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President: Mr. Alfred CLAEYS BOUUAERT (Belgium).

Present:

The representatives of the following States: Australia, Belgium, Burma, China, France, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Italy, New Zealand, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; World Health Organization.

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Western Samoa**

- (i) Annual report of the Administering Authority for the year 1957 (T/1387, T/1394, T/L.857);
- (ii) Petitions raising general questions (T/PET.1/L.4 and Add.1)

[Agenda items 3 (f) and 4]

OPENING STATEMENTS

1. Sir Leslie MUNRO (New Zealand) informed the Council that Mr. G. R. Powles, who was present as special representative of the Administering Authority, had recently been appointed to a further three-year term as High Commissioner for Western Samoa. At the present session the New Zealand delegation for the first time included Samoan representatives, nominated by the Samoan Executive Council and endorsed by the Legislative Assembly, who would assist the Trusteeship Council in its examination of conditions in the Territory. Their presence in the Council chamber was indicative of the fact that constitutional progress in the Territory had reached the stage where representatives of the Samoan people themselves exercised almost complete control over and responsibility for their internal affairs.

2. Major political developments during the year under review included, in addition to the abolition of the Fono of Faipule and the enlargement of the Executive Council, the reconstitution and enlargement of the Legislative Assembly, the withdrawal from that body of

the High Commissioner and the two Fautua, and a reduction in the number of its official members. In February 1958, Mr. E. F. Paul, an elected member of the Legislative Assembly, had been appointed Leader of Government Business on the nomination of that body. The duties and functions of the High Commissioner had been redefined and in exercising the few former powers which he still retained he was obliged to consult the Council of State. The New Zealand Government had also appointed Professor C. C. Aikman, Professor of Constitutional Law at Victoria University, Wellington, to serve as consultant to the Administering Authority and the Territorial Government on legal and constitutional matters connected with the transition of the Territory to self-government. In May 1958 the Minister of Island Territories had visited Western Samoa and held discussions with the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly, in the course of which the latter had suggested that the Territorial Government should be given greater authority in connexion with the Western Samoan Public Service, particularly expenditure on Public Service salaries and allowances. The Trusteeship Council would be glad to hear that the Administering Authority was considering the request and examining the present law to see whether changes could be made without prejudice to the principle that the Public Service should be free from undesirable political influence.

3. In the memorandum on the future of the Trust Territory which had been circulated to the Council (T/1387) it was suggested that the scheduled visit to Pacific Trust Territories in 1959 by a United Nations visiting mission would afford an excellent opportunity for examining thoroughly all matters which would have to be taken into account when the question of terminating the Trusteeship Agreement was eventually considered. In view of the scope of that task it would seem desirable that the mission should be allowed to concentrate on it, in which case a separate mission would presumably have to be appointed to visit the remaining Territories in the Pacific.

4. The Administering Authority welcomed the appointment of a Minister of Economic Development in the Territorial Government and was considering how it might assist Western Samoa in drawing up a plan for economic development which would help to raise the per capita national income. In a Territory which had perhaps the highest rate of natural population increase in the world, any programme of economic development and agricultural expansion presented many complex problems. The data made available as a result of the technical surveys carried out in recent years should provide a basis for more comprehensive long-term planning.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Powles, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, took a place at the Council table.

5. Mr. POWLES (Special Representative) introduced

the three Samoan members of the New Zealand delegation to the members of the Council. Mr. Tamasese had been appointed Fautua or principal adviser to the High Commissioner in 1938. Mr. Malietoa had been appointed to the same position in 1940. Since 1948, when the Samoa Amendment Act 1947 came into force, they had constituted, together with the High Commissioner, the Council of State, the principal advisory organ in the Government of Western Samoa; the Council had increasingly assumed the constitutional and ceremonial functions associated with a Head of State. The two Fautua were also members of the Executive Council and of various important boards and committees. Mr. Mata'afa had been elected unopposed to the new Legislative Assembly in the previous November, nominated by the Assembly as a minister and appointed by the High Commissioner as Minister of Agriculture. He was Chairman of the Copra Board and had been instrumental in the formation of the Samoan Planters' Union. All three were members of the Board of the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation, of which Mr. Tamasese was Chairman.

