

THE PAPUA-NEW GUINEA ELECTIONS 1964

Edited by
David G. Bettison
Colin A. Hughes
Paul W. van der Veur

ALI

BOB BUNTING

Among You
Me



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N GUISE

NERI DICKSON

ERT (ALBIE) MUNT

OB BUNTING



Harry St

2 CUMMINGS, K. E.

DON BARRETT

OPEN ELECTORATE,
MILNE BAY
YOUR CANDIDATE FOR
THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
1964-1968



1 JOHN GUISE

The man who has been your member since 1961

The man who will continue to be
THE MEMBER FOR THE PEOPLE

Put your trust in the man you know
Not in someone you don't know



LEPANI WATSON

*ma be ida saluiao ida lemedi tuta sime
:te i guiginua gabemani edia yakwara
ma iage iauna be kapekapeana manudi
sida deliegogona solanaia aboada manu*

GADA ESINUENA

LEPANI WATSON

YUPELA MARKIM OLOSEM
AVAT A PIPILAK DARI



OPEN ELECTORATE OF RABA

5 EPINERE TITIMUR

4 LAWRENCE TOLOVUTU

3 TOMARI TOPAKANA

2 NASON TOKIALA

1 MATTHIAS
TUTANAVA TOL

THE PAPUA-NEW GUINEA ELECTIONS 1964

Edited by

DAVID G. BETTISON,
COLIN A. HUGHES, AND
PAUL W. VAN DER VEUR

The first firm step towards independence for the people of Papua-New Guinea was taken in 1964 with the election of a representative legislature. This book describes how the Members of the House of Assembly were chosen.

Officials conducting the elections were confronted with the difficulties of making the electoral process comprehensible to men and women who had had no previous contact with the institutions of modern government. At the same time the local candidates lacked a party organization or a nationalist movement or ideology through which to appeal to the voters.

In such circumstances the usual pattern of election studies, focused on a national campaign, would have been inappropriate. Instead the core of this book consists of twelve studies of different constituencies, typical of different parts of Papua and New Guinea, each written by an anthropologist or a political scientist who was either working in the area or visited it for the election period. These studies have a common framework, and they are accompanied by chapters on the Legislative Councils which preceded the House of Assembly, on the political education campaign conducted by the Australian Administration and on the administration of the elections themselves, on a seminar which was held after the elections to train the new Members in their parliamentary duties, and on the first two meetings of the House of Assembly.

Continued on back flap

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Continued from front flap

The authors provide a wealth of material on the problems of transitional political systems, few of which are so fragmented or so underdeveloped as Papua-New Guinea. Their book is also a contribution to the political history of that country, and as such reveals much of crucial importance about Australia's nearest neighbour.

The jacket design is based on election leaflets.

FOR
L. SECURITY

MAKIM
1 BR

YOUR
THE HOUSE OF

ONG YU

WAN 1

ON ELECTION DAY

Vote 1 Mrs. Ana Frank

Authorised by Vigi Frank, Pari Village, G/- P.O. Box 262, Port Moresby.
Printed by South Pacific Post Ltd., P.O. Box 85, Port Moresby, Papua.

ok Bilony

AI YALI LAEK TOKIM IUPELA OLSEM.

MI LAEK KAMAP LONG NUPELA HAUS LO
BILON YUMI OLGEDA MAN BILON NU. GINI
ISTAP LONG MORESBI.

NAU LON DE BILON ELEKSINS IUPELA
MARKIM NEM BILON MI NAMBA WAN LON
PEPA ORAET NAU LON TAEM BILON MARKIM
MAN BILON IGO LON HAUS LO IU GIBIM
DISPELA PEPA LON KIAP NAU TOKIM MI LAEK
MARKIM PEPA OLSEM

1 YALI

Authorised by W. O. Hall, Laga Plantation, Saidot, Via Madang.
and printed by South Pacific Post, P.O. Box 84, Port Moresby.



VOTE 1 OALA OALA - RARUA

The man who has had long Administrative experience. The man who represented Papuan and New Guinean Public Servants on the P.S.A. Executive and Congress. The man who stands for the workers or employees. Put your Vote 1 for Oala, the man you know so well. Don't vote for someone new and you don't know. Don't vote for someone who has done nothing for you in the past. Don't vote for someone who has other commitments or someone who has business interests because he will not give his full time to you and your problems.



INAI TAU
PAPUA AI IA NOHO
LAGANI 40
IA PAPUA TAUDIA
EDIA TURANA
KORIKORI



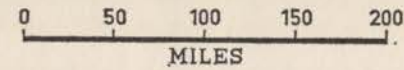
Vote dinana ai oi vote

1 Percy Chatter

1 Willie



TERRITORY OF PAPUA & NEW GUINEA



- — — SPECIAL ELECTORATES
- OPEN ELECTORATES

NEW

GUINEA

ISLANDS

NEW

BRITAIN

EAST

PAPUA

MADANG

SEPIK

HIGHLANDS

WEST

MARKHAM

PAPUA

CENTRAL

DREIKIKIR

WEWAK-AITAPE

MAPRIK

LUMI

UPPER SEPIK

ANGORAM

RAMU

MADANG

NORTH

RAI COAST

MARKHAM

K.

MARKHAM

FINSCH-HAFEN

MARKHAM

KAINDI

LAE

FLY RIVER

GULF

LAKE KAMU

MORESBY

POPONDEI

ESA

ALA

LOSUIA

RIGOBABU

MILNE

BAY

SEE REAR ENDPAPER MAP

141°

144°

147°

150°

153°

156°

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The Papua-New Guinea Elections 1964

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Advance copy received 13/12/65.*

The Papua-New Guinea Elections 1964

Edited by

David G. Bettison
Colin A. Hughes
Paul W. van der Veur

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
CANBERRA

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Preface

In May 1963, the three editors almost simultaneously became concerned at the possibility that the forthcoming general elections in Papua-New Guinea might occur without being observed and recorded in an appropriate manner. At a minimum, the elections would be a major event in the history of Papua-New Guinea which should be chronicled. The elections were to be unlike any others which had previously been the subjects of academic study. There would be no national parties, issues, or politics. Even if there were to be some tentative gropings towards inter-electorate co-operation which might later prove to be proto-parties, the main action would take place at the electorate level and, given the great variety in Territory society and development, what happened in one electorate would not necessarily resemble what happened in the neighbouring electorates. Ideally, the first election in a colony notoriously lacking in political development might be the subject of a study which could reveal much about the politics of transitional societies.

The usual pattern of an electoral study—set by the Nuffield College studies of post-war British general elections, and followed in the handful of recent studies of African elections which focus on the national campaign and consider reports of individual constituencies as pendant thereto—appeared inappropriate. Instead it was decided to make constituency studies the central part of the book, and to accompany these with such background chapters as necessary to place them in their historical perspective, and such analytical chapters as could be safely derived from the material they presented. A number of social scientists, mainly social anthropologists, were known to be working in the Territory and it was hoped they might be distracted from their particular interests long enough to observe and report upon the elections in their own bailiwicks. Others were induced to make special trips to the Territory to study the elections, but in areas where their own fieldwork had previously been conducted. The editors themselves were in the field for the period of the election, and two of them for considerable periods before and after the election.

With a view to providing a common framework for the chapters, each contributor was provided by the editors with a lengthy paper which speculated on the phenomena that might occur and suggested a number of questions for which answers should be sought. A second paper was circulated in the middle of the election when some new topics of interest had emerged, and it had become clear that there would be no significant interaction between constituencies. The co-operation of some of the contributors was elicited only after the polls had closed, when they

reached Port Moresby or Canberra from the field, but each of them, in reconstructing the elections from field observations made for other purposes, was asked to work within the framework prescribed.

Despite these attempts to enforce a common pattern on the constituency studies, wide differences in approach and content appear. Difficulties of travel or previous commitments which restricted authors to a small area of their electorate have meant that some chapters report on one or two, or a few, villages only or follow the fortunes of only some of the candidates in any detail. Various authors chose, for reasons of personal inclination, disciplinary training, or previous interest, to emphasize different things. Given the initial effort to keep constituency studies to the length of an ordinary journal article, comprehensiveness proved impossible. Moreover, in analysing the polling results great differences existed between electorates in the general availability of returns by clearly demarcated areas. But, most serious of all, the great diversities of the peoples and areas of the Territory proved intractable to our Procrustean schemes. It may be that Papua-New Guinea in its present situation simply is more variegated in its political behaviour than African territories; that the absence of a nationalist movement and Territory-wide parties deprives us of the vital common thread; or that the insights obtained at the grass-roots level provide a more detailed and accurate account of a first election than had previously been available. We do believe that these twelve constituency studies represent what actually happened in Papua-New Guinea, and we doubt that any other approach could have so faithfully mirrored reality. It remains but to say that the constituency chapters are arranged on a spiral, starting in the centre of the Territory and moving west, then north, east, and south.

Our debts for this volume are enormous. They are owed to candidates and electors, to electoral and other officials, and to many other residents of the Territory who assisted the editors and contributors. However, we would seek to pay a special tribute to the Chief Electoral Officer, Mr Bob Bryant, and through him to his hard-pressed staff, who assisted in so many different ways. When the project was launched at the Australian National University, an advisory committee consisting of Professors J. A. Barnes, J. W. Davidson, and R. S. Parker and the editors was appointed; our thanks are due to our colleagues on the committee, and to Professors Sir John Crawford and W. E. H. Stanner. Dr R. Crocombe, Mr P. Krinks, Miss P. Richardson, Miss D. Ryan, Mrs K. van der Veur and Mr E. Waddell very kindly provided information from their current research. Mrs G. Tinnion and Mrs A. Willis bore the brunt of the typing, the staff of the Publications Committee have tidied up a much-edited manuscript, Mrs R. J. O'Dea compiled the index, and Mr H. E. Gunther of the Geography Department, Institute of Advanced Studies, has produced maps whose virtues are self-evident.

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Abbreviations

- C.E.O. Report* *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the House of Assembly Election 1964.* Port Moresby, Government Printer, 1964.
- C.P.D.* *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates.*
- H.A.D.* *House of Assembly Debates: Territory of Papua and New Guinea.*
- L.C.D.* *Legislative Council Debates: Territory of Papua and New Guinea.*
- N.G.T.C.* *New Guinea Times Courier (Lae).*
- P.L.C.D.* *Papua Legislative Council Debates.*
- S.M.H.* *Sydney Morning Herald.*
- S.P.P.* *South Pacific Post (Port Moresby).*
- V.M. Report* 'Report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea, 1962: Report on New Guinea' (mimeo.). New York, United Nations Trusteeship Council, 22 June 1962.
- W.B. Report* *The Economic Development of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.* International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Canberra, Department of Territories, 1964 (offset); Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1965 (forthcoming).

Introduction

Today Papua-New Guinea is one of the world's few remaining non-self-governing territories, an administrative union comprising the Australian colony of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. In area and population it is also one of the largest non-self-governing territories, significantly larger than a number of the newly-independent African states, but it lags behind in the march to independence. While the Australian government and the Territorial Administration implement a policy moving towards self-government, the indigenous people as a whole neither resist nor stimulate this aim. Many factors contribute to the present complex, and unusual, situation. A number of recent publications have surveyed the administrative, social and economic structure of the Territory, and at this point it is intended merely to set out briefly those matters which were most material to the political condition of Papua-New Guinea early in 1964 when the first direct elections for a Territorial legislature were held.

Papua-New Guinea's 184,000 square miles are divided by mountain ranges, rivers and swamps into small pockets of settlement. Only in a few areas is there high density of population—the relative sizes of the Open Electorates shown in the end-paper maps of this volume give an approximate picture of population distribution, for the electorates contain roughly equal numbers of voters (see p. 389). The climate in coastal regions is not conducive to European settlement, and the poverty of known mineral resources and limited potential for plantation agriculture meant that there was little to attract interest. Ethnic fragmentation of the population of two million has also retarded economic development and political advance. Traditional society based on a subsistence economy had little machinery to direct the accumulation of wealth to economically productive ends and depended on a technology which had not attained the use of metals. Society was based on small groups, stateless, and generally having only limited contact with adjacent groups. Upwards of 700 different languages and dialects were spoken, some by barely a hundred persons, only a few in the Highlands by more than 50,000 people. The division between Papua and New Guinea with their differing experiences of colonial rule is still significant, and even Administrative Districts and Sub-districts have attracted a certain amount of parochial loyalty from expatriates and sometimes from indigenes who have travelled outside their confines. The most populous part of the

Territory is the mountainous interior now constituting the three Highlands Districts, containing 40 per cent of the population. It was not brought into contact with the outside world until the 1930s, and only since World War II has there been any real effort to penetrate, pacify, and develop that area. Finally, the geographical isolation of the Territory and the lack of overseas travel by the indigenous inhabitants have insulated its development from the events of decolonization in Asia and Africa.

The recent Report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development observed of the Territory in its opening paragraph: 'It is truly underdeveloped'. During the inter-war years the Australian government provided negligible funds for economic development and attempted to use coercion to stimulate indigenous agriculture and to promote social welfare. In the post-war period the finance provided by the Australian government rose steadily to £25 million by 1964, but limited local revenues and the high costs of development continued to ensure that progress was slow. A policy of uniform development and gradualism which emphasized primary education at the expense of secondary and tried to spread economic development, retarded the appearance of those groups among the indigenous population which might have been expected to become the growing points of a nationalist movement. Although by 1964 *per capita* indigenous income was estimated at £50 (imputed market prices) or £35 (on farm prices), no more than 2 or 3 per cent of the population were engaged in non-agricultural occupations and less than 2.5 per cent of the population lived in centres of more than 5,000—and there is some question of how far Lae, Rabaul, or even Port Moresby provide an urban way of life. The printed mass media audience is minute. The English-language press comprises two bi-weekly newspapers with a combined circulation of less than 10,000 copies, while the vernacular 'press' consists of Administration and mission material. The commercial cinema is confined to the towns. Only the radio, with limited transmissions in English, Police Motu (the lingua franca of Papua), Neo-Melanesian or Pidgin English (the lingua franca of New Guinea) and some vernacular languages, achieves a wide coverage, but it is not known how many villages have radios nor what use is made of them. One cannot say how many people are able to use a lingua franca, but few villages would not have someone who had a smattering of one of these languages. Some 30,000 workers are normally away from their home villages on migrant labour contracts, and among the older men a number would have widened their horizons by work on the Bulolo gold-fields in the 1920s and 1930s, and during the wartime dislocations of labour. However, the elections proved (pp. 74, 246-50) that very few have permanently severed their connections with the communities in which they were born.

The non-indigenous population numbers only 28,000, and just over one-half live in the four major coastal towns. Three-quarters are Australian, most of the rest Chinese or of mixed descent. Administration

staff and non-indigenous missionaries congregate on land set aside for their use. The Administration's policy of protecting indigenous land rights does not allow non-indigenes to settle on land not specifically allocated to them, but even when this barrier does not exist there is often physical separation—in a European suburb like Boroko in Port Moresby, in a group of houses in the 'station' settlements, or on the individual plantation. The 'station', whether Administration or mission, is something set apart and distinct from the indigenous land and culture around it, and, similarly, non-indigenous plantations and agricultural holdings are isolated islands amidst native lands.

In such a situation the survival of the forms of traditional leadership has proved to be of great importance. In the small stateless societies antedating contact, leadership was vested in what has become known generally in Melanesia as the 'big man'. Political leadership was closely linked to the active day-to-day control, acquisition, and ceremonial disposal of community wealth. Authority to control others was legitimized in the first instance by its acceptance within the kinship system, but this recognition was sharply limited by the officeholder's practical ability to perform successfully those functions his group considered necessary. Peers and subordinates accepted his authority so long as his leadership supported their status and prestige as a group. The talents required of a leader might change over time within a group and between groups, for it was the assessment of the group's needs which influenced who was selected to lead. Fight leaders retain great prestige in parts of the Highlands where fighting was a major activity within living memory, but on the coast fight leaders are a thing of the past and it is leadership in new forms of organization which can attract prestige. In some areas, most notably around Mt Hagen in the Western Highlands District, the Trobriand Islands, and parts of the Gulf District, there was a rank of 'big man' whose status was raised to that of chief or headman of rank. Even then, the chief was subject to the process of competition with peers and his authority remained limited by the need to demonstrate ability in the competitive manipulation of wealth and people in exchange situations. In general, the jealousy of his peers prevented the 'big man' from becoming *primus inter pares*—a 'big head' is a man who assumed authority his peers did not acknowledge. Disputes within the group were dealt with by public argument, and decisions on appropriate courses of action were taken after discussion.

The arrival of Europeans offered a new technology, enforced peace and stabilized the political *status quo* between groups, but it did not shatter the indigenous societies which remained dependent on the land and subsistence agriculture. New means of procuring wealth became available. New languages came into use for communication between groups. The various Catholic and Protestant missions introduced a new cosmology embracing new sanctions on behaviour and new aspirations for those accepting their faith. Non-indigenous warfare in the 1940s showed the immensity of non-indigenous wealth. But the overriding

interest of traditional societies in wealth is reflected in the persistence of cargo cults whose theme is wealth accumulation and the better life, albeit through non-rational means. The small scale of traditional societies, their restricted contacts and limited physical resources, have meant that the self-contained small communities have had to be largely self-reliant.

Before World War I a number of new offices had been introduced by the colonial administrations, Australian in Papua and German in New Guinea: interpreters, medical assistants, clerks, teachers and so on. In the inter-war period their number increased considerably. Some, the Administration-appointed *luluais* and *tultuls* in New Guinea and village constables and councillors in Papua, had political roles, but all were intermediaries between officials of a largely alien culture, though respected and generally acceptable, and the villagers. The Australian Administration did not attempt to amalgamate traditional units under a hierarchy of created chiefs as the British did with segmentary societies in Africa. Lacking a programme of positive development in the inter-war period, the Administration had no need for indigenous middlemen to whom it could delegate judicial or taxing powers. Lacking such non-traditional powers, the appointed officers could seldom acquire more authority than the traditional village 'big men' and often did not have the attributes necessary for this status.

During the period of post-war reconstruction the Administration was faced with the spontaneous development of indigenous 'companies', many with cargo cult characteristics. In 1947 the decision was taken to ensure both guidance of and direction over such ventures through co-operative societies. Training in co-operative procedures has been provided for over 1,000 indigenes, and today the movement has over 100,000 members in more than 300 societies. Shortly after, Native Local Government Councils were introduced on rather similar principles of guidance and control. The first Council was created in Hanuabada in 1951, but Councils spread slowly at first and by June 1960 barely one-eighth of the population lived in Council areas. Subsequently the rate of Council creation increased sharply, so that at the time of the 1964 elections almost one-half of the population had had some brief experience of elected Local Government Councils. A few scattered areas have actively resisted the introduction of Councils, and many Councils have proved disappointing to their villagers. When they have been accepted it has been for their contribution to the generation and distribution of wealth and their part in the identification of new leaders, but all too often they have remained dependent on the organizational skills of the expatriate officers assisting their establishment and maintenance. Conflict between the *kiap's* desire for swift action and the Councillors' time-consuming consultations can lead to difficulties, and the representative quality of the Councils should not be over-estimated.

The co-operatives and Councils, together with the extension and marketing programmes of the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fish-

eries, have assumed importance in the areas where they have been introduced for they affect directly the people's principal concern, the use of wealth and production of food. They have been the means of introducing large numbers of people to a market economy, and they have introduced new methods of organization which involve indigenous participation at all levels of activity and have proved themselves by increasing production.

In contrast, the infant workers' associations have been confined to the towns and affected only a few thousand members prior to the 1964 elections, whilst the missions have tended, with notable exceptions such as the Lutheran-sponsored NAMASU enterprise in the Morobe District, to ignore economic development, and contribute rather to doctrine and education. Missionaries command respect, but the foundations of this respect lie largely outside the values and institutional arrangements of traditional society. Individual missionaries are locally respected men, they are 'big men' in their own field of endeavour, but by remaining outside traditional economic affairs the missions have been obliged to operate partly outside the main stream of indigenous politics and values.

Administration and mission schools, with a new emphasis on post-primary education, are beginning to produce a new group less willing to abide by and work through the values, sanctions, and procedures of traditional society. This group has been extremely small: less than 1 per cent of the adult indigenous population has completed a primary education, whilst at the start of 1964 probably fewer than a hundred indigenes had completed a secondary course and none, apart from a few graduates of the Suva Medical College, held a university degree or a professional qualification. The interests of its members have lain in the public service, but their achievements within it have been limited by the positions occupied by expatriate officers. By July 1963, there were 125 indigenes in the Second and Third Divisions of the Administration service, with a further 900 in the Auxiliary Division, a special section (since abolished) with training responsibilities. Against this number there were 10,000 'Administration servants' in clerical and manipulative occupations, 3,000 in the police and prisons services, and 6,000 employed as labourers. Such tentative stirrings of nationalist sentiment as can be observed and the first members of a politically conscious *élite* are to be found in the ranks of the indigenous public service or among its former members who have gone into business or planting after a brief public service career. However, there has been no tradition of overt criticism of the Administration or its policies amongst the indigenous population of the Territory.

It has been in this sort of setting that Australian policy has operated in the post-war period. Although the colonial government of Papua-New Guinea conforms fairly closely to the standard British model, there have been several significant differences in the content and style of political development. At the administrative level departmental practices of the British Colonial Office evolved at a time when slow communications

left considerable initiative to the man on the spot, whereas the Australian Department of Territories has grown up with the improved communications of the post-war period when it has been physically possible to take all decisions of any consequence in Canberra. The reluctance to allow any initiative to the Territorial Administration may have been aggravated by Australian engrained reluctance to decentralize; it has certainly been justified, and probably seriously affected, by the unusual dependence of Territorial expenditure on the Australian subsidy which provides about 66 per cent of the budget. Furthermore, there has been the concentration of all the attentions of a 'colonial office' on only two 'colonies'—Papua-New Guinea and the Northern Territory of mainland Australia, with a consequent tendency to insensitivity to the local situation. Finally, and perhaps most important, during the post-war period there has been the personal dominance of one able, energetic, and strong-willed Minister for Territories in the person of Paul Hasluck who held office from May 1951 until April 1964. Hasluck dominated his Department and the Department left little initiative to the Territorial Administration; neither Cabinet nor Government backbenchers or Opposition in Parliament took enough interest in the Territory seriously to challenge this state of affairs.

In the immediate post-war years the Administration was preoccupied with reconstruction of war-damaged property. Its major policy decision was a definite acceptance of a multi-racial society predicated upon racial equality. Under Hasluck a policy of pragmatism and caution was expounded and deliberately pursued. The goal of self-government was thought to be some decades away. Preparation for it would be spread over a number of fields: economically, through the identification of new resources, the stimulation of agriculture and increased capital expenditure on communications, although it was conceded that viability might not be achieved before the pressure for self-government became felt; socially, the people would be given a higher standard of living and taught the skills necessary for the new economy into which they were moving; politically, democracy would be learned at the local level of a village or a small group of villages, and only after democratic institutions became solidly and widely established here would political attention be focused on the wider levels of the Districts and the Territory as a whole.

However, beginning in 1960, the process of political change began to accelerate. Political developments in the area to the north of Australia, particularly those in West New Guinea, the rising tide of anti-colonialism in the world, the first serious intervention of the United Nations in Territorial affairs through the Foot Mission to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, the readiness of some officials and some non-official expatriates in the Territory to plan for the transition to a régime in which indigenes would have the weight of numbers, all combined to push the Australian government and the Territorial Administration into more rapid reforms. Three matters in particular became the centre of these demands: establishment of a university in the Territory to train leaders

for its next decades—conceded by the Australian government in March 1965; planning for more substantial economic development—subsequently set out in detail in a report by the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development; and reform of the legislature to introduce an elected majority, chosen on the basis of direct elections and universal adult suffrage. Such rapid changes in the political field, on which this book is concentrated, inevitably meant improvisation. The sequence of events leading to the elections is set out in some detail in chapter 3, and the Administration's efforts to prepare the people for their part in an election which they had not sought but were receiving as part of a programme of development are described in chapters 4 and 5. Many of the difficulties mentioned in these chapters, and in the subsequent studies of particular electorates, stemmed from this sudden change of pace, the sudden devolution of responsibility on to the people, the sudden widening of their interests to matters at the Sub-district or Territorial level, and a considerable overstraining of the manpower resources of the Administration.

Undoubtedly the rapid transitions begun with the elections and the establishment of the House of Assembly will continue. The experiences of the first two meetings of the House reported in chapter 20 have been belied to some extent by subsequent meetings in which the elected Members have sometimes taken the initiative from the official bloc, but it is still too early to predict what will come of the grass-roots political organizations described in some of the constituency chapters or whether the first generation of elected Members will establish themselves on the political scene or be swept away by the next elections. It does appear that the Australian government is now reconciled to proceeding, at a pace which had previously seemed dangerously precipitate, with its policy of preparing the people of Papua-New Guinea for the time when they can choose their own political destiny.

The Development of the Legislature : The Legislative Councils

Colin A. Hughes

The Pre-1942 Period

Within the once-British Commonwealth of Nations the Territory of Papua and New Guinea has been one of the last colonial areas to attain representative government. Only Hong Kong has a larger population and a more backward constitution, and only her Melanesian and Micronesian sister colonies have lagged so far behind in the race for independence.

This is not because a Legislative Council on the standard model has been a new thing for the Territory. The constitutional arrangements made for the colony of British New Guinea in 1888 provided for advisory Executive and Legislative Councils. In 1892 the first unofficial Member, appropriately the Port Moresby manager of Burns, Philp, the largest trading company in the Territory, was appointed to the Legislative Council. After the colony had been transferred to the infant Commonwealth of Australia and re-named Papua, the Papua Act of 1905 created a new Legislative Council in which the six official Members of the Executive Council sat with three nominated non-official Members. The Act provided that once the 'white population' of Papua exceeded 2,000, an additional non-official Member per thousand residents should be nominated up to a maximum of twelve. The European population in vain sought the introduction of elected Members in 1909, 1911, and 1913. On the last occasion the Lieutenant-Governor, Hubert Murray, told the Council (*P.L.C.D.*, 13 August 1913): 'I can find no instance of elective representation in a Crown Colony where the European population is so scanty and the native population so large as in Papua.' However, in 1924 the Commonwealth passed a new Papua Act which reconstituted the Legislative Council with eight official and five nominated Members, one of the latter to be selected to represent the Christian missions in the Territory, and enlarged the Executive Council to eight official Members and one non-official Member chosen by the nominated M.L.Cs. from among their number. This structure remained unchanged until the suspension of civil administration in February 1942.

The all-nominated Legislative Council worked much as did its coun-

terparts in the British colonies. Its small size allowed easy, informal discussion, whilst its limited power and the minority position of the non-official Members made its approach conciliar rather than parliamentary. The personal dominance of Murray over all aspects of government emphasized the impotence of the Council.

In the Mandated Territory of New Guinea a proper Legislative Council was not introduced until 1933, but by then the larger white population permitted a somewhat more advanced model than Papua possessed at that time. The official majority was only the barest possible with eight official and seven nominated non-official Members, and the non-official minority promptly assumed the character of an opposition bloc, along the lines familiar in British colonies. As in Papua, the non-official Members of the Legislative Council chose one of their number to sit in the Executive Council with eight officials. Again no further changes took place before the suspension of civil government at the time of the Japanese invasion.

The Post-war Period, 1945-61

The Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Act of 1945 provided for civil administration of the two Territories on a combined basis for the first time, but did not make provision for a Legislative Council. This was remedied by the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949, which completed the work of unification by creating a common legislative structure. The composition of the Legislative Council marked a substantial advance over the pre-war legislatures. Although an official majority was retained with sixteen official Members against twelve non-official Members, there were now three Members elected by the European population and three indigenes nominated to represent the native population. Of the six other non-official Members three were nominated to represent the Christian missions and the remaining three nominated to represent other interests; by convention these were recognized as mining, commerce, and planting. However, the composition of Executive Council represented a somewhat retrograde step, for no provision was made for non-official membership, and in general it might be observed that in Papua-New Guinea reform of the executive has been significantly slower than reform of the legislature.

Its greatly enlarged membership gave a far more parliamentary tone to Legislative Council business. Committees of the Council began to assist the work of legislation; they had been unknown to the Papua Legislative Council, and very rare in the New Guinea Legislative Council. A major theme of Council discussion became the need for a system of standing committees, and whilst a planned system of committees never eventuated, a number of select committees on particular Bills or to investigate particular matters performed useful services. Non-official Members sought greater efficiency in the internal organization of the work of the Council through committees and early circulation of draft legislation, and they frequently sought to increase their opportunities of

broader contacts outside the Council chamber through the committees taking evidence, proposals for conferences of indigenous Members with the native local government authorities, and allowances to permit travel about the Territory. (Small allowances were granted to elected and indigenous Members, and subsequently *per diem* sitting allowances were made to nominated Members.) However, the Administration was reluctant to admit that non-official Members might be better informed or more conversant with the affairs of the Territory than the official Members, and equally unwilling to anticipate the disappearance of the official majority which was usually justified as essential because of the Territory's financial dependence on Commonwealth funds. On occasion non-official Members lamented their inability to affect major matters of policy (James, *L.C.D.*, 16 November 1953, p. 9):

More and more, as time goes on, I regret to say that I am convinced that the role of the Non-Official Member of this Council is not that of a legislator, but merely a critic of Administration policy—pre-determined policy. In fact, I am forced to the conclusion that Non-Official Members of the Council, as at present constituted, cannot achieve on behalf of the Territory, any more than they could as Members of a Government supported debating society. I can think of no amendment of legislation proposed by a Non-Official Member of this Council, other than of a very minor nature, accepted by the Government or, if it was accepted, not disallowed by the Minister.

Such complaints are an inevitable product of colonial legislatures prior to the achievement of representative and responsible government. Another normal source of annoyance, the use of powers of withholding assent from or of disallowing legislation previously passed by the legislature, never became a serious issue as it did in Australia's other colonial legislature, the Northern Territory Legislative Council, where the official majority was less amenable to Canberra. Lynch (1961(b)), writing at the start of the Fifth Council, refers to two instances when the Administrator refused assent, about ten when the Governor-General refused assent to the whole or some part of an Ordinance, and eight times when an Ordinance which had received the Administrator's assent was subsequently disallowed by the Governor-General. Over this period the Legislative Council had passed over seven hundred Ordinances.

In the first four Legislative Councils between 1951 and 1961 the indigenous Members played a very minor part. Only Peta Simogen (also Simogun Peta or Simogen Peta), from the Sepik, served in all four Councils; he proved the most vocal indigenous Member, although handicapped by his inability to speak or understand English fully. Translation for Simogen and other non-English speakers was undertaken by other members of the Council, officials and electeds alike. None of the indigenous Members were prepared to criticize the Administration, and often their interventions in Council discussion simply re-stated established Administration policy. When they offered positive suggestions these usually followed what might be termed a 'conservative line'. There

can have been few colonial legislatures in which indigenous Members, even when nominated, provided so little criticism of the work of the administering power as they did in the Papua and New Guinea Legislative Council during those years.

The behaviour of the elected Members was truer to type. Such efforts for constitutional reform as were made within the Legislative Council usually came from the elected Members, although certain of the nominated Members, most notably the Roman Catholic missionary, Father Dwyer, usually supported them and often provided leadership. The most urgent item of constitutional reform concerned creation of committees of the Legislative Council. One Select Committee advised that the time was not yet ripe for standing committees in October 1952, but a second Select Committee reported on 10 May 1954 in favour of three standing committees—and an increased number of elected Members in the Council. The Administration consistently opposed standing committees on finance and estimates because of the financial practices of the Territory whereby most major decisions were taken in Canberra, whence most of the money came, but was prepared to concede *ad hoc* committees on particular financial matters. However, when the first such body, a Select Committee on Finance to report on a particular estimates and works programme, reported on 28 May 1956, it appeared to have interpreted its responsibilities so widely as to have achieved the elected Members' objectives. Action on the 1954 recommendation for increased elected representation took even longer. Consideration was postponed until the results of a census and the next Legislative Council elections were known, then the proposal was dismissed early in 1957 when the Administrator advised against change and the Minister for Territories agreed (*L.C.D.*, 27 May 1957, p. 2):

In the view of the Government the two requirements for any change in the structure of the Council designed to give the membership a more widely representative character are, firstly, progress in the political advancement of the indigenous people so that they may participate *effectively* in the work of the Legislative Council to a larger extent, and, secondly, progress in the electoral strength and political interest of the non-indigenous population.

For the immediate present, political advancement for indigenes was best sought in local government; increased representation should come for a larger number and be widely spread. Non-indigenes were too few and had taken too little interest in the previous elections to warrant any increase in their representation. Special representation of Asian non-indigenes was rejected, as was the Select Committee recommendation for indigenous observers with the right to address the Council—on the ground that it would create two classes of members and adversely affect the legislative and deliberative character of the Council.

The Third Legislative Council, 1957-60, produced a direct clash between the elected and official Members. Substantial increases in customs duties and the imposition of graduated export tariffs for the first

time were seen as a Canberra policy of keeping local contributions to gross revenue at 30 per cent of the total at a time of rising expenditure, and as such were condemned by the second Select Committee on Finance. Matters came to a head during the fifth meeting of the Council in March and April 1959, when it was indicated that income tax was to be introduced to the Territory. The proposal was bitterly attacked by all classes of nominated Members, as well as by the elected Members. The Minister for Territories insisted that responsibility for raising revenues belonged to the Commonwealth Cabinet and could not be shifted to an expert advisory body, as non-official Members sought, and the Income Tax Bill was introduced against the solid vote of non-official Members to refuse leave. The elected Members then withdrew from the Council and resigned. Three new Members were elected, appeared briefly in the Council to attack the action of the Minister and the Commonwealth government, and resigned in their turn. An attempt to have the income tax legislation voided because it had been passed in the absence of the elected members failed in the High Court of Australia (*Fishwick v. Cleland et al.*, 106 C.L.R. 186).

In one matter relating to committees some progress took place: a Standing Committee on Regulations and Orders was appointed on 10 October 1957. It took a broad view of its responsibilities, and achieved some success in scrutiny of delegated legislation. However, the decision of the Administration to call a special conference in Port Moresby in January 1958, to discuss the controversial Native Employment and Transactions with Natives Bills, marks a bypassing, and therefore a regression in the status, of the Legislative Council. The decision to consult the District Advisory Councils, Native Local Government Councils, the Chamber of Commerce, missions, employer associations and principal employers by letter and then at the conference proved a wise move, for the Administration learned how strong the feeling was against identifying employment documents, and that wilful abstentionism was not the problem it had been thought to be. But the action also showed that the Administration had doubts as to the representative character and the expertise of non-official Members.

Constitutional Reform, 1960-1

A sharp blow to expatriates' confidence in the future of the Territory was dealt by the Prime Minister when he returned to Sydney on 20 June 1960 from a Prime Ministers' conference. At his airport press conference he observed (*S.M.H.*, 21 June 1960):

I think the prevailing school of thought to-day is that if in doubt you should go sooner, not later. I belong to that school of thought myself now, though I didn't once. But I have seen enough in recent years to satisfy me that even though some independences may have been premature, they have at least been achieved with good will. And when people have to wait too long for independence, then they achieve it with ill will, and that perhaps is the difference between the British colonial policy of this century and that of some other countries.

Questioned whether this applied to New Guinea he continued:

I would apply that to any country. We may get to a point, or my successor may get to a point, when we say, 'Well, maybe if we allow them to determine their future now, it is a little premature.' I would sooner take that risk at that time than leave it too long so that the demand for self-determination became explosive and produced hostility.

His remarks were thought to have caused a great deal of alarm in the business community of the Territory; but apparently the Minister's opinions had not changed. In a press statement a few days later (*Mercury*, 25 June) Hasluck reiterated one of his basic tenets: the considered view of the Australian government was that the best foundation for political advance lay in local government. However, he added, proposals for reform of the Legislative Council had been considered for some time, although a final decision had been delayed by the pending lawsuit on the taxation legislation which made it impossible—because of its challenge to the legality of the existing Legislative Council—to make precise statements or seek final decisions at that time.

A second blow to confidence came on 26 June when the United Nations Trusteeship Council by an 8-5 vote called on Australia to set target dates in the fields of political, social, economic, and educational development, so as to create as soon as possible favourable conditions for the attainment of self-government or independence. The press generally expressed satisfaction with the moderate tone of the resolution, and the Minister promptly agreed (*Age*, 28 June 1960) that target dates for social, economic and educational advancement could be set. If the High Court upheld the legality of the legislature, then legislation could be submitted in 1960 introducing reduced official representation in the legislature, direct representation of indigenes in Local Government Council areas and other forms of representation for those living in more primitive areas, and increased representation for those who qualified for the existing electoral rolls. But one could not guess what reforms might follow these: 'In political advancement we would rather take each step too soon than too late. But we see no kindness in making human beings walk over cliffs in the dark.' The Minister received support from the Leader of the Opposition (*S.M.H.*, 1 July 1960), who stated that it was unrealistic to believe that the peoples of the Territory would be fit for self-government in thirty or forty years, although he went on to suggest an all-party parliamentary committee to inquire into the affairs of the Territory.

The third influence affecting events in Papua-New Guinea was the growing Indonesian pressure on West New Guinea where a representative legislature was being introduced (De Ravin 1961; Mackie 1962). On 17 August 1960 Indonesia broke off diplomatic relations with Holland. Thereafter the prospects of an Indonesian presence on the other side of the western border of the Territory, and the view that the indigenous population had been abandoned to a new imperialism by a

colonial power pressed hard by Afro-Asian influences working through the United Nations, figured in any calculation of the future of the Territory and its inhabitants. Subsequent developments, such as the Indonesian arms deal with Russia at the end of 1960, only intensified the uneasiness felt by expatriates and *evolués* alike.

Arriving in Port Moresby in July for a brief tour the Minister said that he had felt reform of the Legislative Council had been possible for the last two or three years, but political development had been delayed to give priority to other changes which had taken longer to bring about than had been expected. The changes which were now being proposed were not the result of events in West New Guinea or action by the United Nations. During his five days in the Territory the Minister met with a number of European and native groups among whom there was general agreement on the advisability of a reduced government majority, increased native representation and the setting of a complete adult suffrage as the goal. The most extensive proposals came from the Executive Committee of the Papua and New Guinea Workers' Association which submitted a plan to enfranchise those living in Local Government Council areas and reconstitute the Legislative Council with 22 government representatives, 15 elected Members (presumably indigenes), and 6 Europeans—two Members representing planters, the Chambers of Commerce, and the missions respectively—but which rejected any thought of early withdrawal as 'dangerous and absurd', playing into the hands of the Communists.

On 10 August the High Court upheld the legality of the existing Legislative Council, and the Minister promptly announced that he was preparing a further submission for Cabinet. On 23 August (*C.P.D.* Vol. H. of R.28, 23 August 1960, p. 260) Hasluck made a statement to the Commonwealth Parliament on general policy towards the Territory as a preliminary to extended discussion in the Territories Estimates Debate. In it he denied that there had been any change in policy. The policy was:

(a) The welfare of the people should be the objective, not the gratification of having applied a principle or a theory.

(b) We should ensure that political advancement leads to the welfare and happiness of the people by making sure that it is accompanied by measures for social, educational and economic advancement. At the present stage of advancement law and order, health, education and how to earn a living are the more urgent tasks.

(c) The New Guinea situation is unique and comparisons with Africa and Asia are inapplicable.

(d) Australia is not a colonial power in the sense in which that term is used by anti-colonial critics.

The statement ended on a note designed to reassure opinion in the Territory—and possibly discourage speculation among near neighbours abroad:

We are not going out of the Territory in a hurry. In our judgment of the situation as it exists to-day, the Territory will need our help for

many years to come and the advanced leaders of the indigenous people say plainly that they need us for a long time ahead. We are not going to abandon either them or our own people who are working with them.

The statement received a poor press. The *Sydney Morning Herald* observed that it contained nothing new, and the *Advertiser* complained that the urgent note of the Prime Minister's airport statement had been lost. However, before it could be debated in Parliament the government introduced the Papua and New Guinea Bill 1960, and the statement was debated concurrently with the second reading stage of the Bill starting on 22 September.

The Minister saw the Bill as the first major constitutional change in the history of the Territory, only one of many steps to be taken, but progress had to be one step at a time. The goal was a single future for indigenes and expatriates with an equal and universal franchise based on a common roll. In five or six years a further review of constitutional structure would be necessary, although the timing could not be fixed with certainty. The present proposals were the result of long study, the penultimate part of which had been the Minister's tour of the Territory during which he found a large measure of agreement among European and native deputations.

The old system of classing different types of members was out of date. No section of the community should be encouraged to believe that it had established a right to sectional representation, but it was intended that the Administrator should be instructed to use his power of nomination to provide at least two native Members to speak for the people in backward areas who were excluded from the indirect elections, to provide membership for some advanced native leaders who would be debarred from standing for election because they were public servants, and to nominate two Members from the Christian missions in the hope that they, too, would act as additional spokesmen for native people. It was doubtful whether there was a case for spokesmen for mission interest, but there was a case for additional voices for those sections of the population known and understood by the missions better than by any others. All nominated places would formally be open to natives, and there would be a stipulated minimum of eleven native Members, six elected and five nominated. Both native opinion and expert advice received from the Administration agreed on a system of indirect elections; although this would be transitional to the common roll and direct elections, for the present the trust of the people in their representatives was the important factor.

The existing Executive Council composed entirely of officials would be replaced by an Administrator's Council (*C.P.D.* Vol. H. of R. 28, 22 September 1960, p. 1290):

There is no doubt that the Administrator has tried to make the Executive Council as useful and effective a body as he can, but it is certainly not an executive body except in a very limited sense, and its very title is a misnomer. There has been a tendency, too, for its functions to become confused so that at times it appears as nothing

more than a meeting of senior officers, at other times as a party meeting and at times as a body formally sharing the Administrator's functions with him.

By providing for three official and three unofficial Members, at least two of the latter to be elected Members, the Legislative Council would be directly associated with the daily task of administration. In the future its functions would be increased and its membership would become more representative.

There was little disagreement from the Opposition. Calwell reported that he and his colleagues who had been to the Territory had found that the native people were still completely dependent, and had no hesitation in saying so (*ibid.*, 4 October 1960, p. 1617):

They are still a collection of tribes or clans and they will depend on us for a generation or more before they can be assured that they will be able to decide for themselves the type or form of government they wish to have. That opinion is widespread, although a few may disagree with it.

Gough Whitlam, generally the most radical (in the sense of having a realistic evaluation of Administration policy and regarding indigenous interests as paramount) Opposition speaker in matters concerning the Territory, complained that too much reliance was still being placed on uniform development. No direct vote was being given to any indigenes, although there were some 4,000 employed by the Administration and a further 5,000 in semi-skilled occupations who should be able to exercise a direct vote. In the Committee stage the Opposition sought the introduction of a Common Roll at once. When this was defeated, they proposed that the system of elections come under parliamentary review before a second election was held. Again they were defeated. Resisting the first amendment Hasluck said that native opinion did not want the Common Roll at this time: native people doubted their capacity and did not want a division between educated and ordinary natives. The electoral conferences used in indirect elections were more easily understood and would produce Members known to the people so that they had the confidence of their electors. The second amendment was rejected by the government on the grounds that it fixed a target date, and brought the Commonwealth Parliament into a matter which should be left to the Legislative Council.

The Fourth Legislative Council was opened by the Governor-General on 17 October 1960 in the new Legislative Council Building in MacGregor Street. Lord Dunrossil affirmed that the form and timing of self-government was a matter for the inhabitants of the Territory. Whilst the Commonwealth government would continue to place a high value on local government and training in administration, there would be progressive change in the Legislative Council in which the final outcome of all other political growth would be embodied. In keeping with such a view the Commonwealth government had prepared reforms to increase elected

and native membership, and the legislation had received the Royal Assent that morning.

On 19 October Dr Gunther introduced the Legislative Council Bill 1960 in a fighting speech in which he declared that change was inevitable and those who said that the native people were not ready for the vote were fools. Noting the changes in the international scene, Dr Gunther warned that it would be necessary to forecast not only the local situation, but also 'the climate of external pressures', anticipating changes and acting to protect 'ourselves'. International agitation was bound to affect the local population, and soon New Guinea would be the only Trust Territory—save for the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific (*L.C.D.*, 19 October 1960, p. 33).

We can look forward to being lonely and we will have to have great steadfastness. It is not pleasant to be continually criticized and we, or Australia, might even have to withstand the use of sanctions. We can and we will do all this, if we know that the majority of the people of this Territory firmly support what we are doing. We will achieve this by protecting ourselves against the changing climate. Our anticipations will have to be keen. There is no better way to know the will of the people than to live close to the people. A family knows itself.

Dr Gunther went on to explain the Bill, and to point out that the new Act under which it was made gave the Legislative Council power to introduce the Common Roll. The Administrator's Council Bill 1960 and the Public Works Committee Bill 1960 were then introduced, together with ten other Bills associated with the Administrator's Council Bill and making changes in other Ordinances necessitated by it. Whilst the Act did not provide that the Administrator would be bound by the Council's advice, thereafter all Regulations would have to go to the Administrator-in-Council. The Public Works Committee Bill provided that the Committee should deal with any matter referred to it by the Legislative Council or the Administrator, and that no work costing more than £100,000 might be started without reference to the Committee unless the Legislative Council so resolved or unless the Administrator declared it a defence work and reference not to be in the public interest.

The Bills were fairly well received. The indigenous Members believed that increased representation would mean a greater sense of responsibility, a greater opportunity for mutual understanding, and an opportunity for training for further responsibilities. Certain of the elected and nominated expatriate Members expressed their confidence for the future. Others, however, were suspicious of the good faith of the Commonwealth government; there were ways in which an Administration majority could still be maintained despite the apparent intention of abolishing it. Dr Gunther replied (*L.C.D.*, 22 October 1960, pp. 134-5) that the Minister had said nothing about an unofficial majority; he had said that rather than depend on a large official majority, the Administration would have to sell its legislation to the Council. In the

past the Council had thought of itself as divided because of the large official majority:

The crux of the new Council is the 12 elected members. There could not have been less. These people will naturally speak up for their electorates on parochial matters, and, as elected representatives of the people, will vote according to their conscience and the franchise given to them by the people. They will have different aspirations as far as the Territory as a whole is concerned. It would be unlikely that as a group the 12 elected members would feel a need to establish themselves as an opposition. It would be bad if they did. Political parties will come, that is inevitable, but to-day the time does not seem ripe for them.

An official bloc was needed at the present stage of transition and financial arrangements. Whilst denying that sectional representation would be necessary in the future, the Commonwealth government saw some continuing need for the present, in particular, to provide more native representatives than the six elected Members, for probably the majority of official Members would be heads of departments, meaning that natives would constitute a quarter of the elected and official blocs combined. Accordingly the government had provided ten further places in the Council: two would go to mission representatives, five to natives, and, as most of the rising *élite* were employed by the Administration, some of them would be public servants; three were left for mining, plantations and commerce. There was no duplicity in this and those who accused the Minister of such were ungenerous. The Minister had the support of the Commonwealth government, he had taken great trouble to elicit views and these had agreed on an official majority. Nor did it give much credit to the intelligence of the Commonwealth Parliament to suppose that the legislation sought to dupe Territorial electors.

One other criticism had been raised by H.L.R. Niall, one of the two District Commissioners appointed to the Council, who protested that the distribution of electorates was inequitable. The 1·3 million people in the New Guinea Mainland and Highlands electorates elected the same number of members as the 200,000 of New Britain and New Guinea Islands. Dr Gunther replied that the electorates had been related to the number of non-indigenous persons eligible for the direct elections as well as indigenes participating in the indirect elections, and it had been impossible to estimate what proportion of the indigenous population would be declared eligible to vote as 'groups'.

The 1961 Elections

The trend of events continued disturbing for expatriates in the Territory. On 16 December the General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the end of colonialism by a vote of 89-0. In the first week of January 1961, a number of members of the Pacific Islands Regiment at Port Moresby demonstrated over their pay; when seven members of the Regiment were arrested on charges of incitement and placed in Bomana Gaol another sev-

enty marched on the gaol, but showed little violence towards expatriate officers and N.C.Os. who tried to stop them. Meanwhile the increase in the urban wage rate to £3 a week, the news of which had contributed to the P.I.R. riot, was reported to be producing widespread retrenchment in private employment—and a government campaign to weed out inefficient staff. In a riot at Koki market in Port Moresby one man was killed when fighting broke out between Morobe District natives, which later became a battle between the Morobe group and Goilalas of the Central District.

Despite such developments the European electorate continued apathetic. In only one constituency did half the potential electors enrol. When nominations had closed three candidates were returned unopposed. In the other three electorates there were two candidates for each, but although more polling places were provided than in previous elections only 55 per cent of those enrolled bothered to vote. European indifference contrasted unfavourably with the elaborate preparations for the indirect election of six indigenous members on 18 March. As these elections constituted the first political activity for a substantial part of the Territory's population, and were a possible alternative to direct elections in 1964, they must be examined in some detail.

The Legislative Council Ordinance 1960, passed in October, had merely provided for the indirect election of the six native members and defined their electorates. Under the Ordinance the Local Government Councils would constitute one element in the elections, and by November it was possible for the Department of Native Affairs to advise its officers how the Councils would participate and let them start the appropriate education campaign. However, it was not so clear who would be comprised in the Electoral Groups and how they would work. After some discussion between the appropriate Departments it was agreed that Electoral Groups should be recognized in the following areas: (i) where local government surveys had been completed, the area found suitable for establishment of a council, and the people were willing; (ii) areas where a survey for local government was in progress and the people were willing; and (iii) areas where the people had asked for local government but nothing had been done as yet to introduce it. In addition the immigrant native communities in Port Moresby, Lae and Rabaul warranted representation and would be recognized as Electoral Groups. In all, some thirty-three Electoral Groups with an overall population of 208,702 were recognized and gazetted on 10 January. As thirty-nine Local Government Councils with a population of 285,087 also participated, the total number of persons in areas taking part in the election fell just short of half a million. At the same time that the Electoral Groups were gazetted the number of voting representatives assigned to each electoral body was fixed. Generally an effort was made to keep each Electoral Conference to 50-70 representatives; the ratio of representatives to population varied between electorates but was roughly constant in each electorate. Nominations for the six Council seats closed on 7 February with over a hundred candidates nominated:

Western Papua	13
Eastern Papua	11
New Guinea Coastal	7
Highlands	40
New Guinea Islands	25
New Britain	12

Between 7 February and polling day on 18 March each Local Government Council had to meet and select its voting representatives, those eligible in each Electoral Group had to meet and select their voting representatives, and the elected voting representatives had to travel to the centres (Port Moresby, Samarai, Lae, Goroka, Kavieng and Rabaul) where Electoral Conferences were to be held. In the Local Government areas election of voting representatives took place at a special Council meeting using the normal procedure for electing Council officers; this meant a secret ballot in most cases but where illiteracy was prevalent the whispering ballot was used. The Councils frequently chose voting representatives who were not Councillors: sometimes men of better education, teachers or clerks, whose jobs did not permit them the free time to act as Councillors, and sometimes native missionaries who were also excluded from Council membership. In the Electoral Group areas the local Electoral Group Officer, a Department of Native Affairs Officer designated for this purpose, made it known that the people within the area had the opportunity to select one or more voting representatives, and explained the voting procedures and the purpose and nature of the Legislative Council as widely as possible. It was left to each Electoral Group Officer to choose the method of conducting the poll for his Group, although he was warned that if several thousand electors arrived it would be impossible to conduct a whispering ballot, and simple methods for conducting secret or open ballots were suggested. In fact all Electoral Groups conducted open preferential voting by electors queueing to be counted in front of the candidate they supported. When one candidate received an absolute majority he moved away, and his supporters redistributed themselves in front of other candidates; if, on a count, no candidate had an absolute majority the one with the lowest vote moved away and his supporters redistributed themselves. It was estimated that there were some 83,450 persons eligible to vote in Electoral Group areas, that is over the age of seventeen, and of these some 29,541 attended the primary election meetings. Had there been more time a more extensive education campaign could have taken place, and if the polling had been held at more than one centre a higher vote must have resulted. Local government elections in comparable areas would have extended over several weeks. At least one instance of well-organized political activity can be noted. In Port Moresby the Methodist Welfare Association, composed of immigrants from the Milne Bay, New Britain and New Ireland Districts, put forward three candidates, one from each District. When the New Irelander was defeated his supporters transferred

to the other two, even though this meant that some New Guineans voted for a Papuan.

At an early stage it was decided to bring the voting representatives together for three days before the actual election. These meetings, the Electoral Conferences, were designed to give the representatives an opportunity of meeting and talking among themselves, of getting to know the candidates and of having any questions about the system of voting answered, and to give the candidates an opportunity of addressing the representatives. Each Conference followed a prescribed procedure: a period was allocated for discussion amongst the voting representatives, then each candidate was allowed an equal period of time to address the Conference, and the Native Affairs Officer in charge of the Conference explained the voting system. (The Returning Officer would explain it again at polling time but it was thought that the excitement on election day might prove too much and previous instruction was advisable.) The Native Affairs officers explained the purpose of the Conference and of the elections, but were under careful instructions to say or do nothing which might be regarded as influencing the vote in favour of a particular candidate. Each Conference controlled the admission of members of the public to its meetings; each admitted some outsiders, including the press, and the Conference at Rabaul authorized the United Progress Party (U.P.P.) candidate for the expatriate seat, Don Barrett, to address it in support of Vin Tobainig, the other U.P.P. candidate for New Britain and their only indigenous candidate to be elected.

Each Conference had a slightly different style. At Lae the representatives began by discussing the qualities they thought desirable in a member and then questioned the candidates along those lines. At Rabaul, with a smaller electorate, the candidates were questioned about attitudes they were already known to have or in some cases had expressed previously in local government bodies. The official report summarizes the questions asked at Lae:

The past efforts of candidates on behalf of their people; their experience with European and native peoples; their ability and willingness to move around the Electorate to get the views of the people, as well as explain to them what is taking place in the Council; their attitudes towards European and native people; their attitudes towards religion; their attitudes on a united Territory; their thoughts on self-determination and the manner in which it can best be obtained; their attitudes towards Australia and the present Administration; their views on the development of backward areas; their attitudes to the adequacy of educational facilities within the Territory; their knowledge of the Electorate as a whole; their attitude to discriminatory laws; their plans for increasing economic development; their ability to speak out on controversial issues without fear of Administration, Missions or others, providing the views are those of the electors; the liquor question; their ideas of improving communications generally and roads in particular; Party affiliations and political inclinations.

Questioning was often pointed, but when a candidate was unable to cope with the questions or had obviously been written off by the meeting, questioners were careful to leave no ill-feeling. A sitting Member was taxed with failing to tour his electorate; a Papuan standing in New Guinea was asked where his loyalties would lie; another was asked whether he had not been employed away from his people too long to appreciate what was going on outside the urban areas, and whether he would miss the urban standard of living to which he had become accustomed. At the Highlands meeting at Goroka speeches tended to be short autobiographies, and platitudes about the changes that had taken place. At Rabaul discussion amongst the representatives suggested six desirable characteristics for a candidate: he must have had local government experience; he must be ready to put forward the people's views, not his own; he must have a good knowledge of native custom; he must be energetic in getting around the electorate and seeing his constituents; he should be prepared to devote more time to his electorate than to his private interests; he should be prepared to make himself heard in the Legislative Council.

As the voting was secret little can be said about the basis of support. Only 42 of the 106 candidates received votes—for the Highlands electorate only 7 out of 40. Only John Guise, for Eastern Papua, was elected with a majority of votes, although Somu Sigob had 31 votes to his five opponents' 32 in New Guinea Coastal. Only one candidate followed a campaign in his home area, whereby he had secured the support of his two Electoral Groups, with distribution of photographs and canvassing at the Electoral Conference. However, his eventual win may be attributed to the support of his co-religionists or hostility by Electoral Group representatives against Local Government Council representatives as well as to his campaign tactics.

One other phenomenon of the 1961 elections must be mentioned. A group of expatriates formed the United Progress Party (U.P.P.) and sought to nominate expatriate and indigenous candidates for each seat. The party was attacked as a device to use Papuans and New Guineans. One of their indigenous candidates did not mention his affiliation to his Electoral Conference, and when asked about it was rather vague, saying that it could be a good thing, and he felt that its founders were right in saying that the individual members of the old Legislative Councils had been an unco-ordinated group, but he was still not certain whether he was in complete agreement with it or not. So far as can be ascertained, the U.P.P. label helped no one in the elections; it may have handicapped indigenous candidates with some representatives. After holding one or two public meetings after the elections, the party disappeared.

The Fifth Council, 1961-3

The enlarged Legislative Council differed little in kind from its predecessors. Admittedly there were many more indigenous Members, but only one, John Guise, became a major figure in Council business. A

preview of the tenor of their several contributions was provided on the first working day when five of the six elected indigenous Members spoke in the Adjournment Debate. Vin Tobaining asked for a bridge to open more land. Somu Sigob asked for roads, harbours, and air strips to open up more land. Kondom Agaundo expressed gratitude to Australia for political development. Simoi Paradi said that he had nothing to say as he had not yet been around his electorate. Only Guise made an extensive contribution, asking for agricultural development, communications, land registration, local government, opportunities for indigenes in the public service, employment opportunities for the educated, opposition to discrimination, native magistrates, economic planning, and—in some detail—for more education. From the first, Guise made extensive use of the power to ask questions, but of the other indigenous Members, only Reuben Taureka made any real use of the opportunity. Undoubtedly indigenous opinion could prove effective on occasion; the Anatomy Bill for example had to be withdrawn and re-drafted in deference to indigenous Members' horror at the possibility of cadavers being delivered for dissection before relatives in outlying areas could be notified and arrange to collect them. Indigenous Members participated in the work of Council committees: Somu Sigob on the Public Works Committee with Vin Tobaining his alternate; Tobaining on the Standing Committee on Regulations and Orders. But normally their contributions were shorter and less effective than those of the expatriate Members.

Also the status of indigenous Members outside the Council remained uncertain. On 7 September 1962 Nicholas Brokam asked for a definition of their responsibilities for, after hearing 'sensible talk' by expatriate Members and going back to the electorates to 'instruct the people in certain manners of work', Administration officers came along and stopped the people carrying out the Members' instructions. Bonjui Pius added that when he told an Assistant District Officer that some people had no economic development, he was told not to interfere. The A.D.O. subsequently refused him petrol to visit some landless people near Angoram. (Although a nominated Member, Pius acted as member 'for the Sepik', taking over from Simogen Peta who had tended to regard his New Guinea Coastal electorate in that light also.) When Pius protested to the District Commissioner, he was asked why he was doing such things which were the province of patrol officers.

I want to know why I am not allowed to help these people? I am a member of this Council and I listen to the talk and I want to tell my people about it. It is my job to go amongst the people and tell them what is happening elsewhere. The Government is not paying me just to sit down and do nothing.

His question was not answered.

If indigenous Members were not expected to interfere with administrative matters, neither were they supposed to say certain things in the Council. When Simoi Paradi recommended establishment of permanent patrol posts in Kukukuku country in his electorate to stop fighting, the

Director of Native Affairs took the matter as an insult to his Department (*L.C.D.*, 28 September 1961, pp. 303-4):

There are generations of native people who have yet to understand the difficulties and problems of their own country. It is particularly true of those who have been brought up in urban areas. Some of these are in complete ignorance as to how the isolated villagers—their own people—of this country live. Through a life-time of living in towns and civilized areas they have been shut off from the conditions of life that exist amongst the great mass of indigenous people. This is a pity. It is almost a warning for we should beware of a man, although born in this country, who still does not know how the rest of his people live.

On the Migration Bill 1963, John Guise objected to retention of power to curtail departure of indigenes from the Territory as paternalism and discrimination (*L.C.D.*, 3 June 1963, pp. 729-30; see also 6 March 1962, pp. 337-8). No matter how well educated or responsible a Papuan or New Guinean might be, he could not travel abroad without permission of the Administration. He proposed introduction of passports to be automatically granted to certain classes of indigenes with adequate provision to check their financial means. An elected Member, Ian Downs, immediately accused him of misrepresenting the situation so as to push his name to the fore. The control existed solely to protect indigenes from persons seeking to exploit cheap labour. Another elected Member, Lloyd Hurrell, felt that the legislation was no more discriminatory than the great body of legislation designed to favour natives; he suspected that Guise was speaking with his tongue in his cheek. When Somu Sigob (*L.C.D.*, 17 September 1963, p. 859) attacked company housing for native employees, and accused one company of treating employees 'like pigs and dogs and animals'—with one employee keeping his wife and five children in a house he had built in a ditch—Fairfax-Ross (*L.C.D.*, 18 September 1963, pp. 878-9) defended the companies which could not employ contract workers but had to pay heavy taxes towards public housing schemes. The day of intemperate indigenous criticism and expatriate apologetics did not arrive during the life of the Council.

At one stage it had been expected that creation of the Public Works Committee might mark 'an extremely important step forward in the history of the development of the Legislative Council' (Lynch 1961 (b); Sloan 1962). The members of the Committee were announced on 13 April 1961: three officials, Chipper and Slaughter from the elected Members, and Somu Sigob from the elected indigenous Members; each of the six had a designated alternate. On 26 September five reports from the Committee were presented to the Council and adopted, and thereafter a trickle of reports from the Committee came before the legislature. However, the only real controversy about public works did not arise from the work of the Committee. Elected expatriate Members were shocked at expenditure on court houses built in various centres of the

Territory; they were elaborate and expensive, they were seldom used, and the money could be better spent on other things. The Administration defended them as necessary to maintain the prestige of law and order (*L.C.D.*, 28 September 1961, pp. 285-6). Ian Downs moved for the reduction of the votes containing provision of court houses by £70,000 only to be told by official Members that the reduction would mean merely that the Commonwealth would save £70,000, and the Administration could use other funds to build the court houses if it wished. His motion was defeated 13-21. In February 1963, speaking on a report of the Committee on the Rabaul court house—the Committee had approved the project 4-2 and the Council accepted the report 25-7—Dr Gunther said (*L.C.D.*, 28 February 1963, pp. 697, 699):

I believe the actual role of the Committee is to determine—(i) is the work necessary and according to policy; (ii) is the design satisfactory if the work has been decided as necessary; and (iii) is the estimated cost a proper one?

Australia was determined to give the people of the Territory the way of living Australians think best, and therefore believed that it had to create the symbols of the Australian way of life:

There is no doubt about Australia's feeling in this. It is no secret that because Australia provides 70 per cent. of the moneys spent in the government of this country, the Australian Government reviews our Works Programmes in detail and determines the level of money that should be granted to us for this and for the other works and services we provide. I would say that it would not be unreal for Australia, having determined that we should build court houses as examples of her policy in this country, to say that if this Council rejects her desires then the level of the grant could be reduced by the cost of the rejected court houses. This is not a threat; it is not nonsense; it is sound common sense and realism; it is human.

Given so narrow a scope for initiative it is not surprising that the Committee did not mark any great advance; Lynch (*op.cit.*) had also suggested that it might appear 'to be merely a routine measure to give an appearance of supervision over public spending', and this proved to be nearer the mark. It may be that the three elected Members benefited from their experience, but as two of them were defeated in 1964 and the third did not offer (of the alternates two were defeated, and only Stuntz was returned) this benefit was limited.

The Fifth Council introduced a number of major social reforms. Indigenous Members pressed for reform of the drinking laws. The Administration appointed a commission to investigate the matter, and implemented its recommendations with legislation. However, when the Bill was introduced to the Council (*L.C.D.*, 16 October 1962) Members had only seen such parts of the report as the Treasurer disclosed in introducing the Bill. When the final legislation was introduced in February 1963 debate was adjourned to the following meeting to permit public discussion and consideration by Members. The Discriminatory

Practices Bill 1963 sought to prevent discrimination; it was opposed by several expatriate elected Members. Lloyd Hurrell protested that such legislation was usually thrashed out in advisory or select committees, but this Bill was a 'Ministerial imposition'. The Local Government Bill 1963 brought expatriates within the taxing power of Local Government Councils. The initiative for reform remained completely with the Administration.

It had been thought (Lynch 1961 (a)): 'The implications of this move are clear—there can be no more talk of the Government steam-rolling legislation through the Council, and politics as distinct from administration will come to dominate the scene.' It may be that the possibility of a non-official majority voting solidly against it inhibited the Administration in some matters. However only nine times did the Council divide to put matters to the test; only once, on the first division of the new Council, was the Administration defeated 15-19—by the insertion of an amendment to the Child Welfare Bill 1961 to require that children's courts include a woman member (*L.C.D.*, 6 June 1961). Thereafter the 'opposition' vote normally fluctuated between 14 and 11 and once fell to 7; the Administration could count on its fourteen official Members, and normally on the support of a couple of indigenous nominated Members. One, Dr Taureka, voted with the official Members in all nine divisions; two, Kibunki and Bonjui Pius, voted with them eight times out of nine; Tokuradal voted with them seven out of nine times. The core of the 'opposition' were the six elected expatriate Members who voted against the official Members solidly on every occasion save one—when Slaughter endorsed the Rabaul court house. They were usually supported by three indigenous elected Members: Kondom Agaundo on every division, Vin Tobaining on seven out of eight (he was absent once), and Somu Sigob on seven out of nine. Tobaining backed the officials on the Rabaul court house, the occasion when the 'opposition' vote fell to seven. Sigob voted against the elected Members' amendment to increase the size of the Copra Stabilization Board and, for more obvious reasons, against an amendment to exclude rural workers from protection of the Industrial Organizations Bill 1962. On the first four divisions, John Guise, Nicholas Brokam and Simoi Paradi voted with the elected expatriate Members—although Paradi did not on the issue of notice by an Industrial Safety Officer before inspection of premises. But on the remaining five they voted solidly with official Members. The other six appointed Members have mixed records: Bishop Strong voted with the officials only twice, and against them four times; Father McGhee with them four times and against them four times; Fairfax-Ross with the officials three times and against them five times; Mrs Roma Bates with them five times and against them three times; Miss Alice Wedega with them four times and against them five times; Ephraim Jubilee was absent on four divisions, but voted with the official Members four times and against them only once—on the move to delete the court house provisions from the Estimates.

Thus after the first division the Administration could normally expect the support of a sufficient number of nominated Members to provide a safe margin over the 'opposition' bloc of expatriate elected Members and their elected indigenous allies—supporters might be more accurate. As Lynch (1962) points out in relation to the nominated Members, conflict with the official bloc was rarely direct; non-official Members' views might appear as official amendments whilst the legislation was moving through, or be accepted without a division, or reappear a meeting or two later as official policy. However, the frustration to which elected Members such as Lloyd Hurrell often referred suggests that the opposition's successes behind the chair were limited. No issue in which expatriate and Administration interests were directly in conflict as they had been over export tariffs and income tax appeared in the life of the Fifth Council. Had it done so, almost certainly the Administration had the numbers to govern.

The Fifth Council has been discussed separately from its predecessors because it was supposed to be different, and there was certainly the possibility that it could have been different. However its differences were quantitative rather than qualitative. To the writer's knowledge in no colonial legislature did the abolition of the official majority produce so small a change in style. The question which the House of Assembly may answer is whether the explanation lies in the narrowness of the non-official majority established in 1961 or in the political system of the Territory in its widest sense.

The Development of the Legislature : Preparing for the House of Assembly

Colin A. Hughes

Appointment of the Select Committee

The Fifth Legislative Council was opened by the Administrator of the Commonwealth, Sir Dallas Brooks, on 10 April 1961. Sir Dallas observed that the government was ready to set target dates for social, economic, and educational advances, but political advance should be determined by the responses of the people. The government thought that in about five years time, after the full term of the new Council and the ensuing general election, the next Council and the Commonwealth Parliament should be asked to consider a further advance. It was also the government's opinion that when the people of the Territory felt ready for it, the elections should be conducted on a common roll.

During the Fifth Council, Lloyd Hurrell led the demand for constitutional reform. Before the elections he had written to the *Post (S.P.P., 24 January 1961)*, primarily to attack the U.P.P. for having deliberately excluded two of the elected and several of the nominated members, but incidentally setting out his views on political and constitutional matters. He favoured a permanent link with Australia. It was unwise to start a European political party for it would only generate suspicion. There should be separate rolls and constituencies for at least twenty years, and only when voting was efficient and 75 per cent of national revenue was raised locally should there be a common roll. On 14 April 1961 he raised what was to be a recurrent theme of indigenous and non-indigenous members alike in the Council, the excessive size of the New Guinea Coastal and Highlands electorates (*L.C.D., 14 April 1961, pp. 47-8*). In an adjournment debate at the next meeting of the Council he referred to the need to consider the constitutional future of the Territory, whether it be as the seventh state or with some other status within the Commonwealth of Australia (*L.C.D., 5 June 1961, pp. 65-6*). Association with the British Commonwealth he thought unsatisfactory because that group 'has become too elastic and too extended to cover the needs of Australia or of this Territory'. Hurrell's insistence on reform was predicated on his belief that the existing Legislative Council was totally

ineffective; an elected majority had to be established, but this could hardly be an expatriate majority, and so a native majority would have to be conceded.

On 3 March 1962 he moved for the appointment of a Select Committee on Political Development to consist of two official members, two elected native members and two elected non-native members, to report by the end of the second meeting of the Council after the current one, and to have power to send for persons and papers. The Council was told that a committee of the Administration was at work on some problems related to political development and their work would be made available to the Select Committee. The establishment of the Select Committee and Hurrell's nomination of Dr John Gunther, W. F. Carter (the Director of Posts and Telegraphs), John Guise, Somu Sigob, Ian Downs and himself were accepted without a division.

The Foot Mission Report

However, the possibility of an unhurried constitutional review by a local body was defeated by the arrival of a Visiting Mission from the United Nations. Whereas in the past Visiting Missions tended to accept the work of Australia in the Trust Territory of New Guinea and to make recommendations in the most general terms—and these recommendations if unacceptable could be dismissed as the impractical or malicious ideas of men without an understanding of the problems of colonial administration in general or of New Guinea in particular—the international standing of the chairman of this Visiting Mission, Sir Hugh Foot (later Lord Caradon), could carry unprecedented weight with Australian public opinion, or at least that segment of it which was reasonably informed and interested in Territorial affairs. And in so far as a continued Australian presence in New Guinea might well depend on the support of Australia's major allies, Sir Hugh's opinions could carry considerable weight overseas.

It might be added at this point that contemporaneous with the indirect elections in the Territory, the first elections in West New Guinea had chosen a legislature in which sixteen elected natives constituted a substantial majority (van der Veur 1963). The *Post's* editorial warning of the dangers of another Congo by moving too fast (*S.P.P.*, 10 March 1961) probably represented expatriate opinion at the time, and probably that of the Administration as well. It is doubtful whether there was any indigenous opinion on the matter at all. Subsequently, as Indonesian direct action increased and the growing isolation of the Dutch became more apparent, and then as the stopgap United Nations administration withered on the vine, and Indonesian spokesmen indicated that a free decision of their political future would not be given West New Guineans, interest in developments west of the border became more general. However, this rather took the form of saying that there should be a free choice for West New Guineans in the future, or of preventing Indonesian imperialism advancing too close, rather than any recognition that West

New Guinea had attained a significant degree of self-government. The absorption of West New Guinea by Indonesia was an issue in the 1964 elections, for it was a reason for a continued Australian presence. The last desperate development of representative institutions in West New Guinea was of no interest, not because it was viewed as a sham perpetrated by the Dutch, but because it was not thought about at all.

The Foot Mission arrived in the Trust Territory on 8 April 1962, and toured extensively for five weeks. Its Report, released on 5 July, condensed the evidence presented to the Mission into eight items: (i) the people were grateful for past Australian assistance and wanted it continued to help them along the road to self-government; (ii) they wanted local Councils to have more authority in local affairs; (iii) they recognized a need for more agricultural, vocational and commercial training before they could contribute equally to development of the Territory; (iv) they wanted greater participation in administration by taking over more and higher public service posts; (v) they wanted more primary and secondary schools and tertiary education; (vi) they thought that their land ownership system would have to be changed, most favouring introduction of individual ownership; (vii) they wanted a higher standard of living through higher prices for primary products and higher wages, more assistance for primary producers, better communications, new cash crops and industries; (viii) they wanted to be equals of the Australians, with the elimination of all types of discrimination. The Mission assessed the witnesses who had appeared:

We were greatly impressed by the leaders' ability to express themselves. We were even more impressed by the nature of their requests. It was evident that they had given profound thought to their problems. They expressed appreciation of past treatment by the Administering Authority; they discussed present conditions in terms of what is needed to better their condition in the future; they recognized their shortcomings and asked for help to overcome them; they expressed a willingness to work for and to participate in the attainment of these aims (*V. M. Report*, para. 107).

Whilst local difficulties and divisions had impeded progress and should not be under-estimated, neither should they be used as arguments against political and economic advance. The Mission saw the principal needs of the Territory of New Guinea as three: a full review of the economy, the identification and training of potential leaders, and the development of representative, democratic government. The first of these should be met by a study by the World Bank, the second by the creation of a university, and:

Thirdly, we propose that the time has come to create a Parliament. The Legislative Council with the first elected representatives is already in being. The Administering Authority has already declared its intention to establish a common electoral roll. We believe that these preparations together with the experience gained in the local councils now make it possible to plan for a Parliament from New Guinea and Papua of about a hundred members elected on the basis of direct

election and by adult suffrage under a system of single member constituencies. We suggest that all preparations for elections on this new basis should be put in hand immediately and completed not later than the end of 1963 (before the time fixed for the next elections to the Legislative Council early in 1964) (*ibid.*, para. 133).

The arguments for immediate political advance were that the people must play their part in facing the Territory's problems, that the people must have leaders competent to speak for them and represent them—'and in any event no harm will be done if in a Parliament of a hundred members there are a few who do not at first play a prominent role'—and that such reform would produce a national sentiment and sense of unity. The existing constituencies were too big to give an idea of representation, but if each Sub-district or part of a large Sub-district elected its own representative 'then the House of Representatives [the name the Mission proposed for the enlarged legislature] will at once become a political reality in the minds of the people and a true centre of political opinion and political activity'. A House of one hundred elected members was practicable and arrangements for its election could be made in time: 'experience elsewhere amongst people no more advanced than those in New Guinea indicates that there need be no insuperable difficulties in these practical tasks'. (Unfortunately the Mission did not specify to which experiences elsewhere it referred: the U.N.-supervised elections in the southern Sudan alone come readily to mind.) The voting procedure should be by symbol which could be understood by anyone, 'and the essential democratic process of the elector deciding and indicating whom he wishes to represent him and to speak for him is a function which anyone, whether or not he or she has been educated, can well exercise'. Provisions for nominated unofficial members and expatriate elected members should disappear, although the Mission hoped that some non-indigenes would be elected on the Common Roll. Some official members, perhaps five, should be retained, and an official Speaker should be appointed. The Mission re-stated the benefits it expected to follow such constitutional advance:

We believe that with the establishment of such a Parliament the political life of the Territory would be transformed. The views and wishes of the people would not be open to misunderstanding or misinterpretation. For the first time there would be a central body which would both represent and create public opinion. A new working partnership between the people and the Administering Authority would result. At every future stage it would be possible to act with and gain support from public opinion as represented by the directly-elected spokesmen of the whole country (*ibid.*, para. 215).

On other political subjects the Mission was less ambitious. Introduction of a ministerial system should be considered only by the new legislature. The first step would be creation of a central council, the second, transfer of departmental responsibility, but these matters should be left to the new House. On the public service the Mission recommended that

every effort be made to keep the number of expatriate public servants down and to put as many as possible on a contract basis whilst pressing on with recruitment. Elsewhere in the Report the Mission had criticized the machinery of government as 'over-centralised and over-complicated . . . In some ways we feel that a bureaucratic structure is being erected beyond the capacity of the country to carry in future years'. Local government authorities which proved themselves should receive increased subventions to undertake wider functions such as housing, school construction or road building, and should have wider financial authority, whilst the planters' estates should perhaps pay modest sums to their local authorities. Municipal councils on orthodox lines should be established. For the promotion of a feeling of national unity between Papua and New Guinea the Mission recommended a single flag and national anthem, and possibly common citizenship. Finally the Mission reported on the subject of target dates; it appreciated the government's views on the predominant importance of popular opinion, but thought that all three immediate objectives, economic survey, selection of one hundred New Guinean students for higher education, and preparations for the elections should be completed by 31 December 1962.

In view of subsequent disagreement as to the influence of the Foot Report on the constitutional changes which did take place, the Mission's account of its discussions with the Minister on 3 April and 16 and 18 May should be quoted:

The Minister explained the attitude of his Government which was based on the principle that the wishes of the people should predominate. He emphasized that the people must have the 'right to choose', and he referred to frequent direct discussions with representatives of the people in New Guinea with the object of ascertaining their wishes and their ideas on the next steps in political advance. He said that these discussions had not indicated a desire for further immediate advance following the establishment of the present Legislative Council last year, and that *the view of the Administering Authority was that decisions on future political advance should take place in consultation with the Legislative Council after the next elections due to take place in about two years' time*. In the meantime, however, committees had been set up in the existing Legislative Council to give *preliminary* consideration to the question of what form political advance should take (*ibid.*, para. 264, emphasis supplied).

When the Visiting Mission's Report was released the Minister promptly rejected the suggestion that a decision for electoral reform be taken at once (*West Australian*, 29 June 1962). Work on the subject was proceeding in the Territory, and the Minister took the view that the Legislative Council should be 'the agency through which constitutional progress should be made', in contrast with the Mission's apparent belief that the Australian government should draw up plans and impose them on the Territory. The government wanted the people to express their views; it was seeking not a pat on the back but a political system that would work. Australian press comment indicated some surprise at the pace the Foot

Mission proposed, reinforced with considerable scepticism as to the type of legislature that could result from elections held so soon. The *South Pacific Post* conceded that the Report did not advocate self-government within two years, but found two of the three recommendations—university education and a representative parliament—‘far too idealistic and impractical to be given really serious consideration . . . premature to the extent of being impossible’ (*S.P.P.*, 10 July 1962). The following week Ian Downs in his annual report as president of the Highlands Farmers’ and Settlers’ Association proposed that a union of a self-governing Papua and New Guinea with Australia be placed before the people within twelve months in a plebiscite. Warning that the great powers were prepared to abandon the whole Territory to Indonesia, and that complete fragmentation of the Territory would result if Australia withdrew prematurely, he declared: ‘If Australia will not speak for us we must act for ourselves—it is not our intention to deliver the Highlands people so recently won to civilization into the hands of the decadent, degenerate Indonesian bandits.’ However Sir Hugh did not modify his opinions, and at a press conference in New York warned that another Congo could develop in the Territory if parliamentary government were too long delayed.

On 11 July, the Australian representative answering questions in the Trusteeship Council said that 1966 had been mentioned as the possible date for having a legislature which ‘expresses the wishes of the Territory’. The moderate treatment of the Foot recommendations and the favourable things said about Australian administration in the ensuing debate in the Trusteeship Council eased press hostility to the Report. The Report’s strongest endorsement came from the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Gough Whitlam, who warned that Australia could not ignore the proposals, and that to do so would be the height of folly. As reported in the press, he appeared to believe at that time that the Foot recommendations would mean self-government in 1964.

Two months later the Minister for Territories addressed the Public Service Association of Papua and New Guinea at Port Moresby, and reported that press accounts of the Report ‘have had an unsettling effect and brought even a sense of dismay among some of the native people’ (*S.M.H.*, 3 September 1962). The government was considering the Foot recommendations carefully, and would not hang back from political change. They would continue to promote change, but would respect the wishes of the people as well as those of the United Nations. During this period between the publication of the Foot Report and the tabling of the Legislative Council Select Committee’s First Interim Report, press opinion in Australia shifted somewhat. Thus an editorial in the *West Australian* advised (14 September 1962):

It is wise to hasten this work [of seeking to obtain views of Papuans on the form and pace of their political development], since the Government is looking to the committee’s report for guidance in defining its attitude to the proposals of the U.N. mission of inquiry. Though these cannot be interpreted as meaning self-government by 1964, the

recommendation for a representative parliament of 100 members within two years calls for some positive reply during the U.N. Assembly session.

Events are challenging the Government to move firmly but sensibly towards Papuan self-government by accelerating changes in the Legislative Council which serves both parts of Australian New Guinea. When Territories Minister Hasluck says that Australia is not engaged in a rearguard action but is advancing towards a clear objective, the Government has to show that it means business.

At the first meeting of the Legislative Council following the Mission's departure Lloyd Hurrell had dealt sharply with what were expected to be Mission recommendations (*L.C.D.*, 11 June 1962). They were radical, and must be treated with caution because Sir Hugh was a member of a nation famous for shedding her remote colonies. Their bias in favour of the native should be corrected. Hurrell thought that most official and nominated members were unnecessary; it would be sufficient protection to have the Australian government retain a veto. He would suggest a Legislative Council consisting of the Administrator, ten official members including four natives, six European elected members and twenty native elected members, and an Administrator's Council composed of four officials including two natives, and six elected members including four natives. There was a need to get away from the old bureaucracy which was dividing indigenes and expatriates; democratic elections would not produce an *élite*, for community, that is local, leaders would be elected rather than the partially expatriated town *élites*.

The Select Committee's First Report

Dr Gunther, who had been elected chairman of the Select Committee, announced on 6 September that the Committee would be travelling about the Territory to take evidence. After expressing the hope that as many people as possible would appear before the Committee, and noting that Vin Tobaining had been added to its membership, Gunther continued (*L.C.D.*, 6 September 1962, p. 551):

We regret that we are acting on such short notice, but we have been forced to do so by the Report of the Visiting Mission, rather than by any clamour of the people themselves for a change. In fact, the immediate reaction of some Papuans and New Guineans to the suggested change is dismay through false interpretation that this change means an early handover of the Administration of the Territory to the people, who believe themselves to be yet unfit to take such responsibility.

Three of the non-indigenous members added their comments. Hurrell found the Foot Report mainly favourable to the Administration, but irrational in one respect, its recommendation for an excessively large membership of the next legislature. However, development of the Council had to be based on the wishes of the people expressed through the Council, and any pressure from without had to be resisted. John Stuntz warned that Papua should not follow New Guinea if the latter Territory succumbed to external pressures; he appealed to the people of Papua to

maintain their safeguard of being part of a sovereign state. B.E. Fairfax-Ross believed that both elements in the community should be represented in the legislature, the natives, who probably should have a majority, and those who contributed to the economy, 'that sector of private enterprise which provides an important share of public finance, but is not numerically assured of representation within an elected system at this stage of population distribution and the incidence of its political influence within that distribution'.

The Select Committee set out at once on a tour of the Territory. On 19 days it took evidence in 119 interviews at 16 centres; 463 men and women gave evidence, including 23 Europeans, 4 Chinese and 4 mixed-race persons. Some 1,662 additional persons were present at the various interviews, and were invariably questioned about the evidence being given by witnesses. Arrangements were made for representatives from other areas to travel to the centres where evidence was taken, and a further nine villages were visited to enable Committee members to check the views expressed by local leaders with the villagers themselves. A special effort was made to ascertain the views of groups known to be opposed to Administration policy; amongst those who gave evidence were many prominent cult leaders or ex-cultists. The Committee concluded that: 'A wide cross-section of people, interest and race was seen and your Committee feels that it has obtained a very good coverage of public opinion in the Territory.'

On 15 October the First Interim Report of the Committee was presented to the Council. After describing its method of operation and the existing structure of the Legislative Council, the Committee reported that all but one of its witnesses had favoured an increase in the size of the Council because existing electorates were too large for effective representation, whilst non-indigenes favoured an increase in the number of indigenous members to recognize the indigenous majority in the population. However, only four witnesses favoured the 100-member legislature proposed by the Foot Mission Report: too large a body would waste time in talk rather than work, and be irresponsible, there were probably not one hundred indigenes capable of successfully carrying out duties in the legislature, such a large membership would be unnecessarily costly, and in the view of indigenous members of the Committee the 100-member body was associated in the people's minds with self-government which was feared and unwelcome at this time. Seats should be distributed on the basis of Sub-districts, with exceptions such as Manus because of its geographical isolation or areas of high population density such as Chimbu. From the fifty-four Sub-districts of the Territory some forty-four electorates could be constructed by combining the smallest and dividing the largest, but the actual boundaries would be worked out later by the Committee.

A number of witnesses favoured retention of the electoral colleges to prevent parochial influences, because the village headman could make the best choice, and because of the difficulties of arranging for everyone

to vote. However, a three-to-one majority favoured direct elections, 'individual voting' in the Committee's term, which would give ordinary men and women a personal interest in the Council and a feeling of responsibility to obey its laws. A four-to-one majority of witnesses favoured the use of preferential voting like that used in local government elections as giving the fairest result; the Committee would work out details later. The general opinion had been that voting should be compulsory to prevent non-voters claiming that they were not bound by Council decisions and forming a dissident element or the election of candidates by well-organized minorities, whilst the elections were so important that everyone should be made to take part. However, the Committee felt that compulsory registration was as much as could be required at that time, because of the varying degrees of development in different areas, problems of weather and communications, and the fact that this would be the first direct election; the matter could be reviewed before the next election.

An overwhelming majority of the witnesses favoured election and candidature from a common roll embracing all adult inhabitants of the Territory, with a 12-months' electorate residence requirement waived in the case of absentees wishing to contest an electorate in which they had been born or previously entitled to enrol. The compilation of the roll should be started immediately.

The Committee concluded that small electorates in which 98.5 per cent of the voters would be indigenous would be unlikely to return a non-indigenous candidate over an indigene on a common roll. This was appreciated by Papuans and New Guineans amongst whom it produced 'a vehement reaction'; all but one wanted Australian members to remain in the legislature. Committee members explained that there would be at least ten official members, but indigenous witnesses thought this insufficient against over forty indigenous members and the failure to represent farmers and businessmen. To quote the Report:

There were several reasons advanced by the indigenous people for their insistence on having elected non-indigenes on the Council and these are given below without comment from your Committee—

- (a) non-indigenes, by nature of their greater experience and higher education, can act as a source of information and advice and guidance for indigenous members, more especially in economic development, trade and business matters;
- (b) they would act as a stabilizing force;
- (c) they would fill an educative role in training the indigenous members in both the technical procedures of the Council and its deliberative and legislative roles;
- (d) they would represent the non-indigenous section of the community which the indigenes recognize as being the most productive and paying the far greater proportion of the tax revenue;
- (e) there was an often expressed fear that recent happenings in Territories similar to this would be repeated here and that Papua and New Guinea would be left to fend for itself. Having elected non-indigenous members, especially Australians, on the Council

- would indicate to the world Australia's continuing interest in the Territory and so discourage any would-be intruders;
- (f) the Australian Government provided most of the money spent by the Administration every year and despite the repeated reassurances of your Committee there was some doubt in the minds of the people that this would be continued, at least at the present rate, if there were no Australian members. Others maintained that as Australia was providing all this money, there should be Australian members to have some voice in its spending; and
 - (g) the people were anxious for more investment to build factories and assist in other development and believed that the presence of non-indigenous members on the Council would give a feeling of security to existing investment and encourage further spending.

When Committee members pointed out that if the people wanted non-indigenous members they should be prepared to vote for them, it was answered that at the present stage of development voters would support local and clan leaders and trust to the next electorate to return the non-indigenes. A great majority of witnesses believed that non-indigenous members should be elected from the Common Roll. Although the Committee started opposed to special rolls or reserved seats, the demand for non-indigenous representation and their assessment of the improbability of the election of non-indigenes in open seats, led them to recommend reserved seats for the first elections at least.

Indigenous opinion varied as to the desirable proportion of non-indigenous to indigenous members; amongst the conservatives of the Sepik it was one to one, whilst a few men from Manus suggested one to four, the average being one to two. The Committee considered that its witnesses were being too conservative; with 44 elected members, 10 non-indigenes elected on the Common Roll should suffice 'to carry out the representative, stabilizing, educative, guiding and informing task for which the people expressly desire to see them elected', without inhibiting the indigenous members from taking a more active part in Council business. The boundaries of the ten special electorates would be worked out later by the Committee.

The great majority of witnesses believed that with indigenous representation on the Sub-district basis and suitable provision for non-indigenes to be elected, there would be no need to retain nominated members, and the Select Committee agreed with this. It also recommended the reduction of the official bloc to ten members.

On the timing of its changes the Committee believed that they could be implemented in time for the next election due in March 1964. Two matters, the name of the new legislature and the selection of its presiding officer, were stood over for further consideration. Proposals for a bicameral legislature received from witnesses in Port Moresby and Popondetta designed to provide a curb on the popularly-elected lower house were rejected; the Committee recorded that it had been impressed

by the strong sense of responsibility shown by leaders and villagers alike and believed that a future legislature would not prove irresponsible. In any event there remained the Administrator's and the Governor-General's veto. The Committee concluded by recommending the appointment of Under-secretaries to the major Departments 'in the belief that the training and understanding of administration received by such appointees would be of great assistance in the achieving of responsible political development'.

On 16 October Lloyd Hurrell moved for the adoption of the Select Committee's Report and its transmission to the Minister for Territories for consideration by the Commonwealth government. Commending the Report to the Council he praised the high standard of discussion by witnesses, amongst whom there was a strong desire to erase racial differences. A few points in the Report were further explained. Bicameralism would produce resentment if the upper house defeated legislation; indigenous members were likely to be conservative and serious, and not need curbs; (somewhat dogmatically) bicameralism needs a party system to be workable. It had been the firm wish of a majority that the only use of reserved seats be 'for non-native private enterprise'; whilst there were numerous precedents for providing nominated representatives of commerce, missions, racial groups, and so on, they were rejected by the Committee which recommended special seats only as a transitional step subject to review. Official members had to be retained because of the lack of ministerial timber; Hurrell's own view was that some District Commissioners should be included in the official bloc, but the Committee agreed that it could not direct the Administration on who should be appointed. The Committee was optimistic about the new legislature (*L.C.D.*, 16 October 1962, p. 628):

We feel that this new legislative body will constitute a good training ground for democratic government in an atmosphere of racial harmony; that it retains for the Australian Government the supervisory authority essential at this stage and acceptance of security for private investors. It also moves considerably away from the centralization of government at Canberra. Decisions affecting the country can be made from within, rather than imposed. The Administration will have to consider more keenly the views of this new body, for it has a clear majority of non-official members who will have to be convinced of the advisability of any legislation. In introducing a budget it will be essential for the Administration to exchange views with the members and decide on priorities mutually, not as now by direct imposition. Realistic thinking of welfare expenditure in relation to economic development will be ensured and physical control as now accorded by the Papua and New Guinea Act will still remain with the Australian Government.

The non-indigenous members supported the Report, although J. L. Chipper and B. E. Fairfax-Ross questioned the ratio of four to one indigenous to non-indigenous members, and Fairfax-Ross wondered how far the Committee's decision to disregard the majority opinion of

witnesses had been influenced by the Foot Report. He also doubted the wisdom of dropping nominated members; nomination was a means by which the Administration could make the best use of personnel and experience available, resolving anomalies in distribution of representation, but he supposed that the official bloc would dominate legislative policy because of continued financial reliance on Australia. Carter defended the Committee's decision for a one-to-four ratio—the population ratio was one to a hundred. Mrs Roma Bates supposed that the 'whispering vote' would give way to voting by symbols, but doubted the wisdom of the preferential vote. Hurrell replying to the debate assured the Council (*ibid.*, pp. 636-7):

On setting out on this Committee, I believed the people would have no idea of preference voting, but the natives do have an understanding, and so I had to adjust my thinking. We have discussed preference voting with them; they do not understand the full detailed procedure of preference voting—and I venture to guess that about five per cent. of the people sitting in this Council at the moment do not either—but the native people could tell you the effect of it and that is the important thing.

Time and again we went to the people and said, 'What do you want? Do you want to mark one man in first past the post method, or do you want to take three or four, and take one, two and three in order in which you choose them.' The response was immediate. In most cases they wanted the one, two and three preference method they said, because they had tried just one vote and the wrong man got in. People did understand preferential voting. I have patrolled this country for years and I thought I knew the capabilities of the people. This trip around has been an eye-opener for me; these people understand more about the political situation than most people would understand. That understanding is there, and I am quite sure they are capable of conducting and understanding preference voting.

The indigenous members also endorsed the Report. John Guise saw the interviews conducted by the Committee as proof of political awareness and consciousness even at the village level. Political awareness started at the Local Government Council level where it was concerned with local affairs; it moved to a second level with the introduction of representative government at the previous elections; now it was starting on the third level, increased representation with a Papuan and New Guinean majority evolved by constitutional and peaceful means.

This does not mean self-government, but it would mean more direct representations in the operation of a democratically elected representative institution, and the administrative machinery of government by the people, which is then answerable to the people of this country (*ibid.*, p. 629).

Somu Sigob welcomed the retention of businessmen in the Council; this would stimulate Australian investment. Kondom Agaundo reiterated the need for smaller electorates. In the adjournment debate later in the day

Kibunki agreed about smaller electorates, but doubted that there were enough Europeans provided for in the new legislature.

The Minister for Territories refused to comment on the First Interim Report pending discussion of it by the Legislative Council, but the press was not inhibited. The *Sydney Morning Herald* declared 'there is no doubt that the Foot Report had a considerable influence on its approach to the problem', but other major newspapers regarded the Committee Report as holding back from the extremes of the Foot recommendations whilst meeting most of their requirements. Gradually press opinion swung in favour of substantial change until, early in the new year, the *Mercury*, which had taken the most intransigent line—ardent in defence of Australia's colonial record and sceptical of the motives and knowledge of her critics—could say editorially (1 February 1963):

For years progress towards self-government was so slow that Australia could have been accused of using 'gradualism' as a means of postponing independence indefinitely and probably merited the prodding the United Nations has given.

By the end of January 1963, Hasluck was able to tell a press conference in Port Moresby that he felt there was greater stability in the country than there had been in the previous September following the events in West New Guinea and the publication of the Foot Report, because there was a clearer realization that Australia intended to uphold Australian rights in East New Guinea. He reiterated that self-government if the Territory could not support itself would be a 'sham', although for the first time he pointed to an oncoming dilemma—the country would be economically dependent long after it *wished* to be politically independent.

A new furore followed. An article in the *Brisbane Courier-Mail* (5 February 1963) declared that the government was planning for political independence by 1972. The Minister retorted that this was 'false gossip': Australia would remain so long as the people needed help, and only the people of the Territory could tell Australia when to go. The Prime Minister supported him, declaring that he had heard no mention of 1972, or 1968, another date mentioned, nor was he aware of any differences within the government. However, the *Courier-Mail* replied editorially that it was satisfied that the story reflected the thinking of elements within the government, and its New Guinea correspondent defended his argument (16 February 1963):

The Government's repeated refusal to announce target dates—to make a clear and simple statement of its plans for New Guinea—makes confidence in the future completely impossible and speculation inevitable.

People here [Lae] were not slow to note that Mr Hasluck did not say that 'The Australian Government will not give New Guinea independence in 1972 if it does not consider the time ripe.' They inferred from his statement that if the leaders elected to represent the 400 language groups in the Territory at any time during the next nine

years express the will to go it alone, the Australian Government will be prepared to pack up and get out at short notice.

That is what the present crash education and development programme signifies. It is preparation to meet the possibility that native leaders will want to take over politically by 1972 at the latest.

The Select Committee's Second Report

The Select Committee presented its Second Interim Report on 27 February 1963. The Committee had met with the Administration Committees on boundaries and electoral matters, watched a trial compilation of the Common Roll in two villages and a trial election, and consulted various Administration officers. The Committee had agreed on principles for electoral boundaries: approximate equality of population save for significant geographical considerations; recognition of tribal and linguistic affiliations wherever possible; division of densely populated areas to produce compact and equal electorates; use of census divisions (with their populations modified to include non-indigenous inhabitants and permanent migrants and exclude permanent emigrants) as the basic unit for defining the electorates; overlap of administrative boundaries to be permitted; electorates to be based on total recorded population; Local Government Council areas not to be divided by electorates. Two further considerations should be applied: the mutual accessibility of electors and representatives to each other, and in sparsely populated areas the lines of communication to ensure the cheapest possible transport for representatives.

For the reserved electorates rather different principles of delimitation were formulated: open electorates would be the basic unit; electorates should be related to levels of economic development and capital investment; special conditions in urban areas should be recognized; ease of communication and access should be considered; community of interest should be reflected so far as practicable. Boundaries for each set of electorates had been drawn, and a map was appended to the Report. Publication of the Chief Electoral Officer's Report in July 1964 revealed that the Electoral Boundaries Committee had begun by dividing the Territory into nine zones 'on the basis of geographic isolation (as in the cases of the island districts), ethnography and communications', namely Manus, New Ireland, Bougainville, Milne Bay, New Britain, Sepik, South (the Western, Gulf and Central Districts), North-East (Madang, Morobe and Northern Districts), and Highlands. Within the zones electorates should deviate from average enrolment by no more than 20 per cent. (The Committee also formulated the principles for defining the individual Open Electorates set out above, which were subsequently adopted by the Select Committee.) The electorates should be reviewed within twelve months after each census.

Considering two other matters left over from the First Interim Report, the Committee recommended that the new legislature be known as 'the House of Assembly', and that, as it was not proper for the Administrator

to preside over a legislature whose enactments he must approve or reject, the House should elect a Speaker from among its members. The Committee was not prepared to make recommendations about parliamentary salaries and allowances (public service salaries then being under review), but felt that the electorate allowance and travelling expenses should be raised and the sitting fee reduced. The system of voting should be a secret ballot with voters assisted by the Presiding Officer if they wished; this would introduce the final form of voting as early as possible even if it meant that most voters would have to be assisted at the start. It was also the procedure familiar to those in Local Government Council areas from local government elections. And finally the Committee recommended that the age for voters be eighteen, the age of responsibility in the Territory being earlier than in western countries—it is the age at which payment of taxes to Local Government Councils starts—and that the life of the House of Assembly be four years. The Report concluded that the Committee would continue ‘to examine the implications arising from the changes it has proposed and from political development generally’, but it did not report to the Council again.

On 1 March Dr Gunther moved for adoption of the Report. After criticizing Chipper, who had been complaining about the indigene/non-indigene ratio at a meeting of the New Britain Advisory Council, for raising the matter after he had failed to oppose it in the Legislative Council, Gunther went on to discuss the decision on electorate size starting with Gough Whitlam’s support for 88 or 100 electorates. The Committee could have persuaded the Papuans and New Guineans to ask for 100 electorates, but they had guarded carefully against influencing the witnesses, and the witnesses had asked for electorates based on the Sub-districts, 55 in number but ranging in size from 160,000 to 5,000 inhabitants.

When the people clearly expressed to us the subdistrict as the kind of size for an electorate they would have known what they meant; they would have been used to looking upon the subdistrict headquarters as the centre from which they were directed in their social and economic development. It is to the subdistrict office they would take their troubles, it is here that superior courts are held. The people of a subdistrict would know of the various communities in their subdistrict and although there could well be a number of languages in the subdistrict, because of the movement of officials, police and interpreters about it, verbal communication would be relatively easy. Linguistic, and for the most part, ethnic groupings had been considered when the subdistrict boundaries were established. Thus, when the people proposed subdistricts as electorates they would clearly have in mind the kinds of numbers we have now proposed, especially since when nominating the subdistricts they said they wanted to be able to talk to their representative and they wanted him to visit them and tell them about what was happening in this Council (*L.C.D.*, 1 March 1963, p. 715).

Dr Gunther admitted that Bougainville and Manus were odd cases, the one too large, the other too small, but generally the scale was satis-

factory. Smaller electorates would delay unity because, in a fragmented community, combination in a multi-community electorate was an experience promoting unity. The Select Committee had consulted the District Boundaries Committee, an official body then advising the Administration on District boundaries, which had visited various areas and talked with the local people, but a permanent body would be needed to keep electoral boundaries under review.

The reserved seats had been created to provide skilled members, to provide representatives of Australia which contributed money for development, to represent investors in the Territory, and to ensure that skilled farmers and businessmen were in the legislature. Thus the Select Committee in defining the boundaries of these electorates looked first to economic development, capital investment and community interest, and then made arbitrary decisions. In choosing a name for the new legislature, 'House of Representatives' or 'Legislative Assembly' suggested a degree of independence of the metropolitan government and were unsuitable. In selecting a presiding officer for the House, it was wrong and unfair to him to retain the Administrator; there had been a proposal that a Speaker, once elected, should resign and his seat be filled at a by-election, but this was regarded as unfair to the electorate which had made him their first choice.

The Report was accepted with little debate. Paul Mason thought that European members should be nominated rather than elected, but the subject was now settled. At the following meeting of the Council in June, Lloyd Hurrell found it necessary to defend the Select Committee from allegations that it had been dominated by Dr Gunther: he had been asked to take the chair because 'the presence of a senior Administration officer would give the Committee more standing' (*L.C.D.*, 4 June 1963, p. 749). Ian Downs defended the number of elected members proposed: more effective representation was needed. A suggestion based on the experience of Western Samoa came from John Guise (*L.C.D.*, 6 June 1963, p. 796) who, whilst opposed to the imposition of a target date for self-determination from outside the country, thought that a body of Papuans and New Guineans should be set up to prepare a constitution. Members should be selected from the District and local government levels, and include some Australian residents. The body should be assisted by an international constitutional lawyer, and be free from the direction and control of the government, answering only to the legislature. It should take evidence throughout the Territory, and draw up a constitution which would determine the structure of government, contain a bill of rights, provide for the judiciary and the public service, and for finance and land and land titles together with transitional matters. Such a document would dispel the prevailing feeling of insecurity.

Guise's speech was generally ignored, but it deserves mention both as a contribution to the security question and as the most ambitious dis-

discussion of constitutional development produced by an indigenous member in the first five Councils.

Legislation

On 6 May the Minister for Territories dealt again with the timing of Australian withdrawal from the Territory in a talk to University of Melbourne students (*Age*, 7 May 1963):

The Government's declared intention is that we will stay in New Guinea as long as the people need us. The judgment of whether we are needed or not rests with the people themselves. Present indications are that the people do recognise their need for us and will want us to stay with them in one form or another for many years. In the final extremity, I think we should be prepared to resist world opinion, providing that is what the people of New Guinea want.

On 7 May he introduced the Papua and New Guinea Bill 1963 in the House of Representatives with a major speech which began by telling the House that the Commonwealth Parliament was being asked to act by the legislature of the Territory. He went on to point out that Australian views were influenced by Australia's own experience of peaceful development from colonial status, not without some struggle but in an atmosphere of friendship, along a path of peaceful constitutional change whereby the national constitution was shaped to meet Australian wishes and at every stage of national progress Australians were able to express their own will. These experiences were projected on to Papua and New Guinea, where neither Australians nor indigenes need envisage a war of liberation whilst liberty was a natural growth (*C.P.D.* Vol. H. of R. 39, 7 May 1963, p. 1072):

Our aim is to ensure not only that the legislature of the Territory is enlarged from time to time but that the method of choosing the members will be such as to ensure that it is truly representative and that its members can speak on behalf of the people of the Territory, not only with competence but with personal independence and with the strength that comes of having the trust and confidence of the people. We also want to ensure that it has clearly recognised functions, and power to perform those functions.

At the time when the existing legislature had been reformed it had been anticipated that it would run a full term, and proposals for reform would be considered after the subsequent election. However, in the light of experience of the rapid progress of the people of the Territory, it had been found that the next step could be taken before rather than after that election.

The report of the Select Committee recommended itself to the Commonwealth government as an expression of the views of the inhabitants of the Territory (*ibid.*, pp. 1075-6):

Without in any way decrying the report of the visiting mission we certainly could not interpret the proposals of the United Nations report

with anything like the same clarity or translate them into the same clear draft of an electoral act.

While the Government pays proper deference and respect to the report of the visiting mission on the Trust Territory of New Guinea, it will be clear that the reports of the select committee, produced as the result of action commenced before the time of the visiting mission and, I repeat, after a very careful consideration of the visiting mission's report, have been the chief formative influence in shaping this bill. At the same time we believe that these reports are fully in conformity with the objective which the visiting mission was trying to serve.

The government continued to reject the fixing of target dates, for example 1970, and the Minister informed the House categorically that 'the Government is not planning withdrawal by that or any other date and has not sanctioned any planning of that kind at any level of administration'.

The government's argument that the changes resulted from decisions taken within the Territory rather than from the Foot Report was generally accepted by the Australian press, the only complaint coming from the *Sydney Morning Herald* (9 May 1963) which thought the reforms good, but attacked the tone of the Minister's speech as unrealistic for having failed to draw any conclusions from the experience of the Congo or from the arrival of the Indonesians in West New Guinea.

The debate in the House of Representatives resumed on 14 May with a speech by E. J. Ward, the former Labor Minister for Territories, who agreed that it was unrealistic to talk about independence without economic independence, but criticized the government's reluctance to set target dates which really meant that there was no thinking about independence at all. Another Opposition front-bencher, K. E. Beazley, pointed out that the constitutional position in the Territory was more analogous to the separation of powers prevailing in the United States than to the cabinet system of British experience. The government, according to Beazley, wanted a triple safeguard on the new legislature—the European bloc vote, the Administrator's power of reference and the Canberra veto, but the Labor Party would be content with the last two. The use of nominated members and reserved seats smacked of colonialism. The Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Whitlam, challenged the prevailing assumption that advance in social and economic fields could take place only in tutelage, for many said that it was accelerated by independence. Australia had lagged in the political field, and the present Bill was probably the last chance 'to implant the idea of representative government in the future republic of New Guinea'. The previous attempt in 1961 had been 'meagre in the extreme' and did not succeed. The government had relied too long on there being no demand for political change.

The basic thing, however, is that the people there should have the opportunity of representative government. Many of the things which the present Government has tried hard to inculcate—our ideas of land use, industrial employment and law—are exotic. It is not likely that

they will be transplanted from this country but there is a good chance that we can implant the idea of representative government—that is, that the very core of democracy can still be implanted in New Guinea, the idea that laws are made by persons whom the people themselves choose and whom they at regular intervals may repudiate or re-endorse. That is where we have hitherto failed (*ibid.*, 14 May 1963, p. 1323).

It was unlikely that a party system would develop in the near future, and it was possible that the Territory would not choose parliamentary government but would turn to some form of a presidential system.

On 15 May the Bill went into Committee and the Opposition divided the House on a number of amendments. The first, to change the name from House of Assembly to House of Representatives in conformity with the Foot Report, is a minor matter. The second would have provided for the election of all members of the Administrator's Council by the House and their retention of office during the pleasure of the House.

Ward, moving the amendment, argued (*ibid.*, 15 May 1963, p. 1415):

When all is said and done, the Administrator's Council is said to be the body which advises the Administrator. If there is to be an elective body determining the ordinances by which the affairs of the Territory will be governed, obviously the right people to advise the Administrator would be the ten members of the council elected by the House of Assembly.

The Minister suggested that the Opposition and the Government differed on the nature of the transitional executive. The Australian government would retain many responsibilities including international relations, it would continue to provide a substantial proportion of the Territory's funds, and the Commonwealth Parliament would wish to continue supervision in some matters, for instance land. If it was accepted that the Commonwealth Parliament and government still had a function and a responsibility towards the Territory, then the executive of the Territory which in some aspects would still be a non-parliamentary executive would have to remain under their control.

It stands to reason that a government could not be answerable to this Parliament for what happens in the Territory in the way in which this Parliament would want it to be answerable if the Government did not have complete control over the Executive of the Territory. So we establish that point—that the non-parliamentary Executive in the Territory is an executive that is not at this stage of constitutional development directly responsible to the Territory legislature. But in this transitional period we are trying to work towards the time when the Territory Executive will be responsible to the Territory legislature. We are trying to associate the legislature as far as we can with local executive acts (*ibid.*).

More and more activities would be transferred to the Administrator's Council. The ten official members of the House would act as Ministers on behalf of the executive, introducing measures, answering questions,

and, in the Minister's words, trying to control the business of Parliament; some elected members would be associated with them, but the Administrator would have the discretion as to how they were selected:

Direct election by the House of Assembly might easily put into his embryonic cabinet people who are not compatible to him or people to whom he was not compatible. It seems to us in this present stage, no less than in more advanced stages of political advancement, that the essential quality of any council that is sharing in executive tasks is compatibility (*ibid.*, p. 1416).

Whitlam opened a rather different attack on the Administrator's Council by charging that it would provide no training for cabinet government because it lacked the power to initiate business. Matters came before it entirely at the Administrator's discretion.

The third Opposition amendment pressed to a division concerned the size and composition of the House. Instead of the proposed 44 elected members from open seats, 10 from reserved seats, and 10 official members, the Opposition proposed 88 elected from open seats and 10 elected from reserved seats until the House of Assembly otherwise resolved—the latter provision having the effect of making the position of the reserved seats more clearly transitional. The number of members for the next legislature had long been a concern of the Opposition. After a tour of the Territory earlier in the year Whitlam had said (*S.M.H.*, 8 February 1963):

I cannot see how, in a country without political parties and with poor communications, it will be possible to have effective training in representative government with only 44 elected members. Indigenous members will be expected to look after twice as many people and much larger areas than any member of a State Parliament in Australia.

He now told the House he had found that the indigenes wanted a 100-member legislature; this was established by asking whether the local people wanted one or two members for their particular area to which the answer invariably was two. The Minister relied on the Report of the Select Committee—to which an Opposition member replied that none of the members of the Select Committee had the experience of acting in a representative capacity as had the M.Ps. now discussing the point. Hasluck also pointed out that if the Opposition amendment were agreed upon and the official members dropped, there would be no one to handle government business before the introduction of full responsible government (*C.P.D.* Vol. H. of R. 39, 15 May 1963, p. 1426).

At any period short of fully responsible government one does need in the House of Assembly people with official responsibility who can stand up to criticism, who are in a position to speak on behalf of what I will call, broadly, the government, and who can defend governmental action and answer to the House for such action as the government has taken. It is necessary also for some person to be in charge of any government legislation that is introduced, to explain the reasons for

the legislation, to be in a position to either accept amendments or to refuse to accept amendments, and to take control of any situation that may arise in the chamber.

Other Opposition amendments sought to fix parliamentary salaries at £1,500 (one member added the suggestion that an annual trip to Australia be provided as well, a proposal the Minister agreed to consider but apparently did not accept) and to define the privileges of the new legislature in the widest possible terms.

The same amendments were pressed by the Opposition in the Senate, together with an amendment to provide for greater expedition by the Administrator in dealing with Bills presented by the House of Assembly, but the principal contribution to the political history of the Territory made by the Senate debate lies in the bitter attacks made on the Foot Mission Report and its principal author by two government backbenchers, strongly suggestive of the reaction in government quarters to the Report's implied criticism and the reported strained relations between the Minister and Sir Hugh Foot. Thus Senator Vincent (*C.P.D.* Vol. S.23, 21 May 1963, p. 597):

Sir Hugh Foot very properly pointed out where he thought we were weakest in regard to the legislation of the Territory. But I think we could likewise point out to Sir Hugh Foot that many of his ideas have ended in complete and utter failure and a great deal of blood being spilt in the process . . . I think we would be quite wrong in insisting that we should accept the report merely because it happens to be a report of the United Nations. Good gracious! It is the report of only four people, one of whom is a specialist, of course, in relation to the problems of Africa; but he has not the record of success that we have in New Guinea. The other gentlemen concerned have no record of success in relation to this matter. The mere fact that their report has received the approbation of the United Nations does not necessarily make it a wise report or a good report. I have endeavoured to show where it is lacking in very material particulars. It is largely lacking with reference to the principles of self-determination. It makes no reference to the importance of inculcating principles of democracy in a race—principles upon which self-government alone can be founded.

The following day Senator Cormack spoke in even harsher terms (*ibid.*, 22 May 1963, p. 625):

This mission was led by Sir Hugh Foot who was a member of the British Colonial Service but is now a career servant of the United Nations. I say career servant, because I believe that this man is starting to carve out a second career for himself in the United Nations, and the question of Papua and New Guinea was an opportunity that he refused to pass by. Senator Vincent, when discussing the Foot report last night, mentioned briefly that Foot, although a man of undoubted intellectual courage and physical bravery, wherever he has been—whether or not this has been adventitious, I do not know—in Trans-Jordan, Cyprus, Nigeria, Jamaica, where he has himself been in positions of responsibility, and where he has speeded up the development

of self-government, has left nothing but a trail of rapine, arson and corruption behind him. I suggest that if he is to make a second career in Papua and New Guinea within the United Nations he is setting up the conditions which he has set up in other parts of the world.

SENATOR McCLELLAND: Are you suggesting that this careerism of which you speak has coloured his findings at all?

SENATOR CORMACK: Yes, I am.

Whilst the Opposition in the Senate did not take so dim a view of the Foot Report, or of the state of affairs in Nigeria and Jamaica—or indeed of Sir Hugh Foot's influence as Assistant Resident in Trans-Jordan in 1939-42—they took an equal pride in the Australian record in the Territory. Senator Willesee observed (*ibid.*, p. 637) that comparisons were being made with the Congo, but the Belgians had not done nearly so well as the Australians; there was no hatred or bitterness towards the latter. The situation in the Territory was rather more like that of India before independence.

On the same day that the Senate reached the Committee stage of the Bill, the Prime Minister made a statement on Australia's new and enlarged defence policy which declared (*C.P.D.* Vol. H. of R. 38, 22 May 1963, p. 1669):

We have made this recent review in the light of our treaty arrangements, but particularly in reference to the security of our own country and of the territories of Papua and New Guinea. We will defend these territories as if they were part of our own mainland; there must be no mistaken ideas about that.

The Territorial legislation implementing the Select Committee's Reports passed through the Legislative Council smoothly. On 4 June 1963, the Electoral (1964 Roll) Bill was introduced providing for the preliminary compilation of a list of names from any existing source. It passed all stages on the same day.

On 12 August the Electoral Bill, and on 13 August the Electoral (Open Electorates) Bill and the Electoral (Special Electorates) Bill were introduced. The first complaint came from Fairfax-Ross who pointed out that persons who had changed electorates would be disfranchised and unable to stand for a period of 364 days. There was no reason why candidates should be restricted to the electorates for which they were enrolled, which meant that some would-be candidates had a choice of several electorates (i.e. those who could enrol for the electorate in which they now resided, electorates in which they had resided previously, and what might be called their electorate of origin), whilst others had no electorate at all. The Administration agreed to an amendment to meet the objection, and Fairfax-Ross explained the need for a residence requirement (*L.C.D.*, 19 September 1963, p. 883):

The people of this Territory, Sir, expressed a very firm view about the need of a period of residence before standing as a candidate for election. Earlier in its investigations, the Select Committee was made aware that the people wished that anybody who could be an Elector

should be able to stand as a candidate and they did not propose that any more restrictions should be put on candidates than would be put on Electors. What they said was that unless a person knows someone for a period of time they are not in a position to know for whom it is best to vote; and as a corollary to this, unless a voter has some knowledge of the persons from whom he will choose then his vote is not a true one. This was the thinking of the people, and out of 295, who were specifically questioned on this issue, only ten said that there was a need for no period of residential qualification.

By contrast fifty-five wanted a period of two to three years.

In the debate on the Electoral (Open Electorates) Bill, Fairfax-Ross (*L.C.D.*, 17 September 1963, p. 850) reopened the question of electorate size: there were a large number in the Highlands whilst Bougainville and New Ireland had only one each. Some formula should be considered which would recognize population, area and economic development, and potential development, rather than population alone. Gunther replied that geography had been considered, otherwise population alone in the New Guinea islands would have produced three electorates: Manus plus northern New Ireland, southern New Ireland plus northern Bougainville, and southern Bougainville. If the Open Electorates, as distinguished from the Special, were related to investment, some curious results might occur. Suppose oil were found in Papua, then a Papuan electorate might have 10,000 electors whilst others had 50,000 in less endowed areas.

I would say, Sir, if you deny the mountain people, and more than one third of the people live above five thousand feet, if you deny them their numerical rights, you are putting up a lot of potential future trouble. All the evidence before the commission when the boundaries were proposed showed that the island and coastal people realized this and after discussion on, and using subdistrict boundaries as a base, they wanted numerical representation (*L.C.D.*, 19 September 1963, p. 884).

The Electoral (Special Electorates) Bill also produced a complaint, this time from Stuntz (*L.C.D.*, 17 September 1963, p. 850). Central and Rabaul electorates had exceptionally small enrolments, comprising single Open Electorates. The only explanation that he could imagine was that the Special Electorates were designed to represent non-indigenous inhabitants, particularly numerous in the towns of Port Moresby and Rabaul. If this were so, it conflicted with the principle of the Common Roll and the wishes of the people expressed to the Select Committee, who sought merely to have non-indigenes elected because of their special skills but representing the whole population. Horrie Niall explained (*ibid.*) that he supposed that the Committee had to consider the 26,000 non-indigenes, the chief taxpayers of the Territory. To have considered population only would have been to duplicate the system of representation embodied in the Open Electorates. The evidence before the Committee had been not only that special skills should be obtained in the legislature but also that the non-indigenes should retain their interest in the Territory by having

a say as to who should be elected in the Special Electorates. Consequently the Committee had sought to define ten Special Electorates, each containing 2,500 non-indigenes, to give these people some say in who should represent them in the legislature. Whilst certain Administration officers had proposed that total population should be the prime consideration in drawing the Special Electorates, the Committee decided to divide them to contain approximately equal numbers of non-indigenes. Such a consideration had not been mentioned in the Second Interim Report of the Select Committee, but as Niall's statement was not directly contradicted in the debate (Gunther merely repeated the criteria set out in the Second Interim Report) and as it is the most plausible explanation of the great disparities between the Special Electorates, it would appear to have been the prime reason in determining their distribution.

The next piece of legislation to implement the Select Committee's recommendations was the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries Bill introduced on 20 September. Dr Gunther explained that Under-secretaries would be appointed to train some elected Members in an understanding of administrative and parliamentary procedure. They would be fully consulted in policy matters, and thereby increase the representation of non-official views whilst learning how such decisions were reached. The Administrator would nominate Under-secretaries to represent Departments not otherwise represented in the legislature and to assist official Members in their duties. Those Under-secretaries who were not members of the Administrator's Council might attend and speak at certain of its meetings. (On the last day of the Legislative Council the Director of Health observed that if he were appointed to the new House, there would be a challenge in the shape of an Under-secretary for Health. 'He will . . . be neither a minister nor a head of a department and will again have to endeavour to cover the needs of health in this house in the best interests of the country' (*L.C.D.*, 14 November 1963, p. 1100)). Ian Downs objected that the device could be used by the government to increase the size of the official bloc; the number of Under-secretaries should be limited. Both he and Lloyd Hurrell thought the maximum should be ten. Paul Mason argued that the government must retain control of the House, but Ron Slaughter disagreed that Under-secretaries should be used for this purpose—perhaps they could be rotated to provide experience without producing too large a bloc. Fairfax-Ross characterized the Bill as 'one of the most delightfully vague pieces of legislation that this Council has ever been asked to approve'. What was meant by 'a training position'? How closely would they work with officials? Would non-indigenes be eligible for appointment? For the Administration Dr Gunther agreed that the Bill was vague, but claimed that it could not have been otherwise. There were no precedents (*L.C.D.*, 20 September 1963, p. 936): 'There have been appointments in African territories and in others along these lines, but not quite in the same circumstances and not for a House of Assembly and so on . . .' However, the Administration

would agree to a limit of fifteen Under-secretaries until the House otherwise provided by resolution; in fact the government had been thinking of about ten, but fifteen would cover the remote possibility that every Department should be represented in the House by a parliamentary secretary. Slaughter added the warning that there should be no special emolument for Under-secretaries and the posts should rotate to avoid the suggestion that the government had favourites or selected Members.

The Electoral Education Programme

David G. Bettison

In September 1962 the chairman of the Select Committee, Dr Gunther, approached the Department of Native Affairs District Officers' Conference, then meeting in Port Moresby, for an expression of views on whether it was possible to compile a Common Roll in time for elections to be held in early 1964, and whether the ideas of voting and representative government could be conveyed to the people. He emphasized that perfection could not be expected, but reasonable familiarity with what an election was and the people's part in it had to be assured. The Select Committee's proposals had serious implications for the Administration, for the country as a whole was to be involved in a co-ordinated enterprise for the first time, and anxiety dominated the attitudes and actions of those responsible for the elections at all levels of the Administration.

The programme of systematic patrolling to compile the Common Roll started in January 1963. The exercise appeared to be one of simply visiting each village, checking the village population register, recording specified details of everyone eighteen years of age and over, and rendering a return through departmental channels to the Chief Electoral Officer. Concurrently the patrols were to introduce to the people the notion of an election for a representative to go to the Legislative Council in Port Moresby. In the early stages the task was seen as being a largely routine and systematic procedure.

Papua-New Guinea has had a Chief Electoral Officer responsible for the elections to every Legislative Council in the post-war years, but before June 1963 the functions of the Chief Electoral Officer had been on an 'extra duties' basis. He had no office or organization and very little in the way of equipment (*C.E.O. Report, 1964, p. v*). In 1961 the Chief Electoral Officer, C. I. White, specially appointed from the Commonwealth Electoral Office, was responsible for the conduct of elections for both enrolled and unenrolled electors. The participation of Native Local Government Councils—the elections for which were held under Department of Native Affairs control—in that election could have confused the authority of the Department of Native Affairs with that of the Chief Electoral Officer. But under the 1960 Electoral Ordinance, Native Affairs Officers acted under the direction of the Chief Electoral

Officer. The education programme for that election was conducted through *ad hoc* teams of officers from the Departments of Native Affairs, Education, and Information and Extension Services working closely with the Chief Electoral Officer and the Returning Officer in each electorate.

The Chief Electoral Officer for the 1964 election, R. R. Bryant, was given responsibility by the 1963 Electoral Ordinance. The period from his appointment to the commencement of polling was nine months. His immediate task was the compiling of the Common Roll as names came in from the Districts. He had also to assist in the drafting of electoral ordinances and regulations, the appointment of electoral officers, purchase ballot boxes and attend to other matters of a strictly electoral nature.

The Department of Native Affairs' work in collecting names for the Common Roll and its early acceptance of the task of introducing the basic principles of election and representative government to the people automatically involved it in the control of the electoral education programme. The Department was the only one with sufficient staff distributed over the country to ensure a complete cover of every area. Its staff had for decades been responsible for communicating with indigenous people and coming to understand local problems, tensions and individual aspirations. Close liaison was maintained between the Chief Electoral Officer and the Chief of the Division of Government and Research in the Department of Native Affairs. Directives were usually sent to field officers by the Department when electoral education matters were involved and by the Chief Electoral Officer when the field officer was acting in terms of his duties under the Electoral Ordinances. However, until the Ordinances were passed in September 1963, co-ordination had to be achieved largely by common sense and good will.

On 2 May 1963 a committee was called together under the chairmanship of W. F. Carter, the Acting Assistant Administrator. It contained two officers of the Department of Native Affairs, the Chief Electoral Officer, the Director of Information and Extension Services, the Government Printer, a representative of the Administrator's Department and a representative of the Commonwealth Electoral Office. This committee was the nearest thing to a central co-ordinating and planning authority for the election as a whole. It kept watch on all aspects of preparation for the election including the education programme.

The committee had to consider the circumstances of the people to be taught, the problem of making sufficient contact with them, the appropriate means of instruction and the availability of staff and teaching aids. None were simple. The committee was also handicapped by lack of information on the final details of electoral procedures. The Electoral Ordinances were assented to only in September 1963 and the Electoral Regulations in November. Only a small proportion of the population could be contacted by radio or other mass media. The foot patrol, using canoes where suitable, was the only way of contacting the majority. The

patrol, its visit lasting at most a day or two, using a lingua franca and dependent on translation, unable to remain long enough at any given time to check that its message had been properly understood, and physically tired from weeks of patrolling and saying the same thing, would leave ample opportunity for misconceptions and rumour to develop. Until the type of audio-visual aids could be settled, purchased, and despatched to remote field stations, reliance would have to be placed on word of mouth and the ability of young and often little experienced cadets and patrol officers working alone among at times inhospitable people to get the message across.

The committee found opinions divided on appropriate methods of dealing with these problems. The majority favoured a large-scale and widespread campaign conducted by all field officers relying basically on word of mouth delivery followed by questions and answers. Audio-visual aids were to be sent to patrols as soon as they became available. Each successive patrol to a given area was seen as giving more and more detail of electoral procedures after ascertaining that the broader concepts provided earlier had been correctly understood. Eventually mock elections were to be held in selected villages to provide a practical demonstration. The Department of Information and Extension Services favoured a less spectacular but more specialized approach using personnel who had received special training in electoral procedures, teaching methods and the use of audio-visual aids. Information supplied to audiences was to be related to their ability to receive it and should be delivered by means appropriate to each occasion. Its argument rested on the success of the teams formed during the education campaign preceding the 1961 elections.

To implement the large-scale and widespread approach adopted by the committee in the ensuing months some 500 patrols were made to 12,000 villages, 60,000 pamphlets in English, Kiwai, Motu and Neo-Melanesian were produced and widely distributed (but see p. 75). They were of a factual, question and answer type. In all, some 200 35 mm. film strip projectors with 12-volt adaptors, 70 tape recorders, 100 loud-hailers, 1,000 sets of drawings and 200 film strips were obtained. The drawings and film strips were specially prepared by the University of Melbourne Audio-Visual Aids Section at the instance of C. I. White who had found black and white cut-out figures successful in electoral education work among Aborigines in the Northern Territory of Australia. Their use in Papua-New Guinea was of questionable value as the design of figures appears to have been misunderstood by indigenous audiences (see p. 75). The Department of Information and Extension Services prepared at short notice a number of flip charts based on its Papua-New Guinea experience. These proved effective in the field. Although audio-visual aids were ordered and despatched to field officers as speedily as possible, their absence in the early stages of the programme added difficulties for field officers. The experience gained in the use of aids suggests that the

film strip projectors, tape recorders and loud-hailers had far more impact than the other types of media used (*C.E.O. Report*, p. 8).

Late in the programme, films of United Kingdom and Australian elections and sittings of parliaments, the 1961 Papua-New Guinea Legislative Council elections and opening of the Council, were shown in the larger towns where relatively more sophisticated audiences existed. Their purpose was to show that elections were not confined only to Papua-New Guinea but were a feature of many modern countries. The film shows were well attended. The Administration's wireless transmitters in Rabaul and Wewak broadcast short items of news in local languages covering the movement of election patrols and items of local interest. The stations did not run a centrally directed programme of information on facts about the elections, nor, until January 1964, did they devise special programmes of lectures or talks about the elections. The Australian Broadcasting Commission provided cover of news items and informative announcements.

Some Implications of the Method

While preparations were under way at headquarters the Department of Native Affairs field staff, when compiling the roll, were giving general introductory talks about the election. The checking of the population register in a village has for decades been done through a formal routine. The visiting officer usually sits behind a table and the people line up behind a leader in a way already established in previous census checks. It is a speedy way of completing the check as people report themselves approximately in the order they appear in the Village Book. Discrepancies from the previous check can be noticed and births, deaths, etc. recorded. But the ritual is associated in the people's minds with the authority and duties of government. Not infrequently the patrol is used to remind the villagers of the power of government, hearing disputes, commenting on untidiness, and even to reprimand the people if their co-operation is at all suspect. In brief, the patrol is not only an instrument of contact with the people, but can also be used as an expression of central authority.

The decision to make enrolment compulsory—which in effect meant that the onus of ensuring enrolment fell on Native Affairs Department officers—encouraged officers to apply the most convenient and speedy method of doing the job. This was undoubtedly the formal routine of the census. It was also a means of ensuring that people in scattered hamlets on mountain ridges and elsewhere were speedily and obligatorily brought together, which in turn ensured their enrolment. The use of these techniques coupled with electoral education met with some soul searching at the time for the method underlined the compulsive and disciplinary nature of enrolment and was thought by some to be a questionable atmosphere in which to introduce to the village people the principles of free elections and the expressed 'will of the people'. The

dilemma lay not in any deliberate attempt on the part of field officers to be authoritative or domineering. The approach of each officer depended very largely on his personality, experience, and personal view as to the best means of handling the particular people he was visiting. Perhaps few officers adopted an authoritarian approach, but the very fact that a census check had to be made, the people assembled, etc. must have conveyed at least to primitive people the notion that elections were just another demand of the Administration. (In this connection it is appropriate to recall that an element of compulsion exists in Australian voting procedures.)

Similarly, the variety in the people's experience of elections was very wide. During 1961 some 285,000 of the country's adult population had at least nominally participated in the election of members to the thirty-nine Native Local Government Councils and 209,000 in the thirty-three Electoral Group Areas. Others had had experience of elections to Co-operative Society Committees, women's club committees and to governing committees in some of the churches. In contrast areas of the Southern Highlands, the Sepik District, parts of central New Britain and the Western District had had almost no training or experience in any electoral procedures.

The reports of patrolling officers during the first eight months of 1963 show a variety of responses by indigenous people, as a report written from the Highlands in May 1963 shows:

Generally the people, most of whom have had only limited contact, if that, with well developed coastal areas—expressed almost complete ignorance of the Legislative Council and its functions. They did understand, however, when it was explained to them. However, the thought of having a representative there was completely foreign to them. One man said: 'Good Heavens—what are you trying to do, ruin the country? That is what will happen if you send one of us to govern the country!' Another spoke for his group when he stated: 'Right—a good idea. We will vote for the person selected by the natives near E . . . and in the S . . . area. We know nothing about this but will follow their lead!' This idea was supported by several more separate groups at later dates. By and large the people aren't too sure just what it's all about; but they do consider it desirable that a person from this area . . . should represent their interests at a high level. Naturally future patrols will endeavour to clarify the people's thoughts . . .

Explaining the principles of an election in the villages in fact raised immediate and practical issues for both the villagers and the field staff. The villagers thought at once of the problems of associating with other groups in providing a representative and of local affiliations to strengthen their position. Here is part of a report from the Southern Highlands written in September 1963:

M . . . appeared to have a reasonable grasp of what is to happen during the elections, but in common with many other leaders he is not happy with the size and representation of the present electorate.

This of course is understandable at this stage of the education programme, but I do consider that the time at our disposal to teach the people the new ideas is too short. M . . . suggests that all the villages in a semi-circle north-west and north-east of P . . . put forward one representative for their group. Although his suggestions, as such, are untenable, it is a significant development that after approximately four years of contact and with tribal fighting still a vivid memory in the minds of the people, they can now accept the idea of combining to the extent proposed by M . . . Other leaders held somewhat similar ideas with regard to the size of the electorate . . . Throughout the villages visited the main topic of conversation is about the impending election, but it is quite obvious that no-one as yet has fully grasped the full implications of the impending change.

Some officers were concerned about the possibility of nobody standing for election in particular areas or concentrations of population, or even in an electorate as a whole. There was no precedent in many areas to suggest that anyone would come forward. Officers were careful during the early patrols to note who appeared to be prominent in local leadership or acceptable over a wide area of the electorate. There was anxiety among some field staff that large groups of people might fail to participate in the election. Patrol reports were examined carefully at headquarters and individual items taken up with particular officers. The problem of ensuring participation in the election locally was matched at headquarters by the need to ensure that the public appearance of local officers was such as to give no cause for a charge of influence in the election. The Department of Native Affairs has a tradition, bred inevitably of a country as diverse as Papua-New Guinea and so lacking in communications, of relying on the good judgment and fair play of its local officers. But a national election was without precedent, a programme of electoral education unfamiliar to them, and the role of the officer as an impartial witness of a local struggle for power unusual in most areas.

Until September 1963, the electoral education programme was carried on very much as an individual affair by officers in the Districts and outstations. Although instructions and advice were sent from senior to junior ranks, each field officer had to rely very largely on his own judgment of what techniques to use. Each District and areas within Districts presented particular problems and opportunities. In the Eastern Highlands District, many officers felt the people were too primitive to make much headway. The audio-visual aids in particular seemed unsuitable, yet in the Chimbu Open Electorate extensive use was made of tape recordings. The education programme in this District was started later than in many other areas as many officers felt the people would retain more of the information if the instruction was given as close to polling day as possible. It may also be relevant that these heavily populated areas were those where staff was spread thinnest and the task of compiling the Common Roll the heaviest. This District as well as some others tended to favour bringing ten to twenty leading indigenes, including

school teachers, *luluais* and others of influence, to the local station and instructing them for some days. It was intended that they return to their villages to disseminate their knowledge. This indirect method contrasts markedly, for example, with that described by E. W. Benham in his chapter on Port Moresby. In New Ireland it was thought that the high rate of literacy in many parts of the island, and the people's experience with Local Government Councils, co-operatives etc., enabled full and effective use of the audio-visual aids. Officers there seemed confident that the message was being conveyed.

It is difficult to say whether this particular approach had anything to do with the development of what has become known as the President Johnson cult in the more backward area of New Hanover Island. The villagers, having been told they were free to nominate whom they liked, chose President Johnson—perhaps having in mind the abundance of American supplies during the last war and as evinced more recently in the visits of Americans on geodetic survey expeditions.

As decisions were taken at headquarters, Ordinances passed by the Legislative Council, or Regulations approved, greater quantities of electoral details and more precise instructions were passed on to the District headquarters and from there to the out-stations. Increasing numbers and more varied kinds of audio-visual aids were supplied to each patrol. Registration Officers were instructed to conduct familiarization classes for officers who would take the material on patrol, and Administration school teachers on vacation during the late August and early September holidays were given tuition and used as instructors. The beginning of a co-ordinated programme directed from the top and implemented with common techniques was evident by October 1963—only four months before polling began. In the meantime a potentially influential organization outside the Administration had been making a bid to assist the education programme with its own resources.

The Christian Committee for National Development

The Christian Committee for National Development (C.C.N.D.) was formed on 19 August after an exploratory meeting held in Rabaul, New Britain, on 25 July 1963. According to one of its pamphlets C.C.N.D. owes its origin 'to a profound concern felt by a number of people at the inadequate political education and preparation of the indigenous peoples in view of the elections to be held in 1964, and in view of the responsibilities of citizenship that accompany such elections' (pamphlet, Catholic Press, Vunapope, 1963). The organization was supported by representatives of the Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches, all of whom were represented on the Committee but did not become officebearers. The Committee hoped the organization would become Territory-wide. The chairman later visited Lae, Madang, Goroka and Port Moresby to win interest and support. Although some interest was stimulated outside Rabaul, the organization did not achieve influence elsewhere.

The principles of the C.C.N.D. were stated as—

- a. To provide a sound knowledge of issues relating to national development.
- b. To provide a common meeting ground for the foundation of a healthy Christian nation.
- c. To create a sense of personal involvement in the development of Papua-New Guinea.

Its pamphlet emphasized that its principal concern was with national development rather than the immediate election:

The immediate problem is the political advance precipitated by the elections . . . But the C.C.N.D. includes within its scope every kind of problem (political, economic, social, moral) which is connected with the national development. Ultimately, it intends to work for the achievement of a healthy, well-balanced, independent and prosperous Christian nation, in which citizens of all occupations, faiths and races may live in freedom and security . . . There is a particular obligation upon Christians to use their talents—spiritual, mental and physical—in the service of society . . . Untold troubles can come upon a country in which Christians fail to take responsibility for public affairs . . . they have a responsibility for the sort of government that will be elected in Papua-New Guinea.

The Committee did not intend to influence any voter in respect of individual candidates standing for election 'nor will it form its own party nor support any political party or candidate'. If the principles of any candidate happened to coincide with those of the Committee it was not to be construed that the Committee aligned itself with the candidate. The Committee saw its role as an approach directed to the people. It issued a number of generally-worded, pictorially-illustrated, sheets as well as a number of commands concerning what a Christian voter should do and know. One pictorial sheet shows a scene with a candidate addressing a meeting. Underneath is written 'Is this candidate a Christian?' Another shows a native-material village church, a polling booth and the House of Assembly. Across these is written 'Your Church wants you to care about the election for the House of Assembly'.

The C.C.N.D. was anxious to maintain close links with the Administration, 'to which the services of the C.C.N.D. are freely offered'. It sought also to co-operate with the various Christian missions, leaders of commerce and trade as well as those engaged in social welfare. Its immediate aid to the Administration was seen as providing the services of mission teachers in educating the people. The missions employ almost three times the number of teachers employed by the Administration. C.C.N.D. felt that the education campaign could be greatly furthered if this source of manpower could be utilized. They envisaged teachers in every village demonstrating the procedures of elections. They were also anxious that teachers should emphasize the political importance of the elections, particularly its Christian aspects in a Christian country. A

direct approach was made to the Administration in September 1963 but the offer was firmly declined.

The Committee continued to distribute its electoral material in the months preceding the elections. Through a combination of lack of funds, the inability of major churches to provide direct financial assistance, and disagreement on theological issues within the Committee, it eventually disbanded shortly after polling was completed.

Problems of Departmental Co-ordination

The Assistant Administrator's committee met frequently from October 1963 to January 1964. The few months immediately preceding polling were to be used intensively for electoral education. The completion of patrolling to compile the Common Roll freed staff for intensive educational effort. Reports from out-stations and patrols indicated the programme was having an effect but was capable of improvement.

The Department of Information and Extension Services had held minority views in the committee as early as May 1963. During the early stages of the programme it had willingly given what assistance was asked of it in the preparation of material by the Chief Electoral Officer and members of the Supply and Tenders Board in the acquisition of audio-visual aids. As the programme progressed, it began to press its views with greater vigour. At a meeting of the committee on 29 October 1963 it submitted a memorandum entitled 'Use of Election Education Material with Primitive People'. The memorandum referred to the experience gained in the 1961 Legislative Council elections where inter-departmental teams had conducted electoral education. The Department felt improvements were needed in the training and knowledge of the instructors giving information to the indigenous people, and noted that 'this Department has not been involved in the education campaign to any significant degree to date . . . There has been a strong inclination to act independently of us in matters which are properly our responsibility.'

The memorandum outlined a scheme the Department had previously given in evidence to the Select Committee of the Legislative Council. It included the appointment of an officer at headquarters, with overall responsibility for the planning and directing of the education programme; the division of the Territory into four zones with an officer appointed in each zone to carry out the programme who would meet initially with the headquarters officer to plan the method of working in his zone; the appointment of officers, one or more to each electorate, to give a considerable amount, but not necessarily all, of their time to planning and directing the execution of the programme in their area after conferring with, and having attended a course given by, their zone officer. The main task of area officers would be to instruct local indigenous leaders. These leaders would be carefully selected and account taken of their acceptability to and prestige in their local communities. They should also be more knowledgeable and aware than their fellow men. These leaders would in

turn be given intensive courses of instruction and supplied with such teaching material as they felt they could use in their local communities.

The Department further argued that it was too much to expect that all features of the elections and the voting system could be made meaningful to every potential voter. There was need for a careful selection of material to be taught at each level and the detail would undoubtedly be eliminated progressively at lower levels. The Department saw itself (i) designing, preparing and reproducing teaching material as decided by or in consultation with the headquarters officer; (ii) assisting in courses at various levels as required; (iii) assessing progressively the effectiveness of the programme at the various levels; (iv) arranging the fullest possible use of mass communications media in support of the programme; and (v) providing audio-visual equipment and seeing to its proper servicing. These roles, it argued, 'are consistent with the functions laid down for this Department'.

Reorganization of the conduct of the programme at that late stage certainly presented difficulties. Since all details of the elections and voting procedures would not be presented to all potential voters, there was doubt about the political wisdom of officially implementing a scheme that deliberately recognized this. But, in addition, the scheme as outlined threatened an encroachment by a specialized department on the work of the Department of Native Affairs, which felt itself particularly suited to the task.

The Department of Native Affairs was at that time particularly sensitive to the type of threat contained in the memorandum. During 1962 and 1963 it had been engaged in a struggle to maintain its very existence. Little has been made public concerning this struggle but its nature can be summed up in extracts from two speeches in the Legislative Council. Ian Downs remarked:

The problem of the future of the Department of Native Affairs has become critical because so many other things have already taken place. On the one hand a committee is making investigations as to what is to become of the Department, but on the other hand so much action has already been taken that it is a foregone conclusion that something is going to happen to that Department . . . I believe that we are engaging in too much fragmentation of departments. There are too many specialist departments. The people need officers who can go anywhere and be interchangeable throughout their own service (*L.C.D.*, 13 August 1963, p. 835).

He mentioned the functions formerly carried out by the Department that had already, or were under consideration of being, placed under specialist control—Local Government Councils, magistracy powers, Native Administration Ordinance and Native Regulations. The low state of morale of officers of the Department in 1962-3 was the subject of comment in the Territory and Australian press.

The influence of the recent changes in administrative organization, or

anticipated changes, on the authority of staff in the Districts was taken up by Fairfax-Ross in these terms:

In earlier years, when visiting an outstation, one was always impressed by its symbolic authority accepted in confidence by the people and visible in orderly villages, surroundings and roads, and all administrative activity was co-ordinated by the district officer . . . To the native people he was an authority from whom they could obtain local decisions, often so vital to their way of life. Today to those who do sometimes visit outstations and who do not fly over them, there is a striking contrast in the apparent lack of a controlling authority. Firstly, in regard to expatriate administrative personnel, one may find on an outstation or on a patrol post up to a dozen men unco-ordinated by a single authority and answerable to a number of departmental or sub-departmental heads remotely located in Port Moresby . . .

In simple words, Sir, no-one is the boss. No-one on the spot is responsible for seeing that work is co-ordinated or performed efficiently. Then one finds a further striking contrast in the young man who now holds the position of district officer. Not only has he no apparent authority over personnel of other departments, but frequently one finds him channelized within his own Department of Native Affairs. He is channelized and limited in scope and activity to one only of the functions of his Department (*ibid.*, p. 837).

In reply the Director of Native Affairs said that he had the word of the Administrator that no decision had been taken to do away with the Department and the report of the committee inquiring into it would be considered. He also remarked:

I personally agree with the speakers who have given their views tonight, and I have the feeling that they are not only asking for the retention of an essential Department, but rather are they demanding that we do not destroy the very foundations of government in this country . . .

The Assistant Administrator's committee accepted that 'as a basic principle, the present mass-media material in use would provide the basis of the electoral education programme. It is necessary politically to conduct an education programme on an overall Territory-wide basis by mass-media methods. However, the method of dissemination of the information by officers in the field could be improved upon.' The Department of Native Affairs was to be responsible for the programme and work out in consultation with the Department of Information and Extension Services, the Department of Education, and other relevant Departments the arrangement of 'method of instruction' classes in each District. In addition, the following measures were to be implemented:

(i) Education officers were to be briefed on electoral matters and the Department of Native Affairs was to ask District Officers to confer with District Education Officers, teachers, and Registration Officers to determine which teachers would be available.

(ii) The Department of Native Affairs was to step up its Community

Education courses throughout the Territory with emphasis on electoral education in the curriculum. (Community Education courses were a regular feature of departmental activity designed to further the development of indigenous communities.)

(iii) The Department of Information and Extension Services was to produce a list of 'General Hints to Instructors' and provide material to aid instructors lecturing unsophisticated people to get across the most important features of the elections.

(iv) The Chief Electoral Officer and the Department of Native Affairs were to produce and distribute a statement of the most important features of the elections as a guide to officers.

Many of these measures, which did not exclude further intensive patrolling, were improvements on those already in use. They represented a clearer acknowledgment of the need to educate in terms of the varied sophistication and experience of the people and also recognized the need to improve the teaching ability of instructors. A circular to field staff dated 4 November 1963 over the signature of the Director, Department of Native Affairs, set out the steps to be taken.

On 12 November a meeting was called in the Department of Information and Extension Services to design the 'method of instruction' classes. These were to last three days and be held in each District before the end of December. They were to assist local officers with 'communication with village people at various levels; basic election material which should be disseminated, and ways of using and producing audio and visual aids'. Four teams were set up, each under the leadership of an Assistant District Officer, with the Department of Information and Extension Services providing two members to each of two teams and the Department of Education two to each of the other two. The country was divided by Districts in terms of supposed ability of the people to receive the information. This was assumed to be related to their degree of sophistication, that is to their previous experience in electing people to office and their understanding of the concepts of central government. Communication was considered to be less of a problem in sophisticated areas because some basic understanding had already developed.

The possibility of difficulties arising at the District level from the specialist nature of these teams, who would be addressing men who for decades had communicated with native people and knew local circumstances, was recognized in a circular from the Director of Native Affairs introducing the teams to local officers in the Districts. It was dated 14 November, and remarked:

It is not envisaged that the three days would be made up of formal class-room type lectures. The aim is discussion groups in which officers with local knowledge and local problems will be able to examine their requirements in consultation with the teams and in so doing, be stimulated and assisted to devise improved methods of furthering the political education programme in their areas. This approach, allied

with central direction of the teams, will give us a programme which is properly integrated and self-consistent while being adapted to local conditions as necessary.

The circular ends by again stressing the need to benefit from the services of specialists.

Your political education programme has been running for months, without benefit of these courses, and reports indicate it is having considerable effect. We must, however, do everything that will increase that effect and as the opportunity for these courses now arises, everyone concerned is to make a real effort to ensure their success. You will realise that their results can be valuable to us for long after the elections are over. The more officers who can attend them the better.

Attendance at the classes varied markedly from District to District. Attendance was as low as seven in one and as high as seventeen in another. The reception given the teams by local officers likewise varied. The response throughout most areas of the Highlands was reported in the words of one team leader: 'The field staff feel, and I am inclined to agree, that the education programme is proceeding as satisfactorily as may be expected in these primitive areas and that the man on the spot is in the best position to decide how to implement the electoral education programme.' Another sums up the situation in these terms: 'Initially the need for this training was doubted by officers but, I believe, eventually appreciated by all.' The reports also brought to light variations in the use being made and effectiveness of audio-visual aids. Officers attending the Goroka class considered 'that practically all the visual aid material was of little use apart from the tape recorder and loud-hailer. The film strip projector has a number of disadvantages, mainly that it is wet battery operated.' In other areas, particularly in Rabaul, constructive suggestions for technical improvements came forward. The classes also devoted a good deal of time to the explanation, clause by clause, of the provisions of the Ordinances. In the words of one team leader 'in this way I was able to clarify the many misconceptions and anomalies which had previously existed. Most officers felt that this was the most productive section of the course'.

When assessing the effectiveness of the classes on 18 December, the Assistant Administrator's Committee recommended as a general principle for the future that 'there is a need for these courses on a continuing basis'. With the advantage of hindsight it appears that the courses would have been of greater value had they been held earlier in the programme. The minority opinion of the Department of Information and Extension Services in the May 1963 meeting of the Committee might usefully have been examined further. It is difficult to judge if the organizational suggestions put up by the Department at that time were practical in the light of the difficulties experienced in early 1963—difficulties such as preoccupation with the Common Roll and the absence of electoral details until September—but the need for preparation of instructors might

have been foreseen. Neither of the practical difficulties need apply in future elections. Of longer term influence are the problems of communication with indigenous people in a situation where they are expected increasingly to take the initiative in local developmental matters. Related to this is the control and co-ordination of specialized services and staff at all levels in the Administration.

Last Minute Measures

During January and February many of the candidates on their own initiative undertook education activities within their electorates. Not infrequently a patrol was preceded or followed by a candidate who, in the course of his electioneering, explained in very practical terms how people should vote and express their preferences. Not infrequently candidates devoted almost all of their electioneering speech to the mechanics of voting. This may have reflected as much the absence of any policy on the candidate's part to put to the electorate as a belief that more votes would be obtained by ensuring the people knew how to vote.

Rumours had circulated for many months and many misconceptions arose among both primitive and sophisticated people, but those at the end of 1963 took on a more serious tone. During December reports were received at headquarters suggesting that, in the larger towns particularly, there existed a widespread belief that the election implied a dramatic change in the authority of the Australian Administration, and that Australian-owned property would be taken over after the election. The Administration took steps in January to counter these rumours through talks over Administration-controlled wireless stations on the political significance of the elections and the new House of Assembly. This emphasized what can be termed 'political' rather than electoral education.* The broadcast script entitled 'Notes for Talks to Indigenous Communities on the Role of the House of Assembly' was issued over the signature of the Secretary, Department of the Administrator, itself an indication of the political nature of the measure. The script was written in simple, colloquial English and translations were made in all major languages.

