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Economic Initiatives in Wantoat, a report to the people of Wantoat.

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ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN WANTOAT

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INTRODUCTION.

This paper is the result of research done during the Christmas vacation period 1978-1979. The subject of my inquiry was the ideas or perceptions about economic development and change in Wantoat, in particular about coffee growing. This paper will try to show us how the money made from coffee has stimulated the people to set up small business ventures.

The discussion leads us into the part played by the co-operative society, the Kongaim Kending and Namasu in the people's expectations and opinions and their part in the future of Wantoat.

AREA DESCRIPTION.

Wantoat is situated in the highlands of Morobe Province. The area is very mountainous, with many creeks and a rugged terrain. The Sub-Province headquaters is situated at Kaiapit on the Markham Valley but since contact with Kaiapit was difficult a small administrative post was established at Wantoat. The administrative post is situated in a small but spacious valley shadowed by the Saruwaged Ranges. Contact with the first white man was very late, perhaps during the 1930's: owing to the Second World War there was little administrative work until the 1950's. In 1954 the first Kiap established a post to patrol the area.

The climate of the area is about the same as that experienced by the highlanders. The mountains are close and so rain is frequent in the afternoons. Average rainfall can be estimated at one hundred inches a year. It is often cold at nights and early mornings. Consequently, the houses are built in such as way to prevent the people from being cold. The people live in villages of up to 80 or 90 persons. However, there are people living in smaller hamlets of less than ten persons. There are a lot of inter-marriages between the villages which can cause larger internal social groupings between relatives of the wife and husband.

The area is divided into four main census divisions. There are Wandot, Bungam, Avara and Nginunga. These census divisions are divided mostly by geographical barriers, mountains, and rivers which makes communication rather difficult. The administrative post is situated in the Wantoat Valley of Wandot census division. This is where all the activities are; and the people from the three other census division have to walk long distances to Wantoat Patrol Post.

European contact in the form of mission and government administration has concentrated mainly on the spacious valley. To help with their work a small airstrip was built for light aircraft in 1956. The missions came into Wantoat with native pastors and teachers from Finschhafen area and the Salamaua - Bukawa area in 1954. The Finschhafen pastors and teachers spoke a Kate language, while their Salamaua - Bukawa counter-parts spoke Jabim. The Wantoat area was divided for these two languages, so that Jabim speakers spread the good news on one side of Wantoat and Kate on the

other side. The missionaries erected schools and churches. In the schools the 'untrained' teachers taught the people reading, writing and arithmetic in the two languages. Initially a common language for communication was difficult to find since Wantoat dialect is Non Austronesian, like the Kate dialect. However, Jabim was an Austronesian language. There is no wonder that there are more Kate speakers in Wantoat than Jabim speakers.

Tok Pisin was brought into Wantoat later by contract workers as well as policemen and other administrative personnel. The white men's language an English, was brought in through the Education System in Primary Schools. The Wantoat language itself has a lot of dialects. For example the 6,000 speakers of the Wantoat language may be divided into perhaps 36 dialects of the same Wantoat language. It was not until 1956 that the government opened a bording-school of boys, where English was taught. The missions also introduced new vegetables and also raised boars for breeding as well as for consumption. There was also the abolishing of 'cruel practices' and introduction of hygienic measures. Almost all this was done in the first fes years.

The activity of the administration was a first confined to taking a census and appointing village heads (tultuls and luluais). The task was assisted by the missions. However, AMIN YAGE still had a high respect as a councillor of tultuls and luluais. In a few years' time the administration began to be more active. Thus, in 1950 the administration began to attempt to combine several villages to start a coffee plantation together. In suitable spots, model gardens with coffee plants and trees for shade were laid out by trained assistants. I would now like to quote Schmitz's prediction in 1963. "It or is hoped that in eight or ten years time the crop will provide the natives with an income in European money values".

These influences did not affect the people very much. They had their own beliefs and religious systems. Although, many of these old ideas ad rituals disappeared from plain view, most went underground. I have no doubt most of these are alive today. Regardless of coffee plants and new vegetables, the villages were or are still involved in subsistence farming. Consequently,

the old way of growing vegetables in gardens takes most of the working-time of the population and leaves the men and women little time to attend to cash-cropping.

Today, the population of the area is about 15-20,000. These people live mostly on hill sides and are shifting-cultivators. They live in small villages of up to 50-60 people. (However, there are also small hamlets of up to 10 people.) They spend most of their time planting and harvesting yam, all in very different varieties. Apart from yams they grow few other crops and vegetables. These crops are mainly for consumption. They sell some of their crops on market day (every Thursday and Saturday). Since the wage-earners at the station are few, many growers do not manage to sell their vegetables. There is an abundant supply of vegetables like cabbages, peanuts, cucumbers, peanuts, cucumbers, pineapples and many others. I do suggest that the Food Marketing Corporation begin weekly flight to buy these vegetables. Some people do not have coffee gardens, and so this is their only way of earning cash. However, some people do raise pigs for cash, although most are kept for bride-wealth exchanges. There are of course young men in towns engaged in wage-employment.

The area is served by a Health Centre, five Aid Posts, an airstrip and three community schools. The first Primary School was started in 1956, by the Australian administration. It was not until 1962 when the Lutheran Mission established the next school at Kongaim. Today these schools are only one as Kongaim has been marged with the government community school. It is now called Wandot Community School. The two new schools, Bayamasu and Bumbum serve the two census divisions, Awara and Bungam respectively. These three community schools do not serve the people properly. Bumbum serves Bungam census division, Bayamasu serves Awara, and Wandot serves Wantoat. Unfortunately, Nginunga Census Division is left out, I believe this is due to government plan for equal distribution of benefits. Although there are schools, many children do not go to school as classrooms are full. The outcome of these schools is good as we have a lot of students in Kaiapit High School. However, we have few student s doing tertiary studies already who are products of mostly Wandot Community School. These students went through

Bumayong and Bugandi High Schools in Lae. However, there are a lot of people who do not send their children to school. Most people keep their girls back home, so there are only a few girls in the community schools. The fathers still do not want their girls to go to school. They are kept to clean their gardens, helping mother and possibly to be married for wealth to the parents.

The Health Centre is situated at the headquarters, with few aid-posts. There were five Aid Posts serving the distant villages from the Health Centre. They all operated very well between 1956 and 1970. These aid-posts were managed and looked after by locally-trained men. They had one aid-post in each census division and two in Awara. However, during the early 1970's most aid-posts have or ceased or operate. This mostly due to lack of interest by the Orderlies, as well as lack of supply of medicinal goods to the Air-Posts. There are still two aid posts operating in Awara Census Division. Although we have these few health services the people seldom use them.. They are still believers of witchcraft and sorcery. Therefore, when a man is sick the witch - doctor may assist or heal him. They may seek hospital aid if the sickness can't be cured by the witch doctor. So you see, Wantoats have a clinic (Health Centre) and aid-posts but these are not used to the fullest as sorcery and witchcraft are sto;; be;oeved om/ This may also be the reason why some aid-posts have ceased to operate. I wish to point out that the Wantoats have improved their standard of living. They are now much better off than before.

