the Mission had discussions with the Deputy District

Commissioner, Mr. J. Young-Whitford; the incumbent members of the House of Assembly, Messrs. Pita Lus, Kokamo Ulia and Naui Saumambi; and the President of the Local Government Council, Mr. Kaisman.

125. At the Maprik local government council chambers, the Mission held a public meeting attended by election candidates, members of the Maprik Local Government Council, and some 150 people. Speakers expressed satisfaction with the process of the elections but some showed concern about the difficulties resulting from a cargo cult, which was causing people to stay away from the polls in some electorates of the district. After the meeting, and following a visit to the exhibition of Sepik handicrafts at the Council Haus Tambaran, the Mission returned by plane to Wewak. Later that day, members of the Mission held further conversations with Mr. Somare.

I. Morobe District

126. Morobe District is divided by the Markham River Valley running down to the port of Lae. It includes the mountainous Huon Peninsula to the north of the Markham, and in the south the semi-highland valleys of the Bulolo-Wau area and the mountains of the Menyamya region. The district also contains coastal swamps, dense rain forests, dry grasslands and productive valleys. It covers an area of over 12,000 square miles. Lae is the district headquarters. The Highlands Highway has made Lae the port for the highlands districts. Coffee is an important village crop in many parts of the district and cocoa is also grown. The main products in the coastal areas are copra and peanuts. Village interest in cattle raising is being encouraged. The forest industries in the Bulolo Valley and at Lae are among the most highly developed in Papua New Guinea. The district has a population of 253,400 inhabitants.

127. The Morobe Regional Electorate includes eight open electorates. Two candidates stood for election for the regional electorate. The number of candidates for election in open electorates was: Bulolo, 12; Finschhafen, 11; Huon Gulf, 5; Kabwun, 6; Lae, 5; Markham, 5; Menyamya, 4; and Nawae, 5.

128. The Mission arrived in Lae in the morning of 1 March and had a briefing session with the District Commissioner, Mr. R.T. Galloway, and members of the district administration. Messrs. Stephen Ahi, Eki Vaki, and Luther Karo Ahi, independent candidates for the Lae Open Electorate, and Mr. Toni Ila, a Pangu Pati candidate, met members of the Mission and had conversations with them. In the course of the day, the Mission visited the sub-district office, a polling place of the Lae Open Electorate.

129. On 2 March, the Mission departed from Lae by car and observed the election at the polling place located at Situm, in the Huon Gulf Open Electorate. After returning to Lae, the Mission flew to Finschhafen where it held conversations with the returning officer and with Messrs. Linoge Hebaumu, Hesingut B. Wangu, and Zibang Situyu Zurenuo, independent candidates for the Finschhafen Open Electorate, at the headquarters of the Finschhafen Local Government Council. The Mission then

proceeded by car to Malasiga and observed the voting at the polling place located in that village. On 3 March, the Mission flew to Kabwum, in the mountainous region of the north, where it met the Assistant District Commissioner and Mr. Rauke Gam, a candidate for the Kabwum Open Electorate and incumbent member of the House of Assembly. From Kabwum, the Mission proceeded by plane to Yalumet, in the same open electorate, and observed the polling.

130. While in Morobe District, the Mission held a meeting at Lae to discuss matters concerning the preparation of its report. It also visited the Papua New Guinea Institute of Technology and the Bugandi High School in Lae, and talked with students and teachers. At Finschhafen, the Mission visited the Vocational Training Centre and Butaweng Hospital. At noon on 3 March, the Mission departed for Goroka by plane.

J. Eastern Highlands District

131. The district covers an area of 4,600 square miles of the great central range of Papua New Guinea. Within its boundaries, there are mountains rising to 12,000 feet and upland valleys at altitudes varying from 5,000 to 7,000 feet. The headwaters of three main river systems drain the district, the Purari and Vailala, which flow southward, and the Ramu which flows northward. Access to the coast is by the Highlands Highway to Lae. Goroka is the district headquarters. Coffee is the main export commodity and pyrethrum is grown above the coffee belt. Other cash crops include passion fruit and tobacco. There are about 260 small village cattle projects which have received assistance from the Papua New Guinea Development Bank. The district, with a population of 239,000 inhabitants, is one of the most densely populated in Papua New Guinea.

132. The Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate includes seven open electorates. Five candidates stood for election for the regional electorate. The number of candidates within the open electorates was: Daulo, 7; Goroka, 12; Henganofi, 9; Kainantu, 7; Lufa, 10; Obura, 4; and Okapa, 11.

