Mr. Wong Prang Yow8.35
Submission To Parliamentary Select Committee on Electoral Reform in Johore Bahru $12^{\text {th }}$ Jan 2012 Hearing No. 5
By Wong Pang Yow
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Hearing No. 5

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## 1. Make-up of Election Commission

Part VIII of the Federal Constitution of Malaysia provides for the formation of an Election
Commission to conduct elections. In a democracy, the Election Commission is a very important body to ensure that competing political organizations have a fair and equal chance of winning in an election.

Article 114. Constitution of Election Commission states that the Yang di-Pertuan Agong after consultation with the Conference of Rulers, shall appoint a chairman, a deputy chairman and five other members with regard to the importance of securing an Election Commission which enjoys public confidence.

Since public confidence is given such importance in the selection, it would be logical to expect that the Yang di-Pertuan Agong will have consulted with the public to secure their views before making his choice. However, currently the Agong appoints the Election Commission based on a list submitted by the Prime Minister. We consider this a conflict of interest as the political party that administers the Government has a vested interest in proposing members that are aligned towards them. This can be seen in the fact that all appointees are ex-civil servants.
(Reference: Malaysia's reform system by Associate Professor Tay Tsun Hung)

## Proposal:

## Providing for an Independent Election Commission

- Article 114 (2). Constitution of Election Commission shall be amended to read: In appointing members of the Election Commission the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall regard to the importance of securing an Election Commission which shall conduct Elections in a free and fair manner, and is independent of the Administration of the Government.
- Bearing in mind the importance of appointing an Independent Election Commission that enjoys public confidence and a separation of power between the Election Commission and the Administration of the Government, all future appointments shall be drawn from members of civil society who have no previous service in Government, Government-linked companies nor should they be members of any political party.
- The present Election Commission has not performed in a way that commands public confidence as attested by the fact that BERSIH 2.0 had to carry out a public protest on $9^{\text {th }}$ Jul 2011 and the fact that Parliament had to set up a Parliamentary Select Committee on Electoral Reform in response. The present Election Commission and all the officers identified in the Elections Act 1958 (Act 19) and the Election Commission Act 1957 (Act 31) shall be
replaced with members of civil society as described above, before the next General Elections.
- To enable financially-independent people to serve on the Election Commission, Article 114 (4) (b) engages in any paid office or employment outside the duties of his office; or of the Federal Constitution, shall be deleted.
- All sections of the Law and Regulations that constrain the power of the Election Commission to prosecute any violation of the Election Offences Act shall be removed, in particular those that require the sanction of the Public Prosecutor.
- Members of the Election Commission and their officers shall not enjoy legal immunity in their actions where it is seen that their actions appear to be a violation of their duties.


## 2. Election Officers and Presiding Officers to come from civil society

In our training of civil society conducted across the country, we keep receiving complaints of biased actions by the Returning Officers and Presiding Officers during elections. As can be seen in the Report of the $12^{\text {th }}$ General Elections prepared by the Election Commission Malaysia, Tables 4.3 and 4.4 (see Appendix) all these officers are drawn from the civil service or local councils. There is inherently a conflict of interest as such personnel will be seen to be beholden to political parties.

- To avoid such problems in future, we propose that all such officers appointed during an election be drawn from civil society as described in the $1^{\text {st }}$ paragraph of this proposal. As shown in. Table 4.2, there were 2,459 Election Officers and 21,164 Presiding Officers employed during the $12^{\text {th }}$ General Elections. The Election Commission should start identifying and selecting such people and train them in preparation for the coming $13^{\text {th }}$ General Elections, which is due by March 2013.


## 3. Independent Commission of Enquiry

We propose that an Independent Commission of Enquiry (ICE) be set up to investigate malpractices by the Election Commission and also objections to the voter rolls. The ICE shall be appointed by the Yang di Pertuan Agong and made up of reputable and knowledgeable persons from civil society recommended by the Bar Council and NGOs with interests in Elections.

