CHAPTER 1.

THE BACKGROUND

The purpose of this chapter is to give, in brief outline, some general information about the Fiji Islands, to point to its main geographical features, its history, its economic resources, its administration and its people and their culture. These and many other features influence the establishment of a suitable system of education for Fiji.

The British Crown Colony of Fiji

Fiji is the paradise of the Pacific. The Fiji Islands are a beautiful and prosperous British Crown Colony in the South-West Pacific Ocean. They comprise two main islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, and over three hundred smaller islands, with all the charm of the tropics in beautiful mountains, villages set among coconut palms and coral reefs and lagoons. His Excellency, the Governor, Sir Brian Freeston, when addressing the Legislative Council in March,1948, inter alia, stated:

> How richly Providence has endowed these islands with all the gifts and attributes necessary to the prosperous and happy existence of humanity. A fertile soil, abundant rainfall, and a healthy climate extensive forest cover including much valuable timber; freedom from nearly all the major pests and diseases whether of mankind, animal or plant; overall density of population of 27 to a square mile compared with about 500 in the United Kingdom and about 250 in the sub-continent of India.[1]

The proud and lovable Fijian people ceded their land to Queen Victoria in 1874. In the eighty-seven years since cession Fiji has developed from an isolated archipelago in the Pacific to a prosperous

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1 Colony of Fiji. Legislative Council Debates. Suva, Government Printer, 1949. Sessions of 1948. Pp.5-6.

community at the hub of all traffic across the South Pacific, whether by sea or by air.

The Fijians are intensely loyal to the British Crown and to the British connection. Several Fijian officers and men were decorated for services (including one award of the Victoria Cross) in the Solomon Islands during the World War II and in more recent years in Malaya. Despite the impact of a civilization and economy largely at variance with their own, they have retained individuality and pride of race.

In 1879 the first group of Indian labourers was introduced to work in the sugar cane fields and copra plantations under the now abolished indenture system. They were guaranteed return passages to India but the great majority elected to remain. They came originally as labourers to work on plantations but remained as independent farmers and business men and now have equal representation in the Legislative Council with Europeans and Fijians.

Fiji is fortunate in having achieved "peaceful coexistence" between her diverse races - native inhabitants, Indians and Europeans. Colonial administration has been wise and far-sighted and each race has made important contributions to the gradual evolution of a happy social balance between people of different races and religions.

Geography and Climate

Centrally situated in the south-west Pacific, the islands which comprise the British Crown Colony of Fiji lie between latitudes 15° 42' and 20° 02' south of the Equator and between longitudes 178° 12' west and 176° 53' east. The 180 meridian of longitude passes through the group.[1] Local time is twelve hours ahead of Greenwich