6. In order to assist delegations in obtaining as detailed a picture as possible of current affairs in the Trust Territory, a folder had been circulated entitled "Notes on the Trust Territory of Western Samoa", and a booklet entitled "An Introduction to Samoan Custom", by Mr. C. G. R. McKay, at present New Zealand Permanent Commissioner on the South Pacific Commission.

7. With regard to the annual report <sup>1/</sup>itself, he wished to draw attention in particular to the summary and conclusions in part XI and to clarify some minor points touched upon elsewhere in the report. For example, there was no indication at present that the Legislative Assembly wished to revive the standing committees referred to on page 27. On the same page there was a reference to the fact that the High Commissioner had been chairman of many committees in the past. It was his policy, however, to hand over to others the chairmanship of as many committees as possible, so that he now held only the chairmanship of the District and Village Government Board, as provided by statute, and of the Samoan Status Committee, which for special reasons he wished to retain for a little while longer. In each case in which he had divested himself of the chairmanship of a committee he had been succeeded by the appropriate elected minister.

8. The fourteen Samoan district judges mentioned on page 32 had not been reappointed in 1958 but had been replaced by regular circuit visitations from the four Samoan associate judges. Work was progressing in New Zealand on the establishment of the bank of Western Samoa referred to on pages 38 and 39; a basic set of principles for its organization had been drawn up and the main terms of partnership between the Bank of New Zealand and the Government of Western Samoa had been agreed upon. An ordinance recently passed in Samoa gave the Territorial Government power to enter into such an arrangement, but the Bank

of New Zealand would require legislative authority in New Zealand to make the necessary amendments to its charter. With reference to outside investment in the Territory, mentioned on page 43, it should be noted that there was substantial opposition in Western Samoa to the use of outside capital for any purpose. Although it was stated on pages 56 and 89 that land and liquor legislation might come before the Legislative Assembly in 1958, the unexpectedly slow progress made by the Assembly in its business during the first half of the year and the heavy backlog of legal drafting made it difficult to anticipate when such legislation could be considered. Lest the sentence referring to the banana industry on page 57 should give the erroneous impression that it was the most important Samoan farming activity, he wished to draw attention to appendix VIII showing the various agricultural activities in their proper perspective. It was not to be assumed from the reference to forestry policy on page 60 that actual use of the forest areas was contemplated; forestry experts agreed that the Samoan forests were not capable of substantial commercial use and the word "utilization" referred to the setting aside of appropriate reserves.

9. The annual report was to be amplified on five major points. First, with regard to the ministerial system of government, the report stated (p. 25) that the High Commissioner might delegate to any minister such of his powers as he deemed expedient. He had, in fact, done so and portfolios had been allotted to cover the whole field of executive government. In each case, the minister concerned was subject to the same restrictions as the High Commissioner, having to consult the Executive Council before acting on any important matter. The only two differences between that system and that of a cabinet government were that the High Commissioner and the Fautua were still members of the Executive Council, over which the former presided, and that the chief permanent official in each department had the right to refer to him cases over which he disagreed with the minister. Those differences would be removed at the end of 1960.

10. Secondly, in the matter of local government, progress had been disappointing, mainly because the Samoans had such a sound natural system of government within their own villages that they did not feel the need to replace it by new methods. Although the District and Village Government Board had worked hard, a gulf had developed between it and the Central Government. To remedy that situation, one of the Samoan ministers had been put in charge of local government. The term of office of the members of the Board had been extended for one year and during that time it was expected that the Samoan Government would be able to make clear decisions on matters of local government policy.

11. The third point concerned domestic status. The statement in the annual report (p. 15) that the Administering Authority considered the abolition of the present dual domestic status to be drawing closer was perhaps not entirely correct. Unfortunately, the distinction between common citizenship and common status was not always clearly understood. Although the Samoan Status Committee had not met formally for some time, the question had been intensively studied in the Council of State and a more direct approach to the matter had been advocated. While there would be no difficulty over the question of common citizenship

<sup>1/</sup> Report by the New Zealand Government to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Western Samoa for the Calendar Year 1957 (Wellington, R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1958). Transmitted to members of the Trusteeship Council by a note of the Secretary-General (T/1394).

it seemed apparent that there could not be a completely common domestic status in the foreseeable future. As long as there were differences in the electoral rights of persons of European and persons of Samoan status and differences in the matter of land ownership it would be necessary to have dual status in the Territory. Indeed, there was a precedent in New Zealand, where the Maori people were equal with Europeans in all respects but had particular rights.