133. The Mission arrived in Goroka in the afternoon of 3 March and was met by the District Commissioner, Mr. J. P. Sinclair. Upon its arrival, the Mission split into three groups. One group proceeded by car to the Daulo Open Electorate to observe the polling at Kwongi No. 2 polling place. Another group, also by car, visited the polling place at Liorofa in the Goroka Open Electorate. The third group flew by helicopter to Nivi, a remote polling place in the mountains which was not accessible by car, to observe the polling.

134. On 4 March, the Mission held a meeting at the Goroka local government council chambers. The meeting was attended by members of the Administrator's Executive Council, several other members of the House of Assembly, candidates, members of the Local Government Council, the Chamber of Commerce, farmers and others. Members of the House and candidates present included Mr. Tei Abal, Ministerial Member for Agriculture and a United Party candidate for Wabag in the Western Highlands; Mr. Sinake Giregire, Ministerial Member for Post and Telegraphs, United Party

candidate for Daulo; Mr. Thomas Leahy, Spokesman for the Administrator's Executive Council; Mr. Pupuna Aruno, United Party candidate for Lufa; Mr. John Akunai, United Party candidate for Goroka; Mr. Kevin Massivo, independent candidate for the Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate; Mr. Kege Yasinamo, candidate for Okapa; and Mr. Dennis Buchanan, candidate for the Eastern Highlands Regional Electorate. Subjects discussed included the question of relations of Papua New Guinea with the United Nations; self-government and independence; the electoral system and the selection of candidates; the role of clan relationships; issues of economic development, including assistance from the United Nations; financial support of candidates; and the question of compulsory versus voluntary voting.

135. On the same day, the Mission visited Goroka Teachers College, which is attended by students from all districts of Papua New Guinea, and had talks with the college staff and the students. The college has had substantial assistance from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In the afternoon of 4 March, the Mission departed for Kundiawa.

K. Chimbu District

136. Chimbu District lies in the central range system of Papua New Guinea. The topography varies from plateau country in the south to the high alpine region of Mount Wilhelm on the northern boundary. Access to the coast is via Goroka along the Highlands Highway to Lae. The district covers an area of 2,260 square miles. Kundiawa is the district headquarters. The economic development of the district is based on coffee. The pyrethrum industry was started in 1964.

137. The district, with a population of 189,000 inhabitants, is the most densely populated of Papua New Guinea. The majority of the population live in the warm valleys and on hillsides between altitudes of 4,000 and 8,000 feet. The district embraces one of the largest language groups of Papua New Guinea, where Kuman is spoken by some 120,000 people.

138. Within the boundary of the Chimbu Regional Electorate there are seven open electorates. Five candidates were standing for election for the regional electorate. The number of candidates for election in the open electorates was: Chuave, 11; Gumine, 14; Karimui-Nomane, 7; Kerowagi, 6; Kundiawa, 11; Mount Wilhelm, 5; and Sinasina, 12.

139. The Mission arrived at Kundiawa in the afternoon of 4 March, and upon its arrival held informal conversations with the District Commissioner, Mr. L. J. Doolan, and the Deputy District Commissioner, Mr. M. D. Brown. On Sunday, 5 March, the Mission held a private meeting to consider questions related to the preparation of its report. On 6 March, the Mission held a meeting with the District Commissioner and officials of the district administration. The discussions covered a wide range of subjects, including communications, co-operatives, education, political education, simplification of the electoral system, and assistance by high school students at the polling places. The Mission then proceeded by car to Du and Ubanidiawa, two polling places in the Sinasina Open Electorate. In both places, the Mission observed the polling and held discussions

with local leaders. The Mission drove to Koge Mission Station, where it visited the school, and held a public meeting at the headquarters of the Sinasina Local Government Council. Present at the meeting were 2 candidates for the regional electorate, 11 for Sinasina, 7 for Chuave, 18 members of the Sinasina and Chauve local government councils and the general public.

140. At the meeting, candidates and local government councillors raised points concerning economic development, the introduction of coffee as a cash crop in the area, concern over present low coffee prices and the problem of price stabilization. Other questions discussed included self-government, the role of Australia in the development of Papua New Guinea, foreign investment, assistance from the United Nations, the activities of large companies, the need for education and the importance of village opinion.