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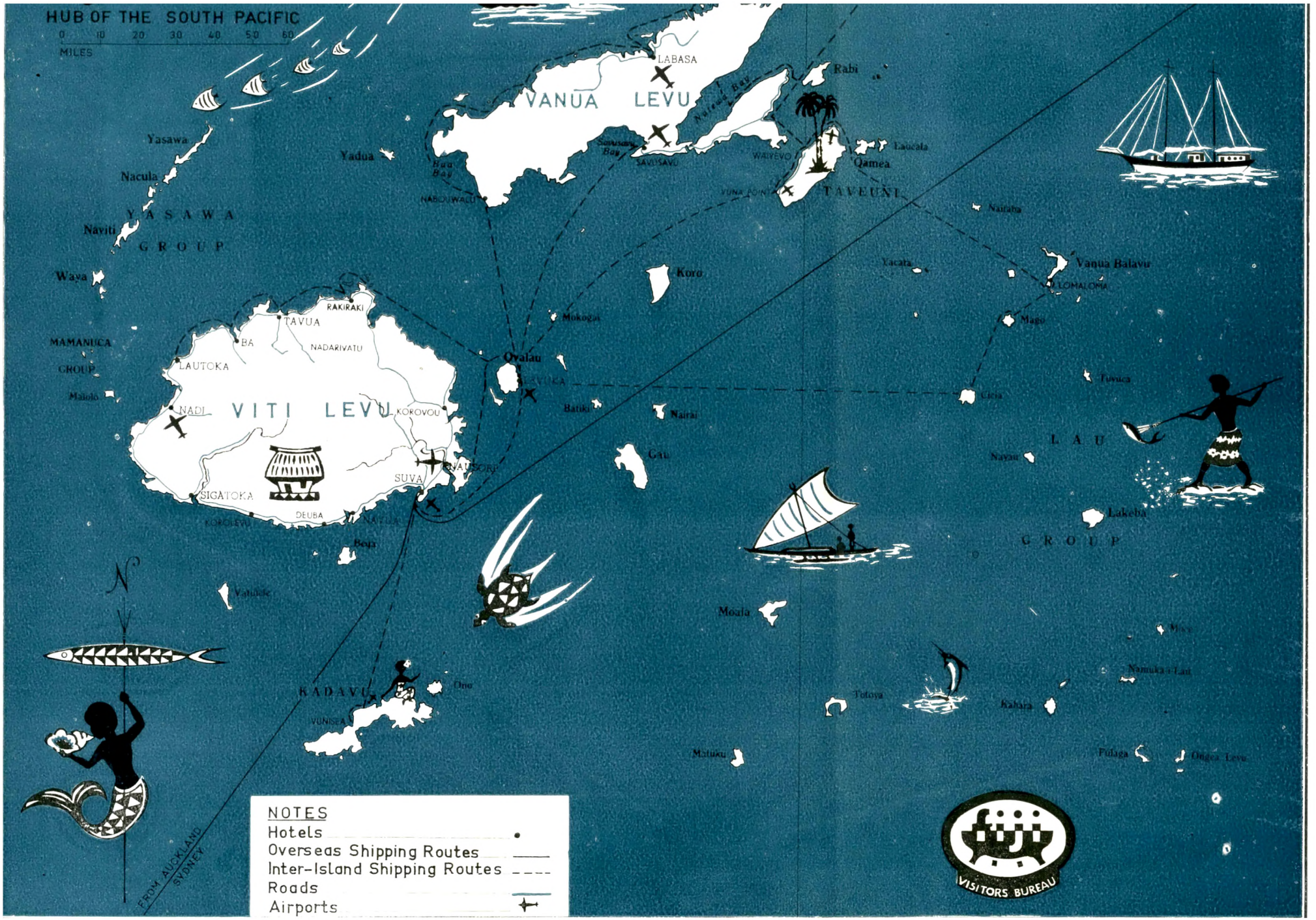
1 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji, 1959. (Sir Alan Burns was its Chairman. This report is also known as Burns Commission.) Council Paper (C.P.) No.1 of 1960. London, Government of Fiji, 1960. Paragraph 8.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TAVEUNI
YUNA POINT
Nabouwalu
Yadua
Yasawa
Nacula
YASAWA GROUP
Naviti
Waya
MAMANUCA GROUP
Malolo
RAKIRAKI
TAVUA
BA
NADARIVATU
LAUTOKA
NADI
VITI LEVU
KOROVOU
NAUSORI
SUVA
SIGATOKA
DEUBA
KOROLEVU
NAVUA
Beqa
Vatulele
KADAVU
Ono
VUNISEA
Ovalau
LEVUKA
Mokogai
Koro
Batiki
Nairai
Gau
Moala
Matuku
Totoya
Kabara
Fulaga
Ongea Levu
Naitaba
Yacata
Vanua Balavu
LOMALOMA
Mago
Tuvuca
Ciria
Nayau
LAU GROUP
Lakeba
Namuka-i-Lau
Mbau
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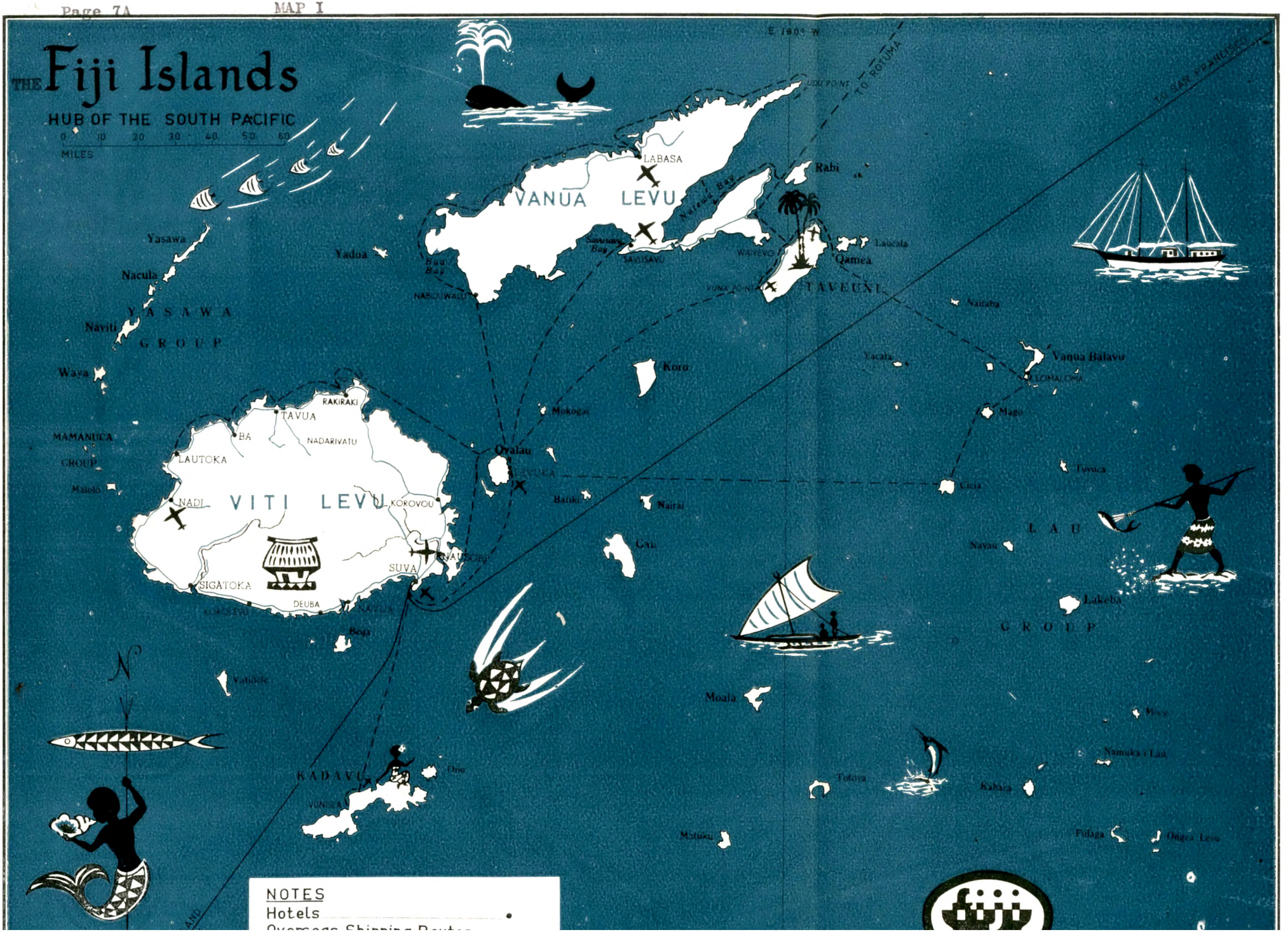
Airports
VISITORS BUREAU