The 'Notes' began by mentioning polling dates, the preparation of the Common Roll and the talks people had heard on how to vote. 'This talk', continued the 'Notes', 'is to tell you something about the House of Assembly that will be set up after all the Members have been chosen by the people.' In explaining the function of the House the term 'parliament' was introduced, but there is little reason to assume it helped the listener's understanding beyond providing a further term with an uncertain meaning. The 'Notes' continued by tracing the development of parliament in Western countries, so as to convey the idea that parliament is a national

*Earlier references, in quoted texts from official reports, to a 'political education campaign' should not be interpreted to mean 'political' in this sense. The Department of Native Affairs used the terms 'political education' and 'election education' interchangeably. The Chief Electoral Officer viewed his responsibility as ensuring that people knew how to vote.

and widespread governmental institution as well as representing the power of ordinary people in the process of government. Its law making, taxing and policy forming functions were described by reference to corresponding functions of Local Government Councils—with which many listeners would be familiar. The steps taken by the Administration over the years to establish local village officials, Local Government Councils, the early Legislative Councils, and eventually the House of Assembly were represented as a coherent policy of step-by-step development. Membership of the House was then described with particular reference to the anticipated role of the official Members which is seen as providing advice, leadership and experience. The elected Members were likened to ‘young boys learning to do something for the first time’, and their role to that of the ‘servant of the people. He is their mouth’, and must find out what they want and represent all the people of his electorate. Mention was then made of the proposed Under-secretaries, the Public Service and the judiciary in terms of their governmental roles.

The ‘Notes’ concluded by referring to Australia’s continued part in the government of the Territory—‘There will not be any big change immediately after the elections are over, and the names of the members of the House of Assembly are known.’ Emphasis was placed on the financial dependence of Papua-New Guinea on Australia and on the continued need for expatriate skills to administer it. Appended to the ‘Notes’ were a number of questions and answers, including :

- Q. When the elections are over, will the native people take over plantations and other property now owned by the white people?
- A. No. Whatever the white people have, they have paid for and worked hard for. If there are to be any transfers of property between the white people and the natives, then it will be done in accordance with the law and at a fair price.
- Q. Is a member of the House of Assembly a sort of boss of the people? Can he hold courts and fine or imprison people?
- A. No. A Member of the House of Assembly is there to act for all the people in his electorate and to present their views in the House of Assembly. He cannot hold courts, nor can he do anything illegal. If he does, he can be charged before the court and if he is found guilty he can be punished.
- Q. When the elections are over, will the elected members do the work the *kiaps* do now?
- A. No. I have told you before what the elected members can do. Your *kiaps* will remain and they will continue to help and advise you.

Some reference by Native Affairs field officers to the political aspects of the changes involved in the creation of the House of Assembly could not have been avoided in their talks on the mechanics of voting and elections. The electoral education programme itself, the energy of field officers in patrolling, and the sincerity of their attempts to convey a message were sufficient in themselves to make primitive and sophisticated

alike aware of an impending change in their affairs. But these officers were clearly in a difficult position lest their efforts at encouraging indigenous people to take up a strong and independent political line or to see the elections as preparation for self-government led to charges of undue influence or of generating anti-Australian sentiment from their fellow expatriates or from the Administration. They had clearly to develop political education very carefully. The Administration made no early, special and deliberate attempt to explain the political significance of the step towards representative government and eventual political independence. The one deliberate measure taken, the 'Notes' over Administration broadcast stations, came in response to the field officers' and press reports of rumour and serious misconception rather than as an integral part of the overall education programme. No mention was made of such a measure in the plans for the final months of the programme in the Assistant Administrator's Committee meeting of 29 October.

No reliance could be placed on candidates (and least of all on any political party being organized throughout the country) to bring out the vote in their own interests and on their own initiative. Further, the electoral education programme had to be conducted largely without mass-media communication and concurrently with arduous tasks not normally necessary in holding a general election. The new or 'first time' items to be arranged were numerous. The Administration had no department sufficiently large or organized appropriately to swing into action on electoral education. The Chief Electoral Officer's staff, the Department of Information and Extension Services, and the Department of Education were heavily committed on matters of a routine nature. The Native Affairs Department, which carried most of the extra work and is a large department, had to forgo much of its routine activity to execute the election and education programme. There was no scatter of educated people over the country who could have been relied upon responsibly to instruct the ignorant on the mechanics of voting. The potential contribution of the Christian Committee for National Development in offering the use of mission teachers was a suggestion along these lines, but it clashed with an objective pursued by the Administration—that the election must be seen to be uninfluenced by any organization of a non-political nature.

This objective influenced the education programme in at least two other important respects. It was a consideration in deciding whether or not the Department of Information and Extension Services should implement an official education programme which recognized that not all details of electoral procedures should, merely for reasons of teaching techniques, be conveyed to all sections of the people. This consideration was swamped at the time by problems of inter-departmental co-operation and the size of the job in hand, but it was not missed by the Assistant Administrator's committee on 29 October 1963, in finding it 'necessary politi-

cally to conduct an education programme on an over-all Territory wide basis by mass-media methods'.

Secondly, the Administration's belated attempt itself to explain the political implications of the new constitution by wireless broadcasts cannot be compared with any coherent programme to educate the people to an awareness of the political opportunities presented by an indigenous majority in the House of Assembly. The fact of a majority was referred to by field officers indirectly as part of the electoral education programme, but the implications were not conveyed on a national scale in a deliberate and emphasized programme. The Administration could be criticized for this omission. The new constitution did mean an important change. But it is necessary to consider that the new constitution was only one of several steps towards eventual self-determination, and the Australian Administration had in fact every intention of remaining, within the provisions of that constitution, the dominant force in the land. Also, the Administration was aware from past experience that a substantial proportion of the people was not particularly anxious to have the Administration leave the country, and no organized political party or movement existed to oppose its continuance. An official political education programme to encourage the development of opposition to the Administration could have confused many people. Whether the development of opposition should have been encouraged on the grounds that it would be in the country's interests is a difficult matter. In the Administration's view it was apparently unwise or unnecessary to do so.

Electoral Administration

Elgar W. Benham

Preparations for the elections began with the Electoral (1964) Roll Ordinance which enabled compilation of the Common Roll to be commenced. The major electoral officers were to be the Returning Officers, one for each Open Electorate, but these were created by the Electoral Ordinance which did not pass the Legislative Council until 29 September 1963. In the meantime, forty-four officers of the Department of Native Affairs were designated Registration Officers under the Electoral (1964) Roll Ordinance, among them the author as Registration Officer for the Moresby Open Electorate. A conference of Registration Officers was promptly held in Port Moresby, attended by the Territory's Chief Electoral Officer designate, R. R. Bryant, and the Commonwealth Electoral Officer for Western Australia, C. I. White, who had been responsible for the enrolment of aborigines into the Commonwealth rolls shortly before. It was a sociable conference with much discussion. One view of our responsibilities was given by White when he said: 'Never have you had a challenge like this. Nowhere in the world has anything like this been attempted—you are making history.' Another came from the Registration Officers, each familiar with his own area and already anticipating the more obvious problems. On the one hand was the implementation of policy of great international significance, on the other difficulties of terrain, lack of staff and equipment, and lack of communications.

It was soon made clear that there were three stages in the preparations for the elections: the compilation of the Common Roll, the education programme, and the election period itself. To the question that, as there was as yet no Electoral Ordinance it was impossible to know what qualifications electors would need, and therefore no roll could be compiled, the answer was simple. Put everyone on the roll, and, when qualifications are known, take off those who are ineligible to vote. The Select Committee on Political Development had recommended adult suffrage without educational or property qualifications, subject to twelve months' residence in the Territory. Thus 'everyone' for the time being meant every person aged eighteen and over; a decision as to minimum age of electors had not been taken, but it was not likely to be below eighteen. Although the

decision was inevitable, given the time left before the elections, it meant problems at a later stage.

The author was stationed as a Patrol Officer at Port Moresby, but on return to the Sub-district office he requested permission to be relieved of other duties. Permission was granted, but the great majority of Returning Officers who were District Officers and Senior Assistant District Officers carried on their field staff work as well as their electoral duties. This entailed working at the office most nights of the week, and very few Returning Officers had a week-end at home with their families until the elections were over. The instructions were clear: the compilation of the Common Roll had priority over all other work, but District administration had to continue, and this burden fell completely on the Department of Native Affairs. This chapter presents some of the problems which faced all Returning Officers. Each could probably write a volume on his own electorate, but Moresby has certain merits as a case-study. It has a large, non-indigenous population, a big migrant Papuan and New Guinean population, and it illustrates the clash of two quite different ethnic groups, the coastal Motu and the mountain Goilala, which is described in chapter 16. It also had the advantage of being the electorate in which the seat of government was situated. The author had close contact with the Chief Electoral Officer, stores and supplies were readily available, there were many people with whom he could discuss problems, and there was immediate access to Native Affairs headquarters. It also meant day-to-day observation by the press, with the possibility that every action and decision could be immediately criticized.

Registration

The first step in compiling the Common Roll was to design a form, but because of the time element it was not possible to do this, and officers were instructed to use lined carbon books. Each page had to be headed with the District, Sub-district, Census Division, and village, and each name had to be printed with name of father, age, sex, and occupation, and a considerable amount of time was involved in taking down these details.

At this stage, only indigenous people born after February 1946 were to be enrolled. This was clear and explicit, but it was the duty of the officer compiling the roll to decide when a person was born and if he was eligible for enrolment. Under the Evidence and Discovery Ordinance, a Magistrate is entitled to determine a person's age, if no other evidence is available. As most officers of the Department of Native Affairs are Magistrates, the determination of age was carried out to the best of their ability, as though the people were present in court.

It was decided to break down the compilation of the roll into three stages:

1. The outlying villages of the Moresby and Goilala Sub-districts which would have to be patrolled by walking.

2. Urban Moresby.
3. Plantation workers inland from Port Moresby who came from other electorates.

The outlying villages of the Moresby and Goilala Sub-districts presented few problems, because all the people of these villages would have the residential qualifications, regardless of what the Electoral Ordinance decided. Patrols set out in the Moresby and Goilala Sub-districts and by the end of July 297 patrol days had been recorded by five officers compiling the Common Roll, and 23,610 names had been recorded in long hand. This figure includes Hanuabada village, which was completed at night by two indigenous clerks. The only incident occurred when a Patrol Officer compiling the roll in one of the urban coastal villages approached a group of people who had been drinking and asked to record their names. One prospective elector kicked over the Patrol Officer's table and became abusive. It was apparent that he thought that he was being asked to 'line' for the regular census-taking performed in villages and considered that he had reached a degree of sophistication where census-taking no longer applied to him. He accompanied the Patrol Officer back to town and apologized the next morning.

There were many more problems associated with compiling the roll in the urban Moresby area than in the outlying areas. However, it was extremely monotonous work for the Patrol Officers, who would walk up to six hours in a day, and then later sit down and write up several hundred names. This went on, day after day, for three months, in the Moresby Open Electorate, but in some Highland areas where a normal census patrol will cover up to 20,000 people it took much longer. It was no wonder that the standard of printing of the names gradually deteriorated as the compilation of the roll progressed.

During this period we received instructions to complete the roll in the urban area. But how to start when the qualifications for electors within an electorate were not known? The urban roll involved three sections of the community: the indigenous population absent from their own electorates and residing in Moresby; the non-indigenous population which comprised Chinese, mixed race and Europeans; and the plantation workers employed under the contract system, from other electorates. Each group presented its own problem. The indigenous people absent from their own electorates numbered about 16,000. This group, with the possible exception of the defunct Welfare Association for Kerema People and the Eastern Papuan Association (Milne Bay District), did not have any centralized means of contact, such as existed in Rabaul (see p. 246), where committees representing different groups had been organized. These people, therefore, had to be traced as individuals and placed on the roll.

The non-indigenous population presented a far easier task, but, at this stage, since no qualifications for electors had been decided upon, everybody over eighteen had to be enrolled. This meant that when the quali-

fications had become law, each enrolment card would have to be checked for age, length of residence in the electorate, and Australian citizenship.

The third group, the plantation workers in the Sogeri Valley, were mainly Highlanders. When the elections were explained to them, it seemed possible that they might become concerned about what was happening back at their villages and want to go home—and this is what happened (see p. 79).

By the time the problems had been realized the first week of July had passed by. The obvious analogy for what lay ahead was a military operation, and for that the first essential was a map with lines, arrows and pins. An aerial survey map of the Moresby urban area, measuring 10 ft. x 8 ft., was obtained from the Lands Department. Within two days the town had been zoned into 14 wards, each a different colour on the map. Each person working on compiling the roll had a copy of the aerial survey map of his zone and a street map showing lot and section numbers. These were invaluable when revisiting, because as each house/place was completed, then the lot/section was crossed out. In Port Moresby houses are not numbered and in many cases streets have no sign posts.

The appointment of collectors to enrol the non-indigenous population was no easy task. The rate of pay offered was 13s. per hour, which was below the usual rate a person would earn on overtime with his own Department. This meant that for several days the author's task was to convince people that the work was not arduous. Many of the applicants were migrant New Australians from Europe whose keenness and willingness to work long hours were very acceptable. However, they were writing down unfamiliar names and some of the collectors' cards were unintelligible.

Eventually the system of visiting each house and completing enrolment cards had to be abandoned. The roll was still incomplete, but the responsibility of enrolment had been placed on the Returning Officer. Because indigenous people had been approached on an individual basis, the non-indigenous element had to be treated similarly.

Indigenous collectors were paid 5s. 6d. per hour and were given the title of Assistant Collectors. The Principal of the Teachers' Training College arranged for thirty teacher trainees to be engaged, and they proved particularly good. Most of them could speak Motu and Neo-Melanesian as well as English which was essential in the cosmopolitan area of Moresby. Three sessions of instruction were given after normal working hours and within a week they were on the job. Each Assistant Collector was shown his boundaries and he had to report every three days with completed enrolment cards.

The Assistant Collectors had a difficult task ahead of them. No education programme had taken place or preliminary work been done to warn the indigenous people of the compilation of the roll. In retrospect, it would have been wiser to delay the roll a month and circulate a paper informing the people of what was going to happen. The main problem

was that urban Moresby had a large transient population, consisting not only of people moving to and from their villages (which could mean from one to another electorate) but also moving from residence to residence, shanty to shanty, and changing employment. At this stage, very few of them had any idea that an election was to take place and that they would be expected or entitled to vote. The initial step was to identify the individual with his home electorate. This was done by saying, 'Where do you come from?' If the prospective elector said, 'I come from Iawana', then the collector would merely check the list of villages falling in the Moresby Electorate to ensure that Iawana did not belong there. The second question was 'Do you want to vote for a candidate in your home electorate or do you want to vote for a candidate in the Moresby Electorate?' At this stage, the person being interviewed may well have become suspicious and thought he was being checked for tax payment back home. It was certain that once a collector started to talk to anyone, a few more would gather round. This was their first introduction to the election's educational programme.

The Assistant Collectors asked 9,756 persons who came originally from outside the electorate where they wanted to be enrolled; only one in four chose Moresby Open Electorate. In most cases the reply was: 'I do not know who the candidates are in my own area, so I will wait and see.' Approximately 2,250 persons were enrolled for other electorates during the compilation of the roll, and a similar number turned up at the polls to vote as absent voters. All in all, 5,554 persons voted as absent voters in Moresby Open, and half of these voted at plantations in the Sogeri area.

In examining the enrolment cards for the migrant element which had elected to be enrolled in the Moresby Electorate it was found that the majority had resided in Port Moresby for many years, had children who were attending school there, in short, were completely domiciled in Port Moresby. This again indicates that the Assistant Collectors carried out their duties remarkably well. When each enrolment card was indexed under Electorates, Sub-districts, Census Divisions and villages, only twelve enrolment cards could not be associated with an electorate.

Final figures for enrolment for the town of Port Moresby were:

General List	3,115
Supplementary Roll 1	517
Supplementary Roll 2	2,609
	<hr/>
	6,241

For the whole Territory some 12,000 villages were visited. The last of the preliminary lists was completed in November 1963. Rolls were then prepared at the Chief Electoral Office by the 'Kalamazoo' Copy-strip System (fully described in *C.E.O. Report*, p. 5). A total of 1,028,339 electors had been enrolled; a staff of forty clerical assistants working a seven-day week was responsible for the typing of the rolls. The bound

rolls were produced by an offset-litho duplicator; 150 copies of each of the 45 volumes (Bougainville required two) were produced for distribution to electoral officers.

Education Programme

Whilst the compilation of the roll was being conducted, thoughts were directed to the education programme. A committee to advise the Administration on the programme had been established and met first on 2 May 1963 (see p. 54; *C.E.O. Report*, p. 7). The electoral educational programme was divided among the outlying areas of the Moresby and Goilala Sub-districts, plantation workers from other electorates, migrants in the urban area, and institutions such as the Pacific Islands Regiment, Police Depot, Teachers' College, and Medical College. No educational programme was planned for the non-indigenous population because the newspapers and press were giving the elections a wide coverage.

The equipment and aids made available to assist officers were:

(i) 'Flip charts' comprising 23 drawings and an 18-page set of explanations. These measured 20 in. x 12 in. and therefore had a restricted use depending on the number of people present. The charts portrayed the various stages leading up to the poll and elected members sitting in the House of Assembly.

(ii) A pamphlet in English, Police Motu, Neo-Melanesian and Kiwai containing a series of simple questions and answers on the House of Assembly. These again were restricted depending on the literacy of people in the area. They were used extensively in the Port Moresby area, but insufficient copies were obtained to cover the rest of the electorate.

(iii) Political education drawings prepared by the University of Melbourne. These were slightly larger than the flip charts but again had a very restricted use. They were also distracting even to the more sophisticated indigenous elector because the people in the drawings were silhouettes in black and white. The indigenous people could not connect a silhouette with an actual person. It was also held against them that to distinguish men from women in silhouette the female figures had been given a bouffant hairstyle, which in the Territory is often a male prerogative. In some areas less subtle and culture-bound distinctions might have been made.

(iv) Film strips also consisting of silhouettes instead of live people. These were operated through a 35 mm. projector powered by a 12-volt battery.

(v) Tape recorders and loud-hailers.

(vi) In the urban area and villages which were accessible by road, two films were used. The first was on the 1961 Territory Elections and the second was 'New Guinea Patrol'. These were both favourably received, but unfortunately the sound track was in English. The sound could have been deleted and a taped recording in Neo-Melanesian or Motu used instead.

Regardless of what material was available for the educational programme, success depended completely on the officer conducting the

talks. In certain Highland areas, because of the large population, one method was for selected native leaders to be brought to centres where the elections were explained to them. They returned to their villages and imparted what they had learned. It was inadvisable to use this system in the Moresby area, even though there was a large selection of educated indigenous people from whom to choose, for the simple reasons that the procedures involved in the elections were extremely complicated, and indigenous people conducting the talks would not have been able to answer questions coming from educated and politically sophisticated electors. Any misinterpretation, moreover, could have had particularly far-reaching effects in an urban area where it could have circulated rather more rapidly than in scattered villages. The success of the educational programme could only be assessed on polling day, so there was a period when we were unaware of progress. The work of the collectors was tedious; the same talk was conducted day after day and in many cases there was no indication of whether the people were understanding it.

In the Moresby Sub-district part of the electorate there were two Local Government Councils, and only some of the people had had previous experience in voting or elections. In the Goilala Sub-district, the first Council had only just been formed. It is unlikely that the Electoral College system of 1961 was remembered, and in any case it was unwise to refer to it, in the outlying areas, in case the voters became more confused. Experience suggested that the longest time for which one could hold the attention of an indigenous audience on such a subject was about thirty minutes.

The first round of the election talks had been completed in the outlying areas and it was hoped that each area could be visited two to three times. It was considered essential that the last visit to an area should be about three weeks before the day of polling, during which visit the actual physical mechanics of voting should be demonstrated to the voters. This meant setting up a polling booth, showing the people a piece of paper similar to the official ballot-paper, and demonstrating the use of the ballot box. These last talks and physical demonstrations of how to vote were of immense value. To the villager this was something he could watch and understand. The success of the poll in the Moresby area was probably due to this demonstration of 'How to Vote'.

The outlying areas were managed without a great deal of difficulty, but in the urban area of Moresby and coastal Motu villages new problems developed. First the author went to a Council Meeting of the Fairfax Local Government Council and explained the basic facts of the election to the Councillors. He then arranged for a meeting at Hanuabada, with a view to basing future talks on this meeting. Of the 2,108 possible voters, about 300 turned up. Hanuabada has a high rate of literacy and compulsory education for the children. Many of the adult men and women are employed in good positions by the Administration. Through long experience of local government they had a good basic

knowledge of elections. However, throughout every meeting the question always arose: *What is the difference between the Moresby Open Electorate and the Special Electorate?* The answer seemed simple—the Special Electorate was reserved for non-indigenous candidates, while in the Open Electorate any person who qualified could stand as a candidate—but it was fatal to leave the explanation at this point. It had to be followed up with the use of figures illustrating that the total membership of the new House of Assembly was to be 54, but only 10 would be elected through the Special Electorates and the remaining 44 through the Open Electorates. This would almost certainly ensure an indigenous majority in the House.

The next question was ‘Why is anyone allowed to be a candidate in the Open Electorates? These should be for natives only.’ This was a difficult point to explain without the danger of misinterpretation. The author found that the most satisfactory method was to use population figures. If the indigenous people wanted a European to represent them, then they could have one. However, they could elect an indigenous person just as easily. It would be a natural reaction for the indigenous voters to vote for an indigenous candidate. At this stage the crowd was told, ‘It is up to you, you and you, in fact every single person here today, to go to the polls and vote for the person who you think will best represent the people. If you stay at home on polling day and do not vote, then do not complain about the person who is elected.’ Then it was routine to explain that everyone could only vote once. This was not so simple because then they were told that they were entitled to vote in both the Open and the Special Electorates. The one ballot paper, with the list of candidates for the Moresby Open Electorate at the top and the candidates for the Special Electorate at the bottom, was confusing. If two ballot papers had been used—one white and one red, for instance—it would have been possible to explain that the white paper had the list of Open Electorate candidates and the red paper the list of Special Electorate candidates. Most of the informal votes in the Central Special Electorate were where no entry had been made on the ballot paper. The voter would mark the top part of the paper but not the bottom.

In the Moresby urban area there are workers from practically every Sub-district in the Territory. These groups have each reached different degrees of sophistication and formal education. This meant that the prepared talks and the depth of explanation of the new House of Assembly had to be varied according to the audience. The lectures were conducted in English, Neo-Melanesian and Motu, and on very few occasions were interpreters used. Unfortunately, the author was unable to speak Motu and therefore had to use an interpreter, but the person employed had been concerned with the election from the start and therefore had a first class knowledge of the electoral procedures.

The Moresby urban area and villages which had access roads were left until January 1964 and then a concentrated programme was intro-

duced. The author did practically all the election lectures in the urban area. Appendix A is a record of one lecture given at Vabukori village, about two miles from Moresby, which has a large number of migrants living in it. The urban and coastal villages were included in the Fairfax Local Government Council and Bootless Bay Local Government Council areas and so the people were familiar with terms such as candidate, ballot box, voting, etc. It was the migrant population in Moresby urban area and the Highlanders working on plantations who were the problem.

Koki market might be called the 'nerve centre' for the migrant natives of Moresby. It, therefore, was the place to hold election talks for the migrant population. Fortunately the missions have constructed Everyman's Hut, a large meeting hall, at the market and this was hired for eleven days. Fifty thousand copies of a circular were printed, advising that, on a certain night, the people of a particular area should attend. Each night was devoted to natives of a different area. The meetings were a remarkable success. Each night the hall was packed and crowds were standing at every door and window. It might be said that the two films shown were the attraction, but more likely the people were genuinely interested to hear about the elections. One of the films concerned the 1961 elections. Despite reservations expressed above as to the dangers of confusion over the previous indirect elections and the present direct elections, the audiences at Koki did not seem bothered by the difference between what they saw on the screen (see p. 20) and what they were being told they should do now. Over the 11-day period more than five thousand people attended the lectures, given by four officers of the Department of Native Affairs, who were fluent in Neo-Melanesian and Motu and together had about sixty years of Territory experience.

The Assistant District Officer, Training, of the Department of Native Affairs suggested that a large 6ft. x 4ft. ballot paper be prepared and used to explain the preferential voting system. This was the only really successful method of demonstrating the system, and was used elsewhere in the Territory. Plastic numerals were used and these were placed in the boxes opposite the candidate's name and changed around to show that '1' could be placed against anyone's name, and not only at the top against the first name on the ballot paper. It was impossible to give listeners a fully written explanation of the talks, but a condensed version was prepared comprising two typewritten pages, compared with the eighteen pages handed to officers conducting the talks, and given to those attending the Everyman's Hut sessions. A copy in Neo-Melanesian appears as Appendix B to this chapter.

Institutions such as the Teachers' College, the Police Depot, the Pacific Islands Regiment and the Medical College were visited. At these places the talks were very successful, judged by the response and the type of questions asked. A question would be referred back to the audience and one of them would answer it. Their lucid answers and understanding can be attributed to their high standard of English and their

ability to absorb facts quickly, aided by ability to read intelligently in the local newspaper, which gave the elections a wide coverage.

One of the main concerns of the people absent from their home areas was 'Who are the candidates in our own areas?' It was decided to print and distribute lists of candidates for each electorate in the same order as they appeared on the ballot paper. This proved to the migrant population that nothing was hidden from them, and they were able to discuss the candidates for their own electorates.

Whilst the educational programme continued in the urban area, the patrols in the outlying villages were demonstrating ballot boxes, ballot booths, ballot papers, and actually showing people how to vote. This was probably the most important part of the programme. Due to the limited effectiveness of the flip charts, the Chief Electoral Officer, a photographer from the Department of Extension Services, and the author made a film strip on 'How to Vote'. This showed a person voting, marking the ballot paper, and having his name checked off the Common Roll, and from all reports was successful.

So far the Highlanders, who were employed on rubber plantations at Sogeri about twenty-six miles out of Port Moresby, have only been mentioned. These people are recruited throughout the Eastern, Western and Southern Highlands on a contract system. Some of them have been under Administration control for a few years only and apart from those from Council areas had no idea of elections or the meaning of the House of Assembly. The government to them is the *kia*p going round on patrol, hearing court cases, settling disputes over land and marriage. To explain to these people that the change from the Legislative Council to the House of Assembly was of vital concern to them seemed an almost impossible task. The author gave a series of talks in one day to workers on three plantations. Everything appeared to be satisfactory, but a few days later it was reported that all the Highlanders wanted to go home, because the 'road' was closed and a change of government was taking place. Such a development was serious, because it could envelop about 2,500 workers. The talks simply were too sudden and not simple enough. Within a few days all the plantations were visited once more and the situation explained further. The Highlanders' main concern was about the candidates in their own area, to what clan did they belong, and how could they vote for them while living at Sogeri. Fortunately, a party of political observers from various parts of the Territory was attending the meeting of the Legislative Council in Moresby at the time, and the Highlanders in this group were sent to Sogeri for a week. They completely reassured the people and no further reports of misunderstandings were received.

Whilst the education programme was being conducted, the Electoral Ordinance had been introduced. Each enrolment card now had to be checked to see if the person concerned was eligible for the Moresby Open Electorate. This resulted in 700 queries being sent out, asking for clarification of qualifications. The local electoral staff, at the time, con-

sisted of one Returning Officer, one clerk and one typist. Once these queries had been answered the roll was ready for the Chief Electoral Officer. When printed, it consisted of 516 pages with an average of 55 names to a page. It had been completed in under seven months.

The Polling Period

In the course of the education programme, Assistant Returning Officers at Tapini, Woitape and Moresby were planning the actual polling period. The first stage of compiling the roll had been basically a matter of procedure and availability of staff, with the exception of urban Moresby. The second stage, the education programme, had been carried out to the best of our ability, in the short time allowed and with the educational aids available. The third stage, the actual poll, would test the first and second stages, and there would be no second chance. Plans for the polling period were prepared and re-done three times before the officers were satisfied that the plan would work.

The Goilala Sub-district is divided into two administrative areas, Tapini and Woitape, with 15,313 eligible voters. The terrain is extremely rugged with few miles of vehicular roads, and so had to be covered by foot. The Census Divisions formed the base of the planning. The difficulties of terrain, the wet season and the time allowed for each person to vote had to be considered. Finally, a detailed programme was drawn up for ten polling teams in the Goilala area. This laid down walking times and the time for the polling at each centre. This had to be done because each polling centre was to be gazetted as a polling place on a particular day. Staff was stretched to the maximum and there were no reserves. The wives of field staff were appointed as polling officials, and officers from the Departments of Agriculture, Public Health, and Education were used. The statistics for the Goilala area are: 3 Assistant Returning Officers, 12 Presiding Officers (1 indigenous), 14 poll clerks (all indigenous), and 13 interpreters (all indigenous). They were distributed over 3 static polling booths and 68 'mobile polling booths', i.e. places visited by mobile polling teams.

The above personnel, apart from those at the static booths, were on patrol for four weeks in some of the most difficult terrain in the Territory and polled a total of 10,239 votes.

In the Moresby Sub-district area the polling period was planned successively for the town area, outlying villages and the plantations. In view of the large migrant population in the town, all of whom might possibly elect to vote as absent voters, it was considered that twenty-three static polling centres would be needed. At this time there was no indication as to which polling centre people would use. The polling places were placed strategically in the area, and fortunately the buildings available were suitable. The staffing arrangements were: 26 Assistant Returning Officers, 76 Presiding Officers, 74 poll clerks, and 1 interpreter.

The outlying villages were planned in the same way as the Goilala Sub-district, with each patrol having a day-to-day itinerary. There were

4 Assistant Returning Officers, 16 Presiding Officers, 17 poll clerks, 2 interpreters, with 9 static polling booths and 31 mobile polling booths.

The plantations could only be organized with the assistance of the European staff employed there. A meeting was called at the Koitaki Club at Sogeri and the situation explained. After a long discussion, one planter said, 'Well, we are stuck with it; let's get on with it.' The managers co-operated, and the poll was conducted by the plantation staff under the supervision of four Assistant Returning Officers, with 18 Presiding Officers, 18 poll clerks, and 7 interpreters, with the use of 8 static polling booths.

The above personnel polled 2,768 votes in one day. This will be seen as a major achievement when the system for recording an absent vote is explained. Altogether a total of 25,348 votes was polled in this electorate at 142 polling centres, with the assistance of 309 polling officials. In the whole Territory there were a total of 2,919 polling places, ranging in number from 8 in Chuave and 10 in Dreikikir, to 211 in Bougainville and 224 in Milne Bay. There were 564 polling teams in the field.

When the final plans for the polling period had been completed, the mass of documentation and equipment had to be delivered to each Presiding Officer. For Tapini and Woitape, a Piaggio aircraft was chartered which flew polling equipment and documents direct to these centres. There, each polling official was briefed and issued with a large number of documents in connection with the actual poll itself. Each official had to sign an undertaking that he would not influence any voter. Instructions were given that at each place the poll was to be declared open, and then the polling officials were to sit down and wait. No pressure was to be used to encourage people to vote. This instruction was followed and everyone voted entirely of his own free will. Severe penalties were set out for any officer who violated the provisions of the Electoral Ordinance.

As this was the first Territory election to be carried out on a large scale, all equipment had to be obtained for the first time. Ballot boxes used previously had been made of wood and deteriorated rapidly due to climate and termites. The standard Australian ballot box is made of galvanized iron, which rusts quickly under Territory conditions, and weighs 16 lb. A special ballot box was, therefore, designed for the Territory made of pillar-box red fibreglass with stainless steel fittings, and an outer lid to keep rain from the slot through which ballot papers were to be pushed. This box weighed just over 6 lb., and was fitted with steel handles for carrying by pole (a photograph is found in *C.E.O. Report*, p. 11). Whilst it cost almost half as much again as the galvanized iron box, the saving on air-freighting nearly 2,000 boxes around the Territory at freight rates up to 4s. 5d. per lb. was considerable. For polling compartments, folding cardboard sheets were prepared in Australia, and, for the compartments used by the patrols going through the roughest country, a stout metal frame of four poles with a light metal tray clipped in at waist height, shielded on three sides by sheets of black polythene.

The outlying patrols were well equipped and no problems were expected in the poll in these areas. The urban area was our major concern. We had been under the impression that people would volunteer willingly to act as polling officials. The pay was adequate, and in some cases polling officials earned £13 on polling day. A circular was published seeking to recruit polling officials, but there was little response. Indigenous poll clerks had been secured from the Teachers' College and the Medical College, and they carried the day, for many of the Presiding and Assistant Presiding Officers could not speak Motu or Neo-Melanesian. Thus, the poll clerk also acted as an interpreter. With the co-operation of various Departments sufficient polling officials were recruited, but they still had to be trained (since there were over three hundred of them) and only a few had had any previous experience as polling officials. The Arts' Theatre in Moresby was rented, and the stage was set up as a polling centre. The polling officials had no idea what faced them as a mass of papers, hundreds of envelopes, pencils, signs, stands, etc., were distributed. A polling team took up its positions on the stage, and an indigene was selected to act the voter. The Presiding Officer was then supposed to go ahead, but the polling team did not know what to do. In fact the processing of a typical voter should have gone something like this:

The voter would walk into a polling centre and approach the first table, opening the conversation:

Voter: 'I want to vote.'

Polling Official: 'Are you on the Moresby Roll?'

Voter: 'I don't know.'

The polling official would then ask his name and check the Moresby Roll. If the name could not be found, and the voter so informed, he would certainly look blank and say nothing.

Polling Official: 'Where do you come from?'

Voter: 'Ihu.'

Polling Official: 'Where is that?'

Voter: 'Near Kerema.'

The polling official had then to relate Ihu, Kerema, to an electorate. When this was done, he would hand a ballot paper for that electorate to the voter and start to make out an Absent Voter's envelope. At this point the voter might well state: 'I want to vote for a Moresby candidate.' Thereupon the polling official had to make out a sec. 130(1) voter's envelope (see pp. 404-5) containing the following information: name of voter, father's name, village, sex, length of residence in Moresby electorate, and age.

The placing of the indigene's home area in an electorate was the problem, rather than his inability to record a vote. The patience of the polling officials was outstanding. Every absent voter would take at least 10 minutes and some took up to 30 minutes to process. This would be trying enough, but carried out in a badly-ventilated hall with no fans it

became a nightmare. Most polling officials rarely left their tables and were working non-stop from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. and in some cases to 9 p.m.

To return to the Arts' Theatre and the lecture for the polling officials: this demonstration of a polling team in action illustrated to the officials the problems with which they would be faced on polling day. The two booklets produced by the Chief Electoral Officer, *Hints to Presiding Officers* and *Instructions to Presiding Officers*, were invaluable to polling officials. The documents, forms and envelopes prepared by the Chief Electoral Officer were laid out and instructions on its completion were printed on each form. The polling officials were advised that they would not have to work on Friday, the day before the election. This day was to be devoted to setting up polling centres, reading instructions, and practising with the poll clerks.

On polling day, all officials reported to their respective Assistant Returning Officers by 7.30 a.m. To ensure that there were sufficient staff, twenty poll clerks and fifteen presiding officers were kept in reserve, at the Electoral Office at Ela Beach. At 8 a.m. each polling centre contacted the electoral office to report any failures of staff, and immediately replacements were sent out.

Each reserve team was fully equipped with tables, chairs, envelopes, and other paraphernalia. As the day progressed, calls were received—'The polling centre is full and 200 are waiting to vote'. Reserve teams were sent to assist, and throughout the day teams were being continually changed from one polling centre to another. One officer at the Electoral Office was responsible for keeping up the supply of ballot papers and related documents to the polling centres. By noon it appeared that polling day in Moresby was going to be a success, and reports from Sogeri, Woitape and Tapini advised that the poll was being conducted smoothly in those areas. The author visited all the polling centres in Moresby and found that the polling officials, although worked off their feet, were actually enjoying it whilst the pressure and the tension made them forget their fatigue. Most polling centres in Moresby closed at 6 p.m., but Koki market and the Methodist Overseas Mission Hall remained open till 9 o'clock. The system used at Koki depended completely on four D.N.A. field staff. It was expected that the majority of voters would be absent voters. As each person passed into the polling centre he was asked for his home area. Then one D.N.A. Officer, with particularly extensive knowledge of the Territory, quickly associated the voter's home area with an electorate and handed him a ballot paper for that electorate. The voter then went to a presiding officer and cast his vote. These four officers processed 1,640 voters.

Over the following weeks mobile election patrols worked along the coast, over the trails of the Goilala Sub-district, and between the plantations of the Port Moresby hinterland. Our teams were spared drama of the sort which occurred in the Gulf Open Electorate where the Re-

turning Officer, keeping his electoral patrols under surveillance by light aircraft, had spotted one team drifting helplessly down the Bamu River towards the open sea when their outboard failed on a river in full flood. A speedboat had to be dispatched from Daru to assist them, and the press could then report that the Returning Officer had spotted them again, this time making their way up river once more. It might be added that sec. 98 of the Electoral Ordinance provides that the Returning Officer may vary a polling schedule when necessary, and that even a presiding officer, 'where in his opinion it is necessary or desirable in order to meet an unforeseen contingency or emergency', may depart from the polling schedule for a particular polling place, provided that he takes appropriate action to inform the affected electors. For the first week of the election period a polling place was kept open at the Sub-district office to permit stragglers, including the sick or those who had religious scruples about voting on the Saturday—there is a substantial Seventh Day Adventist community in Port Moresby—to vote, and a steady stream availed themselves of the opportunity.

In the Moresby Open Electorate, including of course the Central Special Electorate, the work involved over the period May 1963 to March 1964 can be summed up in the fact that a small group of officers had successfully enrolled over 30,000 people, and educated them in electoral procedures to the point where more than 25,000 of them had voluntarily registered a vote.

Appendix A

Recorded Speech, Educational Programme, Vabakori Village

The following was recorded on tape.

The film you have just seen was of the 1961 Elections which was taken around Goroka in the Highlands. You saw there that they elected one man from the Highlands to sit in the old Legislative Council. You saw the Legislative Council at the start of the film. That was the big building where the Administrator and the Governor-General were sitting. That building was the Legislative Council, which most of you have probably seen near the Museum in Port Moresby.

The House of Assembly will be the new name for the old Legislative Council. The new House of Assembly has nothing to do with the Local Government Council elections. You must remember it has nothing to do with your own Bootless Bay Local Government Council.

In the old Legislative Council, there were only 6 elected native members. There were only 37 members in the Council. The new House of Assembly will have 64 members. There will be a lot more native members in the new House of Assembly.

The way the government decided to have 44 elected people in the House of Assembly was to divide the Territory into 44 small areas. Then they divided the Territory of Papua and New Guinea up into 10 large areas. There will be 10 people appointed to the House of Assembly by the government. That will make up the 64 members in the House of Assembly.

From the 44 areas there will be one person from each area. These 44 areas are called Open Electorates. There will be one person elected from each of the 44 areas. Anybody can be a candidate for these 44 electorates, that is, a European, a native, a mixed race person or a Chinese, can be a candidate in each of the 44 electorates. Do you understand that? Anybody can be a candidate in one of the 44 Open Electorates.

In the other big areas, the 10 big areas, which are called Special Electorates, only a European or non-native can be a candidate. That will mean that there will probably be more native members in the House of Assembly than there will be Europeans.

The House of Assembly is the House where they make all the Laws of the Territory.

You can see it is very, very important whom you elect in the House of Assembly. Everybody here tonight will be voting once in the Open Electorate and once in the Special Electorate for one of the 44 members and once for one of the 10 European members.

Some people will say, 'This doesn't worry me. I sit in my village. I have never been to the House of Assembly. Why should I vote?' The point is that this area of Port Moresby, the Moresby Electorate, takes in the Goilala

Sub-district and the Moresby Sub-district. There may be a Goilala elected to represent Port Moresby in the House of Assembly or there may be a Moresby man elected to represent the Goilala Sub-district. There may be a European or there may be a mixed-race person elected. That is up to the people here tonight, because they will vote and this will decide which man is elected. This is up to you, Harry and me, the people of Port Moresby. We will all have the right to vote.

Whom we elect for the New House of Assembly affects us all. All the Europeans, all the Chinese, all the mixed-race people and all the native people have one vote. We will vote to elect one man to the House of Assembly. He will be speaking for the Goilala Sub-district and the Moresby Sub-district, for all the Europeans, for all the Chinese, for everybody. It is up to the people to get out and vote if they want to elect somebody. There is no other way it can be done. It is up to the people to vote and choose the man they want in the House of Assembly. We will elect the candidate by the marking of the ballot paper. You can see it is up to you people who are here tonight to decide whom you are going to elect.

Polling day, voting day, will be on Saturday 15th February. It is going to be a Saturday, so that people will not be at work and they can go and vote. There will be a polling place at the Bootless Bay Council House. I did not know that there were so many people at Vabakori and Taikone. I think we will put a polling booth there. This will mean that people will not have to walk too far. They will all be able to vote on polling day. They will not forget it is polling day, because all the hotels [i.e. licensed premises] are going to be closed. But they will open at 6 o'clock.

They should all remember it is polling day, because they will want to go to the hotels. The women will probably be pleased to hear that the hotels will close. They understand that it must be very important because the government is closing the hotels for one day.

We have gone a long way tonight. Has anybody any questions?

I will give a list of the candidates for the Moresby Electorate. This is how they will appear on the ballot paper. The first name to appear will be Bill Stansfield . . . They are the candidates for whom you will vote in the Open Electorate. We are circulating a list of the candidates on Monday and Tuesday. There will be 10,000 copies of this list being sent to all villages, throughout the whole of the Moresby Electorate.

We will also be sending around a lot more printed papers like these and some new ones, so that everybody will be able to read them and know about the elections and how to vote on polling day.

Some people will say, 'We don't know who the candidates are. We don't know them'. So, in each polling place, there will be photographs of all the candidates. Everybody will be able to look at the photographs with the name underneath and pick out the candidates they want.

It is important that when you put your mark, No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, etc. on the ballot paper, you put as many numbers as possible, because there are 12 candidates. You can put 1, 2, 3, 4, and a number up to 12 alongside each candidate. This is up to you. If you only put number 1 alongside a name, it will still be all right. You should put more than 1. You should put 1, 2, 3, 4, and as many as possible. This is called the preferential system.

The question is 'Who are you going to vote for?' 'How will you know who to vote for?' It is up to the candidates to come round and speak to you about themselves. You see, it is up to the candidates if they want you to vote

for them. They should come round and tell you who they are and what they are going to do for you, if you vote for them.

It is the government's work to come round and explain to you why there is going to be a new House of Assembly and how to vote and why you should vote, but it is the candidates' work to come round, show themselves to you, and explain things to you about whom to vote for.

The government is not helping the candidates. The candidates pay their own way, they pay to go round and they work for themselves. They do not work for the government. The government is not allowed to help candidates. If anybody does, he will go to court. If any candidates are following me around, that is something to do with them. If a candidate wants to talk after I have finished, that is up to the candidate.

The elected candidate will get paid £950 per year. He will receive money to help him to travel round his electorate. When he attends the meetings of the House of Assembly he will have his air fares paid by the government.

It is up to the people here tonight to elect the person they think should represent them in the House of Assembly. Some people from the Western District and some people from the Gulf District who have been in Moresby for a long time have already asked to vote for a Moresby Candidate. A lot of others have asked to vote for a candidate back in their own home area.

On January 20th there will be talks given at Koki market, in the Everyman's Hut. On one night, all the people from Kairuku, the Mekeo and Kerema will attend, another night, all the people from Rigo and Abau will attend and so on, until we have talked to every different group living in Port Moresby.

Everybody will get a vote whether he lives in the Western Highlands or in Rabaul or in the Sepik. He will get a vote and he can vote for his own candidate in his own area.

If there is anybody here tonight from any other place except Port Moresby, he can watch out for a list which will be circulated telling him which night to go to Koki market to have a talk about his area. Then he will receive a list of the candidates in his area.

Do not think that the people from other parts of the Territory have been forgotten. There will be talks given to them at Koki market after January 20th and we will tell them who their candidates are at this meeting.

Does that answer all the questions for the people who are here tonight?

Appendix B

Tok tok long eleksin bilong haus bilong Asembli (House of Assembly) bai lik lik taim i kum up.

Legislative Council (legisleitiv kaunsil)

Ol man i save Legislative Council i bin stap insait long Port Moresby bipo. I bikpela kaunsil long mekim ol lo bilong Papua na New Guinea. I bin gat tripela ten seven (37) memba long Legislative Council. Long dispela lain numba wan gavman long Australia (Governor General) i bin makim tupela ten faiv (25) memba; na long hap lain i stap ol pipal long teritori yet i bin makim long election olosem sikispela European wuntaim sikispela netif memba—ol i kolim “elected member”.

Las miting bilong Legislative Council i bin gerap long mun Novemba i pinisim Legislative Council olgera long wonem gavman i ting ting long mekim nupela kaunsil long bihainim wok bilong Legislative Council.

House of Assembly (haus bilong Asembli)

Nem bilong nupela kaunsil ol i kolim “House of Assembly”. Bai i gat sikispela ten foa (64) memba olgera. Long dispela lain bai Governor General i ken makim tenpela tasol; nau hap lain inup long faivpela ten foa (54) memba ol pipal bilong teritori yet bai i makim long fasin bilong “Election”, olosem laik bilong ol yet.

Long yia bipo wanpela spesil (Special Committee) komiti i raun long painim out wonem numba wan fesin long wokim “Election”.

Komiti painim out laik bilong ol netif pipal; i olosem ol i laik sumpela netif memba wantaim sumpela European memba long kaunsil, tasol ol i laik makim long “Election”—hauset i ken go insait long kaunsil nau kisim memba.

Electorates (Elektorits)

Olgera teritori nau i gat mak o banis inup long foapela ten foa (44) lillik “Electorates” na tenpela bikpela “Electorates”.

Foapela ten foa (44) liklik “Electorates” i op long ol i ken traim long kisim memba o sanap olosem “Candidate” long election, nau ol i kolim “Open Electorate”.

Tenpela bikpela electorate i op long lain man huset i no netif bilong teritori, ol netif i ken traim long Open Electorate tasol.

Olosem dispela fesin i bihainim laik bilong ol i bin tokaut bipo long Special Committee. Tok ol i mekim olosem “mipela laik sumpela european i sidaun wantaim sumpela netif insait long haus bilong asembli”. Long olgera electorate bai i gat wan memba tasol—i wan wan.

Voters

Sapos man o meri i gat tupela ten krismas olosem i 21 yia pinis. Orait, em inup long vote. Nem bilong ol inup long vote i stap long buk ol i kolim “Common Roll”. Klosap wan milyun (one million) nem ol i raitim pinis long dispela buk. Planti long yupela bin lukum kiap i raun liklik taim bipo long olgera ples nau wokim dispela buk.

Absentee Voters

Nau huset i wok long narapela hap nau i no stap long ples bilong em streit, enup em yet i ken vote long man bilong hap bilong em yet. Olosem long Moresby i gat planti man i kum up long planti ples. Orait, i stap long Moresby tasol em yet i ken putim vote long man i laik, bilong ples o electorate bilong em yet.

“Polling Booth” i ples long putim vote, nau ol ples olosem bai i gat piksa long ol man i “candidate” wantaim nem bilong em. Inup yu ken lukluk long piksa nau tok save long kuskus long “Booth”. “Mi laik putim namba wan long dispela man”, nau makim piksa, nau long namba 2, 3, olosem.

Ol i no ken worit long election. Long dei bilong election namba fifteen dei long mun February (15th February). Yu ken vote long man bilong hap bilong yu yet.

Election Date

Long ol bik taun olosem Moresby, Lae, Rabaul, dei bilong election nau putim vote i namba fifteen dei bilong mun February. Long ol ples long bus taim long election stat long 15th February nau i go inup long namba etin dei long mun March (18th March). Ol man i laik traim kisim memba long kaunsil i gat taim nau inup long 15th February long wok long grisim tok long ol.

How to Vote (fesin long putim vote)

Long dei bilong vote ol pipol long taun i ken go long ples bilong vote ol i kolim “polling place”.

Long bus long ol village ol pipal i mus weit long patrol i kum up.

Taim yu kum up long putim vote yu mus tok klia . . .

Nem bilong yu streit, nem bilong papa bilong yu,

Nem bilong lik lik ples (village) bilong yu,

Na nem bilong district bilong yu.

Kuskus nau i givim wanpela pepa long yu. Nem bilong dispela pepa *Ballot paper*. Long dispela pepa i gat nem bilong ol candidate (huset i laik traim kisim memba). I gat tupela lain nem. Wanpela lain nem i nem bilong man i sanap long *Open Electorate*. Narapela lain nem i bilong ol i sanap long *Special Electorate*.

Nau man i laik *vote* em i kisim pepa (ballot paper) na go insait wanpela liklik rum ol i kolim “polling booth”. Nau i makim pepa. Em i mus putim namba “1” long aradei long nem bilong man em i laik tru long kisim memba, nau long arapela nem putim namba “2” long aradei long nem bilong man i laikim i namba tu. Na sapos i got sikis (6) nem. Man i vote i ken putim namba long ol inup long sikis “6”.

Sapos man i no save rit orait em i ken askim kuskus long halpim em. Dispela wok long *vote* (vot) i wok hait, nau narapela man i no ken save huset yu yet yu putim vote bilong yu.

Taim yu makim pinis pepa yu yet yu mus tanim nau putim long bokis “ballot box” i gat lok long em.

Taim wok long putim vote i pinis olgera long olgera hap long teritori ol kuskus nau i selim ol ballot paper i go long Returning Officer bilong electorate bilong em.

Dispela officer nau i kaunim ol pepa. Kaunim ol pinis nau inup em i ken tokout huset i winim memba.

Returning Officer i namba wan man long bosim ol wok long election.

Salaries

Pai long elected memba inup £950 long yia.

Nau long taim i gat mitin i kisim pei moa enup £5-5-0 long wanpela dei, long olgera dei i stap yet long miting. Wanpela pei moa ol i kolim *allowance* bilong baim stem long selim pas nau sumting olosem enup long £25 long wanpela yia. Taim elected memba i mus raun long bisnis bilong kaunsil gavman yet i baim balus o kar long em.

Long mun April o may bai numba wan miting bilong nupela kaunsil (House of Assembly) i gerap, long dispela yia yet.

The Kainantu Open and South Markham Special Electorates

James B. Watson

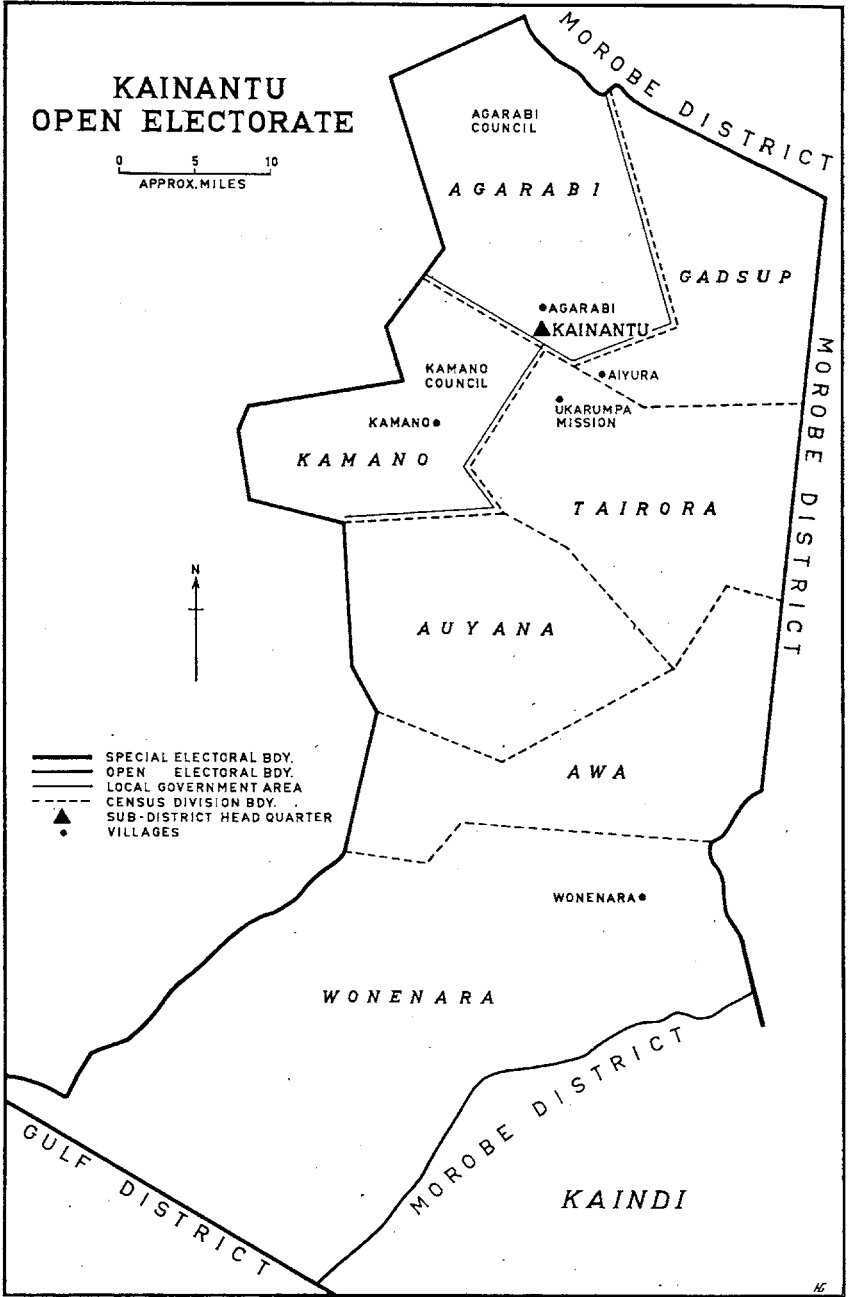
The Electorate

The boundaries of the Kainantu administrative Sub-district have been redrawn twice since 1960, and the Sub-district is now smaller in size than the Kainantu Open Electorate. To avoid confusion, reference will be made interchangeably to the Kainantu area or electorate rather than to the Sub-districts involved. Since the principal town of the area and its electoral centre is also called Kainantu, 'town' or 'station' will be used in referring to it where the meaning would not otherwise be clear.

The Kainantu Open Electorate occupies the easternmost edge of the Eastern Highlands District, from the Papuan border on the south-west to the Ramu-Markham valley on the north-east. Its eastern boundary is the Morobe District. The Ramu-Markham valley almost precisely marks the limit of recognized 'Highlands' cultures. Practically speaking, one can say both for languages and cultures that Kainantu is the eastern end of the Highlands.

Geographically, Kainantu consists of mountains and high valleys belonging to the Highlands system. Nearly all of the area is over 4,000 feet, most of it over 5,000, and elevations up to 12,000 feet occur. There are only a few level stretches, the greater part being hilly to mountainous. Though showing the extensive grasslands of the Highlands, much of the country, especially to the south, is still heavily covered with forest.

Nearly all the people live in hamlets or villages ranging from two or three score to two or three hundred persons, with only a handful of larger population concentrations. The town of Kainantu has a population of several hundred and is one of the two main concentrations of Europeans in the area. The other, with a fluctuating group of two hundred or more Europeans, is Ukarumpa, base of operations of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The prevalent subsistence pattern of the area is typical of the central Highlands: root crops—above all the sweet potato—bananas, sugar cane, pitpit, beans, and pigs. Cash cropping has been developing slowly since the war and coffee now produces a small though significant



money income in many of the villages on or near roads. The great majority of the people engage in daily activities that include almost everything typical of the pre-contact period, with the notable exception of inter-village fighting. For a considerable number of people in the south and south-west of the area, post-contact innovations as yet occupy little of their time. For numerous others, however, increasingly as one approaches the Kainantu station, new activities now fill a space in their lives that had little aboriginal precedent: road and bridge-building and maintenance; intermittent local wage-work; dealings with various government agents; mission-related activity; litigation; small purchases, gold panning, and cash cropping; attending school; migration to coastal areas for periods of town or plantation labour; and idling, fornication, gambling, and roaming about. This refers chiefly to the youths and younger men. Unless they leave the village, women continue largely in the tradition of the past, as do older men.

The Eastern Highlands area was first visited by Lutheran Mission native catechists and German missionaries in the early 1920s. Finschhafen catechists have been more or less continuously resident in parts of the Kainantu area since about 1925. By the late twenties gold prospectors had begun to enter the Highlands country and in the early 1930s the Upper Ramu Post was established by the Administration, later to be called Kainantu. A Patrol Officer was stationed there with a detachment of native constabulary, a small airstrip was built, and so began the pacification of the vicinity. A Lutheran Mission station was built about the same time and several years later the Seventh Day Adventists entered the region. About 1935 a group of young men from villages near Kainantu were sent to the coast as part of the first experiment with local contract labour. The results were encouraging to neither the villagers nor the Administration, largely because of the susceptibility of these men to malaria. The area had roughly a decade of Administration and resident missionary influence when civil life was interrupted by the war with Japan. The impact of these ten years can be measured by the fact that inter-village killings, radically suppressed within short patrol distance of the Kainantu station, almost at once broke out again in the area generally. It is an exaggeration, however, to say that the process of pacification began only after 1945.

Although the war touched Kainantu lightly, a Japanese patrol occupied a position on the Markham edge of the area for a month or more, the station itself was bombed and strafed, both Allied and Japanese planes landed or crashed in the area, and troops and quantities of supplies moved in and out of Kainantu. The war also brought to the area the Highlands Agricultural Experiment Station at Aiyura, originally for a crash programme of growing cinchona trees to produce quinine for military use. The consequent need for labourers at Aiyura provided for many local men their first experience with regular wage work. The war introduced the people to outsiders, especially Allied soldiers, in far larger numbers

than they had ever seen, and revealed a human control of physical force beyond their most frightening dreams. In their minds the war raised questions as to the Japanese and above all, the 'Americans', and their purposes as distinct from those of 'Australians'. Echoes of these questions have been heard ever since and were heard during the election.

Following the war, Australian coinage began to circulate generally, replacing the direct barter of trade goods and shell (seriously deflated soon after administrative contact) for native food and labour. Stable civil administration was re-established, a network of roads pushed out from Kainantu, and patrol contact continuously extended to the newer areas to the south and south-west of the station. For areas previously under control, however, experience with the Administration in the post-war period produced little but increasing familiarity with Native Regulations and a growing knowledge of how and when to deal with Patrol Officers. Competence in Neo-Melanesian became more widespread, and more and more young men went out to the coast under labour contracts.

Three post-war changes have markedly affected the Kainantu people: the development of cash cropping and other commercial activity by expatriate settlers and New Guineans; the establishment of Administration schools; and the introduction of Local Government Councils.

The increasing alienation of native lands to expatriate settlers, largely for the planting of coffee and for trade stores, brought Kainantu people an awareness of commercial activity heretofore lacking in their experience of the Administration or missions and only dimly perceived in the bartering and gold working of earlier white men. The new plantations also absorbed far more labourers and provided more cash income than up to then known in the area, drawing in men from the newly-controlled areas to the south-west almost as fast as they became controlled. Coffee plantations also brought more native people into contact with expatriates and their families, though as a rule across the unmistakable gulf of caste.

Until the mid-fifties, schooling in the Kainantu area was confined to the Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist mission schools and reached an even smaller minority of the population than at present. (Amongst those reached, incidentally, were four of the five New Guinea candidates running in the Kainantu Open election in 1964, the fifth being un-schooled.) During the decade prior to the election six Administration schools were opened. Most were concentrated in the Agarabi area and in general at points of easiest access from Kainantu. Tairora, the largest language area in the Kainantu Sub-district, still had no school when the elections took place, but schools had come to be perceived as potentially accessible to all who wished their children schooled.

The third major post-war change, Local Government Councils, is the most recent of all. The first Council in Kainantu was opened in the Agarabi Census Division and language group, adjacent to the station, in 1962. The second—and the last to date—was inaugurated in Kamano, in November 1963, just before the announcement of the election to the people

at large. The Local Government Councils of Agarabi and Kamano, perhaps because they were so new, appeared to give the electorate no great familiarity with practical politics. Attitudes toward the Councils themselves and toward those associated with them did enter the campaign as background issues. More than anything else, however, the Councils were significant in helping crystallize ethnic units within the electorate.

The Kainantu Open Electorate includes an estimated area of 1,400 square miles, much of the south of it not served by roads, and a population of perhaps 45,000 persons. The electoral roll lists just over 23,000 names of village-dwelling voters up to November 1963, and just over 200 others on the General List. Though less diverse ethnically or linguistically than some coastal areas, Kainantu lacks the large language groups of the Highlands farther to the west. Its 45,000 people are divided into at least six languages of over a thousand speakers each, in round numbers as follows: Kamano 11,500; Tairora 11,000; Agarabi 8,900; Gadsup 6,500; Auyana 4,000; and Awa 2,000. In addition, there are several smaller languages, ranging from 125 speakers to several hundred. We shall refer here to people of common speech as 'language' or 'ethnic areas' to avoid unwarranted assumptions about their political cohesion. In the Wonenara area to the south, it is too early to speak of the size of language groups.

Common language conferred upon none of the aboriginal groups any appreciable socio-political cohesion. A major theme of this discussion will be the marked tendencies toward ethnic unity displayed by several of the Kainantu language areas during the elections.

The Education Campaign

The word 'election' began to be heard generally among the voters of Kainantu in the latter part of November 1963. All but a tiny fraction of them were illiterate and without access to radio or other mass media. Their channels of information were consequently restricted to the word of mouth—first, second, or third hand—of physically present persons. Initially the sole local source of election information was the Sub-district office itself, the Assistant District Officer (who was also the Returning Officer), other officers of the Department of Native Affairs, and visiting electoral briefing officers. This source remained central throughout the period until voting had been completed, but it soon became necessary to distinguish (a) secondary and (b) independent sources of election information. Election patrols were carried out by European officers, and so-called 'election men' from among the villagers were delegated by the Sub-district office to take information to the electorate at large. Independent sources of information became more numerous and active as the campaign progressed. These included the candidates themselves and sometimes their appointed agents, non-official expatriates, such as missionaries or planters who were in contact with New Guinea voters, and New Guineans close to the Sub-district office or influential at the village level, some-

times men identified with a particular candidate through kinship or other loyalty.

Except for the election patrols, which purposely attempted to cover the area, the intensity of information varied considerably and, especially to the south-west of the station where a sizeable segment of the electorate lives, it diminished directly as the distance increased. As can be imagined, the impact of candidates varied more widely in this area, too, because of lack of roads and because some candidates neglected the area.

At first information was purely technical or procedural, that is non-political; but progressively it gained more of a political character as attitudes and preferences for given candidates began to form. To a greater degree than in any urbanized electorate familiar with voting procedures, however, both the concern of the voters and the information flowing from nearly all sources remained focused upon the manner of casting and counting ballots. One candidate in particular concentrated upon the ABC of voting until the very end of his campaign.

Before the time when most people had heard about the election, selected individuals from, first, the Tairora and then other language areas went to Kainantu to attend an 'election school'. Some twenty were to be selected from a larger number of volunteers representing different Tairora villages and districts. Their qualifications were forthrightness, sufficient competence in Neo-Melanesian to be able to comprehend the briefings, and the approval of the government officer. These men did not have to be village *luluais* or *tultuls*, but many were. They received a nominal payment for their work and were told to regard themselves as non-partisan. Besides instructing people in the vernacular about voting, they proclaimed the importance of voting.

In the villages from which the *kiap* had appointed election men (as they came to be known) people became aware of a momentous task in which the government wished their help. Meetings began to be held almost nightly, many lasting well beyond midnight. Election men and other village leaders harangued the people about the importance of what lay ahead and rehearsed them on the candidates' names.

Four candidates for the Kainantu Open Electorate had already been nominated when the government election patrol made its first stop in an area of some five Tairora villages of common clan derivation known as Tairora Number One. The candidates included a European and three New Guineans. Tairora leaders had previously been approached for support by the Agarabi candidate, Ono, but were non-committal. No Tairora-speaking candidates had yet been nominated.

A large crowd came from the Tairora villages that normally gathered at this rest house for census and taxing. They heard the young Patrol Officer with close attention. In the afternoon, to demonstrate the idea of nominating and electing candidates, the officer had five or six persons from the audience come forward to act as 'candidates' in a mock election. These included the government's Tairora interpreter, To'uke, several

election men, and, to be impartial, a woman—distinctly uncomfortable over the impartiality shown her. The Patrol Officer did not say that a Tairora candidate was required for the real election, but a nomination was strongly suggested. Balloting was simulated, a 'winner' declared, and questions called for. Shortly after the session broke up, several local election men approached To'uke, who came from the local group of Tairora villages. As interpreter, he had been the most prominent person next to the Patrol Officer during the election briefing. The men asked him if he would agree to be nominated as the Tairora candidate. They consulted with the Patrol Officer who agreed that everything was in order and by evening the word was out that To'uke would be the Tairora candidate.

The Candidates

Well before the closing date, Kainantu Open's six candidates had nominated—a European and five New Guineans. The latter will be called 'ethnic candidates' because they came from villages of the area and were each ethnically and linguistically identified, willy-nilly, with a certain segment of the larger electorate. Ethnic candidates in the Kainantu Open represented the four largest language groups of the area and the longest controlled portions of the Sub-district.

Holowei, as he was known in the election, was Barry Holloway, a young Australian Patrol Officer, lately of the Kainantu Sub-district office, who had tendered his resignation in order to stand for election. Holowei's special work in Kainantu had been the organization of the two Local Government Councils in the Sub-district, Agarabi and Kamano, the latter inaugurated just days before the election became general knowledge. It was widely thought that Holowei's work in bringing Councils to these two large ethnic areas would help his chances of being elected, but there were opposite opinions as to how it might affect him. Expatriates tended to suppose that his intimacy with Agarabi and Kamano would give him more votes from those areas than he would get from other areas. They conceded him votes, in other words, that an expatriate candidate could not normally hope to draw against ethnic candidates. Many villagers, however, did not like Local Government Councils and it was reasoned that Holowei would lose votes because of having 'forced' Councils upon supposedly unwilling people and because of the fear that, if he won, he would impose Councils upon others as well.

Expatriates commonly felt that Holowei's best chance lay in obtaining a large number of second preference votes. This belief was based on the assumption of bloc voting by ethnic areas for ethnic candidates. Few considered the vote of the ethnic areas without candidates or knew how large they were. The expatriates' assumption of bloc voting, moreover, arose from long familiarity with the four largest, nearest, and best-known Kainantu language areas, Agarabi, Gadsup, Kamano, and Tairora, and from the expatriate habit of considering these as political units of some

kind because they were administrative, that is patrol, tax and census units and each had a common language. Ethnic areas, it was reasoned, would not prefer Holoweï to their own candidates but they would prefer him in second place to other ethnic candidates. The village voter, in other words, was expected to behave as parochially as possible.

Ono Aia, an Agarabi, was president of the Agarabi Native Local Government Council and curiously enough a protégé of Holoweï, his rival. Ono had accompanied Holoweï to Australia a year or two previously, in order, as Council President, to get an idea of the big world. He made frequent reference to his trip in campaign speeches, stressing the experience of seeing government in Australia as a qualification for the House of Assembly. Ono is literate and speaks English which he learned at Seventh Day Adventist schools. Of all the ethnic candidates, he was the best known outside his own language area, and he campaigned widely and energetically. Ono was the first Open candidate to nominate, well before many New Guineans of the area yet knew much of the election. His relatively high degree of sophistication unquestionably places him among the New Guinean *élite* of Kainantu.

To'ito Simau'ampe, a Gadsup, listed himself on the roll as clerk of the Aiyura Rural Progress Society. It would be more accurate to describe him as the bookkeeper or manager of this small coffee-drying and marketing co-operative involving men from his home village and several nearby Gadsup villages. To'ito's brief attendance at a Seventh Day Adventist school was interrupted by the war. After the war coffee-growing was fostered among local villages by Agricultural Extension Officers. To'ito's village is adjacent to the Highlands Agricultural Experiment Station at Aiyura, and through their offices he was selected to go to Port Moresby for a training course in co-operative management. He returned before completing the course, but nevertheless with better qualifications than others in his village to assume management of the village coffee co-operative when it was subsequently formed. He has some acquaintance with English but feels most at home in Neo-Melanesian. To'ito says it was the success of the coffee scheme and the general satisfaction of members of the co-operative with his work that led them to urge him to stand for the House of Assembly. To'ito was not a forceful candidate and conducted only a token campaign in areas outside of Gadsup.

Akila Inivigo, a Kamano, was a product of the Seventh Day Adventist school at Kainantu. Listed on the roll as a field trainee in the Mines Department, he was a clerk in the Kainantu Mines office which purchases local gold, files claims, and conducts mineral surveys. Like To'ito, Akila apparently nominated because of his schooling and his association with the Kainantu station and Administration activity. He is literate and speaks English. Akila made only a token campaign effort outside his own ethnic area and it is doubtful how thoroughly or vigorously he solicited votes within it.

To'uke Mareka, the Tairora candidate, has already been mentioned.

His position as government interpreter for the Tairora language for some ten years had made him known to all from that area who had dealings with the government. In addition, To'uke is a vigorous and forceful individual, a strong orator and not a man to be embarrassed by a public role within a sphere where he feels competent. Many people in Tairora Number One and outside were glad to call To'uke a kinsman for he was that sort of man. He had no formal schooling, was not literate, and spoke no English, differing in these respects from all other candidates before the Kainantu electorate. The Tairora area could not, in any case, have produced a candidate of appreciable schooling or one who was functionally literate.

Manki Kaoti was the second Agarabi candidate. Listed on the roll as a trade store owner, he was also a product of Seventh Day Adventist mission schools. Literate, and able to speak English, Manki was well known in the Agarabi area as an orator and a man with ideas. Many Agarabi voters also took pride in him as a speaker who, they felt, had commanded the attention and respect of United Nations representatives visiting their Native Local Government Council, something of a showplace for dignitaries who call at Kainantu. Manki's campaign outside the Agarabi area was limited.

Several general observations can be made about the candidates in the Open election. All were residents of the immediate vicinity of the Kainantu station, three of them from the town itself. The farthest lived probably not over five or six miles away, at Aiyura, a sphere of expatriate influence in its own right, though smaller than Kainantu. None of the ethnic candidates, moreover, had been born or grown up in a village more distant than that, and all were from villages located on main Kainantu roads. In contrast to men who might conceivably have been nominated from as far as thirty or forty miles to the south these were virtually all Kainantu station candidates. All candidates but one, furthermore, were associated directly with the Administration or Administration-sponsored activities. Again, all but one had far more schooling than almost the entire village electorate. Any out-of-hand judgment of leadership qualities can of course be questioned as subjective. It is probably safe to say, however, that governmental association, familiarity with expatriates and/or schooling, especially literacy and competence in English, were considered of greater importance in the selection of most of the Kainantu ethnic candidates than a reputation for energetic leadership. Some of the candidates did have leadership qualities as well.

All the candidates were identified with activities developed in the past ten years or so. No candidate's standing or qualifications for candidacy were based, even in part, on a traditional activity. Kainantu is like a number of other electorates of Papua-New Guinea, where government interpreters, ex-police constables, clerks, mission personnel, storekeepers, or cash crop producers were prominent among Papuans or New Guineans who stood for election. The eclipse of traditional leadership and of the

traditional basis of leadership at Kainantu is not less noteworthy, of course, for being so general. In the Kainantu area leadership was traditionally based in large degree upon a single quality, now discredited: fighting prowess. To be qualified by virtue of fighting prowess, a candidate at Kainantu would probably have had to be in his fifties or to have come from the southern part of the area. None came from that area and even the oldest candidate was probably no more than forty.

Finally, all the ethnic candidates were 'ethnic' in that all nominated at the urging or with the backing of supporters from their own language areas, but not of other areas. The Gadsup candidate stood for election with the encouragement of Gadsup voters, and so on.

The Campaign

The campaign in the Kainantu Open Electorate began under conditions that were doubtless widespread throughout Papua-New Guinea.

1. A previous history of paternalistic, authoritarian administration that allowed for practically no experience of local initiative in post-contact affairs.

2. A caste system based on radical racial, linguistic, and cultural differences. Though unquestionably the system has been changing rapidly in recent years, the sheer demographic fact—a tiny, dominant, literate, English-speaking, expatriate, white minority in a great sea of New Guinea villagers—assured continuation of the system in its main features.

3. No political parties in existence at any level, local, regional, or Territorial.

4. No previous experience of legislative politics or statecraft, not even of politics at the Sub-district level. It might be argued that the Councils were an exception here, but if so, they were very recent and limited in their influence.

5. Any broad political questions which might become meaningful to the electorate had as yet to be formulated. The election itself arose in response to no conscious demand of the Kainantu electors (or most others) for a means of expressing their will in regard to recognized issues.

6. General illiteracy and a lack of media of mass communication, as noted, resulted in limiting the voters to small 'publics'. Voters in one area often did not know the thinking of other voters or candidates beyond a narrow radius.

7. No previous expression of any consequence of political unity at the linguistic or 'tribal' level. Hence no real assurance of the functioning of such units as political power blocs, despite the common assumption amongst expatriates of such blocs.

It was hardly surprising under these conditions that the six-way race at Kainantu developed few, if any, general political questions. Candidates could not be supported or opposed in regard to any common political criteria, as distinct from purely personal or ethnic criteria. Indeed, all Open Electorate candidates largely adopted a personal approach

to the electorate. Voters were asked to consider whether they 'liked' a candidate or not or believed him able to do the government's 'work' better than others. There was little more basis for voter unity than loyalty to a particular candidate.

Holowei campaigned the most widely and vigorously, covering even remoter parts of the electorate on foot, and visiting Wonenara by plane. He used a small car—a convenience unavailable to his rivals, of course—for frequent forays to the many parts of the electorate now accessible by road. Holowei doubtless had the best statistical grasp of the electoral probabilities, and his campaign showed a clear sense of strategy. He appealed to voters to decide for or against him on the grounds of which open candidate they thought could do the most for them in Port Moresby. He asked them to consider whether any of his rivals, if elected, could or would freely visit all parts of the electorate in reporting to the people. For voters with a concept of a larger 'Kainantu' or 'New Guinea', this might be a telling point; but a majority of village voters in the Kainantu electorate were not ready to go so far in 1964. They inclined to a given ethnic candidate precisely because of their identification with him, whatever some other voter might feel. Holowei's point doubtless reminded his listeners of the difficulty of talking to a foreign candidate, but few voters for that matter had ever talked to an expatriate on equal terms.

Holowei, until the final days of the campaign, spent much time on the hustings explaining the mechanics of election and in making clear to voters that only one candidate could win. This needed to be explained in many parts of the electorate because of the preferential voting system with its Neo-Melanesian categories of 'nambawan laik bilong yu' for first preference, 'nambatu laik' for second preference, and so forth. Some voters doubtless left polling places still unclear about how all the 'laiks' would affect the outcome. Holowei made only general reference (as in his Neo-Melanesian campaign posters) to helping voters with schools, commercial activities, roads, and other issues that might concern them. He offered no detailed proposals along these lines, apparently feeling them beyond most voters to understand.

Of the ethnic candidates in the Open Electorate, only Ono approached Holowei for coverage of the area. Ono also stressed the need for a Kainantu spokesman, not an ethnic partisan. While the remaining candidates made token appearances in the 'foreign' villages closest to Kainantu, they tended to be extremely polite, almost apologetic, as if they were there by permission of the local candidate, wishing to allay any charge of poaching, as it were. Indeed, it is unlikely that the outsider would have appeared had there been any overt disapproval expressed by his local rival. Typically the outsider asked only for second preference votes, feeling it would be rude in his rival's own territory to ask for preferment. No stands were taken or issues debated. Candidates stood not on platforms but on personal name and reputation. One ethnic candidate, asked if he were not going to visit other areas in addition to his own, replied

half seriously that he didn't want to get killed. Actually no threats of violence to Open candidates were reported nor were any probably made. It may be significant, however, that the ethnic candidate commented upon most unfavourably by Tairora spokesmen was Ono, the only outsider (except Holowei) to make a frank and serious bid for their support. He was witheringly dismissed with the charge that his own people disliked him because of his 'haughtiness'.

If any one conviction assumed the character of a general issue in the open election, it was the caste-generated issue of New Guinean versus outsider or Kanaka versus Australian. This issue was an iceberg, however, nine-tenths of it below the surface. Since the upper tenth looked different from different vantage points, moreover, it would be easy to ignore the common base. In one respect the issue was obvious: would the New Guinea voter prefer the expatriate candidate or one of the New Guineans? Amateur pundits considered Holowei's chances of election precarious at best, but the issue was deeper and perhaps more involved than some of them knew.

In the vicinity of the Kainantu township an undetermined number of voters felt that 'New Guineans' should dismiss the Australians and, some believed, the favoured Papuans as well, inviting Americans to come in their place. This was surely not a new idea, much less one born of the election. Ten years earlier Papuans were beginning to appear in the Kainantu area. They were usually skilled, schooled men who came to work as clerks or carpenters, holding far better paid and more prestigious jobs than any then accessible to Kainantu New Guineans. They dressed like expatriates, spoke English, and some, at least, boasted that they were the accepted equals of the Australians, even had Australian wives at home in Papua. There was no way for local people to know that, for every shoe-wearing Papuan clerk with a Tilley lamp to light his way to the village singsing, there were hundreds of shoeless, un-schooled villagers in Papua, just like themselves. It seemed scarcely deniable that Australia had done much more for Papua than she had done for New Guinea. Though there are now a few shod, literate, English-speaking, Kainantu New Guineans, all of the Papuans most Kainantuans see are like this, so the picture remains much the same.

The pro-America theme is older than the envy of Papua, going back to the war years and the cargo cult activities of the early post-war period and reinforced by contacts with the coast. As in other parts of the Territory, Americans are widely called 'our mother's brothers', indicating a role more kindly and protective than many New Guineans allot to Australians. (Whether the 'mother's brother' (*kandare*) notion received any initial support from some soldier's Neo-Melanesian translation of 'Uncle Sam' is not known by the writer.)

The impending departure of the *kia*p and of Australians in general, leaving the country to New Guineans to run, was widely rumoured in Kainantu and elsewhere some weeks before the election became common

knowledge. Though probably a confused advance report of the election itself, the rumour gave renewed strength to the old idea of an Australian exodus.

During the campaign, word was heard from time to time that one of the ethnic candidates intended to 'raise the black flag' at Kainantu.* This would symbolize the departure of the Australians—possibly opening the way for issuing an invitation to someone else. Another candidate was represented as believing that Australia had been unfair to New Guineans, deceiving them on many occasions. Voters in his area were accordingly to refuse to vote for Australian candidates, apparently even to the extent of boycotting the Special Electorate for which only non-indigenes could stand. The election briefing patrol received an extremely cool reception in the home village of this candidate, though not in others of his ethnic area. In the relatively sophisticated parts of the village electorate near Kainantu there was a general feeling that one expatriate and one New Guinean in the House of Assembly would be the fair balance, that both men should not be expatriates. This clearly meant a New Guinean winner in the Open, and some ethnic candidates asked for voter support on this ground. Ono was accused by some voters of having said he would align himself with Australia—quite likely a misunderstanding of his views on Australian statehood for New Guinea, an idea which few Kainantu villagers yet grasp. Some voters interpreted this as a willingness to deny his Agarabi or New Guinea affiliation and condemned him for it. The incident suggests that it may be perilous for ethnic candidates in backward electorates to profess larger political perspectives too early.

The election thus raised echoes of earlier attitudes and beliefs developed by people completely oblivious to the possibility of a parliamentary system and general suffrage. One would not like to pull this aspect of the election out of perspective. The caste problem—if so it may be termed—would quite likely have been less singular had there been other concrete political issues. In a more mature electorate with valid political parties, moreover, the issue could well have been translated into practical political positions and realistic policy. Its anachronism, its magical overtones, and its confinement to sheer ethnicism, in other words, may have occurred by default.

Other overtones of magic were heard during the election period. The magical world is one in which a majority of Kainantu voters still live. The writer can speak best of the Tairora area, and perhaps the expression of magical belief was more pronounced there because Tairora voters were some of the last to be polled. They thus reaped the full harvest of anticipation, anxiety, and accumulated rumour from other parts of the electorate. Dreams occurred in which ancestral ghosts told of their con-

* Anonymity seems ethically required here, if only to protect the individuals in question; but in any case attribution of views to named persons could serve little useful purpose, especially in a climate in which ideas are currently changing so fast.

cern for the people and the danger they were facing through the election. In one dream, the House of Assembly was conceived of as a great rock standing alone in an empty place without a visible door in its side. Would one of them be able to find and open the door? If he opened it, would he shake hands inside with a man of giant stature? Perhaps then he would be given the large sum of money for which they were working. But perhaps, to the contrary, the handclasp would seal his fate and he would not return to this life and to his kinsmen. It was not certain. The imagery here is unmistakably one in which the House of Assembly is the afterworld, the door the boundary with the land of the living. To return from a visit to the afterworld was not possible unless a certain act of commitment were refused. In this case, it seemed to be the handclasp, but without that, it was doubtful the 'candidate' could obtain the election prize. The dream, like the election, was an enigma.

In another instance a man had what might be described as a 'non-dream'. He was aroused from sleep by two ghosts, and one of them summoned him on a journey. The other ghost would take his place on the sleeping mat beside his wife so that she would not be awakened by the husband's absence. This arranged, the man set off in the company of his ghostly guide. He, too, visited the afterworld, this time not explicitly the House of Assembly. He was shown the piteous condition—almost Dantesque—of some who had apparently attempted the election. He also observed the enviable life of other ghosts. He was confronted by one shrewish ancestress who snatched from him the five-pound note the kindly guide had given him. She charged that he did not deserve this for the villages of his people were dirty, their houses old, their bodies unwashed. They still clung to sorcery and other bad ways. The ghost-guide chided the accuser, however, reminding her that their own affairs had been in no better state when they had come there. The money restored, the visitor returned along the same path he had taken, to resume his place beside his still sleeping wife. He also brought some magical substance he had been given to protect himself from the election danger.

On still another occasion a group of Tairora men and children were spending the night in an uncompleted dormitory at a new mission near their village. They were startled from drowsy conversation by a number of ghosts about the house and upon the roof. The ghosts began to speak through the medium of a sleeping girl (who later insisted she knew nothing of what had happened). Giving convincing proof of their presence by making frightening noises, they told the terrified listeners they were worried for them because of the election. They advised them to be careful—but apparently not to refrain from voting—and as a special precaution the ones on the roof threw down a quantity of magical protection to be taken against election dangers. Forgetting their fears, the group scrambled to collect the material as it fell from unseen ghostly hands. In the village it later became highly prized. The rest of that night, however, was spent sleepless and in fear even of venturing outside to relieve themselves.

The magical world view of Kainantuans was fertile enough ground, surely, when seeded with the uncertainties of the election, to produce these responses. It must also be noted that Administration officers, candidates, and others using Neo-Melanesian have a great tendency, very likely a fondness, for employing allusive figures of speech. Known as 'tok bokis', the style is generally appreciated by New Guineans. Such figures as 'following a good road', 'opening a door', 'falling down', or 'lifting yourselves up' are as natural to Neo-Melanesian as they are to moralizers and politicians. For both speaker and listener such figures are comfortable, allowing each to find his own meanings. It is apparent that the magical imagery of dreams and other reactions to the election at Kainantu found no brake in the way Neo-Melanesian was commonly used to explain the election.

The problem of communicating with people used to allegory is illustrated by an election incident. Two Tairora 'election men' (see pp. 58-9) were relating what had taken place in their briefing sessions at Kainantu, each giving the same account of a picture they had been shown. In it a bad or unpleasant old man, bald but for several hairs in the front of his head (the informants agreed on the number of hairs), was holding his hands over a door or box, perhaps a ballot box. This picture, they knowingly explained, was meant to raise the question whether the Tairora were able to thrust the man or his hand aside and open the door or box, or whether the man would be too strong for them. Their job was to be strong enough for this test when it came. The allegory had impressed them most that day.

Even granted some latitude in the reception of information from unfamiliar sources like expatriates, the point of such a parable was not easy to imagine. When the election briefing patrol came into the Tairora with its kit of educational matter the mystery was at least partly cleared up. One of the large drawings used by the patrol officer to illustrate his talks showed a balding, older man, an expatriate, presumably either a voter or polling clerk, standing by a ballot box with his hand resting on it. Though by no means smiling or handsome, he did not appear to be very strong; nor did his posture or expression suggest to this perceiver a man on guard to prevent one from voting or from getting into the box. All of the drawings of the set, moreover, were simple, matter-of-fact depictions of typical election procedures—nothing allegorical.

More substantial political issues might have changed these people's attitudes. With the absence both of issues and of prior experience with a legislative system, the election for many voters was vague enough to give rise to magical speculation. The uncertainty was epitomized in the comment of a former paramount *luluai*: 'Now that we have seen the election work, we are wondering if it is not the work we were talking about before.' The work before was cargo cult activity.

A major break occurred late in the Kainantu Open Electorate campaign when To'ito, the Gadsup candidate, decided to ask his supporters

not to vote for him but to give their first preferences instead to Holowei. He sent his rival a letter handsomely penned and worded in English in which he explained the reasons. He felt that the Kainantu electorate was not ready for a New Guinea representative in the House of Assembly. They could not unite behind any of the other candidates; no New Guinea man could unify them as well as Holowei. He therefore wished to support Holowei for the good of the electorate. Besides writing the letter to Holowei, To'ito expressed his position openly for a time to his fellow Gadsup. To judge from a post-election interview, To'ito had always been undecided about standing for election, uncertain of his own position. He sounded like a man who had not really wanted to run but had let himself be pushed into it. He said the letter was his own idea, however, the decision to support Holowei his. He did acknowledge some help from an expatriate in writing the letter. To'ito quite clearly was frightened of the House of Assembly.

To'ito's announcement of withdrawal had an appreciable effect on Gadsup voters who would otherwise presumably have voted for him. There was also considerable dismay among his supporters, and angry threats were made against him. After the initial announcement, To'ito was persuaded to give his decision no further publicity and he went into hiding. It was too late in any case to have his name removed from the ballot. Unable to withdraw formally as a candidate, he just let matters take their own course.

With local radio or newspapers such a development would have been prime political news and word of it would soon have reached the entire electorate. At Kainantu To'ito's move was not known much beyond the Gadsup area until long afterward. Few villagers in other areas heard the reasons given for the candidate's decision. They merely assumed he had no stomach for the contest, the scornful conclusion reached by the Tairora with whom the writer discussed the matter. It was a loss of face for him and for the Gadsup but no affair of theirs.

The Election in the South Markham Special Electorate

The South Markham Special election in the Kainantu Open Electorate was quite a different affair from the Open. Lloyd Hurrell, the Wau candidate, paid only a brief visit and did not campaign in Kainantu, which, under the prevailing conditions, meant that he might as well not have been a candidate there. Most villagers knew him only as a name, though one carefully memorized and recited along with the rest each time election men rehearsed the villagers on the candidates. The other two candidates, Graham Gilmore and Mick Casey, both resided and campaigned in Kainantu. Practically speaking a two-way race, in contrast to the six-way Open contest, the Special had a better chance of being perceived as, if not becoming, a campaign with personal overtones. This is actually what happened.

Several other differences between the Open and Special at Kainantu

deserve mention. First, the obvious one, that the Special candidates were expatriates. Although villagers generally understood that they were to vote for the Special Electorate as well as for the Open, there was nevertheless a different feeling about it, as if they were somehow guests in this election—'banis bilong olo wetman' ('the white man's area') voting by special concession, while the Open was properly their own—'banis bilong kanaka'. These Neo-Melanesian phrases became general. The fact that Wau or Kaindi, another area few Kainantu people knew anything about, was also in some way a part of this election gave it added strangeness in comparison to a race in which only Kainantu men and voters of the home district participated. The candidacy of Hurrell contributed to the strangeness.

The expatriate candidates faced a special problem of voter identification. Ethnic candidates had an initial identification with relatively large numbers of voters in their home areas, and secondly with all village voters because of having black skins, being New Guineans, and having a local history in common. The expatriate candidate in the Open Electorate wisely recognized the handicap he had to overcome and worked diligently—and successfully—to overcome it. Voter non-identification was of course the same obstacle for all the Special Electorate candidates at the start. The essential strategy was to overcome this more successfully than one's opponent. To be sure, identification is always in some degree the campaign task of a democratic election. The peculiarity in the Special election was the need to get voters to identify with candidates across a caste boundary. The Special election was special in more than name.

Casey, as he was listed simply on the ballot and on campaign posters (the expatriate candidates in both the Open and Special elections, but none of the New Guineans, had campaign posters), is a coffee planter in the Agarabi area north of Kainantu town. Previously resident in other parts of the Sub-district, he has lived in the area as a plantation manager or owner for a number of years. Physically a big man, he had some of the bearing and manner of the career soldier he had earlier been. Casey conducted what might be called a quiet campaign. He did relatively little talking to voters, most of which seems to have been simply to assure them that their affairs would be in competent hands were he elected. He spoke as a man who had lived in the electorate for some time, knew the people as his neighbours, and could be trusted therefore to do the right thing on their behalf. He did not particularize a programme of political action. He bespoke the voters' confidence but did not take them into his.

Graham Gilmore was the owner of the Kainantu Hotel. Though a recent arrival in Kainantu, he was born in the Territory and made mention of that fact in speaking to New Guinea voters. He said that he, like other New Guineans, had had to go to school to learn English. Gilmore made more of a point of his campaign platform than any other candidate in either Kainantu election. He said that, if elected, he would work for open enlistment for New Guinea men in the army; for the use of road-

building machinery and crews on the roads of the area, rather than hand tools and village labour; for establishment of a credit scheme to assist small cash crop producers and other grass-roots commercial operators in getting started; for the development of more schools with emphasis upon technical education in mechanics and other trades; and for a scheme to enable the people to make better use of their land holdings by promoting (perhaps communal?) herds and flocks to graze them, or afforestation (see *N.G.T.C.*, 15 January 1964, for a Gilmore policy advertisement).

Gilmore's platform was explicitly designed to develop bread-and-butter issues that would appeal immediately to village voters, and in this he had some success. Perhaps the most dramatic and best remembered incident concerned open enlistment for New Guinea men in the Papua-New Guinea Volunteer Rifles in which he is an officer. (Gilmore campaigned in P.-N.G.V.R. uniform on one or more occasions before there was a protest.) Some four hundred young men converged upon Kainantu on the appointed day, with the understanding that they could now enlist in the P.-N.G.V.R., be issued with uniforms and weapons, and draw soldier's pay. Few understood that literacy in English was a prerequisite. The large group of would-be volunteers was finally dispersed only after their names were taken and they were told they would be notified.

The most telling feature of Gilmore's campaign, in the writer's opinion, was not, however, the five-point platform nor the scattering of posters from an aircraft but his effort to fraternize with voters. Particularly in the Tairora Number One he was on familiar terms with To'uke, the ethnic candidate in the Open, and with election men and village leaders, who soon became quite partisan. These men felt close to Gilmore and enjoyed his hospitality in the Kainantu pub. That they did good work for him in swaying village voters could hardly be clearer. Voters in Tairora Number One went for Gilmore at a ratio of 22 to 1. (Casey's 36 first preference votes here quite likely came from Ontenu, a linguistic minority enclaved in the area and little subject to Tairora influence.) This was by far the highest ratio of winning votes by either Special candidate in any ballot box. In the eyes of village voters and of To'uke there was a unique relation between him and Gilmore. The Special candidate was widely and approvingly quoted as saying that he would help To'uke in the government work if To'uke fell down, while To'uke would help him if he faltered.

Gilmore's accessibility to village leaders made him widely quoted—or misquoted—by New Guineans during the campaign. A notable instance was his concern that Papua-New Guinea should not be defenceless and wholly dependent upon outside forces in the event of an invasion. Apparently arising from some comment made by Gilmore to New Guinea voters, a rumour started around the electorate that an invasion was imminent. There would be a big fight in which those who did not stay close to their homes but ran away when bombs began to fall might find their homes in other hands when they returned. A number of villagers

of the writer's acquaintance, on the strength of this report, were urged to go back at once to their home villages.

Rumours of fighting on a smaller scale also intruded into the Special election and produced a formal complaint by one candidate against the other. Casey was alleged to have threatened publicly to shoot his rival or to have made some gesture which suggested this. Gilmore's formal complaint to the Administration against his rival was not known and would not have been well understood by most of the electorate; but exaggerated rumours of the rivalry circulated widely. It was argued that the rumours must be true since both men were soldiers. Voters often referred smilingly to the threats as if for once the trouble was wholly the white man's. At the same time, the reports generated anxiety and in all likelihood were partly responsible for the subsequent belief that there might be violence against voters as well.

Both Special candidates campaigned from cars, largely if not wholly limiting their range to the roads of the areas. This meant that the southern and south-western parts of the electorate were neglected, especially in comparison with Holowei's extensive foot patrol through that area. Cars, as well as posters, then, were another election weapon used by expatriate candidates exclusively. The invidiousness was reduced, especially by Gilmore and Holowei, who made a practice of taking candidates or others associated with the village electorate along with them from time to time. The car as an appurtenance of expatriate campaigning did not go unrecognized. In post-election recriminations, Tairora voters complained about cars and were particularly afraid of the big car of one of the Special candidates whom they happened not to like.

The Polling Period

The polling in Kainantu, as elsewhere, lasted several weeks. Four patrols collected the majority of village votes, almost a month separating the start from the finish. Toward the end various rumours had accumulated which seemed to show that voting was considered dangerous. Patrols in the back country south-west of Kainantu reported a refusal by pregnant women and incontinent men even to approach the polling station. Leaves were sometimes laid in the path of the patrol and men later emerged from hiding to collect them. Voters cast their ballots wearing tiny bundles of counter-magic on cords about their necks or in netbags.

Many people had feared census-taking and the village census books when these were first introduced by the Administration and had guarded themselves at that time by magical means. Now they were similarly concerned about the effect of the election upon their lives, their health, their crops and pigs. They feared the 'breath' of the election. Though the ballot box was a central object, a breeze might blow on any part of the premises or activity of the polling station and carry sickness to those who came near. Pregnant women and newborn children, especially vulnerable, as always, to magical danger, had protective leaves hung about

their houses in the village. Like fighting in the past, the election was thought to place a man in jeopardy if he had recently had sexual intercourse. After the voting, leaves were eagerly stripped from the decorations of a polling station just a short distance from Kainantu. They were to be used in the preparation of magical remedies to counter the contamination voters had undergone. A Gadsup polling structure was smeared with pig's blood, traditionally a defence against magical danger. In one Tairora village on the eve of voting, the *luluai* took it upon himself to hear all the village women confess their adulterous attachments for the previous six months or a year. However well this prepared the women for voting, it set very poorly with the village men!

Not merely magical risks threatened the voters, however, but mundane ones as well. Voters developed a particular fear of retaliation by the two Kainantu candidates in the South Markham Special election. Each of these men had referred during the campaign to his soldiering. The rivalry between the two candidates, moreover, was more public than any in the Open election. 'They are both soldiers and', so it was rumoured, 'will shoot anyone who does not give them his vote, or cut his throat.' A plantation manager reported taking special steps to allay these fears among his labour line where the men were proposing not to vote at all. Other voters expressed similar doubts.

The anxiety about candidate reprisals probably had a general cause as well as a specific one. The expression of approval or disapproval of expatriate candidates involved an unfamiliar reversal of roles for New Guinea voters, just as the need to appeal to New Guineans for their votes was for expatriate candidates a reversal of the usual role of white men—a reversal to which not all adjusted with equal grace. New Guineans did not employ white men nor often take them to court; they did not publicly state their like or dislike of a white man's character or their judgment of his competence as, being illiterate and hence 'assisted voters', they would now have to state it to the polling officer. There was no question what 'laik' meant. An Agarabi or Kamano voter could not be blamed, perhaps, and certainly not attacked for not 'liking' a Gadsup or Tairora candidate, especially if he had his own to vote for. But with only European candidates the situation was different. A general anxiety over role reversal appears to have become focused by the rumour of violent rivalry between the two soldier candidates.

Polling in the villages varied with the character of the polling officers and their assistants. Some approached the job in a quiet, matter-of-course manner which appeared, from one observation, to produce a relatively relaxed response in the voters. Others found it necessary sometimes to assume the loud voice and proconsular manner traditionally identified by villagers with the *kiap*. In one case the New Guinean interpreter, interrogating voters for the roll clerk, held a stick with which he frequently tapped the voter's hands if the latter did not hold them at his sides in the position of attention. Numerous, nervous, perspiring voters,

especially women, forgot the candidates' names they had carefully rehearsed night after night during the previous weeks.

The fear of post-election candidate reprisals had been real enough. An expatriate candidate drove past some New Guinea voters shortly after visiting a polling station where they had voted. Men and women ran from the road into the *kunai*. A village *tutul* whom the candidate knew by name became tongue-tied when spoken to, blanched, and made as if to bolt from the scene. Stopping the car and alighting, the candidate approached another man, extending his hand. The poor fellow froze, eyes glazed in panic. For a week or two after polling had been completed in the villages, New Guineans in some parts of the area remained anxious about possible reprisals by expatriate candidates. They watched the roads warily and ran for cover at every sound of an approaching vehicle. Gradually their fear subsided as nothing happened. They got tired of neglecting their gardens and began to treat the rumours and fears with a touch of humour.

The magical fears of the voters, incidentally, proved to be more real than the vengeance of candidates. The epidemic of Asian flu which swept Papua and New Guinea around the time of the voting reached the Kainantu area shortly after polling ended. Many people became sick and some died, four in one Tairora village. (So high a death rate was certainly not general, and the writer cannot say, moreover, if all four died from the epidemic. The villagers themselves ascribe one death to the malevolence of ghosts.) The epidemic was termed at once 'election sickness', and will probably remain so in the traditions of the area. The coincidence of the sickness with the election produced no surprise, as people had predicted the danger beforehand. Few have wavered greatly in their magical beliefs for thirty years.

The close of polling marked the end of general interest in the election, probably, for the great majority of voters in Kainantu. There were a number of fairly obvious reasons for this. For one thing, as they understood it, the act of voting fulfilled their obligation toward the government just like the act of reporting for census-taking or for paying taxes. In fact, it was very much the same sort of duty; one presented oneself, gave his name which was to be found in the book, and answered some questions. The *kiap* wrote down the answers. The only difference was dropping the ballot paper in the box. Then one was through. The government did not tell one afterwards he was one of so many people in his village. They did not report how many pounds they had collected in taxes, much less what they meant to spend it for. One's duty was ended when the patrol left the village, and so it was in the case of the polling. The election men had been vigorous at least in keeping the election before the people for a relatively long time, however incompletely they may have understood it. But they received no further instructions now, and those asked by the writer were vague as to future responsibilities. They said they

would wait for the government to advise them if there were anything more to do.

The only report of the vote to the Kainantu electorate at large was a blackboard on the verandah of the Sub-district office. Here were neatly chalked the totals for the several candidates as the counting progressed. But a fraction of the electorate pass the verandah—if ever—more often than once or twice a year, and most of them are illiterate. Most people would have to learn of the outcome of the election by degrees and by word of mouth. Voters queried in several villages had no idea when ballot-counting was to begin or would end, or much else about it, probably in common with most of the electorate.

The counting of votes was done entirely by expatriates, though there were Papuan and New Guinean clerks in Kainantu. Only expatriate scrutineers were present, none representing ethnic candidates. The writer served as scrutineer and has no doubts about the way in which the votes were counted nor of the reasonable accuracy of the count. The results have nonetheless been privately questioned by ethnic candidates and village voters because expatriates not only did the counting but won in both races.

In the film strip used by election briefing patrols the electoral officer is seen shaking hands with white-skinned and black-skinned winning candidates in the presence of a group of voters. Some village people thought there might be a singsing or a tremendous gathering on the Kainantu air-strip. Others said a flight of aircraft over Kainantu would mark the conclusion. (There were also exciting rumours of a great fight, the motive for which was vaguely connected with the ignominy that would be felt by the losers in the election.) The absence of any public announcement or other signal event made the outcome of the election seem a private affair by contrast with the campaign. Even by the time the House of Assembly had adjourned its first sitting, in mid-June, perhaps a quarter or more of the voters of Kainantu had yet to hear who had won. For the majority the election ended not with a bang but a whimper.

A whimper is a commonplace for people subject to higher authority without sharing or helping to shape its purposes. Soldiers, citizens in bureaucracies, and colonial subjects often protest at dropping the stone but hearing no splash. In this way, the election seems to have passed over much of Kainantu, without perceptible consequence yet leaving behind neither a keen sense of fulfilment nor, on the other hand, one of frustration. In the final analysis, many thought it was not their affair.

The Results in Kainantu Open

Holoweï, the former Patrol Officer, won the Kainantu Open election by a large margin. There is a serious limitation in analysing the results, for votes cannot be assigned to their source in a given village. In many instances the same ballot box was used at two or more polling stations. Since the voters of some ethnic areas cannot be neatly isolated, conclu-

sions about how ethnic areas of speakers of a certain language voted are only approximate in some cases. In Table 1 the twenty-six ballot boxes used in Kainantu Open are distributed as accurately as possible according to the ethnic areas they represent. This can be done quite well for Agarabi and with reasonable accuracy for Gadsup. However, both Kamano and Tairora, and especially 'Southern Tairora and Border', include voters of other languages, such as Auyana. Tairora-speaking voters may have been more 'ethnic' than the present breakdown of voters allows one to see. Auyana voters, on the other hand, may have had a voting pattern distinct from the Tairora, in whose figures their votes are, so to speak, buried.

TABLE 1 First Preference Votes in Kainantu Open

	Ono	Manki	Holoweï	Akila	To'uke	To'ito	Inf.	Total
Tairora	468	4	1316	5	2042	17	43	3895
S. Tairora & Border	292	1	459	7	537	0	18	1314
Agarabi	956	1879	824	4	102	3	8	3776
Kamano	5	4	1132	2204	2	17	196	3560
Gadsup	76	82	2251	37	48	1102	13	3609
Wonenara	9	14	353	2	2	0	30	410
Hospital & Station	15	9	51	23	7	3	6	114

An estimate of voter participation can be made for each of the seven 'ethnic' areas, except that the two Tairora areas have to be lumped together for this purpose: Tairora and Southern Tairora and Border 80 per cent, Agarabi 80 per cent, Kamano 58 per cent, Gadsup 94 per cent, Wonenara 21 per cent, and the Hospital and Station 42 per cent. It was not possible, in using the Kainantu electoral roll, to make the same assignment of voters to areas that had to be made in considering ballot boxes and polling stations. In other areas the coincidence between roll and poll is closer; in Agarabi practically identical. The coincidence depends upon whether the polling patrol collected votes in a particular ballot box only from villages assignable to a single ethnic area, or whether ballot papers from several areas or languages are intermixed.

Gadsup, as was reported by polling patrols, had a very high rate of turnout. The network of roads in Gadsup made possible intensive campaigning by car, which may have generated greater voter interest in the area, although local factors are likely also to have played a part. It is surprising that turnout in Agarabi and the two Tairora areas ran about the same—80 per cent. The Agarabi area not only had a Council and two ethnic candidates to give focus to election interest, but is better served by roads than Tairora. Campaigning by car was ruled out altogether in much of the southern Tairora. The lower turnout of Kamano (58 per cent) could be explained by the absence of both an election

movement and of an extensive road network. To have stimulated equivalent turnout, the Kamano ethnic candidate would probably have had to be a more dedicated campaigner than he was. Wonenara, a very new as well as remote area, had the lowest turnout (21 per cent) perhaps for these reasons.

Bloc voting by ethnic areas is marked in first preferences and is shown also in the pattern of second and subsequent preferences in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Allocation of Preferences in Kainantu Open
Distribution of To'ito's Preferences (2nd count)

	Ono	Manki	Holowei	Akila	To'uke	Total
Tairora	2	1	6	0	0	9
S. Tairora & Border	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agarabi	0	1	1	0	0	2
Kamano	0	0	7	7	1	15
Gadsup	29	24	913	9	10	985
Wonenara	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hospital & Station	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	31	26	928	16	11	1012

Distribution of Manki's Preferences (3rd count)

	Ono	Holowei	Akila	To'uke	Total
Tairora	1	1	0	0	2
S. Tairora & Border	0	1	0	0	1
Agarabi	464	872	2	60	1398
Kamano	0	2	1	0	3
Gadsup	30	54	0	0	84
Wonenara	2	3	3	0	8
Hospital & Station	3	1	0	1	5
Total	500	934	6	61	1501

To'ito's first preferences were nearly all (96 per cent) from Gadsup voters who gave 90 per cent of their second preferences to Holowei. Next, Manki, one of the Agarabi candidates, was eliminated. His votes had come very largely (94 per cent) from Agarabi voters, and his Agarabi second preferences went preponderantly (62 per cent) to Holowei, and to Ono (33 per cent) who moved up from fourth place to third on the strength of these votes. Manki's second preferences might have been expected to benefit principally his Agarabi fellow-candidate and rival, Ono. Whilst Ono did benefit more than any other ethnic candidate from Manki's preferences, he gained only slightly more than half the number of second preferences which went to Holowei.

Certain observations are possible, based on Tables 1 and 2. Holowei, the winner, received roughly one-third of the first preference votes of each of the ethnic areas with an ethnic candidate, except Gadsup. He received almost two thirds of the Gadsup first preferences, presumably because of the unofficial announcement of To'ito, the ethnic candidate, in his favour. Holowei received less than a quarter of the first preferences in Agarabi where he was running against two ethnic candidates.

Recriminations were reported between Manki and Ono over having split the Agarabi vote. The split is clear, but by itself does not appear to have caused the defeat of either candidate. With no ethnic rival and the same share of Agarabi first preferences as favourite sons received in Kamano and Tairora, Ono would still have been well ahead of all other ethnic candidates. He would still not have beaten Holowei, since the latter's total of first preferences would have been twice Ono's over the whole electorate. The outcome of the rivalry between protégé and sponsor, politically the two most astute candidates in the Kainantu Open, would have remained the same. The pundits were correct in their assumption that New Guinea voters would favour New Guinea candidates in the Open. But the five-way division of the favourite son vote left the expatriate candidate in a commanding position, even though, except for Gadsup, he received a minority of the votes of areas with ethnic candidates.

To'uke, Akila, Manki and To'ito appear to have been about equally parochial in their appeal, if one lumps together the two 'Tairora' areas in the case of To'uke. Each of these four candidates depended upon his home district for about 95 per cent of his first preference votes, almost three times as much as Holowei depended upon the area that most heavily supported him—Gadsup—which provided 35 per cent of his first preferences.

Next to Holowei, Ono was the most broadly-based candidate, obtaining about half of his total first preference votes from outside his own area. In this respect as in most others Ono was the least ethnic of the ethnic candidates, the nearest of the New Guineans to a Kainantu candidate. The importance of Ono's outside support is partly a function of his weaker support at home, since in Agarabi he drew only half the vote of his ethnic rival, Manki. Ono was criticized by some Agarabi for what might be called aloofness. As Council president he had received their money which, in their view, made him beholden to them; but some charged that he had not shared with them the knowledge of his trip to Australia. Voter statements suggest distaste, perhaps envy, regarding a candidate who was not ingratiating or solicitous enough, and did not always grant requests to use the Council tractor. However, he was also the ethnic candidate with a rival in his home area. Denied the chance to vote for Manki or some other Agarabi, the same voters might have supported Ono as well as other ethnic areas supported their candidates.

Given the choice, they could indulge in the luxury of backbiting and criticizing the less popular man.

The Results in South Markham Special

In the South Markham Special Electorate, Lloyd Hurrell of Wau in the Kaindi Open Electorate led Gilmore of Kainantu by over a thousand votes at the end of the first count. Casey, Gilmore's Kainantu rival, came third, some 1,800 votes behind. Almost all of Gilmore's and Casey's votes came from Kainantu, just as almost all Hurrell's came from Kaindi. Table 3 shows the first preference votes cast for the Special Electorate in Kainantu.

TABLE 3 South Markham Special Electorate
First Preference Votes in Kainantu Open by Ethnic Areas

	No. enrolled	No. voting	% voting	Gilmore	Casey	Hurrell	Informal
Tairora		3895	80	1219	510	12	2154
S. Tairora & Border	6540			1314	124	278	2
Agarabi	4705	3776	80	2290	1305	18	163
Kamano	6108	3560	58	910	1738	10	902
Gadsup	3858	3619	94	2282	1086	158	93
Wonenara	1916	410	21	0	62	1	347
Hospital & Station	207	114	55	60	37	9	8
Totals	23334	16688	72	6885	5016	210	4577

N.B. Ethnic areas for enrolment are not necessarily identical with those of voting; figures are for rough comparison only.

Since the leader, Hurrell, lacked an absolute majority at the end of the first count, Casey, as the candidate with the smallest number of votes, was eliminated and his second preferences were distributed between the two remaining candidates. Fewer than one in three of the Casey ballot papers showed formal second preferences, the remainder being nearly all blank. That is, only a minority of voters who gave Casey their first preferences expressed a second preference. Of this minority the largest share of second preferences went, naturally enough, to Gilmore, the only other candidate known to most of Casey's Kainantu voters. The number was sufficient to put Gilmore ahead of Hurrell, however, by the slim margin of 348 votes, and Gilmore was declared the winner on this basis. In Kainantu Open Gilmore polled a total of 8,221 first and second preferences, Hurrell only 331.

The voting pattern, even without the factor of ethnic candidates, was by no means uniform from area to area. Four areas gave Gilmore appreciably larger percentages of their votes than Casey. Three others gave

TABLE 4 South Markham Special Electorate
Allocation of Preferences in Kainantu Open by Ethnic Areas

	Gilmore	Hurrell	Area totals
Tairora	120	6	126
S. Tairora & Border	171	6	177
Agarabi	208	10	218
Kamano	437	16	453
Gadsup	386	74	460
Wonenara	0	1	1
Hospital & Station	14	8	22
Totals	1336	121	

larger percentages to Casey. In part the division may have occurred because Casey was better known than Gilmore in these areas, being longer resident in Kainantu. Gilmore, who campaigned vigorously in some parts of the electorate, did little if any campaigning in other parts where, as the newer man, he would have the disadvantage.

There was also considerable variation from ballot box to ballot box within ethnic areas in the Special election, unlike the Open in which the pattern for an ethnic area as a whole tended to be repeated at most of its polling stations. Three Tairora ballot boxes had Gilmore majorities to two with Casey majorities, Agarabi boxes were three to three, one of them very close. Again, though Casey had majorities in all the five Kamano boxes, two were very close. These observations suggest that, while New Guinea voters may have voted *en bloc* by villages as much in the Special as in the Open election, it was the ethnic factor of the Open that brought various villages into line with each other producing the effect of ethnic blocs.

The informal vote, in this case almost all blank ballots, stands out starkly. Well over half of the voters of three areas left their Special ballots blank, over three-fourths of the voters in the new Wonenara area. A quarter of the Kamano voters did the same. It would be better to say, therefore, that only two areas, the relatively sophisticated Agarabi and Gadsup—and the Kainantu station itself—had small percentages of blank ballots in the Special election. In the case of Wonenara, the blank ballots probably reflected in part the almost complete ignorance of these isolated voters (reached only by aircraft) about the candidates. Holo-wei, who campaigned there in the Open, received approximately the same number of votes as Wonenara voters left blank in the Special. Ignorance of the Special candidates probably played a part in other areas of the electorate, too, but this may not be the whole story. Tairora, for example—not the more distant 'Southern Tairora and Border'—left 55 per cent of its Special ballots blank. The writer knows that it was not lack of acquaintance with the names of the Special candidates. Tairora voters were among the last to be polled. Rumours of candidate reprisals were rife by the time most of them voted and were seriously believed. It

is possible, therefore, that some of the blank ballots in this area, and perhaps others, resulted from the fear of electors to vote. Consistent with this argument, the voters with the lowest proportion of blank ballots were not only the more sophisticated Gadsup and Agarabi but were those first to be polled, voting before the anxieties about the Special had reached their peak.

Other electorates besides Kainantu had an excessive number of blank ballots in the Special election. Unique local factors, such as voter anxiety or unfamiliarity with the candidates, may not therefore be the full explanation. Kaindi, the other Open Electorate included in South Markham Special Electorate, also had an extremely large informal vote. Yet on thousands of the ballot papers that are blank for the Special Electorate, preferences are validly marked for the Open. Although no unusual voter anxiety was reported from Kaindi, it was noted that some polling officers did not ask assisted or illiterate voters for their preferences among the Special candidates (see p. 422). Apparently as a result, no preference was recorded in the Special in many cases. Much the same thing undoubtedly happened in Kainantu, though it would be impossible, under the law governing the secrecy of the ballot, to know how common it was.

An unknown but perhaps large number of informal ballots in the Special election might have been avoided if polling officers had either specifically sought from the assisted voter his preferences in the Special as well as the Open election, or exercised greater discretion in interpreting the statement of voters who could not or did not distinguish between the two electorates. Whether either procedure would have had the approval of responsible officers is not known to the writer. Polling officers in fact differed in the degree to which they attempted to assist the illiterate voter. In part this could account for the wide differences in the number of informal ballots between one patrol and another.

Underlying the difficulties at the various polling stations was a confusion about the elections on the part of many village voters in Kainantu, and perhaps also in Kaindi. Many Kainantu voters understood the elections in quite a different way from that anticipated by the expatriate officers who organized them. The game in which the villagers were called upon to participate as voters was remarkably complex. Only a few village voters could have comprehended the preferential system alone, even with far more time and educational resources than those available. Adding to the complication was the fact of two distinct but concurrent elections. The voter frequently could do no more than list *all* the candidates he favoured. If he implied an order of preference, it was a single order covering both electorates. Tairora voters consistently spoke of preferring To'uke in first and Gilmore in second place, though these two candidates were in different races. Plainly such voters did not perceive two races as they were supposed to, despite their repeated and reassuring references to 'resis' (races) and 'banis' (electorates).

Even if he understood what underlay the voter's inability to give a separate and correct statement of candidate preferences for each of the two electorates, the polling officer was obliged to decide whether to leave

the ballot paper blank for both electorates, to mark it for one, or to mark it for both. Some polling officers appear to have decided one way, some the other. Since the Administration's emphasis in holding the election was on having a large village vote, polling officers infrequently judged the voter's statement to be completely invalid—for example if he mixed the names of Special and Open candidates in a single list—although such a decision might have been technically justified. But their different decisions as to how to handle the assisted voter's unorthodox response, or failure to respond, quite likely contributed a certain number of blank ballots, and a majority of these, in the nature of the case, would be in the Special.

The Kainantu voting pattern in the South Markham Special election seems largely to fit the following interpretation:

1. Intensity of campaigning by the expatriate candidates affected not only the voting strength of the campaigner but voter participation or turnout in general. This is not the usual problem of 'getting out the vote' for these are not the stay-at-homes. They are voters who were 'gotten out', thanks possibly to the interest generated by the Open campaign or the belief that voting—a 'government' activity—was compulsory. As far as Kainantu is concerned, the Special candidates seem to have drawn votes in proportion to the degree that they solicited them, Hurrell almost nil, Casey midway, and Gilmore most. Campaigning and contact with voters is probably more crucial for an expatriate candidate, whether running against other expatriates or against New Guineans, than for an ethnic candidate. It would be surprising in a caste society if it were not so. There was nothing in either Kainantu election to indicate what the situation might be for an outside New Guinean or Papuan candidate.

2. An election like the Special may differ from one like the Open in the sense of radical role reversal for New Guinea voters and the consequent possible influence of a special element like fear.

3. Since Kainantu as well as Kainantu had an extremely large number of informal votes in the Special (10,401 and 4,852 respectively), and since these are not voters who stayed away from the polls but ones who did at least appear and vote in the Open election, the South Markham Special election casts serious doubt on the suitability of a Special Electorate in 1964 terms for the political future of New Guinea. This is so whatever may have prompted the conception of Special Electorates for the House of Assembly.

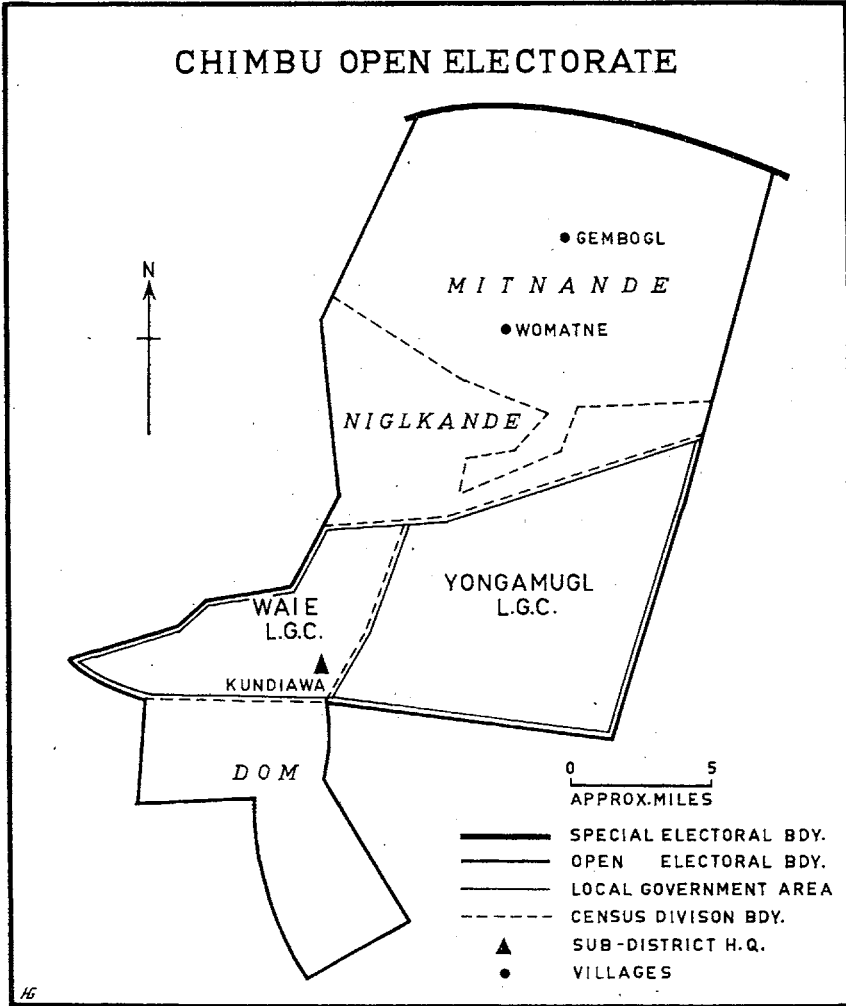
The Chimbu Open Electorate

Clive Criper

The Electorate

'Chimbu' is a name used sometimes to refer to the Highlanders as a whole, to refer to all those who make up the Chimbu Sub-district of the Eastern Highlands and to refer to a linguistic/cultural group. The Open Electorate called 'Chimbu' coincides with none of these. For election purposes the Sub-district was divided and makes up the bulk of four Open Electorates. Two of them contain the 'Chimbu proper', the groups which speak the Chimbu language. The Kerowagi Open Electorate includes some 10,000 of these Chimbu speakers and the Chimbu Open Electorate about another 45,000. The remaining section of the latter is made up of 10,000 Dom, speakers of a related but distinct language. The Sub-district headquarters itself is at Kundiawa, within the Chimbu Open Electorate. It is probably the most compact of all the electorates in the Territory. It has approximately only 160 square miles of inhabited land and can easily be crossed on foot from north to south in two days and from east to west in less. The main geographical and ecological features have been described elsewhere (Brookfield and Brown 1963) and only the minimum required to understand what is to follow will be given here.

Almost all the area lies over 5,000 ft. Central Chimbu, which includes the Sub-district headquarters, Kundiawa, is a part of the flat Wahgi valley. To the north lies a steep mountain range, the Porol range, about 7,000 ft. high. It runs east-west, and divides this flat Wahgi valley from the very mountainous north. There, about fifteen miles away as the crow flies, the Chimbu River rises and drops rapidly through the very narrow and deep Chimbu valley, passing through a gorge of the Porol range and out past Kundiawa. The valley through which it flows is inhabited by 20,000 Chimbu speakers, administered from a patrol post at Gembogl, near the head of the valley. It now has two Census Divisions, the Mitnande and Niglkande. Near the bottom of the valley close to the Porol Range, there is a large side valley where the majority of the 10,000 Yongamugl live, the remainder living on the south side of the Porol Range, the Kundiawa side. To the south-west of Kundiawa are the Dom (10,000). The Dom language is related to Chimbu but they are not mutually intelligible. Most of the Dom have some knowledge of Chimbu



and many Chimbu in the south of the electorate can also follow Dom when spoken.

The author was working in the Chimbu valley at the time of the election and the preparations for it. Material on the election was only collected incidentally to other work. As a result, though it is possible to report in some detail how people in the vicinity were reacting to the election, this is not true for other parts of the electorate. The chapter is consequently mainly concerned with what happened in the Chimbu valley, but an attempt is made to give an overall picture when sufficient information is available. During this period the author did not visit the Sub-district headquarters frequently so that the following view of the

election was from the bottom, the electors, rather than the top, the organizers.

The Chimbu economy is similar to that of many of the New Guinea Highlands groups, depending upon the main crop of sweet potato with subsidiary crops of yam, taro, corn, green vegetables, bananas, sugar cane, and now many varieties of European-type vegetables and fruit. Cultivation ranges from a height of 5,000 ft. in the flat area to 8,500 ft. in the side valleys. Within the area agricultural practice varies with population density, altitude, soil types, etc. (*ibid.* : 162).

In the lower-lying areas coffee was introduced in 1955 and has formed a major cash crop. The limit for coffee growing there is 6,000 ft. and above this altitude the people have had to rely on selling vegetables to the few Europeans in the area and on income from their relatives working outside their home area. Almost all the younger men have been to work either on the coast under the auspices of the Highland Labour Scheme or independently within the Highlands or on the coast. Recently pyrethrum has been planted as a cash crop in the higher altitude areas.

The first Europeans entered the area in 1933, and after two European missionaries were killed in 1934-5 a post was established at Kundiawa. The period before, during, and immediately after the war was largely devoted to the suppression of fighting and the establishment of an elementary system of tracks and roads. The system of *tultuls* and *luluais* was extended and census books compiled for the whole district. In 1959 the first Native Local Government Council, the Waie (officially Waiye) was established in the Central Chimbu. In 1963 the Yongamugi Council was set up. Both these Council areas are coffee-growing areas. Recently a co-operative coffee society has been set up.

Educational facilities are still minimal. There are four government schools in the electorate and a small technical school but as most of these are only recently established their effect on the population as a whole is virtually negligible. Missions have played a greater role in general education in the area, but again English schools are only now being set up in any numbers. English speakers are very rare indeed. Religious instruction has been given in bush schools all over the area and this has often been allied with very elementary teaching of writing either Neo-Melanesian or the local language. Those younger men who have been to the coast have also picked up some Neo-Melanesian, but few women or older men speak it. In contact with Europeans those who know Neo-Melanesian frequently prefer to speak in Chimbu and have it interpreted.

The missions have had great influence in the area. Missionaries passed through the area in 1933 and both Catholic and Lutheran missions were established afterwards. Since then they have played a major part in the development of the area, remaining even now the most frequent source of contact with Europeans that the majority of Chimbu have open to them. There are no privately-owned European coffee plantations and there are only a few Europeans not working for the government; these live in Kundiawa.

Finally we should mention the wanderlust of numbers of Chimbu. They

are curious to learn about new places and new things. They traded in the past; with the suppression of fighting their sphere of operations has widened and they are now to be found in almost all corners of the Highlands and in many places in the Lowlands too, either passing through to trade in feathers or other valuables or working as catechists, casual labourers, personal servants, plantation workers, etc.

The Candidates

The Census Divisions which go to make up the Open Electorate have been mentioned briefly. They are the Central, the area of the Waie N.L.G.C., the most acculturated area; the Yongamugl with a one-year-old N.L.G.C.; the Mitnande and Niglkande divisions in the Chimbu valley; and the Dom.

Each of these divisions is made up of a number of tribes which in pre-contact days had a political function. Alliances of tribes were common, some temporary, some more permanent. The present Census Divisions were not political units at all but are recent administrative groupings formed from the chain of Chimbu tribes. Though the links between adjacent tribes of neighbouring Census Divisions are just as strong as those between adjacent tribes within a Census Division, an awareness of unity within the division has grown up as a result of their being treated as one unit by the government. In the Chimbu valley two Census Divisions have recently been set up in the place of one but they are still administered as one unit by a Patrol Officer stationed at Gembogl near the top of the valley. All the other divisions are administered direct from Kundiawa.

There were eleven candidates, all native, in the Open Electorate. It is not proposed to give a lengthy biography of each because with one exception they have a background in common and as will be seen from the speeches they made no attempt to play up their differences during their campaigning. Table 1 gives the names of the candidates and the areas from which they came.

The most important Chimbu in the electorate is Kondom Agaundo (Brown 1963; Williams 1964: 41-4). He is a member of a tribe in the Central division and from an early age has been an active supporter of the Administration. As a young man he was appointed a *luluai* and grew

TABLE 1 Names of Candidates and Areas from which they came

<i>Census Division</i>	<i>Candidates</i>
Waie N.L.G.C. (10,000)	Kondom Agaundo; Kambua Mongia; Willie Kunauna; Kuglwame Amug; Kuatinenem Kuman
Yongamugl N.L.G.C. (10,000)	Waie Siune
Dom (10,000)	Aulakua Wemin
Mitnande } Niglkande } Upper Chimbu (20,000)	Joseph Kauglwa; Mendiglke Pagau; Karegl Bononggere; Yuainde Iual

in authority, actively encouraging coffee growing and the economic development of the area. He was appointed to represent the Chimbu Sub-district at the District Advisory Council. In 1959 he was appointed by the government as Councillor in the Waie N.L.G.C. set up in the Central division and elected as president. In 1961 he was elected to the Legislative Council as representative for the Highlands District. Since then he has visited Canberra and become chairman of the new local coffee co-operative society. He is a powerful orator when speaking to Chimbu but not among Europeans; his Neo-Melanesian is not fluent.

Outside the Waie N.L.G.C. he is well known. Those in the Chimbu valley who have not seen him all know of him by name, and his house, near the Waie Council House, is always pointed out to those visiting the area for the first time. By the majority of Chimbu he is considered well versed in European custom and particularly in government affairs. Within the Waie Council area, however, his position seems no longer to be as assured as it was some time ago.

Within this area three other candidates were nominated: Kambua Mongia, a vice-president of the Council and a member of the District Advisory Council; Kuglwame Amug, government interpreter at Kundiawa and of the same tribe as Kambua; Kuatinenem Kuman, an *ex-luluai* and vice-president of the Council. From the Dom came Aulakua Wemin, a *luluai*. From Yongamugl there was Waie Siune, a younger man who had been a medical orderly and *tutul* and more recently a vice-president of the council in that area. From the Chimbu valley there was Joseph Kauglwa, a Roman Catholic ex-catechist and mission helper and now an owner of a store and a Landrover; Mendiglke Pagau, the owner of two small stores; Yuainde Iual, a Lutheran evangelist; Karegl Bononggere, formerly a Roman Catholic catechist and now an owner of trade stores and two Landrovers; and Willie Kunauna, a member of the tribe at the southern end of the valley, who is Clerk to the Waie Council and normally resident in that area.

Amongst these candidates there is only one English speaker, the Council clerk. None of the others could be described as fully literate in their own language or in Neo-Melanesian. With the exception of Kondom none of them were known throughout the electorate nor have they had experience of politics or of government outside their own area, except for Kambua who has been on the District Advisory Council. In the following section an attempt is made to show how the pre-election campaign was carried out in the Upper Chimbu and consequently how the candidates were chosen. The situation in the Waie Council area cannot be described as the author does not know the local politics well enough.

Election Education Campaign

In the Chimbu valley the education campaign started off in mid-September with a patrol by the Patrol Officer resident at Gembogl to the lower of the two Census Divisions. He visited a number of the rest-houses, summoning all those who wished to attend. There was by no means a full turnout. It was meant as a preliminary talk, giving people a rough

idea of the purpose behind the coming elections and an adequate warning should they wish to nominate a candidate.

At one rest-house he dealt with the following points during his talk: that since the arrival of the white man they, the Chimbu, had learned many things but they still had many to learn; that now was the time to learn about government; that the *kiaps*, such as he and others in the District, did not make laws—these laws were made by a big Council in Moresby and both white and black had to obey these laws; that now the Council was predominantly white but this was to be changed in five months' time, after which there would be a majority of black and only a few white (figures were given), and everyone in the Territory would have to obey the decisions of the new Council; that these members of the Council would come from all over the Territory with Gembogl, Yongamugl, Dom and Waie combining to choose one; that in five months' time they would all collect to choose one man; that many people would want to go but only one would be able to do so, and there would therefore be an election to find out who that would be; in five months' time a white man and a clerk would come and they would have to give their names to them and tell them whom they wished to send to Moresby; the white man would give them a paper and the clerk would mark the name on the paper for someone who couldn't write; if very many people all marked one man then he would be the man to go to Moresby.

This was the essence of what the Patrol Officer put across at the meeting. The people there answered that they liked what they had heard, and would like to nominate someone, but as they had not heard of this talk before they would have to discuss the matter with the rest of the tribe and also a neighbouring one. The Patrol Officer then went on to explain that if they nominated a man he would have to go and tell the *kiap* at Kundiawa and give him a sum of money. This money he would get back if he had lots of support but if he didn't he would lose it. He also made the point that if from one area many lines nominated a man and if, from another area only one man was nominated, then the latter would certainly win.

This last point, together with the rest, was discussed informally after the talk was over and people agreed in principle that they and the other tribes in the valley, that is both Census Divisions, should combine to nominate one candidate only.

The Patrol Officer gave similar talks at other rest-houses, generally getting an interested audience though the leader of one group at least (the Kalagu) got up and declared he was not interested in the slightest and anyone who wished to represent him could do so! On the whole, though, these talks stirred up considerable interest and reports of them spread quickly to the upper half of the valley, though not always accurately.

There was a pause at this stage. Those in the top half of the valley frequently asked amongst themselves when they would hear about this big new Council and what it meant. It has already been pointed out that the Central division and Yongamugl had Native Local Government Coun-

cils but not the Chimbu valley or Dom. In the valley there had been constant opposition to establishing a Council since the possibility of it became known, primarily because it would have meant the introduction of tax which they considered themselves unable to pay, but also because of their dislike of the ineffectualness of the Waie Council under Kondom, a fault which they attributed to the Council system rather than to the Councillors themselves. Possibly, therefore, this talk about the election for the House of Assembly stimulated more interest than otherwise might have been the case, for people were uncertain of the connection or difference between the local Council and this new Council that was said to be coming.

A month afterwards Kondom arrived at the top of the valley in an Administration car and stayed the night at the patrol post at Gembogl, where he apparently spent most of his time talking about his trip to Australia (as a member of the Legislative Council) and what he had seen there. He did not try to canvass. The next morning he arrived at Womatne on foot to find no one there waiting for him. After much singing out he went down to the Lutheran Mission nearby, where there were a number of people who had been attending the market. They were mainly women and children. He started off the proceedings by getting the Lutheran English teacher to translate the Administration pamphlet in Neo-Melanesian on the election into the local language, item by item. Even to this primary school teacher the Neo-Melanesian of the pamphlet was unclear and several points had to be explained to him by the missionary who was present.

After one and a half hours of this, by which time a few more people had arrived, Kondom started talking of the election, mainly on the extent of the electorate and the mechanics of voting. He went on to talk of Councils generally and what they meant. They meant paying taxes, following suggestions of the government and learning the ways of the white men, giving up their pig festival and traditional food presentations and marketing the pigs and vegetables instead, an increase in the number of English schools, and not least the increase in penalties for those who humbugged around, fines of £100 and gaol sentences of up to 6 months.

He insisted upon someone replying to his speech and one of the *tultuls* got up and said that they didn't understand all that he had to say; that he should come back another day when there were people there to hear him. Kondom replied that he was going round telling everyone of his trip to Australia and then in five weeks' time he would have to go to Moresby again, after which he would return here and talk further. He then left, not to return before all the candidates came round together.

In the meantime there was a change of Patrol Officer at Gembogl and it was not until late November that the next large scale meetings were held. Before this, small snippets of information were passed on by those living near the patrol post. On one occasion in the second week of November the Patrol Officer came down to settle a dispute in the area in which the author was living and was said to have told people that they must not hold any courts in the next few months as it was near the time

for them to mark out a big man to go down to Moresby. This reference to the elections during the hearing of a dispute puzzled the area and started new rumours as to what the elections were really going to be about.

Towards the end of the month the Patrol Officer started his round of pre-election talks. He visited some of the main rest-houses, summoning all the adjacent groups to them. For those in the lower Census Division, this was therefore their second official talk but for those in the upper division, Mitnande, it was their first. At one of the rest-houses, Womatne, the author was present during the talk and the discussion afterwards. The turnout for the talk was quite good though it was mainly men and mainly those who took an active part in local affairs. As for most people this was the *only* direct communication they had from the Administration before the election, it is very worth while examining what was said and in what terms the House of Assembly and the elections were explained to them. The Patrol Officer spoke in Neo-Melanesian which was then interpreted for the audience. As the interest lies in exactly what and how much information was actually conveyed to the Chimbu, the interpreter's words (in Chimbu) have been translated back into English. The translation mirrors the speech; where the reader will find vagueness, so did the Chimbu.

In all the speeches quoted hereafter a row of dots indicates the break made for the section to be interpreted; square brackets mark insertions to aid the reader's understanding; paragraphs indicate roughly changes in topic.

Down at Moresby there is a Council house. The Waie Council has a small house and it's not like that. The Moresby Council house is huge . . . The house there is very big, huge. It is the government of all you people, that is the name of it, the government . . . This Council house down there, all sorts of things come up inside it—whether people will make a Council or cut a road, everything that people do comes from inside this house . . .

Kondom, the Naregu, is in this house . . . Perhaps he has told you of it. There was this house and before, when they met, Kondom was there. They say there were 20 black men there and they say 40 white men were there. They were there and they had meetings . . . Before it was like that but now they are getting rid of it and changing it. Now they will take 20 white men and 40 of us black men who live all around here . . . Now we white men belong to Australia. You were at your mothers' breasts when we came. We have been here a long time and now you are upgrown men. Because you are grown up it is time for we Australians here to leave you . . . Now at this time we will send 40 black men. When you have arranged all kinds of things, when we have given it to you and you have taken it then we will leave . . . What we are talking of isn't something small he says, it's very big; very big and you probably haven't ever before heard and seen such a thing.

They are going to do this and so we are searching. If we search around then someone who is strong, a strong man, will go to this house in Moresby . . . If you go and mark a man here who will humbug around, the Council at Moresby will accept him and the Council and

all those who sit in it will come to no good and so will all who live in New Guinea . . . If those who will do the choosing see a man who is strong, if they think the man's mouth won't get heavy when talking in front of all those people who will be there, that he will be talking all the time and talking vehemently, that he is thoughtful, then this man will do the job and go to Moresby and will make public his talk. Don't think of a man who is a speechmaker, a man who has lots of money, a man who is wealthy in pigs, a big man who knows how to make a speech, don't think of this man. A man who is thoughtful, whose talk is to the point, whose mind is open, he is the man to go there.

The people from Yongamugl, from Dom, from Dinga Tambande,* from the Waie Council below, all of us between the boundaries of Gembogl on top and Ku down below—all of these will join together and only one will go down there to the Moresby Council house . . . So don't go and think that, because people are saying that someone from your ground is going to become an important man, that you yourself will go. We called all these names † so that you can think about it. All these will join together into one and one only . . . The man you will send, he won't only look after your land, the land on which we live here at the top of the river. Dom, Yongamugl, Waie Council—all these he will join together and look after. It is something to do with 'looking after' that is going to happen. If it is someone from down below, from the Waie Council, then they will join us to them and look after us . . . that is how it is.

Afterwards, when I send one or two of you big men you will go down to where the Waie Council and the Yongamugl live and have a meeting and decide who will go . . . the man who will go must be strong . . . We here are all weak; there isn't a man who will be strong here. He must have good ideas, be clever; he must have thought of and carried out road making, building Aid Posts, which is the name of the place doctor Simon ‡ is at here building schools. A man who has acted like this, who will have good ideas, that is the man you must choose.

The people from Kerowagi over there . . . those from the Jimmi river on the other side . . . Papuans from down below . . . the Tolai, we people here, all the 44 of us will join together and go to this house down there and talk and arrange things . . . now I see that we here don't have Councils and so we will not understand what happens. However, 20 white men, 20 of them, will be at this Council House in Moresby. Those of us who go will get mixed up and they [the white men] will show them the way. They will go down to this Council House. The whites have a different coloured skin and will not come and trample you black people under foot. You will be as equals.

And your work, the essence of your job is to vote. Your first work is this, you will look for a man who has good ideas and who is strong and you will take him . . . The man you will go and choose out won't go for nothing . . . some money, £25, he must put in and having put it in he can go . . . £25 has been laid down but why has this amount

* Incorrect, for Dinga and Tambande were in another electorate.

† Of the Census Divisions comprising the electorate.

‡ Medical Assistant Patrol Officer at Womatne.

of money been laid down? The reason is this. If you send someone down there who is any old man, a man who will fool around, who will humbug around then his work won't go straight at all. If only a few men like this man it won't go straight. Because it will go all wrong they have laid down the amount of £25 . . . When the man has given in the £25 they will make the elections. Having made it, if all the people like this man then the £25 will be given back. Because a man wins they won't take the money. Because everyone likes the man he will get back his money.

This election that we are now saying that we are going to hold, there are two methods . . . We will mark one man to go but if two set themselves up we will ask which of them do you want to go, which of them do you like. 'I want this one' you'll say and raise your hand which will be counted; and when we say 'who wants *this* one' you will say 'I want this one' and will raise your hand which will be counted; and when we ask which of you want another one those who want him will raise their hands and be counted. That is one way of doing it but it's not right . . . At the time of showing their hands, if the *luluai* who is here is chosen by a brother or someone else to go he will stand up. His younger brother nearby thinks 'this man is no idiot but the chances would be wasted if he went; however he will be angry with me so he had better go'. Thinking this he then puts up his hand agreeing he should go. It's because he would put up his hand that this way of doing things is no good . . . At the time of the elections you will have thought whom you want to go and nobody around will know . . . you will whisper the name of whoever *you* like . . . We will talk of the way we will vote in the elections we are going to hold. Afterwards I will show you how we will vote but now have you anything you want to say?

This man that we are talking of, the man whom you will want to send, to put down his name and give in the money: now is the time for it, this is the month for it. Now people will put their names in and when Christmas is over, when the new moon comes, on the 25th day* of the first month the time will be over.

[At this stage the picture sheets illustrating this pre-election talk were brought out and demonstrated.]

This is the picture of the Council house at Port Moresby. This is the picture of the house with the house at the top and people down below . . . before it was the concern of the white man and woman and this is the man they chose. The black men are sitting around doing nothing . . . Before this is what happened but now we are changing things. Now we are changing it and the white men and black will together think whom they want . . . Afterwards at the time of the election they will put a table inside a small house like this one behind † and two clerks will sit at these tables . . . Men will call their names in the usual way where the clerks are and they will mark it on paper . . . The clerk will mark down the names. He will bring a book with all the names in it and when a man calls his name he will open the book, look for the name and mark it when he finds it . . . When a man has gone to one clerk and had his name marked off he will go to the other

* Incorrect.

† The rest-house at Womatne.

clerk and mark a small piece of paper with the name of the man whom they have chosen to go to Moresby and whose name will be there . . . Here is the paper, here it is but as you will see this is large and the paper you will get will be small.

As I told you before, whether you look for one man or many their names will be written down as on this one. This is how the names will be written. They haven't written true names here these ones are false. They are written to show how it will be done. These false names here are the ones he has read out. The first name that you want to call you will say 'I want this man to go'. The one you will call next you will say 'I want this one to go'. The man you want to go next you will say 'this man should go'. These names here aren't true names they are just false ones to show you how it will be done . . . Those who can't write or read will go to the *kiap* and whisper in his ear . . . This number one two three business, this is how it is. If no. 1 goes and supports him will no. 2 come first; or if no. 1 comes first will no. 2 come afterwards; or if no. 2 comes afterwards will no. 3 come first. That's how it will be.

When you have said whom you want to go and marked it on the paper it will be folded and there will be a box with a lock on it into which you will go and put it . . . When this is finished it will be taken down to Kundiawa and emptied out into the open. They will divide them and they will see that these have put this no. 1 and that this has put this man no. 1. They will continue opening them and the man that everyone likes will go down to the Moresby Council . . .

What I have said I will now say again. We are from Gembogl. If they mark someone from up there, will he get on top or if Waie Council mark someone will he get on top? When we have done this all of us from round here will test how equal in size we are, or will have a *racés* [Neo-Melanesian term] . . . A friend or a brother or someone who thinks a man should go [to Moresby] and who can read should write a letter to him [the *kiap*] saying that he thinks this man should go . . . As I told you before you should take the money and the paper and give it to him . . . When Christmas is over on the 25th day of the first month, the time for giving in names will be over. Afterwards they will not be able to give in names or money . . . If someone wants a man to go and writes the name and takes the £25 and gives it to the *kiap* saying 'I want this man to go' then the *kiap* will write the names on a piece of paper like these false names on this paper here . . . At the time of the election when the clerk comes they will bring only this kind of piece of paper, no others . . . The men's names that he is calling [the *kiap* had read the names from the demonstration ballot sheet]: the man whose name comes first here, if you like him very much then the names that come afterwards [on the ballot paper] you will call afterwards. If you want to call a name in the middle then you will call the names that come after it later . . .

Anybody standing close-by will not be able to see or hear the name you choose. You alone will ponder and decide and having marked the paper you will put it inside the box. Nobody else will see. When we see that all you men and women have finished marking your choice and putting the paper into the box we will take it and break it open and count which is the man that very many people like . . . If many

people all like one man then this one man will go to the big Council house at Moresby.

Now this talk we are having, I understand it but I think it is rather difficult. Some time afterwards those of you who know pidgin and have a good understanding will go to Gembogl and I will demonstrate how they will do the election. Then when I have shown you, you can go and tell all the others. Now this talk, is it all right or is it all wrong?

Following on this talk the Patrol Officer made seven short replies to questions or comments from the audience. The first of these was to a *tultul* who said that they didn't quite understand what this was about and that they would discuss the matter amongst themselves and when they had come to a conclusion they would let him know. He replied that they should come to the patrol post and he would explain again. To another questioner he said that the elected member would either get his fare back from Moresby paid by the government or he would be paid sufficient salary to pay the fare himself. To the various statements that they would think about the candidate and that they were not prepared here and now to come to a decision he advised them to think carefully and take their time and if they wanted to choose someone to choose a good man. To a suggestion that all the inhabitants of the valley should join together and choose one candidate he replied that it was their affair but that he personally thought the suggestion was a good one and it could lead to their winning the election. He ended by saying that he would talk again and again to them on the subject.

The interpreter, in the *kiap's* presence, then got up and in the growing murmur of confusion once more went over the purposes of the election, the change in the numbers of the white and black members, and made the following points about the real purpose of this council:

This meeting house at Moresby will be a big one. It arranged all sorts of things, the things that the government lays down and we obey. The man who goes down there won't be doing any kind of money business. They are talking of 'business nothing', things that will be done for us . . . because the man must talk strongly we talk of a strong man, we say he must be a good thinker. In pidgin they say he will get 'savi', he will have good 'savi', like an intelligent man, a man who knows how to make speeches . . . I am talking so that you can understand the essence of it all, I am telling you of the purpose of this Council: it says you mustn't go and fornicate with someone else's wife. If you have done it then it will say 'you have ignored this, did you know of it or didn't you know?' When you have gone on top [to the patrol post] I have acted as interpreter for you and he has struck you. That is the essence of it, do you follow? They say don't steal but if you ignore this and go and steal then you are struck. Before the white men did this, now the black men will do it. This is the essence of it all.

The discussion which followed centred mainly on the need for combining together and choosing one candidate only for all the valley. They talked of the necessity for arranging a meeting of all the groups in the valley to decide on a candidate once they had talked it over amongst

themselves. The doctor boy took an active part in stressing the need to act as one unit if they were to win against the other main groups—Dom, Waie and Yongamugl. One reason given why they should put up a candidate who would win was that otherwise they would be involved in continual journeys down the valley to Kundiawa for meetings, where they would lack both food and accommodation. A reason more frequently expressed, though, and one which seemed to carry a lot of weight, was that the Waie Council was now failing and that it therefore seemed better to let someone from elsewhere see if they could not do better. Many agreed that their acquaintances from the Waie Council area themselves testified to the decline in activity and success of the Council. Everybody interpreted this as ruling out *anyone* from the area, Kondom included.

Selection of Candidates

After the Patrol Officer's talk at Womatne, discussion continued in the men's houses as those not present at the meeting were told about it. It was at this stage that possible candidates were mentioned. It was agreed wholeheartedly that the whole of the valley, that is all that part administered from the patrol post at Gembogl, should combine to nominate one candidate who would then win. Their knowledge of relative strengths of different tribes was only approximate. In the Mitnande Census Division it was generally recognized that the three tribes at the top of the valley together were as big as or bigger than any of the other Census Divisions, Dom, Yongamugl or Waie. (In fact they are about equal in size.) However, it seemed safer for all the valley people to join together and then they would surely win. No one disputed this. There was no idea of such a thing as preferential voting, and all the discussion was in terms of finding a candidate *by consensus*, with the corollary that the man with the most extensive group support would win.

Though the Census Division seemed to the people to be the best unit to support a candidate it was the tribe (numbering 1,000-4,000) which was considered the most suitable unit to put forward potential candidates. In the following two weeks names of potential candidates were bandied around within the tribe and some became known to nearby tribes. There was no sense of urgency and no definite decisions were made. In the second week of December the Patrol Officer paid a second, brief, visit to Womatne, arriving in the later afternoon and leaving in the morning. He gave not a 'mass' talk but one to those who lived close by or happened to be there at the time. It was probably directed at a small number of the more politically aware. The author was not present, but it seems that nothing new was mentioned. Even though this limited talk did not circulate very widely it did remind others that they must do something to meet with other tribes to decide on a candidate. However, once again momentum was lost and discussions about the election died down.

It was only two days before Christmas that talk was sent down the valley that all the 'big men' from all the tribes in the valley should go up to the patrol post to select a candidate. In fact it was not really a sum-

mons from the Patrol Officer but it served to bring together representatives of the three tribes at the head of the valley (11,000). They met, discussed the various contenders, and settled upon Kauglwa, a store owner of Gembogl. There were several other starters who were eliminated as they failed to possess the qualifications which people thought would be necessary for this new government job at Moresby.

From the very start traditional 'big men' were ruled out on the grounds that such a new-fangled scheme required someone familiar with the ways of the government and the white world. Equally, a young man who, though familiar with Europeans' ways, had not had time to prove his ability and good sense, was impossible. There were no possible candidates able to speak English so that discussions on the importance of English versus Neo-Melanesian were irrelevant here. It was automatically assumed that knowledge of Neo-Melanesian was sufficient. Though they had been specifically told that lack of knowledge of Neo-Melanesian was no bar to someone going to Moresby, they felt that a man who knew no Neo-Melanesian could not be familiar with Europeans' customs and hence would be unsuitable.

One of the strongest candidates was from the same tribe as Kauglwa. He was a medical orderly who had been working for many years at the hospital at Kundiawa. He had the advantages of being very senior in his post, and of having been among the first to lead the missionaries into the valley in the early days of contact and to follow their teaching. This was taken as proof of his forward-looking attitude and his support of social change, the latter being important since the new House of Assembly was above all expected to introduce changes into all their lives. This man also had the advantages of living and working at the hospital in Kundiawa where he saw and had made friends with many people from the other tribes in the electorate. However, he was already employed by the government and many people thought that for this reason he (and one other potential candidate) should not be chosen for the House of Assembly which was itself a government job. Accordingly, the candidate chosen was a private trader.

At this meeting no representatives came up from the Census Division at the bottom of the valley. It was known at the time that some favoured another store owner, Karegl, and that another candidate from a small tribe was also in the offing. The meeting broke up after the leaders of the three tribes agreed to arrange a meeting with the leaders from down the valley to decide between the two store owners, Kauglwa and Karegl. The third man, Yuainde, a Lutheran evangelist from the small tribe of Onguglo, was dismissed as a 'man nothing' who had insisted on putting himself forward. His chances were considered negligible, and so the effect of his vote splitting was not seen.

It was at this stage that the Administration policy in the Open Electorate had a decisive influence. It seems to have been the view that the fewer the number of candidates the better it would be, and best of all if there were only one candidate nominated and hence no need for an election. The only possible candidate for this would have been Kondom.