## 4. Polling Station Layout

Taking into consideration the introduction of indelible ink and the need for polling agents to be able to observe the voter closely before he is issued with a ballot paper, we propose the layout of the polling station below. At the ballot marking counter, we propose that the screen be set 12 inches high to allow the voter to be observed at all times from time of collection of ballot paper until dropping of paper into the ballot box. This is to avoid concerns with voters bringing in ballot papers from outside the polling station.

## CARA MENGUNDI



Kerani SPR 1 checks voter agains voter roll.
Kerani SPR 2 perforates and issues ballot paper to voter.
Voter goes to ballot marking counter (screen height 12 inches), mark ballot, then drop into ballot box. Voter then goes to Kerani SPR 3 to dip finger in indelible ink. (To avoid smudging the ballot paper.)

Polling agent sit behind Kerani SPR 1 \& 2 to monitor voter and compare with MyKad if desired. They can follow paper trail until the ballot box.

## Tempat Memangkah Undi

## Ballot Screen 12" high



## 5. Form 13 Statement of Ballot Paper

We have seen the new form prepared by the SPR. While it is an improvement over the old form, it does not go far enough. We propose 2 forms to replace that as detailed below.

## - Borang 13 Penyata Pembukaan Kertas Undi

This form is prepared before polling starts. It is a statement of the ballot papers received by the Presiding Officer from the Returning Officer. It also includes the sample of perforation of ballot paper. Borang SPR 753 Contoh Corak Penindik can then be dispensed with. It shall be signed by the Presiding Officer and all the polling agents present. The Presiding Officer shall prepare sufficient copies to issue to all the polling agents present or to the Election Agents.

## - Borang 13 Penyata Penutupan Kertas Undi

This form is prepared at the end of polling and is a statement of ballot papers issued during polling. It shall be prepared by the Presiding Officer, signed by him and all the polling agents present. The Presiding Officer shall prepare sufficient copies to issue to all the polling agents present or to the Election Agents.

Borang 13.1 Penyata Pembukaan Kertas Undi

Nombor Kod Daerah Mengundi:
Bahagian Pilihan Raya:

A - Bilangan kertas undi yang diterima daripada Pegawai Pengurus $\quad$| Bilangan Kertas |
| :--- |
| Undi |

| No. Siri Kertas Undi |  | Bil. <br> Dari | Hingga <br> Kertas <br> Undi |  | Dari Siri Kertas Undi |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Hingga | Kertas <br> Undi |
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A. Jumlah kertas undi yang diterima $(a+b)$

Contoh Corak Penindik
(Ganti Borang SPR 753
Contoh Corak Penindik)
Saya memperakui bahawa penyata di atas adalah betul
Eertarikh pada:
7andorangas

Namakieva Tennat Mengunoi

| Nama Calon atau Ejen <br> Pilihan Raya atau Ejen <br> Tempat Mengundi | No.KIP | Partil Bebas | Tandatangan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |
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|  |  |  |  |
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Borang 13.2 Penyata Penutupan Kertas Undi
[Subperaturan 24 (II]
Nama Pusat Mengundi:
No. Tempat Mengundi (Saluran):.........
Nombor Kod Daerah Mengundi:

## Bahagian Pilihan Raya:

| B- Bilangan kettas undi yang dikeluark an kepada pengundi |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Bilanga } \\ & \text { nKertas } \\ & \text { Undi } \\ & \hline \begin{array}{c} \text { Bil. } \\ \text { Kertas } \\ \text { Undi } \end{array} \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No. Siri Kertas Undi |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Bil. } \\ \text { Kertas } \\ \text { Undi } \end{gathered}$ | No. Siri Kertas Undi |  |  |
| Dati | Hingga |  | Dati | Hingga |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
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B. Jumlah keseluruhan kertas undi yang dikeluarkan kepada pengundi (fc) + (d))

