I. FIRST ANNUAL ASAO SPRING MEETING, 1972

The first annual meeting of ASAO was held at Rosario's Resort-Hotel, Orcas Island (San Juan Group), Eastsound, Washington (state) from March 29 to April 1, 1972. Approximately 50 Fellows and Members of ASAO attended the meeting, and the general response to the site was quite positive. The Rosario Resort-Hotel complex is located in a scenic setting and is conducive to the relaxed but productive type of meeting which is the goal of ASAO. Vern Carroll and Mike Lieber took care of local arrangements, and Len Mason served as Program Chairman.

Participants arrived at the Rosario site in late afternoon on Wednesday, March 29. After cocktails and dinner, there was a general meeting of all participants in which the affairs and future development of ASAO were discussed with the Executive Committee.

On Thursday and Friday, March 30 and 31, three concurrent symposia were held. On Saturday morning, April 1, a second general meeting was held; the Executive Committee reported upon its deliberations and polled all participants for reactions and suggestions pertaining to future meetings and other business; chairman of the symposia summarized the results of their sessions.

A. Symposium: Adoption and Fosterage in Oceania
   Chairman: Ivan Brady

Brady reports that the symposium began with each of the contributors briefly describing his or her chapter for the forthcoming volume. Problems, suggestions, and criticisms pertaining to the previously circulated preliminary drafts were then discussed. The utility of expanding Goodenough's notion of adoption and fosterage as transactions in parenthood to a broader scheme of transactions in kinship was reviewed at length, on the premise that the best model is one that accounts for the data on the highest level of
analysis with the least distortion of empirical reality. A review of adoption and fosterage as affiliation, recruitment and alliance mechanisms has posed a problem of differentiating adoption from similar transactions in kinship such as marriage. Formal friendship also shares many of the same dimensions as adoption and fosterage in Oceanic societies. Much of Schneider's recent work on the nature of kinship in symbol and substance has provided a frame for the resolution of many of these problems without arbitrary recourse to genealogical models that reduce adoption and fosterage transactions to biogenetic terms.

The second day of the symposium was devoted almost exclusively to editorial matters. Consensus was that all contributors should review their field data in the context of the problems raised and the new directions taken during the symposium. August 1, 1972, was set as the deadline for final drafts. The volume is expected to be handed over to the Series Editor by the end of the year. The contents of the volume to date are as follows:

Ivan Brady - "Introduction: transactions in kinship"
Mac Marshall - "Solidarity or sterility: adoption and fosterage on Namoluk atoll"
Mike Rynkiewich - "Adoption and land tenure among the Arno Marshallese"
W. Scott Wilson - "Household, land and adoption on Kusaie"
Keith Morton - "Adoption and reciprocity in Tonga"
Charles Urbanowicz - "Tongan adoption before the Constitution of 1875"
Bradd Shore - "Adoption, alliance and political mobility in Samoa"
Ivan Brady - "Socioeconomic mobility: adoption and land hunger in the Ellice Islands"
Candace Brooks - "Adoption in the Tuamotu Archipelago: Manihi atoll"
Robert Tonkinson - "Adoption in a New Hebridean community: Maat, Efate"
Jerry Smith - "Rotanese fosterage: counterexample of an Oceanic pattern"

(Conclusions - Brady or Schneider, to be announced later)

B. Symposium: Political Development in Oceania
Chairman: Sherwood Lingenfelter

The primary objective of this symposium was to examine the varied nature of colonial inputs for political development in Oceania and the subsequent modifications of these inputs by the native culture. The participants' contributions fell into three broad categories: 1) Traditional and New Elites, 2) Colonial Inputs and Indigenous Responses and 3) Colonial Goals, Policies, and Their Implications for Indigenous Peoples.
Papers were presented and discussed by all participants during the two days of the symposium. On the afternoon of the second day, participants separated into three smaller groups to discuss specific problems emerging from their respective papers. Dan Hughes, Sherwood Lingenfelter and Len Mason chaired those discussions and have submitted the following reports, respectively.

