# 'IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO'?: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BOUGAINVILLE

*by Hugh Laracy*

In 1966 I made the first of what would eventually be three extended field-trips to Bougainville and Buka in order to study the history and activity of the Catholic Church there. This was an undertaking in which I enjoyed the cooperation of church personnel, as informants, translators, hosts and transport providers. In particular, their assistance enabled me to observe at first hand the notably large scale of Catholic operations in the principal islands of what in 1898 the Vatican had designated the prefecture apostolic of the North Solomons (*Salomons Septentrionales*), and had entrusted to the French-founded Marist congregation [Laracy 1976].[1] There was a network of 30 mission stations serving 53,000 Catholics, who constituted 80 per cent of the total population of 73,000. Each station — or parish centre — typically consisted of church, school, presbytery and convent. There were 38 expatriate and five indigenous priests; 26 expatriate and 31 indigenous brothers; 54 expatriate and 40 indigenous nuns; plus 20 expatriate lay missionaries, who worked mainly as teachers and nurses [Appendix 1]. The church had a fleet of six ships, the largest of which, the *St Joseph*, made the 200 mile trip to Rabaul every three weeks, to sell copra and to collect supplies [*Sol Mons*, June 1965]. The church was also heavily involved in organising a number of externally funded economic development schemes [Appendix 2]. This task was eased by the fact that its expatriate staff were mostly drawn from prosperous countries with large, vigorous and generous Catholic populations, namely the United States, Germany and Australia.

Soon after that first trip, in Paris, early in 1967, I located a large corpus of letters, journals and memoirs which made it possible to document in considerable detail the beginnings of what would eventually become a pervasive and predominant,

Catholic presence on Bougainville. This dusty, brownpaper-wrapped cornucopia, which also contained materials on indigenous history, such as the feuding between the Buin villages of Morou and Bagui from 1912 to 1920, had been compiled by a French Marist priest named Patrick O'Reilly, who had visited Bougainville on a research trip in 1934–35. The administrative 'pacification' of Buin in response to that feuding had earlier been initiated by the Germans, and was subsequently accomplished with notable severity by the Australians. [Laracy, 'The Pacification of Southern Bougainville' this volume]. For his part, O'Reilly, later a renowned scholar, intended writing a history of the mission. To that end he had sequestered whatever records he deemed useful. The book was never written. O'Reilly did, though, with the aid of a missionary informant named Paul Montauban eventually write a good history of the impact of World War II on Bougainville. Thanks to his predatory *modus operandi*, he also ensured the survival of papers that would otherwise have been destroyed in the recent decade of 'conflict' there [O'Reilly and Sédès 1949; Laracy 2005].[2]

These records show Marist missionaries establishing themselves at Kieta in 1901, four years ahead of the German administration, and then going on to found five more stations between Burunotui on the west coast of Buka and Patupatuai on the Buin coast before their proselytising monopoly was broken in 1922. That break occurred with the arrival in Siwai of Methodist missionaries from Australia. The advent of Protestant competition, however, only stimulated the Marists to make more intense efforts to consolidate their advantage of a two decade head-start in the race for Bougainvillean souls. Missionaries were dispersed more widely, more stations were founded, greater use was made of *Tok Pisin*, English-speaking staff were recruited and English was taught in some mission schools. By 1939, when the Marists occupied 18 posts and had a following of about 25,000, the Catholic versus Protestant contest that had been a regular occurrence on mission fields in various parts of the Pacific since the mid-1800s had, at least in this instance, been decisively won by the Catholics. More critical struggles, though, lay ahead [Laracy 1976; Oliver 1991].

Meanwhile, in 1930, Thomas Wade, an American who had arrived in the mission only in 1923 had been made bishop of the North Solomons. It was an inspired appointment. Wade was an energetic and enterprising leader. Moreover, as the first native speaker of English to become bishop in any of the Catholic missions of the Pacific (most of the bishops were either French or German until at least the 1950s) he had a distinct advantage in publicising his work and in being able to tap readily into new sources of support for it. Not only did Wade draw heavily on America but he also worked to make Catholic Australia peculiarly aware of the Bougainville mission. Indeed, he succeeded to the point where,

at least for the next two decades, the Marist operation on Bougainville had the strongest Australian constituency of any Catholic mission in Papua New Guinea (although its prominence in Australia scarcely compared with that of the Methodist mission to New Britain and New Ireland).[3]