141. On the same day, the Mission held a meeting at the Kundiawa Women's Training Centre. The meeting was attended by all the 71 candidates who stood for election in Chimbu District, members of the Local Government Council and the general public. During an extended session, many political and economic subjects were discussed. Special emphasis was placed on the relationship between the central Government and local administrations, the concepts of local autonomy and area authorities, the place of party organizations and independent candidacies, the problem of a common language and proper utilization of English, Pidgin and local languages, public information about the accomplishments and work of the House of Assembly, the existence of cargo cults and the need for more widespread political education, with possible co-operation between Australia and the United Nations in that regard. There were lively discussions on the requirements for individuals to resign their public positions in order to stand as candidates, and the fairness of those requirements as compared with other members of the community desiring to stand for office. Economic problems, especially the marketing of coffee, foreign investment, regulation of the activities of large companies, the treatment of profits and employment, were again stressed. Accomplishments of the Australian Administration were favourably commented. Appreciation was expressed to the World Health Organization (WHO) for its malaria eradication programme and to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for its help to the Teachers College in Goroka; the possibility of engaging other specialized agencies in the development of Papua New Guinea was urged.

L. Western Highlands District

142. Western Highlands District is situated in the mountainous centre of Papua New Guinea. It includes ranges over 12,000 feet, and has the headwaters of some of the main river systems of the country. The lower valleys are covered with rain forests but valleys at altitudes between 4,000 and 8,000 feet have been denuded of timber by agricultural work. The district covers an area of 9,600 square miles and has a population of over 331,000 inhabitants. Some of the largest language groups are included in the district. The Highlands Highway is the major link with the coast. The district headquarters is at Mount Hagen. Coffee is the chief source of income and tea is expected to grow in economic importance.

143. There are 11 open electorates in the area of the Western Highlands Regional Electorate. Four candidates stood for election for the regional electorate. The following numbers were standing for the open electorates: Dei, 7; Hagen, 12; Jimi, 2; Kandep Porgera, 10; Kompian Baiyer, 10; Lagaip, 8; Mul, 5; Tambul-Nebilyer, 6; Wabag, 3; Wahgi, 6; and Wapenamanda, 8.

144. The Mission arrived at Mount Hagen by plane in the morning of 7 March, and was met by the Acting District Commissioner, Mr. R. Aisbett. It then proceeded by car to Kiliga Ceremonial Ground, a polling place in the Hagen Electorate. The Mission observed the polling and had conversations with Messrs. Oglak Makindi, Komp Dei, Pena Ou, Denbis, Namp Opa, Koim Kip, Wamp Wan and Minembi Ken, candidates for the Hagen Electorate, and with Mr. Paul Pora, candidate for the regional electorate, who were present at the polling place.

145. The Mission also had a meeting with the District Commissioner and administration officials and visited the administration radio station where it was given information on programmes broadcast by political parties. On the afternoon of 7 March, the Mission departed by plane for Mendi.

M. Southern Highlands District

146. Southern Highlands District covers an area of 6,800 square miles, ranging in altitude from 2,800 to over 14,000 feet, and includes large areas of suitable agricultural and pastoral land. The district is surrounded by peaks of dormant volcanoes which covered the valleys in the past with volcanic deposits. The district headquarters is at Mendi. Completion of the Highlands Highway section from Mendi to Mount Hagen, which is expected in late 1972, will provide the main arterial link in the district. The district has a population of over 206,800 inhabitants. The five principal languages spoken in the district are related to other highland language groups.

147. There are seven open electorates within the limits of the Southern Highlands Regional Electorate. There were four candidates standing for election in the regional electorate. The number of candidates for the open electorates was: Ialibu-Pangia, 9; Kagua-Erave, 4; Koroba-Kopiago, 5; Mendi, 7; Nipa, 11; Poroma-Kutubu, 4; and Tari-Komo, 7.

148. The Mission arrived at Mendi in the afternoon of 7 March and was met by the District Commissioner, Mr. D. J. Clancy, and administration officials. On 8 March, two members of the Mission proceeded by plane to the area of the Ialibu-Pangia Electorate where they observed the voting at the Kero polling place and talked with candidates. They also visited the Kero Primary School and the local dispensary, and later had an informal meeting with candidates and councillors at the chambers of the Ialibu Local Government Council. The two other members of the Mission proceeded by car to the Bela polling place where they observed the voting.

149. At Mendi, the Mission held a meeting with candidates for election and members of the Local Government Council. The following candidates spoke: Mr. Matiabe Yuwi, a member of the House and candidate for Tari-Komo; Mr. Andrew Andaija, a candidate for Tari-Komo and President of the Tari Local Government Council; Mr. Glaimi-Warena, a candidate for Ialibu-Pangia; Mr. Nomei Pangial, a candidate for Mendi; and Mr. Undi-Nandi, President of the Ialibu Local Government Council and a candidate for Ialibu-Panga. The need for education and economic development was stressed repeatedly at this meeting, along with views as to the relative priority of self-government. Appeals were made for road links with other areas of Papua New Guinea and questions were raised concerning the availability of various types of United Nations assistance to Non-Self-Governing Territories. On 9 March, the Mission departed for Daru.