It was probably felt that experience in Council procedures was essential for a candidate and that at the stage where one-half of the electorate had had no such experience, and a further quarter had only a recently-established Council, an election with complicated voting procedures would be more than confusing. It was therefore the policy to emphasize to candidates that they must have support from outside their own tribe or area if they were to win. Two-day courses in election matters were held in Kundiawa for the Dom, Yongamugl, and Waie areas in which this fact was apparently emphasized.

Nevertheless, a large number of people seemed likely to stand, and in an effort to avoid difficulty it was decided to ask all *potential* candidates to come to Kundiawa well before the day nominations closed. This was just before Christmas and they were told that after Christmas they should start on a tour of the electorate. The purpose of this announcement was to make many of them realize that they had little support outside their own area, and that therefore it would be wise to withdraw.

The actual effect turned out to be the opposite of that intended. When the potential candidates went down to Kundiawa to put in their £25 deposits (being told very clearly that they might still withdraw their money) the groups with which the author had some acquaintance were still in the process of choosing. It was the same in the Chimbu valley and those in the Waie Council area were similarly occupied. Once the deposits were given in *all* discussion about choosing candidates ceased. By this action of putting up £25 the candidates had declared themselves publicly and there was then no incentive for groups to come together and choose by consensus a single candidate. The situation at that time was thus frozen, and the electioneering tour of the candidates had virtually no effect on this.

Though no further meetings to discuss candidates took place, one further candidate put himself forward at the last moment: Mendiglke, a man of the same tribe as Kauglwa. He had to rush down to Kundiawa to get his deposit in on time. This caused some annoyance within the tribe as it seems to have been largely his own idea, borne out by the fact that he later tried to withdraw his name and money, but was told that this was impossible. The refusal to let him withdraw was later used by him to lend credence to his statement that the Europeans were supporting him and had asked him to stand.

The Campaign

The candidates set out, as advised, on a tour of the electorate to test their popularity, travelling together and addressing the audiences together. The Open Electorate is so compact that it is easy to travel on foot between the rest-houses usually used for meetings. Kondom appears to have kept his distance from the main body of them, either managing to be a few hours ahead or a few hours behind. This probably reduced the contact he had with people, since in both of the election meetings that the author attended he either passed through before the people had begun to collect or after they had dispersed. The last minute candidate, Mendiglke, did

not join up with the main party after he had put his nomination in and did no systematic electioneering.

As this single tour was the only occasion on which the candidates could make any appeal to people in areas outside their own, it is interesting to note the way in which they saw their role, and the extent of their own understanding of the purpose and method of the elections.

Some of the party arrived the previous night while others slept further down the valley. In the morning there was a lot of noise, as people shouted up from Womatne to the surrounding ridges for everyone, men, women and children, to come down quickly. By no means all came but there was a considerable turnout, including women and young girls. Everyone was seated on the grass outside the government rest-house and the first of the speakers stepped forward to start things off with a prayer. This then developed into a general speech. From then on the audience was treated rather like a group of schoolchildren being drilled in some subject. The candidates saw themselves as teachers who had to drum in the meaning of the elections to an uncomprehending audience. The audience had to repeat out loud the names of the candidates as they were called, all of the names being called by each man as he spoke in turn. When asked if they understood they had to reply in unison and repeat it if it was not loud enough. On several occasions, too, they were roundly abused for not paying attention or because someone laughed. The final part of each speech was invariably a statement that he, the candidate, had put in a deposit of £25 and, if the audience wanted, he would go no further but would cancel his nomination and take back his money but, if they said they would vote for him, he would stand as a candidate. The answer to *each* of the candidates was that they would vote for him. With that the candidate would step down and another one start.

In the following paragraphs are translated fully the speech by Waie, the winning candidate, followed by extracts from all the other speeches in such a way that there are included all the topics that each speaker covered but things said twice are not repeated. Square brackets indicate the audience replies, parentheses indicate interpolations.

Waie:

You have heard what they have all said so I will only speak briefly . . . do you know me? . . . they have called my name. Do you know it? [Waie] As you know my name I will speak briefly. The Yongamugl have sent me along and so I am here. It was said that if I spoke to you, if you saw my face, if you heard my name then you would vote for me. Do you follow? [Yes]

Now I'll just speak a bit about this big man we are going to find. You people here who live underneath Mt Wilhelm, those from Waie Council, we from Yongamugl, those from Dom over there . . . we say we are four lines. Do you understand? [Yes] Now we are going to find this big man we have joined together and become one line. People will think we belong to different lines but as this big man is going to look after us all we are joining together and becoming like younger and older brother.

All the white men, from Australia, from England, from America, from all over, have these big men. They aren't just there, they go and mark them by voting. Do you follow? All the white men support them (in talk) and follow them and their work gets up big. The laws that are made, these big men make them. We mark the big men and we ourselves will make the talk. Because their work might fall down they support each other and work. So they have all sorts of work—we ourselves have seen it, do you understand? If they hadn't supported each other's talk, well, before, they were in their own land, they hadn't come to our land here and they supported each other's talk (in meetings) and took up and adopted all kinds of work. They made a plan to break open this road down below and agreed on it. They came and opened up our land and looked after us. Do you see? And this is good. If they hadn't broken open the road they wouldn't have come and looked after us. We would have come to no good but for them having made a law to break open the road. They agreed on it and have come and looked after us so well that now we have become like men.

Take me. My father and mother or ancestors, did they come here to Womatne? [They didn't come] Did you go to Yongamugl? To Kamaneku? No! Did you ever go on top there? No. It is only now that we have seen these roads. It is only because Australia has come and sat down here that we are as we are. All of you men and women here know that we are going to Bundi to eat their pig and afterwards spread out in all directions.* Because they (white men) are here, this is our fashion. Before the *Government* alone has looked after us. At the time the Council came up they put Kondom there. You know this, you have seen Kondom. He looked after us and went down to where the sun sets. He alone looked after us.

Now this time is over and they say we must choose someone new. You people from Gembogl are to choose one man, Waie Council one, Yongamugl one, Dom one. When these four men are chosen you will vote. This man may win, or this one, or this one, or this one but if one *wins* the other three will lose. Because they say that this is what we are going to do we have collected together money. The money box at Kundiawa is full, do you understand? There are 11 of us and we have frowned at our money being in there. The government is going to take it all. Only one man will win.

Now if you vote as it should be done then things will go all right, but if you make a mistake it will go all wrong. You *tultuls* you will tell people like this. First of all you will tell your name to the clerk who will be there. A white man, a *kiap*, will be there and having given your name you will go to him and tell him whom you would like. If you would like me or someone else you will call that name first. Having called it you will then call out all of the other 11 names. If you leave out one your voting will go no good and the paper will be torn up.

It is because this is all new, because you will go wrong that I am talking thus. Because our 'in-laws' in Australia have met and agreed and have opened up this work, we, we ourselves are laying down the

* A reference to a neighbouring valley to which many people had gone for a pig killing, the pork from which was widely distributed.

talk. All we men and women, boys and girls, how are we going to do this, when the *kiap* comes what shall we tell him? Having laid down this talk, when it happens what are we going to do? All we men and women, boys and girls, small children, will mark this man and when he brings back talk we will support him and do the work and our ground will then come up well.

Our ground will come up well and with that man over there and our in-laws from Australia we will all remain together. If someone from another line were to come then they (the Australians) would say 'We are looking after this land, don't come here' and would stop them. They would say this and it would be good for us. Do you understand what I am saying? But if they (the Australians) weren't here people from all over the place would come here and mess up our land and make our daughters and our women and children flee in all directions. Our possessions won't have to be given back.* Do you follow?

Now the names of the men that you must vote for have been called and you have heard them. But if you vote wrongly, well it'll be like this. Down at Chuave they did it wrong and they took three pigs and £5 in money and paid it for a fine. If you don't do it right you will have to pay £5. This is a white man's thing, you men and women can't reject it. If you reject it a big court will come up. We must not get mixed up just because we do not understand and are being shown. Because we are going to choose a big man, the white men have put a big price on it, someone may have to go to court, to pay a fine, go to prison for a year. This is what it is like. Because we black men don't understand we go wrong. Your skin is fully grown but if they pull your nose you will be like a small child. Perhaps they will twist your nose. Do you follow? We black men who have come now, you have seen us but if you go wrong and the *kiap* hits you you will become like small children. Or will I become like a child? No, you will.

You must do things as they ought to be done. You big men and *tultuls* and *luluais* here you must light your torches and go and tell your fathers and brothers, mothers and sisters. If they understand and say it right it will be good but you mustn't get it wrong.

Now they called my name before but I will call it again. Waie [Waie] . . . Waie [Waie] . . . Kambua [Kambua] . . . Kambua [Kambua] (All the candidates names were drilled in this way) I won't call the names again for the women. You must go and tell them. These names we call you mustn't go and forget them.

Now comes my own talk. I have put £25 in at Kundiawa. If you boys and girls, men and women, think I should take it back speak out now. If you speak out I will not go on to Gembogl. I will go back. But if you say you will vote for me, then the money can stay [Let it stay]. Will you vote for me? As you say you will vote for me it can stay. Are you sure what you say? [Yes] If you are not telling the truth and the government takes my money I shall be very angry [It can stay] . . . it can really stay? [Let it stay] As you say you will vote for me it can stay. That is all my talk. Goodbye.

* This refers to possible invasion by the Indonesians, rumours of which were current in the area. With Australia there, this would be prevented, and people would not have to give back the manufactured goods that they now possess.

Kambua:

(He started off with a rather long prayer in which the audience took no part.)

You have seen the Councils being set up. You have seen the houses and roads and bridges which have come about as a result of meetings of the Councils. If they didn't have meetings nothing would happen.

We chose Kondom for three years and he went down to the government and worked with them. Now the time is up and we are to have new elections. But it won't be like before. When Kondom went there were six whites and six blacks but now there are going to be many. (He then talked of which groups were in what Open Electorate and how they were now becoming one group.)

Now we have joined together to choose one man. By the time you have seen all of us, heard our talk, learned our names, the election will be here and a *kiap* will come to write down the names you call. That is what he said. Go and show yourselves, he said, and we have been to the Dom, Yongamugl, and now we are here. We have been telling them this. We have all put in £25 because we wish to look after you. Only one will win and he will look after the rest.

(He then called all the candidates' names and the audience had to repeat the name each time he said it.) One man will win and he will go to Moresby to the government and his work will be to do with business, or roads, or aid posts, or schools, or people's health, or land. He will bring back the talk of the government to us. But who will do the work that will have to be done? We will—you *luluais*, *tultuls*, mission helpers, Council committee, we must take up our spades, our digging sticks, our pigs and work. *He* will be our sole mouthpiece. *We* must do all the work. If we do then things will go well. If you humbug around when he calls, as you do now when *we* call, then we will remain as we are. If you pray again and again to God then your understanding of it all will get better and everything will go straight. If you don't call on Jesus, then it will go wrong.

At the voting you must say the name of the man you like. All the other names you must say afterwards. If you call two names and leave out two then the *kiap* will tear up and burn the paper.

(Asked if they would vote for him, the audience said yes; Kambua then replied that he would therefore leave his money with the government.)

Kuglwame:

Before, we thought that we should always live as we had been living. Then Father Schaeffer came over the pass here and *Kiap* Taylor came down below. We thought they had come to take our dogs and pigs but no! They came to give us talk. Now you people here don't pay tax and you don't have a Council. You are just nothing. Down below, they have a Council and pay tax. Do you understand? Answer me when I ask! You women there, listen to me! This is something big I am telling you.

You see these two white men sitting here. Why are they here? They know God's talk, they have brains, they know of all the things that go on in their country. Why are they sitting down? You think they have come to hear our talk? Nonsense! That's not the white man's fashion.

They have come for their work. They won't listen to what I am saying. They know things, they haven't come to learn anything. At the elections which are coming the white men won't stop nothing. It is they who are giving it us. This is why we are here. Do you see? Answer! Why won't you answer? Stop laughing over there! Are you just children? You have got to learn all this before the *kiap* comes for the election. If you get it all wrong it will be your lookout.

(He then went on to discuss which groups were joining together to make up the electorate and to say that only one person would be elected to look after the whole electorate.)

You people think that there are lots of people on the coast. It's not true, there are only few of them, but we Chimbu are very numerous. What we do should beat everyone but it doesn't quite work. Now we will send one man to the government and he will bring their talk to us and our talk to them.

Now I'll call these names of those who have come. (He then called the names and had everyone chant them back.) When the election comes don't forget the names. Policemen, *kiaps* and clerks will come and you must tell the names to them and when they have written them on a piece of paper you will go and put it in a box. If you forget then you will stay inside (referring to gaol) for a long time.

(He finally said he had put £25 into the government money box and asked them if they would vote for him. When they said yes, he left.)

Aulakua (interpreted into Chimbu by a fellow candidate):

I come from Dom. My home is far away and before you and I were of different blood. Because we are now becoming one, I have come here.

We who were here before are still here. The white man from before are here, the white Father (Catholic) is on top, the Lutheran down below and then there are the Seven Day (Seventh Day Adventists). Now we black skinned people are called 'Natives'. When they talk of 'Europeans' they mean the white man. Because we are going to work together at Moresby, we have come here to talk to you.

Because when we die we will go up to heaven, the Catholic and Lutheran missions have brought us this talk. Because now they will give us their hand and we will live well together we are going to work this thing that the government says is coming. This man here (the anthropologist): why is he here? Is he here to work or for no reason? He has left his home and come here to us. He doesn't do nothing, he helps you, helps us so that we can understand. That's the point. Now they (whites) do not hit you in the face, before they did.

Before, I came to your land here as an interpreter. I saw you kill the white missionary here. I went to the coast and when I came back I helped to make this station at Womatne. I was then young, now I come back to talk to you as a man.

Who will win? No one knows. Only when they see the papers will we know. We have come so you may see what we are like and hear our names. Had the *kiap* down there said that there was something else which was difficult to understand we could have told you and you could have replied. But he didn't say to tell you anything else.

Our job is to tell you our names. (He then went through the procedure of teaching all the names.)

When the 'time for whispering' comes you must think hard. This 'whispering' is what they call voting. When they come you must go and whisper what you think. (He concluded with the usual procedure of asking for their votes.)

Yuainde:

I will talk about something else. We have seen all the things that the white man has brought, things that he wears and other things that he possesses. We have heard of the huge things (big ships, cars, planes, etc.) that he has in his land but which haven't come here because our land is no good. The white man didn't just invent this from nothing. You have heard of Jesus. Well, before, the white men were like us but Jesus went down and taught twelve boys . . . (He continued like this indicating that Jesus was responsible for the advancement of the whites, their inventions, their schooling, their writing, and hence indirectly their coming to New Guinea.)

There are different paths open, there is the mission, the school, the government, the Council and Committees. As we are, will we get 'savi'? No, and so the white man is opening up the road for us. We must do all these things and then we will be all right. I have something else to say.

If a pig dies and we go to the *kiap* and tell him that it has died and we want compensation for it will he listen to us? No, he will say it was sick and died. If a man is sick and dies we won't get compensated, nor if a pig or chicken is sick and dies. Before we were walking in the dark but now that the time of the big man is near our fighting, our stealing, our coveting things must stop. If a pig or chicken is poisoned by sorcery and dies and you go and fight someone you must say you did it but are backing it. You must not accuse people of sorcery just to get money. (He continued this telling people not to continue making allegations of sorcery over a recent death of a man in the valley. He finished off by asking if they would vote for him.)

Kuatinenem:

We are ashamed to get up and talk in front of you but the government has said we must go and show ourselves to you all and then you will vote for us.

I am a man who helps and looks after God. Before, we were no good. We were close to dying and Jesus was sent and he grew up and planted yam and sweet potato so that you could eat. Father Schaeffer came up here and trampled you before going down below; and the Lutheran Mission sat down at Tema. Together they worked to open up new things for us. Then the government came from Australia, a European country they say. First they made boss boys. Then they made *luluais* and *tultuls*. Now there are Councils. If there are two men for it the man who comes first is given the badge (Councillor). The man who comes after becomes committee. Since the committee and Councillors have come our work has gone well. Now there is to be a big Council called 'House Assembly', and this is why you have come here to hear this talk. (He then went on to introduce all the candidates at considerable length but saying nothing new.)

You must go away and learn all the names and teach the women. If you get it all upside down they will tear up the paper. What will come after we don't know. If no one says before, then when it comes you will hear.

Where will this man come from? From which group? Not all of us will look after you, only one of us. And the work he will talk of, who will do it? We will, all of us. What will he do? He won't work like those who go to work for money; he will work at voting at conferet (conference?) He will bring back this to us and we will be pleased and will live well together. If we black men did it alone it wouldn't succeed. Because we will be on one side and the whites on the other we are now here to be seen. Do you follow?

(He then asked if they wished to vote for him and said he would withdraw his money if they wished. They said they would vote for him.)

Karegl:

I am not a stranger here and you all know me. For a long time the white man alone looked after us. At the big House of Assembly only the white men always sitting on their chairs made the laws and sent round talk to everywhere. 'Make that road!' they said and we all made it; 'build that house!' and we built it. Whatever law they made we heard it and carried it out. Now there will be few white men there and the black men will sit with them.

Because of all this one or two of us have come here. One man will win and will look after us all. I have put in my money and am now going round so that you can see my face and hear my name. This work isn't something small, it's most important. If we send someone who is no good then they won't make good laws.

We are many, living here up the (Chimbu) river. If you like Joseph Kauglwa then you must vote for him and he will look after us. If you like me, then think of me. We have come here so that you can see with your own eyes if we are young or old or senile. It is because the man who wins will go down to Moresby to make the laws that we are standing in front of you. There are ten of us. Which of us you will support we don't know. The man who wins will not be held on to by his group, but will look after us all.

Later when the *kiap*, the clerk, the policemen come bringing a box you will put the papers in it. You will call your name first and it will be written down. Then you will call the names of all of us who have come. If you don't call the names of all these men your vote will be said to be no good and it will be torn up. If they say you must vote again then it will take a long long time. You very small boys won't vote but the names of the bigger boys will be there. When it is finished they will take the box to Kundiawa and the *kiap* there will divide the votes and count them. If the papers for one man win then he will be our big man.

(He then introduced the names of all the candidates saying where they came from and what they did. As usual the audience had to repeat them parrot-fashion.)

After this meeting talk about the election stopped except for occasional rather fearful references to the penalties that the candidate had said

would be inflicted on those who did not learn off all the names of the candidates. The polling booths were constructed, and at the end of January the Patrol Officer (now the one who was originally there) came round to inspect them and give a short talk on the procedure for voting and on the voluntary nature of voting. Having heard the rumours that incorrect voting would be punished by fines or imprisonment, he stressed the fact that it was voluntary, contrasting it with the annual census, though saying that it would be good if most people did turn up. He also squashed the rumours that all eleven names had to be remembered and told them that they could vote for as many or as few as they liked and that this also applied to the Special Electorate candidates.

It is immediately obvious that both the electors and the candidates were dependent upon the local Administration officers for all their information. Newspapers, pamphlets, wireless, word-of-mouth communication between electors did not play a significant part as independent sources, nor were the other aids provided by the Administration, such as drop sheets, tape recorders, or loud-hailers of much material assistance. Two major sets of decisions had to be made. First, who should be encouraged to stand as candidates, what qualifications should they have, how many should stand, should the number be reduced by a prior choice by consensus of a single candidate from one large group or should a large number of candidates be encouraged, thus probably minimizing bloc voting but increasing the chance of confusion among the electors. Secondly, what information should be made available to the electors about the meaning of the election.

These important policy decisions seem to have been left to the local level, and consequently different answers were arrived at even in adjacent electorates. In Chimbu and many of the other Highland electorates the problem was not one of having to cope with difficult physical means of communication but of knowing what information to try to convey, and then ensuring sufficient personal contacts between those running the election and those who had to play parts in it.

The candidates considered their role to be that of a mouthpiece of the government in Port Moresby rather than being part of the government itself, perhaps conditioned in this by their experience in local Councils. They stressed the change in attitude of the white to the black since the white men first arrived, emphasizing that now the white men were going to be brothers rather than masters. The idea of competition between the candidates based on their different ideas was absent for the very good reason that they had no clear idea of the job that they were to carry out. They saw themselves in the same system as the *luluais*, *tultuls*, and more recently Local Government Councillors whose authority comes from the top, the whites, rather than from below, from their constituents.

It is clear that the pre-election campaign was insufficient to get across the meaning of the election either to the candidates or to the electors. Though the low turnout at the polls would seem to indicate a lack of interest on the part of the Chimbu in matters going beyond their tribal or, in this case, electoral boundaries, this is far from true. Reflecting the

instructions sent out from Port Moresby there seems to have been relatively little emphasis put upon trying to educate electors in the reasons for an election and what it signified. The electors had to take it on trust, as it were, that it was as important a matter as the Administration made out.

Highlands Special Electorate

There were two candidates, Ian Downs and Dennis Buchanan, the former an ex-Native Affairs official and once a Patrol Officer in the Chimbu Sub-district, now a planter and member of the old Legislative Council, who resided in the next valley to the Upper Chimbu, the latter running T.A.L. airlines based on Goroka. Both made visits to the Chimbu valley. Ian Downs visited very briefly, [the author was told] distributed pamphlets, and then left. Buchanan made a bigger impression by dropping pamphlets from an aircraft flying up and down the valley. He then returned at the time of voting to Gembogl. The Chimbu Open Electorate had not much knowledge of either of the candidates, though Ian Downs was known by some from his previous work in the area. In the Chimbu valley, Buchanan's pamphlet-dropping play caused several of the groups to vote for him. However, there was no chance of making a rational choice. Nobody knew what the Special Electorate really signified, or what the candidate stood for. It was a case of choosing one of two equally unknown men.

Polling and the Results

The actual voting seems to have proceeded very smoothly. It was efficiently organized and the voters themselves had no serious difficulty in understanding the procedure. There were the expected difficulties in identifying some of those wishing to vote because of the multiplicity of the same names and the inability of many voters to remember which one of their many names they had given at the time the electoral roll was being drawn up. On the whole voting went very much more quickly than anticipated and there was a lower turnout, so that the number of polling teams was reduced.

The turnout varied considerably from place to place but the overall poll in the Open Electorate was only 44 per cent, the lowest in the Territory. One explanation was the general feeling that this was not work for the old people. It was new and it was important, and therefore should be left to those still in the prime of life. Competitiveness between candidates was absent, and this meant there was no necessity to register every possible vote. That victory or defeat might depend upon how many of one's supporters actually voted did not seem to be appreciated. Thus in the Upper Chimbu, though the polling was relatively high, there was no attempt either on the eve of polling or early on the morning to remind people and encourage them all to vote. This contrasts strongly with the normal state of affairs where major and minor events are heralded by vigorous shouting across the valleys and ridges.

The author was present at the voting on four days, at four out of five

of the polling stations in the valley. Unfortunately the Electoral Officer did not arrange the polling boxes so that each area's ballot papers were kept separate. Each box was used in most polling areas making it impossible to get an accurate picture of how the voting went, especially in the areas in which the spheres of influence of the candidates overlapped and where there was considerable preference voting. The pattern of voting in the Chimbu valley can be discussed based on direct observation, but the voting in the Waie Council area, the distribution of votes between Kondom and his rivals and preference voting there, can only be guessed at.

In the Chimbu valley, with the exception of 180 votes given to the last minute candidate, Mendigke, there was virtual block voting for Kauglwa by the three tribes who had chosen him as their candidate. Very few gave a second preference. The remainder of the two Census Divisions consists of one large tribe, Kewandegu, and four smaller ones, Kalagu, Kengagku, Onguglo and Nunu-Yomane. Very few Kalagu turned up. A high proportion of Onguglo and Nunu-Yomane seemed to be voting for the Onguglo candidate Yuainde, with a few giving Karegl as second preference and others Kauglwa. Few expressed more than one preference vote. Karegl surprisingly picked up few votes outside his immediate neighbourhood, and members of the same tribe further down the valley voted rather for Willie, the Council clerk. The number of preferences being given in this area at the bottom of the valley was much greater. Their normal social contacts run both ways, northwards up the valley and southwards to the Waie Council area. Willie, who was fifth on the first count, remained well behind the four leaders, though picking up many preferences as other candidates from this area were eliminated. All the other candidates from the Waie Council area, except Kondom, fared badly. Kuatinenem, Kambua, and Kuglwame were all out of the running once the first count was known. Their effect on Kondom's chances are hard to estimate as quite long lists of preferences were being given in that area. He was only 135 votes behind when he was eliminated, yet it seems likely that he would have received preference votes from the other eliminated candidates in his area.

As might be expected there were four serious contenders, one in each of the four census areas. From the first count in which he was 200 votes behind the third candidate, Aulakua of Dom, Kondom rapidly collected preferences so that he was 500 votes ahead of Aulakua when the latter was finally eliminated. Not surprisingly three-quarters of Aulakua's ballot papers (and he collected few preferences) were exhausted, being only single vote papers. Of those containing preferences a half went to Kondom and a half to Waie, a figure consistent with the Dom having social contacts both with the Waie area and the Yongamugl. This was just insufficient to bring Kondom above Kauglwa and when he was eliminated three-quarters of his papers were exhausted and the remainder distributed in the ratio of 2 : 1 for Waie. Waie was therefore the winner, though only by a close margin. An extra one or two hundred votes for Kondom or Kauglwa could have given either of them victory.

The results took some time to become known widely but did not stir

TABLE 2 Allocation of Preferences, Chimbu Open

	1st count	2nd count	3rd count	4th count	5th count	6th count	7th count	8th count	9th count	10th count	Final count
Mendigike Pagau	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(180)
Kuatinenem Kuman	323	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(324)
Karegi Bononggere	495	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(499)
Kambua Mongia	456	0	45	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	(502)
Yuainde Iual	566	1	1	48	3	—	—	—	—	—	(619)
Kuglwame Amug	512	1	30	3	266	5	—	—	—	—	(817)
Willie Kunauna	880	0	70	99	39	17	40	—	—	—	(1145)
Aulakua Wemin	1915	0	0	4	8	3	138	17	—	—	(2085)
Kondom Agaundo	1768	1	128	5	99	45	364	220	300	—	(2840)
Joseph Kauglwa	2400	48	3	88	4	154	17	226	16	249	3205
Waie Siune	2433	0	6	4	64	10	121	38	299	440	3415
Exhausted	—	125	40	247	39	385	137	644	1470	2151	5218

up much interest when they did. In the Chimbu valley the results confirmed people in their view that they should have had only one candidate, and made some of them resolve to do so when the next election came round.

The Minj Open Electorate

Marie Reay

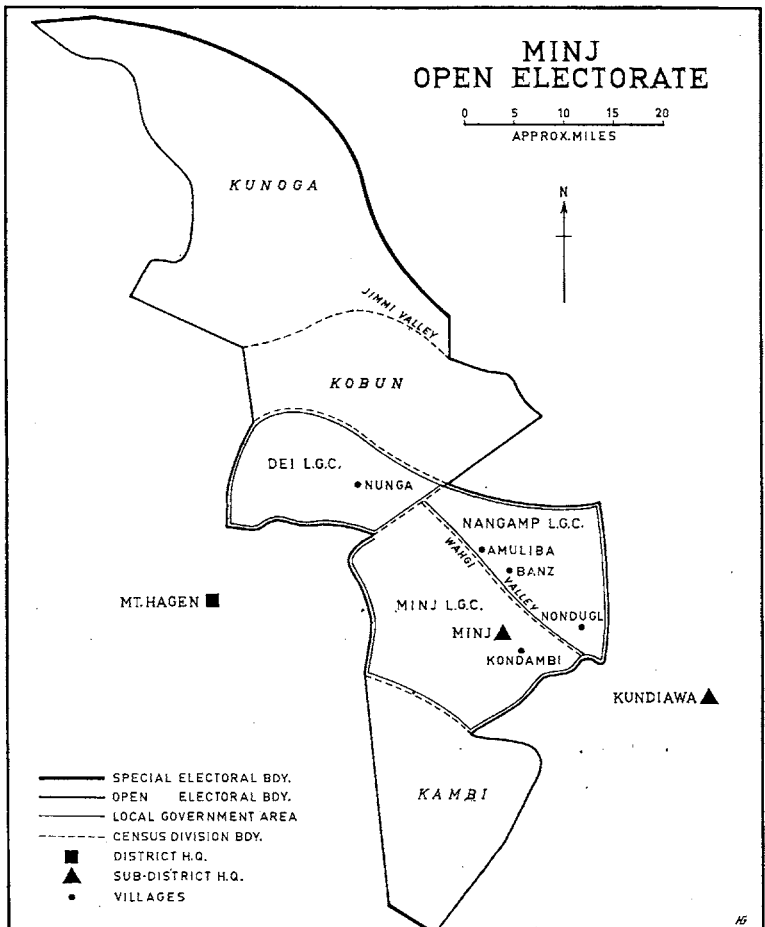
The Electorate

The Minj Open Electorate, which is part of the much larger Highlands Special Electorate, was named after the government station and the Sub-district it serves within the Western Highlands District, administered from Mt Hagen. The boundaries of the Sub-district coincide roughly with the outward fringes of the Middle Wahgi culture area, but the Electorate is larger than the Sub-district and includes some voters speaking other Highlands languages in the Chimbu-Hagen family. A sketch of the elections in the Dei Council area, where a Hagen-type language is spoken, is already available (Strathern 1964). The present chapter deals with the electoral situation in the Middle Wahgi proper, known in 1961-4 as the Minj and Nangamp (officially Ngangamp) Council areas.

Census points and other localities where people living in scattered homesteads can assemble to be contacted are easily accessible by road in the Middle Wahgi area, but there is no vehicular access to the parts of the Electorate lying in the Jimmi or in the Kambi (officially Kambia). The Kambi can only be reached by several days' hard walking from Kup, Minj, or Mt Hagen, and several more days' walking is necessary to contact the small but scattered population (about 600 voters). A single airstrip at Tabibuga serves the Jimmi part of the electorate with a weekly government charter, but anyone wishing to contact all electors would have to walk for at least a week through rugged country.

This chapter cannot attempt to describe the political responses of people throughout the Open Electorate. The elections were observed and information collected about them as part of a continuing study of political change and development among people who live in the region of Minj (Reay 1959, 1964). This meant that when limited time or simultaneous happenings forced a choice between visiting distant places and observing events close to her base at Kondambi, near Minj, the author missed visiting the more distant places. She had visited parts of the Jimmi region lying south of the Jimmi River in 1954, but during the period of the elections was only able to pay a brief visit to Tabibuga. She was not able to visit the Kambi.

The author stayed in the Minj area twice during the period most rele-



vant to the elections—from 18 August to 21 December 1963, and from 13 February to early April 1964—but was absent during a significant period just before the elections took place and found it impossible to reconstruct chronologically, as had been hoped, the events that had taken place during her absence. Australians officially concerned with the elections proved to have unreliable recall of the exact sequence of events in the whole election period, because it had been an unusually busy period for them when nearly every event of public interest had been part of the preparations for the elections and there were scarcely any unrelated events which could serve as landmarks in time. Members of the clan-community in whose territory the author's base was situated were able to distinguish clearly between events that had occurred whilst she was living there and those that had occurred during her absence; however, whilst the Australians were too obsessed with the elections to be able to

put electoral events in exact time sequence, these people were too unconcerned with the elections to be able to recall exactly what had happened. The only abiding interest in the elections they maintained throughout the period was their understanding that the annual local government tax was to be collected as soon as the elections were over and they were trying to prevent the rise in taxes announced in 1963 from being implemented. The only positive electioneering observed in this clan-community was a leader's personal instructions to individuals and groups within his community to vote for two particular candidates. Men making speeches on the subject of taxes mentioned that they intended to persuade these two men, when both (as they believed) were elected, that taxes should be abolished.

The author discussed the elections with four of the five candidates. Paulus Waive had been known in 1953-5, but was not met this time until the votes were being counted and there was no opportunity for extended discussion with him. Of the five, the author tended to associate with and be known to visit Brian Corrigan and Nopnop Tol, both of whom had also been known in 1953-5. These were the only two candidates in whom the people among whom she was based and their immediate neighbours expressed a spontaneous interest. Inevitably the author shared with both these candidates a strong identification with the south side of the valley and the Minj region in particular. It follows that the behaviour observed and recorded during the election period is more detailed and representative of the south side of the valley, and also of people who supported candidates who were unsuccessful. An attempt has been made as far as possible to balance this by hearing what people of the north side thought about the elections. Clearly, however, some kinds of information used in this study were not amenable to systematic sampling and the extent to which known voting behaviour and expressed opinions and attitudes were typical of the entire electorate or even the Middle Wahgi area as a whole cannot be accurately assessed.

Traditional politics and the various phases of political development up to the time of the elections have been described elsewhere (Reay 1964), and only a few points will be noted here. European contact with the people of the Middle Wahgi (the 'Wahgi people') was intermittent from the earliest penetration of the valley in 1933 till about 1947 when serious attempts at control and pacification began. Minj, the administrative centre of the Minj Sub-district, is the larger of two townships in the Middle Wahgi. The other, Banz, is on the north side of the Wahgi River, which bisects the valley as it flows from west to east. The different character of the two places reflects their respective origins as a government station on the one hand and, on the other, a loose aggregation of two mission stations (Lutheran and Roman Catholic) and an agricultural station. Both serve as social centres for expatriate and immigrant officials and settlers; both are centres of commercial activity and foci of attention for local people in the surrounding region; and both have air-strips as well as good vehicular roads. A third focus of expatriate and immigrant settlement is Nondugl, which has not, however, developed into a third town-

ship. There are now many plantations in the Middle Wahgi and a bewildering number of mission stations and out-stations. The Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Seventh Day Adventists of the early days have been supplemented by the American Nazarene Mission and the Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood. Citizens of the United States and of various European countries, mainly missionaries, were not on the electoral roll.

Settlement by officials and private persons from outside the valley has affected the Middle Wahgi people in various ways. As residents of a 'controlled' area, they have substituted extended disputes and infrequent, unorganized inter-clan brawling for the organized and frequent inter-clan fighting of the past. People grow coffee in expectation of cash, in addition to and not in substitution for the staple sweet potato and their other subsistence crops. The cash received has been disappointing to the growers. The expectation that planting coffee would afford them access to an amount of wealth in some way comparable to (though not, of course, equal to) that enjoyed by white planters was the particular hope that was disappointed when their first coffee was sold.

Many of the younger people demonstrate that they value money more highly than pigs, which were traditionally a dominant interest, by butchering animals and selling the portions to obtain cash for payment of taxes, gambling debts, and marriage payments, without ensuring that they retain sufficient stock to meet traditional obligations. Litigation in informal courts takes up much of people's time and such litigation between clans in the immediate vicinity of Minj is often undertaken explicitly in order to acquire cash in the form of compensation for real or fictitious wrongs. Amounts of money out of all proportion to the real cash income of the litigants changes hands at the direction of Councillors who conduct these informal courts. People with minute cash incomes are kept impoverished by inflated marriage payments demanded by their group.

The sale of land to the government for development by European persons and companies is undertaken eagerly for the sake of a quick cash return. Further, people are trying to attract back into the area related groups that fled elsewhere up to several generations ago when routed in warfare, for larger groups have political advantages which are obvious to all. Members of host clans see such newcomers as a means of swelling their own sphere of influence, despite friction involving land rights that has already resulted from such immigration. The Wahgi people have always regarded land as plentiful and though they warred often over women and pigs they never warred over rights to land. Various clans were constantly chased away from territory they had come to regard as their own, but the victors did not proceed to occupy the territory thus vacated. After the sorcery traps left in such territory had rotted and were judged to have lost their effectiveness, another clan that had been routed elsewhere might settle on this territory, but the victors in any battle acquired no rights over the land from which their defeated enemies had fled. The whole subsistence economy of the Middle Wahgi was based on the assumption that there would always be plenty of land for everyone. As more and more sweet potato gardens are planted with coffee, as more

and more land is alienated to the Administration for lease to Europeans and for various developmental projects, and as more and more former residents and other people from over-populated regions are brought into the area as immigrants (attracted primarily by the prospect of obtaining access to cash by settling close to a seat of government and European settlement), some local people realize that their land may soon be inadequate for supporting subsistence agriculture. This does not, however, deter them from pursuing cash and power on a group basis by these means; it is simply viewed as a problem to be solved when the time comes by mystical access to knowledge and money already available to white people, particularly Australians. During the elections for the House of Assembly, all native candidates were committed to finding this magical path to wealth and security.

The election scene in the Wahgi Valley was dominated by the Administration's strenuous efforts to ensure that the elections proceeded smoothly and that as many people as possible cast formal votes. The proportion of informal votes (567 out of 20,351) indicated the success of the Administration in impressing voters with the correct procedure and also the measure of assistance polling officials were able to give to non-literate electors. Nearly two-thirds of the 30,955 persons eligible to vote chose to do so, despite widespread confusion on particular issues. Some of this confusion could have been avoided if officials responsible for conducting the elections in the Minj Open Electorate had received precise information concerning the constitution and functions of the House of Assembly and the distinction between Open and Special electorates before they were instructed to inform the local people about the elections. The introduction of preferential voting was responsible for further confusion, since the bulk of electors never grasped the mechanics of distribution of preferences and many placed misguided interpretations on orders of preference. The radically divergent political philosophies held by the District Commissioner and the Assistant District Commissioner (Returning Officer for the Minj Open Electorate) had different and sometimes accidental effects on the electoral process. The chief effect was that many local electors saw the selection of a member of the House of Assembly in racial terms and attempted to obtain bi-racial representation.

The Candidates

The five candidates included two local men, a New Guinean from the coast who had long been resident in the area, and two Australians. Candidates did remarkably little electioneering on their own behalf: one European candidate organized a systematic campaign for his supporters to follow, and one native candidate requested European supporters to organize a campaign on his behalf, but most of the personal electioneering consisted of visiting a particular community or region within the electorate and imparting information about the elections, including simple accounts of which other candidates were standing and instructions to people to vote according to their wishes. All candidates were aware that clan-communities and perhaps whole council areas would be tending to

vote *en bloc* and that local people would be inclined to vote as their leaders advised them, so they mostly consulted only the leaders or the persons they judged to be the leaders of the various groups rather than addressing mass meetings. Few election promises were made, and the author only heard of one threat of disastrous consequences if a particular candidate were not elected. The promise made by all three indigenous candidates, that they would aim to find the path to prosperity, was closer to a political platform than the promise made by both European candidates, that they would take native leaders as observers to the House of Assembly.

Brian Corrigan, a former Assistant District Officer at Minj, had recently returned to the Wahgi valley as a private citizen to manage Norman Plant's Amuliba Plantation in the northern part of the valley. He had first come to the region in 1947, and sixteen years later was well remembered throughout the Middle Wahgi (and, probably, all over the Sub-district, though information concerning the Jimmi and Kambi parts in 1963-4 is hearsay) as the *kiap* who had stopped much of the fighting and taught people the law of the government. In 1963 he was the only *kiap* or ex-*kiap* known simply by his surname without the prefix 'Masta'. Several former *kiaps* had earned lasting respect, affection, or both from the Wahgi people. Occasionally, however, a *kiap* leaves behind him such respect and affection that other Europeans who had heard native accounts of the past are apt to refer to him jocularly in Neo-Melanesian as *God bilong bipo* ('the God of former times'), and Corrigan was such a man. He had brought law to the valley with dedication, skill, and patience. So far as the author is aware, his return to the region was not a result of any ambition to become a member of the House of Assembly and, by implication, to resume his former work as a *kiap* without being employed in the Administration. The possibility must have crossed his mind. He could not have been blind to the possibility that the people would ask their old idol to represent them and that they might go to the trouble of electing him if he chose to stand. Himself an immigrant from Australia, he thought that the Highlanders were not ready to participate fully in national affairs but could be swiftly educated to do so. When he agreed to stand for election he made it clear to the Middle Wahgi leaders who had asked him to represent them that he would, if elected, withdraw at the time of the next elections so that they could choose one of their own people.

Corrigan's decision to contest the election, his behaviour throughout the electoral period, and the loss of his deposit by polling a pathetic number of first preferences (384) can be understood in retrospect by considering him as a reluctant candidate who was also an idealist. Since he was personally responsible for introducing to the area the system of indirect rule through native authorities which has since been superseded within the Wahgi valley (though not in outlying Jimmi and Kambi regions of the Sub-district), it is reasonable to question whether the ideals he followed and expressed in connection with the first House of Assembly elections were anachronistic ideals or whether they were appropriate for

the increasingly complex set of political circumstances discernible in 1963-4.

Corrigan was eager to see the traditions of democratic government, as practised in England and Australia, transplanted to Papua-New Guinea, and he expressed the hope that experience in electing a candidate of their own choice to represent them in the House of Assmby would give them confidence to participate effectively in Local Government Council elections and supplant some notoriously lazy and unscrupulous Councillors with more responsible leaders who commanded their followers' respect. Up to this time there had been little in the way of formal elections for the Minj and Nangamp Councils and those that had been held had often been token gestures.

Corrigan was still sufficiently the old-time *kiap* to feel a deep responsibility towards the people who had asked him to represent them. His firm opinion that the Territory should aspire to some form of free and permanent association with Australia, and that elected members of its House of Assembly should press for this goal—and also his resolve to do his best, if elected, to bring about the establishment of radio stations and the distribution of wireless sets in the Highlands as a means of educating people of all ages swiftly—were, to the best of the author's knowledge, never communicated to the local people—partly, no doubt, because of the obvious difficulty of presenting them in an understandable form, and partly also because of his refusal to try to sway local electors with extravagant promises he could not guarantee to fulfil. He proposed to make sure that if he were elected various local leaders would take turns to accompany him to Port Moresby to familiarize themselves with the operation of the House of Assembly and report the proceedings to their followers. He was aware that clans would be voting *en bloc* and he took the request of a number of leaders from a variety of clans that he should represent them as an indication of consensus, at least among the people of the Middle Wahgi. Probably he was right in doing so. His idea of 'representation' accorded with theirs. They wanted someone they knew who could be articulate on their behalf; someone who, from past performance, could be trusted to watch their interests assiduously and judiciously express their wants. Anyone they could trust to represent them had no need to advocate particular policies.

The refusal of all candidates to try to sway the local electors with promises they could not guarantee to fulfil expressed an insight into what an election promise could mean to the Wahgi people. Coming from a person they knew well and, from past experience, could confidently believe, it would be taken as a statement of what would inevitably be, so a promise to press in the House of Assembly for the establishment of radio stations in the Highlands would have been interpreted as a guarantee that such stations would be established soon after the member's visit to Port Moresby, and the possibility that he might be outvoted in the House by members not directly concerned with the region in question would not be contemplated. Coming from a person they did not know well, such a promise would have been taken as a verbal statement they

had no means of evaluating and therefore could not consider seriously. Corrigan came into the former category.

At the end of a meeting he called on 13 December 1963 to ascertain whether the Wahgi leaders' request to represent them expressed the wishes of the local people generally, a particular leader's confession that he was confused about the elections drew from Corrigan a concise and objective explanation, authoritatively delivered, in which the only reference to his own decision to become a candidate was the statement that if a voter wanted a white man to represent him he would have to choose between the speaker and Masta En (Ian Parsons, who had already nominated). Corrigan's 'electioneering', like that of native candidates, consisted of 'showing his face' to as many local people as possible: visiting various clan-communities and renewing acquaintance with persons he had known in the past, and telling leaders that when the time came for voting the electors would have to choose from five particular names, including his own, a representative to take part in the government of the Territory. After putting in his nomination he was intending to visit the Jimmi part of the electorate to show his face to the 9,000 eligible voters there, many of whom knew him from the days when he led Administration patrols into the region. The fact that he felt unable to carry out this intention without consulting the planter whose property he was responsible for during the latter's absence overseas raises the question of why he was unprepared to risk his assured livelihood for the sake of visiting a number of electors large enough conceivably to affect the result of the election. In any event, it demonstrates clearly that he was not enthusiastic enough about the prospect of winning the election to gamble everything in a determined and full-time effort to contest it.

Corrigan did, however, campaign actively, though briefly, on behalf of Ian Downs, the successful candidate in the Highlands Special Electorate who polled heavily in the Middle Wahgi. Many local people voted for Downs ('Masta Daun') because they knew that Corrigan was telling people to do so. Several persons from the Banz-Kerowil-Nondugl region told the author that Kaibelt had advised them to vote for Downs and when Corrigan instructed them similarly they knew it was all right to do so. It appears that significant numbers of local people would have given first preference to Corrigan if he had dedicated himself to the task of winning the election and instructed them to vote for him alone. In respect of his own candidacy, however, he was caught in a moral dilemma because he was unable to press for special favour for himself. He believed in democracy as an expression of the will of the people, and he believed the leaders who told him that they wanted him to represent them. But he was aware of the local people's submissive attitude towards European authority and judged that immigrants and expatriates who had already decided to support a different European candidate might succeed in swaying local voters. In the particular electorate where Parsons and Corrigan stood it would have been inconceivable for either of the Australian candidates to reverse his role for the election period and become a suppliant to the local people.

Corrigan's nomination was not popular among the immigrant and expatriate Australian voters, most of whom divided themselves into two rival but amicable camps and did what they could in the way of informal campaigning on behalf of the candidates they supported. One camp expressed a dual concern that the local people were not yet competent to hold their own in the presence of official members, highly experienced in administration and legislation, and of elected white persons who had the advantages of literacy and fluency in English, and that in any case a local man would be preoccupied with the affairs of his own people to the extent of neglecting the interests of the white minority and of the Territory as a whole. These voters feared that the nomination of a second Australian candidate (in this case Corrigan) would 'split the European vote' (the votes cast by people of both races who wanted an Australian representative) and allow a local man to be elected by default. The other camp saw the elections as an important event carried out for the benefit of indigenous Papuans and New Guineans, a landmark in the political education of people 'just down from the trees' who were now enabled to choose by democratic procedure a fitting representative from among their peers. These two points of view can be said to express respectively conservative and revolutionary views of internal political development, the former aiming to shape the future through continuity with the past and the latter rejecting graduated change in favour of discrediting the past. The implications of these contrasting political philosophies are not yet recognized by the Wahgi people, many of whom are clearly in two minds whether to embrace the revolution because it offers a revelatory solution to problems for which they cannot receive authoritative guidance or to settle for a sentimental reversion to outmoded behaviour which had been officially praised as progressive in earlier days. As a compromise, they talk and act like revolutionaries in some contexts, reactionaries in others, and in general are politically confused.

Kaibelt Diria, the successful candidate and present elected member for the Minj Open Electorate, is known simply as Kaibelt (commonly Kaunsil Kaibelt, Kaibelt the Councillor) in his constituency. As President of the Nangamp Local Government Council in the northern Middle Wahgi, Kaibelt gained distinction among the Wahgi people by being taken to Australia in April 1963 on a political education tour. Like some other local men who have become prominent in recent years, he did so through being promoted as a likely leader by immigrants and expatriates supporting the revolutionary view of government, rather than through a spontaneous demand from his own people. For persons holding this view, he was clearly the most suitable of the three indigenous candidates and in fact all white persons who campaigned on behalf of an indigenous candidate did so for him alone. His sojourn outside the valley had enabled him to dress distinctively in clothes that fitted him and also resembled white men's tropical attire more closely than the tradestore khaki of random size that had become the uniform of the ordinary Councillor, the shabby and ill-fitting cast-offs a less sophisticated man was likely to buy at a mission store, or the ethnically identifying *laplap* a former *dokta boi*

(Native Medical Assistant) like Paulus Waine was liable to wear. Being exceptionally well-groomed, Kaibelt was used to making a favourable impression on persons with a higher standard of living than the Wahgi people, and few would hesitate to invite him into their homes so long as they had patience to converse in Neo-Melanesian. This experience of being well received by white people was reinforced by Kaibelt's unusual poise in their presence: his manner was deferential without being subservient, and he expressed to them without embarrassment the opinions he had learned during his political education tour.

The author had some conversation with Kaibelt during the electoral period, but did not get to know him well till January 1965, when several events suggested that he viewed the political future of his people with a kind of desperate sincerity. The two mutually contradictory public images of him which were commonly held at the time of the elections can only be reconciled by viewing him as a more complex character than he was generally supposed to be.

The stereotypes to be described are not necessarily facets of Kaibelt's character; nor is it implied that he tried to promote either or both of these images himself. The image white people developed was essentially that of a trained animal, to be metaphorically patted or kicked by people of the opposing camps for learning his lessons so well. In fairness to persons to whom this stereotype is attributed, it should be said that those who saw him as a demonstration of the success of a particular political experiment (and so were inclined to express their pleasure with his prowess by rewarding him with praise and favours) often saw him as someone who, having more in common with themselves than the general run of Highlanders, could be treated as a person in his own right and be given ordinary human courtesy without embarrassment. Further, persons of the opposing camp who saw him as a demonstration of the inappropriateness and inadequacy of the radical political indoctrination being offered (and so were inclined to discredit him) were mostly more moderate than occasional references to him as a 'parrot' suggested, and their conviction that local people were not yet ready to take over direction of their country's affairs did not necessarily imply an inability to treat Kaibelt and the other Highlanders as ordinary human beings.

The image of Kaibelt shared by white persons of both camps was fostered by the accounts (and verbal reports of the accounts) he gave of his visit to Australia after his return. What impressed him most, it was generally reported, was the sight of Australians working hard, not only in offices and stores, but also on the roads labouring at tasks that were the province of his own people in New Guinea. 'Hard work' was the key to the glorious future the local people had awaiting them if they worked hard enough; the harder a man worked, the more money he could earn, and if all worked hard at the tasks available to them they could aspire to living in houses with corrugated iron roofs, wearing European clothing, and having plenty of money in their pockets to buy things.

The local people were not impressed, as white people were, with Kaibelt's simple message that hard work was the road to riches and the

recipe for attaining living standards comparable with those of Australians. They knew from experience that some hard physical labour (routine roadwork) was unpaid; that working hard at any particular job did not guarantee security of tenure, let alone more money; and that the work available promised them only a fraction of what white people were paid. Successive *kiaps* had given them the same message from the earliest days; and enough people had taken the road of hard work for it to be common knowledge that it did not lead directly to appreciable wealth and comfort. Wahgi people who spontaneously recounted to me what Kaibelt had said after returning from Australia added that the *kiaps* who arranged the trip had told him to say that and he did not tell the white people what he really knew.

What Kaibelt 'really knew' (or 'really thought' or, sometimes, 'really saw') diverged so markedly from the official report he evidently gave of his visit to Australia that a distinction must be drawn between what the author heard Kaibelt himself say and the widely circulated rumour that was current among the local people in 1963-4. When asked about his visit to Australia, he told the author about the hardworking Australians with the do-it-yourself culture of a country without *kanakas*, and also about the splendid buildings, the houses built on top of one another. An experience that seemed to have impressed him deeply was of riding in a lift to an upstairs dining-room in a high building and eating there in company with white people. With hard work on the pattern of what he had seen Australians do, his people too could have skyscrapers and eat in company with white people.

Kaibelt had told his closest associates, including relatives and Council colleagues, of this experience, and it was possible to trace the course of the rumour along specific lines of communication back to these persons. It cannot be established at what points of the network Kaibelt's own account, assuming that it was essentially identical with the account in the preceding paragraph, became elaborated into a fully developed fantasy held in common by a large number of widely separated people. The simplest way of recounting this fantasy is the way it was told to the author, as if it were true.

Kaibelt came back and when we asked him about his trip to Australia he replied, 'I have not been to Australia. I have been to Heaven. They told me I was going on a ship, but it was not a ship: it was an island on the move, with towns and stores and houses and places to play football'. This was the first lie they told Kaibelt. It was not really a lie; it was a new kind of secret language they were teaching him. [The vernacular in this area has several kinds of secret vocabularies which parallel the *tok bokis* of Neo-Melanesian.] They knew they were taking Kaibelt to Heaven, but they did not tell him so. He went to Sydney . . . There were a lot of people in Sydney, and a lot of houses built on top of one another. He went inside a house and into a car that had no engine and went up instead of along the ground. When he got out he was in Heaven. He knew it was Heaven. It was up in the sky. The missionaries say that in Heaven all white-skinned people and black-skinned people are the same except for the colour of their skins.

They talk together and eat together like friends. Kaibelt sat at the same table as the white men and they ate the same food. They told a white woman what food they wanted and she went away and brought it to them; she put Kaibelt's food in front of him as if she did not see he had a black skin. Kaibelt says the missionaries are speaking truly when they say that white-skinned people and black-skinned people are the same in Heaven except for the colour of their skins. He has been to Heaven and he has seen it. Missionaries who say they have not been to Heaven and only know what God has told them about it come from a different place, not Sydney or Australia. The Swiss missionaries say they come from a different place. They say their home is underneath the ground. [This is plainly an interpretation of statements that Switzerland is on the opposite side of a globular world.] If they are speaking truly they like this place very much because they can live on top of the ground, halfway to Heaven. There are a lot of big buildings built on top of one another in Sydney. The *kiaps* have told the people to build high Council houses. [Both Minj and Nangamp meeting houses were two-storey buildings.] Later they will make them bigger still. Later still all the local people will build houses one on top of the other until they can get up to Heaven. The tops of the houses will form a bridge from Minj to Sydney. All along the bridge we shall be in Heaven and sit down with white-skinned people and eat with them and be friendly.

The essence of the fantasy was that Heaven was a place upstairs where overseas and local people differed only in skin colour and met and ate together in friendship and equality. The idea of friendship (as distinct from friendly relations based on kinship) occurs in the vernacular term for 'trading partner', which is a verb form meaning 'I eat with him'. Eating with Europeans at the same table expresses a degree of equality with them few can experience. Even for Kaibelt, eating with Europeans has a deep symbolic value.

Kaibelt must also be considered in some ways as a reluctant candidate. His decision to nominate involved no initiative on his part, since he followed explicit instructions from persons in official positions to do so. The Cadet Patrol Officer in charge of local government in the pre-election period told the Nangamp Councillors of the impending elections for a Territory-wide council and instructed Kaibelt to nominate, saying that any other men who had £25 for the deposit and wanted to stand against him could do so. The vice-president of the Council was more traditionally oriented than Kaibelt and had not travelled far outside the valley. It is reasonable to suppose that the officer judged Kaibelt to be the most suitable nominee for that Council area (being presentable, poised, politically educated, and widely travelled) and also the most likely to win votes because his selection for an Australian tour had made him widely known. The officer, a Papuan, must have known that the trip to Australia had impressed the local people deeply and it would be surprising if he had not been aware of some parts of the commonly held fantasy that developed concerning it. The persons he instructed to nominate had already been mentioned as likely candidates by the Assistant District Commis-

sioner, who also acted as Returning Officer, and the author believes that both acted in good faith in trying to ensure that these 'likely candidates' did indeed come forward as nominees. Kaibelt acquiesced readily. He accepted the instruction to nominate as one of a long series of favours bestowed on him in recognition of his capacity to adopt and disseminate among his people ideas that would make them as capable and knowledgeable as Europeans.

The president of the Minj Council, Nopnop Tol, nominated immediately after nominations opened and Kaibelt was proposing to put in his nomination also. Both had worked as government interpreters in the past. After leaving this work, however, Kaibelt had associated more and more closely with missionaries and even worked as a Lutheran evangelist. Later missionaries of the Swiss Evangelical Brotherhood sought him out and he accepted them as fellow Christians, joining their sect. Despite his adoption of Christianity, he retained four of the eight wives he had acquired before he had decided to reject the traditions of his own people. They constituted a labour force (though they bore him no children) and provided him with a pool of affinal relatives whom he could count on for support.

Kaibelt was unique among the Wahgi people in having been actively promoted as a leader by all sections of the European community including Administration officers, missionaries of more than one persuasion, and planters who enlisted his help in obtaining local labour and easing their relations with local people. Kaibelt looked to all these persons for advice and followed it when he was certain that it agreed with the consensus of European opinion. Kaibelt's leadership, which developed steadily over recent years and reached its climax in his being chosen to visit Australia, resembled traditional leadership in its dependence on public opinion but differed from it in depending solely on European opinion, not on the opinion of the leader's clansmen.

Employees and converts of the Lutheran and Swiss missions throughout the valley campaigned heavily for Kaibelt in religious gatherings and in informal encounters with non-Christians. They urged their audiences to vote first preference for Kaibelt because he was a good man and did not gamble and only second preference or no preference at all for Nop, the other local candidate, because he played 'Lucky'. The mission employees and converts did not vary their electioneering when Europeans nominated, but simply continued to urge others to vote for Kaibelt in preference to Nop. Their electioneering message reinforced the impression many people had that the government wanted them to give first preference to an indigenous candidate, whichever they might choose.

Few, if any, of the local people were aware in early December 1963 that Europeans were eligible for election, and the news that Ian Parsons had nominated contributed to their general confusion about the House of Assembly. The Papuan local government officer, who did not himself have access to precise information, had told the Councillors earlier that the Europeans would be electing a European representative and the natives would be electing a native representative. The news of a European

nomination travelled through the valley more rapidly than any other single item of news concerning the elections. It arrived in various parts of the Minj Council area in different forms including the following.

A white man is going to the Moresby Council and Nop and Kaibelt will stay at home.

A white planter named Masta En is going to Moresby and will come back and tell Nop what to do.

A white planter will go to Moresby. A planter from Mt Hagen went to the District Office and the Assistant District Commissioner said it was all right for him to go. I do not know the white man. It was not Corrigan.

The government is sending a white man to shake hands with the Governor-General of Australia because a white man can go without being killed. (This refers to the local belief in Europeans' immunity to anti-human magic.)

Corrigan and another white man are going to the Big Council to look after Nop and Kaibelt.

Kaibelt was not one of the leaders who told Corrigan they wanted him to represent them. He accepted that candidate's invitation to attend the meeting to test the generality of this wish, but had little to say there. He signified agreement with the other leaders' insistence that a white man should represent them, but did not commit himself to supporting a particular candidate. The author's impression at the meeting was that he intended to wait and see which way the winds of change blew before standing down, as the other leaders expected him to do, and deciding whether to support Corrigan or Parsons. It is certain that if he had withdrawn he would have supported Parsons rather than Corrigan because Ian Parsons was commanding more support among white people. At the 'endorsement' meeting for Ian Parsons, Kaibelt stated outright that he did not think the local people were qualified to select a candidate and that if the Europeans had selected Parsons he was agreeable to this candidate representing the electorate.

At this stage of pre-election politics, Kaibelt must have been aware that the Wahgi people suspected that any local candidate who was elected took a grave personal risk and if he had consulted local constituents it is possible that he might have interpreted any advice from them to contest the election as a simple statement that he was expendable, rather than as an expression of their wish to have him represent them in Territory government.

The Wahgi Councillors had told some of their people that the elected member of the 'Big Moresby Council' would meet the Governor-General of Australia and shake hands with him in Port Moresby. This message became distorted into a form that held a double meaning in the vernacular, the covert meaning being that going to Port Moresby for the meeting of the new 'Council' would be a dangerous assignment. All the native candidates were agreed that if elected they would do their best to discover the secret of the Europeans' wealth, and one of them told the

author he thought he might obtain a substantial part of the secret when he learned the implications of the mysterious business called 'title' to land. Now a rumour spread that the man who went to the new 'Council' was a man marked for death. Several versions of the rumour circulated in various parts of the Middle Wahgi: the handshake with the Governor-General would be fatal, though not in itself the cause of death; the Papuans, jealous of his obtaining the secret of wealth, would use powerful coastal magic against him; someone unidentified in the Minj Open Electorate with foreknowledge of who was to be elected had already performed evil magic which would smite the successful candidate; the successful candidate would shortly go to Heaven; he would soon die; he would never die, but he would only attend a single meeting of the 'Council' and never return home; he would shake hands with both God and the Governor-General in Heaven. Thus, when Europeans nominated and many of the Councillors decided that they wanted at least two representatives (European and native), ordinary clansmen placed a special interpretation on the Councillors' views that a European should go with a native to watch his interests.

When Europeans nominated, Kaibelt was not expecting to win the elections in competition with them. He knew that all the Wahgi leaders wanted to elect a white man, that the natives favoured Corrigan, and that the Europeans favoured Ian Parsons. He saw Parsons as his only serious opponent, since Parsons had the weight of Europeans' support. If the Wahgi people were to plump for a native candidate, he knew that he was likely to win: the *kiaps* had told him that the population on the north side of the Wahgi River (which could be expected to support him) was larger than on the south side (where Nop could be expected to receive a nearly unanimous vote), and he had some wives from the south side whose relatives could be relied on to support him rather than Nop.

Kaibelt did not, of course, stand down, though he did discuss with some white supporters the possibility of doing so. He even told Ian Parsons that he was willing to withdraw in his favour, but Parsons advised him not to do so and when Kaibelt was certain that the Europeans thought he should submit his nomination he did so promptly.

Paulus Waine had come from Madang as a Roman Catholic mission teacher in the early days and had also served as a Native Medical Assistant stationed at Nondugl for many years. Like other New Guinea workers imported from outside the Highlands after receiving a smattering of primary education, Paulus had impressed the Wahgi people with his unusual fluency in Neo-Melanesian and particularly with his ability to read and write in a rudimentary fashion. Being ostensibly literate had ceased to be a particular distinction by 1963, when a number of schoolboys had gained a serviceable fluency in English and some proficiency in reading, but the group among whom Paulus had settled regarded him as an unusually well educated man. He was a foundation member of the Nangamp Local Government Council and an active participant in it. When news came that the Wahgi people were required to elect a member of a Territory-wide council to meet in Port Moresby, the most influential

leader of the community with whom he had come to be identified as a result of settling with affines saw that it would be an advantage to send an educated member, particularly one who was committed to helping this group. Paulus (known locally by his native name, Kabunda) was a mature man and had acted for some years as informal clerk for this community, so he was an obvious choice. Kabunda was the typical ethnic candidate in so far as he represented a small pocket of the electorate where polling for other candidates could be expected to be insignificant, but he was not a birth member of the community that sponsored him. He was the only candidate of whom it could be safely said from the outset that he had no chance of winning the election. He visited a few places in the Nangamp Council area but the people there told him they had decided to vote for other candidates and he did not try to persuade them to vote for him instead. The Returning Officer who accepted his nomination was well aware that he would not win but estimated correctly that a bloc vote would save his deposit.

Immigrants and expatriates of both political persuasions saw Paulus as a means of manipulating preference voting. Supporters of both Ian Parsons and Kaibelt campaigned for the bloc of Paulus's second preferences and succeeded in winning 94 per cent of these (Kaibelt 51.6 per cent and Ian Parsons 42.4 per cent).

Many of the Minj people heard of Paulus's nomination simply as news that Kabunda was intending to hold a party, which they would be glad to attend as soon as a definite date was set. When the news of the party became definitely linked with the elections they said that it was no concern of theirs. 'The Nondugl people', they told the author, 'do not want Kaibelt. They are sending Kabunda to Port Moresby instead.' This news came when the Wahgi people still thought that the new House of Assembly was simply another Native Local Government Council which would meet in Port Moresby. They were under the impression that Nop would go to represent the south side and Kaibelt would go to represent the north side. They interpreted the news that the Nondugl people were sending Paulus as information that Nondugl was seceding from the rest of the north and sending a special representative of its own. No one, apart from the more knowledgeable Councillors and a few advanced schoolboys, interpreted it as a challenge to both Nop and Kaibelt and to anyone who chose to nominate later.

Nopnop Tol's given name, Taimil Nop-ndop, had long been abbreviated by Administration officers, who added half his father's name (Tolmur) to serve as a 'surname'. A further abbreviation, Nop, was commonly used. Nop associated closely with the Administration from the earliest days and, as one of the first speakers of Neo-Melanesian in the Minj region, served as a government interpreter for several years (Reay 1964; Williams 1964: 275-6). Though not a traditional leader, he bought his way into the traditional system of authority by acquiring wives and contributing to his clansmen's exchanges. At one time he had as many as six wives. A moderate man, he did not try to usurp the influence of the traditional leaders in respect of things that had always been their province

but developed a leadership complementary to their own. He had planted about fifteen acres of coffee as soon as the Administration began to encourage native coffee growing, and by 1963 he had already reaped profits from this venture. Other minor enterprises, many of them novel in the area, had ensured that he was one of the outstandingly wealthy local men by comparison with most of the people of the Sub-district. He became president of the Minj Native Local Government Council when it was formed in 1962 and gained the second highest number of votes in the selection of a native Highlands representative to the Legislative Council. His visit to Goroka for the Legislative Council selection and his association with the Minj Council as president had made his name widely known as that of an important man.

When the Cadet Patrol Officer in charge of local government informed the Minj Councillors of the new *bigpela kaunsil igo long Moresby*, he said they and their *kanakas* (ordinary clansmen) must choose one man from among themselves. He stressed that they could only choose one man to go, but added that anyone else who liked to nominate could do so if he paid £25 deposit. He instructed Nop that he should take £25 to the District Office and put in his nomination. He added that if any other Councillor or non-Councillor wished to nominate he was at liberty to do so. When a man put in his nomination he had to go around the electorate and tell everyone he was standing for election. He would have to go on patrol, the officer said, to the Jimmi River region to tell all the people there that they had to vote and that if they wanted to have him as their representative they must vote for him. Another Councillor, Tumun, indicated that he would like to stand for election, but the officer told him that since Nop was intending to nominate it would be useless for a second candidate from the same clan (Konumberga) to nominate. As it was, he pointed out, Nop would have a hard tussle with Kaibelt for a majority vote, for there were more people in the Nangamp Council area than in the Minj area. Councillors from the extreme eastern and western edges of the Council area expressed the opinion after the meeting that whoever represented them on the 'big' council in Port Moresby should be a man who lived at or close to Minj. Such a man, they said, would be well informed about what was happening in the seat of government and would also have first-hand knowledge of what the Europeans wanted the Councillors to do and say. They said that they themselves had no preference for any particular man, but they would vote for a candidate if he lived at or near Minj. A leader from a group living some miles east of Minj expressed interest in standing for election, but the other Councillors told him that he must let them elect a man from Minj. Nop, who lived on the fringe of the government station, was acceptable to them for this reason. He was the only local man on the south side of the Wahgi River who nominated.

Nop was the first candidate to pay his nomination deposit. As instructed, he left Minj almost immediately, and walked into the Jimmi region to tell the people there about the elections. When he returned he said

that he had given the Jimmi people what information he had about electoral procedures and told them that some men from the Minj and Nangamp Council areas would be standing, that he himself was one of the candidates, and that they had to vote for him or for any other candidate they might choose. When he returned from his arduous 'electioneering' patrol he was astonished to hear that a European candidate had nominated. The officer who had informed the Councillors of the House of Assembly elections had told them that all the white people were to elect a European representative and that all the black people were to elect a representative from among themselves for the Minj Open Electorate. The officer was not necessarily meaning to mislead the Councillors: at the time instructions came to inform the people about the elections, no official information about them had been received at Minj and individual *kiaps* had to form their own impressions from what they heard by word of mouth and read in the newspapers.

Nop was one of the local leaders who reacted to the news that Ian Parsons had nominated by expressing a desire to elect Corrigan. He was eager to withdraw and support Corrigan, whom he saw as a fitting representative of native interests in the area and also as a fitting mentor for future native members of the House of Assembly. The only aspects of Corrigan's nomination that bothered him when he talked to the author were a doubt lest the Returning Officer might not allow him to withdraw his nomination and a fear lest the Europeans who wanted to elect Ian Parsons might succeed in persuading electors. He was personally disappointed that Corrigan had promised to take other leaders as well as himself to observe the House of Assembly meetings, but realized that this was equitable.

The Returning Officer, when approached, interpreted Nop's wish to withdraw his nomination as fear lest he should be shamed by losing the election. According to Nop himself, he did not associate shame with losing the election until the idea was suggested to him. He did feel shame, however, at contending against a particular white man whom he knew all the natives judged to be more fitted than himself to win the election. He interpreted the Returning Officer's attempt to persuade him to let his nomination stand as a firm instruction to do so.

Nop did not proceed with his earlier plan to visit the Kambi and tell the people there about the elections as he had done in the Jimmi. A member of his subclan visited the region with a Malaria Control expedition and an affinal relative from the Kambi who had been staying with him returned home, and both these men told the Kambi people to vote for Nop and Corrigan. All who voted there obeyed this instruction.

Ian Parsons had been a planter on the western edge of the northern sector of the Middle Wahgi for just over four years before the election. Recently he had been resident in Mt Hagen township, commuting to his plantation, Nunga. He was well known to immigrants and expatriates in the Middle Wahgi and was president of the Banz Branch of the Farmers' and Settlers' Association. He was also known, as 'Masta En', to local people living in the immediate vicinity of Nunga and to others whose

coffee he was in the habit of buying along the road from Banz to Mt Hagen. Before standing for election he was quite unknown to local people in the Minj area, the region east of Banz on the north side of the Wahgi River, and the Jimmi and Kambi parts of the electorate.

The decision of Ian Parsons to contest the election should be understood in the context of the view generally attributed to the District Commissioner that the local people in Western Highlands electorates were not ready, at the time of this first election, to send a representative from among themselves who could participate fully and adequately in Territory government. According to this view, the House of Assembly was likely to be dominated by its ten official members and its further ten Special (European) elected members, who would all be English-speaking, fully literate, and experienced in many of the ways of Territory government. The likelihood that some of the Special members might be representing immigrant and expatriate interests put elected native members who were non-literate at a further disadvantage. Kaibelt's reference, in a speech during the first session of the House (*H.A.D.*, 11 June 1964, p. 62), to the piles of data paper he could not read on the table before him could well be taken as a retrospective validation of this view.

The District Commissioner was indubitably eager to see a responsible Australian stand for election and was probably as confident as other conservative persons that if one did stand he would be returned. That does not, of course, mean that he or any others who held this view would necessarily see it as being applicable when the time comes for a second Territory-wide election. It seemed at the time to be based realistically on the constitution of the House of Assembly as already defined by legislation and on the kind of participation that would be required in the way of paper-work on the one hand and discussion of Territory-wide issues on the other. The District Commissioner expressed the opinion that Europeans alone could represent the interests of both the under-developed majority in a condition of rapid social development and the immigrant minority whose capital investment in the District made them economically significant for the future of the region. He made no secret of his belief that such a representative, if elected, should be prepared to take local leaders on his visits to Port Moresby to enable them to observe the processes of central government and report on these to their people.

At the time when the District Commissioner and some other Australians were trying to ensure that an immigrant candidate would stand, Corrigan had already arrived back in the Middle Wahgi. The author can offer no opinion as to whether the District Commissioner would have considered him a fitting representative of European and native interests, but believes that he did discuss with Ian Parsons the possibility of this planter himself contesting the election and that he did express satisfaction, when Ian Parsons nominated, that a white man who was highly regarded by Europeans in the District was standing.

When Ian Parsons nominated, he appeared to do so primarily because of a desire to safeguard the commercial interests, livelihood, and future of immigrants like himself who had demonstrated their willingness to

adopt New Guinea as their country by making long-term investment there which could not be severed suddenly without substantial loss. His assurances to the local people that he would take their leaders along as observers if elected were plainly prompted by the advice of the District Commissioner and probably expressed, at the outset, his confidence in the Commissioner's political wisdom rather than a personal responsibility to the local people themselves. It is plain, however, that as the preparations for and the progress of the elections brought him into direct contact with a wider cross-section of local people than he had met before, his own deepened experience of the Highlanders led him to appreciate many of the problems they were now facing. The author talked with him late during the elections when Kaibelt seemed almost certain to win, and gained the impression that he was depressed not simply at the likelihood of defeat but also by genuine doubts as to whether, in the event of his being elected, he could properly represent the interests of the local majority. His mounting tenseness over the election period, commonly noted by his Australian acquaintances, may be attributed in part to his awakening to some of the complexities of the political situation as well as to the impatience he was clearly feeling to conclude the exhaustion and strain of a conscientious political campaign. Whatever qualms Parsons may have felt in the later phases of the election, he tackled the task of winning with vigour. He arranged for the work of his plantation to be continued without him during the electoral period and devoted himself to a strenuous and sophisticated electioneering campaign.

Parsons set about trying to win votes as soon as he had put in his nomination. First he addressed the Councillors in the Nangamp Council house. Then his supporters, all immigrants and expatriates, called a meeting at the Farmers' and Settlers' Association clubhouse at Banz with the express intention 'to select and endorse a European candidate', though all Europeans in the valley understood that the precise intention was to get a popular endorsement for Ian Parsons. His supporters set out to demonstrate to the local people that the Europeans, who knew much more about government than they did, were unanimous in wanting to elect Parsons. This accorded with the general feeling on the part of immigrants and expatriates who held the conservative view that if they managed to reach unanimity themselves they would be able, despite their small numbers in relation to the local people, to influence the election to the point of ensuring that a white man would be elected. Parsons had already put in his nomination when Corrigan made his decision, the day before this meeting, to nominate also. The nomination of a second Australian, especially one who was well known to the local people, disturbed many immigrants and expatriates and the author heard no serious discussion of the relative worth of these two candidates. Some European supporters of Parsons tried to discredit Corrigan by spreading a rumour that he had been dishonorably dismissed from the Administration. In contrast to the Sub-district officials, who saw it as their duty to encourage several indigenous candidates to compete against each other, most immigrants and expatriates who favoured a European candidate being elected

expressed a desire to reach a prior consensus to avoid splitting 'the European vote'. Consequently, once an Australian had nominated, some interpreted a further Australian nomination as a rank betrayal of European interests.

The reactions of Wahgi people of the Minj and Nangamp Native Local Government Council areas to the Europeans' selection of Ian Parsons have to be understood in the context of their attitude towards planters as a special category of Europeans. A common stereotype of the planter class was of persons who appeared to enjoy an inordinate amount of leisure, were mean with their money, and demanded from their employees much harder work than prisoners were required to do, in return for fewer amenities than prisoners enjoyed. The *kiaps* had encouraged natives to plant coffee in expectation of cash, but Wahgi planters bought the coffee at lower prices than the Lutheran NAMASU (Native Marketing Society) and some private buyers who came from other regions. Planters as a class were seen as persons who coerced the people into accepting the lower prices and forced persons and organizations offering higher prices to shrink their field of operations. Many of the Wahgi people saw these monstrous attributes as inherent characteristics of planters as a category; they did not blame individual planters who appeared to display them. Planters who experienced difficulty in recruiting local coffee-pickers consulted the Assistant District Commissioner, who strongly urged the Councillors to persuade the ordinary clansmen to undertake this work. Councillors were clearly flattered at being asked to solve European labour problems. They respected the authority of the *kiaps* who instructed them, and already they saw themselves as an *élite* separated by wide gulfs of knowledge and sophistication from their clansmen or *kanakas*. Some of the planters' labour problems were eased considerably when Councillors persuaded (and coerced) clansmen to undertake work on the plantations.

With this background, Europeans' nomination of a planter surprised both Councillors and ordinary clanspeople. If they had been asked to nominate a European candidate themselves, almost certainly they would have chosen the Assistant District Commissioner, the officer who, as head *kiap* of the Sub-district, was in charge of all developments they could appreciate as being carried out for their welfare. But the practising *kiaps* were already engaged in work the Wahgi people viewed as important, so Wahgi leaders turned to the *ex-kiap*, Corrigan, whose post at Amuliba was seen as being not so important that it could not be abandoned. When the Europeans themselves selected a planter, some leaders expressed the opinion that the Europeans also realized that if a European member were chosen it would have to be someone who did not have important work and so could devote himself full-time to being an effective member.

The 'Endorsement' of Ian Parsons

The 'endorsement' meeting began at 11.20 on the morning of 14 December 1963 when twelve immigrants and expatriates, including some

women, had settled themselves on the verandah of the Farmers' and Settlers' Association building and a group of local leaders had gathered on the lawn below. The District Commissioner did not attend, though some of the planters had hoped that he would do so. Ian Parsons, who sat among other Europeans on chairs behind the verandah railing, was only visible to a few men in the crowd below until he stood up and came forward to speak late in the meeting.

A planter acted as chairman and gave an introductory speech in English. He referred to the House of Assembly as a 'parliament'; this novel concept was translated into Neo-Melanesian as *bung* and the vernacular interpreter incorporated the word, which denotes any kind of assembly: 'In the transition stage', the chairman continued, 'there are not any native leaders with enough experience in understanding the workings of the government. Elect a European, at least at first, and he can teach the native leaders.' Much of the chairman's speech and of the later speeches was lost in the successive translation into Neo-Melanesian (by an Australian) and then into the vernacular (by a former Administration interpreter). 'If there are any other Europeans or native leaders who want to stand we don't know. We just want to hear what you yourselves think', he continued. By the time this was translated into the vernacular, it had become a demand to know what other candidates were proposing to nominate. The Chairman asked the Councillors what they thought and, when no response came, directed Nopnop Tol to give his opinion.

Nop had already put in his own nomination and only the previous day had pledged his support for Corrigan. Now he gave a guarded answer. 'We have heard. Good', he said gruffly, but with courtesy.

Pressed to speak further, he continued, 'We *kanakas* and Councillors are agreed that we should send a white man to Port Moresby. We don't know this particular white man.'

Nop told the author later that he did not know at this stage which white man was nominating. His statement was translated into English, however, as 'Some of the people don't know Mr Parsons very well. Some are seeing him for the first time.' The Neo-Melanesian interpreter commanded Nop to talk further.

'We want', Nop said, 'a black man and a white man to go to Moresby. We want Corrigan. If some other man wants to go, let them discuss it between them.'

The Europeans on the verandah began to discuss whether Corrigan would be contesting the election.

'It would be better', Nop suggested confidently, 'for the two white men to appear together so that we can judge between them.'

The chairman asked whether everyone was agreed that they ought to elect a European or whether some of the native leaders themselves wanted to stand. 'Do you want a black man or a white man?' asked the Neo-Melanesian interpreter. The answer came quickly from two Councillors. 'A white man', one said promptly. Another elaborated, 'Nominate a good white man whom we like and that would be fitting. No native is capable.'

The Neo-Melanesian interpreter told the meeting 'Mr Parsons can take the chair, and natives can watch and observe'.

The Councillor who had spoken last suggested that a white man could stand for the north side of the Wahgi River and Nop or Tumun (another Minj Councillor who had wanted to contest the election but decided not to do so when Nop was instructed to nominate) could stand for the south side; then they could have both. The organizers of the meeting explained that the 'Council' in Port Moresby had fifty-four seats with only one for each district but that when Ian Parsons was elected some men who wanted to watch could stand behind his chair.

The Councillor resumed, 'When we all see the white men standing up together we shall vote for one of them. Some of us have asked one white man to stand. I think the *kanakas* in the Dei Council area must have asked their Councillors to nominate this other white man.'

Kaibelt then gave a speech. 'Only one man is to go to Moresby', he said, 'for there is only one seat. Plenty of white men have work and *bisnis* (cash-producing enterprise) and know about it. All the white men in the Minj District are *bisnis* men. When white men came, we liked them. We heard them straighten out troubles wisely. The natives are not qualified to select a candidate. If the white people want Mr Parsons, that is all right with us. As President of the Farmers' and Settlers' Association he came to some of the meetings and his work was honest. I saw this myself. He organized the Show at Mt Hagen, so I have heard, for so it has been said. When he was in his previous job he worked conscientiously and well, so I have heard, for so it has been said. The Europeans themselves have thought about it a lot and they say that he is a good man. He is the right man for the work: I heard him say so himself. We have nothing else to say.' The interpreter translating into Neo-Melanesian omitted the riders from these statements giving the speaker's authority for the ideas expressed.

The chairman and a Banz planter who was acting as campaign manager for Ian Parsons urged more leaders to speak, and a Councillor from the Minj area did so.

'I spoke before', he said, 'and there is no more really to say. I myself do not have any new ideas. Later when we have the elections in four months' time, I shall think about it. There are two white candidates. As there are two white candidates, we shall nominate two also, one for the north and one for the south. We southerners shall vote for Corrigan and Nop, and the northerners can vote for Masta En and Kaibelt.'

An elderly Councillor of the north side spoke: 'Before, we had headmen; now we have Councillors. The government gave us both of these. We had a meeting on the main road at Banz and agreed that if white men and natives competed against each other a white man would be favoured. Some of us might like to try for it too. But things would get done more quickly and efficiently if a native went as an observer only.'

Another Councillor of the north side said: 'White men are contesting the election but we do not know them, we have not seen them. I know this white man; he recognized me when I came. They have already decid-

ed on him inside the house, so I have heard. Sometime ago I heard that this was already settled. When I heard this I tried to scotch the rumour.' His voice grew louder. 'Mr Corrigan I want. Everyone has heard of him and seen him.' (At this point the interpreter added spontaneously 'But the Europeans have nominated Mr Parsons and we heed what they think, so that is all right'.) 'All of us native people want our friend.'

The vice-president of the Nangamp Local Government Council made a speech: 'We have three councils—Minj, Nangamp and Djep (i.e. Dei). I shall speak now.' (The interpreter changed this to 'I shall speak for them all'.) 'Before Corrigan came we did not have headmen and we could not settle disputes.' (The interpreter added again, 'But the Europeans have nominated Mr Parsons and we heed what they think, so that is all right'.) 'When the white men came, many came to our territory.' He pronounced two lists of white men who had had dealings with his clan: Corrigan's name was second on the list of those who had dealt with his clan in earlier years, and the campaign manager for Ian Parsons headed the list of those who had dealt with his clan in recent years. No Administration officers were included in the latter list. 'When the *kiaps* told us about the elections they said whoever among us had money could nominate, and Kaibelt had money. No one thought of Parsons before.'

At this point there was some confused babbling in the audience while leaders who did not know Ian Parsons discussed whether the campaign manager or the chairman of the meeting (both of whom were standing in prominent positions at the front of the verandah) was the candidate the Europeans had selected.

'Corrigan gave the headmen their badges', the vice-president of Nangamp Council continued. 'Now we have Councillors, and Corrigan is here again. We told him to nominate, and he did so, but the Europeans have nominated another white man.' The interpreter changed this last sentence to 'He nominated himself, but the Europeans like another white man and we heed what they think.' The campaign manager told the Councillor that he had spoken well and invited him to come up on to the verandah.

'Masta En is strong, strong', the campaign manager cried. (This dramatic Neo-Melanesian statement was translated into the vernacular as 'A white man is an orator who gets things done; he is like a policeman'.) 'He has already put in his nomination. Yesterday I saw Corrigan and I asked him whether he would come to this meeting and he said he would. I asked him whether he had nominated and he said not yet. I am not ashamed to nominate for the elections. It is a matter for public discussion (*samting bilong aut tru*). You people must vote for Mr Parsons, Masta En, to sit down in the one and only *chair* [*sic*]. If you want to vote for a native man, he can go along and observe. Corrigan does not have coffee. He works for another white man. He is a *boi* [= servant] for Masta Norman.' (This was translated into the vernacular as 'Corrigan has no work; he is simply idle. When a man has *bisnis* you can see what he is like at his work'.) 'Anyone who has deposited £25 can get it back at the District Office.'

The campaign manager waited for the interpreter to finish, then continued, 'On Monday Mr Parsons is going on *patrol* [*sic*] to the Jimmi region'. (The candidate toured parts of the Jimmi region in company with an Administration patrol.) 'When he comes to your houses, talk with him. He is throwing away time and money. He has engaged a manager for his plantation, for he will be travelling about hearing whether you will support him.' (This was changed in the vernacular to 'Vote for Corrigan if you like, or vote for Parsons if you like'.)

The Neo-Melanesian interpreter now gave an explicit instruction on how to vote: 'All is not quite straight (*Ol i paul liklik*). If you think of three candidates, some will be voting for each of them. It is better to nominate only one man, and choose another man later to learn from him.'

Ian Parsons came forward and addressed the meeting. His speech was not so spectacular as that of his campaign manager. He simply told the leaders that he was confident that he would win the election. He said he intended to visit all the Councillors individually and the purpose of his visit would be to find out what they wanted. Then he could follow their wishes if and when he was elected.

Another prominent Councillor spoke, using the elliptical imagery that occurs commonly in the vernacular and was omitted in the Neo-Melanesian translation. He referred to the election of Councillors, at which prior consensus was reached at the direction of a *kiap*, and urged that agreement between white people and black people should make the elections for the 'Moresby Council' a mere formality also. He referred to the selection of Kondom from Chimbu for the Legislative Council and implied that the Middle Wahgi region could be represented better by someone who knew the place and had lived there. 'We native people all thought of Corrigan', he continued, 'but now there are two white men and we ought to have just one for our own. All the Councillors are here today and some of the Europeans are present.' (The interpreter translated 'all the Europeans are present'.) 'We ought to be able to select one. The white men here ask us what we want. We native people want one white man and one native man. The Europeans should choose the white man and we ourselves should choose the black man. That would be a true election, fair to everyone. But now two white men have nominated and two native men, Kaibelt and Nop, have nominated; we shall have two Europeans and two native men to think about.'

'A native man', said Parsons, 'will only go if the elected member feels inclined to take him. I want to take a different man every time in order to educate everyone.'

'That is fair', the Councillor who had been speaking before agreed. 'All right, there has been enough talking. I do not know how the native people are going to vote. If Parsons wins he can get the job. That is all. Two white men are nominating, and two natives are nominating. We shall abide by the voting.'

A former *tultul* said: 'It is good to have had this meeting so that we could discuss things. In the old days, the white men kept to themselves

the secret of what their work was all about. Now they seem inclined to teach us a little.'

A Councillor from the foothills of the Wahgi-Sepik Divide (the mountains to the north) added his comment: 'Now the white men are speaking at the Club it is good to be able to hear what they are thinking. I am a Councillor and I am still in the dark as to what is happening. The children are schooled very slowly. They still need Europeans to show them the road.'

'We came here to talk about the elections', Nop said impatiently. 'We agree that we want a European, but which European do we want? There are two I know about.'

'This white man only', the Councillor from the hills replied, pointing at Ian Parsons. 'People saw him at the Council meeting yesterday.'

A Minj Councillor had scrambled on to the verandah and now he addressed the meeting.

'The native people are stupid', he asserted. 'We have many Council meetings. We are getting big money, undertaking big work, and collecting big taxes. Everything is getting bigger. We really need six men for the election. Kaibelt and Nop have nominated, and this white man has nominated so there are three nominations now. The valley was always and will always be one garden, but we have meetings in several different Council houses. I have been thinking and I want you to listen. There will be a candidate from every Council area, so there will be three men to go to Moresby. But one white man can represent all if he can get inside what is happening. A white man can be right in the middle of things. The Europeans have selected one, so it is better to stand by their decision. He can go around and see what people think in all the different places. A native man cannot get around so easily because no natives here have vehicles.' (The first native-owned vehicle in the Sub-district was purchased in April 1964.) 'It would be better to get a candidate from each Council and then vote for one representative from them all to go and observe and be taught when Mr Parsons goes to Moresby.'

Nop spoke further.

'We saw this white man at the Council meeting', he said, 'but the ordinary *kanakas* have not seen him. I know that the white people do not think the same as each other but have at least two different opinions. I was in the Jimmi region and did not hear that there would be Europeans contesting the election. The *kiap* told me to pay my money (= the deposit) and go off to tell the people in far places about the elections.'

Nop's talk aroused some heated discussion. When the meeting ended after almost two hours, the Councillors appeared to be agreed that if they could only elect a single representative it should be a European. If left to their own decision, they would have had two Europeans and two natives, one of each to represent each side of the Wahgi River. The two natives would be Nop and Kaibelt who, as presidents of the Minj and Nangamp Local Government Councils, could fittingly represent the two sides of the valley. They thought that Corrigan should represent the south side of the valley along with Nop, since many of the native people

wanted him and that was where the seat of government lay; as the white people wanted Ian Parsons and he lived on the north side towards Mt Hagen, he could represent the north side along with Kaibelt. Both Kaibelt and his vice-president reiterated that Europeans knew much more about such matters than local people did and so were more qualified to select a candidate. Nop still favoured Corrigan and said he had no doubt that Corrigan would win; since Ian Parsons had nominated, he continued, the two white men could compete against each other and he would abide by the result. He himself was still determined to withdraw his nomination.

The Conduct of the Elections

As the time for polling approached, small encampments dominated by the white tent flies of the polling booths sprung up along the valley. The bustle of all this activity stirred little interest among the local people, who tended to see the elections as a work of great importance to the *kiaps* but of little relevance to their own lives. An 'educational patrol' into the Jimmi had come back with stories of how the party had arrived at a census point where the headman had commanded his people to stack mounds of vegetables for the patrol to buy. The officer had made his speech in Neo-Melanesian, with the aid of an interpreter; he had asked whether his listeners had understood. The reply came promptly, 'We have heard you, but we do not understand. Will you buy the vegetables now?' People at a number of polling booths, even within the valley itself, paid more attention to gathering mounds of food for the electoral teams, and to arranging the piles of vegetables tastefully and discussing them admiringly, than to the business of voting. They treated the business of casting their votes earnestly and, although they had been well drilled on the procedure of voting, many were afraid of making mistakes.

Typically the polling booth was a long structure of tent flies under which the European polling officer (or sometimes two polling officers) sat at a table with an official interpreter standing beside him. Literate Papuans and New Guineans (mostly Papuan clerks, and a few local schoolboys) sat at tables to record the spoken preferences of non-literate electors. Electors queued in an orderly way and advanced one by one to the polling officer, who searched for the voter's name on the electoral roll. Sometimes the name could not be found, though the person was obviously of an age to be eligible to vote, and when a diligent search through all likely mis-spellings was unrewarding the polling officer added the name to the roll and handed the elector a ballot paper. Different polling officers (and sometimes the same polling officer on different occasions) varied in their judgments of age, particularly that of young married women, sometimes relying on appearance of physical maturity and sometimes on maternity as a criterion of whether a particular girl was old enough to vote.

The elector handed his ballot paper to the clerk, who asked him (or her) whom he wanted to vote for. When the elector had uttered the name of a candidate the clerk asked 'Another?' (in the vernacular) or 'Number two?' (in English) and typically the elector pronounced a

further name. The clerk prompted the elector by asking 'Another?' ('Anyone else?') after each name was called. Some electors interpreted this as a requirement that they should voice their own preferences first and then repeat the names of any other candidates (or usually three, including a Special candidate) for whom they had intended to vote and proceeded to list the other candidates in random order.

A form of intimidation at the polling booths was observed on one occasion in the Dei Council area when a local man campaigning for Ian Parsons harangued the waiting electors in the vernacular. He told them they must vote for a certain European whose name was known to them from previous talks, the European who was in the habit of buying their coffee. He said that they must not vote for any other candidates. He warned them that if they did not vote for the particular European he had already mentioned to them they would find no market for their coffee and would have access to no more money. The first electors to vote shouted 'Masta En' to enable the campaigning native to hear them vote for the desired candidate, but soon the polling team instructed electors to state their preferences quietly so that only the polling assistant could hear. The electors at this booth who whispered their votes continued to cast first preference for Ian Parsons but typically added further preferences before they signified that they had completed their voting.

Relatively few local voters were literate, but polling officers encouraged electors who claimed to be literate to vote unassisted, later scrutinizing their ballot papers and giving them a chance to register an assisted vote when they had filled out ballot papers incompetently (for example, by putting the figure 1 against the names of two or more candidates).

The Wahgi people generally had no understanding of the Special Electorate. As late as January 1965 some were still unaware of the division into Open and Special electorates. The inclusion of Open and Special voting, however, on a single ballot paper, enabled polling assistants to record formal votes for both Open and Special candidates on behalf of non-literate persons who uttered a single order of preferences (often explicitly numbered) with names of Open and Special candidates mingled.

The Wahgi people had had no prior experience of preferential voting and the idea of listing a sequence of preferences was novel to them. Many were uncertain whether voting was compulsory or optional and how many preferences had to be stated. They were well accustomed to choosing between two alternatives and many compounded sets of such choices to construct their first two preferences.

The clearest alternative that presented itself was whether a European or a native should represent the electorate. This choice had become a lively issue in December when one European nominated and the Wahgi leaders learned that they could nominate a different European if they chose to do so. The change from a seeming unanimity that a European should represent the electorate to an overwhelming majority (14,036 of 19,784 who cast formal votes) giving first preference to native candidates was not such a crucial swing as it may appear, because of the other sets of alternatives that presented themselves simultaneously.

TABLE 1 Examples of Assisted Voting
 Aa, Ba, Ca = order of preferences as uttered by voters
 Ab, Bb, Cb = order of preferences as recorded

Names of candidates in order as on ballot paper	Aa	Ab	Ba	Bb	Ca	Cb
<i>Open</i>						
Corrigan Brian			1	1	2	2
Kaibelt Diria	2	1	3	2	4	3
Paulus Waine					5	4
Parsons Ian						
Nopnop Tol	3	2	4	3	1	1
<i>Special</i>						
Downs I. F. G.	1	1	2	1	3	1
Buchanan Dennis 'Junior'						

By February 1964, when the elections began, many saw the choice to be made as between electing a European and an indigenous candidate to observe and learn from him or electing an indigenous member and a European to advise and instruct him. Only the first two preferences were seen to be crucial, the first preference being cast for the prospective elected member and the second preference being cast to elect a pupil-observer (if the member were a European) or a teacher-adviser (if the member were a native).

Two considerations that made a majority of voters give first preference to an indigenous candidate and second preference to a European involved further decisions. A European member could be expected to work more quickly and efficiently in meetings than a local man who was not literate and had no knowledge of English. But a native could be expected to learn more about the processes of central government and the secret of wealth by actually participating in the meetings than by simply watching a European at work, so long as he had a European to guide him. The model for this argument was the Local Government Council, in which native members worked directly under the supervision, advice, and instruction of the *kiaps*. Members gained access to more knowledge and skills by participating in the work of the Council than they would have if they had been simply looking on, though obviously the *kiaps* could run the Council more efficiently and the meetings would be less lengthy and verbose if the natives were attending merely as observers. Thus casting first preference for an indigenous candidate indicated a willingness to sacrifice a certain efficiency in Territory government in order that a local man might acquire greater knowledge and wealth for his people. The second consideration in casting first preference for a native candidate was that many of the Wahgi people gained the impression that it was the will of the Administration that an indigenous member should

be elected. The author did not hear of any local people being aware of the District Commissioner's opinion that European members should represent Open electorates in the Western Highlands during the first House of Assembly and certainly very few, if any, in the Minj Local Government Council area were aware of it. If this opinion was known, as it may have been, in the Dei Local Government Council area it may well have influenced electors there who cast first preferences for Ian Parsons. Many events and statements contributed to build an impression among people of the Middle Wahgi that the Administration wished to see a native member elected. Up to the time a European candidate nominated, the local people had seen the House of Assembly as a Territory-wide Native Local Government Council. The only mention of European candidates had been the Cadet Patrol Officer's ill-informed reference to Europeans voting for European members in the same way as natives would be voting for native members. This information, which proved incorrect, was greeted by the Councillors as being just but of no concern to themselves, and they had not passed it on to their clansmen. Many expressed the opinion that the *kiaps* had withheld the information that Europeans could compete with indigenous candidates in order to ensure the election of the latter. The Returning Officer had discouraged Nop from withdrawing his nomination, and this news developed into widespread verbal reports that he had blankly refused to allow all three indigenous candidates to withdraw their nominations when they sought permission to do so. Local Government Councillors who observed the Returning Officer almost daily at Minj judged that he expected and also hoped that a native candidate would be elected. When he drew the attention of some to the information he had received that a Southern Highlands electorate was putting up only native candidates without relying on a European member, despite the fact that the area had been pacified much more recently than the Wahgi valley, this was widely reported as indicating a preference for the election of an indigenous candidate. Information from the missions made no reference to European candidates, being simply phrased in terms of a choice between two native candidates. The choice offered strengthened the impression (even of persons unaffected by the message itself) that a native candidate was to be elected.

The belief that it was the policy of the Administration to see a local candidate elected found extreme expression in a bizarre-sounding opinion offered by a handful of electors in the author's hearing. They said that they themselves would have voted first preference for a European, if they had followed their own desires, and second preference for an indigenous member to go with him and learn from him, but they could not do that because giving first preference for a European would be interpreted as meaning that they wished the Australian government to leave. A Papuan delegate-observer to the United Nations had visited Minj in 1963 and spoken of independence for Papua-New Guinea. His message had been interpreted locally as a threat that the *kiaps* were departing in the immediate future and letting the natives fend for themselves. A prominent Local Government Councillor, one of the more sophisticated local people

living close to Minj, had promptly sent his wives and children to a remote place to be safe from the chaos and fighting that he judged would result when the people were left to govern themselves. When weeks passed and the *kiaps* showed no signs of leaving, the local people judged that the danger no longer existed and the Local Government Councillor brought his family home again, but the danger was remembered. Thus these electors who subjugated their personal wishes to what they conceived to be the will of the Administration did so as a vote of confidence in the existing government.

Local people who intended to vote for one European and one native candidate saw the two European candidates, Brian Corrigan and Ian Parsons, as having been chosen by natives and Europeans respectively. Left to themselves, they would not have asked a European to compete against a native, since the idea of Europeans and natives contending against each other embarrassed even the most sophisticated. The Councillors had been content with the arrangement as they had originally understood it that two separate elections (one for natives and one for Europeans) were to be held. Originally they had envisaged a European member representing the European community and a native member representing themselves. When they heard that Ian Parsons, in nominating, was to be competing against Nop and Kaibelt, they interpreted this correctly as meaning that any European who became elected would be representing the local people as well as the immigrants and expatriates, and many reacted immediately by trying to ensure that the European they elected was one they already knew and trusted. The 'endorsement' meeting for Parsons, however, convinced them that this particular European was the candidate the Europeans themselves had chosen. Some of the younger Wahgi people who knew Corrigan only by repute and Parsons not at all saw two clear alternatives: voting for the European candidate the natives had chosen or voting for the European candidate the Europeans had chosen.

The Results

The results on the final count tallied with the allocation of first preferences. If the votes had been counted in the way many local electors were expecting, Kaibelt would still have been the elected member but a European would have been sent with him to advise him in the House of Assembly. The most common expectation was that the native candidate and the European candidate who gained the highest number of first and second preferences should both go to Port Moresby. Some expressed the more precise opinion that the candidate who received the highest number of first preferences should participate in the House of Assembly as member and the candidate receiving the highest number of second preferences should accompany him either as advisor or as pupil-observer.

Kaibelt received the highest number of first preference votes with 6,938 of the 19,784 formal votes. This was only 35 per cent of the first preferences, but 71 per cent of first preferences were cast for indigenous candidates and just over 49 per cent of these were for Kaibelt as against

TABLE 2 Allocation of Preferences, Minj Open

	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Final count
Corrigan	384	—	—	—	(384)
Paulus	1783	46	—	—	(1829)
Nop	5315	176	82	—	(5573)
Parsons	5364	34	756	561	6715
Kaibelt	6938	92	920	628	8578
Exhausted	—	36	71	4384	4491

nearly 38 per cent for Nop and nearly 13 per cent for Paulus. If Non-dugl had not seceded from the Nangamp Native Local Government Council bloc and voted for a different candidate, Kaibelt could reasonably have expected the 1,783 first preferences cast for Paulus to accrue to him. As it was, his majority of 1,623 over Nop was greater than could have been expected on the basis of regional solidarity and the respective sizes of their Local Government Council areas. The difference must be attributed in part to Kaibelt's gaining more votes than Nop in the Jimmi region, which he visited much later (closer to the time of the elections) with access to more precise information than Nop was able to impart to electors there. Electors in the Dei Native Local Government Council area who decided to vote for an indigenous candidate would have given first preference to Kaibelt, whom they knew much better (some of them personally and many by repute) than the other indigenous candidates. The widespread campaigning on his behalf by the missions ensured that all local people who considered themselves converts to the Lutheran and Swiss missions gave first preference to Kaibelt. Individual members of these sects in Nop's group (Konumbuga) gave their first preferences to Kaibelt, and one Konumbuga woman delayed her entry into one of these missions until the elections were over in order that she would be free to vote for Nop instead of Kaibelt.

Ian Parsons, the planters' choice, was the only European candidate who polled an appreciable number of first preferences—5,364. This was 1,574 less than Kaibelt but 49 more than any other indigenous candidate. The fact that Parsons polled 27 per cent of the first preference votes may express the extent to which this candidate and his supporters convinced electors that Europeans were more qualified than local people to select a representative to take part in Territory government. Those local electors who had expected the European candidate with the highest number of second preferences to accompany the native member as adviser will never learn on impeccable authority which candidate would have gone with Kaibelt if the preferences had been counted in the way they had expected. The second preferences cast by 12,302 persons who gave first preference to Kaibelt and Parsons combined were never counted. The official results do not show how many electors indicated only one or two preferences and how many expressed the full range of preferences.

Non-literate electors heard, however, that the election had resulted in Kaibelt's coming first (*namba wan*) and Masta En (Parsons) coming second (*namba tu*). Minj people interpreted this as meaning that the northerners, who outnumbered the southerners, had given their first two preferences to Kaibelt and Parsons instead of to Nop and Corrigan, as they themselves had done, and that consequently Kaibelt would go to Port Moresby as member and Parsons would accompany him as adviser.

Before the final counting was completed, Kaibelt was host at an afternoon party held partly to celebrate his win in the election but ostensibly to celebrate the opening of his new house, which was built in the European style. Kaibelt received his invited European guests on the lawn outside, where a modest ceremony that included prayers and a speech on behalf of the host was conducted. Kaibelt explained that he had deputed an English-speaking schoolboy to give an address, and a local youth who was mission-trained made a speech. The speech echoed literally the views of certain of his teachers who, finding indigenous Wahgi culture as imperfect as any, dismissed it as a hotch-potch of unmitigated evil. After a grossly distorted summary of the filthy, lustful, thieving, and warring ways of his ancestors, he proceeded to express gratitude (on behalf of Kaibelt and others who thought the same as he did) to Europeans for teaching the native people the virtues of cleanliness, morality, honesty, and living in peace. The native people were learning very slowly, he said, but Kaibelt's new house set an example for all to follow. He elaborated on the advantages of the new house over what he alleged was native custom in respect of housing. When this demonstration of rote learning was ended, Kaibelt ushered his guests courteously into the house, where tables were laden with delicacies prepared mostly by two expatriate women, wives of planters.

The European guests included some planters and their wives, some missionaries, and some *kiaps*. The opening ceremony did not take place until the Assistant District Commissioner arrived in company with a distinguished guest, a judge; and the party began to break up as in response to a signal when these personages departed. The District Commissioner himself had been invited, but had sent apologies for his absence. Nopnop Tol, the candidate from the southern Council area, received a special invitation to attend the party and bring one of his wives. He brought the wife he judged to be the most presentable, but she was too shy to accompany him in mingling with the European guests and stayed with the Europeans' native drivers, who were served with food in a shelter a little distance from the new house. A third section of the party was in progress behind Kaibelt's other buildings, where his wives and some other relatives were treating a crowd of natives from far and wide to a mixture of party fare and more traditional food. This section of the party continued for several days and resembled most native parties of the Middle Wahgi in being attended by many friends of invitees and people who had simply heard that the party was being held and decided to come.

The several stages of counting the votes took so long that by the time the results were available people living on the south side of the Wahgi

River were already concerned with other matters and few expressed interest in learning the outcome. The few living off the station who did express interest interpreted the successive counts either as precautions to eliminate mistakes made early in the counting or as confirmation of the notion that the results had been determined beforehand so that the figures had to be successively adjusted until the desired result appeared. Various people throughout the Middle Wahgi had expressed this notion at different times before the election (in various forms, for example that the Europeans had already decided who would be elected; that the election of a native candidate was Administration policy; or that persons practising evil magic had foreknowledge of who was to be elected). Individual persons in three different southern clans who alleged that the results were being manipulated to conform with a prior decision expressed no resentment at the idea. It was all right, they said, for knowledgeable *kiaps* to make certain that the ignorant native people did not blunder, and anyway the election had been held simply to show the native people how elections were conducted in Australia: it was, as it were, nothing more than an academic exercise.

Perhaps the election was indeed little more than an academic exercise. The sporadic incursions of educational patrols, individual candidates, and electoral teams into the remote Jimmi and Kambi regions did not substantially affect the result, which was no different from what it would have been if the Wahgi people of the Minj and Nangamp Native Local Government Council areas had combined to elect a representative on the basis of a first-past-the-post vote.

A sequel to the exercise in preferential voting, however, was that in January-February 1965 some electors who had given a third or later preference to Kaibelt were able to express their satisfaction with his performance as Member by telling him truthfully how delighted they were that they had given him their vote.

The Maprik Open Electorate

Micheline S. Dewdney

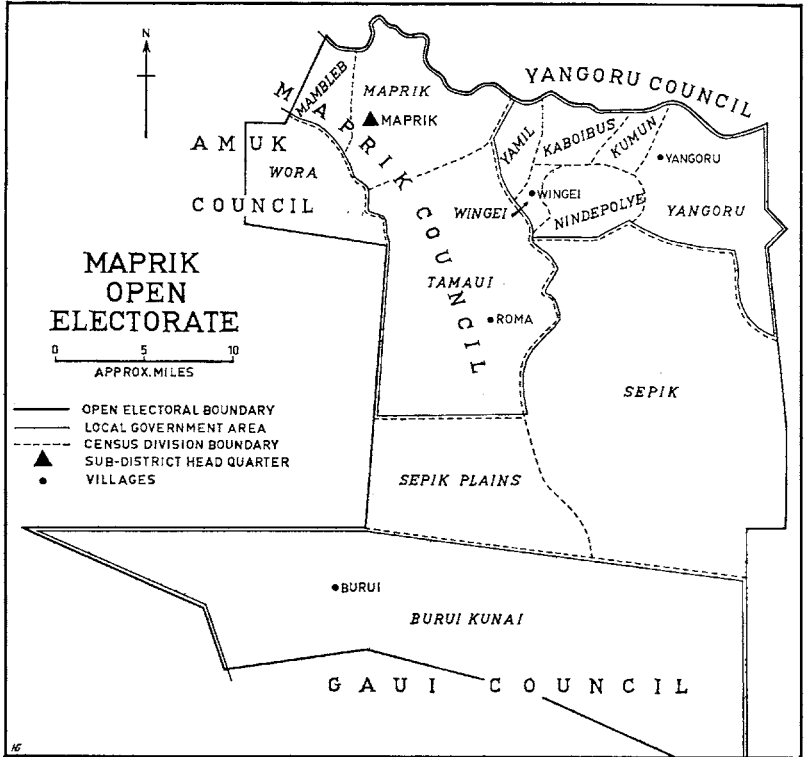
The Electorate

The Sepik District's Maprik Sub-district was divided into the Maprik and Dreikikir Open Electorates, each with a population of about 40,000. The Sub-district is 60 miles long with an average width of about 30 miles (Lea 1964). Administrative headquarters are at Maprik with two subsidiary patrol posts at Yangoru and Dreikikir. Maprik, which was established as an administrative post in 1937, is 40 miles from Wewak by air and 35 miles north of the Sepik River by road. The Maprik Open Electorate lies mainly in densely-settled foothills south and east of the Prince Alexander Ranges to the north of the Sepik River, and extends into the sparsely-populated grasslands of the Sepik Plains. Its average population density is 32 persons per square mile. The electorate is divided into 13 Census Divisions. The average village size is 197 persons, and the average number of electors on the Common Roll per village 105.

Before 1937, Catholic missionary priests were stationed at Kunjingini and Ulupu, but contact with Europeans remained limited. A Protestant mission was established at Maprik in 1948 by the Assemblies of God, and a Seventh Day Adventist mission in 1959.

There are eleven Administration primary schools in the Sub-district staffed by trained European and indigenous teachers and attended by about 1,200 children, together with a further eighteen registered mission schools with approximately 2,400 children sponsored by the Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, Assemblies of God and South Seas Evangelical Missions. The total school population is 11·3 per cent of the school-age children of the Sub-district. The highest level reached is Standard 6, and there are no secondary schools.

The main sources of income are coffee, rice, gold and truck crops sold to Administration departments, missions and the local market. The Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries operates a farmer-training school, catering for forty-five men for a four-month period. The course covers basic essentials in the cultivation of coffee, rice and coconuts. There are four co-operative societies, two of which had not functioned actively during the period preceding the election campaign. The other two made a profit of almost £2,500, and £5,000 profit was made from sales of truck crops to Administration departments. Additional



income is derived from contract work on the plantations and with the Administration. In 1963-4 goldmining netted £7,000 but this could have been multiplied several times over if goldmining were not treated as a casual, part-time occupation. Proceeds from sales of indigenous art works vary between £1,000 and £2,000 per annum.

There are four Local Government Councils in the Sub-district, three of them in the Maprik Electorate; the first was established in 1957 and the latest in 1964. Excepting the newest Council, which met for the first time after the House of Assembly elections, 71 per cent of the Maprik electorate at the time of the campaign was represented by Local Government Councils.

Thirteen different languages and several dialects are spoken in the Sub-district, with several extending well beyond the Sub-district boundaries. However, Neo-Melanesian is widely spoken and has achieved the status of a lingua franca. Five of the thirteen languages are spoken in the Maprik Electorate (see Table 1).

An analysis of the occupations listed for electors was made from the electoral roll. Grouped results are shown in Table 2; as can be seen the percentage of skilled and semi-skilled occupations is negligible.

TABLE 1 Language Groups in the Population and on the Roll

Language group	Population		Roll	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Boiken	9604	23.4	5157	23.7
Sepik Plains	5882	14.4	2820	13.0
Maprik*	19620	47.9	10592	48.7
Mountain Arapesh	4621	11.3	2524	11.6
Southern Arapesh	1223	3.0	672	3.0

* Sometimes referred to as Abelam people.

Some of the classifications of the roll are not occupations in the strict sense, for instance unpaid positions such as *tultul*, *luluai*, Councillor, student. Categories such as 'public servant' or 'mission worker' do not indicate the nature of the occupation. There are also certain inaccuracies and inconsistencies; six domestics are listed, for example, but there are more than six working on the station from the electorate, and one goldminer is listed while there are at present twelve in one village alone—however, goldmining does tend to be casual employment.

TABLE 2 Occupational Classification on the Roll

Occupation	Number	Percentage on Roll
<i>Skilled occupations</i>		
Teacher	38	0.2
Carpenter	2	0.1
Mechanic	2	0.1
Medical Assistant	1	0.1
<i>Semi-skilled occupations</i>		
Hospital orderly	43	0.2
Driver	12	0.1
Policeman	87	0.3
Soldier	3	0.1
<i>Unskilled occupations</i>		
Storeman, domestic, etc.	159	0.7
Plantation labourer, road worker, etc.	2190	10.0
Subsistence farmer	9212	42.3
Home duties (i.e. females)	10006	46.0

The Political Education Campaign

Seven members of the Department of Native Affairs and eight teachers from the Education Department were employed in the education campaign which was designed to familiarize the electors with the mechanics of voting and the composition of the House of Assembly. Audio-visual aids were provided and were used according to personal inclination.

The effectiveness of aids depended on the persons using them. At one

meeting which the author attended, for example, held for members of six villages, two native policemen used a tape-recording which had been prepared for educational purposes. The response to the tape-recording, in Neo-Melanesian, was lukewarm. People showed more interest in the apparatus than the message of the tape. Furthermore, the policemen did not invite questions to be asked. Far more effective use was made of the tape-recorder by a Patrol Officer at a meeting of the Maprik Local Government Council. The tape-recording was stopped at intervals to emphasize and elaborate certain points as well as allow questions to be asked and answered. Of the four teachers interviewed regarding their part in the education campaign, the majority favoured the personal lecturing technique, although one of them reported that slides had aroused much interest.

Some rumours and misconceptions regarding the elections were surely inevitable and by no means discredit the excellent performance on the part of the Administration in their tremendous task of educating an almost completely illiterate people in the intricate processes of democratic government. It is difficult to assess the extent of these misconceptions but significant to note their qualitative features.

In the Wora Census Division there was a common misconception that the House of Assembly was the proposed new Amouk Local Government Council. Interest in the elections in that area was extensive. An average of four to five questions each day were asked over a period of six months before the elections, some people walking a distance of twelve miles to ask them.

A problem encountered in the Kaboibus Census Division was that each village wished to send a representative to the House of Assembly as they did for local government representation. There was an implicit assumption that everyone was expected to vote and questions were asked as to whether the old and the sick were obliged to vote. Other types of questions asked included: Would winning candidates live like Europeans and own large cars and houses? Would the House of Assembly pass legislation to ban traditional *house-tamberan* cult activities? The Administration neither encourages nor discourages traditional customs, but most Christian missions actively forbid their people from joining in the rituals.

In the Yangoru area there were several rumours: when the elections began the Europeans would leave the Territory; because one of the polling booths was to be situated at Wingei, at the Assemblies of God mission station, the mission staff would replace the Administration in Maprik; the Local Government Councils would be replaced by the House of Assembly; one person from each village would be elected to join the fight against Indonesia. Other rumours originated from one of the candidates himself, Godfried Tataige, a Catholic mission catechist, who alleged that as a winning candidate he would bring back the cargo from Port Moresby and would later be crucified as Christ was. In the Maprik and Sepik Plains area rumours were circulating that candidates would start killing people, and that the Department of Native Affairs officials who

were compiling the Common Roll were in fact listing the names of people who would be killed at the time of the elections.

Conversations with a fair cross-section of the electorate over the fortnight preceding the elections may provide some check on the effectiveness of the education campaign. The author talked with fifty-eight men and forty-three women. They came from all of the electorate's language groups except Boiken, and ranged in age from their early twenties to seventies. Four out of five knew that there would be an election, but only one in three knew the date. More than three out of five had little or no idea what the House of Assembly was. Others had a vague idea about the House of Assembly but did not connect it with the elections. Perhaps one in five had a clear and accurate conception of the House of Assembly, and another one in ten related it to some type of Council House. Only one individual volunteered that it was the initial stage towards eventual self-government. Misconceptions stated included that the House of Assembly was a new Council to open at Maprik, or a big house opening in the Sepik District, or that all candidates would go to the House of Assembly. The fact that about two-thirds of the electors talked with had only the haziest idea, or none at all, of the House of Assembly probably followed from the emphasis placed in the education campaign on the mechanics of voting rather than on the broad purpose of the elections and the new legislature (see chapter 4).

Nor were the electors very well informed about the candidates. Barely a quarter knew that there were six candidates for Maprik, and of these less than half could give their names. Almost one-half had heard of only two candidates. Boigun Raki and Pita Tamindei were the best known, each being named by about 90 per cent of those with whom the author spoke. The least-known were the candidates from the Yangoru area who did not campaign around Maprik station. One in three knew that there were three candidates standing for the Madang-Sepik Special Electorate, and one in four could name all three. As for the candidates' speeches, over half had heard Pita speak, and one in three had heard Boigun, but accounts of speeches they had heard were vague, and many could recall nothing that was said. Almost half had heard no candidate from the Open Electorate, and over two-thirds had heard no candidate from the Special Electorate.

The study of the electorate was commenced at the end of the nomination stage (early January 1964) and not much material could be obtained in retrospect about that stage of the elections. The role of the Administration, through the Department of Native Affairs, is difficult to assess accurately. There certainly was emphasis at the nomination stage on the danger of too many candidates standing in Maprik who would cause a split in the vote.

At the nomination stage of the elections, Boigun Raki was president of the Maprik Local Government Council and Pita Tamindei, another candidate, vice-president. When Boigun nominated for the House of Assembly, he was replaced by Pita as president of the Council. After a brief period Pita himself nominated, but unlike Boigun did not resign

from the Council. Stefan Walamini, the third candidate from the Maprik area, was encouraged to nominate by a Catholic priest at Roma in the Tamaui Census Division. At the time, Stefan was employed by the mission on a part-time basis doing first-aid work. Apart from encouraging Stefan to nominate, the priest had a meeting-house built for the purpose of holding election meetings. Before Stefan had nominated, a group of six local Councillors on the Maprik Local Government Council sought the priest's advice regarding whether the people in the area should vote for Boigun or Pita. It was suggested and agreed that the area should be represented by one of the local people and Stefan was chosen to nominate. The priest's active role in encouraging Stefan to nominate was not encouraged by Church policy, and the part played by Catholic missionary priests in the elections, whether active or passive, represented individual interest rather than a specific policy dictated by the Catholic Church.

Only one case is known of a person wishing to nominate, then deciding against it. This was the case of an indigenous spiritual leader affiliated with the Assemblies of God Mission, Maprik. Two main factors were responsible for his decision against nomination. On the one hand, the Superintendent of the Mission did not wish to lose him as an influential spiritual leader in the area, and on the other hand he was advised by an official of the Department of Native Affairs to think over his decision carefully as two other candidates, Boigun and Pita, had already nominated and too many candidates would split the Maprik vote. At that stage, two candidates had also nominated in the Yangoru area. He was also told to discuss his proposed nomination with the two other Maprik candidates. Following a general discussion with these candidates, he decided to abstain from nominating. A few days later, Stefan from the Catholic Mission at Roma nominated.

The Candidates

All six candidates are married, and the winning candidate has two wives. Four are illiterate. The 'educated' candidates have not attended school for more than three years and can neither read, write, nor speak English, but all candidates speak Neo-Melanesian. Only one candidate had no political experience. Five candidates had been and some were still Local Government Councillors and three of them had been, or were still, president.

Pita Tamindei, about forty years old, was born in Loneim, a Mountain Arapesh-speaking village in the Maprik Census Division. Although he professes to be a Catholic, he has not been baptised because he has two wives, both living with him, with their three children. He is illiterate. He was first employed as a domestic, washing and ironing, in Wau before the war. He joined the Police Force when the war broke out and remained in the Police Force as a constable for seven years travelling extensively throughout the Territory. He then returned to his village, claiming that he wished to help his people overcome their fear of policemen and Patrol Officers whose aim they thought was to imprison all the villagers.

This type of statement is difficult to validate. Officials of the Department of Native Affairs deny that this state of fear among the villagers existed. Pita was appointed *tutul* then *luluai* for Loneim. He said that he tried to put an end to inter-village fighting, and poison and sorcery activities.

Pita was a great admirer of Peta Simogen, the former nominated M.L.C. and a successful entrepreneur. Following Simogen's example, Pita began to encourage people to search for gold and to grow rice and peanuts to raise their income level. He himself cultivates coffee and coconuts and earns additional income through goldmining. In 1957 he became the president of the newly established Maprik Local Government Council. When asked why he had nominated for the House of Assembly Pita said he wanted to help his people work harder and earn more money. He felt a need for more knowledge regarding agriculture, and a need for more doctors, teachers, schools, and roads. There was also a great need to allay fears and misunderstanding regarding the work of malaria control. He considers that the time is ripe for the people of New Guinea to help themselves and not just to depend on European assistance.

Boigun Raki, who is in his late forties, was born in Yamikum, a Maprik-speaking village in the Maprik Census Division. He refers to himself as a heathen. He has been married four times, has a married daughter and an adopted daughter, and is illiterate. He trained as a policeman before the war and claims to have reached the rank of sergeant-major. After thirteen years of service and wide coverage of the Territory he retired with a pension. He was then appointed *luluai* at Yamikum for five years. He became president of the Maprik Local Government Council in 1958 and held that office until 1963. At the same time he took an interest in coffee growing. He is a member of the District Advisory Council and the Liquor Licensing Commission. He resigned from the Council when he nominated for the Open Electorate. His reason for nominating was his concern for the country where not enough was being done for development, particularly in the education field. After the elections were over, he remarked to the author that he was going to build one of the largest *house-tamberans* in the area, which suggests a traditionalist strain in his approach to prestige.

Stefan Walamini, who is in his early twenties, was born in Yauwan-Jungei, a Maprik-speaking village in the Tamaui Census Division and is a Catholic. He is married and has one child, went to school for three years, and can read and write Neo-Melanesian. He was trained and employed as a medical orderly, but dismissed from the Public Health Department and later imprisoned for drinking spirits and general misbehaviour. He was later given part-time work with the Catholic Mission at Roma, near his village. Stefan nominated because people from his village asked him to represent them and stop heathen-type thinking. He promised that if elected he would prohibit *house-tamberans* but encourage the production and sale of *house-tamberan* figures which have a ready market. He would demand more schools, and ban poison and sorcery activities.

Namani Antapia, about forty years of age, was born in Nindepolye, a

Boiken-speaking village in the Nindepolye Census Division. He is a Catholic, is married with three children, and is illiterate. He started growing rice and peanuts in 1953 and now also grows coffee. He was a *tultul* at the end of the war for ten years and then became president of the Yangoru Local Government Council in 1962. He said he was uncertain as to what the House of Assembly was, but that he nominated because his people asked him to. If elected he would demand more employment for his people who wanted pigs, stores, and the material goods the Europeans possessed. He would not encourage the continuation of *house-tamberan* cults, but it was difficult to ban sorcery and poison because the people responsible for them worked in secret places.

Kumasi Mangi, aged about forty, was born in Himburu, a Boiken-speaking village in the Kumun Census Division. He is a Catholic, married, has nine children, and is illiterate. He was first employed as a cook at Wau for six years, then trained as a policeman and reached a full corporal's rank. In 1954 he worked in Port Moresby driving a semi-trailer, then started a business of his own. He now owns a truck and coconut and coffee plantations at Wewak as well as in his own village at Himburu. He lives mainly in Wewak and has been a local Government Councillor there for four years. He nominated to help his people progress. If elected he said he would encourage them to work hard but does not feel it necessary to put an end to traditional customs as these will not hinder economic development.

Godfried Tataige, aged about thirty, was born in Parina, a Boiken-speaking village in the Yangoru Census Division. When asked his name by the author he hesitated at first, saying that his real name for entering the House of Assembly was confidential and not to be divulged to the Administration. He is a Catholic, married, and has three children. He went to school but no further than Standard 1. He can read and write Neo-Melanesian but not English, and is employed as a catechist by the Catholic Mission, Yangoru. His conception of the House of Assembly is impregnated with religious overtones. The House of Assembly, according to him, is a House of God where work is performed for the welfare of body and soul, the main aim of which is to make the New Guineans follow the Church. Ancestral customs will be banned, *house-tamberan* cults, initiation ceremonies, and various taboos will be eliminated. Natives will live like Europeans and all will follow the Bishop and the Catholic Church. All other religious groups will return to the one true faith, the Catholic faith.

The Campaign

Most of the candidates held election meetings in the villages. No meeting was held in the Maprik township itself. A group of from three to six villages would assemble at one of the villages to hear a candidate. Extensive use was made of Local Government Councillors to organize villagers to assemble—a very similar system to census-taking and medical patrols when villages are lined up. The Yangoru candidates were more inclined than the Maprik candidates to follow teachers on their education cam-

paign and make their election speech at the end of the educational meeting. At one stage one of the Yangoru candidates, Kumasi, suggested to other candidates that they should make combined appearances so members of the electorates would get to know all the candidates and decide for themselves whom they liked best. Nothing came of this plan.

Most of the candidates paid their own nomination deposits with the exception of Godfried, who obtained his deposit at a Christmas carol night collection. The campaign itself did not involve the candidates in financial expense. They did not have posters printed, and covered the electorate exclusively by walking. Interviews with the candidates and a request for their campaign coverage produced the following: Boigun claimed to have covered 116 villages, Pita 119 villages, Stefan 87 villages, Kumasi 86 villages, Namani 81 villages, and Godfried 112 villages. Stefan tended to hold meetings on Catholic mission stations following Sunday Mass. When he stated that he visited a particular village, in fact it often meant that some members of the village had attended Mass and heard him there, rather than at an organized meeting at the village. In Godfried's case people who helped him in his campaigning often merely talked to one or two Councillors, informing them that Godfried had nominated, and no actual election meeting was held. There was a natural tendency for Maprik candidates to concentrate on the Maprik area and Yangoru candidates to concentrate on their home territory. Often the candidates stated as a reason for not visiting a particular area that they had not been there before and did not know the region well. This may have been the reason why Kumasi sought combined appearances in Maprik which, for him, was foreign territory. The Wingei Census Division was covered completely by all the candidates. It is a border area between Maprik and Yangoru. No other Census Division was covered so thoroughly.

Visits to villages did not necessarily tie in with language groups. Pita, who had the widest coverage, comes from a minority language group in this electorate, the Mountain Arapesh group. Boigun, who speaks the Maprik language, covered all other language groups except Boiken. Only half the number of Census Divisions in the electorate conform to linguistic groups, for example three different language groups are included within the boundaries of the Sepik Census Division.

The author observed four of the candidates conducting election meetings: Boigun, Pita, Kumasi and Stefan. The presence of a European observer appeared to make no difference to the way the meetings were conducted, but this is a difficult point to validate without further information on the way meetings were conducted in the absence of Europeans. Councillors and candidates were always ready to interpret questions which were asked in languages other than Neo-Melanesian. Village people have often been exposed to the presence of various kinds of expatriate field workers and on the whole have accepted them readily.

Boigun was observed at an election meeting in the Mamblop Census Division. On that day he spoke at three different villages to a total of about a thousand people. He received a warm welcome in all villages

visited. He appeared to have obtained full co-operation from Local Government Councillors in organizing people to assemble for him. People tended to sit in their own village groups. His speech, delivered in Neo-Melanesian, consisted of three main topics—the mechanics of voting and the composition of the House of Assembly, an account of his life with an emphasis on his war experiences, and finally the need for hard work to develop the country and raise the general standard of living. No attempt was made to compare his record with other candidates or to make disparaging remarks about them. He stated that it was up to individuals to decide whom they liked best and to vote for that particular person. Boigun reminded one group of villagers about their cargo cult activities in the recent past which had been expressed in the destruction of *house-tamberans* in the hope that their ancestors would produce the cargo. He emphasized the need for hard work in order to earn money with which to buy material goods and to abandon useless cargo cult thinking and activities.

In one of the villages in the Maprik Census Division visited by Pita the Councillor had failed to inform the villagers of his proposed election meeting and plans for holding it had to be abandoned as the village people were away working in their gardens. In another village, the Councillor who had also been told of Pita's proposed visit was absent. A small group of people eventually gathered to listen to him. His speech was similar to Boigun's in form and content. Pita did emphasize the importance of not voting for a candidate on the basis of popularity alone but of taking achievement into consideration.

Stefan held his meeting after Sunday Mass at Ulupu Catholic Mission before a small and uninterested group of people. It was a very brief speech, concentrating on the mechanics of voting and the number and names of the candidates who had nominated. Although Stefan, when interviewed, had stated that if he was elected he would ensure that *house-tamberan* cults would be outlawed, he made no mention of this in his speech.

Kumasi held his meeting in a village in the Yangoru Census Division. His speech differed in only one way from those of the other candidates—he emphasized the need to indicate preferences on the ballot, showing the people how to fill in their preferences on a sheet of paper similar to the ballot. His reception was enthusiastic.

On the whole the meetings held in the villages were very well attended and people listened attentively and with enthusiasm to the candidates' speeches. One of the issues emerging was the conflict between the religious and traditionalist factions. The traditionalist groups, represented by the older men, were deeply concerned about whether the House of Assembly could ban the *house-tamberan* cult. The religious group, represented by younger people, wanted these cults to be banned and wished to find out whether the House of Assembly would legislate to that effect.

Most of the questions asked revealed a narrow and self-centred interest in purely local affairs rather than in the future of the country as a whole: 'There is too much sorcery and poison in this village. What can be done

about it?', or 'Why was my coffee not bought by the Agricultural Department?' Some concern was expressed at the low standard of living and whether the House of Assembly would produce any radical changes: 'Are we going to live like Europeans now?'; 'Councils have been formed but our life did not change much. Will the House of Assembly produce any change in our lives?'; 'People in our villages would like to live in good places and work. Can the House of Assembly help us?'; 'Why does not the government pay people for work they perform on the roads as they used to in the past?'

The Results

Much interest was shown in the counting of the vote on the part of candidates and voters alike, many of whom were present during the entire primary count which took place at the District Office from 6 p.m. till 2 a.m. on 18-19 March. Progressive results were entered on a blackboard. Many of the candidates and members of the electorate were present around the blackboard discussing the results. Scrutineers, both European and indigenous, were also present, but it is doubtful whether the indigenous scrutineers understood the actual mechanics of the count. Both European and indigenous workers were employed in the counting of the vote.

Pita's lead at the first count was a narrow one, although his position improved slightly with the addition of the absentee vote.

TABLE 3 First Count, Maprik Open Electorate

Candidate	Ordinary votes	Absentee votes	Total primary votes	Percentage
Pita	4170	510	4680	24·6
Boigun	4082	171	4253	22·4
Kumasi	2574	583	3157	16·6
Stefan	2820	42	2862	15·0
Godfried	2045	304	2349	12·3
Namani	1499	55	1554	8·2
Informal	46	126	172	0·9
Total	17236	1791	19027	

Where did each candidate obtain his votes? In the primary count, the language factor did not emerge as the most significant element in winning support, for example the majority of the Kaboibus Census Division, a predominantly Mountain Arapesh-speaking group, voted for Kumasi, who belongs to a Boiken-speaking group. Furthermore, Pita, a Mountain Arapesh, only 1,524 of whom are on the Electoral Roll in Maprik, obtained support from all language groups in the electorate with the exception of the Boikens. This allowed him to gain his narrow lead over Boigun. If the language factor had been of primary importance, Boigun or Stefan could have been expected to gain a much higher proportion of the votes

cast, the Maprik language group being 10,592 strong on the Electoral Roll.

On the whole, candidates obtained support from areas in which they had campaigned. Yangoru candidates failed to gain votes from the Maprik area, and Maprik candidates failed to win votes from the Yangoru area, at least in the primary count. Clear-cut localized support was apparent in the case of Stefan who obtained most of his votes, which constituted the majority of the votes cast in that area, from the Tamaui Census Division. Godfried gained most of his support from the Yangoru and Kumun Census Divisions.

The significance of Boigun's resigning from the Maprik Local Government Council is debatable. It may have lost him votes in Pita's favour, but Pita would still have obtained a large majority of the preferences and won accordingly.

TABLE 4 *Distribution of Preferences*

Candidate	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	Total
Namani	1554	—	—	—	—	(1554)
Godfried	2349	47	—	—	—	(2396)
Stefan	2862	29	149	—	—	(3040)
Kumasi	3157	276	1025	153	—	(4611)
Boigun	4253	42	37	912	593	5837
Pita	4680	46	67	659	2347	7799
Exhausted		1114	1118	1316	1671	5219

One of the striking features of the distribution of preferences was the high incidence of exhausted votes: Namani's preferences—71·7 per cent exhausted votes; Godfried's preferences—46·7 per cent exhausted votes; Stefan's preferences—43·4 per cent exhausted votes. This suggests that many voters voted for one candidate only. It is interesting to remember that Kumasi, who had the lowest proportion of exhausted votes, was the only candidate to emphasize and demonstrate the mechanics of preferential voting in his election speech.

Most of Namani's and Godfried's preferences went to Kumasi, but of Stefan's preferences, 53 per cent went to Boigun, 38 per cent to Pita, and only 9 per cent to Kumasi. It would appear that in the cases of these candidates preferences were distributed mainly to candidates belonging to the same area. In Kumasi's case, however, in the final distribution of preferences, Pita obtained 79·8 per cent of the preferences and Boigun 20·2 per cent.

Of particular interest is the fact that the preferences gained by Pita came from diverse sources, four different language groups, with the majority from the Yangoru area, and a little over one-third from the Mountain Arapesh-speaking group in the Kaboibus Census Division, his own people. The fact that he obtained so many more votes from the Yangoru area than Boigun could be related to the fact that the Mountain Arapesh have more contact through trading with the Yangoru people.

Shell-rings used as currency and for exchange purposes in the whole of the electorate are manufactured in some of the villages in the Kaboibus Census Division.

The election results in some respects were unexpected. Boigun, who had been president of the Maprik Local Government for several years and a member of the District Advisory Council and Liquor Licensing Commission, had appeared to be a popular and respected leader among his people. He was sufficiently moderate in his views not to offend either progressive or traditionalist groups in the community. On the other hand, Pita, a disciple of Peta Simogen, had been most active following the war and up to the present stage in encouraging people over a wide area of the Maprik Sub-district to take an active interest in cash cropping. His influence had spread more widely than Boigun's. This was certainly demonstrated in the election results. Another reason for such a high proportion of Kumasi's preferences going to Pita may be related to the fact that Kumasi, too, is an admirer of Peta Simogen. Personal communication with Peta Simogen revealed that the latter was not surprised at the election results as he said that Pita had always covered a larger area of the Maprik Sub-district than Boigun had.

It is unlikely that the elections and the composition of the new House of Assembly will affect the daily lives of the people of Maprik, and doubtful whether traditional patterns of authority and leadership in the villages will change radically. Yam cults will still dominate the lives of village people, and leadership will continue to be achieved and maintained by 'big men' growing and exchanging long yams with their ceremonial exchange partners and in building *house-tamberans*. ('Big man', as the influential village leaders are referred to, is the accepted term among Europeans, 'Bigfella man' the Neo-Melanesian term.) The new political order need not necessarily clash with the traditional form of political organization in the villages, although the elected member could possibly exert influence through the medium of Local Government Councillors.

The Rai Coast Open Electorate*

Thomas G. Harding

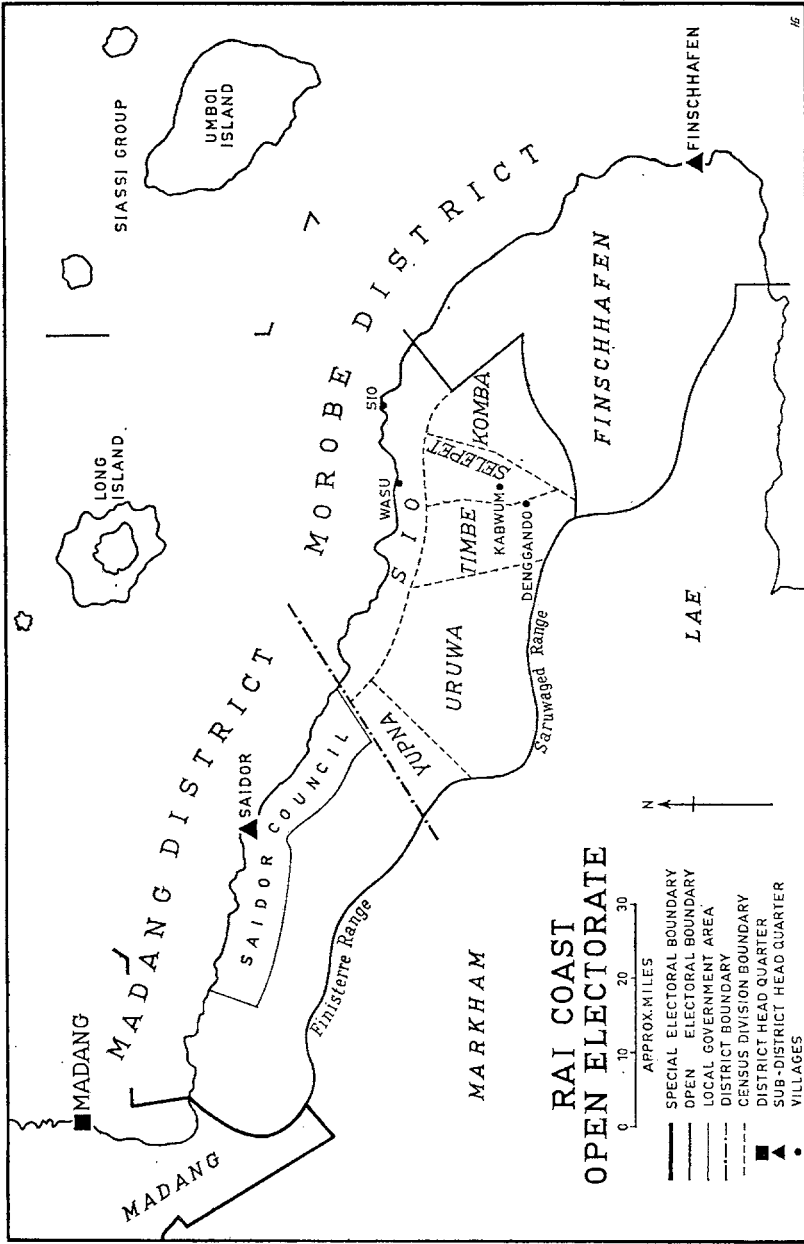
The Electorate

The Rai Coast Open Electorate consists of a long, narrow strip of the north-eastern coast of New Guinea, stretching from Astrolabe Bay in the west to the village of Gitua (Kelanoa) in the east. The electorate extends inland to an average depth of twenty miles. No more than a few minutes flying time from the eastern, southern, and western boundaries, respectively, are the centres of Finschhafen, Lae and Madang. The western half of the electorate belongs to the Madang district while the eastern half is included within the Morobe District.

Mountainous terrain dominates the region. The narrow coast consists of a series of wide, level capes rather than a continuous plain. In its eastern section there are broad expanses of *kunai* grass, interspersed with forest along the watercourses, while toward the west rainforest predominates. Rising abruptly from the coastal plain is a mountain range varying in altitude between 3,000 and 6,000 feet. Behind the coastal range and forming the southern boundary of the electorate are the lofty Saruwaged and Finisterre Ranges, which have peaks reaching as high as 13,000 feet. Numerous mountain streams issuing from these ranges run in a northerly direction to the coast. These rivers have deeply eroded the face of the land, and their action has formed the coastal capes. Generally speaking, the rivers are too swift-flowing to be navigable, even along their lower courses.

The mountainous sections of the electorate may be said to be among the most rugged country in the world. Because of the deep gorges cut by the rivers, travel in an east-west direction is extremely arduous. During the dry season of the south-east trades, when the streams are fordable, travel along the coast is relatively easy though extremely unpleasant when

* The author was engaged in anthropological work in the eastern portion of the electorate between September 1963 and June 1964. This ethnographic circuit included the eastern montane portion of the electorate, the home area of the successful candidate, and the area which proved decisive. The careers and campaigns of the four principal candidates, three of them personally known to the author, form the chief subjects of this chapter. It should be emphasized that the description and interpretation of events are based on his vantage point in the eastern or Sio end of the electorate.



crossing the sun-baked *kunai* flats. During the rainy season of the north-west monsoon, from November to March, fording the rivers may be very treacherous and at times impossible.

Most travel is along the coast by foot, or in canoe and motor vessel, and along the north-south tracks which run inland to the base of the towering main ranges. There are no more than a few miles of vehicular roads in the entire electorate, so that land transport is exclusively by human portage. A half-dozen airstrips suitable for light aircraft serve the various Administration and mission stations.

In a significant sense, the boundaries drawn by the electoral map-makers helped to determine the outcome of the election. Far in advance of the election, Stoi Umut, Advent Tarosi and Yali Singina appeared to be the strongest contenders, and in the final count they finished in that order. That being the case, the placement of the eastern and western boundaries gave a definite advantage to Stoi. The five mountain 'tribes' which were most likely to support him were all included within the eastern half of the electorate. But the western boundary, placed at Astrolabe Bay, bisected the territory of Yali's numerous supporters, allocating about half to the Madang Open Electorate and the other half to the Rai Coast Open. In the balloting Yali ultimately received 2,583 Rai Coast votes while at Bogadjim, just over the boundary, 1,248 of 1,413 votes cast were informal, and it is probable that most of these were for Yali.

Advent Tarosi lacked the kind of active following possessed by Yali. Still, the eastern boundary of the Rai Coast Open Electorate cut him off from a large number of potential supporters who were allocated to the Finschhafen Open Electorate. Traditionally and in post-European times, Tarosi's home village of Sio has always had close relations with the coastal villages between Sio and Finschhafen and with the Siassi and Umboi Islands. The Sio or eastern half of the Rai Coast Open Electorate, together with these areas, belong to the Finschhafen Sub-district of the Morobe District. Tarosi was a teacher for a number of years in Finschhafen and he is widely known for his role in the founding of the Finschhafen Marketing and Development Society, a co-operative which now serves the entire area (Finschhafen Sub-district). In September 1963, Tarosi discussed with the author the possibility of his standing in the Finschhafen Open Electorate, though he realized that he could not meet the residential requirements. He considered his chances in the two electorates to be about equal.

Together with the question of boundaries, the demographic patterns of the electorate are critical for an understanding of the strategy of the campaigns and the outcome of the election.

The electorate has a population of about 50,000 people living in some 260 villages. There are 26,000 voters. The narrow coastal plain running the length of the electorate is thinly inhabited, containing about one-fifth of the voters. With the exception of Sio, which has a population of nearly 1,500, the coastal communities are generally small and widely separated. Three of the four principal candidates were coastal people, or they endeavoured to draw their main support from the coastal area.

By contrast, the mountainous interior is densely settled. In the coastal range itself there are only a few small communities, and these tend to be closely affiliated with the nearest villages on the coast. (For example, the two mountain satellites of Sio voted with the coast rather than with their linguistic kin farther inland.) The bulk of the population is concentrated in the broken plateau country between the main range to the south and the coastal range to the north. The deep gorges of the major rivers constitute sharp natural boundaries between linguistic and ethnic blocs, though there may be cultural intergrading in the headwater areas in the south.

The centre of gravity of the electorate as a whole is in the east, in the adjoining Komba, Selepet and Timbe Census Divisions, with a population of 25,000, half the total. It was in this area that Stoi Umut piled up a commanding lead, and he also received the overwhelming support (about 90 per cent of the votes cast) of the somewhat less populous Yupna and Uruwa Divisions immediately to the west. In the first count, the five neighbouring tribal groups had given Stoi 7,507 of his total of 8,057 first preference votes.

Examination of the demographic and ethnic map, together with the likelihood that there would be no opposing candidate drawn from the pivotal eastern montane area, made it appear to informed observers that Stoi Umut had by far the best chance of winning. Local prognosticators further assumed that coastal candidates would lack the fortitude or inclination to invade the mountain province. This assumption was wrong—three candidates did campaign there—but the outcome was as predicted.

The minor extent to which Stoi Umut was challenged within the populous eastern montane sector is shown by the figures in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Percentages of First Preference Votes of the Five Leading Candidates, by Area

	Eastern Montane n = 9806	Eastern Littoral n = 1017	Western Electorate* n = 6064
Stoi Umut	76.3	11.3	4.4
Advent Tarosi	5.6	35.7	41.0
Yali Singina	0.5	3.9	35.6
Loto Lisa	7.6	48.8	2.2
Batta Yamai	9.9	0.3	4.6

* Balance polled by minor candidates.

To summarize the variations of culture and language encompassed by the Rai Coast Electorate is beyond the scope of this chapter and the competence of the author. Unfortunately, there are few works to which the reader may be referred (but see Groves 1934; Lawrence 1964(b); Schmitz 1960).

A review of certain cultural characteristics which had a direct bearing on one or more aspects of the election indicates the following:

1. The eastern three-quarters of the Rai Coast Electorate is part of a much larger cultural area—including the eastern coast of the Huon Peninsula as far as Finschhafen, the Tami Islands, Arop and Tolokiwa Islands, the Siassi Group and Western New Britain—which was interconnected by an extensive system of trade in pre-European times. The principal communities were linked by the annual voyages of the enterprising and intrepid Siassi Islanders. The economic flow consisted of foodstuffs and an array of manufactured and processed goods, such as canoes, earthenware pots, wood bowls, mats, weapons, obsidian for tool-making, paints and wealth-objects of various types. Though modified—declining in some respects, expanding in others—by the introduction of European goods, cash cropping, and new economic practices and concepts, this 'Vitiaz Strait Trade System' continues to function. The relevance of the trade system in the present context is that the myriad trade-friendships by which exchange was and still is conducted forms an extensive series of interpersonal links, so many 'chains of communication', through which goods and information of all kinds constantly flow. Thus, contacts with and knowledge of distant peoples and areas within the electorate is not a recent innovation exclusively associated with European contact. (This is not to suggest the existence of political solidarity extending beyond the range of the normally small-scale New Guinea political units of a few dozen to several hundred persons—rarely several thousands. See Hogbin and Wedgwood 1952-3, 1953-4; Sahlins 1963.)

2. There is an antipathy between coastal and inland peoples which is characteristic of the Rai Coast area and no doubt other parts of New Guinea and the Western Pacific. Though there were social and economic ties linking coast and interior in aboriginal times, beach and mountain people were also traditional enemies. Warfare and raiding had ceased in most areas by about 1930. Yet the course of European contact, which placed metal tools and other goods in the hands of the coastal people first, increased the differentiation between beachman and bushman as the former acted as middle-men transmitting new goods inland at inflated prices.

Nowadays the antagonism, usually fairly mild in form, is expressed in the beachman's view of the bushman as a rude and unwashed country bumpkin, and on the opposite side, the bushman's image of the coast-dweller as a domineering and untrustworthy sharpster or 'city-slicker'. In daily Sio life, almost any act of clumsiness, especially if it is associated with water-craft, is apt to be greeted by the epithet *bushkanaka* which is used often as a term of abuse in Neo-Melanesian. The Sio word *kumboi* carries the same connotation. The author found no comparable terms applied by mountain people to the coastal-dwellers, but it is possible that such terms exist.

While the importance of this long-standing antipathy should not be over-estimated, it definitely helped to determine voter attitudes. It is difficult to imagine circumstances under which an inland candidate could

make an effective appeal to coastal people. Among the coastal Sios the view was expressed more in the aftermath, a mountain candidate having been declared elected. There was a feeling of disgust, mixed with disappointment, that the coastal candidates—Tarosi, Yali and Loto—had lost. Not only was the new representative a *bushkanaka*, he was young and inexperienced—a nobody. It was inconceivable that such a man could be the 'face' for Sio in Port Moresby.

3. In discussing demography, it was mentioned that intergrading of culture and language may occur near the headwaters of the main rivers which flow out from the Saruwaged and Finisterre Ranges. Further north, moving downstream, the deep gorges are effective barriers to communication. Stoi Umut's locale of birth, upbringing and residence is within one such area of intergrading, an area known by the indigenous people as the 'head' of the Komba, Selepet and Timbe peoples. Linguistically, the area is mainly Komba, but the Timbe and Selepet are close at hand and there is a marked degree of multilingualism. Stoi himself is trilingual, which accounts in some measure for the length of many of his campaign speeches delivered to mixed groups. Were it not for Neo-Melanesian, which is spoken throughout the electorate, Stoi could have communicated with far more people than any other single candidate. While it is obviously important to be able to talk to people in the vernacular, this is but an aspect of the ethnic basis of Stoi Umut's popularity. He claims, with justification, that he is a Timbe (primarily), a Komba and a Selepet, thus affirming his solidarity with 25,000 people of the electorate.

4. Religion. The peoples of the Rai Coast were proselytized by Christian missionaries in the first decades of the twentieth century. Mission activity was first confined to the coast, gradually spreading inland with the help of native evangelists. Most of the communities of the electorate are Lutheran, though the Catholics have won territory in the west. With the exception of Yali, the ex-cargo cultist, all the principal candidates were easterners and Lutherans. The spread of Christianity has proceeded at varying rates in different parts of the area, but it is safe to say that the vast majority of electorate voters are at least nominal Christians today.

The role of the churches, however, must be viewed against the persistent importance of traditional religious and magical beliefs which are expressed in cargoist philosophy. Prior to the election, some Administration Officers as well as other observers (e.g. Lawrence 1964(a)) anticipated that cargo cult beliefs would help to determine voters' preferences. This was thought to be true especially of such areas as the Rai Coast where there had been a cult movement associated with a very prominent leader, Yali Singina. It was not too surprising, therefore, when the successful candidate, Stoi Umut, also turned out to be the focus of cargoist sentiments. The campaigns did not take the form of a contest between cultist candidates—Yali and Stoi—nor did the churches react uniformly to the candidacy of these men. In the west Yali has been the symbol of what the churches regard as an anti-Christian heresy for almost two decades, and predictably the mission—principally the Catho-

lics it seems—actively opposed Yali while favouring Tarosi. Partly as a result of this opposition, Yali and Tarosi, long-time friends, found themselves pitted against each other as cultist and secular candidates, respectively. (Tarosi polled 41 per cent of the vote in the western part of the electorate; Yali received a little more than 35 per cent.)

In the eastern part of the electorate the influence of Yali-ism has been far more extensive than heretofore supposed. There have been home-grown cargo cults also, for example, among the Komba in 1946-8 and at Sio in 1959. More recently, there has been a re-activation of cargo beliefs associated with Stoi Umut. Though aware of these developments, the Lutheran Mission declined to enter election politics. The election was decided in the east—and a cargoist won—but it is difficult to speculate on the extent to which the results might have been different had the mission chosen an active rather than a passive role. By contrast, the mission faction in the west supported Tarosi in opposition to Yali, and though Tarosi was relatively unknown there before the election, he ultimately led in the balloting.