MAP I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Wava
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Vanua Balavu
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Nairai
Tuvuca
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Nayau
LAU GROUP
SUVA
NATUVU
SIGATOKA
DEUBA
KORO SEA
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Lakeba
Vatulele
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MAP I

THE FIJI ISLANDS

mean time. Suva, the capital, is 1,960 miles north-east of Sydney, Australia; 1,317 miles north of Auckland, New Zealand; 3,183 miles from Honolulu, Hawaii; 5,611 miles from San Francisco, the United States of America; 11,590 miles from England via New York and 13,280 miles via Sydney.[1]

The archipelago includes over 300 islands varying greatly in size and also, but to a lesser extent, in geology and fertility. About a hundred of them are inhabited while, of the others, many are used by Fijians as planting grounds or for temporary residence during fishing expeditions. The islands are scattered over about 90,000 square miles of sea, but the total land area is only 7,055 square miles and, of that, the island of Viti Levu forms more than half.[2]

All of the larger islands are of volcanic origin, and most of them were formed under the sea, and subsequently uplifted. There were later periods of submarine volcanic activity, but these have long ceased, their most obvious vestiges being sharp peaks that were the necks of old vents, and numerous hot springs. Of the smaller islands, a surprising number are formed wholly or partly of limestone. Some of these present a characteristic flat-topped profile; others are broken down into sharp pinnacles and masses of honeycombed rock; most have satellitic islets of mushroom form. Fringing reefs surround practically all the islands, the most notable example being the Great Sea Reef, which extends as western wall for three hundred and fifty miles. There are also wide area of shallow coral-strewn sea, and great loops of partly submerged reef, but there are few true atolls.[3]

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[1] Fiji Information. Sixth Series. Suva, Public Relations Office, May, 1961. P.1.