N. Western District

150. Western District covers an area of 37,700 square miles, three quarters of which is savannah and grassland subject to drought during the dry season and to extreme flooding in the rainy period. The remainder comprises broken hills rising towards the main central range. The district has a common border of 320 miles with West Irian. The principal river systems are navigable, the Fly River for 750 miles and the Strickland River for 600 miles. The district has very limited economic resources. A small quantity of copra is produced. The coastal people are fishermen, while inland people are predominantly hunters and food gatherers. Agriculture is limited to growing subsistence crops. Major hopes are based on high-yielding Malayan rubber which was introduced in 1966. Crocodile hunting, while in decline, remains important. It is expected that a locally based fishing industry for the processing of barramundi, crayfish and reef fish will develop. Widespread mining prospecting by a number of companies has not so far realized hopes of any significant mineral exploitation, although the north-western part of the district appears to have potential.

151. The district has a population of 66,000 inhabitants. Of this number, about 30,000 live on Daru Island and in areas either close to the Fly River estuary or along the lower reaches of the Bamu and Aramia rivers. Vast sections of the district are uninhabited.

152. Within the Western Regional Electorate there are two open electorates, North Fly and South Fly. Two candidates stood for election for the regional electorate and 12 for the open electorates: six for North Fly; and six for South Fly.

153. The Mission arrived in Daru on 9 March and was met by the District Commissioner, Mr. K. A. Brown. It visited Daru High School where students of all the primary and secondary schools on the island had assembled. Members of the Mission had conversations with teachers and students. On 10 March, the Mission flew from Daru to the area of Lake Murray. It held discussions with local officials at Lake Murray and visited the Saurian Research Centre where crocodiles are being studied for their potential as a source of local income.

Weather conditions made it impossible to visit the remote Nomad area. On its return to Daru, the Mission held a public meeting at the local government council chambers. Present were candidates, councillors, administration officials and the general public. The following persons spoke: Mr. Naipuri Maina, Pangu Pati candidate for the regional electorate; Mr. Arthur Wyborn, United Party candidate for South Fly; Mr. Samuel Kloney, Pangu Pati candidate for South Fly; Mr. G. Roakein, Superintendent for Education; and Dr. Tatie Olewale, President of the Oriomo Bituri Local Government Council. Discussions involved the level of popular participation in the elections, compulsory versus voluntary voting, voting for candidates on the basis of personality rather than political affiliation, voting on tribal lines, the length of the polling period and the travel expenses of candidates. Economic development and the level of Australian assistance to Papua New Guinea after the attainment of self-government was raised. The meeting ended with several questions relating to education, particularly the facilities offered by the United Nations and its agencies. On 11 March, the Mission departed for Port Moresby.

O. Meetings in Canberra

154. After the final meetings in Port Moresby (see paragraph 7 above), the Mission proceeded to Canberra on 15 March. The day of 16 March was spent in meetings at the Department of External Territories and the Department of Foreign Affairs for a general review of the Mission's travels in Papua New Guinea and its observations with regard to the elections. The whole range of electoral policy and arrangements was considered, as well as the pattern of existing and anticipated future relationship between Papua New Guinea and Australia. The relationship of the United Nations to these questions, as well as the emerging participation of Papua New Guinea in the world community also came under discussion. Australian officials taking part in the discussion at the Department of External Territories included Mr. A. Peacock, Minister; Mr. D. O. Hay, Secretary; and other senior officials. The meeting at the Department of External Territories was presided by Mr. K. C. O. Shann, Acting Secretary, and included senior Australian foreign policy officials concerned with the area under discussion. At a reception given by the Minister for External Territories, members of the Mission had the opportunity to talk with members of Parliament, foreign diplomats, government officials and other individuals prominent in Australian life.