In the first step towards that eventuality, Wade was consecrated bishop in Sydney, but with Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne also in attendance, in May 1930. He used the occasion to advertise the needs of his mission, and made a notably effective appeal for medical missionaries to join him in his work. Wade also built on the sympathy and interest he attracted at that time by producing a film about the mission, *Saints and Savages* [1931], and by encouraging publication of a charming collection of letters written by his young New Zealand-born *confrère*, Emmet McHardy, *Blazing the Trail in the Solomons* [1935]. McHardy had done the actual filming and his illustrated book was widely read — and famously persuasive. Later visits by Wade to Australia in 1934 and 1936 were also well publicised. In 1936 there were even plans to bring a cruise liner of Australian pilgrims to Bougainville in 1937 for a Eucharistic Congress to celebrate the centenary of Marist missions in the Pacific [*Advocate*, 20 December 1934, 10 September 1936; Durning 1985; Laracy 1998a, 1998b, 1999].

The first medical volunteer to answer Wade's call, in 1931, was Amy Richardson, a nursing sister at St Vincent's Hospital, Darlinghurst. In 1933 she recruited three more nurses, and they were joined by Dr J. Luxford Meagher. He was a member of a prominent Melbourne family and, as a series of articles on Bougainville in the *Catholic Leader* indicates, also had a talent for journalism. From these beginnings the Marist Medical Mission League was set up in Sydney in February 1935 with the well-known surgeon and, later, author H. M. Moran as its first president. The League continued to supply money and medics to Bougainville until being disbanded in 1976 [*Advocate* 1 March, 20 December 1934, 21 May 1936, 18 May, 2 December 1937, 19 August 1940; Kettle 1989: 43–6, 289–92; L'Estrange n.d.]. There were other important Australian links, too. Marist Brothers, professionally trained and experienced teachers, were introduced in 1941 to open a school at Chabai. And after World War II there was a steady flow of lay volunteers to help first with the tasks of reconstruction and then of development [Boyle 1989: 46–55; Doyle 1972: 599]. Furthermore, in 1946 one of the best-known Catholic priests in Australia, Monsignor James Hannan, resigned from the post of national missions promoter in order to pursue his ministry on Bougainville [Laracy 1996].

By 1950, then, thanks to a good start and a strong and sustained follow-up, the Catholic mission was clearly the most widespread, popularly supported and coherently organised institution in Bougainville. Conversely, Bougainville could

be seen as a Catholic fiefdom — as it was, resentfully, by various Australian colonial Administration officials in the post-war decades. For its part the mission had never been particularly beholden to the colonial Administration. It had no reason to yield to civil authority's perennial call for Erastianism, that is, to subordinate its authority to that of the state. It had grown by its own exertions. Its staff had not retreated ahead of the Japanese invasion in 1942, and twelve of them had died in the subsequent conflict [Laracy 1976: 117]. In any case, the primary purpose of the missionaries being there was to plant the Catholic Church firmly among the people of Bougainville. If, therefore, they had succeeded to the point where Catholic identity seemed almost to be coincident with Bougainville identity that was grounds for confidence rather than for misgivings. Hence the place in Catholic mythology of the guerrilla fighter Mesiamo of Biroi village in Nagovisi, and known as the 'Black Brigadier'. As the story was told in the Australian *Catholic Missions*:

> Misiamo [sic] did not fight for Australia — he fought for the 'Lotu' [the Church Faith]. He was not very fervent before the war — there always seemed to be complications on the way of his full acceptance of the Faith. Then came the Japanese patrols thrusting up from the coast, with the decision of Imperial Nippon that the Catholic Faith was finished in the Solomons. The churches were burned, the schools dispersed. Then the Nagavisi — and Misiamo — understood. Either they fought, or the Faith died. The Nagavisi fought.
>
> In the village council houses they declared formal war on the … despoilers, and Misiamo carried that declaration into effect … Long before war's end the Nagavisi country was a closed land to the Japanese.
>
> But Misiamo was not only a soldier — he was a leader, and a Christian leader, above all [*Catholic Missions* 1946: 10].[4]

As history, that assessment of Mesiamo's disposition is quite unsound. Hannan was using it to illustrate the inadequacy of the post-war Australian Administration on Bougainville, a matter which he also caused to have raised in the Australian parliament in 1947 [*Advocate*, 9 April 1947; PD (*Parliamentary Debates*), 16 April 1947: 1299–1300]. In contrast, a speaker from Nagovisi offered a less tendentious view of Mesiamo at the Bougainville conference held in Canberra in 2000:

> I don't believe he was a Catholic, because he married more than five wives. I just wanted to make that correction. If the Church believed that Misiamo [sic] was fighting for the Church, I think Misiamo was too clever for them.