There are only two languages spoken in the area, apart from TOK PISIN, JABIM and KATE. The Wantoats all can communicate and understand each other very well. The language is known as Wandot Wam. As usual geographical barriers have contributed to having many different dialects of the same language. A completely different language is spoken by the Rumu people. Consequently, they can live separately as an ethnic group and not with the Bungam Census Division. The Wandot Wam is not very standardised, as a lot of borrwed TOK PISIN is heard. Regardless of these factors the Summer Institute of Linguistics has published a lot of books including the New Testament in Wandot Wam.

COFFEE GROWING.

The Wantoat Valley has suitable climate and land for coffee growing. It was in the year 1950 that the administration encouraged the villagers to grow coffee on a collective basis. The physical environment is hostile to travel and communication. Therefore, coffee growing was first concentrated in a spacious valley near the administrative centre. To further elaborate the history of coffee growing I would like to quote Townsend.

> "1930's sporadic diffusion of coffee seedlings from Helsbach was attempted by missionaries. 1953 administration gave considerable attention to agriculture, especially cash - cropping. That is, coffee in coastal uplands and cocoa in the south-east corner of the Morobe Province. For the period after 1954 the District Officers called for accelerated cash crop plantings... nearly all coastal villages planted some new coconuts. Highland villagers planted some coffee seedlings but nearly all on communal basis.....(Townsend 1978)

Perhaps we have seen above the introduction of cash -cropping and seedlings in coastal areas and uplands of the province. Consequently, this has spread up the highland areas to Boana, Kabwum, Pindiu and other highland areas. It was not until about 1950 that the coffee plant reached Wantoat. It was taken up there by a man (agricultural officer) from Boana. In Wantoat through the administration he encouraged people to grow coffee on a communal basis. The attitude at first was encouraging, as people adapted to it and grew coffee widely. Although, the people were told to grow coffee on a communal basis, some people tried to plant coffee on their own interest for themselves. Individual blocks of gardens were made because the amount of money made from communal gardens was good in the people's eyes. Consequently, the idea was encouraged by the agricultural agents. The people then started growing their own private gardens eagerly on their own land. Unfortunately, some pieces of land were not very suitable for coffee growing. I was a small child at that time and I have seen people pruning off tops and clearing their gardens. To further encourage the people to clean their gardens, punishment was usually imposed for unclean gardens. The agricultural officers inspected gardens every now and then to make sure that the gardens were kept clean. However, due to lack of agricultural officers the inspection

system soon stopped and people were left to look after their own gardens in almost all the villages. When they were left to manage their own gardens, the people said 'INO GAT KALABUS NAU' so why keep the gardens clean? The result was many gardens soon grew into bush and were left to fallow for later subsistence farming. This may also be because the soil was not suitable and the loss of interest by the people. However, there are only a few villagers who looked after their gardens properly until today. There are two villages who are now constant suppliers of coffee, although a few other villages do sell coffee not so often. The former two villages Yaparingan and Bumbum have coffee gardens surrounding their villages. Therefore, they are the constant suppliers of coffee to buyers at the station. The people who have left their gardens to fallow regretted it during the 1976 coffee boom. However, those who kept their gardens made some good money during the period. The coffee boom stimulated some others to start up new coffee gardens. These new gardens many benefit them in future if prices rise.

Today, there are only two agricultural officers and nothing much is done about coffee gardens. They do give advice when people asked for it. I believe the people only expect these two men to advise them, consequently the people don't ask for advice. There are growers who have four to five gardens to look after. These people today face another problem. As coffee has taken over land, there is a shortage of land. Due to shortage of land the fallow period is often shortened. This further reduces the yield. Therefore, today vegetables are not so plentiful as before.

If coffee prices fall again in future, I presume some people will leave their coffee gardens to fallow. Fortunately, there are others who are 'business-minded These people told me 'If I leave my coffee garden to fallow where will I get my money from? If all the growers have this same feeling then it is good, the crop will continue to be produced in Wantoat. However, there are others who spend their time planting and harvesting yams. Although outsiders regard farms as a useless crop the people in the area regard it as a most important 'weapon' to fight in exchange for bride-payments. There has been recently an introduction of a new cash crop. The Department of Primary Industry has brought it up and the crop is called Cardamom. As when coff

was first brought, the people are enthusiastic and have taken the crop enthusiastically. The people have planted it every where now. There has been no full harvest yet. However, my informants told me that the first man to harvest the crop had taken K200 in cash. This information had spread and so some people who did not have coffee gardens had started planting Cardamom. Although, nothing of this crop was harvested yet people think it is a much better cash crop than coffee. This crop has very high prices, for hot air Cardamom there is K5 for a Kilogram and for sundried there is K1 per Kilogram. The future of this crop is not very certain as things seem very good at first but interest may wane.

Although coffee prices did not drop very much the people have taken up their normal routine. They often leave their beans to rot and grow up under the parent trees. The very unfortunate period is September to January, when most of the time is spent on planting yams. To worsen the situation, it is usually during this period that the gardens become bushy. If coffee prices fall in the future the coffee crop may worsen, as I believe the people will lose interest and the gardens may turn to fallow for subsistence farming. There is also another problem - the Awara, Bungam and Nginunga Census divisions are too far from the station. Therefore, to sell their coffee beans they usually walk long distances to the station. The result is that the coffee beans are usually wet upon arrival. Unfortunately, they walk through rugged mountains, creeks and rivers. There are some people who have to sleep on the way before reaching the station. However, the coffee buyers usually accept them and dry them again themselves. The coffee buyers in Wantoat are Wambunawa Co-op, Kongaim Kending and Namasu. They usually buy coffee at the same price. However, the people's first preference is Wanbunawa, next is Kongaim Kending and lastly Namasu.

BUSINESS GROUPS.

There are not many business groups in Wantoat. The three main competitors are Namasu, Wanbunawa Co-op and Kongaim Kending. However, the first trade store in the area was owned by a Chinese man, namely C.B. Chee in 1956. At that time he had the monopoly to sell goods. This was around about 1958; he still operated until 1974 when Kongaim Kending took over the store. The next store in Wantoat was Namasu.

This store still operates today. The third one was Crowley, who mostly bought coffee from the people. It no longer operates. Then Richard Leahy came in and worked for only a few years and was bought out. Then came Wantoat Traders, a locally owned company headed by Stephen Mambon. The Wantoat Traders started off as a Co-operative. The people mostly of Nginunga Census Division (where Mr. Mambon is from) bought shares in the company. The company worked well in the first few years. Unfortunately, there were two leaders Mambon and Yawising who had conflicting ideas. Three or four years later, Mr. Mambon decided to pay off all other members so after that it was Mr. Mambon's business. Unfortunately, the business went broke between the two years 1972 and 1973. The Wantoat Traders now only sell liquor. Then about 1970 both the Kongaim Kending and Wanbunawa came into existence.

(A) KONGAIM KENDING.