CHAPTER IV. OBSERVATIONS BY THE VISITING MISSION

Background. In 1969, after the previous elections, a commission was appointed by the Administrator, at the instigation of the House of Assembly, to inquire into current electoral procedures. Among its members were the then Chief Electoral Officer of Papua New Guinea and the Deputy Chief Electoral Officer of the Commonwealth of Australia. Its Secretary was the Deputy Chief Electoral Officer of Papua New Guinea, Mr. S. Kaumi, who subsequently assumed over-all responsibility for the conduct of the elections. The Commission travelled widely throughout the Territory and received written and verbal submissions from the population. In its report it made a number of recommendations, amongst which were the retention of the "optional preferential" voting system, the lowering of the voting age to 18 years and a requirement that, with the exception of persons under statutory contractual employment, persons living for more than six months in an electorate should vote in that electorate. These recommendations were adopted and incorporated into the Electoral Ordinance, 1963-1971.

155. It appeared to the Mission that the conduct of the elections by the Administering Authority was comprehensive, thorough and fair. In the view of the Mission, the Administration had taken pains to ensure that everyone was given an opportunity to vote and that generally the polling officials were properly instructed in their functions. In a Territory as widespread as Papua New Guinea, with its scattered population, its multiplicity of languages and the difficulties of communication, the expenditure of effort in time, manpower and money was conscientious to a degree. In some cases, mobile polling teams travelled for days over difficult terrain to collect the votes of an isolated hamlet.

156. The Mission found that these efforts were widely appreciated. Nowhere was any suggestion made that the conduct of the elections was other than conscientious and impartial, and there was general recognition of the care taken by the Administration to ensure a fair result. Two innovations in particular were universally commended - the reproduction of the candidates' photographs on ballot papers and the presence of identification tribunals at rural polling stations. The use of photographs was a considerable technical achievement, particularly as there were 611 candidates. The tribunals greatly facilitated the work of election officials and were in many places a valuable safeguard against fraudulent voting.

157. The electoral system in Papua New Guinea is modelled on the Australian, with some modifications, such as optional preferential voting instead of compulsory voting. It is a complicated system, particularly for an electorate only recently come to the voting process. Much of the complication derives from the preferential system of voting. The "first-past-the-post" system would be more easily understood and could be expected substantially to reduce the number of informal votes, which is high - very high in some areas. However, as described earlier in this report (see paras. 32-34 above) the 1969 Commission of Inquiry on Electoral Procedures gave careful consideration to this question. The preferential system has now

been used in three elections in Papua New Guinea. Illiteracy will diminish and the number of candidates contesting an electorate is likely to decrease. This process should improve the understanding of the electoral system and facilitate its operation.

158. The two-tier arrangement of electorates (regional and open) also adds to the complexity of the system and increases the risk of votes being declared informal. It was noticed that in many cases voters had placed the figure "1" against the first choice on one ballot paper and the figure "2" against the first choice on the other, thus rendering the second ballot informal. It was also observed that substantially fewer votes were cast for the regional candidates than for the open, the regional candidates being presumably less well known locally. This point was frankly made to members of the Mission by many voters. The purpose of the regional seats was to ensure that a proportion of candidates with educational qualifications was elected to the House of Assembly. The need for this precaution will diminish with time. The Mission recommends a study of the educational level of the members of the recently elected House with a view to determining whether that time has already arrived and the regional electorates can be dispensed with.

159. The principal defect in the present electoral system, it seemed to the Mission, lies in the inadequacy of the registers of voters. The compilation of these registers in a country such as Papua New Guinea is a formidable task, and the difficulties are fully appreciated. The reliability of the registers varied considerably from place to place. In some electorates, voters could be readily identified; in others, a high proportion could not, and recourse was had to section 130 of the Electoral Ordinance (see para. 41 above). Identification was made no easier by the fact that many Papua New Guineans use different names and spellings at different times. These provisions for admitting votes which cannot be reconciled with the register are no doubt necessary in present circumstances, but they greatly increase the risk of fraudulent or duplicate voting. It seems doubtful whether this was happening to any significant degree at these elections. Nevertheless, as political awareness grows, so does the possibility of abuse. It is important, therefore, that the reliability and completeness of the register should be urgently improved, onerous though the task may be. At present, there are separate registers for local government and national elections. This seems to be unnecessary duplication as the voting qualifications do not differ. The Mission understood that the format used in the local government registers made identification easier than in the national registers. Some use might also be made of the census enumeration without a breach of confidence. There may even be a need for a permanent registrar in each district or region charged with the responsibility of maintaining the registers and revising them periodically. Section 130 of the Electoral Ordinance could then be dispensed with and persons temporarily absent from their place of registration could utilize the postal ballot. If there were a requirement that all postal votes must be received at the place of the count before the first count takes place, the present time lag of 14 days between the first and second count could also be eliminated and the declaration of results speeded up.