Maybe so, but the mythical version in which piety reinforced patriotism still served a unifying function for priests and people.

Given the compact insularity of Bougainville, the ethnic/chromatic distinctiveness of its people and a pervasive sense of being distant from the concerns of central government, the close coincidence of religious and regional identity there ensured that the Catholic Church would readily sympathise with what might be deemed to be the immediate interests of Bougainville in the temporal as well as in the religious order.

While that sympathy would in the 1960s come to have conspicuous political implications, the Marists had already long manifested it in a specifically ecclesiastical way. That is, in conformity with the doctrinal and institutional metaculture of Catholicism, by seeking to enrol Bougainvilleans in the elite, European-normed — but internationally comparable — course of study leading to the priesthood [Laracy 1999, 2000].[5] Before the opening of the University of Papua New Guinea in 1966, even seminarians who did not complete the course were likely to be far better educated than any other of their compatriots.

The beginnings of the process, though, were modest. Most of the pre-war English-speaking missionaries were employed at various times in teaching catechists, or local teachers. Four of their proteges were in 1937 selected to begin seminary studies at Vunapope. They were Anton Kieri, Paul Lapun, Aloysius Noga Tamuka and Peter Tatamus. Of these Lapun later became a noted politician, while Tamuka and Tatamus, after a disjointed course of studies, which they completed at Torokina, were eventually ordained in 1953. Their successors followed a more orderly route: from Chanel College (founded in 1955) at Ulapia, near Rabaul, to Holy Spirit seminary, which was opened at Madang in 1963 and was transferred to Bomana near Port Moresby in 1968. Among the first graduates of this course were Peter Kurongku (later archbishop of Port Moresby), Gregory Singkai (later bishop of Bougainville) and Alexis Holyweek Sarei (later premier of Bougainville, and holder of a Roman degree in theology). All three were ordained in 1966 [Aerts 1994; Sarei 1974].

Numerous others followed them, some to ordination, some dropping out en route and some leaving the priesthood after ordination, but all had been introduced to the intellectual discipline of abstract thinking and the rigour of Scholastic philosophy and to the ways of the clerical gentleman. Accordingly, in 1970 Wally Fingleton, an Australian who had joined the mission in 1948, could write that 'Bougainvilleans, including Leo Hannett, Daniel Tsibin ... Leo Morgan, Joseph Auna, Joseph Tonnaku, Aloysius Noga and others of the "Bougainville Club" in Moresby, along with our three Members, Donatus Mola, Paul Lapun and Joseph Lue, form a group which is more literate and articulate than any other like group in New Guinea' [Fingleton 1970: 13–14].

The minds of the 1960s seminarians had, however, been shaped by more than just the traditional curriculum. They were stimulated also by the liberal, inclusive, adaptive, up-dating, diversity-endorsing, particularity-respecting and decolonising principles embedded in the teachings of the Second Vatican Council (1962–65). They were thus equipped — and disposed — to be formidable critics of established structures and assumptions in both church and state. This was reflected in much of the writing in *Dialogue*, a broadsheet published at the Madang seminary. Yet while nationalistic demands for indigenous self-determination earned certain writers such as John Momis and Leo Hannett a reputation in some circles as 'radicals', that opinion was far from universal. Nor was it necessarily pejorative. Not only were the kind of sentiments they expressed finding increasing currency in the world at large beyond Papua New Guinea but, more pertinently, they were accepted by Leo Lemay, who had succeeded Wade as bishop of Bougainville in 1960. When Momis was expelled from Holy Spirit seminary Lemay arranged for him to continue his studies with the Columban Fathers in Australia (Momis, this volume). Hannett also spent time in Australia, at the Marist seminary near Sydney, before enrolling at the University of Papua New Guinea.