C - Bilangan "kertas undi rosak" (Kertas undiyang dipulangkan kepada ketua tempat mengundi yang telah dibatalkan dan ditanda "ROSAK" oleh ketua tempat mengundi dan tidak dimasukkanke dalam peti undi

D-Bilangan kertas undi yang tidak digunakan ( $D=A \cdot B$ )
E - Ringkasan kettas undi
Jumlah kertas undi yang patut berada di dala ( $E=B \cdot C$ )

Tolak
$\qquad$ Saya memperakui bahawa penyata di atas adalah betul Bertarikh pada:

Tandrongan
Namskevas Temyoi Mergund'

| Nama Calon atau <br> Ejen Pilhan Raya <br> atau Ejen Tempat <br> Mlengundi | No.KIP |  | Partir Bebas |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | Tandatangan

## 6. APPENDICES

Tables 4.1 to 4.5 of Report of the $12^{\text {th }}$ General Elections 2008 prepared by the Elections Commission Malaysia.

Table 4.1
Number of Election Management Venues by State

| State | Nomination Centres | Polling Centres | Polling Station(Stream) | Centralised Counting Centres | Offical Vote Tallying Centres |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perlis | 3 | 85 | 242 |  | 3 |
| Kedah | 15 | 650 | 1770 |  | 15 |
| Kelantan | 14 | 524 | 1548 | 1 | 14 |
| Terengganu | 8 | 308 | 978 |  | 8 |
| Penang | 13 | 335 | 1327 |  | 13 |
| Perak | 24 | 763 | 2316 | 1 | 24 |
| Pahang | 14 | 497 | 1190 | 2 | 14 |
| Selangor | 22 | 801 | 2987 |  | 22 |
| F.T. Kuala Lumpur | 11 | 186 | 1124 |  | 11 |
| F.T. Putrajaya | 1 | 3 | 12 |  | 1 |
| N.Sembilan | 8 | 310 | 881 |  | 8 |
| Malacca | 6 | 201 | 689 |  | 6 |
| Johor | 26 | 882 | 2590 | 1 | 26 |
| F.T.Labuan | 1 | 13 | 39 |  | 1 |
| Sabah | 25 | 675 | 1635 | 20 | 25 |
| Sarawak | 31 | 1717 | 2494 | 28 | 31 |
| Total | 222 | 7950 | 21822 | 53 | 222 |

Source: Report of the 12th General Elections, prepared by Elections Commission Malaysia, page 96