**Traditional and New Elites**

Four papers on Traditional and New Elites were delivered by Fischer, Dahlquist, Hughes and Weston. Fischer's paper compares the role of the traditional chiefs on Ponape in the American period with earlier regimes and concludes that the role has so far shown considerable stability. In part the stability of the institution of chieftainship has been strengthened by the islanders' perception of the chiefs as guardians of native interests against the encroachment of foreigners. The chief's role has been maintained partly because it has received little official recognition. The chiefs are thus free of the taint of the territorial government, which is suspected by many to support foreign military and business interests against the interests of the local peoples. Much of the opposition of some segments of the population to the chiefs appear so far to many to be based more on personal economic interests and individual antipathies than on a firm democratic ideology. At the same time, the chiefs themselves have been deprived mostly of the use of physical force and must use subtler sanctions, principally public honor and shame in the control of the traditional feast and title system. Under outside pressure the chiefs have been put in the position of having to court their followers, which may have made them into more responsive leaders than their predecessors a few generations ago.

Dahlquist's paper reviews material from his recent study in Wene on Ponape in light of an earlier hypothesis proposed by Hughes indicating that Ponapeans would apply traditional norms and values more intensively for a longer period to the introduced positions of Chief Magistrate and Councilman than for the introduced leadership positions of Legislature and Congressman. Dahlquist recounts the case of the Nammmarki of Kiti being elected as Magistrate of Kiti in 1959 and then reelected in 1971. He suggests that, despite the recognition of the inherent conflicts potential in one person holding both positions of Nammmarki and Chief Magistrate, the Ponapeans still find it difficult to vote against their own Nammmarki if he runs for the Office of Magistrate. He further suggests that the reason for the Nammmarki wanting to hold both positions may have been his desire to strengthen his hold on the municipality (wehi). Since he was of the correct sib, but not of the correct sub-sib to receive the position of Nammmarki, there had been some question as to his right to hold that position. By being elected to the Magistrate position, he validated his claim to the leadership of the municipality (wehi) through another means, and thereby strengthened his hold on the municipality (wehi).
In his paper, Hughes proposes a hypothesis concerning the conceptualization of new leadership positions introduced on the local, district and territorial levels of government and the corresponding applications of traditional or non-traditional qualifications of leadership to the incumbents of these positions. According to this hypothesis leadership positions introduced on the local level will tend to be conceptualized in or parallel to the traditional cultural system. Therefore traditional qualifications will tend to be associated with such leadership positions. Leadership positions introduced on the territorial level will tend to be conceptualized outside the traditional cultural system and to be associated with non-traditional qualifications. Finally, leadership positions introduced at the middle or district level will tend to be conceptualized according to the traditional or non-traditional cultural system depending on the extent to which the traditional socio-political system has been operational on the district level and the extent to which the structure and function of the leadership institution is similar to the structure and function of traditional leadership institutions.

In testing this hypothesis Hughes reviewed his own data on the elected leadership positions of Magistrate, Councilman, Legislature and Congressman on Ponape, Lingenfelter's data on the Legislator and Congressman positions on Yap, and finally the data presented by Meller concerning the Territorial Congress and the Legislatures of Truk, Ponape, Palau and the Marshalls. These data generally support the hypothesis.

In her paper, Weston describes the ambilineal descent groups (au 'aiga) of Western Samoa. These descent groups regulate a wide scope of affairs, among which the administration of communally held lands and the succession and removals from titled offices attached to these groups are the most important. The Land and Titles Court of Western Samoa is an important institution which deals exclusively with matters pertaining to traditional claims to land and titles. Weston examines the organization and procedure of this court with an emphasis on the principles used by it in determining its decisions. She shows how the existence of the court has significantly modified the traditional power and authority of Samoan descent groups to regulate their affairs pertaining to land and titles.

Colonial Inputs and Indigenous Responses

1. Papers Presented:

   a. Walter W. Tiffany. Impact of High Court Decisions upon Au Aiga Land Control in American Samoa

   Tiffany examines Samoan High Court decisions which introduce new principles for resolving land disputes. Particular
western ideas introduced include "adverse possession," "equity rights," "granting of individual titles," and "licensor-licensee relationships." The paper concludes that application of these principles results in the shifting of control of land from the traditional kin groups to individuals, and therefore causes significant structural change in the traditional political system.


