

# **The General Election in Papua New Guinea**

**14-28 June 1997**

**The Report of the  
Commonwealth Observer Group**



**Commonwealth Secretariat**

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Commonwealth Observer Group

**Commonwealth Secretariat**  
*1997*

Commonwealth Secretariat  
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# REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP TO THE GENERAL ELECTION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

14-28 JUNE 1997

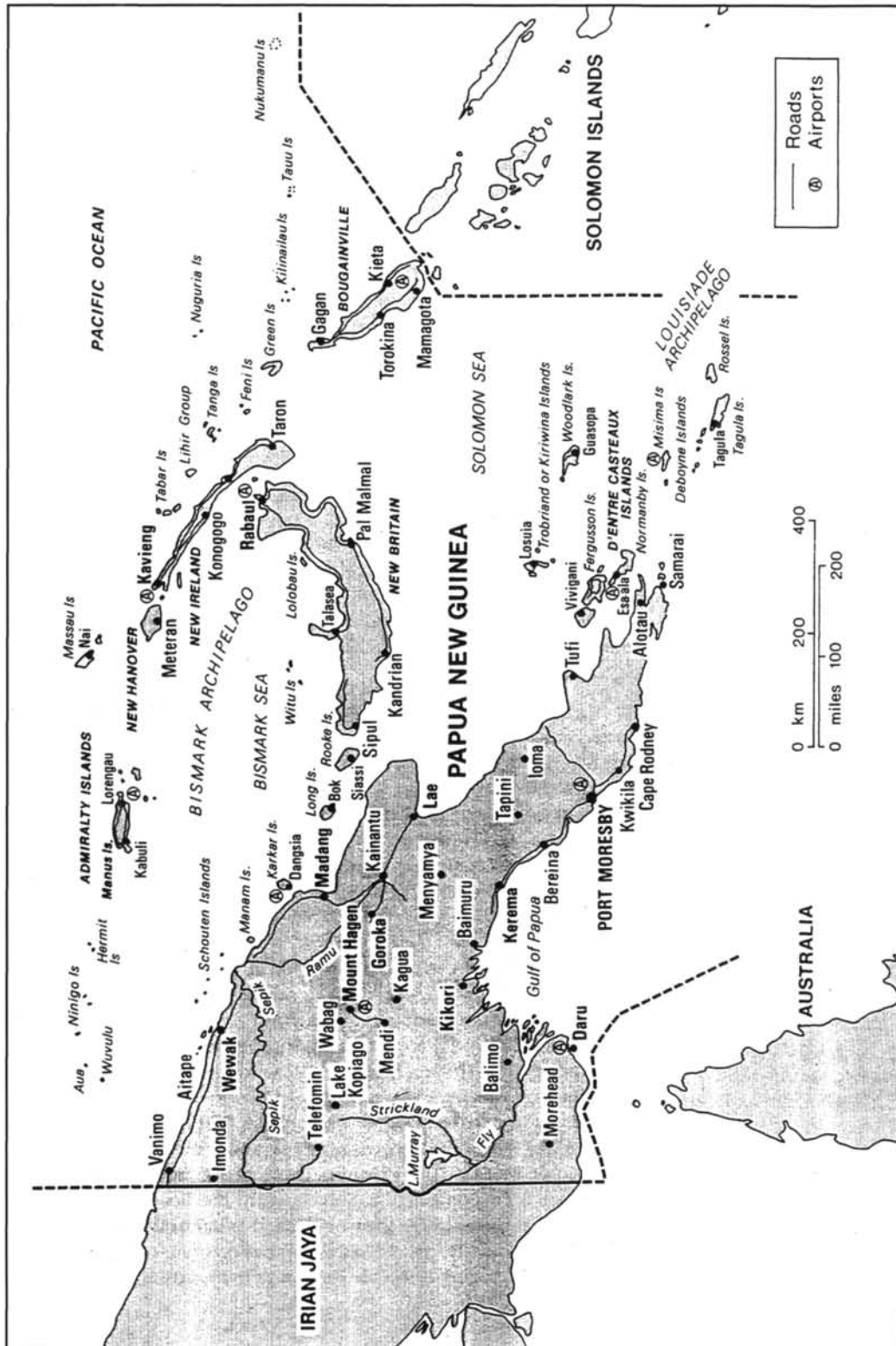
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# Map of Papua New Guinea



Source: EIU Country Profile on Papua New Guinea, 1996-97, The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd

## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL



Papua New Guinea General Election 1997  
**Commonwealth Observer Group**

Tel: Port Moresby 323 8005  
Fax: Port Moresby 323 8006

The Islander Travelodge  
P O Box 1981, Boroko  
Port Moresby

30 June 1997

Dear Secretary-General,

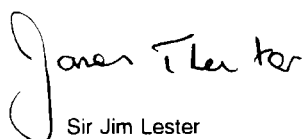
We gladly accepted your invitation to participate in the Commonwealth Observer Group for the 1997 General Elections in Papua New Guinea. We wish to thank you for allowing us this opportunity to play a part in the consolidation of democracy in this country.

In spite of the shortcomings to which we have referred in our Report to you, in particular the inadequacies of the Common Roll, overall we believe that the conditions existed for a free expression of will by the electors and that the result of the election will reflect the wishes of the voters.

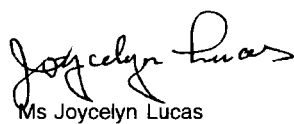
We wish to record our deep appreciation to the Government of Papua New Guinea, the Electoral Commission, the political parties and above all, the people of Papua New Guinea for their warm welcome and their assistance during the course of our mission. We wish them well.

Sir Robin Gray  
Chairperson

His Excellency Chief Emeka Anyaoku  
Commonwealth Secretary-General  
Marlborough House  
London SW1 5HX



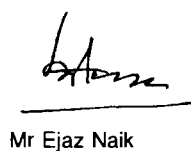
Sir Jim Lester



Ms Joycelyn Lucas



The Hon Ian Macphee AO



Mr Ejaz Naik



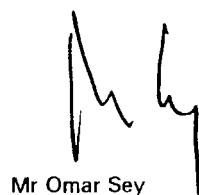
Justice Muhammad Habibur Rahman



Mr Maharajakrishna Rasgotra



Hon. Ambassador Paul Rupia MP



Mr Omar Sey



Ms Judy Thompson





*The Commonwealth Observer Group with the Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General (Political) ... (front row from left) Omar Sey, Judy Thompson, Sir Robin Gray (Chairperson), Joycelyn Lucas, Ian Macphree, (back row from left) Ejaz Naik, Paul Rupia, M Rasgotra, K Srinivasan (Deputy Secretary-General), Sir Jim Lester, Habibur Rehman*

# Introduction

In May 1997 the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, received a request from the Acting Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea, Hon John Giheno MP, to establish a Commonwealth Observer Group to observe his country's fifth General Election. The elections had been called in April and would be held between 14 and 28 June 1997. This was the first time that the Government of Papua New Guinea had invited Commonwealth or other international observers to observe a general election.

In line with established practice, the Secretary-General sent an Assessment Mission of three Commonwealth Secretariat officials to Papua New Guinea to establish whether the major political parties would welcome Commonwealth observers. The Assessment Mission visited Papua New Guinea between 19 and 23 May 1997 and met representatives of the Electoral Commission, the main political parties and non-governmental organisations. It subsequently reported to the Secretary-General that there was broad support for the presence of Commonwealth Observers.

## The Observer Group and its Terms of Reference

This was the twenty-second Commonwealth Observer Group to have been constituted by the Commonwealth Secretary-General since the October 1989 meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. That meeting had agreed that member countries could benefit from the sending of Election Observers as a means of strengthening democratic processes and institutions. This view was reaffirmed by Heads of Government at their meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, in October 1991, where it was reflected in the historic Harare Commonwealth Declaration, and at subsequent meetings of Heads of Government.

It was against this background that the Secretary-General invited our Group of ten Observers, supported by eight members of staff from the Commonwealth Secretariat, to observe the general election in Papua New Guinea. The composition of the Group, which was led by Sir Robin Gray, is set out at *Annex I*. The terms of reference for our Group were incorporated in the Secretary-General's letter inviting each of us to participate in the mission and were as follows:

The Group is established by the Commonwealth Secretary-General at the request of the Government of Papua New Guinea and supported by all the major political parties. It is to observe relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the election in accordance with the law of Papua New Guinea. It is to consider the various factors impinging on the credibility of the electoral process as a whole and to determine in its own judgment whether the conditions exist for a free expression of will by the electors and if the result of the election reflects the wishes of the people.

The Group is to act impartially and independently. It has no executive role; its function is not to supervise, but to observe the process as a whole and to form a judgment accordingly. It would be free to propose to the government and other concerned authorities such action on institutional, procedural and other matters as would assist the holding of the election and thereafter, the effective functioning of the elected government.

The Group is to submit its report to the Commonwealth Secretary-General, who will forward it to the Government of Papua New Guinea, to the leadership of political parties taking part in the election and thereafter to all Commonwealth governments.

The Secretary-General's announcement of our mission on 3 June 1997 is at *Annex II*.

### Method of Work

We were briefed in Singapore on 5 June 1997 by the Commonwealth Deputy Secretary-General (Political), Mr K Srinivasan. We arrived in Papua New Guinea the following day and held a press conference in the capital, Port Moresby, at which we issued the Arrival Statement attached at *Annex III*.

On 7 June 1997 we began a series of meetings in Port Moresby with the Electoral Commissioner and his colleagues, the police, senior representatives of political parties, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), media organisations, the business community, women's groups and Commonwealth High Commissions. These meetings provided a valuable opportunity to be briefed on the preparations for and background to the general election. It also enabled us to explain our mandate and the way in which we intended to conduct our observation. Our Schedule of Engagements is at *Annex IV*.

We divided our Group into eight two-person teams. Seven of these were deployed on 10 and 11 June and were based in key provincial capitals – Port Moresby, Lae, Mount Hagen, Goroka, Rabaul, Madang, Wewak – from which it was intended that they should cover their own and neighbouring provinces. The eighth, consisting of the Chairperson and Staff Team Leader, was based in Port Moresby but roved across the country, including to North Solomons Province (which includes the island of Bougainville). Altogether these teams were able to cover 18 of the country's 20 provinces. Details of our deployment are at *Annex V*. Two members of the Group's support staff remained in Port Moresby to support and maintain communication with the teams in the field.

Our teams were briefed on arrival in the provinces by officials of the Electoral Commission and the police. They subsequently met candidates, political parties and others, in an exercise parallel to that conducted earlier in Port Moresby. All teams travelled extensively before and during the election period, and submitted daily reports of their observations to the Observer Group's Chairperson.

In some places the elections were held on one or two days, in others over the whole two-week period. Our teams observed the poll at as many polling stations (known in Papua New Guinea as polling booths) as possible, witnessing the opening procedures and polling and ending with scrutiny of the counting and tallying process. Altogether, our teams visited 321 polling booths in 66 electorates and observed 17 counts, once more meeting election officials and party representatives, but also speaking to the voters themselves. During our deployment we were assisted by Observation Notes and Check Lists (see examples at *Annexes VI* and *VII*).

Our Group reassembled in Port Moresby on 26 June 1997 for a debriefing and to finalise our Report. We departed from Port Moresby from 1 July 1997 (see Departure Statement at *Annex VIII*).

# Chapter 1

## Political Background

Papua New Guinea was formed by the merger of the Territory of Papua, which had been under Australian rule from 1906, and the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which had been a German colonial territory from 1884 to 1918.

Comprising the eastern section of the island of New Guinea and about 600 smaller islands, including the island of Bougainville, Papua New Guinea was administered by Australia under a League of Nations mandate granted in 1919 and then under UN trusteeship from 1945. In 1949, Australia brought the two territories under a unified administration. The Territory of Papua New Guinea became internally self-governing in December 1973 and achieved full independence on 16 September 1975, as the Independent State of Papua New Guinea.

Since independence, Papua New Guinea has expanded the development of its considerable mineral resources. Most of the population, however, continues to be engaged in agriculture – cash crops such as coffee for export and subsistence farming. Papua New Guinea has close relations with its former colonial power, Australia, but has been attempting to broaden its international contacts particularly in South-East Asia. It is a member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth, the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) forum, the South Pacific Forum and the Melanesian Spearhead Group. Papua New Guinea consists of 19 provinces and a national capital district. The capital is Port Moresby. Traditional forms of social organisation play an important part in Papua New Guinean society and have significant political as well as cultural and social influence.

### Political Developments Since Independence

Politics in Papua New Guinea in the post-independence period has been characterised by coalition governments drawing support from a number of political parties and independent MPs. Political allegiances are largely based on locality and personal ties, rather than ideology. The party system is relatively weak and the system is marked by shifting loyalties and frequent floor crossing by MPs. A significant proportion of elected MPs – and an even larger proportion of candidates – are independents. There have been few women MPs since independence and no women have been elected since 1982.

Prior to the 1997 general election there had been four elections since independence. An interim coalition government which had been elected in 1972 remained in power until 1977. Elections were held in that year and then in 1982, 1987 and 1992. By 1997 there had been eight governments. No single party had ever governed in its own right and a series of no-confidence motions had resulted in frequent mid-term changes of government.

On independence, Sir Michael Somare, leader of the Pangu Pati, formed the first governing coalition with the People's Progress Party (PPP), and later with the United Party. In 1980, a no-confidence motion moved by Sir Julius Chan, leader of the PPP, resulted in Sir Michael Somare losing his premiership. At the 1982 elections, Sir Michael Somare and his Pangu Pati defeated Sir Julius Chan and Sir Michael became Prime Minister again.

In 1985, following the defeat of a challenge against Sir Michael Somare, the deputy leader of the Pangu Pati, Mr Paias Wingti, broke away and subsequently founded a new political party, known as the People's Democratic Movement. In the same year, Mr Wingti assumed office as Prime Minister following a no-confidence motion introduced by Sir Julius Chan. At the 1987 elections, Mr Wingti again became Prime Minister when he successfully formed a multi-party coalition, thereby securing a parliamentary majority of three votes. In early 1988 Sir Michael Somare was replaced as leader of the Pangu Pati by his deputy, Sir Rabbie Namaliu. In the same year Sir Rabbie Namaliu defeated Mr Wingti and formed a new coalition government.

The Constitution was amended in 1991 so that a no-confidence motion in the Prime Minister could no longer be proposed until he or she had completed 18 months in office. An amendment

was also incorporated into the Constitution which allowed for the early dissolution of Parliament, rather than a change of government, if a no-confidence motion was won within the last 12 months of a term of Parliament.