The Kongaim Kending was started in 1970 by Lini Sheba (a Primary School headteacher at Kongaim) and Watnana an elderly man (now dead) from Gwambon village. The name Kongaim Kending must have originated from Kongaim (a mission station) and Kending must be a pronounciation by the Wantoats for Canteen in English. Rather then writing Kongaim Kending I'd like to use the initials K.K. The K.K.'s intention was to fight prices of other stores. The first members of K.K. were mainly church workers and Primary School kids at Kongaim. Consequently, the starting capital was only $250 In September 1970 K.K. sold large tinned fish for 22 cents, R. Leahy for 25 cents, and others for 30 cents. In that same year the turn-over was $6,000. It all seemed well, the people of Wantoat were encouraged to buy shares in K.K. Today the people are still told to be members of K.K. by the manager. Thus, in 1978 there are about 300 shareholders. The turn over for 1977 was all from trade both from retail and wholesale stores. The coffee turn-over in 1977 was K80,000. When K.K. started, the Wanbunawa Co-operative Society opposed K.K. buying coffee. (Wanbunawa and Namasu were then the only coffee buyers in Wantoat). However, in 1974 K.K. took over the C.B. Chee store and ran it as a branch of K.K. at Kongaim.1975, the Local Government Council agreed to K.K. buying coffee because C.B. Chee and R. Leahy had stopped buying coffee. Thus, when K.K. started buying coffee opposition of Wanbunawa Co-operative grew rapidly.

It got to its climax in November 1976. The directors said 'Bisnis bilong Bingsu' 'POKET BILONG BINGSU'. This resulted in a big meeting in January 1977. The representatives of Government Business Development, Church leaders, K.K. members the directors of Wanbunawa Co-operative attented the meeting. The Bingsu (Dr. Bergmann) was not told to attend the meeting. At this meeting the President of Wanbunawa Cooperative publicly agreed to K.K. buying coffee. Although, K.K. had started buying coffee three years earlier, Wanbunawa only agreed three years later. This means that K.K. was accepted as a brother Company. Since that time the co-operation has expanded a lot even though they started at a capital of K250. 'Bingsu' urged K.K. into extension. Thus, in 1973 a sewing centre was set up. This centre sold sewn clothings, materials for sewing and so forth. In 1974 the building and construction firm (the Kamunda Kending) was founded. In 1976 the Kongaim Kending borrowed K3,800 from the Village Economic Development Fund. In 1975 the K.K. purchased a missionary landrover. In the following year (1976) the K.K. also purchase an old Government Toyota at K200. These two trucks then encouraged K.K. to start up a workshop and employ a mechanic. (As I have mentioned, about the purchasing of C.B. Chee in 1974, the house was not sold at all, it is used for nothing.) In 1978 the K.K. opened up a small branch (retail store) at Bam on the road which is being built to connect with Lae.

Today, the K.K. has a lot of assets and it is possibly the second biggest business company in Wantoat. The K.K. has been working very well under the supervision of Dr. Bergmann. The manager is Yamansang who was trained in book-keeping, and accounting by Dr. Bergmann. I do not know if Business Development in Lae advises them or not. However, I believe only Dr. Bergmann advises the manager and workers. As the K.K. was started by Missions, Bergmann was the likely assistant. The K.K. has been paying rebates to shareholders almost every year since it started. Consequently, this has encouraged the people to buy more shares. Thus, membership is still open and intending members are encouraged to buy shares.

(B) NAMASU

The Native Marketing and Supply Ltd - or Namasu - was founded in 1959 by the Lutheran Mission of New Guinea, and it operates mainly in the Morobe and Madang Provinces. The company concentrates mainly on trading of goods and Services. Thus, trade stores have been set up in various parts of the country, on both retail and wholesale basis. The Namasu branch in Wantoat was opened around 1964. There were some Wantoats in towns when Namasu was founded. Therefore some Wantoats did buy shares in the company. All my informants told me Namasu was foreign 'BILONG OL WAITMAN'. Why did they believe this? Maybe because it does not help them or invest in the area. Some do not get any rebates from Namasu even if members. I never did come across a Namasu shareholder. I believe some were members but have forgotten as Namasu does not pay or never has paid them rebates. To start off the store Namasu made a lot of false promises to the people of Wantoat. However, in the first two years of operation dividends were paid to shareholders. According to Dr. Bergmann there is practically no reinvestment by Namasu in the area. I tend to agree with him on that matter. However, Namasu was able to purchase a land rover in 1971. This,land-rover was used to carry coffee from villages to the station for sale to Namasu only. This made Wanbunawa angry as Namasu was trying to buy or compete with them. Thus the land-rover was almost thrown over the cliff. Fearing trouble Namasu sold the land rover to the mission in 1972. This was the first non-government vehicle in the area.

People still support Namasu today, mainly when K.K. and Wanbunawa Cooperative run out of cash to buy coffee. However, the Namasu retail and wholesale store is always full of customers on Thursdays. Several years back from today the Namasu coffee-shed was always full. But today competition from K.K. and Wanbunawa has reduced Namasu. In fact, Namasu for some months have not had bags of coffee to sell to Lae. As I have stated earlier the people regard it as foreign company, so the people do not sell or buy at Namasu. In fact, they give Namasu the last preference. If such attitudes carry on the future of Namasu looks very dull. Consequently, Dr. Bergmann hopes and is planning to buy out Namasu. He

hopes Wanbunawa and K.K. will put together to buy out Namasu and set up a building firm. Wanbunawa will put in the capital and K.K. will put in the assets which now the Kamunda Kending owns. It would make it a community project and use local facilities rather than wasting money on foreign goods as the Local Government Council is doing now. This is just a future outlet and so may happen.

(C) Wanbunawa Imangaman Cooperative Limited.

The name Wanbunawa Imangaman derived from the three Census Divisions as follows WAN for Wandot, BUN for Bungam and AWA for Awara. The word Imangaman means to give and take.

This goes in line with the barter system practiced by Wantoats long ago. In fact, today some people call the stores Imangaman, because they give money and take goods in return. The movement was founded by Wantoats who were working in Lae. There were two settlements consisting of Wantoats living on the outskirts of Lae, namely, Ersnest and Kamkumung, not as traditional landowners but near the village. These two settlements usually have singsings every Christmas and at the Morobe District Agricultural Shows every year. There were also sales of liquor during singings in settlements on a black-market basis. Whatever money was raised from these activities was properly saved in accounts. The men who looked after the moneywere Ken David plus five or six of his assistants. Consequently, as years passed the account increased when more money was raised. At that time they had no plan what-so-ever, as to how and when to spend the money. Therefore, when the collection became large enough Ken David asked the people what to do with the money.

They suggested a co-operative society be started. It was from this time on that the people were told to buy shares. The head-men were sent to towns like Bulolo, Wau, Port Moresby and a few other settlements in the Markham Valley. Of-course there were Wantoats working in all these places. It was never extended to Wantoat until much later. However, collection in towns was done in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The intending shareholders were told to pay any amount.