Table 4.2
Category of Election Personnel by State

| State | Humber of Personnel Appointed |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Election Officers |  |  |  |  | Election Staff |  |  |  |  |  | Assistants to Returning Officers |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 80 | ARO | ECET Team z.eader | Members of ECET | Total | PO | PCICC | PVC | ERCC | PCU | Total | EA | TP | GW | R | 0 | Total | Grand Total |
| Perlis | 3 | 20 | 3 | 15 | 41 | 256 | 1024 | 36 | 233 | 193 | 4742 | 21 | 9 | 75 | 6 | 9 | 120 | 1903 |
| Kedan | 15 | 70 | 15 | 75 | 175 | 1769 | 7076 | 172 | 1612 | 1341 | 14970 | 56 | 45 | 180 | 30 | 45 | 356 | 12501 |
| Kelantaf | 14 | 64 | 14 | 70 | 162 | 1477 | 5967 | 260 | 1722 | 1354 | 10780 | 73 | 28 | 225 | 56 | 42 | 424 | 11366 |
| Terengganu | 8. | 43 | 8 | 40 | 99 | 951 | 3304 | 122 | 773 | 773 | 6423 | 43 | 17 | 420 | 34 | 45 | 259 | 6781 |
| Penang | 43 | 63 | 13 | 65 | 154 | 1272 | 5151 | 150 | 1080 | 8801 | 8533 | 66 | 13 | \$30 | 26 | 52 | 287 | 8974 |
| Pefak | 24 | 98 | 24 | 120 | 266 | 2238 | 8952 | 535 | 1855 | 1666 | 15247 | 107 | 72 | 223 | 72 | 72 | 546 | 46059 |
| Pahang | 14 | 68 | 15 | 75 | 170 | 1188 | 4744 | 240 | 944 | 930 | 8044 | 71 | 28 | 210 | 28 | 42 | 379 | 8593 |
| Selangor | 22 | 110 | 22 | 110 | 264 | 2985 | 11940 | 204 | 2589 | 2068 | 19786 | 118 | 60 | 66 | 44 | 280 | 574 | 20624 |
| F.I. Kusla Lumpur | 11 | 22 | 11 | 55 | 99 | 1092 | 2184 | 388 | 983 | 703 | 5350 | 33 | 14 | 110 | 22 | 22 | 198 | 5647 |
| F.T. Puttajaya | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 11 | 22 | 3 | 10 | 8 | 54 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 15 | 78 |
| N.Semtitan | 8 | 52 | 8 | 40 | 108 | 348 | 3392 | 152 | 659 | 630 | 5681 | 52 | 16 | 180 | 16 | 24 | 288 | 6077 |
| Hatacea | 6 | 44 | 6 | 30 | 86 | 666 | 2654 | 140 | 378 | 449 | 4297 | 401 | 12 | 140 | 42 | 18 | 222 | 4805 |
| Joher | 26 | 93 | 26 | 130 | 275 | 2499 | 9996 | 284 | 2184 | 1856 | 16819 | 108 | 104 | 280 | 52 | 78 | 622 | 17716 |
| F.T, Labuar | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 9 | 39 | 117 | 32 | 33 | 29 | 250 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 270 |
| Sabsh | 25 | 95 | 25 | 125 | 270 | 1592 | 6368 | 228 | 1216 | 1752 | 10556 | 85 | 85 | 300 | 85 | 75 | 630 | 11456 |
| Sarawak | 31 | 86 | 31 | 124 | 272 | 2283 | 4572 | 264 | 1003 | 2794 | 10316 | 75 | 31 | 310 | 310 | 3923 | 4649 | 15237 |
| Total | 222 | 930 | 223 | 1,084 | 2,459 | 21,164 | 77,973 | 3,211 | 17,274 | 16.226 | \$35,848 | 952 | 539 | 2,561 | 756 | 4,732 | 9,580 | 147,887 |
| Hote: |  |  |  |  | Source: Report of the 12th General Elections, prepared by Elections Commission Malaysia, page 99 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| RO | Returning Officer |  |  |  |  |  | PCJ | Polling Centre Usherer |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ARO | Assistant Returning Officer |  |  |  |  |  | EA | Election Assistant |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ECET | Election Campaign Enforcement Team |  |  |  |  |  | Tp Typist |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Po | Presiding Officer: |  |  |  |  |  | GW General Worker |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| PCICC | Posing Clerk/ Counting Cierk |  |  |  |  |  | R Receptionist |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| PVe | Posial Voting Clerk |  |  |  |  |  | D | Driver |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ERCE | Electoral foll Checking Clerk |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 4.3
Breakdown of Returning Officer by Their Substantive Post, Department and State

| State | District Officer | Assistant District Officer | Mayor of City Council/ President of Municipal / District Council | Secretary i Officers of City 1 Municipal/ District Councit | Education Officer | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Irrigation } \\ & \text { Dept. } \\ & \text { Officer } \end{aligned}$ | Agriculture Dept. Officer | Other Govt. Officer | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perlis |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  | 2 | 3 |
| Kedah | 11 |  | 1 | 1 |  |  |  | 2 | 15 |
| Kelantan | 11 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  | 2 | 14 |
| Terengganu | 7 |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 8 |
| Penang | 4 | 3 |  | 1 | 2 |  |  | 2 | 13 |
| Perak | 9 | 10 | 3 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 | 24 |
| Pahang | 11 |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 14 |
| Selangor | 9 | 1 | 11 | 1 |  | 1 |  |  | 22 |
| F.T. Kuala Lumpur |  |  | 8 |  | 2 |  |  | 1 | 11 |
| F.T. Putrajaya |  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| N.Sembilan | 7 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1 | 8 |
| Maiacca | 3 | 3 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 6 |
| Johor | 8 | 3 | 5 | 2 |  |  |  | 8 | 26 |
| F.T. Labuan |  |  |  |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |
| Sabah | 16 |  |  | 4 | 1 |  | 1 | 3 | 25 |
| Sarawak | 22 | 1 |  | 4 |  |  |  | 4 | 31 |
| Total | 118 | 21 | 33 | 14 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 26 | 222 |