After defining traditional leadership positions among the Wagi of Australian New Guinea, this paper documents the gradual development of District Councils and the movement of traditional leaders into active policy-making roles in the new Australian-derived government. With the increasing importance of these councils, traditional political activities such as pig festivals have been sharply attenuated. The leaders extend their initiative in their new roles to include many non-traditional spheres of action.


McKnight argues that American administrative policy in Micronesia has completely ignored indigenous models of political organization as viable alternatives for formulating a suitable model of pan-Micronesian policy. After examining the data on administrative policy and political change in Palau, the paper concludes that goals, models and programs of the administration were supported and promoted mainly on the basis of their familiarity and observed or supposed value in the Western world. Such policies failed to address themselves to the needs and procedures recognized by the Palauan community, and as a consequence destroyed both themselves and the viable Palauan alternatives. The small success enjoyed by such political "transplants" depended both upon the failure of Palauan Society and upon artificial support from the American administrators.


Lingenfelter examines the goals, models and strategies applied by numerous agents for political change on Yap from 1945-1970. After documenting marked variation in policy and success at implementation, the paper concludes that different agents within the same colonial system will frequently seek different goals and apply different models and strategies within the same long range objectives for political change. Such variation in input causes significant
variation in indigenous responses and in the overall direction of change. The significance of the different inputs lies not in final forms, which may appear to vary only slightly, but rather in the processual movement toward those forms, and in the conceptualization of the colonized of the concomitant alterations in the rules.


Nason focuses on the administrative neglect of outer island communities in programs and plans for development and change. The hinterland status of these atolls places them in a position of relative unimportance in the territorial scheme of politics and economics, yet because nearly half the population of Micronesia resides in these islands, their exclusion from these issues becomes increasingly important. After examining the historical place and perspectives of Etal atoll in Truk district, the paper concludes that such populations develop their own distinctive method of accommodation to foreign rule; that they remain essentially inward-looking, unconcerned with extra-atoll affairs; and that these perspectives preclude outer-islanders from any viable involvement and participation in a new territory-wide indigenous government.

2. Discussion

In a concluding discussion the participants suggested that future research should investigate the transactions which occur between colonial agents and indigenous peoples with particular reference to the contrasting goals, models and strategies employed in these transactions. Some of the questions posed were as follows:

a. To what extent are colonial policies and goals modified at the local level? How much is this modification expressed in feedback to the administration?

b. To what extent are the models applied articulated or unarticulated?

c. What kind and degree of restraints on action are imposed upon 1) the administration, and 2) the people?

d. To what extent do the indigenous leaders engage in manipulative strategy, pre-empting administrative decision, initiating action rather than responding?

e. What means of communication are employed between the colonial administration and the colonized and how do these networks vary from port-town to outer island?
f. Which colonial inputs are successful, which are not, and why?

Finally, it was suggested that transactions between colonial agents and colonized be viewed from the various levels of society, beginning at the local level and expanding up to the district and ultimately to the nation.

Colonial Goals, Policies, and Their Implications for Indigenous peoples

1. Papers presented:

a. Clarke (Colonial Politics at Independence . . ., in Fiji)

"Analysis of a number of Fijian national political contests. Discussion of factors related to the change from the racial politics of colonial pluralism to a politics based on multiracial interest articulation in the independent period. Of particular importance are changes in socio-economic factors, which have coincided with the growth of political parties."

b. Mason (Unity and Disunity in Micronesia)

"As the Trust Territory approaches the termination of colonial status, the Micronesian leadership faces the problem of developing a viable unity as a state among districts and ethnic groups which in fact are united now only because they are administered and subsidized in increasing modernization by the U.S. government."

c. Moos (The U. S. and Japan in the Pacific Micronesia)