Following the 1992 elections, Mr Wingti was elected Prime Minister, defeating Sir Rabbie Namaliu on the strength of the casting vote of the Speaker. In 1993, Mr Wingti called a snap parliamentary ballot on leadership which resulted in his immediate re-election as Prime Minister. Widespread protest at his action and a Supreme Court ruling in 1994 which declared his re-election invalid, led to Mr Wingti's resignation and a new parliamentary leadership vote. Sir Julius Chan of the PPP defeated the Speaker, Mr Bill Skate, leader of the People's National Congress, and formed a governing coalition with the Pangu Pati and the League for National Advancement (LNA).

In 1996, Sir Michael Somare formed a separate alliance – the National Alliance – supported initially by 11 MPs. This led to differences between himself and the Pangu Pati which he had founded in 1975.

### Recent Developments

The months immediately prior to the 1997 general election were dominated by a political crisis occasioned by the decision of the Government to intensify its efforts to secure a military resolution to the attempted secession of the island of Bougainville.

The attempted secession of Bougainville, the main island in the North Solomons Province of Papua New Guinea, began when landowners there took up arms in 1988, following what they regarded as an unsatisfactory response to their claims for compensation from an Australian company mining copper on the island. The Panguna mine had been in operation since 1964, and in 1988 accounted for around 20 per cent of Papua New Guinea government revenues and around 44 per cent of the country's exports.

The secession attempt was led by an organisation styling itself the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) and the ensuing conflict led eventually to the indefinite closure of the mine and a significant loss of revenue to the Papua New Guinea Government. The conflict then escalated and it is estimated that thousands of lives have been lost to date. The conflict also damaged the economy, overstretched the security forces and strained relations with neighbouring countries.

In an effort to finally resolve the conflict by military means, a number of attempts at negotiation having failed, the Papua New Guinea Government decided in January 1997 to hire a UK-based company, Sandline International. The Government stated that Sandline would train members of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF). Critics claimed that foreign mercenaries would be used in action in Bougainville. The contract, which was reportedly worth US\$35 million led to international and domestic protest. The then Commander of the PNGDF, Brigadier-General Jerry Singirok, came out in opposition to the contract and called for the resignation of the Prime Minister and senior Ministers. Members of the PNGDF and others protested on the streets of Port Moresby and the mercenaries were expelled from the country. In a subsequent parliamentary debate Prime Minister Chan defeated a motion calling for his resignation, which was later amended for him to step aside. Subsequently, Sir Julius Chan decided to stand aside in favour of an Acting Prime Minister, Mr John Giheno, while a Commission of Inquiry investigated the Sandline events. This Commission reported to the Acting Prime Minister during the general election campaign. The Sandline events further fuelled the national debate about the way in which Papua New Guinea is governed.

### Political Parties

Twenty political parties registered prior to the 1997 general election:

Christian Country Party	Leader	Avusi Tanao
Christian Democratic Party	Chairman	Dilu D Goma
Hausman Pati	Leader	Waim Tokam
Liberal Party	Leader	Thomas Pupun

Melanesian Alliance Party	Leader	John Momis
Melanesian Labour Party	Leader	Dr Paul Mondia
Milne Bay Party	Leader	Simon Mumurik
Movement for Greater Autonomy	Leader	Steven Pokawin
National Alliance Party	Leader	Sir Michael Somare
National Party	Leader	Philip Kapal
Pangu Pati	Leader	Chris Haiveta
Papua New Guinea First	Leader	John Gundu
People's Action Party	Leader	Ted Diro
People's Democratic Movement	Leader	Paias Wingti
People's National Congress	Leader	Bill Skate
People's Progress Party	Leader	Sir Julius Chan
People's Resources Awareness Party	Leader	Michael Uvilio
People's Solidarity Party	Leader	Kala Swokin
People's Unity Party	Leader	David Unagi
United Party	Leader	Rimbink Pato

At the 1992 general election the tally of seats gained by party-endorsed candidates was as follows, while 31 seats were gained by independents:

Pangu Pati	22
People's Democratic Movement	15
People's Action Party	13
People's Progress Party	10
Melanesian Alliance	9
League for National Advancement	5
National Party	2
Melanesian United Front	1

None of the 20 political parties is easy to characterise in ideological terms. Five of these parties have participated in coalition governments, but three have emerged as having had particularly important roles in several of the eight coalition governments since independence: the People's Progress Party, Pangu Pati and the People's Democratic Movement. In addition, many also considered that, although only recently formed, the National Alliance (led by former Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare) would also be an important contestant in the 1997 general election.

**People's Progress Party (PPP)** – led by Sir Julius Chan, Prime Minister immediately prior to the 1997 general election. The PPP has participated in six coalition governments and has led two. In the 1997 elections the party endorsed candidates for 74 of the 109 seats. The PPP has traditionally been perceived as a party which is supportive of business and economic development. During the campaign Sir Julius Chan promised the reintroduction of a land mobilisation or registration programme, to enable landowners to participate fully in the economy by using land as security for bank loans.

**Pangu Pati** – led by Mr Chris Haiveta, Deputy Prime Minister in the government which left office following the Sandline crisis. The Pangu Pati has led three coalition governments since independence. In the 1997 elections the party contested 90 of the 109 seats, including 26 of the 29 seats in its traditional regional base of the Momase region.

**People's Democratic Movement (PDM)** – led by Mr Paias Wingti, a former Prime Minister. The PDM has led three coalition governments since independence. In the 1997 elections the party supported candidates for 61 seats. The PDM concentrated its campaigning on a policy of 'free education', promising free education from elementary school to Grade 12.

**People's Action Party (PAP)** – led by Mr Ted Diro, a former Deputy Prime Minister. In the 1997

elections 105 candidates were aligned with the party or its leader. The party endorsed multiple candidates in its traditional regional base – the Papuan region. One major PAP theme in the 1997 election campaign was its proposal for the introduction of a federal system of government, with the national government controlling only foreign affairs, defence and finance.

**National Alliance (NA)** – led by former Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare. The National Alliance endorsed 71 candidates in the 1997 elections. During the campaign the party emphasised the need for good government, opposition to corruption and the strengthening of provincial government.

**Melanesian Alliance (MA)** – led by Mr John Momis, a former Minister and MP for the North Solomons Province since 1975. The party sponsored 35 candidates in the 1997 elections and was closely aligned with the National Alliance in the campaign.

## Chapter 2

# The Legal Framework

### Basic Structure

The Independent State of Papua New Guinea is a unitary state. The Constitution provides for the establishment of a National Capital District which is the seat of government, and authorises the establishment of other Provinces under an Organic Law made by Parliament. Currently the country consists of 20 Provinces. The Head of State, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, is the constitutional monarch, represented by a Governor-General. The Governor-General is a citizen appointed by the Queen on the advice of the National Executive Council, given in accordance with a decision made by simple majority of a secret ballot of Parliament.

The Legislature consists of a single chamber vested with the 'legislative power of the people'. It consists of 89 representatives elected by single-member Open electorates and 20 elected by the single-member Provincial electorates. Representation in the Parliament is on the basis of the first-past-the-post (majoritarian) system.

The Judiciary consists of the Supreme Court, the National Courts and the Inferior Courts. The Supreme Court is the court of final appeal. The courts play a significant role in the electoral process, as the final arbiter – as the Court of Disputed Returns – of disputed results. We learned that in 1992 some 61 petitions were filed, of which three were to an extent successful.

The Executive governs as long as it enjoys the support of the majority of Parliament (subject to the modifications, noted below, of the use of the vote of no confidence).

While the Constitution establishes a clear separation of powers between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government at the centre, it is noted that as a result of the amendments to the Constitution and the new Organic Law on Provincial and Local Level Governments, the distinction is not respected in that sphere. The Provincial MP, a legislator in the Parliament, becomes the governor and chief executive of the province. The elected member for each Open electorate is given a significant administrative role in local-level government. For example, he bears the main responsibility for deciding upon and executing important development projects funded by the Electoral Development Fund. We believe that the neutrality and independence of the civil service should be strengthened.

In the universal suffrage elections conducted before independence in 1975, the voting was on the basis of an optional limited transferable vote. The debate over the suitability of the present system in a society so diverse as this has been continuous since then among both academics and active politicians.

We heard considerable support for a return to such a system, based on the premise that it would encourage a more national and issue based form of politics. The combination of a first-past-the-post system and the split voting resulting from multiple candidacy, has in the past enabled one candidate, relying on a solid core of clan voters, to be elected with a simple majority which represented as little as six per cent of the votes cast. It was also argued that this encouraged a multitude of nominations by independents who saw the possibility of victory on a very narrow and sectional platform based on nothing more than family loyalty. We were also told that the transferable vote, even in an optional and limited form, where the voter would be able to vote for perhaps three candidates in order of preference rather than only one, would be more complicated for many than the relatively simple system now used.

We are of the view that, given the numbers of candidates contesting elections in Papua New Guinea, serious consideration should be given to alternative systems of voting.

### Provincial Government

In this context we noted the considerable interest in, and concern with, the issue of Provincial Government and its relationship to the Central Government. This is another aspect of the diverse nature of the country. The impact of this, and the inevitable competition for national



resources, on the electoral situation was noticeable in a country which is seeking to find a balance between diversity and unity, central authority and local autonomy. A variety of views was heard by us as to the merits and demerits of various combinations of ideas for the promotion of effective government, stability and democracy in the country. These views ranged from federal solutions, through shades of devolution to local autonomy within a unitary state.

Recent constitutional amendments and the law on provincial and local level governments have resulted in a changed relationship between the centre and the provinces. As already noted, these have produced a situation where the same elected representatives in Parliament have the power to exercise legislative, fiscal and administrative authority in the provinces.

### **Electoral Boundaries and Representation**

The Legislature consists of 89 single-member Open Electorates and 20 Provincial Electorates, including the National Capital District. The Constitution provides that the number of Open and Provincial Electorates and their boundaries shall be determined by Parliament in accordance with recommendations of a Boundaries Commission (chaired by the Electoral Commissioner) to be made at least every ten years. The present Organic Law on National Elections sets a minimum of 81 and a maximum of 91 Open Electorates, while each Province constitutes one electorate. The legal criteria laid down for boundary changes are standard considerations of population density, geography and communications as well as existing electoral and administrative boundaries, and are set out in the electoral law. In fact Parliament has not accepted any of the Commission's recommendations to date and the present electorate boundaries are based on census figures from the 1970s. The fact that the largest electorate has 84,578 registered voters and the smallest only 21,175 provides clear evidence of the distortions this has caused.

The constitutional provision which allows for the nomination of three members of Parliament has never been implemented, though this has been discussed. There was general support for the view that this provision could be usefully employed to nominate women MPs.

### **The Census**

In 1995, the Parliament enacted a law requiring that a census be held prior to each five-yearly general election. After advice from the National Statistical Office this was amended so as to exempt the 1997 general election from this law. The last national census was conducted in 1990. It is notable that the current estimated population is 4.3 million and the number of voters registered for the 1997 elections was 3.41 million, suggesting a distortion in one figure or the other.

It was noted that although the census, which is the responsibility of the National Statistical Office, is an entirely separate activity from voter registration, the statistical base which it provides can considerably facilitate the planning and conduct of voter registration. We would emphasise the importance of holding regular periodic censuses.

### **The Franchise**

Universal, adult, citizen suffrage is granted under the Constitution, the qualifying age being 18 years. The vote is optional, unlike registration which is mandatory.

### **The Electoral Commission**

The Electoral Commission is established under the Constitution (Section 126), which states that it is not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority. The Commission, in terms of the electoral law, consists of the Electoral Commissioner who is a constitutional office-holder. He is appointed by the Head of State on the advice of the Electoral Appointments Commission. A recent amendment has brought the Leader of the Opposition into this process together with the Prime Minister and the Appointments Commission.

The Constitution stipulates that the Organic Law shall provide for the independence of the

Commission. It is to be solely responsible for the electoral system, the integrity of the elections and dealing with petitions and appeals to the courts in electoral matters. Under the Organic Law the prime function of the Commission is to organise and conduct all elections for Parliament and the legislative arms of the local-level government.

### **The Electoral Staff and Powers of the Commission**

The Law imposes an obligation on the government department responsible for personnel matters to make available to the Electoral Commissioner and to Returning Officers, such staff as is necessary for the discharge of their statutory functions. The Observer Group was informed by the Commissioner that the effective power of appointment, discipline and control of Returning Officers and polling staff does not in practice rest solely in his hands. This is a result of the fact that District Officers are *ex officio* Returning Officers, and their appointment, under the new Provincial Government law, involves the sitting MPs. Thus, while the Law (Section 18) gives the Commissioner the authority to revoke any power delegated by him, it does not give him effective power to discipline staff made available to the Commission. It was suggested to us that his choice is reduced to dismissal and the loss of staff who cannot be replaced, or his enforced tolerance of performance which he knows is inadequate.

In our view a truly independent Electoral Commission should have a real choice in the appointment of the staff made available to it and full control over all staff engaged in election work.

### **Polling Places**

The electoral law authorises the Commission to appoint and abolish polling places by notice in the *National Gazette*. No polling place shall be abolished after the issue of the election writ and before its return.

### **The Common Roll**

Each electorate must be provided with a copy of its Common Roll. The law requires all persons to register. The Commissioner has the power to direct, by a notice in the *Gazette*, that a new Common Roll must be prepared and that persons not on the new Roll must submit a claim for enrolment. Section 46(4) of the Law makes it clear that any elector enrolled for an address for which he is entitled to be enrolled shall not be required to make a further claim. Section 47 provides that the new Roll shall be sent to Returning Officers who must then make additions or corrections to it in accordance with information received by them. The Law (Section 48 and Part VII) provides that objections can be lodged, in writing, with the Returning Officer to the Roll on the payment of a K4 (four kina) fee. No case was brought to our attention where these provisions or mechanisms had been used. It appeared that they are largely unknown to voters.

Supplementary rolls with the recent additions to the Roll may be printed immediately after the election writ is issued or at other times. Copies of the Roll and supplementary prints are required to be open for inspection during office hours at the office of the Returning Officer or elsewhere, and to be obtainable for a fee from her/his office. Section 51 imposes an obligation on all persons apparently entitled to enrolment and on all occupants of habitations, to give any information required by the Commission or by a Returning Officer in connection with the preparation or revision of the Roll.

The basic qualifications for enrolment are age, citizenship and six months' residence at the place where enrolment is claimed. Provisions include the right of appeal to the District Courts when applicants' claims or objections have been rejected by the Returning Officer (Part IX of the Law).