The Candidates and Their Campaigns

Stoi Umut, a young man of some twenty-five years, had no previous experience as a member of any governmental body, on a local or regional level. He does not know English and is only semi-literate in Neo-Melanesian, but as stated before he speaks three native languages. He received his education at a Lutheran Mission school (at Ulap) where it is reported that he was only a fair student. After leaving school, Stoi went to work as the personal servant of the then Assistant District Officer at Finschhafen. In retrospect, this employment provided Stoi with a double advantage: his personal contact with the Assistant District Officer appears to have been an important extension of his education; secondly, Stoi accompanied him on patrol and thus became known to villagers throughout the Finschhafen Sub-district (which includes the eastern part of the electorate).

Stoi later worked as a truck driver in Rabaul. Through scrupulous saving he was able to accumulate sufficient capital to begin a trade store in his home village of Denggando on his return to the area in 1961. Since then he has established trade stores at Wasu, a main anchorage on the coast, and at the Government Station at Kabwum in the highlands. It is rumoured that he has a financial interest in a dozen other trade stores in the interior.

The Timbe, Komba and Selepet peoples elected Stoi Umut and the significant question to ask is: how had he acquired such a commanding influence over such a vast area and in such a short period of time? Among the several answers to this question is Stoi's active support of Administration programmes.

On his return to his home area, Stoi not only launched his own trade enterprise, he also began a one-man crusade directed toward the economic betterment of the region. He became a tireless traveller, constantly visiting the villages of the area, encouraging people to plant coffee, help-

ing them to collect funds for trade stores and new churches, and at all times pushing forward the programmes of the government and agricultural officers. At times his zeal for promoting social and economic advancement carried him overboard—for instance at one time he exacted fines from parents who were derelict in sending their children to local schools.

But all crusades require an organization to be effective, and Stoi was not lacking in this respect. In many of the villages he appointed one or two men—'Stoi's committee'—who were to have the job of assisting Administration and local economic and educational programmes. Most of the men appointed were young and also literate, and in some villages at least they have tended to usurp the (minimal) functions of the Administration-appointed headmen. In the cases observed, there appeared to be no friction between the Administration appointees and the committeemen. Indeed, if there is friction, it is apt to be found between the committee and the very influential mission elders (the *bos mishun*).

In his 'select committee' Stoi had created both an intelligence system and a loyal group of followers, young men who gave their time, effort and allegiance for little else than the prominence and prestige they would not otherwise have acquired. Perhaps without knowing it at the time, Stoi had created a rudimentary political machine.

As early as November, and perhaps before, Stoi had declared his intention of standing. He was encouraged and advised in the initial stages by the Patrol Officer at Kabwum Patrol Post. (From what the writer knows of the experiences of candidates in this area, Administration officers rendered aid and practical advice to all potential candidates without favouritism.) Early in December a meeting attended by representatives from a number of villages was held at Kabwum. It was decided that Stoi would be the area's candidate. The results of this caucus are extremely important, for it was at this time that Bwasa, a very influential Komba man, the *luluai* of Indagen village, decided to step down. Earlier he had expressed an interest in standing, but conceded that, of the two of them, Stoi had the better chance.

Had Bwasa remained in the race, the results of the election might have been different. No doubt he would have drawn many of the first preference votes from the Komba (7,000 people), and thus Stoi's chances of achieving a majority would have been much impaired. As it was, Stoi was not opposed by any strong candidate in a compact territory comprising 25,000 people.

In describing Stoi Umut's life and local political career an attempt has been made to explain his rise to political prominence which occurred long before the election. This does not explain why he won the election, but only why he was in a position to win, given certain circumstances. As already noted, these circumstances were partly set when the lines were drawn forming the Rai Coast Electorate. The boundaries provided any candidate from Stoi's home area with a demographic advantage. Another important condition was that he was ineffectively opposed within the populous eastern mountain province, while at the same time three candi-

dates—Yali, Tarosi and Loto—were competing for the meagre coastal votes.

Stoi's campaign must be viewed in light of the foregoing. In a sense he had been campaigning for several years. His actual campaign tours, which only touched on the coast, and which were undertaken in December and January, no doubt increased public awareness of the elections. However, except for his visits to the quite backward Yupna and Uruwa Divisions, where he was the only candidate to campaign, it is doubtful if he achieved very much in the way of vote-getting for the simple reason that he already had overwhelming support.

The avowed policy of the Australian Administration in New Guinea has been to promote a broadly-based, even advance to higher social and economic standards. This policy militated against the formation of a so-called 'native *élite*'. Nonetheless, in the normal course of things, a number of reasonably outstanding New Guinean and Papuan leaders have emerged, and among this group Advent Tarosi of Sio would take a first seat.

The external details of Tarosi's education, his career as a government teacher and clerk, his service with the Allied Intelligence Bureau during the war (he received a British Empire Medal for his war-time service), and his travels to Fiji and Australia tell only a partial story. They do not explain his character and insight, and his current position of leadership. Tarosi is a man of intellectual temperament, though he is nevertheless a 'doer' with a number of important accomplishments to his credit. With respect to his political inclinations, professionals would certainly recognize in him a 'natural'. It is necessary to extol these capabilities in order to point out that here is one of the most qualified native leaders in Papua-New Guinea, whose campaign strategy and political aspirations would be thoroughly familiar to Western observers, but who nevertheless lost the election decisively.

Tarosi's teaching and civil service career have taken him to many parts of New Guinea and Papua, and he is widely known to Europeans and natives alike. In 1959, in fulfilment of a long-time promise, he returned to his natal village of Sio to found a government school. Initially he was reluctant to give up teaching at Sio, but by September he had pretty well decided to enter the race. After temporarily resigning from his job, he began a campaign in mid-December which continued until the eve of the election.

There is little doubt that Tarosi carried on the most extensive campaign of any candidate. Travelling by ship and on foot, he visited the coastal section twice, in December and again in February. In January he covered a large part of the Komba-Selepet-Timbe area—Stoi Umut's stronghold. His mountain campaign was more extensive than that of other coastal candidates. On several occasions he visited labour compounds in Finschhafen and Lae where many electorate people reside. For the most part his talks were delivered in Neo-Melanesian, though interpreters were also used most of the time.

Tarosi was the only candidate to use campaign posters, though Yali

distributed small printed leaflets. The reaction to these posters is interesting. Usually one of the posters was handed out at each village visited in the campaign. At the Timbe village of Derim people refused to accept one. They said that they thought they should secure government approval first. In the evening of the same day the headmen of Derim caught up with Tarosi at the next village and asked for a poster, having been convinced by others meanwhile that the *kiap* (Patrol Officer) would not disapprove. Others seemed anxious to get the posters, and, on the Rai Coast, Tarosi was approached by delegations of inland villagers who asked for a poster and then hurried away.

Exclusive of the £25 deposit (which was refunded), Tarosi's campaign expenses totalled £45, all of which was drawn from personal savings. Of this amount, £24 was spent on travel (ship and air fares, porters), £7 was given as gifts to interpreters, and £12 was expended on advertising: the campaign posters and advertisements in the Lae newspaper, *Nu Gini Toktok*.

During the course of the campaign, Tarosi developed no platform or programme. While he is well aware of the economic and social goals of the people of various parts of the electorate, he felt that many of them, such as the desire for roads and air-strips, are unrealistic or premature, and he thought it better not to fan false hopes. Secondly, many of Tarosi's interests are on the 'national' level—such as the role of Australian banking institutions in the New Guinea economy, the future status of European-owned plantations, the co-operative system, and the like—and he felt that such issues could not be adequately discussed with electorate voters.

Tarosi's campaign speeches consisted mainly of a mild form of 'mud-slinging' in which he compared the qualifications of the nine candidates. Stoi Umut was young and inexperienced with no proven accomplishments. Yali was thoroughly embedded in the old school, a victim of traditional ideas. Loto Lisa (his Sio kinsman) had mainly mission support and voters should be wary for that reason. None of the candidates except himself had knowledge of English and both Neo-Melanesian and Police Motu.

Tarosi then dwelt on his own record of achievement, the chief of which relates to the establishment of the Finschhafen Marketing and Development Society. Mobilizing the support of the Sio community, he was largely responsible for precipitating the formation of the Society which serves the eastern portion of the Electorate and in 1962 was the largest co-operative in the Territory (for the history of F.M.D.S. and Tarosi's role in it, see McSherry 1962).

It is difficult to measure the impact of Tarosi's campaigning. In many parts of the Electorate, especially on the coast, he was well known before the election. The Rai Coast, east of Saidor, has close economic and social links with Sio and the area was first 'missionized' by native Sio evangelists, so that in this area Tarosi was able and was requested to speak in the Sio language. His strategy in the mountain sections, Stoi's stronghold, was to ask voters for their No. 2 preference, but this most arduous cam-

paingning brought him less than 600 votes. At the same time, the mission faction in the western portion of the Electorate, which was strongly opposed to Yali, apparently gave Tarosi a great deal of assistance. He led in the balloting there and it seems likely that this result was due more to the unsolicited assistance of mission supporters than to his own campaign efforts. Also, Tarosi had anticipated capitalizing on absentee town votes, for many Rai Coast people live and work in Madang, Lae, Rabaul, Karkar Island, and other centres. Because of Stoi's youth and the fact that he only recently returned to his home area, Tarosi suspected that many mountain people who had resided for some time in the towns might know much less of Stoi than himself. The less than 200 absentee votes that Tarosi received from this quarter, however, fell far short of expectations.

In major respects Tarosi's campaign was modelled on Western practice. His preoccupation with campaign strategy reflected the knowledge that he was an underdog and the more frustrating realization that discussing 'national' issues in which he was interested with the electorate would be fruitless. He appreciated the potential of cargoist thinking and also of anti-European sentiment as political capital, but the idea of exploiting such beliefs and sentiments was repugnant to him. His campaign emphasis on personal and professional qualifications offered little ammunition with which to break down age-old ethnic loyalties and prejudices. This he knew, and after hearing the first results of the balloting he ruefully remarked to the writer: 'You see, had I started a new cargo cult, I might have won.'

There is little doubt that Yali Singina was the most widely known candidate before the campaigns began. An account of Yali's life and career from the point of view of a noted New Guinea Administration officer is to be found in J. K. McCarthy's *Patrol into Yesterday* (1963). There is a description of his heroic war-time exploits in Eric Feldt's *The Coast Watchers* (1946). Yali's career as an indigenous political leader and cargo cult prophet, together with an excellent theoretical analysis of cargo cults, form the subject of Peter Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* (1964). With this wealth of available biographical material, remarks may be confined to the reaction to his campaign in the large coastal community of Sio.

In 1947 much of the Rai Coast was turned upside-down by a Yali-inspired cargo movement (see Lawrence 1964 (b)). Faraway Sio followed the events and, though Yali did not visit Sio, at least two delegations of Sios went to visit him at his headquarters on the Rai Coast. Thus, as far as Sio is concerned, there was a great deal of interest, but no active participation in cult activity. During the recent campaign period, however, the Sio people looked forward to the opportunity of finally seeing this famous man with their own eyes.

They were not disappointed. In the company of Ben Hall, a European labour recruiter from Saidor, who acted as his campaign manager, whilst standing himself in the Ramu Open Electorate, Yali travelled to Sio by motor launch and remained for three days. A speaker's platform was

built and both Hall and Yali addressed the assembled Sios. Unfortunately the author was absent at the time, but discussions following Yali's departure were quite instructive.

The talks introduced or brought to prominence a new word—*pauwa* (power)—for the main point of the speeches according to the hearers was that Yali had a surfeit of *pauwa*. What was not made clear to the audience, however, was the nature of this power. In one discussion among a group of Sio men, the following suggestions were made: (1) Yali's power is *sangguma*, the power of sorcery-killing; (2) Yali has the power to raise the dead; (3) Yali has the power to make the cargo appear (*pauwa bilong pulim kago*); (4) Yali can put down the Europeans (*pauwa bilong European*); (5) perhaps Yali's power is related to his exploits during the war (which were magnified out of all proportion).

There was no suggestion that this discussion of Yali's power might be irrelevant, since under the new system a representative's power, in so far as he has any, comes from the people—the 'people's mandate'. In fact, this half-mythical theory of representative government seems naïve from the Sio point of view. Either a man is a leader or he is not—it is voting that seems irrelevant.

Traditional leadership in Sio had a strong hereditary component. The *koipus* or leaders heading men's ceremonial house groups were feasting and fighting units, and through their monopoly of wealth-objects they could hire sorcerers to eliminate rivals or to threaten dissident elements. While the system as such no longer functions, the political concepts associated with it are very much alive.

People are quite familiar, of course, with the processes of appointment and election by which modern leaders are selected. (Though planned for some areas, there were no Local Government Councils in operation within the electorate at the time of the election.) But no permanently effective Sio leader has ever been created by such procedures and people lament the loss of the positive direction of local affairs they feel was provided under the traditional system.

It appears that Yali's campaigning at Sio—combined with his previous reputation—had some impact. In the actual balloting, people supported the Sio candidates, Tarosi and Loto Lisa, but at the same time a large number of the second preference votes went to Yali.

In the electorate as a whole, Yali received only 2,583 votes, and he thus made a poor showing measured by the prior expectations of many Administration officers. As already noted, however, the placement of the western boundary of the electorate allocated half of the territory of Yali's numerous supporters to the Madang Electorate and the other half to the Rai Coast. Now surely one cannot assume that the boundaries of the present political sub-units are final for all time, or that all political activity will be confined by this framework, and so one should not hastily conclude from the outcome of the election that Yali's political career is finished. Indeed, in the eastern or Sio end of the electorate, farthest removed from Yali's main area of support, he still has tremendous popular appeal, or rather, one should say there is continuing belief in his extra-

ordinary powers. This is illustrated by the following incident: on 2 June 1964, the F.M.D.S. vessel M.V. *Vitiaz* was unexpectedly sighted several miles west of Sio. In a distant gardening area where the author was at the time it was rumoured that a small boat had anchored and it had probably brought Yali back to Sio, as promised during his campaign visit. The author remarked that if Yali really had come, he would like to have a chat with him. Thereupon, one man warned: 'If you ridicule or blaspheme Yali, you will die' (*Spos yu tok bilas long Yali, bai yu dai*).

Loto was born in Sio in 1918 and, like his Sio kinsman Tarosi, has spent most of his adult life as a teacher. He was educated in mission schools at Sio and Finschhafen and began teaching in 1939 at Salamaua. After the war Loto taught at Sio, and then in 1949 he was shifted to the Ulap Mission School. He was retired from his post in 1959, and since then he has served as caretaker of the Lutheran Mission facilities at Wasu Anchorage. He is a director of NAMASU, a Lutheran-backed co-operative with headquarters at Lae, and a member of the Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea.

Loto had no intention of standing for the House of Assembly until he was approached by representatives of the native congregations of Ulap Mission. Even then he was reluctant and at first refused, pleading that he was not qualified for the job. Eventually his supporters won him over, and they paid half of the £25 deposit required of candidates.

His campaign was brief. Between 7 and 14 January he visited a number of Komba, Selepet and Timbe villages. Later he visited Sio and Gitua for several days. A planned campaign trip along the Rai Coast in February was first cut short and then discontinued altogether because of illness.

Loto's campaign speech, which began 'Friends and brothers' and ended by advising voters to seek God's help in choosing the best man, had rather the flavour of a sermon. He told the author that he did not ask people to pledge their votes, nor did he make any specific campaign promises.

He was widely regarded as the mission candidate, and Tarosi emphasized Loto's strong mission connections in his speeches. As far as is known, however, the Lutheran Mission and Loto himself did not attempt to foster this image. Loto received 1,058 of his total of 1,419 votes from the Kabwum-Gilang area, the very heart of Stoi's home area. Though this may represent a Lutheran or mission vote, it is hard to explain why it was not more evenly and widely distributed within the mountain province. Tarosi was told by a very unreceptive audience near Yandu (Timbe) that they did not want a government candidate, such as himself and Stoi, but a mission man. The later polling at Yandu, however, did not reflect that preference (Stoi and Batta Yamai were the only candidates to receive votes).

After the election, the writer learned that the mission (unlike the Administration) was well aware of Stoi Umut's cargoist position. Stoi had always publicly supported the mission cause and it was felt that to attack his candidacy might very well harm rather than help mission

interests in the long run. The informant, a missionary, also expressed the opinion that at the time he did not think that the local mission elders could be effectively mobilized against Stoi. Thus, in the eastern part of the electorate the Lutheran Mission adopted a wait-and-see position.

The five other candidates in the Rai Coast Open Electorate may be dismissed briefly. Between them they polled only 12 per cent of the total vote, and more than half of these went to Batta Yamai, a young teacher from the Selepet Census Division. The other four polled just over 800 votes: Langong Sungai, a carpenter, and John Kikang, a former cook boy and carrier leader, now a coffee planter and *luluai* of some years standing, come from villages near Saidor; Medaing Gulungor is a farmer at Meibu village to the west of Saidor; Gau Jabile, a former teacher with the Lutheran Mission, had recently been made *tutul* of Songum village at the western end of the electorate. Each of the minor candidates drew his support from a small area, despite fairly extensive campaigning in adjacent areas. Medaing and Gau each polled a handful of votes in their own villages, but Gau had been pressed to stand in a village where he had been a teacher only to have the village *luluai* nominate later. He had been anxious to withdraw lest division of the votes between Christian candidates permit a pagan (Yali) to win. It might be added that John Kikang supported Advent Tarosi 'because the people told him to'.

Cargoism and Traditional Politics

Attention has already been drawn to the influence of cargoist belief on election politics. This influence is revealed clearly when one comes to analyse the bases of Stoi Umut's developing political position before the election. To be sure, Stoi identified himself with the rational programmes of economic development recently presented to the people of his area. He could not have achieved leadership along completely traditional lines because the indigenous 'big-man' system of politics has largely disintegrated. Nevertheless, it appears that both old-time political techniques and tradition-based ideology—cargo philosophy—contributed in fundamental ways to Stoi's political influence and hence to his success in the election. Within the area in which Stoi had maximum appeal on an ethnic-tribal basis, active cargoist sentiments focused on him consolidated his position. If Stoi is not the leader of an old-style cargo cult of the kind that developed in the Komba area in 1946-8, he is the central figure of a social movement in which rational and supernaturalistic elements are inextricably combined, and in which the latter elements often seem to predominate. In order to examine this more fully, let us turn first to the historical and cultural background of the eastern montane region of the electorate, Stoi's area of support.

The area of the Komba, Selepet and Timbe peoples was first contacted by the Lutheran Mission in the 1920s, and today it may be described as one of the most thoroughly 'missionized' regions in New Guinea. On the other hand, economic development, based mainly on coffee growing, began effectively only in 1960 with the establishment of an air-strip, a government station and regular supervision by agricultural officers. There

was thus a great time lag between the 'revolution in rising expectations' caused by European contact and the acquisition of the means of satisfying some of the new expectations. The people's understandable frustration perhaps reached a peak in the period 1946-8 when much of the area was afflicted with a violently anti-European cargo cult. Only the external manifestations of the cult are known, but whatever its specific rationale and ritual might have been, the general cargo philosophy survives today in undiluted form.

Generally speaking, the central idea of this 'philosophy' is that in addition to purely technical skills and knowledge, all economic processes—whether hunting pigs, clearing forest, cultivating yams, or acquiring Land Rovers, fine houses and tinned foods—require the exercise of magico-religious technique. Our own distinction between secular knowledge and magic is not so clear-cut in native thought: the production of wealth is a complex process involving both naturalistic and supernaturalistic components. On this score the author's own observations point to the appropriateness of Lawrence's emphasis on the traditional character of cargoism (1964 (b)). The interpretations underlying the cults represent an extension of indigenous doctrine to cover the new and varied experiences associated with the coming of the Europeans. From this point of view, attention is focused on the cargoist philosophy itself rather than on what may be regarded often as surface manifestations—that is to say, the specific cult forms themselves.

It can be suggested that the alacrity with which some primitive peoples abandoned their own systems of magic and religion for Christianity was based on the assumption that *lotu* (Christianity) had the same relationship to European wealth as that posited in their own cultures (a perfectly reasonable assumption given very limited knowledge of European culture combined with the millenarian content of the Christian message). However, daily prayer, hymn singing, baptism, communion, and the erection of churches did not bring material prosperity. *Lotu* failed to do what was expected of it, and as a consequence the search for the key, the correct magical formulae, the effective wealth-producing ritual, continues. It is in the course of this quest that the bizarre aping of European behaviour often develops as the ritual of cargo cults: drilling in platoon fashion with wooden rifles, the worship of telegraph poles, incoherent liturgies composed of English words and the multiplication tables (Wagner 1964).

At the present time there appears to be no active cargo cult in the region from which Stoi Umut drew his main support. The cargo philosophy, however, and the quest for the appropriate means of acquiring wealth, are dominant facts of life. Anyone who can 'demonstrate' or lead people to believe that he has found the key to European wealth, is assured of prominence and support, at least for a time. There is evidence—in the form of a large number of incompletely confirmed reports and rumours—to show that Stoi Umut has, self-consciously and perhaps partly inadvertently, harnessed the cargo beliefs and aspirations of 25,000 people to his meteoric rise to political prominence. It is not so much that the people elected a representative; in Stoi Umut they recognized a saviour.

The specific beliefs surrounding Stoi have to do with money. Money is the basic stuff of European economy—as these subsistence cultivators put it, ‘What food is to us, money is to the European. They eat their money, we simply eat our food.’ Now it is widely believed that if Stoi has not found the road to cargo as such, he has found the money road. And it appears that Stoi himself may believe this. In conversation with a trusted informant, he stated that in or near Lake Gwam, lying at an altitude of 11,500 feet in the Saruwaged Range, there dwells a spirit who aids him in acquiring money.

The display of large quantities of cash is used to advertise this claim. When the writer was preparing to leave the mountains for the coast in January, he learned from native informants that, at his village of Deggando, Stoi has a ‘money room’ containing displays of money, such as strings of New Guinea shillings. The money room is supposedly open to visitors with an admission charge of 1s. for natives, £1 for Europeans. On the occasion when an expatriate informant visited Deggando with the intention of seeing the money display, Stoi was absent, and he was refused admittance.

There is no evidence that in his public statements Stoi coupled his victory in the election with specific promises of immediate and large-scale material benefits. Nonetheless, such ideas were current, and if Stoi was not the source of these ideas, there is only his word that he publicly repudiated them. Before the election a rumour circulated widely to the effect that if elected, Stoi would purchase the *M.V. Sirius*, a privately-owned vessel based in Madang, for the benefit of the electors. In the versions heard, it was not specified whether funds for this purchase were to come from taxes, Stoi’s savings or spirits.

Belief in his access to superior supernatural power is one aspect of Stoi’s secular influence; the manipulation of cash to build up and sustain a personal following is the other aspect. Apart from earnings from his trade enterprise, it is probable that much of Stoi’s working capital and the funds he is reported to collect and distribute in Robin Hood style consist of many small-scale contributions made by his supporters and admirers. But such manipulations should not be viewed as a confidence game pure and simple. The objective is not one day to make off with the loot. Rather, it is to encourage an economic flow which sustains political power.

In this respect, Stoi’s position and tactics resemble the traditional Melanesian ‘big man’. (For an incisive analysis of the mechanics of Melanesian political systems, see Sahlins 1963.) The material setting is changed and the scale of the political entity that has been generated is larger than would normally be produced by traditional big-man politics. In place of pigs, yams, ceremonial activities, and the like, he is the focus of a system of cash distribution which provides individual economic assistance, personal loans, and finances the building of trade stores and new churches. There is indeed the accumulation and display of wealth (money), but, as in traditional systems, pecuniary aggrandizement is held to a minimum in favour of well-planned distribution. For it is prim-

arily through distribution that the leader's prestige is enhanced and the belief in his extraordinary powers of acquiring European wealth sustained.

If the reports of European and native informants are substantially true, and if the writer's own observations and interpretations are correct, Stoi Umut's political prominence is based on a successful blend of two familiar New Guinea political strategies: at one and the same time he is 'big man' and a cargo leader, a winning combination if there ever was one.

In achieving political prominence, many Papuan and New Guinea leaders have sought to emulate European life-styles. Further, as Groves commented: 'They have accepted the administrative assumptions of a thoroughly paternalistic colonial regime, mistaking these for the political conventions of their own society' (1964(e): 229). Advent Tarosi exemplifies this pattern of achieving success by European criteria, as well as the inherent risks of such a course. Often unsympathetic and impatient when it comes to traditional political techniques, Tarosi has alienated many native supporters, some of whom refer to him contemptuously as 'the Australian'—by implication a traitor to the native cause. Stoi, on the other hand, presents a double character which enables him to maintain his position on both sides of the fence. To Europeans his calm, self-effacing personality, his active role in promoting Administrative programmes, and his former association with the Assistant District Officer in Finschhafen, win him favour. But seen only by natives is what Europeans would surely regard as the Mr Hyde aspect of Stoi's character. Take this example of Stoi's political tactics: prior to the election a very troubled headman from the Komba village of Mula came to the writer with a letter written in Neo-Melanesian and purportedly signed by Stoi. Exhorting the Mula villagers to vote for him, the letter closed with the blatant threat that in case of their failure to do so Mula would be 'destroyed by fire'. To be sure, the fire-and-brimstone idiom in which this frightening dispatch was cast belongs to Protestant Christianity, but then supernatural sanctions for leadership are a traditional mechanism of indigenous politics.

Conclusion

Given the constituted boundaries of the electorate and the demographic patterns, the outcome of the election may be described from the point of view of two separate sets of opposing interests or groups. First, opposed ethnic loyalties and their extension in the concepts of mountain people and beach people acted decisively in favour of the successful inland candidate. Crosscutting tribal and cultural-geographic divisions, but insufficient to counteract the ethnic imbalance posed by the eastern montane sector, was the opposition between cargoist and mission factions. The Lutheran Mission in the east declined to take an active role in the campaigns. Nevertheless, it is possible that the modest inroads into Stoi Umut's mountain bloc made by Batta Yamai and Loto Lisa represent a pro-mission and anti-cargoist vote (therefore opposed to both Yali and

Stoi). More significant is the fact that Tarosi, an eastern candidate, received 41 per cent of the vote in the west. Undoubtedly part of the explanation of Tarosi's success is the active antagonism of the mission—particularly the Catholics—toward Yali in the western sector. Though hardly an enthusiastic supporter of the missions, Tarosi was considered the best available choice by the anti-Yali group. Thus, many of the western votes *for* Tarosi may actually represent votes *against* Yali.

Voting along tribal-ethnic lines gave Stoi the decisive advantage and, within tribal limits, cargoism reinforced his position. The influence of cargoism, however, was not strong enough to swing the coastal voters behind Yali. Compared to the tribal and territorial cleavages, which have been enhanced to some degree by the conditions of European contact and administration, cargoism was of secondary significance, while issues and even personalities had little perceptible impact on the outcome of the election.

The Lae Open Electorate

Paul W. van der Veur

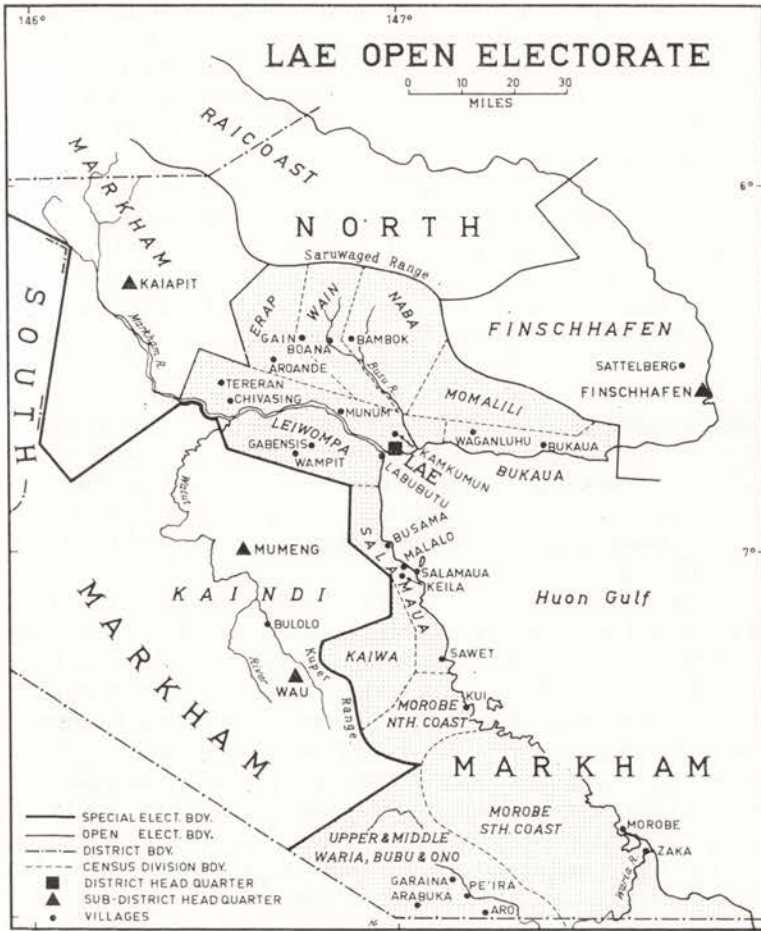
The Electorate

The Morobe District stretches from the Papuan border in the south and south-west to Madang's Saidor Sub-district and the Dampier Strait in the north. With approximately 12,700 square miles it is the third largest District of the Trust Territory of New Guinea. The erstwhile German administration established posts at Finschhafen (1885) and Morobe (1909); the Australian Administration followed, in the period between the two world wars, with a post at Salamaua and base camps at Finschhafen, Morobe, and the Markham valley. But it was the combination of the old trio of Gold, Glory, and Gospel which was instrumental in penetrating the district.

Intrepid prospectors and explorers trod the headwaters of the Waria and Upper Watut, struck gold at Koranga Creek in 1922 and followed this in 1926 with the fabulous find at Edie Creek (Idriess 1948). Potential exploitation of the Bulolo flats led to the saga of the Guinea Gold Company and Guinea Airways and the establishment of the Bulolo Gold Dredging Company (BGD). In the decade before World War II, BGD made a net profit running into tens of millions of pounds, and contributed significantly to the territory's revenue. Gold exploitation brought thousands of indigenous labourers and small prospectors to the Wau-Bulolo area.

The achievements of the Lutheran mission, although less eye-catching, have made a fundamental contribution to the opening of the district and exposure of the people to the modern world. From its original base at Finschhafen (1886), the Neuendettelsau Mission spread along the coasts of the Huon peninsula, went down toward Salamaua and the Lower Waria, and entered the valleys of the Markham, Busu, Watut, and Waria. At present, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea (ELCONG) is the dominant mission in the whole of the Morobe District (Pilhofer 1961, Vol. I).

The hub of the District is Lae town situated on the Huon Gulf just north of the Markham River. Lae has always provided income to labourers but with accelerating growth and modernization and the 1961 Urban Cash Wage agreement, it has begun to take on a more cosmopolitan character. It is unique in the Territory in having a network of



major roads which provide access to the hinterland. One road out of Lae crosses the Markham River and winds its way to the Wau-Bulolo region. Although BGD's gold production has begun to decline, a successful programme of diversification using the natural stands of *Araucaria* pine has created a large timber industry. Plywood and veneer exported through Lae rank fourth in the volume of New Guinea exports. Another major road from Lae follows the *kunai*-covered grasslands of the Markham valley to Kaiapit and continues to the Eastern Highlands. Pastoral activity by Australian settlers in the Markham and Wau-Bulolo valleys covers more than 5,000 acres and includes over 7,000 cattle.

The introduction of cash crops into the indigenous sector has been moderately successful. Over half a million coconut palms are found along the coastal fringe and in the Markham valley, with a 1962-3 production of 438 tons of copra. Cacao plantings have risen to about 223,000 trees

with production at 12 tons per year. Coffee plantings in the Finschhafen hinterland, around Mumeng and Wau, and in the Wain-Erap-Naba mountains numbered over 2.2 million with a production of 470 tons. Rice and peanuts are also grown in the Markham valley with a production of 13 and 250 tons respectively and the growing of truck crops reached over 1,850 tons.

In political matters the District is not prominent. The Lae Town Advisory Council and the District Advisory Council follow the usual territorial pattern and only a couple of Papuan-New Guineans serve on these bodies. Native Local Government Councils were introduced piecemeal. Leiwompa and Finschhafen were established in 1957, followed by Markham in 1960, Bukaua in 1961, Pindiu, Salamaua, and Mumeng in 1962 and Morobe in 1963. The whole coastal region is, therefore, Council area. But with the exception of the Mumeng and Markham Councils which are within easy access by road from Lae, no Councils exist as yet in the remainder of the District accounting for almost two-thirds of the population. Council experience, moreover, varies widely. Some of the earlier Councils have had as many as four elections, but the 1963 election for the Morobe Council proceeded after compilation of the Common Roll had begun.

Apart from administrative sub-divisions and Council areas, the District is divided by Lutheran Church circuits. These have been of major significance in bringing together people of various tribes and language groups. Each circuit has its own congregation with its own missionary, indigenous pastors and assistant pastors, evangelists, teachers, and schools. Within the circuit, village representatives including the evangelist—the *bos mishun*—village officials and selected other elders meet monthly to discuss matters relating to mission activity. In addition, regular circuit meetings are held at the mission station (as the hub of the circuit) to which people come even from neighbouring circuits. Facing a 'Babel' of languages, the Lutheran mission abandoned its original attempt to teach each linguistic group in its own dialect. Instead, it adopted the Finschhafen Sub-district's Kotte and Yabem languages as media of instruction and church languages. Which one or the other was used in the Morobe District depended on historical circumstances within the mission. For both of these languages a grammar was written, a dictionary compiled, the New Testament translated, and monthly newspapers and pamphlets printed (Frerichs 1957: 163-6).

From the above it is clear that the Lutheran Church was the progenitor of a new *élite*. Peter Lawrence (1956: 82), in his analysis of the Lutheran influence in the Madang District, notes that church elders, evangelists, and teachers replaced to a large extent the traditional leaders. Not only were these men 'the representatives of a new and powerful religion of which they were supposed to possess the ritual secrets' but they filled an authority vacuum created by the decline of the traditional leaders.

In the eyes of the District Administration the regular church meetings constituted 'unofficial councils' and it was noted somewhat ruefully that such bodies frequently discussed matters far beyond the scope of mis-

sion work. To view these meetings as a state within the state would be granting too much credit to the latter: until recently, the brief annual stop-over by itinerant Patrol Officers in selected villages could hardly meet the requirements of a modern Administration.

In similar circumstances in other colonial territories strong missionary influence led to friction whenever the Administration began to assert its 'rightful' authority. This development inevitably occurred in the Morobe District but was aggravated by the fact that the Neuendettelsau mission was of foreign origin and its missionaries twice suffered the consequences of their German nationality. Administration efforts to pull the people away from the missionaries in the pre-war period merely served to strengthen the bond between flock and shepherd. It led to a sharp demarcation in people's minds between matters belonging to the Church and to the Administration. Within the Church one was known by one's baptismal name; to the 'pagan' *kiap* one gave one's 'government' name. This attitude still prevailed at the time of the compilation of the Common Roll. Well-known Salamaua church leader—and Lae Open candidate—Christian Gwang, is listed on the certified list as 'Gowang Aruma' while Boana's Sinenarec is 'Singin Pasom'. Some non-indigenous members of the Church, moreover, continued to hold a somewhat narrow view of the political process and felt that a man elected to political office was a soul lost to the Church.

The Lutheran Church's conviction that Yabem, Kotte, or Neo-Melanesian should be the media of instruction ran into difficulties when the Administration adopted its policy to push the introduction of English. As a result many of the Church schools do not meet Administration requirements for a recognized school—in 1962 there were 7,795 pupils attending 'exempt' schools, that is, not recognized by the Administration. Among the younger elements the feeling grew that mission education was retarding their advancement. Desire for education and economic advancement in general has also caused some dissatisfaction with the Administration. The group of 'Young Turks' in Lae town and in the more politically sophisticated coastal areas is still small and unorganized but is bound to become a more significant—and a divisive—factor.

Administratively, the Morobe District has six Sub-districts. The largest one is Finschhafen with a population of about 75,000, followed by Lae (almost 58,000), and then Wau, Menyamya, and Kaiapit, all of which have populations under 20,000. For electoral purposes, the Madang, Morobe and Northern Districts had first been grouped into a 'North-East' zone and subsequently the Morobe District emerged with five Open Electorates: Lae, Kaindi, Finschhafen, Rai Coast, and Markham, with the latter two overlapping the Morobe-Madang District boundary.

The Lae Open conforms mainly to the Lae Sub-district. It excludes the Irumu, Wantoat, and Aware Census Divisions (near Kaiapit) which are placed in the Markham Open; it includes, on the other hand, the Kaiwa Census Division for the reason that it forms part of the Salamaua Local Government Council area. On the map, the Lae Open appears like a dinosaur: its snout (the Bukaua Census Division) reaches toward

Finschhafen, the mighty crane (Wain-Erap-Naba-Momalili) is capped by the rugged heights of the Saruwaged range, the Salamaua area resembles the tiny neck, and the Morobe Coastal and Waria regions form the broad upper part of the body. From top to toe the electorate measures over 110 miles. Although distance and difficulty of foot communications may matter little in defining a Sub-district they do seem relevant in determining an electorate and from that angle the Lae Open does not seem entirely satisfactory.

Compilation of the Roll and Political Education

The compilation of names of persons eligible for inclusion in the Common Roll began in early 1963 and continued throughout the year. Seven patrols spent 210 days in the field to cover the Lae Sub-district. Following the system of 'automatic registration', officers of the Department of Native Affairs were charged with recording the name, village, sex, age, and occupation of every person aged eighteen and over. Only aliens and those with less than twelve months' residence in the electorate were barred.

With the election scheduled for February 1964, the compilation of the roll necessarily had to precede the final enactment of electoral legislation. Territorial legislation had visualized extending the franchise to all 'adults' as meaning persons aged eighteen and over. Canberra subsequently interpreted the term 'adult' in 'the Australian way' with the voting age twenty-one and over. This, in effect, reduced the size of the electorate from an estimated 31,300 in 1963 to 28,088 in 1964.

Determination of a person's age was difficult in the absence of birth certificates. It was usually arrived at by various degrees of intelligent guesswork. Additional confusion was caused by personal names. In the Lae Open most persons apparently enrolled under the name by which they were known in the '*kiap*'s record'. The manner in which eligible voters were identified by occupation could stand refinement. The certified list spells out the sex and occupation of each person but 'subsistence farmer' seems a convenient catch-all for the males, and all but a few females are listed as being engaged in 'home duties'. Even Singin Pasom—who became a candidate in the Lae Open—is listed as a 'subsistence farmer' although he is a salaried agricultural assistant in the Department of Agriculture, Stock, and Fisheries and the owner of a considerable number of worldly possessions. Probably most helpful to officials at polling time was the designation of 'labourer', forewarning officials that the person concerned was probably absent from his home village.

It may be too harsh to say that the colossal task of compiling the roll dissipated the energies of those who had been engaged in its work before the initiation of the most crucial task: that of educating the people in the electoral process. The registration of voters *per se* needed some explanation of events to come. But for a solid information programme there simply was not sufficient time. Some of the information material and mass media requested did not reach officials in the field until shortly before the poll.

A dilemma faced by the Administration was the enormous variety in levels of political sophistication. A multi-pronged approach to the political education problem would not only have been exceedingly complicated but costly and time-consuming, and apparently beyond its capacity within the available time. Consequently, many of the media provided were inapplicable and staff tended to limit themselves to the technical aspects of the election. Having adopted compulsory registration and voluntary voting, the effort to have a respectable voter turnout tended to become an end in itself. Possibly more initiative in the matter of political education could have been left to officials in the field.

For the politically more sophisticated and literate the pamphlet *Facts about the House of Assembly Elections to be held in 1964* (also available in Neo-Melanesian) was of considerable help. The Lutheran Mission press at Madang printed a small pamphlet (*Bikpela Eleksan I Kamap Nau*) in which it was explained that 1964 would bring *nupela samting* (something new) and people would vote for 'the men who will make the laws for Papua and New Guinea'. God having established government, it was essential that the people should help the government in both work and prayers and elect a *hetman* (leader) who would be a *gutpela hetman*. Such a man should not be 'like a leaf which the wind could blow from one side to the other' but should be unassuming, steadfast, and helpful not just to his relatives but to all men and women. He also should consult his fellow leaders and 'live within the congregation' *long pasin bilong God* (following God's way). But this material reached only a select few, as did other media such as flip-charts. Time, again, made the preparation of a special movie for the election unlikely. During the month preceding the poll, the local Welfare Officer ably ad-libbed the three movies which he presented at the Lae market on Friday evenings. None, however, were very appropriate. The first dealt with the 1961 territorial elections; the second provided a brief flash of the United Nations supervised plebiscite in Togoland; the last one showed the conduct of an election in a 'politically advanced country' such as Britain.

More use could probably have been made of tape-recorders in the Lae electorate. They were used extensively by the successful candidate, Bill Bloomfield, in the neighbouring Kaindi Open. In the Lae Open a tape-recorder was used in the Bukaua area to play back political information material recorded in Yabem. It received an enthusiastic response and emphasized what might be considered a fundamental weakness in the political information programme in the Morobe District and Lae Open: the failure to bring the message to the people more extensively in their own tongue. Admittedly, Neo-Melanesian was widely spoken—although it was understood only haphazardly by a considerable portion of the female half of the electorate—but with Yabem or Kotte known throughout the electorate (and the District) a performance in these languages would have paid handsome dividends.

Frequently the information passed out by the patrols was received in silence and the men who headed these patrols were experienced enough to know that such silence did not mean understanding. Occasionally

questions were raised—they all pointed to an understandable ignorance of the details of the election. Most of the few questions asked dealt with the technical aspects of voting procedure and these were explained with technical answers. Even in Council areas people were baffled by preferential voting. In the Council elections all the candidates were known within the village or small cluster of villages and ‘pre-selection’ often took place before the formal voting ritual—the ‘whispering ballot’—was conducted. Campaigning was practically unknown within Council areas and was not really necessary.

The author heard of only one attempt (by a New Guinean) to make the preferential voting system more meaningful to the unsophisticated voter. Comparing the various candidates with types of food and fruit familiar to the people he asked them which they liked best, which next best, and which least. This process seems to lend itself to further refinement. Before deciding which the unsophisticated voter likes best he has to know the fruit or food; then he wants to have a closer look to see whether it is up to standard, over-ripe or still too green. This may well lead him to conclude that although he ordinarily would like candidate A best, he prefers candidate B because of certain other qualities. The author used this type of explanation successfully in one of his ‘information’ talks to a conference of pastors at Sattelberg (Finschhafen). Its closeness to indigenous thought is indicated by a statement of one of Hogbin’s Busama informants (1951: 117): ‘‘I am feeling the Awasa leaders to see whether they are good,’’ he told me. ‘‘If they’re ripe I’ll eat them; if rotten I’ll throw them away.’’

Questions about the political future and the reason behind the election were raised only infrequently even in the more advanced areas. The fact that they were raised, however, indicates that some people at least were thinking about the larger implications. Perhaps it is meaningful at this point to list in categories the questions most frequently raised.

Most of the questions related to worries about who was to vote and the preferential voting system: Are old people supposed to vote? What about young children? Why do women have the vote? How will illiterate people vote? We do not know all the candidates so how can we vote for all of them? Should we vote for only one candidate from our own area?

A number of questions dealt with the candidates and their qualifications: Does a member of the House of Assembly have to be literate in English? Why do candidates have to pay a £25 deposit?

There were also questions indicating worries and confusion about the local implications of the election of a House of Assembly member: Why do we need a Big Council when we already have Local Councils? Will we keep our village officials? Will elected candidates replace local Councillors?

Finally there were the few questions indicating worries of territory-wide implications: What is the reason for the House of Assembly? What is the position of the Australians going to be? Is there going to be a war?

Given such a situation, it is clear that an important part of the inform-

ation programme was to fall on the politically inexperienced shoulders of the candidates.

The Candidates for the North Markham Special and Lae Open

The boundary of the North Markham Special Electorate appears to owe its origin to a suggestion by District Commissioner (and official member of the Legislative Council), H.L.R. Niall. Acting as host at a meeting of the Legislative Council's Select Committee at Bulolo, Niall recommended combining the Kaindi Open (containing the Wau, Mumeng, and Menyama Sub-districts of the Morobe District) with the Kainantu Open into a South Markham Special. Very much affected by such a proposal was the Select Committee member from Wau, A. L. Hurrell. Considering the geographical absurdity of the proposal—separating Kaindi from Kainantu are some of the most formidable mountain ranges in the world with peaks of over 11,000 feet—Hurrell may have temporarily confused Kaindi with Garaina in the Waria country, an area in which he was thought to have considerable popular support. With Niall's suggestion adopted, the other four 'Morobe' electorates were formed into the North Markham Special.

The only candidate to file for the North Markham Special and the only one in the Territory to be elected unopposed was District Commissioner Niall. He was born in 1904 in Coolah, New South Wales. After completing high school, Niall attended the University of Sydney briefly and then worked for three years with the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Scheme followed by a short stint with the Murray River Scheme. In May 1927, 'young Horrie' departed for New Guinea and from then on his life was intimately bound to the Territory. He was a Cadet Patrol Officer in New Britain (1927-9), then returned to the University of Sydney for a year, taking courses mainly in anthropology and geography. Shortly after his return to New Britain he went to the Sepik and in 1934 became Assistant District Officer at Madang. In 1940 (after Kavieng and Aitape) he was transferred to Wau and began his long association with the Morobe District. He saw war service in the District (being awarded the M.B.E. in 1943) and held the position of Regional Commander ANGAU Northern Region with headquarters in the Lae-Finschhafen area. His promotion as District Officer in 1946 took him to Wewak but he returned in 1950 to become District Commissioner of the Morobe District, a position he held until his retirement on 5 January 1964.

Niall was an official member of the Legislative Council from its post-war resurrection in 1951 until the closing of the 1963 session. In the latter part of 1963 he attended a session of the United Nations Trusteeship Council as advisor to the Australian delegation. After his resignation as District Commissioner he accepted an invitation to serve on the BGD Board of Directors.

Niall's name was widely known within the Morobe District and by traditional leaders he was referred to as *papa bilong ol*. The *New Guinea Times Courier* (1 January 1964) waxed poetic when it referred to the fact that 'one of the largest and most spectacular sing-sings ever staged

in the Morobe District' would take place on the Lae Showgrounds not only to celebrate the festive season and New Year but to be 'a farewell demonstration to a great friend, leader, father and counsellor of Natives everywhere in New Guinea'.

When on 8 June 1964 Dr Gunther as the Leader of the House of Assembly congratulated Niall on his election to the Speakership he noted that Niall had been 'so well respected' in his own electorate that 'no one dared to stand against him' (*H.A.D.*, 8 June 1964, p. 2). This accolade contains considerable truth but fails to include any reference to Niall's political acumen. Niall held the advantage of being able to plan his campaign strategy from the District Commissioner's chair until 6 January 1964—the day nominations closed and he filed his nomination. Areas of the District could be visited and local leaders could be invited to Lae as part of the normal routine. Moreover, Lae town and surrounding area did not possess the crop of potential Australian candidates as did such centres as Port Moresby and Rabaul; the one segment of the Morobe District which could have produced a serious challenge lay in the Wau-Bulolo region which had been placed in the South Markham Special.

For a while the chances for a spirited election in the Lae Open looked as dim as in the Special. No one rushed to file nomination papers and the continued absence of candidates caused some embarrassment at District headquarters. Dr Kaho Sugoho's nomination was filed on 11 December but only in the last days of December was he followed by four other candidates. Candidates will be discussed in the order in which they filed their nominations.

Dr Kaho Sugoho was born in 1927 in Bukaua in the Census Division of the same name. He married a Papuan teacher from Marshall Lagoon just before his return to Bukaua in the second part of December 1963. He received his early education at Lutheran missionary schools in Bukaua and Hopoi. The early loss of his parents and the suffering he saw during the war made him want to become a doctor. He attended the Administration medical training centre at Malahang (1947-8) and upon completion was selected to proceed to the Sogeri Secondary School. The teaching in Bukaua had been in Yabem; at Malahang in Neo-Melanesian. Now he had to compete with Sogeri students who already had received instruction in English. It speaks for his stamina and intellectual capacity that he graduated at the top of his class in 1951. He then went to the Suva Medical College and became (as he recounted with a certain degree of pride) 'the first New Guinean' graduate. Dr Kaho had further specialized training in Noumea in 1957 and in Suva in 1960.

Dr Kaho began his medical career in the Lae hospital but was soon transferred to the Sepik and then, in early 1958, to Madang. He then served for two years on Karkar Island and after leave in Bukaua worked for eighteen months in the Port Moresby hospital. He then went back to Suva for six months and upon his return was assigned to set up the first Council Rural Health Centre in Papua at Marshall Lagoon.

In 1963 Dr Kaho attended several important overseas conferences. In April he went to the Rural Health Conference (of the South Pacific

Commission) in Tahiti and in early June he departed for Europe. After spending two months in Germany (where he visited the headquarters of the Neuendettelsau Mission) he attended conferences in Norway and Sweden and the conference of the the Lutheran World Federation in Helsinki. From there, together with other delegates, he made a two-day visit to Leningrad. Shortly after his return to Marshall Lagoon he decided to stand for the Lae Open and resigned from the Department of Public Health.

Dr Kaho told the author that his decision to stand was partly the result of his travels abroad but also due to his close contacts with John Guise at Marshall Lagoon.

Kobubu Airia was born about forty years ago in Aro in the *kunai*-covered Waria valley near the Papuan border. He is married and has seven children. Kobubu received about four years of formal education at the Lutheran mission school at Sattelberg (Finschhafen) and joined the police force in 1936. After attending the police training centre at Rabaul he saw duty in the Highlands, Madang, Salamaua, and Lae. During the war he served in ANGAU and participated in jungle warfare. Returning to the Waria he served under Patrol Officer A. L. Hurrell and was promoted to corporal in 1945 and to sergeant in 1948. The following year he went to Sogeri for further police training and spent much of his free time studying English. He was requested to stay on as an instructor after the completion of his training. Kobubu retired from the police in 1952 and returned to his village where he began to plant coffee trees. He now owns some 780 trees. Later he helped the staff of the Summer Institute of Linguistics translate part of the Bible into the local dialect. For this purpose he was at the Institute's Waria headquarters at Kipu (between Aro and Garaina) for four years. Kobubu indicated that he stood for election 'at the request of his people' and filed on 26 December.

Singin Pasom (approximately sixty years old) was born in Wampangan, a village overlooking present day Boana, and is married with nine children. As a youngster, his father took him to the coast where he stayed with a New Guinean evangelist just outside Lae. When both his parents died he returned to Wampangan to care for his younger brother. Singin subsequently worked as a labourer at Salamaua and the Bulolo gold-fields, but went back home just before the first Lutheran missionary family (the Bergmanns) came to the Wain and selected Boana as their residence in 1932. Shortly afterwards, Singin was appointed *tutul* and in 1938 became one of the first Christian converts. During the war Singin acted as intermediary between his people and the Japanese and was briefly under suspicion of 'collaboration' in the post-war period.

The Bergmanns were experimenting with cattle and all kinds of crops and because of this both the New Guinean pastor and Singin became interested in economic development. The Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries thought so highly of Singin's contributions that they made him an Agricultural Field Assistant and promoted him to Grade II in spite of his lack of formal education. Singin at present lives in a well-constructed house in Boana, owns vegetable gardens, about 1,300

coffee trees, and a considerable number of cattle and sheep. His leadership in the Wain and surrounding area is a successful fusion of traditional and modern authority.

Singin was appointed to the District Advisory Council in September 1962 and visited Canberra on the first 'study tour' in April 1963. Following a visit of a Patrol Officer, Singin was chosen as candidate 'by acclamation' at the annual conference of the Boana circuit and filed his nomination papers on 27 December.

Silas Kamake was born in Kamkumun just outside Lae in 1924 and attended the missionary school at Ampo from 1932 to 1937. Then he was a personal servant in Rabaul until the Japanese took him to Buna in 1942. Released by Australian forces he served with the Papuan Infantry Battalion for three years and after having been a transport driver he returned to Kamkumun to become *tutul* in 1948. Silas was elected to the Leiwompa Council when it was established in 1957 but suffered defeat in 1960. Re-elected in 1962 he became President on the death of the incumbent in late 1962.

Silas has expressed some interest in economic projects (he has a small cacao and coconut plot) and is a member of the Lutheran-organized Native Marketing Society (NAMASU). In 1963 he was appointed to the District Advisory Council. In the latter part of the year he visited Canberra as one of sixteen Papuan-New Guinean leaders to study 'parliamentary procedures' and the author had the opportunity for a brief social chat with him. Silas told him at that time that he liked his position as President of the Leiwompa Local Government Council and considered the House of Assembly 'too big a job' for him. As men in politics have the right to change their minds, Silas's change of heart should not cause surprise. There are strong indications, however, that he had been pressured into standing not only against his own inclination but in the realization that his popularity was limited even within his own area.

The last to nominate (on the last day of the year) was Christian Gwang. Born in Keila in the Salamaua Census Division, Christian is married with three children and is about sixty years old. He attended the village school and the Malalo mission school (1916-19). Until 1923 he worked in the mission printing office at Madang and spent the remainder of his pre-war life in the personal employment of missionary families.

Christian returned to his village during the war and was appointed *luluai* of Keila in 1944. He was prominent within the Lutheran Church and was highly regarded as the leader in the Malalo circuit. In mid-1957, Dr John Kuder (President of ELCONG) took Christian with him on a three-month tour of the United States and Europe. Upon his return, Christian travelled widely through the Madang area informing the people of his experiences and impressions.

When the Salamaua Council was established in 1962, Christian became its first president. He also visited Port Moresby as an observer of one of the sessions of the former Legislative Council. Christian has some business interests, including the Lutheran mission sawmill at Sawet, south of Salamaua.

Generally speaking, the Lutheran Church neither encouraged nor discouraged men from nominating. Some of the factors which conditioned this have been described in the early part of this chapter. The Church was further influenced by Church-State relationships known to exist in Australia and by the fact that most of its missionaries were either Americans or Germans and could be accused of meddling in local political affairs. This 'neutral' stand was, however, tantamount to a do-nothing policy. Once candidates had nominated (and were all good Lutherans) it naturally was impossible to favour one over another. At the Ecumenical Study Group meeting in Madang (7-8 January 1964), it was recommended that the Church should encourage 'capable teachers, pastors, or other Church workers to stand for election to the House of Assembly and local Government Councils'. This debate, however, took place after nominations for the House of Assembly had closed—rather than three months before.

The *official* position of the Church does not mean that *individual* missionaries did not encourage persons they thought capable of standing. The relationship, for instance, between the Reverend Gustav Bergmann and Singin Pasom was a close one and Bergmann was eager to sing Singin's virtues to all concerned. This did not mean that he necessarily found enthusiastic converts among his brethren, some of whom had close contacts with Christian Gwang, while others felt that Kobubu or Kaho were better men for the House of Assembly.

The position of the Administration in this novel situation was delicate. Information about the election had to be spread as widely as possible. A natural question was whether the Administration should encourage individuals to stand for election—or discourage them from standing. It would seem that this should be done only as part of a general information programme. However, when this programme fell short and failed to inspire much response, encouragement was given by individual officials. This was the case with Singin Pasom's candidacy and even more so with Silas Kamake's. The encouragement and pressure were unfortunate—apart from general principle—in that they could be interpreted as a bias against candidates who had already nominated. Dr Kaho, for example, who was the first to nominate, was viewed by some local officials as an 'outsider' and they were anxious that 'one of the local boys' should have a try.

In discussing the election chances of the candidates, the number of eligible voters within each Census Division is of special relevance. This information has to be read, however, in conjunction with the far wider area covered by Local Government Councils and, in particular, the Church circuits (Table 1). Singin Pasom's strength is obvious when these factors are examined: the Boana circuit includes about 40 per cent of the electorate. Christian Gwang's potential Church circuit support, on the other hand, is sapped by the fact that the populous Yamap-Hote-Musin and Buang Census Divisions lie in the Kaindi Open. Silas Kamake's base is relatively small and does not include Lae town. Dr Kaho, finally, not only comes from one of the smaller Census Divisions but a significant

portion of the Bukaua-Yabem Church circuit lies in the Finschhafen electorate.

The language factor is an important one. The two 'mountain' candidates (Singin and Kobubu) are both from Kotte speaking circuits but Yabem is spoken throughout the entire coastal region. One factor which probably could have helped Dr Kaho is the early coastal migration of Bukaua people: not only are the Butibum villagers (near Lae) related, but Bukaua influence and language is also found south of the Markham, in the Salamaua Census Division (Hogbin 1951: 27-8). Although only four villages are involved (Asini, Buakap, Awasa-Busama, and Lutu-Busama) these account for 905 eligible voters—almost half of the Salamaua certified voters.

Although both Christian and Kobubu were considered to have a considerable following within their own areas no one could match the loyalty of the Wains to Singin Pasom. His influence was almost as great, moreover, in the Erap area and was thought to be substantial in the populous Naba part of the Boana circuit. A temporary threat to Singin's undisputed hold on the Erap was posed by the potential candidacy of Numbuk Kapok of Aroande. Numbuk, a former policeman and close friend of Peta Simogen, had been the driving force behind the Erap Mechanical Farming Project (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963). An *entente cordiale* was apparently reached, however, whereby Numbuk may well play an important role in the future Wain-Erap-Naba Native Local Government Council in exchange for supporting Singin.

Silas Kamake was well known within the Leiwompa area and a forceful personality. But he seemed unable to inspire the Leiwompa people and his prestige was tenuous even within the area surrounding his own village. Dr Kaho remained an unknown factor. Having been away from the district for long periods his hope lay in his appeal as a 'young and educated man'. This could be a significant factor in Lae town. Finally, in the light of the large number of voters who resided in other electorates any candidate who kept the potential contribution of the absentee vote in mind could well have gained important support from that source.

On the basis of the above background analysis, it appears that Singin Pasom had a significant headstart but seemed unlikely to garner the required absolute majority on first preference votes. The distribution of preferences, was, therefore, crucial. This depended both on the ties between candidates and their respective tribal groupings and on the kind of campaign conducted in areas where candidates were unknown.

The Campaign

The conduct of the campaign reflected the political inexperience of the Lae electorate. Even in Council areas there was little familiarity with campaigning as Councillors were not elected 'at large' but from small clusters of villages in which they were well known.

During the House of Assembly campaign, candidates moved around 'to be seen' and 'to introduce' themselves—that is they simply told the people who they were and something of their background. This was

TABLE 1 Background Information, Lae Open Electorate

Census Divisions and Lae town	Area in sq. m.	Est. 1963 population	No. of persons on Common Roll	No. of persons on Electoral Roll*	Percentages of total n = 28,026	Local Govt. Councils	Church circuits	Church languages
Bukaua	299	3671	1784	1605	5.7	Bukaua	Bukaua/ Yabem	Yabem
Leiwompa	520	5839	2861	2524	9	Leiwompa	Lae	Yabem
Salamaua Coastal	192	3582	1955	1846	6.6	Salamaua	Malalo	Yabem
Kaiwa	112	1163	646	489	1.7	Salamaua	Malalo	Yabem
Morobe North Coast	290	2555	1254	1095	3.9	Morobe	Garaina, Malalo	Kotte, Yabem
Lower Waria, Morobe S. Coast	898	3173	1609	1455	5.2	Morobe	Garaina	Kotte
Middle Waria, Ono, Bubui, Upper Waria	611	7076	4042	3560	12.7	—	Garaina	Kotte
Erap	137	5964	3248	2943	10.5	—	Boana	Kotte
Wain	205	5042	2961	2691	9.6	—	Boana	Kotte
Naba	212	10097	5988	5321	19	—	Boana	Kotte
Momalili	184	768	452	399	1.4	—	Boana, Mindik (Hube)	Kotte
Lae town	6†	8000†	4500	4098	14.6	—	—	—
TOTAL			31300	28026	100	—	—	—

* These figures have been compiled by hand; the total figure given by the Electoral Office is 28,088.

† Estimates provided by the Lae District Office.

usually followed by a brief explanation of the reasons for the election—('In 1961 there was only one member for the whole area but now the Lae Sub-district could choose its own representative')—and an exposition of the technical details of voting procedure ('The No. 1 like is the man you like best'). No specific promises were made by any of the candidates. Kobubu told the people that whatever they wanted 'he would take upon his shoulders and tell the people in Port Moresby about' but even this general statement was the exception. Several of the other candidates adamantly refused even to touch the subject. Christian, for example, said that he would not promise anything because he did not know whether he was going to be elected. Dr Kaho told voters 'I am not greasing you, I will not promise you anything'.

Not only did all of the candidates abstain from attacking each other—this would have been considered 'meanness'—but they freely admitted to the need for requirements and qualifications which they did not necessarily possess in proven quantity. Singin, for example, told the people that 'if a lot of writing' had to be done in the House he would not be able to do it and it would be better if people voted for someone else. Dr Kaho emphasized that not only education was important but also character and 'good leadership'. Praising the qualifications of other candidates sometimes reached the point where one wondered if some of the candidates really understood that only one could be 'the winner'. This was hinted at in a question by Kobubu to the author in which he asked what the other four candidates were going to do if only one was elected. But the idea of 'a team' (rather than one winner) emerges most clearly from discussions with Singin. In his view there were two groups of candidates, a mountain and Kotte-speaking group and a coastal and Yabem-speaking one. One candidate from each group should be elected as 'people would not like it' otherwise. Again, when Singin raised the problem of his illiteracy he suggested that there should be 'another coastal and literate person'. With Dr Kaho running a strong 'No. 2' in the Wain area, Singin appeared to have his 'running mate' in mind.

Much of the time and effort of the candidates was concerned with explaining the technical details of the voting procedure. Dr Kaho, for example, told the author that he received 'probing' questions from only about a dozen people in six different localities along the coast. These questions were raised by men his own age or by pastors and teachers. One of them asked what he was going to do in the House of Assembly. Another, a missionary teacher (with the pastor standing next to him), asked him whether 'he was going to be a religious man'. Dr Kaho felt that the latter question was probably raised because 'he had been away to school so long'.

A major stumbling block for voters and candidates was the large number of new terms which came with the election. Official Neo-Melanesian 'translations', for example, referred to *vout* (to vote), *polling booth*, *candidate*, *presiding officer*, *balet-pepa*, and filling in one's choice in the *square*. Dr Kaho tried to make the word 'square' meaningful by referring

to it in Neo-Melanesian, Bukaua, or Yabem as 'little window'. One polling official referred to it as *liklik haus* (little house).

The wholesale copying of Western procedures led to unnecessary misunderstandings. A good example was the warning on the 'How to Vote' poster, that voters who left any voting instructions handed out by candidates inside the polling booth would be subject to a £50 fine. The Neo-Melanesian version of the poster tied this warning to a preceding statement about spoiled ballot papers and ended with the comment 'long kot o baim long . . . FIFTY PAON'—you must be fined FIFTY POUNDS. Several of the candidates referred to the 'danger' of spoiling the ballots and the heavy fine for doing so!

Candidates generally told voters to fill in the complete ballot. Silas's answer to a question by a voter who noted that he only knew Silas and Singin and not the other three candidates was quite specific on this point: 'If you make me No. 1 and Singin No. 2, try to fill in the others'. An analysis of Silas's preferences indicates that he may have emphasized this point only occasionally: over 21 per cent of his second preferences and over 54 per cent of his third preferences (via Christian and Kobubu respectively) became exhausted. In the case of Christian, less than 8 per cent of his second preferences became exhausted but his exhausted third preferences (via Silas and Kobubu respectively) also reached 54 per cent. Only about 6.6 per cent of Kobubu's second preferences were exhausted. Kaho, in contrast, seemed to emphasize that one should know all the candidates before making a choice.

Campaign posters were used only by Dr Kaho. His poster came out in 10 in. by 12 in. format and simply urged voters to vote 'Nambawan 1' for 'Dokta Kaho Sugoho'. A picture of him appeared in the lower right-hand corner. Three hundred of these posters were printed in Port Moresby, and were distributed in Lae town and other parts of the electorate in the weeks before the election. Dr Kaho told the author that he had heard that posters were used in elections elsewhere and thought the idea a good one because 'he could not go everywhere'.

The effect of the posters is hard to determine. In all likelihood they boosted Dr Kaho's cause considerably. The effect might have been greater if two types of posters had been used: the larger kind for exhibition and a goodly number of small ones handed out to villagers throughout the electorate. Realizing that printed matter was usually identified with the Administration, the Lae Returning Officer requested polling officials to inform voters that 'candidate posters' had been distributed by *candidates* and that voters did not have to follow their directions.

The size of the Lae Open prevented quick and inexpensive coverage. Transportation by boat or plane was needed and most of the candidates availed themselves of these media, at least for the purpose of getting in or out of certain areas.

Singin saw little need for campaigning in the Wain-Erap-Naba area but strayed as far as Finschhafen in his walk through Momalili. He also walked from Wau into the Waria country. It is not clear whether he was confused about the Lae Open electoral boundaries or whether he was

thinking in terms of absentee voters. Singin's campaign in the Waria was cut short by one of the mishaps of modern life: he broke his front dental plate and flew back into Lae.

Kobubu walked through parts of the Wain-Erap-Naba and the Bukaua Census Divisions but the author was unable to gain precise information on how extensively he covered this vast territory. Kobubu made intensive use throughout the electorate of his police connections.

Dr Kaho's campaign covered the coastal areas well. He went down the Salamaua and Morobe coasts by canoe stopping at an average of two villages a day. From Morobe town he took a boat to Finschhafen and returned to Bukaua by foot (most of this area is in the Finschhafen electorate). He then took a boat to Lae and flew from there into Garaina where he visited some of the neighbouring villages and asked a group of hospital orderlies to distribute some of his posters. From Garaina he flew back into Lae and on to Boana.

'Boana junction' was a happy meeting ground at the time. Not only was Silas Kamake there but Singin was just 'gathering' his people to celebrate the opening of the first primary school in the Wain area, one of Singin's accomplishments. Both Silas and Dr Kaho gave brief speeches but were obviously awed by the remarkable *rapport* between Singin and the crowd. From Boana both Silas and Dr Kaho walked down the Busu Gorge to the coast. Christian, in the meantime, had limited his activities to coastal Morobe and a brief trip to the Wain. He had been satisfied to send letters to 'church friends' in Garaina and Bukaua informing them that he was a candidate.

This account illustrates the great unevenness of the individual candidates' coverage of the electorate. Whole census divisions were ignored while others were visited at a few convenient locations only. Time was understandably a limiting factor and the lack of 'campaign committees' made many of the efforts somewhat haphazard. Although all candidates were in Lae town for brief stopovers no one campaigned there intensively. This may have been partly caused by well-meant advice of officials at the electoral office who told several of the candidates 'to go bush' where most of the votes were.

The lengthy polling period in the countryside (from 15 February to 13 March) made it possible for candidates to precede election patrols and hop from one patrol to another. It gave candidates a valuable extension of badly needed time. Three of the candidates, however, appeared either unaware or unconcerned about this possibility. The other two (Singin and Kobubu) preceded mobile election patrols in their own respective areas.

The Poll

For Lae town it was decided to set up five polling booths which would be open on 15 February while the sixth one at the District Office would stay open for voters after that date. Six mobile election patrols were to cover the country in periods varying from two weeks for the Bukaua-Momalili patrol to close to four weeks for most of the others. This experi-

mental arrangement worked well in practice. The number of polling officials employed varied from five or six on the mobile patrols to a combined total of sixty-five in Lae town. Although Lae town had only six of the forty-eight polling stations in the electorate, it employed all four Assistant Returning Officers, twenty-two of the thirty-four Patrol Officers and Assistant Patrol Officers, thirty-nine of the fifty-three polling clerks. Each of the six mobile election patrols consisted of two Patrol Officers or Assistant Patrol Officers, two polling clerks (two patrols had three) and an interpreter.

In Lae town, the polling staff was composed of personnel from the District Office and from other departments. All but two of the Presiding Officers of mobile patrols were Patrol Officers or Assistant District Officers. Practically all of the Assistant Presiding Officers were drawn from the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries. Three of the 'mobile' polling clerks were Native Local Government Council clerks. Although differences existed in the calibre, experience, and personal approach of the various polling officials in Lae town, such differences would be revealed most clearly in the long tour of duty of the men assigned to the mobile election patrols.

Polling officials received a 29-page pamphlet distributed by the Chief Electoral Office which explained electoral procedure and polling duties. A short 4-page pamphlet highlighted some of the main points. Special instructions from the Chief Electoral Office had re-emphasized the voluntary nature of the poll and warned against employing the traditional 'line up' for census-taking purposes. With regard to voters needing voting assistance, officials were warned against asking 'leading questions', which might influence the politically unsophisticated.

The Lae Returning Officer summarized and repeated these points in a specially prepared stencilled memorandum. He recommended that polling officials give a brief talk before the commencement of the poll (preferably the night before in the case of the mobile patrols) in which they should explain the purpose of the election; advise the voters of the names of the candidates; note that (although it was desirable that as many people as possible should vote) voting was voluntary; go over the voting procedure; and inform the voters that they did not have to follow the directions given on candidates' posters. Photographs of the five candidates, arranged in the order in which they appeared on the ballot, and 'How to Vote' signs were also to be posted in prominent locations outside the polling places.

A problem confronting Lae town officials in particular was the omission of eligible voters from the certified list. The Electoral Ordinance had made a special provision—under section 130(1)—whereby such voters were entitled to vote after having filled in a declaration on a special envelope in which their filled-in ballot was placed.

Two other matters deserve brief mention: the lack of scrutineers, and the inaccuracy in the number of ballots. To the knowledge of the author no scrutineers were present at any of the polling stations in Lae town.

Only one scrutineer attended one of the mobile election patrols but he was soon disqualified for instructing voters inside the voting booth.

Ballot papers for the Lae Open (50,000 ordinary ballot papers and 12,900 absentee ballots) arrived in Lae by specially chartered aircraft. The ballots were tied together in bundles said to contain 2,000 ballots. There was little time and even less enthusiasm for counting these bundles for accuracy. It was only 'in the field' that startled polling officials began to note significant discrepancies when their tally sheet results varied from the number of ballots remaining. Such errors can be easily explained (and accounted for) in cases where ballot papers had missed being printed. Actual shortages and surpluses, ranging in number from a few dozen to over one hundred, point to a rather casual attitude at the centre of distribution and could have led to corrupt practices. It meant, in fact, that polling officials merely had to subtract the number of ballots issued from those 'said to have been received' to return 'the remainder'. The ballot papers themselves were not entirely satisfactory (*C.E.O. Report*: 18). Not only did their transparency lead to occasional confusion and loss of secrecy but the instructions on them were in English only—clumsily phrased at that.

The total voter turnout in the Lae Open includes about 16,250 ordinary voters and over 1,700 voters in the section 130(1) category for a total of about 17,950.* Although males outnumber females by almost 2,800 on the Lae Electoral Roll, female voters hold a slight numerical edge in votes cast due to a significantly higher turnout in the countryside. The female turnout of 69·4 per cent compares with only 51·3 per cent for the males.†

Absentee votes cast in the Lae Open for other electorates numbered 2,124 with 1,964 of these cast in Lae town. Males outnumbered females by over four to one. Most of the absentee votes were for neighbouring 'Morobe District' electorates (73·4 per cent), with Finschhafen heading the list with 681 (32·2 per cent).

In Lae town itself the polls were swamped by thousands of voters and polling was extended into the following week with the Electoral Office remaining open throughout and two other polling stations opened again on the last day. The problem was caused not only by the large number of absentee voters, but by the approximately 1,050 voters whose names appeared not on the Lae town list but on the village list and especi-

* The figure in Table 1, column 2 of the official statistical returns (Bryant 1964(a)) is 17,685. It apparently excludes ballots declared informal at the scrutiny.

† These percentages disagree with those provided in Table 1 of the official statistical returns (Bryant 1964(a)). They are calculated by the author without the absentee votes for Lae from other electorates but do include informal ballots. More significantly, however, they *add* the number of sec. 130(1) voters to the original electoral list before calculating percentages. The failure of the official returns to follow this procedure (although requested to do so by the Chief Electoral Officer) contributes to the inflated voter turnout percentages of 62·4 per cent for males and 78·4 per cent for females.

ally by the 1,140 voters who fell in the section 130(1) category. The actual turnout of persons on the basis of the 'General List' (pp. 449-521 of the Lae Electoral List), supposed to provide the names of Lae town residents, was exceedingly poor with only 679 voters out of the possible 4,098.

A check of the 679 names of voters crossed off the certified lists of all Lae town polling stations enables one to determine the turnout by the various ethnic communities (Table 2). The poor showing of the indigenous group is somewhat misleading in view of the large number of section 130(1) voters and voters whose names appeared on the village list. Rather than a poor response, this appears to reflect upon a very poor compilation of the General List. Migrant turnover in Lae town is large but it seems unlikely that it could reach proportions of this magnitude. It may well be necessary in the future to provide indigenous town voters with a 'General Information Card' such as was used for non-indigenous voters for the compilation of the roll. No such extenuating circumstances can be given for the group of Australian, Chinese, and mixed-race voters. Low turnout in this case may be attributable either to a failure of the educational campaign *and* the candidates to reach the members of these communities *or* to a great lack of interest in the Lae Open election in which no candidate from their own particular group was standing. The available evidence seems to point to all of the three above factors.

TABLE 2 Voters in Lae Town Whose Names Appeared on the General List

Community	Approx. no. of persons on Gen. List	Number of those who voted
Australian	1188	175
Chinese	115	10
Mixed-race	58	13
Papuan-New Guinean	2737	481
Total	4098	679

Another 1,050 indigenous voters in Lae town had their names crossed off on the village list. A check of the certified lists of all Lae town polling stations indicates that the Leiwompa and Naba Census Divisions account for 337 and 335 voters respectively. The Leiwompa number is deceptive in that voters from villages on the outskirts of Lae (Butibum, Kamkumun, Yanga) could only vote in town. Voters from these villages could, indeed, be observed waiting their turn in village groups at one of the polling stations in Lae. Voters from Bukaua Census Division numbered 91 and those from other Census Divisions followed in smaller numbers. Although females almost equalled males in Leiwompa, they accounted for only one-third in the combined total for the other Census Divisions.

Filling in the section 130(1) envelopes for the voters who appeared

to be entitled to vote but whose names did not appear on the roll was a time-consuming task. A check of the 1,140 envelopes indicated that about 45 per cent of these voters claimed residence in Lae town and another 16 per cent in neighbouring electorates. There was no significantly high proportion of voters from any one census division in the Lae Open, the Naba Census Division heading the list with 8·4 per cent. Males were predominant among the section 130(1) voters, accounting for almost three-fourths of the total group.

In the country in the meantime, six mobile election teams patrolled for periods of up to four weeks—the Wain-Erap patrol starting from Boana, the Naba one from Bambok, the Bukaua-Momalili one from Bua, the Leiwompa-Salamaua-Kaiwa-Lower Erap one from Chivasing, the Morobe-Lower Waria one from Kui, and the Upper Waria-Ono-Bubu patrol from Arabuka. More than 15,000 voters (62·8 per cent of the electorate in the country) cast their ballots despite the fact that many voters had to walk several miles to the polling stations, and the absence of males from their villages because of employment or schooling was a significant element in lower male turnout.

Polling in the country was slowed down only to a minor degree by absentee voters (numbering 160) and even section 130(1) voters were relatively few in number (568). Most of the latter were encountered in Leiwompa, probably because of plantation workers who wanted to vote for the Lae electorate.

An analysis of voter turnout (made from the certified lists of the various patrols) shows considerable regional variations. The Wain-Erap-Naba-Momalili mountain region delivered over 7,400 votes for a turnout of just over 65 per cent. The Upper and Middle Waria did better by a fraction (65·8 per cent). But lower turnouts were recorded in the coastal areas: Morobe-Lower Waria (57 per cent); Salamaua-Kaiwa (55 per cent); Bukaua (54 per cent); and Leiwompa (47 per cent).

The Leiwompa turnout is especially poor with such villages as Chivasing and Gabensis recording turnouts of only 26 and 16 per cent respectively. Tereran with 66 eligible voters stayed away from the poll entirely; only 8 of its electors voted subsequently when the Leiwompa patrol visited Munum plantation. All of the above villages belong to the Lahiwapa language group and may well have felt a closer affinity to some of the candidates in the Markham Open. Furthermore, Leiwompa voter apathy seems to reflect the extremely weak campaigning of all candidates in this area and the lack of popularity of the Leiwompa Local Government Council President, Silas Kamake. At times, low voter turnout may have been greatly influenced by distance from the poll. The Leiwompa villages of Tali and Tikering, for example, were located more than eight miles from Lae town polling booths and should have been covered by the Bukaua-Momalili patrol.

The poor voter turnout in Leiwompa seemed to ensure quick defeat of Silas Kamake while the generally lower turnout along the coast further enhanced the numerical superiority of the combined 'mountain' vote.

The author joined four of the mobile election patrols in the Lae Open

Electorate for periods ranging from two to five days. He flew to Boana on 14 February and joined the Wain-Erap patrol in its poll at Boana and at Gain nearby. He then returned to Boana (practically on all fours) and after flying back into Lae, drove to Gabensis to observe the Leiwompa-Salamaua patrol and followed this patrol (by boat) to Labubutu. After returning to Lae he drove and walked to Waganluhu to catch the Bukaua-Momalili patrol at its last polling station. Finally, by flying from Lae to Garaina and walking from there to Pe'ira and Aro he was able to see the Waria patrol in action.

The main advantage in following the patrols lay not only in the opportunity to observe electoral procedure in practice in the bush but to observe the different ways in which the various teams interpreted and carried out their tasks. The Waria patrol, for example, appeared outstanding in the way it gave the voters a well-delivered political education speech in Neo-Melanesian—translated by the polling team's interpreter in the local dialect—immediately after arrival on the afternoon preceding the poll. Other patrols were satisfied to give shorter and simpler talks or mere voting instructions, and one of them took the view that if the voters were still unaware of what was going on at this stage it was hopeless anyhow.

Naturally, visiting polls in various parts of the Lae Electorate had its own enchantment. There was the beauty of the Wain with its exhilarating cool nights, the coconut palm tropicality of Leiwompa and Bukaua, and the gently sloping *kunai*-covered plains of the Middle Waria plateau, rising to the towering mountains in the near distance. There were also marked differences in the reception given the patrol: it was cordial but somewhat formal in Boana, relaxed in Bukaua, nonchalant and not especially interested in Leiwompa. In the Waria, however, the reception was in the old style. *Luluais* and *tultuls* lined up outside the village to shake hands with the patrol; the welcome gate of palm leaves provided a backdrop for the local pastor as he gave his blessing; and there were the *singsinging* befeathered Waria tribesmen to 'rope in' the patrol and lead it to the *kiap* rest-house which was copiously provided with fruit and vegetables on the verandah and a couple of pigs hanging by all fours from the bottom of the house awaiting their fate.

Presence in the field also brought one once more face to face with the uncertainty and confusion which existed among the people. The matter is discussed earlier (pp. 217-18), but considering its importance it seems pertinent to mention briefly the kind of questions raised on election eve and while the poll was in progress. Talks with teachers and small village groups indicated that the people remained ignorant of the *purpose* of the election itself and of the electoral procedure. 'Only the white people and *kiaps* know why we have it', commented one missionary teacher.

Voting generally was considered a compulsory exercise. This was revealed in the repeated questions about whether the old, the sick, and the pregnant had to come to the poll whereby comments were made about the distance these people would have to come. (The Presiding Officer of the Naba mobile patrol was handed a dozen slips of paper by a representative of a village quite a distance away from the poll on which sick

and elderly people had scribbled their names and the names of the candidates for whom they wished to vote.) One person asked what would happen to people who did *not* vote. One New Guinean polling clerk told the author that when he informed village officials at the election eve talk that people did not have to vote they said as one man: 'You must not say that, we are not numerous'.

In spite of requests by the Chief Electoral Officer to avoid any semblance of a 'census taking' poll it often appeared to take this form. People were too familiar with the 'line up' to abandon it at this point. Men and women often formed separate lines standing in the sun for hours waiting their turn. Several of the patrols took voters by village. First the *tutul* or *luluai* would present himself and then the voters would trot in one after another. One patrol deferred the 'difficult cases' until all other voters of the village had been taken care of and then the polling official would go over these cases with the village officials while the next group of villagers was lining up.

Village leaders continued to worry about the role of the House of Assembly member, and in particular whether he would replace *luluais*, *tutuls*, and Councillors. The rumour about the spoilt ballot which could lead to a £50 fine also cropped up occasionally. When no explanation was given why section 130(1) voters had to fill in special envelopes this quickly led to concern. More sophisticated voters raised questions about the House of Assembly and whether its establishment meant that Australia would leave the Territory and financial assistance would cease. One polling team felt obliged to avoid answering questions of this type.

Some polling officials themselves were not always well-informed on some aspects of the election. One official, for example, was under the impression that the voting age was eighteen (rather than twenty-one) and over. The creation of the South Markham Special caused occasional confusion and some Kaindi absentees were mistakenly informed that they were in 'Master Niall's' electorate.

The examples below illustrate some of the differences in approach of the various polling teams. As the purpose is not to praise or criticize but record differences of approach, patrols are identified as A, B, C, and D.

1. Ascertaining eligibility of voters not on the electoral roll. Although polling officials usually spent considerable time trying to determine a person's age if the person was not on the certified list, the results were occasionally unsatisfactory. Polling team A used as rule of thumb that if a person was not on the list and one was in doubt about his (or her) age the person was informed that he or she was too young to vote. If, on the other hand, the person looked quite young but was on the list no questions were asked—the assumption being that the certified list was correct. Other polling officials followed a more liberal attitude on the matter, although the question of whether or not the person was too young or not led to occasional disagreement between the officials themselves.

2. Determination of literacy of the voters. The electoral legislation had adopted the secret ballot but in the realization that large numbers of

illiterate voters would be disenfranchised, introduced what was termed 'assisted voting' whereby the voters could whisper their choice to the polling official. Within the Lae Open there were vast regional differences in literacy but the degree to which electors voted 'assisted' was also affected by the particular approach of polling officials.

The position of polling team A, for example, is revealed in the following questions and comments:

- (a) 'Do you like Masta to mark the ballot paper for you (to a pastor who in all likelihood was literate), or do you want to do this yourself?' The answer (not unexpectedly): 'Masta'.
- (b) With regard to a bright-looking lad: 'He may look bright but he is still bound to make a mistake'.
- (c) Presiding Officer to Assistant Presiding Officer: 'When you come across these blokes who can write but don't want to, be sure they can clearly see how and where you put their choices so that they can gain confidence for the next time'.

Polling team B's approach was a far tougher one. Voters—unless clearly illiterate—were practically pushed into voting themselves. The Presiding Officer told his polling clerk who was asking a voter whether he could write: 'Don't bother asking them'.

3. The manner of assisted voting. Teams A, B, and C had a single official assisting the voter. Team D had a New Guinean polling clerk seated with the polling official. Team A asked the voter for his 'No. 1', 'No. 2', 'No. 3', 'No. 4', and 'No. 5' choice. If the voter got stuck, as happened occasionally, the official repeated the choices already made—this usually led to the extraction of the remaining candidates. Voters were also permitted to point at the pictures of the candidates which hung inside the voting compartment.

Polling team B had no pictures of the candidates inside the voting compartment or the voting booth as the officials considered this would lead to unintelligent voting. There was less 'stimulation' for the voter to go the full slate but the polling official (following electoral practice in Australia) automatically filled in the fifth choice after the first four had been made.

Polling team C did use pictures inside the voting compartment but the specific instructions of the Presiding Officer were not to ask any questions. When nothing came out of the voter, the official simply folded the ballot and handed it to the voter to be deposited inside the ballot box.

The above procedures probably fall within the framework of the electoral ordinance. The attitudes of the polling officials with regard to the literacy matter and the methods of assisting a voter, however, represent different philosophies ranging from the 'do it yourself' to 'let me show you how to do it' schools. If it became necessary in the subsequent scrutiny to distribute voters' second, third, or even fourth preferences these differences in point of view could influence the voting results.

The Scrutiny

What struck the author at the 18 March scrutiny in the Lae District Office was the absence of any Papuan-New Guineans as counters, scrutineers, or observers. The only one to request the appointment of a scrutineer had been Dr Kaho but his letter (dated Bukaua, 13 March) did not reach the Returning Officer on time. However, the Returning Officer might have informed Dr Kaho's scrutineer (a Lutheran missionary living just outside Lae town) that he could be admitted to the 1 April scrutiny. At the suggestion of the Chief Electoral Officer, Returning Officers did invite 'respectable local citizens' to observe the count but if Papuan-New Guineans had been invited in Lae they failed to appear. No outside notices or scoreboards encouraged local residents to follow developments. This situation may have provided better working conditions but hardly brings home the election as a 'national' event.

Observation of the scrutiny revealed a small number of idiosyncrasies in the vote. The transparency of the ballot papers caused some voters to express their choice on the blank side. After some deliberation these ballots were declared formal although individual counters occasionally discarded them as 'blanks'. At one table, several dozen Leiwompa ballots were declared informal as they were marked with only a '2'—for Silas Kamake. Some voters had taken Silas literally when he told them in his campaign talks, 'If you don't want me as No. 1, put me down No. 2'.

Watching the counters sort the ballots by candidates provided a visual demonstration of the prevalence of block voting. Several tables revealed huge piles for one candidate and negligible numbers for others. There was a stir when hundreds of ballots from the Naba (in consecutive order in the pile of ballot papers) followed the names of the candidates down the ballot in a 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 order.

The initial scrutiny, begun at 6 p.m., proceeded smoothly thanks to the large staff available and was completed in five hours. By then Singin Pasom had amassed 7,446 votes, Kobubu 3,455, Dr Kaho 3,318, Christian 2,141, and Silas Kamake 1,271. There were 322 informals, the majority of which came from the Leiwompa-Salamaua area where a considerable portion of the vote had been unassisted.

The numerical and percentage results of the scrutiny by candidate are given in Table 3. Ballot box returns are grouped into those from Lae town and the areas covered by the various mobile patrols. The only difficulty encountered was in the results of the Lower Erap-Leiwompa-Salamaua-Kaiwa patrol. Discussion with the Presiding Officer and an analysis of the voter turnout made it possible to calculate a reasonably accurate division of the returns for Lower Erap-Leiwompa and Salamaua-Kaiwa respectively.

Not surprisingly, each candidate received his major support in his own area. The best example is Singin in the Wain-Erap with 3,695 votes against a combined total of 33 for the other four candidates. Singin's good showing in Leiwompa is due mainly to the Lower Erap vote which went for him under the guidance of Numbuk Kapok. The main part of

his strength in Bukaua-Momalili is due to the Momalili vote but his showing in the Naba, although impressive, is below expectations. Singin fared badly south of the Markham.

Kobubu did well in his own area and polled surprisingly well in Naba. One would not have anticipated such good results for Kobubu in this area as Naba is part of the Boana circuit. The oddity is emphasized in a later part of the scrutiny when the preferences of Kobubu are analysed.

Christian Gwang's popularity is almost exclusively limited to Salamaua-Kaiwa and the Morobe Coast, coinciding mainly with the Salamaua Council area and the Malalo circuit. Silas Kamake fared poorly even within Leiwompa. His showing in Lae town is especially disappointing, when one recalls that voters from several neighbouring Leiwompa villages (including Silas's village of Kamkumun) were polled in Lae.

Dr Kaho showed strength outside his own area. His lead in the Morobe and Lower Waria (where he campaigned extensively) is impressive and he made serious inroads into Kobubu's Upper and Middle Waria stronghold. In Lae town, Dr Kaho nosed out Singin by a close margin. Some of the support received by the various candidates in Lae town is due to the large numbers of migrant workers with Naba and Leiwompa residents in the majority.

One further aspect which seems worth comment is the tendency for two candidates to account for the bulk of the votes. This is especially noticeable in the Waria, Morobe, and Lae town; for reasons given below, the author prefers not to include the Naba.

With Singin Pasom nursing a comfortable lead but short of the required absolute majority it was necessary to await the arrival of absentee ballots from other electorates. At the 1 April scrutiny, absentee votes were to be distributed and then (if necessary) the bottom candidate eliminated and his preferences distributed. In the Lae Open, it was necessary to distribute the preferences of Silas Kamake, Christian Gwang, and Kobubu Airia before Singin could be declared the winner.

Absentee ballots received by the Lae Returning Officer numbered 1,866 with 1,153 coming from male and 713 from female voters. Although Kaindi absentees numbered 555 (29.7 per cent), numerically important contributions came from Port Moresby (301), East New Britain (195), Finschhafen (150), Rabaul (144), Madang (126), and Popondetta (108).

A hand-check of the absentees who claimed residence within the Lae electorate revealed that almost 25 per cent came from Naba, 16.7 per cent from the Waria, 12.6 per cent from Bukaua, 12.3 per cent from Salamaua, with other Census Divisions making up the balance.

The absentee batches received were in sad condition and over 14 per cent of the ballots had to be declared informal, in the great majority of cases through no fault of the voter. In addition, a spot check by the staff of the Returning Officer of one hundred absentees claiming residence in Wain-Erap villages indicated that only one-fourth of the villages could be identified. The Lae Returning Officer then ruled 'to accept the lot, except when villages are clearly outside the electorate'. There were several

TABLE 3 Voting Results for Candidates in the Lae Open

Location of ballot boxes	Numerical vote for candidates					Percentage vote for candidates								
	Kobubu	Silas	Singin	Kaho	Christian Informal	Total	Kobubu	Silas	Singin	Kaho	Christian Informal	Total		
Lae town	546	340	815	842	297	77	2917	18.7	11.7	28	28.7	10.2	2.7	100
Wain-Erap	9	2	3695	21	1	4	3732	.2	—	99	.6	—	.2	100
Naba	895	74	1939	146	46	7	3107	28.8	2.4	62.4	4.7	1.5	.2	100
Bukaua-Momalili	49	20	325	744	60	6	1204	4	1.7	27	61.8	5	.5	100
Lower Erap-Letwompa	84	513	559	77	115	135	1483	5.7	34.6	37.7	5.2	7.7	9.1	100
Salamaua-Kaiwa	76	147	8	185	1114	54	1584	4.8	9.3	.5	4.7	70.3	3.4	100
Morobe Coastal-Lower Waria	272	44	39	750	441	—	1546	17.6	2.9	2.5	48.5	28.5	—	100
Upper and Middle Waria, Ono, Bubu	1533	131	66	553	67	35	2385	64.3	5.5	2.8	23.2	2.8	1.4	100
Total	3464*	1271	7446	3318	2141	318*	17958*	19.2	7.1	41.5	18.5	11.9	1.8	100

* Changed after a re-check by the Returning Officer to 3455, 322 and 17953 respectively.

TABLE 4 Distribution of Preferences in Lae Open

Candidate	Distribution of Preferences in Lae Open				Total
	First count	Second count (distribution of Kamake's preferences)	Third count (distribution of Gwang's preferences)	Fourth count (distribution of Kobubu's preferences)	
Silas Kamake	1340	—	—	—	(1340)
Christian Gwang	2278	415	—	—	(2693)
Kobubu Airia	3904	203	312	—	(4419)
Kaho Sugoho	3773	250	1526	1492	7041
Singin Pasom	7940	189	176	2123	10428
Exhausted	—	283	679	804	1766
Total	19235	1340	2693	4419	19235

of those—52 ballots were declared informal for this reason. In spite of the £50 fine which electoral legislation laid down for the failure of Presiding Officers to initial ballots (section 194), there were 134 non-initialled absentee envelopes and ballots. One can sympathize with harassed polling officials who at times had to type or write out absentee ballots and envelopes and then had 'their' ballots declared informal because of failure to initial them. It seems regrettable, however, that no effort was made to record the location of these officers so that they at least could have been made aware of their negligence.

The distribution of the formal absentee preferences resulted in Singin, Dr Kaho, and Kobubu (with 494, 454, and 448 respectively) being closely grouped together; Christian and Silas on the other hand received a mere 137 and 72 preferences. The distribution did not affect the relative position of the candidates.

The distribution of preferences is presented in Table 4. Singin and Kobubu—the two 'mountain candidates'—made only relatively small gains from the distribution of Silas's and Christian's preferences, Singin adding 365 and Kobubu 515. Dr Kaho, on the other hand, collected 1,776 preferences and his new total of 5,549 pushed him well ahead of Kobubu. Kobubu's preferences, however, went to Singin by a 3:2 margin and made Singin the decisive winner with 54·2 per cent of the total final vote.

The figures in Table 4 naturally present the material in simplified fashion and fail to reveal the details of the distribution of preferences. Christian's total of 2,693, for example, includes the 415 preferences received from Silas of which 73 went to Dr Kaho, 29 to Kobubu, 27 to Singin while 286 were exhausted. In the distribution of Christian's own first preferences, 296 were distributed via the already eliminated Silas and again showed extensive exhaustion (213).

The distribution of Kobubu preferences becomes even more intricate as it includes his own first preferences (3,904), second preferences received from Silas (203) and Christian (250), and third preferences from Christian via Silas (33) and Silas via Christian (29). In terms of the preferences received via these other candidates, Singin ended up with 199 and Dr Kaho with 144—172 being exhausted. The distribution of Kobubu's own first preferences shows a highly unusual pattern. Given Dr Kaho's strong showing in the Waria, one would assume that he could well pick up a considerable number of Kobubu preferences, especially since none of the other candidates spent much time campaigning in the Waria area. Most of Kobubu's preferences, however, went very surprisingly to Silas (about 1,730), followed by Dr Kaho (about 1,050), Singin (430), and Christian (255). A decisive shift to Singin occurs when the preferences which went to the already eliminated Silas are distributed.

The large number of Kobubu second preferences for Silas and third preferences for Singin needs additional comment. It brings in even sharper relief what was said previously about the peculiarity of the Naba pattern which gave almost 900 first preference votes to Waria candidate Kobubu. Most of these voters indicated as their second preference a relatively weak

coastal candidate (Silas Kamake) and then voted third preference for neighbouring mountain candidate Singin Pasom. Such a shift was also observed among the absentee ballots and is found to a lesser extent throughout the electorate. In Kobubu's own stronghold (the Waria), results from the two main Waria boxes (the returns from the third one became merged with those from other areas) indicate that Dr Kaho was running well on second preferences, collecting 785 preferences compared with Singin's 440. But it seems significant to note that over 200 of Singin's preferences had come via Silas Kamake—a 1-2-3 pattern.

The Naba itself provides the prize example. Unfortunately the returns from only one Naba box remained separate, the other three being merged with relatively small returns from other parts of the electorate. The total is still impressive. Of 1,191 ballots, Singin received preferences on 969, Dr Kaho on 133. Of the preferences going to Singin, 886 had come directly via Silas and 797 of these followed a 1-2-3-4-5 pattern. The returns from the Naba box which remained separate contained 418 ballots. Of these Singin received 408 preferences with 386 following the above-mentioned pattern. An analysis of Kobubu's preferences for the whole electorate (performed by the author by hand) indicates that about 1,360 ballots (over 35 per cent) went to Singin via Silas and that about 1,165 of these followed the 1-2-3-4-5 pattern.

The above kind of vote is popularly referred to in Australia as a 'donkey vote'. The voters, especially the absentees, were unfamiliar with *all* the candidates except possibly Kobubu. But the main reason seems to be a complete misunderstanding of the electoral process.

The question why donkeys were more prevalent in Naba than elsewhere is difficult to answer satisfactorily. But a number of points can be advanced—all of which may have influenced the result. In age and experience the Naba mobile election patrol was the 'baby' of the lot. It also was one of the patrols remaining 'static' in a small number of localities for long periods—a situation likely to lead to 'polling fatigue' and boredom among the polling staff. Furthermore, this patrol faced the largest number (1,969) and percentage (almost 64) of female voters, generally speaking the least politically informed segment of the electorate (due to the inability of most women to follow information talks in Neo-Melanesian). It could also be argued that once a simple 1-2-3-4-5 pattern was engaged in by a number of voters there would be a tendency to repeat it with monotonous precision. The author has already commented on the consecutive order of the Naba pattern during the scrutiny of the Naba ballot boxes. Finally, the donkey vote may be due to a poor political education campaign in the Naba area, insufficient activity of all candidates in the difficult terrain of this region, or even a garbled campaign message from Singin Pasom.

The Naba and Lae Open donkey vote cannot cast doubt upon the decisiveness of Singin's victory. It could even be argued that most Naba voters would probably have cast their votes for Singin if they had been aware of what they were doing. With this in mind it appears fortuitous

both that Singin's lead was substantial and that he preceded Dr Kaho on the ballot!

As elections go, the Lae Open was a placid affair. This was due partly to the absence of issues and the similar religious background of the candidates but mainly to the fact that the election was superimposed on an unsophisticated electorate by an alien administration using alien concepts and an alien terminology, and the educational campaign failed to give the average voter an understanding of the meaning of the election.

The Rabaul Open and West Gazelle Special Electorates

Edward A. Polansky

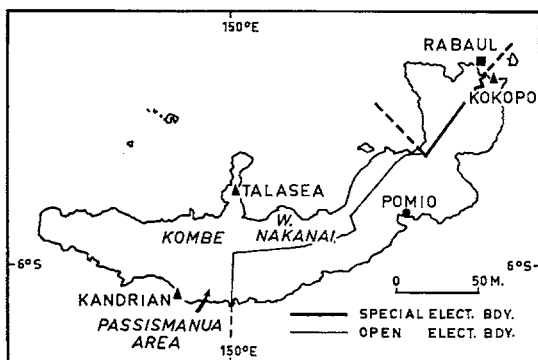
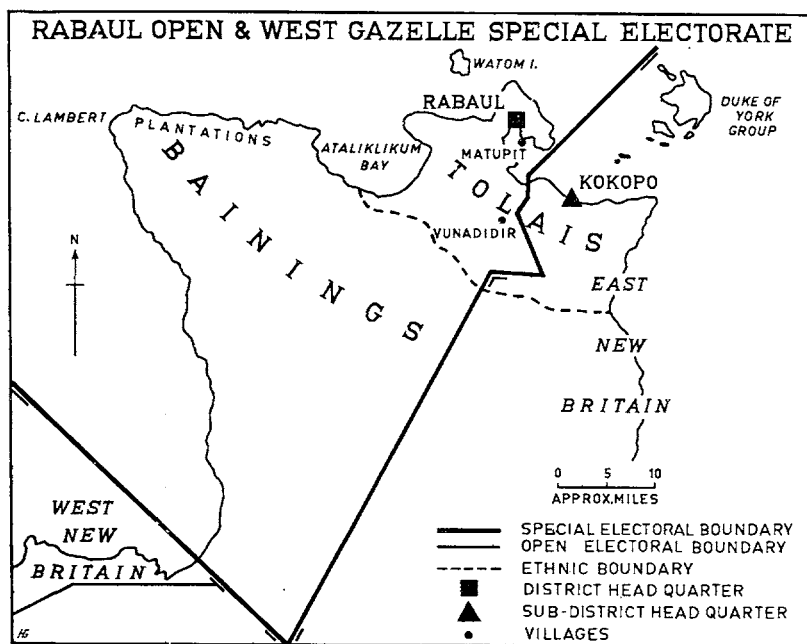
The Electorate

The common boundary of the Rabaul Open and the West Gazelle Special Electorates conforms to the Rabaul Sub-district, a triangle taking in Rabaul town and the western part of the Gazelle peninsula. Of the approximately 40,000 inhabitants, about 30,000 are Tolais and 3,000 Baining mountain dwellers. The remainder live within the town of Rabaul and are Australians, Euronians and Chinese, as well as Papuans and New Guineans from other parts of the Territory.

The 30,000 Tolais, concentrated in the north-eastern part of the Sub-district, constitute over 90 per cent of the rural population although occupying only 15 per cent of the area. Another 15,000 Tolais live in the adjacent Kokopo Sub-district. The Sub-district division means relatively little but the placing of Kokopo in the East New Britain Open Electorate seems unfortunate, especially since the four Native Local Government Councils in the Tolai area (three in the Rabaul Sub-district and the other in the Kokopo Sub-district) were amalgamated in October 1963 into the Gazelle Peninsula Native Local Government Council. By that time, electoral boundaries had been fixed so that, contrary to the general principle, two electorates divide one Local Government area.

The division into two electorates puzzled some Tolai Councillors who pointed out that the 45,000 Tolais could have formed one homogeneous electorate. They subsequently viewed the situation more favourably when they realized that it could provide an opportunity for getting two Tolais elected to the House of Assembly. This was, however, a forlorn hope. Not only were the Tolais in the minority in the East New Britain Open, but they weakened their chances by putting up several Tolai candidates.

The part of the Rabaul constituency in which the Tolais live is densely populated with about 150 persons per square mile, and an extensive network of roads connects Rabaul town with practically all major Tolai villages. The gently undulating terrain of the northern Gazelle is one of the most fertile and productive areas of Papua-New Guinea and is dotted with coconut and cacao plantations, both Australian and Tolai-owned. The Tolais share in the general prosperity of the area and are the wealth-



est indigenous group in the Territory. The relatively high standard of living is evidenced by their many motor vehicles, the growing number of European-style homes in the villages and the presence of transistor radios in every village.

With the exception of those Tolais living in the few villages which have deliberately excluded themselves from Council areas, the Tolais have had more than a decade of experience in the field of local government. Elections for the various Councils have taken place biennially since 1951. Initially, electoral procedure was simply by the raising of hands, but, by the time of the preparations for the House of Assembly, elections for the amalgamated Gazelle Peninsula Council had developed into preferential voting by secret ballot.

The Bainings area of the electorate provides a stark contrast (Williams 1964: 199-200). The northern coastal stretch, west of Ataliklikum Bay and around Cape Lambert, is dotted with plantations which have, however, no overland connection with Rabaul town. The plantations are mostly owned by Australians and employ mainly labourers from other parts of the Territory. Only one-third of the Baining people live in this area. The remainder inhabits the rugged Baining mountains where roads are non-existent and economic and political development has barely begun. Although there is rather frequent contact between Bainings and Tolais in the 'border zone' of their respective areas the relationship does not appear to be one of mutual respect or sympathy.

The Bainings (and the eastern and southern part of the Tolai area and Watom Island) are a Catholic stronghold. The remaining area is predominantly Methodist, but the several missions are not confined to a specific geographical location in the Tolai area. In such places as Matupit (near Rabaul), for example, there is a Methodist, Catholic, and Seventh Day Adventist congregation, each with its own church building. The third component of the constituency is provided by Rabaul, one of the main towns of Papua-New Guinea, with a population of about 7,500, and the biggest copra and cocoa port of the Territory. Basically, Rabaul is a study in contrasts. The hub of all Tolai activity, on the one hand, it also is a 'foreign enclave' in the heart of the Tolai area. Of the 3,700 non-indigenes in the electorate (1,800 Australians, 1,450 Chinese and 450 Euronesians), the vast majority live in or near the town area. The other town-dwellers (estimated at 4,000) are Papuans or New Guineans from outside the electorate. The following pages will pay considerable attention to the views and reactions of this latter group to the preparations for the House of Assembly election. Although many Tolais are employed in Rabaul town in semi-skilled and skilled occupations, they commute from their neighbouring villages. Nor do they seek or accept employment as unskilled workers or domestic servants.

The Political Education Campaign

The political education campaign can be divided into the efforts in the countryside (covering both Tolai and Baining territory) and in Rabaul town. Due to the author's concentration on group relations in Rabaul town, a more detailed account will be given of the developments in the town.

The compilation of the Common Roll in the rural area took place from May to July 1963 and encountered little difficulty, as about 32,500 of the 40,000 people lived in Council-controlled areas. The first information about the new House of Assembly was given at this time. This was followed up in early September by the engagement of fifteen Tolai teachers to disseminate further information about electoral procedures among Tolai villages. Each of these teachers visited several villages a day over a period of five days, achieving a fair coverage of the Tolai part of the countryside. The information provided was restricted to technical instruction on polling procedures, illustrated by flip-charts provided by

the Administration. As a result the Tolai language became enriched by such words as 'ballot box', 'ballot paper', 'Open electorate', 'Special electorate', 'polling booth', 'Returning Officer', and 'writ'.

Attendance of the author at meetings in two villages revealed that the talks drew few people, as they were given at a time when most people were either at work in town or in their gardens. No questions were raised or further information sought. But it was probably clear to all that in six months one was supposed to vote for a new big council in Port Moresby. The teachers re-visited the villages in early January 1964 to show film-strips.

The most effective practical education received by the Tolais was the election for the newly-amalgamated Gazelle Peninsula Council which took place from 23 September to 10 October. The elections employed preferential voting and the ballot papers were similar to those to be employed in the House of Assembly election. Officers of the Department of Native Affairs continually stressed that the House of Assembly elections would be conducted along similar lines.

The House of Assembly election, although further removed from the village sphere, offered Tolais a choice among generally-known candidates, especially in the Open Electorate. The Tolais had no difficulty in understanding that the purpose of the coming election would be to choose a man who would represent them in Port Moresby at meetings in which spokesmen for all parts of Papua-New Guinea would take part. To what extent they had a knowledge about the powers, functions, and importance of the House of Assembly is less clear. Interviews held in the Rabaul market one week before the election, and broadcast over the local radio station, indicated that of eleven persons asked questions about the House of Assembly, only three seemed to know very little of the House. As two of these were women the reason could have been shyness. The other eight knew at least that the House was going to be a 'big pella haus bilong tok-tok long Moresby' (a big place for holding discussions in Port Moresby), and showed considerable understanding—and expectations!

Generally speaking, however, the political education campaign was disappointing. Information about the election was restricted to voting procedure, and no one attempted to stress the meaning of the election in terms of the implications of gaining an indigenous majority in the new House. Apart from one laudable exception, there was little or no evidence of the sort of personal enthusiasm which would stimulate the public into a greater appreciation of the historical importance of the coming event. This attitude must be viewed against the background of the task of explaining the complicated technicalities of the voting procedure to an initially confused audience and the enormously time-consuming preliminary work of compiling the Common Roll heaped on top of the normal daily duties of the officers in charge of the education programme.

The non-Tolai part of the rural area, the Bainings, was visited by political education patrols in October 1963 and January 1964, but the author possesses no information on how the message was received by the Baining people. Discussion with labourers on two plantations in this area in Dec-

ember 1963 indicated, however, that there was only a very vague notion that 'another patrol' would come in February. Whether or not this situation improved closer to the time of the election would have depended mainly upon the plantation managers. Whether private efforts by managers were made is not known, but experience in town showed that one or two explanatory sessions were not enough.

To approach the numerous non-Tolai Papuans and New Guineans in Rabaul town, the Administration made extensive use of a Papua-New Guinea Welfare Association known locally as the 'Foreign Natives Committee'—a name which caused some pain to the Foot Mission. The Committee consists of representatives, or spokesmen, of the approximately twenty different non-Tolai tribal or ethnic groups in Rabaul, who once a fortnight meet with the Welfare Officer to discuss social problems, help the Administration in inquiries and receive general information for transmission to their groups. The meetings are generally well attended by ten or more representatives, but Papuan representatives are seldom present. In Rabaul, Papuans generally hold semi-skilled, skilled or intermediate positions, and tend to view the Committee as concerned mainly with the problems of unskilled, illiterate, New Guineans. This aloofness is shared by the better educated clerical workers from New Guinea Districts. This had no serious consequence so far as the elections were concerned, for the better educated individuals were the people who had direct access to information through the radio and newspapers. A considerable number of town residents, however, form an in-between group which does not bother about the Committee, hardly ever reads a newspaper, and whose members very often do not possess a radio. These people became involved in the elections at a rather late stage through the campaigns of local candidates. The majority of people in skilled positions with the government stated later that they had received all their information about the House of Assembly and the candidates standing for their home areas from letters from home and stories told by friends. Even so, of eighty people in this category interviewed after the elections, over a third stated that they had no previous knowledge of their home candidates, and had seen their names for the first time on the ballot paper.

It appears, then, that the representatives of the Committee, and those they represented, might well have been the group which received the most frequent and continuous information on the elections in the entire Territory. Between the end of May 1963 and the last meeting, a fortnight before the elections, electoral procedures were explained to the group on at least twenty-one occasions.

Registration for the Common Roll took place in June and July 1963, and when the lists had been completed about 3,140 'foreign natives' had been registered, at least 75 per cent of the urban indigenous population. Registered women numbered only 153, indicating that many wives did not register, a fact borne out in post-election interviews. Certain rumcurs had sprung up at the time of enrolment, for example that registration was to be a new way of collecting tax. The detailed questions asked dur-

ing enrolment puzzled many and some even suspected that it might have something to do with conscription. A persistent tale was that all unem-
ployed were going to be sent home. Several other misconceptions were
encountered in the followed months: beliefs that only people from
Council areas were allowed to vote; that people who wanted to vote for
their home electorate had to go back there; that those who wished to vote
for Rabaul candidates would not be allowed to leave Rabaul again; that
indigenes could vote only in the Open electorates; and that those who
did not vote would end up in prison. This last rumour was heard as late as
the beginning of February. Whenever such rumours were aired at the
committee meetings of the Foreign Natives Committee they were count-
ered by the Welfare Officer. Most of the rumours were short-lived and
the questions put were probably more in a sense of 'wanting to make sure'
than from a real lack of understanding. The main problem lay elsewhere.

As early as July 1963, the Committee members noted that the choice
between voting in their home electorates or the Rabaul electorate was a
very difficult one. Their people were ignorant of the political situation
in their home areas, as Councillors and leaders from there did not bother
about their constituents in other towns. On the other hand, the Tolais
also cared very little for them.

The Sepik representatives at the July meeting suggested that the di-
lemma they faced could be overcome by nominating one of their own as
a town candidate. The same thoughts were expressed again in the second
July meeting: it was assumed that a Tolai candidate, once elected, would
hardly pay any attention to the non-Tolais in town and that their people
at home had no interest in them either, other than sending a Councillor
once a year to collect taxes. The meeting agreed that the matter of a
local candidate should be discussed thoroughly amongst themselves.

In the September 1963 meeting it was explained to the representatives
that the preliminary lists for the roll had been completed and that they
would all have to vote for their home electorates. Anyone wishing to vote
for the Rabaul Electorate would have to communicate his desire person-
ally to the officer at the Sub-district office, whereupon his name would be
deleted from the home roll and put on the Rabaul roll. The members
again stressed that their people, before making a decision, would like to
know first who would be standing in their home electorates. The directive
that those who wanted to vote in the Rabaul electorate and not in their
home electorates had to come to the Sub-district office was also broadcast
repeatedly over both Rabaul radio stations. During the second half of
September the Returning Officer remained in his office until 10 p.m.
every night to give ample opportunity to anyone wishing to be placed on
the Rabaul roll—but no one appeared. According to the *New Guinea
Times Courier* (20 October 1963) Rabaul's 'foreign native' community
did not want to vote in a Tolai electorate, but the statement obviously
over-simplified matters as it failed to mention the hesitancy in the minds
of local non-Tolai people.

At the 15 October meeting members of the Foreign Natives Committee
asked once again for sympathy in their quandary. The Madang repre-

representative stated that his people had been under the impression that they were placed on the Rabaul roll, and, having accepted this, they had to start thinking about it all over again now that they were on the roll for their home electorates. As a matter of fact, all non-Tolai town indigenes had been placed on the Rabaul roll initially and had been deleted from it later. As this was considered to have been an error, the Foreign Natives Committee had never been informed of it. Officially (*N.G.T.C.*, 4 December 1963 and *C.E.O. Report*, p. 18) it was later stated that the foreign natives had refused to designate their electorates because the candidates were unknown, and had been entered on the Rabaul roll; when candidates' names became known, almost all chose to vote for their home electorates and their names had to be deleted and communicated to the Returning Officers of their home electorates to the inconvenience of the officers concerned. However, such a version makes nonsense of the announcements that those who wished to be placed on the Rabaul roll should attend the Sub-district office which had been kept open extra hours for this specific purpose. The people were not asked during enrolment which electorate they chose, nor could they decide to transfer after the candidates' names had been announced: the rolls closed on 25 November 1963 and nominations closed on 6 January 1964, most candidates having been announced in December. Indeed if such transfers had been possible there would have been no need for the Welfare Officer to spend hours in August, September, October, and November discussing the very issue with the Committee.

A good deal of the hesitation of the representatives at the 15 October meeting stemmed from a belief, not mentioned at the meetings but frequently discussed amongst themselves, that inclusion on the Rabaul roll would be irrevocable and would carry far-reaching implications. It was feared that they would become permanent residents of Rabaul, forbidden to return home again and compelled to cut their ties with home areas. These fears were never completely dispelled.

The real interest of the 'foreign natives' in the election was shown during the next committee meeting on 28 October when about two hundred people crowded around the building. At all previous meetings the possibility of putting up their own town candidate had been mentioned. Much of the public interest had probably been aroused by talks on this subject amongst the individual groups. The Madang representative again elaborated on the fact that his people had thought they were already on the Rabaul list. In his opinion, they should have been asked, during registration time, what preference they had. The Welfare Officer answered that even now, several months later, they were unable to make up their minds. In general, the members showed at this time a good understanding of the importance of an elected House of Assembly. Further discussion again centred on the need to know who the candidates in the home electorates were and the advisability of having their own candidate in Rabaul. The Welfare Officer announced that on 4 November there would be a big public meeting to discuss matters again. Films would be shown and the Returning Officer would be invited to address them. This meeting

was to become a dramatic turning point in the attitude of the committee members towards the elections.

On the evening of 4 November, about a thousand people had gathered to attend the meeting which, they assumed, would finally decide the issue. The audience sat patiently through the films and listened keenly to the subsequent explanations about the elections and the House of Assembly. After a few questions on voting procedures, one of the foreign native representatives asked to be given the microphone. The crowd stirred with anticipation. The Returning Officer, however, inquired whether he wanted to raise a question or make a speech. When he said he wanted to give a talk, the answer was 'no gat' ('no') and he was refused the microphone. The Returning Officer felt that he could not allow government equipment to be used for individual or party campaigning during a government-sponsored meeting. In itself this may have been a fully justified opinion and decision. But none of those present was thinking in terms of making campaign speeches. According to the representatives they only intended to make a general appeal for unity, and to arrive at one acceptable candidate. The presence of so many people at the meeting would have facilitated this. More regrettable was the fact that the reason for refusing the microphone to the foreign native representative was not explained to the audience. The onlookers had come with the idea that they were going to hear about a candidate of their own, and interpreted the incident as proof that the Administration did not want them to have their own candidate.

People at the meeting, and afterwards, were confused over the role of the Administration at election time. The effort made by the Administration to tell people how to cast a vote and to impress on them its significance appeared in direct contrast to its apparent unwillingness to fine those who refrained from voting. Equally irreconcilable appeared the Administration's efforts, the notion of freedom to nominate a candidate and the freedom of choice in voting for such candidate. Finally, it was beyond most of them why, at a government-sponsored meeting, they were refused the opportunity to nominate a candidate of their own choice.

The effects of the unsatisfactory 4 November meeting became clear at the next Foreign Natives Committee meeting on 11 November. The representatives for the Sepik, Madang, and Finschhafen all indicated that they were 'clear on the election' but that they had decided to take no more interest in the matter. For them the matter was closed.

The general feeling was that the Administration had failed to give them assistance when it was needed most. Apart from the fact that it was morally difficult for the government to help them in the way they wanted, it was highly unlikely that a non-Tolai candidate would have had a chance in the Rabaul Open Electorate. Even if all non-Tolai town indigenes had voted for one candidate the total, according to the roll, could not have been more than 3,140. If all the non-Tolai native voters outside Rabaul and in Rabaul had voted the total would have been about 4,000. The winning Tolai candidate received 6,121 first preferences and the runner-up 4,446. There would have been less disappointment had the town indi-

genes realized—or if it had been pointed out—from the beginning that the chances of any candidate put up by them being successful would be slim indeed.

The sudden disappearance of interest shocked the local Administration. The elections were considered so important that the position taken by the representatives of the Foreign Natives Committee was unsatisfactory. It was feared that the representatives could well persuade their people to abstain from voting altogether. The District Office tried to obtain funds to invite ten Local Government Councillors from several mainland areas to visit Rabaul shortly before the elections. It was hoped that these Councillors would tell their people in Rabaul that migrants in other urban areas were going to vote for their home electorates and that their visit would be proof that the people at home had not forgotten their brethren in Rabaul. The proposal never materialized and as events turned out the Administration's concern proved unnecessary. The Committee members were kept informed on election developments during November and December and exhibited a polite, albeit quiet, interest. Interest was on the rise again by the latter part of December. Names of candidates had been announced and some members had received election pamphlets from candidates in their home areas. The three main representatives, although still begrudging the fact that they did not have a candidate of their own in Rabaul, privately admitted that they would have felt very embarrassed if they had accepted the wish of their people and had lost afterwards.

As campaigning in town by the various candidates increased and the elections became a matter of the moment through posters and pamphlets everywhere, interest rose sharply. From January onwards the town indigenes took a keen interest in the performances of local candidates and attended their rallies in great numbers. A week before the elections the author heard the Sepik representative explain to a group of his people that they should vote for a certain Sepik candidate in the Open (home) Electorate, but for the Special Electorate he recommended one of the candidates in the West Gazelle Special. After having seen and heard the local candidates there was widespread regret amongst the foreign natives that they could not vote in the Rabaul Electorate. If another choice between Rabaul or home electorate had been given at the polling booth many would have decided to vote for a Rabaul candidate. This opportunity did exist according to an additional instruction from the Chief Electoral Officer received a few weeks before the elections, but it was not implemented in Rabaul where it was feared that a sudden departure from the policy which had been explained and discussed over and over again in the previous months would have caused utter confusion. Consequently foreign natives had to vote for their home candidates.

The Candidates

All five candidates for the Rabaul Open Electorate were Tolais. The Baining people were so few in number that they would have had no chance whatsoever, even if they had had someone daring enough to nomi-

nate. Europeans realized that they would have had little chance against Tolai candidates in an electorate which was 90 per cent Tolai. With only Tolais as candidates, there was no question of differing tribal loyalties. The candidates understood quite clearly that the outcome would depend mainly on the personal impact they could make on the voters. Past records and prestige might be helpful, but all were aware of the necessity for extensive campaigning.

Epineri Titimur (the only Tolai candidate to drop the usual prefix 'To' from his name), then thirty-six years old, was a Methodist from Matupit Island, a village on the outskirts of Rabaul. He had five years of schooling, and spoke English, though somewhat hesitantly. Titimur was employed by the Public Health Department at Rabaul from 1949 to 1951, but since then has been self-employed as a farmer and building contractor. In 1957-9 he served on the Rabaul Local Government Council and was executive Councillor in charge of works supervision. In 1962 he visited Port Moresby as an observer to the Legislative Council, and was elected to the new Gazelle Peninsula Council. He has occasionally voiced cautious criticism of Australian policies, and gained some notoriety from his rather outspoken statements and frank questions to a United Nations Mission. His nomination worried some Australian residents in the area.

Lawrence Tolavutul, thirty-one, was a Catholic from Malaguna on the outskirts of Rabaul where he lived in a European-style house with a telephone. He also owned a motor-car. Tolavutul attained Standard 8 and spoke English fluently; he served as a Catholic mission teacher in Manus and various places in New Britain between 1952 and 1958, since when he became manager of the Ramalmal Advancement Society, re-constituted in 1960 as the Ramalmal Trading Company. His candidacy was his first appearance in politics.

Tomari Topakana, sixty, was a Methodist from Vunakambi near Vunadidir where for many years he had been a local leader, first as *luluai*, later as paramount *luluai*. More recently he had been a planter, trader and truck operator. He served on the former Vunadidir Local Government Council, and visited Australia in 1958. Topakana spoke only Tolai and Neo-Melanesian, but his nine grown-up children all spoke English.

Nason Tokiala, aged fifty-five, was a Methodist and former Sunday School teacher from Nangananga, some fifteen miles from Rabaul. He was first president of the Gazelle Peninsula Council and had played a prominent part in its formation. He had been a Tolai leader for many years and been president of the now absorbed Vunadidir Council. Generally regarded as one of the 'grand old men' of the Tolai, his return from Australia late in 1963 was a major occasion (*N.G.T.C.*, 6 November 1963). He had stood for the New Britain seat in 1961 and been narrowly defeated by Vin Tobaining, who was now offering in the East New Britain Open Electorate.

Matthias Tutanava Toliman, aged thirty-nine, was a teacher at the Catholic Vuvu College near Rabaul and a fluent speaker in English. He was joint owner of a plantation in the Warangoi area with his brother,

Stanis Boramilat, a prominent Tolai who had contested the New Britain seat in 1961 and was this time running in East New Britain.

Four men nominated for the West Gazelle Special Electorate. Harry Spanner, aged forty-eight, son of an Australian serviceman and a Manus Island mother, was the recognized leader of the local Euronesian community. He was a Catholic and manager of a large mission plantation at Vuvu. President of the Euronesian Kambiu Club and a member of the New Britain District Advisory Council, he had been active in public affairs since 1957 when he was appointed a member of the Kokopo Town Advisory Council. Spanner had attracted attention through his leadership of efforts over seventeen years to permit the naturalization of Euroneseans as Australian citizens; he was finally naturalized a few months after the elections.

Keith E. Cummings, fifty-two, had come to Rabaul at the end of the war and become one of the town's successful businessmen. He was the owner of Town Transport, a large trucking agency, and had held several public positions, including membership of the Town Advisory Council and the District Advisory Council. For six years he was president of the New Guinea Club, and had been a leading member of the Rabaul Chamber of Commerce. The third candidate was Albert G. Price, forty-eight, a plantation owner living in Rabaul where he also operates Rabaul Welding Ltd, a construction firm. Price had arrived in the Territory in 1948. He had been a member of the Town Advisory Council since 1959, and was its vice-chairman at the time of the election. He had been a foundation and executive member of the Rabaul Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the New Britain Apprenticeship Board. The fourth was Don Barrett, forty-six, the member for New Guinea Islands in the Legislative Council from 1951 to 1957 and again in 1960-1. A military man turned planter, he has lived in the Territory since 1946 where he held a number of public offices—president of the New Guinea Planters' Association 1949-58, producers' representative on the Copra Marketing Board for the same period, member of the District and Town Advisory Councils and the Rabaul Building Board and New Guinea Land Board, a brigade major in the Pacific Islands Regiment 1958-60, State President of the Territory branch of the Returned Servicemen's League, and president of the Papua-New Guinea Amateur Athletics Association.

The Campaign

There was little to choose between the Tolai candidates in the Open Electorate on their platforms. Epineri Titimur stated that he stood for true friendship between the different tribes, advancement of the people towards nationhood, and co-operation with Australia, and mentioned development of roads, bridges and housing. Lawrence Tolavutul advocated unity amongst all races in the Territory, promised guarantees for foreign investment and warned against early independence, and sought more secondary industries and education. Tomari Topakana stated that his main interest in the House would be to stimulate education and do something about the land shortage. Nason Tokiala promised to speak up for

peaceful relations amongst all the people of the Territory and for sufficient preparation before thinking of self-government; he also promised to try to stimulate the people to work harder to cultivate more land and to improve their hygiene.

Matthias Toliman shared a programme with Harry Spanner. In their joint advertisements (e.g. *N.G.T.C.*, 5 February 1964) and platform appearances they declared their common aims to be: better understanding among all Territory peoples, encouragement of investment and secondary industries, compulsory primary education and more stress on technical education, promotion of national security and defence, and fostering goodwill between Papua-New Guinea and Australia and other nations. It should be noted that this programme first appeared in an advertisement supporting only Spanner (*N.G.T.C.*, 29 January 1964). However, each was reported offering some variations: Spanner suggesting a fishing industry, and Toliman promising protection to women and children adversely affected by their husbands' and fathers' drinking. Among the European candidates, Barrett emphasized his experience and declined to formulate a policy of generalizations, although he was prepared to say that he thought certain subjects the most important: defence, security of investment, universal primary education and expansion of higher education, improved health and other social services, equal employment opportunities for equal skills, action in economic development and encouragement of new industries. He went on (*N.G.T.C.*, 12 February 1964):

If they [the electors] are swayed by flowery promises and elect a band of men who 'tok win', then the country's new Parliament will become merely a debating shop and forum where each member puts forward the whims of his own thought and the demands of his voters.

Of course a good member must put forward the views of the people he represents, but he must do a great deal more. The next few years are vital. There must be men in the House of Assembly who can think BIG—get away from their own electorate at times and think of the major problems facing the Territory . . .

Much of today's government policy is good. A lot of the execution of the policy is pitiful. Here then is where members banding together may make their voices heard.

Price stated on his posters that he was 'for the Betterment of all people, integration, advancement and security', but explained in speeches (*N.G.T.C.*, 12 February 1964) that betterment meant introduction of the essentials accepted in the Westernized world—water supplies, sanitation, hygiene, better housing, and better communications. Development should concentrate on the villages, and education should emphasize technical training because the economy would depend on agriculture assisted by some secondary industry. Security was needed against acts of aggression from within and without the Territory, and the Territory should be an integral part of Australian defences. Keith Cummings proffered a policy of increased wharf facilities, advancement of medical services, compulsory education, increased communications, and form-

ation of a cocoa marketing board—and declared his opposition to the use of Neo-Melanesian.

Of the five Tolai candidates, Nason Tokiala and Tomari Topakana belong to the older, conservative, non-English-speaking generation. Both are elderly men by indigenous standards, and somewhat parochial in their thinking—Topakana more so than Tokiala. Both relied upon followers in their home areas, but did some campaigning elsewhere. Tokiala visited more villages over a wider area than did Topakana, and appeared mostly in combined meetings with other candidates, especially those for the Special Electorate, whilst Topakana campaigned more quietly and alone. Both made the usual statements about being in favour of unity and the development of the country as a whole, but did not unduly emphasize this in the villages.

The other three Tolai candidates can be regarded as representatives of the younger generation, especially if compared with the first two. All are English-speaking and share a greater interest in political development. Their horizon goes beyond the confines of the Tolai area and includes the ambition of becoming political leaders in a wider sphere than Tolai tribal society. The older candidates were more concerned about strengthening their 'local' tribal positions. The younger men showed a desire to participate in the modern world and are as such typical of the younger generation. The way they show this varies: Titimur by being an avid reader of books on the problems of recently independent countries, Tolavutul by his style of life and Toliman by the ease with which he associates with Australians, Chinese and Euronians. Toliman conducted the most extensive campaign and was the only candidate to visit Catholic Watom Island and the Baining. As he was himself a Roman Catholic these visits paid off.

Villagers everywhere kept a sharp count of the candidates who visited them, almost to the point where being overlooked was felt to be an insult. A candidate who would not bother to visit a certain village was bound to lose sympathy and votes in the village, and this was true for the European candidates as well. Inhabitants of the Duke of York Islands near Rabaul (in East New Britain Open Electorate) sent a delegation to town to complain that no candidates had visited them.

Titimur concentrated on the area near Rabaul and his own village and paid special attention to the non-Council areas. Tolavutul often toured in grand style by sedan car, but had a less extensive coverage of the area than the others.

Most of the Tolai candidates co-operated in one way or another with candidates from the West Gazelle Special Electorate. Of the candidates for the Special Electorate, Spanner, Barrett and Price campaigned extensively, covering all of the main Tolai villages. These campaigns lasted from the middle of January until the completion of polling in early March. Cummings started a fortnight later, but managed to attract attention by banners on all the cars and trucks of his transport company, and by chartering a light aircraft to drop leaflets on the more isolated villages and plantations in the Baining districts. It was rumoured that some purely

Baining-speaking villages received pamphlets in the Tolai language. He reached the non-indigenous public through slide advertisements in the local cinema. Cummings assisted Titimur with transport and, in return, received the latter's support in the villages. An earlier arrangement by which Cummings would ask the voters to give their second preference to Spanner and vice versa fell through since Spanner formed a strong combination with his fellow Catholic, Toliman, in the Open Electorate.

Price conducted a particularly active and vigorous campaign. He visited and re-visited all of the main Tolai villages, and continuously sought co-operation with any one of the Tolai candidates, as long as they could manage to get an audience together. However, there was no suggestion of political unity of purpose between them. Several Tolai candidates, as a matter of expediency, appeared to support two or three European candidates simultaneously. The initiative came from the European candidates who often offered transport and help with printed matter in return for the advantage of accompanying the Tolai candidates and speaking at the same meetings, which ensured a large audience. European candidates residing in the town especially needed this co-operation to get the people together, as they were not very widely known in the rural areas.

Barrett managed to take the Rabaul elections as far as the pages of the *Illustrated London News* by using a bagpiper to attract the audience. Being well known throughout the Gazelle, he could campaign more individually, and although supporting men like Nason Tokiala did not need their assistance to assemble a village audience. Apart from personal campaigning he had teams working for him. His driver, a Kavieng man married to a Tolai girl, drove around the villages urging people to vote for his 'Boss'.

The only formal combination between two candidates was that between Harry Spanner and Matthias Toliman. Together they campaigned extensively throughout the area. It was generally assumed that they formed or wanted to form the nucleus of a Roman Catholic party. The Roman Catholic Mission refrained, however, from giving any direct or open support. In general it can be said that religious affiliations did not dominate the attitude of either candidates or Tolai voters. Although the missions stimulated their people to take an interest in the elections, as was shown by the Christian Committee for National Development (see pp. 59-61), none of them backed any of the candidates officially. The election pamphlets of Price were authorized by the Reverend J. Sharp of the Methodist Mission, who had also signed his nomination paper (*N.G.T.C.*, 11 December 1963), but when this was interpreted as Mission support Sharp stated that he had given his support as a private individual only, and not as head of the Mission. Moreover, other candidates were quick to explain in the villages that Price was not officially supported by the Methodist Mission. Although no detailed investigations were made into the matter, the author is of the opinion that as far as the Tolais were concerned, having a particular religious affiliation might have been an additional point in favour of a candidate in a particular village, but never appeared to be the determining factor.

The village people took great interest in all that the candidates had to say. One of the questions the candidates had to answer repeatedly was whether they, if elected, would come back to the villages regularly to keep the people informed about what had been done and said in Port Moresby and to listen to their further wishes and thoughts. The courtesy with which most candidates spoke about each other was remarkable. Derogatory remarks were frowned upon. As one villager put it: 'We want to hear how clever a candidate is, not how bad the others are'.

On occasion the initiative was taken from the candidates. At one meeting in the Reimber-Livuan areas presided over by Petet Tokaul, a local Councillor, the three Open and one Special Electorate candidates were told by the chairman that they would win support only by advocating hanging as the punishment for murder and a more effective policing of drunkenness in the villages. Tokaul later told the press that he had spoken to the candidates on behalf of the people of the area as a whole and three villages in particular (*N.G.T.C.*, 29 January 1964).

The candidates themselves concentrated on the rural areas. With the non-local indigenes voting for their home areas and the expatriates being a small minority, it was realized that the battle could not be won in town. However, candidates distributed posters and pamphlets in the town and some included the town in their campaigns. One of the candidates in his enthusiasm gave a speech at the Ambonese Club to an audience of elderly Ambonese, not realizing that none of these people were entitled to vote, being neither Australian citizens nor indigenous persons.

The biggest pre-election event in town was a meeting held on 28 January in one of the parks. The organizer, Price, had invited all other candidates to attend and present themselves and their views to the general public. Price had become convinced during his village visits and talks with Tolai candidates that the people did not want self-government. He hoped that the candidates themselves would be able to convince the European public of this at the meeting. As it was, the audience of about 300 consisted mainly of town indigenes, some Matupit people, about 30 Europeans and about 20 Chinese. Of the other Australian candidates, only Cummings was present—Spanner remained in the audience. All Tolai candidates were introduced by Price and gave brief outlines of their views. Thereafter they remained standing, ready to answer questions from the public. The exception was Toliman, who told the audience after having introduced himself that anyone interested in his policy views was invited to attend a meeting he would hold a few days later in another place in town. After that he took his place among the onlookers.

Many general questions, mostly about local issues, were asked. After a Tolai candidate had given the answer, the organizer would explain his own views and elaborate on the points made. Translations from Tolai into English were made by the Reverend J. Sharp. When some Europeans remarked that the matters discussed were all of a purely parochial character Price got rather angry. Pointing at the line of Tolai candidates he exclaimed 'We should concern ourselves with local matters. These people can only think on the village level. These native people are aware

of their limitations'. This gives some idea of the general attitude of paternalism displayed by expatriates in the area.

Matupit Islanders told the author afterwards they had been too embarrassed to direct questions to one candidate, as requested, when all the others were present. This would have revealed the candidate in which they were most interested. A young Tolai, however, publicly criticized Toliman's attitude because he had not joined the forum of candidates. He argued that as Price had organized this meeting according to 'European fashion' he should not be so pig-headed and remain aloof. Toliman capitulated and joined the other candidates on the platform. When someone asked him what he intended to do about the problem of drinking, Toliman assured the audience that he was aware of the problems and would help the government in finding a way to teach the people 'how to drink like Australians'—a comment this author erroneously took to be sarcastic.

An interesting discussion followed about why no Chinese candidate was standing (see pp. 520-1). The Chinese in the audience explained that because of restricted educational facilities for their people before and during the war, they felt that they were not qualified as yet but would definitely consider nomination by the time of the next election. They rejected the idea that the absence of a Chinese candidate indicated a lack of interest on their part. Lack of interest among the Chinese was also charged by the gossip column 'Rabaul Talktalk' (*N.G.T.C.*, 15 January 1964). The accusation seems unfair, as the number of Chinese attending election meetings in town was never far below that of Europeans, although they form a smaller proportion of the population. Henry Chow was campaign manager for the Spanner-Toliman team and Chinese businessmen had arranged an election fund-raising dinner for these candidates. The most effective answer to the reproaches made was the one made by a Chinese in the audience who pointed out that as every single candidate had pleaded for unity among all races, they should all become New Guineans. The Chinese were perfectly willing to do that, so why then the insistence on having a Chinese candidate? Was there anything wrong in being represented by a Tolai and a European? Was not that good enough?

Two days after the open-air meeting, Spanner and Toliman spoke to an audience of about four hundred packed in the Chinese Kuo Min Tang Club. The meeting had been primarily intended for Europeans and Chinese. The candidates spoke English and a Chinese translation was read afterwards. There were, however, only about twenty Europeans and twice as many Chinese and Euroneseans, with the remainder consisting of town-indigenes. An extra translation into Neo-Melanesian had to be added.

Toliman's speech on this occasion was entirely directed to the non-indigenous public. He managed to keep his listeners spell-bound from the start by saying that the native people were jealous of Chinese and European prosperity, their better homes, cars and plantations, and for the land they had bought for a string of beads and a tomahawk. By the time

everyone felt thoroughly uneasy, he reassured them that if elected he would make his people understand how wrong their thoughts were. He would show them that all these possessions were gained through hard work so that the Europeans and Chinese would become stimulating examples. He would explain to his people that a tomahawk and a string of beads was all that the land was worth before it had been developed by initiative and sweat. He achieved several 'hear hears'. In the Neo-Melanesian translation the stress was laid more on the possibility of all indigenes achieving the same wealth by hard work.

The campaigning, characteristics and antics of candidates had become a topic of conversation amongst Europeans in Rabaul, but generally speaking their interest in the elections remained dishearteningly low. Major Barrett organized a special meeting for the European group. It was announced only by posters in English and was held in the Masonic Hall where normally no indigenous people came. Consequently the audience was not larger than a dozen.

The Euronesian community in Rabaul, numbering about 450, initially took little interest in the elections. Opinions expressed were in the nature of worries about further political changes. The thought that these elections were an indication of such major changes caused anxiety in a community where the majority has not yet obtained Australian citizenship and which at the same time does not form part of the native society. The candidacy of their own spokesman, Spanner, did much to dispel the negative feelings towards the elections. The community became curious to know how many votes Spanner would secure and through this more personal link a more lively interest developed in the elections as a whole.

Polling and the Results

The elections in the Rabaul constituency were held from 15 February to 2 March, and throughout this period candidates kept up their campaigns. Saturday 15 February was polling day for Rabaul town. Six polling centres had been established. European candidates went from booth to booth with their teams handing out pamphlets and how-to-vote cards. The latter confused some of the town indigenes who were going to vote for their home districts and could not understand these new 'instructions'. Throughout the town, posters and banners on walls and cars and even on the caps of the employees of one of the candidates could be seen. Polling was heavy, and people thronged especially around the most central town polling booth at the Masonic Hall. The police offered trucks to take the waiting voters to less busy polling places elsewhere in town, but were unsuccessful. Voters dressed in their Sunday best wanted to vote at the hall where most of the Europeans voted too. Apart from town people, many Tolais took the opportunity to cast their votes while in Rabaul for the Saturday market. Only one Tolai candidate, Titimur, was seen in town; the others preferred to attend the voting in the villages. The number of voters was so large that polling booths opened again the following Saturday.

Inside the polling centres the procedure appeared to go quite smoothly.

This was accomplished mainly through the initiative of the Welfare Officer who had provided all enrolled town-indigenes with paper slips, stating all particulars needed for checking the roll. In this way no confusion over names could occur which speeded up the process considerably. The slips had been handed out through the intermediary of the Foreign Natives Committee members a fortnight before the elections. It had been made clear that anybody without such a piece of paper would still be welcome at the polls. At the same meeting members had shown great relief when told that ballot papers on which only one name was marked would still be considered formal; they had never fully grasped the preferential system.

About 3,180 non-Tolai indigenes voted for their home areas at the Rabaul polling centres, 34 less than had been enrolled in town. If the votes per electorate are scrutinized, however, it can be seen that in some electorates more votes had been cast than people registered, in others less. As nine months had elapsed since the compilation of the roll this is quite understandable.

Absentee votes in the Rabaul constituency as a whole totalled 4,012 which means that over 800 indigenes of non-local origin voted in the rural areas. Most of these were plantation workers. The relatively small number of absentee voters in the Baining area (135), where there are many plantations which employ outside labour, may indicate poor electoral education and weak campaigning.

Those candidates from other areas who had taken the trouble to contact their people in Rabaul, by whatever means, could be assured of a great percentage of the votes of their electors. Any sign of interest by them was enough to give favourable consideration to the candidate who had done so. Most 'foreign natives' were said to have made up their minds individually. It is known, however, that the Finschhafen and some Sepik groups, for example, had decided to vote for a certain candidate. The division into electorates was not always understood. Many Sepiks wanted to vote for Peta Simogen even if their home village lay outside his electorate. The same went for Madang people who wanted to vote for Yali. Those who had been away for several years did not know any of the European candidates of the Special electorates to which their home areas belonged.

All in all a total of 14,394 votes out of 19,588 electors enrolled were cast. This means a percentage of 73·48 (males 74·01, females 72·85). These satisfactory percentages would have been still higher if there had not been a significant opposition to polling in villages in non-Council areas. Such non-Council villages in the Vunadidir area as Navuneram, Taviliu, Gaulim and Takalel—with a combined total of 748 electors—abstained from voting almost *en bloc*. Their inhabitants associated polling with Local Government Councils and had come to believe that voting in the elections meant that they would be drawn into the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council. Village elders, consequently, had advised villagers not to vote. The percentage in the other Tolai villages must have been between 80 and 90 per cent.

TABLE 1 Unofficial Returns: Rabaul Open

	Titimur	Tolavutul	Topakana	Tokiala	Toliman	Informal
<i>Rabaul Town</i>						
Sub-Dist. Office	14	8	4	24	233	12
Masonic Hall	41	46	30	156	302	28
Council Chamber	196	6	9	45	143	3
Nonga Hospital	17	2	1	1	14	6
Malaguna NBNSA	91	6	5	13	72	17
Total	359	68	49	239	764	66
<i>Rabaul Council & Non-Council</i>						
	1582	52	14	144	720	45
<i>Reimber-Livuan</i>						
Reimber C. C.	14	4	4	8	274	8
Livuan C. C.*	199	10	6	18	46	28
Kerevat Hall	2	0	2	14	15	2
Reimber-Livuan Mobile	1211	31	40	36	1108	454
Total	1426	45	52	76	1443	492
<i>Vunadidir</i>						
Vunadidir C. C.	20	0	94	52	221	13
Vunadidir Mobile	364	24	208	1129	1422	84
Total	384	24	302	1181	1643	97
<i>Bainings</i>	49	13	66	82	809	20
Totals	3800	202	483	1722	5379	720

* Including a few votes from Masonic Hall (Rabaul).

TABLE 2 Distribution of Preferences, Rabaul Open

	1st count	2nd count	3rd count	4th count	Final count
Tolavutul	277	—	—	—	(277)
Topakana	579	36	—	—	(615)
Tokiala	2070	47	283	—	(2400)
Titimur	4446	79	140	645	5310
Toliman	6121	88	127	946	7282
Exhausted	—	27	65	809	901
Total	13493	277	615	2400	13493

The winner in the Rabaul Open was Matthias Tutanava Toliman, who received a total of 6,121 first preferences, followed by Epineri Titimur with 4,446 and Nason Tokiala with 2,070. Topakana and Tolavutul obtained only 579 and 277 votes respectively. The distribution of preferences only accentuated the pattern. The only slight deviation occurred with the preferences of Topakana, about half of which went to Tokiala.

The defeat of Nason Tokiala puzzled many observers. It seems clear, however, that the Tolai people, who did not hesitate to accept and respect Nason as a local leader and president of the Gazelle Local Council, made a definite choice in favour of sending a representative of the younger generation to Port Moresby. It was clearly understood that someone was needed who could speak English fluently and who would be able to meet Europeans on a more or less equal footing. Toliman, the oldest of the younger three candidates, had shown himself to possess these qualities. This reasoning is shown again in the second position acquired by Epineri Titimur with over 2,000 votes more than Nason Tokiala.

Tomari Topakana, a local leader even more obviously than Nason, received less than 4 per cent of the total votes cast. First preferences might have been decided by local or personal popularity of a candidate, but the distribution of preferences shows that the distinction between older and younger candidates was significant. Preferences of a young candidate, Tolavutul, are given to other young candidates (Titimur and Toliman), whereas a majority of the preferences of those who voted for an older man, Topakana, went to the other representative of the older generation—Tokiala.

The complete defeat of Tolavutul, who did seem to possess the necessary qualifications in terms of youth and education, might be due to a number of factors: in Tolai eyes he is very young, he has a rather lavish way of life, and there is some discontent over the financial position of his company. Besides all this, he is less of an orator than Toliman.

A number of prominent young Tolais with equally good possibilities did not nominate. As one of them said in private conversation: 'Let this group make the mistakes first'. The Tolais seem to have understood that to get equal chances in the modern world men were needed who had equal qualifications. Despite remarks heard in certain quarters that 'school and book knowledge' was inferior to the wisdom and experience of old, trusted, tribal leaders, Tolais in fact showed a preference for educated men.

Analysing the results geographically, as far as possible, it is seen that Matthias Toliman polled very strongly in the inland and coastal Baining area where he received 810 out of 1,117 votes. This is the one case in which religion might have played a strong part. Toliman was at the same time the only candidate to visit this area extensively. He polled strongly everywhere in the Gazelle, receiving a majority in the Rabaul urban area (possibly from non-indigenous voters) and in the Vunadidir region. In the Reimber-Livuan area he closely trailed Titimur. The only other area in which he did not come first was the coastal part around Rabaul. Here, in Titimur's home area, he received only 720 votes against

TABLE 3 Unofficial Returns: West Gazelle Special

	Spanner	Cummings	Barrett	Price	Informal
<i>Rabaul Town</i>					
Sub-Dist. Office	195	22	31	44	3
Masonic Hall	172	138	187	101	5
Council Chamber	64	68	119	144	9
Nonga Hospital	14	2	9	7	9
Malaguna NBNSA	58	6	73	38	29
Total	503	236	419	334	55
<i>Rabaul Council & Non-Council</i>					
	483	684	526	735	129
<i>Reimber-Livuan</i>					
Reimber C. C.	134	13	137	11	17
Livuan C. C.*	56	32	152	37	30
Kerevat Hall	10	5	9	11	0
Reimber-Livuan Mobile	438	489	640	557	756
Total	638	539	938	616	803
<i>Vunadidir</i>					
Vunadidir C. C.	151	13	168	25	43
Vunadidir Mobile	396	476	1116	1070	173
Total	547	489	1284	1095	216
<i>Bainings</i>	512	44	98	369	26
Totals	2683	1992	3265	3149	1229

* Including a few votes from Masonic Hall (Rabaul).

TABLE 4 Distribution of Preferences, West Gazelle Special

	1st count	2nd count	3rd count	Final count
Cummings	2257	—	—	(2257)
Spanner	3135	466	—	(3601)
Price	3615	507	899	5021
Barrett	3845	639	1923	6407
Exhausted	—	645	779	1424
Total	12852	2257	3601	12852

Titimur's 1,587. The influence of the 'home area' is also apparent in the case of Nason Tokiala, who polled sufficiently well in his home Vunadidir area to be placed second, whereas in all other areas he took third position, as in the overall count.

In the West Gazelle Special Electorate a neck-to-neck race was run between Barrett and Price. On first preferences cast in the electorate Barrett obtained only 116 votes more than Price, but increased his lead slightly by receiving a higher proportion of the absentee votes. Spanner was a close third with 3,135. Cummings was the first to be eliminated and his 2,257 divided themselves almost in the same ratio over the remaining three candidates as these had scored on first preferences. Spanner's 3,601 votes went to Barrett by a two to one margin; Barrett became the winner with 6,407 votes, only 20 votes short of an absolute majority. Informal votes in the Special electorate totalled 1,542; exhausted ballots 1,424. The geographical voting pattern is fairly even throughout the electorate and follows the same distribution as above, but in the Bainings Spanner polled significantly better (502 out of 1,029). In this Roman Catholic area, the Roman Catholic combination Toliman-Spanner did not fail to deliver the goods.

The close win of Barrett illustrates the importance of campaigning. At the outset his chances were far better than those of Price, who was less widely known. Yet vigorous campaigning brought the latter close to victory. The more than 3,000 votes for Spanner (another solid campaigner), often regarded as having a poor chance, suggest the same conclusion.

The Tolais were quite amused about the sudden interest taken in them by Australian candidates, hitherto rarely seen in their villages. If defeated candidates break off all contact during coming years they need not try again. For the elected member it is even more imperative to maintain this contact and the Tolais will keep a close watch on whether campaign promises are scrupulously carried out.

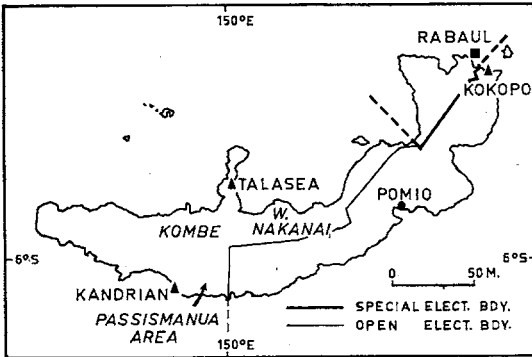
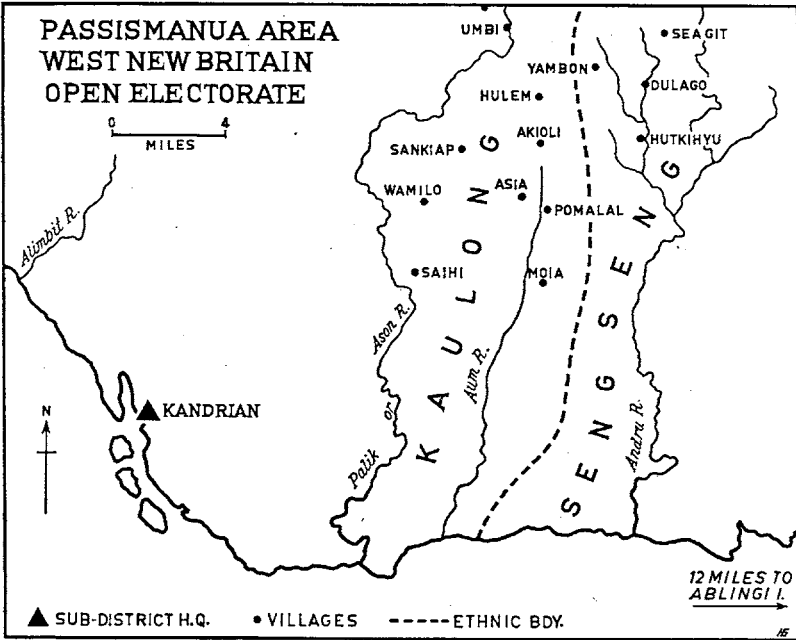
The Passismanua Census Division, West New Britain Open Electorate

Ann Chowning and Jane C. Goodale

The New Britain District consists of the Rabaul, Kokopo, Talasea, and Gasmata Sub-districts. The Boundaries Committee formed the Rabaul Sub-district into the Rabaul Open and West Gazelle Special Electorates, combined Kokopo and most of the Gasmata Sub-districts into the East New Britain Open Electorate and made the Talasea Sub-district the West New Britain Open Electorate, with the East and West New Britain Open Electorates forming the New Britain Special. Unlike most of the other constituency studies in this volume which seek to cover an entire electorate, this chapter reports the impact of the elections in two small villages (Dulago and Umbi) in the Passismanua Census Division of the Gasmata Sub-district.* They are situated about twenty miles as the crow flies from the Sub-district headquarters at Kandrian. Even had the authors been able to devote themselves fully to research on the elections, it would have been physically impossible to get around the 6,650 square miles of the electorate and impossible to establish satisfactory contacts with the numerous ethnic groups within West New Britain. But, equally important, a report on the elections for West New Britain as a whole, if it could have been written, would probably have been misleading by imposing a pattern where none existed. Concentrating, of necessity, on the candidates and their campaigns, to the neglect of the varied impacts or absence of impact of the campaigns on the prospective electorate, would also have been misleading. The electors of Dulago and Umbi tried to make the elections meaningful in the contexts of their villages, and it is at the villages we must look to understand what happened.