"The re-emergence of Japan as a Pacific superpower, and as the dominant economic power in the Pacific area, has brought an end to the essentially passive occupation of Micronesia by the U.S. The re-emergence of Japan's economic domination of Micronesia has provided momentum to changed political status aspirations. Future Micronesian strategic considerations will influence future U.S.-Japan relations, and future U.S. security policies vs. the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China."

d. Mihaly (Neutralization of Pacific Island States)

"Proposal of a policy of neutralization to minimize the adverse effects of a competition for naval superiority (among the principal military powers) on those likely to pay most dearly for it--the small independent and semi-independent states (existing and vascnet) of the South and Western Pacific Islands."
2. Discussion

a. Search for a model of political development that can be applied to the emergent state of Micronesia, e.g., a consensus model of pluralism, a conflict model deriving from English opposition politics, models of newly independent states in other parts of Oceania and in Africa, and even models of long established nations in Continental Europe. Conclusion: that no model is readily applicable to the Micronesian situation in its present state of transition, and that political anthropologists would do well to address themselves imaginatively to the problem of developing a model that can be applied once a determination of the future relationship of Micronesia and the U. S. has been made.

b. Review of mechanisms available in Micronesia at the present time for building a unity that does not now exist. The near non-existence of media communications between districts the problem of lingua franca (English appears to be the most promising, although an argument can be made for the development of Japanese in the economic area); political parties are non-existent at the territorial level and practically so in the districts; religious affiliation offers no basis for ideological unity, and the only nationalistic movement is the Modeknig within the Palau district; common interest articulation and accretion may in time develop with respect to a Micronesian Civil Service (teachers, agriculturists, administrators) based on transfer of individuals to posts outside their home districts, businessmen's associations, women's interest groups, graduates from higher education, and the like, but do not offer much hope at the present time; traditional leadership is restricted to communities at the district level and even more locally (a summit meeting of traditional leaders from all districts might produce some interesting possibilities); charismatic leadership at the territorial level seems non-existent and unlikely to develop as long as district loyalties continue as strong as they are now; District Center Life Style may hold the most promise.

c. Recognition of the fact that the geographical dispersion of the Micronesian population is the most immediate and difficult factor to cope with in building unity; followed closely by the fact of district (and intra-district) loyalties.

d. The growth district centers (the drift of power to these centers from outer islands) is a central problem to be investigated. Anthropologists have concentrated on the more traditional cultures in Micronesia, and recently a few have given some attention to the Macro-level change in
Micronesia. Almost no work has been done in the district centers as urbanized or semi-urbanized communities. If the present population drift to the centers continues unabated, there is the very real possibility that Micronesians may in time emerge as two opposing socio-economic classes, a working proletariat and a privileged wealthy minority, at which time the model applied by Clarke in his investigation of Fiji today may be used in Micronesia.

Agreement that until the future status of political Micronesia is determined (most likely to be some form of association with the U. S.), speculation about future development of Micronesian unity is largely academic. In any case, it may well be that no other Oceanic Model can be applied to Micronesia, and that the answer might lie in closer attention to African models. At the present time, it appears that the U. S. determination to continue to deal with only one Micronesian entity (rather than six districts or more) is the single most important factor which will hold the territory together.

Epilogue—The papers presented in this symposium show a heavy emphasis on Micronesia which was not surprising since the symposium was originally conceived to include only Micronesia. However, the perspective provided by papers from other areas in Oceania highlighted the need for more extensive cross-cultural investigation and comparison on these problems. Consequently, the organizers of the symposium have decided to meet again next year and to solicit contributions from scholars working on similar problems in Polynesia and Micronesia. From these contributions it is our goal to prepare an ASAO monograph on Colonialism and Political Change in Oceania. Anyone interested in participating in such a symposium should contact Sherwood Lingenfelter, Department of Anthropology, SUNY at Brockport, Brockport, New York 14420.

C. Symposium: Sex Roles in Oceania
Chairmen: Jane Goodale, Martin Silverman

No formal papers were given. Sessions were devoted to an exploration of the ways in which "maleness" and "femaleness" are conceptualized in various regions within Oceania. Discussion explored: 1) cultural aspects of social differentiation (and non-differentiation), including the contextual generalities of what "men" and "women" (or whatever) are considered to be like; 2) what the ramifications are into political, kinship, economic, and religious structures; and 3) the degree to which sexual differentiation is in fact an important element in the system.