### **Nominations**

Candidates must be 25 years of age or over and must have been born in the electorate contested or resided there for two years continuously or five years at any time. We learned that there

is no requirement for the candidate to produce a list of supporters, though we heard no complaints on this point. Candidates can stand in only one electorate. The nomination fee was increased ten-fold in 1991 to K1,000 – a figure which some regard as too small and others feel is too large. For the 1997 elections it had been made non-refundable. Nominations closed on 17 April 1997.

**Comment**

The electoral law of Papua New Guinea is fair and comprehensive.

## Chapter 3

# Preparations for the Elections

### The Common Roll

The registration of qualified voters is acknowledged to be the cornerstone of a credible election. The integrity and adequacy of the electoral roll is fundamental to democracy. Without a credible roll all the further expense, efforts, preparations and activities for the poll and count amount to nothing for unregistered voters. They are effectively disenfranchised. We believe that Papua New Guinea's Common Roll deserved greater attention, time and resources than seem to have been devoted to it during the past 15 months.

The Electoral Commission's registration programme for the general election scheduled for 1997 began in May 1996. Its funds for the 1996 part of this programme amounted to some K3 million. The programme included an information and awareness-raising campaign underlining the legal duty to register, and sought to inform and motivate citizens throughout the country. The campaign was mainly conducted through the Press and on the radio. There were some problems because several provincial radio stations, which as noted later rely for funding on the provincial authorities, were out of action. However, the National Broadcasting system was available.

In the main urban centres the Commission employed students as well as staff made available by the national and local authorities. In the rural areas Village Recorders and the local District and Provincial officials were used. We were told that the enumerators were instructed to use the 1992 Roll as the basis of their work, make door-to-door visits in whichever area they were operating and list any other qualified persons whom they found. The lists were to be consolidated and given to the Returning Officer for ultimate transmission to the Commission in Port Moresby. There they would be fed into the computers and new rolls produced.

It was not clear whether in fact rolls produced as a result of this process were always returned to their places of origin for inspection and possible objection well in advance of the immediate pre-polling period.

The Group was informed that in some areas the enumerators were faced with refusal to register and often with threats of violence. We



*On show at the show ... specimen ballot papers, posters, leaflets and other voter education material at a special Electoral Commission booth at the Port Moresby Show, a popular event in Papua New Guinea's cultural and entertainment calendar*

were told that this was because the people were angry at not having received adequate services from the national and local authorities since the previous elections. Our own inspection of registration figures on the eve of polling indicated dramatic reductions between the numbers of voters listed in the first enumeration, as compared with those confirmed on the second, checking, survey. It was explained that many who had been registered initially were found later not to have been resident where they claimed to be, to be unknown or not to be qualified on residential grounds.

We were informed that the roll would be set out in alphabetical order according to place of residence – villages in rural areas, lots and streets in the towns.

The Electoral Commission had a difficult task in seeking to achieve efficient and effective registration. The population is unevenly spread, the terrain of the country is difficult and road communications are under-developed. (For example, there is no road from the capital Port Moresby to any provincial capital.) These practical problems appear to have been exacerbated by financial, management and organisational shortcomings, some of which arose from ineffective delegation and over-centralisation.

We were told that there were also shortcomings in the enumeration process, in particular that there was too little face-to-face contact. There also appear to have been problems in the collection of data and printing. It has been suggested that in future more direct and personal methods of registration should be used and that, despite the expense, each voter should be issued with a Voter ID card bearing her/his photograph. We learned that in 1991 Parliament had legislated for such a system. The Supreme Court declared this to be unconstitutional. Such a system could be beneficial and with adequate advance planning and due regard to the Constitution it could be implemented. A number of Commonwealth countries use such cards, linked with a computerised register, and we understand that this can speed the voting process, provide an additional safeguard against double-voting and other abuses, promote face-to-face registration and create greater confidence in the system.

### **Candidates and Political Parties**

A much-remarked and widely criticised feature of elections in Papua New Guinea is the very large number of candidates and, within this, the large number of independents. For the 1997 general election there were over 2,300 candidates in all – the highest total since independence and 40 per cent more than in 1992. Only slightly over 700 were endorsed by political parties. There were an average of 22 candidates per seat and one electorate in the Northern Province would be contested by no less than 61.

There is no requirement for political parties to register with the Electoral Commission. However, in order to contest an election they are required to register as corporations. The Electoral Commission is not involved in and has no control over this process.

We noted the sometimes vigorous debate in Papua New Guinea concerning the political parties. The Westminster parliamentary system, a form of which is used in Papua New Guinea, is based on a strong party system. However, as noted earlier, the party system in Papua New Guinea is relatively weak. Loyalty is essentially to the clan or to the individual rather than to the party. Many MPs, both independents and those notionally linked with a particular political party, are ready to desert to another group. Such shifts in the allegiance of individual MPs result in frequent changes of government and are criticised by many in Papua New Guinea who see this as a major defect and an obstacle to good government. As indicated earlier, the Constitution has been amended to restrict the use of the vote of confidence mechanism. Although seen elsewhere as a guarantee of accountability, many in Papua New Guinea do not regard this mechanism in this way. We believe that there are other means of discouraging defections, such as a law requiring that MPs who cross the floor must submit themselves to a by-election.

In an attempt to strengthen the party system a private member's bill was introduced in 1993. It proposed a number of reforms. These included the registration of political parties by the Electoral Commission, public funding, transparency concerning donations and accountability for and limits on election expenses. The breach of election expenditure limits would have been made a ground for disputing the result and severe penalties would have been imposed. The bill



*Air power ... helicopters were used to transport election equipment and polling officials to remote areas, as here in the Eastern Highlands*

did not become law. However, there is still widespread concern in Papua New Guinea about the numbers of independents and their role in the formation of governments. Proposals of the sort considered in 1993 are still being widely discussed and we hope that parliament will give them serious consideration in future as a possible means of strengthening the political party system.

### **Voter Education and Training of Officials**

The Electoral Commission began its voter education campaign in February 1996 with a six-month campaign on the national television channel, EM-TV. This was intensified in June 1996, supplemented by a church campaign. The Commission also produced a range of posters, booklets and other publicity information. We believe that such voter education (and ongoing civic education) is of the greatest importance and should be enhanced in future.

The Electoral Commission produced a training manual for polling officials explaining the election law and how it should be implemented. It dealt comprehensively with preparations for the elections; procedures for setting up and operating the polling booth; the various stages of the elections; the finalisation and closing of the poll; and procedures for the security of the votes and materials. It was difficult to gauge the effectiveness of the Commission's training and whether it was provided in good time. However, we were able to observe some training sessions at the Electoral Commission headquarters and in the provinces. The techniques varied from somewhat formal lectures with only a small hands-on element to very lively participatory instruction incorporating simulations.

### **Preparation of Ballot Papers**

The ballot papers were printed by three separate private printers in Port Moresby. Because of the large number of candidates the ballot papers were in many cases very large. The paper

quality was of good, but not bank-note, standard. The late delivery of and/or the submission of inferior quality photographs by candidates led to problems in the production of some ballot papers. It was proposed that in future it should be insisted that proper photographs should accompany nomination papers.

### **Security**

This matter was taken extremely seriously by both the Electoral Commission and the police. Plans for the deployment of police and soldiers to parts of the country where violence had occurred at election time in the past were drawn up early and well publicised. The actual deployment was also widely advertised and it was made clear that violence would be dealt with firmly.

## Chapter 4

# The Campaign and the News Media

### The Campaign

The 1997 election campaign began officially on 18 April 1997 when nominations closed. Because it was in its final stages by the time our Observer Group arrived in Port Moresby on 6 June, we were unable to see much of the campaign.

We should record at the outset that we were told that candidates were able to campaign freely. This was confirmed by our own observations at the end of the campaign period. The extent and visibility of campaigning reflected the high level of candidate participation. Everywhere we went, we encountered an enthusiastic atmosphere in which it was widely believed that anyone could win.

In general, campaign methods in the 1997 elections in Papua New Guinea were similar to those used in other Commonwealth countries at election time: vehicles with loudspeakers, bullhorns, billboards, T-shirts and posters (some four-sided and suspended from trees). Indeed, many of our Group remarked that there was seldom a rural or urban dwelling which was not festooned with candidates' posters. Many like-minded candidates in Regional and Open seats also campaigned together, occasionally drawing in national political figures for extra support. Some of the larger and better financed political parties were also able to afford paid advertisements in the Press and on the radio. But more customary methods were also used. These included motorcades, feasts and rallies, the latter often resembling colourful 'sing-sings' where supporters would be lavished with food and gifts by candidates as a demonstration of their status as traditional 'big men'.

Although there was no specific Code of Conduct for election campaigning, the Electoral Commission did produce and disseminate a leaflet entitled *Law on Campaign, Bribery, Undue Influence and Illegal Practices*. The information contained in this leaflet, as well as other election news, was also widely publicised through 'advertorial'-type columns and programmes in the national media, financed by the Electoral Commission. Pre-campaign spots warned candidates to stay within the law "or the police and defence force will deal with you." Towards the end of the campaign the threat was disqualification in the Court of Disputed Returns. Despite these efforts, our Group was aware of allegations of campaign abuses including bribery and threats, the calling-in of favours, campaigning past polling day and the nomination of 'friendly candidates' to split the electorate's vote along village and tribal lines. In addition, our Group observed that incumbent ministers continued to make announcements and to take political initiatives, which the media publicised to maximum effect.

Our attention was also drawn to the benefits derived by sitting members during the campaign period from the use of their Electoral Development Funds over the preceding years. As noted earlier, the EDF is used to establish development projects in the MP's electorate. Recently it has been decided that EDF expenditure should be controlled not by the MP alone but by a committee which the MP chairs. Nevertheless, the MP continues to have substantial influence on EDF expenditure – and to claim the benefit during the election campaign period. Critics have objected that since a sitting MP may initiate and promote projects in the run-up to the general election and even in the campaign period this contradicts the spirit of the electoral law and gives an unfair advantage to the MP.

### Violence

Election campaigns in Papua New Guinea have in the past been marked by considerable violence in parts of the country. We were told that there had been less violence during the campaign period this time. The imposition of curfews and liquor bans in Port Moresby and other centres, and towards the end of the campaign across the entire country, was cited as one of the reasons for this. Police, who were on alert throughout the campaign, told us that these





*Rallying support ... candidates campaigned freely and their words and activities were reported fairly: (above) election rallies such as this played an important part in the campaign and often attracted large crowds; (below) a candidate's motorcade in Morobe province*



efforts had made a major impact. Church organisations also assisted by encouraging peaceful polling, as did the Electoral Commission by repeatedly stressing the importance of a calm campaign period through the media. Our Group also detected a determination on the part of many voters to ensure that campaigning was peaceful. Although there were violent incidents which were extensively reported, the overall campaign did not appear to us to have been as violent as had been feared.

### ***Election Issues***

From our own observations, it appeared that the former government parties concentrated on their record in office, while the opposition emphasised that the incumbent parties had failed to live up to the expectations of the people. However, campaigning was often localised and focused on individuals and personalities rather than issues. Many candidates had very general platforms, stressing for instance their support for development, better roads and schooling. Party manifestos were not in wide circulation. One party organiser went so far as to tell members of our Group that his party's manifesto was a secret – for fear that other parties would steal its ideas.

Corruption and the need for good governance emerged as the major national issues of the campaign. Several national and many local campaigns denounced successive generations of political leaders for their alleged failure to live up to the required standards and proposed a new style of politics. One senior media representative told us that this issue had "gripped the nation". It was given a powerful boost during our time in Papua New Guinea by the intensification of a campaign by the NGO Transparency International, which urged political leaders to sign a national integrity pledge. This group urged politicians to condemn vote-buying and to make public disclosures on campaign contributions. Debate about the conduct of Papua New Guinea's political leaders was also stimulated by media treatment of the recent 'Sandline events', the submission to the Acting Prime Minister of the Commission of Inquiry's report at the end of May and the public campaign on the Sandline issue by Brigadier-General Jerry Singirok, who addressed rallies alongside 'anti-corruption' candidates in many parts of the country.

Church organisations through 'Operation Brukin Skru' (Operation Kneeling) and a 'Pray-Before-You-Vote' campaign encouraged voters to break free of traditional obligations and elect the best candidate for the job – not just the person in their own clan or language group.

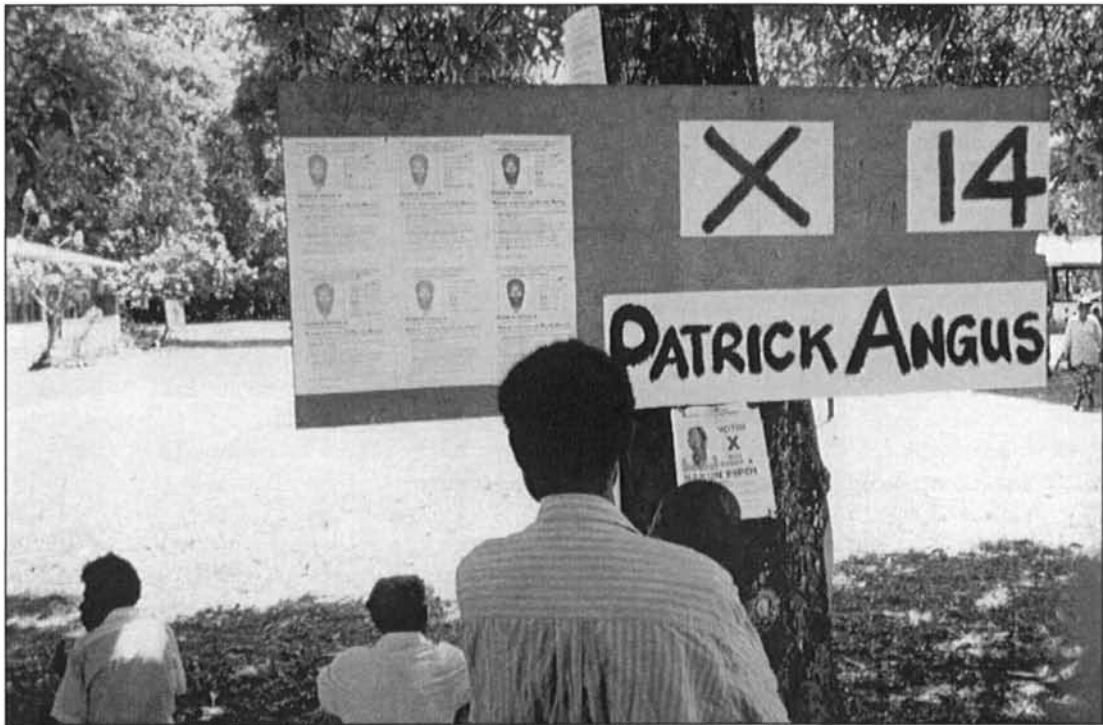
### **The News Media**

#### ***Print Media***

Papua New Guineans are well served by a small but robust and professional news media, both publicly and privately owned. The nature of the country's rugged landscape, however, make newspapers nearly inaccessible to all but urban dwellers. There are two English-language newspapers, privately owned, which publish Monday to Friday and are distributed nationally. These are the *Post-Courier* (33,251 audited circulation), owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, and *The National* (24,000 – according to the publisher's statement). There are also two quality weekly newspapers, *The Independent* (English) and *Wantok* (Tok Pisin), both of which are owned jointly by the Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican and United churches. The weeklies print 10,000 and 11,000 copies respectively.