160. As further safeguards against duplicate voting, two suggestions were made. One was the introduction of individual identity cards, which could be stamped when a vote was cast. Doubts have been expressed whether this would be practicable under Papua New Guinea conditions. The other suggestion was finger staining. This is practised in a number of independent countries and has recently been introduced in a neighbouring country in the South Pacific. The Mission commends it for consideration.

161. There were some advocates for compulsory voting, as in Australia. It is doubtful, however, whether this would serve any practical purpose in the present circumstances or be enforceable. It is true that registration is compulsory, but in fact the compulsion is more nominal than real.

162. The change made in the residential qualification for voters (see para. 39 above) may have deterred some people from voting at the 1972 election, particularly in urban areas. A person who has lived in a place for no more than six months is not likely to have acquired strong local affiliations and may have little knowledge of the candidates from which he has to choose. The Mission believes that this is too short a period and suggests that consideration be given to extending the qualification period to, say, 12 months.

163. For this and other reasons, it seemed that polling was heavier in rural than in urban areas, although actual figures were not available at the time of writing this report. The care taken by the Administration to ensure that everyone, however remote, was given the opportunity to vote certainly encouraged rural polling. Then too, in the villages, going to the polling station is something of a social as well as civic occasion, an opportunity to renew contact with neighbours, an "outing". And, perhaps, the voice of authority, counselling that it is a duty to vote, was given more heed in the villages. There is also the consideration that many town dwellers, including students, still have their roots in their home villages and do not feel politically involved in the place where they live at present.

164. The provision of polling stations in rural areas was adequate. In numbers this was true also of the towns generally, but consideration might be given to keeping the town stations open for more days during the polling period, and in some cases for longer hours (particularly in the evening). This would lessen crushes and help to build up the town vote (which is surely important for the future). There should be at least one polling place in each district centre open for the last two or three days of the electoral period to enable to vote those who were unable to cast their ballots earlier for one reason or another, such as temporary absence from the district.

165. At the polling stations visited by the Mission, the procedures laid down by law and supplemented by directives from the Chief Electoral Officer appeared to be working smoothly and no complaints of malpractice were made. At booths where sections 130 or 131 of the Electoral Ordinance had been invoked, or where there was a substantial number of persons casting absentee votes, the process was necessarily slow, but this was accepted patiently by the voters. The techniques

employed by presiding officers for handling the traffic flow varied somewhat from place to place - some were more effective than others. It might be useful if returning officers were asked to include their observations on this in the reports they render to the Chief Electoral Officer, so that a compendium of techniques which have worked well in practise can be prepared for use at future elections. The number of forms which election officials have to complete is considerable and these also might perhaps be reviewed to see whether any of them can be discarded. For instance, it was learned in Canberra that the sex tally (a form showing the number of males and females who have voted at each polling station) has been dispensed with in Australia.

166. As at the 1968 elections, the "whisper ballot" was used extensively and as then seemed to cause no difficulty. The Mission noticed in some places that scrutineers were permitted to witness votes if asked to do so by the voter. No complaints were made, but as scrutineers are at the polling stations for the specific purpose of watching the interest of a particular candidate it is perhaps questionable whether they should be allowed to participate in the voting process.

167. There was no territory-wide protest movement against the conduct of the elections. In a few electorates, cargo cults continued to be a factor to be taken into account. Their influence tended to disorganize the proceedings in some areas but not to any significant extent nationally. Cargo cults represent in essence a reaction to new concepts - a reversion to traditional ways of thought combined with a desire to find shortcuts to material wealth. It is also in part a form of political manifestation. The cult may be expected to disappear in time, but only to the extent that the new concepts prove themselves in practice.

168. A desire for greater regional autonomy was also manifest in some areas. In one area, this went to the extent of widespread refusal to register on the electoral rolls, although in the end votes were in fact cast there in large numbers. If the unity of Papua New Guinea is to be preserved, those aspirations for more control over local affairs will require careful and understanding consideration by the next House of Assembly.

169. The Mission was able to witness the actual counting of votes only on the first evening in Port Moresby. It seemed to members of the Mission that in some cases strict adherence to the letter of the law led to some ballots being declared informal even though the intent of the voter was clear. Perhaps the law is a little too rigid on this subject and wider discretion might be allowed to returning officers to decide what is a clear indicative mark. Guidelines could be given in the form of a handbook based on the experience of the 1972 and previous elections. The interest of candidates would continue to be represented by scrutineers as they are at present.

