

16. Shortcomings such as these point to the conclusion that Samoans are not at the present time capable of assuming, without assistance from outside, the full responsibility of the government of their country. Even a limited degree of self-government involves risks which are not underestimated by the Mission. But these risks must be taken. The only way to promote education in self-government is to put political responsibility into the hands of the people to a degree where they can learn. Training in self-government can come only through actual experience, sometimes costly.

17. The Samoan people themselves recognize to a considerable degree their own limitations and the necessity of receiving help. They showed this by their request that New Zealand act as protector and adviser, and also in their willingness to accept outside technical aid in the administration. However, they will not welcome such help if they do not have a Government which they feel is their own, and in which they have an important, or even a dominant, role in the making of decisions.

18. Under these circumstances the Mission feels that only a dramatic movement toward self-government can satisfy the aspirations of the people. The risks of trouble for Samoa, for the New Zealand Government, and for the Trusteeship Council, are greater if much is withheld than if much is given. Too parsimonious a measuring out of self-government would be worse than nothing. Fortunately, the New Zealand Government is thoroughly aware of this situation, and has outlined to the Mission plans for government reorganization which indicate that it is willing to accept these risks.

#### D. GOVERNMENT OF WESTERN SAMOA

19. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Samoan leaders asked the United Nations that self-government should be granted to the Samoan people and that New Zealand "act as Protector and Adviser." This request represents the profound feeling of the great majority of the politically important Samoans. Even if the existence of grievances, both real and imaginary, against the New Zealand Administration contributed to creating the state of mind which found expression in the petition, the Mission is convinced that partial reforms and even considerable improvement to meet these grievances cannot satisfy the aspirations of the Samoans. The psychological factors which have played a predominant role in producing the existing situation must be taken fully into account. Only a fundamental change in the policy followed by the New Zealand Government can meet this aspect of the problem.

20. It is essential as a basis for the development of self-government that the residents of Western Samoa should from now on feel that they are living under a Government which is their own.