The representatives' comments were 'LAIK BILONG YU SAPOS YU BAIM MOA, BIHAIN BAI YU KISIM PLANTI WIN-MONI'. Thus, meaning the amount you pay is not limited, you can pay as much as you wish. If you pay more you will get more in return in future as rebates. Such 'very good comments' made some people pay over $100 as shares in the company. The others paid well over $10, and only a few paid less than $10. It was not until 1965 that the representatives were sent up to Wantoat to collect money as shares. The some 'good comments' were endorsed to convince the people it was going to be a good business. Unfortunately, only three Census Divisions and people living there were told to be members: the Nginunga Census Division was left out possibly because they were already members of the Wantoat Traders. If it was planned, the people may have been stopped by Mr. Mambon and Yawising. However, when I asked people from that area most people told me that Mambon and Yawising stopped them, claiming they had a business already, that is, Wantoat Traders. Unfortunately, the Wantoat Traders had collapsed and now the people of Nginunga Census Division are becoming members in both K.K. and Wanbunawa Cooperative Society.

The collection totalled to K26,000. Most of this money was used to erect a building which was completed in 1971. This store was officially opened in November 1971, by a Linguist from S.I.L. (Donald Davies). I will use the initials WICL in the following pages.

Right from the start WICL had an anti-church attitude. According, to Mr. Bergmann the Co-operative movement became strong in Morobe Province Because people were very dissappointed with with Namasu. Thus, because Namasu made a lot of false promises and was started by the church, the WICL leaders were from the start reluctant to talk with Dr. Bergmann and also opposed the Kongaim Kending. The WICL leaders said K.K. was 'Stua bilong Bingsu' Although, WICL was officially opened in November 1971 WICL was already buying coffee since April 1971. These were the sale prices at the coffee shed. At that time Namasu bought coffee for 20t a kilo, WICL bought coffee for 40t a kilo, but the coffee mill in Lae bought coffee for 30t a kilo. This shows what their idea of a society was. WICL made a 10t loss (no profit) while Namasu made a 10t profit. The Business Develop-

ment Officers collected that very quickly. Then, WICL very soon paid less for coffee than Namasu, Chee, R. Leahy who all paid 20t a kilo, while WICL paid only 15t a kilogram. The Directors' reason for paying 15t a kilo was SOCIETI INO STRONG YET; (meaning the society was not strong yet). They add that when the society has the money in future they will pay more for a kilo of coffee. Consequently, the co-operative officers from Lae advised on the running of the society. Unfortunately, these co-operative officers from Lae did not visit them very often. The result, according to Dr. Bergmann, was that the co-operative officers did a very poor job in training them for management and also a poor job of training the directors. Therefore, after five years of operating the store, the manager still did not keep proper records in this cheque book. This, Dr. Bergmann claims was the fault of those who trained the manager, of course the co-operative officers were to be blamed. The WICL as a trade store business had run at a loss ever since the store operation started. There was no single year that the stores made a profit. Thus, the first business report in 1973 saw a loss of K1,000. The 1976 report saw a loss of K10,000, in the year 1977 the same amount (K10,000) was lost. Although 1978 report was not filed yet, according to Dr. Bergmann it seemed that the loss was going to be the same. This was a net loss of 10% in trade store business per year.

In the year 1973 the people asked what was the reason of the loss of K1,000. The Co-operative Officers gave an answer to cover up. Their answer was well sometimes a bag of rice breaks, or a bag of flour goes bad. However, these little losses would not run up to K10,000 per annum. When considering these losses, I think the store keeper should keep proper records of items sold everyday, and count the money in the afternoons. This will then show them which items are sold and to see whether there is a right amount of money in the store, each day. Unfortunately most shareholders do not know of these losses per annum. If these go on, the shareholders will only be surprised when the stores break down in future.

In 1976 the Mainland Marketing got a C.U.S.O. (Canadian Universities Service Overseas) man by the name Zernon Norfrik. He was supposed to help all co-operative

societies in the Morobe Province, and so come to Wantoat. Thus, at the start of 1977, the two of them (Bergmann and Zernon) worked together. At this time of the year, the 1976 report was presented. Consequently, the K10,000 was still missing that year. The two of them decided to speak openly about these losses. Therefore, in April 1977 a general meeting was held and at this time the rivalry between WICL and K.K. was covered up. Then, Dr. Bergmann was giving advice on assistance to WICL. Thus Dr. Bergmann tried few things like stock-taking, better book-keeping and so forth. Although these were done still in that year there was a loss of K10,000. In 1978 few more things were tried, such as Stock Movement Control, controlling the sales of single stores and also they tried operating coffee and store accounts. This was mainly to see which was making profit and which was running at a loss. They did all these, but it seemed as though K10,000 was going to be lost again in 1978. Dr. Bergmann told me, he did not know the reason for this. However, one of his reasons was very high expenses for the directors, especially Ken David and Nzangwa's, who get up to K70 a fortnight. However, I believe this is not the only reason, there must be some money going into the storekeepers'pockets. Unfortunately, they can't find out who is taking the money, where it is going and how it is going out. The C.U.S.O. man left when his term expired. Dr. Bergmann was also transferred to Lae (although he still visits Wantoat) and so was not allowed enough time in the society. The replacement for a Business Development Officer in Wantoat seems to be Dr. Bergmann. Unfortunately, the directors do not ask for advice from the Business Development Office in Lae. I believe they just expect the Business Development Officers to visit them. However, today there is a plan to get a local Business Development Officer who has graduated from Laloki Co-op. College. The idea is that this man should go back to Wantoat and work as a private Business Development Officer for Wantoat only. It is believed that the K.K., W.I.C.L. and Yotbam Hotel will employ him. This is because they definitely need somebody with skill and knowledge to clean the dirt in WICL. The Yotbam Hotel and K.K. both need a good advisor rather than relying on a very busy man, Dr. Bergmann.

The first dividend was paid in 1974, a total of K7,000 to about 1,700 members. This K7,000 was made up of 6% dividend on share capital and 21% coffee rebate, although nothing was taken from stores. So in fact the Co-operative is paying dividends as well as rebates. The next dividend was paid in 1977 for the 1975 - 76 period. The 1974 year and part of 1975 the coffee price was very low, and so not a significant profit was made, and so they couldn't pay a dividend in 1976. However, part of 1975 and 1976 was a good period for coffee and so in early 1977 a total of K12,000 was paid out as dividend. For 1977 Zernon and Bergmann suggested that they reinvest the profits. Consequently, that year W.I.C.L. made K70,000 nett profit because it was a very good year for coffee. It must be noted here that this K70,000 came from coffee only. However, the stores made K10,000 loss, the K10,000 was taken from the coffee bank to help the store operations. Then, they (WICL) were left with K60,000. This money was not paid to shareholders as rebates but was kept. They kept K30,000 in reserve for buying coffee. Finally, they were left with K20,000 for other uses. Then, the idea of re-investment was brought up. The people agreed, the K20,000 profit will be re-invested. This helped them set up some projects, buy a Toyota, set up a branch at Awara Census Division Kubung village, and some houses for the workers were built using this money. Dr. Bergmann's talk on rural development work was left aside as no money was left for rural improvement.