170. The question of allocating time on a government broadcasting network to political parties and candidates and providing government facilities for the dissemination of electioneering platforms is likely to be a controversial one in any country. At this election, the Administration gave radio time in equal quantities to the three political parties which were fielding substantial numbers

of candidates, and the Department of Information and Extension Services published their policies. The very large number of candidates made it difficult to allot time to them on the district radio network, which is, in any case, not yet country-wide. The smaller parties and independent candidates considered themselves at a disadvantage. Press coverage can be expected to expand in the future, and as the regional radio network is enlarged, it should be possible for all candidates in each district to be given an opportunity to state their policies over radio stations in the area.

171. The financial resources available to candidates varied a good deal, depending on their personal means and their party affiliations. It is doubtful whether this had any significant effect on the outcome of the elections on this occasion, but in future it may be desirable to set limits to campaign expenditures and contributions and to require candidates to disclose the source of their expenses.

172. A feature of its tour which impressed the Mission was the readiness of candidates of differing political persuasions and opposing parties to meet together with the Mission and share a public platform in freely expressing their views. The Mission commends this developing spirit of democratic give and take and suggests that perhaps in future elections opportunities could be provided for public and radio debates, at both the national and the district level.

173. In the course of its tour of the Territory, the Mission frequently heard that political education was inadequate and more was needed. The Mission is aware, however, that programmes of political education exist, and the elections to the House of Assembly as well as the local government councils elections are in fact a form of political education. The Mission believes that candidates and the population in general should be adequately informed on all national issues. The Mission found that important concepts, such as self-government and independence, were not clear for many, including some candidates. The Mission would suggest that the political education programmes should be expanded and that more participation by local government councils and political parties should be encouraged.

174. The dominant issue in these elections was self-government, not so much whether but when it should come. All parties and most independent candidates took a position on this, ranging from "self-government now" to "not until we are ready". In a sense, therefore, the elections could well be regarded as a referendum on this question, but this, perhaps, would be to attach too much significance to electioneering platforms. It is not part of the Mission's terms of reference to pronounce on the merits of this debate, so vital for the future of the Territory, but simply to say that it is taking place and that it is certain to figure largely in the deliberations of the new House of Assembly. It will be important for the future that not only the elected members but also the electorate should be fully informed on what self-government and eventual independence involves. This is an imminent task for political education officers and local government councils. Everyday practice must follow official policy in private activities, as well as in the Administration's conduct of affairs. The currently accelerating trend towards localization in public affairs will undoubtedly be reflected in future electoral arrangements.

175. The Mission began and would wish to end this chapter of its report by commending the thoroughness and fairness with which the 1972 Papua New Guinea elections were conducted. It has made some suggestions for possible improvements in the procedures. It has done so with constructive intent and in the hope that they may be of assistance in the formulation of arrangements for elections to come.

ANNEX I

ITINERARY OF THE MISSION

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
17 February	Central District	Mission assembled in Port Moresby Private meeting of mission members and staff Meeting with Administration officials	11,980
18 February		Meeting with Chief Electoral Officer Meeting with Administration officials Visited United Nations Information Centre	
19 February		By road to observe elections at polling places in Moresby Coastal and Moresby Inland electorates	
20 February		Departed by air for Alotau, Milne Bay District	224
21 February	Milne Bay District	By trawler for Gwavili in Alotau electorate to observe elections; visited Gwavili Primary School and boat-yard Visited Alotau Primary School Koeabule Vocational Centre, Cameron High School and Alotau Hospital	
22 February		By road to Bubuleta in Alotau electorate to observe elections Visited Bubuleta Agricultural Training Centre, Ahiona Welfare Training Centre and Ahiona Co-operative	
23 February	Bougainville District	Departed by air for Kieta, Bougainville District Meeting with Administration officials Private meeting of mission members and staff Informal meeting with candidates and political leaders	859