Although the Passismanua has long been officially regarded as controlled, Administration contact with the interior villages is relatively recent. Dulago and the surrounding villages of Seagit, Yambon and Hutkihyu, were first censused in 1953, and Umbi was the last Passis-

* Ann Chowning was engaged in anthropological investigations at Dulago and Jane C. Goodale at Umbi, July-September 1962, and July 1963-July 1964.



manua village to be censused in 1958. The total population of this area, including the village of Hulem which lies about half-way between Dulago and Umbi, is about 400. Beyond these villages are uninhabited mountains.

The people of Umbi belong to the Kaulong linguistic group, which extends from the Alimbit River on the west to the banks of the Aum on the east. The total number of Kaulong speakers is probably less than 3,000. Dulago is in the Sengsenng linguistic area, located just to the east of the Kaulong, on both sides of the Andru River. (The Passismanua is bounded by the Alimbit and the Andru, and consequently does not correspond to the linguistic divisions.) There are probably fewer than a thousand Sengsenng speakers. Both linguistic groups extend down to the coast,

and the coastal villages have a much longer history of European contact than does the interior. The Kaulong and Sengseng are very closely related, both in language and culture, and intermarriage between the two groups is common.

Umbi and Dulago are located in broken terrain, composed of limestone ridges, 1,400 feet above sea level, and cut by numerous streams which are subject to flash floods. Travel over the narrow bush trails is further impeded by the annual rainfall of about 250 inches. The people normally live in small family groups in their gardens or the bush, visiting the official villages only for the government work day, if then. The official villages themselves are very small: Umbi, the largest in the area, had a population of 78, and Dulago, the smallest, only 40. There are no clans or other unilinear descent groups. Although bilateral extended families maintain connections with their various ancestral burial places, frequent internal quarrels lead to constant fission. There is no tradition of long-term co-operation between groups of more than 15 to 20 people. With the establishment of larger villages, however, the Sengseng at least show a tendency for residents of one village to present a fairly united front *vis-à-vis* other villages or the Administration.

Subsistence is based on shifting cultivation, principally of taro, very heavily supplemented by hunting and the gathering of wild vegetable and animal foods. There are no cash crops, nor do the people pay taxes. Major transactions, such as marriage payments, are still carried out wholly with shell 'money', though Australian coins are also desired by all but the most conservative. Individuals travel fairly widely to other communities both to trade and to maintain relations with distant kin by means of a single exchange of shells. Umbi carries out such trade-exchange transactions with the still unpacified and uncensused Miu linguistic group to the west, with the Sengseng to the east, and with Kaulong villages within a short radius of Umbi itself. By contrast, the Dulago people make expeditions all the way to the coast, and also exchange visits with the Karore linguistic group on the east side of the Andru. They consequently maintain relations with people considerably more acculturated than those with whom the Umbi people normally come into contact. Umbi and Dulago, about three hours' walk apart, do visit each other.

Thanks to these trade relations, steel tools reached the interior two generations ago. At the present time, almost every man between eighteen and thirty-five has been away to work, though most go only to plantations located on the coast two to three days' walk from their villages. On these plantations they come into contact with members of different linguistic and cultural groups, learn a rudimentary form of Neo-Melanesian, acquire a taste for rice, tea and sugar, and bully beef, and accumulate enough money to buy such European goods as steel tools, cloth, soap, matches, and salt for themselves and their close kin. Money is also useful for small purchases and payments within the village, but is especially valued as a means of buying pearl shells from the coastal people. Those men who go farther afield to work, usually to Rabaul, the Talasea area, or Manus, frequently do so simply because of the greater opportunities

to acquire pearl shells cheaply away from the south coast. The accumulation of such shells is the principal goal in life of every male Kaulong or Sengseng, including those newly returned from two years at work in Rabaul. The degree to which returned labourers are immediately reabsorbed into the community, apparently with their values unchanged, seems both noteworthy and surprising.

This work experience is the main reason for acculturation. It does not produce great sophistication about European goods, which are generally believed to be of supernatural origin. For example, it is sometimes stated, though with some scepticism, that money is planted and grows on trees; that a sixpence, if left alone, will turn into a pound; and that the copra produced on a local plantation (Ablingi) is shipped to a cave where a spirit, aided by the ghosts of the people's ancestors, turns it directly into European goods such as knives and money. All machines are thought to be made by spirits, and consequently 'machine-made' is equated with 'spirit-made'. The men insist that Europeans have told them all these things and similar ones, such as that each wireless is inhabited by spirits for whom batteries are food.

Mission activity had just begun to spread into the area in 1963, but at the time of the elections the people were still wholly pagan and illiterate. In Sengseng, however, there existed a cargo cult, the presence of which was to determine the course of the elections there. According to informants, the movement ('Kivung bilong Koriam') had been present in the Dulago region for at least a generation, though if so, the leader, Koriam Urekit, must have initiated it as a fairly young man. Koriam is a 47-year-old subsistence farmer living at Ablingi Island. A *tutul* from before the war, he had been a member of the New Britain District Advisory Council since 1962, and an observer at the Legislative Council in Port Moresby. Koriam's political strength, however, apparently came from his cult activities; he was eventually the successful candidate for East New Britain, in which Ablingi is located. Ablingi is the site of a large European-managed plantation, two to three days' walk from Dulago, which is probably the most popular place for the local men to go to work. Men also make the trip just to visit kinsmen working there or, in the case of cult enthusiasts, to hear the latest official word from Koriam. These latter return to hold meetings in their own villages, at which they spread his teachings and try to induce compliance with them, especially as regards the immediate payment of debts. More often, however, such meetings are instigated by visitors from areas nearer Ablingi, either members of other linguistic groups or residents of Sengseng villages nearer the coast. Meetings were held only when a local man had newly returned from Ablingi, or when a foreign delegate arrived. The residents of the village were more likely to attend in the latter case, though there were always several absentees.

Little is known about the cult except what was gathered from conversations with local natives and briefly with a Roman Catholic priest from a mission located in Kaulong territory, on the coast. At least some of the government officers familiar with the area agreed with these informants in regarding it as a cargo cult. All native informants claimed to be some-

what sceptical of Koriam's claims, but these did not include the disciples known as 'Koriam's boys', probably because the authors were known to oppose the cult. Like other Melanesian cargo cults, this one contends that if the people do as their leader says, the spirits of their ancestors will return, bringing with them the goods of the Europeans. In the hills at least, rice seems to be the most eagerly anticipated luxury. The cult extends both east and west of Ablingi. It is certainly present in Kaulong as well as Sengseng villages near the coast, but its precise limits are not known. The doctrine, as heard in the interior, contains no elements derived from Christianity, nor was there any mention of a supernatural source for Koriam's 'knowledge'. One man reported that Koriam had visited Australia and brought the cult back from there. Overtly, at least, Koriam supports the Administration, and no anti-European sentiments were heard. It must be emphasized, however, that Koriam's doctrine may really be much more complex than such second-hand information suggests.

Koriam advocated changes in the customary way of life, with particular stress on the abolition of sorcery, adultery, and theft, and on the prompt settlements of debts, often for nominal sums. The Sengseng, who are not much given either to sorcery or adultery, focused their attention on the aspects of the cult which dealt with property. The consequence of following Koriam's teachings was that 'things', apparently European goods, would come to them. As noted, there was some belief that the goods were produced by the spirits of their ancestors, and it was generally assumed that they would arrive by plane or helicopter. In Sengseng, talk of constructing an air-strip in the bush was definitely associated with the cult, though in Umbi the same proposition was made only in hopes that the anthropologists might be able to get personal supplies without anyone's having to make the long and tiresome trip to Kandrian to fetch them.

It is difficult to estimate the degree of adherence to the cult. On one occasion, the local enthusiasts returned from Ablingi saying that Koriam had authorized them to arrest anyone who disobeyed his teachings and to bring them to Ablingi to be put to work breaking coconuts in his gaol. No one seemed to take the threat seriously. It was abundantly clear that people did not obey Koriam's injunctions about property except when one of his foreign delegates was on hand. Theft flourished, and long delays in paying debts, with frequent resultant quarrels, were the norm. Given the Sengseng (and Kaulong) interest in acquiring wealth and in manipulating exchanges to one's own advantage, it is not remarkable that Koriam had little effect on this part of their culture. Nevertheless, the villagers definitely stood in awe of his outside delegates, paying debts at once under their eye, and seeming inclined to follow their teachings in less important matters even after they had left.

Given their own lack of knowledge of the outside world, the people of Dulago and Umbi and their neighbours were generally inclined to believe anything they were told by the more sophisticated coastal people, even though they realized that the latter sometimes fooled them just for the

fun of it. Until the authors arrived, they had no one with whom to check statements from the outside. Since the villagers were not really obeying Koriam, their failure to receive goods did not affect their faith in the cult. It is less clear why the cult had not reached Umbi, but simple geographical distance may be the explanation. Umbi is just that much farther from Ablingi, across a frequently impassable stream, and of course more recently pacified than the villages nearer Dulago.

Another factor seems to be simple ethnocentrism or anti-Catholicism on the part of the Umbi people. Specifically because the Sengseng were considered to be in Roman Catholic territory, Umbi voted in 1963 to accept a resident mission of lay brothers from the Church of England. Umbi men then stated that Koriam's cult was something that belonged to the Catholic area (which included some Kaulong villages across the river from Umbi) and that, as non-Catholics, they were not interested. This attitude existed despite the facts that Koriam's cult had been present long before missionaries came to the interior, that Roman Catholic mission activity had been limited to a few brief visits by priests, and that the priests were fairly openly opposed to Koriam. Still another barrier to acceptance of the cult, specifically mentioned in Umbi, was the traditional belief that ghosts take no interest in their descendants, are afraid of human beings, and stay permanently in the land of the dead—the uninhabited mountains. The Sengseng share this attitude towards ghosts, and although it has not kept the people as a whole from at least entertaining the presence of the cult, it may well have been a barrier to their accepting its teachings wholeheartedly.

Some months before the elections, people recently back from a visit to Kandrian reported that the Assistant District Officer was supporting Koriam, had accepted money from him, and had called together the *luluais* of coastal villages and told them to obey Koriam's teachings. The appointment of Koriam to the District Advisory Council and numerous reports that the Assistant District Officer and the Patrol Officer (later Acting Assistant District Officer) kept telling people that they should do as Koriam said, indicated that the villagers had every reason to equate Administration policy and Koriam's teachings. The real attitude of Administration officers at Kandrian towards Koriam was, however, unknown to the authors.

Because the villages were two to three days' walk (given good weather) from the patrol post at Kandrian, the people saw relatively little of the government representatives except for native policemen. Most patrols got only to Pomalal, a village about four hours' walk south-west of Dulago and even farther from Umbi. Late in 1963, the Administration ordered people from both villages to help construct an aid post at Pomalal, which is in Kaulong territory. Unfortunately the village is regarded as a hotbed of sorcery, and this fact, the distance from their own villages, and the depletion of local food supplies during the long weeks of work on the aid post, made the people of Dulago and Umbi exceedingly unwilling even to visit Pomalal, much less spend a night there. During the authors' stay in the field, the people were also summoned to Pomalal by

several medical patrols, for the two election meetings, and in the case of Dulago to carry the gear of all European visitors, except for missionaries, to the village. Because Pomalal was too far away for information to be checked, false rumours that government officers had arrived there and wanted the people to come (at least to carry gear) arrived about once a week and led to numerous useless trips, though most people turned back on the road. On the other hand, on one occasion the message sent by an actual medical patrol, summoning all children to Pomalal for shots, arrived so late that the patrol had already left by the time the villagers arrived.

Although some people in Umbi realized that there was a government officer superior to the Assistant District Officer, those in Dulago apparently did not, nor did they even know or understand the Neo-Melanesian word for 'government'. Attempts to explain the structure of the government during pre-election briefings led to considerable confusion, not least because almost no one had any idea of the geography of New Britain. The elections themselves seem to have been regarded as a mysterious whim of the local government, more complex and troublesome than most and equally incomprehensible.

Their ideas about the government are roughly as follows: it, in the person of a Patrol Officer or Assistant District Officer from Kandrian, appoints *luluais* and, in the larger villages, *tultuls*, and holds these responsible for their villages' obedience to government commands, which include orders given by 'doctors' as well as Native Affairs officers. Government policies are divided into those that may be backed up by the use of strong measures (variously interpreted) and those about which the government is assumed to feel less strongly. In the former category are, virtually alone, the prohibitions on organized warfare, the exhumation of skulls, and the strangulation of widows. In the latter category are the insistence that they build and maintain plank houses in centralized villages, keep pigs out of the village areas, bury in village cemeteries rather than in men's houses, and use only their bare hands in fights. Although they realize that they may be gaoled for failing to obey this second group of commands, they nevertheless obey them only under constant pressure, as in the case of the houses, or not at all. Probably they obey the first group of commands only because the pressure to do so has been steadier and stronger, not because they (especially the older men) regard them as more reasonable. Gaol sentences are disliked because of the 'hard work for no pay' and the hot sun at Kandrian, but are in no way disgraceful.

Normally Native Affairs officers, rarely the same one, visit the village only once a year. On this visit they take a census, gaol one or two people for inadequate houses, possibly hear one or two court cases, admonish the villagers again on the main points of official policy, and leave. Usually each one also stresses an idea of his own, as forbidding the deformation of babies' heads, or demanding that grass be planted within the village. The visits are generally feared because of the possibility of gaol, though it is common to seize the occasion to collect one's own outstanding debts

by threatening to report the debtor to the Patrol Officer. Some men pride themselves on their ability to cope with Administration officers and win court cases, but most feel that the government is both too powerful and too capricious for them to deal with, and that the best method is avoidance. In contrast to those in other areas, the people seem very reluctant to stand up directly to the visiting Patrol Officer. Once he has left, however, the *luluai* or *tultul* frequently issues orders to the villagers, said to be those of the Patrol Officer, which are patently fabrications (to the anthropologist and, often, to the villagers). Native policemen, who visit the inland villages more often than European officers, are also feared because they usually come bearing unwelcome messages or with the intention of making an arrest. On the other hand, their approval is also used to give a sort of government sanction to breaches of native custom, such as irregular marriages, and most villagers seem to be on fairly easy terms with them.

Prior to the elections, several rumours circulated that the *luluai* system was going to be abolished or that the government would no longer enforce its laws. The reaction was a mixture of puzzlement and indifference. Certainly there was no question of their worrying about how they would get along if the Administration abandoned them—they would simply go on much as they did at present—nor did there seem to be any particular idea that they would do much governing on their own. Traditional leadership in this area was vested in 'big men', who largely earned their position, though with the Kaulong particularly inheritance also entered the picture. These men had very little real power; they received respect for their special abilities and gratitude for their feast-giving, but were genuinely feared only if they were also fight leaders. Patrol Officers seem to have made some attempt to choose the *luluais* from among such 'big men', but in Umby, at least, men expressed strong reluctance to accept government appointments, which were considered distinctly burdensome. The Administration also regarded some 'big men' as too old. Of the villages in the area, Umby and Seagit had both *luluais* and *tultuls* who were not 'big men', and in Dulago the *luluai* was just in the process of achieving the position. Throughout the area, 'big men', whether *luluais* or not, tended to be handicapped in dealing with the Administration because, first, they rarely spoke Neo-Melanesian, and second, they tended to support and actively advocate traditional modes of behaviour in opposition to government policy. In general, although the younger men of the village gained no prestige from having been away to work, their greater ability to manipulate relations with the Administration was explicitly recognized. Neo-Melanesian speakers would boast of their ability to take advantage of non-Neo-Melanesian speakers, including their own *luluais*, when presenting cases to the government to be settled. At the same time, because almost no one spoke Neo-Melanesian well, very little that government officers said was really understood, and those who translated their instructions to the village probably made as many honest, as deliberate, mistakes. Getting people into trouble with the Administration, especially if they were sentenced to gaol, was generally frowned upon, however, so

that, for example, the united disapproval of the 'big men' of his village finally compelled the *tultul* of Seagit to stop attempting to curry favour with the Administration by reporting to them the derelictions of his *luluai*.

In Sengseng, neither 'big men' nor the *luluai* or *tultul* took any well-defined role with regard to Koriam's cult. They usually attended meetings when little effort was involved in doing so, expressed approval of what was being said by the person conducting the meetings, and paid some debts on these occasions, but without making any noticeable attempt to spread or adhere to cult teachings at other times. So far as is known the most eager local followers of the cult did not include any 'big men'. Reports indicated, however, that many of the coastal followers of the cult were 'big men' in their own right, and the respect accorded foreign visitors may have been to some extent the result of their own status.

Dulago and the Elections

The Assistant District Officer had visited the Dulago area in May 1963 to compile the Common Roll and explain the elections, but the people made absolutely no mention of the elections to Chowning between the time she arrived in July 1963 and the next patrol in January 1964. Rumours about changes in the government always followed visits to Kandrian, and these (e.g. the rumour that the *luluai* system was about to be abolished) may be attributed in part to the current uncertainty about the future of the Department of Native Affairs. Real activity began when at 5 p.m. on 24 January a Cadet Patrol Officer arrived at Dulago, and told the people to collect food at once so that they could leave for Pomalal that night. Pregnant women and children under six were excused, but nursing mothers were specifically ordered to go, and since children may be nursed until they are six years old, almost everyone was included. At about 9 p.m. the Cadet Patrol Officer left with most of the villagers, and word had been sent to the people of Seagit (about seventy-five minutes away) and Yambon (fifty minutes) to leave for Pomalal by dawn the next morning. Instead the following morning the people of these villages arrived in Dulago to ask what they were supposed to do. When the message was repeated, the *tultul* of Seagit in translating said that no nursing mothers had to go; in fact very few women and children from Seagit went, and it appeared that the turnout from Yambon was only partial.

Two days later, the people returned from Pomalal, engrossed in a report that the Cadet Patrol Officer had struck the *luluai* of Hutkihyu for not bringing all the residents of his village to hear the election talk, and had arrested the whole population of the village. The *luluai* had said that the men were busy working on garden fences and other projects. This frequently-used excuse is, in fact, almost never valid, but the Cadet Patrol Officer was too new to the area to be sure of the fact. As an interesting sidelight on their ideas about the Administration, people kept asking the author where the Cadet Patrol Officer was from, saying that he must not be Australian or a true government officer, because although Patrol Officers scolded them, they never struck them. The thought of running foul of the same Cadet Patrol Officer again made the people decidedly nervous

about returning to Pomalal to vote, until they learned that before the elections he had been transferred from Kandrian.

They had not arrived at Pomalal till dawn, and were talked to in the afternoon. A tape recorder was apparently used, but no one seemed to know its function. The people seem to have been less impressed by the talk than by the crowd (probably 300 or so), which forced men and women to sit close together, contrary to native custom. Under the circumstances, it is probably not remarkable that they did not absorb much of what was said. They did return with a few new words, notably *wot* for 'vote'; a list of place names that, with few exceptions, meant nothing to them, but were apparently the boundaries for West New Britain; the name of the District Commissioner in Rabaul; and a confused impression that Europeans would no longer be giving them orders. They also brought a mimeographed sheet giving the time and place for the actual voting, four weeks away in Pomalal. They brought this to Chowning, who was asked numerous questions, but was on the whole unable to answer them, not knowing what the Cadet Patrol Officer had told them and what terms (Neo-Melanesian or English) were being used to explain the elections to them. What they had learned at this meeting was eventually so confused with what they were told by the native 'teams' who subsequently visited the village, that in short order neither they nor the author knew who had said what, when. During this period, the *tultul* of Yambon told one of the authors that her cook, a Dulago man, was telling the people that they should contribute money to her father so that he would 'look after them' as regards the elections. Among other things this statement suggests that the people were nervous about their ability to act correctly without outside help.

On 11 February, a group of three men arrived in the village and said that they were here to tell the people about the elections. Two were said to be from the 'islands'—off the south coast—and one from Katektek, a more acculturated Sengseng village to the south of Dulago. The men and women of Yambon and Seagit were summoned to Dulago to attend the meeting. Just as it was about to begin, a young man of Dulago, apparently at the instigation of one of the visitors, told the author that it was just to be a meeting about debts (i.e. a normal cult meeting) and that it was wholly their concern. As this definitely implied that she should stay away, Chowning only observed from a distance, and did not know what the general content of the meeting was. A young man who had been present could only say: 'We're completely confused'. The 'big men', *luluais*, and *tultuls* co-operated fully in attending the meeting, telling people to be quiet and listen, and making speeches of their own, apparently in approval of what had been said.

When the speechmaking was over, there was a general payment of debts in normal cult style, with the visitors acting as arbitrators and insisting that payments offered be accepted on the spot. The visitors were generally deferred to. While the payments were going on, another small group of visitors arrived, and summoned the assembled villagers to another meeting to be held in Hutkihyu, an hour's walk to the south.

Although the older people had turned out in force for the Dulago meeting, many refused to go to Hutkihyu, and it was mostly the younger men who attended.

On the following day, several people asked about the pronunciation and meaning of terms that they had recently been taught, especially 'West New Britain', 'election', and 'polling booth'. They behaved as if they had never heard the word 'election' before. At this point, one young man was heard reproaching a *tultul* for the failure of the *luluais* and *tultuls* to instruct the people about the elections 'as they should'. The *tultul* did not reply. It was two days later before they began to talk about the recent meetings. The *luluai* of Dulago came to consult the author saying that his wife and other women were threatening to hang themselves because they had been told that part of the 'new law of the elections' was that all women must exchange their traditional leaf skirts for *laplaps*. (This substitution had been urged previously by Koriam's followers, but had not been taken seriously in the area.) Subsequent discussion elicited the following: first, the visitors told the people not to discuss what they said with the author 'because she is an American and would not know about our elections'. They had said that, from now on, natives would be 'on top' and Europeans 'down below' (the English words 'native' and 'European', both previously unknown to the people, were used).

The rest of the 'new law of the elections' was as follows. In addition to the abolition of leaf skirts, it included the familiar prohibitions on sorcery, stealing, and sexual misdemeanours, and insistence on paying debts. The visitors told them that a machine, presumably a tape recorder, which the Cadet Patrol Officer had used during the instruction patrol, had the power to overhear and record all their sins and transgressions against this 'new law', and would repeat them to the Polling Officer when he returned to Pomalal, at which time he would punish them. They were specifically told that the 'new law' was government policy, and should be obeyed for that reason.

The author promptly told them that all the latter part had nothing to do with the elections and was presumably just part of Koriam's cult. She was supported on the matter of women's skirts by a European Roman Catholic priest who chanced to arrive in the village whilst the matter was still being discussed. Shortly afterwards, a local *tultul* went down to Kandrian and questioned the Acting Assistant District Officer about the matter. On his return, he reported that the Acting Assistant District Officer had said that abolishing leaf skirts was not part of the elections 'because God had put the skirts on women', but that they should obey the prohibitions on stealing, extramarital sex, and holding out on debts. His action, of course, nullified attempts to separate Koriam's doctrine from actual election business.

A few days later, acting on outside instructions which presumably came from these visitors, the people were observed practising what they should say at the time of balloting. They memorized a Neo-Melanesian dialogue in which each person (including small children) went forward, said the equivalent of 'Masta, I want to vote', gave his name and village affiliation,

and then, in answer to the question, 'Whom do you want for number one?', answered, 'Manlel'. When asked why, they were to say that he is a good man who doesn't steal or practise sorcery. There was no suggestion that the villagers knew Manlel personally, or were even familiar with his name. When asked whom they wanted for number two, they were to say, 'Lima' (consistently mis-pronounced as 'Limak'). The last question was to be, 'Which European do you want for number three?', and it may be that the name they were to give was Hans Wetzel's, hopelessly mangled. (Manlel was Paul Manlel, a 27-year-old subsistence farmer from Aiuet Village near Kandrian; he had held no official position under the Administration. Lima was Lima or Yohannis Larebo, a subsistence farmer of Rapuri Village in West Nakanai. Hans Wetzel was a former Patrol Officer, subsequently a trader, living on Nukaukau Island in the Kombe Census Division and married to a Kombe girl. In the poll, Wetzel and Lima each received about 1,900 votes or about 13 per cent of the total each; Manlel received 3,300 votes or 23 per cent, and went on to win on the distribution of preferences.) Along with this, they were drilled in defining a polling booth and the boundaries of West New Britain, and naming the District Commissioner in Rabaul. Inquiries were frequently made about the name of the Acting Assistant District Officer in Kandrian, and it became clear that many people thought that they were expected to vote for him too. They visualized the whole performance as a catechism between themselves and the polling officer, with only one possible set of correct answers, and seemed grateful to the visitors for instructing them in these answers.

No one apparently even considered deviating from the instructions to vote for particular candidates in a fixed order. Considering that they knew none of the candidates it was not surprising that they accepted a local man as the logical first choice, but there was no evident reason for them to accept the other two and no indication that they understood preferential voting.

During the time before the actual voting, the people continued to practise the catechism. As the date approached, they became increasingly nervous about getting to Pomalal in time. Early in January, when at Kandrian, the Acting Assistant District Officer had told the author that voting was not compulsory, and this information was passed on, but the people were certain that the Cadet Patrol Officer had said that *everyone* must go. They feared that, at the least, the *luluai* would be struck or gaoled if all residents of his village did not attend, and, at worst, that they would all be gaoled.

Typically, the people believed every rumour that the day for voting had been changed, or at least they were afraid not to believe them. A couple of days before the day scheduled almost everyone left Dulago because of one such rumour. A young man promptly went down to intercept the Polling Officer, who was supposed to be in a village a day's walk to the south, to check on the facts. He returned in what seemed a suspiciously short time, saying that he had seen the Polling Officer, that the originally scheduled date was correct, that absolutely everyone must come

to Pomalal, and that they must all wear new clothes. (It was believed that Patrol Officers insisted on new clothes for the census.)

On the day before the elections they departed, as instructed, to spend the night en route and vote the next day. With the exception of an old woman and a little girl delegated to keep the author company everyone from Dulago attended, and there appeared to have been no hold-outs, except complete cripples, from neighbouring villages, though there may have been some. Many residents of Dulago, including the *luluai*, took advantage of being nearer the coast to go on a trading expedition to a coastal (non-Sengseng) village. They returned, after more than a week, puzzled because the people of that village had been told to vote, in order, for Manlel, Lima, and a European who was certainly not Wetzell. Probably the coastal villagers were voting in the New Britain Special Electorate as well, for the prescribed name was clearly Tom Garrett's. Garrett was a planter at Varzin Plantation near Kokopo who had been born at Rabaul and was fairly active in New Britain affairs. According to the Dulago people, only these three were named by the coastal people.

Apart from their puzzlement on this score, they showed no interest whatsoever in the outcome of the elections, and no understanding of its possible consequences, except for the persistence of the occasional rumour of forthcoming change in traditional relations with the Administration (abolition of the *luluai* system or a change in government work day). By the time of the annual patrol, in early May 1964, everyone seemed to assume that life would continue as before. Neither the people nor the Patrol Officers said anything about the elections or the House of Assembly. As time went on, there were more and more questions about the supposed supernatural origin of European goods, but there is no reason to attribute the frequency of these to the elections.

In July two consequences of the elections were observed. The *tutul* of Seagit made a trip to the coast during which he met Manlel. He came back to report that Manlel said that he was not associated with a cargo cult and added that it was all their mistake in thinking that he was. All Manlel wanted was for the people to behave well 'like Europeans'. The *tutul* called a meeting in Dulago, attended by Yambon as well, to pass on Manlel's message, which contained the familiar prohibitions against stealing, sorcery, etc. He said that Manlel was planning to visit all the interior villages very soon, and for the first time; rumours of his imminent arrival continued through the weeks until the authors left. The *tutul* also described to the men of the village seeing Manlel lay out the money 'that he had been paid by the government'; both he and they were much impressed by the amount described, but seemed to have no clear idea of why he was being paid so much.

At the end of July, the *luluai* of Seagit, who, as noted, spoke no Neo-Melanesian, and whose relations with the *tutul* were poor, told Chowning that the *tutul* had announced to him and the people of Séagit that he had returned from the coast bearing a message for them all from Manlel, but that she had 'fastened' it in Dulago, forbidding him to spread it any farther until after her departure. It is difficult to say what the *tutul*

was up to in this case; he is an exceedingly devious character, and may have been acting entirely on his own. On the basis of what he had done on other occasions, it may be that he wanted to be able to deliver a supposed message from Manlel without the author being around to question it.

Also in July, Dulago was visited by a group of traders from the off-shore islands. No cult activity was observed, and they were very friendly, in strong contrast to visiting cult representatives. When they asked why the author did not stay with them, it was explained that it was because she wanted to study traditional customs, and they had discarded too many of theirs. They agreed that they had, and then added that they had just done so since Manlel's election, and under his guidance. The discarded customs all fell in the realm of officially disapproved behaviour, such as sorcery. They described the changes in their condition which they expected to follow almost immediately upon the creation of the House of Assembly. All of these were in the direction of making them live and behave like Europeans. Although their expectations of the ease and speed of change were unrealistically high, they did seem to understand the nature and functions of the House of Assembly. On the other hand, for the first time in the Passismanua there was an expression of hopes that Americans would govern them instead of Australians. This was an idea which occurs elsewhere in the Territory, and was a guiding motive of Lima's West Nakanai cargo cult, but not, apparently, of Koriam's. Its mention in this case seems significant as indicating their failure to realize that they are now on the way to governing themselves.

Umbi and the Elections

No mention of the elections was heard in Umbi in 1963, although the Assistant District Officer had presumably told the people about them when he compiled the Common Roll in May of that year. On 24 January 1964 a native policeman arrived in the village and announced that everyone, man, woman and child, was to go to Pomalal the next day to meet with the Cadet Patrol Officer. (At the same time the policeman told every married couple to rebuild their house before the annual census patrol which was to come 'soon'. It appears that he also incorrectly reported to the Cadet Patrol Officer that one married man did not have a house, and that man was arrested when he went to Pomalal.) The following day, most of the population left for Pomalal. Several old women, two mothers of newborn children, one woman in advanced pregnancy, and an old blind man stayed behind. Just before their departure, the word 'election' was mentioned, so presumably the policeman had told them the purpose of the meeting, but they were uncertain as to what the elections were, exactly why they should go to Pomalal, and who should go.

During the next two days the villagers straggled back from Pomalal. When no comments were volunteered, Goodale asked what had gone on. The following comments, listed in order of frequency and stress, were supplied. First, the Cadet Patrol Officer had beaten up two *luluais*, one so badly that he was expected to die. Second, the village's own *luluai* and

tutul had supported the gaoling of the man reported not to have a house, though in fact they knew that he had a new house in a spot overlooked by the policeman. Everyone was hungry; they do not usually carry provisions for journeys, and in this case Pomalal could not and did not provide food for all.

Specific questions about the election briefing had to be asked to elicit even the following comments: 'I didn't understand.' 'There were too many people, and the government officer was too far away.' 'We couldn't hear; we couldn't see.' One 15-year-old boy reported that the Cadet Patrol Officer said that they were going to fence off the entire island of New Britain, with one-half for the Europeans and one-half for the natives. The *tutul* produced a mimeographed sheet and said that the Cadet Patrol Officer had told him to give it to the author. It contained the time and place of the actual voting, and she undertook to keep it and tell them when they should go.

During the following weeks, there was apparently no mention of candidates, and no election teams visited Umbi prior to voting day. When, two days in advance, the *luluai* and *tutul* were reminded of the approaching date, questions were asked: 'What are elections?' and 'Who has to go?', and who the Polling Officer would be and whether the unpopular Cadet Patrol Officer would be stationed at Kandrian. When the villagers were asked again what the Cadet Patrol Officer had said about the elections, the answer was the equivalent of a shrug of the shoulders.

On the day of the elections, the village was relatively deserted, but so far as is known only the *tutul*, his wife, and one other man actually got to Pomalal and voted. (The Polling Officer recorded three votes from Umbi in the village book.) About ten other men and women got as far as Hulem, two hours away, and then returned. When asked why, two reasons were given. First, it was said at Hulem that all women were to come to Pomalal in *laplaps* rather than the traditional and universally worn leaf skirts. Except for the *tutul*'s wife, the women refused to obey, and returned accompanied by their husbands. It was also said that only 'big men' were to go to vote. When questioned further, they said that only those who had fought in the past were to go. There was no mention of the exact source of these statements, except that they heard them both at Hulem. The second instruction probably resulted from a linguistic confusion between *leksin*, as 'election' was pronounced, and *lek-sun*, which in Kaulong means 'to fight each other'. When known warriors were particularly asked why they didn't go, they said that the Administration had forbidden fighting.

Following this, no interest was shown by anyone in the results of the election. When Koriām's win for East New Britain was mentioned to the author's houseboys, they seemed completely uninterested. The name of the winning candidate for West New Britain was received blankly; Koriām was at least known by name, but Manlel was not.

The complete lack of interest and almost complete absence of participation in the elections by Umbi voters may be ascribed to two factors. The first was a very real ignorance of what was going on and the part

that they were expected to play. The second was the fact that Koriam's cult had no adherents in Umbi and, at least during the pre-election period, his followers made no attempt to spread his teachings, or what was presumably basically his election campaign, into the Umbi area.

Conclusions

Three principal conclusions could be drawn from these observations. First, the Administration failed to make clear to these bush people what the elections were all about. In all fairness, if they were to do so, they would have had to spend a disproportionate amount of time and effort on a few hundred people, to the neglect of the more numerous and sophisticated coastal people. Second, the more sophisticated people in the area made good use of the elections to further their own aims. Not only did the coastal people take advantage of the bush people, but Neo-Melanesian speakers, especially those willing to travel to Kandrian so that they could bring back what was supposed to be the official word, could take advantage of the stay-at-homes, including the traditional 'big men'. Third, Koriam's power and that of his cult (despite Manlel's present denials) was not only enormously extended but also identified with Administration policy. What was really impressive, however, was the degree to which the leader of what seemed to be a small local cult was able to turn European political forms to his own advantage when the opportunity arose. The very fact that Koriam defeated the Tolai candidates is a real tribute to his power to organize a sizeable proportion of the populace solidly, and apparently blindly, behind him. Information from the Mengen tribe, inland from Pomio patrol post in East New Britain, indicates that they had been convinced by teams similar to those who visited Dulago that they should vote for Koriam. The Mengen also work at Ablingi. It cannot be proved that Koriam organized Manlel's campaign, or that Manlel is a protégé of Koriam, but the similarity of method and doctrine is hard to explain otherwise. It might be added that a visit to West Nakanai in August 1964 produced the statement, from a relatively sophisticated villager, that Lima had really won the West New Britain seat, but had been prevented from taking it by the government which adjusted the figures. The informant, not a follower of Lima, apparently approved such action; Administration opposition to Lima's cult is well known.

The Esa'ala-Losuia Open Electorate

Ruth A. Fink

The Electorate

The Esa'ala Sub-district is situated about forty miles north of East Cape, the easternmost point of Papua. It is bounded by Losuia Sub-district to the north and by Samarai to the south. The principal islands in the Esa'ala Sub-district are the D'Entrecasteaux group which consist of three large islands and several smaller ones. The larger islands are Goodenough, Fergusson and Normanby Islands. The smaller ones include Dobu Island, Sanaroa and the Amphletts. These islands are a continuation of the main cordillera of New Guinea and are composed of huge mountain masses. For its size, Goodenough Island is one of the most mountainous islands in the world. Although only sixteen miles in diameter, its highest mountain range reaches 8,000 feet. By contrast the Trobriands, which are the principal islands of the Losuia Sub-district, are all of raised coral limestone and mostly flat. It will be more convenient to describe the two Sub-districts comprising this electorate separately. It might be added that Esa'ala-Losuia is one of four Open Electorates in the East Papua Special Electorate, but as only one Special candidate campaigned in Esa'ala-Losuia, and he on a very limited scale, attention will concentrate on the Open.

The Esa'ala Sub-district is 1,280 square miles in area and is divided into six administrative subdivisions with a patrol post in each. The Sub-district headquarters is at Esa'ala on the north-east tip of Normanby Island, but in the pre-war period it was at Mapamoiwa on Fergusson Island. There are about 30,155 Papuans and about 60 Europeans in the Sub-district. Most of the native population lives on the relatively flat land around the coasts of the islands. The normal mode of settlement is in strings of hamlets spread over two or three miles, each containing a family group. Inland villages are usually about 100 to 150 people, but along the coast there are larger concentrations, the average being about 200 but in some cases up to 450. The Europeans in the area are mainly missionaries, who account for two-thirds of the population. There are eight missions in the area; most of the missions are Methodist, but Roman Catholics have been extending their work and the Sacred Heart of Jesus Mission set up its first mission in the Esa'ala area in 1950-2, and now has mission stations on both Normanby and Fergusson Islands. There

are also eight European plantations and three European-owned trade stores. The Europeans of the area can earn more through labour recruiting than through copra trading with local people, and this is of secondary importance to them. There are no roads in the Esa'ala Sub-district (with the exception of an old army road on Goodenough Island), and consequently water is the only means of transport. The only year-round anchorages are at Esa'ala and Salamo and during January, July and August, squalls are frequent and can cause very rough seas. The lack of good anchorages makes it difficult for people to market their produce, which has to be transported to Samarai. As a result, the copra production which began with compulsory pre-war planting on these islands has not reached its potential and Patrol Officers notice nuts lying unused in village plantations. The villagers have no incentive to make extra copra since they cannot sell it, and local traders only pay them 2-3 pence per pound. So far, no satisfactory scheme for marketing copra or any other produce from this area has been instituted.

In the pre-war period, a head-tax was levied upon all males between sixteen and thirty-six years. This encouraged people of the area into labour recruitment, and even after the head-tax was abolished, the D'Entrecasteaux remained the second highest indentured labour area in Papua. For instance in the immediate post-war period (1946), over a thousand indentured labourers came from this region. Recruiting had marked effects upon the people of Goodenough Island, where so many able-bodied men were away that there was malnutrition among the women and children who remained. The women were unable to produce enough yams, and they took to banana cultivation which required less effort. Finally, in 1957 the island was closed to recruiters.

Attempts have been made in the past years to introduce new cash crops into the area, but so far the results have been disheartening. Soils are generally poor, and best suited to growing yams which have a high yield. The high rainfall in this area has made agricultural experts doubtful of the possibilities of commercially producing coffee, cocoa or peanuts which have been introduced experimentally. Rice is grown in small quantities, but there is insufficient land for large scale production. Apart from cash cropping, there are good timber resources, and two timber mills are operated by Europeans, but the forest potential of the Sub-district had not yet been utilized. The land remains largely cultivated for subsistence purposes, and there have not been many changes in this region over the past seventy-two years of European contact.

Education has lagged badly, and until 1964 there was only one Administration school in the whole Sub-district which reached sixth and seventh grade. In addition there was a mission school at Salamo which trained boys for sawmilling and carpentry. There are still only five Administration schools in the Esa'ala Sub-district and only three have European teachers. In addition there are a number of recognized mission schools, a few run by European missionaries, but most by trained Papuan teachers. There were twelve recognized Methodist schools and twenty Catholic schools in the Sub-district. Apart from these there were the elementary village

schools run by mission pastor-teachers with little or no formal training. The best students from Esa'ala Sub-district are sent to larger Administration schools outside their District, in Lae or Port Moresby, or to the mission schools in the Samarai area at Sideia, Rogea or Kwato. In view of this educational situation, it is not surprising to find that there is as yet only a tiny group of skilled and higher educated people from this Sub-district, and most of them have to remain away from their home district since there would be no work for them there.

The main islands within the Losuia Sub-district are the Trobriands and Woodlark Island, with several lesser island groups included. The Trobriands consist of four main islands, all of raised coral limestone of which only Kiriwina, 30 miles long and 3 to 10 miles wide, has real significance. The remaining major islands in the Trobriands are Vakuta, Kitava and Kaileuna. Further east lies Woodlark Island or Murua which is about 38 miles in length from east to west. Woodlark was the chief goldfield of Papua at one time; the gold-mining period was from 1934 to 1938 but it has not been worked since the war.

The Sub-district headquarters is at Losuia on Kiriwina. This island is quite densely settled, with about 8,000 Kiriwinans living on a little over 200 square miles, much of which is swampy. Unlike the Esa'ala Sub-district, here one finds genuine villages, usually made up of a circle of dwellings around a central clearing, with an inner circle of yam houses. The average village has about 90 inhabitants. There are only two European plantations in the Sub-district and two traders supply the needs of the total population of around 13,000. There would be under 50 Europeans. During the war, American and Allied troops were based in the Trobriands and air-strips were constructed as well as a long network of roads, of which 60 miles of surfaced road are still in use. However, the area has not attracted European settlement and is regarded as unhealthy for Europeans, who easily contract tropical ulcers and similar ailments.

The coral atoll nature of the Trobriands limits agriculture to yams of a specialized variety, taro and coconuts. In addition bananas and fruits are grown in smaller quantities. Surplus native foods are sold to the Administration and used for trade. Apart from some copra, no other cash crop exists and there is little interest in cash cropping, while the copra grown is mainly used for raising tax money. In growing their traditional crops, the Trobrianders are among the best gardeners in the Territory, and they produce enormous yams. Attempts have been made to interest the people in fishing as a commercial venture, and this may become an important source of income. In the pre-war years, pearling was a significant industry, but there is little pearlshell production now on account of its low market value.

There are Methodist and Catholic missions in the Trobriands, which provide schooling in addition to the five Administration schools, so the area is relatively well provided for educationally when compared with the Esa'ala Sub-district. There is also an Administration hospital. Some co-operatives have now operated in the Trobriands for a number of years, but so far no Local Government Councils have been introduced, and

village officials are appointed, usually from the traditional *guyau* (chiefly clans).

The area of the Electorate has been studied by a number of ethnographers. Probably the most famous of these was Bronislaw Malinowski, whose books on the Trobriand Islanders have given these people a place in posterity. In the Esa'ala Sub-district too, Reo Fortune's *Sorcerers of Dobu* is still relevant; later Geza Róheim worked on Normanby Island, while more recently H. A. Powell restudied the Trobriands and Ann Chowning worked on Fergusson Island. Traditionally this region did not have a common culture or language, and the peoples of each major island group were further divided into a number of autonomous communities, many of them tribal enemies in the pre-contact era.

Politically, the Trobriands possessed the most developed system of chiefs and also was divided into wider units termed village clusters, which Powell (1960: 124) defines as 'an aggregate of villages the populations of which tend to regard themselves for many purposes and to operate as a single unit in relation to the populations of other like clusters'. Even so, there was in the Trobriands nothing resembling an overall political system, and political organization consisted of 'loose and impermanent associations between basically autonomous local groups, motivated to co-operate with each other by spatial proximity and diversification of resources, but at the same time to compete by other factors such as the underlying uncertainty of food supplies . . .' (Powell 1960: 121).

In the Esa'ala Sub-district the political fragmentation of islands and language groups was much greater. This area, called the Southern Massim by C. G. Seligman, was more warlike and its people lacked formal chiefs, though they possessed strong fight leaders, who were later installed as 'chiefs' when Sir William MacGregor pacified the area in 1890.

Among the fiercest fighters and cannibals were the people of Dobu Island, who also inhabited the northern end of Normanby Island and parts of the adjacent Fergusson coasts. The Dobuans raided neighbouring peoples and carried on extensive trading. Even in pre-European times their language, Edugaura or Dobuan, was a lingua franca in the D'Entrecasteaux and, according to Malinowski, it was also known in the Amphletts and the southern parts of the Trobriands. One of the first converts to Christianity was a Dobuan fight leader called Gaganumore, converted by Dr W. E. Bromilow, who pioneered the Methodist mission in this area in 1891.

While there was no overall political unity either within or among these island groups, a form of trading and ceremonial exchange known as the *Kula* had political functions. The *Kula* exchanges have been masterfully described by Malinowski in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and here it will suffice to say that they consisted of an interchange of two kinds of valuables, the conus armshells called *Mwali* and the Spondyllus necklaces known as *Vaguya* or *Bagi*. These valuables were interchanged between a series of partners who participated in the *Kula* and who passed *Kula* objects along a fixed path. The Trobriand Islanders made *Kula* exchanges with the D'Entrecasteaux people, so that for instance the *Mwali* or arm-

shells would always pass from Kiriwina to Dobu, while the Dobuans always passed *Bagi* to their Kiriwina partners—the same object would take several years to travel the full circle and return to the man who had originally sent it. Every movement of the *Kula* valuables was fixed by traditional rules and the end result was to create a vast inter-tribal network of *Kula* exchanges.

In his recent analysis of *Politics of the Kula Ring*, J. P. Singh Uberoi has attempted to analyze the political implications of the *Kula*. He states:

Among the islands of the *kula* ring, the normal limit of the political society is the district, and one *kula* district may consist of a part of a large island, or it may comprise several small ones. Within one district, armed fights sometimes occur between the different villages or islands, but destructive raids of serious violence do not. Through the institution of *kula* partnerships this political society comes to be extended periodically to cover persons of neighbouring districts . . . This degree of political consociation suffices for the important business of inter-district trade to be conducted peaceably under the umbrella of a *kula* expedition (Uberoi 1962: 158).

The *Kula* expeditions have not died out, but continue to be carried out each year, and the *Kula* circle has in fact widened to include some groups who did not participate traditionally but have been enabled to do so by purchasing canoes. The *Kula* and the spread of the Dobuan language were two traditional elements which provided cultural links between the peoples of this electorate even in pre-European times.

During the pre-war years, the missions, particularly the Methodists, were the sole active agent of change in these islands. Administrative impact was minimal and European settlement was insignificant. The D'Entrecasteaux group and Trobriands had been allotted to the Methodist mission by Sir William MacGregor after the annexation of Papua in 1888. Within the Esa'ala Sub-district, as was noted earlier, this mission had a virtual monopoly of education until the early 1950s when the Catholic order of the Sacred Heart of Jesus began to establish schools in the area, and to teach in English whereas previously all teaching had been in Dobuan. One important aspect of the spread of missions was the establishment of village churches run by native lay preachers and catechists, and the setting up of a network of these village churches which held meetings and sent representatives to the District quarterly meetings. This gave the people some opportunities for expressing their views, at least on church matters, and though the Methodist mission has been slow to encourage local responsibility, so that even today its native pastors depend heavily for advice from European supervisors, there is a growing sense of autonomy within these church communities. The existence of this network of Methodist churches and missions was important during the election, as the later discussion of campaigning will show.

Local Government Councils can play a significant role in the political education of villagers, both by teaching them the formal techniques of secret ballot and meeting procedure and by creating a new kind of village official who is primarily responsible to the people, rather than to the

Administration, as was the case with the previous system of appointed officials.

There are no Local Government Councils in the Losuia Sub-district, and there were only two Councils in the Esa'ala Sub-district at the time of the House of Assembly elections, though a third Council was subsequently proclaimed and elections held on Goodenough Island. In the Esa'ala Sub-district, the Dobu Local Government Council was the first to be established in January 1961. It is interesting to note that the president of this Council, Nelson Kainamura, who has been in office now for two sessions, was nominated for the Legislative Council elections in 1961 but failed to obtain any votes. Neither he nor any other Local Government Councillor stood for the House of Assembly elections.

The Dobu Council area includes some 5,758 people of whom 3,280 live in the south-eastern part of Fergusson Island, 1,686 live in the northern part of Normanby Island and 792 live on Dobu Island. A common language, Dobuan, is spoken by some 4,804 people, and 954 others speak Bwakera, a language of the south-western part of Normanby, though even here the Dobuan language is understood and used in religious services and mission schools. Dobuan was the language used by all the Papuan candidates in their campaigning, and they could be understood fairly widely, since those who do not speak it frequently have a 'hearing' knowledge of it.

The second Council in the Esa'ala Sub-district is the Duau Council which was formally opened in April 1963. It covers the main south-eastern sections of Normanby Island and there are approximately 6,000 people in it. The late establishment of this Duau Council was partly due to the poor economic prospects of this region which is unable to raise much cash income. Duau people speak a language called Duau which is related to Edugaura (Dobuan).

Although the Local Government Councils cover only a small portion of the whole electorate, the areas without Councils have not been entirely without experience of formal representation and voting procedures. The Department of Agriculture has encouraged Village Agricultural Committees which have given some training in these responsibilities, although the committees vary considerably in their effectiveness.

The issue of Council taxes has been a long-standing controversy and many people are opposed to Councils on this account. Those who already have Councils complain that it is difficult for them to raise tax money, and their elected representatives have tried to raise the tax without their consent; this experience has made them wary of trusting elected representatives, and has perhaps been a salutary political lesson. The Administration is aware of these problems and has tried to inform Councillors that they are not obliged to obtain any particular tax rate, but since taxes are used for the purchase of Council equipment such as boats, there are subtle pressures, such as the desire for prestige display, for instance of the Council boat, which make it difficult to restrain the eagerness of Councillors to gain tax money. A rumour heard several times was that some villages on Kiriwina were going to boycott the House of Assembly elec-

tions because they believed that they would be forced to have a Local Government Council, and that they would then have to pay £5 tax.

TABLE 1 Enrolled Voters in Council and Non-Council Areas of the Electorate

	Council areas	Non-Council areas
Normanby and Dobu	7032	—
Fergusson Island	2038	5002
Trobriands (Losuia)	—	5887
Goodenough Island	—	5582
Total	9070	16471

NOTE: Bryant (1964(a)) gives an enrolment of 23,846; the above figures which total 25,541 do not include Woodlark Island.

These figures show that over two-thirds of the electorate has had no experience of Local Government Councils. Dobu Council was the only one which had provided even two elections. In non-Council areas it was possible that lack of experience of voting and of the role of an elected representative, weak or divided leadership where leaders had been appointed by the Administration, acute parochialism where there has been no experience of unification, and minuscule personal followings of influential men, could require quite a different style of campaigning.

The Candidates

Originally there was a possibility of seven candidates standing in this Open Electorate. However, Dobini Kwadialai, a government interpreter from Goodenough Island, was disqualified, on account of late nomination. This left six candidates, four Papuans and two Europeans, in the running. The Papuan candidates were Lepani Watson, a Welfare Assistant with the Administration in Port Moresby, but originally from Vakuta Island in the Trobriands, Gowellli Taurega, a government interpreter at Losuia, also from the Trobriands, Wilson Dobunaba, a government clerical assistant at Esa'ala Sub-district Office, originally from Wedau in Milne Bay, and Pologa Leotani Baloiloi, a government interpreter at Esa'ala office, himself a Dobuan. The two Europeans were Jack Wilkinson, a planter and trader from the Sewa Bay area of Normanby Island and Clem Rich (Kelemalisi as he appeared in the ballot) from Nuatutu on Goodenough Island, a planter and trader who had been a pre-war assistant resident magistrate and had been the A.D.O. in Esa'ala Sub-district immediately after the war.

Lepani Watson was born at Vakuta in 1927. By 1940 he had completed Standard 5 when his school was closed by the war, and he joined ANGAU as a *boss boy* in labour lines. In 1941 he transferred to medical training, attended the ANGAU medical school in Port Moresby, and returned to the Trobriands Native Hospital as a clerk. He then became storeman-clerk at the Losuia Sub-district office, and in 1950 trans-

ferred to Port Moresby as a clerk with the Treasury. In 1952-3 he moved back to Native Affairs as a clerk in the District office in Port Moresby, and in 1954 became a Welfare Assistant in that Department, a post he retained until he resigned to contest the election in December 1963. Throughout his career in the Administration, Lepani had been active in social work. Whilst in the Trobriands he had helped start co-operative activity at Vakuta Island. On moving to Port Moresby he began lay-preaching amongst his fellow Methodists, and in 1955 helped found the Methodist Welfare Society and became its active chairman. Earlier he had participated in the work of the Church of England Welfare Association at Koki market. He was active in the committee of the Port Moresby Soccer Association, became president of the Kaugere Parents' and Citizens' Association and a member of the Kila Kila Parents' and Citizens' Association. He announced the Dobuan vernacular programme on the Australian Broadcasting Commission radio station. In 1961 he and his family—wife, son, daughter and nephew who is an adopted son—moved from Kaugere to Hohola housing settlement where he became Welfare Assistant for the settlement. He was appointed to the Territory's Social Service Council, a member of the Girl Guides Council of Papua, and chairman of the Trobriand Islands Community Club in Port Moresby. That year he was also one of the eight foundation members of the New Guinea Workers' Association. Similar appointments continued—member of the Child Welfare Council, adviser to the Hohola Youth Fellowship, member of the Lands Board, trustee of Koki market, chairman of the Trobriand Islands Saving Loan Society. In 1963 the Methodist Overseas Mission provided Lepani and his wife Sarah with a grant for a six months' tour of Australia to observe church and government welfare activities. Sarah has also been active in Port Moresby organizations; she founded the Methodist Women's Club in 1959, is a member of the Central Women's Advance Committee, and president of the Women's Contact Club and of the Hohola Women's Club.

Gowelli Taurega had been born at Losuia station in 1923; both his parents were Methodist lay-preachers, his mother coming from Mulosaida village in the Trobriands, and his father from Suau Island at Samarai. His education with the Oiabia Methodist Mission ended at Standard 5, and he became a cook boy with ANGAU where he learned English and became an interpreter. In 1947 he left Losuia and was an interpreter at Samarai, and then a *boss boy*. In 1960 he returned to Losuia as government interpreter, a post he held at the time of the elections. He had been vice-chairman of the Bromilow Chalmers Society at Samarai, and on returning to Losuia became its leading lay-preacher and chairman of the Losuia Club. His income is supplemented by earnings from his father's land and copra production, and he owns two canoes, and house furniture including a stove and a radio. His wife comes from Oiveiova village at Kiriwina.

Wilson Dobunaba was born at Wamira in the Milne Bay District where his father was a 'big man' of his clan, and his grandfather a famous fighting chief, Tupa Udu, who died in 1919. His eight brothers hold var-

ious skilled and responsible occupations at Wamira, Port Moresby and Lae; one is a law student. Wilson attained Standard 6 at the Wamira Anglican Mission, then was a clerk with Burns Philp at Samarai. At Samarai he belonged to the Samarai Church of England Club which included Papuan and mixed-race members, among them John Guise. In 1942 he became a clerical assistant with ANGAU. From 1943 to 1945 he was stationed at Goodenough Island. When the Sub-district office was transferred to Esa'ala he accompanied it, and since 1945 has been tax collector and clerical assistant at Esa'ala. His wife comes from Asatupi hamlet, Dobu. In 1952 he founded the Esa'ala Club of which he was later president, and became a lay-preacher with the Methodists. His income was supplemented with a small copra holding on his wife's land; he lives in a well-furnished Administration house at Esa'ala and owns a radio.

Pologa Leotani Baloiloi was born in 1926 at Mulisi'ea hamlet, Dobu Island. His father was a trade store assistant from Fergusson Island, and he is a descendant of Banian Baloiloi, the first mission student at Dobu and later a missionary. He reached Standard 5, and in 1945 he became government interpreter at Esa'ala, and held that post until the elections. He also leases some land for copra production. In 1959-62 he acted as a Methodist lay-preacher, and he has been active in the Esa'ala Club and the Parents' and Citizens' Association. In 1963 he toured Australia for two weeks with a group of parliamentary observers. He too lives in an Administration cottage on the station, and owns a canoe.

Of the two European candidates, Clem Rich was born at Kwato Mission in 1905, son of Charles Fry Rich, a missionary for the L.M.S. Educated at Knox College, Sydney, to Intermediate standard, he worked for a time in Sydney before joining the Papuan Administration in 1924, as did his brother. After various postings in the Territory including Samarai, Misima and Mapamoiwa, he was stationed on Goodenough Island during the war, and became Assistant District Officer in the post-war period. He retired in 1948-9, and managed a plantation at Samarai. He subsequently acquired Nuatutu plantation on Goodenough Island under the Soldier Settlement Scheme, and operates the plantation and two trade stores at Nuatutu and Deba. He speaks fluent Suau and Dobuan.

Jack Wilkinson was also a 'B4', that is a pre-war Territorian. Born in Victoria in 1907, he came to Papua in the 1930s, and worked at Misima as a mechanic, miner and medical assistant, and at Daru. In the war he served with the Australian Imperial Force. He has been a planter and trader at Sewa Bay on Normanby Island for four years, and a member of the Milne Bay District Advisory Council. He belongs to the Returned Servicemen's League and to a church society.

It appears that in all cases except Lepani Watson's, the decision to nominate for the House of Assembly was purely a personal one and the candidates did not have organizational backing. Gowell Taurega stated that he had wanted to help his people and had first thought of standing for Local Government Councils, but since these do not exist yet in the Trobriands, he had nominated for the House of Assembly. Pologa Leotani

Baloiloi had been working for the Administration for eighteen years and had recently visited Australia for a two weeks' tour of Canberra. He felt that this experience would enable him to represent his people in the House of Assembly. Wilson Dobunaba also stood because he felt that the people of Esa'ala needed someone closer to their own area, who knew their needs, and he felt that he could represent them. Jack Wilkinson said that he felt that his future lay in Papua, and that since the Special Electorate was too large, and his friend John Stuntz was standing, he had chosen to nominate for the Open Electorate. He did not believe that the Papuans in the area had enough experience yet to represent themselves, and he had worked for the District Advisory Council and felt that he understood the needs of this electorate. He had thought of standing for the Legislative Council in 1961 and has a great interest in local politics. Lepani Watson was in Australia for six months during 1963 and only returned to Papua in August. He was approached to stand for the Esa'ala area by a group of young men working in Port Moresby. At first he was reluctant to nominate, since he believed that Elliott Elijah, a Trobriand Islander well known in the co-operative movement, would probably nominate. When he learned that Elliott Elijah had decided against nominating, and was again approached by the members of the Methodist Welfare Society from Esa'ala to become their representative, he finally agreed in October, and they set up a campaign committee which will be described later.

The Papuan candidates were men in their middle thirties and early forties, the two Europeans were into their late fifties. Educationally the four Papuans had a similar background, all had been mission educated in the pre-war years and had reached Standard 5. They had gained their knowledge of English through working for the Administration and through war-time experiences with ANGAU. The two European candidates had been educated to secondary level in Australia. Clem Rich had spent his boyhood years in Papua, and was fluent in several Papuan languages including Dobuan. The Papuans were all Methodists, and they all engaged in lay-preaching. The two Europeans were not Methodists, Wilkinson being an Anglican and Clem Rich a Congregationalist.

On the traditional side, Lepani Watson came from a high-ranking clan in the Trobriands. His father, Upawapa Watison, is still the chief of Vakuta Island and belongs to the Tomalasi Tabalu or highest ranking clan in the Trobriands. Since the Trobriands are a matrilineal society, Lepani would not succeed his father traditionally but he comes of the Lokwasisiga-Toliwaga or second highest clan. Through his father, he was introduced into *Kula* trading activities as a boy and has links with a series of trading partners with whom his father exchanges the *Kula* valuables, *Bagi* and *Mwali*. These partners are distributed mainly on Normanby Island, Dobu and the south-eastern portion of Fergusson Island, as well as in the Woodlark Islands. Gowellli Taurega's maternal clan is the same as Lepani's but his father was from Samarai. He has no traditional *Kula* connections. Wilson Dobunaba, as a man from the Wedau area, is only a Dobuan by marriage. However, the Dobuans do not recog-

nize the husband of a Dobuan woman as one of themselves if he comes from another area, and they apply a term *Sugalagala* to such a person, which marks him as a stranger. Leotani Baloiloi on the other hand is a true Dobuan, and he has *Kula* links with partners in the Trobriands, Amphletts and the Duau side of Normanby Island. The European candidates had both married local Papuans, although Jack Wilkinson's wife is originally from Samarai District. Otherwise, they had no traditional ties.

All four Papuans were limited by their educational background to semi-skilled clerical or other positions, and none has ever been a high salary earner. The decision to stand for election imposed a considerable financial burden on all these candidates. On the whole, their employment by the Administration in the capacity of interpreters or clerks in Sub-district offices was not likely to gain them great popularity, though they might be widely known in their Sub-districts. Lepani Watson's long absence in Port Moresby puts him into a somewhat different category. His welfare position and his activities in so many organizations gave him opportunities for gaining experience on the one hand, and also being in contact with a very diverse group from the East Papuan area. His impressive organizational career was only possible in Port Moresby, where such organizations can exist. At the same time, Lepani Watson himself seemed to have a flair for this sort of work. In an interview, he spoke of his organizational experience thus:

The kind of work I do: there is a housing settlement [Hohola] and they post me there to work with the people. I do case work and running various organizations such as Progress Associations and Women's Clubs . . . Before that I never had any special study for running organizations but I myself spent most of the time joining various organizations and learning from there . . . First when I went to Port Moresby I just learned out of seeing various organizations what they were doing. In 1955, the first club I started myself, the welfare society called Methodist Welfare Society . . .

The first organization I was interested in was the Church of England Welfare centre at Koki—I was interested in it in 1951. I did not join it—I just used to go there and see how they organize their activities. After this one, I felt it in my own interest to start off the Methodist Welfare Society. I gathered all the Methodist District representatives who were working in Port Moresby, to discuss the idea of forming a Methodist Welfare Society. This was the first organization of its kind formed by Papuans and New Guineans—the idea was my own, but as soon as I put it through, other representative leaders of the District agreed it's a good idea to form this society. The main purpose of this society was—we look to the people who left their homes and came to work in Port Moresby. The Methodist group, they have no place to meet together to learn each other. We thought it may create more problems in the future. We began to think if we have a society and get a piece of land to build a hall, we can bring our people under control with church functions and other social activities.

In the first committee of the Methodist Welfare Society, representatives of various Methodist areas of Papua and New Guinea took part.

Sampson Topatili was a strong leader at that time. He was vice-president, the time I was president myself. From Papuan district representatives there was Inosi who already died, from Esa'ala. A secretary from Misima Sub-district, Gumia Gite. The constitution lays down that every year the executive committee be changed, but I did not change myself [Lepani Watson is still president]. Elections are held at an annual meeting. Jose Taleyá [Lepani's campaign director during the elections] was treasurer. The committees represent the islands like Normanby Island, Goodenough Island, the Trobriands—they have representatives in the committee. And at the same time they have representative District Collectors. They collect finance from their own district, they meet their own district. We had a New Ireland representative called Levi.

In the beginning we didn't make very much activities because we make more activities on how to raise money to build a hall, but after the building been built we had various other activities such as parties and Sunday Church services. It took us from 1955 till 1957 we started building. The voluntary labour was organized by the executive committee which asked the representatives of the districts to bring their people who had experience in carpentry, plumbers, etc. The ones without experience come as other labour to work afternoons and weekends. Membership to start with was about 200—it is still increasing. The district representatives have a separate meeting with executive and whatever is planned is taken to district meeting in Moresby. District meetings occur monthly and executive meets quarterly, also any time business arises. So it is the District committee representatives who recruit new members.

We find very interesting that way because of a different language group of all the districts and we meet together in Port Moresby and it's hard for one to control them, so we give opportunity their representatives playing their part through the main body and then back to the District committee. The most active district is Esa'ala Sub-district. It is the largest group and more representatives there. The New Guinea people play their part too, but not quite as actively.

The organization does not function in the Districts themselves because the Church has its own District Synod active in the districts and only in Moresby itself does the society operate. We wanted to put branches in the main centres, Lae, Madang, etc. where Methodists work, but we find the District Synod does not agree with the idea because they're trying to establish United church in every town.

After Methodist Welfare Society is growing, in 1961 the District Synod and Mission board in Australia agreed to give us a minister to act as adviser. Now the minister comes to all meetings, this minister was sent for the Papuans but sometimes he helps out with the United church and works with Methodist Europeans too.

This statement on the founding and organization of the Methodist Welfare Society contains several important clues to Lepani Watson's campaign organization which will be dealt with in the next section. It shows how the Papuan Methodist group in Port Moresby developed their own society along lines very close to the model of Methodist synod organization. This essentially democratic structure in which area representation is given and opportunities are given for each region to have its own

voice was, in its way, a political training ground, even though the organization is essentially for religious and welfare activities. The organization itself helped to forge links between Papuan Methodists from all over the Territory and in this way also played a political role, by breaking down the regional insularity of its members. Even the methods of collecting finance within this society were later to provide a useful model during the campaign period, when Lepani Watson was given financial assistance by these Methodist members in Port Moresby, without which he would have been unable to conduct his campaign at the same level.

The paucity of organizations at the District level affected the Europeans as well as the Papuan candidates. Jack Wilkinson, who was interested in political activity, could only find the District Advisory Council and R.S.L. as outlets for his interests. The Papuan candidates standing from the Sub-district offices were even more restricted, since their government service and life on the somewhat isolated government stations gave them few opportunities for participation in the local affairs of their surrounding villages. Their contacts with the people would be mainly in the course of duty, such as tax collection or interpreting during court hearings. They could expect support from people on the government stations, and from the communities to which they were related. How far kinship and affinal ties could be relied upon in the House of Assembly elections cannot of course be established. One candidate's own kin were openly supporting another candidate, but it would be difficult to generalize from this particular case. In areas where the people did not fully understand the significance of the recent elections, and where they might have thought it was compulsory to vote, they may have given their support to a 'government man' if he visited them on the election campaign, but it is impossible to say how many voters would act in this manner. The detailed discussion of the actual campaigns throws some light on these issues.

The Campaign

The Esa'ala-Losuia electorate, being composed of five main islands and several smaller groups, presented considerable difficulties to candidates who wished to campaign actively among the people. The population on the larger islands of the D'Entrecasteaux group are hamlet dwellers and they tend to be thinly distributed along the coasts. The mountain people on Normanby and Fergusson Islands are without proper access roads, and it takes many hours of strenuous walking to reach their small settlements. A candidate who wished to tour this electorate within a reasonable time would require a reliable motor vessel as well as the physical stamina to walk around islands which have extremely rugged terrain.

These physical limitations to campaigning had a marked effect upon the actual areas of the electorate which candidates were able to canvass. The Administration did not assist the candidates to move about the electorate, and they were forced to obtain their own means of transport as best they could. This was of course more of a handicap to Papuan candidates than to the two Europeans, who owned motor vessels. On the

whole, campaigning was carried on in the more densely settled areas, particularly in the Esa'ala Sub-district. These included the areas immediately adjacent to Esa'ala itself (such as Dobu Island and south-east Fergusson Island) and Mapamoiwa which was the pre-war Sub-district headquarters and still has a government hospital and school. Some portions of the electorate were completely neglected by all the candidates, for instance the northern parts of Fergusson Island, the Amphletts and the Woodlark Islands. Even the more accessible areas were visited by only one or two candidates in many instances, and this fact in itself has an important bearing upon the final results of polling, since the people were very eager to hear candidates speak before they made their final decision on whom to support.

Until the creation of Esa'ala-Losuia as a separate electorate in 1963, its island constituents had never previously formed a single unit, either politically or administratively. Each island of the region had its separate languages, and the Trobriands with their more developed system of chiefs was the only area in which clusters of villages formed wider units. Cutting across the islands traditionally were the *Kula* trading links, and since contact the missions and Administration have brought some regional unity at least within each Sub-district, but the main islands which constituted this new electorate lacked wider organizational links of a well-defined character.

Within the Esa'ala Sub-district the recently developed system of Local Government Councils had given two areas the rudiments of wider political organization, but they have hardly begun to achieve a broader regional consciousness even at the Sub-district level. It is probably only a small minority as yet who feel conscious of themselves as 'East Papuans' rather than as Dobuans or Morima or Goodenough Islanders.

This fragmentation of the islands into discrete units was the most difficult problem facing all the candidates in the 1964 election. Each of them might be closely associated with one area, but their task was to gain supporters from parts of the electorate which lay outside their home region, if they wanted to obtain a working majority. One means of achieving this was to work closely with the existing organizations within the electorate which did provide a wider organizational framework, namely the Councils, the church communities and the traditional links.

While Lepani Watson laboured under the disadvantage of having been absent from his home district for thirteen years, he did possess organizational links of just such a kind as other candidates lacked. During his absence in Port Moresby, he had actively built up a reputation as a leader among workers of the Methodist faith in Port Moresby and among East Papuans generally. The Methodist Welfare Society of which he was president had men from both Esa'ala and Losuia Sub-districts among its most active supporters. Over the years since 1955 news of this welfare organization had reached the home islands of its members, who would tell of the assistance they had received through it. Thus his activities within the Methodist Welfare Society provided a core of supporters from many parts of the electorate. Furthermore, among the young men who be-

longed to the society were many whose fathers and kin were influential within the district—there were the sons and nephews of Local Government Councillors, pastors and other local officials. When these young men became formally organized into a campaign committee in November, they provided Lepani Watson with a type of organizational support which none of the other candidates possessed.

The idea of forming the campaign committee had developed through consultation with European friends in Port Moresby. The members of the campaign committee included men from the principal islands of the electorate. The campaign director was Jose Taleya, a printer with the *South Pacific Post* who came from near Salamo on south-east Fergusson Island, and the campaign treasurer was Timperley Banobano, a government school teacher. The members of the committee held a variety of jobs; some were clerks, others in the Forestry Department, one was a medical student and two were unskilled workers—a house servant and a labourer.

On 1 January 1964 the campaign committee organized a meeting at the Methodist Welfare Hall in Port Moresby which was attended by over two hundred men from the Esa'ala-Losuia electorate working in Port Moresby. Jose Taleya explained to them the purposes of the campaign committee and how they could assist Lepani Watson by voluntary donations and by writing letters back to their home communities. After they had heard the election policy speech, members of this audience agreed to collect funds, initially by a levy of £10 per island. Among the expenses to be met were the costs of five hundred printed election pamphlets (in Dobuan), the return air fare for the candidate to Esa'ala and his expenses while campaigning in the area. When Lepani Watson himself left Port Moresby, the members of the campaign committee continued their work of collecting cash donations and they sent over thirty letters back to the electorate.

Just as mission workers were unofficially assisting this candidate, many Local Government Councillors were favourably disposed towards him in the two regions where Councils had been established. Before Lepani Watson made any direct approach to the people of an area, he always first attempted to meet Local Government Councillors and hold some informal discussions with them to obtain their comments on his policies. A Local Government Councillor was generally sought to chair the election meeting, and meetings were not held until the Councillors had given their permission. This deliberate effort to recognize the authority of these locally elected spokesmen was probably a sound campaign tactic. It had the added advantage that whereas this candidate was unable to visit every area in person a Councillor might have been present at one of the election meetings and would be able to report back to his people.

Thus Lepani Watson's campaign organization was more formal and more deliberate in its attempt to work through the existing organizational structure within this electorate. From a financial view alone, a campaign committee was a considerable asset, though Gowelli Taurega may also have gained some assistance from a canteen club at Losuia the members

of which were supposed to have helped to pay for his nomination. All the Papuan candidates must have found the election period quite a financial burden since they ceased to earn income, in some instances for as long as four months, while awaiting the election results.

The difficulties all the candidates had to face in campaigning in this electorate have already been discussed. Although campaigning proved to have considerable influence upon the voters who heard and saw candidates, a large proportion of this electorate saw no direct campaigning by any candidate, and had to rely instead upon pamphlets, letters, and upon stories and rumours brought back to them by people who had attended meetings. Even the traditional *Kula* voyages, which happened to coincide with the election time, became a means of passing on news about the candidates and what they were saying. For example it was reported that a *Kula* canoe from Dobu had sailed to a part of north-eastern Normanby Island which had not been visited by any candidate, and the men aboard had canvassed support for Lepani Watson. This kind of indirect campaigning obviously must have had influence, but just how extensive it was one can only guess. On the other hand, we are on firmer ground when we consider the areas which were directly visited and can assess the extent of direct campaigning by each candidate. Information on Lepani Watson's campaign is most complete because it was observed directly.

By the time Lepani arrived at Esa'ala he had already held two election meetings, the first in Port Moresby mentioned above and another at Samarai on 5 January. He left both places feeling fairly confident of support, and since no other candidate was able to visit either place, this feeling was probably justified. At Esa'ala on 7 January he learned that the Dobu Local Government Council president and vice-president had been expecting his arrival several days earlier, and the people had in fact assembled at Dobu for a meeting. However, Lepani had been delayed in getting from Samarai to Esa'ala through lack of transport, and the Council president had meanwhile returned home. This meant that a new date had to be set for the opening of the campaign at Dobu Island.

Dobu had been deliberately selected for the campaign opening, because it was the place where Europeans had first landed and where the first Methodist Mission had been started by Dr W. E. Bromilow in 1891. After the Dobu meeting, which was attended by a large crowd of 329 people on 10 January, Lepani Watson campaigned continuously until 14 February, the last day before polling began. Only Sundays were free of election meetings, and then on a few occasions he managed to preach a sermon to the local congregation, although he stringently avoided using these occasions for political purposes. A full list of these election meetings is given in Table 2.

As the table shows, Lepani concentrated his election campaign mainly upon the two Council areas in the Esa'ala Sub-district. He addressed almost a third of the total enrolled voting population within the Council areas. The large numbers present at some of these meetings are due to the attendance of people of more distant hamlets, in some cases

TABLE 2 Lepani Watson's campaign meetings

Meetings held in Council areas			Meetings held in non-Council areas		
<i>Dobu Council</i>			<i>Fergusson Island</i>		
		Attendance			Attendance
10/1/64	Dobu Island	329	22/1/64	Faia'ana	154
14/1/64	Sawaedi	80	23/1/64	Ailuluai	168
15/1/64	Numanuma	133	12/2/64	Kalokalo	106
16/1/64	Bwaiowa	198	<i>Goodenough Island</i>		
17/1/64	Gomwa	282	23/1/64	Wailagi Mission	47
18/1/64	Salamo Mission	98	24/1/64	Bwaidoga	38
20/1/64	Si'iligu	80	<i>Trobriands (Losuia Sub-dist.)</i>		
21/1/64	Nade	120	13/2/64	Losuia	109
5/2/64	Koruwea	50	14/2/64	Vakuta Island	160
5/2/64	Bwākera	116			
7/2/64	Esa'ala Station	97			
<i>Duau Council</i>					
25/1/64	Bwaruada	50			
27/1/64	Séhulea	223			
28/1/64	Somwadina	80			
29/1/64	Biawa	163			
30/1/64	Kumarau	50			
31/1/64	Kasikasi	133			
1/2/64	Gudumuri	80			
1/2/64	Bunama	166			
3/2/64	Barabara	97			
3/2/64	Kurada	167			
4/2/64	Sewa Bay	109			
Total attendance: 2,901 adults in Council areas; 782 adults in non-Council areas.					

at least half a day's walk away. Since the meetings were arranged a day or so in advance, people had sufficient notice to be able to leave their gardens. On the actual meeting date, the starting time was always left fairly flexible to allow for later arrivals; if the conch shells were blown at 8 a.m. then the meeting might begin at 10 a.m. or thereabouts.

The concentration of this election campaign on the two Council areas was by deliberate choice, although transport factors played a part in determining the actual itinerary. There were three other candidates standing within this part of the electorate—Wilson Dobunaba, Pologa Leotani Baloiloi and Jack Wilkinson—so by intensive campaigning Lepani Watson hoped to win over voters who might otherwise have split their support between these candidates. At the same time the Council areas of the Esa'ala Sub-district were probably the strongest Methodist areas, since they were in the vicinity of the pioneering mission stations (Salamo is the residence of the chairman of the Papuan District Synod), so that Lepani Watson could consolidate his links with Methodists of this area. Finally, there were in this part of Normanby and Fergusson Island numerous centres in which *Kula* partners of old Upawapa Watson

were still living, and they were ready to rally support for Lepani. He had visited the Dobu area as a boy, and was still remembered. The route which the campaign took follows these *Kula* partnerships to some extent, and in some meetings men spoke and specifically mentioned the *Kula* and Lepani Watson's association through his father. Since he has not himself been active in *Kula* trading for so many years (his deceased brother having been more active), it was a somewhat indirect link with these areas, and its importance should not be over-stressed, but it undoubtedly helped when coupled with Methodist support on the one hand, and that of Local Government Councillors on the other.

His itinerary was of course subject to the vagaries of transport and could not be carefully mapped out in advance. The missions helped with boats when they were available, but they did not make a boat specially available, so that the only way Lepani Watson managed to visit Good-enough Island was by chartering the Dobu Local Government Council boat, the *Sans*. When his intensive walking tour around Normanby Island was completed, he returned to Esa'ala and was preparing to return to Port Moresby, since no further transport within the electorate was forthcoming, when, by pure chance, a mission vessel, the *Koonawara*, left Salamo for the Trobriands to deliver cargo. This enabled Lepani to reach Losuia, and call in briefly at Kalo Kalo. He had gone to Losuia also before Christmas with a soccer team from Port Moresby, but there had been no real opportunities for campaigning. Through this trip, he was able to hold two meetings, the last at Vakuta Island on 14 February. He ceased then, under the impression that it was illegal to continue further campaigning after polling day. Possibly he would have improved his returns in the Trobriands if he had continued, since many voters later supported Gowell Taurega instead.

Within the Esa'ala Sub-district, Jack Wilkinson was probably the most conscientious campaigner between December and early January. He had printed elections leaflets in Dobuan, which said rather bluntly:

I think it is too soon yet for any of your people to go into the House of Assembly. You are all just learning about Local Government Councils. When you know all about them and can run your own councils, then you can think about the House of Assembly. Next elections you will understand things better. This time I will represent you . . . if you all vote for me.

He held a number of meetings in the Sewa Bay area in December, at which he addressed the people through interpreters. Later he relied more upon indirect approaches, such as talking to local pastors and Councillors and asking them to speak to the people, or sending around a large 'How to Vote' chart. However, the people in this part of Normanby Island were already receiving letters with news of Lepani Watson from their kinsmen in Port Moresby and some of the local church leaders were eagerly awaiting his arrival. Wilkinson's need to rely upon interpreters was also a handicap to his campaigning, and may account for his greater reliance later upon the printed handouts which were in the vernacular.

Jack Wilkinson seems to have confined his campaigning mainly to Normanby Island and portions of Fergusson Island, and there were no reports of his visiting either Goodenough Island (where the other European candidate Clem Rich was located) or Losuia.

The two Papuan candidates standing from the Esa'ala Sub-district office were slow to begin campaigning; neither had yet held any meeting when Lepani Watson arrived on 7 January. Wilson Dobunaba campaigned more extensively than Leotani Baloiloi. He began walking around the south-east coast of Fergusson Island in early January and got as far as Mapamoiwa. He managed brief visits later to the Sehulea Patrol Post on north-east Normanby Island but did not follow around that coast, and in early February he paid a brief visit to Goodenough Island and held meetings at Bwaidoga. Wilson Dobunaba was aware that he was handicapped by being born outside this Sub-district (he came from Wedau) and this probably accounts for his more conscientious campaigning. In the early stages, Wilson Dobunaba and Lepani Watson on several occasions landed in the same place, and even had to share the same rest-house overnight. These meetings were accompanied by much bantering, but beneath the surface one could detect undertones of the struggle that was going on.

Pologa Leotani Baloiloi, the government interpreter from Esa'ala, started campaigning later than the other candidates, but he began with a meeting at Dobu Island, his home area. Later he visited places along the southern coast of Fergusson Island and went as far as Mapamoiwa. He did not go over to Goodenough Island, but campaigned mainly in the areas near Esa'ala. He stated that he did not consider campaigning so necessary, since he was already widely known to people through his patrolling work.

Originally there had been two candidates standing from the Goodenough Island area. Dobini Kwadialai, the government interpreter, and Clem Rich. Dobini's nomination was not accepted on account of late filing, but he did some campaigning early in January before he became aware that he was not eligible to stand. He had held meetings at Kalimatabutabu on Goodenough Island, where he was said to have many supporters, and had been campaigning on the same day that Lepani Watson spoke at Bwaidoga. He had also been over to Kalo Kalo on north-west Fergusson Island, and he appears to have been the only candidate who visited some groups further north. When Lepani Watson later visited Kalo Kalo, the people expressed disappointment at not being able to vote for Dobini, and probably some of those who supported Lepani Watson from this area would not have done so if their own man had still been a candidate.

Clem Rich sent some Papuan supporters to canvass on his behalf around Goodenough Island, and also along the coast of Fergusson Island, particularly between Mapamoiwa and Ailuluai. He also sent a part-Kiriwinan over to the Trobriands to campaign for him there, but he does not appear to have done any campaigning in the Dobu or Duau Council areas. A roneoed sheet was distributed, and this appears to have been

the only form of election propaganda which he sent to those islands. However, it was reported that he continued his campaigning on Goodenough Island after polling began and moved ahead of the polling teams. Since no other candidates had done any extensive canvassing on Goodenough Island, this would have done much to consolidate support for him.

Just as the Esa'ala Sub-district candidates had mainly campaigned in their home areas, so also the Trobriand Island interpreter, Gowell Taurega, confined himself to his own portion of the electorate. He thought he ought to have shown himself to people at Esa'ala, which he knew little of, but he had no transport. During January he had held eight meetings, mainly on the northern Kiriwina mainland, starting with his maternal village of Mulaseida and working up the north coast.

From this brief account, it can be seen that most campaigning was carried on in the vicinity of Esa'ala and nearby areas of Normanby, Dobu and south-east Fergusson Island. Several candidates paid brief visits to Mapamoiwa, the government hospital station. The Duau Council side of Normanby Island was most intensively covered by Lepani Watson, with Jack Wilkinson also distributing election propaganda. Goodenough Island was mainly canvassed by Clem Rich's supporters, with a brief visit by Lepani Watson and later Wilson Dobunaba. And in the Losuia Sub-district only Gowell Taurega campaigned extensively on the Kiriwina mainland, while Lepani Watson paid a brief visit there in February and Clem Rich had sent around a man to gain him supporters. Many island areas such as the Woodlarks, Amphletts, Sanaroa and the north coasts of Normanby saw none of the candidates, but some indirect news of the elections probably reached them, through letters and through reports from boat travellers and the *Kula* canoes.

We may now consider a typical campaign meeting—the meeting at Dobu Island on 10 January which was the opening to Lepani Watson's campaign. This meeting had been arranged with the local Councillor a few days previously, since the Council president who was originally to attend had returned home. The meeting was supposed to start at 11 a.m. Lepani Watson waited in a visitor's rest-house, belonging to a local pastor with whom he was staying, while the crowd was assembling at a meeting ground close to the water's edge. Men sat on one side and women on the other, squatting on the ground, while the official party was to sit on chairs at a table covered with a cloth. At 12.15 everyone had arrived and the official party consisting of the candidate, the chairman, a Local Government Councillor and a local pastor sat on the chairs. The pastor stood to recite a prayer as a formal opening and a hymn was sung. Then the chairman introduced the speaker, and urged people to listen carefully to his policies so that they could ask questions. Lepani Watson addressed the crowd for 45 minutes, in a speech that gradually became more animated and oratorical, and held their attention. At the end there was a murmur of approval from the crowd, and after a short pause the chairman handed out some sticks of tobacco which the candidate had given him, whilst reminding the crowd that this was purely customary and not meant as a bribe. Since it was getting late, only three people from the

audience spoke, after which the chairman adjourned the meeting for a luncheon break. The candidate was entertained to a well served meal in a visitor's rest-house, served in full European style with table cloth, cutlery, good quality china plates and teacups. The meal of chicken, yams and then cake and tea was only eaten by the visitors while the hosts themselves waited, as was the custom. Then at 3 p.m. the large crowd had again assembled and the discussion and question time now continued until 4.30. At this meeting, as at many others, there were very long pauses and silences between speakers, as people were either shy about speaking publicly, or thinking out their questions. The chairman waited patiently, and no attempt was made to hurry speakers or to terminate the meeting. Some very significant speeches were made on this occasion by members of the audience, and some of the points they raised are discussed below.

As at Dobu, most other campaign meetings were held in the open air, usually in the main hamlet of a barrack, that is the one which has the government rest-house and after which the barracks are named. On several occasions, evening meetings were held in churches, or other village meeting places. Always the official party sat at a table, and formal meeting procedures were observed. The opening and closing of election meetings with hymns or prayers was also a standard practice. In a mixed Catholic and Methodist audience a Methodist hymn opened the proceedings, while the Catholics sang a Christmas carol at the end, and Catholic Councillors crossed themselves. The behaviour of audiences at these election meetings was reminiscent of their behaviour in church on Sundays. They usually came dressed in their best clothes, or women wore their best grass skirts, and during the speeches people refrained from talking, betel chewing or even smoking. When one considers the length of some of these meetings, the audiences were remarkably decorous.

While men and women always sat apart, the women seemed very interested in the meetings and they did speak at some of them. However, only ten women speakers were recorded during thirty-three election meetings, and these were usually women with some local office—club president, lay preacher, teacher, or the pastor's wife. The men who spoke at these election meetings were more frequently people with some local position in village affairs or the local church, but some ordinary villagers also spoke. Again, the majority of speakers and questioners were mature adults and only a small number of young men spoke. Where they did, they were usually in some position of responsibility. Table 3 shows the occupations of those who spoke at meetings.

During the long pauses which interspersed most discussion and question times, the members of the crowd were quietly communicating with each other, and seemed to be deciding who should speak, or what should be said. When a speaker got up, he was making a public utterance, and his words were meant to reflect the feelings of the whole audience and not just his own personal opinions. In no meeting was there any open disagreement between speakers from the audience, although of course many questioned the candidate's speech or sought further reassurance on matters which were still tinged with doubts. Powell makes the point that adult

TABLE 3 Occupations of Those Who Spoke at 33 Campaign Meetings

Position in village	Males	Females	Total
Elected village officials (Councillor, Agricultural Committee or Women's Club)	27	3	30
Appointed village officials (Constable, Councillor or wife of appointed official)	6	1	7
Local pastors, deacons, lay-preachers, pastor-teachers (or their wives)	22	2	24
Clan elders	2	—	2
Teachers	4	—	4
Trade storemen	3	—	3
Co-operative chairmen	3	—	3
Artisans (carpenters, boat crews, aid post orderly)	5	—	5
Ordinary villagers without official position	31	4	35

males in the Trobriands discuss all matters of public interest in more or less formal meetings, and 'Every effort is normally made to achieve unanimous agreement by compromise on all issues of public interest' (Powell 1960: 132). The audience solidarity, which was marked in some meetings recorded, seems to be reflected in the prevailing tendencies to block voting. Once a 'community' decision had been taken, then most people abided by it in the secret ballot. This same trend was observed by government officers at the 1962 Local Government Council elections when the people showed no hesitation in nominating Councillors, since unofficial 'pre-selection' meetings had already been held.

So far we have discussed campaign organization and the extent of campaigning by the candidates, but it is equally important to know what sort of impression candidates made on their audiences and what sort of leadership-image they fostered. When a man addresses an audience, their reactions to him may be based upon a variety of impressions—how he speaks, how he dresses, his appearance, his *rapport* with them, and of course what he actually says. He may be judged not merely at the meeting, but also in informal contacts with the villagers. Here the difficulties confronting a European candidate in the Open Electorate are marked. Can he ever approach the people in anything but a 'Dim Dim' fashion?* Can the European adopt the unhurried manner or patience of those who are prepared to wait, perhaps ten minutes, for someone to speak at the meeting? Can he fit into the leisurely style of the village talks which go

* The expression 'Dim Dim' is applied to all white people by the East Papuans. It seems to have originated from a Tube Tube Neo-Melanesian word which originally meant English; see Bromilow 1929: 174. It now has connotations of fear and uneasiness, as the Europeans mostly remain quite alien to the villagers.

on endlessly, or has he the capacity to sit, cross-legged on mats, smoking, chewing betel nut and talking well into the night hours?

The most striking aspect of Lepani Watson's election campaigning was his thorough identification with the older generation of villagers. He dressed, walked, and acted like one of them. He wore a traditional blue *sulu*, only acknowledging the special nature of election meetings by wearing white shirt and tie with the traditional *rami* cloth, and generally walking barefooted. This appearance surprised many of the villagers who had expected to see a man much Westernized and sophisticated, after living thirteen years in Port Moresby and having lived a life so different from their own. He had travelled to Australia, he had met the Queen, he had an important job in Port Moresby, he was a 'big man' in the Methodist circles in Port Moresby, yet when he arrived in their villages he looked no different from themselves, and the surprise they felt was expressed at several meetings when he would be asked why a man like himself had come to them, barefooted as a poor villager. The reply was, 'While you remain poor, I'll be a poor man too . . . I don't want to be more important than my people'. When they could all afford shoes and European clothing, then he too would wear them, but till that day he was waiting for his people 'to grow' and he would grow with them.

When he entered the villages, he was friendly and disarming, always approachable, and this too surprised the people. They had expected him to behave like a 'Dim Dim', and be more authoritarian. He confessed that at one time he had even acted in this way, when as a young man he had been a clerk at Losuia and scolded some villagers who came with betel nut into the office. 'At the time I was working for the government and I thought that was how I was supposed to act.' But now it was different, he was coming as 'the servant and messenger for the people of this electorate, not their boss'. Much time was spent in the villages, greeting people with the warm welcome handshake and *Kagatoki*, so characteristic of the Esa'ala Sub-district. Sometimes the people were ready with a welcome of their own, as in the Sewa Bay area, where Jack Wilkinson was standing; two long rows of schoolchildren lined the shore as Lepani's boat approached and sang him a welcoming song in English, after which they all shook hands.

But the traditionalist and villager was only one side of this candidate, for he was also a man who had worked for many years with Europeans and understood their ways and the mysteries of the administrative machine. He could show them how to manipulate the machinery to achieve results. These things had been learned in the organizations for which he had worked. He would describe how one had to steadily ascend the rungs of authority, in pursuing an objective. It was useless to become afraid and give up after the first refusal. Instead, he had found from experience that matters should be referred to higher authorities, even if it meant His Honour the Administrator, or the Minister in Canberra, if the issue were important enough. His experience would help him to struggle on their behalf, and to stand up to the 'Dim Dim's' volley of words without becoming frightened.

Lepani Watson's other consistent theme was his role as a practising Christian, a Methodist first, but a believer that all men were one in God's sight. It was as a Christian that he recognized his duty towards all people of the electorate, and not merely those of his own region. He would not show favouritism or create divisions between people, he was going to help to unify them. While he did not acknowledge that he was following in his father's line and trying to become a chief ('if I wanted to become a chief, I would not be here') he did stress that he had an established following, that his decision to nominate had not been purely personal, but that he had been asked to stand by men who would continue to support him.

The image of the strong, but non-authoritarian, leader was conveyed, not only in statements, but also in his style of speaking. His short, slender physical build is deceptive, and as a public speaker he has a loud, resounding voice which can be clearly heard, and which becomes rousing and eloquent, and holds the audience's rapt attention. This quality has been helped by years of preaching and public speaking, and he knows how to fit his words to particular audiences.

In many ways, the image which Lepani Watson projected to his audiences fitted in well with their own expectations of the sort of candidate whom they felt to be desirable.

Unfortunately, the writer does not possess data which would permit as detailed an analysis of other candidates. However, brief observations can be made. Wilson Dobunaba (the only other candidate observed directly) appeared before the people, neatly dressed in shorts, and Administration-style clothing. He arranged meetings himself and chaired them, but later altered this and began to invite local Councillors to chair his meetings. He was quiet spoken, earnest and lacked the wit and ability to play to the crowd which Lepani Watson had displayed. Wilson tried to stress his religious role as lay-preacher, and spoke of himself as 'the workman of God'. He was also very concerned to show people that he was not an outsider, and though he came originally from Wedau, all his thoughts were now with people of this Esa'ala area.

Pologa Leotani Baloiloi was a Dobuan and made much of this fact, telling people at Dobu that they should vote for him rather than for foreigners. He also stressed his experience of government through his work as interpreter and also his trip to Australia and visit to Parliament, which gave him special knowledge of the legislature; he alone among the candidates had this experience.

Jack Wilkinson stressed his long association with Normanby Island and its people. He also urged the Normanby Islanders not to elect a 'foreigner', a man from Kiriwina, or Goodenough Island, or some other part of the electorate who would ignore them.

There were considerable differences between the six candidates' formulation of explicit policy statements. One or two of the Papuans were extremely vague and one felt they had not really thought out a clear policy at all. At the same time, the Papuans, with the exception of Lepani Watson, tended to think exclusively in terms of the problems of their own

immediate region of the electorate, and they had little idea of what was required in some other part. Lepani Watson's policy statement had obviously been influenced by a group of Papuan leaders in Port Moresby, including John Guise, and his typed policy statement was in many respects identical with one used by the latter. However, in practice, at the election meetings, he did not confine himself to this document alone, but used it mainly as a guide to basic policy areas.

In the following analysis basic policy themes are extracted not from this written document but from the statements which Lepani made both during his speeches and in replies to questions. This should reveal the political thinking of this candidate more clearly than an examination of the written policy statements which were a product of joint effort by several men. The most striking contrast between Lepani Watson and the other Papuan candidates was his ability to think on a wider scale, and to consider certain problems from a territory-wide point of view. This was undoubtedly the result of years spent in Port Moresby where he could be exposed to the currents of political thought in Papua, to a degree that was quite impossible for anyone who remained in his own district.

Lepani Watson had eight basic policies:

1. *National unity based on Christian principles:* Christianity and Democracy, both introduced by Australians to the Papuan people, are regarded as the only basis for national unity by Lepani Watson. He sees a situation of division without this common element of belief, where people would remain divided into many clans, language groups and regional cultures. He stresses that all are one in the sight of God, and that God recognizes no distinctions. Because Papua-New Guinea societies have always been divided, the very first goal must be the goal of achieving unity, otherwise when independence eventually comes the people will refer back to their old tribal divisions and there will be no prospect of achieving the better life which people are seeking. While his policy is based upon Christian principles, he sees that Catholics and Methodists serve the one God, and that narrow sectarian views can also threaten unity, so he advocates a policy of 'Freedom of worship'. Denominational differences must not be allowed to lead to political disunity, and he frequently warns the people not to carry their religious differences into village or community affairs. In Australia, he has seen many examples of inter-church co-operation which show that this can be achieved.

2. *People must help themselves:* Before people ask the government for assistance, they must show that they are prepared to help themselves. The central government controls the revenue, and most of this money still comes from Australia, so there is no use in just demanding help. The people must first build a foundation for themselves, through their local government taxes and co-operative societies, and then they have a strong case to ask for assistance, and to demand a fair share of government revenue for their district.

3. *Leadership and authority must be based upon mutual agreement and consultation with the people:* In rural areas, development should never be forced upon people. For too long there has been too much authoritarianism not only by Europeans but also by Papuan representatives of the Administration. This has made the people afraid, and they do not recognize that what is being advocated can help them. The people must be consulted, and this can be achieved through their existing representative organizations such as the Local Government Councils and village agricultural committees. Whoever is elected to represent the area must work very closely with these organizations which can express the views of the local people.

4. *There must be development of the total community so that economic, social and political development go at the same pace and do not lag behind one another:* While a considerable part of Lepani's policies is devoted to the problems of economic development and the need for a sound economic foundation, he recognizes the dangers inherent in a policy of uneven development, which can only lead to future ill feeling, particularly if areas are given educational advancement and political representation without an overall development of the local communities.

5. *Political development through a democratic system:* The political system which Australia is introducing is democratic and gives greater freedom. Whoever represents the people or the government must make sure of the wishes of the majority. A Communist system is unacceptable because people are ordered to do things and punished if they refuse, it means lack of freedom. Also Communism is non-Christian and does not respect the rights of ownership.

6. *Good will and mutual understanding between peoples of Papua-New Guinea and the Europeans and the Australian government:* Europeans play an important part in the development of the Territory, because they can guide the Papuans and can invest capital. There should be friendly agreement with the Australian government when the people eventually stand on their own feet, in recognition of the good work done in the past. When independence comes, then the Europeans who live in the Territory must abide by the laws made by Papuans and New Guinean's own government and this will show that good Papuans and Australians can work harmoniously together. The House of Assembly is the first step in giving a greater voice to the peoples of the Territory and guiding them to legislate for themselves.

7. *Economic development can only come by the attraction of more capital into the District through the creation of local industries, and a market and township within the electorate:* The elected representative must help to build an economic foundation for the further development of the island districts in the electorate. The establishment of Local Government Councils has laid the first foundation and people must learn how taxation is basic to their development. However, they can only pay taxes if more jobs are created and this requires a comprehensive policy of local development. Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the

measures which Lepani Watson proposed under this heading, but they may be summarized:

Economic and Social Development

- (a) Industries—fishing, handicrafts, soap, tinned food, timber milling.
- (b) Public works—roads, wharves, airstrips, general construction and development of a township within the electorate to aid marketing and sale of produce.
- (c) Capital formation through co-operative societies and native loans and saving societies.
- (d) A single marketing board for copra.
- (e) Safeguarding of traditional land rights.
- (f) Labour recruitment through agreements between Local Government Councils and Central government.
- (g) Papuan labour inspectors to protect working conditions for all workers.

Social Development

- (a) Development of educational facilities within the electorate—government schools, technical education, financial assistance to missions. Local Government Council schools. Pre-schools.
- (b) Adult education—leadership training and crafts; women's clubs and committees, village agricultural groups and other community organizations to be fostered.
- (c) Youth training—youth leadership and youth centres.
- (d) Rural health services through health centres—extending of aid posts, trained staff and medical supplies. More base hospitals and T.B. clinics.

8. *The need to respect traditions which are still important:* The life of the people should not follow a completely Australian model. There are important customs and traditional ways which should be retained while they are important to the majority of people, for instance the *Kula* exchanges or the clan system and traditional ownership of land. The old traditions should not be destroyed unless there are new and better ways to replace them.

Information on the other candidates' policies is mainly derived from interviews with them (with the exception of Clem Rich who could not be contacted) and from reports of their policy meetings received from local informants who had attended them.

Pologa Leotani Baloiloi, the government interpreter from Esa'ala, did not present his policies at any of his meetings, saying to people that he would do so after he was elected. However, when interviewed and questioned about policies, he stated that if he were elected he would try to build large schools, both primary and technical, in all the districts and would try to obtain roads. He believed schools were most needed. People should be encouraged to grow cash crops, and there should be more boats available to market the copra.

Gowelli Taurega, the Trobriand Island interpreter, also felt that the main needs for development were cash crops and a more secure supply

of pure water in the Trobriands. He emphasized primary education, health instruction, the need for road works by central government and for a wharf at Kiriwina. He admitted frankly that he did not know much about the needs of the Esa'ala portion of the electorate since he had never been there.

Wilson Dobunaba, the clerk from Esa'ala, had a more carefully formulated policy statement under the main headings of education, medical and health services, economic development and a policy on Local Government Councils. He felt that economic development should come through increased cash cropping and this might best be run by clans who would own their own copra driers. He was opposed to too rapid expansion of Local Government Councils, and felt they were being introduced too quickly into the area. This was a mistake, and they should be allowed to grow gradually.

Jack Wilkinson stressed a number of points. The elected representative should find out what people wanted, and should fight first for the needs of the electorate and his district and then for the country as a whole. The people should not be given things for nothing, since they would lose respect for the Administration. The Administration should be firm, and the criminal code should not become too light, since the Administration was tending to lean back too far. The people should be treated more like men than like children. The electorate had remained most backward and was only a labour pool. There was a need for schools, aid posts, roads, and, especially, technical education. There was a need for expansion of Administration and the work of private enterprise. Small industries were needed, for instance local people could be trained to repair boots, etc., and become skilled tradesmen.

At least two-thirds of the voters of Esa'ala-Losuia had never previously participated in an election. One indication of whether they understood election procedures and had some definite idea of the sort of candidate they should select may be found in the questions asked and issues raised at campaign meetings. The following analysis is of meetings held mainly in Local Government Council areas which may introduce a bias towards sophistication, as three years' experience with Local Government Councillors may have taught that elected representatives should remain responsible to their electorate. The fact that they were Lepani Watson's meetings may have stimulated the audience to think about certain issues which they would not have brought up spontaneously. The very fact that Lepani was a stranger to most people in Esa'ala made them more eager to question him than one of their local candidates whom they knew fairly well. However, the questions asked provided the only insight into the voters' opinions.

A number of questions were asked about election procedures, the idea of representation and the role of the successful candidate (numbers in brackets indicate how often a question was asked):

How many years is a candidate elected for? (1)

Is voting by show of hands? (1)

Does the elected man represent the whole territory? (1)

- Can we elect two men or only one? (1)
- Do people vote for all seven candidates? (1)
- What is the name of the house you are standing for? (1)
- What is the difference between Local Government Councils and central government? (2)
- Why are there two Europeans standing in this Open Electorate? (3)
- Are the Europeans Methodists? (1)
- Do we have to elect a drinking candidate? (1)
- Will the other five candidates have the same policies? (1)
- Will a Methodist candidate be able to represent Catholic interests? (3)
- Will you be able to work with all the people and represent the needs of people on all the main islands of the electorate? (4)
- Will you try to help all the people or only your own clan or island? (6)
- How will you help the people of this electorate? (3)
- Will you represent the poor and uneducated villagers or only better educated people? (3)
- Are you going to be a servant of the people? (3)
- Why do you leave your good job in Port Moresby and happy life to take on this difficult job? (3)
- Where are you going to live when you are elected? (3)
- Why did you come without wearing shoes and socks? (3)

Other questions directed to Lepani sought clarification of points in his policy:

- What share of public revenue do Papuans receive? (1)
- Why does New Guinea get a greater share of revenue and development? (4)
- Are Europeans going to stay in the Territory? (1)
- Are the laws made in Canberra? Are we backward because Europeans don't give us the Australian laws? (1)
- Explain what is economic development. (4)
- Explain what is political development. (4)
- Explain what is national unity. (1)
- Explain what is social development. (2)
- How can more road building and public works be fostered? (1)
- How can we afford to pay Local Government Council taxes? (3)
- Which development should come first: political, economic, social or education? (1)
- Can you bring economic development to this District? (4)
- Can you help improve village life and income earnings? (7)
- How can we sell copra to the marketing board? (3)
- Can you help us to grow more European cash crops? (2)
- How can more employment be created in this district? (3)
- Are young people leaving villages on account of backwardness? (2)
- Can a market or township be established in the electorate? (4)
- What is your policy on labour recruiting? (2)
- What is your policy on liquor? (2)
- What is your policy on 'self-help'? (1)
- Can you help us get better schools and education for better jobs? (3)
- What organizations will you use to bring good living standards? (1)
- Will you lead us in the old way or a new way of living? (1)

There is little doubt that the educational campaigns carried out by Patrol Officers and their interpreter assistants were not particularly effective in conveying to the people an understanding of secret ballot procedures and the meaning of the elections. Often the educational work was hurriedly done, and a great deal depended upon the efficiency of the interpreters, since the officers were not able to speak the local language. The black and white charts which accompanied the election talk did not greatly help to convey an understanding, and there was no 'mock election' used in the demonstrations which the author saw, which might have helped people to get a better idea, particularly of the meaning of preferential voting. Some of the confusions caused by the election talk are illustrated by a question asked at one meeting:

Some patrol officers showed us some pictures of the election. We saw some people having a meeting in the house. The first house was built of Papuan materials. Then we saw some people looking like our fathers and grandfathers standing outside. Then they showed us another House of Assembly where you will always have your meetings, and the last picture showed one man who was holding a thick book, and he opened that book. I wondered what that picture meant? Who was that man with the big book?

However, the best educational experience was obtained by people who attended the election campaign meetings and heard the candidates explaining what the elections were and clarifying some of the confusions which had arisen in the minds of some people. The confusion between local government and the work of the House of Assembly was fairly common and not unexpected. On the whole, it appeared that people had a poor understanding of the procedures of election, but a fairly sound grasp of what could be expected of an elected representative, though perhaps their ideals were rather high. As to the House of Assembly and its functions, one could hardly expect people to have more than a very generalized notion of a place where they might make their needs known and hope for some action to be forthcoming on their behalf.

There was probably more concern shown with the question of what kind of representative they should seek than with any other issues in this election. Although some policy questions were raised, the most constant preoccupation of the majority of people was with the candidate's qualities as a leader, and his fitness to become their representative. Their greatest fear was that whoever was elected might not consult with them or pay attention to their wishes thereafter, and might favour only those areas of the electorate to which he himself belonged, or to which his kinsmen and family belonged.

The high expectations which people had of their representative are revealed in the following summary, based upon an analysis of the statements made at Lepani Watson's campaign meetings. The writer has discussed the significance of these expectations in a longer paper, and space does not permit an elaboration of them in the present discussion, but the list is a formidable one for any representative to live up to (numbers in brackets indicate the frequency):

- A man prepared to carry out his word and to act upon his policies—he must be a doer, not just a 'promiser'. (17)
- A man who understands the needs of the whole electorate and who will seek to help all the people, not just those of his own area. (14)
- A man prepared to consult with the people and to maintain personal contact with his electorate—he must be a servant of the people and listen to their wishes, not make up his own mind for them. (11)
- A man who can make sacrifices, who is strong and resourceful. (9)
- A believer in God and practising Christian who can lead the people in Christian ways. (8)
- A man who can represent all the classes of people and shades of opinion in the electorate—poor, uneducated, or too ignorant to help themselves, Catholics and Methodists alike. (7)
- A man who knows Europeans and can talk their language and understand their ways. (6)
- A man who will remain loyal to his own Papuan people and who is not a self-seeker. (6)
- A man who can deal with stubborn and unco-operative people without becoming authoritarian, who can secure co-operation by persuasion not by compulsion. (3)
- A man who is humble and does not set himself above the people. (2)
- A man who can accept criticism. (1)
- A man who respects the wishes of older people and will not oppose customs which the majority still want. (1)

This bare summary does not do justice to the moving and sincere speeches in which many of these ideas were expressed, sometimes in very picturesque metaphors. The devout Methodist background of many of these communities and of their more vocal leaders may be partly responsible for their idealized conceptions of political leadership, though some of the qualities which are stressed are equally important in traditional leaders and influential men and are quite compatible with the Papuan cultural background. This is especially noticeable in the strong stress placed upon the personal links between the representative and his people—he must always remain one of them, and never forget that he is their servant and is responsible to them; neither selfish power-seeking nor an impersonal political party machine seem tolerable to these electors.

Although discussions of policy figured less prominently in these meetings than concern over the personal characteristics of the candidate and his suitability to act as a leader, a number of general questions were raised, as shown above. There were quite a number of questions of clarification, where people had not fully understood certain terms used in the policy speech by Lepani Watson, for example terms such as 'economic', 'social', 'political', or 'national unity'. Some of the simple explanations given to these questions by Lepani Watson are quite enlightening. For instance his answer to 'What is national unity':

National unity is one of the main aims of the Australian government, the missions and all those who are teaching us, it is the aim of building a nation in the future. There is an organization in the outside world

called the United Nations. This has put pressure upon the Australian government to speed up our development towards self-government. But if we have no national unity, then we won't be able to live as one people or as one nation of Papua-New Guinea. For example if a Prime Minister comes from Hanuabada or Rabaul we might not listen to him. If we keep on stressing the divisions we belong to then we might never feel bound together, but if we have national unity, then no matter where a person comes from we'll trust him as our Prime Minister if he's a capable man, and we'll still recognize him as our leader and work together for the sake of all our people and the whole country.

Some questions showed concern with the backwardness of Papua as compared with New Guinea, and people tried to account for this. But the few questions raising these broader policy issues were outnumbered by the many questions dealing with purely local problems—the economic backwardness of the district, lack of economic outlets, lack of cash incomes and the serious shortage of employment for young people who were forced to leave the district in search of jobs. In raising these matters, the people were interested to hear what sort of suggestions Lepani Watson had to offer to them to bring about improvements (see pp. 306-7). From the list of questions it can be seen that there was practically no concern with matters of national policy, no mention was made of political independence and no discussion centred around issues of international politics, though one Local Government Councillor made some reference to the United Nations. The problems of concern to these people were those affecting their immediate daily lives—how to pay Council taxes, how to earn more money, how to get a better education for their children.

To summarize: from the analysis of the people's responses to campaign meetings, they had a clear idea of what kind of representative they wanted, and they also had an explicit understanding of the needs of their district, but they did not have a sound grasp of the election procedures, nor did they have a clear idea of what the House of Assembly might achieve for them. The election campaign meetings in themselves provided an excellent political education for those who attended them.

The Results

Fortunately, the detailed results of voting in Esa'ala-Losuia are available, and it is therefore possible to substantiate a number of points raised in the earlier part of this chapter which discussed campaigning by the candidates. The actual voting response was fairly high, as Table 4 indicates:

TABLE 4 Voting in Esa'ala-Losuia

	Males	Females	Total
Enrolment	12886	10960	23846
Votes in the electorate	8064	6852	14916
Absentee votes	669	58	727
Total votes cast	8733	6910	15643

Of the 23,846 enrolled voters almost 66 per cent voted. The male response was slightly higher than the female vote—68 per cent of males voted and only 63 per cent of females—but this difference is not very marked. The small number of informal votes for the electorate calls for some comment. It is of course true that the majority of voters were illiterate and needed to get assistance from electoral officers, but this alone does not explain the low informal vote. Quite a high informal vote (5,280) was recorded for the East Papua Special Electorate candidates, for many people simply refused to record a vote, saying that they did not know who the candidates were. This suggests that electors in the Open Electorate did have some definite idea of which candidate they wanted to support before they came to the polls, and they merely needed assistance with the actual procedure of voting. If the previous discussion of people's expectations is significant, one would expect this to be the case. In earlier discussion, reference was made to the manner in which these communities try to arrive at a consensus and choose the candidate according to the wishes of the majority of people in their group. If this were the voting pattern, then one would expect signs of block voting, which indeed the detailed results show.

The results in Table 5 show that Lepani Watson obtained a clear majority of votes (50·8 per cent) with Clem Rich as his nearest opponent (20·7 per cent):

TABLE 5 First Preference Votes in Esa'ala-Losuia Open

	Voted in electorate	Absentee	Total
Dobunaba	539	27	566
Wilkinson	636	13	649
Baloiloi	982	63	1045
Taurega	2095	14	2109
Rich	3100	99	3199
Watson	7353	472	7825
Informal	211	39	250
Total	14916	727	15643

As one would expect, the absentee vote gave a strong majority for Lepani Watson. These would be supporters from Port Moresby and Samarai.

However, by far the most interesting results are those shown in Table 6, which indicates the areas of the electorate from which candidates received their main support.

It also enables a comparison between voting in the two Council areas and the non-Council areas of this electorate. Lepani Watson was able to gain a majority because his supporters were distributed throughout the whole electorate, whereas every other candidate's support was fairly localized. This is most clearly seen in the case of Clem Rich, who polled extremely well. He obtained, as one might have expected, a majority of

the votes on Goodenough Island, and he also polled quite well in the adjacent non-Council areas of Fergusson Island, where his campaigning was carried on as described earlier. However, he received hardly any support from the two Council areas in Esa'ala or from Losuia.

TABLE 6 Unofficial* First Preference Votes by Area: Esa'ala-Losuia Open

	Watson	Rich	Taurega	Baloiloi	Wilkinson	Dobunaba
<i>Non-Council areas</i>						
Losuia Sub-dist.	1525	35	1942	136	101	41
Goodenough I.	1181	1961	12	31	175	30
Fergusson I. †	908	960	44	458	27	35
Total	3614	2956	1998	625	303	105
<i>Council areas</i>						
Dobu L.G.C.	1566	67	20	228	256	335
Duau L.G.C.	1822	9	6	71	73	72
Total	3388	76	26	299	329	407

* The total vote shown here is 14,343; total votes cast in the electorate in the official count were 14,916. There is no indication of how the additional 573 votes were distributed.

† Ailuluai and Faia'ana counted with Dobu L.G.C.

One can test out the extent to which campaigning was effective by looking at the figures for Clem Rich and Lepani Watson on Goodenough Island. The areas where Lepani Watson held campaign meetings, even though he made such a brief visit, reflect a marked swing of votes in his favour. For instance he gained 655 votes from Bwaidoga and Faiava where the campaign meeting referred to earlier was held. The impact of personal campaigning is thus evident, though the support which Lepani Watson gained on Goodenough Island is also concentrated around the stronger Methodist areas (Wailagi Mission) and may also be related to his work with Goodenough Islanders in Port Moresby.

The potent influence of personal campaigning is best seen in the voting trends on the adjacent coasts of Fergusson Island, where Clem Rich also received substantial support. In this case, the two candidates, Lepani Watson and Clem Rich, concentrated upon opposite ends of the same coastline. Clem Rich concentrated his campaigning on the areas between Mapamoiwa and Ukeokeo, while Lepani Watson moved from Salamo to Ailuluai. This is again reflected in voting along this coast, with the hamlets west of Ailuluai starting from Ukeokeo voting heavily for Clem Rich, who obtained 497 of the 673 votes, whilst Lepani Watson received only 136. The hamlets east of Ailuluai towards Nade gave heavy support to Lepani Watson, who gained 482 votes of a total of 736, whilst Clem Rich only gained 39 votes.

In the Losuia sector of the electorate, again there was a clear contest between two candidates, namely Gowelli Taurega and Lepani Watson, who are both from the Trobriands. Gowelli Taurega's support came entirely from the Losuia Sub-district, and he received only a bare handful

of votes from Esa'ala. In Losuia he got strong support from the Kiriwina mainland.

To explain why Lepani Watson failed to poll well in his home area (for he received only 39·8 per cent of the total vote), one may suggest several reasons, though it would be difficult to prove which was the proper explanation. For one thing, he hardly did any campaigning in his home district. He visited there briefly before Christmas with a soccer team, but did not give a policy speech, apart from telling people that he was standing, and only visited late in February, a day before polling day, to speak at two meetings at Vakuta Island and Losuia station. Another possibility is that the traditional rivalry of the Kiriwina mainland, and Sinaketa in particular, with Vakuta Island (Uberoi 1962: 121), might be reflected in a contest between Lepani Watson who had connections with the Vakuta Island Toliwaga sub-clan, and Gowellli Taurega from Kiriwina. One thing seems clear: if Lepani Watson had chosen to campaign intensively in the Trobriands, instead of in the Esa'ala Sub-district, then it is possible that his vote would have been substantially reduced in Esa'ala without compensating gains in Losuia. The Trobrianders would probably have continued to split their votes between these two men of their own area. The decision to campaign in the Esa'ala Sub-district was a deliberate one and Lepani Watson seemed to have learned from the 1961 Legislative Council elections when so many groups, such as the Motu, ruined their chances of electing a representative by splitting their votes between rivals of their own region.

The results of polling in the two Council areas of the Esa'ala Sub-district, Dobu and Duau, offer the most convincing evidence of the effectiveness of Lepani Watson's campaigning in that area. It was in these regions that he obtained his most solid majorities, particularly in the Duau Council areas on Normanby Island where he polled 88 per cent. This showed that he was able to overcome the handicap of being an outsider and stranger to these people, by showing them that he had the support of local leaders and by explaining his policies to the people who live in one of the most backward regions of this electorate. They were desperately seeking for some way of improving their way of life, and in this solid voting support they probably express confidence that Lepani Watson can help them. Should these areas fail to show any development in the four years following the election, it will be interesting to see their reactions to the next elections, for they seemed to put a great deal of faith in the House of Assembly.

Campaigning alone did not guarantee that a candidate would gain supporters, as is shown in the case of Wilson Dobunaba, who campaigned more conscientiously than Leotani Baloiloi and yet failed to get as many votes. Jack Wilkinson's poor polling by comparison with Clem Rich may partly be due to his relative newness to this region. Clem Rich as a pre-war Resident Magistrate and post-war A.D.O. was very well known to the people, and he seemed to have a good reputation. However, in the electorate as a whole there seemed a fairly strong feeling that the Open Electorate was for Papuans and not for Europeans and that they would

get a representative in the Special Electorate. It might be noted that apart from John Stuntz, who did visit this area briefly, none of the other Special candidates visited the area.

Only Lepani Watson managed to gain supporters in all the areas of this electorate, and thereby overcome the natural tendency of these voters to elect a man of their own area. That he polled as well as he did

TABLE 7 Unofficial Returns: Esa'ala-Losuia Open
(a) Non-Council Areas

	Watson	Rich	Taurega	Baloioi	Wilkinson	Dobunaba	Informal	Total
<i>Goodenough Island</i>								
Abolu	9	109	—	2	4	—	1	125
Vivigani, Kalimatabutabu, Idakamenai, Wataluma	122	433	3	5	18	2	—	583
Bwaidoga*, Faiava*	655	260	8	14	28	10	2	977
Faiava, Belebele	233	450	1	5	80	10	2	781
Ufaufa, Iaviaula, Moratau, Auwali, Lauwelia, Kilia	162	709	—	5	45	8	4	933
Total	1181	1961	12	31	175	30	9	3399
<i>Fergusson Island (etc.)</i>								
Etana, Sebutuia, Duduna, Tewarra, Basima, Urua, Wadalei	350	16	27	64	9	19	27	512
Wadalei, Iava, Nabwageta, Guniuwana	76	47	10	61	7	4	9	214
Mapamoiva, Imalele, Saibutu, Awaula, Kalo Kalo*, Didiau, Gwabegwabe, Agialuma, Masimasi	364	400	3	322	1	5	48	1143
Uneoukeo, Toagesi, Kukula, Tutubea, Ebadidi	136	497	4	11	10	7	8	673
Total	926	960	44	458	27	35	92	2542
<i>Losuia Sub-district</i>								
Omarakana, Daiagila, Kaibola	101	3	53	1	3	1	24	186
Losuia*, Okupukopu, Obwelia, Yalaka	319	—	597	—	19	1	4	940
Losuia*, Okupukopu, Obwelia, Yalaka	335	1	439	1	24	6	—	806
Sinaketa, Vakuta*, Kitava	363	3	503	3	10	5	4	891
Koma, Kaduwaga, Oigigiku, Konia	64	12	304	—	—	1	4	385
Kanaba, Kulumadau, Mapas, Guasop, Laughlin, Alcester, Egum, Madau, Gawa, Iwa	343	16	46	131	45	27	5	613
Total	1525	35	1942	136	101	41	41	3821

(b) Council Areas

	Watson	Rich	Taurega	Baloilo	Wilkinson	Dobunaba	Informal	Total
<i>Dobu Local Government Council</i>								
Nade*, Faiaiana*, Ailuluai*, Ubuia, Koruwea*, Bwakera* (N.B. Faiaiana and Ailuluai are adjacent but non-Council)	482	39	9	45	96	55	10	736
Esa'ala*, Dobu*, Epepoca Bwakera*, Miadeba, Darubia, Esa'ala	495	5	4	68	28	67	9	676
Numanuma*, Gomwa*, Salamo*, Tanomada, Si'ilugu*	79	4	2	20	15	91	2	213
Sibonai, Pwanapwana	355	19	5	93	63	119	10	664
	155	—	—	2	54	3	5	219
Total	1566	67	20	228	256	335	36	2508
<i>Duau Local Government Council</i>								
Gudumuri*, Bunama*, Barabara*, Bwasiaiai	412	3	2	4	69	8	8	506
Guleuguleu*, Kasikasi*	328	2	3	4	—	4	—	341
Meudana*, Dawada, Loboda Mwalukwasia, Biawa*	764	4	1	22	1	43	2	837
Sehulea*, Sawataitai, Kerorogea*	318	—	—	41	3	17	1	380
Total	1822	9	6	71	73	72	11	2064

* Visited by Lepani Watson during campaign.

can be attributed largely to the campaign organization, with its concentration upon the Esa'ala Sub-district. As was noted earlier, this candidate's success resulted from a combination of his organizational background and his particular approach to the voters of this area. The House of Assembly elections were a most significant event in the lives of people of this electorate, and high expectations have been raised. It remains to be seen how far their expectations will have been justified, and how far their elected representative in the House of Assembly can succeed in bringing the material prosperity which is of increasing importance to people of this electorate.

The Milne Bay Open Electorate

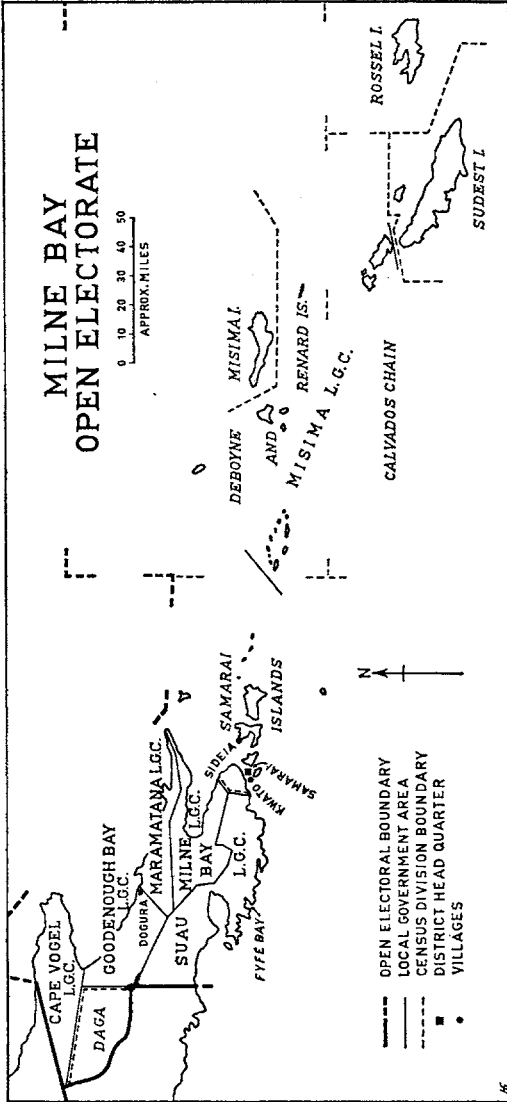
Ian Grosart

The Electorate

To create two Open Electorates in 1963, the administrative District of Milne Bay was divided so that the south-eastern mainland of Papua and the groups of islands to the east and south—via Misima to Rossel (previously Rossell) Island—formed the Milne Bay Open Electorate, whilst the islands further north became the Esa'ala-Losuia Open Electorate. Together with the mainland Open Electorates of Rigo-Abau and Popondetta, they comprise the East Papua Special Electorate.

The Milne Bay District dates only from 1946. For at least a generation prior to 1942 components of the new electorate had been administered as parts of the Northern, Eastern and South-eastern Divisions; and as early as 1889 the eastern islands were administratively oriented towards Misima, rather than directly to Samarai, where the first administration post in Eastern Papua had been established, in June 1886. All these boundaries, including the electoral ones of 1964, cut across traditional trade routes and ethno-cultural ties to some degree; but it should not be concluded that they ever assumed much significance in Papuan eyes, although they may occasionally have proved an inconvenience—for example when signing on for contract labour. Pre-war administrative contacts with the villages were brief, infrequent and essentially superficial. Emphasis was given to such aspects of a protective policy as could be sustained on a slender budget, and to the maintenance of law and order, with particular regard to homicide. On the other hand, where administrative boundaries at the lower level coincided with mission and cultural boundaries, the combined result might be expected to inhibit interest in the concerns of neighbouring groups. Most people tended to see the mainland in terms of three such ethno-historical groups: the South Coast, Milne Bay, and the North Coast.

More important than strictly administrative boundaries—after the initial, very early, very quick, and remarkably complete achievement of pacification—have been the consequences of the Port Moresby Conference or 'gentleman's agreement' of 1890 by which it was decided to divide missionary activities on a geographical basis. The Anglicans took the north coast, the London Missionary Society the south coast, and the



Methodists East Cape, together with the islands. In Eastern Papua, with the separation of Kwato from the L.M.S. (now the Papua Ekalesia) in 1917, this resulted in the establishment of four separate religious centres, each with its own hinterland. Although not restricted to it in their interests and activities, three of these were actually in the Milne Bay electorate: Fyfe Bay (L.M.S.), Kwato and Dogura (Anglican): all on or close to the mainland.

In the thirties, these four missions were joined by two others, the Sacred Heart and Seventh Day Adventists. Of the two, the Sacred Heart is by far the larger, and it now provides a fifth focus at Sideia, not far from Samarai. Neither of these latter missions was accorded a territory of its own, so that they have had to acquire a foothold where they could. For both, this has been at the expense—if that is a suitable term—of the Methodists and Kwato. Adherents of the Sacred Heart are to be found on many of the islands east of Samarai and, to a limited extent, on the shores of Milne Bay. As yet, the number of its adherents does not seem to be commensurate with its activities.

As far as European style economic activity is concerned, the focal point of the electorate is Samarai. A port of entry and former 'Pearl of the Pacific', this 59-acre island was the pre-war commercial capital of eastern Papua from Abau on the south coast to the New Guinea border in the north. The considerable economic influence it was alleged to exert can only have been slightly relaxed as a result of post-war air services, scheduled and chartered, direct to Port Moresby. Until very recently even this degree of relaxation has been of least significance within the area encompassed by the Milne Bay electorate. At Samarai are the offices of the trading companies: Burns Philp and Steamships Trading Company, but formerly including A. H. Bunting, and Whitten Brothers; a branch of the Bank of New South Wales and a Commonwealth Bank agency (since 1913); and oil terminals owned by Shell and Vacuum Oil. Before the war, some significant local counter-attractions to Samarai may have been provided by enterprises such as Cuthbertson's Misima Mine and Gili Gili Plantation, where the Governor-General was entertained in 1924. Since the war, there has been little new investment and both these concerns, together with others, appear to be on a care and maintenance basis. Nevertheless, some produce is still handled by local traders and planters and rather more by the missions.

After a decade of somewhat transitory enthusiasms, a number of Papuan co-operative societies have been joined into two associations which are based on Misima and Samarai. Both are members of the Federation of Associations which has its headquarters in Port Moresby. Arrangements have recently been made to buy direct from Australia, and this decision is expected to result in increased co-operative activity. Economically, this development is only of potential significance, but co-operative societies were in existence at the time of the elections and may well have generated expectations of progress. Apart from the registered co-operatives, there were in many mainland and some island areas village agricultural committees and rural progress societies, which were some-

times grouped into local agricultural associations. These had varying records of achievement and were regarded as a fairly successful medium for agricultural extension work. In general, however, they were reputedly of greater social and political significance than economic.

During 1963, the newly reconstituted District Advisory Committee met with a Papuan majority for the first time. Three Papuan members had been first appointed in 1958. The D.A.C. is a nominated advisory body designed in the first instance to give to the various interests in the District some institutionalized access to the District Commissioner. The Papuan members have generally been Local Government Councillors or members of agricultural associations. In the time available, such a body can scarcely have served, even *de facto*, as much of an effective unifying force likely to influence the man in the village; but its reconstitution in 1963 may have had a certain symbolic significance for those aware of its existence. One of the largest in Papua, it now has twenty members, eleven of them Papuans. At a more parochial level, one of the earliest Native Local Government Councils had been established on the south shore of Milne Bay in 1951. This was followed by a Council on the north shore, in 1954, and the two amalgamated as the Milne Bay Council in 1957. Apart from Misima in 1958 there was then a delay until December 1961, since when Councils have been established on the south coast—Suau—and the north coast—Maramatana, Goodenough Bay, and Cape Vogel. Thus there is almost complete Council coverage of the mainland, with five Councils for a population of approximately 31,000. With the exception of a few remoter centres of population (the Daga, Samarai Islands, Rossel and Sudest Census Divisions) and the smaller islands generally, the people had experienced at least one election. With the exception of Milne Bay (and perhaps Misima), however, they could not be said to have had much experience in the working of statutory political institutions.

Samarai itself has no Town Advisory Council, no Chamber of Commerce, no hotels or most other urban amenities commensurate with its commercial importance, and the majority of Papuans employed there live in suburbs across the water. Thus, it too fails to provide a real political focus; although the recently established Papua and New Guinea Recreation Society, which has applied for a licence, and the significantly named Chalmers and Bromilaw Welfare Association, should be mentioned at this stage. The latter, named after the pioneer L.M.S. and Methodist missionaries, Chalmers and Bromilaw, provides a common meeting ground for people from the south coast and from the islands.

As in other Districts, government-sponsored adult education courses are a relatively new phenomenon and have not had time to make any direct impact on the electorate as a whole. Once again, however, their significance may have lain chiefly in their recent inauguration and their existence at this time. A training centre for women had also just been constructed with local assistance at Ahioima, on Milne Bay; but its concrete achievements also lie in the future.

To sum up, there was within the electorate no party, no movement, no

church or mission, no clan or tribe, which encompassed the whole electorate and which possessed a centralized organization which could be captured or influenced. Instead, there were a fairly large number of actual or potential centres of power and influence, all significantly localized in their appeal, but of varying sizes, and entrenched to varying degrees in the popular culture and imagination.

Within the Milne Bay Open Electorate it is still possible to discern the three distinct cultural areas which existed before European contact. They are:

1. Rossel Island (Armstrong 1928), with a population of 1,600. Speaking a distinct non-Melanesian language, these islanders live in small villages on a diet of fish and sago in the main. The existence of chieftainship amongst them was once much debated and it is clear, at least, that there were two classes, traditionally: those with hereditary control of the local money—hence credit—and those without. They were amongst the first contacted, despite their well-publicized reputation as cannibals, and stone axes had virtually disappeared by 1888; but since the brief era of the Queensland labour recruiters, eighty years ago, the area has remained essentially a pool of unskilled labour as far as participation in the cash economy is concerned. Brookfield (1960) gives an estimate of 35-44 per cent of the male labour potential as being absent at work in 1956-8. By 1942, there were five Papuan Methodist teachers on the island; but recently the Sacred Heart has established a well staffed station.

2. The North Coast, with a population of some 17,000, or some 40 per cent of the total for the electorate. This seems to be a transitional zone between more clearly Papuan areas to the west and the Melanesian area to the east. (The area has been neglected since Seligman's brief visit (Seligman 1910), although the pre-war annual reports occasionally contain additional material.) Capell (1962) has listed seventeen languages for this area, those in the west being markedly non-Melanesian. Disposed to patrilineal inheritance, with a form of chieftainship, they live in definite, though fairly small villages. Warfare was common, but some peaceful links also existed between villages. The last to be contacted and completely pacified, the majority of these villages have for at least two generations been administered as a separate Sub-district. Apart from a few pagans inland, the people are exclusively Anglican. There has never been any significant private enterprise established in this area and it is one of the few large remaining pools of unskilled labour in Papua. Almost one-third of the population live inland, mainly in the Daga. As elsewhere in New Guinea the relationship between inlanders and coastals is compounded of interdependence, suspicion, and derision.

3. The Southern Massim area contains some 57 per cent of the total population (Seligman 1910; Belshaw 1955; Armstrong 1921; Williams 1933). Two-thirds of this, or approximately 18,000 people, are located on the mainland and adjacent Samarai islands. The remaining 8,000 are distributed amongst the more eastern islands with more than half on Misima. The common pattern is one of matrilineal descent and inheri-

tance; a preference for very small hamlets, with the recognition of some local geographical association or federation with an accepted common name; 'big men' rather than hereditary chiefs; and a complex system of trading and ceremonial exchanges. Capell has listed some thirty languages and it is clear that, despite traditional friendships and alliances, there was no common political order. Trade partners were usually to be found far afield and proximate groups were likely to be hostile; but early officials were probably fairly near the mark in categorizing trading expeditions as mere 'roving', although at the same time possibly under-estimating their less obvious significance. Between the wars, the most significant mission orientations were towards Fyfe Bay, by the south coast peoples, and towards Kwato, by the Milne Bay peoples. Large European plantations existed in Milne Bay and several mining companies worked for varying periods on Misima. Other smaller plantations were created in the islands. Altogether this area has had about ninety years of assorted European contacts although the variety, intensity, and duration of these contacts varies. Thus the Suau folk on the south coast retained their pig ceremonies long after they had been abandoned in neighbouring Milne Bay, were reluctant with their labour before the introduction of taxation in 1921, and as late as 1932 had developed little taste for European foods. Overall, although steel tools quickly replaced stone, and boats slowly began to replace large canoes, the effect of contact appears to have been to alter the significance of certain areas (such as Panaete, home of the canoe builders) rather than to eliminate traditional trade links. Few observers were prepared to under-estimate the continued existence of these in 1964, and their potential significance for the dissemination of views and opinion is obvious.

It should be stressed, however, that these culture areas were not completely self-contained. On the fringes there were links between them. Nor, with the exception of Rossel Island, did the inhabitants regard themselves as a distinct people.

Despite the undoubted differences and variations which existed in the backgrounds and experiences of the 44,500 persons inhabiting the electorate, the overwhelming majority were Papuans who had shared the common experience of European contact. There were the three main elements of this common experience in most cases. First, there is generally no personal memory of the era of pacification. Occasionally, however, old men are still to be encountered who claim, for example, to have been present when the first Anglican missionaries arrived at Taupota in 1891. Thus memories of pacification may often be part of the folk-memory. Second, there are more personal recollections concerning the subsequent era. This may be characterized objectively as a time of slow but steady progress; more subjectively, it may have appeared in retrospect to have been a long drawn out agony of unfulfilled expectations. And finally, there has been since the late 1950s increasing participation in a wider society, in which today was markedly different from yesterday and better, while tomorrow looked like being even more different and better,

if nothing went wrong. Frequently, individual appraisals were little more precise than this.

Pacification, greatly assisted by the personal participation of Sir William MacGregor, was rapid and fairly bloodless, and the Papuan reaction remarkably positive. Unfortunately the penurious state of Papua restricted progress. In 1913 the first Papuan-owned savings account was opened, and the first Papuan deacons ordained by the Anglicans. Other Papuans became boat operators along the coast, one an anaesthetist at the Samarai hospital (he had learned by watching), two owned over a thousand coconut trees, but as the 1920s advanced it was believed that the Eastern Division, and particularly the areas under consideration, were amongst those regions of Papua believed to be in danger of self-inflicted depopulation. It was seriously argued that the people had lost the will to live. Inadequate funds, world prices of copra, false starts, and the untimely deaths of key individuals tell some of the story.

It was the missions, with official backing, which offered the schooling and training which was to be had. Little of this could be given in English and certain languages, such as Wedau on the north coast, were promoted beyond their original confines. At a time when the Administration was cautiously experimenting with village councils, church councils were also being introduced in the twenties. Both lacked statutory backing, so that Papuans faced responsibility without power in the secular sphere, which may have given the church councils greater significance overall. At the head of each mission was a handful of Europeans, lay and religious. Below them were growing hierarchies of priests and pastors, teachers, catechists, evangelists, exhorters and assistants.

Like the plantations of the Europeans, the mission between the wars provided opportunities for employment, both near at hand and in more distant parts of the Territory. The remuneration offered by missions was always slender, but there were other satisfactions. This was less likely to be true of plantation labour. In 1889 the men of Ware refused to work for 10s. per month in trade, declaring the goods actually offered to be worth only 5s. 6d. But, despite the overall inflation of the period, 10s. per month remained the unskilled worker's wage until the end of civil administration in 1942. Skilled workers, such as a ship's master, might hope to earn £3. 10s. per month. As the war persisted, through 1943 and 1944, its local implications deepened. First, a whole age group missed the previously existing opportunities for education. Secondly, the temporary evacuation of the inhabitants of Milne Bay to settlements on the south and north-east coast became more and more prolonged and they did not return until late 1945. Thirdly, the majority of the effective male population throughout the area was conscripted, often for labour in remote parts of the Territory, and accommodated in large labour camps. Finally, the savings bank agencies closed for the duration; there were few trade stores and those were short of stock; particularly on the mainland, Allied troops were so obsessed with native curios that they would pay fifteen shillings for a single cat's eye shell. Money became abundant in the villages. One general consequence was said to be an impatience

with social ties and desire for greater individualism. This was particularly marked in Milne Bay where durable housebuilding materials could easily be salvaged from the military debris. Above all, there seems to have been a widening of horizons and a renewed belief that tomorrow could be different, dramatically different. This was exemplified on the largest scale by the Milne Bay Development Company (Belshaw 1955; Healy 1961), more generally by diving for shell and the production of copra.

But as one Papuan described it, 'it was better after the war, then it got worse . . .'. World prices, the substitution of plastic for shell, and the prevailing Papuan lack of appropriate intermediary skills took their toll. When, in addition, deferred pay and war compensation payments had been exhausted, it was no longer possible to live exclusively on European foods. When salvaged building materials were proved to be not indestructible, the need for revamping traditional social ties which had been repudiated or barely maintained was realized. It is easy to be wise after the event and to ignore the enormous problems of reconstruction which faced the missions and Administration alike, short as they were of men and physical resources. To the Papuans, however, these efforts of reconstruction may have appeared to be directed towards the restoration of the European to his pre-war eminence, while their own relative status declined after the flush of early post-war years. The rebuilding of Samarai was symbolic, since—and this can hardly have been intended—it denied Papuans at the east end of the Territory an urban centre and an obvious site for the development of local services and industries. This may be one factor relevant to the prevailing impression that the area has not developed as much as might have been expected, in view of the progress achieved pre-war. It may also account for the alleged local 'brain-drain', the belief that the enterprising and the educated do not stay at the east end but provide a significant proportion of the so-called 'foreign' natives in other Territory urban centres. It was not possible to verify the truth of this, although three of the four candidates in 1964 were to return from the Central District to fight the election.

With such a history—the first recorded cargo cult outbreak in the Territory occurred in Milne Bay in 1893—it is hardly surprising that many extension workers in recent years have described the people as hard, and difficult to get on with. But the collapse of the Milne Bay Development Company does not seem to have been in vain. It pinpointed certain weaknesses and lacunae; and, although the accountancy skills stressed by Belshaw have yet to be widely acquired, a considerable amount of successful agricultural extension work has been accomplished; prospects for steady income have risen; the educational systems have been co-ordinated; and the number of Councils tripled since the 1961 Legislative Council election. It is difficult to disentangle cause and effect, but it must be said, at the very least, that Guise as the sitting member had associated himself closely and publicly with such developments.

No detailed income study exists for the electorate, but in the year preceding the election it is clear that in income from cash crops alone—predominantly copra—Papuans received almost a quarter of a million

pounds, giving a gross income of close to £5 per head from this source alone. To this must be added income received as wages, derived from cottage industries such as dressmaking and baking, and resulting from the provision of services such as water-carriage of goods and persons, and general 'entrepreneurial' activities. In most cases, some allowance would need to be made for subsistence income derived from gardens; and, in many cases, trading and exchange of a traditional kind would also merit assessment and inclusion in any grand total computed. It can be confidently asserted, however, that whatever the total income, it is not equitably distributed between regions within the electorate, or between individuals or families within regions. The wealthiest region is certainly Milne Bay, followed by the south coast and north coast to the east of Dogura. It can also be said of most regions that, whatever the present income, a sharp increase is imminent because of past plantings. The concern of Local Government Councils with feeder roads and pick-up points suggests that the consequences of planting trees are better grasped today than they were when Murray launched his 'native plantation' scheme in the late 1930s. Generally, extension officers feel that in the last few years a corner was turned, the need to exhort has diminished and a certain visible momentum has been built up: tomorrow is going to be different. Today, however, the individual entrepreneur who nets £500 a year remains a rarity, although many of the little stores—so prevalent and to a casual European eye so ill-stocked and rarely open—are estimated to return £100 or more a year and may do significantly better as incomes rise in the surrounding areas. Radios are now commonly to be found throughout the area.

In the field of education, too, large-scale achievements were imminent rather than a fact. Increased availability of suitable staff, in particular, had permitted some fairly secure-looking career ladders to be established in the more populated areas. In recent years the general pattern for both missions and the Administration had been to establish central boarding schools for the last years of primary education, and in some cases for the first two years of secondary training. After this, it was still necessary to leave the district, which, in the past, had usually meant for Australia. The position was least satisfactory among the smaller islands where there were a number of mission schools whose standards did not qualify them for Administration assistance. On the mainland, however, these recent developments had been taken seriously by the Councils which were reputedly waging a serious campaign against truancy. This would seem to indicate that even on the mainland parents had yet to be convinced and may be indicative of their membership of the lost war-time age groups or of unsatisfactory personal experiences. A less satisfactory aspect of the educational reorganization, which had included the establishment of two Junior Technical Schools, was the weeding out of persistent failures. This caused quite a furore in the areas affected, but significantly many of the Councillors and the sitting member for Eastern Papua concentrated their criticism on the failure to provide alternative training. Amongst the majority, however, it was felt to be an act of gross injustice to have

denied the terminees 'their chance' in this way. A similar attitude was reported by a number of teachers who stated that they were frequently accused of favouritism because the same children always came top. It should not be assumed, therefore, that the electorate had become transformed overnight: it still consisted of difficult people under varying degrees of tension and strain, steeped in fears of sorcery, and weak on cause and effect. Who and what would appeal to a majority of them appeared to be a very open question when campaigning began.

The Candidates

For the 1961 Legislative Council elections, in which a single member was returned by indirect suffrage for the whole of Eastern Papua, there were three candidates who gave Milne Bay addresses. Between them they garnered 1 vote. It seems certain that, even in 1961, the bulk of Milne Bay's 19 votes went to the winning candidate, John Guise, who was then living in the Central District. The 1964 elections were to be conducted on an adult franchise and therefore a crushing defeat in 1961 was not necessarily of consequence, but neither was it auspicious. Equally discouraging was the fact that there was no institution, apart from the Legislative Council, through which a Papuan could become well known throughout the electorate. Finally, the achievements of the elected member for East Papua in his three-year term were a clear indication for those with eyes to see that he would be a hard man to beat. Of more significance than his achievements in the House, for present purposes, were his activities on behalf of his electorate; his tours of his constituency—largely confined to the Milne Bay and the Popondetta electorates-to-be; his presence on important occasions; and, above all, the friends he had won. When some locals toyed with the idea of standing, despite the apparent odds, these friends were discouraging and warned of the dangers of splitting the vote. When they, themselves, were urged to stand, they held back.

A number of Administration officials—particularly members of the Department of Native Affairs—were approached by Papuans of some local consequence. That none of these officers nominated was due to a variety of reasons, amongst which the most prominent were said to be: financial; a recognition that their appeal, if any, would be limited; and a shrewd suspicion that, whatever the motives behind such an approach, it was not the same thing as a promise of support. It should also be noted that there was no forum, no framework within which opponents of the sitting member could meet, find common ground, assess their strength, and agree on a suitable alternative, if any such could be found. The nearest approach to such an institution was provided by the Welfare Associations in Port Moresby and Samarai, and in 1964 their executives were favourably disposed to John Guise. The three candidates who finally decided to nominate against the sitting member were, therefore, lone wolves who put up their deposits without any firm knowledge of their probable support amongst the people at large. One, 'Albie' Munt, was

of mixed race descent; the second, Osineru Dickson, was a Papuan; the third, R. H. Bunting, was a European born at Samarai.

Admitting that he was not well known, Munt justified his candidacy as being at the request of a great number of people and pointed to his past activity on the District Advisory Council as a qualification. He further emphasized that he alone of the four candidates actually lived in the electorate. This was true. Aged forty, the son of a planter who had married a Papuan woman, he was born in the Deboyne Group and educated in Brisbane. He saw active service, as aircrew, during the war and subsequently in Malaya, before returning to the electorate in 1952, where he eventually set himself up as a planter on Misima. His policy speech emphasized the failure of the electorate to progress as rapidly as some other areas in the Territory and he advocated improved communications, health services, and a central educational complex to cater for secondary, technical, and agricultural training. A few specific grievances such as the need for a Lands Commissioner and the iniquity of requiring permits for shotguns were included. Plunging into deeper water he launched a vigorous attack on Indonesia and Indonesians whom he declared to be Communists and land-grabbers. This led him to demand national unity, a national flag and a national anthem, but not independence. From the first, he advocated second preference for Bunting and last place for Guise. After withdrawal just before the poll he was reported to be urging full support for Bunting, and an advertisement appeared in the *Post (S.P.P., 14 February 1964)* notifying his supporters that he had withdrawn and requested them to vote '1 Bob Bunting'.

A pre-war product of the Kwato educational system, Osineru Dickson was the only true Papuan candidate. His manners and command of English are generally accepted in the Territory as being those of a cultivated English gentleman. In fact his formal schooling terminated at Standard 4. This, however, enabled him to be ranked as one of the best educated of Papuans at the end of the war and he was induced to move to Port Moresby where he assisted the Administrator, Colonel Murray, in various capacities. Although marginally active in various official jobs and unofficial organizations, he did not succeed in making a name for himself in the crucial years of 1957 to 1960, and his candidacy for the Legislative Council attracted only one vote in '64 whilst there were 19 from the Milne Bay mainland and Misima alone. Nevertheless he nominated again in 1964 and campaigned without the backing of even the European members of the Kwato Committee, who were publicly—as individuals—committed to John Guise. It was sometimes asserted that this would not bind the Papuan majority of the committee (which was true) and that Osineru Dickson would poll heavily in Milne Bay. Against this it was pointed out that prodigal sons who return empty-handed are not always welcome. A more serious handicap, however, was the fact that the tensions predicted by Armstrong (1921) and Williams (1933) and observed by Belshaw (1955) had not been satisfactorily resolved in Milne Bay. The gulf remained between the few who had grasped the pre-war opportunities and the many whom they had slighted directly or by implication in so doing.

Dickson's family were amongst the few; the votes lay with the many. He did not, however, place any particular emphasis on the Bay in his campaigning, and some people complained that he did not even campaign there, which was not true. Instead, he undertook an extensive campaign of as much of the electorate as he could reach, largely on foot. Elsewhere, he seems to have created a favourable impression. Dickson distributed no campaign literature. Despite general agreement that he had been impressive, few could remember what he had said. In general he seems to have emphasized the need for public morality, and personal integrity; the need for greater emphasis on education and communications; the need to examine value for money in relation to the expatriate public service; and his confidence that Papuans could run the country, given continued assistance from Australia.

Bunting was the man whom some Europeans considered would beat Guise and whom many Papuans conceded was a good man, who stood a good chance. Aged fifty-five at the time of the 1964 elections, he had been born at Samarai. His father, A. H. Bunting, was then building up a trading and planting business at the east end. He was educated at Melbourne Grammar, and worked on the Edie Creek goldfields in 1926-7 before becoming a managing director of the family firm. Enlisting in July 1940, he was captured with the fall of Singapore. After discharge with the rank of sergeant in December 1945, he returned to New Guinea where he developed business interests of his own. These included Bunting's Biscuits Ltd, Rabaul, in addition to planting interests in rubber, copra, coffee and cocoa.

From 1954 to 1960 he sat as a nominated member of the Legislative Council and naturally, in the custom of the day, regarded himself firstly as representative of an interest group, that is, private enterprise. Like most other people he had at first no conception that the winds of change would blow so soon or that Administration policy would evolve in the way it did, or have the assistance of the grants-in-aid which actually eventuated. Thus it is not surprising that his initial comments on native development should have been in the pre-war mould of emphasizing emulation of the hard-working European. This, as Bunting pointed out, presupposed for its success a considerable increase in the number of European settlers, who would also 'develop' the country's basic industries and lay the foundations for a healthy internal revenue in the future. After 1957, with the introduction of export taxes, followed in 1958 by personal tax, and in 1959 by income tax, this pre-war policy of reliance on emulation was obviously no longer fully supported by the Administration. During several years of considerable political bitterness the Administration failed, or was alleged to have failed, to give any clear indication of its alternative intentions. Bunting with other members, including the native members on occasion, consistently opposed the new measures, playing a prominent part inside and outside the Council in the attempts to defeat the Income Tax Ordinance. It is certainly true that these labours were misrepresented in the Australian press, but it remains true that the objects of the Taxpayers' Association, if achieved, would have meant

political control of Papua and New Guinea by the non-official European minority. Increased native representation was amongst these objects, but in rather vague terms. Although an uncomfortable experience for almost everyone concerned, the wrangling over the Tax Bill probably resulted in the first serious consideration of Territory problems since the late ANGAU period. Certainly Bunting appears to have given much serious thought to these problems, as a result. In a Budget speech in September 1959, he proposed (*L.C.D.*, 30 September 1959, pp. 759-60) a number of objectives which were subsequently to be advocated in the House by John Guise. The only practical short-term solution to the problem of native education, he declared, was to subsidize the missions. Rural communications must be improved and there was a real need for serious extension work in vocational fields. An independent inquiry should be held into the efficiency of and value for money provided by the largely European Public Service. Finally, if Australia could not meet the bill for development, then assistance should be sought from the World Bank.