12. Fourthly, the matter of development of the Avele boys' residential school into a regional agricultural college had been under consideration for a number of years. The agricultural school had originally been intended to be an inter-island organization to which the Western Samoan Government would contribute land, buildings and assets, and the other Governments would provide the necessary new capital. However, after careful study the Governments of Tonga and American Samoa had decided that they could not participate. The New Zealand Government had therefore generously decided to bear all the extra capital required in the first year and to provide half the cost of the maintenance of the school. It had thus been able to start in 1958 with an initial class of thirty-five boys, of whom twenty-five came from Western Samoa and ten from the New Zealand island territories. It was hoped that eventually other Governments might also participate.

13. Fifthly, the elections to the new Legislative Assembly had been marked by the formation amongst the European candidates of a new party, the Progressive Citizens League, which had won four out of the five European seats. The split in the European votes had resulted in a corresponding division of opinion among the Samoan members. Thus the Samoan ministers could not count on a working majority of votes. Hence the Assembly was somewhat unstable and had been unable to pass important policy measures decided upon in the Executive Council.

14. With regard to political developments, the Legislative Assembly had during the last six months considered two financial bills presented by the ministers: the Financial Powers Bill authorizing the Samoan Government to borrow money, and the Customs Amendment Bill seeking to impose a surcharge on customs duties; it had passed the former and rejected the latter. The new Executive Council had been working very well, and the four new members were discharging their duties efficiently. Over the past three years, the control of executive government in Western Samoa had passed effectively to the Executive Council; its directives, which stemmed from submissions made by ministers, constituted government policy, and its ministers controlled the executive action which followed. The Council's Finance Committee was concerned with the issue of dollar licences, the granting of customs exemptions, and the control of business licences, but its main task was to study the economic situation of the country and to scrutinize departmental estimates of expenditure in preparation for the annual budget. In the last two years of financial stress, the Committee had worked unremittingly assisting the Financial Secretary in the preparation of his estimates.

15. In May 1958, the new Minister of Island Territories, Mr. Mathison, and the new Secretary of Island Territories, Mr. McEwan, had visited Western Samoa, met members of the Executive Council and Legisla-

tive Assembly and discussed with them problems facing the Territory. The Minister had been reassured to find that the people of Samoa still held the same views as those expressed in the Constitutional Convention of 1954 regarding the desire for self-government under the protection of New Zealand. The Council and the Assembly had asked, and the Minister had agreed, that the Western Samoan Public Service should be under the more direct control of the Territorial Government. The Minister had agreed that the Western Samoan taxpayer should have a larger voice in the spending of public money and had propounded a scheme whereby an expert from the New Zealand Public Service Commission would assist the Samoan Public Service Commissioner in the proposed review of salary scales and other matters, and also help to train a Samoan to be sent to New Zealand in due course for intensive experience in Public Service Commission work there. Such a scheme would expedite the appointment of a suitable local person as a Public Service Commissioner.

16. Economic conditions had favoured Western Samoa's development during the Second World War and in the immediate post-war years. Prices for the main staple crops, copra and cocoa, had been consistently high, so that a reserve had been accumulated which in 1951 had reached £780,000. The Legislative Assembly had thus been able to vote increasing amounts for education and better health services. At the same time large sums had been spent on public works, including chiefly the road programme. Grants from the profits of the New Zealand Reparation Estates had also been substantial over the past ten years.

17. The growth of those services had entailed an ever-increasing burden of maintenance expenditure. Whereas in 1951, when reserves had been at their peak, maintenance or recurrent expenditure, including Public Service salaries, had amounted to slightly over £500,000, the corresponding figure for 1957 was £1,102,000, of which no less than £550,000 had been spent on Public Service salaries. There had also been a change in price trends over the past three years, when Western Samoa, like other copra-producing territories, had been faced with a steady drop in market prices—from £70 per ton in 1954 to £54 in 1957. Although an element of stability was provided by the contract under which almost all exportable copra was sold to the United Kingdom Ministry of Food, Samoan farmers had been discouraged by the drastic cut in their income and were now producing less. Cocoa was subject to greater weather and market fluctuations than copra, but the general trend had also been steeply downward from the peak price of £450 a ton in 1953 to £210 or even lower in 1956. There had been some recovery, but for a country with no secondary industry or tourist trade such a fall in prices was serious.