While working steadily to develop the structure of the church, Lemay (1960–74) also carried further the task of grafting it more securely onto the root-stock on which it would ultimately have to depend; that is, the people of Bougainville. To this end he and his staff saw it as part of their task to help satisfy the rising material aspirations of their followers, not least through education [*Acta* 1958; L'Estrange 1957, 1958]. Thus, in 1961 the Marist Brothers school at Kieta (opened 1949) began teaching secondary classes. And in 1964 the quality of the instruction it provided was shown when it achieved a 100 per cent success rate in the Territory-wide Intermediate Examination, as it also did in 1965 when two pupils, Peter Sisiou and John Dove, came first and third-equal overall, respectively [Boyle 1989: 183–4]. Already, since 1955, the mission had been working to produce candidates for registration as teachers in accordance with the government policy of promoting literacy, but mostly at its own expense. For instance, in the year 1955–56 the mission received a grant-in-aid of £3,459 but itself spent an additional £18,656 on education. Although government funding subsequently increased substantially, education remained a major expense for the mission, as in 1965, when it ran 120 primary schools catering for 11,000 pupils, plus three secondary schools and two teacher training colleges. At that time, the government educated only a thousand students in Bougainville. In 1970 Fingleton wrote that 'the Catholic mission of Bougainville educates some 12,000 children out of a total district population of about 73,000' [L'Estrange 1956; Fingleton 1970: 13; *Sol Mons*, June 1965, December 1965].

The comparison, whether stated or implied was, of course, invidious to the government. On the other hand, it also pointed to the rapport the mission sought to foster with its indigenous constituency. That same disposition was also shown in other ways as, for instance, after a large scale rejection of the mission on Buka in 1961. There, a mood of economic frustration and disappointment fuelled resentments which merged with a cargo-cult tradition that had been spasmodically manifest since the early 1930s. And so was born the Hahalis Welfare Society, to which 3,000 Catholics had defected by 1964.

Central to the Welfare's sense of grievance was the notion that the missionaries cared little about their well-being and had not provided them with the knowledge needed to become rich which, as agents of a benign God, it was thought they ought to have done. Recognising the need to give the lie to this, and to similar dangerous murmurings elsewhere, the mission's response was to direct much of its energy and resources into development schemes. By the mid-1960s, therefore, Catholic Bougainville was abuzz with projects for timber milling, house building, resettlement, road making, land clearing and for the planting of coconuts and cocoa. Whatever the theological tensions that might be thought to exist between possessions and piety, the Marists were clearly adept at making use of 'the mammon of iniquity' to further their cause [Laracy 1976: 135–43; Ryan 1970: 275–337].

More than that, though, as would be seen in the royalties dispute over mining at Panguna, the Marists were also prepared to stand up to the civil authorities in support of indigenous interests on what appeared to them to be matters of morality and justice. Thus, in April 1965, Fingleton exposed in the press in Sydney a scheme by which the government proposed to take by 'right of eminent domain', and in the face of local opposition, 200 acres of land at Tonolei Harbour to service a private timber milling operation. The landowners were given £30,000, while the timber was valued at between £6,000,000 and £10,000,000. Similarly, the year before, Fingleton had challenged the Administration for proposing to quarry road mettle at Malabita Hill without the agreement of the landowners, and for offering a royalty substantially below the standard rate [*Sol Mons*, June 1965; Fingleton 1970: 17–19].

When, from the mid-1960s, landowners of Panguna in central Bougainville were disgruntled by the depredations the proposed mine was expected to bring to their lands and waterways, and chagrinned at being denied royalty payments (in addition to modest occupation fees and compensation), it was scarcely surprising that their missionaries were sympathetic. Following a meeting of landowners at Tunuru Mission in August 1966 to air their grievances, Lemay wrote to the Administrator, Donald Cleland, denying that the missionaries had instigated the protest but affirming the mission's position. 'Where', he wrote,

> the Administration is not being fair to the people … [by refusing] to have due regard for Native law and custom … I stick with the people whom I have come to serve … [This position] is not anti-Administration but pro-People.

It was also a practical position as well as a moral one. 'Our local people', wrote Lemay,

> do not want to be dispossessed of their few acres of ground; it is more precious to them than gold and silver.

He went on to deliver a sadly prescient warning that the royalty issue could detonate a secession movement, and war [Lemay 1966b]. And so it came to pass. Nor was he alone in his prophecy. As another Marist, Robert Wiley, recalled in 1991,

> … when the BCL (Bougainville Copper Ltd) big men were visiting Tunaru I said to them you'll push this through as there is no way the old people will fight with you. Then I pointed to the school children and said that's where the problem will come — through education. There'll be hatred. Today many of those 60s students are fighting for the BRA (Bougainville Revolutionary Army).