There is a lack of proper management to look after W.I.C.L. Consequently, their plan to build a branch at Kanga-daka is not realised yet. There is no plan and no information as to how to build the house. Unfortunately, the directors did not know what or how to direct the society. They might have a different understanding of what a director is or don't have an idea as to how a director can influence a society. The WICL had bought a Toyota for K8,000 for use on the dead-end roads on the spacious valleys to carry coffee to the station for sale. They had a problem taking the Toyota up there but finally got it up by a Defence Force Caribou. Thus, the Toyota is now in operation. However, as I have said there is definately a problem of management. Consequently, there are new buildings to be built. However, because the Directors and the so-called manager does not

know how to plan for the buildings, nothing much has been done. The coffee price was very critical in 1978 so they did not make much profit. However, WICL still have capital, as K30,000 is reserved and K20,000 is set aside (surplus) and K8,000 was used to purchase the Toyota. The problem of management is a severe problem to WICL. The first so-called manager was Danny who was only trained to be a clerk at form two level. Therefore, management was not properly done from the start; and the directorship is not done properly. The co-operative Officers were partly advisors and partly managers. Consequently, W.I.C.L. and never had a real manager. In 1977 Dr. Bergmann worked together with them. Then, they decided to find a local but suitable man for the job of manager. They picked Robert Dawea and give him on-the-job training as he was not trained to be a manager.

(1) Yotbam Hotel.

In the years 1974 and 1975 the people were talking of breaking up the W.I.C.L. At that time Dr. Bergmann did not know who was behind the move. The idea was that the people on the other side of the valley look after one and the others another. The comments at that time were 'SOCIETI I BILONG SENGAPAN NA MUPIYAPUN TASOL' (i.e. it was not representative). The people who got involved were Wayaun's group: Wayaun is an elderly man from Sa-apbam. They wanted to buy liquor outlet and had stopped buying coffee in 1975. Wayaun had collected some money beforehand, I believe through cargocult activity, although I am not sure. Then Wayaun approached Dr. Bergmann for some advice on how to go about buying out the Leahy business. The people from the other side of the valley wanted their money back from WICL to buy off Leahy. Unfortunately, they never went ahead with project; Leahy was still operating in 1976. The end of 1976 and early 1977, Zernon was consulted. WICL also had a plan to buy off Leahy. Zernon strongly restrained WICL from selling Liquor on the evidence of their trade store business. Their aim was to buy out Leahy and use the building to sell liquor. Then Zernon asked whether K.K. and WICL could go together so that the K.K. morale and management went in together with WICL

to manage the liquor outlet. However, Bergmann thought it would be better to set up a Community Project; that all groups in Wantoat come together to buy out Richard Leahy. The final outcome was that all contributed, and the following are the amounts contributed:

WICL	- K15,000
K.K.	- K 5,000
Wantoat Local Government Council	- K 800
Sports Club	- K 300
Wantoat Community School	- K 500
Wantoat Church Circuit	- K 100

a total of K21,700 was collected. They did buy out Leahy for K15,000 which left them with K6,000. (However, because K15,000 was paid some people thought it was WICL's store.) All the groups paid in their share except the L.G.C., so it is only a nominal member. The idea was to run it together as a community enterprise.

The problem of leadership and management also appears to Yotbam Hotel. Dr. Bergmann then suggested that they get a person who could keep records, book-keeping, accounts and so forth, so they got Nedeclabu a "could-be" expert who had worked in the Circuit Office. He was made the manager of the new enterprise, the Yotbam Hostel. For the meantime, they only sold liquor while plans made to construct a new building. In the first few months they seem to have operated quite well with liquor sales. However, they started giving out liquor on credit and some were not recorded in Credit Books. A few months later the list was checked through. They found out that the 'Bigmen' were on top of the list. These Bigmen included Directors of WICL, the Kiap and some policemen. The total loss was K3,500 when checked in April 1978. Out of these K3,500 a total of K1,000 was credit in liquor sales, while the rest they could not account for. It must have been misappropriated or not recorded when liquor was taken on credit. The figures and reasons were shown. Then, they decided to give any more liquor on credit. The two workers there (the manager and

storekeeper) were told that their fortnightly salary will have to be docked to cover the loss of K2,500, and a director was assigned to supervise the work of the storekeeper, while Nedeclabu (the manager) was just kept to teach the storekeeper the basics of book-keeping, accounting and so forth. The idea got across and after only six weeks, a profit of K500 was made. Then after 12 weeks a total profit of K10,000 was recorded. It has since then worked well.

The plans for the new building are underway and already the surface was cleared up at the end of 1978. They plan to erect a big building which will serve as a Community Hall, Bar and a Restaurant with a bottle shop. The plans have been approved and the building is under construction. It is a K40,000 project of which K24,000 will be donated from groups in Wantoat. They hope to receive K16,000 from the Village Economic Development Fund. If all works out well, the proposal is that the net profits will be divided, part given as dividend to the six groups, and part of it will go to some sort of Community Development work away from the station, in villages. When I asked my informants concerning this matter they told they have heard of it. However, one said 'Mi no bilip long dispela mauswara' meaning he doesn't believe it- it is only a story.

The idea (according to Dr. Bergmann) is to teach the people how to use liquor properly and to drink well. However, today there is a lot of drinking in public premises, drunkenness, damaging of property and so forth. Thus, he says they have to fight the alcohol problem in some way. Unfortunately, I don't really believe drinking in a bar will solve the problem. It will only limit the consumers when the time is up and the bar closes. However, if there is another liquor outlet, like for example Mr. Mambon's, then black-marketing is likely to arise after drinking in the bar. Therefore, I think one has to close down permanantly. It is believed that when the bar is set up Mr. Mambon will soon face problems. In Wantoat there is no one big businessman, only Mr. Mambon and there is a "foreign company", according to Wantoats, and that is Namasu. The other three are Community projects: these are WICL, Yotbam Hotel and K.K. It seems that they are one-hearted and co-operating well.

Namasu is only 10% of business in Wantoat while 90% of the business is in the hands of the Wantoats. There are of course tendencies, problems and frictions but basically they regard themselves as one group. Now it is clear that they have to set goals properly for further development. This is a further call for these three groups: 'Divided we fall, united we rise'. Therefore, Wantoks work together for the development of our area.

(2) Shareholders and Expectations.

There are about 1,800 members of the WICL at the moment. It may rise in the future as membership is still open. The left-out Nginunga Census Division people are being encouraged to join it. There are a lot of people who are members of both the K.K. and WICL. Fortunately, I was able to get some informants who were shareholders. The shareholders are not sure of the functions, aims and how a co-operative is supposed to function. When I asked what a co-operative is, most of my informants said they don't know. The next question was where do they get the dividends from? They told me, from a bank in Lae. But the question was where is the money coming from, and they answered they don't know. It is an unfortunate matter: it was never clarified before the people were told to be members. Why is it, then, that they keep investing their money in local ventures? The shareholders all expected dividends, even the town-dwellers. I believe the idea of paying dividend or rebates has not been properly explained. The people must take note that rebates or dividends are paid with regard to the amount of goods sold or bought at a co operative. Unfortunately for the town-dwellers who are members, I believe they won't get a single toea, as they don't buy or sell at the co-operative. I believe the fault lies on the hands of the present directors and leaders of WICL. They told the shareholders in the first instance, that they (shareholders) would get more money if they buy more shares. Consequently, those who paid more, expect more. Their expectations had made some people very angry. Therefore,

when the first dividend was given out in 1974 some got only 50t, 20t and so forth. However, those who used to sell and buy at the co-operative got a good dividend. I came across an informant who only got 10t as a dividend paid for his K10 membership. He was told the coin is somewhere in the bush near-by the co-operative. This problem of high expectations must be explained again during a general meeting in the near future. The shareholders who have coffee always sell coffee in the WICL. However, if WICL does not have cash then they move to K.K. If both do not have cash, then Namasu is the only choice for the sellers to sell their coffee. When the first dividend was paid in 1974 most people had spent their money. However, some villagers have decided to put the money together for later use. I don't know for what purpose but they have their own plan.