Source: Report of the 12th General Elections, prepared by Elections Commission Malaysia, page 101

Table 4.4
Breakdown of Assistant Returning Officers by Their Substantive Post, Department and State

| State | District Officer | Assistant Disfrict Officer | *hayor of City Council President of Eantcipal/ District Council | Secretaryl Officers of City胃unicipal District Councif | Education Officer | Public Works Dept. Officer | Irigation Dept. Officer | Health Dept. Officer | Agricultare Dept. Officer | Forest Dept. Officer |  | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Perlis |  |  |  |  | 7 |  |  | 1 |  |  | 12 | 20 |
| Kedah |  | 28 |  | 12 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 29 | 70 |
| Kelantan |  | 37 |  | 7 | 1 | 3 | 8 |  | 1 |  | 7 | 64 |
| Terenggant |  | 25 |  | 6 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 12 | 43 |
| Penang |  | 20 |  | 5 | 13 | 2 | 6 |  |  |  | 17 | 63 |
| Perak |  | 26 |  | 24 | 17 | 6 | 1 |  |  |  | 24 | 98 |
| Pahang |  | 34 |  | 10 | 1 | 2 | 8 |  |  |  | 11 | 66 |
| Selangor |  | 35 | 4 | 51 | 8 | 6 | 2 |  |  |  | 4 | 110 |
| F.T. Kuala Lumpur |  |  | 16 |  | 4 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 | 22 |
| ET. Putrajaya |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| N.Sembilan |  | 23 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 22 | 52 |
| Malacca |  | 14 |  | 5 | 5 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 19 | 44 |
| Johor |  | 19 |  | 22 | 4 | 6 | 1 |  |  |  | 41 | 93 |
| F.T. Labuan |  |  |  |  | 2 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| Saban | 4 | 37 |  | 14 | 7 | 9 |  |  | 7. | 2 | 15 | 95 |
| Sarawak | 5 |  |  | 14 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 67 | 86 |
| Total | 9 | 298 | 24 | 171 | 71 | 38 | 26 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 282 | 930 |

Table 4.5
Briefing and Training for Returning Officers, Assistant Returning Officers and
Election Campaign Enforcement Teams

| State | Dates |
| :--- | :--- |
| Perlis | 29 and 30.1 .2008 |
| Kedah | 29 and 30.1 .2008 |
| Kelantan | 2 and 3.12 .2007 |
| Terengganu | 4 and 5.12 .2007 |
| Penang | 13 and 14.12.2007 |
| Perak | 31.1 .2008 and 1.2 .2008 |
| Pahang | 6 and 7.12 .2007 |
| Selangor | 17 and 18.1.2008 |
| F.T. Kuala Lumpur | 29 and 30.11 .2007 |
| F.T. Putrajaya | 29 and 30.11 .2007 |
| N.Sembilan | 17 and 18.12 .2007 |
| Malacca | 15 and 16.11 .2007 |
| Johor | 4 and 5.2 .2008 |
| F.T. Labuan | 2 and 3.1 .2008 |
| Sabah | 2 to 8.1.2008 |
| Sarawak | 21 to 26.1 .2008 |
| Source:Repof |  |

Source: Report of the 12th General Elections, prepared by Elections Commission Malaysia, page 104