Following the Minister's October 1960 statement to the House of Representatives, revealing official plans to reconstitute the Legislative Council and provide for elective members, Bunting repudiated his former advocacy of the Seventh State concept and declared 'we all recognize that independence is coming and those who do not are very foolish idiots, as the Assistant Administrator would call them . . .' (*L.C.D.*, 19 October 1960, pp. 42-3). For the intervening period he offered a slogan 'Weld and Work', and again raised the need for large scale economic preparation for the future; but this time with specific reference to Administration-sponsored multi-million-pound native co-operative projects for the production of such crops as tea, sugar, and rice. This was his last major speech in the House. 'I have never spoken for so long before', he said. 'Nor so well', added the Leader of the Government.

If in John Guise can be seen a politician of the transition, in a sense this was also true of R. F. Bunting. By 1960 he had acquired a far clearer idea of the immediate needs of the Territory, and the role which Papuans and New Guineans could and must play, than he had had in 1954. He did not stand for election in 1961, however, although he was a founder member of the U.P.P., which he saw as a means of 'welding' the races.

In July 1960 he had sold the family business at the east end and virtually severed his connections with the Milne Bay District, although he still recruited much of the labour he required for his own ventures from amongst the Suau people and paid regular pensions to those at the east end who had faithfully served the family business. His 1964 candidacy appears to have come as a triple surprise, first, that he should be seeking to re-enter politics; second, that he should return to Milne Bay; and third, that he should contest an Open rather than a Special seat. His reported replies to these queries were that the times required all who could help to do so; he had the money and leisure to act as an independent member with an impartial concern for the welfare of all the people; there were many such in Lae and the Eastern Highlands, but none in the Milne Bay Electorate, where he had been born and whence his father had got

his start. Finally, in his opinion, there was no future in the Special Electorates. It is possible that, as he had been State President of the Returned Servicemen's League since 1956, events in West New Guinea influenced his thinking; but this could hardly have been a dominant factor since he was willing to take the risk of contesting an Open seat, when the very justification for creating Special seats had been a misguided expectation that no European could be returned in an Open contest.

As mentioned above, Bunting had in October 1960 foreshadowed some of the basic planks in the maiden speech and subsequent utterances of John Guise. Unlike Guise, however, he did not seek in 1964 to campaign on his Legislative Council record or to present a detailed policy manifesto. The election might have been an even more significant one if he had, and it is possible that more voters would have responded to such a manifesto, particularly if its policy points had been illustrated by concrete and feasible local examples. Even if this putative response had not resulted in votes, it could have resulted in a widening of political horizons in the electorate, particularly regarding the need to choose and the interrelationship between policy and project.

There were said to be personal reasons why his campaign was a short one and late in starting, and this, together with the manner of campaigning, may have prevented him from sensing the inadequacy of his platform. Perhaps more significant, however, was his absence from the area in recent years. Nevertheless in the last five years or so a great deal had happened, and it seems hard to avoid the conclusion that Bunting had not managed to keep his finger on the local pulse. His main premise was that the District was a 'cinderella' and this was simply less true than it had been. Almost completely ignoring this and Guise's association with recent changes, he represented himself as one with the financial leisure and ability to remedy this and to help steer the people through difficult times ahead. If you want proof of my ability, he said, look at the success I have made of my businesses. Thus, despite his intellectual conversion in the late fifties, he was unable to act in the way required, either because he could not sense the need, or because on his return the traditional role of 'Bobby' Bunting awaited him, and in his natural pleasure at being amongst friends again, in the villages of his youth, he forgot that this time he came as a politician seeking votes.

John Dowglas Guise, the sitting member, was forty-nine years old. Born at Gedulalara, near Dogura, the son of the captain of the Anglican mission schooner, he was educated at Doubina—the Anglican-run boarding school for mixed-race children from all over Papua. Like Bunting, he was an active cricketer before the war. After working for Burns Philp in Samarai, he became a signals clerk under ANGAU. Joining the police, at the end of the war, he quickly rose to the rank of sergeant-major; there were then no non-European police officers. From the police he transferred to the Department of Native Affairs, where he worked in various capacities associated with welfare—officially and unofficially—for example, for several years before 1961 he was president of the Kila Kila Native Co-operative Society. By 1958, he had become president of the Mixed

Race Association of Port Moresby before breaking with its members because of their narrow approach to wage differentials based on race. More and more he associated with what came to be known as the Papuan *élite* of Port Moresby, particularly in their campaign for the repeal of formerly protective legislation which had now become discriminatory. As a nominated member of the Central District Advisory Council, in 1960, he received considerable press publicity as a result of his sustained attacks on specific legislation and regulations which were endorsed by the Council as a whole. In 1961 he received the backing of the various welfare associations when he stood for the Legislative Council seat of Eastern Papua. In this election—first past the post—he was the only Papuan or New Guinean candidate to receive half the electoral votes cast.

Before the 1964 election, his intentions became a matter of some interest. Would he stand? If so, where? Informed Papuan opinion was convinced, by at least early 1963, that his choice would be Milne Bay. Possibly the pattern of voting in 1961 influenced this choice, for of the 21 votes cast for other candidates, 8 went to a Northern District candidate (who stood unsuccessfully for Popondetta Open Electorate in 1964); and 12 had gone to two Rigo-Abau candidates (one of whom was to be successful in 1964). Only one of the 19 Milne Bay votes had been cast for the three local candidates. It is only fair to add, however, that this and other speculations were of little consequence compared with the fact that as a result of his tours of Eastern Papua as the sitting member, he was in a strong position to gauge his probable support, at least relatively, between the electorates for which he was eligible to stand. The major imponderable, however, was that in 1964 any electorate would be different.

Since John Guise campaigned in part on his record, it is relevant at this stage to review his performance as an elected Legislative Councillor. It must be remembered that in 1961-3 there were 12 Papuans and New Guineans in a Council of 37 members: 6 of them elected and 6 nominated. The Administration was in a minority; but only in danger of defeat when confronted by a combination of nominated and elected, European, Papuan and New Guinean members. Administration policy was to promote the social, political, and economic development of Papuans and New Guineans, and some legislative proof of its *bona fides* had already been given. But the Administration was also an 'interest', and all non-official members could find common ground in exercising their watch-dog functions. It was a complicated situation in which to embark on a legislative career.

The Papuan and New Guinean members faced certain problems in common and, if we exclude Dr Reuben Taureka's brief previous experience, there were no old 'Legco' hands amongst them. The first problem was one which faced all members: the failures and delays in the advance circulation of bills. For them, however, the delays were particularly serious since both the legal terminology and the very language, English, were alien to them. By general admission the prepared précis in Motu and Neo-Melanesian were not always adequate (*L.C.D.*, 8 June 1961, pp.

115, 116) and could scarcely have been expected to be in some instances. Similarly the implications of statements in debate and proposed amendments were likely to elude them. The second and related major problem concerned procedure, when to talk and what to talk about, and at a more advanced level how to prepare and present a successful amendment. No other native Member was as successful in wrestling with these problems as John Guise, and no others seem to have made anything like the attempt he made even to try to wrestle with them.

Success did not come easily. Like others, he was called to order for attempting to discuss matters not then under discussion. His first amendments were unsuccessful and his maiden speech struck a sour note for the editorial writer of the *South Pacific Post*. But although he abandoned his initial rhetorical approach to speech-making and jettisoned his lengthy historical approach to subjects, although he achieved temporary working arrangements with European official and non-official members and succeeded in making acceptable jokes, he did not soften the original harsh words regarding racial discrimination. This provoked scenes and bad feeling, however temporary, amongst European members, but was almost certainly a true reflection of feeling in his electorate during those years.

Essentially, his role in the Legislative Council was to endorse official policy and urge that it be implemented, with frequent and specific reference to Eastern Papua. In addition to the age-old backbench technique of asking the same question tirelessly in the hope of provoking official action—even more potent perhaps in Papua and New Guinea where the ‘government’ front bench was most scrupulous in its approach to Question Time—he also adopted the regular technique of speaking on the Adjournment to reply to the answers he had received to his questions and to explain his reasons for asking them. On one devastating occasion he in this way followed a series of innocuous questions, on native scholarship holders and secondary place getters, by the suggestion that the Administration might make more use of the scholarships available through United Nations sources. This followed his visit to the United Nations in New York and typifies his readiness to adopt new ideas and concepts. What it does not illustrate is his ability to discriminate and select, and sophisticated eclecticism, and of course no single illustration can convey that.

Despite the rhetoric and ‘hamminess’ so distasteful to the *Post*, his maiden speech was, as the *Post* admitted, ‘one of the outstanding contributions to the inaugural session’. The topics he focused attention on then remained in the forefront of his interest throughout the next three years and were indeed of major significance. Prominent amongst them were: an advocacy of the need for rural development, which on occasion allied him with the planters in their criticism of ‘wasteful’ expenditure in urban areas, particularly Port Moresby, the administrative capital; an advocacy of a greater role for Native Local Government Councils which earned him an appreciative commendation from the Director of Native Affairs; a constant demand for the expansion of health and education facilities, together with job opportunities in the Administration, for Papuans and New Guineans; and a sensitiveness to potentialities for racial discrimina-

tion which on at least one occasion led him closer to an advocacy of anarchy than of the rule of law.

In 1961, he introduced two amendments to the Child Welfare Bill, one seeking to enhance the functions of N.L.G.Cs., but withdrew both in the face of Administration opposition. In connection with this bill, incidentally, the Administration suffered its first and only defeat after division on an amendment proposed and seconded by European members (Lynch 1961: 2; Sloan 1962). A year later, on the immensely more important occasion of the Industrial Organizations Bill, 1962, Guise did not seek to introduce any amendments himself, but he had the satisfaction of seeing the Administration respond to his criticisms by sponsoring a series of major amendments to its own proposed legislation. His criticisms of the Migration Bill, 1963, were less fruitful, possibly because his remarks were received as indicating an over-sensitivity to the potentials for racial discrimination rather than as an attempt to reduce the power of the bureaucracy, normally a topic which could command significant support. On the Lands (Tenure Conversion) Bill, 1962, however, he was again associated with successfully securing substantial changes in the legislation as introduced. On this occasion he was acting against rather than with the Administration. By what is probably an accident in the selection of occasions for a division, his voting record was equally balanced for and against the Administration.

To sum up, he had been determined to learn and to succeed in his new role and to a very large extent he was successful. While joining his fellow elected native Members in protesting against their common problems, he did not consider that sufficient. If he could not understand legislation, he sought out people who would explain it to him. Between 1961 and 1963 he had proved himself a good Legislative Council man. The question was whether this would help him to secure election to the House of Assembly in 1964. John Guise thought that it would. In a roneoed manifesto which included his policy speech, he laid emphasis on two qualities the successful Member should possess. They were: the necessary technical skills, and the ability to express 'YOUR' ideas. During his term of office he had done his best to acquire the first and had been at pains to demonstrate the second. This raised the whole question of the level of sophistication of the electorate. Would the voters appreciate his achievement? In addition to his personal skills in politicking at the village level, there were two important factors in his favour. Firstly, he was able to point to certain tangible innovations such as Council Houses and schools, saying, I fought for this, here it is. In addition, Administration press releases concerning projected works were broadcast as news items, which enabled him to say I fought for this and it is going to be done. The conclusion was fairly obvious: If the electorate had been a cinderella, Guise—as sitting Member—could claim some of the credit for the appearance of a fairy godmother. Secondly, in waging a conciliatory campaign, he enabled all local leaders—if they chose—to associate themselves with him and in so doing to work on his behalf.

Under the general slogans of unity and progress, his election policy

stood four square with his maiden speech and subsequent activities in the Legislative Council. John Guise, M.L.C., Member of the Administrator's Council, and member of the Select Committee which planned the 1964 House of Assembly, was standing on his record.

The Campaign

At first glance, the electoral arithmetic seemed simple enough, with 77 per cent of the population located on the mainland and adjacent islands, and another 11 per cent on Misima. On the mainland, the North Coast represented an electoral prize with 44 per cent of the total population; second in importance was Milne Bay with some 14 per cent; third was the South Coast with some 9 per cent. This break-up of the mainland was common usage and based on geographical and ethno-historical factors—such as differing mission allegiance. Closer examination, revealing local jealousies and traditional rivalries, raised the question of whether these areas would vote as blocs and whether 'local' candidates could expect undivided local backing. In connection with the last question, the two candidates particularly involved—Osineru Dickson in Milne Bay and John Guise on the North Coast—were both open to allegations that they were deserters, who had sought advancement elsewhere and had only returned because they now needed the people's votes. Against R. H. Bunting, too, it could be argued that, having made his money, he had sold out his business interests and left the district. These charges were implicit in the policy speech of the remaining candidate, 'Albie' Munt, who pointed out that he, at least, lived in the Milne Bay Electorate and that he was not 'one of those here today and gone tomorrow people . . .'. As he also admitted, however, he was not very well known in the electorate and he did not in the event visit all the areas to meet people and listen to their wants, needs, and troubles, as he initially announced his intention of doing. But the charges were obvious ones to make and they were assiduously promoted without his personal assistance or even knowledge of his policy speech, which does not seem to have been widely disseminated.

Access to accurate information was fairly restricted. As elsewhere, the political education programme undertaken by the Administration was more successful in teaching people how to vote rather than why. There were a number of sound administrative reasons why this was so; not least was the difficulty of avoiding issues which could rightly be regarded as political once one embarked on the 'whys'. Nevertheless, if one knew the answer to why, it might have an important bearing on one's choice of candidate. There was no day-by-day, weekly, or any coverage at all of the progress of the election in the *South Pacific Post* or on the radio. None of the candidates, or their supporters, accepted the *Post's* offer of free publicity, nor did they pay for advertisements, and there was no controversial correspondence. The way was left open for rumour to play a prominent part. Gossip and rumour-mongering being such well-established recreations, amongst Europeans and Papuans alike, it is difficult to assess the weight which individuals gave to the titbits which they heard

and passed on. Some were obviously politically inspired. At one stage, it was said, for example, that Munt had withdrawn in favour of Bunting, which was true. It was also said that as a result of this Dickson had withdrawn in favour of Guise, which seemed reasonable enough, but was not true. The important point is that to those who had no knowledge of Dickson's whereabouts—he was on Misima at the time—it seemed reasonable and in some cases, perhaps, desirable. In such a situation it was not necessary for candidates themselves to fabricate rumours or even be a party to them. Custom, wishful thinking and deficiency of hard news were sufficient in themselves.

It would have been strange if individual activists had not been selective in their dissemination of reports; but none of the candidates possessed a well articulated machine which could be instantly directed to rebut, counter, or spread rumours. In fact none of the candidates had a formal electorate-wide machine at all. Three of them did not have the funds, nor did they solicit them for this end, and Bunting, who certainly had larger funds than the others, did not make the attempt. The most accomplished politician amongst the candidates, John Guise, had less need than the others and it was, in any case, a somewhat risky venture at this stage. Apart from staffing difficulties, it must be remembered that this was the first general election and no one could be sure in advance what the voters really wanted, or which groups and institutions would be of political consequence. In shrewd recognition of this, all the candidates proposed to tour extensively and meet the people.

Munt did not actually campaign very far afield, but the other three made considerable efforts to achieve a wide coverage. These efforts differed significantly. First in the field was Dickson. Travelling on foot for much of the way he does not appear to have made much use of advance contacts, being content merely to appear and state his views. The fact that he was frequently the first candidate to appear and the manner of his campaigning appear to have created a strong impression. The last of the three main candidates to reappear in the electorate of their birth and to begin campaigning was Bunting. Family sickness had delayed his intended campaign and he was left with only three weeks before polling began. It was felt by some that, had he had more time, he would have made a greater impact than he eventually did. In so far as this was based on the courteous hearing he received, it must be said that there were very few occasions when any candidate received anything less. But it is true that he did not convey the changed pattern of his thinking in recent years; and given more time he might have realized that his brief speech—deliberately kept simple—was not proving effective. In three weeks he visited all the major centres of population in the electorate. With more time he could have visited some of the smaller centres and generally spent more time at each place, thus dissociating himself somewhat from the launches, aircraft, and vessels which he employed so extensively. Be that as it may, for Bunting, the meeting was the key. He arrived, held his meeting, and departed. His meetings—as meetings—were probably more successful than those of other candidates. Deliber-

ately he kept them short and his speech was couched in simple terms. On the one hand, therefore, he offered the voters little opportunity to try him out, to lead him on, and to discuss issues of their choosing. On the other hand, he appeared to be relying on an excessively rational response.

It seems probable that Dickson and Guise held formal meetings because this seemed to be an integral part of electioneering, but that either consciously or unconsciously they did not rate them as highly as Bunting. Both were criticized for their failure to keep their formal campaign speeches simple and failures of interpretation over Guise's use of such concepts as the International Bank were gleefully retailed. Such observations ignored the form of their campaigning. Both were short of funds. Both stressed this as a campaign ploy, but nevertheless it was real enough. Instead of travelling everywhere by boat or aircraft, they frequently walked; instead of sleeping on-board, they slept in the villages; and almost always they ate in the villages, village food, as guests of the villagers. Undoubtedly this enabled them to hold preparatory discussions, to discover and assess local currents of opinion and attitudes, before they spoke in public. In the case of Guise, the observed consequences were not so much a major reshuffling of the speech, as the concrete local allusion, the quiet dropping of an effective name. After the formal meeting, also, they were often able to sit quietly, elaborating and discussing far into the night. It is unlikely that the International Bank figured too prominently on such occasions, but in such a situation it was possible for a bridge to be woven between the man who spoke so confidently of the International Bank and the village which was sending away, to New Britain, a young female school teacher for the first time.

The major difference between the campaign techniques of Guise and Dickson lay in the advance work and the follow up. Frequently, as sitting Member, Guise had been there before. Often there was a letter from relatives in Port Moresby or elsewhere, urging his selection. Of more importance, however, was his campaign literature. Dickson had none. Bunting had a simple fly sheet with his photo, an exhortation to vote '1 Bunting', and little else. In view of the prevailing absence of factual information, the general lack of understanding regarding the purpose and probable consequences of the election, and the fact that few voters could be personally contacted more than once, these were gross errors. In Council Houses, stores, and public places generally, such official circulars and posters as were available and Bunting's fly sheet were prominently displayed. It was reported and observed that people came to look at them and to read them or listen to them being read. But these contained little that could be discussed in concrete terms. Adorned with his photograph and such slogans as 'Be wise—vote Guise', 'The Member for the People', and 'Put your trust in the man you know, Not in someone you don't know', two separate sheets were issued in support of Guise. One, authorized by himself, itemized, in English, the main points of his policy speech. Thus, sometimes preceding him and always following him, there were concrete reminders of the man and his policy. Questions could sometimes be formulated in advance and memories could be refreshed after his de-

parture. Discussions could be stimulated and arguments resolved—or promoted—by reference to the magic of the printed word. The second sheet, authorized by Cecil Abel—the son of the founder of Kwato—did what the candidate might have felt some reticence about doing himself. It listed his overseas tours, the offices he held, and the prominent bodies with which he had been associated. Interestingly enough, since it was for electorate-wide distribution, it featured his visits to Sydney as an Anglican synodsmen.

Despite the groundswell of malicious gossip—relatively innocuous by local standards—the candidates did not openly attack each other's policies, let alone engage in personal abuse and denigration. The presentation of policies, however, provided scope for barely concealed attacks and in some instances the generally accepted restraint was absent. Both Guise and Dickson stressed their poverty in obvious and acceptable contrast to Bunting, who was making a virtue of his wealth. On at least one occasion, however, Dickson was reported to have added that, unlike the sitting Member, he received no pay from the government while he was campaigning. This was a shrewd blow since Guise had to contend with the disadvantages as well as capitalize the assets of being the sitting member. Such a direct and open attack seems to have been rare. One example of Munt's use of the indirect attack has already been cited, and in similar fashion both Munt and Bunting attacked Guise by emphasizing the 'cinderella' condition of the electorate and the need to elect a man who would put this right. This attack was not pressed home in any precise way and, in particular, no attempt was made to tackle systematically and unsympathetically the record of achievement on which Guise was running. While this would not have been easy, as indicated above, the fact that no such serious attempt was made suggests strongly the conclusion that there was only one politician in the race and that he won.

The Results

John Guise won a sweeping victory, gaining 17,045 votes to the 1,990 cast for R. H. Bunting, his nearest rival, Osineru Dickson's 564, and 'Albie' Munt's 137. In the absence of any breakdown of the aggregate vote by booths or election patrol routes it is pointless to speculate on sources of support or opposition. Since Guise received 84.6 per cent of the 20,159 votes cast, this can hardly be regarded as significant, in this context. He also received the great majority of absentee votes—695 against Bunting's 106, Dickson's 79 and Munt's 17—although his proportion was not quite as high as in the total vote. Informal voting was proportionately higher among absentee voters than local voters: 54 out of 951 against 369 out of more than 20,000. The low informal vote locally can probably be explained by a high proportion of voters seeking assistance. This was a marked feature of all the polling observed, even at the Milne Bay Council House. Since Guise drew the first position, this suggests that he made no attempt to provide a how-to-vote formula—unlike Munt who had offered the rather complicated advice to vote 4, 3, 1, 2. This, however, was in keeping with his speech which urged the

voters to pray to God for guidance and then seek the answer in their hearts as to whom they should vote for. His supporters, of course, adopted a more secular approach and one of his chairmen, for example, after pointing out that they had now heard a number of candidates, who were all good men, added diplomatically that only the present candidate had addressed them in their own tongue.

It would be interesting to know whether Guise was always able successfully to offer some such localized appeal: whether the votes cast against him—and abstentions—were fairly evenly distributed throughout the electorate or whether these voters were clustered in certain specific localities. The people inland of Goodenough Bay on the North Coast, for example, were visited by only one candidate, Bunting, who chartered an aircraft for a brief visit. Unable to visit in person, Guise was nevertheless at some pains to see that his campaign literature reached this area. While no breakdown of figures is available for this election, it is obvious that with 84.5 per cent of the votes cast—representing 67.9 per cent of the enrolled voters—the appeal of Guise was widespread throughout the electorate and not restricted to specific sectional interest groups.

One can safely say, for example, that he appealed to adherents of other churches besides those of his own Anglican communion. Certainly he made conscious efforts to do so. While not hiding his Anglicanism, he had made a point during his campaign and other tours of paying warm courtesy calls at all the religious headquarters and of attending Protestant services generally. Perhaps of major importance in this context is the widespread interest in church union—particularly noticeable amongst Papuan clergy, as well as European; interest in the United Church of South India in particular was quite widespread. Nevertheless, in this election, religious sectarianism was scarcely a profitable ploy—since the two strongest candidates were both prominent Anglican laymen (Bunting being an honorary canon of the Cathedral at Dogura), and since there was no Catholic candidate. Concerning sectarianism and the future, therefore, this election provides grounds for optimism, but not dogmatism.

Much the same can be said of the result of the election as a whole in terms of Guise's appeal for increased unity and his underplaying of sectional differences. While he was quite explicit, for example, in advocating the establishment of a new base hospital on the north shore of Milne Bay, this and its implications belonged to the future. The air of expectation was widespread within the electorate and obviously confidence in Guise was almost as widespread. But it seems possible, if not probable, that some of these expectations must be disappointed, if only relatively, when specific projects are implemented in specific areas and differential benefits accrue. Amongst other things, politics is concerned with bread and butter, and the present lack of electorate-wide institutions, while emphasizing the personal nature of Guise's achievement, also highlights its potential fragility should present expectations remain unrealized. While it would be most unwise—even in such speculations as these—to under-estimate the capabilities and potential of John Guise as a politician,

it seems clear that much will depend on the tempo of developments in the next few years.

For Guise himself the solution remains in closer collaboration between the Administration and the People. He has placed particular emphasis on the need to increase the number of Local Government Councils and to extend their functions in practice; and on the need to establish a Constitutional Commission which will ensure that further constitutional advances will have at least as much popular backing and support (as a consequence of free discussion and debate on a Territory-wide scale) as was accorded the House of Assembly. Both of these involve trusting the people in the villages and he himself has stated that as yet it is too early for political parties. Nevertheless, he does not despise the more sophisticated, and in at least six Open Electorates, and possibly others, candidates initially presented platforms and policy speeches essentially similar to his own.

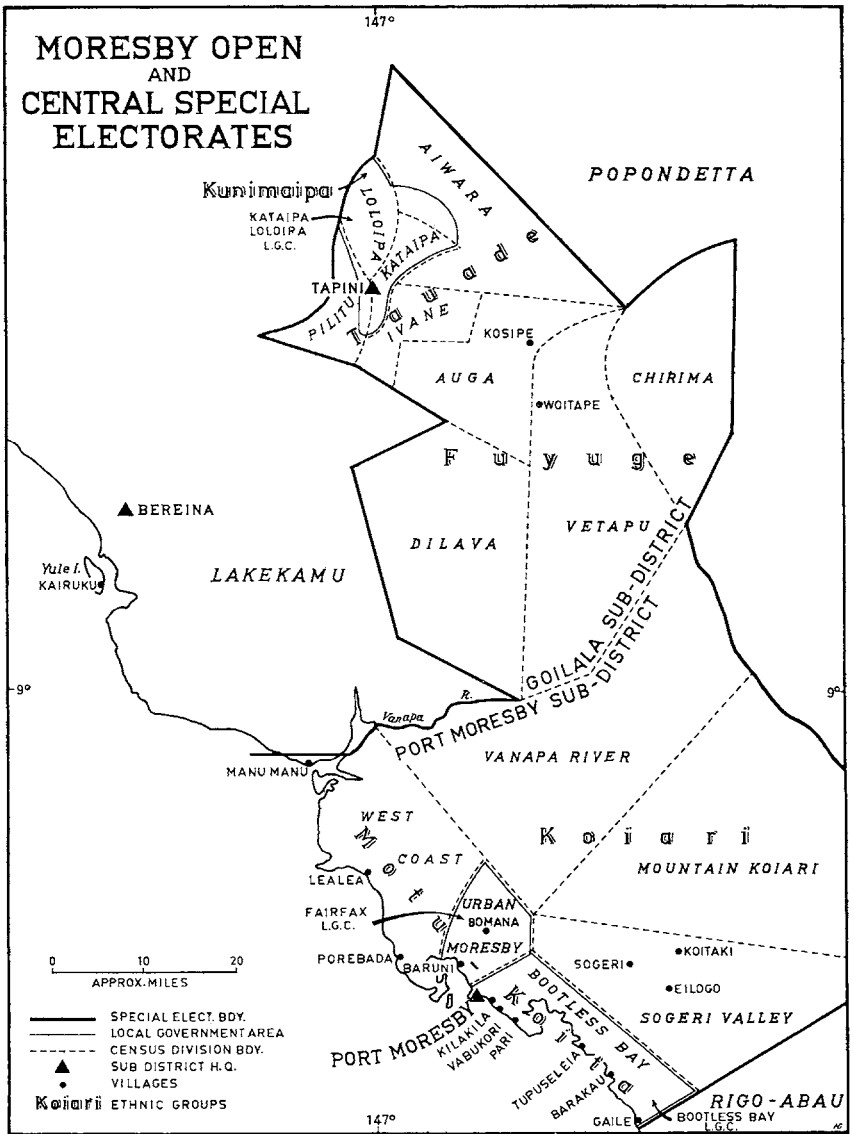
The Moresby Open and Central Special Electorates

Colin A. Hughes

The Electorate

The definition of the Moresby Open Electorate proved to be the most controversial recommendation of the Boundaries Committee. In central Papua where Sub-districts are relatively small in population, electorate-making took the form of combining Sub-districts; each of the four electorates contains two Sub-districts. In the case of Moresby this involved a union of the Port Moresby Sub-district and most of the Goilala Sub-district of the Central District (a Fuyuge-speaking portion of the Northern District containing about 2,000 people has been administered since 1960 as part of the Goilala Sub-district for ease of access, and was included in the Moresby electorate, but the Upper and Lower Kunimaipa and the Karnama Census Divisions of the Sub-district were placed in the Lakekamu Open Electorate to the west), and hence juxtaposition of two ethnic groups from near the opposite ends of the development scale.

The Port Moresby Sub-district is the centre of what could be called the Moresby region (Anas 1958) extending from the Lakekamu River in the west to Marshall Lagoon in the east and bounded on the north by the Owen Stanley Range, an area of some 11,000 square miles with a population of not much more than 125,000, but containing almost one-third of the non-indigenous population of the Territory (1961) and 10 per cent of the migrant indigenous population. The coastal area is a belt of parallel ridges and valleys with a thin alluvial cover of soil in the valleys, lying in a dry belt with a rainfall of under 60 inches—Port Moresby itself averages under 40 inches a year—in which agriculture is extremely difficult and population sparse. Only the Sogeri Plateau of 250 square miles, some 40 miles to the north-east of Port Moresby and between 1,500 and 2,000 feet above sea level, has sufficient regular rainfall and suitable soil for successful agriculture. Rubber from Sogeri, copra from plantations along the coast, and timber from the hinterland of Port Moresby are the principal products of European agriculture; copra is the principal indigenous cash crop but there is a large truck vegetable trade with Port Moresby. Roads run out of Port Moresby to the Vanapa River, to Sogeri and to Rigo, and there is an air-strip at a



plantation near the mouth of the Vanapa River, but other communication along the coast is by powered canoes or small trading vessels and inland along trails including that leading to Kokoda.

The hub of the Sub-district is the town of Port Moresby where most of the population of the Sub-district is to be found. Port Moresby is the administrative and commercial centre of the Territory, despite the limitations of its immediate hinterland, and it has by far the largest concen-

tration of Australians in the Territory. The latest available census (1961) of Port Moresby gives a town population of 6,000 non-indigenes (mainly Europeans but including Asians and mixed-race persons), and approximately 22,600 indigenes; by 1964 both groups would have been somewhat more numerous. The Village Directory of 1960 shows the Port Moresby Sub-district having a population of 15,000 village residents, of whom 8,000 were in the census districts of Urban Moresby and Bootless Bay. The mid-1963 estimate of the Administration for the Sub-district was 16,000. This would mean a total population for the Sub-district of resident Papuans, migrant natives and Europeans of approximately 36,000.

Although Port Moresby is by far the largest town in the Territory it is still 'not so much an urban area as a conglomeration of geographically and ethnically distinct settlements' (Oram 1964(b)). Only about one-third of the indigenes in Port Moresby were born in the Sub-district; almost as many come from other Sub-districts of the Central District, and a quarter of the indigenous population from the Gulf District. As almost all migrant labourers chose to vote for their home electorates, politics in Port Moresby concerned the Motu and associated ethnic groups living in nine villages in and on the edge of Port Moresby, and members of these groups who lived in Administration housing schemes at Hohola, Kaugere and elsewhere in the town. However the Motu in the Port Moresby villages—Hanuabada, the 'Great Village' (Belshaw 1957), and other peri-urban villages—constituted part of a Motu community which extends from Manu Manu to Gaile (sometimes Gaire) along the entire coast of the Sub-district, and are closely associated, often by intermarriage, with the less numerous Koita (Seligman 1910) along the coastal plain. Generally in this chapter, 'Motu' embraces both the Motu and the Koita; for example Pari village has a considerable Koita admixture. A basic Motu social unit has been the *iduhu*, a residential group based mainly on patrilineage, in which genealogical seniority usually determines the *iduhu* leader. However, it is possible for a Motu to acquire considerable status by personal abilities, and in the post-war period increasing Europeanization (Groves 1964(e)) has greatly enlarged such opportunities. The *iduhu* appears to be losing its meaning in Hanuabada. Inland about 2,000 Koiari of the foothills of the Owen Stanley Range are related to the Koita, and potential allies of the Motu against the Goilala peoples of the mountains to the north-west across the Vanapa River.

One other factor unifying the Motu has been the London Missionary Society. L.M.S. adherents constituted 64 per cent of the indigenous population of Port Moresby in 1961, and 85 per cent in the Motu wards of Gemo and Hanuabada. Apart from a few Roman Catholics, the Motu have been educated by L.M.S. missionaries and remain conscientious members of the L.M.S. flock (Belshaw 1957) although Church influence is much stronger in outlying villages than in Hanuabada.

Less can be said satisfactorily about the Goilala Sub-district. The only substantial ethnological work covering the whole area (Williamson 1912; see also McArthur 1961) was written over fifty years ago. However,

change has probably been less in Goilala than most other areas with a comparable period of contact. The immediate occasion for contact with the Goilala peoples has been the subject of some dispute; either Catholic missionary activity, forced out of more attractive areas by the gentleman's agreement of 1890 in which the Church refused to participate, was compelled to move inland from its only base on the coast opposite Yule Island and the government reluctantly followed (McAuley 1954), or the government sought to establish order to the benefit of miners and indigenes as well as missionaries (Bottrill 1954). Whatever the cause (see also Dupeyrat 1948), the only contact until the Tapini air-strip was opened in 1949 was along a packhorse and carrier track opened and maintained with great difficulty to link the Catholic missions with their base at Yule Island. To quote McAuley:

The road has never been an economic road. Government and Mission have brought in a small amount of trade goods by it, but that is all. The major imports that the road has made possible for the mountain tribes may be summed up in three words: police, gonorrhoea and Christianity . . . [Exports] consisted solely of prisoners sent for trial to Yule Island, to appear before the Supreme Court when on circuit, and the necessary witnesses that were sent down at the same time.

The Sub-district is a complex of sharp, steep ridges and deep valleys some of which contain swift-flowing rivers; the valleys are heavily forested, the ranges usually bare or grass-covered. Most of the Sub-district lies above 3,000 feet, and slopes upwards to several peaks of 10,000 feet or more, the tallest being Mt Albert Edward, over 13,000 feet. Apart from the small plane air-strips at Tapini and Woitape and a few miles of jeep track, communication is along trails and bridle tracks (Williams 1964: 127-30). The people of Goilala numbered 23,000 according to the 1960 Village Directory, 28,000 according to the mid-1963 Administration estimate.

The Goilalas comprise three principal linguistic groups, the Fuyuge, Tauade and Kunimaipa. However, there appears to be little innate feeling of unity within each linguistic group which exists as an agglomerate of local units coincidentally speaking a common language. Each village is a group of hamlets strung along or below a mountainous ridge. There is a traditional system of hereditary leadership based on the clan which is coincident with the village. These 'chiefs', of whom there are one or two to a village, are often difficult to identify; their authority apparently extends only to dance organization and feuding—but then these are possibly the two activities closest to Goilala hearts. Each hamlet has a leader who has some authority from personality or blood relationship, or much less likely has acquired it by association with Administration or mission. (On the Kunimaipa distinction between 'big men' and 'good leaders' see McArthur 1961: ch. 9). Although each village is self-contained, there is a fair amount of migration and intermarriage between villages, and between hamlets within a village, and dance visitors may travel for a week and even go outside their linguistic area to visit a big dance. Relations between villages are now fairly friendly, although inter-

village fighting has certainly left some old suspicions. However, there are relatively few bilingual Goilalas, even in border villages, and Police Motu is the lingua franca.

Apart from the Administration, the only Goilala-wide organization is the Roman Catholic Church. Its influence was long curtailed by its policy of opposition to the festival dances in which so much effort and food was dissipated (Dupeyrat 1955), but today the policy is beginning to have some impact, and Church hostility to polygamy has greatly reduced its incidence. As recently as October 1961, Bishop Klein asked the Administration-Missions conference for a ban on dances which kept children away from school for long periods; the Director of Native Affairs replied that the Goilala had turned from warlike activities to their dances to relieve the monotony of village life (*S.P.P.*, 24 October 1961). Each village receives three or four visits a year from a missionary, and there are a few village schools with untrained catechists. The Church takes a realistic view of its hold on its flock (despite Dupeyrat 1948: 100)—even catechists are likely to disappear from their villages for long periods to attend the dances.

The only part of the Sub-district for which information on economic development was available is the Kataipa-Loloipa Local Government Council area around Tapini. The Council covers some 3,800 persons. Within its area are 30 miles of vehicular road connecting nine of the thirty-six villages, and a further 70 miles of bridle track. The cash income of the area in 1963 was approximately £9,000, and a further £4,000 came from the wages of absent workers. There were six trading stores owned by indigenes and five owned by Europeans with collective sales of £15,000. Government spending in the area was £13,000 and a further £4,000 was spent by the trade stores. Small quantities of coffee and food-stuffs are flown out to Port Moresby. As the main local diet is sweet potato, there has been little need for store food. Local cash income is steady, but low. Within the Council area literates were very few, and the majority of villages would have no one with any formal education. Perhaps half a dozen indigenes have reached Standard 6. The Council area would be by far the most advanced part of the Sub-district, although the Tapini pocket is an under-populated—and malarious—part of it.

The differences between the coastal Motu and inland Goilalas have been aggravated by their contacts in the town of Port Moresby. In 1961 there were almost 500 Goilalas living in Port Moresby, over half of them in the Koki-Kila Kaugere area. Without being certain of the accuracy of the belief, it is generally thought that the majority are employed on the garbage and night-soil collection trucks which usually wend their necessary way through town festooned with ebullient Goilalas. Goilalas also figure prominently in incidents of violence in Port Moresby. In 1959 a number of Goilalas attacked the respected Motu member of the Legislative Council, Mahuru Rarua Rarua, and besieged the Co-operative Federation Building. Afterwards in the Council (*L.C.D.*, 15 July 1959, pp. 715-16) Rarua Rarua asked the Administration to stop employing Goilalas in the town because they behaved so badly. In the period before

the election two violent incidents involved Goilalas. In January a number of Goilalas rioted at Koki market, and two were accused of murdering a native of Abau who happened to be present when another Goilala accidentally drowned. Something of the general attitude towards Goilalas appeared after the election in the trial of two of them on charges of raping a European woman at Jackson's aerodrome. In his plea in mitigation for one of them, after both had been convicted of attempted rape, the Public Solicitor explained that payback killings had been frequent in his district until recently, that Administration patrols visited the area only once a year, missionaries about three times a year, and there was no educational activity at all. 'Bauwai was brought up in an atmosphere of primitive savagery', he observed. (On homicide amongst the Goilala, see McArthur 1961, ch. 7). In sentencing the men to eight years imprisonment, the Judge stated that he would have given them ten years each had they come from a more sophisticated area, but he was taking into account counsel's plea that their area had not had a great deal of Administration contact (*N.G.T.C.*, 18 July 1964).

However, the Goilalas have not been without their defenders. An officer who had served for four years in the Sub-district wrote to the *Post* after the rape trial to state his opinion that the crime was not a consequence of primitive conditions, 'but on the contrary of the sophistication of native specialized workers, and the influence on them of the city life' (*S.P.P.*, 31 July 1964; see also 8 and 29 May 1964). In their own district Goilalas showed respect for all Europeans, and even native constables, but had seen bad examples at Koki and Hanuabada on Saturday nights.

The combination of two such disparate Sub-districts occasioned considerable unhappiness among the out-numbered Motu and those Europeans who were well-disposed towards them, although it is unlikely that very many Europeans resident in Port Moresby were so affected. Murray Groves has complained that the electoral boundaries reflected the traditional bias of the Native Affairs Department 'in favour of the backwoods bushman against the urban sophisticate', and reported that an officer of the Department told him: 'It will do the Motu good to learn that they are only an insignificant minority in the country' (Groves 1964(b)). However, considering the composition of the official committee which drew the boundaries, it is unlikely that malice against the Motu figured in the slightest. Given the initial premise that electorates were to be as nearly equal in population as possible, it would be difficult to have arranged the Sub-districts of Papua otherwise. To have drawn an electorate stretching from Hula in the south-east towards Kairuku in the north-west, as Groves suggests should have been done, would have been to divide two Sub-districts to attach parts of them to the Port Moresby Sub-district. This would have been contrary to the policy prescribed by the Administration and carried out with a minimum of difficulty elsewhere, and contrary to the views of the Foot Mission that the Sub-districts had acquired such an identity with their inhabitants that they should be the building blocks of the electoral distribution. Behind this

élite electorate would have lain a mountainous hinterland quite devoid of internal communication routes. And, finally, one may question the community of interest between the Motu and the farming Mekeo in such a coastal electorate. It is easy to regret Oala Oala-Rarua's absence from the House of Assembly, but the quasi-gerrymander which would have been necessary to get him or a similar candidate there would have been a doubtful basis on which to launch the experiment of representative government.

Before the election campaign began, a group of Goilala leaders travelled to Port Moresby to see Albert Maori Kiki, a well known Orokelo welfare officer (Williams 1964: 223-31), to ask him to stand. Presumably through his welfare work with Goilalas in Port Moresby he was widely known and trusted in their Sub-district. Certainly he had skills in organization and communication which obviously no Goilala had. However Kiki declined to nominate. He was a close personal friend of Oala Oala-Rarua, and had a satisfying career with the Administration. The Goilalas returned home, and the only possibility of uniting the two Sub-districts terminated.

The Candidates in the Moresby Open Electorate

Moresby Open had the largest number of candidates of any Open Electorate: twelve. Four were Motu, three were Goilalas, three were Europeans including one living at Tapini, one a mixed-race person, and one an indigene from the Sogeri area.

The best known of the candidates was also the youngest, Oala Oala-Rarua, born at Pari village the son of a mission pastor in 1934. In 1952 he had started a teaching career with the Administration High School at Sogeri, but in 1955 took a teaching post with the Kwato Extension Mission at Milne Bay. He spent 1956 on a world tour (Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Western Europe, the United States and several Asian countries) under the auspices of the Mission, returned to the Administration's teaching service, during which time he completed his Queensland Junior Examination, and eventually became headmaster of Kerepuna Primary School at the age of twenty-seven. In 1962 he was appointed Personal Assistant to the Assistant Administrator (Services), Dr Gunther, and in 1963 was seconded to act as Assistant Executive Officer to the Commission on Higher Education in Papua and New Guinea—the Currie Commission. In March 1962 he succeeded Reuben Taureka as president of the Port Moresby Workers' Association. As a public servant Oala-Rarua represented indigenous officers on the executive of the Public Service Association and was a member of the Council of the Papua and New Guinea Regional Group of the Royal Institute of Public Administration. As an indigenous political leader he represented Pari village on the Bootless Bay Local Government Council, and had been a member of the first Political Education Touring Team to visit Australia in 1962. In a combination of the roles he had represented the Territory in the Australian delegation to the Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O. in Melbourne in 1962. In any list of outstanding Papuans and New Guineans,

Oala Oala-Rarua's name would be mentioned in the first half dozen. His rise had been meteoric, with only two potential set-backs. In 1961 he had been defeated for the Western Papua seat in the Legislative Council. Had the Motu been able to agree on a single candidate at that time, three years in the Council might have given him the political skills which he lacked in 1964. In September 1961 he was charged with drinking and resisting arrest; convicted on the second count he pleaded guilty to the first, and was fined a total of £15. Dr Gunther testified in his behalf stating that he was a trusted public servant and showed 'leadership tendencies and fairly soundly based philosophies', and the incident does not appear to have adversely affected his public service career.

With the experience of 1961 in mind, the Councillors of the two Motu Local Government Councils met to consider whether agreement could be reached on a single candidate. The three strongest candidates were Oala-Rarua, the sitting member Mahuru Rarua-Rarua, and Sinaka Goava, the Clerk of the Fairfax Council. A majority supported Oala-Rarua. A report spread that he was the 'official' candidate of the two Councils. Other Motu candidates objected and a press advertisement by Oala-Rarua appeared in the *Post (S.P.P., 4 February 1964)* pointing out 'I am not endorsed by either of these bodies, but I do have the support of persons who are members of both those councils'. At the same time Mahuru Rarua-Rarua, who was also the secretary of the Fairfax Local Government Council executive as well as Oala-Rarua's 'campaign secretary', circulated slips of paper correcting the report.

The efforts of Motu leaders to concentrate their votes behind a single candidate were frustrated by the intervention of three other Motu in the election. The most serious threat to Oala-Rarua came from the fourth man considered by the Local Government Councillors, Willie Gavera of Hanuabada. At this time forty-seven, Willie Gavera had served as a clerk with ANGAU and then as a clerk and medical assistant with the Administration until he resigned in 1959 to start his own transport business. By 1964 his business included a truck and a utility, and a general trading business, but some amongst the Motu contended that it was not so successful that a Member's salary would not constitute an attractive supplement to his income. He had been active in the Fairfax Local Government Council from its inception, had served five years as chairman of the Hanuabada Council and on the Central District Advisory Council. As far back as 1950 he had represented the Territory at a South Pacific Commission conference at Suva. His affiliations were appropriate to a businessman: one of the few indigenes to be a member of the Port Moresby Chamber of Commerce, a member of the Poreporena and Hohodae Co-operative Society, member of the Poreporena Choir, chairman of the Hanuabada Social Club and captain of the Kavari Cricket Club. Although Gavera declared that his reason for standing was to offer a businessmen's alternative to Oala-Rarua whose experience had been confined to the public service, his motives in rejecting the Local Government Councils' decision might be found in his longer political experience, and perhaps in a desire to emulate his father, Gavera Arua, who had dominated Motu

political life for many years (Belshaw 1957). He constituted a serious threat to Oala-Rarua, not by tapping free enterprise sentiments which run very feebly among the Motu, but through his extensive *iduhu* connections in Hanuabada where Oala-Rarua might be regarded as a Pari-born outsider. During the campaign Oala-Rarua moved to Hanuabada where he lived with his Hanuabadan wife's family, partly to offset this and partly because cessation of his public service salary during the campaign was a serious financial blow (see pp. 391-2).

The other two Motu candidates were less serious threats, although each had potential appeal for a substantial bloc of Motu voters. Mrs Ana Frank, aged forty-seven, with seven children, the wife of a carpenter, was persuaded to stand by European feminists. She had worked as a L.M.S. teacher for five years, having been educated to Standard 5, and both her father and grandfather had been L.M.S. pastors. Mrs Frank found her *métier* in the Girl Guides and Women's Club movements which brought her into contact with a number of European women, particularly Mrs Price, the Girl Guides Commissioner, who was widely thought to be Mrs Frank's political mentor. Ana Frank had not been a political figure; appointed to the District Advisory Council in 1954, she had resigned after a year because of family pressures.

Whilst Mrs Frank might have appealed to that unknown quantity, the Motu women's vote, Daera Ganiga might have been attractive to an older generation of Motu men. Then about forty-five, his principal public position was as president of the Native Ex-servicemen's Association in Port Moresby. During the war he had been a sergeant with the Papua Infantry Battalion; after the war he had served first with the police and then with the prison service, from which he had just retired with the rank of sergeant-major. Ganiga declared himself to be standing in protest against the attempt of the two Local Government Councils to abrogate to themselves the right to choose a candidate for all Motu (Groves 1964(e)), but he also explained that the Councils had chosen on the wrong criteria, too much emphasis on youth, Europeanization and formal book-learning, instead of maturity, experience of the world and proven leadership of men—as in war or the police service.

Pitted directly against the Motu candidates were three Goilalas. On the face of it, the strongest candidate could have been Bia Maini, the owner of a trade store at Tapini. As a cash cropper, a trader whose business included the marketing of produce for sale in Port Moresby, and a pitsawyer, he had shown economic initiative. He served on the District Advisory Council, was president of the Tapini Parents' and Citizens' Association, and had spent four years as a catechist for the Catholic Church. Exceptionally for a Goilala, he had visited Australia—with a previous employer. When the Kataipa-Loloipa Local Government Council unsuccessfully sought to choose a single 'mountains' candidate at a meeting called at Tapini, their candidate was Bia Maini. The second candidate from Tapini was Kaita Kau, aged about thirty-five. Previously a teacher, and a labourer and domestic worker in Port Moresby—where he had been president of the Goilala Welfare Association—he now

owned two trade stores. Like Bia Maini he had been a catechist, and now served on the District Advisory Council. The third Goilala was Eriko Rarupu, aged thirty-five, who operated a store at Woitape in the most populous part of the Sub-district. If linguistic divisions in Goilala were meaningful it was uncertain in which way they would influence the results. The Fuyuge were as numerous as the Tauade and Kunimaipa combined. Bia Maini was a native Fuyuge-speaker but had been absent from the area for some years and was permanently resident among the Tauade. Eriko Rarupu was a native Tauade-speaker but had been a pupil and 'Little Brother' at Fané in the Fuyuge area, and so understood Fuyuge while not being able to speak it: his store at Kosipe near Woitape was on the Fuyuge side of the Tauade-Fuyuge border. Kaita Kau, through his Tapini connection, might have had claims on both the Kunimaipa and those Tauade near Tapini, but so did Bia Maini.

The other five candidates do not fit tidily into a single ethnic-geographic category. John Martin, a naturalized Swiss, who had come to the Territory seventeen years earlier as a lay missionary, and now operated a trade store at Tapini, as well as engaging in some farming and contracting in the area, had appeal both as a European and as a resident of Goilala. If the Goilala were not prepared to vote for a Motu, and had doubts about the effectiveness of one of their own to do a good job for the area in Port Moresby, they might well turn to Martin, characterized as a stern and upright man likely to impress the obstreperous Goilalas. Colin J. Sefton, a planter at Sogeri, had served on the District Advisory Council for eight years, and could appeal both to Europeans and to all residents of the Port Moresby hinterland. Wiena Babaga, aged about forty, also lived on the Sogeri plateau, where he had conducted a sawmill and now operated a trucking business plying between Sogeri, Port Moresby and Rigo. He was another member of the District Advisory Council, had served as a councillor of the Kailakinumu village council, and had helped establish the L.M.S. at Sogeri. Bill Dihm (invariably called Bill Dihm, Junior, in the press), aged thirty-nine, was a bricklayer with the Public Works Department—and had previously been a motor mechanic and carpenter—and served on the Port Moresby Town Advisory Council. Dihm is of mixed-race descent and lives at Vabukori village. In the past the Mixed Race Association had gained some prominence in Port Moresby affairs. When the Central District Advisory Council discussed the possibility of a special mixed-race representative on the Council, it was contended that there were 1,500 mixed-race persons in the District—and the great majority of these would have been in the Port Moresby Sub-district. However, after John Guise's withdrawal from leadership in the Association, and indeed from identification with the mixed-race community, the Association appears to have been less of a political force. The last candidate was Wilton Arthur (Bill) Stansfield who came to the Territory from Queensland in 1954 as a mechanic, and had opened his own engineering business in 1959. Stansfield might be described in the terminology of Australian campaign biographies as a battler; late in 1961 he had had a row with the Administration over planning permission for

a store near Jackson's aerodrome (*S.P.P.*, 7 November 1961). He too had served in the Central District Advisory Council.

The Campaign in the Moresby Open Electorate

The interests of the Motu demanded a campaign strategy ensuring the maximum turnout of Motu voters, their concentration behind a single candidate or an efficient exchange of preferences. An attempt would have to be made to secure Goilala support, or else it was hoped that the Goilala vote would be split between the several Goilala candidates. Whilst there was a general sense of foreboding that numbers were against the Motu, the exact figures were not known until the Electoral Roll was published. On 12 November 1963, Fairfax-Ross had warned in the Legislative Council that 'it is highly probable that electors in the Goilala area, by their numerical strength, will dominate the Open and the Special Electorates of Port Moresby'; only a small percentage of the urban population would vote, but in Goilala, encouraged by 'conscientious and hard working young patrol officers', a relatively full poll would take place (*L.C.D.*, 12 November 1963, pp. 1037-8). The result would be to put the control of the Administrative and commercial centre of the country 'into the hands of bushmen'. Fairfax-Ross's speech was reported in the *South Pacific Post* (*S.P.P.*, 15 November 1963), and is thought to have helped cement anti-coastal feeling in the Kataipa-Loloipa Council area. Just before Christmas the *Post* reported the Returning Officer as saying that 51 per cent of the electorate enrolment was in the Goilala Sub-district (*S.P.P.*, 20 December 1963). A preliminary count of the roll showed 10,000 in Moresby against 11,500 in Goilala. Thus even if Oala Oala-Rarua could secure two-thirds of the Moresby vote against the seven other Moresby candidates he would still lose to any Goilala candidate who could secure half the Goilala vote—pretty hopeless odds. Oala-Rarua's first move had to be to maximize his support among the Motu, and here he was handicapped by his own feeling of righteous indignation against the other Motu candidates who were disregarding the collective decision of the Local Government Councillors. It seemed intolerable, and somewhat immoral, that he who had won the endorsement of the Motu leaders should have to 'do a deal' for second preferences. His European counsellors vainly urged him to swallow his pride and offer to exchange second preferences with each of the Motu candidates. When he finally was brought to approach Willie Gavera it was too late in the day and he was rebuffed. From the first Mrs Frank campaigned on the basis that her second preferences should go to Oala-Rarua, but the exchange of preferences needed a well-organized campaign by which the voters would be instructed before and on polling day to direct their second preferences. This was not done, and Oala-Rarua received no more than 40 per cent of the preferences of the other three Motu candidates—although it should be added that had he received 100 per cent he would still have lost. Similarly, there was a real possibility, anticipated by Fairfax-Ross, that the semi-urban Motu with business in town, distant gardens or a fishing trip to make would have a lower turnout than the Goilala. The mountain

people would be caught in their villages and vote to a man in the belief that voting was compulsory like the census or similar occasions when an Administration officer appeared in the village. This fear was not idle speculation. At the most recent Fairfax and Bootless Bay Council elections about two-thirds of the men and barely one-half of the women had voted. The poor turn-out of the Europeans, who might be expected to favour a Motu before a Goilala, was even more notorious. However, advice from European well-wishers to appoint 'ward captains' to get out the vote on polling day fell on deaf ears, as Motu leaders confidently expected that every Motu elector would do his or her duty. The final step, an approach to Goilala voters, was the most difficult. Because of the scattered population and villainous terrain a campaign tour of Goilala would be slow; Tapini air-strip is frequently closed for considerable periods by the weather; it was by no means certain what sort of reception a Motu candidate who walked into a Goilala hamlet might receive, and there were few Motu-Goilala links which could be used to promote a campaign tour. In the end Oala-Rarua, Mrs Frank, Willie Gavera (and Bill Dihm and Weina Babaga) all flew to Tapini and held meetings in the town where they were heard politely; only Bill Dihm campaigned outside the township, walking from Woitape to Tapini, but Willie Gavera timed his visit to attend the celebrations for the inauguration of the Kataipa-Loloipa Local Government Council when many Goilalas were in Tapini, and claimed to have 'sent word' via several Goilalas who had worked for him in Port Moresby back to their villages. Murray Groves (1964(e)) attributes Oala-Rarua's failure to campaign in Goilala to the need to secure his home base against rival Motu candidates, but the factors mentioned above seem more important. However, each of the Motu candidates campaigned extensively within the Port Moresby Sub-district, visiting both the coastal Motu villages and the plantations and villages of the interior divisions.

The Goilala candidates differed in their approaches to campaigning. Kaita Kau took the view that he had walked the area for many years teaching, doing medical work and helping the Fathers; campaigning was not necessary for it was up to the people to remember his work for them and elect him if they wished. Bia Maini travelled relatively little, although the writer has conflicting reports of the number of areas he visited. Only Eriko Rarupu actively campaigned through both Fuyuge and Tauade areas, although he avoided the Tapini area which was thought to be committed to Bia Maini. Elsewhere he was very well received—'pigs and roses all the way' one observer put it. The other candidate from the Goilala Sub-district, John Martin, did not travel himself but sent a supporter through some Fuyuge areas, and to Port Moresby to seek the support of Goilala voters in town.

Each of the remaining candidates held some meetings in and around Port Moresby, and such villages as could be reached by road and a few miles walk. The more distant Motu villages involved canoe trips. Bill Dihm covered most of the Port Moresby Sub-district in two months of hard campaigning. He also managed to visit Tapini and Woitape and

places on the track between them. An employee of Colin Sefton's flew to Tapini and combined recruiting and campaigning in two villages nearby; this approach may have produced some confusion, and it certainly produced very few votes.

The policies advanced by the twelve candidates varied a great deal. In Goilala, Kaita Kau and Bia Maini advocated more roads and bridges; Kau added more schools, aid posts and clinics. Eriko Rarupu promised to find out what his people needed, and get the House of Assembly to 'understand' him; there were reports that he had undertaken to open a trade store in the undeveloped area between Waitape and Tapini, and at least one of his opponents accused him of promising cargo. Martin's formal policy involved a reduction of bureaucracy to apply more funds to practical development work, but his agent was reported giving out the message that no Goilala was ready for the House and a European could best represent them at that time.

Bill Dihm had an elaborate programme of care for persons over fifty-five by the government (necessitated by changes in native society and emigration to the towns), adequate wages and housing in the towns, joint European and indigenous business enterprises, proper roads in rural areas, better primary education in urban areas, more mobile clinics, formation of unions, organization of a multi-racial Citizens Military Force (*S.P.P.*, 31 January 1964). Bill Stansfield emphasized a better deal for private enterprise in his press advertisements (e.g. *S.P.P.*, 7 February 1964), but confined his speeches in the villages to explaining the mechanics of voting without making any promises. The writer has no information on policies advanced by either Colin Sefton or Weina Babaga. Sefton's one advertisement (*S.P.P.*, 14 February 1964) contained merely a photograph and a request for votes.

Each of the Motu candidates had a policy statement. Ganiga called for strong leaders whose prime purpose was peaceful co-existence (a phrase which slipped into general and sometimes unusual use in the campaign) with Australia. He would make no wild promises, but would seek security for expatriate public servants and investment and try to attract overseas investment. Recruitment of expatriate Patrol Officers should be continued, and more Australians and indigenes recruited to the Department of Native Affairs generally. More immediately he would press for equal charges for all races in places of public entertainment, and on coastal vessels (*S.P.P.*, 14 February 1964). Mrs Frank promised to work for better education, improved marketing facilities, including refrigeration for fish, better transport to permit more local foodstuffs to be sent to the towns, more housing, particularly in the labour compounds, so that migrant natives could bring their wives and families to town, and more child welfare work and better clinics in the villages (*S.P.P.*, 31 January 1964). Willie Gavera had both a policy and a telegraphic device for his advertisements:

Gumption
Ability
Victory

Enterprise
ResultsAust. Friendship (*S.P.P.*, 14 February 1964)

His policy concentrated on private enterprise: duty free ports, greater technical training, a Board of Economics comprising Administration and business representatives to plan 'as a consultant medium for all potentialities and thus try to avoid unnecessary expenditure', and assistance for outlying villages to acquire land rights near Port Moresby which would become an industrial town in need of a large labour force. He would oppose a rush decision for self-government, respect the rights of expatriates as well as indigenes, and seek racial harmony without the colour-bar.

Oala Oala-Rarua was the one candidate whose policy showed something of a development during the campaign. His first public statement (*S.P.P.*, 31 January 1964) proposed a Public Service Board with Papuan and New Guinean members, assured housing (a matter of considerable importance to expatriate officers, *S.P.P.*, 10 January 1964), and compensation for expatriate public servants, improved wages and working conditions for indigenous workers, child endowment, preference for indigenes in the public service when preparing for independence, commissioned rank for indigenous policemen, new police uniforms, real assistance for co-operative societies and native businesses including better loan schemes, a primary school in every village of the electorate and one or two secondary schools in every District of the Territory, more Local Government Councils and multi-racial local government authorities in the towns, a faster-moving health programme, establishment of more welfare organizations, better water supply for the villages, more attention to community development work in the outlying Motu villages, a stepped-up defence programme and a unified system of laws for the Territory.

However, in his subsequent speeches to Motu audiences he concentrated on voting mechanics. Murray Groves, who attended a number of Oala-Rarua's meetings in villages to the west of Port Moresby, reported:

In the more remote villages, Mr. Oala-Rarua said very little about his platform, resting his appeal for support instead upon his personal qualifications and experience, to which he alluded briefly, with the polite self-deprecation expected of a young Motu man in such circumstances . . . Mr. Oala-Rarua did try sometimes to introduce national issues into his campaign, especially in the more sophisticated villages close to town, but his platform evoked little response at his meetings. He claimed to stand in the interests of the workers, and made some capital out of the fact that his main Motu rival, Mr. Gavera, is proprietor of a motor transport business who might therefore be expected to promote the interests of the employers. He argued also for the eventual independence of Papua and New Guinea, but none of his audiences seemed to take the slightest notice of this plank in his platform. (Groves 1964(e).)

In his speech to the Chatterton meeting held in the Arts Theatre and directed to a predominantly European audience, he concerned himself more with political matters. His speech is included at some length because

it is thought to be typical of the level and tone of discussion of the questions of independence and relations with Australia by the handful of Papuans and New Guineans able to address themselves to such matters without slipping into words and ideas suggestive of cargo cults. What follows is an almost verbatim report:

Thank you for coming, and thanks to Mr Percy Chatterton for the opportunity to express my views, so that when you vote you will be able to think of me. This is a very important election for Papua-New Guinea, which faces an important stage of development because the people have a chance to have their own representative in the House of Assembly.

This is very important to my own mind because Papua and New Guinea have been forced towards self-government, and Australia is being forced by the United Nations, the Afro-Asian bloc and outside pressures to this. Even though we are not quite ready, we are forced to it. I do not regret it. I think it is inevitable and right that there should be 44 elected members.

In 1960 I led a delegation to the U.N. Mission asking that they investigate Papua as well as New Guinea. We did not get a good reception. Sir Hugh Foot, an excellent man, said: 'This is how you feel—but we must be guided by the terms of reference laid down by the U.N. If Papua and New Guinea are to get independence, it must come from the people.'

I'm not going to discuss the policies set out in my little pamphlet. It is entirely up to you to decide which man is best. But as I am here I wish to state several things. (I do not know the reasons for candidates not coming. It is simply because they do not like to face an audience, or face or stand beside me.) This is democracy, and I understand if a man is involved he can say what he likes. These are only my views, not necessarily those of everyone else elected. They are only my personal views. I will do all I can for them in Parliament, but there will be 43 other elected members to have their say, so I will not make promises which would be beyond my powers.

I shall not talk about what I would do for the Papuans and New Guineans whom I have talked to, but I will talk about what I would like to do for the Europeans, the expatriates. Papua and New Guinea must depend for a long time on outside aid. I would stand for independence with close ties with Australia. For many, for 20, years to come, we must depend on Australia. I would remind you that the Prime Minister said: 'We will remain with you even after independence.'

If I am elected, I will see that independence will come only when people are ready. All over the world people say: 'Independence for Papua and New Guinea', but I don't see this now or next year. I see a lack of experts. We're not yet ready for this. Australia is being forced to give independence—and I know this. Australia has the U.N., the Afro-Asian bloc, and other forces behind it. Being a Papuan and New Guinean myself I don't think that is right. We are not yet ready, and there will be some time yet.

If I am elected, I will try to see a 'proper independence', not a false one, is given by Australia to Papua-New Guinea. Australia came here with the idea of giving a sound independence. When independence will

come, I don't know. I think the Prime Minister is right in saying it will come when the wish of the people is clear, when they are ready for it. Independence means a lot. I'm not here to define it, but I believe that Australia will not walk out until I believe we are *quite* ready for it: education, economic development so that we can pay our debts, social development as well as political. If elected, I shall see we do not get independence before we are ready to demand it. If elected, I shall tell the U.N. to shut up and mind their own business. It is only fair that we should have a chance to make up our own minds. South American and Indian delegates said to me in Rabaul: 'Of course you want independence as soon as possible.' I said that I didn't know about that. They said that Australia is not doing very well by you: people are starving and living in poverty. I replied that was an odd statement coming from an Indian, as I knew something of Indian history. I want to be certain that when we get independence, it will be sound and stable and that it will last all our lives. I don't want a second Congo. A lot of people have trouble because they got independence before they were ready or because they were forced to it by the Communist bloc, the Afro-Asian bloc, or the U.N. We want a contented, happy independence which will make us a contented, happy people.

Some say there is no security for Australians because of independence. I don't agree. I don't agree with not giving security in careers for those Australians who came here to help us. Aid must continue, however you define it, for 20 years, and we will depend greatly on this. I want Australians, New Zealanders and Englishmen who come to help us to be given security in their jobs. I, for one, would like to see the Australian Parliament or the Commonwealth help those who sacrifice fortune and seniority to come here. Living here is not very pleasant—I must say this—but they come here and give their time and knowledge to the people. There is a lot of talk about these people resigning. I'd like to see them given security. Should their jobs be taken over, they would be given compensation. People are people, they should think about themselves too. I would see Australians come here with security. It is for the Federal Parliament to guarantee this; they must care for the people and the Administration. Once Australia gives us independence, they are not going to walk out and take everything with them. The Prime Minister said 'We will help even after independence.' Australians will not be driven away; they will go of their own wishes, or when the people say: 'You must go. Here is compensation.'

You must elect someone who has knowledge, who can read and write the English language. In the old Legislative Council only one of all [the native Members] was able to say something, had a clue. The other five didn't know what was going on. I don't want that here. Vote for the man who can understand. I think I can understand. I think I can help my people. You must vote for the right one. Many candidates have been forced to stand. This is known. This Territory will depend on those who have been elected by the people, not those who have been forced to stand or had their fares paid. Such is not a righteous man.

By this time Oala-Rarua had greatly exceeded the time allotted him by the chairman, and the abrupt termination on a gibe at Mrs Frank who was to be the next speaker would have been unplanned.

A questioner complained that on the one hand Oala-Rarua was concerned that Australia would be forced out of the country by hostile interests but had then tried to re-convince the audience that Australians would be there for twenty years or more. When he promised security or compensation for loss of career, when would this be paid and who would provide it? Oala-Rarua replied that the Territory did not have the means to guarantee it, but he thought Australia should. When pressed that he had overlooked the part of the question about independence he answered that his people would not chase the Australians out; they wanted the Australians to stay, not because the Australians wanted to stay, but because they wanted the Australians. It was not other people's business to tell Papuans and New Guineans that Australia should get away as soon as possible. To another questioner who asked what he had meant in his policy pamphlet by preference to Papuans and New Guineans for vacant positions in the public service, Oala-Rarua answered:

Australia has said we will get independence when ready, and to get ready the public service must be the backbone of the nation, and there must be people trained in it. It will take a long time to train them. Education is needed for basic facts and principles, but training is needed too. Provided he has the right qualifications and ability, a Papuan and New Guinean should be given a chance. If the people are to look after themselves one day, they must be given a chance. I think that in every Department there are Papuans and New Guineans who could take jobs if they were given the opportunity.

The Central Special Electorate

Central was one of the two Special Electorates to comprise a single Open Electorate. This greatly reduced its size, and enabled candidates to conduct less strenuous campaigns than those offering for huge electorates such as Highlands or West Papua were forced to attempt. The division between the Port Moresby and the Goilala Sub-districts proved to be the decisive factor in Special Electorate politics as well.

The first candidate to announce was the Reverend Percy Chatterton (*S.P.P.*, 29 November 1963). Chatterton had lived in the Territory for almost forty years and was extremely well known and popular with the Motu. A native of Lancashire, he had come to Papua as a L.M.S. missionary in 1924 and had spent fifteen years in Hanuabada before going to Yule Island for a further eighteen years. He returned to Port Moresby where he had worked for the British and Foreign Bible Society in translation work; he edited the standard Motu dictionary, and his ability as an orator in Motu was both impressive and greatly esteemed by the Motu. If elected he undertook to retire and devote himself to his parliamentary duties. He had political experience as a member of the Central District Advisory Council and a member of the Education Advisory Board. Chatterton was known as a man of principle; in 1961 he had created a minor furore by resigning from the Boy Scouts with whom he had been associated for thirty-five years when they ran a chocolate wheel at a Scout fête (*S.P.P.*, 24 March 1961), and he strongly protested at the exclusion of

a Chinese-mixed race public servant from the Administration's Konedobu Club for public servants (*S.P.P.*, 15 December 1961).

Next into the field was the first Goilala area candidate, Ron Brennan (*S.P.P.*, 3 December 1963). Brennan, aged thirty-nine, born at Tumut in New South Wales, had come to the Territory thirteen years before as a lay missionary with the Catholic Fathers in Goilala. For four years he had operated a trade store at Waitape, and had recently moved to Ber-eina, which although outside the electorate was in close contact with the Tapini part of the Goilala Sub-district, where he had opened a second store. He was followed by A. H. (Bert) Pikett, a businessman who operated a farm at Sogeri and an auctioneer's business in Port Moresby. Pikett's group associations included presidency of the Territory Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, membership of the Papuan Agricultural Society and presidency of the Koitaki Country Club on the Sogeri plateau.

Three other candidates had offered by the time nominations closed. F. D. (Andy) Anderson, aged thirty-nine, had come to the Territory in 1948 as a Patrol Officer, and had served as Senior Patrol Officer and Acting Assistant District Officer before being dismissed from the Administration service in 1957 after an incident in which force was used against several Goilalas. His dismissal followed his appearance in the Supreme Court on a number of charges; he was found guilty of 'deprivation of civil liberties' and of assault, and sentenced to eighteen months' gaol. On appeal to the High Court of Australia his release was ordered after he had served eight weeks (*S.M.H.*, 25 September, 13 December 1957). Since that time he had operated trade stores at Waitape and at Tapini where he lived.

Mrs Kay Ashcroft-Smith was the wife of a public servant in Port Moresby; she had lived in the Territory for fourteen years, and been active in several organizations—the R.S.L. Women's Auxiliary, the Y.W.C.A., the Country Women's Association, and the Girl Guides.

Charles Kilduff, aged thirty-nine, was the most recent arrival in the Territory, although he had served there for three years during the war. He had been admitted to the Territory Bar not quite two years previously, and practised as a barrister and solicitor in Port Moresby. He had previously been in Australian politics with the New Guinea Party, a minor phenomenon on the federal political scene. The party was formed in the Territory in July 1963 at Lae (*S.P.P.*, 16, 19 July 1963) with a programme directed to securing the defence of the Territory against Indonesia by closer association with Australia; to this end it would seek a Territorial representative in the Commonwealth Parliament. Some of its founders, including Kilduff, had been associated with the abortive United Australia Movement. During the Australian House of Representatives elections in November 1963, the New Guinea Party sought to nominate a New Guinean, Union Begi of Zagehemic near Finschhafen, for the Wentworth electorate in Sydney, but his nomination paper was rejected by the returning officer on the ground that he was not a resident of Australia (*S.M.H.*, 8 November 1963). The party's four Australian candidates,

including Kilduff who stood for the safe Labor seat of West Sydney, polled very poorly and lost their deposits. Their programme, announced by the party's vice-president, Bruce Miles, a Sydney solicitor, involved trebling expenditure on education in the Territory and securing secondary education for all children, increased defence for the Territory including patrols on the Indonesian border, pressing the United Nations to require the plebiscite promised for West Irian, and a Territorial representative in the Commonwealth Parliament. Bruce Miles told the *South Pacific Post's* Sydney reporter that 'six or seven' candidates of both races in addition to Kilduff supported the New Guinea Party's policy but did not wish to ally themselves with any party at that stage; after the election the Party hoped to organize a group in the House of Assembly (*S.P.P.*, 4 February 1964).

Four of the candidates in the Central Special Electorate campaigned, Kilduff and Mrs Ashcroft-Smith did not. Kilduff, observing that he could not spare the time from professional commitments, confined himself to setting out his policy in an advertisement in the *Post* (*S.P.P.*, 11, 14 February 1964). This contained nine points: (i) immediate representation in the Commonwealth Parliament; (ii) development of a multi-racial society in the Territory 'with a view to becoming a permanent and free member of the Commonwealth of Australia'; (iii) more defence; (iv) fair prices for improved shipping; (v) multi-racial local government bodies in the towns; (vi) encouragement of native business; (vii) guaranteed compensation and employment in Australia for expatriate public servants; (viii) a revision of land policy to permit development; (ix) unification of the laws of Papua and of New Guinea into a common body. Mrs Ashcroft-Smith addressed two private meetings in Port Moresby, including a Rotary Club luncheon (*S.P.P.*, 7 February 1964) at which she put forward her policy: compensation for expatriate public servants, representation in the Commonwealth Parliament, development of tourism and construction of an interconnecting road system throughout the Territory with international financial assistance. She printed 2,000 leaflets for distribution on motor-car windscreens, and (presumably under the auspices of the feminist camp) shared 500 leaflets in Motu and English with Mrs Frank.

Among the other four candidates the most spectacular (by Territory standards) campaign was organized by Bert Pikett. For two months before the election the *Post* carried a number of 3½" x 2" advertisements directed to different sections of the electorate: 'Electors of Port Moresby vote Bert Pikett who stands for economic and national security and development'; 'Hanuabadan Electors vote Bert Pikett who wants you to have a new village with up-to-date amenities'; 'Moresby Outstation Electors vote Bert Pikett who will help you to acquire land and homes in Port Moresby'; and 'Goilala Electors vote Bert Pikett who will help to get a road to Port Moresby for your produce, also construction of local roads and bridges'. On 10 January the *Post* contained a larger advertisement which warned of the external threat to the Territory, and set out his own qualifications for office and policies:

Bert Pikett your Candidate for the Central Special Electorate has been a soldier and lecturer in Economic Geography to thousands of troops in Malaya during the last war. I have travelled and studied intently all countries in South East Asia. I have a diploma in Agriculture from the Dilworth School of Agriculture, Auckland, New Zealand. I have a farm in Sogeri and are [*sic*] a licensed Auctioneer, and a man who has had a vast commercial experience. This I assert is very necessary for a member of Parliament—moreover I have the power of speech which enables me to impart clearly what I think and desire to say. If elected I will work for development of Fish and Meat Canneries, support the Establishment of Rice, Tea, Sugar, Cattle and other industries. Creation of roads where possible. I will strive to get a strong military force, dispersed at all major aerodromes and ports and a portion of the Australian Navy should always be on hand in case of emergency.

However, the most controversial part of the advertisement concerned the internal danger to the Territory:

As the first election draws nigh with a common Roll, what is the likely result? The result is that there could be elected a majority of members who could neither read nor write.

Members who will be elected by voters from a photo will be asked by a native affairs officer, 'You likem dis pella or that pella?' The elector will probably say, 'Me no savvy you votem man bilong you', and so the officer could quite likely, within the sanctity of the polling cubicle, find himself having hundreds of votes of his own choosing.

The result, as I have mentioned, could be a majority of members in the house, without education, business or political experience.

He went on to make the acute observation—which seems to have escaped most candidates—that the ministerial veto power would occasion such an international outcry that it was of little effect. Therefore the composition of the House was a serious business.

The implications of Pikett's charge were immediately taken up. The Chief Electoral Officer gave an assurance that presiding officers would not dream of casting a vote for an illiterate who had no candidate of his own choosing, and a penalty of a £100 fine warned against such an attempt. Bryant concluded:

I have complete confidence that my officers will discharge this duty as provided by the Ordinance, that is, merely to give physical effect to the voter's wishes . . . I cannot help but feel that remarks such as those contained in the advertisement do a disservice to the Electoral Administration of this Territory and cast grave aspersions on the Administration itself, a situation to be deplored.

The Director of Native Affairs added his comment: 'I am quite hurt by suggestions that my officers would vote for native people, however uneducated, or influence the election in any way.'

Pikett replied on 24 January that he was merely pointing out the possibility of such improper influence occurring, and that the Administration must have anticipated it because a penalty was provided. Many voters would have no idea as to who the candidates were, and the booths might be blocked by natives talking among themselves trying to decide whom

to support. If polling officers were threatened with such severe penalties, there could be a 60 per cent informal vote: 'Maybe the Australian Government wants a vast number of informal votes so as to prove to our overseas critics that the natives are not ready to govern themselves already.' However the damage to his candidacy had been done by this point. Pikett's implied charge against the universally respected D.N.A. officers—and against the several hundred public servants who were temporary polling officers in Port Moresby—coupled with the extravagant promises made at his Arts Theatre meeting, left him considerably discredited as a candidate with the European community.

On 28 January Pikett held a campaign meeting at the Arts Theatre attended by about sixty-five persons, mainly European with a handful of indigenes. The chairman, a Port Moresby businessman, introduced Pikett as a man who had resided in the Territory for ten years and been very active in community affairs, and now intended to do all he could to assist the general welfare and happiness of the people of the district; a man of sincere ideas who would do his utmost to provide a strong economy and adequate external security. These were the two themes of Pikett's speech. National security was the more important: an Indonesian attack would be another Pearl Harbor; in the absence of anti-aircraft guns the Indonesians could land at Jackson's aerodrome. He, Pikett, had been at Hollandia at the time of the takeover and had heard Indonesian soldiers boast about what they would do in the Territory. If Robert Kennedy's mission did not bring about peace between Malaysia and Indonesia, there could be war, and the Territory had to pull its socks up. The natives in the hall that night were working for peaceful co-existence between Australians and themselves. They knew that the country lacked both a stable economy and defence to protect itself for even 24 hours. The native intelligentsia was well aware of the need for the £25 million subsidy, and that money did not grow on trees; the native population wanted economic security. The Territory should be able to do without imports and be self-sufficient in foodstuffs: rice, tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar (which produced an interjection, 'Australia stops us'), fishing, meat and dairy products. What stops development is governmental control—they are milling around in circles all the time. Local tobacco growers should be protected as in Australia; the Territory imports £700,000 worth of tobacco a year. Although the Territory produced rubber there was no tyre factory—crêpe soles at least could be manufactured. Hydro-electric power could be used for bauxite processing, but the Administration had done nothing. When experts ready to spend £300 million visited the Territory they were given a cold shoulder, and not even provided with a car and driver. The Lands Department was throwing open small blocks and providing financial assistance for small holders, but if land development was recommended markets should be provided. The producer should have an opportunity for a fair return on his labour, but in areas like Goilala produce had to be flown out. Europeans in highland areas bought produce for next to nothing and shipped it down to the towns. There should be coastal decentralization with networks of roads radiating

out from the coastal towns; if necessary a railway should be built—he, Pikett, had worked on the Burma railway which had been built over much rougher country with a heavier rainfall. In another local appeal he referred to the comparison of the Administration buildings at Konedobu with housing at Hanuabada—‘stinking, and a disgrace to any civilized community’, with its absence of sanitary facilities met by the sea in which the residents bathed and swam. If the government could provide £6,000 homes at 17s. a week rent for European employees, they could provide better housing for natives. He would endeavour to see that Hanuabada was rebuilt with European materials, still over the sea but with water and light in every house.

To his own question, where was the money coming from, Pikett answered that he had a fair idea of the content of the World Bank Report. It would deal with road improvement and economic self-sufficiency. The World Bank would find the money; they found it every day in the week for under-developed countries. The W.H.O. allocated \$23 million for child welfare, but the Territory was getting none because no one had thought to ask; he would ask. Under the Colombo Plan Australia was providing millions of pounds for Indonesian education to teach Indonesians how to take our country from us; Colombo Plan charity should begin at home. In a proposal which probably attracted the greatest attention he promised to move for a panel of experts to be sent to Singapore and Hong Kong to draw plans to create a free port in Port Moresby; both places had grown because they were free ports where manufacturers like to be located. There should be flour mills, a shipbuilding industry, better tourist facilities including first-class hotels and public conveniences, a commercial radio station and a television station, a town hall with an auditorium.

He repeated his warning that a majority of members of the House might be illiterate, without business or political experience. These members could form a clique and cause trouble. There was the safeguard that the Australian government could veto legislation, but what was the use of a democratically-elected House if the will of the people could not be obeyed. Whilst Australia was contributing money she should have a say, but there was a legislation which could be passed which the government would be embarrassed to veto. He, Pikett, was under no obligation. He was self-employed, and as a free-thinker was not tied to any sect. To a questioner who later asked whether he was completely independent or had an ‘arrangement’ over voting, he replied that he had tried to contact several candidates in the Moresby Open Electorate without success. Accordingly he was asking for first preferences for himself, and leaving voting in the Open electorate to the voter; if he could do a deal, a how-to-vote card would be distributed. (On polling day booths in the European areas of Port Moresby at least were attended by Europeans distributing Pikett-Sefton cards.)

Pikett’s policy was the only one to come in for substantial public criticism. Chatterton’s reference to his Hanuabada proposal is mentioned below. An officer of the Department of Forests wrote to the *Post* protest-

ing that native housing in the terms mentioned by Pikett would be 'financially impossible' and the analogy with assisted housing for European officers was 'totally incorrect' (*S.P.P.*, 7 February 1964):

Such a vote-grabbing effort should not be tolerated . . . In this country at its present stage, more than any other, men must be elected who are not making rash promises to feather their own nests but who have the welfare and advancement of the territory in mind.

This is the first House of Assembly with a native majority and, as such, much is expected of it—if it cannot do a lot then all it does must be good. Men, then, who are elected on ridiculous election promises are not needed.

Pikett replied (*S.P.P.*, 21 February 1964) denying that he had made any rash promises, and arguing that all that he had said was that if the Administration could finance European housing 'surely something could be done to house Natives on a pro-rata basis for a native dwelling'. However, the writer's impression was that the European community clearly wrote Pikett off at this point, and that his vigorous campaign, summed up in his subsequent advertisement (*S.P.P.*, 14 February 1964):

A live wire Candidate—makes a good member

Bert Pikett was 1st in Newspaper advertising
1st in issuing Photographed Pamphlets
1st in Highway advertising
1st in Airdropping Pamphlets
1st in Delivery of a Policy Speech
1st in Political & Commercial experience

So make him 1st Tomorrow.

emphasized what was taken by the Europeans to be wildness on his part, and by the indigenes to be 'big headedness'.

The only other candidate to hold a meeting designed primarily for Europeans was Percy Chatterton. Like Pikett he had invited the local indigenous, that is Motu, candidates to share the meeting. Whilst Pikett managed to get none of them along, Chatterton's meeting was attended by Mrs Frank and Oala Oala-Rarua who spoke first. The chairman, a L.M.S. missionary, Leo Buckman, announced at the start of the meeting that Chatterton was standing for the House of Assembly on his own, and did not wish to be identified with any particular sectional group or interest in the community. Chatterton's speech was pitched low, providing a complete contrast with Pikett's, although this was a consequence of Chatterton's character and understanding of what was appropriate amongst the Motu rather than deliberate campaign strategy. He pointed out that this election differed from elections in Australia and other countries in a number of ways, two of which he wanted to talk about that night. There were no parties and so promises could be no more than to do one's best. Most policy statements were the same; the candidates were all barking up the same tree. Such policy matters as he discussed were also less high flown. The Territory could not afford costly mistakes, so major projects should be preceded by research and pilot projects; this had been the Department of Agriculture's policy, and he was certain that it was the

right one. Economic advances had to be under-pinned by education. The Territory could not advance whilst people in the Sepik believed that money could be grown or people in New Britain believed that an injection could give them a white skin and free them from work. He emphasized that he was talking about education, not schooling, because so many in Papua and New Guinea believed English to be a magnificent path to wealth; they needed to be taught that English was a tool of education, not education itself. He had seen this in Papuan schools, Administration schools and, he blushed to say, in L.M.S. schools. The Territory needed multi-stream schools, teaching that all types of work were honourable whether or not they led to a job under a fan at Konedobu.

On housing he wished to speak especially to the people of Hanuabada. One candidate had said that their houses stank. After the war some houses had been rebuilt with scrap (see Belshaw 1957) and some houses the Administration had rebuilt—better than they had built since. His advice to the Hanuabadans was to keep off the drink, save their money and build the sort of houses they wanted, and not what somebody wanted to put them into. He didn't want more and merrier Hoholas, but building loans. (The government concrete block houses inland at Hohola, built close to the ground and liable to flooding, contrast most unfavourably with most Motu traditional homes over the shoreline; few Motu live there, and many who tried it have gone back to the shore. On housing in Port Moresby generally see Oram 1964(a).) There might be problems of land tenure and security for loans, but he was certain that they could be resolved.

One of his favourite themes in the campaign was legal obscurantism. He was concerned at the effect lawyers' language had on newly independent countries where, after independence and a short taste of legal formalism, the people turned to leaders and peoples' courts to hang people they did not like. He would not say that this was the only cause of dictatorship, but it was one. It might not be possible to write laws in terms suitable for primary schools, but it must be tried if proceedings of the House were to have any touch with reality. He would vote against any Bill he could not understand.

Two matters not in his policy statement were compensation and defence which he regarded as matters for the Commonwealth government rather than the local legislature. One could not expect a man to do a good job if he was worried about how he could support his family in one, two or five years; if he could not be given security of office, then he must be offered a job elsewhere or compensation. On defence, he would not like to see his Papuan and New Guinean friends pushed around 'by you know whom', and would support any action in the local legislature, but it was primarily a matter for the Commonwealth.

The two candidates based on the Goilala Sub-district saw no need for campaign meetings. Anderson concentrated on the Tapini area, and tied his appeal to support for Bia Maini. Apart from cultivating the Kataipa-Loloipa Councillors after the formal inauguration of the Council, his principal campaign device was to send employee supporters immedi-

ately ahead of election patrols. His policy included increased funds for construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, increased support for primary producers, improvement of native housing, citizenship rights for mixed-race people, relaxation of travel restrictions to Australia for mixed-race and native people, and purchase of plantation land when it came on the market for subsequent sale or lease to native groups. Brennan patrolled from Waitape through to Tapini, and offered no detailed policy other than a promise to do what he could for the people and especially to seek a road link to the coast. In a letter to the *Post (S.P.P., 14 February 1964)* he asked the paper to emphasize that the election would reflect the will of the voters, that every precaution was being taken to prevent breaches of the electoral law or 'other interference with human rights', that 'we' had confidence in the electoral officers, and that most voters had a strong preference for their candidate and clear reasons for supporting him. It may be supposed that the letter was written with altruistic motives, and not in an attempt to take a swipe at Pikett or to ensure the good will of local electoral officers.

The Results

Detailed unofficial results are given at the end of this chapter, but the totals for the groups into which individual polling places fall show clearly the dominant influence of ethnic-geographical loyalties on voting. The polling places may be sorted into five groups: the Motu villages in Port Moresby and along the coast, the 'European areas' of downtown Port Moresby together with the residential suburb of Boroko and the area out to Jackson's aerodrome—in which a number of Motu and migrant natives would have voted because they happened to be shopping or working on polling day or lived there in servants' quarters, the ethnically mixed areas of Port Moresby whether residential like Hohola or business like Koki, the inland part of the Moresby Sub-district, and the Goilala Sub-district.

TABLE 1. First Preference Votes in Moresby Open

	Motu candi- dates*	European candi- dates†	Goilala candi- dates‡	Other candi- dates§	Valid vote
Motu areas	3660	140	11	190	4001
European areas	632	1049	8	85	1774
Mixed urban areas	974	397	278	263	1912
Moresby inland	496	148	66	606	1316
<i>Moresby Sub-Dist.</i>	5762	1734	363	1144	9003
<i>Goilala Sub-Dist.</i>	146	775	9069	30	10120
Total	5908	2509	9432	1174	19123

* Ganiga, Gavera, Frank, Oala-Rarua

† Stansfield, Sefton, Martin

‡ Kau, Maini, Rarupu § Dihm, Babaga

In Motu areas the Motu candidates received just over 90 per cent of the vote; in Goilala the Goilala candidates did equally well, and if Martin is regarded as a Goilala by adoption the figure rises to 97½ per cent. The polling booths in European areas do not provide such clear-cut evidence but after allowance is made for non-European voters at such booths it does appear that Europeans voted for their own tribesmen almost as strongly as Motu and Goilalas. One candidate managed to obtain relatively wide support even though he could not break into the solid Goilala following: Bill Dihm won over a quarter of the vote in Vabukori, the Motu-Koita village where he lives (although it has been suggested that had he refrained from criticizing other candidates he would have done better there), did reasonably well in the European and mixed areas of Port Moresby, and gained a plurality of the votes in the Moresby inland area where he campaigned vigorously. John Martin did moderately well around Tapini, but gained some European votes in Port Moresby, presumably negative votes from local voters who would not back the local European candidates, Sefton and Stansfield, but wished to vote for a European, and in the mixed urban area probably from Goilalas living in town.

Although the rate of turnout does not appear to have differed substantially between the two Sub-districts, the higher proportion of informal votes in Moresby, 6·9 per cent against 0·9 per cent in Goilala, presumably slightly disadvantaged candidates whose principal support came from there.

Each of the candidates showed some localization of support. Weina Babaga, the candidate with the fewest votes—one wonders whether he was not the candidate who told Sefton that he had voted for Sefton (*S.P.P.*, 20 March 1964)—drew almost half his votes from his home area of Sogeri, and the rest seem to have been random votes. Bill Dihm, in addition to his Vabukori neighbours, was supported at Sogeri and Mountain Koiari where he campaigned, and by voters in Port Moresby, many of whom were probably of the mixed-race community. Stansfield gained little advantage from the 'donkey vote', and his vote was fairly evenly spread in the European and mixed areas of Port Moresby, with a slight tendency to localization around his home and business near Jackson's aerodrome. Sefton drew his support almost entirely from Europeans—some Europeans from Kaevaga would have voted at the Girl Guides Hall—and less than 60 votes from the area around Sogeri where his family have been planters for many years. John Martin's support came entirely from the Tapini and Kataipa-Loloipa Council areas where he lives, from the Europeans and some Goilalas (perhaps from the Tapini area) in Port Moresby. Daera Ganiga drew all his support from Hanuabada, plus a few random votes. Mrs Frank could obtain only 5 votes at Pari where she lives, against Oala-Rarua, the local son. The fact that half her vote comes from the European area suggests that the expatriate feminist vote is much stronger than the Motu. As was expected Willie Gavera managed to cut into the Hanuabada vote—to the extent of 33 per cent of the total—and secured about one vote to every two for Oala-

Rarua in non-Motu parts of the Sub-district, whilst picking up a sprinkling of votes in other Motu villages, especially Gemo and Lealea where he would have connections. Apart from Hanuabada, however, the Motu villages stood solidly behind their Councillors' decision to back Oala Oala-Rarua and gave him 80-90 per cent of their vote. He would appear to have won the votes of some migrant natives and a few Europeans as well, but polled disappointingly in the Moresby inland area. His visit to Tapini produced a few votes, including those of a number of Pilitu men who happened to be in Tapini that day.

Thus, as was predictable, Oala-Rarua with just under 50 per cent of the Moresby Sub-district vote was running well behind any Goilala who could secure half of his Sub-district vote. Martin's local support around Tapini was paralleled by that of Kaita Kau whose vote came exclusively from the Tapini area and the adjacent Auga, Ivane and Aiwara Census Divisions. Bia Maini had rather more widespread support drawn from the Kataipa-Loloipa Council area where, although he had been the choice of the Council, he could win only 31 per cent of the vote, and from the Vetapu, Dilava and Auga Census Divisions including Woitape, all in the Fuyuge-speaking part of the Sub-district. Between them, Martin, Kau and Maini secured only 37 per cent of the Goilala vote, and Eriko Rarupu proved to be the one candidate who drew support from the whole Sub-district, ranging from about 25 per cent in the Kataipa-Loloipa Council area to almost 100 per cent in Chirima and parts of Auga and Vetapu. In the Fuyuge-speaking area, the most populous part of the Sub-district, he secured 3,930 votes, 74 per cent of the total, and more than Oala-Rarua had polled in the Moresby Sub-district. On such a division of first preference votes, the only danger to Rarupu's victory lay in the distribution of subsequent preferences.

Whilst the majority of Motu preferences went to Oala-Rarua, there were substantial numbers of both exhausted ballots and preferences apparently drifting at random in the Motu areas. Oala-Rarua also collected a few preferences from Stansfield and Martin, and about 50 per cent of Sefton's original vote, indicating that after European voters had supported one or all of the European candidates Oala-Rarua was the candidate they most favoured. (The destination of so many of Mrs Frank's preferences to European candidates is further proof that she drew a substantial part, perhaps more than half, her votes from Europeans, presumably women.) John Martin's vote admirably illustrates the tendency of subsequent preferences to follow ethnic-geographic lines as doggedly as first preferences. Of his initial 1,150 votes, 115 had come from European areas of Port Moresby; he received 79 preferences from Stansfield, and transmitted 280 preferences to Sefton. He received almost all his Goilala votes in the Tapini and Kataipa-Loloipa areas where Bia Maini, although the local candidate, received slightly fewer votes than Eriko Rarupu; of Martin's preferences rather more went to Maini than to Rarupu. Oala-Rarua could secure only 171 preferences from Kaita Kau and Bia Maini (who had received only 54 preferences from the three Motu candidates who dropped out before them), whilst Rarupu was collecting 1,843 from

TABLE 2 Allocation of Preferences in Moresby Open

	1st count	2nd count	3rd count	4th count	5th count	6th count	7th count	8th count	9th count	10th count	11th count	Final count
Ganiga	146	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(146)
Babaga	152	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(157)
Frank	266	3	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(273)
Stansfield	486	5	4	40	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(535)
Gavera	1009	33	12	41	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	(1119)
Kau	1212	1	5	7	1	24	—	—	—	—	—	(1250)
Dihm	1060	3	28	24	102	67	14	—	—	—	—	(1298)
Martin	1144	23	10	11	79	32	95	90	—	—	—	(1484)
Sefton	1085	4	8	45	139	109	10	328	280	—	—	(2008)
Maini	1840	1	0	1	5	20	104	14	404	668	—	(3057)
Oala-Rarua	4645	32	46	40	41	462	23	132	106	568	148	6243
Rarupu	6502	4	0	12	5	20	493	16	272	193	1350	8867
Exhausted	—	32	40	52	139	385	511	718	422	579	1559	4437

them. Although there was a substantial exhaustion of Goilala ballots, there was still sufficient direction of preferences to Rarupu to ensure his election.

TABLE 3 First Preference Votes in Central Special

	Chatterton	Pikett	Goilala S.-d. candi- dates*	Other candi- dates†	Valid vote
Motu areas	3008	319	103	108	3538
European areas	932	262	224	312	1730
Mixed urban areas	847	127	224	164	1362
Moresby inland	337	495	104	143	1079
<i>Moresby Sub-Dist.</i>	5124	1203	655	727	7709
<i>Goilala Sub-Dist.</i>	162	1529	6830	352	8873
Total	5286	2732	7485	1079	16582

* Anderson, Brennan † Kilduff, Ashcroft-Smith

Subject to certain exceptions, a similar display of ethnic-geographic loyalties occurred in the Central Special Electorate. Here, the rate of informal voting was much higher than in Moresby Open, over 16 per cent, but there was less difference in the rates between the two Sub-districts, 20 per cent in Moresby against 12 per cent in Goilala. Comparing the two electorates again, Chatterton as the 'Motu' candidate had done rather better than Oala-Rarua. He polled 85 per cent of the Motu vote against Oala-Rarua's 75 per cent, 54 per cent of the vote from the European areas against 17 per cent, 62 per cent of the vote from the mixed urban areas against 44 per cent, and 31 per cent of the vote from the inland area against 23 per cent. He still trailed the combined vote of the two 'Goilala' candidates, although he was 1,000 votes ahead of Brennan. Brennan, however, had not done so well as Rarupu; he had only 45 per cent of the Goilala Sub-district vote to Rarupu's 61 per cent. His shortfall

TABLE 4 Distribution of Preferences, Central Special

	1st count	2nd count	3rd count	4th count	5th count	Final count
Ashcroft-Smith	429	—	—	—	—	(429)
Kilduff	709	110	—	—	—	(819)
Pikett	2775	40	142	—	—	(2957)
Anderson	3186	45	104	200	—	(3535)
Brennan	4394	45	210	135	814	5598
Chatterton	5432	110	127	480	453	6602
Exhausted	—	79	236	2142	2268	4725

TABLE 5 Unofficial Returns: Moresby Open

	Stansfield	Dihm	Babaga	Seton	Martin	Ganiga	Kau	Gavera	Maini	Frank	Rarupu	Oala-Rarua	Informal	Total
<i>Motu Areas</i>														
Fairfax Council Chamber	7	5	4	11	2	25	0	290	0	6	0	537	32	919
Guide Hall	15	12	2	28	4	25	0	89	1	12	1	294	47	530
Geno	16	9	1	3	4	1	0	17	0	2	0	25	4	61
Footless Bay C. C.	1	27	11	5	4	2	1	27	0	8	2	251	40	389
Vabukori	3	76	2	2	1	2	1	16	0	7	1	157	14	282
Barakau	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	106	12	120
Gaire	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	203	40	262
Forebada	0	14	2	9	0	1	0	13	0	0	0	223	1	265
Lealea	0	10	1	2	0	0	0	86	0	0	0	295	34	428
Baruni	3	8	2	2	2	1	0	6	0	0	1	345	10	380
Fari	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	238	6	250
Tubuseia	5	11	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	336	7	362
Total	62	165	25	63	15	58	2	550	2	42	7	3010	247	4248
<i>European Areas</i>														
Arts Theatre	49	33	0	289	30	9	1	51	0	26	1	134	23	646
Coronation School	9	6	0	53	7	1	0	7	0	12	2	114	6	114
Salvation Army Hall	50	4	0	122	26	1	1	31	0	27	0	40	18	329
St Joseph's Hall	24	12	1	76	16	2	0	20	1	21	0	28	8	209
Bavaroko School	16	4	1	38	10	1	0	15	0	15	0	15	6	121
Annexe 6-mile	11	2	0	14	4	1	0	8	0	7	0	7	1	53
Airport	24	10	0	33	7	0	1	5	0	0	0	22	6	118
Ela Beach School	24	12	0	102	15	5	1	40	0	18	0	36	18	271
Total	207	83	2	727	115	20	4	177	1	129	3	306	87	1861
<i>Mixed Urban Areas</i>														
S.D.O.	30	136	7	21	5	1	2	18	1	4	3	218	74	520
Everyman's Hut	19	21	2	18	94	7	0	16	2	13	4	311	54	564
O. M. Hall, Badili	3	17	0	16	30	0	61	19	0	3	12	115	17	185

Konebada	2	22	0	1	5	22	2	1	1	1	166	33	24	282
Taurama Hospital	13	7									8	58	17	168
Melaleuca I.R.														
Goldie and Taurana	15	5	4	22	13	13	8	2	0	5	3	15	13	111
Hohola	10	37	1	3	2	2	0	2	2	4	2	184	25	284
Teachers' College and Homana	4	3	-0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	6	5	26
Total	98	248	15	130	169	169	74	74	6	45	198	840	229	2141
<i>Moresby Inland</i>														
Sogeri	11	170	61	27	18	13	2	76	3	5	7	134	12	539
Eilogo Plantation	2	0	0	6	0	0	11	6	0	0	34	9	2	70
Koitaki	1	0	0	7	3	0	0	1	0	2	2	7	3	26
Iukinumu Plantation	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	6	0	2	0	3	3	20
Subitana, Merebe & Bisianumu Plantations	3	34	0	24	1	0	1	5	1	3	0	4	3	78
Mountain Kolari	2	293	0	19	8	4	0	48	0	1	0	40	58	474
Vanapa	2	23	22	2	10	7	1	10	0	2	4	107	26	216
Total	21	522	84	87	40	25	15	152	4	15	47	304	107	1423
<i>Goilala</i>														
Tapini	0	5	4	1	384	7	56	2	33	1	289	11	0	793
Katapa-Loloipa L.G.C.	7	6	9	11	341	8	251	6	470	7	391	21	0	1528
Tapini/Piliu	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	15	3	0	26	19	1	78
Tapini/Aiwara	0	0	0	0	7	1	0	0	1	0	709	0	2	720
Tapini/Auga/Ivane	0	0	0	1	2	0	468	0	2	0	298	0	8	779
Aiwara	0	0	0	0	0	0	304	0	0	2	508	0	2	814
Woitape/Chirima	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	535	0	11	551
Chirima	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	123	0	1	124
Woitape/Auga	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	70	0	290	0	1	362
Auga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	534	1	1	536
Woitape/Vetapu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	174	0	0	174
Vetapu	0	2	4	3	1	2	16	0	389	6	1284	7	28	1746
Woitape/Dilave/Vetapu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	316	1	275	0	31	623
Dilave/Auga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	525	0	245	29	0	789
Woitape/Kosipe	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	6	1	470	1	2	485
Total	7	13	17	18	750	18	1101	23	1817	16	6151	89	88	10112

TABLE 6 Unofficial Returns: Central Special

	Brennan	Kilduff	Ashcroft-Smith	Anderson	Pikett	Chatterton	Informal	Total
<i>Motu Areas</i>								
Fairfax Council Chamber	13	11	14	5	47	698	131	919
Guide Hall	4	11	22	10	10	326	147	530
Gemo	3	0	2	1	2	42	11	61
Bootless Bay C. C.	8	8	7	6	11	284	65	389
Vabukori	6	9	1	6	16	197	47	282
Barakau	0	2	0	0	0	99	19	120
Gaire	11	2	0	0	3	204	42	262
Porebada	9	2	4	4	125	115	6	265
Lealea	3	1	2	0	3	225	194	428
Baruni	4	5	1	2	20	330	15	377
Pari	1	0	0	0	0	235	14	250
Tubesereia	6	2	2	1	82	253	16	362
Total	68	53	55	35	319	3008	707	4245
<i>European Areas</i>								
Arts Theatre	18	68	38	51	117	328	37	657
Coronation School	4	6	22	9	19	45	9	114
Salvation Army Hall	2	31	31	31	31	171	32	329
St Joseph's Hall	11	19	19	24	22	103	11	209
Bavaroko School	4	6	8	10	10	76	7	121
Annexe 6-mile	1	7	2	8	4	27	4	53
Airport	14	5	11	15	8	44	21	118
Ela Beach School	6	18	21	16	51	138	21	271
Total	60	160	152	164	262	932	142	1872
<i>Mixed Urban Areas</i>								
S.D.O.	18	17	9	9	43	189	235	520
Everyman's Hut	19	29	11	15	27	287	168	556
O.M. Hall, Badili	12	7	4	57	13	42	59	194
Konebada	25	24	12	8	15	44	154	282
Taurama Hospital	8	9	15	11	15	83	28	169
Murray Bks. & P.I.R. Goldie & Taurama	15	6	2	2	2	32	52	111
Hohola	2	9	8	20	10	156	79	284
Teachers' College & Bomana	1	0	2	2	2	14	5	26
Total	100	101	63	124	127	847	780	2142
<i>Moresby Inland</i>								
Sogeri	17	43	9	19	210	172	69	539
Eilogo Plantation	29	1	1	16	8	12	3	70
Koitaki	0	1	0	1	4	9	11	26
Itikinumu Pln.	1	0	3	0	6	4	6	20
Subitana, Merebe & Bisianumu Plantations	1	2	0	3	39	15	18	78
Mountain Koiari	1	57	1	2	182	50	181	474
Vanapa	8	14	11	6	46	75	56	216
Total	57	118	25	47	495	337	344	1423

TABLE 6 *Continued*

	Brennan	Kilduff	Ashcroft-Smith	Anderson	Pikett	Chatterton	Informal	Total
<i>Goilala</i>								
Tapini	197	51	53	393	53	44	2	793
Kataipa-Loloipa LGC	155	154	51	924	145	94	5	1528
Tapini/Pilitu	1	1	1	29	0	1	45	78
Tapini/Aiwara	9	0	0	370	1	1	339	720
Tapini/Auga/Ivane	284	9	1	131	1	1	352	779
Aiwara	489	0	0	8	0	0	317	814
Woitape/Chirima	493	0	0	0	0	1	57	551
Chirima	123	0	0	0	0	0	1	124
Woitape/Auga	271	3	2	76	7	1	2	362
Auga	518	3	0	3	5	1	6	536
Woitape/Vetapu	174	0	0	0	0	0	0	174
Vetapu	342	21	0	3	1312	17	51	1746
Woitape/Dilave/Auga	280	0	0	313	0	0	30	623
Dilave/Auga	243	0	0	527	0	0	29	799
Woitape/Kosipe	468	0	2	6	5	1	3	485
Total	4047	242	110	2783	1529	162	1239	10112

came not only from Pikett's strong showing in Vetapu (where he won 1,200 votes or 75 per cent of the total), but also from Anderson's strength around Tapini (where Brennan polled poorly) and in Dilava and Auga. To overtake Chatterton, Brennan would have to secure Goilala second preferences from Anderson or perhaps from Pikett who had cut into an area Brennan might otherwise have been expected to carry. The very high proportion of exhausted ballots eliminated such a possibility. Pikett and Anderson were lone wolves in the election and over two-thirds of their ballots were exhausted on distribution.

Thus whilst the number of exhausted ballots was only slightly higher in Central Special than in Moresby Open, against perhaps 1,800 ballots cast for Martin, Kau or Maini in Goilala exhausted before they reached Rarupu, there were perhaps 3,000 ballots cast for Pikett or Anderson exhausted before they reached Brennan.

The Suki Area, Fly River Open Electorate

Corry and Jan van Nieuwenhuijsen

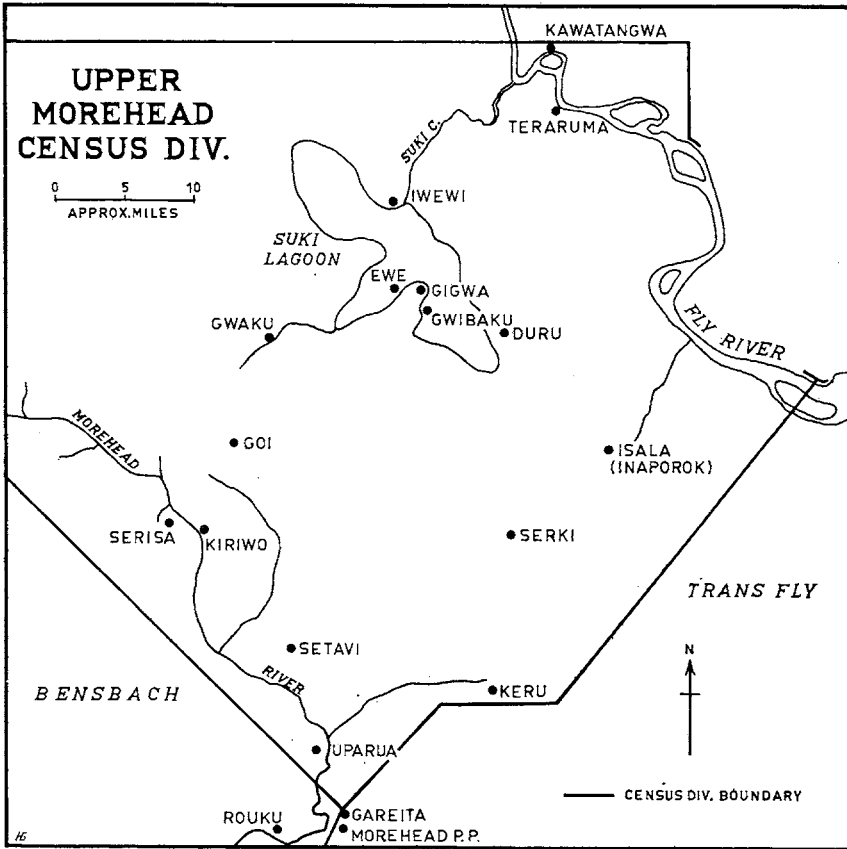
The Electorate

The Suki inhabit the swampy lowlands around Suki Lagoon (known on some maps as Lake Saru) in the Upper Morehead Census Division of the Western District between the Fly River and the West Irian border. They are centred in five villages: Ewe (officially known as Aewa), Gwi-baku, Duru, Isala (Inaporok) and Iwewi (Iwewe), which range in size from about 360 to 100 inhabitants. The total population at the time of the House of Assembly elections was about 1,000. The area is part of the vast (37,000 sq. miles) and thinly populated (16,700 electors) Fly River Open Electorate.

The Suki were first contacted by an Administration patrol in the early 1920s. Some years elapsed before the next patrol visited the area and on that occasion eight boys and men were taken back to Daru for 'educational' purposes. During their stay in Daru they acquired some proficiency in Police Motu and some knowledge of the views of the Administration on such matters as tribal warfare and head-hunting. Obviously the men had not assimilated these views, for in 1931 six of them (two had died in the meantime) took part in the second Weridai raid, called after the lower Fly River village that fell victim to it. This, however, was the last head-hunting excursion of the much-feared Suki (Williams 1936: 263-4). The rounding-up of the raiders (Hides 1938: 193-227) and their subsequent trial at Daru marked the beginning of the first contact period. A great number of Suki men were convicted and served three-year sentences as far away as Port Moresby and Samarai.

The Unevangelized Fields Mission (U.F.M.), an interdenominational body adhering to a fundamental evangelical doctrine, appeared on the scene about 1941 and has been in the area ever since, apart from an interruption during the war years. The Mission Station at Gigwa and its nearby air-strip are situated in the heart of the area, within easy reach of four of the five Suki villages. It includes a school (up to Standard 2), a medical aid post and, more recently, a small trade store.

Generally speaking, the Suki have responded to the mission's preaching and teaching in a positive way. In Ewe, for example, over 25 per cent of

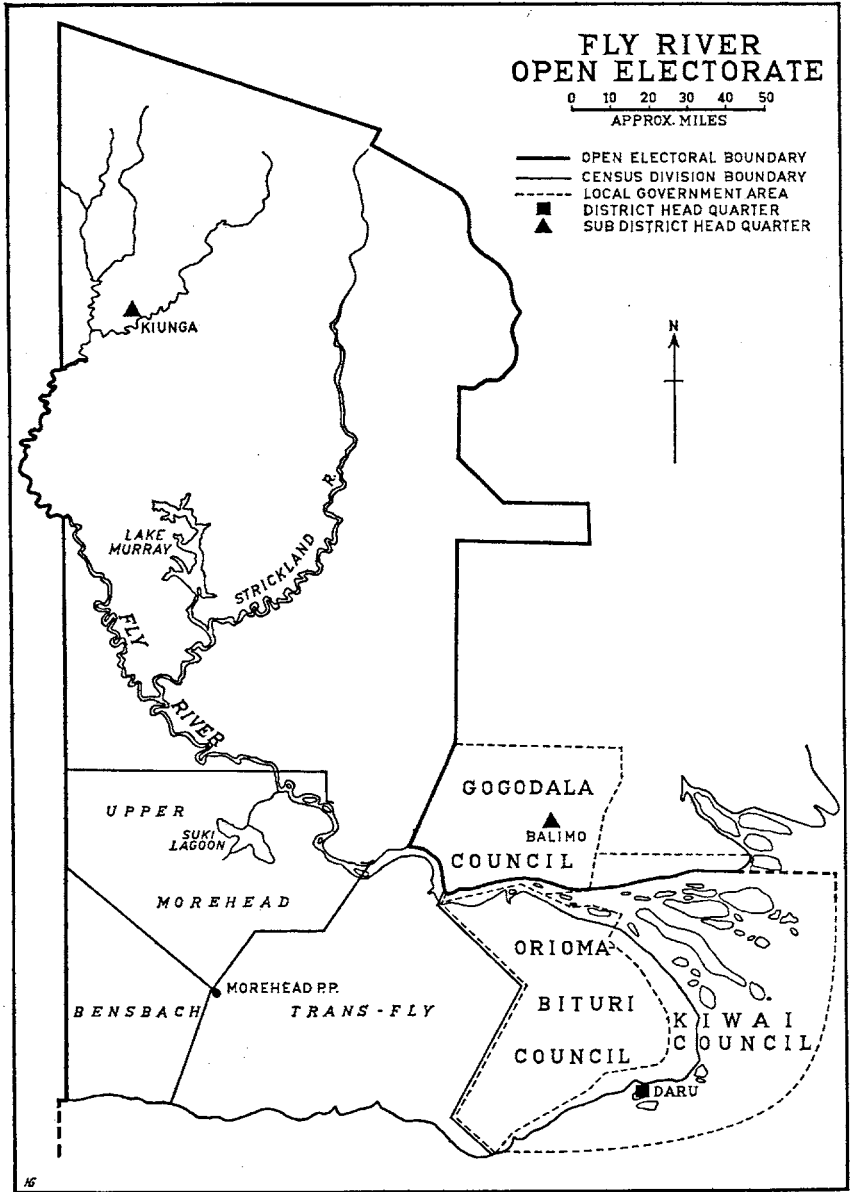


the married men and women (widows and widowers included) have been baptized—only adults are baptized—and many more have openly (that is in the presence of the congregation) professed to be Christians. In the same village almost every adult under thirty years of age has received one or more years of schooling and a number of boys and men are or have been at Balimo or Awaba in the Gogodala area, north of the Fly River estuary, for continued education or Bible school training. And all this for a village which, according to the local missionary, is the least responsive of all the Suki villages.

During the war many Suki were employed in Port Moresby and in the following years practically all the men worked with the Australasian Petroleum Company in the Western and Gulf Districts and/or on copra or rubber plantations in the Gulf and Central Districts. At present, however, practically no one is employed outside the tribal area and the number of wage-earners in the area, where the U.F.M. is the sole employer, may not be more than a dozen.

The Suki have been looking in vain to the Mission and the Admini-

stration for encouragement and guidance in finding new ways of raising their standard of living. They still rely almost exclusively on subsistence agriculture and only the sale of crocodile skins provides a modest source of money income. Small wonder that the Suki are still living in a non-taxable Census Division and are not yet included in a Local Government Council area.



There are, however, a few signs that point to a change. In 1964 the first agricultural officer ever to visit Suki conducted a local survey and the first group of Suki boys took a course at the Agricultural Station on the Oriomo River. In the same year a number of boys attended the Administration school (through Standard 5) at Morehead for the first time. Until recently only a small number of gifted girls and boys received further education (from Standard 3 upwards) in distant Balimo and Awaba.

The Education Campaign

The Suki first heard about the forthcoming elections in mid-July 1963, when, after the Sunday devotion at Gigwa, the missionary spoke about the political events. The authors do not know precisely what the missionary told the people, but he apparently used the term 'Legislative Council' and only the last word 'Council' stuck in the minds of his audience. After returning from the mission station that Sunday, the people of Ewe told the authors that a 'Council', that is, a Native Local Government Council, would soon be established in Suki. The men were enthusiastic. They knew from Suki who had attended schools in Awaba or Balimo about the existence of the Gogodala Council and had a vague idea of its activities. They said it had been their wish for 'a long time' to have such a Council in Suki.

Apparently some Suki wrote about the anticipated Council to friends in the Gogodala area, for a few weeks later a number of letters mentioning the subject arrived in Suki. A Gogodala pastor warned his Suki colleagues that only 'real Christian people' should be elected to the Council. And Nayo, the assistant-interpreter of the authors, received two letters from a clanbrother who worked as a medical orderly with the Public Health Department in Balimo, in which the latter solicited for the post of Council clerk while suggesting that Nayo should become the chairman. He added that if only the people would pray, everything would turn out all right. When the villagers heard about the proposal they did not seem very surprised about the role destined for Nayo.

Nayo Ganga is twenty-six years old and from the Suki village of Gwi-baku. He had been living with his family in Ewe since the time the authors employed him in the beginning of June 1963. He was the only Suki man in the area who was rather fluent in English and at that time probably the best educated and the most widely-travelled. He had nearly completed Standard 6 and had been working for several years with the Australasian Petroleum Company in the Western and Gulf Districts and in Port Moresby. No wonder that he was generally considered the right man for the position of chairman or Council clerk, he himself preferring the latter position.

The anticipated Council remained the topic of the day. On 7 August a meeting was held in Ewe to designate a candidate to represent the village in the Council. The most favoured man proved to be a former mission teacher, now working as a medical assistant at the mission station.

During the second half of August the authors made a trip to the Morehead Patrol Post and only then learned that all excitement about a Native Local Government Council had been premature. The missionary must have been talking about the elections for the new House of Assembly and had been misunderstood. According to the Patrol Officer it would take at least three or four years before a local Council could be started in Suki.

At hearing this news the authors' carriers, and especially Nayo, were greatly disappointed. But after having digested the bad news about the Local Government Council they had been looking forward to, they started asking questions about 'that House of Assembly'. Nobody had ever heard of the existence of a Legislative Council and Nayo kept asking the authors what exactly the House of Assembly meant and what the Patrol Officer had been saying about the coming elections. And Nayo in turn informed the carriers. However, once the men were convinced that a Local Council was altogether out of the question, their interest in the elections died down. This was also the reaction in the village of Ewe.

Towards the end of August the Suki area was visited by a European teacher as part of the Administration's political education campaign. He arrived by plane at the mission station, visited Kawatangwa, Teraruma and Iwewi by canoe, and returned after a few days via Ewe to Gigwa to address the people of Ewe and Gwibaku on the premises of the mission station. From there he went back to the Morehead Patrol Post by way of the western route (via Gwaku) and consequently the two Suki villages on the eastern route—Duru and Isala—were not visited.

The authors did not attend the meeting at the mission station on 29 August. Information about it came to them mainly through Nayo, who acted as interpreter (English-Suki) during the meeting. At the request of the teacher the missionary had announced the meeting after the church service on the previous Sunday. Apart from a few families staying at their far-away gardens, all the Ewe people came to Gigwa. Ewe village was completely deserted and so, it seems, was the case in Gwibaku. However, this great attendance should not be taken as proof of a burning interest in the subject-matter of the meeting. Whenever something out of the ordinary is to take place at the mission station, no matter what it is, the people of Ewe and Gwibaku always go *en masse*. To them it means an outing and an opportunity to see relatives and friends.

In his speech the teacher explained in simple terms the meaning of the House of Assembly and how the elections would be organized. Commented Nayo to the authors: 'Nothing new; you told us exactly the same on our trip back from the patrol post, a week ago'. The people seem to have listened attentively. When the talk was over the audience was asked to give the names of possible candidates, whereupon only Nayo's name was put forward.

Nayo's reaction to this honour was ambivalent. Naturally highly pleased to be chosen by the two villages, he also, however, was concerned about what he considered his inadequate schooling and experience. But he found comfort in the fact that he himself as yet did not have to make

a decision. Although Nayo had been suggested for nomination by the two most populous villages (comprising more than half of the Suki) this did not mean that he was the only possible candidate. The Iwewi people had put forward the name of a fellow-villager (educated to Standard 4) employed as a schoolteacher at Gigwa. (None of the Suki employed as teachers at Gigwa has taken a teachers' training course. Their educational level varies from Standard 2 to Standard 4 and they mostly teach the preparatory classes.) The other two Suki villages, Duru and Isala, wanted a former Isala man to stand. Their choice was Nayo's clanbrother, the medical orderly at Balimo (Standard 6), who had previously expressed the wish to become the Clerk of the anticipated Native Local Government Council. However, as the European teacher did not visit these villages, this latter candidate's name was not recorded. As far as the authors know none of the neighbouring non-Suki villages mentioned the name of a possible candidate to the visiting teacher.

In the beginning of October 1963 the Patrol Officer came to Suki on a routine visit. As a special 'election-patrol' was planned for January 1964, he did not intend to talk at length about the elections this time as he was certain that 'the people would have forgotten all about it in January'. In Ewe he explained, amongst other things, how the voters should mark the candidate of their choice on the ballot-paper and promised to send a set of explanatory strips to be shown by the missionary. Afterwards the Patrol Officer told Nayo that he would have to pay £25 before he could be accepted as an official candidate. However, Nayo did not seem too worried about this as the closing day for nominations was still three months off.

In Duru and Isala, the villages not visited by the teacher, the people now wanted the Patrol Officer to write down the name of their candidate, the medical orderly at Balimo. But, the authors were told afterwards, the Patrol Officer had refused to do so because this man was employed by the government and working outside his home area and, therefore, could not very well represent Suki in the House of Assembly. Whatever the Patrol Officer's exact words on this occasion, the rumour quickly spread that no one in government employment was allowed to stand for the House of Assembly.

During the authors' absence from Suki from 21 November 1963 to 15 January 1964, the only event in the realm of electoral education was the announced exhibition of the strips by the missionary. This took place on a Monday after having been announced at Sunday devotion. As many villagers stayed at their gardens and could not be informed at such short notice, attendance was not very good.

Little was heard afterwards about the exhibition. One point, however, people remembered as very important: the missionary was said to have told the people that the man ultimately elected as a member of the House of Assembly would receive £3,000 (it was really £950). Following the exhibition of the strips a heated discussion seems to have taken place about the question of who was to be nominated as the official Suki candidate.

So far everything had been quiet in the area. The proposed candidates had been conspicuous by their inactivity. Nayo did not have the slightest notion of campaigning and waited idly for the events to occur. Neither did the schoolteacher, nominated by Iwewi, display any activity. And nothing was heard of the man desired by Duru and Isala. Perhaps inspired by the example of the local candidates, the villagers also adopted an attitude of waiting. No quarrels apparently occurred between the people from the various villages, although opportunities for clashes presented themselves every Sunday, when people from all the Suki villages met at the mission station.

However, this state of affairs changed when, following the aforementioned exhibition of the strips, finality about nominations had to be reached. The Patrol Officer had sent the missionary a message to the effect that if the Suki people wanted their own man to stand for the House of Assembly they should send him down to the Morehead Patrol Post as soon as possible. The missionary advised the people to think about a candidate, whereupon he left the meeting. The discussion—so the story goes—started immediately with spokesmen of the different villages stating their preferences. The villages stuck to their choice put forward in August and, consequently, there were still three possible candidates.

Then the Suki pastors began to speak. One of them, recently returned from Balimo after having finished his training, told the gathering that the medical orderly at Balimo (preferred by Duru and Isala) was already following a 'House of Assembly course'. And this made him, according to the pastors, the most suitable candidate. As a second choice they put forward a future colleague, a Duru man in training at Balimo. Both men were said to have agreed to stand for the House of Assembly. It must be noted, however, that the pastor-in-training had lately been admitted to hospital as a leper. The people knew he was ill, but did not realize how seriously. After having announced their choice, the pastors declared against Nayo as a possible candidate. According to them he would not make a good representative and the district would certainly suffer if he won the elections. At first they were unwilling to tell their audience why they thought so, but after heated discussions among themselves, one of them stated the reason: Nayo was not a really good Christian; he would bring beer, whisky and tobacco to Suki. It is true that Nayo, having seen more of the outside world, is not as fanatically opposed to some of the world's amenities as the pastors who, in the footsteps of the missionaries, abhor tobacco and liquor, and dancing as well. It remains to be seen, however, whether these were the real reasons or whether envy of Nayo's position played a role.

The verdict made Nayo feel 'ashamed' and he declared before the gathering that he already had a job and that the people could nominate another candidate as far as he was concerned. However, Ewe and Gwi-baku stuck to Nayo and Iwewi still preferred the school teacher. Only Duru and Isala accepted the future pastor (from Duru!) as a candidate but without dropping the originally chosen medical assistant.

To break the deadlock the pastors went to the missionary to tell him that they wanted the two men at Balimo to stand. The missionary is said to have explained that he could not possibly summon those men to Suki in order to send them to the Morehead Patrol Post and it is believed he suggested Nayo be chosen instead. Then the missionary appears to have sent for Nayo to ask him whether he was prepared to stand for the House of Assembly, and Nayo indicated that he had no objection if the people really wished him to stand.

During the Christmas meeting at Gigwa the candidacy was again discussed and the people then decided to send Nayo as their candidate to the Morehead Patrol Post. Money for the £25 nomination deposit was raised by the villagers. All the Suki villagers seem to have contributed: Gwibaku a good £8, Ewe £6, and Iwewi, Duru and Isala each about £2. Additional small amounts were received from Kawatangwa and Tera-ruma, the two non-Suki villages on the Fly River. The total amounted to £23. 15s.

At the beginning of January Nayo set out for the Morehead Patrol Post, accompanied by village constables and village councillors who had been summoned by the Patrol Officer. The party travelled via the eastern route and in Serki, the first non-Suki village, the deficiency of £1. 5s. for the deposit was made up. In the next village, Keru, people also wanted to contribute, while on arriving at Morehead Nayo was offered money raised by Gwaku, Goi and Kiriwo, three non-Suki villages situated on the western track to Morehead.

Nayo later reported the following about his conversation with the Patrol Officer. After he had presented himself as the Suki candidate for the House of Assembly, the Patrol Officer wrote his name and other personal data in a large book. He then asked whether the £25 were Nayo's own and when informed that the money had been contributed by several villages, he said that the villagers would probably forfeit their money, as Nayo's chances of being elected were minimal. He talked at length about the other candidates who were going to stand and advised Nayo to wait a few years and have a try at the next elections. The Patrol Officer also mentioned to Nayo the need for campaigning and asked him whether he had any money to meet travelling expenses. Of course Nayo had no funds whatsoever and, considering this, he decided not to stand.

After returning from Morehead, Nayo told the people about his conversation with the Patrol Officer and about his decision not to stand. The villagers, however, spontaneously offered to raise more money in order to enable him to campaign. Nayo explained that as much as £100 or more would be needed. But apparently the people were not much impressed by the amount involved and only after Nayo had convinced them that there was a great chance of losing all their money, they gave up the idea of nominating a Suki candidate and the amounts of money originally contributed by the different villages were returned by Nayo.

Afterwards Nayo told the authors again that he considered himself not competent for the job of M.H.A. and that it had not been *his* wish

to stand, but the wish of 'the people'. He left the strong impression that he felt greatly relieved now that the final decision had been reached and all trouble had ended.

It seems, however, that after the plan to nominate Nayo had to be abandoned, some villagers still played with the idea of having their own candidate. The fact is that in late January a group of Ewe men came to the authors' house to tell them that they had wished 'Mr Van' to stand, but as he was not in Suki at the time, the people had not been able to take any action. Unfortunately, they continued, it was too late now to nominate 'Mr Van', but they expressed the hope that he could stand next time.

On 15 January 1964, the Patrol Officer again visited the Suki area to give further information and final instructions about the elections. But it seems that in some villages, notably Gwibaku and Duru, so many 'cases' had to be heard that hardly any time was left for the election talk. In Ewe, however, the full instruction programme was carried out. The names of all candidates in the Open and Special Electorates were written on a blackboard (in the sequence in which they would appear on the ballot-paper) and some information was given about each candidate. This was kept strictly neutral and no hints were given regarding the best candidate.

A few words were said about preferential voting, but apparently they were not absorbed. In fact, after the Patrol Officer had left, the people were only concerned about which candidate was to be 'number one'. And this meant number one in the Open Electorate only as the names of the candidates in the Special Electorate were completely forgotten. The very few who did remember something about choosing a second-best man in the Open considered this totally unimportant.

There seems to have been no reference to voting not being compulsory. At any rate the villagers took for granted that all should present themselves on polling day, just as on any other visit of the Patrol Officer.

The Patrol Officer was asked one question worth mentioning: 'What kind of work shall we have to do for our representative in the House of Assembly?' He had already answered that question at Gwibaku during his previous patrol. Quite a few people in Ewe, however, still thought that the member of the House of Assembly, as part of 'the government', could instruct them to do some kind of work (like the Patrol Officer). Others hoped he would offer them jobs outside Suki (like labour recruiters). In replying, the Patrol Officer again stressed the fact that a Member of the House of Assembly could only act as a spokesman for the people in his electorate, defending their interests and making their wishes known to the Administration. Obviously some people were still puzzled about the exact role of the representatives, for a few moments later the same question was raised again. Then the Patrol Officer terminated the discussion with an irritated: 'The representative does not come to do business!'

The Suki, then, received information about the House of Assembly and the elections from three main sources: the teacher, the Patrol Officer (on two occasions), and the missionary (who exhibited the strips). A fourth source of information were the authors who were inevitably drawn

into it because of the role played by their assistant. The assistant was, naturally, greatly interested in everything connected with the elections and often acted as a questioner on behalf of the villagers. Only factual information was given and no suggestions were advanced regarding the nomination of a Suki candidate, but his job undoubtedly contributed to his being put forward as a nominee and certainly affected his own behaviour.

Information through radio, pamphlets or newspapers was negligible. Only two Suki men seem to possess a radio, one of them living in Isala, the other in the non-Suki village of Serki. It is possible that these radios played a part as a source of information in those villages but if this was the case nothing filtered through to the other Suki villages. Pamphlets published by the Administration have not been distributed in the Suki area. Only Nayo received one copy, sent to him by his clanbrother, the Duru-Isala candidate living at Balimo. But it would indeed not have made much difference if pamphlets—or, for that matter, newspapers—had been circulating amongst the Suki. The general level of education is such that hardly anybody can read or understand English and although quite a number of men understand Police Motu, only a few are able to read it.

Generally speaking, the knowledge of the Suki about the elections remained limited to the main points. And this, moreover, applies only to the men. The women did attend the educational meetings, but on the whole appeared more interested in the children than in the information handed out. As practically all speeches and discussion took place in Police Motu (which hardly any woman understands) and translation into Suki was rarely if ever provided, the women cannot be blamed for their lack of interest.

The Candidates and their Campaign

The five candidates in the Fly River Open Electorate were Robert Tabua, Arthur Wyborn, Paho Wageba, Jacob Wamabon, and Simoi Paradi. In the West Papua Special Electorate Ron Slaughter and Ron Neville stood.

Of all these candidates only Wyborn, a European trader who had lived in Daru for over twenty-five years, was well known to the Suki. In the past he had often visited the Suki country as a recruiter and in that capacity had established a good reputation. Besides, quite a few Suki men and boys who worked at Daru, or who stayed there briefly on their way to other labour centres, knew him from Daru. Several Suki men knew of Tabua, the Daru postmaster. Only a few Suki had heard of Paradi (member of the Kiwai Native Local Government Council and former member of the Legislative Council), while Wageba (member of the Kiwai Native Local Government Council), Wamabon (interpreter, Kiunga Sub-district), Slaughter (a planter at Kairuku in the Central District), and Neville (an agent at Mendi in the Southern Highlands) were completely unknown.

Amongst the Europeans at Daru it was generally held that only three candidates in the Open Electorate were really in the running: Tabua, Wyborn and Wamabon. Tabua, a member of a large and well-known

mixed-race Daru family, was believed to have a fair chance of winning simply because he was number one on the ballot-paper. Wyborn, as a European, was expected to benefit greatly from the division amongst the coastal people (besides Wyborn, three other candidates were from the coastal area), and the dislike of the inlanders for the coastlanders, notably the Kiwai. Moreover, his good record as a recruiter could well pay dividends. He also was the only one thought capable of conducting an intensive election campaign in this vast and sparsely populated electorate, because he alone was supposed to have the financial means to cover the electorate by plane. Wamabon's chances were rated highly because he was the only candidate from the relatively densely populated Kiunga Sub-district in the northern part of the electorate, where, it was supposed, people would vote for him *en bloc*.

One of the three favourites eventually emerged as the victor, although not for the reasons set out above.

Campaign activity by the candidates in Suki was limited to a brief visit by Wyborn, followed by a great number of election leaflets sent by Wyborn and a few by Tabua.

Wyborn's lightning visit on 29 and 30 January came as a complete surprise. He arrived by Cessna on a charter which carried provisions for three American members of the Geodetic Survey Team who had made their camp near the air-strip, and he returned to Daru the next day. In the afternoon of the 29th he addressed Ewe villagers and the next morning he spoke at the mission station to people of Gwibaku, Duru, and Iwewi, who had been notified of the meeting the day before. At Ewe about a hundred men and women and numerous children were among his audience. He addressed them in English, with Nayo interpreting into Suki. At Gigwa his audience was more numerous. Here, however, he spoke in Police Motu and no translation was provided so that none of the women and few of the older men understood what he said.

In his address at Ewe, Wyborn pointed out that there were not nearly enough jobs in Daru and Port Moresby to satisfy all the job-seekers and that he did not expect any improvement in this situation. The majority of the Suki men, therefore, would always have to earn their livelihood in their own area. If elected, Wyborn said, he would be insistent that the Western District would receive its proportional share in Port Moresby's labour market. In addition, he would stress the urgent need of economic development of the district so that people could acquire an income in their own area. He would urge the promotion of copra and coffee growing; the extension of educational facilities, particularly agricultural and technical training facilities; an intensification of the activities of the Department of Trade and Industries, especially in the field of home industries and co-operative societies; an improvement and expansion of health services, and increased attention of the Loans Board. Wyborn also said that he would press the Administration to abolish the duty on radios and distribute them among the villages in the district as had already been done in other areas. Finally, Wyborn told his audience that he would insist on the establishment of a post office in Suki. No reference was

made by Wyborn to any of the other candidates or to the matter of preferential voting.

Four men availed themselves of the opportunity to raise questions. One of the men told the audience that he would never vote for native candidates as they would only look after their own people and not bother about other peoples. This applied particularly to Kiwai candidates as the Kiwai utterly dislike inland people. And amidst approving nods of his fellow-villagers, he announced that they would for that reason vote for Wyborn. The second questioner asked Wyborn: 'How can we lead a good life?' upon which he received the answer: 'Work hard and obey the Patrol Officer'. The third questioner was a pastor who merely complained that no one had ever helped the Suki and that not a single businessman had ever visited the area. The final comment was made by a man who knew Wyborn from Daru and sang his praises. If Wyborn was elected, he said, the villagers could rest assured that he would come back to Suki as he was the only candidate who owned a boat. The belief in the inseparable link between Wyborn and his boat dates back to the time when he visited the Suki area as a recruiter, many years ago. Nobody really knows whether he still has a boat at present.

Cheers went up for Wyborn at the end of the meeting, making it clear that Wyborn could depend on the votes of the people of Ewe, even though most women voters had gradually departed, all of the subsequent questions and discussion having been in Police Motu.

The Polling Period

Besides the staff of the mission station, the authors were the only other Europeans living in the Census Division at the time of the elections. The three Americans attached to the Geodetic Survey Team left the area in mid-February, that is about two weeks before the poll in Suki took place. Their presence did not upset the daily routine in the area. Of course the Suki watched the helicopters and the air-droppings from imposing four-engine transport planes with intense interest, but their feelings did not crystallize into any cargo cult movement.

A noticeable lack of interest in the elections on the part of the small Australian and New Zealand mission staff may be attributable to the fact that neither U.F.M. adherents nor controversial figures were among the candidates. Strictly speaking, Roman Catholic Wamabon must be classified as a controversial figure in a U.F.M.-area, but as he was completely unknown in Suki he could easily be ignored.

The officially announced programme of the mobile election patrol in the Upper Morehead Census Division could not be carried out. Not only did the Patrol Officer have to undergo emergency dental treatment at Daru but the outboard motor, specially sent by plane to be attached to a dug-out canoe, refused its co-operation. This caused a drastic change in plans. Ewe and Gwibaku were struck off the official list of polling places and the people were told that they could vote at the mission station at Gigwa on 25 February. Visits to Teraruma and Kawatangwa were also cancelled and the inhabitants of these two Fly River villages were told that

they could cast their votes at Iwewi on 26 February. This meant a long and heavy trip up the Fly River and the Suki Creek in the rainy season and may well have affected the voter turnout from these villages.

At Gigwa the church/school building served as polling booth. Three tables were put in the spacious building. At the first table two members of the election patrol, both non-Suki, were busy seeking and crossing off the names of the voters in the Electoral Roll. This was easier said than done as quite a few voters gave names totally different from those on the roll. This is hardly surprising as the roll for the Census Division was based on tax census sheets compiled a considerable time ago and the Suki change names on many different occasions. The names that were still the same as at the time of the compilation of the tax census sheets were often so poorly reproduced in the Electoral Roll that their location required much imagination, a characteristic not possessed by the men at the table.

At the second table the Presiding Officer was seated, while an English-Police Motu interpreter was standing at his side. The latter asked the voters whom they wished to vote for. When the voter mentioned the name of one of the candidates, the Presiding Officer placed the number 1 in the square opposite the name of the candidate on the ballot-paper, folded the paper and handed it to the voter, who slipped it into the ballot-box on the third table. If the voter did not respond to the question, the interpreter rattled off the names of the five candidates in the Open Electorate, and when this had no immediate effect the Presiding Officer invalidated the ballot and handed it to the voter, who, visibly amazed, slipped in into the ballot-box.

It appears from the procedure just described that voting was invariably assisted voting, understandable in the light of the educational level in Suki. It also appears that voters were merely asked for their first preference and only for the Open Electorate. There is every reason to believe that this simplification of the procedure must be seen against the background of lack of time on the part of the election patrol and the unfamiliarity of most of the voters with six of the seven candidates, a fact well-known to the Presiding Officer.

The voter turnout at Gigwa was almost 100 per cent. Ewe and Gwibaku were completely deserted. Despite the great number of people gathered in and around the polling booth, there was no excitement. Unlike people in some other parts of the Daru Sub-district, the Suki have no tradition of giving Administration patrols a festive reception and they did not make an exception for the election patrol. Furthermore, they had no candidate of their own and only one candidate had visited Suki for whom it was assumed that everybody would vote.

The Suki did, in fact, vote overwhelmingly for Wyborn. The same holds true for the non-Suki villages Goi, Gwaku, Teraruma and Kawatangwa, which are oriented towards the Mission Station at Gigwa and, consequently, have frequent contacts with the Suki. The other villages in the Census Division, all of them Morehead-oriented, voted predominantly for Tabua. The authors do not know whether Tabua—or for that matter any other candidate—visited Morehead as part of his campaign. They

do know, however, that a brother of Tabua was employed as a clerk at the Morehead Patrol Post and it may be that he put in a word for Tabua, or even that voters thought they were voting for him.

The results of the Suki mobile election patrol (including a few villages outside the Upper Morehead Census Division) are as follows. Of the 830 ballots, Wyborn received 561, Tabua 190 and the other three candidates 34 (with 45 informal ballots).

Tabua turned out to be the victor in the Fly River Open Electorate. He gained his victory above all because of the big majority he secured in the populous Kiunga Sub-district, believed to be the stronghold of Jacob Wamabon. Tabua had been in that area for weeks, much longer than he originally had planned. It is said that he simply could not leave as a result of non-availability of air transport and bad weather.

The elections caused commotion only as long as there was talk of nominating a Suki candidate. Interest flared up when Wyborn visited Suki, dying down again as soon as he had left the area. From then the Suki preference was a settled thing. Polling period passed without causing much of a ripple in Suki life and no one seemed interested in the results, not even Nayo, the potential candidate. Informed of Tabua's election by the authors several weeks afterwards his only reaction was one of disappointment that Wyborn, 'who was a good man', had not been elected.

The Elections: An Overview

Colin A. Hughes and Paul W. van der Veur

As mentioned in the Preface, this book was planned in the belief that national politics would not emerge in time for the elections, and there would be fifty-four separate and distinct electoral skirmishes rather than a Territorial battle. The preceding chapters describing what happened in certain electorates prove that this assumption was the correct one. Nevertheless, each skirmish took place within a framework imposed by the Electoral Ordinance. The detailed descriptions of the preceding constituency chapters can be supplemented by briefer reports from field workers in other electorates, newspaper stories, and official and unofficial returns. This chapter seeks to collect such material as is available from all sources which can give a picture of the elections as a whole and to evaluate this in fairly narrow terms.

The Electorates

Taking the Territory's fifty-four Sub-districts as a start and by combining the smaller and dividing the larger, the Electoral Boundaries Committee arrived at forty-four Open Electorates. Equality of population was the main criterion, but quite understandably it could not always be observed exactly. Islands presented the greatest difficulty (see pp. 41-3) and provided the smallest electorate, Manus, with a population of less than 18,000, and the largest, Bougainville, with almost 54,000; the mainland electorates have a slightly smaller range, from 29,000 (Kutubu) to 50,000 (Wabag). With population the principal criterion, the area of electorates varies markedly. A couple of densely populated Highlands electorates cover less than 500 square miles; the thinly populated Fly River Open Electorate sprawls over more than 34,000 square miles.

The Special Electorates, based upon different criteria (see pp. 41, 50-1), produced much greater variety. They ranged from the Central and West Gazelle Specials made up of single Open Electorates and thus indigenous populations of about 35,000 and areas of 5,000 and 1,500 square miles respectively, to such extreme cases as West Papua with a population of 290,000 spread over 69,000 square miles and Highlands with 533,000 and 14,900 square miles.

TABLE 1 Size and Population of Open Electorates

Area in sq. miles		Population	
Less than 500	2	Less than 25,000	1 †
501-1000	5	25,001-30,000	1
1001-1500	9	30,001-35,000	3
1501-2000	2	35,001-40,000	13
2001-2500	4	40,001-45,000	11
2501-3000	1	45,001-50,000	12
3001-3500	4	50,001-55,000	3
3501-4000	2		
4001-4500	2		
4501-5000	2		
5001-5500	3		
5501-6000	2		
6001-6500	0		
6501-7000	2		
More than 7000	4*		

* 8,440; 13,184; 17,674; 34,061.
(Source, *Village Register*, 1960)

† 17,232.

The Candidates

Geographical features and density of population inevitably had a profound effect on the campaign that candidates could mount. Although many campaigned by foot or canoe, several were heavily dependent on other maritime, or even air transport. It was reported that a member of the Morobe District Advisory Council had asked whether rations and transport would be made available to persons who wished to canvass for the elections. He was told by the District Commissioner that in Australia candidates had to pay all their own expenses (*S.P.P.*, 13 August 1963). It appears that the Administration later agreed to provide places on Administration-owned or chartered transport on payment of 'a token fare' (*C.E.O. Report*, p. 23), but it is difficult to say how much use was made of this concession or whether it was widely known. The Chief Electoral Officer reported:

Some Candidates, on a group basis, availed themselves of this opportunity, especially in the more remote Highlands Electorates, but the majority of Candidates operated independently. The major part of campaigning in the Territory was carried out by foot and canoe since it is the only way to cover the majority of the Electorates.

However, in electorates such as Milne Bay, Esa'ala-Losuia (p. 293), and Fly River (p. 384) where transport is particularly expensive, and foot and canoe will not suffice, it does appear that candidates experienced difficulties in visiting all parts of the electorate. In view of the lack of financial resources by indigenous candidates and the absence of scheduled cheap transport in many areas unsuited to foot or canoe patrolling, it may be that the elections would have been more effective if the Adminis-

tration had departed from Australian practice and arranged tours for the candidates, particularly as they seem to have provided the most successful form of electoral education.

It might be added that the Electoral Ordinance contains no restriction on expenditure by or on behalf of candidates. The Penal Code deals with bribery and treating and undue influence, and such illegal practices were grounds for unseating candidates by the Court of Disputed Returns under sec. 209 of the Electoral Ordinance. A radio report imputed minor treating in one electorate, but the phenomenon does not appear to have been serious.

Some candidates partly overcame the problem of transport and distance by the distribution of posters or brochures. Sometimes this was little more than the adoption of what the more Westernized candidates knew, or had been told, to be a practice at Australian elections, but the mnemonic value of a piece of paper, even if it bore only a photograph and the candidate's name, could be substantial (see pp. 337-8). There was also the considerable prestige attached to pieces of paper bearing political messages, which normally emanated from the Administration (see pp. 203, 227; Brandewie 1964: 212-13). Only a minority of candidates made use of printed or mimeographed material. Again one must wonder whether the Administration might not profitably have prepared election leaflets containing short biographies and campaign messages from the candidates for distribution through its normal channels. This also would have been of tremendous help to the absentee voters.

Given Australian egalitarianism and the prevailing methods of decolonization it was probably inevitable that universal adult suffrage regardless of sex, literacy or property qualification would be adopted, but there was a possibility that some minimal requirements could be set for the candidates. In particular, it might have been reasonable to require candidates to be able to read and write, or less restrictively to be able to communicate in one of the Territory's three chief languages—English, Neo-Melanesian or Police Motu. It appears that the matter was not seriously canvassed. Certainly no limitations were placed on nomination along such lines. However, three sets of requirements were laid down. A candidate could not be an undischarged bankrupt or insolvent—a situation most unlikely to occur among indigenous electors—nor have been convicted and be undergoing sentence for a term of a year or longer. A candidate had to be enrolled for, or be eligible to have his enrolment transferred to, the electorate for which he stood. And he could not be a member of the Territorial or Commonwealth Public Services, or hold an office constituted by Ordinance and duly gazetted.

The first of these requirements presented no problem. The second meant that the extremely wide provisions for the enrolment of electors also applied to candidates. Under sec. 38 (1) of the Electoral Ordinance, a person might enrol for any electorate in which he had been 'continuously' living for twelve months, or had previously lived 'in the area of an electorate' for twelve months at any time previous (the curious phrase may be presumed to be intended to cover residence at a time when there

was no electorate), or in which he had a 'home'. The latter was defined for the purposes of the election in sec. 5 as:

- (a) when the place of birth of an elector was in the Territory, his place of birth;
- (b) all areas of native land on which he may, by native custom, build or occupy a house or garden, whether in his own right or in right of his wife or a relative;
- (c) all areas of native land owned by a linguistic or cultural group with which he or his wife has customary affiliations involving usage rights in land;
- (d) all areas of land leased for a term of not less than twelve months or held in freehold by him or his wife under any law in force in the Territory or a part of the Territory;
- (e) while he is under the control, by native custom or by law, of a person, any residence of that person; and
- (f) in any particular case where the provisions of the last four preceding paragraphs are not appropriate, any other place with which he or his wife has connections such that it should reasonably be regarded as his home.

Such a gloss on 'home is where the heart is' can have overlooked few possibilities for prospective candidates, although it may be that some misunderstood or were misinformed about the provision (see p. 379). Most candidates were normally resident in the electorates for which they stood. Milne Bay (ch. 15) was exceptional in that three of its four candidates resided outside the electorate at the time of nomination.

The third requirement did create some difficulty, and, as the Chief Electoral Officer's Report (1964: 23) admits, caused some hardship to certain candidates. In the presence of a positive injunction that public servants might not nominate, the normal Australian practice of securing leave to campaign and resigning if elected, could not be followed; a Public Servant had to resign to nominate, and apply for reinstatement if defeated. However, it was by no means certain whether 'Administration Servants', that is indigenes employed in routine clerical or manual work, were included or not. The Electoral Office took the view that they were not and issued an instruction for the guidance of Returning Officers to that effect on 14 December 1963. On this basis, a number of Administration servants nominated. However, the office of the Public Service Commissioner then took a hand in the matter and, although nominations had been open since 25 November, issued its own circular to departments. It advised that whilst there was nothing in the Ordinance to prevent Administration Servants nominating, they would be expected to ask for leave without pay which would be granted. The circular concluded:

It is most important that this procedure should be clearly explained to the Administration Servant before he nominates, and the fact may be emphasized that its application will place the Administration Servant on the same footing as a Public Servant. (*C.E.O. Report*: 30; emphasis in source.)

The Chief Electoral Officer's Report informs us that those Administration Servants who had already nominated were then informed that they were

on leave without pay and 'as a result some Candidates found that they had not sufficient funds to conduct their campaign as any money they had in hand was necessary to sustain their family over the period involved'.

As is usual, a deposit was required to discourage frivolous candidates. In the Territory the sum of £25 was required, an amount which happens to be that fixed for candidates for the Australian House of Representatives. The deposit was returnable if the candidate was elected or polled a number of votes exceeding one-eighth of the total number of first preference votes polled by the successful candidate—a provision rather more lenient than the Australian requirement of one-fifth where there are usually only two serious candidates.*

In Australia the deposit represents less than two weeks on the basic wage, whereas in the Territory the same sum was more than eight weeks' wages at the urban minimum wage and more cash than most subsistence farmers would see in several years. For potential candidates the magnitude of the deposit differed markedly. For most Australians 'and some relatively prosperous Tolais or Administration Servants, or some indigenous coffee planters in the Highlands, the sum would not have seemed unduly high. For others it could have constituted a hardship, but in most instances the paying of the deposit appears to have been a joint effort by villagers of one or more villages (see, for example, p. 381), while in some others helpful expatriates advanced the sum. We know of only one instance where failure to raise the deposit in time prevented a candidate standing—the case, in the Mendi Open Electorate, is discussed below—but there may well have been others where the magnitude of the sum discouraged candidacy.

At an early stage of the elections, there was some uncertainty whether a sufficient number of candidates would come forward. Direct elections were novel, there was no Territory-wide political organization, and indeed the greater part of the Territory did not even have experience of Local Government Councils. Although the concern was not unreasonable, it could have been kept in mind that there had been a considerable number of candidates at the 1961 elections (see p. 20). Whether candidates would come forward depended partly on information about the elections received in the electorates, and to a considerable extent on the prompting of local officials, missionaries and other non-indigenous persons. Such a situation was fraught with a number of unsatisfactory elements because it introduced an external factor into the electoral process which could influence the results, especially when other candidates were already in the field. In the light of the existing political structure of the Territory

* In the end, 42 Open Electorate candidates and one Special Electorate candidate forfeited their deposits. Most candidates had some local following, and the large number of candidates kept the quota to save deposits fairly low: thus in Chimbu Open where the successful candidate had 20·6% of the first preference vote, only one of the 11 candidates forfeited his deposit. At the other extreme, John Guise's runaway win in Milne Bay Open cost all of his opponents their deposits.

and the absence of a comprehensive education campaign—admittedly an almost impossible task—within each electorate, such a situation was unavoidable. There was considerable reluctance to take a step which not only entailed £25, but had an implication of ‘bigheadedness’ in self-nomination, whilst defeat meant ‘shame’. Several candidates who stood without outside urging did so genuinely ‘at the wish of the people’. On the other hand, in some sophisticated areas there were some potential candidates who declined to stand because they did not wish to interrupt their training, or because it seemed better not to stand at this election but to wait for the next one.