[2] Ravuama Vunivalu, ed. Colony of Fiji - A Handbook. Suva, Government Printer, 1957 (sixth edition). P.1.

[3] G.L.Wood. The Pacific Basin. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1930. Pp. 1-18.

Mountain ranges of moderate height lie athwart the path of the prevailing winds and, in consequence, all the larger islands show marked defference between their windward and leeward sides. The windward slopes enjoy a copious rainfall, well distributed throughout the year. While the flat lands lie deep in grass, the remainder of the windward slopes are clothed with a dense growth of rain forest, broken only by cultivated areas. The leeward areas have well defined wet and dry seasons, most of the rain falling between the months of December and March. In these areas, the hill slopes are covered with grass and reeds, with a few scattered shrubs and hardy trees; patches of forest occur only on high peaks and in well-watered gullies.[1]

Viti Levu, 4,053 square miles in area, is the principal island, and is roughly oval in shape, the main watershed, lying along its north-south axis. The interior is mountainous and broken, with 29 well-defined peaks. The highest of these, and indeed the highest land in the Colony, is Mount Victoria of 4,341 feet, but several others approach this altitude. The island possesses the largest river system in the Pacific, and Rewa River is navigable by punts and river crafts for over 70 miles. The coasts are fringed with fertile flats which run far back along the river valleys or fan out in extensive deltas. Here the majority of the population is settled and is engaged in growing sugar-cane, pasturing cattle, or in mixed and subsistence farming. The two ports of entry, Suva and Lautoka, are axially opposite sides of the island. Secondary industries are located mainly at Suva, but there is an important gold mining industry on the north coast. [2]

Of the remaining islands, Vanua Levu, 2,137 square miles, possesses good harbours, and rich natural resources including timber and gold. Taveuni, 168 square miles, is well styled the Garden of

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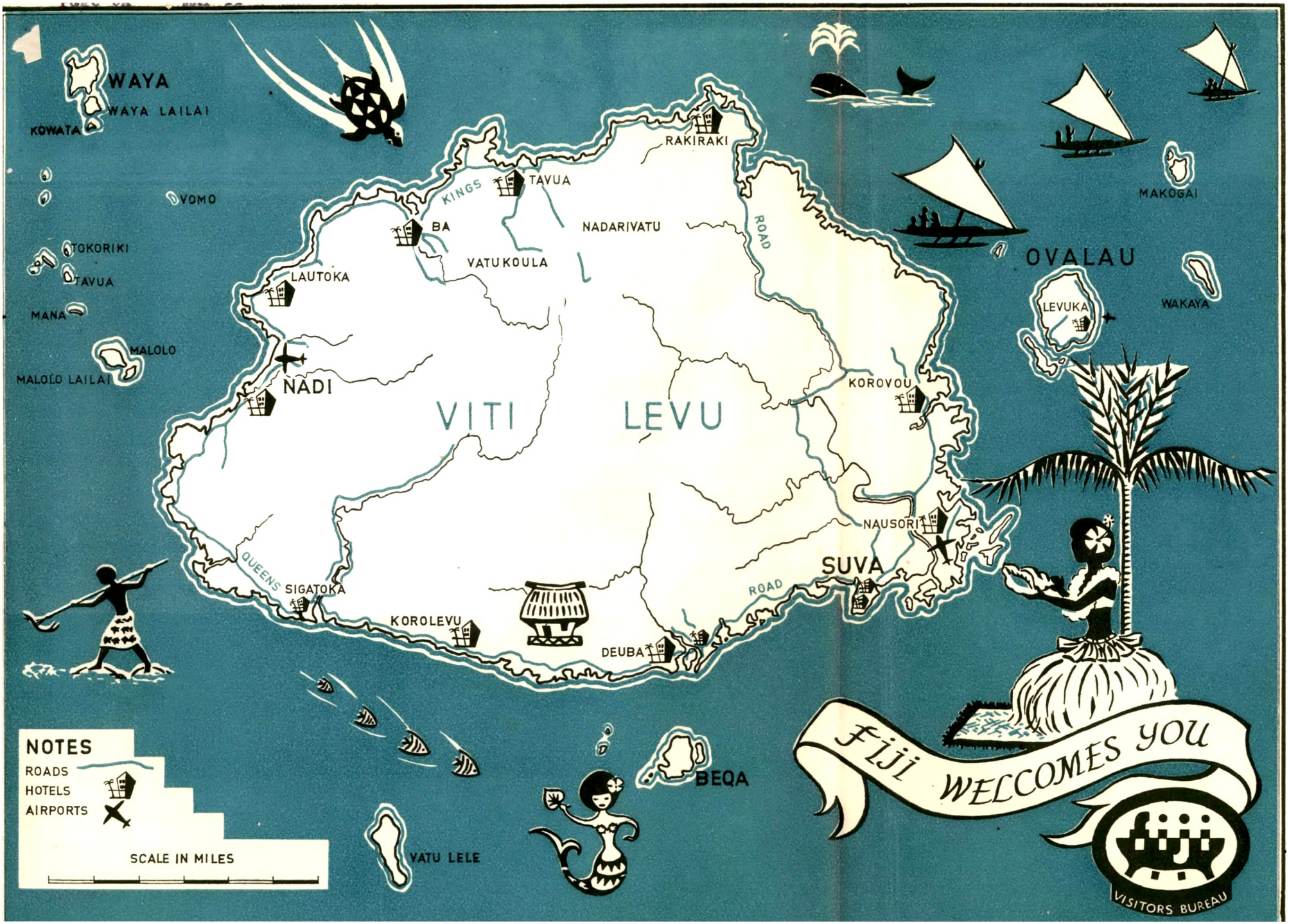
[1] Burns Commission. Op.cit. Paragraph 10.