18. The upward curve of government expenditure and the downward curve of income from all sources had met towards the end of 1957. The 1957 budget had been framed on the assumption that the Samoan Government would receive a grant of £126,000, which did not materialize. For that and other reasons work had been stopped on several projects, and it was plain that 1958 and 1959 would be difficult years. The departments, with the exception of the Departments of Agriculture and of Lands, had been instructed to draw up their 1958 estimates with an over-all 20 per

cent reduction on maintenance expenditure. The Finance Committee of the Executive Council had approved a budget which even with severe economies showed a deficit of £31,800. Inevitably, the Health and Education Departments had been affected; many civil servants had had to be discharged, and a 10 per cent cut in Public Service salaries was being considered. All essential health services, however, had been maintained and no hospitals had been closed. In education, it had been necessary to discharge some teachers and amalgamate some of the smaller schools—an unfortunate setback.

19. Some increase in revenue might be expected from higher charges for government services such as medical attention, fruit inspection, harbour duties and licences. As the Financial Powers Bill had been passed by the Legislative Assembly, the Samoan Government would be able to tap what local private capital was available for investment. Another bill passed by the Assembly authorized the Government to borrow up to 25 per cent of the Copra Stabilization Fund, which at present stood at £400,000. The essential part of the Government's financial proposals, however, had been to raise extra money from a surcharge on customs duty. Now that the Assembly had rejected the Customs Amendment Bill, it was difficult to see how the Government could provide money for the necessary interest and sinking fund for any loans it might obtain. If its power to borrow money was to be of any use, further stringent reductions in local services might be necessary.

20. Despite the current financial difficulties, there was every reason to be optimistic about the future. The Legislative Assembly had been faced with problems which would be difficult enough for a much more mature body. The financial advisers who had studied Western Samoan financial problems in 1957 had said that the leaders of the people of Western Samoa must decide whether they wanted the Territory to be a progressive industrial country with socially satisfying modern standards of living or a place retaining its age-old customs and traditions, isolated from the upsetting influences of a changing world. The desire for the maintenance of a communal subsistence economy was inconsistent with ambitions for progressive health and educational services and adequate opportunities for new generations of educated Samoans. It was clear that while the Samoan population continued to increase at its present rate it could maintain its standard of living only by a corresponding increase in production for export. The Samoan ideal had been a minimum of effort, and the country's economy was probably about to undergo as profound a transformation as the Samoan political scene had undergone during the past ten years.

21. A significant recent indication of the will to work on the part of the Samoan producer had been the spectacular increase in banana production. The Department of Agriculture and its executive offices had conducted a production campaign, with the willing co-operation of the Samoan planters. As a result, exports had risen from 109,397 cases of bananas, valued at £117,737, in the first five months of 1957 to 310,914 cases valued at £349,778, during the first five months of 1958. Distributors were giving full co-operation in coping with the problems which such an increase entailed. It should also be noted that banana production was not a monoculture. Between the rows of banana plants, cocoa and

coffee were being grown on an increasing scale. After five years, the banana plants were generally removed, leaving cocoa or coffee and in some cases coconut as the permanent crop. Thus, although in the first five months of 1958 the production of copra had dropped to 4,175 tons, valued at £256,707, the production of cocoa beans had risen from 1,365 tons valued at £240,396 in the first five months of 1957 to 1,762 tons valued at £520,154 during the corresponding period in 1958. The rubber and hides industries, too, appeared to be developing slowly but satisfactorily.

22. For want of means, development projects were few, but work was proceeding on the Vaivase land settlement scheme, which had obtained the full support of the Land Use Committee and the Samoan people concerned. The scheme had relieved acute congestion in the Apia urban areas by providing for the resettlement of the people on specified portions of land outside the town. It was a pilot project, and inquiries from other areas in Samoa indicated that it had aroused widespread interest and might be the forerunner of many similar schemes.