I then asked another question: Do you think the Co-operative is working well? Only about 25% of my informants said yes. Another 50% said they are not sure or must not lie, while the other 25% said no, it is not working properly. These 25% were the ones who are angry due to low dividends. According to one of my informants the society is on its way to a downfall as he has been keeping a close watch on misappropriation since WICL started. Consequently, whenever there is misuse of money, or loss of money, there are no good 'watch-dogs' from the villagers to stir up meetings and ask what is wrong. When asked about the future of WICL the people said it was going to assist them to set up small business projects. They said WICL just can't assist; the villagers must have some money first. This is another expectation of the shareholders, and if this is not met the people will get angrier as years go by. The people of Awara Census Division are happy because WICL is going to finance the building of an airstrip. If the airstrip is completed and is used by small aircraft: good for Awaras. If not, the Awara people will create more burdens for WICL and its leaders. When the people mentioned small business projects, I further asked them if they know other ways of borrowing money. Most of my informants told me they don't know of any way of borrowing money. Only one

mentioned the Development Bank and the Village Economic Development Fund. He told me that only Dr. Bergmann knows how to get loans from these two groups. Therefore, to get some he would seek Dr. Bergmann's advice. It seems to me that Dr. Bergmann is doing the job of a Business Development Officer.

(3) Directors and Leadership.

There is definitely a lack of management and good leadership to manage WICL. The directors I believe do not know what their job is. They are not educated, although they are wishful-thinkers. I think the fault lies with the co-operative officers, who should spend a few months in Wantoat advising both the directors and the manager. The lack of management does not only stay within the WICL. Whatever projects WICL has set up are already collapsing due to lack of management. For example the Bumbum Primary School's buildings are already shaky. I doubt that the airstrip is going to be built at Matak by WICL; unless, a good leader and management person is picked to maintain or even build the airstrip. The society is now about the richest in the Morobe Province. It has assets of K180,000, consequently, good leadership is needed to look after such a company. I used to wonder whether a director should be paid a fortnightly salary. I personally believe that the directors should be paid allowances for meetings only. The question is what do the directors do to be paid K70 a fortnight, when they don't know the job of a director? I believe the manager, general labourers, storekeepers and others who "work" deserve a fortnightly salary. However, there is definitely a lack of management and leadership in WICL. The leaders should sponsor somebody to Laloki Co-operative College to study business, or if they have the money then sponsor one to study accountancy and business studies in University of Technology, Lae. The problem won't be solved immediately or in the near future, as I believe there is no Wantoat student doing business course.

(4) Competition

The first store in Wantoat had no competition. It had the monopoly and anything was sold at high prices. For example one piece of newspaper was sold at 12 pence. However, when the stores were all operating, the competition started. When K.K. and WICL came into existence hatred started between the two. The period of hatred of WICL and K.K. was painful but good. WICL is an example of a company which started off with a lot of finance and does not expand quickly, they just accumulated profit. K.K. started off with a little capital and grew bigger and bigger. However, there is competition both healthy and unhealthy. Consequently, a lot of people are shareholders of both the K.K. and WICL and they regard it as their business. The people can go where there is a better service, and they can buy or sell in both. WICL faces two problems: they don't have a workshop for vehicle maintenances, but K.K. has a workshop so WICL can use it. Furthermore, WICL do not have a construction firm but K.K. has a construction firm, the Kamunda Kending. Thus the construction of the Yotbam Hotel is being built by the Kamunda Kending. The Kamunda Kending is not recognised by the Local Government Council and WICL.

(5) Employees

The WICL now employs sixteen workers. These are four storekeepers, one manager, six labourers, two coffee buyers, two "advisors" and one president. Dr. Bergmann thinks they are not over-employing. The unfortunate thing is that the people employed are from about the same area, in fact most from Saengapan and Mupiyapun villages. There should be workers from Awara and Bungam Census divisions. There is little a person can do for K30 - K40 a fortnight. I think there is enough work for the sixteen people. There are of course, visits by the Co-operatives officers but not very often. When the Co-operatives officers were told about the losses in stores they said: "As long as coffee makes profit and is going well in business, why worry about losses in the store?" If that was the attitude of the Co-operative officers then there is no wonder the manager and directors never learnt well. They also claim that this was

another way of giving out dividends; but this way of giving out dividends is very unfair as only a few people get the cargo (for nothing) while the majority of the shareholders go without it. But there is no way of proving who is getting the money, where it is going and so forth.

According to the Co-operative Law which existed in 1971, a Co-operative must be built on government land on lease. However, the land question was never settled between **WICL and the land owners** from Saengapan. The applications went to the Lands Department when the Co-operative started, but they never got through. Unfortunately, nobody ever worked on the land problem. However, the land owners wanted the money for their land to be paid off. Finally, they followed K.K.'s example. They made a private contract with the land-owners. They made a rental contract to pay the land owners every year. The problem was finally settled and agreed upon. For the years 1971, WICL paid a lump sum of K1,000. The agreement was to pay the land owners K100 per annum.

The WICL plans to change its name to Business Group in 1979. The latest news: there were reported cases of misappropriation early in 1979 and Nedeclabu has been chased out of Yotbam Hotel. The people from the Nginunga Census Division are now being told to become members of both the K.K. and WICL. When I asked one from that area he blamed Mr. Mambon for not telling them to be members of WICL. However, the people from the area have no ill-feelings to the companies, K.K. and WICL. I cannot predict the future of WICL but I have some of my own comments to make with regard to WICL. If the losses continue in the stores then trouble may arise. I also wonder if the WICL has a constitiution.

(6) Coffee

WICL owns a house formerly owned by Crowley Airways. The shed was bought for K2,000. According to Dr. Bergmann, Crowley Airways was designed to assist their own account and not to assist the Wantoats. Crowley Airways made money from both the aeroplanes and the trade store. WICL chased Crowley out in 1974. Today the coffee WICL buys is transported to Lae by Co-Air.

Fortunately, Co-Air does help WICL when WICL runs short of money. The coffee shed employs about 8 workers out of the total of sixteen. These workers weigh in coffee and then carry it across to the airstrip when a plane arrives. Although some money fulls these planes for freight charges, WICL seems to make a lot of profit. The man in charge of the coffee shed keeps records of amounts sold and bought every day. According to him, his most busy day is a Thursday. The people from near-by areas often come in on Thursday with coffee bags for sale. Consequently, Thursday is also a market day and people come in to converse and meet each other. The coffee is sold to the Lae Coffee Mills through the Mainland Marketing, as WICL is a member of Mainland Marketing. The money made is usually deposited in the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation Branch in Lae. A receipt is always sent to Wantoat to show the amount of money deposited every month. Thus, the following tables shows these figures for the two years 1977-1978.