Of the country's English-language newspapers, the *Post-Courier* has the wider circulation. However, neither it nor its lively rival, *The National*, backed a particular party in the latter part of the campaign. On occasion, both are feisty and willing to question the major pronouncements of the parties. All the newspapers provided healthy criticism of the campaign and called for a new way of conducting government business.

While there were no specific guidelines for election coverage in the Press, for the most part the industry did adhere to a basic code of conduct for election advertising. In the English-language papers efforts were made to distinguish editorial matter from paid advertising, and after campaigning officially ended no campaign advertisements were run in any of the papers.



*Name recognition ... a candidate in Madang reminds voters of his name and, crucially, his number on the ballot paper*

### **Radio**

Radio is by far the most important channel of information in Papua New Guinea, given the country's difficult terrain and poor road system. The country's publicly owned radio network, the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), is therefore the most important source of election news, providing it in both English and Tok Pisin. Particularly in the months prior to the election campaign, the NBC was an invaluable source of voter education through its twice-weekly election awareness programme.

The NBC has suffered, and continues to suffer, serious funding problems which inhibit its ability to upgrade antiquated equipment and operate as a national and regional broadcaster. It has a national station as well as 19 provincial stations providing coverage in theory to 95 per cent of the country. At the time of our visit, however, some five provincial stations were off the air due to lack of funding and a sixth, in the Eastern Highlands Province, was only able to broadcast on a temporary basis when additional provincial funds were made available at the time of the count. Despite being publicly funded (albeit modestly), the NBC is an independent news-gathering organisation and not a government information bureau.

During the campaign it was alleged in the *Post-Courier* that one provincial station in the Highlands, which broadcast a long-running radio programme hosted by one of the candidates, was closed by the provincial Governor. The allegation exposed an anomaly in the functioning of provincial NBC stations. Since a restructuring of the provincial government system, day-to-day responsibility for running the provincial radio stations now rests with provincial governors who could, potentially, exercise undue influence over them during election campaigns. Political interference with the media was also suggested when it was reported that several election candidates and a government department head had asked the Electoral Commissioner to halt NBC's live reporting of the count to avoid influencing election results while voting was still continuing.

The lack of funding for the NBC, and the current climate of fiscal self-reliance, mean that NBC must now operate on a commercial basis to complement public resources. It therefore no longer provides free airtime to recognised political parties. The cost of purchasing airtime was felt by many to be prohibitive to all but the wealthiest political parties.

Given the important nature of the NBC in disseminating voter education at election time, as well as its ongoing role in a democracy, we were very concerned with the underfunding of the NBC, and hope that the next government will upgrade radio equipment as a national priority to ensure a properly functioning national radio network.

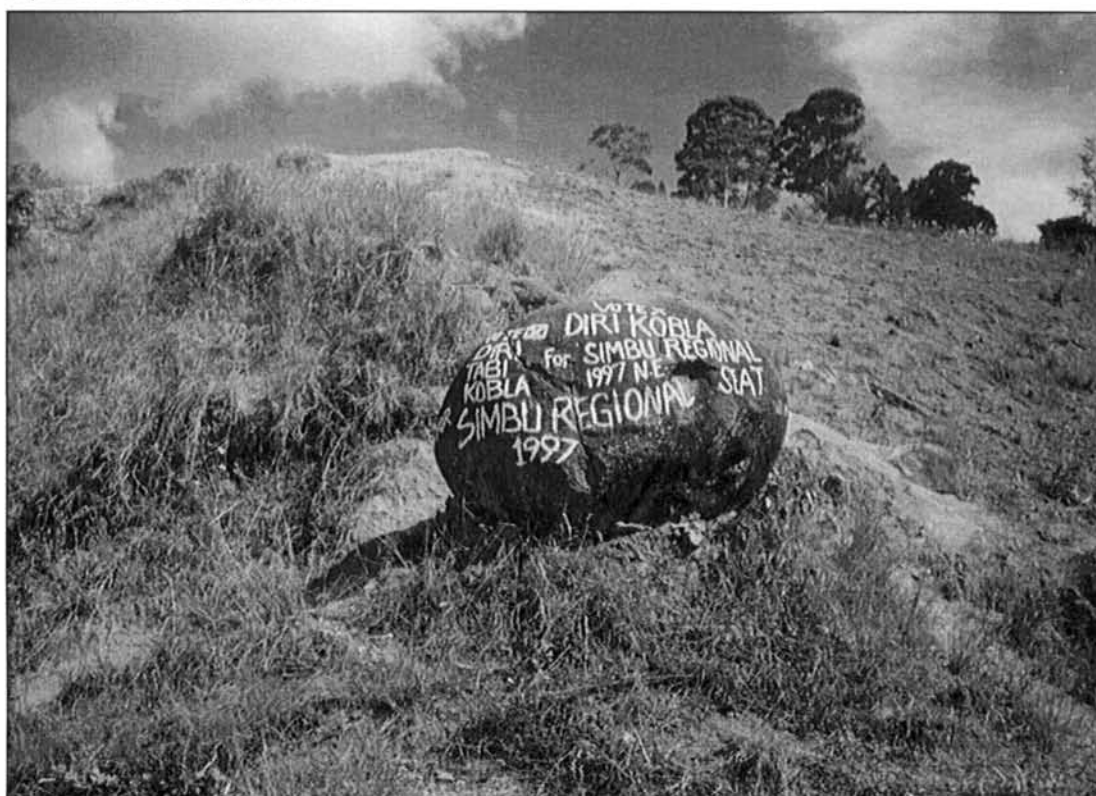
The other radio broadcaster in the country is PNG FM Pty Ltd which owns two music radio stations, NAU FM in English and Yumi FM in Tok Pisin. Although both are highly popular, only NAU FM, launched in 1994 and the older of the two, has national coverage while Yumi principally reaches the major cities. Unlike in the printed media, there was less careful division between 'editorial' and advertising here. One party, the People's Progress Party, regularly ran a musical campaign jingle on NAU FM which was never identified by the station as a paid political announcement.

### Television

Although there is no public television broadcaster in Papua New Guinea, there is a privately owned television station, EM-TV. Launched in 1987, it is today still received only by a relatively small percentage of homes in the rural areas. It is owned by Australia's Network 9. Once a week it broadcast an Election '97 Update in English, and three times a week in Tok Pisin, spots paid for by the Electoral Commission. This was an important source of information and education for voters, particularly illiterate ones, and complemented the Electoral Commission's twice-weekly columns in the print media and other publicity on the radio.

Like its radio-station counterparts, EM-TV did not provide any free airtime to political parties or candidates; nor did it provide a televised leadership debate. The role of constructive criticism and commentary is less developed here than in the Press, despite the weekly commentary provided by its news editor, John Eggins.

*On the rocks ... part of the earth's crust put to effective election use: this improvised advertisement stood next to an important road in Simbu province*



\*\*\*\*\*

In conclusion, our Group felt that the media on occasion exaggerated the negative aspects of the campaign: this might have been because the counting was slow, which allowed the Press more time to concentrate on election troubles. However, our feeling was that the media were generally professional and fair in their reporting of the elections.

Access to the media – whether print, radio or television – was never an issue amongst political parties. Some of them complained that only those with substantial funds could afford paid advertisements, though most accepted the prevailing climate of ‘user-pay’ with resignation.

Given that the prevailing levels of literacy and the availability of the media limited its reach, overall the Group found that the media played an important role in the 1997 election campaign. The Group noted with satisfaction that the media are free and not subject to political restrictions. We believe that this is an essential element in Papua New Guinea’s democracy.

## Chapter 5

# The Poll and Count

### **The Poll**

Polling was due to take place over a two-week period, between 14 and 28 June. In some provinces it was scheduled for one day only – for instance, on 16 June in the National Capital District, covering the capital Port Moresby, and on 17 June in the second city, Lae. In the Highlands, accounting for around half the population, voting in the Western Highlands Province was due to take place on 16 June, in Simbu and the Eastern Highlands on 18 June, in the Southern Highlands on 21 June and in Enga Province on 23 June. Elsewhere voting was staggered throughout the election fortnight, with teams of election officials moving from place to place, though at any one polling booth it was planned that voting would take place on one day only.

This arrangement enabled the Electoral Commission to make the best use of its limited resources. To have held the elections on the same day everywhere would have required a vast increase in the number of polling teams and the resources required would have been immense, especially given the difficult terrain of much of the country. In the Highlands one-day voting enabled the security forces to be concentrated for maximum effect.

### *The Opening of the Poll*

Our teams were in place several days ahead of voting, in order to familiarise themselves with the provinces to be covered. On the first day on which voting took place in their province they were ready early to observe the opening procedure at polling booths. However, few of the booths that we visited opened at the scheduled time of 8 a.m. In some places the officials were ready but they only started the process once most of the voters were present. In many others either the officials were late, essential materials failed to arrive on time, necessary items (such as tables and other furniture) had to be found or there was some other reason for a late start. Sometimes voting started very late and in some electorates it could not begin until the day after it was due to take place. On the first day of the polling period delays in the printing of ballot papers led to the postponement of voting in some electorates.

As time went on more problems were reported. In parts of the country the schedule had to be amended and rearranged. However, even where this allowed for additional preparation time, delays still occurred. Helicopters failed to turn up on time to take polling teams to remote areas, supplies of ballot papers were inadequate and polling booths opened late even when they were only a relatively short distance from Electoral Commission offices in provincial capitals.

We noted the deep disappointment of voters in some areas who had turned out in large numbers at the right time and the right place in the justifiable expectation that the polling booths would be there too. It was no surprise that the voters were not always able to remain calm, patient and forbearing.

### *Voting Arrangements*

Everywhere the process was transparent and in most places the procedures were properly implemented. However, there were marked variations in practice in different parts of the country. In some rural areas whole communities gathered and waited, sometimes for very long periods, then came up one by one as the names on the Common Roll were called out. In others electors were able to vote on a 'first-come, first-served' basis, once their names were found and marked off on the Roll. No use appeared to have been made of the voter number system, under which a voter can quote a number allowing ready access to her/his name in the list.

Each elector's little finger was marked with indelible ink, as a safeguard against double-voting. They were each handed two ballot papers – one for the election of the MP to represent





*Arriving ... an enthusiastic group of supporters arriving at a polling booth*



*Under scrutiny ... before voting began Presiding Officers sealed the ballot box in the presence of the candidates' representatives, known as 'scrutineers'*



*On the list ... the one consistent complaint concerned the register, known in Papua New Guinea as the Common Roll: here officials search for electors' names while Commonwealth Observer Group Chairperson Sir Robin Gray looks on*

the electorate in which the elector was registered (known as the 'Open Electorate') and another for an MP to represent the Province as a whole (known as the 'Provincial Electorate'). It was not obligatory to take two ballot papers or to mark both. The law prohibited the removal of ballot papers from the polling booth. Each ballot paper bore the names and photographs of the candidates and, in the case of party-endorsed candidates, the name of their party and the photograph of their party leader. Independents were identified as such. Specimen ballot papers are at *Annexes XI and XII*. Not all were printed properly. In at least one case mistakes were made with candidates' photographs.

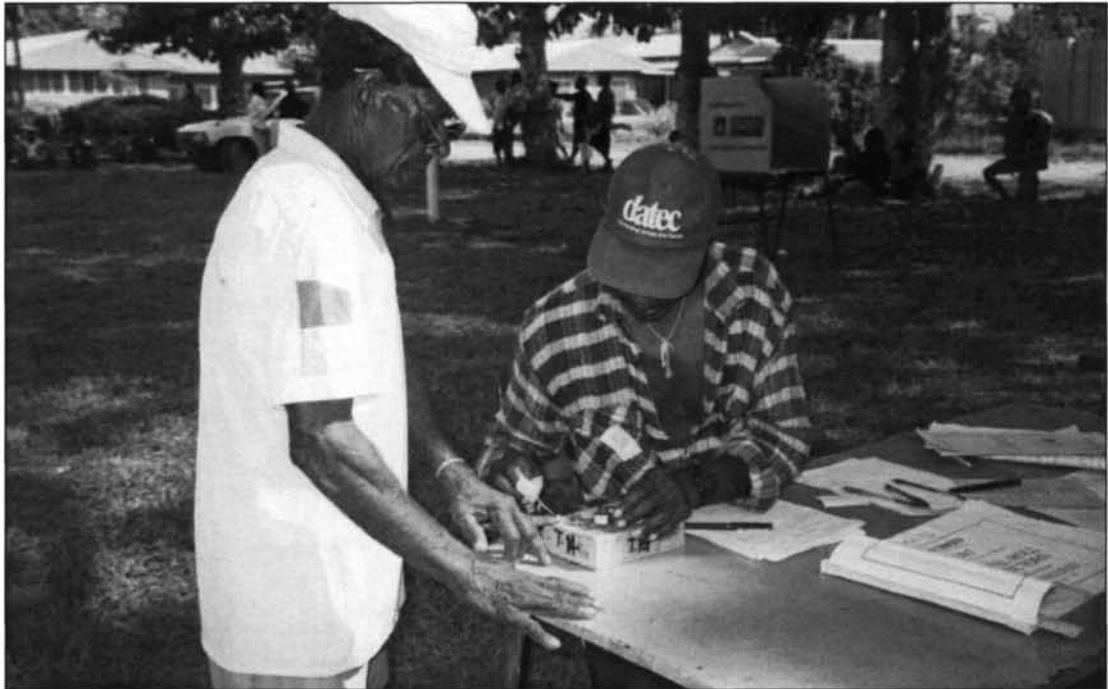
Usually the procedure began with the marking of the register, the application of indelible ink and the presentation of the ballot papers, though in some places the sequence differed. We were informed of some cases of double-voting.

Arrangements and facilities at the polling booths varied. Many booths were well equipped and properly laid out. Others were less impressive. They were almost always sited out of doors, which meant that the process was commendably transparent – though it posed difficulties when it rained and relocation indoors was impossible, in which case voting sometimes had to be suspended.