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
24 February		Mission separated into two groups:	
		One flew to Buin, South Bougainville electorate, to observe elections at Omio and Kahauro polling places;	round-trip 84
		the other flew to Wakunai, Central Bougainville electorate, to observe elections at Numa Numa polling place; also visited a primary and a secondary school	round-trip 100
25 February		By road to Nassioi, Bougainville Central electorate to observe elections	
		By road to Arawa; Meeting with candidates and general public at Arawa	
		Proceeded by road to Panguna	
		Visited Bougainville Copper Pty., Ltd.	
		Meeting with candidate and members of the Local Government Council	
		Attended granting of awards to trainees of Bougainville Copper Pty., Ltd.	
26 February		Departed by air for Rabaul, East New Britain District	290
	East New Britain District	Meeting with Administration officials	
		By road to observe elections at polling places in Rabaul, Kokopo and Gazelle Peninsula electorates	
27 February		Mission held meetings with three groups of candidates	
28 February		Visited Rabaul High School, the Volcanological Observatory and the War Museum	
		Departed by air for Wewak, East Sepik District, via:	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
		Kavieng, New Ireland District; met with candidates	148
		Momote, Mamus District; met with candidates	237
		Madang, Madang District; met with candidates	247
		Arrived in Wewak, East Sepik District	187
29 February	East Sepik District	Departed Wewak by road for Paparum, Yangoru-Saussia electorate, to observe elections	
		Proceeded from Paparum by road to Maprik	
		Meeting with candidates, members of the Local Government Council and the general public at the Maprik Council Chambers	
		Visited Council Haus Tambaram	
		Departed Maprik by air for Wewak	40
1 March		Departed Wewak by air to Lae, Morobe District	317
	Morobe District	Meeting with Administration officials and candidates	
		Visited Institute of Technology and Bugandi High School	
		Observed elections at the polling place located in Sub-District Office in Lae Open electorate	
2 March		By road to Situm in Huon Gulf electorate to observe elections	round- trip 120
		By air to Finschhafen	
		Met candidates for Finschhafen electorate	
		Visited Butaweng Hospital and Finschhafen Vocational Centre	

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
		By road to Malasiga in Finschhafen electorate to observe elections	
		Private meeting of mission members and staff	
3 March		By air to Kabwum; met Administration officials and candidate	round-trip 60
		Proceeded by air to Yalumet in Kabwum electorate to elections	
		Returned by air to Lae	
		Departed Lae by air to Goroka, Eastern Highlands District	121
	Eastern Highlands District	Mission and staff separated into three groups: one group drove to Daulo electorate to observe elections at Kwongi No. 2 polling place; another group drove to Liorofa polling place in Goroka electorate; the third group flew by helicopter to Nivi in Goroka electorate	
4 March		Visited Goroka Teachers College	
		Meeting with candidates, members of the Local Government Council, the Chamber of Commerce, farmers and others at the Local Government Council chambers	
		By air to Kundiawa, Chimbu District	32
5 March	Chimbu District	Private meeting of Mission and staff	
6 March		Meeting with Administration officials	
		By road to Du, Sinasina electorate, to observe elections	
		Proceeded to Ubandiawa, Sinasina electorate, to observe elections	
		Visited Koge Mission Station	

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
		Public meeting at Sinasina	
		Meeting with all candidates of the electorates in Chimbu District at Kundiawa Women's Training Centre	
7 March		Departed Kundiawa by air to Mount Hagen, Western Highlands District	52
	Western Highlands District	By road to Kiliga Ceremonial Ground, Hagen electorate, to observe elections and meet candidates	
		Meeting with Administration officials	
		Visited Administration radio station	
		Departed Mount Hagen by air to Mendi, Southern Highlands District	53
8 March	Southern Highlands District	Mission separated into two groups: One group proceeded by air to Ialibu-Pangia electorate to observe elections at Kero polling place; visited Kero Primary School and local dispensary and held meetings with candidates and councillors at Ialibu Local Government Council chambers;	round-trip 50
		the other group proceeded by road to Bela in Mendi electorate to observe elections	
9 March		Departed Mendi by air to Daru, Western District	345
	Western District	Meeting with Administration officials	
		Visited Daru High School	

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
10 March		By air to Lake Murray area where Mission held conversations with local officials and visited Saurian Research Centre	round-trip 400
		Meeting with candidates, councillors and general public at Daru Local Government Council chambers	
11 March		Departed Daru by air for Port Moresby	276
	Central District	Private meeting of Mission and staff	
		Observed beginning of the vote count at Administration College	
		Visited Sir Hubert Murray Oval to observe public tabulation of votes	
12 March		Private meeting of Mission and staff	
13 March		Meeting with Acting Administrator, Chief Electoral Officer and Administration officials	
		Visited headquarters of Papua New Guinea Command, Pacific Islands Regiment	
14 March		Visited Electoral Office	
		Visited House of Assembly	
		Meeting with students and others at Papua New Guinea University	
15 March		Departed Port Moresby by air for Canberra	1,865

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Remarks</u>	
16 March	Canberra, Australia	Meeting with Minister for External Territories, the Administrator of Papua New Guinea and senior officials of the Department of External Territories	
		Meeting with senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs	
17 March		Departed from Canberra to return to Headquarters	<u>10,454</u>
		Total	28,091*

* Distance travelled by road not included.