	1977	1978
	all figures in thousands (Kina)	
January	31,027	8,225
February	10,592	7,271
March	5,864	6,244
April	7,752	7,729
May	18,824	4,812
June	25,775	7,152
July	20,586	10,807
August	22,434	10,436
September	35,573	11,904
October	29,324	22,615
November	27,480	15,337
December	19,490	(receipt not taken at time)

(Wanbunawa Source File.)

Although I did not collect 1976 figures, I believe that year's figures must have been high as prices were high. From the above table one can see that the savings have dropped a lot in 1978, due to the falling price of coffee on the world market.

(6) Road.

The road to connect the Highlands Highway at the Leron Bridge was started almost twenty years ago. However, nothing much was done for some time. The Wantoat Local Government Council was established in 1960. Although the road is not completed it has connected certain villages. These villages use the vechicles of K.K. and WICL to transport their coffee to the station. The Wantoat L.G.C. now has three tractors. In 1971 Namasu bought a Land Rover, but the people were hostile towards it, and then the mission bought it for K200. K.K. also bought a government owned Toyota for K200. This was the first time the people of Wantoat could have a car to hire, to work for them, as people couldn't hire council vehicles. The WICL also bought a tractor and a land rover for K8,000, which just started to work in 1979.

The people are talking a lot about the road. However they are not sure of what the road will bring. There is not much machinery involved in the building of the road. Thus, it is all being constructed by the use of human labour. The young men spend two to four weeks on the road. The unfortunate thing is, that they only work when the L.G.C. promises to pay them a salary every fortnight. The people should understand that the road is going to benefit them when in does connect to Lae. Rather than the L.G.C. wasting money on salaries, I believe that money should be used to buy tools and machinery for the construction work. The town workers have also helped financially towards the construction of the road. For example, the Wantoats living in Bulolo started an association and called it the TUKUKEP Association, mainly to collect money to assist the building of the road. The association also asked for membership fees. They collected fees from people (Wantoats) in Wau, Lae and I believe the people living in Wantoat also paid. I have seen their leader Yalambing, in 1976. His comments were 'Klostu Bai Rot I Kamap'. These comments have made the people pay the fees. However, the road hasn't got through as yet, and I believe the association has gone bankrupt. In 1978 they had a meeting and suggested that the association amalgmate with the Local Government Council. Their idea was to form a Road Authority Group within the Local

Government Council. However, nothing has been done since that meeting. The problem is again lack of management. They have nobody who really knows how to build a road and maintain it. This is why the road is "a pain in the neck". Today, the four commercial vechicles try to use the road to serve the people. However, due to lack of management on the council side the road is usually in a mess, and it cannot be used for most of the time. When it is used, it is usually at a risk of life.

The road in the future, will benefit the people a lot. The people will be paying very little to travel to Lae, whereas today they pay K20 for a thirty minutes flight to Lae. Furthermore, the unsold vegetables on markets every Thursday and Saturday will be sold quickly in Lae markets. Thirdly, the goods sold in stores in Wantoat are expensive due to freight by air. Thus, if the road is finished prices may be reduced. The projects that need materials from Lae often take long to bring up to Wantoat. Therefore, it is usually a very gradual process, taking four or five months to complete. The road will be the main factor that will contribute to a better and faster economic development of the area. Thus, the L.G.C. and the people should work together and through their member in the Provincial Government urge the Provincial Government to assist in the construction of the road. However, if nothing is done by Mr. Mambon, our representative in the Provincial Government, then the area won't be connected with Lae for another ten or fifteen years to come.

(7) Rural Development Work.

With regard to Rural Development or Community Development nothing much has been done in the area. The people have experienced the so-called economic activity. However, nothing much has been done to improve their social standards. There has not been enough diffusion of information with regard to rural improvement. Consequently, the former missionary built a water pipe to his house in 1965, but it took the Wantoats ten years to realise that they

could have such water-pipes to their villages. They started to build a water-pipe , which took them two years to complete. The pipe now serves the station and four other villages on the flat valley. However, the villages are not served properly because of the same problem, lack of management. The Local Government Council also build bridges to across rivers and creeks. However, one was abandoned, only two are used at a risk of falling into the fast flowing steeams. They have also built community schools, that is Bumbum and Bayamasu, of bush-materials. Unfortunately, these schools have old buildings and are now shaking like dogs' tails.

The Department of Primary Industry has not done much either, although they are interested in coffee. D.P.I. set up a piggery and a cow paddock. The piggery was not much use to the people, as the pigs were poor. The cow paddock was bought by the Saengapan people and now raises cattle. The cattle are usually bought by the people themselves for parties. When Dr. Bergmann saw these performances he suggested to the people to start a Didiman Skul. It was started in 1974 at Dosambogo, not far from the station. The aim of the Didiman Skul was to help the villages grow good crops and to rear good livestock. The school started off well but a teacher there raised much better pigs than the land-owners. Then, the landowners said they don't want the school and so it was closed down. Then, Mr. Mambon offered his own land at the Bam River, which is now called Nan Ruruk. In the year 1977 they started building the place. However, due to lack of interest by the people the school is now dying. The boys who are supposed to be there have left. I have seen the matter discussed and it seems as though the people are not interested. I predict there won't be a school in Nanakuruk in the near future.

Dr. Bergmann and his boys started a piggery at Kongaim. This was to show the people more ideas on rural development work. They started the piggery and the people were impressed by the pigs and so paid in advance if they wanted piglets. However, some people got very upset as the 'missionary' was too much business-minded. They said 'First the 'Bingsu' builds a store

and then a piggery! That was too much for the people. That was when hatred and rivalry between K.K. and WICL got to its climax. In fact Bergmann was trying to help the people by setting up examples of small projects. However, I believe the main contributing factor is that the Co-operative Movement in Morobe Province was anti-church from the start. I think that is why the hatred and rivalry started. Finally Dr. Bergmann was able to convince the people that he doesn't get a single toea out of K.K. and the piggery. There are also small farming blocks on the former Kongaim Primary School which was run by the missions. These little farm blocks also show the people better ways of farming. There is a possibility of women working on these little farm blocks as women have been neglected in Wantoat. It is hoped that these women will help their wantoks and parents back home, by teaching them ways of farming. Wayaun saw that and wanted to follow them. Then Bergmann suggested to him that he start a small project and then grow bigger. However, Wayaun wanted something big and so he set up a K2,000 project. This was a piggery of his own. He borrowed K1,000 from the Development Bank, and was able to put up only K400 by himself, then he also got K600 on credit from K.K. However, his son never assist him properly. After only four months of running the piggery it now shows, he no longer has interest in running the piggery, and his pigs are dying. According, to Dr. Bergmann, Wayaun's piggery has been assisted by 'PASIN BILONG TUMBUNA'. This is a good example to show the area that to do a project, knowledge is necessary. Furthermore, 'PASIN BILONG TUMBUNA' is not suitable for a modern project.