[2] Ravuama Vunivalu. Op.cit. Pp. 1-2.


WAYA
WAYA LAILAI
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VOMO
TOKORIKI
TAVUA
MANA
MALOLO
MALOLO LAILAI
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RAKIRAKI
KINGS
ROAD
NADARIVATU
VATUKOULA
VITI LEVU
KOROVOU
NAUSORI
SUVA
ROAD
QUEENS
SIGATOKA
KOROLEVU
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MAP II

VITI LEVU

Fiji, being noted for its deep soil and its well-developed plantations; Kandavu, 169 square miles, is the first landfall for ships and aircraft approaching from south; Ovalau is rich in historical associations centering around Levuka, the early capital and an important distributing centre; and the island of Mokongai forms a model leper station. The large islands offer varied scene, ranging from grassy hills backed by jagged peaks, to mountains mantled in dense tropical forest; but for scenery typical of the South Seas, the smaller islands are unsurpassed.[1]

The chief centres on Viti Levu are Suva, the capital city, the town of Lautoka, and the townships of Ba, Nausori, Nadi, Sigatoka, Tavua and Raki Raki. Raki Raki, Ba and Lautoka are mill centres at which the sugar-cane from the surrounding areas is crushed. Lautoka is also a port of entry and the administrative centre of the Western District. On the island of Ovalau is Levuka which was the old capital of the Colony until its removal to Suva in the year 1882 and it is still a port of entry although few vessels now call there as the only export from Levuka is now copra. On the island of Vanua Levu there is only one township, that of Labasa which is the administrative headquarters for the Northern District and where there is a sugar mill which takes cane from that area.

The climate of Fiji is governed chiefly by the marginal position that the islands occupy within the tropics, and by the vast expanse of sea with which they are surrounded. They enjoy all the advantages of a tropical climate, without extremes of heat and humidity. The effect of the sea is to moderate the temperature and since wind from any direction comes from the sea, the breeze is always cool and pleasant. Human comfort is, indeed, largely a matter of ventilation, and only on calm days are heat and humidity oppressive.