The sessions served to define certain problems which will provide the basis for papers and a formal symposium for next spring's meeting. Interested individuals should contact either Jane Goodale or Martin Silverman.
In addition to the three symposia, informal discussions on the following topics were held on Thursday and Friday evenings:

A. "Names and Naming in Eastern Oceania," convened by Bradd Shore.

B. "The Ideology of Change in Non-Western Societies," convened by Robert McKnight.

C. "Oceanic Peoples as Minority Groups," convened by Marion Kelly.

D. "Medical Problems Peculiar to Oceania," convened by Marjorie Whiting.

II. PLANS FOR SECOND ANNUAL ASAO SPRING MEETING, 1973

In consultation with all those attending this year's meeting, the Executive Committee formulated the following plans for next spring's meeting.

A. The 1973 meeting will be held at the same site--Rosario's Resort-Hotel, Orcas Island, Eastsound, Washington.

B. Dates of the meeting will be approximately the same as this year, i.e., late March. Next year's meeting will, however, be one day longer than this year's. Reason behind this decision was that participants in the three symposia were of the opinion that their sessions would be even more productive if they ran three full days instead of two.

C. The 1973 meeting will be organized around three or four formal symposia. It is planned that one symposium will be a continuation of this year's exploratory session on "Sex Roles in Oceania," and as noted above, interested individuals should contact Jane Goodale or Martin Silverman.

Also noted above, another symposium on "Political Development in Oceania" appears warranted from the interest evidenced at this year's meeting and is tentatively scheduled for 1973's gathering. Interested parties should contact Sherwood Lingenfelter.

D. In addition to the formal symposia, evenings will again be reserved for informal discussions on most any topic of interest to Oceanic ethnographers. These sessions may be preliminary efforts to explore possible topics for future symposia and/or volumes in the ASAO series.

E. Dr. Alan Howard (Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii) has agreed to serve as Program Chairman for the 1973 meeting. Individuals wishing to organize a symposium, or informal discussion session, or make suggestions or inquiries pertaining to the program should contact him.
III. RELocation of secretariat; change in the offices of secretariat and newsletter editor

Since the founding of ASAO, the Center for South Pacific Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz, has housed the organization's Secretariat. During the past year and a half, Robert C. Kiste, University of Minnesota, has served as Secretary and Newsletter editor. This arrangement of having the Secretary located in one area of the country and the Secretariat in another has only been possible because of the excellent support of the staff at Santa Cruz. At the same time, the arrangement has not always been the most efficient; since last year, the Executive Committee has been considering the advisability of centralizing the offices of the Secretariat, Secretary, and Newsletter Editor. Further, Kiste is taking sabbatical leave during the forthcoming academic year and offered the Executive Committee his resignation from office at the end of the current academic year.

The Executive Committee, after discussion with all participants at the Orcas meeting, appointed Dr. James Nason as the new Secretary and Newsletter Editor. Further, it was decided to move the Secretariat (during late spring or early summer) to Nason's offices at the University of Washington. Further correspondence regarding items for the Newsletter should be addressed to:

Dr. James D. Nason  
c/o Burke Museum  
University of Washington  
Seattle, Washington 98195

The next Newsletter will be edited by Nason, and he will most likely report upon the move of the Secretariat.

We all owe our thanks to Roger Keesing and Miss Arli Howard at Santa Cruz for the support they have provided ASAO.

IV. PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Copies of ARCHAEOLOGY ON NUKUORO ATOLL, A POLYNESIAN OUTLIER IN THE EASTERN CAROLINE ISLANDS, by Janet M. Davidson (Bulletin #9 of the Auckland Museum and Institute, 1971) are available for U. S. $7.75, postpaid, from the Auckland Institute and Museum, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand. Atoll anthropologists may wish to purchase copies for themselves. Everyone should put their library up to getting a copy, since few libraries subscribe to this series, and the supply is very limited.