MOVEMENTS AND SOCIETIES

We have discussed WICL which is a co-operative society. However, there were some quite similar movements in the villages, which may be described as cargo-cult movements.

The people of Wantoat experienced this movement during the period 1970-1975. They had no main aims of the movement, but emphasis was laid on

making more money quickly. The leaders of these movements were standard six school leavers. These people, were able to read and were able to keep records and count money. They showed good leadership capacities as some of them were able to convince followers from near-by villages. The movement was not made public and public criticisms were forbidden by threats of sudden death. For one reason or another all movements had a link with a dead ancestor. They all claimed that the 'Mbapu' (as the ancestor is called) was the supreme and super-human ancestor. The followers (leaders especially) claimed that they were given certain powers by the MBAPU. The leaders had the power to act as witch doctors and money collectors, and to speak in different voices impersonating Mbapu voice, to listen to conversations far away, to tell what somebody is thinking and many other supernatural things.

The movement had certain ways of collecting money. The cult is associated with traditional beliefs, especially sorcery and witchcraft. The followers believed that every sickness was caused by sorcerers. This was when the Mbapu came into try and heal the victim. The victim (whether cured or not) must pay the fees for healing in advance. This was to show his appreciation towards the Mbapu. The Mbapu is also engaged in the TAWAK's also a sorcery-belief that is used to chase out any sorcerer who may come into the village to kill. The TAWAK consist of dead man's hairs from armpits, head and pubic areas, plus a bamboo. When night comes, the witchdoctor holds the bamboo and blows in the hairs. This indicates the pulling of the dead man's spirit. If the spirit enters the bamboo it may start shaking the bamboo and the holder of bamboo. It may shake severely and then take off, chasing the sorcerer out of the village. To praise the Mbapu for that action an amount is always paid.

The villagers were also told to pay membership fees. They were no limitations on the membership fees. However, for people with business projects, they had to pay more, so that the Mbapu will assist in the running of the particular business. (Perhaps Wayaun's piggery falls into this category.) The other way of collecting money, was a fine of usually 50 toea when arguments

broke out between groups or individuals. Furthermore, there were offerings of thanks-giving to the Mbapu when a new child was born or when somebody died. There were a few other ways of collecting money.

Collections of the funds and fees were kept together in large suitcases. The leaders then told them the amount for today and counted it every day, to make sure that the Mbapu added on extra kina or toea each day. There was one movement that almost succeeded. This was in a village called Bakundupi. This particular village collected up to K10,000 and their leader (Zacheus) had a plan to buy Namasu. This particular leader and movement had branches in some other villages. Although collection of money was good, lack of good leadership and misappropriation of the money led to the breakdown of the movement. The other factor that contributed to the break down was that the members were losing interest and were reluctant to follow, because promises made earlier never came true.

According to my informants the activity grew up in towns like Lae, Bulolo and Wau. The Wantoats working in these towns soon adopted the idea and took it home. The people were not educated enough to see faults and refuse the activity, therefore the leaders soon took control of the situation and had the villagers convinced. The movement spread like fire. Almost all the villagers had the Mbapu. The Bakundupi movement clearly shows us that the movement is not a typical cargo-cult movement. They made plans for future use of the money but the way they went about getting money can be seen as a cultist way.

Although it is not I think the people had seen and benefitted from it. In actual fact they learnt from these activities. Firstly, it proved to them that money is made through hard work. Thus, no money just appeared from the Mbapu. Secondly, it stimulated the people to collect and make money collectively. Thirdly, I hope it has shown them that they have good leaders who can organise activities with special reference towards business. Perhaps this may be regarded as a start for better organisation and economic activity.

Thus, I presume there are certain groups today who had organised and have collected money for small business ventures. The trouble, as faced elsewhere in this country is lack of expertise and advisors. I do believe Wantoat should have a business advisor in the area. Even if some money is collected they do not even know how to get loans if required, nor how to manage the project.

The philosophy involved here is the same as the Taro and Baigona Cults of the Northern Province. It is believed that the two worlds, spirit (dead) world and living world have links through a super-human living human being. The people then appeal to the Mbapu through the mediator for healing or praising purposes. The people usually praise the Mbapu for a good harvest. In this account the Mbapu is given the first preference of good food before a product is harvested from the new garden. They also worship the Mbapu when disasters such as landslides take place.

MY COMMENTS.

Before I started my research I made a number of hypotheses. I would like to discuss the hypotheses one by one. The first one was that the Co-operative has been progressing well. All my evidence has proved that this was wrong as a lot of money is lost every year. The next was to find out whether the shareholders are sure of the co-operative and its function. This was also false because my informants (almost all) told me they don't know its function. The next was that Namasu and K.K. are major opponents in terms of competition with WICL. The competition is healthy today although dangerous rivalry was faced around 1974. The next was to find out if the shareholders have high expectations for rebates. Most of my informants told me, yes because they paid more as shares in the beginning. I blame today's directors for these expectations as they made false promises at first. The next was to prove that the DPI and Business Development Officer is Dr. Bergmann and if he leaves

Wantoat then somebody will have to replace him. If not WICL may go bankrupt but K.K., I presume, will go well, as Yamansang (manager of K.K.) is a capable man for the job, trained by Dr. Bergmann. The D.P.I. is not so active as before, although they expect people to see them if they need advice. The next was that the future of the Co-operative is endangered. According to one of my informants, the co-operative is going to go bankrupt if the losses are not corrected and seen. I also believe this because there is a lack of proper management, and if Dr. Bergmann leaves without a replacement then trouble for WICL will start. The next was that WICL may or can sponsor village improvement projects. According to the President (Ken David) and some of my informants, WICL will help. It may work, although I have not seen any projects in practice today. I believe it is a theory not put into practice as yet. However, they have donated K20,000 to the financing of a new airstrip in Matak. The next was that the shareholders do not very often sell coffee to the Co-operative. This was false: the first preference of selling coffee goes to WICL. It is when WICL does not have cash that they sell at K.K. or Namasu. The next was that rural improvement may proceed through the Co-operative Movement. Although I did not get many opinions on this matter I would like to give my own opinion. I believe to assist with Community Development a Co-operative Movement must not tell the people that dividends will be given out depending on the amount they pay as shares, as WICL did. If such comments are made then expectations will linger on. However, if nothing as such is said, then the Co-operative Society may get the profits and donate some money towards Community Development. Unfortunately, Community Development must not be seen from outside by somebody. There has to be discussion by both the villagers and those people trying to initiate the project. Thus, in future maintenance will be done by the villagers and not the initiators. If the initiators only see the problem and try to solve it themselves, the interest of the villagers will wane when the initiators and villagers must come together and make compromises before starting the project. I believe WICL can donate some money towards Community Development

activity, if the shareholders are told of the donations. However, if the shareholders are generous they should just leave the money for WICL. Consequently, if they do get their dividends, I think the people should keep money for improvements in their villages. Fortunately, WICL had plans to assist the villagers although not to improve villages but to assist in small business ventures. Thus, when WICL first started the people in almost all villages built stores, thinking WICL will help them. However, most of these stores have failed because WICL had not assisted them.

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