The location of the booths was not always as well thought out as it might have been and several of our teams came across instances where there were too many voters per booth – in one case as many as 1,800. In several places additional booths would have helped. The employment of additional staff, relevant to the number of electors, would also have made it unnecessary for councillors and other 'helpers' to participate in the organisation of the polling process, sometimes handling ballot papers. It would also have ensured that all Presiding Officers could oversee the process effectively: at many polling booths we visited in the Highlands, and some elsewhere, the Presiding Officer was directly engaged in the mechanics of the process and to that extent was unable to 'preside' effectively.

Voters generally seemed to be not only serious in their motivation and enthusiastic about the event but also well aware of the procedures. The polling booths were in any case well provided with sample ballot papers and information notices – in pidgin, English and sometimes the local language – and Presiding Officers or local leaders in many places addressed the voters to ensure that they knew the procedures whether or not they had read the posters. However,





*Deterrence ... indelible ink was used to show that an elector had voted: practice varied, but normally it was applied – as here in East Sepik – to the little finger*

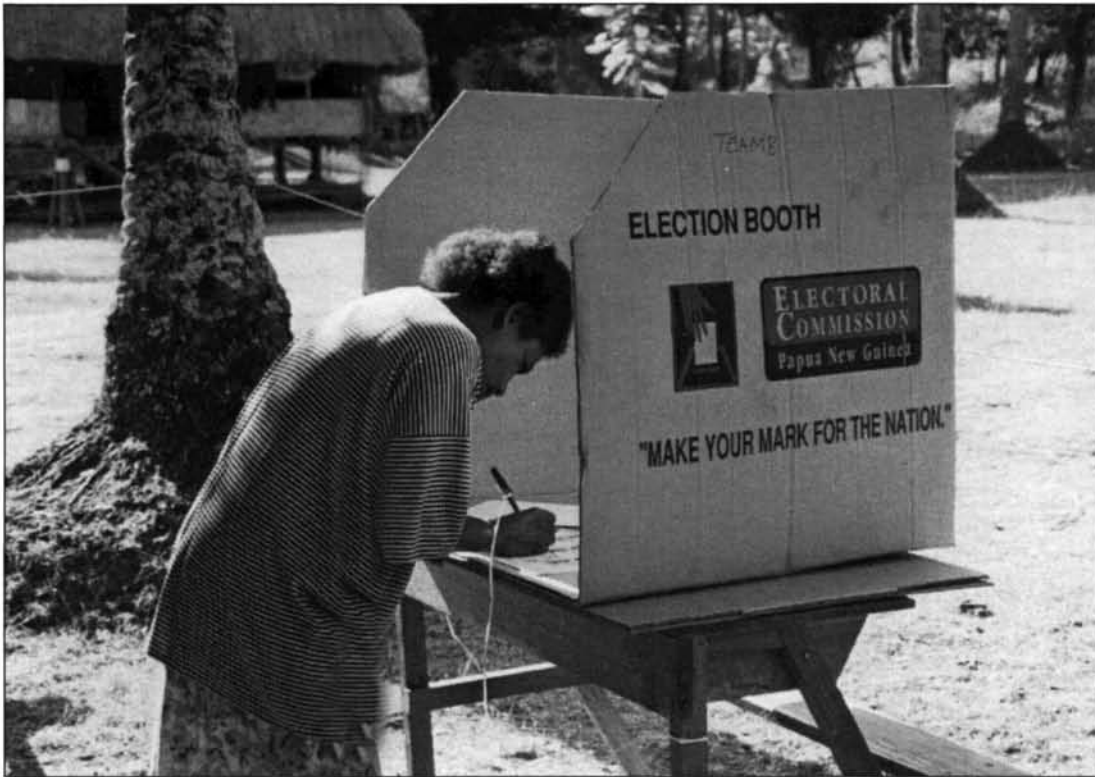
voters were sometimes at the wrong booth and had to visit several in an effort to find the right one. We were surprised to find that there was a discrepancy between the legal provision that a voter could cast her/his ballot at any booth in the electorate, and the requirement on the day that this should be done at a specified booth.

We noticed that in some places the rule preventing candidates from displaying their posters very near the polling booth itself was being ignored. However, the scrutineers and the voters rarely objected.

### ***The Common Roll***

The one consistent complaint concerned the Common Roll. It was alleged that there was both under-registration in particular areas and overall over-registration. We were told of 'ghost-names', double registration and dramatic increases in the size of the Common Roll in particular electorates. In one electorate the numbers on the roll had increased by over 50 per cent since the 1992 general election. Voters insisted that they had registered but had been turned away at the polling booths because their names were not on the Roll. The figures alone suggest that in some parts of the country investigation by the Electoral Commission and an examination of registration procedures are both merited.

Our own observations during the polling period revealed an extremely uneven picture. In the same area it was possible to find evidence of effective registration while nearby the opposite was the case. It appeared that this unevenness was due to the quality and ability of those responsible for compiling the roll. In some rural areas the Village Recorders had produced rolls which included all those residents who had voted in 1992 as well as the newly qualified: the same was true in some urban areas. In other areas we came across people who claimed long residence and participation in previous elections but who were not enrolled. Despite election awareness efforts many people in senior positions, some of whom played a role as election officials, were unaware of the need to register for the general election. Polling officials told us that names which they were sure they had submitted properly had been omitted from the roll. In some of the rolls we saw names were listed more than once – on occasions up to three or four times. Presiding Officers used their discretion in such cases. Some people complained that



*X marks the spot ... while in much of the country voting compartments were used and the ballot was genuinely secret (above), in parts of the Highlands, for instance, there was no screening and it was not (below)*





*In the box ... all smiles as this voter puts her voting papers in the ballot box: in most places the polling procedures were implemented properly – polling officials were diligent and the people participated eagerly*

their names had been so badly misspelled or transcribed as to be virtually unrecognisable.

We discovered that in some cases Presiding Officers who had disallowed a large number of apparently qualified persons from voting (because they were not on the roll) then resorted to the use of the 1992 Roll. This reduced the number of rejections. One result of this was that the time taken to process the voters was extended to ten or 12 minutes per voter, with consequent delays and crowding. This had a knock-on effect into the late afternoon and the subsequent denial of the vote to persons waiting outside the voting enclosure at the close of the polls.

The format and presentation of the roll was not uniform in style or content. Voters were sometimes grouped in alphabetical order in residential zones or villages. In other cases the listing seemed to have no particular order. This was frustrating for the voter, especially in places where 'first-come, first-served' was the practice, and the polling officials had to spend a great deal of time trying to find names, searching for them in one block of names after another. The patience of the people in these situations was admirable. In villages the lack of an alphabetical ordering was not such a problem, since voters were called up in order and often appeared to be happy to wait their turn.

The problems caused by the organisation of the roll were compounded by the fact that many people in Papua New Guinea do not use a uniform family name. In urban areas some people claiming a vote appeared not to be able to recognise the address where they were registered. In such cases they were either denied the vote or directed to another booth. It was not possible to discover whether the problem of identifying voters was due to the fact that they were not qualified, were confused or had been misplaced on the roll.

#### ***Voters by Group and the Secrecy of the Ballot***

Illiterate voters were allowed to take a helper to the voting compartment to assist them, although in many cases the Presiding Officer, another polling official or even a police officer performed this task – sometimes at the insistence of the scrutineers. Where a helper assisted the voter – for instance in rural areas, where the numbers of illiterate voters were greatest –

we noticed that the same person sometimes made repeated visits to the polling booth accompanied by a different voter each time. This gave rise to the suspicion that these helpers could have been working for a particular candidate and that they were ensuring that voters cast their ballot for that candidate. In some places more than one 'helper' attempted to accompany the voter. Voters may be well aware that they are free to choose whoever they wish to accompany and assist them. However, it might help for there to be greater publicity of this fact before and on polling day itself.

The polling officials kept a 'sex tally' so that they would be able to monitor the number of voters by gender and thereby enable the Electoral Commission to know whether women were participating in the process as fully as men. It appeared that they were. Women voters turned out in large numbers and in many cases there were more female than male voters.

We were also told that clan affiliations would influence voting patterns, with every member expected to support a particular candidate. Although it is clear that such influences are stronger in some places than in others, there was often strong circumstantial evidence to suggest that traditional group loyalty is still a powerful factor in elections in Papua New Guinea.

While in much of the country the ballot was genuinely secret, in parts of the Highlands, for instance, it was not. Voting compartments or screens were not used, so voting was not done in private: the ballot paper was marked at a table within sight of anyone who cared to watch.

In some places it was considered acceptable for minors to vote. While some officials and voters were robust in their opposition to attempted under-age voting, in certain electorates polling officials took the view that this was permissible as long as the scrutineers did not object and the name of the child in question appeared on the Common Roll.

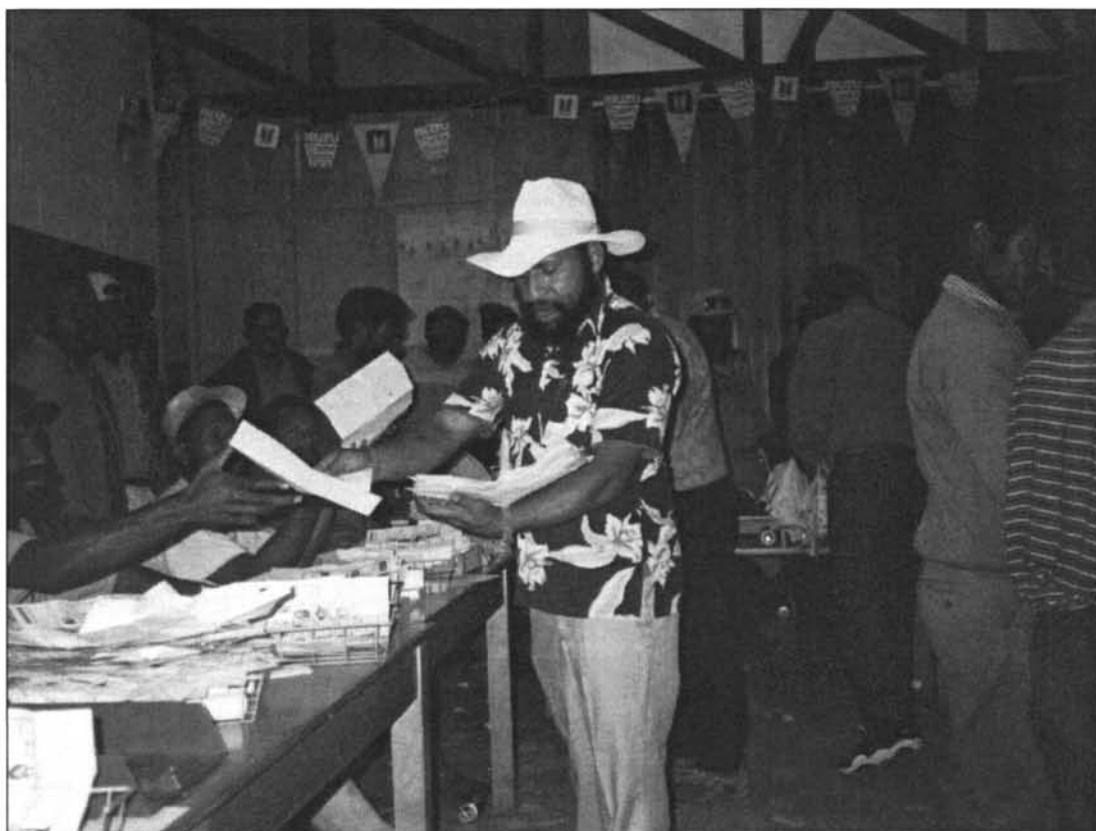
### *Scrutineers, Polling Officials and Police*

Scrutineers, each representing a particular candidate, were present at all the polling booths visited. Their role was to observe the process and to object if procedures were not being followed. In some cases they proved to be knowledgeable and vigilant. In others they would have benefited from more thorough preparation and training. In only a few cases did they express dissatisfaction with the process. In the best cases, and there were many of them, we noted a good relationship between the scrutineers and the polling staff and with one another.

The majority of Presiding Officers and polling staff were efficient and diligent even when they were under great pressure. Many of them were 'old hands' with very effective techniques, especially in the rural areas. Some officials were young, but they learned fast and their inexperience was often balanced by the presence of other experienced officials. In a number of cases the officials showed great courage in resisting pressure to allow a breach of procedure, although unfortunately in some – especially where police were not present – this was not the case. On other occasions, the officials seemed not to be aware that irregularities were taking place. Almost everywhere the voters appeared to trust them. They often showed great ingenuity in making *ad hoc* arrangements, for instance in the use of local materials to make improvised voting compartments. Except in the Highlands, where many officials did not even wear badges, polling officials were easily identified by their T-shirts (which were marked 'Election Official').

Security at polling booths was provided by one or more, usually unarmed, police officers. Mobile teams of other, armed, officers – in some areas supported by soldiers of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force – were held in reserve to be deployed if required. The police officers we met were invariably helpful to voters and Commonwealth Observers alike. In most cases they clearly enjoyed the confidence of the voters and were effective in ensuring security for both people and process.

However, there were not always sufficient police to ensure one at every polling booth. And even where police were present this was not always enough to prevent sometimes serious election offences. We were informed by the police that at this general election, as at previous ones, there were instances of ballot boxes being stolen, the abduction of polling teams, the destruction of ballot papers and sometimes serious disorder. Such incidents were well publicised in the national media.



*At the count ... an election official sorts ballot papers by candidate at a count in the Western Highlands (above); the progress of the count was recorded ballot box-by-ballot box on blackboards fixed to the counting centre walls (below)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 UNCLE ANDREW TAI	0	1	0	0	0	0	8	2	0	8	17	4
2 SANDY KAGL	1	6	0	0	4	8	4	0	28	2	51	47
3 PAIAS WINGTI	37	21	170	6	74	53	87	55	26	94		
4 FR. ROBERT LAK	3	72	110	4	5	57	35	57	74			
5 WILLIAM WII	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6 PAULUS K. KUNAI	270	1	1	0	27	1	39	2				
7 JOHN KUMGATI	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1				
8 KAGUL KOROKA	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0				
9 ROBERT ENGA	0	2	0	0	0	0	14	52				
10 LUCAS ROIKA	2	10	83	1	0	154	137	37	35			
11 JAMES KOND	70	12	5	0	0	0	0	0	0			
12 THOMAS N. AMUK	1	1	0	0	0	6	99	6				
13 DAVID OPA	5	33	13	0	0	1	2	58				
14 PHILIP KAPAL	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0				
15 NICHOLAS R. NUNAN	0	2	0	0	27	1	0	0				
FORMAL	330	269	382	11	271	188	319	17				
INFORMAL	0	6	1	0	1	0	0	0				
TOTAL	330	275	383	11	272	188	319	17				



However, where the police were unable to prevent such occurrences robust follow-up action was undertaken. And in areas that were thought likely to be troublesome, large contingents of security force personnel were deployed as a deterrent. Such precautionary deployment – well publicised in advance – helped to ensure greater calm on polling day than might otherwise have been expected. We were deeply impressed by the organisation, discipline, professionalism and competence of the police and their determination to uphold the democratic rights of their fellow citizens. We should also state that the Group was struck by the contrast, almost everywhere, between the image of a violent Papua New Guinea and the reality which we experienced.