The prevailing winds are the trades, but in this area they are easterly rather than south easterly, and neither so strong nor so

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[1] Ibid. P.2.

constant as they are farther to the east. During the hot season from December to March, the equitorial zone of calm and light variable winds advances with the sun and passes over Fiji. Northerly monsoonal winds often result, usually with heavy rains, and during this season the "dry" sides of the islands may be wetter than the "wet". At Suva, where conditions are typical of the windward coasts, the annual average rainfall is 120.8 inches distributed throughout the year. On the leeward coasts, annual averages range from 70 to 90 inches, according to locality but most of this rain falls during the four months of the wet season. During the wet season hurricanes and tropical cyclones are of occasional occurrence, some part at least of the Colony being affected by one almost every year; but long periods may elapse between such visitations in any given locality.

Temperature varies from a minimum of 54°F. to a maximum of 99°F. The average of annual means is 77°F., and the diurnal and monthly ranges are both about 10°F. Humidity in the wet zones average 74 percent, which is not unduly high for an oceanic climate, but it frequently rises for short periods to 90-100 percent, and in calm weather these high humidities can be very oppressive.[1]

History

Abel Tasman sighted reefs and islands in the Fiji group in 1643 but the significance of his discovery was not then realised. In 1774 Captain Cook visited the lone southern island of Vatoa and in 1797 Captain Wilson in H.M.S. Duff discovered islands in Northern Lau, but it was given to Captain Bligh of the H.M.S. Bounty to record most of the islands when, a few days after the mutiny, he sailed through the group in the path of the trade wind.[2]

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1 Fiji - Report for the year 1960. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO),1962. Pp. 96-97.

2 Ibid. P. 100.

In the opening years of the 19th century, "Bligh Islands" were still little known. The search for sandalwood brought many ships to Mbua Bay in Vanua Levu, but although the course there from Tonga was known and regularly followed, it was but a track through a maze of unknown reefs and islands. Systematic survey was delayed until 1840, when a United States Exploring Expedition spent three months in Fiji waters.[1]

Ships from Port Jackson were first on the Sandalwood Coast; but the enormous profits of the trade could not be hidden, and soon American ships and East Indiamen were competing for cargoes. The trade lasted less than 10 years, but it left its mark. Deserters and shipwrecked men stayed on as beachcombers; the character and destructiveness of native wars were completely revolutionized with the use of firearms salvaged from wrecks or bartered for native articles by crews of passing ships; strange and fatal diseases took their toll; rum and muskets became, in turn, sources of moral degradation and political power.[2]

European Settlement. For nearly 30 years the only Europeans known to the natives were beachcombers and shipwrecked sailors - men of doubtful integrity. Then a better type of Europeans appeared. Traders began to settle in Levuka where they built schooners for the purpose of trade among the islands. Christianity was introduced by the arrival in 1835 of the first Wesleyan missionaries. The Fijian Language had been reduced to writing by the missionaries, and the first schools in Fiji began to be established by them. The work of the missionaries was far from easy and converts were at first few. The first French priests arrived in 1844 and met with even less immediate success because the natives were suspicious of French designs in the Pacific.[3]

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[1] Loc.cit.

[2] Ibid. Pp.100-101.

[3] Loc.cit.

Meanwhile, ships came seeking sandalwood or beche-de-mer, and whalers called to take on supplies. There were attacks by Fijians, not always unprovoked; and there were enquiries and reprisals by French, American and British warships. Then during the early 'fifties, the native wars reached a climax in the conflict between Mbau and Rewa, in which Thakombau, at this time the most powerful chief in the islands, was driven back on Mbau, deserted by many of his followers, and threatened with defeat and death. He renounced his ancient gods in April 1854 and embraced christianity, and thereafter the character of the war changed. It became a struggle between the old ways and the new, with Thakombau now the champion of the missionaries. The issue was decided by the timely arrival of King George of Tonga, with 2,000 warriors in 39 large canoes. On 7th April, 1855, the combined forces of Mbau and Tonga, numbering upwards of 3,000 men, moved against and completely overran the Rewa garrison at Kaba. Thakombau became paramount chief of western Fiji but he owed a great deal to Tongan help and for twenty years he lived under the shadow of Tongan domination. The Tongan Prince Ma'afu, a nephew of King George of Tonga, who came to Fiji in 1848, gained within a few years a position equal to that of Thakombau himself. As for the issue between the old ways of life and the new, the religion of the chief became the religion of the people, and cannibalism and savage practices ceased in western Fiji.[1]

