18. In view of the psychological factors involved in this situation it seems clear that the Samoans would not be satisfied with piecemeal improvements made here and there in the existing system, even though these may remedy the grievances, or with financial and other contributions to promote the general welfare. They can be satisfied only by some dramatic and fundamental changes which will give them a sense that the Government they are to live under is their own, and that they are on the pathway to full self-government.

C. DOES THE PETITION REPRESENT THE FREELY EXPRESSED WISHES OF THE PEOPLE IN WESTERN SAMOA AS A WHOLE?

- 19. The petition was prepared by Samoan leaders with collaboration from certain European associates, and was presented by the *Fono* of Samoan representatives to the Administrator without preliminary consultation with the European community. This latter group learned of its contents only later. Their views on the petition are referred to in a special section of this Chapter (paragraphs 32–34).
- 20. Regarding the Samoan people, the reply to the above question is delicate, and the members of the Mission are not in complete agreement on the interpretation of the facts. At all the public meetings except in the district of Falealili (population, 2,600), the orators appointed as spokesmen stressed the unanimity of Samoans in backing the petition, and at the same time emphasized the right of the *Fautua* and other representatives to formulate Samoa's views as qualified spokesmen for the country. In the main, when questioned about their detailed desires regarding what form self-government should take, they replied that it was for these representatives to decide. There is an impressive outward appearance of unanimity.
- 21. On the other hand, many responsible Europeans, and also some of the Samoans heard in private meetings assured the Mission that a considerable number of the inhabitants were not insistent upon any important change of regime, and that a large proportion—perhaps a majority—although supporting the aim of self-government—were not in favour of self-government immediately. To hand over full authority to the Samoans now, they said, would be premature and would quickly provoke internal rivalries and strife. They emphasized that the Samoans are not yet sufficiently trained to assume the full responsibilities of government, though they are capable of taking more than are at present allowed to them.
- 22. A number of the Samoans who expressed such views, which they said represented the feelings of many of their compatriots, were associated in one form or another with the Administration, and some