V. REPORTS ON RESEARCH

Roger Keesing has reported the following items pertaining to research in NEW GUINEA and the BRITISH SOLOMON ISLANDS PROTECTORATE.
FITZ POOLE (graduate student at Cornell) is doing social anthropological field work among a people called BIMIN in the southeastern corner of the WEST SEPIK DISTRICT. He is working on ritual, cosmology, and social organization. (Address: c/o Baptist Mission, Tekin, PMP, via Wewak, ESD, Territory of Papua/New Guinea.)

GILBERT HENDREN (social anthropology doctoral candidate at Harvard) is now engaged in a study of cultural ecology and social organization on Ulawa Island, British Solomon Islands Protectorate. (Address: c/o Kirakira, Eastern District, British Solomon Islands Protectorate.)

CHRISTOPHER TURNER and CAMILLE TURNER (doctoral candidates at the University of Pennsylvania) are laying plans for social anthropological field work among the BAELELEA people of northern Malaita, British Solomon Islands Protectorate.

VI. PROPOSED ASAO SYMPOSIUM FOR 1972 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION MEETING, TORONTO, CANADA, NOVEMBER 1972 (Submitted to Dr. Jamshod Mavalwala, 1972 Program Editor)

Topic: "Recent Work in Samoa and Tonga: Methodological Situations and the Data"

Chairman: Charles F. Urbanowicz
Department of Anthropology
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

The Symposium will have papers presented by individuals who have completed recent research on problems involving data from Samoa and Tonga. Methodological and substantive issues of the research are handled in the course of the papers and discussion. Individual papers deal with the expectations of the original research design with eventual accomplishments. Anthropologists who have worked in Oceania will be asked to comment on the similarities-differences of the current research compared to their own achievements.

Participants:

Mr. Franklin A. Young       Samoa Paper       Stanislaus State Colle
Mrs. Shulamit R. Decktor Korn Tonga Paper       Brooklyn College
Mr. Keith L. Morton         Tonga Paper       University of Oregon
Mr. Charles F. Urbanowicz   Tonga Paper       University of Oregon
Dr. Lowell D. Holmes        Discussant       Wichita State Universi.
Dr. Margaret Mead           Discussant       American Museum of
Mr. Robert Tonkinson        Discussant       Natural History

Other interested individuals should contact Mr. Urbanowicz.
VII. WEST IRIAN

Dr. Edwin Cook, Department of Anthropology, University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, Illinois, calls the attention of ASAO members to the following:

"Bulletin of West Irian: Development

"The Institute of Anthropology, University of Tjenderwasih, West Irian, Indonesia, is introducing the above Bulletin which will appear three times a year. The Bulletin contains material on West Irian which is of interest to anthropologists, educationalists and those concerned with development in general.

"The first issue is now available and contains articles dealing with literacy programmes, research possibilities in West Irian, on-going and planned research, the coming review of the FUNDWI projects, the work of the Protestant Missions in the Province, the plan to establish a museum in the Asmat and an article dealing with development possibilities in the Central Highlands. The second issue, among other items, will contain a description of 'Operation KOTEKA,' the programme under the command of Brigadier General Acub Zainal to bring about the rapid development of the Highlands, a review by Rev. Father Camps of Karl G. Heider's The Dumum Dani, and an article by D. C. Laycock concerning the work of the Australian National University on the Languages of West Irian.

"For the present the bulletin is only duplicated; it does, however, have a bound cover. Costs of paper and stencils are extremely high in West Irian and it has been necessary to charge a subscription. It is hoped in due course, to improve the format and have it produced commercially. Subscription rates are given below.

"Subscription rates:
Single issue, U. S. $1.70 (or equivalent). One-year subscription, (three issues) U. S. $4.00, institutional subscription, $6.00.
Within Indonesia for Indonesian nationals, single issue, Rps 300; one-year subscription (three issues) Rps. 750,-

"Correspondence may be addressed to either of the editors whose names and addresses are given below. Cheques or money orders should be made payable to The Treasurer, IRIAN and sent care of either of the editors.

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