Candidates in Special Electorates

The Special Electorates had been created to provide a type of representation and expertise which would not otherwise have been available (see pp. 36-7). How far were these two objects achieved? Electors in the Special Electorates were given a reasonable choice: the average number of candidates per contested electorate was 3·3, and in Central there were six candidates offering. Only one electorate (North Markham) was uncontested, and only two (West Papua and Highlands) had only two candidates. A total of 31 candidates offered for the 10 Special Electorates. The great majority (23) were businessmen or planters, providing just that representation of economic interests which witnesses before the Select Committee had thought necessary. Other occupations included teacher, retired District Commissioner, clerk, housewife, storekeeper, missionary, pilot, and barrister. The candidates were also experienced. Only one was under thirty years of age, three-quarters were over thirty-five, and the average age of the twenty-seven for whom we have a figure is 41·7. They had been in the Territory for some time: half had either been born in the Territory or been there more than twenty years; only a couple had lived there for less than ten years. They were men of affairs: six had served in previous Legislative Councils (but only four of them were returned); sixteen had served on a District or Town Advisory Council; fourteen mentioned economic interest organizations with which they had been connected. Ten had some previous connection with the Administration, and twenty mentioned war or ANGAU service. Whilst there were men of substance who declined to stand because they believed that the parliamentary salary would not compensate for lost earnings, it would appear that the Special Electorates performed their function successfully (see pp. 446, 468-9, 501-2).

There was an opportunity for each of these candidates to stand in an Open Electorate instead. Their choice of the Special Electorates probably reflects the general assumption before and early in the campaign that expatriate candidates stood little chance of winning an Open seat, although some may have felt that they should leave the Open Electorates to indigenous candidates. Ian Downs’s chances in a Highland Open Electorate might have been expected to be good, and hindsight suggests that one or two of the other Special Electorate candidates might also have been returned from Open seats.

There was also an opportunity for the Special Electorate candidates to seek close electoral alliance with candidates in the local Open Electorates. In one case there was a close association of Open and Special candidates—Matthias Toliman and Harry Spanner in Rabaul-West Gazelle (see p. 255). Percy Chatterton and Oala Oala-Rarua were fairly closely associated in Moresby-Central, but Chatterton always held the door open to the other Motu candidates to associate with him. Many indigenous candidates in the Open Electorates declared themselves to be supporting candidates in their Special Electorate, but often they declared themselves to be supporting two candidates. The association of To'uke and Graham Gilmore in Kainantu-South Markham was more that of client and patron than that of election campaign partners (see p. 108). In the Highlands Special Electorate a large number of the Open Electorate candidates stated that they were advising voters to support Downs and Buchanan. This may indicate caution on their part about making a choice before the result was known, or perhaps the reluctance to pass judgment on expatriates remarked amongst the electors (see p. 110). Frequently the Special Electorate candidates assisted Open Electorate candidates with transport or tips on election tactics, but they apparently never sought to build campaign teams covering both types of electorate. For some the failure of the United Progress Party at the 1961 elections might have warned against such an attempt.

Expatriate and Mixed-Race Candidates in Open Electorates

The 267 candidates for the 44 Open Electorates require somewhat more attention. Before the election it had been generally expected that adult suffrage on a common roll would make it impossible for a white or mixed-race candidate to be returned in competition with indigenous candidates—hence the creation of the Special Electorates. This expectation proved to be wrong, and there had been good reasons for suspecting it, such as the success of some Europeans in the West New Guinea elections, but it was not until June 1963 that the assumption was publicly questioned by the *Post's* columnist, J. D. McCarthy, who pointed out that it was assumed that a native majority must follow from the existence of the forty-four Open Electorates, and that this would mean an unwise and inexperienced House steered by the ten official members (*S.P.P.*, 25 June 1963). But, he went on, these seats were open to all candidates.

There is an opportunity for the expatriate population to secure fair and equable [*sic*] representation and have a voice of such magnitude that it [the House] would cease to be an Administration run institution. The dice are in the hands of the expatriates.

The Natives say that they want the whites to stay and have a voice in legislation. They understand the situation as well as anyone, and if we haven't the guts to put our reputations up for their assessment at the polls they are going to be left with a burden too heavy to carry.

By the time nominations closed there were thirty-two expatriates and eight mixed-race persons standing in twenty-four Open Electorates, and

the *Post* observed with surprise that if they won thirteen of the Open seats, there would be an expatriate majority in the House of Assembly:

From the outset the most expected was five or six Europeans prepared to have a 'go' for the native vote—but no one dreamed there would be 30. What an astonishing expression of confidence it would be if such a majority did occur!

Those charged with the responsibility for the elections could not have felt so pleased. Elections conducted by officials by 'whispering ballot' in the absence of parties and a nationalist movement which led to an expatriate majority in the legislature would sound very hollow on the international scene. It would, of course, have been open to the Administration to reduce the expatriate bloc by failing to nominate all the ten official members, but such a step would have hampered the conduct of business in the House.

The distribution of expatriate and mixed-race candidates through the Territory was rather uneven (Table 2). Expatriates constituted 14 per

TABLE 2 Expatriate and Mixed-Race Candidates

	No. electorates contested by		No. candidates			Candidates elected	
	Ex-patriates	Mixed-race	Ex-patriates	Mixed-race	Total	Ex-patriates	Mixed-race
N. G. Islands (6)	2	2	2	2	41	0	0
N. G. Coastal (12)	5	1	6	1	74	1	0
Papua Coastal (8)	7	4	13	5	48	1	2
Highlands (18)	8	0	11	0	104	4	0
Total all Electorates (44)	22	7	32	8	267	6	2

cent of the Open Electorate candidates, ranging from 29 per cent in Papua Coastal to 5 per cent in New Guinea Islands. As they won 14 per cent of the forty-four seats and polled 13 per cent of the total vote it cannot be said that they were any more or any less successful than indigenous or mixed-race candidates. Such success as mixed-race candidates achieved came through John Guise and Robert Tabua, although a couple of other candidates polled well. (Whilst John Guise is of mixed-race descent and was for a time active in the Mixed Race Association, he has publicly associated himself with the indigenous community. As one of the questions of the election was whether the indigenous electors of Milne Bay would accept his identification with them, he has been grouped with the mixed-race candidates in this chapter.)

The expatriate candidates in the Open Electorates were of approximately the same average age as the Special Electorate candidates—40—but this average conceals a significant difference between the Papua Coastal electorates where the average was 46.3 and the remaining electorates where the average was only 36. Three of the six successful expatriate

candidates, moreover, were under thirty years of age. In contrast with the Special Electorate candidates very few of the expatriate candidates in the Open Electorates had Territorial experience ante-dating the start of World War II. Of the six who had such experience, four stood in Papua Coastal: Clem Rich and Jack Wilkinson in Esa'ala-Losuia, Bob Bunting in Milne Bay, and Arthur Wyborn in Fly River. Ben Hall, a planter for over thirty years, stood in Ramu, and Bill Bloomfield, who had been a miner in the pre-war period, was returned for Kaindi. At least eight of the thirty-two expatriate candidates had been in the Territory for fewer than ten years. The typical expatriate candidate had come to the Territory first with the Administration—or, in one case, with a Commonwealth Department. At least twelve had done so, of whom nine had been with the Department of Native Affairs. Four had risen to the rank of Assistant District Officer before leaving the service, and the one expatriate woman candidate for an Open Electorate was the wife of a serving A.D.O. Two Native Affairs Officers resigned from the service to contest the elections: Graham Pople, the local A.D.O. who won in Gumine, and Barry Holloway, a local Patrol Officer who won in Kainantu (see ch. 6). Of the six successful expatriate candidates, four were former public servants, three of them former Native Affairs Officers.

Apart from the two above-mentioned Native Affairs officers and the wife of another officer, there was one minister of religion, but the great majority of European candidates were in private employment or business. Twenty-six of the remaining twenty-eight candidates were planters or traders or both. Three of them had been to University, and another half-dozen at least had Leaving Certificates or had matriculated.

When the results were known, Dr Gunther declared that he was surprised by the number of Europeans who had won Open seats, and concluded that the results reflected confidence in the European as a friend of the people whose help in trying to develop the country was appreciated (*S.P.P.*, 10 April 1964). The point is of sufficient importance to warrant further examination. Six expatriate candidates were successful: John Pasquarelli in Angoram, Keith Tetley in Gulf, and Graham Pople (Gumine), Barry Holloway (Kainantu), Keith Levy (Hagen) and Bill Bloomfield (Kaindi), all in the Highlands. Pasquarelli was a 27-year-old former Cadet Patrol Officer, recently turned trader. Tetley was forty-one, a trader and crocodile shooter, who had been in the Territory for five years. Pople, aged twenty-nine, had been in the Territory eight years, and Holloway, at the same age, had been there for eleven years; both resigned from the Department of Native Affairs to stand for the electorates in which they were serving. Levy, aged thirty-six, had been in the Territory for seventeen years; previously employed at the Department of the Administrator in Port Moresby, he had been a coffee planter and managing director of the local coffee processing factory at Mt Hagen for several years. Bloomfield, aged fifty-one, had been a miner in the Territory before the war and now was self-employed as a driller and tester. Pople's victory is the easiest to explain; his only opponent was a subsistence farmer and former interpreter in a rugged and thinly-popu-

lated area straddling the meeting point of the Southern Highlands, Eastern Highlands and Gulf Districts. Pople conducted the electoral education campaign as A.D.O., then resigned at the last minute to contest the election; three out of four voters supported him. Levy's victory over another expatriate and three indigenous candidates is attributed by Brandewie (1964) to several factors—his effective campaigning, a belief that as a European he was better educated and thus more likely to be an effective representative, the fact that he knew about roads, schools and dispensaries—the things people wanted most—and that he was above local loyalties. Bloomfield's successful operation of preferential voting is described below (p. 409), and Holloway's combination of techniques is reported in the account of Kainantu (ch. 6). In Gulf it would appear that a complete coverage of the electorate in his own outboard-powered dinghy and vessel gave Tetley a lead on first preferences sufficient to defeat his principal opponent, Sawaleba, a former interpreter and president of the Gogodala Local Government Council. In the absence of detailed returns or an on-the-spot report, we can suggest no other factors. In Angoram, Pasquarelli travelled extensively; in a large field of eleven candidates he managed to lead on first preferences with just under a quarter of the votes, and to hang on to that lead to defeat William Eichorn, a mixed-race trader and crocodile-skin dealer, by just over 200 votes—although he had led Eichorn by 1,400 on first preferences. A considerable element of luck must be seen in this result. Instead of Dr Gunther's interpretation of these six wins as evidence of confidence in European goodwill, one may suggest three other factors. Expatriate candidates often had the ability to see that one way to success lay in vigorous and extensive campaigning and possession of sufficient resources to run such a campaign. In at least two cases (and perhaps Pasquarelli's to some degree) they had the prestige which officers of the Department of Native Affairs, not necessarily all Europeans, have as wise and just men who do strive mightily for the welfare of their charges. However in Esa'ala-Losuia the two former Department of Native Affairs officers, Rich and Wilkinson, apparently failed to carry that prestige into private life as traders and planters. It may be, of course, that the prestige is non-existent or relatively slight in areas of long contact such as the Papua Coastal electorates. The third factor may be that these Open Electorates in which expatriates won were so fragmented between local ethnic groups that there was no single strong indigenous candidate to oppose them.

Indigenous Candidates in Open Electorates

It is even more difficult to generalize about the 227 indigenous candidates in the Open Electorates, but such information as we have can be consolidated into Tables 3, 4 and 5. All candidates were sent questionnaires asking for their basic demographic data and political experience, and information about their campaigns. Over 90 per cent returned completed questionnaires, although some omitted to answer certain questions. This information was supplemented by press reports and inquiries in Port Moresby and elsewhere.

TABLE 3 Experience of Indigenous Candidates in Open Electorates

Member Town/ District	New Guinea Islands (6)	New Guinea Coastal (12)	Papua Coastal (8)	Highlands (18)	Total (44)
Advisory Council	9	11	11	16	47
President, N.L.G.C.*	9	9	5	11	34
Vice-Pres., N.L.G.C.*	4	5	2	6	17
Member, N.L.G.C.*	4	11	7	18	40
Clerk, N.L.G.C.*	1	0	1	1	3
<i>Tultul/luluai</i>	9	16	0†	19	34
Police or military service	3	20	9	13	45
No experience under any of the above categories	10	25	7	39	81

* These categories have been treated as mutually exclusive, the most senior post being listed. No Clerks appear to have been members.

† Not appointed in Papua.

There was an average of about four indigenous candidates per electorate in the Papua Coastal area, five in the Highlands, five and a half in the New Guinea Coastal area, and six in the New Guinea Islands. Apart from the Highlands where candidates were noticeably younger, there was little to choose between the different areas in age, although indigenous candidates were generally much younger than European candidates. This is not too surprising considering life expectancy in the Territory; the Port Moresby indigenous census showed only 10·9 per cent of the indigenous urban population over the age of forty, 3·2 per cent over fifty, and 1·4 per cent over sixty (the census category of 'indefinite old age' being taken as over sixty, which undoubtedly inflates the third percentage shown). An age distribution of the indigenous candidates emphasizes this point. A reservation should, perhaps, be added that younger candidates might rather have been prepared to come forward than older men.

TABLE 4 Age of Indigenous Candidates in Open Electorates

	New Guinea Islands	New Guinea Coastal	Papua Coastal	Highlands	Total
21-30	6	14	4	33	57
31-40	12	28	13	38	91
41-50	8	20	8	13	49
51-60	8	0	5	2	15
Over 60	1	3	0	0	4
Unknown	2	2	0	7	11
Average age	41	38·6	40·4	34·3	

Concerning the education of candidates, the sources of information are much less complete. Where we have no information, this is often because the candidate had no formal education, but it sometimes may mean only that he did not complete that line of the questionnaire. It is also very difficult to equate the education received in Administration and different mission schools; sometimes it has been necessary to assume that *x* years of schooling means achievement of Standard *X*. However, such material as we do have tends to confirm the general belief that the Highlands candidates lagged behind those from other areas in formal education.

TABLE 5 Formal Education of Indigenous Candidates

	New Guinea Islands	New Guinea Coastal	Papua Coastal	Highlands	Total
Suva Medical College	0	1	0	0	1
Queensland Junior	2	0	2	0	4
Teacher training	3	2	2	0	7
Standard 9	0	3	0	0	3
Standard 8	2	0	0	0	2
Standard 7	4	0	1	1	6
Total	11	6	5	1	23
Standard 6	3	4	3	3	13
Standard 5	2	6	5	3	16
Standard 4	1	4	1	0	6
Total	6	14	9	6	35
Missionary training	0	3	0	1	4
Technical school	1	1	0	0	2
Standard 3	1	4	1	3	9
Standard 2	0	3	2	5	10
Standard 1	0	3	0	1	4
Total	2	14	3	10	29
No answer or no formal education	19	34	13	73	139

Within each of the four main areas there are significant differences. Within the Papua Coastal area, formal education is most noticeably lacking in Fly River and the Gailala portion of Moresby. Similarly in New Guinea Islands, East and West New Britain are noticeably lacking in candidates with formal education, as are several of the Sepik electorates of the New Guinea Coastal area—Dreikikir, Maprik, Lumi and Angoram. However, in the Highlands it is the electorate where a number

of candidates have formal education which is unusual; only Chimbu, Goroka, Kainantu and Wapenamanda had two or more candidates who we have reason to believe have had any formal education.

Concerning the occupations of indigenous candidates there is much more information, but as anywhere else in the world the information is fairly unsatisfactory. Some sort of decision has to be made, for example, as to the category into which a planter-trader falls, a very common dual role in the Territory. How many coffee trees must a subsistence farmer have before he becomes a planter? Is a clerk who resigns from the public service to start farming any less clerkly therefor, and will not his political behaviour be much closer to that of other clerks than to subsistence farmers and small planters? Arbitrarily, inevitably so, we have chosen what we believe to be a candidate's principal occupation, and, over time, his latest one. While the details must remain suspect, the broad outlines give something near the correct picture.

There are three avenues by which ability and energy can express themselves in work in the Territory. Although the great bulk of the population would find itself in the agricultural sector, many, if not most, of the candidates would be in the vanguard of agricultural improvement through the adoption of new methods and new crops. Entering trade or employment with the Administration or the missions is perhaps even more of a break, but it would appear that there are very few candidates who have not made some departure from traditional patterns of work followed by upwards of 90 per cent of the electors.

Voter Turnout

One Administration fear for the success of the elections was the possibility of large-scale abstentionism, either involuntary because electors did not know about the elections, or deliberate because they did not like what they knew. Neither eventuated. The total turnout, officially calculated at 72.3 per cent, must be taken to be quite respectable given the level of political development and the problems which many voters might have been expected to have in getting to the polls.

Although the mobile election patrols covered the Territory, the Chief Electoral Officer's comment that these patrols 'truly brought the poll to the elector rather than the elector to the poll' (Bryant 1964(b)) is slightly exaggerated. The mobile patrols did not pick up the votes as they went along, but moved from one polling place to the next. Twelve thousand villages had been visited by the patrols compiling the Common Roll, but there were only 2,900 polling places. This meant that the village where a mobile patrol conducted the poll had the election on its doorstep, but villagers from surrounding villages had to walk to this central polling place. In some cases this involved a walk of several hours.

Generally speaking, the evidence is overwhelming that the similarity between the election patrol and the well-known census patrol was so great that, outside the towns, electors considered polling merely another prescribed exercise. This was recognized as a necessity by officers in the field. As one electoral officer put it in mid-1963:

TABLE 6 Occupations of Indigenous Candidates in Open Electorates

	New Guinea Islands	New Guinea Coastal	Papua Coastal	Highlands	Total
<i>Agriculture</i>					
Farmer	10	23	3	20	56
Planter	6	11	2	14	33
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	16	34	5	34	89
<i>Commerce</i>					
Trader	2	3	1	9	15
Businessman	2	4	3	1	10
Storekeeper	0	1	1	2	4
Clerk	0	7	1	1	9
Contractor	1	0	1	0	2
Goldminer	0	0	0	4	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5	15	7	17	44
<i>Administration & Missions</i>					
Interpreter	0	0	6	16	22
Teacher	10	8	2	6	26
Catechist/missionary	3	4	0	4	11
L.G.C. Clerk	1	0	1	1	3
Med. practitioner	0	1	0	0	1
Med. assistant	0	0	1	2	3
Welfare officer	0	0	1	0	1
Agricultural asst.	0	0	0	1	1
Surveyor's asst.	0	0	0	1	1
Retired policeman	0	1	1	1	3
Other Admin. post	0	0	3	0	3
L. G. Councillor*	1	0	0	1	2
Luluai*	0	0	0	3	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	15	14	15	36	80
<i>Miscellaneous</i>					
Carpenter	1	1	0	1	3
Driver	0	2	0	0	2
Dom. servant	0	0	0	1	1
Labourer	0	0	0	1	1
Housewife	0	0	1	0	1
Cult-leader*	0	1	0	0	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1	4	1	3	9
<i>Not known</i>					
	0	0	2	3	5
<i>Total</i>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	37	67	30	93	227

* No other occupation being known.

This electorate has many semi-backward areas where people will likely get the idea that they have to vote. I feel that we cause confusion if there is too much emphasis on the aspect of voluntary voting during the educational programme.

Other electoral officers closer to the time of the election were familiar with the fact that people thought that voting was compulsory, but did not consider it their task to stress that it was not. Another electoral officer commented on the 70 per cent turnout in his electorate: 'This may have been 100 per cent if every village had been visited.'

There was relatively little regional difference in the percentage of electors voting.

TABLE 7 Percentage of Electors Voting

	Open Electorates				Total
	New Guinea Islands	New Guinea Coastal	Papua Coastal	Highlands	
Area turnout	73.75	74.15	69.85	71.4	72.3
Highest electorate turnout	84.6	85.6	80.4	86.1	86.1
Lowest electorate turnout	63.3	66.0	53.9	44.6	44.6

Percentage Turnout in Open Electorates

85.0 and higher	3
80.0-84.9	6
75.0-79.9	7
70.0-74.9	14
65.0-69.9	9
60.0-64.9	2
55.0-59.9	0
50.0-54.9	1
45.0-49.9	0
40.0-44.9	1

Percentage Turnout in Special Electorates

75.0-79.9	1
70.0-74.9	6
65.0-69.9	2

Of the electorates to exceed 85 per cent, two are in the Sepik District—Angoram and Dreikikir—whilst the third, Henganofi, is in the Highlands. The two lowest turnouts were Lakekamu (54 per cent) in central Papua, and Chimbu in the Highlands (45 per cent). Neither the number of candidates offering nor the degree of sophistication appear to have influenced turnout very much.

The Special Electorates varied even less in turnout. Madang-Sepik, influenced by the high turnout in the Sepik District Open Electorates, topped the list, but sprawling West Papua and densely-populated Highlands fell below 70 per cent.

Reports indicate that although a number of villages, and sometimes groups of villages, failed to vote or produced a very poor turnout, the known instances of deliberate abstentionism are few. One occurred in the Highlands, where Nipa tribesmen in the Mendi Open Electorate became disgruntled because their candidate failed to raise the £25 deposit in time and had been rejected (*S.P.P.*, 21 February 1964). A despatch from Mendi reported that Nipa electors were voting for the West Papua Special Electorate but abstaining for the Mendi Open Electorate on the same ballot-paper. This is confirmed by the voting figures, for there were 4,939 informal ballots in Mendi Open (20 per cent) compared with 122 and 36 respectively in the adjacent Kutubu and Tari Open Electorates. It does not appear that many Nipas stayed away from the polls: Mendi had a 72 per cent turnout compared with 71 per cent in Kutubu and 84 per cent in Tari.

The second, and more widely publicized instance, occurred in the Madang and Ramu Open Electorates. In Madang some 3,220 informal votes were cast—compared with 219 and 243 respectively in the adjacent Rai Coast and Markham Open Electorates. The factor here was enchantment with Yali Singina, who was standing in Rai Coast (see ch. 10). Yali had campaigned in the southern part of Madang Open Electorate, adjacent to his own electorate and the Saidor area from which he comes, and was thought to be influential in the Madang urban area as well, in part through his wives' families there. Posters had been provided for Yali by Ben Hall, an expatriate candidate for Ramu. In this poster, Yali did not use the term 'House of Assembly' or 'Haus Kaunsel', but 'Haus Lo'. The Neo-Melanesian word 'lo', borrowed from the Madang Graged language, means hospitality or generosity, and in connection with Yali it had overtones of wealth and cargo.

Detailed returns from Madang are not generally available, but the two batches available confirm Yali's influence. The inland areas of the Ambe-nob and Sumgelbor Local Government Councils polled 818 votes: 122 for McKellar, 42 for Suguman and 182 for Bultin, whilst there were 472 informal. Bogadjim Census Division, adjacent to Saidor and an area where Yali's influence was supposed to be strong, polled 1,413 votes of which 1,243 were informal. One loyal supporter delivered a 'write-in' vote by placing the letters Y, A and L in the three boxes provided for numbering preferences on the Madang ballot-paper and added a fourth box for the I. In Ramu Open Electorate there were 3,523 informal votes. Hall had brought Yali to this electorate to campaign for him, and it appears that Yali's presence activated his supporters, and led to their refusal to support any of the local candidates.

A third case of deliberate abstentionism, well publicized, but on a smaller scale, occurred in the New Ireland Open Electorate. There it was reported that about 25 per cent of the electors on New Hanover Island

wanted to vote for President Lyndon B. Johnson (*S.P.P.*, 3 March 1964). In the debate on the New Hanover affair in the new House (*H.A.D.*, 12 June 1964, pp. 69-70; see p. 460), the Director of Native Affairs stated that only about 28 per cent of New Hanover's electors voted and these were in the north-west and south-west parts of the island where the cult had not taken on. Supposing that 70 per cent might have been expected to vote normally, this suggests a shortfall of 40 per cent. New Ireland Open Electorate had almost 800 informal ballots, and turnout was also suspiciously low—63 per cent, compared with 69 per cent in East New Britain, 74 per cent in Rabaul and 76 per cent in West New Britain. Subsequent press accounts (*N.G.T.C.*, 1 April 1964) suggest that a visiting American had jovially advised New Hanoverians not to support any local candidate, but to vote for President Johnson. The suggestion became involved with cargo cult ideas, and led to refusals to vote and pay taxes. When the District Commissioner duly visited New Hanover to inquire into the matter, he was offered £443 by a young cult leader to 'buy President Johnson'—which probably meant to pay his fare to New Hanover. The cult later spread to New Ireland itself, where refusal to pay taxes culminated in violence to tax patrols.

The fourth case, also on a small scale, occurred in the Vunadidir area of the Rabaul Open Electorate. Here a number of villages, including Navuneram, which had previously refused to participate in Local Government Councils, were reportedly advised by their elders that a vote in the House of Assembly elections would be interpreted as a vote to join the Gazelle Peninsula Council (*N.G.T.C.*, 11 March 1964; see p. 259). Voters stayed away rather than appear at the polls only to refuse to state a voting intention. One other area, Reimber-Livuan, accounted for one-half the informal votes cast in the whole electorate, but even there the proportion of informal votes was only 16 per cent. In the non-Council area, including Navuneram, it was barely 2 per cent.

One of the most generous provisions of the Electoral Ordinance was sec. 130(1):

Notwithstanding anything in this Ordinance contained, where a person who is entitled to be enrolled on the Roll for an electorate claims to vote at an election at a polling place prescribed for that electorate and his name has been incorrectly omitted from or struck from the certified list of voters for that polling place, or where a person who is enrolled on the Roll for an electorate claims to vote at an election at a polling place for that electorate and his name cannot be found by the presiding officer on the certified list of voters, he may, subject to this Ordinance be permitted to vote . . .

Several qualifications follow in this sub-section, but none of them was likely greatly to reduce the number of persons who could avail themselves of the remedy. However, such voters were required to complete a declaration before voting. The printed General Return sheet (Election Form F37) provided to Returning Officers contained a single column for 'ordinary' voters and sec. 130(1) voters (but divided by sex), and so figures on the number of sec. 130(1) voters have survived only by chance.

Returning Officers had been provided with a form which distinguished sec. 130(1) voters, but this was for their own use, and was not returnable to Port Moresby. The Chief Electoral Officer states (*C.E.O. Report*, p. 16):

The percentage of Section 130(1) Voters runs as high as 11 per cent in some Electorates. How many of these electors were genuinely left off the Roll in error, and how many were actually recorded on the Roll for some other Electorate and changed their mind at the last moment, will never be known.

In Bougainville of 25,093 ordinary and sec. 130(1) voters, 1,217 were sec. 130(1). In Dreikikir it appears that 940 out of a total of 19,671 fell in this category. In Gulf there were 140 out of 14,848, in Ialibu 1,062 out of 22,232, Kainantu about 748 out of 17,279, Kaindi 583 out of 19,736, Lae about 1,700 out of 19,557, and in Rai Coast apparently 356 out of 16,402. One might guess that a Territorial average would be 3-4 per cent.

A footnote to Table 4 in the General Return form instructs Returning Officers to add votes under sec. 130(1) to the number of voters shown on the electoral roll to produce the total 'electors enrolled' required in the Return. It would appear that in some electorates this instruction was overlooked and the official returns (Bryant 1964(b)) show as enrolment only those on the roll. If many Returning Officers missed the point, and those exercising the franchise under sec. 130(1) were not in the main on the roll of some other electorate but not enrolled at all, then the figures for turnout must be suspect. Given such a series of conjectures, it is clearly impossible to indicate the degree of error. It is possible that the real turnout was close to 70 per cent rather than 72.3 per cent as claimed, but this may be unduly pessimistic.

The Electoral Ordinance (sec. 123) provided that where a voter's sight was impaired or he was otherwise physically incapacitated so as to be unable to vote without assistance, he might appoint a person to enter the booth with him and mark the ballot paper on his behalf. So far as we know, this happened rarely if at all. The same section also provided that where no person had been designated by the voter to assist him, or 'if a voter satisfies the presiding officer that he is so illiterate that he is unable to vote without assistance', then the Presiding Officer should mark and deposit the ballot-paper for the voter, doing so in the presence of a person appointed for this purpose by the voter, or if none were appointed, in the presence of the poll clerk. It would have been interesting to know what proportion of the votes were cast without assistance, but certainly it must have been a very small proportion. In the absence of any firm direction as to what was involved in *satisfying* the Presiding Officer that a voter was *so* illiterate that he had to use the 'whispering vote', individual officers adopted widely differing approaches (see pp. 234-5). What may seem remarkable was that, with one exception (see pp. 360-1) it appears that no one, elector or candidate, queried the integrity of the officers of the Department of Native Affairs and other Departments and private individuals who acted as Presiding Officers. In the authors' opinion this

general confidence was not misplaced. Whilst there were sharply differing approaches to the problem of assisted voting, the differences stemmed from honestly-held beliefs as to the capabilities of electors, and from varying interpretations of the Ordinance.

Preferential Voting

Another question is how successfully electors would work a system of preferential voting. The First Interim Report of the Select Committee on Political Development (see pp. 36, 39) had declared that four-fifths of the witnesses it heard had favoured the use of preferential voting, such as was already used in several Local Government Council elections. The recommendation was readily accepted at all levels—by the Legislative Council, the Administration, the Commonwealth government and Parliament. Preferential voting has been used for the elections to the Commonwealth House of Representatives since 1918 and is now used in five of the six states for elections to State Parliaments. Inherent in a colonial situation is the transfer of political institutions and devices from the metropolitan power to the colonial territory, and it was understandable that Australians contemplating the introduction of direct elections to Papua-New Guinea would think first, and most fondly, of the preferential vote. However, because of the novelty of the elections and problems of terrain and climate, it was decided that compulsory voting, another characteristic Australian political institution, would be premature. Apparently it was further reasoned that if compulsion was not yet appropriate for voting, neither had the time come to compel an exhaustive expression of preferences by Territorial voters.

The considerable number of candidates who nominated, and the localization of their support in many, if not most, electorates, ensured that preferences would have to be distributed in most electorates, in order that candidates might achieve the absolute majority required by the Ordinance for election. In only eight Open Electorates and four Special Electorates were candidates returned with an absolute majority of votes on the first count, and in only two of the Open Electorates was the successful candidate's majority a comfortable one. The distribution of preferences in the

TABLE 9 Electorates with Successful Candidate returned on First Count, showing Successful Candidates' Percentage of First Preferences

Open		Special	
Chuave	51·1	East Papua	72·0
East New Britain	51·7	Highlands	76·5*
Esa'ala-Losuia	50·9	N. G. Islands	62·0
Gumine	74·9*	West Papua	64·0*
Ialibu	51·5		
Lakekamu	52·0		
Milne Bay	86·5		
Wabag	51·1		

* Only two candidates.

other electorates led to candidates obtaining an absolute majority in twenty-one Open Electorates and two Specials: Bougainville, Finschhafen, Fly River, Hagen, Henganofi, Kainantu, Kerowagi, Kutubu, Lae, Lagaip, Madang, Manus, Okapa, Popondetta, Rabaul, Rai Coast, Ramu, Tari, Upper Sepik, Wapenamanda and Wewak-Aitape, and Madang-Sepik and New Britain.

Whilst preferences had to be distributed in the great majority of electorates, the final results in these twenty-three electorates were affected by having a preferential rather than a first-past-the-post system in only two cases, Henganofi and Tari. Henganofi is a dumbbell-shaped electorate.

TABLE 10 Allocation of Preferences in Henganofi Open Electorate

Candidates	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Final count
Forapi	787	—	—	—	(787)
Posi	1758	12	—	—	(1770)
Pupuna	3708	73	41	—	(3822)
Bono	8028	12	35	224	8299
Ugi	3925	667	1362	3274	9228
Exhausted	—	23	334	324	681

Bono Azanifa came from the north-eastern portion containing about 45 per cent of the electors and comprising the Kafe Local Government Council area and Dunantina Census Division. The other four candidates came from the south-western part, the Yagarua and Labogai Census Divisions, with about 55 per cent of the population. As can be seen from Table 10, Azanifa's massive lead was overcome by an almost airtight distribution of preferences among these four candidates, with Ugi Biritu of Lufa Patrol Post, in the centre of this portion of the electorate, receiving the lion's share of each candidate's preferences.

The Tari situation was somewhat more complicated, as the majority of the six candidates came from the more densely populated area around Tari station itself. Two candidates, Megelia Babagi and Andagari Wabiria, live at Koroba, where the other Sub-district office in the electorate is located. However, all candidates are thought to have travelled extensively. Perhaps the most striking aspect of Table 11 is the remarkably

TABLE 11 Allocation of Preferences in Tari Open Electorate

Candidates	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Fifth count	Final count
Mapiria	1215	—	—	—	—	(1215)
Tagobe	3133	361	—	—	—	(3494)
Babagi	3714	69	138	—	—	(3921)
Wabiria	4470	279	246	1072	—	(6067)
Tiri	5916	348	1699	433	2758	11154
Tiabe	4356	155	1328	2410	3288	11537
Exhausted		3	83	6	21	113

low proportion of exhausted ballots. Here, very clearly, Presiding Officers must have gone to considerable lengths to secure a complete expression of preferences in contrast, for example, to the situation in Kaindi (see Table 13). In the absence of polling booth returns, it is impossible to say anything about the localization of support. Mathew Mapiria or Yaliga is a young (barely twenty-one) school teacher at the Capuchin Mission at Tari; as a speaker of English, Neo-Melanesian and Motu, he was thought to have some prestige with young men, but then Tari is one of the least-developed electorates. There is no obvious pattern to the distribution of his preferences. John Tagobe, aged thirty-six, was an interpreter with the Department of Native Affairs at Tari who had been stationed at both Koroba and Tari and had extensively patrolled both Sub-districts since 1958. He had been an observer at the Legislative Council in Port Moresby, and spoke Neo-Melanesian. His preferences went predominantly to his fellow Tari-ites, Tiri and Tiabe. Megelia Babagi is an interpreter for the Christian Mission in Many Lands at Koroba, and also acted as an evangelist. He was a hospital orderly at Tari and Koroba between 1956 and 1959, and speaks Neo-Melanesian and Motu. However, he originally came from outside the electorate, from Wage River in the Mendi Open Electorate. Barely a quarter of his preferences went to his fellow-resident at Koroba, Wabiria, but with over 60 per cent of his preferences going to Tiabe it brought the latter almost level with Tiri. Andagari Wabiria comes from Hari near Tari, but lives at Koroba where he is a sawmiller and farmer; he, too, speaks Neo-Melanesian and Motu. His preferences favoured Tiabe slightly over Tiri, and were sufficient to decide the matter. Pungwa Tiri, aged thirty-nine, is a foreman labourer with Native Affairs in Tari, and had a long association with the Administration dating back to war-time patrols. A Neo-Melanesian speaker, he had often acted as interpreter. However it was Handabe Tiabe, aged about forty-five, a subsistence farmer and sometime evangelist for the Methodist Overseas Mission of Amburu near Tari, who won.

Tiabe attracted considerable publicity outside the electorate. As a former fight leader and husband of six wives, he was cited as the archetype of a backwoods candidate. When the House of Assembly first met, he attracted further publicity as the only Member unable to understand either English, Neo-Melanesian or Police Motu. A local account of the Tari contest would have been extremely interesting for this appears to be a case where the possession of traditional values rallied considerable support to one candidate over others who seemed to have acquired some of the skills of the modern world into which the elected Member would be going. However, there is also a strong possibility that Tiabe won because of strong Methodist backing.

The above account has dealt with electorates in which the successful candidates acquired an absolute majority after the distribution of preferences. There remain fifteen Open Electorates and three Special Electorates, in which candidates were declared elected with only a plurality of the vote.

In three of these electorates the successful candidate had not led on the

TABLE 12 Electorates Where Successful Candidate was Returned with Plurality, showing Successful Candidate's Percentage of Total Vote (including preferences received)

Open Electorates		Special Electorates	
Angoram	39.9	Central	40.0
Chimbu	28.8	South Markham	43.5
Dreikikir	41.0	West Gazelle	49.8
Goroka	34.8		
Gulf	44.0		
Kaindi	46.8		
Lumi	44.3		
Maprik	41.4		
Markham	35.6		
Mendi	49.5		
Minj	43.3		
Moresby	45.4		
New Ireland	44.2		
Rigo-Abau	40.7		
West New Britain	46.7		

first count. The biggest change occurred in Kaindi where Bill Bloomfield emerged as the winner after the preferences of seven candidates had been distributed. Bloomfield campaigned extensively. On the advice of indigenous members of his campaign committee he put his speeches on to tape in English followed by fluent Neo-Melanesian. At campaign meetings the tape could be played, and a local interpreter could then give a translation in the local language. The committee members had argued that as the *kiap* used tape recorders, Bloomfield should do the same. Bloomfield's 'campaign office' had a wall map of the Morobe District showing Census Divisions, language areas and population figures. In his campaigning he emphasized 'if not number 1, then put me number 2'. Two somewhat confused candidates from the Buang Census Division, Isom Kaia and Su Kate, campaigned as a team, but when Kaia's preferences were distributed Kate did only slightly better than Bloomfield. The preferences of the third candidate from that Census Division, Mani Iom, appear to have favoured his fellow Mumeng Local Government Councillor, Monbong, and Kaia and Kate equally. The decisive factor appears to have been the failure of David Iti, the one candidate from the backward Menyamya area in the rugged mountainous part of the electorate, to attract preferences. Iti was an interpreter at the Sub-district office at Menyamya, and, so far as is known, campaigned only in his own area. In the two last distributions of preferences, Bloomfield outscored Iti by six to one, and overcame Iti's lead of almost a thousand to win by over two and a half thousand.

The Markham Open Electorate provides a similar result but with a very different cast of characters. Only two candidates were indigenous born in the electorate—Tataeng Nabia and Timas Paia, both members of the

TABLE 13 Allocation of Preferences in Kaindi Open Electorate

Candidates	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Fifth count	Sixth count	Seventh count	Eighth count	Final count
Gould	254	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	(254)
Iom	369	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	(388)
Monbong	801	23	115	—	—	—	—	—	(939)
Yamung	1188	20	17	154	—	—	—	—	(1379)
Kaia	1377	15	68	132	188	—	—	—	(1780)
Kate	1842	10	61	51	111	521	—	—	(2596)
Maniau	3372	16	9	25	79	94	379	—	(3974)
Iti	5425	15	16	20	41	276	222	392	6407
Bloomfield	4583	103	34	264	357	455	1577	1634	9007
Exhausted		33	68	293	603	434	418	1948	3797

Markham Local Government Council. Two candidates were expatriates, Tom Lae (Leahy) and Bruce Jephcott, both planters. Lae's residence was actually across the electoral boundary in the Lae Open Electorate, but he had had long contacts with the Markham area generally and drew his labour from the Wantoat area within the Markham Open Electorate. Bruce Jephcott's plantation was located near Dumpu in the Madang District, part of the Markham Open Electorate. Gaudi Mirau, a Papuan from Kerema, had been a clerk at the Kaiapit Sub-district office. The sixth candidate, entering at the last minute, was Malangan Fridolin, a Catholic mission teacher from the Bundi Patrol Post who came originally from another part of the Madang District. It should be noted that the Markham Open Electorate straddles the Morobe-Madang District boundary, and includes all of one Sub-district, Kaiapit, and portions of three more—Lae, Saidor and Madang Central. Its electoral results were greatly influenced by chance. With the two Markham Councillors splitting their support, Nabia was the first to be eliminated and the distribution of his preferences pushed his colleague, Paia, ahead of Fridolin. As over three-quarters of Fridolin's ballots were exhausted, they were of little help to any of the remaining four candidates, and left Paia at the bottom of the list. The strength of Gaudi Mirau and Tom Lae around Kaiapit meant that Paia's preferences went overwhelmingly to those two candidates, enabling Mirau to push ahead of Jephcott. Over two-thirds of Jephcott's ballots were exhausted, but the remainder went to Mirau by a two to one majority, assuring his victory over Lae by 266 votes. It seems that Mirau's last-minute campaign in Naho-Rawa where, contrary to expectations, he cut into Jephcott's first preferences strength, secured an additional batch of second preferences.

In the South Markham Special Electorate, our third case, Graham Gilmore had only 7,512 votes on the first count to Lloyd Hurrell's 8,592, but won 9,311 to 8,963 after the distribution of preferences.

The cases in which the order of candidates on first preferences was altered on the final count support propositions advanced later in this chapter on localization of support and the effectiveness of extensive campaigning. They also point to the considerable influence which different approaches of different officers to the problem of whether or not to try to elicit a full set of preferences from every voter could have on the result.

TABLE 14 Allocation of Preferences in Markham Open Electorate

Candidates	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Fifth count	Final count
Nabia	1166	—	—	—	—	(1166)
Fridolin	2847	77	—	—	—	(2924)
Paia	2602	692	123	—	—	(3417)
Jephcott	3884	111	100	309	—	(4404)
Lae	4167	81	190	1196	531	6165
Mirau	3392	144	255	1581	1059	6431
Exhausted		61	2256	331	2814	5462

We might note at this point that the only controversy about—and possible legal challenge to—the elections came with respect to those eighteen electorates in which the successful candidate failed to secure an absolute majority. Sec. 162(1) of the Electoral Ordinance provided:

The result of an election shall be determined by scrutiny in the following manner—

- (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 shall be made;
- (d) on the second count the sealed parcels of ballot-papers may be opened by the Returning Officer, the candidate who has received the fewest first preferences shall be excluded and each ballot-paper counted to him shall be counted to 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 to be elected, but if no candidate then has an absolute majority of votes the process of excluding the candidate who has the fewest votes and counting each of his ballot-papers to the unexcluded candidate next in order of the voter's preference shall be repeated *until one candidate has received an absolute majority of votes*;
- (f) *the candidate who has received an absolute majority of votes shall be elected.* (Emphasis supplied.)

Sec. 161 of the Ordinance provided:

In this Division—

'an absolute majority of votes' means a greater number than one-half of the whole number of ballot-papers (other than informal ballot-papers), including exhausted ballot-papers, and in addition, where necessary, the casting vote of the Returning Officer given under the next succeeding section shall be included in reckoning an absolute majority of votes; 'exhausted ballot-paper' means a ballot-paper on which consecutive preferences for all candidates are not shown but which is, by virtue of Subsection (2) of Section 144 of this Ordinance, not informal. (Emphasis supplied.)

Sec. 144 provides that it shall not be necessary to express preferences for all candidates, that is, exhaustively. Accordingly, the candidates in the seventeen electorates listed in Table 12 (excluding Mendi) were declared elected apparently without having complied with the requirement of the Ordinance.

The matter first came to public notice with a report in the *Brisbane Sunday Mail* (22 March 1964) entitled 'New Guinea Vote "Fiasco"'. The story suggested that the much-heralded elections could prove a fiasco because more than one-half of the results could be set aside on the ground that the leading candidate had not achieved an absolute majority and

therefore could not be elected. It offered alternative ways out of the dilemma: either the Commonwealth Parliament could pass 'an amending Act' or the rump House of Assembly composed of those whose qualifications were not in doubt could meet and rectify the error. The story was answered at once by the Territory's Secretary for Law, W. W. Watkins (Brisbane *Courier-Mail*, 23 March 1964; *S.P.P.*, 24 March 1964). Watkins was quoted as saying that whereas in Australia informal votes were cast where there was no complete expression of preferences, that was not the case in the Territory. This part of Watkins' statement is correct but irrelevant, for the Ordinance specifically provided that exhausted ballot-papers be counted in the calculation of an absolute majority. In the *Courier-Mail* report, Watkins was quoted as adding: 'It is conceded, therefore, that the value of a ballot paper with regard to preferential voting varies with the number of people voting.' As this is meaningless, it must be supposed that he was misquoted. He concluded, as reported in both newspapers, that the Ordinance would survive a test in Court.

Sec. 206 of the Electoral Ordinance provides:

- (1) the Court of Disputed Returns shall sit as an open Court and may, among other things—
 - (e) declare that a person who was returned as elected was not duly elected;
 - (f) declare a candidate duly elected who was not returned as elected;
 - (g) declare an election absolutely void;
 - (h) dismiss or uphold a petition in whole or in part;
- (2) The Court may exercise all or any of its powers under this section on such grounds as the Court in its discretion thinks just and sufficient.

This section does not provide specifically that the Court may validate the election of a candidate who was returned as elected and it is extremely unlikely that any Court would have construed the general power of subsection (2) as authority to override the specific statutory requirement for election, particularly in view of sec. 79:

- (1) Subject to the Act and to this Ordinance, whenever an election fails a new writ shall forthwith be issued for a supplementary election.
- (2) An election shall be deemed to have failed if—
 - (a) no candidate is nominated or returned as elected;

The last section suggests that the legislature envisaged the possibility of no candidate coming forward or complying with the provisions of the Ordinance, and had provided for such exigencies.

It appears that a drafting error in the Electoral Ordinance resulted from too close a copying of the Commonwealth Electoral Act, sec. 136 (6)(d), without realizing that the failure to make exhaustive preferences compulsory had changed the whole basis of counting. However, it should

be added at once that, happily, no injustice resulted to any unsuccessful candidate from this error. Had the Ordinance correctly excluded exhausted ballots from the calculation of an absolute majority, the same candidates would have been elected. The Director of Posts and Telegraphs who moved the Second Reading of the Electoral Bill in the absence of Dr Gunther did not foresee the difficulty:

Division 6 of Part XIV sets out the method of determining the result of the election. Basically, where no candidate has an absolute majority (i.e. more than one half) of the first preference votes cast, it consists of excluding the candidate who has received the fewest first preference votes (shown by the number '1' on the ballot-paper) and adding each ballot-paper on which he is given first preference to the candidate who is shown on it as second preference. This process is continued *until some candidate has more than half of the total votes.* (*L.C.D.*, 12 August 1963, p. 813; emphasis supplied.)

In Australian electoral experience only three times had preferential voting not required exhaustive preferences—the contingent vote system which existed in Queensland from 1892 to 1942 and Western Australia from 1907 to 1911 and the multi-member electorate preferential voting system in South Australia between 1929 and 1935. Queensland law had provided that when no candidate received an absolute majority on the first count, all but the top two candidates were excluded simultaneously, and their preferences distributed between the two top candidates, and in Western Australia the candidates with the smallest number of votes were excluded one by one until one had an absolute majority or only two were left. The candidate with the greater number of votes was then elected. In South Australia exhausted ballots were specifically excluded from the count for an absolute majority.

Despite Watkins' opinion that the Ordinance would stand up in any court of law, it was soon reported that a defeated candidate would appeal to the Court of Disputed Returns. At no time does it appear that an unsuccessful candidate contemplated seeking a writ or order of prohibition against the Returning Officer to prevent declaration of the result in one of the doubtful electorates, although such a course might well have provided two bites to the cherry. Mick Casey, a Highlands planter, announced that he would proceed under sec. 161 to have the result in South Markham Special Electorate set aside (*S.P.P.*, 14 April 1964). In so far as Casey had been placed third and last in the electorate, his hopes for any ensuing by-election must have been slight. Some light on the subject may be cast by an article entitled 'Ahead of Popular Demand—But Dull' by 'Konedobu' (*Bulletin*, 16 May 1964, pp. 18-19, 21) which reported that Gilmore was threatening to sue Casey for defamation:

It is understood that Mr Casey, in the course of some vigorous Melanesian Pidgin speeches to Kainantu electors, queried the worth of Mr Gilmore's contribution to the local economy and invoked coarse Australian agricultural imagery in impugning Mr Gilmore's veracity.

The possibility of a challenge to the Ordinance disturbed the *Post*:

We hope that this petition is never attested and never filed . . . This present action challenges the decision of the people, no matter which way you look at it.

It could effect [*sic*] not only South Markham Electorate but more than half of the 53 Open and Special Electorates . . . How would it be possible to explain this to the native people in these Electorates? Frankly, most of them would not bother to vote again. And we would hold up to ridicule and scorn, before the whole world, an election and an Australian endeavour which well deserves the name of success . . . If this were an action motivated by a desire to correct an injustice, nothing but good could come of it. But it is clearly a challenge of the people's will on technical grounds, in which goodness has been given little consideration (*S.P.P.*, 17 April 1964).

Casey replied (*S.P.P.*, 21 April 1964) that he was determined to proceed, and that he had the support of several other unsuccessful candidates. However, the same number of the *Post* reported that 'feeling in the district is that Mr Casey's action would not serve a useful purpose', and the *New Guinea Times Courier* added its counsel:

Technically Kainantu farmer Mr. Mick Casey may have a case against the outcome of the vote counting for the Special Electorate of South Markham but most people in the Territory would like to see him drop his charges . . . If Mr. Casey is successful with his protest and a recount of the votes recorded in his electorate are [*sic*] ordered this could lead to one of the greatest mix-ups ever in the Territory.

The native people, to whom we 'are showing the way' will immediately wonder what is going on—they will wonder if we know what we are doing.

They will see recounts ordered not only for the South Markham Special Electorate but in many other electorates. They will see many thousands of pounds of very valuable money literally being poured down the drain.

Mr. Casey, if he has the future of the Territory close to his heart, would accept things as they are, and 'let sleeping dogs lie'.

A letter to the *Times Courier* (29 April 1964) challenged the argument of the editorial, and suggested that the right to a hearing in court was a more important example for the native people. Another letter (*S.P.P.* 15 May 1964) disagreed with the *Post's* editorial:

Those who have been in close association with the recent election, have realised just how badly this Ordinance needs revision and how badly conceived the whole structure has been. In some cases the election was a farce, and in other cases it was an automatic act, carried out by people completely ignorant of what they were doing.

On 13 May Gough Whitlam, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, in a question directed to the Minister for Territories, offered the Opposition's assistance (*C.P.D.*, 13 May 1964, p. 1807):

I ask the honourable gentleman whether consideration has been given to passing a validating act through this Parliament before we rise so that the first direct election in the Territory will not be frustrated by a technicality with consequent disillusion and disappointment to the

people who have so recently elected their first representative Parliament?

The Minister replied that he had no official knowledge of a challenge to the elections, but that if this occurred he would certainly consider the matter along the lines suggested. The story was reported by the *Post* (S.P.P., 15 May 1964) under the headline: 'ELECTORAL SLIP-UP STIRS GOVERNMENT ACTION: Talk of New Legislation'.

Either community moral pressure or the probability that any decision of the Court of Disputed Returns would be nullified by the Commonwealth Parliament dissuaded Casey and the other unsuccessful candidates from proceeding. 'Konedobu' reported that the Administration was sufficiently concerned to have sent 'a non-official emissary' to Casey to dissuade him from proceeding (*Bulletin*, 16 May 1964). The decision of Casey and the other candidates was praised in a letter to the *Post* (S.P.P., 26 June 1964) as 'significant of the high sense of responsibility for the welfare of the country' which restrained them.

However, the Administration (having very properly waited until the time for appeals had run out) continued unrepentant. An amending Ordinance was introduced on the last day of the first meeting of the new House providing that exhausted ballots should not be counted in determining an absolute majority under the principal Electoral Ordinance. In the notes on the proposed amending Ordinance distributed to Members of the House an example similar to the fourteen or fifteen electorates in which the successful candidate had been returned with a plurality of the total vote was given, followed by the comment:

No candidate could then win. That was clearly not the intention of the Electoral Ordinance, and the Chief Electoral Officer did not treat it in that way. The obvious thing to be done is that, as a ballot-paper ceases to show a preference which can be given effect to by counting it to a candidate, so it is excluded from the total necessary to be gained for election, and so a candidate needs only an absolute majority of *the votes left in the count—i.e.*, still being credited to a remaining candidate . . . This was the scheme of the original Ordinance, and the Bill is designed solely to make this point clear. (Emphasis in original.)

In his Second Reading speech Dr Gunther repeated these words (*H.A.D.*, 16 June 1964, p. 107). The Bill passed through all stages without further discussion.

Absent Voters

The two classes of voters who presented the most difficulties for the polling officials were Sec. 130(1) voters and absent voters (see pp. 404-5).

Under sec. 124 of the Electoral Ordinance electors were entitled to vote at any polling booth outside the electorate for which they were enrolled, provided that in so doing the exercise of their 'privilege' to cast an absent vote did not interfere with the 'right' of the registered electors for the electorate in which they were now voting. Some 38,000 Papuans and New Guineans availed themselves of the privilege. Presiding officers were required to record the names of all voters together with the names

of the electorates for which they claimed to be enrolled on special envelopes in which the absentee votes were placed; these envelopes were sorted by the Returning Officer for the electorate for which they were cast, and then dispatched to the Returning Officers of the appropriate electorates, where they would be opened and counted.

Certain electorates which have been sources of recruited labour had substantial numbers of ballot-papers sent to them from their absentee

TABLE 15 Absent Ballots in Open Electorates

	Absent ballots despatched to other electorates	Absent ballots, sent from other electorates, admitted to the count
<i>New Guinea Islands</i>		
Bougainville	2101	385
East New Britain	3808	800
Manus	541	228
New Ireland	2069	442
Rabaul	4074	535
West New Britain	821	849
	13414	3239
<i>New Guinea Coastal</i>		
Angoram	40	1614
Dreikikir	64	1111
Finschhafen	400	2188
Lae	2124	1866
Lumi	99	1268
Madang	3629	1195
Maprik	310	1791
Markham	165	1345
Rai Coast	165	1012
Ramu	454	1410
Upper Sepik	342	372
Wewak-Aitape	1515	1324
	9307	16496
<i>Papua Coastal</i>		
Esa'ala-Losuia	131	727
Fly River	223	157
Gulf	173	509
Lakekamu	759	488
Milne Bay	574	951
Moresby	5559	584
Popondetta	641	853
Rigo-Abau	668	1339
	8728	5608

	Absent ballots despatched to other electorates	Absent ballots, sent from other electorates, admitted to the count
<i>Highlands</i>		
Chimbu	167	965
Chuave	98	330
Goroka	1148	659
Gumine	124	535
Hagen	877	207
Henganofi	178	634
Ialibu	161	76
Kaindi	2186	700
Kainantu	449	595
Kerowagi	176	98
Kutubu	85	86
Lagaip	149	15
Mendi	306	194
Minj	112	492
Okapa	67	96
Tari	129	193
Wabag	60	261
Wapenamanda	87	183
	6559	6319
Total	38008	31662

N.B.—The source of the figures in the first column are the individual returns lodged with the Chief Electoral Officer by the Returning Officers; those in the second column come from Bryant (1964(a)).

electors; those containing towns or plantations with substantial numbers of migrant workers despatched substantial numbers.

It will be noted that some 38,000 ballot-papers were despatched, but just under 32,000 were admitted to the count. It may be assumed that none went permanently astray in the post, although one bundle arrived in Lae from Wewak-Aitape whence it had possibly been re-routed after the scrutiny had been completed, and another bundle arrived at Kainantu from Talasea too late. Making allowance for late arrivals, it would still appear that over 5,000 votes came into the category of 'absent voters' ballot-papers rejected at the preliminary scrutiny' under sec. 147 because the officer conducting the scrutiny was satisfied (i) that the absent voter was not enrolled for or entitled to vote for his electorate, or (ii) because the declaration prescribed for an absent ballot-paper had not been signed and attested. Obviously some absent workers decided to vote without being certain that they had been enrolled in their home electorates, and the difficulties in identifying voters on the spot with names in the roll indicate that it would often be impossible to identify a name given to a Presiding Officer in a distant electorate with a name on the local roll. Sometimes it was impossible to identify the village name given by the

absent voter with any village in the electorate where the ballot was received. The account of the scrutiny in Lae (pp. 237-8) indicates some of the things that went wrong with absent votes.

It may well be that sec. 128(2) of the Electoral Ordinance, which provided that absent votes could not be dealt with until the general scrutiny started, is mistaken, and that it would be better to have the special boxes with absentee ballots opened at the end of polling in that particular electorate. The envelopes containing the papers could then be posted with a much greater margin of time for arrival and careful scrutiny so as to permit them to be counted wherever possible. Compilation of a new edition of the *Village Directory* with an index would undoubtedly assist electoral officials—and Territorial psephologists as well.

A total of 4.3 per cent of the ballot-papers counted in the Territory were absent votes. Among absent voters men outnumbered women by almost five to one, but the ratio varied considerably between electorates. In only six Open Electorates (Angoram, Fly River, Kaindi, Lae, Lakekamu and Milne Bay) did women constitute more than one-third of the total number of absent voters, and only in Angoram did they constitute a half. In a number of electorates the absent ballots could have been a substantial factor, and in six they exceeded 8.6 per cent of the total vote, twice the Territorial average.

However, in each of the four electorates where the successful candidate did proportionately better with the absent voters, his victory would have been assured without them. Indeed in no electorate was the result affected by absent votes. In so far as one path to victory was to be a candidate with a solid local base in a populous part of the electorate and some following throughout the electorate, this was often reflected in a widespread knowledge of the candidate among absent voters. In certain electorates, a well-known candidate did particularly well among absent voters, even though his principal base of support was overborne by another candidate's larger local following—Kondom Agaundo in Chimbu, Vin Tobaining in East New Britain, Simoi Paradi in Fly River, Nopnop Tol in Minj—but this may also reflect the fact that absent workers have come from a particular area of the electorate. A curious exception was Markham Open Electorate where the bottom two candidates out of six polled only 18.8 per cent of the total ordinary vote, but had 65 per cent of the absent vote.

TABLE 16 High Absent Vote, Open Electorates

Electorate	Absent vote as percentage of total vote	Winning candidate	His percentage of local vote	His percentage of absent vote
Finschhafen	14.2	Zurecnuoc	37.2	56.0
Wewak-Aitape	10.5	Simogen	28.8	58.0
Angoram	9.6	Pasquarelli	27.4	18.3
Lae	9.6	Singin	41.5	30.7
Maprik	9.4	Tamindei	24.3	31.4
Rigo-Abau	8.7	Abe	23.7	44.3

Sec. 80 of the Electoral Ordinance provided for postal voting for electors who for various reasons would be unable to go to the poll. Only 478 postal ballots were counted in the Territory, 70 per cent of them being cast by males. In only eight of the Open Electorates did postal ballots reach double figures, and in only two were more than 50 postal ballots counted. Understandably, one of these was Moresby with its large European population, where 62 postal ballots were cast. Thirty-two of these were for the three European candidates, and another 8 for Mrs Frank, indicating that they came principally from European voters; Oala Oalarua received 11, Willie Gavera 7, and the three Goilala candidates none at all. Mysteriously, 228 postal ballots, almost half the total, were for the tiny Manus electorate and 145 of these were cast for Paliau Maloat. This seems doubly curious in that Paliau polled very poorly in absent votes—he had 44.5 per cent of the ordinary vote but only 8.9 per cent of the absent vote.

Informal Votes

Under sec. 144 of the Electoral Ordinance ballot-papers were to be informal if the Presiding Officer had not authenticated them, or the voter had placed some mark on the paper whereby he might be identified, or if it had no vote or preference indicated on it. This last requirement was expressed in rather circumlocutory language, but may be taken as requiring the voter to mark at least his first preference by the number 1, and that if he indicated subsequent preferences they should be numbered in numerical order.

The proportion of informal votes for the whole Territory was about 3.2 per cent, creditably low. However, the average conceals some substantial variations.

TABLE 17 Distribution of Informal Votes among Open Electorates

Percentage	Number of electorates
1.00 and less	11
1.01-1.50	9
1.51-2.00	6
2.01-2.50	6
2.50-3.00	3
3.01 and more	9

Of the eleven Open Electorates with a 1 per cent or smaller informal vote, all but two (Manus and Maprik) are in the Highlands. Here, very clearly, the informal vote was very low, because almost all electors voted with assistance. The Open Electorates at the other end of the scale, where the informal vote exceeded 3 per cent, fell into two groups. One consists of the electorates where there was deliberate abstentionism and an extremely high informal vote: Mendi (22.5 per cent), Madang (18.3 per cent), and Ramu (16.7 per cent), and to a lesser extent Rabaul (6.3 per cent). To these might be added Lakekamu which had an ex-

tremely low turnout, 53·9 per cent, and a high informal vote, 7·2 per cent. In this case ethnic and religious rivalries, combined with incomplete coverage of the electorate by the three candidates so that many electors were dissatisfied with any alternative offered, seem to have played a role. Large numbers of electors in Lakekamu, a fairly sophisticated electorate, stayed away from the polls, and it would appear that some turned out only to vote in the West Papua Special Electorate, presumably for Slaughter who was known to them. Possibly Gumine, where the informal vote was 4·2 per cent, falls into this group as well, with electors having to choose between a European and the single indigenous candidate. In Fly River Open there were 467 informal votes cast—3·4 per cent of the total. Of the 423 cast at polling places within the electorate, 200 came from the Moian Census Division which produced only 8·5 per cent of the total vote. Moian was one of the two Census Divisions in which the inland candidate, Jacob Wamabon, did well (see p. 387), but we do not know whether the high informal vote represents some local dissatisfaction or a strict interpretation of his responsibilities by the Presiding Officer on that patrol. The remaining electorates are Moresby (4·2 per cent informal) and Finschhafen (3·8 per cent). Regarding the first, it has been pointed out elsewhere (p. 366) that almost all the informal votes came from the Port Moresby Sub-district and probably represent voters who were not prepared to admit that they needed help. In Finschhafen Open there were a total of 590 informal votes. Of these, 365 were cast at polling places in the electorate—118 in the Siassi islands which thus provided 32 per cent of the informal vote but only 17 per cent of the total vote, and 173 in the Kotte Census Division which provided 47 per cent of the informal vote but only 19 per cent of the total vote. The Siassis lacked a local candidate and saw very little of the candidates' campaigns. We do not know what produced the high informal vote in Kotte—local dissatisfaction, attempts at unassisted voting, or the approach of the Presiding Officers.

Informal voting was a much more pronounced phenomenon in the Special Electorates.

A number of factors were at work to produce such high rates. The need to vote twice on the same ballot-paper was not clearly understood by many voters. Many marked their choice on the upper part of the ballot-paper where the Open Electorate candidates appeared and ignored the

TABLE 18 Informal Voting in Special Electorates, by Percentage

West Papua	9·5
West Gazelle	10·7
Madang-Sepik	13·7
New Britain	16·1
Central	17·1
Highlands	17·7
New Guinea Islands	23·4
East Papua	32·0
South Markham	41·2

lower part where the Special Electorate candidates were listed; others voting without assistance and wishing to vote for both but confused by preferential voting marked their '1' for first choice in the Open and '2' for first choice in the Special—but without a '1' the Special vote was informal. Often the Special Electorates were regarded as a European matter in which the native people need not, or should not, become involved, and this view was often taken in situations where, with a European standing in the Open Electorate, the explanation of the Special Electorates became even harder to grasp. Also the Special Electorates were intimidatingly large for candidates; they could not campaign effectively nor did they even try. East Papua is perhaps the most notorious case of failure to campaign. The low informal vote in West Papua despite its huge area and enrolment indicates that vigorous campaigning by air could overcome the problem of distance to a considerable extent. Finally, we must call attention again to the differing interpretations of their responsibility in assisting voters taken by the Presiding Officers which produced wide variations in the proportion of informal votes cast at different polling stations. An officer who made every effort to elicit a formal vote for both Special and Open Electorate would produce very different results from one who believed that he should, or need do no more than, write down exactly what he was told, and ask no questions.

However, the most remarkable instance of informal voting is South Markham Special, which becomes even more curious when divided into its component Open Electorates, Kaindi and Kainantu. Within Kainantu the informal vote for South Markham Special was 27·7 per cent, but in Kaindi it rose to 53·6 per cent. If Kaindi is subdivided one can identify a group of polling booths in the Buang Census Division, and parts of the Wapi, Langimar and South-west Menyamya Census Divisions where of the 7,100 votes cast only 380 or 5·3 per cent were informal, the Wau-Bulolo area where of 1,122 votes cast 636 or 57·6 per cent were informal, and the remainder of the Open Electorate area where of 10,230 votes cast some 8,777 or 85·8 per cent were informal. The explanation seems to be threefold. In the first place, there were the differing approaches of the Presiding Officers. Secondly, none of the candidates really campaigned in the Kaindi part of South Markham Special. Hurrell visited Buang and South-west Menyamya, apparently effectively, for he obtained almost 6,200 votes there to his two rivals' 527, but, in poor health and absent in Australia for part of the period, he failed to visit the rest of the electorate, perhaps trusting to his reputation as a former *kiap* in the area. Whilst he still did better than his opponents, 1,100 to 345, most of the potential votes remained unused and cost Hurrell the seat. And, thirdly, there was the confusing factor of Bloomfield's candidacy in Kaindi Open Electorate, for his vigorous campaigning confused electors who wanted to vote for Bloomfield and could not understand why they had to vote for another Australian as well. Bloomfield received almost 80 per cent of his votes in those Census Divisions where the informal vote was so high, although his total vote would still equal less than a half of the informals.

Localization of Support

So far we have discussed a number of subjects relating to the elections, but not what was involved in the victories of the 53 successful candidates. The earlier chapters have pointed to two principal situations which ensured victory. One was where a candidate had a local base of solid support and, by vigorous campaigning or, less likely, by urging that second preferences be given to him was able to win. The other occurred when the candidate's original electoral base was sufficiently strong to enable him to win without additional support from elsewhere in the electorate or to gain such a head start that it was impossible to overtake him on preferences. It will be recalled that in only two of the forty-four Open Electorates, Gumine and Milne Bay, did a candidate have a runaway win spread over the whole electorate—or have a following which exceeded 52 per cent of the total primary vote.

Unfortunately, polling booth figures have survived for only a limited number of Open Electorates. To those reported in the constituency-study chapters five selected examples can be added: Manus, Rigo-Abau, Popondetta, Fly River and Finschhafen.

TABLE 19 First Preference Votes in Manus Open Electorate

Candidates	Baluan L.G.C.	Lorengau	North Coast L.G.C. (excluding Lorengau)	Non-Council	Total
Maloat	929	389	413	376	2107
Popinau	141	16	9	11	177
Mohei	18	92	161	156	427
Maiah	1	18	29	55	103
Malai	5	71	967	529	1572
Pomat	29	121	349	592	1091

Paliau Maloat and Cholai Popinau came from the Baluan Local Government Council area, the other four candidates from the North Coast Local Government Council area. Paliau Maloat swept the Baluan vote, apart from those who backed Popinau, and did well in Lorengau, which although in the North Coast Council would include persons from the Baluan area, and did moderately well in the remaining North Coast Council area. His vote in the non-Council areas is deceptive; 265 of the

TABLE 20 Allocation of Preferences in Manus Open Electorate

Candidates	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Fifth count	Final count
Maiah	127	—	—	—	—	(127)
Popinau	208	10	—	—	—	(218)
Mohei	510	14	28	—	—	(552)
Pomat	1203	62	20	66	—	(1351)
Malai	1689	4	26	309	685	2713
Maloat	2952	14	127	40	224	3357
Exhausted		23	17	137	442	619

376 votes come from two small islands adjacent to the Baluan Council area where his opponents could secure only 31 votes against him. The localization of support appears again in the distribution of preferences. Paliu secured the majority of preferences of his fellow Baluan, Popinau, but few from the North Coast candidates.

TABLE 21 First Preference Votes in Rigo-Abau Open Electorate

Candidates	Amazon Bay L.G.C.	Cloudy Bay L.G.C.	Marshall Lagoon L.G.C.	Rigo L.G.C.	Non-Council area*	Total
Meikle	76	190	304	524	425	1519
Tom	54	96	64	1116	664	1994
Abe	32	150	285	1380	1356	3203
Reuben	17	131	38	310	94	590
Ianamu	1562	313	484	66	13	2438
Uroe	187	346	1904	91	26	2554
Farley	192	525	54	295	33	1099

* Including Baratka and Bulidubu from Rigo L.G.C.

Much the same pattern appears in Rigo-Abau, a long, thin electorate divided tidily into segments from the Rigo Local Government Council in the north-west (save for a portion of the Koiari Census Division which is still non-Council), through the main non-Council area and the Marshall Lagoon and Cloudy Bay Councils, to the Amazon Bay Council in the south-east. Reversing this path to locate the candidates we find Cliff Ianamu, president of the Amazon Bay Council and active in Abau affairs, Les Farley, a planter at Cape Rodney on the other side of Abau in the Cloudy Bay Council area, Scotty Uroe, another European planter, now at Lawani Estate in the Marshall Lagoon area but formerly at Domara near Abau, and four candidates from the Rigo Council area: John Meikle, a trader at Hula on the coast, Enoka Tom, an interpreter from Kapa Kapa near the north-western boundary of the electorate, Veratau Reuben, a retired medical assistant and vice-president of the Rigo Council from inland Saroa, and Dirona Abe, born at Rigo and clerk of its Council. The distribution of preferences also tended to favour neighbouring candidates.

TABLE 22 Allocation of Preferences in Rigo-Abau Open Electorate

Candidates	First count	Second count	Third count	Fourth count	Fifth count	Sixth count	Final count
Reuben	710	—	—	—	—	—	(710)
Farley	1197	23	—	—	—	—	(1220)
Meikle	1682	74	143	—	—	—	(1899)
Ianamu	2742	40	193	90	—	—	(3065)
Tom	2155	252	97	698	261	—	(3463)
Uroe	2744	54	304	196	592	64	3954
Abe	3800	202	249	396	351	1120	6118
Exhausted		65	234	519	1861	2279	4958

Whilst the preferences of the excluded 'Abau' candidates (Farley and Ianamu) tended to divide equally among other 'Abau' candidates and the 'Rigo' candidates, those of the excluded 'Rigo' candidates (Reuben, Meikle and Tom) heavily favoured their own: Reuben's four to one, Meikle's three to one, and Tom's almost twenty to one.

The third Open Electorate for which polling booth figures survive, Popondetta, is less satisfactory because it is not possible to identify the exact source of votes so readily. Thus Table 23 probably overstates Higaturu Council votes at the expense of Oro Bay.

TABLE 23 First Preference Votes in Popondetta Open Electorate

Candidates	Northern non-Council area		Higaturu L.G.C.	Oro Bay L.G.C.	Cape Nelson L.G.C.	Southern non-Council area		Total
	Ialimo L.G.C.							
Eupu	1658	345	1634	290	281	1644	5852	
Arek	1148	65	208	23	1343	1271	4058	
Sesewo	722	749	1698	55	68	461	3753	
Undaba	27	35	20	12	755	71	920	
Siebel	50	128	183	31	338	89	819	

Apart from the European candidate, Cedric Siebel, who had managed the cocoa fermentary at Popondetta for a year prior to acquiring his plantation at Wanigela near the Cape Nelson Local Government Council area in 1963, each Papuan candidate had a local base of support. Paulus Arek, a school teacher, had returned from service as far away as Manus and Daru, to his native Wanigela. Philip Undaba was president of the Cape Nelson Local Government Council and a farmer at his native Tufi. Conway Sesewo Ihove was a teacher and Councillor in his native Higaturu Council area—the candidate of the 'inland' Orokaiva. Edric Eupu had been born at Koru village near Gona in the Oro Bay Council area, and now farmed an ex-serviceman's block at Sangara in the Higaturu Council area—the candidate of the 'coastal' Orokaiva. The candidates tended to concentrate their campaigns in their local areas, making only brief sorties outside. Thus Conway Sesewo concentrated on the 'inland' Orokaiva as the people of Mount Lamington and Aiga recognize themselves, and was the only candidate to visit Kongehambo and the Aiga people. Other candidates travelled up the road from Popondetta in Higaturu to Kokoda in Ialimo Council, making speeches en route, but did not deviate from the road. Edric Eupu visited villages in Tufi (Cape Nelson), Ioma (Northern non-Council), Kokoda and Popondetta, and, as can be seen from Table 23, profited from the breadth of his travels. Arek concentrated on the Cape Nelson area, with visits to Popondetta and Gona; he also had the support of a committee in Port Moresby—but secured fewer absentee votes than either Edric Eupu or Conway Sesewo. The tendency to localized campaigning was also partly a consequence of transport difficulties, intensified by heavy rain at the height of the campaign which washed out

many roads. Only Paulus Arek attempted to circumvent this difficulty with leaflets bearing his photograph and a few key statements which were distributed widely into areas which he could not visit personally.

In one village on the slopes of Mount Lamington from which we have information, opinion divided between Edric Eupu, perhaps as one elector put it 'because he has been to Australia', and Conway Sesewo, 'the Oro-kaiva man'. Among the better-educated men of the village and its neighbours, medical orderlies, teachers and the like, Paulus Arek was well regarded for his education, fluent English and travels about the Territory. After the election the villagers of the area claimed to have voted solidly for Conway, and indeed he received 95 per cent of the vote at polling booths in that area.

In Fly River Open Electorate as we have already seen (pp. 383-4) there were five candidates, four from the Kiwai coastal area around Daru and one from the Kiunga Sub-district in the interior of the electorate. However the inland candidate, Jacob Wamabon, did very poorly; two-thirds of his Kiunga vote came from the Oktedi and Moian Census Divisions. Robert Tabua, by campaigning at Kiunga (whether accidentally or not—see p. 387) and perhaps for other reasons, won sufficient votes to overcome Wyborn's relative success in the Daru Sub-district.

TABLE 24 First Preference Votes in Fly River Open Electorate

Candidates	Daru	Kiwai L.G.C. (excl. Daru)	Oriomo- Bituri L.G.C.	Daru Sub- district non- Council	Kiunga Sub- district	Total
Tabua	166	951	169	418	3101	4805
Wyborn	346	269	1177	964	533	3289
Paho	132	556	96	82	586	1452
Wamabon	16	44	31	21	1090	1202
Paradi	158	508	51	120	511	1348

A rather better example is Finschhafen Open, where there were four candidates from one of the three Local Government Council areas and three from another, all in a fairly compact electorate. Of the three Pindiu

TABLE 25 First Preference Votes in Finschhafen Open Electorate

Candidates	Siassi C.D.	Pindiu L.G.C. (excl. Dedua)	Finschhafen L.G.C. (excl. Dedua)	Kalasa C. D.	Dedua C. D.*	Total
Zurecnuoc	500	400	1421	1023	1126	4470
Sigob	1164	104	1420	70	258	3016
Zongetsia	38	147	402	16	181	784
Smith	247	34	246	20	193	740
Ompampawe	17	570	11	2	98	698
Buyumbun	18	55	7	344	37	461
Singiliong	43	1897	28	12	148	2128

* Partly in Pindiu L.G.C. and partly in Finschhafen L.G.C.

candidates, Ompampawe lives at Berakwaiyu village in the Dedua part of the Council area; the other two, Buyumbun and Singiliong, live in the Hube Census Division which makes up the rest of the Council area. These three received the great majority of Pindiu votes. Similarly, the Finschhafen Council area gave almost all its votes to the four local candidates. The Siassi Islands, without their own candidate, backed Somu Sigob, and to a lesser extent Zure Zurecnuoc who campaigned there. The Kalasa Census Division, the only non-Council area in the electorate, also lacked a candidate; the majority of its votes went to Zurecnuoc who campaigned there and had great appeal because of his strong stand for the need for education in the native tongue and what could be termed tribal nationalism.

A few more illustrations of localized support can be provided from Goroka Open. Bimai Palae of the Watabung Census Division polled 2,747 of the 2,758 votes cast in that area; the other ten candidates polled seven between them and four were informal. The two candidates from the Bena Census Division polled about 98 per cent of the local vote. On the other side of the coin, some candidates obtained all their support from one place. Duwe Afiya, a *tutul* from the Unggai Census Division, polled 1,505 of his 1,530 votes in that Census Division. Ikeivannima Gia, a retired police corporal supported by the small Koreipa group, polled 990 of his 1,033 votes from two locations in the Asaro Census Division.

If localization was the outstanding characteristic of electoral support, how would this affect the expatriate and mixed-race candidates whose local connections might be more tenuous? Without polling booth figures for all electorates, it is impossible to be dogmatic, but it appears that expatriate and mixed-race candidates were as much affected by localization as the indigenous candidates. Tetley or Levy by vigorous campaigning might do well over most of the electorate—but so did Lepani Watson or Zure Zurecnuoc. Not much of a pattern can be discerned in the strength of support for expatriate and mixed-race candidates. Cer-

TABLE 26 Open Electorates by Percentage of Vote Cast for Expatriate and Mixed-Race Candidates
(number of candidates in parentheses)

50% or more	Gumine (1E), Fly River (1E, 1MR), Gulf (2E), Hagen (2E)
40-49%	Angoram (1E, 1MR), Markham (2E)
30-39%	Rigo-Abau (3E), Kainantu (1E)
20-29%	Ramu (1E), Minj (2E), Kaindi (2E), Esa'ala-Losuia (2E), New Ireland (1E, 1MR)
10-19%	Moresby (3E, 1MR), Madang (1E), Wapenamanda (1E), Chuave (1E), West New Britain (1E), Goroka (1E), Lakekamu (1MR), Milne Bay* (1E, 1MR)
Below 10%	Finschhafen (1E), Popondetta (1E), Bougainville (1MR)

* Excl. John Guise; if Guise is counted as mixed-race, then Milne Bay must be added to the group of 50% or more.

tainly it was not sufficient just to be a white to be swept in, even in the Highlands. Hard campaigning or the status of recent association with the area through the Department of Native Affairs, or both, were necessary. On the coast, planters found it particularly difficult to attract followings outside their own immediate bailiwicks, and sometimes they did not do very well even there.

On *a priori* grounds it might have been expected that the expatriate candidate had three advantages. In fragmented communities he might be above geographical and ethnic loyalties, everybody's second choice, and almost all electorates were so large that they embraced a number of different and often hostile groups. Then, just because the electorates were so large, few indigenes would be known widely, or have the resources to get themselves known in the campaign period. Finally it might be that in areas of recent contact a trader or missionary or the *kiap* would be seen as the bringer of benefits, whether peace or trade goods.

Only one expatriate missionary stood for an Open Electorate, Ian Kleinig in Wapenamanda, and it appears that he was not a very aggressive candidate. Kleinig was a Lutheran missionary who had been in the Territory fifteen years, almost all of that time in the Western Highlands. However, two of the four indigenous candidates, Eriko Karok and Powai Kikya, were elders of the Lutheran Church at Wabag, and Kleinig asked electors not to give him their first preferences but to select one of their own number who they felt could adequately represent them at the 'big gatherings'. Although Kleinig still polled 17 per cent of the first preference votes, he may well have been relieved not to be taken from what he regarded as his primary duty—training local New Guineans for leadership in church and community. The winner, Leme Iangalo, a government interpreter, had a following in the area around Wapenamanda station and received the great majority of second and subsequent preferences. Percy Chatterton's failure to make an impression outside the Motu areas of the Central Special Electorate suggests that missionaries could become as much tied to a particular section of the electorate as anyone else.

On the other hand, in areas of lengthy contact, ideas of exploitation and excessive power and influence might work against the expatriate, and this appears to have been the case generally along the Papuan coast and the New Guinea islands. In retrospect, it does not appear that there was a great advantage in being an expatriate in the elections—nor a great disadvantage—though there may have been an advantage in being a field officer of the D.N.A. The experience of other colonial areas may make it surprising that foreign birth, a white skin, or association with the colonial power, did not prove a disadvantage. However, it should be remembered that most of the Highlands area was penetrated only in the last twenty or thirty years, the last act of the colonial era. This advantage did not necessarily rub off on indigenous persons working for or with the *kiaps*.

Only three women candidates nominated, two of them from the Port Moresby area. Mrs Ana Frank polled poorly in the Moresby Open Electorate, coming eleventh in a field of twelve, with only 240 votes. Mrs

Ashcroft-Smith was the last of six candidates in the Central Special Electorate with 405 votes. The only one to make a reasonable showing was Mrs Shirley Ann McKellar, the young wife of a Madang Assistant District Officer who had been active in the Girl Guides movement and conducted a vigorous campaign. She captured 3,226 votes, but trailed the two indigenous candidates in the Madang Open Electorate. Interestingly, she secured a plurality of the absentee vote.

The failure of women candidates is not surprising, considering that even in the Native Local Government field, only three of 4,473 Councillors were women—two in Mekeo and one in Rigo. It may well be a very long time before the House of Assembly seats its first elected woman Member.

The Parliamentary Seminar at Sogeri

David G. Bettison

The Administration had come to appreciate that the earlier part of its political education campaign had under-emphasized the importance of representative government and indigenous elected members to the ordinary citizens of the Territory. Wishing to ensure the success of the new House at its first sitting, the Administration decided that a residential seminar preceding the first meeting of the House would provide an opportunity for Members to get to know one another and to receive some introduction to parliamentary procedures. However, as it could be suspected of taking unfair advantage of Members if it conducted such a seminar itself with its own staff, it was suggested that the New Guinea Research Unit of The Australian National University or the University as a whole might provide teaching staff for the seminar. It was with this purpose in mind that the Assistant Administrator (and future leader of the House), Dr J. T. Gunther, approached the author early in April 1964. Problems of securing University staff from Canberra and arranging for translation into Neo-Melanesian, and perhaps Police Motu as well, ruled out direct University participation and it was agreed that, whilst the seminar would be under academic control as to content and method of instruction, the Administration would provide staff to carry out the work of the seminar, as well as furnishing accommodation, secretarial and translating services; the Administration staff at the seminar would be responsible directly to the author.

In determining the character of the seminar a number of basic points had to be taken into account. It was necessary to devise methods of teaching adults possessing no common language, and no common background of experience, of whom perhaps at least fifteen would be illiterate in any language, and of discussing parliamentary procedures with them when only seven of their number would have had any previous experience of parliamentary business. It was necessary to limit the content of the seminar so that everyone should receive an introduction to the basic facts of parliamentary procedure, yet make it sufficient to retain the interest of those who read and spoke English and had some legislative experience. It was possible to use the seminar to introduce standardized terms in Neo-Melanesian and Police Motu for eventual use in simultaneous translation in the House of Assembly, for experience in former

Legislative Councils had shown that interpreters were frequently obliged to repeat an English term when translating without being able, or having the time, to show its meaning or convey its concept accurately in the other language. And, finally, the seminar provided an opportunity to remove any, probably unintentional, aloofness in mind and manner of expatriate Members together with any possible feelings of inferiority on the part of Papuans and New Guineans.

At a meeting of Dr Gunther, the Directors of Native Affairs and Information and Extension Services, the Clerk of the House and the writer on 13 April, it was agreed that these were the major issues which had to be met within a seminar which had to remain apolitical. There would always be the possibility that the seminar, intended to be instructional, could become a political harangue over matters of procedure in the House or even over national policy. A draft of subjects likely to be useful for discussion at the seminar was provided by the Director of Information and Extension Services based on his Department's experience of conducting courses of political education for selected Papuans and New Guineans. Three such courses had been conducted in 1962 and 1963 with parties of up to fifteen indigenous leaders accompanied by two expatriate officers studying national and local political institutions *in situ* in Australia. Following the meeting on 13 April at which the dates for the seminar had been fixed as Sunday, 10 May, to Sunday, 17 May—the place had already been set as Sogeri High School—six officers of the public service were selected to assist in the teaching. Their experience covered a wide range of branches of the Administration and of Districts of the Territory, and most were fluent in Neo-Melanesian, Police Motu or one or more vernacular languages. Unfortunately no simultaneous translation facilities could be installed at Sogeri.

As the House of Assembly would meet without a body of standing orders appropriate to its new form, and as some members of the former Legislative Council had let it be known that the Council's Standing Orders had often been incomprehensible to them and appeared to allow official Members an unfair advantage, some early decision on what parliamentary procedures should be explained to members of the seminar was needed. The Administration indicated that it intended to introduce standing orders based on those of the Commonwealth House of Representatives, with appropriate local amendments, as an early item when the House met, but only as an interim measure to enable the House to conduct its business until a Committee on Standing Orders could recommend a new set. With the alternatives of teaching in terms of the proposed interim set or attempting to examine the problems of procedure in general with a view to the eventual preparation of the new set by the House Committee, the former alternative was adopted. Sufficient copies of the proposed set in English were provided to the six officials who were to act as small group leaders during the seminar.

The determination of the responsibilities of the small group leaders required some consideration. The method of teaching normally used in Administration-sponsored training schemes was that of a man standing

on a platform and delivering a prepared talk or lecture followed by questions and answers. Any suggestion of a teacher having authority, on the grounds of his knowledge, had to be avoided at Sogeri, and to prevent the possibility of small group leaders preparing lectures in advance or, indeed, appearing particularly far ahead of their group, it was necessary to withhold the teaching programme from the small group leaders until the last moment. This naturally enough occasioned some anxiety for senior Administration officers connected with the seminar but they tactfully accepted the recommendation.

The small group leaders, the Director of Information and Extension Services, the Clerk of the House and the writer met on 8 May, and the teaching programme was then explained. There would be plenary sessions at which one or two lectures, and speeches by the Administrator, the Leader of the House and a Judge of the Supreme Court would be delivered. However, the greater part of seminar time would be spent in small groups of about ten Members examining a topic for a particular day which would first be raised in general terms and later be tied down to specific sections of Standing Orders. The role of the officers acting as small group leaders would be to stimulate questions from their groups, paying particular attention to questions asked which reflected preconceived notions of what a parliament was, what the role of a Member in it might be, what the roles of particular officers of parliament were, and questions of the relations between the legislature, judiciary and executive. Many indigenous Members, and possibly some expatriate Members, would be unfamiliar with the nature of the institution in which they were to participate and an explanation of parliamentary government was as necessary as the teaching of Standing Orders. Emphasis was placed on the need for the small group leaders to encourage mixing among Members, to be prepared to carry on discussion informally during the day and evening, and for instructional purposes to feel free to express opinions on matters not of their own Department's direct concern during the seminar.

Small group leaders met the organizer once or twice a day, to review what each had heard in his formal and informal discussions and to plan future work accordingly. Maintaining close contact among group leaders and between them and the organizer was the critical factor in determining on the spot the speed of teaching, its content, analysing Members' difficulties and, particularly, ways of holding members' interest. Group leaders were able to help each other with the handling of factual problems, techniques for getting concepts across, the selection of suitable examples and the use of appropriate terms and phrases in other languages.

The Sogeri High School is situated in a valley some 1,700 feet above sea level and 26 miles inland from Port Moresby. Dormitories are adjacent to a large dining hall, while school classrooms are about 200 yards distant over playing fields. It is ideally situated for a seminar with adequate space, yet sufficiently confined in its living area to encourage intimate discussion and interaction after working hours. The dormitories are designed to allow two beds in one cubicle open to a central passage, so that four people, two in each cubicle on either side of the passage, can

talk together. This arrangement encouraged discussion in the dormitories late into the night particularly for those who felt a little uncomfortable in the bar lounge.

As a matter of deliberate policy all Members were allotted beds in such a way that they were obliged to mix with others with whom they were least likely to be familiar. Official Members were scattered about through the dormitories, Neo-Melanesian speakers were mixed with Police Motu and English speakers, and all shared common facilities. Meals were provided on long tables and the lounge made only large enough to fit in sufficient easy chairs and thereby discourage the formation of exclusive groups. A stand-up bar was built as part of the lounge. An informal request was made on the first day for some members to change their allotted beds to enable Members from Special Electorates to be accommodated with those Members from the Open Electorates with which they were associated. It was firmly refused and an explanation given that the arrangements were deliberate.

Elected Members attended the seminar voluntarily. In all, fifty-seven of the sixty-four elected and official Members came for some of the time; almost all stayed the full week. It quickly came to be realized that all Members from Papua had sufficient command of English to be addressed in it by Australians and many of the former spoke sufficient Neo-Melanesian to be at ease in conversation with New Guineans.

Some Members, who arrived before the opening of the seminar on Sunday afternoon, took the opportunity to hold meetings on the school's playing fields with labourers employed on local rubber plantations who came from Highland areas, the Sepik and distant parts and were anxious to meet their Member and hear news from home. On Sunday morning some two to three hundred labourers and visitors were squatting under the trees to meet their Members. These meetings continued at intervals, with ever decreasing numbers, until Wednesday, 13 May.

Most Members spent Sunday morning familiarizing themselves with surroundings and facilities of the school and in gossip in the lounge with friends of all races. The first meeting was plenary and held on Sunday afternoon. The purpose of the seminar was explained. Emphasis was placed on the fact that it was not a preliminary meeting of the House, and care was taken throughout the seminar to emphasize the merely instructional nature of every aspect. Members were advised that a copy of *May's Parliamentary Practice*, the Papua-New Guinea Act, 1949-63, and the Electoral Ordinance, 1963, were available. Considerable use was made of them by group leaders and some Members.

The formal programme for Sunday afternoon included the division of the seminar into small groups for teaching purposes. It had previously been decided to produce the maximum breakdown of existing connections of language, area or parliamentary experience. By Sunday afternoon certain members, especially a group of Highland representatives, were known to be anxious to organize themselves into groups, but when the matter was put at the plenary session, Lepani Watson, the Member for Esa'ala-Losuia, promptly proposed a random mixing of persons with

representation of all interests in each small group. After considerable discussion the selection of the groups was then left to the small group leaders and the present writer. This expression of opinion in plenary discussions had the effect of bringing to the attention of everyone that exclusive groups were under consideration by some Members, and alerted the less observant to what was happening in their midst. The decision to mix membership of small groups was not universally welcomed, for one expatriate Member inquired immediately afterwards whether classrooms could be used in the evenings for private meetings; but it was a critical point in ensuring the academic nature of the seminar and influenced the informal contacts of Members outside working hours for the remainder of the seminar.

On Sunday evening it was very clear to all that informal lobbying had been engaged in out of hours for most of the day. One official Member remarked 'there are already seven parties'. A Papuan confided that in his opinion 'the Europeans were going to get their fingers burnt if they thought they could push the native Members around like this'. He had noted in particular the independent attitude and strength of character of Paliau Maloat, Member for Manus. A small group leader mentioned the same evening the sense of pride he had observed in indigenous members at having won their seats against open competition from all comers and how this seemed to fit into the competitive nature of leadership in traditional societies.

On Monday morning a change appeared to have taken place in the relations of most expatriates to Papua-New Guinean Members. Previously Australians had tended to assume their superior knowledge over Papuan-New Guineans was a ground for forming groups they could lead and exert authority over. By Monday only informal means of influence were being adopted. At breakfast time, an expatriate Highlander was seen to order the breakfast of three, probably illiterate, colleagues sitting adjacent to him without first inquiring what they would like. There was good reason for him to place the order as the menu was written in English—and in places in French! Expatriate Members also arranged their travelling companions in Administration cars for the journey to Port Moresby. This was not done entirely on the basis of long-established friendships and certainly not on grounds of race.

The whole of Monday was spent in Port Moresby inspecting the House and its facilities. Members tried their seats, used the ear-phones and heard a simultaneous translation. Written and verbal translation services available in the House were described, and the Speaker's chair and study and the office of the Clerk of the House were pointed out. They inspected the unfinished building intended eventually to contain their offices. In the afternoon they attended a sitting of the Supreme Court and were addressed from the bench by Mr Justice Smithers.

Late on Monday evening an informal get-together developed among a small number of expatriate and indigenous Members. It started when only a dozen or so people remained after more general discourse earlier in the evening, and ended in the early hours of Tuesday. Despite its

convivial appearance it was in fact intensely serious, an expression of a fervent but yet unsatisfied desire to get at the back of what each side really felt and thought on matters of leadership, national policy and the individual and collective implications of an elected indigenous majority. On the indigenous side it was a thorough and shrewd assessment of men in positions of authority and on the expatriates' side a test of whether indigenous politicians were really and basically as 'sensible' and lacking in animosity towards those in authority as they had appeared to be. It was an expression of the largely unconscious fears on both sides. The men who took part in it were in many respects those most sensitive to the potential political implications arising from the current constitutional position.

At 8.30 a.m. on Tuesday the practical demonstrations of the previous day were discussed in plenary session. The Clerk of the House introduced a written statement of Members' salaries and allowances followed by discussion. Members were particularly concerned at this stage over the differential in salaries between Members (£950 per annum), on the one hand, and Under-secretaries and Members appointed to the Administrator's Council (£1,300 per annum), on the other. The opportunity was taken to explain public expenditure on salaries and allowances, the method of calculating allowances, and the duty of the Clerk of the House in respect of them. Discussion was later guided into the role of a Member outside the House, in his constituency, in wider-based associations and in party and non-party systems. It was emphasized that a Member was subject to the rule of law as was everyone else. His relation to public servants, the judiciary and the nature of impartial office were explained. Although much of the latter part of the meeting was general and theoretical the frequency with which the principles referred to were discussed and argued about afterwards suggest it was not misplaced. The remainder of the morning was taken up with the speeches of His Honour the Administrator and the Leader of the House.

The first meetings of small groups were held on Tuesday afternoon. Points not fully understood in the official speeches in the morning were taken up. These speeches were recognized by Members as being important to their interests and they felt major parts of them needed thorough going over. These discussions were really the end of that part of the seminar dealing with government as an institution and the personal role and rights of members in it. Group leaders attempted to gain an assessment of the extent and nature of what had been grasped. Some groups found it necessary to dwell at length on the speeches, but others covered new ground through discussing the powers of the Governor-General, the Administrator, the Speaker, Leader of the House, official Members, Under-secretaries and the Clerk of the House. These roles and powers were examined in terms of the particular provisions in the Standing Orders concerning them.

Small groups were expected to finish their discussions at 3.15 p.m. and adjourn for tea. However, on several days tea had to be brought to the classrooms to enable some small groups to continue their discussions.

The original idea had been to hold a special late afternoon seminar for any Member from any of the six groups who felt he needed extra tuition. It was a misconceived provision. Towards the end of the week tuition was extended not to help those wishing to catch up but to assist those anxious to go further than the group had got. This does not mean that all Members had in fact kept up with the average pace set; a few showed signs of being satisfied fairly early in each group discussion. The extra time needed was an expression of the wide differences in the rate of absorption and degree of comprehension, but catered for the brightest rather than the slowest.

The evening meeting of small group leaders on Tuesday already showed that groups were covering ground at different speeds, and were also tending to cover different ground. A decision was taken at this stage that group leaders were to keep their own records of their group's work and to retrace their steps on matters missed in the written outline draft as soon as they were raised by a Member's question. This practice tended in time to develop some uniformity in content, but it was a recognition that teaching had to proceed at the speed and turn of interest of the groups rather than in terms of a preconceived syllabus. No attempt was made to change the membership of small groups in terms of either the Members attending or their leaders. Some uniformity of content was also achieved by the organizer's periodic visits to each group. At these visits the points successfully treated by appropriate example in one group were introduced when convenient in other groups through the same example. Examples to illustrate concepts were important in all techniques of teaching.

No doubt influenced by what they had learnt and seen at the seminar and by the speeches, the Members tended from Tuesday to the end of the seminar to mix in a way less interracial than before. In the early part of Tuesday evening, for example, indigenous members, mainly from New Guinea, formed an intimate but exclusive group in a corner of the lounge obviously to talk over a serious matter. The group was formed spontaneously and apparently without individual initiative. Many expatriate elected Members were soon talking to official Members or to each other. The first flush of enthusiasm for interracial mixing had given way to mixing on grounds of ease of communication, common past experience, and an approach to more real and present issues of national politics and appointment to office.

Before the seminar started on Tuesday morning there had been general discussion on who was likely to be elected Speaker. Small group leaders now reported being asked by indigenous members if a Papuan or New Guinean could be elected Speaker. A remark, that he had little regard for Neo-Melanesian, by a prominent potential expatriate candidate for the Speakership, was said by some Australians to have been picked up quickly by New Guineans and had possibly spoilt his chances of election. The Administrator's views on the election of an elected Member as Speaker were commented on generally, particularly as many Members had informally come to think of J. K. McCarthy, the Director

of Native Affairs, as the most obvious man for the job. There was concern and much discussion by both races over the right of the Administrator to appoint the Under-secretaries and members to the Administrator's Council. The concern may also have been an expression of the seminar teaching up to that time which had *inter alia* emphasized the responsibility of the legislature and its members to the nation and local community.

The apparent concern by both races over the question of appointment to office and government's prerogatives should not necessarily be construed to arise from fears common to the races. The following incident that occurred in the evening illustrates the point in terms of one Member who later was appointed an Under-secretary. It also illustrates the ease with which misunderstanding by Australians, both Members and others, could arise over this question. In the lounge late in the evening a Papuan Member raised with serious concern the question 'Why has the Administrator the right to appoint both members of the Administrator's Council and Under-secretaries?' An Australian elected member joined in vehemently to support the merits of this question. The Australian's English being better than his colleague's enabled him to continue the argument over the question of power, the dual system of Australian and Papuan-New Guinean participation, the role of official Members in the absence of majority parties and Ministers, the Governor-General's and Administrator's prerogative of assent, etc. The argument lasted a long time and the initiator of the question remained silent, attentive but very concerned. The group eventually broke up to go to bed but the gentleman who started it all remained. With typical Papuan courtesy he remarked that the points made by his Australian colleagues were interesting but they were not his main concern. His fears rested on two possibilities of quite a different kind: that the Administrator might make the mistake of appointing only Australians or only indigenous people to the two categories of office and fail to mix them, and secondly, that indigenous people appointed to office may be made to look foolish in their lack of command of English, in the drafting of official memoranda and correspondence, and in the way they did their duties. He was most anxious to ensure that both races were appointed so that at least an indigenous office-holder could have an Australian Member near at hand to consult and from whom to seek advice.

This example illustrates too the caution with which indigenous members generally approached their responsibilities. It was in marked contrast to many of their Australian colleagues whose approach to the holding of responsible office scarcely became more cautious after they had become more aware of the responsibilities of government and membership of the House than it had been before. The informal discussions showed repeatedly the presence among many Australian elected Members of an attitude aimed at bringing official Members, though not necessarily the government generally, to their knees. This situation underlines the absence of linkages based on race alone within the House. Expatriate elected Members in general are not inclined to side with official Members, who are

also expatriates. It was obvious at Sogeri that a personal attack on an official Member, which did not appear justified in the eyes of an indigenous Member, did considerable damage to the prestige of the Australian making the attack, a point which was not appreciated by some at Sogeri. The attitude of indigenous Members towards official Members was much more inclined to be helpful on condition they did not attempt anything grossly foolish in indigenous eyes. With one or two individual exceptions there was no evidence that indigenous Members considered that official Members must be opposed or even necessarily criticized *per se*, and the principle of having official Members in the House was never attacked at Sogeri.

Several expatriate elected Members were critical among themselves of the particular official Members appointed on the ground that Gunther and McCarthy were the only two with any contact with the native people and most, they thought, could not even speak Neo-Melanesian. There was little need, they argued, for heads of departments to have been appointed and it would have been better judgment had men with day-to-day experience of indigenous people and their problems been given the job.

Wednesday was the most intensive teaching period of the seminar. Sufficient personal appreciation of general issues had been achieved by this time, and study was now concentrated on procedures within the House. The day was to have been divided into three sessions in small groups, but was changed at morning tea to include role play. The matters dealt with in small groups included the need for writing Bills and records, precision in the drafting of Bills, the need for discipline, including the timing of formal speeches, the call to order of the Speaker and the nature of debate; the problem of compromise at the levels of principle and detail, compliance with the majority vote and the expression and consideration of minority opinions; the presentation of petitions and voicing the people's problems and wishes; asking questions of government with and without notice, including the art of framing questions; the moving of motions and procedures associated with them; matters of urgency and public importance, the notice paper and the ordering of events. Each provision was related to the Standing Orders so that Members could come to see these Orders as sets of interlocking provisions rather than isolated and distinct paragraphs.

The original programme, as a teaching technique, had envisaged role playing with the passing of a fictitious Bill on Friday, towards the end of the seminar. Small group experience on Wednesday morning showed that members who had participated in the former Legislative Council and were willing to get to their feet in small groups and act out the particular sequence of events under discussion were the fastest and clearest teachers. After numerous attempts on previous days to get agreement privately from heads of Departments on a topic suitable for a fictitious Bill—each attempt being rendered abortive by their pleas that the suggestion was far too contentious to be treated fictitiously at the seminar—it became obvious that no acceptable, adequate topic existed. As the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries was the only one not

represented at the seminar it was decided to choose a subject in that Department's field. A topic of interest and importance to all Members was needed, yet it had to be simple enough to be dealt with in only a few clauses. With the help of the Legal Draftsman, a fictitious Bill was prepared as follows: 'A Bill for an Ordinance to make provision for the fencing of pigs and the control of diseases in pigs, and for other purposes'. It was short titled 'The Pigs Control Bill, 1964'. It provided for the proper fencing of pigs, licences for their travel on public highways, inspection by specially appointed officers of Local Government Councils or officers of the Department of Agriculture, provision for penalties, and the making of regulations by the Administrator in Council.

Readers familiar with the importance of pigs in the life of Papuans and New Guineans will appreciate why this Bill made the Members realize the importance of matters brought before Parliament. The Australian members were almost over-anxious to get across the fictitious nature of the Bill lest Members go home to order the fencing of pigs in their constituency and start unintended trouble. Care was taken not to press the matter to a vote, beyond a muffled expression of 'ayes' and 'noes', and a ceremonial handing in of copies of the Bill at the end of its use on Friday underlined its fictitious nature.

The Bill was introduced on Wednesday at a plenary meeting following practice in asking Questions at Question Time. The procedure of asking leave to introduce a Bill, the first reading and fixing the time for the second reading on Friday were rehearsed. Role play on Wednesday and Thursday was interrupted repeatedly to get across in all languages the stage which proceedings were at and the stages that would follow. The technical language, e.g. 'I beg leave to introduce a bill . . .', 'I move that . . .', 'The question is . . .', etc. had previously been introduced in small groups but not put into any visual or situational context. Members evidenced lively interest in role play as familiar characters such as J. K. McCarthy, W. F. Carter and Ian Downs took part.

Small group discussions were continued interspersed between plenary role play sessions. Discussion included the nature of Bills in terms of classification into amending, substantive and finance Bills. Examples of Bills passed by the former Legislative Council were handed around and analysed for lay-out and content. The stages in passing a Bill, with particular reference to the Committee stage and the freedom of discussion it permitted, were dealt with. Films of the opening of the Legislative Council and the British House of Parliament were shown one evening.

On Wednesday, 13 May, Ian Downs, Member for the Highlands Special Electorate, arrived at the seminar from an overseas tour. His appearance was significant not only because of his forceful personality, his ease of expression in English and Neo-Melanesian, the respect shown him by all and the lengthy experience he has had in the Administration and Legislative Council, but because of the particular role he played in the following two days in the out-of-hours affairs at the seminar. At an informal meeting of elected Members on Wednesday evening, Downs indicated that his reason for asking Members to come along was the

problem of the short time available on 8 June to elect the Speaker. It might be only half an hour; it was too short for a debate; the Leader of the House had no power to make a decision on the matter; the Clerk of the House would preside until a Speaker was elected; there would be photographers about; the Governor-General would be waiting; and if the House started off by stumbling over this issue its members might appear foolish and the House itself be made suspect. Yet a Speaker was important; he could occupy the Chair for as long as four years; his control could make or break the reputation of the House; a poor man might be a liability. These were the reasons put by Downs and he hoped the meeting could arrive at some informal agreement.

There was no chairman elected at the meeting and the absence of procedure to some extent blurred the pattern of discussion as matters proceeded. Almost everyone present participated in the debate. Some appeared to have thought through the issue before and even gave an impression of having planned to speak in support of other members. The discussion went in the following way:*

'The man chosen must not be one new to parliamentary procedure and he must know the country and its people. It may be better to have a European for the first few years while so many of us are learning about the House'.

'But we need a European who knows our ways, our customs and us completely. He must not be one who laughs at us. It seems the only people we can choose from are Messrs Niall and McCarthy. Few of us here want the job. Is there anyone else? If so, let him speak up. If we want McCarthy we can ask the government to lift its prohibition on an official Member taking the job.'

'Is the business of the House such that it would compromise an official Member running both the House and a Department? We need to be careful of this. The two men whose names have been mentioned know the job and they know us too. But Niall is not at the school here at Sogeri. He has not met us nor learnt what we have learnt. Had he been interested he would have come. McCarthy has been enthusiastic and come to the school. Think of the people who have put you here, if we want McCarthy the government should not obstruct us. If we want him let us try to get him.'

'I agree. We know McCarthy. He has been in the Council and knows our welfare. He has been all over the country. Niall is in Lae, and knows only the Markham. If we want McCarthy sufficiently we can ask government to remove this obstruction. It will be very hard to think of another.'

'We are setting off two men against each other, but one is an elected

* As a privileged observer the author would not normally have considered it ethical to publish this account. However, the substance of the meeting and the names of the personalities mentioned did reach the press (*S.P.P.*, 19 May 1964) and were also spoken about widely outside the seminar. This account is taken from notes made at the meeting and the material is presented in the order in which it appeared. The paragraphs merely break up the arguments a little more clearly.

Member, the other official. There is confusion here. Let us approach His Honour to change his mind. Let us wait to make a decision until we have done this.'

'Put this remark into Motu please. It is in Pidgin and we do not understand. [Interpreted after being repeated.] We must get a vote now, we should not wait.'

'Don't get excited, there is no need to vote now. His Honour may wish to have time to think over the matter if we ask that an official Member can be Speaker. It is not just between Niall and McCarthy, we are all Members together.'

'But the Administration should know ahead what the people's feelings are on this. The Administrator would not even consider the matter if he was not certain the people unanimously wanted McCarthy. I am not trying to push any one man.'

'But it is not unanimous! You have heard the Speaker is the most important man in the House. Will he be chosen from the elected Members? His Honour has said this would be preferred. If we surrender this from the elected Members and give it to the officials we may well regret it. But the Standing Orders are clear—he is elected by the House and this then is in the elected Members' hands. We must make the choice.'

'These bitter disagreements between you men are not wanted here. We have time tomorrow to think again. Let us ask His Honour to lift the ban. Let us vote on this question now and vote tomorrow on the Speaker when we know His Honour's answer.'

'It is better that we think about all the Members, black and white. If this House puts up an official Member who is white, what will the outside world think of our decision? We must think of that. This House is a good thing—we are not good enough to tackle the Speaker's job, but McCarthy can. We are white and black together here and are happy about it. We will pick McCarthy first and ask government about him. It is we who must have our choice. The Speaker is a big thing, we have seen it on the films shown to us.'

'Both men were Administration officers. Niall was elected by the people. Both men have the necessary experience and both are all right. I support the person who wanted an elected Member. I have no objection to McCarthy but prefer Niall for this reason. Remember, too, an official cannot talk outside of government. McCarthy is an official. A free man can be approached by anyone. McCarthy would be talking in two minds. This is difficult for him and unreliable for us. If he is made Speaker must he also represent the Department in the House? Who will answer our questions to this Department?'

'If we put in McCarthy it would be viewed as a vote of confidence in the government by the critics of this country. But we could also be thought of as being in the grip of government. We would be stooges! We must think of this also. We can talk all night here. There is good reason to have Niall. Let us now ask government to clear its policy—ask His Honour to lift the ban. If we won't do this then all this is hot air. If all

elected Members want us to do this then say so. We have time for a meeting at 3 p.m. tomorrow. We will vote tomorrow.'

'Yes, but I shall still maintain the right to vote for an elected Member even if you get His Honour to change his mind. I will not vote on the basis of a person.'

'But we have to know on the basis of a person—that is a Speaker! Let us not talk of voting now. Can we agree to approach His Honour and to clarify what he means? Good. We meet at 3.15 p.m. tomorrow. The vote must be taken in the House, not here, but we can decide now. It is good we have all spoken out now. Thank you.'

There is no need to add to this account by indicating whether the arguments came from Papuans and New Guineans or expatriates. In some cases it is clear, but the standard of overall debate and the recognition of important matters showed no racial distinction. Most of the discussion was in Neo-Melanesian. Only the points of voting were translated into Motu at the request of those who were not quite sure of the meaning. One Papuan addressed the meeting in all three languages fluently on different occasions. The debate shows an understanding of the problems involved and a recognition of the problems that would confront the Administrator and McCarthy. There is an indication of confusion over the need to approach His Honour 'to lift the ban' and to appoint an elected rather than an official Member, although the possibility of relieving McCarthy from the headship of his Department for the meetings of the House was not overlooked. It took into account international considerations and was characterized by a lively give and take and an appreciation of pressing practical issues.

On Thursday afternoon role play was concentrated on the steps taken in the preparation of a Bill in order to demonstrate the care with which it is done. As Private Members' Bills appeared, at the time, to be a likely feature of the House it was hoped to demonstrate the care needed in their preparation and the type of assistance that should and could be sought in respect of them. The role play took the form of an Assistant District Officer reporting to headquarters the damage caused by pigs in his area. The Director of Native Affairs called for files on the subject and found the problem widespread—involving damage to fishing nets, coconut palms and other unlikely examples! He consulted with the heads of the Health, Agriculture, and Trade and Industry Departments before taking the matter to an Assistant Administrator and getting leave to approach the legal draftsman for a preliminary draft. A further scene included a discussion with the Administrator and the suggestion to have the matter referred to the Minister. The process was then reversed to the point where a Bill was to be introduced into the House by the appropriate official Member.

The informal meeting on Thursday afternoon was told that the Administrator did not propose to alter his decision to exclude official Members from the Speakership. Though Members were not entirely convinced that this was the end of the matter, and a show of hands was actually taken to prove McCarthy's popularity—and perhaps the sincerity of those

supporting him—the remainder of the meeting was taken up largely over the problem of how to get the expression of Members' views. Voting by secret ballot on a piece of paper was hardly practicable with many Members illiterate. Names of possible candidates were written on the blackboard and loudly pronounced as they were written. The names of many candidates were considered. All withdrew for one reason or another. The only matter outstanding was the election of a Chairman of Committees. The Administrator had let it be known he would not object to an official Member undertaking this office, and J. K. McCarthy was suggested.

Thursday evening was devoted to a lecture by the Treasurer and the Chief Finance Officer in the Department of the Treasury on finance Bills and the Budget. Some Members, especially certain expatriates, had come to view the Budget as a means of changing, in practical as well as theoretical terms, the allocation of public funds between Departments and different areas of the Territory. In view of many election speeches and the expectations of indigenous electors the pressure on them to achieve such changes was considerable. From the Administration's point of view the absence of an assured majority of votes in the House, and the highly complex nature of public finance and the planning of the services needed, made its position particularly vulnerable. The point of the lecture was, therefore, not only to explain Budgets, the nation's finances and finance Bills, but to try to explain the possible consequences of Members' engaging in a major overhaul of estimates at short notice on the floor of the House. Members came to realize their practical limitations in this regard. The clash between what was possible and Members' theoretical notions of responsibility for public moneys produced some very lively debate and even recrimination from the floor. (The Treasurer was reported to have completed only half of what he had intended to say.) The method of describing financial provisions such as loan funds and supply Bills to indigenous Members was found best put across through Local Government Council financing, of which many had considerable knowledge. Indigenous Members took a keen interest in and asked questions about the extent of the Australian contribution to the national revenue.

Friday morning was spent in small group discussion on procedures and finance Bills. These discussions covered the whole range of the course and helped to bring its various aspects together. Friday afternoon was again devoted to role play, covering an entire meeting of the House from prayers to the adjournment debate. The Leader of the House, Dr Gunther, and various official Members took their proper seats (in the classroom) and the stage was used for the Speaker's chair. The Pigs Control Bill 1964 was introduced at the Committee stage and produced a humorous debate in which the indigenous Members joined enthusiastically. The role play also had the advantage of ironing out certain procedural matters not foreseen when the decision was taken to use the locally amended Standing Orders of the Commonwealth House of Representatives instead of those of the former Legislative Council.

From Friday evening onwards Members left in small parties to return home or to business in Port Moresby. Those remaining entertained guests to dinner on Friday night as a conclusion to the seminar.

No one could claim that the Sogeri seminar provided more than an introduction to parliamentary procedures. It became quite clear, however, that enough had been learnt to stimulate many Members to learn more, and all but a very few Members managed to gain sufficient knowledge and experience to feel some confidence in future meetings of the House.

The First Two Meetings of the House of Assembly

Paul W. van der Veur

Complete with Speaker, mace, wigs and prayers the new House of Assembly resembles the standard British Commonwealth model. The dress of the Members—white shirt, tie, coat, and only occasionally a *laplap* in place of long trousers—reinforces this impression. One unusual aspect is the constant use of head-phones (providing instantaneous translations in English, Police Motu, and Neo-Melanesian) which gives the House the flavour of an international conference rather than of a national parliament. A more important difference between the House and its model is the composition of the House, the position of the 'minority' government, and the phenomenal jump from subsistence farmer to parliamentarian which the majority of Papuan-New Guinean Members have been required to make.

The Composition of the House

The House has 64 members—10 official Members (all expatriates) and 54 elected Members. The 'official' team is led by the Assistant Administrator (Services), Dr J. T. Gunther, a man with wide Territorial experience and continuous service in the post-war Legislative Councils. Six of the other official Members served in the previous Legislative Council: H. H. Reeve (Assistant Administrator, Economic Affairs), J. K. McCarthy (Native Affairs), W. W. Watkins (Law), A. P. J. Newman (Treasury), W. F. Carter (Posts and Telegraphs), and F. C. Henderson (Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries). New members are L. W. Johnson (Education), N. J. Mason (Labour), and G. D. Cannon (Trade and Industry). The last served in the Uganda Legislative Council from 1958 to 1961. The previous legislative experience of the official Members is a valuable asset for the presentation of departmental business to the House. On the other hand, this experience has not necessarily prepared them for service in a House with an elected majority. Close *rapport* with the elected Members is not facilitated by the inability of most of the official Members to communicate in languages other than English.

The ten Members from the Special (or reserved) Electorates are by definition non-indigenous. Their average age at the time of election was

just over forty-three years with only Horrie Niall and Percy Chatterton in their sixties and five Members between thirty-four and thirty-seven years of age (see Table 1). Four of the Members are ex-Native Affairs officers—H. L. R. Niall, I. F. G. Downs, J. R. Stuntz, and R. T. D. Neville. Niall, while Morobe District Commissioner, had served as an official Member of the post-war Legislative Council from its inception, and had often criticized headquarters' ignorance of field problems. Downs, formerly Eastern Highlands District Commissioner, and an influential figure in the Highlands as president of the Highlands Farmers' and Settlers' Association, had been elected to the Legislative Council for the New Guinea Mainland electorate in 1957-60 and for the Highland electorate in 1961, where his acumen and flair for the dramatic made him a dominant figure. Stuntz, a former Patrol Officer who had been stationed in various Districts including Milne Bay, was elected for Eastern Papua in 1961. His main interest is in the economic development of the Territory. Neville, formerly Assistant District Officer in the Southern Highlands District, was the only ex-Native Affairs officer without legislative experience, but it does not appear to have handicapped his development into an effective Member within the first few days of the House of Assembly. One other Special Electoral Member, Don Barrett, a prominent Rabaul planter and businessman, had experience of the old Councils as member for New Guinea Islands, 1954-7 and 1960-1. With the exception of Percy Chatterton, whose forty years of close contact with Motu-speaking people as a missionary gives him a unique position, all Special Members may be assumed to reflect and express the commercial interests of the territory.

Six of the forty-four Open Electorates sent non-indigenous Members to the House of Assembly. With the exception of Bill Bloomfield these six Members are relatively young (see Table 2). Three of them (John Pasquarelli, Graham Pople, and Barry Holloway) are former Native Affairs officers and under thirty years of age.

Relevant background data for the thirty-eight Papuan-New Guinean Members are presented in Table 3. Rather than group these members alphabetically, merely noting their place of origin as either Papua or New Guinea, it was considered more meaningful to present them in four general groups: Papua Coastal (7 members); New Guinea Islands (6 members); New Guinea Coastal (11 members); and Highlands (14 members). The Highlands grouping ignores the administrative boundary between the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea.

The average age of the indigenous Members is thirty-nine and differences within the four groupings are relatively minor. Papua Coastal Members are slightly above the average age (41); Highland Members are a little below it (37). Only two Members (Peta Simogen and Singin Pasom) are in their sixties but eleven Members are under thirty-one years of age. Most of the latter come from Highlands and New Guinea Coastal electorates.

The part of the table giving the religion of the Members indicates that Roman Catholics did extremely well in the New Guinea Islands (where five out of six members are Catholics) and the New Guinea Coastal area

TABLE 1 Background Data of Special Members

Electorate	Member	Age	Religion	Occupation	Approx. period of res. in Territory (in yrs)	Languages			Experience or service in					Travel outside South Pacific	
						Neo-Melanesian	Police Motu	Armed Forces	Miss. work	Admin.	Town or Dist. Advis. Council	Econ. organ.	Welfare organ.		Leg. Council
Central	Chatterton	65	L.M.S.	Pastor (retired)	40	x	x		x		x				x
East Papua	Stuntz	35	C. of E.	Planter	15										x
Highlands	Dowis	49	Presb.	Planter	28										x
Madang-Sepik	Martin	35	C. of E.	Businessman	15	x									x
New Britain	Ashton	43	C. of E.	Planter	16	x									
N. G. Islands	Grose	37	C. of E.	Planter	26	x									x
Nth Markham	Niall	59	C. of E.	Dist. Comm. (retired)	36	x									x
Sth Markham	Gilmore	33	Catholic	Hotel Manager	25	x									
West Gazelle	Barrett	46	Presb.	Planter	18	x									x
West Papua	Neville	34	Catholic	Planter	15		x								

TABLE 2 Background of Non-Indigenous Open Electorate Members

Electorate	Member	Age	Religion	Occupation	Period of res. in Territory (in yrs)	Languages		Experience or service in				Travel outside South Pacific	
						Neo-Melanesian	Police Motu	Admin.	Econ. organ.	Welfare organ.	Employees organ.		
Angoram	Pasquarelli	27		Trader	4	x		x					x
Gulf	Tetley	39	Meth.	Trader	5								
Gumine	Pople	28	C. of E.	Ex-Patrol Officer	9	x		x					x
Hagen	Levy	36	Catholic	Planter	17	x		x		x			
Kaindi	Bloomfield	51	C. of E.	Driller	18	x							
Kainantu	Holloway	29	C. of E.	Ex-Patrol Officer	10	x		x					

TABLE 3 Background of Papuan-New Guinean House of Assembly Members

Electorate	Elected Member	Age (approx.)	Religion	Language			Occupation	Formal education standard
				Engl.	N.M.	Motu		
<i>Papua Coastal</i>								
Esa'ala-Losuia	Watson	36	Meth.	x		x	Welf. asst.	5
Fly River	Tabua*	46	L.M.S.	x		x	Postmaster	6
Lakekamu	Karava	48	Cath.		x	x	Farmer	5
Milne Bay	Guise*	49	C. of E.	x	x	x	Admin. clerk	5
Moresby	Rarupu	35	Cath.	x		x	Storekeeper	2
Popondetta	Eupu*	36	C. of E.	x		x	Farmer	6
Rigo-Abau	Abe*	39	L.M.S.	x		x	Council clerk	Teach. Tr.
<i>N. G. Islands</i>								
Bougainville	Lapun*	41	Cath.	x	x		Farmer (ex-teacher)	Teach. Tr.
E. New Britain	Urekit	48	Cath.		x		Farmer	
Manus	Maloot	52	Indep.				Farmer	
New Ireland	Brokam*	30	Cath.	x	x		Farmer	6
Rabaul	Toliman*	39	Cath.	x	x		Teacher	Teach. Tr.
W. New Britain	Manlel	27	Cath.		x		Farmer	3
<i>N. G. Coastal</i>								
Dreikikir	Lus	28	S.S.E.M.	x	x		Miss. worker	3
Finschhafen	Zurecnuoc*	42	Luth.	x	x		Teacher	Teach. Tr.
Lae	Pasom	60	Luth.		x		Farmer-trad.	
Lumi	Mo	44	Luth.		x		Farmer-trad.	
Madang	Matibiri	41	Cath.		x		Farmer	
Maprik	Tamindei	46	Cath.		x		Farmer	
Markham	Mirau	30	L.M.S.	x	x	x	Admin. clerk	6
Rai Coast	Umut	27	Luth.		x		Storeowner	3
Ramu	Menggarum	27	Cath.	x	x		Teacher	6
Upper Sepik	Kenu	31	Cath.		x		Farmer-trad.	Mission
Wewak-Aitape	Simogen*	62	Cath.		x		Pl. owner	
<i>Highlands</i>								
Chimbu	Siune	35	Luth.	x	x		Farmer	
Chuave	Wauwe	48	C. of E.		x		Farmer	
Goroka	Giregire*	27	Luth.		x		Farmer-trad.	5
Henganofi	Biritu	27	Luth.		x		Admin. interp.	
Ialibu	Mano	34	Luth.		x		Admin. interp.	
Kerowagi	Kurondo	43	Cath.		x		Farmer-trad.	
Kutubu	Melo	28	Cath.		x		Admin. interp.	Primary school
Lagaip	Iuri	36	Luth.		x		Admin. interp.	
Mendi	Pangial	25	—				Farmer	
Minj	Diria	49	Luth.		x		Farmer	
Okapa	Warebu	30	4 Sq. G.		x		Admin. interp.	
Tari	Tiaba	45	Meth.				Farmer	
Wabag	Abal	35	Luth.		x		Med. orderly	
Wapenamanda	Iangalo	33	Luth.		x		Admin. interp.	

(five out of eleven) with an additional two Catholic members each in the Highlands and in Coastal Papua. The Lutherans can claim twelve members—eight in the Highlands and four in the New Guinea Coastal area. Two of the three Anglican and Papua Ekalesia (formerly the London Missionary Society) members and one of the two Methodists come from Papua. The election of a candidate of London Missionary Society upbringing in the New Guinea Coastal area was achieved by the victory of Gaudi Mirau, originally from Kerema in Papua.

In terms of language, all but one of the Members from the Papua Coastal area have a knowledge of both Police Motu and English, while half of the Members from the New Guinea Islands know English in addition to Neo-Melanesian. Very few of the New Guinea Coastal Members, and only one Highlands Member, however, have a knowledge of English. With most of the Motu speakers having some knowledge of Neo-Melanesian, this is, in varied forms and pronunciations, the lingua franca among the Papuan-New Guinean Members.

TABLE 3. continued

Electorate	Experience or Service								Travel outside P.—N. G.	
	War	P.I.R. & Police	Miss. work	Leg. Co.	Town or Dist. Adv. Council	N.L.G. Council	Econ. organ.	Soc. organ.		Travel outside home area
<i>Papua Coastal</i>										
Esa'ala-Losuia	x							x	x	x
Fly River					x			x	x	x**
Lakekamu	x	x			x	Pres.	x	x	x	x**
Milne Bay	x	x		x		Vice P			x	x
Moresby										
Ponpondetta	x				x			x		x**
Rigo-Abau	x				x	Clerk		x	x	x
<i>N. G. Islands</i>										
Bougainville			x		x			x		x**
E. New Britain					x			x	x	
Manus		x			x	Pres.		x	x	
New Ireland				x				x	x	
Rabaul								x	x	
W. New Britain								x		
<i>N. G. Coastal</i>										
Dreikikir			x						x	
Finschhafen	x		x					x	x	x
Lae					x		x			x**
Lumi									x	
Madang						Vice P.			x	x**
Maprik	x	x				Pres.	x		x	
Markham									x	
Rai Coast							x			
Ramu								x		
Upper Sepik		x	x		x	Vice P.		x	x	x**
Wewak-Aitape	x	x		x	x	Pres.		x	x	x
<i>Highlands</i>										
Chimbu		x				Vice P.				
Chuave							x			
Goroka						Pres.	x			
Henganofi								x		
Ialibu								x		
Kerowagi		x				Pres.		x		
Kutubu					x			x		
Lagaip										
Mendi						Pres.				x**
Minj					x	Pres.	x			x**
Okapa										
Tari								x		
Wabag			x			Member				
Wapenamanda					x					

* Parliamentary Under-secretaries.

** Study Tour to Australia, 1962-3.

Occupationally, most of the Members (excepting those from the Papua Coastal area) are farmers (many of these being subsistence farmers) and small traders. Only five of the Members are teachers or have had previous teaching experience. They are Dirona Abe, Paul Lapun, Matthias Toliman, Zure Zurecnuoc, and James Menggarum. Six Highlands electorates elected interpreters.

The information relating to the standards of education of the Papuan-New Guinean Members may dismay those who believe that some formal education is a proper prerequisite for membership of a legislative body. Only four Members have received educational training above the elementary level. Although all Papua Coastal Members received some formal education, nineteen of the other Members have had none at all and an additional five have had three years at the most. This means that almost two-thirds of the Papuan-New Guinean Members have little or no ability to read. Among the New Guinea Coastal and Highlands Members—

constituting a potential voting bloc of twenty-five—the number of illiterates or semi-literates is at least eighteen.

Twelve Members have served in the war, the police, or the Pacific Islands Regiment, but half of these are among those with formal education. Some Members have received additional in-service training or have broadened their background by reading. Others have served on Town or District Advisory Councils or have travelled in Papua-New Guinea or abroad. But again, generally speaking, those with some formal education were the ones who had these additional opportunities. Only on the government-sponsored 'leadership tours' to Australia did a couple of the illiterate Highlands Members travel outside their home territory. Twelve Members are former Presidents or Vice-Presidents of Native Local Government Councils, nine of whom are from the Highlands and New Guinea Coastal area. Only three Members have had previous Legislative Council experience—John Guise, Peta Simogen, and Nicholas Brokam.

In poise and political experience, John Guise towers over the other Papuan and New Guinean Members. Not only has he travelled widely throughout the Territory but he is also one of the few who has seen extensive travel abroad. His leadership qualifications are considerable. He possesses great subtlety and tends to speak—and act—as a spokesman for the 'common man'. His main political handicap may be that he is from Papua and of mixed-race descent and is possibly too sensitive (and touchy) a person to bear the brunt of the rough and tumble of political life.

Among the more experienced indigenous Members, Peta Simogen's reputation is well-established as a successful entrepreneur and a willing speaker. With his record of war and police service and British Empire Medal, and speeches full of references to the Empire, there is something about him that suggests the old-time Tory. Paliau Maloat of Manus is well known in the Territory and deserves consideration as a shrewd and careful observer. Both Simogen and Paliau appear handicapped, however, by their lack of formal education and their poor knowledge of English. Lepani Watson has behind him an impressive record of welfare activity and adds to the House common sense and a touch of humour. Zure Zurenuoc can look back upon a successful career as a mission and administrative teacher. Among officials in his home district, Zurenuoc had the reputation of being both 'difficult' and 'stubborn', but these epithets may speak well for his independence of mind and perhaps point to potential leadership qualities.

Members of the Administrator's Council and Parliamentary Under-secretaries

The Report of the 1962 United Nations Visiting Mission to the Territory of New Guinea had recommended considering the introduction of a 'ministerial system' in order that the newly elected Members of the House might gain practical experience in the operation of the Executive. It noted (para. 216) that:

The procedure adopted in some other countries has been for the House to elect a few of its members to sit in the central council or cabinet. It would also follow standard practice if thereafter the members of the council or cabinet were given responsibilities for certain subjects and government departments.

This recommendation flows logically from the establishment of a House with an elected majority and its implementation would spell a decisive turning point in the decolonization process. In the Territory, however, such implementation was not easy because the existing Administrator's Council had never been 'the principal instrument of policy' in the first place. One authority describes its functions as 'little more than formal . . . and ceremonial' and notes that even in the matter of advice it was in an even more ambiguous position than the Executive Council found in British territories (Parker in ed. Fisk 1966). The decision to increase the Council's membership hardly affects the validity of this criticism: the limits to its executive power remain unchanged. Moreover, elected Members were to be nominated to the Council by *the Administrator*, not elected by the House as the Foot Report had recommended. The former Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, made the position of these appointed members clear:

It would be explained to whichever members were approached that by accepting appointment to the Administrator's Council they would to some extent* identify themselves with the actions of the Administration. They would not forgo their rights to discuss, to criticize and to express opinions contrary to those of the Administration or to offer advice according to their consciences and according to their own knowledge, but they would be bound to the extent that, having entered the Administrator's Council and having taken an oath of secrecy, information divulged to them in the Administrator's Council discussions would be confidential and to that extent* they would forfeit some of their personal liberty of action on the floor of the House of Assembly, in the same way as a Minister who enters a Cabinet forfeits some of his independence of action on the floor of this chamber (*C.P.D.*, 15 May 1963, p. 1421) . . . Direct election by the House of Assembly might easily put into his [the Administrator's] embryonic cabinet people who are not compatible to him or people to whom he was not compatible (*ibid.*, p. 1416).

Appointments to the Administrator's Council were announced by the Administrator on the first day that the new House met. Apart from himself, the 'embryonic cabinet' was to be composed of three senior officials and seven elected Members. The three officials were Dr J. T. Gunther, H. H. Reeve, and J. K. McCarthy. Two of the non-official Members come from Special Electorates (Ian Downs and John Stuntz), the remaining five are indigenous Members: John Guise and Dirona Abe (both from Papua) and Nicholas Brokam, Matthias Toliman, and Zure Zurenuoc (New Guinea). The Council shows a neat 5-5 balance (with the Administrator as the eleventh member) between Australian, i.e. expat-

* Spelling as in original.

riate, and Papuan-New Guinean, i.e. indigenous members. The carefully arranged 3 : 4 ratio between elected Members from Papua and New Guinea is destroyed, however, when the alternative grouping into Papua Coastal, New Guinea Islands, New Guinea Coastal, and Highland areas is used—the ratio becomes 3 : 2 : 1 : 1.

A second adaptation to the new situation was the selection by the Administration of ten Parliamentary Under-secretaries as understudies to the official Members and to department heads not represented in the House. Their appointment raises a problem similar to that concerning the members of the Administrator's Council. Dr Gunther, in briefly commenting on the role of the Under-secretaries at the Sogeri Parliamentary Seminar stated that these men could 'continually bring to the Administration . . . expressions of public opinion, and so influence the Administration in its deliberations; they could also portray to the electorates the specialist and expert thinking of the Administration' (Gunther 1964: 7). Ideally this may be so. More significant, however, is the degree of responsibility of these members for government business. The Minister clarified the position of the members of the Administrator's Council, but a similar statement was not made about the Under-secretaries. Some clarification was needed, however, for Under-secretaries receive higher emoluments (as do the members of the Administrator's Council) than the 'ordinary' Members.* Accordingly they risk the chance of being regarded as stooges (p. 437); and their selection was made without any consultation of the elected Members as to whether they would be acceptable or not. They may or may not say what they like in theory, but it is likely in practice that they will experience considerable pressure to toe and advance the government line. Upon election as Chairman of the Elected Members at the opening of the second meeting of the House, John Guise resigned as Parliamentary Under-secretary (but not as member of the Administrator's Council). His resignation points to one area of potential conflict in the role of Parliamentary Under-secretary when government and elected Members part company.

The appointment of the Under-secretaries (see Table 4) calls for comment. Appointees are drawn exclusively from the indigenous Members and include those five already nominated to the Administrator's Council. The attempt to provide as many Papuan-New Guinean members as possible with experience in these posts is laudable but the failure to include any expatriate Members elected from Open Electorates seems strange since the Electoral Ordinance permitted non-indigenous candidates to be elected on an equal basis.

In appointing Members as Under-secretaries an attempt was made (as in the Administrator's Council) to provide a fair ratio between Members from Papua and New Guinea. The selection of four Members from Papua

* Remuneration is at the rate of £1,300 per annum (compared with £950). In addition, all elected Members receive free travel to and from the House and on approved House business, a travelling allowance of £5. 5s. per day during such travel and during attendance at sittings of the House, and a £25 postage and telephone allowance.

TABLE 4 Parliamentary Under-Secretaries

Electorate	Region	Member	Department
Fly River	Papua Coastal	Tabua*	Public Works
Milne Bay	"	Guise*†	Information and Extension Services
Popondetta	"	Eupu	Lands, Survey and Mines
Rigo-Abau	"	Abe	Public Health
Bougainville	N. G. Islands	Lapun	Forests
New Ireland	"	Brokam*	Asst. Administrator (Economic Affairs)
Rabaul	"	Toliman*	Dept. of the Administrator
Finschhafen	N. G. Coastal	Zurecnuoc*	Treasury
Wewak-Aitape	"	Simogen	Police
Goroka	Highlands	Giregire	Asst. Administrator (Services)

* Member Administrator's Council.

† Guise resigned as Under-secretary (but not as Member of the Administrator's Council). Brokam later succeeded him at the Department of Information and Extension Services. Lepani Watson was appointed to the vacant Under-secretaryship with the Assistant Administrator (Economic Affairs).

and six from New Guinea can hardly be challenged but when the four-fold grouping is used it is seen that the Papua Coastal and New Guinea Islands (representing 14 of the 44 electorates) hold seven of the ten posts. The twelve New Guinea Coastal electorates have two Under-secretaries and the eighteen Highlands electorates only one. In making their selection of Under-secretaries the Administration was faced with the problem of choosing Members with a reasonable standard of formal education and, preferably, with a knowledge of English. This limited their choice to relatively few: the selection of Under-secretaries in fact *slices off the whole educated echelon of Papuans and New Guineans*. None of the other indigenous members has been educated beyond Standard 6; only four Members have been educated to a level between Standard 3 and 5, and only five Members to between Standard 2 and 3. No wonder that one of them commented somewhat plaintively: 'They are taking all our strong men away from us'. This feeling was re-emphasized by the seating arrangement: most of the Under-secretaries left their original seats to be seated with the official Members.

The Machinery of the House

The machinery of the House of Assembly closely follows the standard British Commonwealth model. Officers of the House fall into two categories: those who are Members of the House and those who are permanent or temporary staff.

The authority and dignity of the House are upheld by its elected Speaker who both represents the House in its dealings with the Administration and the outside world, and presides impartially over its debates

and enforces its rules. His authority is symbolized by the mace. It had been proposed by the Department of Native Affairs that the mace take the form of a traditional war club (as in Fiji where King Cakobau's club provides an admirable link between the traditional and the new forms of authority), but this reportedly was overridden by the Minister. The more elaborate and Westernized model adopted is made of timbers from Papua, New Guinea, and Australia and has at its head a Royal Crown mounted on an open oval casing containing a polished stone ball symbolic not only of a stone war club and authority but also of the unity of the Territory (*H.A.D.*, 8 June 1964, p. 6).

One of the more interesting problems of the new House will be that of defining the role of the Speaker. In Australian parliaments, the Speaker is a partisan in a way that he is not in the House of Commons or many ex-British colonial legislatures, and the office is often a stepping stone to ministerial office. In those British colonies where the Old Representative System with its separation of powers survived into the twentieth century, the Speaker held an authority more comparable with that of Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. In the event that conflict between the House of Assembly and the Administration develops before the executive has become completely responsible to the legislature, it might well be that the Speaker could acquire greater prominence than appears inherent in the office at present.

The House also elected a Chairman of Committees whose function it is to take the chair of the Committees of the Whole and to serve as Deputy Speaker in the Speaker's absence. Its choice was J. K. McCarthy, the Director of Native Affairs (see pp. 442-3). At the second meeting of the House four Members were elected (Dirona Abe, Don Barrett, John Stuntz and Zure Zurenuoc) to act as Temporary Chairman of Committees or as Deputy Speaker whenever the occasion demanded. Standing Committees to which various kinds of domestic business are delegated were also set up: a Standing Orders Committee, a House Committee, and a Library Committee (all three eventually chaired by the Speaker). Two other Standing Committees conduct detailed business for the House: a Regulations and Orders Committee (chaired rather unsuitably by the Secretary for Law); and a Committee on Public Works (chaired by the Assistant Administrator for Economic Affairs).

A look at the composition of the various Standing Committees indicates that expatriate Members significantly outnumber their indigenous colleagues. The ratio ranges from four Australian Members and one Papuan (or New Guinean) Member for the Regulations and Orders and House Committees, to three to two for the Library Committee, seven to two for the Standing Orders Committee, and eight expatriates to one indigene for the Public Works Committee. Australian members, in other words, outnumber their indigenous colleagues by twenty-six to seven. This discrepancy can be rationalized by noting the heavy burden already carried by the indigenous Members of the House in this novel situation. It still appears regrettable that the usual representative character of committees is so seriously lacking, especially when the duties of the Public Works

Committee are so obviously a matter of vital concern to indigenous Members.

The principal permanent officer is the Clerk of the House, W.P.B. Smart, who had previous experience in the Legislative Council. The Clerk-Assistant, Miss A. Yvonne Horne, is required to keep a record of the proceedings, and to assist the members in the drawing up of questions and the preparation of amendments. Legal assistance is available from the Crown Law Office; but again any assistance from the Legal Draftsman and his staff is provided over and above their normal duties.

Given the composition of the House, there was an obvious need for instantaneous translation of parliamentary proceedings from Police Motu and Neo-Melanesian into English and vice versa and a translation (at least in condensed and simplified form) of the various Bills. The Head of the Translation Service, T. A. Dietz, made a gallant effort to meet these requirements, but his staff proved inadequate at the start. The Leader of the House (Dr Gunther), in response to a question from Percy Chatterton, admitted that recruitment for training as translator/interpreters had only been advertised in early 1964 (when it failed to attract a sufficient number of applicants) and that another advertisement providing better terms had not been placed until the latter half of May—less than three weeks before the first meeting of the House (*H.A.D.*, 11 June 1964, p. 43). The Administration's hope was that Members (and certainly the Motu speakers, all of whom know some English) would use English in the House. This attitude provides Members whose mother tongue happens to be English with a tremendous advantage, and with the possible exception of John Guise and Dirona Abe, not a single indigenous Member is in complete command of the English language, while a majority of the indigenous Members either speak it haltingly or not at all. That the last word has not yet been spoken on this matter is clear from the House Debates. In the second meeting of the House, Ron Neville, speaking in Neo-Melanesian, said:

Now the interpreters here have a very big job to do. It is not their proper work—they are employed in various departments and when the House of Assembly sits they are brought in to work as interpreters. They do not get a chance to practise interpreting and therefore they do not understand the work fully and they are sometimes hesitant. I say that it would be a good thing if we could get our own interpreters for the House of Assembly . . . Also, it would be a good thing if our staff in the House of Assembly could be taken out of the control of the Public Service, because it is not good to keep on changing the interpreters . . . Therefore, . . . the House . . . [should] have its own staff under the control of the Speaker and then these people could do this work all the time without being worried about what is happening in their departments (*H.A.D.*, 10 September 1964, p. 316).

Tei Abal said that he had no complaints concerning the interpretation but wished to see the original and translated versions available in three languages:

I would like all the documents that are put on our desks to be in English, Pidgin and Motu. I am not very happy about all the papers being printed in English. If they were printed in the three languages then all members could understand what they contained and this would make our work much easier (ibid.).

John Stuntz and Percy Chatterton rose to say that they did not see Neville's criticism of the interpreters as specifically directed to those who were doing the work at the time but more as a plea that they 'should be permitted to specialize in this field' and to devote their entire time to it between meetings (ibid.).

The House and the Administration can congratulate themselves that only one indigenous Member (Handabe Tiabe from Tari Open Electorate) is unable to communicate in any lingua franca but only in the Huri dialect. The first solution to the dilemma posed by Tiabe was a simple one: he found himself unable 'to catch the Speaker's eye'. Bill Bloomfield came to Tiabe's defence:

Sir, this House is withholding the right of freedom of expression from one of its elected members—the Honourable Member for Tari. Acceptable names of candidates in the elections for this House had no language qualifications. The Honourable Member was elected in a fair ballot. He has been duly sworn in and as an elected member of this House the electors who sent him here are entitled to be heard through him. Sir, the Honourable Member must not be condemned to remain mute and his voice unheard in this House (*H.A.D.*, 12 June 1964, p. 84).

John Guise then rose to support Bloomfield and diplomatically, but squarely, laid the issue before the Speaker:

It is my duty in my humble capacity as a member of this House to always abide by any ruling that is given by the Speaker at all times. However, I feel that the Honourable Member in question [Handabe Tiabe] should not be tied down because of language qualifications. He is an elected member and a couple of days ago I counted four occasions on which he stood up but was not allowed to speak. It is the principle of the thing that this House must look at and we must safeguard the right of the Honourable Member for Tari, Mr. Handabe Tiabe, to speak (ibid.).

Tiabe spoke on the next day that the House met (16 June), and a translation of his speech was subsequently circulated among Members. At the second meeting of the House, Tiabe was assigned a personal translator who sat beside him in the House and translated speeches into Huri, moving to the translators' booth when Tiabe spoke so as to translate his speeches into Neo-Melanesian.

A comment must also be made about the official records of the House Debates (*Hansard*). The Administration has to be complimented for providing the public with this well-edited and neatly printed copy which attempts to live up to the *Hansard* ideal of giving 'a complete, accurate, and impartial record'. But a number of criticisms should be raised. The main one—already revealed in Tei Abal's comment—is that *Hansard*

gives Members' speeches in their original version *only if delivered in English*. In all other instances it provides *the translated versions* (with no indication of the original language employed). This does not permit everyone to know exactly what was said and implied in each speech, and the argument that this is the only possibility cannot be upheld. The official records of the former *Nieuw Guinea Raad* in West New Guinea, for example, were merely stencilled sheets but one set provided the proceedings in the language spoken by the Members (Dutch or Malay) while another set gave the translation.

The actual content of the Hansard can also be criticized. The failure of the Clerk to keep a Minute Book during the first meeting—and to check Hansard carefully before publication—led to a number of probably unintentional, but nevertheless regrettable, omissions. The Hansard fails to indicate, for example, that a couple of Members (Wegra Kenu and Bill Bloomfield) began to speak but were ruled out of order. Also missing is the fact that Paliu Maloat was nominated for one of the Standing Committees (his name being read off by Ian Downs) but declined the honour. More significant are the omissions of a rather critical speech on 'double standards of justice' by Parliamentary Under-secretary Dirona Abe (delivered in Motu)* and of Dr Gunther's comment that 'No further increase is warranted' to a question by John Guise as to whether the 'Allowance to Christian Churches for Infant Welfare Training' would be increased.

These examples may be considered petty but the highest standards of accuracy have to be set in order to avoid any possible grounds for suspicion of intentional omission. That such suspicion exists is known to the author. Omissions such as these further emphasize the need for an adequate and well-paid House of Assembly staff. Such a staff should include a full-time Interpretation Service within a department of the House of Assembly under the control of the Speaker. Such a department could also provide Members with vitally needed assistance in explaining House proceedings, the various aspects of legislation, the formulation of Questions for the Notice Paper, and with adequate secretarial assistance to Standing and Select Committees. Ideally a Legislative Reference Service associated with a good Parliamentary Library should be available to assist Members in securing information, and the services of a statistician and a parliamentary draftsman should be included in such a unit. Although most Members would have to be shown the utility of such assistance, effective contributions to debate and the initiation of action by the elected Members will be dependent upon it. The neglect of staff reached a new high on the eve of the second meeting when the Administration failed to take any special steps to account for the absence on leave of the Clerk of the House. It was only at the official request of the

* The speech should have appeared on page 60 after Gaudi Mirau's speech on the subject. The author was assured by the Clerk's office when he pointed out the omission that the error would be corrected in an addendum to the Hansard.

Speaker, Horrie Niall, that the services of the Commonwealth's Principal Parliamentary Officer (in the House of Representatives), D. M. Blake, were offered. His competence and independence contributed significantly to the proceedings of the second meeting as did his friendly assistance to all Members.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE HOUSE, 8-16 JUNE 1964

The House assembled for its first meeting on 8 June and met for six days for a total (excluding the rather numerous 'tea breaks') of about 25 hours, most of this time being compressed into the last four days when the House sat a daily average of 5½ hours. It adjourned until 'a date and hour to be fixed by the Speaker' on 16 June.

In giving an account of the first meeting, it seemed best that, after discussing the organization of the House, a topical approach be followed. The proceedings have been divided for convenience' sake into the debates, questions and Bills. A rather detailed account of each of these aspects has the advantage of providing both a qualitative and quantitative impression of Members' contributions.

The Installation of the House

During the morning of 8 June, the Chief Justice of the (Territorial) Supreme Court administered the oath to the Members and the Clerk, then announced the returns to the fifty-four writs for the House of Assembly election and the appointment of the ten official Members. After the Members were sworn in, the House proceeded to elect its Speaker. Don Barrett proposed and John Guise seconded the nomination of North Markham's H. L. R. Niall. This was not entirely according to plan. Members had agreed that Peta Simogen (a New Guinean) would propose and that John Guise (a Papuan) would second Niall's nomination. This understanding had not been communicated, however, to Don Barrett. No further nominations having been made, and Niall accepting the nomination, he was conducted to the Speaker's Chair.

After congratulating the Speaker, the Leader of the House, Dr Gunther, moved that the House provisionally accept the Draft Standing Orders. The meeting was then suspended until 2.30 p.m. when the Governor-General, Lord de L'Isle, addressed the House. Referring to the House as 'the chief symbol of the emerging unity of the people' he emphasized that the 'partnership' between Australia and the Territory required 'mutual confidence and mutual respect' and that the help of Australia and Australians would be needed 'for a long time to come' (*H.A.D.*, 8 June 1964, pp. 4-5). After the Governor-General had retired from the chamber, the Speaker announced the presence of distinguished visitors and welcomed the delegation from the Federal Parliament which then presented the House with the Mace. A brief speech by the Minister for Territories, C. E. Barnes, was followed by a statement by the Administrator, Sir Donald M. Cleland, in which he announced the appointment of the members to the enlarged Administrator's Council and the names of the Parliamentary Under-secretaries. The day's meeting was concluded

after John Guise had moved 'with great pleasure' for the appointment as Chairman of Committees of J. K. McCarthy, the Director of Native Affairs (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Matters of Public Importance

A Member may propose to the Speaker under Standing Order No. 88 that 'a matter of definite public importance' be submitted to the House. Two such matters were raised. Don Barrett initiated a discussion on the 'Growth of Unemployment in Urban Areas and Employment for Children leaving Schools' and Nicholas Brokam one on the '[Cargo] Cult Movement in New Hanover'. Both discussions were limited by Standing Orders to two hours.

Don Barrett in his speech (delivered in Neo-Melanesian) on urban unemployment presented the problem and outlined appropriate remedies. Being a planter, Barrett may be excused for expressing an agricultural bias in proposing a solution to the problem of the drift of unemployed 'migrants' to the town areas:

When I was a young lad if I had a shilling to spend I was happy. Now I see children, such as Tolai and Bougainville children, with an abundance of pocket money . . . Where do they obtain this money? Usually from their mothers and fathers. And do these parents get their money as a result of having had school training? No! They have made their money from hard work—from tilling the soil . . . The basis of the economy—the source of all wealth in Papua and New Guinea—lies in agriculture. We must plan for the expansion of our primary industry

As in Australia, this country is basically an agricultural country and therefore training in schools should have a rural bias (*H.A.D.*, 10 June 1964, p. 14).

In the debate which followed, Ron Neville foresaw dire consequences if material advancement did not go hand in hand with academic education. Expounding what was to become his favourite theme—the need for a complete overhaul of the existing land tenure system and a change from communal to individual ownership—he exclaimed:

We may get would-be humanitarians saying: 'What a dreadful thing! Some of these people will lose their land and become landless'. I would dare to suggest, however, that this is not altogether a bad thing. Not all of us are landowners, yet we are surviving quite well. It would also mean that those who have an ounce of energy would be able to do something with their land and would be able to employ those who were not far-seeing enough to zealously guard and protect the ownership of their land (*ibid.*, p. 19).

Some of the further discussion in the House on the problem of urban unemployment flowed from comments made by the department heads of Education, Trade and Industry, and Labour. Percy Chatterton pleaded for more diversity in secondary education. John Guise noted the lack of secondary industries and informed the Department of Trade and Industry that it 'should not be afraid of the Australian control of the sugar industry' (*ibid.*, p. 23). Zure Zurecnuoc favoured strong action against those

who did not work, while Dirona Abe and Paliau Maloat suggested that the Native Local Government Councils should be empowered to make laws to prevent unemployed people wandering around the towns. Peta Simogen supported Barrett's proposals and underlined the need for 'a law to stop the trouble' (*ibid.*, p. 15). To this Gaudi Mirau expressed concern, as it infringed upon people's freedom of movement.