23. During his recent visit, the Minister of Island Territories had suggested that a delegation should be sent from the Territory to New Zealand to discuss financial, economic and trade problems. The people of Samoa had welcomed the possibility of discussing how New Zealand might aid the Samoan economy during the coming years. The Samoan Minister of Economic Development was working on a development plan which would require outside aid, and it was to be hoped that the plan would be ready by the time the delegation was due to visit New Zealand towards the end of 1958. In the meantime, basic research was going on in many fields. The geological and soil surveys of the Territory had been completed in 1957, although the reports were not yet ready. The land-use survey, carried out largely by the staff of the Territorial Lands and Survey Department, was almost completed. Those surveys would provide a factual source of inestimable value for planning.

24. In 1958 £30,000 might be contributed by the Western Samoa Trust Estates Corporation, whose declared profits must by law be passed to the Government of Western Samoa. Of the New Zealand Government grant, scholarships in New Zealand for 1957-1958 would account for £19,200 and for 1958-1959 £21,000; Avele Agricultural School capital construction would absorb £11,600, and administrative costs £1,820; the Samoa School Journal for 1958 £3,000; and maintenance of the Government House Department—half the cost of maintaining that establishment—£5,000. Upon the attainment of full self-government by the Territory, the New Zealand Government would assume the entire cost of its representation in Western Samoa. Finally there was a special grant of £20,000 for agricultural and land development and extension work in 1958.

25. An important social development had been the firm establishment of the Western Samoa Government Printing Office. The New Zealand Government printer had provided equipment and expert advice, and the volume of work was such that further equipment would be needed in the near future. Apart from the printer the staff were all local inhabitants who had been trained in New Zealand.

26. In spite of the financial restrictions that ha

hampered the health services, some progress had also been achieved. The Samoan medical practitioner who had returned from a course in health education given in Nouméa under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission and the World Health Organization (WHO) had been awarded an American foreign study fellowship in environmental sanitation and had just completed ten months in Oklahoma. The Chief Sanitary Inspector had also attended a WHO-sponsored course in environmental sanitation. With the assistance of WHO the yaws-control campaign had been successfully completed and negotiations were being conducted for a similar campaign for the control of tuberculosis in 1959. A special adviser would visit the Territory in connexion with that campaign and would be assisted by local medical practitioners, some of whom were to attend WHO-sponsored courses. Samoa had recently been granted a seat on the Governing Board of the South Pacific Health Service.

27. The co-operative movement continued to develop; the Registrar was at present attending a course sponsored by the South Pacific Commission, and would at the same time make a further study of local government developments.

28. In education, one of the results of the retrenchment in teaching staff had been a consolidation of country schools, which were now functioning efficiently on a larger scale. The Department of Education at Wellington was planning the reorganization of Samoa College to equip it more adequately for the educational needs of all sectors of the community. Unfortunately the recession in government finances had held up the construction of the new dormitories. The missions continued to take an active interest in education and were building a high school and theological college for boys and a new secondary school for girls.

29. Trades training was being continued, although the response from business firms had not come up to expectations. Avele Agricultural School had been placed under the control of the Department of Agriculture.

30. The public library had already become an integral part of the community life and had met with a gratifying response, especially among the schoolchildren. A site had been selected for the permanent library building, but in spite of generous offers received, the Executive Council had found it impossible to provide sufficient funds from the budget for the present year.

31. Western Samoa continued to take an active interest in the South Pacific Commission, and recently a meeting of the local committee had been held to discuss Samoan requirements for the Commission's Research Council and the composition of the delegation to attend the South Pacific Conference. It was felt that instead of the usual representatives from the Legislative Assembly or the Fono of Faipule, delegates should be chosen from the health and education fields, preferably among civil servants, and that one should be a woman. The alternates might be politicians, at least one of them of ministerial rank with experience of conferences.

32. The women's organizations of the Territory continued to function actively. A branch of the South-East Asia and Pan-Pacific Women's Association had been formed and acted as a co-ordinating agency for the many women's associations in the Territory.