### *The Closure*

The closure sometimes came quite early in the day, with officials and scrutineers taking the view that it was unnecessary for the polling booth to remain open when all the voters on their list had cast their ballots. At other places many voters had still to exercise their franchise at 6 p.m. Often this was caused by the late opening, sometimes by the sheer numbers of voters on the list. Often both factors were combined. Always this occasioned frustration, and sometimes worse, especially when those who had yet to vote had seen members of other clans vote while their own had had to wait. Where the numbers of voters still to participate justified it Presiding Officers announced that polling would continue the next day. But in some places Presiding Officers did not allow voters who were in the queue at 6 p.m. to be processed that day or the next, in clear contravention of our understanding of the rules.

We encountered few objections to the way in which the closure procedure was implemented and there was general confidence that the ballot boxes would be well looked after between the end of the poll and the beginning of the count.

### *The Count*

The count was not conducted at the polling booth itself but at specially designated counting centres (usually in the provincial capital, but sometimes in the district headquarters town). It was only allowed to begin once all the ballot boxes in the electorate were gathered in. These were normally stored at police stations prior to the count. Sometimes large crowds gathered outside the police stations, both to witness the return of the boxes and to mount a vigil until the count began. Crowds were also to be seen outside counting centres, although police usually managed to keep them well back when the counting got under way.

### *The Procedure*

The boxes were opened one at a time and the papers sorted first into piles for the 'Open Electorate' and for the 'Provincial Seat', and then by candidate. At all times the candidates' scrutineers were able to observe the process at close quarters, and good order was maintained. The ballot papers were counted and recounted to ensure that there was no possibility of error and the numbers for each candidate were recorded on boards lining the walls of the counting centre.

Periodically sub-totals were calculated and the media informed of the progressive tally, so that they could in turn inform the general public. Apart from enabling the process to be as transparent as possible, given that the public could not be admitted to the counting centre itself, the media's periodic bulletins on the course of the count probably had a positive effect in places where anticipation of the result might have triggered trouble. They enabled the supporters of particular candidates to adjust to the likely outcome over a period, which was probably a preferable alternative to a sudden announcement.

### *Assessment*

All the counts we witnessed were thorough and correct, though the scrupulousness of the procedure, the limitations imposed by the often small size of the counting rooms, frequent

suspensions caused by challenges from vigilant scrutineers and the relatively small number of counters employed meant that the process took a very long time. In some places it was further prolonged by extensive breaks to enable the counting teams to rest, whereas employment of additional counting teams could have enabled the process to be continuous and therefore quicker. Some of our Observers were concerned that where the counting was continuous too few shifts of counters were used, so that they became over-tired. Others argued that by proceeding a box at a time the process enabled the candidates' scrutineers to detect 'disloyalty' on the part of certain groups of voters. On the latter point we suggest that the Electoral Commission might consider amending arrangements so that the voting of particular communities cannot be easily identified. This might be done, for instance, by ensuring that the contents of ballot boxes are mixed before counting. We also believe that counting more than one box at a time would speed up the process. In general, however, we were impressed by the count. The counters were efficient and the process well managed.

### **Results**

In each provincial capital a central 'Tally Centre' kept track of the progress at each count. Outside scoreboards were erected to enable the public to see all the results once they had been declared. Declarations were sometimes followed by serious violence as one set of supporters exacted revenge on voters believed to have voted the 'wrong' way. However, the extent of such disturbances appears to have been more limited than had been feared, even in areas with a reputation for uproar.

### **Comments**

The Electoral Commission was confronted by formidable logistical difficulties. We were told that they had received less money than requested and that there had been problems in transmission of the required amounts on time. This caused last-minute problems, for instance in the hiring of helicopters, the payment of allowances to election officials and the purchase of necessary items. However, these factors do not explain all the problems that were encountered during the polling period. We were disappointed at the scale and effect of the shortcomings in planning and organisation and we believe that the Electoral Commission must consider its management of the arrangements in good time for the next general election. It should also revise the system of registration so that an accurate Common Roll is in place prior to the next general election, or sooner if possible, and improve arrangements for the secrecy of the ballot, which as we have noted above was not assured in some parts of the country.

The Commission should also have more staff, especially at provincial level where it has to rely too much on the provincial administration rather than its own officers. Inevitably, the organisation of a general election will require assistance from provincial administration officials. But it is absolutely necessary that the Commission should have more staff. At headquarters there should be additional professional staff, particularly in logistics and information technology. And there should be an office in each province with additional permanent core staff, especially to deal with registration. An increase in funding – not only immediately before the elections, when transmission must be timely, but over the entire period between elections – would, we believe, result in greater efficiency and better organised elections. We believe that the Commission should be funded directly from parliamentary appropriations.

Despite the logistical and organisational difficulties experienced this year, we believe that it should be possible, in time, for Papua New Guinea to hold countrywide one-day elections and that the Electoral Commission should continue to move in this direction.

Finally, we commend the voters not only for their patience and fortitude but also, and above all, for their enthusiastic engagement in the process and their determination to express their democratic rights.

# Conclusions

In the Introduction to this Report we described the arrangements for our deployment across the country. Seven two-person teams were based in major provincial centres, while our Chairperson roved across the country. During the fortnight that we were in the field we observed all aspects of the electoral process. We witnessed polling at 321 polling booths in some 66 electorates in 18 of the 20 provinces and observed 17 counts. Our sample embraced the coastal provinces, the islands and the highlands, urban and rural areas, peaceful places and those with a reputation for turbulence, the traditional and the modern. We spoke to many people and we visited many places. In short, we achieved as comprehensive a coverage as possible. As a result we believe that our 'core sample' of the election process was a good one.

There will be shortcomings in any election and this general election was no exception. Some of the shortcomings were serious, particularly the inadequacies of the Common Roll. But these were not such as to invalidate the outcome. Overall, we believe that the conditions existed for a free expression of will by the electors and that the result of the election will reflect the wishes of the voters. Candidates were able to campaign freely and vigorously. Their words and activities were reported fairly by a professional, responsible and free media. The election laws were fair, the process was transparent, in most places the polling procedures were implemented properly. Polling officials were diligent, the people participated eagerly and the counting process was good. Strenuous – and largely successful – efforts were made to ensure security for both people and process.

The shortcomings to which we have drawn attention can be addressed and improvements made for the future – and we are confident that they will be. With this and the wider interests of democracy in Papua New Guinea in mind, we have three sets of suggestions:

- **Strengthening the Electoral Commission** – the Commission needs to improve its management and organisation of elections. To be able to do so and to improve its all-round effectiveness, the Electoral Commission in turn needs to be strengthened in two key areas. First, it must have more staff. At headquarters there should be additional professional staff, particularly in logistics and information technology, and there should be an office in each province with more permanent core staff, especially to deal with registration. The Commission must also have full control over all those engaged in election work. Second, it must have more money, both at election time (when transmission of funds must be timely) and throughout the period in between elections, in the form of annual grants. These should ideally come directly from parliamentary appropriations.
- **Improving the electoral process** – in order to ensure that a reliable and accurate Common Roll can be put in place prior to the next general election, and sooner if possible, a more efficient and effective system of registration should be introduced. With this in mind the Electoral Commission might consider the experience of other Commonwealth countries, both in the use of continuous registration and the use of photo Voter ID cards linked to a computerised registration process. In this context we must also emphasise the importance of holding regular censuses. Other matters might usefully be examined, in particular to ensure the secrecy of the ballot at every polling booth, since we observed that in some parts of the country this was not always assured. We were generally impressed with the counting process, but the Commission might consider amending arrangements so that the voting of particular communities cannot be easily identified. Enhanced voter and ongoing civic education activities might be considered by the Commission and NGOs.
- **Strengthening democracy** – we believe that Papua New Guinea should progressively move towards the holding of countrywide one-day elections. Consideration might be given to alternative systems of voting, given the number of candidates contesting elections in Papua New Guinea, and to possible means of strengthening Papua New Guinea's political party system. These might include state funding for the parties, ensuring that an MP who



crosses the floor should resign and fight a by-election, increasing the level of the candidate's deposit and requiring additional evidence of support from candidates at the time of nomination. We believe that an apolitical civil service makes an important contribution to democracy in any country: in the interests of democracy Papua New Guinea's civil service should continue to be strengthened. The separation of legislative and executive powers should be maintained and in the provinces the combination of the two in the same person should be reconsidered.

If the shortcomings observed during these elections, and the wider issues we have highlighted concerning the consolidation of Papua New Guinea's democracy, are to be addressed Papua New Guinea may well need help from its friends. We therefore hope that the Commonwealth will be ready to assist if requested.

It has been an enriching experience to have been able to observe these elections. We were impressed by the commitment of the people to democracy and have no doubt that they want a participatory system with complete accountability of MPs to parliament and to the electorate. We wish Papua New Guinea every success in its endeavours both to consolidate its democracy and to develop the talents of its people and the riches of its land for the next century.

# Acknowledgements

We wish to thank the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, for inviting us to participate in this important mission. We are indebted to him for giving us the opportunity to play a small part in the consolidation of Papua New Guinea's vigorous democracy.

The work of our Observer Group benefited from the assistance of many people. We are especially grateful to the Electoral Commissioner, Mr Reuben Kaiulo, and his colleagues at the Electoral Commission Head Office in Port Moresby and the provincial election offices. They went out of their way to assist us in the preparations for our work and, despite the many pressures on them during the general election itself, always tried to find time to help. We also greatly appreciated the assistance extended to us by the Commissioner of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, Mr Robert Nenta, his senior officers in the provinces, who were unfailingly helpful and courteous at a time when they were severely stretched, and in particular the officers who escorted us during our deployment. We must also record our thanks to members of the provincial administrations, who provided us with valuable background information and advice.

We received valuable briefings from representatives of the political parties, non-governmental organisations, the media, Commonwealth High Commissioners and a number of individuals. We thank them for guiding us through the complexities of Papua New Guinean politics. Our drivers and the staff of the hotels in which we were accommodated provided us with assistance without which it would have been impossible to undertake this mission.

But most of all, we must thank the people of Papua New Guinea. They received us with great warmth and kindness and we have made many friends. We wish them every success in the development of their democracy for the future.

## **Annexes**

## ANNEX I

### Composition of the Commonwealth Observer Group

#### *The Hon Sir Robin Gray (New Zealand – Chairperson)*

The Hon Sir Robin Gray is a former Speaker of the House of Representatives in New Zealand. As a farmer he served on numerous organisations, including the Meat and Wool Board's Electoral College, and became a member of the local Justice of the Peace Association and an elder of the Presbyterian Church. He was first elected to the New Zealand Parliament in 1978 and, in 1981, was appointed to chair the Select Committee on Health and Social Welfare. He also served as a whip for two years before becoming Senior Whip in 1987. In 1990, he was appointed Speaker and three years later Minister of State and Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade. In this capacity he participated in the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG) on its mission to The Gambia in 1995. He retired from active politics in 1996.

#### *Sir Jim Lester, DL (Britain)*

Sir Jim Lester is a former Member of Parliament. First elected in 1974, he served as an MP for 23 years. From 1979-81 he was a Minister in the Department of Employment. For 15 years, from 1982-97, he served as a member of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee and was Chairman of the All-Party Group on Overseas Development. He is currently an adviser to Save the Children Fund, Oxfam and Christian Aid, vice-president of World Aware and a member of the British Council. He holds an honorary doctorate in law from Nottingham University and was knighted in 1996.

#### *Ms Joycelyn Lucas (Trinidad and Tobago)*

Ms Joycelyn Lucas was Chief Election Officer of Trinidad and Tobago from 1989-97 and is currently a technical election adviser and part-time consultant with the Elections and Boundaries Commission there. She has supervised elections in Namibia (1989) as part of the UN Transition Assistance Group and was a member of the Caricom (Caribbean Community) Working Group established to co-ordinate and assist Haiti's Provincial Electoral Council for the 1990-91 elections. She was also a member of the Commonwealth Observer mission to Guyana in 1992. A year later she was assigned to the Lesotho Government as Chief Electoral Officer, sponsored by Britain's Overseas Development Administration. She has also worked in an elections capacity in South Africa and Malawi, under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation, and in Yemen. Ms Lucas holds degrees in International Relations from Columbia University, USA, and in Social Science from Long Island University, USA.

#### *Mr Ian Macphee (Australia)*

Mr Ian Macphee was a Member of Parliament in Australia from 1974-90, during which time he served in the Fraser Government as Cabinet Minister responsible for three portfolios: Productivity, Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, and Employment and Industrial Relations. In Opposition from 1982-90, he was spokesman on Communications and on Foreign Affairs. Prior to being elected an MP, Mr Macphee was a barrister and solicitor, working in Australia, Papua New Guinea and Nauru. He currently practises law in Melbourne. He holds an LLB (Sydney) and an MA (Hawaii).

#### *Mr Ejaz Naik (Pakistan)*

Mr Ejaz Naik is a former civil servant with a long career in public service. He joined the civil service in 1946 and has held numerous positions over the years, retiring as Secretary-General for Economic Affairs in the Government of Pakistan. He also served as Cabinet Secretary to

the Government of Pakistan. In addition, Mr Naik was Planning Secretary, Commerce Secretary and Chief Secretary in a provincial government. He has worked as an Election Observer in Seychelles (twice), Nepal, Sri Lanka and Maldives.

***Mr Justice Muhammad Habibur Rahman (Bangladesh)***

Mr Justice Muhammad Habibur Rahman is a former Chief Justice of Bangladesh and former Chief Adviser in the 1996 Caretaker Government. As an advocate Justice Rahman practised law for 12 years before being appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court. He held this position until 1995 when he was made Chief Justice of Bangladesh. In 1996 he was appointed Chief Adviser in the Caretaker Government which was installed for the period immediately prior to the general election held in June of that year. Justice Rahman has written and compiled some 16 books and won the 1984 Literary Award from the Bangla Academy. He is a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh and the Bangla Academy. He is also an Hon Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, and Honorary Benchers, Lincoln's Inn, London. He is currently president of the Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs.