One such was Philip Taukang who, reported Wiley, complimented the church by saying

> you were the only ones who told us the truth … no one could believe that the mountain was going to be removed [*Link* No. 23 1991].

Lemay would have been gratified by that statement. For in September 1966, following a meeting with his clergy, he published an open letter in a special issue of *Catholic News* endorsing the view of landowners in Buin and Nasioi that the laws regarding mining and timber milling were unjust insofar as they 'go against Native customs'. 'Our sympathy', he declared 'is entirely with our people'. He did, though, urge them to work through their politicians to change the laws and not 'fight the Government':

> Insist that you want Native customs observed as regards land, timber and mineral ownership. Tell your leaders that you want a fair law, one that admits your rights to your land, timber and minerals, and that gives you a fair share of the profits called royalties [Lemay 1966a].

Given the destruction and disruption, and the recriminations and conflicts of loyalty that followed the development of the Panguna mine, it is not inconceivable that, in the second century of its Catholic history, Bougainville will have greater need of the consolations — and speculations — of religion, be it Catholic or Protestant, than it ever had in the first hundred years. For the problem of balancing the part against the whole, of reconciling unity with separation, or of relinquishing one demand and conceding its opposite, which has so bedevilled Bougainville since 1988, is not likely to go away. At base it is a philosophical and moral issue no less than a political one [Laracy 1991: 53–9].

## Endnotes

1. The prefecture conformed to the boundaries of the original Anglo–German division of the Solomons, and so also included Ysabel, Choiseul and the Shortlands. The ecclesiastical boundary was not changed after the political one was adjusted in 1899. The prefecture was raised to a vicariate in 1930 but the islands south-east of Bougainville remained within its boundaries until 1959. The vicariate apostolic of North Solomons became the Diocese of Bougainville in 1967 [Laracy 1976].
2. I am indebted to my wife Eugenie for her help with the enormous task of transcribing the O'Reilly material in Paris in 1967.
3. In discussion at the conference in August 2000 from which this book originates, 'Bougainville: Change and Identities, Division and Integration' hosted by The Australian National University's 'State, Society and Governance in Melanesia' (SSGM) program in the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies [see taped proceedings], Hank Nelson made some useful comments on these matters. 'The Methodist mission in New Britain–New Ireland had a much more coherent, better organised constituency in Australia. That mission is an Australian mission. Its direction, funds and personnel (whether lay or ordained) came out of Australia. Often the heads of the Methodist church in Australia had served a term in the islands. And because they tend to be the more committed and most enthusiastic of Methodists, they were disproportionate in the leadership of Australian Methodism. Indeed now, I think, the chairperson of the Synod is an ex-missionary from New Guinea. That also meant that in all of your Methodist circuits, whether in Albury or Wagga, or wherever you are, you would have an ex-missionary out of New Guinea as one of the members, and they're always performing through those circuits.

   'And in terms of influence, you've just got to look at who goes down on the *Montevideo Maru*. Well, one of them is a Beazley, the uncle of Kim and the brother of Beazley Sr, who asked all those questions about Papua New Guinea through the '50s and so on. Or Earle Page, the head of the Country Party. His brother is the secretary in Rabaul, and a lay preacher in the Methodist church. One could go on about such connections …

   'In contrast, Bougainville Methodism is New Zealand-based and coming north, and that's taking it out of the consciousness of Australian Methodism. So that in 1940 your Methodist missionaries there, Luxton, Alley, Voyce; and the Methodist lay women, teachers and nurses, such as Common, are all New Zealanders'. [Tape 6, side A; For Common and other women, see Beniston 1994.]
4. For a less tendentious assessment of Mesiamo, see Patrol Reports, Bougainville District, Buin No. 1, 1954–55 (Special), 10 July 1955, National Archives and Records Service of Papua New Guinea.
5. For pertinent illustrations of the Catholic 'metaculture', see Laracy [1999, 2000].