33. In the academic field, several scholarship students had recently graduated in New Zealand and would be returning to Samoa to practise in the medical, nursing and teaching professions. American foreign study fellowships had been obtained by two other students, while a young woman had just obtained first-class honours for her master's degree in education and had been awarded a special travelling scholarship by the University of New Zealand.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Tamasese, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, took a place at the Council table.

34. Mr. TAMASESE (Special Representative) noted that for the first time in history a Samoan was appearing before the Trusteeship Council, and thanked the Administering Authority for offering representatives of his people the opportunity to do so.

35. As the people of Samoa advanced towards self-government, it had been suggested that the attainment of full independence should be deferred until the present social system was changed, and the matai system of franchise had been criticized on the grounds that it concentrated power in the hands of a few chiefs and left the bulk of the population with no effective voice in their country's affairs. He would like to explain why the Samoans still believed in the matai franchise.

36. In the Samoan language, the word matai was used to designate the person who held the office of head of a family group or clan. All the members of the clan had a voice in electing the matai. If the people could not agree on one leader, the matter might be referred to a special court presided over by the Chief Judge and his Samoan assessors. A young man who wished to become a matai must fulfil certain requirements of heredity and service to the clan. As time went on, and education spread, emphasis was being placed more and more on proven ability and service as essential qualifications. It was the matai's responsibility to protect the interests and promote the welfare of his clan, to administer the family property, and to see to it that the crops were planted and cared for. In a sense also, he personified the clan, embodying in his own person its honour and reputation. The relationship was an intimate and even sacred one, which had no real parallel in European society. In addition to his duties as head of the family, the matai must take his place in the council of the town or village in which he lived, seeing to it that peace and good order prevailed and promoting the welfare of the village as a whole.

37. That system had flourished in Samoa for over a thousand years. The average Samoan looked to his matai for leadership in all the major affairs of life. Thus, it was natural that the Samoan people, when confronted with the task of devising a system of independent government, should not wish lightly to abandon the system which had stood them in good stead in the past. All the world was seeking security, and that was what the Samoan social system provided. Every member of the clan had a right to share in the goods of the clan on the sole condition that he fulfilled his part of the contract by rendering service to the family and to its head, the matai. Thus it was entirely natural that the Samoan people should be content to leave the handling of the country's affairs to those whom they themselves had elected to act as heads of clans and

families and to whom they were accustomed from time immemorial to look for leadership in all the affairs of daily life.

38. The impact of European ways had already effected some changes in the way of life of the Samoan people and would undoubtedly bring about greater changes. But the great majority of Samoans would undoubtedly hold fast to the broad general principles of their way of life. The individualism of Europe and America made no great appeal to the Samoan. The basic realities of social life in Samoa were the family and the village community.

39. The matai could undoubtedly be regarded as the true representatives of the people. Every matai was freely elected and chosen by all the members of the clan, and when a matai went to the council of the district to choose one of its members as the representative of the district, his family felt that it was expressing its will and choice through him and had thus played its part in the election of the representative. The system was not essentially inferior to the operation of the party system in many countries, where the ordinary voter was offered a choice between two candidates, selected by a party machine in which he had no voice, who proposed policies about which he was never consulted and of which he might entirely disapprove. In Samoa the matai constantly met and discussed public affairs with their clan, and the district representative was known personally by everyone in his district.

40. It could not be said that the educated young Samoans who were now taking their place in the life of the Territory were thwarted and frustrated by the matai, or that their initiative was stifled and their voices unheeded. More and more of them were themselves becoming matai. Some preferred not to accept the duties and responsibilities of the position, and that was their privilege; but they retained the right to call upon the matai and the family in time of need. Some of the young people forgot that if they were living overseas they would be taxed heavily for the security they enjoyed at home.

41. Young people in every country were apt to be impatient with their elders. The more enlightened realized that social systems change slowly and that true progress was a slow and painful process of trial and error. It could be asserted with complete confidence that any young Samoan who took the trouble to study the language, customs and traditions of his people would find that he had been drawn closer to them.

42. The Samoan people asked no more and no less than the natural right of people everywhere to choose freely for themselves a system of society and government which accorded with their own ancient and hallowed traditions, and was not imposed on them by a group of foreigners, however well-intentioned.

The meeting rose at 4.40 p.m.