***Mr Maharajakrishna Rasgotra (India)***

Mr Maharajakrishna Rasgotra was Foreign Secretary of India from 1982-85. Prior to holding this senior position Mr Rasgotra has been India's Ambassador to Morocco and Tunisia, Nepal, The Netherlands and France and Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington, USA. Earlier, for several years he had represented India on the United Nations Trusteeship Council and the Committee on Decolonisation. Following his retirement from the Foreign Service in 1985 Mr Rasgotra became Visiting Professor at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi and Regents Professor at UCLA, USA. He has written extensively on various aspects of international relations and has chaired study groups on such topics as 'International Co-operation for the Promotion of Democracy Worldwide' and 'Poverty Eradication and Environmental Protection'. From 1988-90, Mr Rasgotra was High Commissioner to Britain and is currently vice-chairman (RGM) of the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation.

***The Hon Ambassador Paul Milyango Rupia, MP (Tanzania)***

The Hon Ambassador Paul Milyango Rupia is currently a Member of Parliament in Tanzania, having been elected in 1995. Prior to becoming an MP, Mr Rupia served from 1986-95 as Chief Secretary to the Tanzanian Government, Cabinet Secretary and Head of the Civil Service. He joined Tanzania's public service in 1963 and served in Ethiopia and Britain before returning to Tanzania to become a Counsellor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1972-74, he was Director responsible for the Africa and Middle East Division in the Ministry and was appointed Ambassador to Ethiopia (from 1976-81) and Permanent Representative to the UN in New York (from 1981-84). From 1984-86, Mr Rupia served as Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was also Visiting Lecturer with the Commonwealth-sponsored Diplomatic Training for Zimbabwean Foreign Service Officers in 1980 and was a member of the Organisation of African Unity's mission to Djibouti to observe the referendum process in 1976. He was awarded the Order for the United Republic of Tanzania in 1989.

***The Hon Omar Sey, CRG, JP (The Gambia)***

The Hon Omar Sey was Foreign Minister of The Gambia from 1987-94. After an early career as a lecturer in education, he joined his country's civil service in 1973. From 1973-85, he served as Director of Social Welfare, Culture and Youth in the government, during which time he also performed electoral duties as Presiding Officer and Assistant Returning Officer in three general elections. After retiring from the public service, he was elected to Parliament in 1985. As an MP from 1985-87 Mr Sey worked with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of Germany and the Socialist International by providing local expertise in organising seminars

and workshops on political education. In 1987 Mr Sey was re-elected to Parliament and was appointed Foreign Minister. He has had a long association with the Commonwealth and served as chairman of the Commonwealth Youth Affairs Council, the policy-making body of the Commonwealth Youth Programme, from 1975-78.

***Ms Judy Thompson (Canada)***

Ms Judy Thompson is a former election administrator in Canada. She has served on her country's national committee to develop voter-education programmes for first-time voters, new Canadians and disabled voters and is currently working as an election consultant in international elections. Ms Thompson has most recently served in this capacity in Bosnia, Palestine and Ethiopia. She also teaches part-time in community colleges.

**SECRETARIAT SUPPORT STAFF**

Professor Reg Austin	Team Leader
Dr A I Adefuye	Assistant to Observers
Dr Sam Agere	Assistant to Observers
Mr Christopher Child	Assistant to Observers
Mr Christopher Walters	Media Adviser
Dr Michelle Forster	Assistant to Observers
Mr Q Kamaluddin	Administrative Officer
Mrs Gabriella Veiera	Secretary

## ANNEX II

Commonwealth News Release of 3 June 1997



# Commonwealth News Release

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97/23

3 June 1997

**Commonwealth to Observe General Election in Papua New Guinea**

A team of 10 Commonwealth Observers, supported by staff from the Commonwealth Secretariat, will be present in Papua New Guinea for the General Election which is to be held from 14-28 June 1997.

In making the announcement today, Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku said that the Commonwealth was responding to an invitation from the Government of Papua New Guinea to observe the General Election. An assessment mission from the Commonwealth Secretariat, which visited Papua New Guinea from 18-23 May, established that there was widespread support among the major political parties for a Commonwealth presence during the election.

The Commonwealth team for Papua New Guinea will be led by the **Hon Sir Robin Gray**, former Speaker of Parliament and former Minister in **New Zealand**. The other observers will be:

<b>Sir Jim Lester</b> Former Member of Parliament	Britain
<b>Ms Joycelyn Lucas</b> Chief Electoral Officer	Trinidad and Tobago
<b>Mr Ejaz Naik</b> Former Secretary to Government	Pakistan
<b>Hon Justice Muhammad Habibur Rahman</b> Former Chief Justice and former head of interim government	Bangladesh
<b>Mr M Rasgotra</b> Former Foreign Secretary	India

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**Hon Paul Rupia**  
Member of Parliament and  
former Cabinet Secretary

Tanzania

**Hon Omar Sey**  
Former Cabinet Minister

The Gambia

**Ms Judy Thompson**  
Electoral Expert

Canada

**Hon Ian MacPhee**  
Former Cabinet Minister

Australia

The Group is mandated to consider the various factors impinging on the credibility of the electoral process as a whole, and to determine in its own judgement whether the conditions exist for a free expression of will by the electors, and if the results of the election reflect the wishes of the people of Papua New Guinea. The Group would also be free to propose to the Government and other concerned authorities such action on institutional, procedural and other matters as would assist the holding of the elections and, thereafter, the effective functioning of the elected government.

The Group will be supported by an eight-member team from the Commonwealth Secretariat led by Professor Reg Austin, Director of the Legal and Constitutional Affairs Division.

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***Note to Editors:***

*At the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in 1989, Commonwealth leaders decided that the observation of elections at the request of member governments would be a useful way of promoting the democratic ethic. The mission to Papua New Guinea will be the 22nd undertaken by the Commonwealth since October 1990. These include elections in Bangladesh, Guyana, Malaysia, Zambia, St Kitts and Nevis, Seychelles, South Africa, Ghana, Pakistan and, most recently, Cameroon.*



**ANNEX III****Arrival Statement of 6 June 1997**

Papua New Guinea General Election, 1997

**Commonwealth Observer Group**

Tel: Port Moresby 325 5955  
Fax: Port Moresby 325 0837

The Islander Travelodge  
P.O. Box 1981  
Boroko  
Port Moresby

**ARRIVAL STATEMENT BY THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP**

We are here in Papua New Guinea to observe the General Election over 14-28 June 1997. Our Group has been constituted by the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, in response to an invitation from the Government of Papua New Guinea. We would add that the Government's invitation has also been supported by all the main political parties contesting the election.

As Observers, we will be serving in our individual capacities. Our remit is to observe all relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the elections in accordance with the laws of Papua New Guinea and, at the end, reach a conclusion as to whether the conditions existed for the people of Papua New Guinea to freely express their will through the polls.

We have no executive role. Our function is to observe the process as a whole and form an impartial judgement on the credibility of the exercise. The Group might also propose to the government and other concerned authorities such action on institutional, procedural and other matters as would assist the holding of the elections and thereafter the effective functioning of the elected government.

On the completion of our assignment, our report will go to the Commonwealth Secretary-General in the first instance. He will then make it available to the Government of Papua New Guinea, the political parties which contested the elections and eventually to all Commonwealth Governments.

We look forward to our mission. Over the next few days, we hope to have meetings with officials of the Electoral Commission, representatives of political parties, the Government and other interested groups. These meetings should add greatly to our knowledge and appreciation of the situation in Papua New Guinea and, in turn, go a considerable way to facilitating our work.

The Observer Group's Terms of Reference are attached.

### **Terms of Reference**

The Group is established by the Commonwealth Secretary at the request of the Government of Papua New Guinea and supported by the major political parties. It is to observe relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the election in accordance with the law of Papua New Guinea. It is to consider the various factors impinging on the credibility of the electoral process as a whole and to determine in its own judgement whether the conditions exist for a free expression of will by the electors and if the result of the election reflects the wishes of the people.

The Group is to act impartially and independently. It has no executive role; its function is not to supervise but to observe the process as a whole and to form a judgement accordingly. It would be free to propose to the Government and other concerned authorities such action on institutional, procedural and other matters as would assist the holding of elections and thereafter the effective functioning of the elected government.

The Group is to submit its report to the Commonwealth Secretary General who will forward it to the Government of Papua New Guinea, to the leadership of all political parties taking part in the election and thereafter to all Commonwealth governments.

## **ANNEX IV**

### **Schedule of Engagements**

#### **Friday 6 June**

- 1400            Arrival Press Conference, The Islander Travelodge Hotel, Port Moresby
- 1930            Chairperson's Dinner for Observers and guests of honour Mr Reuben Kaiulo (Electoral Commissioner) and Mrs Kaiulo

#### **Saturday 7 June**

- 1100            Briefing by Electoral Commission of Papua New Guinea: Mr Reuben Kaiulo (Electoral Commissioner) and Mr Andrew Trawen (Deputy Electoral Commissioner)
- 1430            Pangu Pati: Mr Moses K Taian (Secretary-General)
- 1830            Chairperson's Reception

#### **Sunday 8 June**

- 0930            People's Action Party: Mr Ted Diro (Leader)
- 1000            National Alliance: Mr Belden Sevua (National Co-ordinator)
- 1115            Melanesian Alliance: Mr Ben Umba
- 1215            Broadcast media: Mr Renagi Lohia (Chief Executive, NBC) and Mr Benny Sandeka (Senior Reporter, Yumi FM)
- 1415            Churches: Major Tau Pala (Chairman, Papua New Guinea Council of Churches), Mr Graeme Frawley and Mr Peter Maime (Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development)
- 1530            Non-governmental organisations: Mr Powes Parkop (Director, Individual and Community Rights Association), Sir Barry Holloway (Foundation for Law, Order and Justice), Mr John Kawowo (Melanesian Solidarity) and Mr Richard Kassman (Transparency International)
- 1630            Women's organisations: Ms Anne Dickson-Waiko (National Council for Women) and Ms Boio Daru (Women in Politics)
- 1730            Commonwealth High Commissions: Mr George Atkin (Deputy High Commissioner, Australia), Mr Brian Baldwin (Deputy High Commissioner, Britain), HE Mr V S Verma (High Commissioner, India), HE Mr Mohamad Sani (High Commissioner, Malaysia) and HE Mr John Clarke (High Commissioner, New Zealand)

**Monday 9 June**

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 0900 | Mr Frank Kolma (Editor-in-Chief, <i>The National</i> ) and Mr Wenceslaus Magun ( <i>Wantok</i> )  |
| 1230 | Professor Yaw Saffu (University of Papua New Guinea)  |
| 1400 | Deployment Briefing – Professor Austin, Mr Christopher Child and Mr Ron Seddon (Managing Director, Hertz Leasemaster)                                       |
| 1530 | Business community: Mr Michael Mayberry (President, Chamber of Commerce), Mr Mel Togolo (President, Business Council) and Mr Robert Aisi (Business Council) |
| 1600 | Concluding briefing: Mr Ludwig Kembu (Deputy Commissioner, Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary) and Mr Reuben Kaiulo (Electoral Commissioner)               |
- On 11 June, after the Observers' deployment, the Chairperson paid a courtesy call on the Governor-General of Papua New Guinea, Sir Wiwa Korowi

## **ANNEX V**

### **Deployment of Commonwealth Observers**

<b>OBSERVERS</b>	<b>BASE LOCATION</b>
Sir Robin Gray Professor Austin	Travelled throughout the country
Ms Joycelyn Lucas Mr Ejaz Naik	Islander Travelodge Hotel Port Moresby
Mr Ian Macphee Dr Sam Agere	Lae International Hotel Lae
Sir Jim Lester Dr A I Adefuye	Hamamas Hotel Rabaul
Mr M Rasgotra Ms Judy Thompson	Coastwatchers' Hotel Madang
Justice Rahman Dr Michelle Forster	Windjammer Beach Hotel Wewak
Ambassador Paul Rupia Mr Christopher Child	Highlander Hotel Mount Hagen
Mr Omar Sey Mr Christopher Walters	Bird of Paradise Hotel Goroka

## **ANNEX VI**

### **Observation Notes for Poll and Count**

#### **OBSERVATION NOTES FOR POLL AND COUNT**

##### **PART A**

The Observers may focus particular attention on the following aspects of the conduct of the election:

##### **THE CAMPAIGN**

1. Balance of TV/radio election coverage and extent and nature of access by party and other candidates
2. Print media: nature of coverage and extent of access by the political parties.
3. The tone and content of material put out by the candidates, access to printing facilities?
4. The conduct of political meetings/rallies (permits for public meetings?)
5. The conduct of house-to-house canvassing of voters.
6. Nature, scale and effectiveness of Electoral Commission and other voter education on radio and television, in the print media and by other methods.
7. Activities/measures to encourage the participation of women.
8. Access to funds and sources of funds.

### **THE POLL**

1. The location of polling booths.
2. Distances travelled by voters to polling boothss, particularly in rural areas.
3. The procedure followed at the opening of the poll.
4. The length of time voters wait to cast their votes.
5. The adequacy or otherwise of facilities at polling booths and their state of readiness.
6. Availability of adequate supplies, eg, ballot papers, official stamps and stamp-pads, indelible ink, etc.
7. The performance of electoral officials at the polling booths visited.
8. The procedures in place to ensure proper security of ballot papers, ballot boxes and official seals.
9. Arrangements to facilitate voting by women.
10. The steps taken to ensure that the secrecy of the ballot is assured.
11. The general atmosphere at the polling booths visited.
12. Access of candidates' scrutineers and observers to polling centres/booths.
13. Whether illiterate voters are assured of a vote in secret.
14. Whether the security of ballot boxes in transit is assured.

### **THE COUNT**

1. Inspection of seals.
2. The process of reconciling the number of people who voted with the number of ballots cast.
3. The determination of invalid ballots.
4. The facilities for candidates and their representatives to witness and verify the count and overall transparency.
5. Access by domestic and international observers.
6. The conduct of electoral officers.

**PART B**

Questions that may be put:

**BEFORE POLLING DAY**

1. Was the Voters' Register compiled in a satisfactory way? Were people missed out? Were the names of dead people or "phantom voters" included?
2. Who are the election officials? How were they chosen? Are voters confident that they will be impartial?
3. Is the person in the street satisfied with arrangements? Will he/she vote? If not, is he/she afraid to do so? Were there any attempts to discourage/encourage the participation of women and were they effective?
4. Have all parties been able to campaign freely? Has the campaign been free of intimidation, etc? Have all parties had full access to the mass media?
5. Is there freedom to advertise and distribute posters, leaflets, etc?