# APPENDIX 1

## Diocese of Bougainville Statistics — 1 July 1966–30 June 1967

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *I Personnel:* | | |
| Priests – | Marists | 37 |
| | Native | 5 |
| | Diocesan | 1 |
| Brothers – | S M | 17 |
| | F M S | 9 |
| | B S J | 31 |
| Sisters – | S M S M | 39 |
| | C S J | 15 |
| | C S N | 40 |
| Seminarians – | Madang | 12 |
| | Ulapia | 37 |
| | Chabai | 23 |
| Catechists – | | 462 |
| Lay Missionaries – | | 20 |
| Native Teachers – | | 372 |
| Certified Male – | | 236 |
| Certified Female – | | 110 |
| Permit Male – | | 25 |
| Permit Female – | | 1 |
| *II Population:* | | |
| Total – | | 72,490 |
| Catholics – | | 54,289 |
| Protestants – | | 11,961 |
| Catechumens – | | 851 |
| Hahalis – | | 3,4449 |
| Pagans – | | 1,614 |
| *III Stations:* | | |
| Main stations | | 30 |
| Churches | | 49 |
| Chapels | | 425 |
| IV Medical: | | |
| Hospitals | | 17 |
| Beds | | 581 |
| Maternities | | 16 |
| Births | | 1,431 |
| Dispensaries | | 25 |
| Hansenide | | 1 |
| Patients | | 48 |
| Staff: | | |
| Doctors | | 2 |
| R Ns | | 15 |
| M Assts | | 6 |
| I M W A | | 14 |
| Lab Tech | | 1 |
| I M W O | | 1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *V Schools:* | | |
| Primary – 112 | | |
| | Boys | 6,134 |
| | Girls | 5,729 |
| | | 11,863 |
| Secondary – 3 | | |
| | Boys | 176 |
| | Girls | 126 |
| | | 302 |
| Teacher training | | 2 |
| Rigu | | 13 |
| Asitavi | | 28 |
| | | 41 |
| Total in above schools: | | 12,206 |
| Catechists Trainees | | 38 |
| Tearouki Nurse Trainees | | 15 |
| Chabai Seminary | | 23 |
| Chabai Novitiate Trainees | | 10 |
| | | 12,292 |
| *VI Spiritual Works:* | | |
| Baptisms | Children | 2,609 |
| | Adults | 25 |
| Confirmations | | 1,485 |
| Communions – | | |
| Devotional | | 895,350 |
| Paschal | | 24,831 |
| Marriages – | | |
| Regular | | 297 |
| Mixed | | 8 |
| Disp Cult | | 8 |
| Anointing of Sick | | 172 |
| Deaths – | | |
| Children | | 198 |
| Adults | | 221 |

Source: Leo L Lemay S. M. (Society of Mary, 'Marists') 3 August 1967

# APPENDIX 2

## Economic Development Projects Organised by the Catholic Mission in the Vicariate Apostolic of the North Solomons as at October 1966

| | | | CAPITAL ($ Australian) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Members' | Grants | | |
| District | Project | Members | Contributions | Amount | Source | Equipment |
| | | | $ | $ | | |
| Lemanmanu | Milling<br>Housing | 110* | 2,000 | 2,000 | Oxfam | 2 sawmills |
| Hanahan | Milling<br>Housing | 200* | 4,000 | 1,000 | Oxfam | 2 sawmills |
| Gagan | Milling<br>Housing<br>Copra | 20* | 2,000 | 6,000 | German Government | 1 copra dryer |
| Gogohe | Milling<br>Housing<br>Copra | 150* | 3,000 | 2,824<br>9,412<br>2,000 | German Government<br>Misereor | 1 tractor<br>1workshop<br>1 sawmill |
| Hantoa | Milling<br>Housing | 150* | 2,000 | Nil | | 1 sawmill |
| Sipai | Resettlement<br>Planting | 1850 | Nil | 5,000 | Freedom from Hunger Campaign | 1 sawmill |
| Kuraio | Resettlement<br>Planting | 1500 | Nil | 5,000 | Freedom from Hunger Campaign | 1 sawmill<br>1 tractor |
| Torokina | Planting | 1100 | Nil | 7,000 | Oxfam | |
| Sovele | Road making<br>Land clearing | 3500 | Nil | 11,059 | German Government | 1 bulldozer |
| Moratona | Milling<br>Housing<br>Road making<br>Land clearing | 220 | Nil | 10,000 | N C W C<br>Misereor | 5 sawmills<br>1 bulldozer |
| Turiboiru | Milling | 100* | 2,000 | Nil | | 1 sawmill |
| Tabago | Milling | 100* | 2,000 | Nil | | 1 sawmill (2 rice hullers since 1951) |

* Denotes membership based on shareholding, usually one per family. The unstarred figures refer to actual or potential beneficiaries of projects.