

*matai* control in political affairs with the more representative system of universal suffrage. At least the way should always be open for the mass of the people to express their will by petition or otherwise in favour of such a change.

12. Although Samoan political organization, subject to development along lines desired by the Samoan people, is capable of forming a basis for progressive self-government, it must be recognized that this organization is as yet immature in terms of the needs and standards of modern government. Competent as the Samoan people are to run their traditional affairs, they have limited knowledge of the political techniques developed in the more advanced countries, especially those connected with the conduct of a central Government for the Territory as a whole.

13. The Samoans for the most part still lack a strong civic sense as far as national affairs are concerned. In Samoan history no effective central Government has ever been freely accepted by the people as a whole. The loyalty of the Samoans is great, but it has not developed strongly beyond the level of the family and village groups. The solidarity of family and village, indeed, makes difficult the acceptance of any larger outside authority; it is a solidarity which may at times stand in the way of justice and merit. Many impartial observers consider this lack of national unity and discipline the main obstacle to self-government at the present time.

14. The Samoans are literate in their own language. But there is no background of written Samoan literature, and the Samoan language is hardly capable of providing the concepts for modern-style government. Very few Samoans, however, have yet had the opportunity to master a world language, in this case English, which adequately expresses such concepts of government. Furthermore, the Samoans also lack the necessary educational foundations to make it possible to recruit sufficient competent candidates for the official services. The level of mass education in Samoan schools does not reach beyond the lower primary grades and a relatively small proportion of Samoans have finished even the Samoan type of primary education, which is two or three grades lower than New Zealand standards. Very few, indeed, have any secondary education, and almost none have done post-secondary study.

15. Samoans also lack political experience. In the Administration only minor positions have so far been held by Samoans. Even within their own political organization the system by which title-holders have exercised the traditional authority did not prepare them for participation in the government of a modern type of State. Because this Samoan organization is almost wholly carried on outside the constitutional framework of government—that is, outside the New Zealand Administration—there has been little opportunity for officers of the Government to guide them and to turn any mistakes to profit through constructive criticism.