**ON POLLING DAY**

1. Before polling starts, are the ballot boxes empty? Are they properly sealed? Are all procedures being adhered to?
2. Are all parties/candidates represented at polling stations? Are they satisfied with the process?
3. Are voters apparently voting freely? Are they enthusiastic? Do they talk freely? Do they exhibit signs of fear or intimidation?
4. Do voters understand the procedures properly? If not, are the procedures being explained fully and impartially? Are attempts being made to suggest how voters should vote?
5. Does the turnout indicate that women have been deterred from voting?
6. Is only one person at a time being allowed into the voting compartment?
7. How long are voters waiting to vote? If a long time, are some being put off?
8. Will all parties be represented at polling centres throughout voting and count? Are scrutineers adequately trained and vigilant?
9. Will foreign observers have free access to all stages of the process?
10. Is the security presence effective/oppressive?



### THE COUNT

1. Are the boxes kept safe until opened? Are all parties present at opening?
2. Does the number of used ballot papers tally with the record of those who voted?
3. Are the papers counted properly? Are counting agents present? Are they satisfied with the procedure of the count?

## ANNEX VII

### Check List for Visits to Polling Booths

#### CHECKLIST FOR POLLING STATION VISITS

Name of Observer(s): .....

Electorate: .....

Polling Booth: .....

Time of Arrival: .....

Time of Departure: .....

Voters in Queue: ..... Rate of Processing: .....

1. Opening of Poll:      On time?    Procedures followed?  
                                 No/Yes      No/Yes  
                                 Details:
2. Layout and  
Facilities:              Good?    Adequate?    Poor?
3. Polling Staff:        Efficient?    Satisfactory?    Poor?
4. Security Presence:    Discreet?    Intrusive?    Oppressive?
5. Complaints by Party  
Scrutineers:            No/Yes      Details:
6. Complaints by  
Voters:                No/Yes      Details:
7. Presence of  
unauthorised  
persons:                No/Yes      Details:
8. Atmosphere at  
Station?                Orderly?    Tense?    Chaotic?
9. Secrecy of Ballot:    Assured?    Poor?    Uncertain

## 10. Voting:

(a) Personation attempts alleged: No/Yes

Details:

(b) Multiple voting attempts alleged: No/Yes

Details:

(c) Women deterred from voting: No/Yes

Details:

11. Closing of Poll: On time? Numbers still in queue?  
Procedure followed? No/Yes

12. The Count: Are procedures being observed? No/Yes

13. Apparent fairness overall: Good? Acceptable?  
Questionable?

14. Other Comments:

## ANNEX VIII

## Departure Statement of 1 July 1997



Papua New Guinea General Election 1997  
Commonwealth Observer Group

Tel: Port Moresby 323 8005  
Fax: Port Moresby 323 8006

The Islander Travelodge  
P O Box 1981, Boroko  
Port Moresby

News Release

1 July 1997

**Departure Statement by Sir Robin Gray,  
Chairperson of the Commonwealth Observer Group**

Our Commonwealth Observer Group has been in Papua New Guinea for almost a month, at the invitation of the Government and with the support of the main political parties. Our task was to observe all relevant aspects of the organisation and conduct of the General Election and to report to the Commonwealth Secretary-General at the end of our mission. We have now completed our work and leave Port Moresby today having finalised a comprehensive and considered report. That report will be sent to the Secretary-General, who will then make it available to the Government of Papua New Guinea, the Electoral Commission, the main political parties, Commonwealth governments, the media and the general public.

Prior to the election we were thoroughly briefed by representatives of the Electoral Commission, the political parties, the broadcast and print media and non-governmental organisations. During the election period itself we met many individual Papua New Guineans across the country and visited 321 polling booths in 66 electorates in 18 of the 20 provinces, from the coast to the Highlands and the islands, and we observed 17 counts and the tallying process. Seven two-person teams were based in major provincial centres, while I roved across the country. We were free to go wherever we wanted and believe that our sample of the election process was reliable. Indeed, because the elections were staged over a two-week period we had many more opportunities to observe the process than most Commonwealth Observer Groups, since most elections they observe take place on only one day.

Despite the shortcomings we have recorded in our report, in particular the inadequacy of the Common Roll, our judgement is that overall the conditions existed for a free expression of will by the voters and that the result will reflect their wishes. We commend the people of Papua New Guinea for their enthusiastic engagement in the process and their determination to express their democratic rights.

We are grateful to have had this opportunity to serve our fellow Commonwealth citizens in support of the Commonwealth's fundamental values and wish to thank all those who have assisted us in our task. In particular, we would like to express our appreciation to the Electoral Commissioner, Mr Reuben Kaiulo, Police Commissioner Robert Nenta and their colleagues.

It has been an enriching experience to have been able to observe these elections. We take away with us many fond memories of Papua New Guinea. We were impressed with the commitment of the people to democracy and have no doubt that they want a participatory system with complete accountability of MPs to parliament and to the electorate. We wish the country well in its future development and every success to the people in the further consolidation of their democracy in the years to come.

## ANNEX IX

## Electoral Commission Voter Education Material



Covers of the Electoral Commission newsletter *The Voter*, December 1996 (above) and January-February 1997 (overleaf) encouraging Papua New Guineans to register and vote



## ANNEX X

## Material Produced by Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development



## LETTER TO CANDIDATES FOR THE 1997 NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEVEL ELECTIONS.

Dear Candidate,

The 1997 national and provincial level elections are coming up soon and you are beginning to campaign to get our votes. You want to be our member of parliament, our governor, or our local government councillor. These are important positions and we want to choose carefully from among the candidates.

What do we expect from you if you win your election? We want you to do two main things for us. We want you to **SERVE** us, all the people in your electorate. And we want you to give us **HONEST** and **DEDICATED LEADERSHIP**.

If we elect you, we choose you to be our worker and representative. You must speak and act for us. To do that you must first know what we want you to say and do. We want you to listen to us so you will know what to say and do.

We want you to live in your electorate with us, not in Port Moresby, so you will know our needs and worries. If you do that, you will be able to speak sincerely about our problems when you are in Parliament, at the Provincial Assembly or the Local Government Council Meeting. We are not looking for a Bigman who serves only himself and his wantoks. We want someone who truly respects all of us, both the small and great in the community. We want someone who honestly works for us, the people. We want you to **SERVE** us. If you do not serve us well we will get rid of you at the next election.

We do not always know the best way to go. So we are looking for a good and honest leader to show us. If you want to be our leader, then you must first know yourself what is right and wrong. You must also want to do only what is good for the people of Papua New Guinea. We are tired of leaders who play corrupt politics, follow the "wantok system", and bring disunity, conflict, or even fighting into the community. We are tired of politicians who take money from foreign business and then give away our valuable resources so that we, the common people, gain no benefit from them. We want real peace everywhere, justice for all people and development in all communities throughout the nation.

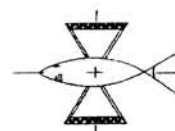
You will make laws and decisions that show us the way. We want these laws and decisions to help us, all of the people. We want you to live by these same laws and decisions too. We are tired of corruption in our leaders. We are tired of bribery. We are tired of guns and killing, of being afraid in our own homes, of hospitals without medicine, of schools that don't give a good education to our children. We are tired of leaders who act as if we do not even exist. We are human beings created by God and we want to be treated with respect by our leaders. We want true and honest **LEADERSHIP** from you.

We will carefully watch you and your supporters now as you campaign. Your supporters and campaign managers speak and act for you and so you are responsible for their words and actions. We will judge you not only by your own ideas, actions and promises but also by the words and actions of your close supporters. We will not be bribed and sell our votes to anyone. We will not be frightened and forced to vote for anyone either. We want this election to be the election that brings peace, justice and development to our beloved country of Papua New Guinea.

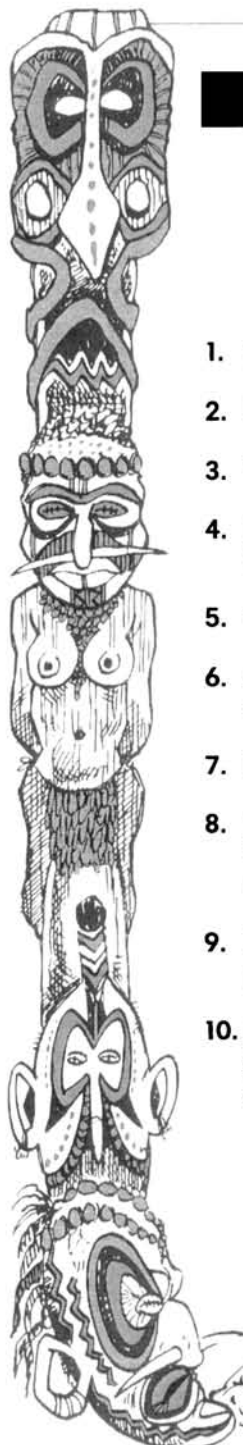
Sincerely,

*The Voters*

CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE, PEACE AND  
DEVELOPMENT,  
P.O. BOX 6576  
BOROKO, N.C.D.  
PAPUA NEW GUINEA



*Letter (above) and poster (overleaf) appealing, respectively, to candidates and voters: both were produced by the Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development in the run-up to the 1997 general election*

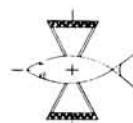


## 1997 NATIONAL ELECTION

**VOTE** **X**

1. My vote is precious.
2. My vote marks my life.
3. This life of mine comes from God, I am made in His image
4. Power and freedom of decision-making originates from this life God gives me.
5. I must vote with a free and informed conscience.
6. Any body who bribes or threatens me will disregard my right to elect someone of my choice.
7. I must not accept or let myself be influenced by bribery.
8. If I do accept bribery, I may contribute to bad government. Bad governments will not provide security for me and my family.
9. I may also contribute to the downfall of my people, home, province and my country.
10. I promise to use the power God had given me to elect good leaders who can provide a good and caring government for PNG.




















CATHOLIC COMMISSION FOR JUSTICE,  
PEACE & DEVELOPMENT  
P.O. BOX 6576  
BOROKO, N.C.D  
PAPUA NEW GUINEA





## ANNEX XI

## Sample Ballot Paper: Open Electorate

BALLOT PAPER NO: 00000		Papua New Guinea BALLOT PAPER		BALLOT PAPER NO: 00000	
USINO-BUNDI OPEN ELECTORATE 5th NATIONAL ELECTION 1997					
<b>HOW TO VOTE:</b>		<b>1</b> MARK YOUR VOTE ON THIS BALLOT - PAPER BY PLACING AN <b>x</b> IN THE BLANK <input type="checkbox"/> SQUARE NEXT TO THE NAME OF THE CANDIDATE FOR WHOM YOU WISH TO VOTE.		<b>2</b> DO NOT PUT MORE THAN ONE <b>x</b> ON THIS PAPER	
<b>3</b> DO NOT PUT ANY OTHER MARK ON THIS PAPER.					
 <b>1</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> AMATH SIKAI WAN	 <b>2</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> SAMSON KULI MALCOLM	 <b>3</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> MICHAEL TONGIA	 <b>4</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> KIAP GREG TUMA		
 <b>5</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> PETER KOIFU	 <b>6</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> YOME FRED MALIUPA	 <b>7</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> FINTO SINOKO	 <b>8</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> KEPAS MOTE		
 <b>9</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> EDDY UTU TOURE	 <b>10</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> CHARLIE KOLIE NON	 <b>11</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> WALEP H. IBRAM	 <b>12</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> JOHN BARE		
 <b>13</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> PETER TUMA	 <b>14</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> ELIZAH KASS	 <b>15</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> ANTON FRANCIS YAGAMA	 <b>16</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> HOMEI TINAWI		
 <b>17</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> JOE YAPOI YAMA	 <b>18</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> INDAP KUNA	 <b>19</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> SAKING KIRUAK	 <b>20</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> LAKI HOMATE		
 <b>21</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> JACK TULIA	 <b>22</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> WALTER BAYER PARAU	 <b>23</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> JOSEPH SEKE	 <b>24</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> AGNES MURUA MULIVOVA		
 <b>25</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> JAMES TIKI TIMBO	 <b>26</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> TOGURUA DOREA	 <b>27</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> MICHAEL YARAP	 <b>28</b>  <input type="checkbox"/> GEORGE WAN		
 <b>29</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> JOHN ASSE MIKAURI	 <b>30</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> PIKAMA BAIS	 <b>31</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> KONDY MAREX MARIKA	 <b>32</b> INDEPENDENT <input type="checkbox"/> TEDOR TUYA		

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# ANNEX XII

## Sample Ballot Paper: Provincial Electorate

BALLOT PAPER No: 999999		Papua New Guinea <b>BALLOT PAPER</b> CENTRAL PROVINCIAL ELECTORATE 5th NATIONAL ELECTION 1997		BALLOT PAPER No: 999999	
<b>1</b> HOW TO VOTE: MARK YOUR VOTE ON THIS BALLOT - PAPER BY PLACING AN <b>X</b> IN THE BLANK <input type="checkbox"/> SQUARE NEXT TO THE NAME OF THE CANDIDATE FOR WHOM YOU WISH TO VOTE.		<b>2</b> DO NOT PUT MORE THAN ONE <b>X</b> ON THIS PAPER		<b>3</b> DO NOT PUT ANY OTHER MARK ON THIS PAPER	
INDEPENDENT 1  GALEVA KWARARA	INDEPENDENT 2  LOUIS MONA	INDEPENDENT 3  JOE KASSMAN	INDEPENDENT 4  REV. WALA TAMATE	NATIONAL ALLIANCE 5  NATIONAL ALLIANCE	INDEPENDENT 6  PAUL BODIE
INDEPENDENT 7  GORIO DOBELLA	INDEPENDENT 8  MICHAEL KOMÉ SALE	INDEPENDENT 9  JAMES EKI MOPIO	INDEPENDENT 10  PAUL BODIE	INDEPENDENT 11  PAUL BODIE	PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONGRESS 12  JOHN OREA
INDEPENDENT 13  PAUL KIPO	INDEPENDENT 14  PAUL APINI	INDEPENDENT 15  MICHAEL KECO HILAKE	INDEPENDENT 16  MICHAEL KECO HILAKE	INDEPENDENT 17  MICHAEL KECO HILAKE	PEOPLE'S ACTION PARTY 18  TED DIRO
INDEPENDENT 19  ALEX AVARE	INDEPENDENT 20  ALEX AVARE	INDEPENDENT 21  ALEX AVARE	INDEPENDENT 22  ALEX AVARE	INDEPENDENT 23  ALEX AVARE	INDEPENDENT 24  ALEX AVARE



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