A debate on cargo cult activity on New Hanover—popularly referred to as the 'Johnson cult'—was initiated by New Ireland's Nicholas Brokam, the local Member. Not without reason—and with considerable foresight, judging from subsequent events—Brokam feared a spread of the movement to the larger island of New Ireland and suggested that strong action be taken:

We should have a law to prevent this sort of thing. We must make these people work so that they will not have time to think about these things. When these cult uprisings occur the Police must go quickly and arrest those concerned for behaving in this manner (*H.A.D.*, 12 June 1964, p. 66).

Understandably, the topic was of most concern to the New Guinea Island Members, practically all of whom participated in the discussion. But the matter was also of interest to New Guinea Coastal Members, such as Stoi Umut, Suguman Matibiri, and several Members from the Sepik area. Matthias Toliman limited himself to expressing the need to show people 'a factory so that they can understand where the cargo comes from' (*ibid.*, p. 67). West New Britain's erstwhile cargo cult leader, Koriam Urekit, suggested:

There are many people who, in their ignorance, think that the Europeans' cargo appears from nowhere. I think, as Mr. To Liman does, that if the Government built some factories and showed the people food being tinned and cloth being woven then they would begin to understand. They would know that cargo does not come from nowhere but that it is the product of hard work (*ibid.*, p. 68).

But Paliau Maloat doubted whether such efforts should precede police action. Peta Simogen, on the other hand, thought that the answer lay in 'economic development' (*ibid.*, p. 70). A couple of Members notably Suguman Matibiri and Dirona Abe, expressed embarrassment and acute shame that people still continued to believe in such cults.

The debate provided the Administration with a mandate for strong action. As the Director for Native Affairs, J. K. McCarthy, put it:

I would like to assure Honourable Members that the Administration is now prepared to bring law and order into the area where this cult has destroyed all law and order. In acting against this lawlessness, the Administration has the full support of this House of Assembly. It acts with the full confidence of the Territory's people—it has the country behind it (*ibid.*).

The Address-in-Reply

The Address-in-reply to the speech of the Governor-General provided an opportunity to discuss other matters, including constituency demands.

Most of the participants took advantage of this and, after the discussion on Urban Unemployment had intervened, many Members spoke without even a cursory reference to the Address-in-reply. Australian Members Ashton, Gilmore, and Stuntz spent most of their time on various aspects of economic development. Don Barrett devoted his comments almost exclusively to what he considered the irresponsible and poor press coverage of the first day of the House. Barrett's attack led Simogen to suggest that newspaper men should send a copy of their reports to the Administration 'so that the Government can see that whatever is written is accurate' (*H.A.D.*, 9 June 1964, p. 12). Simogen's comment led to full coverage in the local press ('Simogen Peta Calls for Press Censorship') and an editorial 'Press Future' (*S.P.P.*, 12 June 1964). Ian Downs expounded his views on the political and economic future of the territory and pleaded for permanent association with Australia:

I believe that the only safe and secure future lies in a permanent association with Australia. I would like to bring that about and I think I know how it can be done, but this is a choice which obviously Papuans and New Guineans must make. They dominate this House and I hope they will use this place within the next four years to make this decision (*H.A.D.*, 9 June 1964, p. 13).

Most Papuan-New Guinean Members talked almost exclusively about the needs of their own electorates. Singin Pasom, Suguman Matibiri, Stoi Umut, Muriso Warebu, and Koitage Mano wanted roads; Gabriel Ehava a patrol post and a rice-growing scheme; Gaudi Mirau, Siwi Kurondo, Momei Pangial and Tambo Melo more schools and teachers; Paliu Maloat, Pita Tamindei, and Dirona Abe a wharf each. Siwi Kurondo urged that the contemplated University for Papua and New Guinea should be in Goroka.

Other members raised issues of broader concern. The problem of national unity was put by Tei Abal:

Now that the Members of this House have come together from all over the Territory the first thing that we should try and do is unite. Papua and New Guinea must have good friends, such as the Australian people, and we must join together for our development. We must have one name for Papua and New Guinea and we must be careful that other people do not invade us. Other countries, such as Indonesia and other places, are jealous of our land and they may one day want to come and take some of it (*H.A.D.*, 10 June 1964, p. 29).

The need for economic development before any talk of independence was emphasized by Lepani Watson:

I find difficulty in grasping the meaning of independence and would appreciate it if other members would help me to understand . . . I think that this word 'independence' must be hidden right at the bottom of the drawer and we must first look to the development of the country so that we can reach that goal in the future (*ibid.*, p. 30).

An issue which would be more and more vociferously expressed in the future was that of uneven development of the Territory coupled with what was seen as the excessive concentration on Port Moresby. This

was mentioned by Siwi Kurondo, Yauwe Wauwe, Paul Lapun, and Lepani Watson. As Lepani Watson put it:

I think that all the people who live in this Territory must have their share and all areas must be developed at the same time—not just one area developed whilst the others are forgotten . . .

If the people don't get the things for which they ask they will say that there is no purpose in us meeting here . . . (ibid., pp. 30-1).

Siwi Kurondo made the point more directly when he stated:

I have seen Port Moresby and I feel that all the good things that come from Australia are being put in Port Moresby and this is not right. We must not think only in terms of the three towns—Port Moresby, Lae, and Rabaul. We must think also of the Highlands for they are just as important (ibid., p. 33).

The Adjournment Debates of 11, 12 and 16 June

The cry for roads and bridges, air-strips and ports; medical officers, nurses, hospitals, and aid-posts; schools and teachers; patrol and agricultural officers; Local Councils and better housing for Papuan-New Guinean Administration personnel, continued to dominate the successive adjournment debates. These requests reflect the desires and needs of the people in the various electorates. They also place in glaring light the colossal task ahead if these desires are to be even partly fulfilled.

Not all members, however, limited themselves to constituency demands. Ian Downs, for example, focused almost exclusively upon three major issues (*H.A.D.*, 11 June 1964, pp. 58-9): how to attract investment capital (he suggested the enactment of a 'Pioneer Industries Ordinance'); the Department of Public Works ('the whole management and organization . . . should be overhauled'); and material improvement of the police force ('If one compares the conditions of police barracks with what are called corrective institutions one will find that the prisoner's lot is much better than that of the police').

John Stuntz criticized the existing system of letting out tenders, while Don Barrett recommended a more flexible approach to the existing land settlement scheme. Jim Grose referred to the 'economic stifling of the out-station ports' due to the 'restrictive shipping agreements made by the Australian Government for the benefit of Australian shipping companies which made New Guinea freight rates' amongst the highest in the world (ibid., pp. 56-7). Percy Chatterton spoke about the need for low-cost urban housing for Papuans and New Guineans; Gilmore started on a pet theme—the introduction of white New Zealand rabbits into the Highlands (considered important as a protein supplement to the diet); and Ashton, Tetley, and Stuntz emphasized the need for respect for law and order. Pasquarelli touched on the issue of over-centralization and the unfair distribution of resources.

Finally, Barry Holloway introduced the topic of the political future of the Territory:

The people of my electorate, Mr. Simogen earlier this evening, and in fact, all the people of Papua and New Guinea, are now asking: 'Where

are we going; what does Australia have in mind for us; where is the road to follow; and, why do we live under two flags?’

People are worried about it and a nebulous programme—in fact, no programme at all—will only feed a feeling of insecurity that is suffered by the brown and white people of this country (*ibid.*, p. 55).

Holloway recommended, as a ‘matter of great urgency’, the establishment of a commission ‘to collect evidence from the people of this country as a step towards the construction of a Draft Constitution’ (*ibid.*, p. 56).

The number of Papuan-New Guinean Members who spoke on broader issues was relatively small, but some of their comments and suggestions should be recorded. Two Highlands Members, Koitage Mano and Tei Abal, deplored the insufficient punishment meted out to law-breakers. Mano and Siwi Kurondo urged the need for good agrarian legislation. Robert Tabua spoke about the need for a fishing industry—as did Paliu Maloat—and a sugar industry. Tei Abal returned to his theme of prohibiting gambling and Gabriel Ehava advocated the outlawing of sorcery. Zure Zurenuoc favoured the introduction of radio broadcasts in local dialects and criticized the inadequacy of the defence force.

The first spark of racial antagonism was provided by Gaudi Mirau (*ibid.*, p. 60). Speaking in Motu, he recounted the story of the former Legislative Councillor, Mahuru Rarua Rarua, whose evening meeting apparently annoyed one of his Australian neighbours to such a degree that he fired a shot through the window of Rarua’s office. Mirau unfavourably compared the action against the Australian in this case with the swift justice which followed a riot occasioned by a car accident in Port Moresby when an Australian woman driver killed a Papuan. Mirau’s attack on ‘double standards of justice’ was taken up by Dirona Abe (also speaking in Motu):*

I have seen many bad things happen to Papuans and New Guineans and the Europeans have not helped, but if something bad happens to Europeans, assistance is given immediately. Why is this? . . . I feel that if Mr. Mahuru Rarua Rarua was a European and had rung the Police they would have helped him . . .

MR. TETLEY—Rubbish!

MR. DIRONA ABE (continuing) . . . but because he is not a European he was not given any assistance. This is the wrong way to go about things.

Ron Neville, although he thought that some of the points made by Gaudi Mirau had been well taken, regretted and rejected the reference to double standards of justice. The Leader of the House, Dr Gunther, then proceeded to give a detailed account of the event (*ibid.*, p. 61). He said that the accused had admitted firing shots but that he did not admit to firing shots into the building (‘He has said that he shot at a dog’). Dr Gunther also admitted that a police officer had improperly castigated Mahuru for abusing the particular Australian, but pointed out that the problem was that the Territorial law only prevented a person from firing

* Mr Abe’s speech was omitted from Hansard in error. This version relies on the addendum made available to the author by the Clerk’s Office.

shots in public places and that the most serious charge which could be levelled against the accused was of maliciously damaging a building. He assured the House that the Police Department and the Crown Law Department were still searching for 'a proper charge where the punishment fits the crime'.

Finally, it was Peta Simogen who for the first time introduced the phrase 'political party':

I have been asked to establish a New Guinea political party, but I do not think that this is the right time for such a party to be set up. I am not in agreement with the people who have spoken to me about starting the type of political party that they envisage because as I said I do not think that the time is fitting for such things to be introduced here (*H.A.D.*, 16 June 1964, p. 111).

Unfortunately, Simogen gave no hint as to which people had approached him on this matter.

Question Time

'Questions' originally developed in the British Parliament at the end of the eighteenth century as one of the significant exceptions to the rules of debate. 'Question hour' (about 50 minutes) eventually became one of the clearest manifestations of executive accountability to the elected legislature. However, a vital element in the success of question time in the House of Commons lies in the immediate use of 'supplementary' questions to ministerial answers. Question time in the Australian Parliament, on the other hand, is rather unorganized and most of the questions are 'questions without notice', not leading to supplementaries. In Papua-New Guinea, Standing Order No. 129 of the House of Assembly states that 'At the discretion of the Speaker supplementary questions may be asked to elucidate an answer' but this important device has not yet been used by the House.

The provisional Standing Orders of the House of Assembly deal with Questions under the heading of 'Questions seeking Information'. The heading itself is slightly misleading as few questions merely seek information just for the sake of idle curiosity. The vast majority of Questions raised in the House, indeed, press for action on the particular matter which has been raised. The following Question by John Guise, for example, to the Director of Native Affairs, clearly presses for action in his electorate:

Is it proposed to establish a patrol post to cater for the needs of the people of Rossel Island and Sudest, and if not, would the Administration consider the establishment of such a post as a matter of urgency? (*H.A.D.*, 16 June 1964, p. 95).

But Don Barrett's rather embarrassing question appears to ask for information:

Is it a fact that tea chests for packaging of tea produced at the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries plantation at Garaina are imported from Japan at approximately one-third of the cost that was

quoted by Commonwealth New Guinea timber plywood mill? (*H.A.D.*, 12 June 1964, p. 65).

As these two examples show, Questions can relate to typical constituency demands or can be of a more general nature. The number of constituency Questions raised in the first meeting was high—about two-thirds of the Questions—but this may be understandable in light of the parochial limitations of the membership.

A single meeting of the House is obviously a poor gauge for indicating who are to be the persistent questioners and who will not use this device at all.* But it seems important to note that in the first meeting, nineteen Members asked Questions, only eight of these being indigenous Members. Four of the latter asked only one Question and three others asked two—this left John Guise raising twenty-two of the thirty-one Questions asked by indigenous Members.

Bills

The law-making function of the House is a significant one, but discreetly the Administration introduced only a relatively small number of non-controversial Bills in the first meeting of the House. Apart from receiving a stencilled copy of the English text of the actual 'Bill for an Ordinance', Members were also provided with an 'Explanatory Note' prepared by the Crown Law Department (in English, Motu, and Neo-Melanesian). The Interpretation Service, in addition, sent out notes giving the gist of the Bills in simple language in each lingua franca. The Crown Law Department was somewhat suspicious of the latter service, feeling that such interpretations unduly and dangerously simplified the meaning of the various Bills.

The House rushed through most of the Bills. Passed without debate were the Vagrancy (Papua) Bill, the Native Economic Development Bill, the Criminal Code Amendment (New Guinea) Bill, the Ex-Servicemen's Credit Board (Validation of Certain Acts) Bill, the Statutory Instruments (Publications) Bill, the Supply Bill (No. 1) and the Electoral Bill. The last Bill—dealing with the controversial 'absolute majority' requirement—'clarifies' the wording of the 1963 electoral legislation in order to remove 'possible areas of confusion for future elections' (see p. 416). Some of the statements made by the Leader of the House in introducing this Bill and in the 'Explanatory Note' seem questionable, but with eighteen Members of the House seated without an absolute majority of the total valid vote in their respective electorates there was no eagerness to enter into debate.

Eight other Bills evoked only minor comment from one, or occasionally two, of the elected Members: the Explosives Bill (Don Barrett asked for a brief explanation); the Unclaimed Moneys Bill (John Guise asked about its effect on moneys held by the Copra Marketing Board); the District Courts Bill (Percy Chatterton requested assurance about the

* Ian Downs and Don Barrett, for example, asked many more questions during the second meeting of the House, John Guise far fewer.

possibility of challenging the validity of translated evidence); the Liquor (Licensing) Bill (Graham Gilmore wanted to know the interpretation of the word 'negligently'); the Coffee Marketing Bill (Ian Downs made a minor correction of fact in the mover's introductory statement); the Criminal Code Amendment (Papua) Bill (evoking a question from Roy Ashton and an amendment from Graham Pople proposing a time limitation upon the imposition of bonds on offenders which was rejected). The Parliamentary Powers and Privileges Bill was referred to a Select Committee on a motion by Barry Holloway, and the somewhat controversial Slaughtering Bill was adjourned without debate to the next meeting of the House.

Only three Bills involved any significant participation by elected Members: the Public Works Committee Bill, the Currency Bill, and the Appropriation Bill. The Public Works Bill debate was an exclusively expatriate show—and one very much for the Special Electorate Members at that, with Downs, Stuntz, Neville, Gilmore, and only Holloway from an Open Electorate participating. The main point at issue was whether the Standing Committee on Public Works should be provided with a schedule of all proposed public works or only those above £100,000. Discussion was spearheaded by Downs and Stuntz with brief comments coming from Neville, Gilmore, and Holloway (*H.A.D.*, 11 June 1964, pp. 48-51).

The debate on the [Decimal] Currency Bill on the fourth day was adjourned until the following day when Barrett introduced an amendment aimed at protecting the public against fraudulent exchange of currency. In his comments to the motion, Barrett emphasized the vast amount of education and publicity which would be necessary before the changeover to the new currency could take place. Ian Downs rose to support the amendment and took the opportunity of commenting on two other aspects of the Bill. Both Peta Simogen and Gaudi Mirau returned to Barrett's plea for education about the currency. Said Simogen:

Mr. Speaker, I do not understand this Bill very well. When the money is changed, what kind of money will we have in Papua and New Guinea? The people know all about Australian money but what will happen when another kind of money appears amongst us? . . . We must be careful to show the people pictures and other illustrations of the new money so that they will be ready for it when it is introduced (*H.A.D.*, 12 June 1964, p. 76).

Some debate, finally, ensued on the Appropriation Bill (No. 2). Downs again led off in his usual well-prepared fashion. Among other matters, he cited the low expenditure allotted to the Police Force. He was followed by Special Electorate Members, Martin, Neville, Gilmore, Barrett, and Stuntz. Simogen merely expressed support for some of the points made by Downs. John Guise did likewise but also expressed the hope that he would soon see the first commission given to a Papuan or New Guinean member of the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary, and criticized the large amount of money paid out for overtime. Gaudi Mirau's participation in the debate was short-lived: he was ruled out of order for not speaking on the matter under discussion.

Quantitative Participation of the Members in the House of Assembly Proceedings

The purpose of a quantitative analysis is not to make a virtue out of verbosity, but to gain a better impression of Member participation in the various aspects of the proceedings of the House in its first meeting. One further *caveat* may be called for: although some Members may have contributed little to the recorded proceedings of the House they may have participated actively in committee meetings and assisted other Members in adjusting to their new surroundings.

Contributions by all Members of the House amount to about 81,000 words. The official Members do not seem to have participated unduly. They account for only one-fourth of the House debates and more than three-fourths of this is taken up in the presentation and discussion of Bills. W. W. Watkins (Secretary for Law), A. P. J. Newman (Treasurer), G. D. Cannon (Trade and Industry), and H. H. Reeve (Assistant Administrator, Economic Affairs), limited themselves exclusively to these matters and Dr Gunther would have been included but for his brief discussion on the charge raised by Gaudi Mirau concerning the matter of 'double justice'. Official Members Cannon, Johnson, and Mason spoke at reasonable length on subjects falling within their respective departments during the urban unemployment debate and J. K. McCarthy did the same at the conclusion of the New Hanover debate. The Secretary for Law as the mover of seven Bills spoke slightly more than the Leader of the House, Dr Gunther.

The participation and contribution of the expatriate Special and Open Electorate Members in the various parts of the proceedings are set out in Table 5. Most vocal were Barrett, Neville, Stuntz, Downs and Holloway. But it should be noted that over two-fifths of Downs's contribution is made in the discussion of Bills. Open Electorate Members—with the exception of Barry Holloway who spoke on the matter of cargo cults—were silent on both 'Matters of Public Importance'. Open Electorate Members also—again with the exception of Holloway and to some extent Graham Pople—did not partake in the discussion on Bills. Questions, on the other hand, were raised quite generally, with only Grose and Martin of the Special Electorate Members and Bloomfield and Pasquarelli of the Open Electorate Members failing to participate.

The contribution of the thirty-eight Papuan-New Guinean Members is set out in Table 6. In terms of overall participation each area grouping has a number of Members who account for the bulk of what is said. Peta Simogen's contribution is somewhat unusual in that he ranks directly behind Barrett, Neville, Stuntz, and Downs. But about a dozen Members (half of them from the Highlands) said little, and two Members—Wegra Kenu and Makain Mo—failed to participate in the debate, although Kenu did ask a question.

The debate on the 'Growth of Unemployment in Urban Areas' reveals poor participation which is especially surprising for the New Guinea Islands area. The table does show clearly (and not surprisingly) that

TABLE 5 Non-Indigenous Elected Members and House Participation (in approximate number of words)

Member	Address-in-reply	Urban un-employment	New Hanover cult	Adjournment debates	Bills (no. of speeches in paren.)				Total	Questions
					Mover	Comments & queries	Amendment	Amendment		
<i>Special Members</i>										
Ashton	490		60	540		30 (1)		1120	6	
Barrett	380	1703	510	1240		770 (2)	150 (1)	4753	7	
Chatterton		550		1130		212 (2)		1892	2	
Downs	912			1470		1634 (5)	110 (3)	4126	3	
Gilmore	200			900		427 (5)		1527	3	
Grose			550	840				1390		
Martin						136 (1)		136		
Neville		1840	480	1510		430 (2)		4260	2	
Stuntz	2200			1220		724 (4)	20 (1)	4164	4	
TOTAL	4182	4093	1600	8850		4363 (22)	280 (5)	23368	27	
<i>Open Members</i>										
Bloomfield				270				270	9	
Holloway			432	2770	250 (1)	48 (1)		3500	4	
Levy	1176							1176		
Pasquarelli				1500				1500		
Pople				1860			112 (1)	1972	2	
Tetley				1110				1110	5	
TOTAL	1176		432	7510	250 (1)	48 (1)	112 (1)	9528	20	

not a single Highlands Member was apparently either interested or knowledgeable on this matter. The 'New Hanover Cult' brought the New Guinea Islands Members out in almost full force as well as most of the New Guinea Coastal Members, but lacked interest for the Papua Coastal and Highlands Members.

The relative failure of the indigenous Members to participate in the work of the House appears most vividly in the discussion of Bills. Slight contributions were made by John Guise, Peta Simogen, and Gaudi Mirau. But only Guise's two contributions related to some of the details of the Bills. The ever-increasing pile of documents, apparently mostly untouched and unread, on Members' desks symbolized this failure. The small number of questions raised at the first meeting of the House, mostly asked by John Guise, is another illustration of the slow adaptation of Members to novel procedures.

Table 7 summarizes the data from the preceding tables, indicates the number of Members participating, and includes the pertinent data for the official Members. Fifteen expatriate Members talked more than the thirty-eight Papuan-New Guinean Members, accounting for over 54 per cent of the time taken up in the House by the elected Members. They dominated the discussion of urban unemployment and clearly outscored their colleagues in the adjournment debates.

The contribution of the expatriate Members—and the lack of participation by their Papuan-New Guinean colleagues—is especially revealed in the discussion on Bills in which twelve elected Members participated (only three of them Papuan-New Guinean) and all of the few amendments were moved by Australian Members. Bills are even more categorized as 'a white man's show' when the contribution of the official Members is included. Five official Members and eight Special Members account for almost 96 per cent of the discussion. If the three old Legislative Council hands (Downs, Stuntz, and Barrett) are singled out from the total elected membership, their contribution, together with those of the five official Members, reaches almost 92 per cent.

THE SECOND MEETING OF THE HOUSE, 1-10 SEPTEMBER 1964

The tempo of political development increased between the first and second meeting of the House. The second meeting cannot be described, therefore, without reference to certain events which influenced both the tenor and contents of the debate.

In light of what was said about the police force by Ian Downs in the first meeting of the House, it is not surprising that simmering discontent within the force finally boiled over. A strike and planned protest march by about three hundred police in Port Moresby over pay matters, accommodation, and the delayed issue of uniforms, was narrowly averted (*S.P.P.*, 30 June 1964). But in Rabaul about fifty police did refuse duty and briefly ran through the streets where they were joined by 'shouting crowds . . . in a wild protest march' (*S.P.P.*, 3 July 1964). The Administration quickly flew in samples of the new uniforms and the Industrial Organizations Officer, after a meeting with the police in Port Moresby,

TABLE 6 Indigenous Elected Member Participation
(in approx. number of words)

Member	Address-in- reply	Urban unemployment	New Hanover cult	Adjournment debates
<i>Papua Coastal</i>				
Abe	450	320	200	740
Eupu				458
Guise	160	680		480
Karava	115			810
Rarupu				200
Tabua				420
Watson	1025			170
TOTAL	1750	1000	200	3278
<i>N. G. Islands</i>				
Brokam			440	
Lapun	260		340	300
Maloat	360	140	245	494
Manlel	10			75
Toliman	1280		144	
Urekit			196	
TOTAL	1910	140	1365	869
<i>N. G. Coastal</i>				
Kenu				
Lus	184		100	168
Matibiri	410		360	
Meanggarum			110	
Mirau	162	250	120	390
Mo				
Pasom	400			495
Simogen	112	450	410	2390
Tamindei	88			160
Umut	184		170	
Zurecnuoc		840	200	1090
TOTAL	1540	1540	1470	4693
<i>Highlands</i>				
Abal	420		260	370
Biritu				504
Diria	160		125	776
Iangalo	56			
Iuri				70
Kurondo	930			504
Mano	250			130
Melo	100			
Giregire	410			200
Pangial	120		30	
Siune				375
Tiaba				160
Warebu	210			
Wauwe	580			400
TOTAL	3236		415	3489

TABLE 6 continued

Member	Bills (no. of speeches in paren.)			Total	Questions
	Mover	Queries	Amendments		
<i>Pooua Coastal</i>					
Abe				1710	2
Eupu				458	
Guise		195 (2)		1515	22
Karava				925	
Rarupu				200	
Tabua				420	1
Watson				1195	2
TOTAL		195 (2)		6423	27
<i>N. G. Islands</i>					
Brokam				440	
Lapun				900	
Maloat				1239	2
Manlel				85	
Tolimán				1424	
Urekit				196	
TOTAL				4284	2
<i>N. G. Coastal</i>					
Kenu					1
Lus				452	
Matibiri				770	
Meanggarum				110	
Mirau		200 (2)		1122	1
Mo					
Pasom				895	
Simogen		331 (2)		3693	
Tamindei				248	
Umut				354	
Zurecnuoc				2130	
TOTAL		531 (4)		9774	2
<i>Highlands</i>					
Abal				1050	
Biritu				504	
Diria				1061	
Iangalo				56	
Iuri				70	
Kurondo				1434	
Mano				380	
Melo				100	
Giregire				610	
Pangial				150	1
Siune				375	
Tiaba				160	
Warepu				210	
Wauwe				980	
TOTAL				7140	1

TABLE 7 Summary of House Participation, First Meeting

Elected Members	Address-in-reply		Unemployment		N. Hanover Cult		Adjournment debates		Bills				Total		Questions	
	Lgth.	Memb.	Lgth.	Memb.	Lgth.	Memb.	Lgth.	Memb.	Mover No.	Queries No.	Amendments No.	Total Lgth.	Lgth. Memb.	Lgth.	No. Memb.	
Special (9)	4182	5	4093	3	1600	4	8850	8	22	8	3	4643	23368	9	27	7
Aust. Open (6)	1176	1			432	1	7510	5	1	1	1	410	9328	6	20	4
Total (15)	5358	6	4093	3	2032	5	16360	13	23	9	4	5053	32896	15	47	11
Papua Coastal	1750	4	1000	2	200	1	3278	7	2	1		195	6423	7	27	4
N. G. Isl. (6)	1910	4	140	1	1365	5	869	3	4	2		531	4284	6	2	1
N. G. Coast (11)	1540	7	1540	3	1470	7	4693	6	4	2		531	9774	9	2	2
Highlands (14)	3236	10	2680	6	415	3	3489	10	6	3		726	7140	14	1	1
Total (38)	8436	25	2680	6	3450	16	12329	26	6	3		726	27621	36	32	8
Grand total elected Membs. (53)	13794	31	6773	9	5482	21	28689	39	1	30	6	5779	60517		79	19
Official Members Total			3768	3	550	1	480	1	19	3	4	15683	20481			

toured the Territory to gauge the views of policemen elsewhere about the formation of a Police Association. Such an association was formed at the end of July shortly after the announced retirement of the Police Commissioner (*S.P.P.*, 31 July and *N.G.T.C.*, 22 July 1964).

In the meantime, the Fifth Conference of Native Local Government Councils, bringing together delegates from the various Councils in Papua and New Guinea (on a District basis), met at Wewak from 6 to 9 July. The Conference was opened by J. K. McCarthy in his capacity as Director of Native Affairs. He might well have been speaking as an official Member of the House reflecting upon his impressions of the first meeting. McCarthy told the Councillors that many people were asking for 'more Agricultural Officers, more schools, more roads, more Welfare Officers, etc.' He explained that all of this at one time was impossible: 'You must get one thing at a time' (*Fifth N.L.G.C. Conference 1964*, p. 1).

Of the various items on the agenda, three deserve special mention (*ibid.*, pp. 3, 29). Item 1, submitted by the Waiye Local Government Council, said:

We have heard that the Australians are intending to leave the Territory and that we will have to be responsible for governing ourselves. We are not capable of looking after ourselves and we want the Australian Government to stay with us at least until our grand-children are grown up.

Item 3, submitted by the Northern District Councils, stated:

That the people of Papua and New Guinea alone should decide when they are ready for self-government and no outside powers should be permitted to bring pressure to bear to force the granting of self-government before the people decide they are prepared for it.

Finally, item 35 (submitted by Sepik District and Gazelle Peninsula Councils), asked:

That a future name for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea be discussed at the Combined Councils' Conference, 1964, also the subject of a flag for the Territory.

These items led to an interesting discussion and resolutions that letters be written to the respective House of Assembly Members to look into and act on the various matters. In relation to subsequent activities emanating from Rabaul, it is important to note that the Conference's chairman was Ismel Towalaka, and the other New Britain District delegate, Nason Tigat. Both of these men at that time served on the Executive Committee of the Gazelle Peninsula Local Government Council—Towalaka in the function of vice-chairman.

In mid-August, Dr M. Naravi (Iran) and Natwar Singh (India), members of the 'Committee of 24'—the committee set up to implement the United Nations' Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries—made an unofficial visit to the Territory. The reported views of the two men (who subsequently insisted that they had been misreported) shocked the local press (*S.P.P.*, 18 August 1964) and rubbed a number of Papuan-New Guinean *evolués* the wrong way. The fact that

the two men did not stick to the time of their scheduled visit to Rabaul did little to placate Rabaul Local Government Councillors. The resolution which Rabaul's Matthias Toliman introduced in the second meeting of the House appears to be a combined result of the Wewak Conference resolutions and a strong reaction to the activity of the two visitors.

Almost simultaneously, the Territory had another important official visitor—Kenya's Minister of Justice, Tom Mboya. Mboya outlined his views on the Territory at a press conference at the end of his trip (*S.P.P.*, 1 September 1964). What had astonished him most was the complete lack of any political organization. He saw tribal divisions and the lack of national unity as two of the most serious handicaps to the development of the Territory. But apart from this, Mboya was of the opinion that there was an urgent need for more education. A keen observer, he drew attention to a particular aspect of the Papuan-New Guinean's view of independence:

Mr. Mboya said Territory natives apparently regarded independence with a great deal of apprehension . . . They seemed to have the impression that all contact with Australia would be severed and there would be a great finality to Australian guidance . . . Throughout the struggle for independence in the African states [however] there had been the knowledge that Britain would support the countries with continued guidance (*ibid.*).

The *South Pacific Post* was enthusiastic about the beneficial influence of such a personal impression of the Territory's problems and under the heading of 'Let's invite more critics' commented: 'The outcome of these tours illustrates once and for all that there is no wisdom in preventing any critic of Australia or of colonialism from coming here' (*ibid.*).

During the period between the first and second meetings of the House, several Members (in particular the Under-secretaries) were involved in various activities outside their electorates. Zurecnuoc, for example, accompanied Tom Mboya on his brief tour in the latter part of August, Dirona Abe made an extensive tour of the Territory's health centres with Dr R. F. R. Scragg, the Director of Public Health. Peta Simogen was kept busy by his police responsibilities. Other Under-secretaries spent considerable time in Port Moresby on official duties. Some subsequently expressed some concern in private conversation about the insufficient time they could devote to their own electorates.

A group which was most noticeably subjected to the whole spectrum of multifarious pressures and conflicting interests were the members of the sub-committee of the Parliamentary Committee on Public Works, charged with looking into the completion of the controversial Highlands Highway. The sub-committee (composed of Roy Ashton, Graham Gilmore, and Jim Grose) held meetings in public in Kainantu, Goroka, Kundiawa, and Mt Hagen. At the Goroka meeting, Eastern Highlands Members spoke about the highway and emphasized that a large percentage of the Territory's coffee was grown in the Chimbu area, and that a road through this part would traverse thickly populated regions. But those

who attended the Mt Hagen meeting in the Western Highlands pressed for a road from Mt Hagen to Madang as top priority. The Member for the Hagen Open Electorate, Keith Levy, in particular expressed strong disapproval of Administration plans. Not only did he challenge the feasibility of an all-weather road from Goroka to Mt Hagen but he also defied anyone to prove that a road from Mt Hagen to Madang would not be a better proposition. In Madang itself, a 'Road to the Highlands Committee' had been formed which joined forces with the spokesmen from the Western and Southern Highlands for the Madang-Mt Hagen road. The Goroka Chamber of Commerce declared that it would support the Mt Hagen proposal only if the road from Lae was completed as far as Kundiawa and warned:

The Public Works Committee should realise that it has national responsibility in viewing the Territory's requirements . . . They must prevent internal dissension from preventing completion of the Mt. Hagen road. (*S.P.P.*, 21 July 1964.)

In preparation for the second meeting of the House, Members began to converge on Port Moresby from various parts of the Territory at the end of August. A considerable number of Members had stayed in Port Moresby's main hotels during the first meeting of the House, but by the time of the second meeting both the hotels' alien atmosphere and expense led several of the Members to find accommodation with friends in various parts of town.

The official opening of the second meeting was preceded by an important event. While the elected Members were gathered together informally in their meeting room on the morning of 1 September, the matter under discussion was the need for leadership in the House. Australian Members present left the room to give free rein to the discussion after having assured their colleagues that they would abide by any decision reached. Someone then nominated Peta Simogen to become the chairman of the Elected Members but Simogen declined. John Guise—typically sitting on the floor, together with Lepani Watson, in the crowded meeting room—was then suggested and nominated unanimously. Nominations for the post of Deputy Chairman—a term preferred by Guise over that of Vice-Chairman—of the Elected Members first brought forth the name of Zurecnuoc. After he declined, Matthias Toliman was suggested, and accepted the nomination. Dr Gunther, the Leader of the House, was then invited to come to the meeting room and was informed of these decisions. One of the Members suggested to Dr Gunther that although Guise was resigning as Parliamentary Under-secretary, he should be permitted to continue his salary as Under-secretary, but no decision was made at this point. Dr Gunther welcomed the election of John Guise in a brief address on the second day of the meeting of the House:

There can be no future for this country without unity. It is therefore a very welcome decision to find that the diverse peoples of this House were able to see the need to unify under the leadership of one man. The decision to choose a leader is part of the tumbling speed that is

about us today—speed in all things, not just political (*H.A.D.*, 2 September 1964, p. 155).

Dr Gunther mentioned in conclusion that ‘the great art of government is through the art of compromise’—especially essential where the actual government is in a minority position in an elected legislature.

The emergence of the position of ‘Leader of the Elected Members’ was inevitable. If several of the Members appeared to be lost sheep in the first meeting of the House, there now at least was a shepherd. In addition to the appointment of two whips for the elected bloc, another helpful development was the practice of elected Members to gather each morning informally before the session of the House to decide who would speak and which topics should be brought forward with a certain degree of consistency. This ‘Elected Member Group’ is a step in the direction of a possible Papua and New Guinea Party. But a sufficient degree of agreement is far from real as yet. Any issue of significance could split the elected Members; land tenure is the first one that comes to mind. Moreover, lobbying and intrigue against Guise started immediately. The division between Papuans and New Guineans lends itself to a potential anti-Guise instrument. Early manoeuvring has centred around Peta Simogen and some expatriate Members, notably Graham Gilmore, who are interested in the formation of a New Guinea Party.

The second meeting of the House was a Budget session. It is appropriate, therefore, to begin discussion with the Budget speech and the subsequent Budget debate. This will be followed by consideration of the resolution introduced by Matthias Toliman, the adjournment debates, the Questions raised in the House, and the discussion of Bills. One other matter which should be mentioned at this point is the absence of the Speaker, H. L. R. Niall, during the second part of the session due to his wife’s serious illness and death. In Niall’s absence the Chair was occupied by J. K. McCarthy, and on a number of occasions by one of the temporary Chairmen of Committees, thereby providing the first Papuan and the first New Guinean with an opportunity to occupy the Chair.

The Budget Debate

The key point in the speech delivered by the Treasurer, A. P. J. Newman, was that the Budget emphasized a new and different phase of activity:

To date, we have seen an emphasis on social development, and in the last twelve months a momentous political advancement took place. It is therefore timely that we should set about firmly establishing the economy, so that whilst it may be prolonged, we may eventually see a possibility of economic independence (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 139).

Both imports and exports had set an all-time high of £35,728,000 and £20,556,000 respectively in the past year. Although the Treasurer admitted that ‘the greatly widened gap between imports and exports’ would be viewed with alarm in an independent country with its own monetary system, he considered that this situation had to continue in Papua-New Guinea until the Territory could become self-sufficient in food production

and locally produced cigarettes and tobacco. But he very much doubted that imports of such items as clothing, metals, and machinery could be reduced in the foreseeable future (*ibid.*).

Internal revenue for the coming year was estimated at £12,704,000, with loans adding another £3,160,000; the balance of revenue—almost 64 per cent—was made up by the £28,000,000 grant from the Commonwealth government. The Treasurer reminded his listeners that in the 1963 Budget speech he had forecast the possibility of a revised system of raising revenue to correct the fact that the existing income tax legislation was levelled almost exclusively 'at a group of income earners, whose standard of living is sophisticated, to say the least' (*ibid.*, p. 141). This revision had not eventuated because it had been decided to await the report from the World Bank.

Expenses in the field of economic activity were to rise from 23 per cent in the 1963/4 Budget to 26·3 per cent in the new. From the proposed expenditure on public works, £5,312,600 would be spent on architectural works and £4,233,300 on engineering works. Those who had clamoured for roads and bridges clearly had reason to rejoice as the allocation for these items increased from £2·3 million to well over £3·2 million. But such social services as health and education were to see only a 'restrictive' absolute increase, declining in fact from 25·8 per cent of expenditure in 1963/4 to 24·2 per cent in 1964/5. Emphasis in the educational field would be on an increase in the number of secondary and technical schools. Although there would be 'essential expansion of already established primary schools where the population growth' demanded it, there would be 'no expansion at the primary level, into areas not currently served by the Department' (*ibid.*, p. 144).

General administrative services, although declining from 35·2 per cent to 33·9 per cent still saw a rise from £13,497,135 in 1963/4 to £14,871,000 for 1964/5. The Treasurer also devoted attention to the indigenization of the Public Service (*ibid.*, p. 142). Intake of officers for the Service envisaged the recruitment of 367 expatriates and 471 indigenous officers. But Table 3 accompanying the printed Budget speech makes clear that about two-thirds of the indigenous intake lay in Education and Public Health where it was 175 and 120 respectively. No indigenous intake was indicated for twelve Departments, including Law, Police, Taxation, Labour, and Customs and Migration.

The announced change of emphasis in the Budget toward creating a viable economy was widely welcomed by the Members. Disagreement did not centre about this change but about its speed and effectiveness. Downs, for example, wondered 'how real and how effective' some of the plans were and found some of the points in the Budget speech, such as the proportion between engineering and agricultural works and the location of some of the projects, inconsistent with the expressed intention (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 206). Stuntz regretted the utter dependency of the Territory on the Australian grant and did not relish the idea that additional revenue had to be found by raising tariffs. What was needed was a way to increase internal productivity. He chided the Admini-

stration with the new industries of which it seemed so proud—nails, drums, and tobacco. These would bring little advance towards a viable economy as they were 'largely feeding on this same Commonwealth Grant' and their contribution as employers of labour was negligible (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 266). According to Stuntz, the economy of the Territory had to rest on primary products and to boost its development land, access to markets and cheap credit had to be made available. Nor was Stuntz pleased with the expenditure on engineering works compared with that allotted for architectural structures—a point already noted by Downs—and the implication in the Treasurer's speech that expenditure on public works could only expand at the cost of social services:

What is the Treasurer trying to do? Is he endeavouring to develop a guilt complex amongst the members when they ask for more moneys for roads and wharfs and bridges? Nobody asked that this be done at the expense of drugs and dressings. What we have asked for is for economics [*sic*] in administrative staff and for a stop to the snowballing of the public service . . . General administrative services cost us £13½ million last year and will cost us close to £15 million this year. This represents 34 per cent. of the entire budget. It also amounts to over £2 million more than our internal revenue and it is growing at a faster rate than our internal revenue. This is the most frightening comparison of all (*ibid.*).

Lepani Watson in welcoming the new policy hoped that it was not 'just to put more money into the hands of expatriate companies'. He emphasized the importance of co-operatives in the economic development of the Territory and saw them as 'one way of getting Papuans and New Guineans to help themselves' (*ibid.*, p. 256). He also advanced the idea of an Australian loan rather than a grant:

The loan could be important in the development of certain schemes, such as the Ramu hydro electric project. A loan will cement our friendship with Australia and at the same time let us show that we are standing on our own feet (*ibid.*).

The idea of a grant was strongly supported by John Guise who felt that a loan would give the Territory an opportunity to establish some secondary industries and force the government 'to produce a good five year economic plan' (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 290). Barry Holloway was concerned about the fluctuation in the Australian grant and its unsettling effect on constructive planning. Jim Grose saw a great need for 'some form of investment guarantee' against political instability (*H.A.D.*, 7 September 1964, p. 240).

Guise, although admitting that he was no economic expert, was of the opinion that one major step toward viability was that exports should exceed imports. He would continue to press, therefore, for the establishment of secondary industries such as a 'sugar industry, a fish canning industry and a soap manufacturing industry'. And he continued:

I believe that the creation of local industries such as these would give Papua and New Guinea an outlet, as well as enable Papuans and New

Guineans to learn the skills of such industries. It would also lower our imports of these commodities, providing these goods for home consumption . . . And last, but not least, these industries, if created, could have share capital provided by the Papuan and New Guinean people—Papuan and New Guineans could become shareholders in these local industries (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, pp. 290-1).

The Director of Trade and Industry, G. D. Cannon, speaking on the work of his Department, noted that in seeking out industrial projects 'worthy of official support and encouragement' his Department was conscious of the fact that the Territory could not afford luxuries or 'white elephant projects' (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 255). Referring to Neville's proposal for a cement industry (made in an adjournment debate) he pointed out that the minimum economic size of such a plant would produce upwards of 60,000 tons per annum while the Territory's present imports were less than 30,000 tons. Percy Chatterton, in speaking on the need to develop the Goilala Sub-district, had made the point, however, that other than purely economic factors should sometimes be considered:

I shall no doubt be told by Mr. Newman and Mr. Cannon that the development of the Goilala area is not a sound economic proposition. That may be so, but, in a matter of this kind, economic considerations are not the only ones to be taken cognizance of—social and political factors must also be taken into consideration (*ibid.*, p. 276).

Several of the Special Electorate Members had noted with satisfaction the Treasurer's reference to a contemplated broadening of the tax base. Downs commented that the 'continued attack' on the groups which up to now had contributed was 'getting hard to bear' (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 208). He expressed surprise at the fact that alcohol seemed to have escaped what it deserved. Holloway, in advocating higher import duties on ales, wines, spirits, and tobacco, pointed at the effect which the failure to increase excise duties had on the budgetary allowance for social services. Downs further thought that the budget seemed to emphasize staff increases rather than facilities although the latter appeared more important in terms of assuring access to markets. He also saw no spirit of sacrifice in the field of social services. As a step toward a viable economy, Guise suggested rapid indigenization:

This total of money which is allocated for the recruitment of officers from Australia should be limited to the recruitment of professional and technical officers only and that such positions as clerks, typists, road foremen, assistant health inspectors, labour supervisors, officers in charge of records sections, officers in charge of filing sections and etc., should be filled by Papuan and New Guineans of the Public Service. This will result in a saving of budget moneys and permit surplus money to be spent on capital works in outlying districts (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 292).

Downs further noted that in order to boost the productive capacity of the economy there should be close association between the officials of the Department of Native Affairs and those of Agriculture, but in his

opinion the attitude of officers in many parts of the Territory was 'indifferent and in some cases even obstructive' (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 208).

Downs also complained about the complete lack of participation of the elected Members in the preparation and design of the Budget:

If there is one thing that upsets the members in this House more than anything else, it is the feeling that they are not participating in the budget; it is the feeling that they are going to be blamed for things over which they have no control. Therefore, I say that a way must be found for members of this House to participate more fully in the preparation of the budget. At the district level, I suggest that local members could be joined in some way with district commissioners and heads of departments when they meet to formulate district requirements (*ibid.*, p. 209).

Downs's point that Members of the House should be appointed to District Development Committees was echoed by Barrett, Neville, Pople, Guise, and Stuntz. The last-named also favoured the establishment of an economic advisory committee composed of suitable persons outside the Administration and House membership (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 265). A somewhat different point was made by Guise when he suggested the creation of an Industrial Planning Committee 'to collate information, assist and advise the Central Policy and Planning Committee'. Such a Committee should have Papuans and New Guineans among its members and, if that was not acceptable, then 'the time has come' for elected Members of the House to be included on the Central Policy and Planning Committee itself so that 'policy decisions come from the country and not from the Department of Territories' in Canberra (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 292).

In territories advancing toward self-government, the relation between newly elected Members and colonial officials in the field is often a touchy one (see p. 23). A statement by the Director of Posts and Telegraphs that Members discuss matters with District Commissioners caused a derisive comment from Graham Gilmore:

Surely, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Mr. Carter is aware that democracy starts and finishes in this House (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 296).

And John Guise commented:

More notice must be taken by a district commissioner of a person in his district or sub-district who is an elected member of this House . . . Sometimes the local member of this House is treated with some indifference and at times treated as if he were a little child and must be led like a young infant in case he strays off the district commissioner's paved path (*ibid.*, p. 291).

Downs's comment on the location of projects led him to an attack on the unequal distribution of expenditure:

In all fairness, I think that I should say that the criticism by persons from New Guinea of expenditure for Papua being excessive is very wrong indeed . . . There should be different classifications here, Mr.

Treasurer—one for New Guinea, one for Papua and one for Port Moresby.

INTERJECTION—Hear, hear!

. . . There is an overwhelming centralization of expenditure in Port Moresby itself (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 206).

Expressing alarm at the widening gap between imports and exports, he again laid this problem at Port Moresby's door:

I would like to point out that we are already self-sufficient in food production but in Port Moresby the people do not eat their own produce. If we are going to have this colossus—this 'whited sepulchre'—in Port Moresby then we are going to have these tremendous imports. We are going to have this imbalance. One of the results of over-centralization will be this import imbalance in Port Moresby. This capital is being over-emphasized to such a degree that this imbalance will be perpetuated and will become an Australian problem. It can only be removed by de-centralization (*ibid.*, p. 207).

Downs's point was taken up with alacrity by other Members. Guise noted the amount of money spent on roads in Port Moresby, and Graham Pople came to the conclusion that about 40 per cent of the Territory's Public Works expenditure was allocated to the Central District. Paliu Maloat lamented:

When we come to Port Moresby we are filled with dismay when we realize what a large amount of the money must be spent here . . . Does Port Moresby get everything in order that visitors from other countries may be impressed? (*ibid.*, p. 212).

Frank Martin put his finger on some of the political implications of this situation for Papuan-New Guinean unification:

When the representatives of 95 per cent. of the Territory people come here and watch the money disappearing right here in Port Moresby they certainly do not go home to their people with pleas to unite with the fortunate minority. When they find the higher paid jobs in their own areas held by the people in this favoured minority, they do not think of unity. I believe that the large and energetic population of the Highlands, the go ahead people of New Britain and the vigorous people of the other areas are the ones who are developing what economy the Territory has today (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 280).

A somewhat different point was made by Zurecnuoc after he had commented upon the existing 'antagonism' between 'towns' and the 'rural areas':

The towns appear to be entirely controlled by Europeans and no Papuans or New Guineans participate in the commercial or administrative activities of the towns. I do not like to see one group of people progressing at the expense of another group (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 300).

Well over half a dozen Papuan-New Guinean Members made the general observation that they would like to see 'more money allocated to the outside areas'. However, Jim Grose and Bill Bloomfield—both

coming from electorates which make a major contribution to the Territory's economy—threw light on another facet which can contribute toward fissiparous tendencies in newly emerging countries. Urging the Treasurer 'not to neglect the geese that are already laying the golden eggs', Jim Grose said:

The more economically advanced areas should not object to contributing to the development of more backward areas and to the necessary overheads of central government. However, we do object when a partly developed region which contributes very substantially to the economy of the country is consistently given a very minor share of the plums of governmental expenditure (*H.A.D.*, 7 September 1964, p. 240).

Bill Bloomfield in speaking for his electorate said that the great contribution toward the Territorial Budget in exports of gold, timber, and coffee was made by a tiny developed part of his electorate but that the remaining 95 per cent continued to stagnate (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 283).

The 'attack on Port Moresby' was answered by W. F. Carter, the Director of Posts and Telegraphs:

It should be obvious that expenditure on capital works in Port Moresby must be higher than in any other centre of the Territory. Unluckily for Port Moresby, it has become the seat of government and so has to put up with the type of adverse and not very thoughtful criticism that is made of such places . . . Port Moresby is by far the largest town in the Territory and is the headquarters not only of the Administration but it is the place where many firms have placed their head offices, where the Army has placed its headquarters, where the banks have established their head offices . . . and many other organizations have chosen for their headquarters . . . Also, many institutions can be more efficiently and more cheaply built and run at the seat of government . . . (*ibid.*, p. 258).

Carter presented the case for centralization well—but another case could be made for decentralization. It could, moreover, be argued that Carter's reference in his speech to the aridity of the Port Moresby climate and the unsuitability of the ground for septic tanks—boosting the costs for water supply and sewerage—did not strengthen his case. Nor did he convince most of the Members. Stuntz, for example, made the point somewhat sarcastically that he was well aware of the fact that every country had to have a centre of government but that it did not necessarily follow that this centre also should be the most populous city nor the seat of industry and commercial development. Nor did Stuntz concede that the various institutions listed by Carter could not have been just as efficiently placed in other parts of the Territory, although he excluded the psychiatric hospital (*ibid.*, p. 267).

Several Members of the most backward areas begged the Administration to break the physical and mental isolation of their electorates and permit them to begin their contribution to the Territory's economy. Said Ron Neville:

It is almost impossible to believe that the Government has been establishing itself in the Southern Highlands for almost fifteen years . . .

We in the Southern Highlands have not only not got one mile of road of any commercial value, but we have not got a road going anywhere or coming from anywhere . . . The people are coming to me and asking if I can help them to get some economic advancement in the District, but frankly I do not know where to begin (*H.A.D.*, 7 September 1964, pp. 244-5).

Some of his Highland colleagues expressed considerable impatience. Handabe Tiabe, speaking in the Huri tongue, told the House that his people had been told to wait so many times that their 'heads are aching from this kind of talk' (*ibid.*, p. 240). Tambu Melo was no less insistent:

I would like to know how long we will have to wait for these things that I have asked for? I watch the government members; they remain seated and they listen, but they do not act. They should be given shovels . . . We have been told to wait and wait . . . but we are tired of waiting (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 258).

Although parochial demands of Papuan-New Guinean Members continued to put high priority on schools and teachers, the only one to challenge the allocation to the Department of Education was Barry Holloway. His comments followed a lengthy address by L. W. Johnson, the Director of Education, in which Johnson, among others, had favourably compared the percentage of children of the total population in school with comparable figures for India, Iran, and Kenya—countries of origin of recent visitors to the Territory. But Johnson had held out little hope to those who had been crying out for rapid educational advance:

There are something like 300,000 children in this Territory who do not have schools to go to. 300,000 children require 10,000 teachers and we do not have that number of teachers, and, of course, we do not have that number of teachers in prospect at the present time, so I would ask the members of the House to have some patience as far as new schools are concerned (*H.A.D.*, 7 September 1964, p. 237).

Holloway's attack directed itself both to the Treasurer—who could have extracted 'another £2 million from the luxury-indulged people of this country' but instead preferred to see the rounding off of 'social pursuits', because 'it is not economic development'—and to the Director of Education:

The Director of Education is setting his sights too high. All members of this House are strongly aware that education is being demanded throughout the length and breadth of this country . . . What can we do about it? . . . I am suggesting . . . he could . . . train even more teachers at a lower level; he could put a number of school inspectors in the classroom to teach; he could raise the number of pupils in a class to 50; and he could organize the teaching of one school in the morning and another in the afternoon. If this plan were adopted the object of universal primary education would be completed at three times the present pace (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 274).

Another young expatriate Member, John Pasquarelli, dared defy the angels' wrath. Elaborating on the unequal tax distribution, he focused attention on the special tax-exempt status of the missions:

Many of these missions (you will note that I am not referring to all of them) have created vast commercial enterprises that spread the length and breadth of this Territory. These mission-operated commercial enterprises are free from the provisions of the Tax Ordinance and so their profits are further bloated as a result of this great advantage . . . I call upon the missions to shoulder their just and proper share of this Territory's financial load (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, pp. 300, 302).

If Pasquarelli had been satisfied with making this important observation and recommendation, it seems unlikely that he would have stirred up the reaction he did. The commercially monopolistic position of the missions had been commented upon before by a competent observer (Reed 1943). Pasquarelli, however, went further and charged that there was a serious discrepancy between the money earned and spent by some of the missions in the Territory. Making use of the answers to several questions he had raised over the preceding days, Pasquarelli further provided detailed figures as to the number of labourers employed by the missions and the agricultural freeholds and leaseholds possessed by them. He also touched on the deep involvement of the Catholic mission in the Sepik District in the curio and artifact trade in which missionaries vied with private citizens to acquire objects which at one time had been condemned as 'works of the devil' (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 301).

With the Budget debate drawing to a close, comments on Pasquarelli's speech were made in the adjournment debate of the following day. The rather tense atmosphere created by his attack on the missions was again present. The Treasurer, A. P. J. Newman, replying to Pasquarelli, assured him that his plea for a reconsideration of the tax-exempt status of the missions would be studied—as it was the Administration's intention 'to review the whole gamut of revenue raising' to ensure equitable contribution by all income earners. But he went on to say:

I want to make it perfectly clear that my following remarks are not the views of the Administration, they are not official views and they are not the views of the Catholic Church. I believe that there was no altruistic motive behind Mr. Pasquarelli's demand and I can only interpret it as a demand that the income from the commercial activities of Christian Missions be taxed. I believe that within the demand, Mr. Pasquarelli disguised, but not very well, a direct attack on Catholic Missions particularly and, I suppose, on the Catholic Church generally. If this is so, what would be the objective? Would it be an expression of bigotry or would it be an intention of payback? (*H.A.D.*, 10 September 1964, p. 325).

A number of New Guinean Members (Peta Simogen, James Meangarum, and Kaibelt Diria) also regretted the way in which Pasquarelli had spoken about the missions and considered that the missions were doing a good job and were making a substantial contribution to the Territory's progress. Both Ashton and Barrett emphasized the one-sidedness of Pasquarelli's attack, with Barrett pointing out that Pasquarelli had directed several questions to the official Members but had

failed to ask the Directors of Public Health and Education about the mission contribution in these fields. Only Paliau Maloat reflected a different opinion:

I think that some members have misinterpreted what he [Pasquarelli] said.

INTERJECTION—Hear, hear!

I did not hear him say that the missions in this Territory should be done away with or that they are not doing good work.

MR. BARRETT—You were not listening!

MR. PALIAU MALOAT (continuing)—I heard what he said. He spoke about finding another way to raise extra revenue for Papua and New Guinea. He said that all the men and women and all the companies and businesses in this Territory should be subject to taxation. He asked why the missions are not paying tax, but I do not think that he said anything against the work of the missions. All he did was to ask that question and if his speech was misinterpreted, a great deal of trouble could result (*ibid.*, p. 327).

It is hoped that the foregoing account has provided some indication of Member participation in the Budget debate. Only a relatively small number of Papuan-New Guinean Members have been referred to and this reflects the fact that the others limited their comments mainly or exclusively to parochial requests. Of all such requests, the need for roads, bridges, schools, and teachers was mentioned most insistently. One additional matter, however, deserves attention. It is the problem of 'the representative' and his function in the House and responsibility to his electorate. It seems definite that Members were very conscious of this problem, and it is significant that those who specifically mentioned it were among the best-educated and experienced. After his long exposition on matters of general concern, even Downs turned parochial when he came to discuss the delay and possible postponement of the construction of the Goroka Hospital. Noting that the 800,000 Highlands people had been late-comers in the field of social services and had been given nothing comparable with the huge hospitals which had been constructed in Wewak, Madang, Lae, and Port Moresby, he served warning that if the Goroka Hospital item did not appear in the next Budget he would do everything in his 'considerable power to stir the people of the Eastern Highlands to such a pitch of impatience' that it would be his duty to defeat the next Budget (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 209).

In the first meeting of the House, it had been Lepani Watson who had hinted strongly at the expectations constituents had of the work of their elected Members (see p. 462). In an adjournment debate at the second meeting, he further suggested that projected works should not be announced publicly until funds were available so as not to raise unnecessarily constituents' hopes (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 190). But the subject was raised specifically by three New Guinea Members in the Budget debate. Said Stoi Umut:

At the time of the elections I told the people that I would try and do something about this [an equitable distribution of funds throughout the

Territory] and now I am a little afraid of going back and facing them . . . My constituents think that I am fooling them because the Government is not starting work on the road that I have spoken about (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 275).

Nicholas Brokam put the problem in the following terms:

If our electors mention something then it is our responsibility to raise the matter in the House, but if no action is taken, I feel that our electors will be very concerned and we might be looking very hard for votes at the next election (*ibid.*, p. 280).

The problem—and part of the election story—was also presented by Paul Lapun:

During the election campaign on Bougainville, those participating in electoral education told the people that they must all vote because the elections were the biggest thing that had ever happened in the Territory. They further told the people to think very carefully before they voted because something important would happen. All the patrol officers said that they were hoarse from asking for more funds for the development of Bougainville and that an elected member could cry out where his cries would be heard . . . They also said that if a new era was coming, the people of Bougainville would have a native leader to do their bidding. This man would go to Port Moresby and have his wishes granted, they said. Now, Sir, the native people of Bougainville are waiting to see the results of this great thing and they think that when I return I will have good news for them (*ibid.*, p. 270).

A number of the Papuan-New Guinean Under-secretaries also made non-parochial statements. Dirona Abe (Health) delivered a lengthy and complicated account in English of the achievements of the Department of Health over the past year. Robert Tabua (Public Works) praised both the Budget and Carter's explanation of the logic of centralization in Port Moresby, although it should be added that he was personally convinced of the need and correctness of making such a statement. It may be that the flood of parochial demands led the Administration to request Zurecnuoc (Treasury) to speak on the matter at the end of the Budget debate—although it would have seemed wiser from a point of tactics if Zure's speech had followed the Treasurer's long and detailed account, which may have been only partially understood by several Members. Zurecnuoc told Members, amidst laughter, that he had not been 'brain-washed' and neatly and persuasively set out the difficulties faced by budget makers:

If each member is concerned only with his own electorate, then there will never be any unity in this Territory. Just because some electorates need aerodromes, for example, it does not mean that all other work should stop and aerodromes built . . . Do members think that we should pour all the money into the isolated areas? If we did, what would happen to the towns? It is obviously impossible to do everything at once. If constructive suggestions instead of complaints were put before the Government, these may prove to be of some assistance and the Government could perhaps consider them. We all know that

the amount of money is limited and therefore all should be grateful for what they receive. It is like drinking beer—when the bottle is finished you should be satisfied. . . I know that all members would like more money for their electorates but there is only a specified amount of money and it must be carefully distributed (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 299).

At the end of the the Budget debate both the Assistant Administrator for Economic Affairs and the Treasurer commented on the persistent demand of Members for specific expenditure in their own electorates. Said the Treasurer:

The final point which has caused me a great deal of concern is the common request by indigenous elected Members, more or less for a split by districts or by electorates, whatever way you like to approach it of the budget. I find it extremely difficult to answer this demand because first of all the manner in which we conduct our financial administration would prohibit it. Secondly, in demanding a distribution of the budget on an area basis, I get the impression that members' demands were directed towards moneys specifically for roads, bridges, airstrips, hospitals and so on . . . On this subject of an area allocation . . . we must work as a Territory. All have expressed a desire to expedite the economic development of this Territory and if we want to achieve this in the shortest possible time, we must concentrate our efforts where they pay off most rapidly (*ibid.*, p. 303).

The Appropriation Bill was then read a second time and the House went into Committee during which it rapidly approved the various divisions of the Budget. Only twenty-two queries were made with Stuntz, Neville, Pople, and Downs asking sixteen of them, constituting three-quarters of the discussion. Participation by Papuan-New Guinean Members was limited to comments by Lepani Watson (expressing regret at the non-inclusion of an air-strip at Misima in the Esa'ala-Losuia Electorate) and John Guise. The latter returned to his favourite theme when he asked the Treasurer for assurance that the £100,000 for 'Extra duty pay' would be used 'with discretion and kept to a minimum', the Treasurer responding that he had to give that assurance automatically (*ibid.*, p. 306).

Following the third reading of the Appropriations Bill, the Assistant Administrator, H. H. Reeve, informed the House about the activities of the Public Works Committee Sub-committee which had looked into the construction of a road from Kainantu to Mt Hagen (see pp. 474-5). The Standing Committee had recommended approval of the Kainantu-Goroka part at an earlier period but had asked to be granted leave to pursue its investigation on the remainder of the project. It now recommended continuation of the road from Goroka to Kundiawa but the postponement of a decision on the remaining part—keeping the existing road 'trafficable by normal maintenance'—while an urgent 'feasibility survey' be undertaken of a possible road from Madang to Mt Hagen (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, pp. 309-10).

The Toliman Resolution

On 2 September, Matthias Toliman moved, pursuant to notice:

That we the elected representatives of the people of Papua and New Guinea desire to convey to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, the expressed wish of the people that they, the people, and they alone, be allowed to decide when the time is ripe for self-government in Papua and New Guinea, and the form that such government will take and the people's further firm conviction that the road to self-government can best be travelled with one guide—and that guide the Administering Authority, and that undue pressure from without can lead only to that disruption, chaos and bloodshed which the people have observed with great alarm in certain newly independent countries (*H.A.D.*, 2 September 1964, p. 158).

The resolution was received with unanimous approval. Twenty-eight Members participated in the debate, including all of the New Guinea Island Members, 9 of the 11 New Guinea Coastal Members, 6 of the 14 Highlanders, 4 of the 7 Papua Coastal Members, and 3 of the 9 Special Members. The general tenor of the debate was that outsiders did not have the right to urge self-government, as this was the exclusive concern of Papua-New Guinea, and that the people were satisfied with the Australian stewardship. Several Highland Members emphasized that the time for self-government was still far off. Said Sinake Giregire:

If the people within this country had strong feelings on this subject they could talk to their elected members and we could speak for them, but the people do not feel that they are ready. They know that there are very few good businesses and that many people are uneducated and much land is undeveloped . . . When I am an old man or when I am dead it might be different, but now we are all of one opinion (*ibid.*, p. 162).

Kaibelt Diria indicated that because of his lack of education he did not want the responsibility of self-government and this feeling was shared by his Highland colleague, Momei Pangjal:

Many members have considered this matter of self-government for a long time, but some members, like myself, are very confused about this issue of self-government. I do not understand about it. I cannot read or write. All these papers mean nothing to me. If we had been to school and had a proper education then we might be able to make this decision about self-government . . . There are those who know the backward areas and they realize that this Territory is not yet ready for self-government. What would it be like if we had self-government whilst vast areas did not even have schools and did not have other facilities? I think it would be better if we concerned ourselves with schools and other important things before we talk about self-government (*ibid.*, p. 166).

Nor were these sentiments limited to Highland Members, although two of the politically more sophisticated of the Papuan-New Guineans sounded a slightly different key. Zurecnuoc emphasized that the matter of 'the

remaining dependent countries' was a problem 'which concerns the whole world' (*ibid.*, p. 160). And John Guise, who preceded Zurecnuoc, carefully outlined what in his opinion was the true intent of the motion:

I hope that this resolution will not be interpreted by the critics to mean that Mr. To Liman wants to put a fence around Papua and New Guinea, but that what it calls for and demands is that the people of Papua and New Guinea be permitted to make the final decision . . . That is the crux of the motion which Mr. To Liman has put forward. It must not be interpreted by the United Nations to mean that we are telling them to keep out. What we are saying to the Organization is that the right of determination rests with the people of this country . . . I also wish to say that I do not want the critics to say that this motion is the invention of Europeans, because it is not. It has come straight from the people—from the places where the majority of the people live—the villages (*ibid.*, pp. 159-60).

But Neville did not care for Guise's first suggestion:

Where Mr. Guise wishes to weaken somewhat the force of the motion, I say: 'Hands off. Look at us. We are progressing satisfactorily'.

We must give full support to this motion and impress upon people our strong objections. They must realize that we are not interested in such opinions from outsiders. We do not want to hear such opinions again (*ibid.*, p. 161).

With the proceedings of the House well covered in the local press, the Toliman resolution received wide publicity under such headings as 'Don't push us too hard, Independence must wait' (*S.P.P.*, 4 September 1964) and 'Keep Out, Members Warn UN' (*N.G.T.C.*, 5 September 1964). In Canberra, Natwar Singh and Dr Naravi, the two recent visitors to the Territory, called a press conference and expressed distress at Peta Simongen's statement in the House of Assembly that they had only visited the towns, then sat down in hotels and passed judgment. They emphasized that they had *not* passed any judgments and that it was for the people of Papua-New Guinea to decide their future and destiny (*S.M.H.*, 4 September 1964).

The Adjournment Debates

The discussion in the adjournment debates was naturally influenced by the Budget debates. A number of Papuan-New Guinean Members, for example, continued to argue against the concentration of efforts in Port Moresby. Apart from references to constituency demands, there was some stress on the need for gaining political experience, the need for unity, and the necessity of developing the country's resources. It was clear that in the pre-House morning sessions the Papuan-New Guinean Members had decided to focus their attention on the need for Native Local Government Councils. Member after Member referred to this in the debate, and stressed the importance of Councils in creating political awareness and stimulating economic activity. Nicholas Brokam expressed the opinion that villagers should be forced to join Councils at their establishment. In acknowledging this 'common theme', J. K. McCarthy, the

Director of Native Affairs, said that, in his opinion, the allocation of staff for the establishment of Councils was one of 'extremely high priority'. But he indicated that it was not clear who made the decision on 'priorities':

At the present time many people would answer that it is the Central Policy and Planning Committee of the Administration, but remember that at the same time we have an Administrator's Council. It has been said that the Administrator's Council is the embryo cabinet of this Administration and a cabinet, I believe, makes the decisions on matters of broad policy . . . We have another body, the executive, to give the detailed planning of policy, but I am by no means certain—and I have made enquiries—on what level the Central Policy and Planning Committee is. Is it equal to the embryo cabinet, is it above it, or is it the executive body of the cabinet? (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 216).

The urgent need for unity and the creation of such unifying symbols as a common name and a flag were again brought up by John Guise and strongly supported by Barry Holloway. Guise recommended the appointment of a Select Committee to look into the matter. He also emphasized the need for a radio programme with news items about Papua-New Guinea directed to South-east Asia in the languages of that area:

I believe that today in this world, of which Papua and New Guinea is a part of it whether we like it or not, the battle for the minds of the people is on. I feel that it is of paramount importance to present Papua and New Guinea to these people (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 153).

Percy Chatterton picked up the suggestion advanced by Downs in the first meeting of the House of 'a permanent association with the Australian Commonwealth'. Chatterton felt that until the details and implications of such an association were spelled out it would be unfair to ask either the Members of the House or the people of Papua-New Guinea to make up their minds about it:

Nothing would be more disastrous than that the people of this Territory should ask for a permanent association with Australia and either be rebuffed or offered an association with a status inferior to that which they had anticipated receiving (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 185).

John Stuntz, in an obvious reference to the comments of recent visitors to the Territory, proceeded to give the House an 'Inside Africa' story to show Members that 'independence and freedom are not synonymous' (*ibid.*).

The discussion on self-government led to an attack by Chatterton on the Territory's legal system and its complexity. The attack was motivated by sincere doubts as to the applicability of the system for a future self-governing state of Papua-New Guinea and his stand was predictable from his previous statements on the subject. In his campaign speeches, for example, he had served notice that, if elected, he would vote against any Bill he did not understand (see p. 364). He also had responded to a letter to the editor by Dr Gunther (in which the latter had taken exception to several statements in a *South Pacific Post* editorial with the catchy title of '“Standing Orders” Falling Down'). In disagreeing with Dr Gunther,

Chatterton noted that several provisions of the Standing Orders had not been adhered to in the first meeting of the House and suggested that in such circumstances Members 'might just as well have some simpler Standing Orders to brush aside' (*S.P.P.*, 30 June 1964).

In the House, Chatterton made a frontal attack on the whole issue of legal obscurantism and questioned the applicability of the present legal system to Papuan-New Guinean conditions:

This is a system which has grown up over the centuries as a bulwark of freedom and justice in our homelands. It is a part of the British tradition. One is obliged to ask however: Is this system really transplantable to a soil so alien as that of Papua-New Guinea? And, more specifically: Is there any sign that this system has been or is being acclimatized and assimilated here? (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 151).

In his forty years in the Territory, Chatterton had seen some adaptation to local conditions by such institutions as co-operative societies, Local Government Councils, and the London Missionary Society which had become a self-governing Church, the Papua Ekalesia. But he had seen no sign of acclimatization of the legal system:

In 1924 when I first went to Hanuabada, it was spoken of in the Motu villages as 'tau kuorkuro edia taravatu' (the white man's law), or sometimes as 'nao taudia edia taravatu' (the foreigner's law). In 1964 it is still so spoken of and so thought of by the vast majority of Papuans. They are confused and exasperated by its complexities and often angered by its dilatoriness (*ibid.*, pp. 151-2).

Noting that there were at present very few, if any, Papuan-New Guineans who could understand the kind of English in which the laws were written and not a single person who had the command of English required of local lawyers, magistrates and judges, Chatterton saw no hope that such men would be available in any number 'in the short time still left to us to prepare this Territory for self-government' (*ibid.*, p. 152). Lacking in both linguistic and intellectual resources and the financial capacity to maintain the system, there was an inherent danger that a self-governing Papua-New Guinea 'may throw out the baby with the bath-water'. The cure for this situation, according to Chatterton, was 'to write and enact laws in plain English' and to devise a simpler and cheaper system for enforcing and administering them.

Chatterton's comments received strong support from Zurecnuoc—one of the best-educated among the New Guineans. Quite clearly not speaking as an Under-secretary, Zurecnuoc said:

We should not have to have these laws just because the British people have them or because the Australian people have them. We must have laws here that the people understand and follow. All my constituents think this way . . .

The Standing Orders of this House are like the laws of this Territory and I do not understand these either. I think that we need a new set of Standing Orders suitable for Papua and New Guinea. The ones that we have now are too difficult to follow. Our people do not think in the

same way as Europeans do. I live among you and I understand what you are doing, but when I try to explain it to my people they do not understand because it is too difficult (*ibid.*).

Three days later, the Secretary for Law, W. W. Watkins, asked leave of the House to make a statement 'explaining the legal system' in the Territory following certain criticisms of it, including 'the supposed need' for simplifying its language and the prediction that some future government 'would discard the present legal system' (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 195). Watkins noted that experience had been universal that 'phrases which have all the appearance of simplicity inevitably lead to ambiguity and confusion'. A 'golden rule in draftsmanship', therefore, was that clauses had to be written not only in such a way that they could be understood 'by the well-intentioned' but could not be 'misunderstood by the ill-intentioned'. This meant, in Watkins' words, that a draftsman 'must go to great lengths to achieve exactness and precision in meaning' (*ibid.*, pp. 195-6). And he continued:

Simplicity of expression is . . . valuable only when it also implies unambiguity. Speaking generally it is my regretful conclusion that any attempt to convert our laws into language which is apparently more simple than the language in which it is presently expressed, would have the very effect which Mr. Chatterton, in common with legal draftsmen would seek to avoid—that is a multiplication of argument in the Courts (*ibid.*, p. 196).

Watkins concluded by commenting that a dictatorship 'with summary trials and no appeals and which had no regard for precedent' would be the simplest alternative to Chatterton's suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 197).

Generally speaking, Watkins admirably presented the basic rights which were an integral part of the legal system and, in his opinion, had become interwoven with the fabric of society. However, he completely missed Chatterton's basic point about the complexity and dilatoriness of the legal system, and its failure to take into consideration the indigenous method of resolving problems as they occur.

In matters of education, Simogen expressed the need for more technical schools because 'we do not want a great tribe of clerks' (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 152), and Lepani Watson stressed the need for the establishment of junior high schools on a District basis. Matthias Toliman—supporting a previous plea from his New Britain colleague, Koriam Urekit, in the Budget debate—was concerned about eradicating vestiges of primitiveness and begged the House to take steps to bridle 'the barbarous custom of child brides' among the Kol tribe in the hinterland of New Britain's Jacquinot Bay (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 311).

In the context of developing the economic resources of the Territory and cutting down on unnecessary spending, Downs again brought up the matter of a pioneer industry and attacked the monopolistic position of the Territory's two major airlines and their recent rise in air fares. But his suggestion that self-employed persons were entitled to take holidays and that the £400 income tax deduction for life insurance was not 'nearly sufficient', might have startled his indigenous Highland constituents (*ibid.*,

p. 310). Simogen urged the need for levying a small charge for hospital expenses because at the attainment of self-government 'we cannot expect to receive all these services for nothing' (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 194).

A discussion of the problem of available land resources and land tenure was raised first by Ian Downs. In answering questions directed to him by Downs the Director of Agriculture had stated that the Territory had an estimated 5 million acres of undeveloped land with good potential, another 12 million acres with some sort of potential, and that about 40 per cent of the land which had been alienated had not been put into production (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, pp. 149-50). Making use of this information, Downs noted that the Native Land Tenure Conversion legislation permitted the Administration to purchase land for resettlement schemes but that progress in this field had been too slow. As for the unused portions of alienated land Downs suggested an amendment to the Land Ordinance which 'would make it mandatory for lessees to use their land, or else lose the land to those who want it' (*ibid.*, p. 150). Suguman Matibiri was to note later (in the Budget debate) that much land in the Madang area had been sold during the period of the German Administration and was now held by companies and missions. He felt that considering the shortage of land some of the undeveloped land should be given back to the people (*H.A.D.*, 7 September 1964, p. 234).

Both John Guise and Lepani Watson cautiously supported Downs's comments. Guise was sure that every elected Member was doing 'his utmost to tell his people' about making use of their land (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 153). The main bottleneck in the land settlement scheme in his estimation was the small amount of money made available to Papuan-New Guinean settlers and he suggested a sum of about £6,000. Lepani Watson felt that the people should be made to realize that their land could be sold to the Administration or used in some other way, but he added significantly that it was no good selling land 'to somebody who is not going to stay in the country and who will take everything with him when the time comes' (*ibid.*, p. 154). Lepani was also convinced that the land could be worked communally; it was most important, therefore, that Papuan-New Guineans 'register with the Division of Co-operatives'. Frank Martin commented that many New Guineans in the Sepik District were dissatisfied with the existing system as it did not permit them to lease a piece of land 'without the Government stepping in and either buying it or putting it up for tender' (*ibid.*). Applicants for settlements also had to wait too long before their requests were approved. Graham Gilmore supported Guise's proposal on increasing loans for land development but argued that such a scheme should be extended 'to all races within the Territory—land owners or land holders' (*ibid.*). Ron Neville commented that the Director of Agriculture, in answer to a question by Downs, had admitted that the present land tenure system was not conducive to cash cropping, but had failed to advance a solution. Neville's suggestion for putting into production 'vast tracts of good but unused native land' was:

Firstly, we could put a tax on all unused land . . . Such land could then be taken up and worked by someone of any colour, creed or race who was capable of making a go of such land. Conversely or in conjunction . . . I would suggest to the Administration that the existing Land Ordinance be amended to permit, in certain instances, the leasing of land from the current native owners to other people . . .

INTERJECTION—Hear, hear!

. . . both indigenes and expatriates and that this be embodied in a firm land policy. Such leases could be on either a short or a long term basis according to the wishes of the lessee and how he proposed to use the lease (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 192).

Neville's proposals were welcomed by Simogen. Edric Eupu, Under-secretary for Lands, in the subsequent Budget debate, spoke about the need for more land being freed for roads, schools and hospitals. Eupu also desired that more blocks of land should be made available to the Lands Department for settlement blocks and supported the idea of both larger blocks and bigger loans for Papuan-New Guineans (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, pp. 278-9). In private discussion, however, some of the indigenous Members expressed alarm at Neville's proposals, recalling that one of their campaign promises had been that 'No one will touch our land rights'.

An official statement about the new Public Service Ordinance—to go into effect about two weeks later—was released on the day before the second meeting of the House (*S.P.P.*, 1 September 1964). The announcement said that the Ordinance would provide for the reorganization of the service, establish different rates of pay for 'local' and 'overseas' officers with the object of relating salaries 'to the economy of the Territory', and facilitate the development of a service 'predominantly staffed by indigenous officers'. The latter were to receive 'generous sick leave, annual leave, furlough and retirement benefits'. There were no details of actual salary rates.

Apart from a reference to the matter by the Treasurer in his Budget address, only two Members commented on the official statement. Don Barrett welcomed the announcement although he admitted that there would be 'some comment and perhaps some heart burning, even if there is no real discontent' when the salary scales were announced. He found the Administrator's comment that it would be bad for the government and the community if public servants were to be more highly privileged persons than other citizens 'heartening' and indicative of 'a reversal of attitude' (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 186). Gaudi Mirau, however, expressed concern lest too great a salary difference between expatriate and indigenous officers lead to 'much dissatisfaction' (*ibid.*, pp. 188-9).

When the Budget debate extended longer than had been expected and the morning session of 10 September was suspended as a mark of respect on the death of the Speaker's wife, the full content of the Ordinance became public during the closing hours of the second meeting. The Ordinance did not affect wages and salaries of Papuan-New Guineans already in the public service but drastically cut salaries of future entrants.

The salary scales also showed a marked contrast between 'overseas personnel' and indigenous personnel. Most directly affected were those Papuan-New Guineans receiving educational training at that time. On the morning of 10 September some 150 Teachers' College students marched to Konedobu, the administrative heart of Port Moresby, where they were met by the Public Service Commissioner, G. D. S. Somers, and the Director of Education, L. W. Johnson. John Guise, Matthias Toliman, and Lepani Watson subsequently had discussions with the students at the Teachers' College; only Guise displayed an ability to handle this novel situation. It was Guise's decision that the most appropriate step was to take the students' grievances to the House of Assembly's 'embryo cabinet', the Administrator's Council. Returning to the House which was sitting at the time, Guise informed both Ian Downs and Dr Gunther that he requested an urgent meeting of the Administrator's Council. Physical and mental exhaustion, shortage of time to consult and explain the matter to the House Members, and a belief by the Chairman of the Elected Members that the Administrator's Council was a more appropriate body to act on the matter than the House of Assembly, led to the odd situation in which the House did not discuss the matter. Some Members admitted subsequently that the House may well have missed an important opportunity to bring 'Parliament down to the people'.

Questions and Bills

The number of Questions on the Notice Paper increased significantly in the second meeting—over 220 were listed as compared with 79 in the first meeting of the House. Papuan-New Guinean participation, moreover, showed a notable and encouraging increase with thirty Members raising almost half of the Questions. Highland and New Guinea Coastal Members contributed their share—twenty Members asked seventy-five Questions. Much of this change is due to the assiduous assistance given to Members by D. M. Blake, the Principal Parliamentary Officer seconded from Canberra, and by some of the elected Members such as Barry Holloway.

Expatriate and indigenous Members still asked different sorts of Questions. The greater number of the Questions raised by the former fall in the category of asking for information, while most of the Papuan-New Guinean Members asked Questions pressing for action. The division between general (Territory-wide) Questions and constituency Questions is about even, but again here indigenous Members generally asked constituency questions and expatriate Members mainly Territory-wide Questions.

Possibly the most notable change from the first meeting of the House was that immediate use was made of the answers to Questions in the Budget and adjournment debates. John Pasquarelli's Questions about the 'total declared value of trade goods imported by Christian Missions during the financial year 1962-63' (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 123) and the 'total number of indigenes employed by the various Christian Missions in their various commercial enterprises' (*ibid.*, p. 124) clearly

tied in with his subsequent speech on the tax-exempt status of the missions. Ian Downs's Questions about land tenure and the use made of leased land (see p. 493) provided him with information in his speeches on the subject.

The principal Bill presented at the second meeting was the Appropriation Bill and the debate concerning it has already been discussed. In addition, nineteen other Bills were introduced, most of which dealt with minor matters and amended existing legislation. The second reading of three Bills was adjourned. In the case of the Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary Bill, the Secretary for Law, W. W. Watkins, declared in answer to a Question on the Notice Paper from Roy Ashton that the Administration would not take the Bill further than first reading and would make copies available for study to the newly formed Police Association and other interested parties (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, pp. 172-3). The debate on the Liquor (Licensing) Bill (no. 2), a Private Member's Bill introduced by Don Barrett, was adjourned for similar reasons. The Bill was expressive of the concern, notably in the Gazelle Peninsula, about the numerous stores holding liquor licences and the intent of the Bill was to set up District Advisory Committees to control and regulate the number of licences. A small number of questions about the Bill were raised. Downs wondered whether the Advisory Committee would duplicate the work of the Licensing Commissioner; Stuntz asked whether Barrett also intended the Advisory Committee to have power over the location of licences within the District. Neville wondered whether the mover of the Bill thought that restricting the number of licences would limit actual liquor consumption; John Guise inquired what the Administration thought about the Bill; and Lepani Watson asked whether the Committee was supposed 'to get a wider understanding of a district's problem from the people themselves' or whether it was just there to advise the Liquor Licensing Commission (*H.A.D.*, 9 September 1964, p. 289).

Practically all other Bills passed through all readings in the session. Five Bills—the Treasury Bill, the Bread Ordinance (Papua) Repeal Ordinance, the Sale of Bread (New Guinea) Repeal Bill, the Loan (Works, Services and Electricity) Bill, and the Income Tax Bill—received no comment from the elected Members. Seven other Bills received only a comment from either Downs, Stuntz, or Barrett. In the discussion on the Tariff Bill, Downs asked the Director of Trade and Industry, G. D. Cannon, whether some of the tariff protections suggested really would provide the Territory with 'new and substantial industries' and he suggested that the Department 'use intelligence' in developing factories to use local material (*H.A.D.*, 1 September 1964, p. 146). The Excise Tariff Bill led to a further exchange between Downs and Cannon in which the former elaborated on the subject of establishing industries using local materials.

The Papua and New Guinea Harbours Board Bill merely prompted Stuntz to ask when the ordinance would be put into effect and when the Board would be operative. The Jury Ordinances (Repeal) Bill—repealing

the old jury system considered discriminatory since it allowed for a jury only in cases of persons of European descent—received a comment from Downs, who hoped that the jury system would be re-introduced in four or five years time for ‘all people in all court cases’ (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 176). The Motor Traffic Bill, intended to remove certain discriminatory clauses from the existing ordinance, led Barrett to request consolidation of the legislation in a fresh ordinance as the existing one with all the amendments looked ‘like a schoolchild’s scrapbook’ (*ibid.*, p. 178). On the Superannuation (Papua and New Guinea) Bill, amending existing legislation, Stuntz asked about a temporary employee’s eligibility to contribute. The Administrator’s Powers Bill (somewhat belatedly) repealed legislation enacted in 1923 ‘as a stopgap measure’ pending the establishment of a Legislative Council in the Territory (*H.A.D.*, 4 September 1964, p. 205).

The report of the Select Committee on Parliamentary Powers and Privileges was presented by its chairman, Barry Holloway, on 9 September. The report stated that the Committee—in contrast with the procedure of the British House of Commons—was of the opinion that alleged breaches of privilege ‘should be determined by a court of competent jurisdiction’ and that the House ‘should not be the judge in its own cause’. Another innovation was the recommendation that interpreters ‘should be protected by an appropriate amendment’ while at the same time being ‘subject to the rules relating to contempt’ and required to take an interpreter’s oath (*Report S.C. on P.P. and P. 1964*, pp. 3-4).

In the ensuing discussion, Downs, speaking in Neo-Melanesian, emphasized that privileges should not be abused; that they were intended to help Members in their work and not to help them do ‘something which is wrong’ (*H.A.D.*, 10 September 1964, p. 316). Several other Members took the opportunity to discuss the work of the interpreters (see pp. 455-6). The Secretary for Law, Watkins, then presented the Parliamentary Powers and Privileges Bill (no. 2) which replaced the bill introduced in the June sitting. It quickly passed through all stages.

The three remaining Bills, all involving a somewhat greater Member participation, were the Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies Bill, the Slaughtering Bill, and the Restaurant (Licensing) Bill. The Fluoridation Bill might have been passed quickly through all readings if there had not been a growing reaction against the pushing through of Bills and the failure on the part of the government to circulate Bills in time for Members to discuss them among themselves or their constituents. There was also the feeling that opposition to a Bill would show the government that they could not have it their way all the time. In the meeting among elected Members, Downs had favoured taking a stand against the Jury Bill. This, however, did not meet with approval and the Bill chosen for opposition was the Fluoridation Bill. John Guise and Matthias Toliman informed Dr Gunther that there was opposition to the Bill and wondered whether he would be willing to adjourn it for the next meeting of the House. The Fluoridation Bill, however, was one of Dr Gunther’s pet projects and he declined. Members were further annoyed when they heard that Percy

Chatterton had been visited by a dentist who tried to enlighten him on the merits of fluoridation.

On 3 September the Fluoridation Bill was introduced with Dr Gunther moving the second reading. The Leader of the House spoke both eloquently and persuasively. But his concluding comments about those who questioned the usefulness of fluoridation—‘a very small number of honest people . . . the cranks who oppose everything that interferes with their own way of living . . . those who suffer from mental aberrations and are, in fact, mentally unstable . . . Finally . . . people who think that they read in the Bible that it is wrong to interfere with nature’ (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, pp. 181-2)—seemed out of keeping with the level of his exposition. Bill Bloomfield admitted that the senior official Member had presented ‘a very strong case’ but went on to say:

The elected members here believe that too many Bills that are not fully understood are being passed and there is a very strong feeling amongst the elected members that more time should be given to the consideration of these Bills (*ibid.*, p. 182).

The only elected Member to rally in defence of the Bill was Dirona Abe, speaking in English, and obviously as Under-secretary for Health:

Mr. Speaker, members will want to know if fluoridation is safe, if it is effective, if it is expensive, if it adversely affects any industrial processes, and, finally, if it is introduced in a Territory centre, whether the principles generally will apply (*ibid.*, p. 183).

Debate on the Bill was adjourned on a motion by Percy Chatterton.

Another Bill which aroused some discussion was the Slaughtering Bill which was to control and regulate the slaughtering of cattle and pigs for sale and human consumption and to provide for the establishment of abattoirs. The Bill had been tabled at the end of the first meeting of the House to enable producers to examine its provisions and, as a result, a number of amendments had been incorporated. The Administration announced on the first day of the second meeting that it was withdrawing the Bill temporarily and would enter amendments exempting pigs from coverage by the legislation following privately expressed concern by some Members that the Bill ‘may interfere with customary trade of pig meats in the villages’ (*H.A.D.*, 10 September 1964, p. 317).

In its new form the Bill was welcomed by all Members and caused only minor comment on established themes. Some of the indigenous Members spoke about the importance of pigs in native life; Stuntz regretted the bureaucratic approach which compelled cattle producers to use the abattoirs; Downs hoped that some time in the future Papuan-New Guineans would enter the meat industry on a large scale; Chatterton thought that the Bill clearly showed the desirability of giving ample time and consideration to all Bills which were not ‘perfectly simple and straightforward’ (*ibid.*, p. 320). In committee, the Director for Agriculture moved for the adoption of some twenty-nine amendments and the insertion of one new clause and the Bill was then agreed to and read a third time.

The Restaurant (Licensing) Bill, making minor amendments in the

TABLE 8 Summary of House Participation, Second Meeting

Elected Members	Toliman Resolution		Budget Debate		Adjournment Debate*		Bills (incl. 'Reports')						Total		Questions	
	Lgth.	Memb.	Lgth.	Memb.	Lgth.	Memb.	Mover		Comments		Amendments		Lgth.	Memb.	No.	Memb.
							No.	Memb.	No.	Memb.	No.	Memb.				
Special Members (9)	1380	3	17065	9	11750	8	1	1	23	6	1	1	4665	9	82	8
Australian			6890	5	2410	4	1	1	3	3			790	5	27	4
'Open' Members (6)	1380	3	23955	14	14160	12	2	2	26	9	1	1	5455	14	109	12
Total (15)																
Papua Coastal (7)	975	4	5040	7	2930	4			4	2			590	7	24	7
N. G. Islands (6)	1440	6	2460	5	1835	3			4	3			150	6	6	3
N. G. Coastal (11)	1650	9	4160	11	3460	8			2	1			160	6	41	9
Highlands (14)	1160	6	3930	12	2350	9			4	3			329	14	34	11
Total (38)	5225	25	15590	35	10575	24			14	9			1223	38	105	30
Grand Total Elected Members (53)	6605	28	39545	49	24735	36	3	3	40	18	1	1	6680	52	214	42
Official Members			27780	10	5400	4	6	6	4	3	31	2	12402	10	45582	

* Incl. a small number of miscellaneous items. Watkins's two 'Special statements' (2,840 words), for example, have been put under participation in the Adjournment debate.

principal ordinance, brought about the first formal voting in the House. The culprit was Percy Chatterton, who requested that in the provision stating that a person in a restaurant where food was being prepared 'shall not chew or have in his possession betel nut, chew tobacco, smoke or expectorate', the phrase 'or a substance commonly known as chewing gum' be added after the word 'tobacco' (*H.A.D.*, 3 September 1964, p. 176). From a non-Australian viewpoint the amendment certainly seemed good sense as Paul Lapun was quick to note. But Downs and Stuntz opposed the amendment and Guise begged Chatterton 'very graciously to withdraw his amendment because where will it end?' (*ibid.*, p. 177). Chatterton, however, commented that he ended with chewing gum and saw no need to withdraw his amendment. When the matter was brought to a voice vote Chairman of Committees, J. K. McCarthy, ruled that the 'Noes' had it but his ruling was challenged by Chatterton and the House proceeded to vote (under S.O. 170) by show of hands. The resulting 31-31 tie was broken by McCarthy's casting vote and the amendment was defeated. The petty incident, nevertheless, gave the House useful experience. The confusion caused by the 'show of hands' voting method indicated, moreover, that the House could well gain from adopting a more dignified system.

Quantitative Participation in the House Proceedings—Second Meeting

The contribution of all Members at the second meeting totals about 123,000 words. Official Member participation—limited mainly to the Budget debate and discussion on Bills—is greater than in the first meeting of the House, reaching about 37 per cent (see Table 8). Among the elected Members, the nine Special Electorate Members talked more than their thirty-eight Papuan-New Guinean colleagues, with the latter lagging in the adjournment debate and especially in the Budget debate and the discussion on Bills; only in the debate on the Toliman resolution do the Papuan-New Guinean Members hold a marked lead.

The main participants in the Budget debate were Newman, McCarthy, Cannon, Henderson, and Johnson among the official Members, and Downs, Stuntz, Neville, and Holloway among the elected Members. Participation of these nine Members is more than double that of the Papuan-New Guinean Members and almost equals that of all Members. The Leader of the House, Dr Gunther, spoke exclusively on Bills—apart from brief answers to a couple of questions in the Budget debate. The only amendment moved by an elected Member was Chatterton's chewing gum amendment.

Significantly more Papuan-New Guinean Members participated in the discussion on Bills, including the committee stage of the Appropriation Bill, compared with the first meeting of the House. This is due mainly to very general comments made on the Slaughtering and Restaurant (Licensing) Bills and the Report of the Select Committee on Parliamentary Powers and Privileges. Even including Dirona Abe's statement as an Under-secretary on the Fluoridation Bill, contributions by Papuan-New Guineans account for less than 6 per cent of the total and just over

TABLE 9 Quantitative Contribution by Elected Members, Second Meeting

Approx. no. of words	Papua Coastal (7)	N. Guinea Islands (6)	N. Guinea Coastal (11)	Highlands (14)	Special Members (9)	Australian Open (6)
Over 9000					Downs	
5001-6000					Neville	
4001-5000					Barrett, Stuntz	Holloway
3001-4000	Guise				Chatterton	
2501-3000	Abe		Simogen			
2001-2500						
1501-2000		Lapun				Pople
1001-1500	Watson	Brokam, Toliman	Umut, Zurecnuoc	Abal, Giregire, Tiaba, Wauwe	Ashton, Gilmore, Martin	Bloomfield, Tetley
501-1000	Eupu, Karava	Maloat	Kenu, Mirau, Pasom	Biritu, Diria, Kurondo	Grose	Pasquarelli
251- 500	Tabua	Manlel, Urekit	Lus, Matabiri, Mo, Tamindei Meanggarum	Melo, Pangial		
101- 250				Iuri, Mano, Siune, Warebu Iangalo		
Below 50	Rarupu					Levy

15 per cent if the official Members are excluded. A notable improvement over the first meeting was made in the number of Questions placed on the Notice Paper and the number of Papuan-New Guinean Members asking them.

Downs came into his own in the second meeting, leading all elected Members in the Budget and adjournment debates, the discussion on Bills, and the number of Questions on the notice paper. Table 9 indicates his leading position and the substantial contribution made by several of the other Special Electorate Members and a couple of expatriate Open Electorate Members. Among the Papuan-New Guinean Members, the position of Guise and Abe among the Papua Coastal and Simogen among the New Guinea Coastal Members stands out. Equally important is the fact that sixteen of the Papuan-New Guinean Members made only minor quantitative contributions to the debate.

Epilogue

The establishment of the House of Assembly was a leap into the dark. It is not the lack of Member participation which is astonishing but the remarkable adaptation to novel conditions and situations which several of the Members have displayed. Given opportunities in the past, some of these Members by now could have been outstanding leaders. Impressive too is the poise with which illiterate men are able to drive home a succession of demands and suggestions without the assistance of written notes.

Nevertheless, close observation of the House proceedings and of the written record tends to fill one with dismay. Universal adult suffrage may possibly have been a political necessity, but one must question the appropriateness of not requiring any literacy requirements for the candidates, given the apparent inclination of the Australian Administration to establish a parliamentary body on the Australian model. Even with literacy qualifications, Papuan-New Guinean Members would have been challenged in following the proceedings of the House and in reading and understanding agenda papers, Bills, and documents. The most distinguished analyst of parliamentary government has commented that a 'mere handful of illiterates in the legislature is not likely to obstruct government' (Jennings 1956: 124). But it is quite different when the handful becomes a flock. Wider publicity of the needs and demands of the House might well result in a greater number of literate candidates at the next election.

The lack of formal education of most of the indigenous Members has another important consequence. The Australian Administration has long emphasized the parochial aspects of the Territory and its complete fragmentation. Having established an elected Parliament on the basis of universal franchise, parochialism has come to roost on the benches of the House of Assembly. To urge all Members to look at the Territory as a whole seems futile at the present time. Constituency demands by Papuan-New Guinean Members dominated the debate in the first two meetings of the House and are likely to remain pronounced in subse-

quent meetings. Generally speaking, men with a broader, Territorial outlook are those with higher formal education. Such men are few in number in the House and even they are faced with having been elected on the basis of parochial expectations on the part of their electors.

This difficult situation is aggravated by the fact that the Administration has relied on procedures and actions which are totally unfamiliar to most of the elected Members. Although the 'quantity of ancient junk' in parliamentary procedure (Hanson 1964: 286) may not bother British or Australian parliamentarians, it seems slightly absurd to present it as priceless gems representing the crux of representative government to a body of men so dissimilar in background and training. The traditional way of reaching decisions in the Territory may appear too slow, cumbersome, and inefficient to colonial administrators but parliamentary procedure will have to take some cognizance of the traditional environment, the more so since most of the Members are completely baffled by its complexity. Bougainville's Paul Lapun, whose standard of formal education is amongst the highest of the indigenous Members, has this to say on the subject:

I would like everything that is said to be made very clear to all members. If there is a law or a Bill before us, it must be clearly explained so that all the members will be able to understand. Some people are more clever than others and we do not all understand as much as we would like to. Some people need to have things repeated to them before they grasp the idea . . . The government members should learn the *lingua franca* of the country for if they could speak Pidgin or Motu, it would also be of great assistance to us . . . Notice should be taken of what I am saying because it will help to broaden the understanding of all the people here and the House will benefit as a result. *Native members often ask each other outside the House: 'What were they talking about? What was going on?' They are not clear about many things that happen here* and so I say that one of the first things that should be given attention is the problem of seeing that all members understand everything that takes place here in this House of Assembly (*H.A.D.*, 8 September 1964, p. 271. Emphasis added).

The language problem in the House remains a vexing one. All Highland Members and almost all of the New Guinea Coastal and Islands Members have addressed the House exclusively in Neo-Melanesian; several of the Papua Coastal Members have talked exclusively in Police Motu. The Administration has strongly encouraged the few indigenous English-speaking Members to use English in preference to either Neo-Melanesian or Motu. At the same time not one official Member addressed the House in any indigenous *lingua franca* during the first two meetings.

The appointment of the Under-secretaries may give a selected number of Papuan-New Guinean Members valuable experience although much will depend on the tact and initiative of the official Members. For the rank and file, service on the various committees of the House could have provided practical experience of considerable importance. It is surprising, therefore, to see the poor representation of indigenous Members on

these bodies. There also is the question of the appropriateness of the particular committee for the Member concerned. Paliau Maloat, for example, declined membership on the Libraries Committee but might have accepted a full position on the Standing Committee on Public Works. (He did become a deputy.)

With its elected majority and membership in the Administrator's Council, the House of Assembly is well beyond being a 'half-way House'. But Members will soon realize that they are unable to decide policy. In situations like these much depends on personalities. Even if the executive positions are filled by men 'of exceptional qualities' and there is 'general good-will and readiness to co-operate in matters of policy' a clash about policy execution will become inevitable (Jeffries 1961: 50). In providing leadership, the official Members have been willing to take a back seat. Good sense was further shown in accommodating to indigenous Members' fears about the provisions of the Slaughtering Bill and in agreeing to the adjournment of the Constabulary Bill. But in the case of the Fluoridation Bill, the Leader of the House showed considerable stubbornness, and a tug-of-war still continues between the Speaker and the Leader of the House about the proper status of the Translation Service. Tact, personal warmth, and good humour seem essential qualifications for government Members in an assembly divided into official and elected Members. They become crucial when such a division coincides with marked differences in 'race', culture, and formal training. From the author's observation several of the official Members have not expressed these characteristics in the quantity demanded by the unusual situation.

On the basis of the foregoing account and the considerable amount of 'retooling' and 'destooling' of parliamentary institutions in newly independent states with far longer parliamentary experience and what appeared to be more favourable conditions than Papua-New Guinea, it would behove the Administration and the official Members in particular to sit down with Papuan-New Guinean Members and discuss possible ways and means by which the institution as it exists at present can be adapted to the needs of the Members and the Territory.

Conclusions

The Select Committee on Political Development was ill-equipped to plan a major constitutional reform of the Territory, and several of its recommendations reflect an unfamiliarity with the experiences of other developing countries defensible only if the uniqueness of New Guinea is accepted. The Administration has tried to be attentive to indigenous opinion, and the work of the Select Committee was in keeping with this practice. However, the absence of spontaneous indigenous organizations with definite political programmes, and of Administration planning machinery equipped with varied experience of colonial problems, meant that many decisions were taken haphazardly on an *ad hoc* basis.

The prevailing features of the Administration's preparations for the elections were anxiety and somewhat belated haste (p. 53). Accustomed to high voter turn-outs in Australia under compulsory voting, the Administration was particularly concerned about the non-compulsory voting aspect and its main effort was to get out the vote. Most of its activity in the months preceding the election was focused upon compiling the Common Roll (a task not anticipated until 1967), and introducing the electors to the complexities of a preferential voting system. 'Uniform development', which in essence may have been mainly an attempt to bring the whole of the Territory under administrative control, did not mean that all areas were equally prepared for the elections. Co-operatives and Local Government Councils in the more accessible parts of the Territory had begun to broaden the outlook of some people beyond the immediate confines of their own villages, but their interests remained confined to quite small areas, rarely larger than a Census Division. Most of the Territory's population remained unfamiliar with any concept of central government which was seen only in the person of the *kiap*. No common language or Territory-wide sense of community existed to make elections for a national legislature meaningful. Australian paternalism was accepted because the need for Australian guidance and financial support was generally admitted.

Given the novelty of the elections, and the absence of indigenous leadership equipped to organize intensive campaigns, the planning and conduct of the elections remained the exclusive responsibility of the Administration. This it sought to discharge by ensuring, first, that the elections were not a disgraceful farce because of non-voting—as had been the case with the expatriate electorate in the past (Hughes 1959 : 227)—and second, that they would be conducted according to Western notions

of impartiality. Inevitably the electoral education campaign was conceived narrowly. When field reports shortly before the start of polling indicated the widespread existence of misconceptions about the role of the new House of Assembly and its Members and of rumours about the imminent departure of Australians from the Territory, emergency measures were belatedly taken to refute them and thus, accidentally, to advance positive political views about the elections (pp. 66-9).

The Administration had few preconceived ideas about the sort of candidate who would come forward or be elected. A few men had been selected for visits to Port Moresby to observe the Fifth Legislative Council in action, and others had been taken to Australia where they visited the Commonwealth Parliament. However, no attempt was made to induce these men, who should have some notion of legislative institutions, to stand, nor to provide any instruction in campaigning or legislative duties for those who did. The Electoral Ordinance imposed no real restriction on who might stand, the £25 deposit being an accidental accretion from Australian electoral law. Neither did the Administration believe it proper to do anything to suggest standards by which unsophisticated electors might assess the relative merits of candidates for holding a seat in the House of Assembly. The result of this *laissez-faire* approach expressed itself in the educational qualifications and occupational background of the candidates (pp. 390-401). This does not mean, however, that local officials in all instances did or could adhere to this policy of non-involvement. Potential candidates were talked out of standing because their candidacy would split the local vote (p. 186), or their chances of success were considered hopeless (p. 381). Candidates were also strongly encouraged (p. 97), told (p. 158), and pressed (pp. 222-3) to stand for local representation, and others persuaded against withdrawing their nomination (p. 164). In one instance an attempt to limit the number of candidates backfired when it interrupted the electors' own pre-selection discussions, and left a larger number of candidates standing (pp. 133-41).

The electors' task was aggravated by the excessive use of new political terms introduced in virtually untranslated form (pp. 226-7, 245, 273). This reflects the Administration's conviction that neither Neo-Melanesian nor Police Motu are adequate media of expression and its apparent inability to provide sufficient political and electoral information in local languages, or the more widespread 'church languages'. Preferential voting placed another burden upon electors and its introduction resulted in widespread confusion about its purpose and operation. In some instances it led to drilling in the names of candidates as a ritual (pp. 135, 274-5), and in others to the not unreasonable assumption that more than one candidate would be returned (pp. 161, 164, 175, 226; Strathern 1964). The Select Committee had endorsed preferential voting because the indigenous witnesses appeared to understand its purport and to prefer it to first-past-the-post (pp. 36, 39). However Hurrell's account of these discussions suggests that there may have been misunderstanding between Committee members and witnesses. Quite probably the witnesses felt themselves able to rank men who were known to them; the difficulty proved to be that the

electorates were so large that many candidates were unknown to electors who found the idea of ranking unknowns meaningless. The modification of the Australian requirement of an exhaustive expression of preferences resulted in considerable variations in the practices of different Returning Officers (pp. 234-5) and later to an unseemly wrangle over the validity of results (pp. 412-16). Preferential voting also necessitated the general use of assisted voting through the 'whispering ballot'. Whilst no one could question the integrity and impartiality of the polling officers, it detracts from the independence of the individual voter. A final source of confusion, even in sophisticated electorates, was the distinction between Open and Special Electorates where expatriates were permitted to stand for Open Electorates. In spite of these complications, both voter turn-out and the number of spoiled ballots were respectable. The former was due mainly to the similarity between the polling and the traditional census-taking patrols which caused some electors in the countryside to assume that the casting of votes was a compulsory exercise (pp. 400, 402). Assisted voting greatly contributed to a correct performance as far as electoral requirements were concerned. Deliberate abstentionism was rare and limited to isolated pockets of the Territory (pp. 403-4).

After the elections, the Administration arranged the Sogeri seminar to contribute to the maximum effectiveness of the new House. The decision to hold the seminar is proof of the Administration's sincerity in seeking an effective, rather than a sham, legislature. But its subsequent unwillingness to experiment with parliamentary procedures on the ground that long use must prove the worth of those currently employed in Australia and Britain is evidence of limitations of its adaptability. Lack of perceptive planning is also evident in the position of the Under-secretaries and the failure to make more effective use of the Standing Committees to increase the experience of indigenous Members (pp. 452, 454-5).

This is not to say that the Australian government or the Administration were drawn into the elections in a panic, or that they lurched from one petty crisis and improvised remedy to the next. Rather, there was a wait-and-see attitude which led to the *ad hoc* solution and rapid adjustment to changed circumstances. This can be good practical politics in Papua-New Guinea where the traditional pattern of decision-making by discussion and compromise runs counter to the long-range imaginative plan which departs from the experience of those for whom it is intended. But it can also mean that the quick decision has to be made on the basis of inadequate information. Part of the justification for the policy of gradualism was the need to permit the Papuan and New Guinean people to decide the timing and form of their ultimate political system. The latter was usually thought of as a matter of choosing some form of association with Australia, in any event with a form of internal political organization which would be based on the introduced institutions of Local Government Councils and a Legislative Council evolved into a Parliament, closely resembling Australian parliamentary democracy.

Such an expectation could be realized only if indigenous leaders emerged who were able and prepared to make such institutions work. The

1964 elections were the first real test of whether such men existed in the Territory. To be elected to the House of Assembly was to achieve an important place. Educational qualifications were needed to enter the public service or church hierarchies, and to start a cargo cult was to invite Administration hostility. For many of the candidates the House was the first avenue to non-local office. There had already emerged a new type of 'big man' who was able to cross the boundaries of small traditional societies in his activities. Some were associated with cults, others with the churches or with welfare organizations. Sometimes a consequence of being one of the new 'big men' was close association with the Administration, and further accretions of prestige from this source (p. 269). At times the association of being a *kiap's* interpreter or clerk would suffice, but not when the association merely led to 'big headism' (pp. 291, 293). In very remote areas, a knowledge of Neo-Melanesian might be sufficient to permit the manipulation of less sophisticated people (p. 271). All of these men had access to (expatriate) information and could claim that they knew what was happening in the wider world.

The defeat of a number of Administration protégés and indigenous Legislative Council Members does not contradict this. Generally speaking, their defeat was due to the nature of electoral boundaries and, at times, to the fact that they had failed to establish close contacts with the people of their electorate. The common feature of the new 'big men' was their organization and manipulation of wealth in a sphere greater than that of the local village community which enabled them to benefit from the prevalent cargo philosophy. This might be undertaken by individual entrepreneurs—Peta Simogen or Sinake Giregire as successful planters, Eriko Rarupu and Stoi Umut as store-owners, who would probably attract Administration praise as progressive leaders—so long as organization outside the approved forms was avoided and they could escape the charge of cultism. However, there was a further important ingredient: the leader had to be prepared to share his secret with the people for their benefit. (The anti-European element in cargo cults appears not because expatriates have the techniques for great wealth, but because they are thought to refuse to share it fairly with the community within which they are operating.) However, no new organizations were needed to achieve this status which involved neither election nor the support of a specially organized group of supporters. Prestige came and went, often on the basis of rumour, and self-appointed lieutenants inflated the prestige of the leader and distorted his message (p. 268; Schwartz 1957).

Up to the time of the elections the Administration had done nothing to induce party organization in the Territory, or to admit that parties are a necessary or useful adjunct to the growth of representative institutions. True, up to that time, there had been none of the growing points for party formation which the Administration, had it been so inclined, could have stimulated. Hodgkin's 'party-generating associations' (1961: 47)—ex-servicemen's associations, students' associations, old boys' societies, sports associations, tribal unions and improvement associations, youth movements and associations, and literary societies and study circles—

have been lacking or were poorly developed. In Africa these proliferated in the inter-war period and provided training in organization and ideas for the new *élites*, as well as constituting new foci of loyalty, the building blocks of popular support for the future mass parties.

In Papua-New Guinea the number of people with secondary education was pitifully small—far too few to establish groups based on shared experiences or interests. Ex-servicemen were too few and scattered—and had not served outside the Territory (probably the critical factor in other colonies in stimulating political consciousness among ex-servicemen). Workers' associations have been a feeble creation of the last few years in a few town centres, and their leaders have often been employees of the Administration or connected with co-operatives under close Administration supervision. Intra-Territorial movement has been too small and largely confined to unskilled labourers to permit the development of bodies analogous to the tribal unions of Africa, although such a loosely-knit, multi-purpose, organization as Albert Maori Kiki's Western Welfare Association was certainly one such body in embryonic form. The presence, however, of a sufficient number of Papuan clerks in New Guinea to render them conspicuous (p. 102) has produced one of the few potential bases for a 'party system'—anti-Papuan sentiment in New Guinea. Farmers' associations have taken the form of producers' co-operatives organized and sustained by Administration personnel, and whilst many of the candidates at the 1964 elections had had experience of the co-operatives, none appeared to have made political use of them, with the possible exception of one or two candidates who became more widely known through their connections with the Finschhafen Marketing and Development Society.

Probably the strongest potential for political organization lay with the churches. They alone possessed sufficient financial resources, and a sufficient number of trained indigenous personnel who not only had the linguistic skills, but also some acquaintance with creating new organizations and introducing new ideas. Unlike the Christian missions in many parts of Africa they have not had to compete with schismatic indigenous churches. However, the Administration has long been careful to oppose any suggestion for the use of church authority in secular fields, and the missions have never publicly challenged this policy. They accepted the decision to drop direct mission representation in the legislature without serious complaint. There was the abortive attempt of the Christian Committee for National Development to take an active part in the electoral education campaign and influence the selection of candidates (pp. 59-61), and a pamphlet printed by the Lutheran Mission Press at Madang understandably sought to introduce religious criteria into the election (p. 217). The churches also refrained from publicly endorsing particular candidates, although a number of expatriate and indigenous missionaries did become involved with the fortunes of some of them (pp. 186, 199-200, 204, 223, 255, 380), and mission values for personal conduct did come into issue in certain electorates.

When the elections were introduced, most of the candidates had experi-

ence in non-traditional organizations such as the churches, co-operatives, or Local Government Councils, but few had begun new organizations of their own. Stoi Umut's previous zeal in promoting social and economic development in his home area had provided him with a rudimentary 'political machine' of young men in the villages (p. 201) and Koriam's followers undertook a similar task (p. 273). A few of the most sophisticated candidates—Lepani Watson, Paulus Arek, Oala Oala-Rarua and Matthias Toliman—made use of committees, but these were either confined to absentee voters and supporters in towns outside the electorate or limited to one or two places within the electorate. Candidates possessing connections with non-traditional organizations tried to employ them; Lepani Watson is the best example from the constituency studies. With about 40 per cent of the indigenous candidates holding office in Local Government Councils, it was inevitable that some use would be made of the Councils. However, attempts to secure unofficial endorsement by the Councils rarely proved effective (pp. 348-9), and Councillors used to preside over campaign meetings of candidates who were not Councillors themselves. Certainly the solid vote of Council areas often indicated that local support had been mobilized, but it is by no means certain that the Council was used as an organization to bring this about.

The individual behaviour of the candidates provides a better indication of the political realities of the elections. Those who nominated had to overcome feelings of anxiety, partly stemming from the novelty and uncertainty surrounding the election, but also for fear of shame or loss of face by defeat, and for fear of being thought a 'big head'. Candidates were anxious to emphasize that they stood at the request of the people. Their campaigns continued in this style. The virtues of other candidates were explicitly recognized (p. 226), and if campaigning led into another candidate's home area the interloper became positively apologetic (p. 101). Even in politically sophisticated areas this style prevailed. In Rabaul, where all candidates were Tolais, a villager stated: 'We want to hear how clever a candidate is, not how bad the others are' (p. 256). Many candidates feared visiting other groups; this was partly physical fear, and partly fear of shame if they were to be badly received. Language difficulties were a barrier, but not insuperable, as the selection of second choices showed. Often candidates away from their home area were content to solicit second preferences (pp. 101, 226). Immediately after nominating, many candidates set out on extensive tours of their electorates; sometimes this was an attempt to become known to as many electors as possible, but often it was merely in obedience to the advice of electoral officers.

Previous elections for Local Government Councils had shown that pre-selection of candidates was a common phenomenon and the formal act of voting merely served to express community consensus. The 1964 election results confirmed this. Pre-selection enabled voters to go confidently before the Presiding Officer and rattle off a series of preferences which the village had been rehearsing in the period preceding the poll. An explanation was provided in one Gadsup village:

It's no good if every man votes differently and then something goes wrong with the voting; we could be blamed by the government and by other people in this village for voting differently. If we vote alike, we will know, but if we all vote differently we will never know the trouble. We must be together as we always have been in the past (Leininger 1964 : 207).

A number of candidates, aware of deep divisions within their electorates, thought in terms of a team—an expatriate candidate and a local one to serve as an understudy, or a local candidate with an expatriate adviser (pp. 174-5; Strathern 1964; Leininger 1964), or one mountain and one coastal candidate (p. 226).

The parochial interests of most electors posed a special problem for those candidates who had acquired a Territory-wide outlook. Advent Tarosi, for example, held the persistent demand for roads and air-strips to be unrealistic, and declined to raise false hopes, but in Rai Coast he was at a definite disadvantage against a candidate who could convince the electors that he held the key to the European's wealth (pp. 208-9). In Milne Bay and Esa'ala-Losuia John Guise and Lepani Watson, who had both lived in Port Moresby for a number of years, deliberately and quite naturally emphasized their humbleness and closeness to the common people by laying great stress on informal meetings, eating and sleeping in the villages, and wearing traditional dress. In traditional society gifts had created obligations and demonstrated individual capacity for leadership; in the elections such evidence of status had to be replaced by the personal visit and some indication of effectiveness, and the candidate who campaigned widely improved his chances (Brandewie 1964 : 212-13).

Whilst the great majority of candidates adapted their campaigns to the traditionally modest role of the leader with which they were well familiar, they were quite uncertain of their prospective roles in the House of Assembly. In chapter 18 some biographical data on the candidates were provided, much of which derives from a questionnaire sent to all candidates and completed by more than 90 per cent of them. It included a question, 'What do you think will be the most important thing for you to do as a member of the House of Assembly?', which provides some evidence on this point.

The great majority of candidates saw their function in terms of communication between the locality and the central government:

I want to help the country. I will not forget the report of the country.
I will take all the reports quickly to the House of Assembly.

The role was that previously played by those identified by the Administration as 'leaders', taking information from the centre back to the local community:

If elected, I will be able to hear the talk, and take it back to my people.

I will learn the laws and take them back to the people.

The substance of the message to be taken back was seen in terms of established policy—and traditional interest in wealth:

Give the law to everybody; encourage people to earn money; encourage people to work

Such candidates expressed surprisingly little interest in economic development, but a few had begun to move from seeing the object of modernization as an end in itself to viewing it as a means to an end:

I wish to become a member of the House of Assembly because I will be able to ask for schools and hospitals for my people. I feel the people should plant more cocoa and coffee so that when self government comes up they will have more money.

Call for agricultural and business help to advance the economic status of the Muli people so that we will be able to help build our own schools and aid posts.

To press for more roads to outback villages so that the people can be educated and so understand about self government.

Given the background of the candidates and the electors they faced, it is understandable that relatively few candidates phrased their objectives in terms of national interest or a programme. Some, however, did produce lists of things they wanted which came close to being development programmes:

Improvement of roads, education, village clinics, fishing industry, agriculture, forestry, economic development, sago mills, wages, radio stations.

A better example comes from a mission worker studying to be a Lutheran minister:

To establish a feeling of unity among the people of the Territory through the establishment of good law (with the Europeans' help and guidance) and through universal education. I would oppose extreme nationalism. I would also like to see more jobs available through introduction of more industry, but, of course, education must come first, especially here in the Highlands.

Candidates with a European rational approach have been reported in some detail in constituency chapters: Advent Tarosi (Rai Coast), Epineri Titimur (Rabaul), Lepani Watson (Esa'ala-Losuia), John Guise (Milne Bay), Oala Oala-Rarua and Willie Gavera (Moresby). Others have been briefly mentioned: Paulus Arek and Edric Eupu in Popondetta, Enoka Tom in Rigo-Abau, Gabriel Ehava Karava in Lakekamu. A remarkable uniformity is found in their programmes, and those advanced in coastal Papua appear to have a common connection with that put forward by John Guise.

However, in many electorates, or possibly in all of them, such a sophisticated approach may not have been the rational one, and the candidates were compelled to translate policy generalizations into terms which could be understood (p. 337) or to vary the message (p. 354).

The explanations of why particular candidates won, whilst others lost, may be found in a number of factors. Often the electorate split on ethnic lines or into geographic areas, and the candidate from the largest bloc had a decisive advantage (pp. 236, 351). Less commonly, a candidate was able to collect sufficient preferences from other areas to establish his plurality (pp. 406-7, 409-11). In the first case the successful candidate's merits might not be obvious immediately, but it is likely that the fear of 'big headism' and the informal pre-selection procedures provided a certain screening. In the second case, the winning candidate had to have convinced some voters apart from his local supporters. To win votes a candidate had to be known, either by vigorous campaigning or by being a well-established figure—in local government or cargo cult—before the elections. He had to have some skills which the electors thought appropriate to the office he sought: ability to speak English or Neo-Melanesian where English was not yet significant, an association with the Administration, or personal achievement in traditional or new activities. And he had to approach the electors in a manner reflecting the traditional lack of ascribed status. None of these factors would be sufficient in isolation to ensure success, but in combination they were both effective and reasonable proof of ability to carry out the duties of a Member.

The electors' views of what the elections were all about varied with the degree of sophistication of the area, and the success of the local electoral education campaign which, in turn, often depended on the skill of local officers. There could be considerable indifference (p. 387), elsewhere there could be deep suspicion, verging on fear—fear of penalties (pp. 227, 275), of whites starting to fight (p. 109), of the whites leaving and tribal warfare breaking out (pp. 108-9; 176-7). These dangers could be countered by magic which was a reflection of the mechanical approach to the elections. In many unsophisticated areas voting was a catechism to be learnt and accompanied by the correct ritual for major occasions—sexual abstinence, new clothing, paying debts, purification rites with pigs' blood (pp. 109-10, 274). There was also a fear that the new Member might replace the *kiap*, and whilst for some more sophisticated coastal people there was merely the shame at being led by a *bush kanaka*, there was also concern lest the new 'big men', freed from traditional restraints, would reopen settled inter-tribal issues or disregard the welfare of groups other than their own (p. 309). Here there was double misunderstanding. The Administration failed to explain the extent of the political changes involved, whereas the indigenous people's enthusiasm for cargo and new opportunities for manipulation hinted at drastic changes.

In a number of electorates no efforts were made to permit or encourage indigenous participation or observation in the count (pp. 112, 236), and where the final results were dependent on the subsequent elimination of candidates these results did not always become known to the electorate (pp. 179-80). Several constituency chapters dealing with unsophisticated areas reported a clear lack of interest in the results once the poll had been conducted (pp. 144-5, 179-80, 278-9, 387).

An election concerned primarily with rational consequences would

have to have been predicated upon four things: an adequate system of communications which in turn required some Territory-wide associations, some conception of a central government of which the House of Assembly was to be a part, some idea of a distribution of resources by impersonal means, and some idea of a national identity within which local interests could be subordinated. These were present only to an extremely limited extent. Only the Administration possessed an extensive communications system, and this was restricted mainly to the three common languages, rigidly curtailed by the self-imposed concept of an impartial electoral authority, and dependent on the ability and enthusiasm of field officers. The Christian missions, which might have supplemented the Administration in the electoral education programme, were rejected at the start. In the partial vacuum, rumour operated in traditional terms. It is by no means certain that the mass of the electors knew of the central government and the House, but even in Maprik, despite a relatively successful electoral campaign, the limitations were considerable (p. 185). However, the idea of going to Port Moresby, the source of decisions and wealth, was acceptable.

The allocation of expenditure need not involve the autocratic powers of a central government; it could be done by bargaining, by the presentation of fact and argument and discussion by a group of peers. Much public investment in the Territory—electricity, water supplies, modern housing, and to a considerable extent roads and air-strips—has been used predominantly by the expatriates, and indigenous interest has centred on feeder roads and lorries to get produce to the fermentaries and local markets, even though hospitals and main roads are figuring more prominently in their concerns. Thus there is potential conflict between the individual's expectation that he can maximize his own and his group's welfare and allocation of resources to maximize national returns.

Some ideas of a national identity have emerged from the schools, widespread knowledge of the threat of Indonesian aggression, and information about such regional activities as the South Pacific Games, although the obvious symbols of a Territorial flag and anthem are still missing. The representative goes to Port Moresby to get wealth, not to be the instrument or maker of national policy. This was appreciated by the Administration which sees the possibility of parochial demands on the Budget as the greatest danger in the disappearance of the official majority. Later, in the House of Assembly, Members from backward areas were to clamour for an end to the physical and mental isolation of their electorates (pp. 482-3) and even Members from relatively sophisticated electorates were to express concern about fulfilling the expectations raised by the elections (pp. 462, 485-6).

The most immediate objective of the Australian government in ordering the elections at this time was to satisfy international opinion that Australia was proceeding with all proper expedition to prepare Papuans and New Guineans for self-government and independence. More respectable reasons for holding free elections are provided by W. J. M. Mackenzie

who argues (1958 : 13-14) that they are the best contrivance for securing two conditions needed to maintain government in any society:

First, elections can create a sentiment of popular consent and participation in public affairs even when government is so complex as to be beyond the direct understanding of the ordinary citizen. Second, elections can provide for orderly succession in government, by the peaceful transfer of authority to new rulers when the time comes for the old rulers to go, because of mortality or because of failure.

In providing an answer to the question of whether the 1964 elections created such a sentiment, one must distinguish between the two elements of popular consent and participation in public affairs. In many parts of Papua-New Guinea 'government' escapes the understanding of most citizens, not because of complexity of the sort that confronts an Australian voter asked to choose between parties which present different defence strategies or tariff policies or which have fixed on different national economic growth rates, but because government, or that part of government which is likely to be affected by the elections, is alien or unknown. The Administration feared, rightly so, that electors who knew no state instrumentality higher than the Department of Native Affairs field officer stationed in their locality, would conclude that the elections meant his replacement. Undoubtedly there was a sense of participation, albeit enforced in many cases, but when the nature and quality of the act remained unknown this cannot be interpreted as popular consent, which probably requires a relatively homogeneous culture.

If, as has been suggested, the election meant for most of the electorate the selection of a go-between to operate between the people and the executive government, rather than of a person to participate *in* the government, it may have been the first step towards inducing popular consent. If so, a deliberate educational programme designed to follow on from the elections is still required, at least in those areas where the mystery of the elections was deepest. The first months of the House of Assembly provide little evidence to suggest to the perceptive elector that the basis of power and authority in the Territory has been changed. The new Members have been made aware of the change by official emphasis on the indigenous majority and the significance of the change. However, on only one occasion, the Public Service Bill, have they employed their new power, and, given traditional emphasis on conciliation, they are unlikely to be quick to do so, or to threaten—as Downs did (p. 485).

There is a further problem for the introduction of representative institutions and an indigenous bureaucracy at the national level in Papua-New Guinea. The prevailing mechanism for maintaining conformity to social norms in traditional society has been the sense of shame, based on the expected or real opinions of other members of the community or, where the conduct of the whole community is in question, on the opinions of adjacent communities (Hogbin 1947(b)). In several of the electorates studied we have seen how prospective candidates were reluctant to come forward because of fear of being suspected of 'big headism', and Hogbin's study relates several instances where villagers let matters drift into

what was for them a most unsatisfactory situation rather than become conspicuous by intervening, or found themselves unable to act to curb antisocial individuals who lacked the sense of shame. Gorer (1959), in discussing democracy in the Atlantic community, presents the problem as follows:

These democracies depend for their continuing functioning on the fact that the great majority of their citizens have a lively sense of guilt, so that they will supervise their own conduct in the light of categorical imperatives, and will not give way to the temptations inherent in any position of power, influence or prestige. People can be trusted to function properly without continuous supervision from others, because they supervise themselves. Bureaucracy, whether of government or business, works adequately and fairly because of these internalised controls in the great majority of their members. In the absence of these internalised controls as the major self-regulating mechanism, it is, to say the least, uncertain whether the spirit of a modern democracy can survive, even though the forms can be readily exported and imported.

Certainly some electors recognized the problem: in Esa'ala-Losuia (p. 310) their greatest fear was that the Member would not consult with his electorate and would make up his own mind. The new Under-secretaries were perturbed that their long absences in Port Moresby would undermine their electoral support (p. 474), and the customary denigration of individuals who accept responsibility provides a further threat to their political futures. As increasing power and responsibility is transferred to the elected Members, and to indigenous public servants, more individuals will be pressed to make up their own minds. The readiness with which the elected Members formed a caucus (p. 476) indicates the possible emergence of new groups for collective decision-making, and it may well be that collegial forms of administrative organization would have a readier acceptance, and prove more amenable to public opinion, than hierarchical structures which run counter to lack of experience of ascribed status in traditional politics.

To turn to Mackenzie's second point, if the Administration had to designate a group of indigenes to whom it would transfer, or begin the transfer of, authority at the central level, this was probably the most effective way of doing it. Barnes (1960) has pointed to the problems of indigenous leaders in converting popular support gained in traditional activities into public confidence in the conduct of new ones, and to the difficulty of ensuring permanence of a leader when the traditional pattern is of challenge and change. Previous Administration identification of indigenous leaders on any but the most parochial level had never been subjected to the test of asking the indigenous population to pass judgment on the selection.

Viewed from an Australian point of view, the elections lacked many essential features. Those in the Territory, who believed that it would be a comic opera production, continue to think so. But the indigenous people turned it to quite good account. Most expatriate-sponsored innovations are treated seriously—at least at first—and believed to be part of the

European's magic or technique which the indigene wishes to possess. The ultimate success of the elections and the House of Assembly will depend on the degree to which Papuans and New Guineans believe them to be devices serving their own needs. Already they have proved to be new and very remunerative sources of leadership and prestige for a select few. The House of Assembly will have three duties: to make laws, to allocate funds, and to control the executive. Each of these responsibilities presents particular problems in the Territory. Percy Chatterton's campaign for simpler laws raises one aspect of the law-making function: to produce legislation which can be understood by the people. Behind that is a greater problem, the extent to which traditional sanctions can be replaced by an acceptable penal code, and collective decisions can be replaced by the commands of a central authority. We have already noted the difficulties of reconciling national planning with the parochial expectations of Members and electors. The notion of government by power and authority is alien to the traditional system; the first reaction is passive resistance and ignoring the 'big heads', but it can be followed by direct opposition and organization. A Member who is prepared to sit patiently with other Members in the bars and lobby, to explain Bills, demonstrate his shrewdness, and speak good sense in the House, will win the confidence of indigenous Members, but this is not the same thing as elevating him to a position of authority whether as a responsible Minister or a party leader. Such considerations are relevant to the position of expatriates in the political system of Papua-New Guinea, while the Territory cannot do without their expertise in many fields. Collectively they provide the capstone which holds the plural society together.

To those familiar with recent developments in Asia and Africa, Papua-New Guinea presents an unusual situation. Anti-colonial sentiment is still noticeably absent, but this does not mean that anti-Australian feeling may not be present beneath the surface, running strongest in those areas which have been longest under administrative control, where the benefits of pacification have been forgotten while an awareness of the white man's wealth has outstripped material improvement. The election of six expatriate Members in competition with indigenous candidates may mean various things (pp. 396-7), but it did emphasize the pragmatic approach of the indigenous people. Papua-New Guinea is still in that stage of colonial history in which a junior partnership is not only accepted but actively sought, and the 1964 elections are likely to remain unusual in many respects.

Appendix I

Student Opinions on the Elections

A pre-poll assessment of electors' opinions was prevented by an undertaking (readily given) to the Department of Territories not to do anything which could be misinterpreted by Papuan and New Guinean electors as improper interference with the secrecy of the ballot. However it was thought that some insight could be secured from the opinions of secondary school students; in the case of expatriate students these would probably reflect parental attitudes expressed in the home, but amongst indigenous students, some of whom were of voting age, the opinions would be more likely to be independent or reflecting those of the *élite* class to which their education had already admitted them. With the kind assistance of the headmaster and the history master of the Port Moresby High School at Boroko, and the Headmaster of Sogeri High School, the students in the two top classes of each school wrote essays on the meaning of the new House of Assembly. The Boroko students would have been in their mid-teens, the Sogeri students mainly in their late teens with a few even older; each group produced about thirty essays. The assignment read: 'In February a new House of Assembly for the Territory of Papua and New Guinea will be elected. What are the functions of this new Parliamentary body and what effect do you think it will have on the development of the Territory, politically, socially and economically?'

Among the Boroko students (expatriates with a few *evolués*—with two exceptions only the expatriates are quoted below) the essays followed the assignment fairly closely, describing the composition of the old Legislative Council and the new House, and then providing estimates of the political, social and economic changes which were likely to result.

There was a general scepticism of the effectiveness of electoral choice. Thus a boy in fifth year:

The average native around the town doesn't know what the elections are about and what they are going to do for them. If the town native hasn't a clue, then the village people or primitive tribesman will not have a clue what an election even is.

Their scepticism extended to the candidates, including the expatriate ones:

Inexperience is unfortunately not confined to indigenous candidates; that there are European nominees with little or no political experience is evidenced by some of the election promises. One candidate advocated the construction for natives of 16,000 houses with a rent of 17/-. What government could survive such reckless expenditure?

One shrewd fifth year girl, who anticipated the development of parties in the new legislature, expected that the larger elected bloc would mean that greater attention would have to be paid to their wants, although when these ran contrary to Australian economic interests, for example establishment of a

sugar industry, the House would have little chance to change policy. However, the House might be more ready to accept United Nations assistance.

Estimates of the consequences of the new legislature varied. Social relations figured in several answers. A Papuan girl believed:

It [will] enable the Papuans and New Guineans to mix with the Europeans in everything they do such as office work, welfare work and many others.

However, an expatriate student was more sceptical:

Socially there will be very little change from what there is now. The members of the House of Assembly will all be paid the same amount and there will be a certain amount of social prestige for the indigenous members who will be able to mix with the European members quite freely. But unless the native people are prepared to accept our customs of dress, food and behaviour there will always be a social barrier.

In the economic sphere the role of the House was seen primarily as educational:

Already it would appear that many people and some prospective members feel that the House of Assembly will automatically bring all the good things in life without any effort or outlay on their part. These misconceptions must be destroyed, and the people must be shown that everything must be acquired through hard work and successful endeavour.

So long as Australia provides the bulk of local expenditure, the Australian Government can be expected to have the biggest say:

In covering health, education and welfare no doubt the House of Assembly will apply pressure for greater effort and a wider expenditure for health, education and welfare, and could influence the views of the departments concerned as to where priority should be given. The members will still have to appreciate that they cannot do any more in those fields than available finance will allow. As well, they must realise that all revenue cannot be used on social services. It is yet to be seen if the missionary representatives will seek extra funds for gospel teaching should they be elected.

Politically, the House could help educate and unify the people. Only one expatriate girl dissented:

Socially this country could be upset after the elections because tribal loyalty plays a large part in the indigenous society today; and they will not like the idea of a man from another tribe telling their tribe what should be done. This could disrupt the harmony that already has been achieved.

Change was frequently attributed to outside influences. A mixed-race girl who called for more education before the country could govern itself—which she thought fifty years off—went on:

There is a crash educational programme going on which is an attempt to educate the thousands of children and also adult education classes being held in many places. All this is forced on Australia by outside organizations such as the United Nations. Outside pressure is trying to hurry Australia into giving independence to the Territory.

In general it might be said that the Boroko students indicated acceptance of the Administration-Government view, tempered by the scepticism of the expatriate community as to the level of development of the indigenous population.

Such scepticism was rare among the Sogeri students, all indigenous boys and young men. Only one student, from the Gulf District, commented on the quality of electoral decision:

It does not seem sensible to me because there are many uneducated people who do not know very much about what they are doing. Perhaps they might have been told once or twice about the meaning behind voting. It is very difficult for many of these uneducated people to grasp the right idea and as a matter of fact they do not know how their own territory is governed.

Much attention was paid to the elections and the House of Assembly as agents for national unity. Thus one student from Yule Island:

First of all, we must have men in the House of Assembly who can discuss mainly about National Unity of P.N.G., which today is very, very weak among our people. It is no good having a man in the House of Assembly who thinks of enriching his own people and neglecting his non-tribesmen. This, of course, is bad and this will eventually cause a lot of rioting and bring back the tribal wars, or we may now call it the civil wars.

Another, also from the Central District, put it:

The fact that New Guinea's slow development is that people began to think of themselves as Papuans and New Guineans instead of one community. They think that the names Papua and New Guinea has some division power. For instance, a Papuan who goes to work at say Rabaul seemed to be treated as a foreigner because he comes from Papua, and a New Guinean who comes to Papua, the reverse happens. In order to become under the supervision of one man we have to be united. For 'united we stand', this true of Sir Henry Parkes' move of Federation in the late 19th century. If don't unite there would be lots of disagreements between the people, and whenever people disagree there is always trouble. Example of this is Belgian Congo.

Several mentioned living together in towns as one way of promoting national unity; therefore it was important to improve urban housing.

A minority mentioned the need to end racial discrimination, but the subject crept into other subjects such as the references to defence involving the need for indigenous officers in the Pacific Islands Regiment, and the discriminatory armed forces pay rates. Thus a New Ireland student:

A defence plan should be defined to give all races a better commission in the forces. No colour bar should be taken into consideration when giving out wages. For example, in the P.I.R. the daily income of a native private is 4/11 while for a European is about 34/6. This is very unfair. What's there that a European private could do that a native private couldn't do?

Wages and accommodation for urban and plantation workers should be improved. If you (whiteman) were to visit a coconut plantation, or somewhere in which a lot of labourers were employed you'll be terrified to see what I mean. Most of the workers don't earn more than £2 a month, not a week. Housing is also very poor. Visit a European section—a lot of difference. If they were given high wages, they probably improve their working conditions.

However, several introduced gratuitous references to the minuscule Chinese community which point to an emerging, and potentially serious, problem. A student from one of the New Guinea islands produced the most sophisticated version:

It is very good to see that Australia is doing something to lead the indigenes in political field. However, I am inclined to find out why the Chinese in the Territory are not doing anything towards the political development of the country. It is very rare to hear a Chinese talking about political matters. It would not matter if they were not naturalized yet. All their

interest is based on the business sector of the economy. It is a good thing to bring more money into the Territory to increase the flow of national income but seeing that the methods of checking the national income is unreliable in the Territory, I am afraid they merely filling up their pockets and moving out either to Australia or some other Australian protectorates. Don't you think they are wasting their time here and holding down the standard of living of the people, especially the indigenes?

The House of Assembly was seen as an agency for development not very dissimilar to the Administration:

The House of Assembly will try and urge the people to plant more cash crops. The House of Assembly will also try and help the people to improve agriculture.

But it was also expected that the House would allocate the £25 million Australian subsidy, and might ask for more:

These elections should encourage the people to demand more help from the Australian Government through those who will be chosen. They were unable to do this before, but since the elections are available these men can be used as a mouth-piece to demand what they want.

The House's political significance was sometimes seen in terms of Administration doctrine:

Democracy is the government of people, by the people, of [*sic*] the people, and House of Assembly is going to be established in the democratic part of the world, and therefore we who will evolve in it will follow the concept of the word democracy . . . Government is a kind of service and the members of the government perform for the guidance and the welfare of their people and their country. Government in a democracy is no longer a government that makes people through fears.

However, some took a more cautious view. A student from Milne Bay wrote:

The House of Assembly should not retain that name but be called the House of Advice or the Advisory House. This body is artificial and virtually powerless, because policy is not made by the House but is dictated through the Administration by the Australian Minister of Territories.

Under pressure from outside, the House contains a majority of the indigenous people of whom a minority understands the work of a legislative assembly. It was a wise decision made by the Australian Government to allow specially elected expatriates to participate in the functioning of the House. This was the wish of the indigenous population who express their desire to be guided by expatriate politicians in their experiencing of an enormous task of laying down the foundations of democratic institutions for the good of the future NATION.

The elected indigenous members will be studying closely the behavior and the way how the elected expatriates will be acting as politicians inside and outside the sittings of the House . . . The indigenous members are like young children who establish their future character by copying their elders.

More sweeping criticism came rather surprisingly from a student from the Highlands:

Apart from being a testing ground for future politicians and a tool for amending legislations which do not suit the present points of view, the House of Assembly will be nothing but an asylum full of individuals who regard themselves as politicians but are in fact no better than Auxiliary Division in Administrative capability.

Instead of having to elect 64 members H.A., we should intensively train a few elite, indigenous or non, in the various aspects of administration.

As I see it, we cannot consolidate the various tribes with deep animosity for each other by bringing them together into the H.A. A corps of elite could do this easily. This may sound oligarchic but they, with a goal as their aim, could easily bring together the various tribes to think themselves a nation. But the 64 M.H.A.s will jump on each others neck to make the other agree with him to get his tribe underway. The various electorates are more or less the old tribal territories, and as is the case in one of the Highlands' electorates, the campaigner used contemptuous speeches about the tribes and its leaders in the adjacent electorate. Tribal loyalty and interest will bar the various members from voting to get another area improved.

In any case they will involve us in unnecessary expenditures—the members' pay, accommodation and transport. I don't know why we have to have 64 members to represent only two million people. It should be cut down to half that number. The more members we have, the more and bigger hullabaloo we will have.

The H.A. has no purpose and the trifle functions I have mentioned earlier can be dealt with without all 64 trying to get a hand in shaping it. Another 'important' function the H.A. has in having Australia being given a few congratulatory pats on the back for introducing adult franchise here.

Rather less attention was paid to the problem of independence than at Boroko. When it was discussed, it was in orthodox terms, and the sinister hand of outside influences was seen:

At this stage I don't think the country is matured yet, but the House of Assembly is probably brought up to please the United Nations or to abandon the country so that she may go astray.

These changes in the political field in the territory are obviously very rapid and the cause lies in the idea of giving the territory self-government. The idea of giving the territory self-government originated in the territory itself. There were articles on this in papers, but very little notice was taken by the people. It was not until the foreign countries became involved that it really got serious. So today we have organizations like United Nations urging Australia to accelerate things and give the territory self-government. However, the Australians, as well as the leaders of Papuans and New Guineans, know quite well that the people are not ready. Sinaka Goava, a Papuan leader, said in the U.N. Trusteeship Council meeting: 'My people are prepared to live under Australian influence until we are ready for self-government.' However Australians have agreed to the U.N. suggestion that the territory should be prepared for its Independence.

With only a few of the 227 indigenous candidates having received a comparable formal education, it is not surprising that the calibre of certain of these essays is well above the expressions of the great majority of candidates at the elections. Their content indicates that some Papuans and New Guineans have an independent assessment of the policies being applied to their country.

Appendix II

Town Dwellers' Participation in the Elections

From January until September of 1964 two members of the New Guinea Research Unit staff * were in Papua-New Guinea investigating the concepts of education held by a sample of indigenous people and their attitudes towards education. As part of the study they interviewed parents and guardians of children in the upper standards of primary school. These parents and guardians were mainly immigrant town dwellers in Lae, Port Moresby, and Rabaul. A few questions on the elections were included in the interview to ascertain the extent to which these internal immigrants participated in the elections and identified themselves with the town or with the home village. In the three towns the interviewees were asked whether or not they had voted and, if they had voted, whether it was for the town electorate or by absentee ballot. In Lae, where the interviewing was done at the time of the election, the interviewees were asked how many candidates they knew personally or by name. In Port Moresby and Rabaul they were asked who were their Members (Open and Special Electorates) in the House of Assembly. Voting participation was recorded on an individual basis, and responses to the questions about the candidates and elected Members on a family basis.

Lae

The interviews were all held in two sections of Lae, the Government Compound area and the part of the town known as the Papuan Settlement. Polling booths were situated close to both areas. On an average the Lae interviewees had lived in the town for eight years. Most of the interviews were held in the period between election day and the announcement of the election results. The interviewed families were all fully aware of the fact that an election had taken place; four of the men had in fact worked at polling booths in the town.

There were 112 interviewees in Lae, 57 men (46 of whom voted) and 55 women (42 of whom voted). No response was recorded from 2 women. Thus votes were cast by 88 (80 per cent) of the 110 interviewees who responded to these questions. Of the 22 non-voters, 3 (1 man and 2 women) were under age; 3 (2 men and 1 woman) were deterred by the crowds; 3 (1 man and 2 women) said they had not voted yet but would tomorrow; 1 man was in hospital on election day and 1 man was working in the bush; the remaining 11 (5 men and 6 women) offered no comment.

As on all questions the wives were encouraged to take part in the discussion about the candidates and they often contributed by recalling the home village or some other fact which would help their husbands to name the candidates.

* Miss P. Richardson and Mrs K. van der Veur.

In all, the 58 families produced the names of 117 candidates, an average of 2 per family. New Guineans showed better knowledge of the candidates than Papuans did.

Information on knowledge of the candidates is given with reservation for two reasons: first, it is known that word went around one area that questions were being asked about the elections; and secondly, declining interest and knowledge was inevitable two months after election day. But it is worthy of note that sixteen families in which one or both the partners had voted were unable to name, or give other sundry information about, any of the candidates. 'Oh, mi no savy, missis. Mi putim mak tasol na mi lusim nem belong en'. (I don't know, missus. I put the mark, that's all, and now I have forgotten the name.)

Port Moresby

In Port Moresby the interviews were held in the suburb of Hohola during May and June, three and four months after the elections. There were 105 interviewees, 53 men and 52 women. Only 3 of the interviewees were born in the Port Moresby area. The 102 immigrants on an average had lived in Port Moresby for ten years.

Of the 105 interviewees 82 (78 per cent) cast votes in the elections, a slightly lower percentage than in the Lae sample. More men (87 per cent) than women (69 per cent) voted. Two of the 16 women who did not vote were under age. The largest number of non-voters (11) was from the Central District which includes Port Moresby and 2 (1 man and 1 woman) of these were from the Port Moresby Electorate. The majority of the Central * and Gulf District voters cast votes for candidates in the town electorate.

In Port Moresby the 57 families correctly named their Open Electorate Member in 37 instances and their Special Electorate Member in 27. Eighteen of the families correctly named both their Open and Special Electorate Members and 28 correctly named one Member (19 the Open and 9 the Special). Fourteen families gave an incorrect name for the Open Electorate Member and one for the Special Electorate Member.† Defeated candidates, Oala Oala-Rarua in particular, were usually named in the instances of error. Six families were unable to name either Member. Two of the non-voters correctly named their Open Electorate Member but could not name their Special Member.

Rabaul

The survey was carried out in Rabaul in July and August, five and six months after the elections. The interviewed families lived in four sections of the town: the Police Barracks, the two main sections of the Government Compound, and the Burns Philp (private enterprise) Compound. The average length of time spent in the area by immigrants was five years. Of the 52 persons interviewed, 36 (69 per cent) cast votes in the elections, a lower percentage than in the other two samples. Immigrants who did vote with only one exception voted absentee ballot rather than give support to a local candidate. There was a difference by sex among the non-voters: 4 men and 12 women did not cast votes. The majority of non-voters were at the Police

* Although 23 of the 28 Central District voters came from outside the Port Moresby electorate, there were only 4 absentee ballots cast.

† This number includes 9 families who named one Member correctly (8 the Open and 1 the Special).

Barracks, where 9 (3 men and 6 women) of the 17 interviewees did not vote. One factor contributing to the smaller number of voters at the Police Barracks (and lack of knowledge of Members of the House) was the absence of five policemen sent to New Hanover to help quell the President Johnson cult. One of the grass widows expressed her sentiments, 'man bilong mi i savy, mi no savy tumas'.

In naming their Open and Special Electorate Members in the House, 13 of the 30 interviewed families named correctly both the Open Electorate Member and the Special Electorate Member; 8 were able to name correctly one Member (7 the Open Electorate Member and 1 the Special Electorate Member); 1 produced an incorrect name; and the remaining 8 (only 2 of whom voted) were unable to name any Member. The New Guinea Islanders showed the best knowledge of their members, followed fairly closely by the Papuans, while immigrants from the New Guinea mainland showed the least knowledge, the majority of families being unable to name one Member.

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NOTE: The spelling of proper names in Papua-New Guinea is still somewhat unstable and the use of surnames is new and haphazard in many areas. The spellings used here and the sequence of names followed may differ from those employed in other sources, e.g. Official Returns; when the difference is known to be substantial this is noted.

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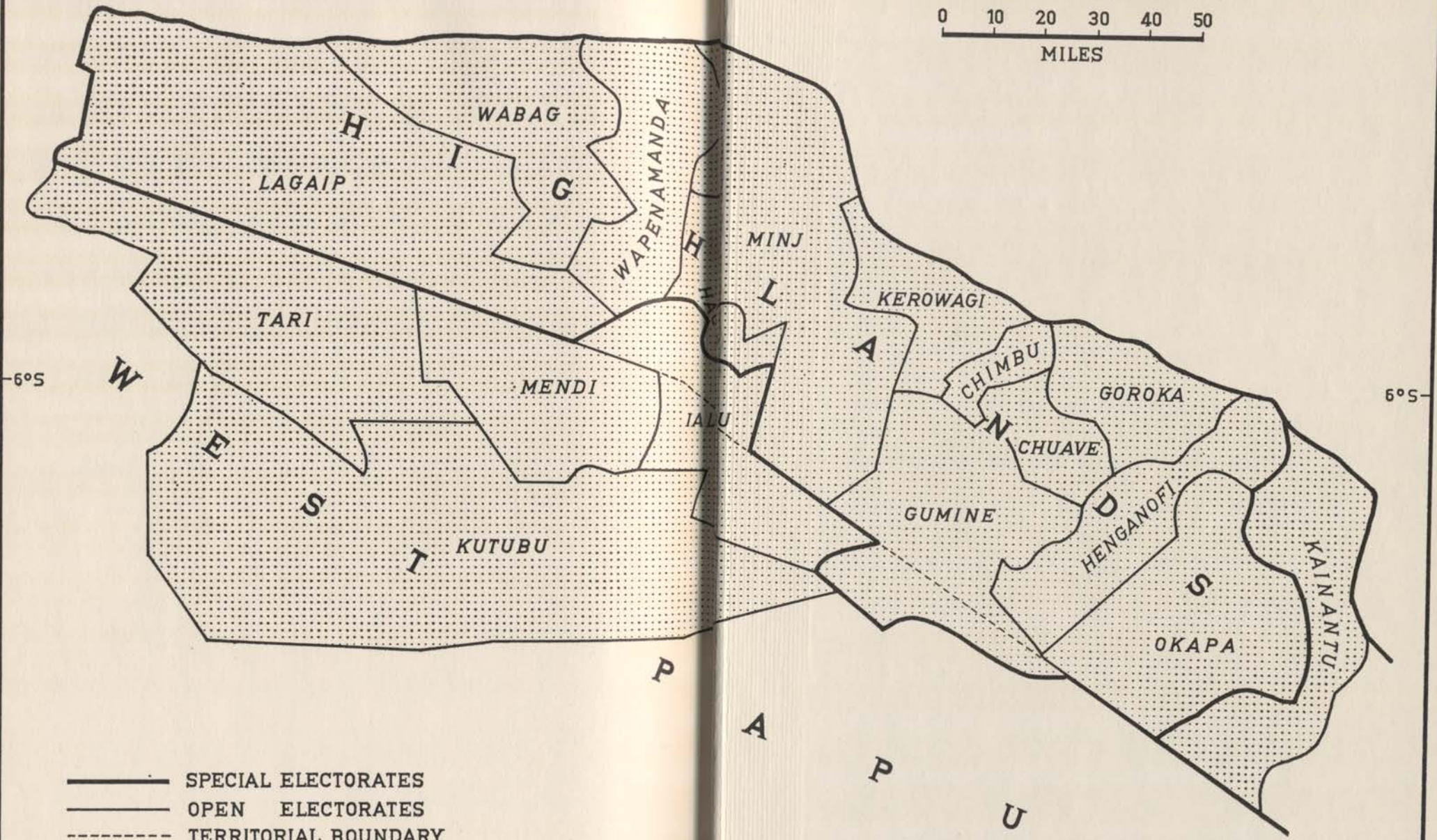
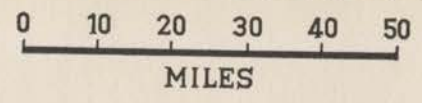
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