British Consul. Increased interest in the group by the Great Powers led to the appointment of a British Consul at Levuka in 1857. His arrival was followed barely a month later (September, 1858) by an American warship which came to demand of Thakombau the payment of indemnities fixed three years earlier for outrages suffered by American settlers. Harassed, Thakombau offered to cede the government of his dominions to Great Britain, the main condition being

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[1] Loc.cit.

the payment of the American claim (about 9,000 pounds) in consideration of which he offered 200,000 acres of land. The British Consul went to London with a deed of cession. He returned the following yearto find the islands in a state of turmoil owing to Tongan aggressions. In 1860, an officer was sent from England to investigate the offer of cession but he advised against its acceptance; in 1862 it was declined, and the British Consul was recalled.[1]

The prospect of annexation by Britain had, however, caused an influx of settlers from Australia and New Zealand. Some immediately returned on seeing the true state of things but the remainder stayed to start the first cotton plantations and to rear sheep. The new settlers wanted land and labour and these were not easy to obtain in the absence of any organised government. In 1865, the high chiefs were induced to unite into a Confederacy of Independent Chiefs, but this fell to pieces after a year or so, because of mutual jealousies.[2] The need for some form of government was, however, now greater than ever, and, in 1867, Ma'afu successfully established the Confederation of North and East Fiji, Thakombau replied by setting up a Kingdom of Mbau, on an ambitious scale, but after a few weeks the white "Ministers" found conditions so impossible that they quietly withdrew, and the constitution became largely a dead letter.[3] An attempt was made two years later to infuse some life into it, but without success.

The American Civil War caused a boom in cotton prices, and export rose rapidly. New settlers arrived; to augment local labour supplies, men were imported from the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. This prosperity brought problems with which the native governments were unable to deal.[4] The evils of the labour traffic

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[1] L.D.Legge. Britain in Fiji 1858-1885. London, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1958. Pp. 12, 39, 108.

[2] Ibid. Pp. 18,45,64. [3] Ibid. P.109 [4] Ibid. Pp.56-58.

were soon apparent; the influx of settlers presently developed into a rush, and the new-comers included far too many fugitives from justice and other undesirables; there was no security of land tenure; currency was scarce and debased, and banking and credit facilities were entirely lacking. There were abortive attempts by the settlers to establish some form of government, but these were largely concerned with security of life and property.[1]

Deed of Cession. The need for stable government was clearly urgent. The merchants amd middlemen of Levuka realised that they had most to gain from the establishment of such a government. Staging a coup d'etat, a small party of them set themselves up as an administration under Thakombau. Such an attempt by a few white-men to govern their compatriots without their consent was bound to be resisted, and the main body of settlers opposed it from the first, later with increasing bitterness and finally with arms. In the centre of all these happenings the Fijians, for their part, were not much more than astounded spectators, seeing and understanding little. Their chiefs were relegated to a nominal position in the government; their people were treated merely as a source of revenue and labour. The Thakombau Government was doomed to fail because it lacked trained administrators and competent legislators; its few able men found it impossible not to be drawn into a storm of bickering and factional disputes; it met with armed resistence from sections of the planters, most of whom had been impoverished by the collapse of the cotton market. In two and half years of its existence, the Government spent three times more than it had earned in revenue. By the end of 1873, when two Queen's Commissioners arrived to report on an offer of cession, a constitutional crisis had developed; trade was almost at a stand-still; the treasury was empty and the country on the verge of bankruptcy; and some of the highest chiefs were

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[1] Fiji - Report for the year 1960. Op.cit. Pp. 101-102.

considering secession. On three previous occasions, the intervention of British warships had kept the Government from falling to pieces; now the chiefs appealed to Britain to bring order out of chaos.[1] Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of New South Wales, Australia, thereupon visited Levuka as the Queen's representative. In a spirit of mutual trust and good will, an unconditional Deed of Cession was drawn up and completed, and on 10th October, 1874, Fiji was proclaimed a possession and dependency of the British Crown.[2]

Within a few months after the signing of the Deed of Cession, an epidemic of measles swept through the islands killing about one-third of the population, and when Sir Arthur Gordon, the first Governor of the Colony, arrived in June, 1875, he found the natives generally dispirited and depressed, and the hill tribes angry and unsettled. Trade too, was at a low ebb and the settlers were generally disappointed that the expected benefits from annexation had not materialized. In the face of this and other pressing problems, Gordon gave priority of attention to restoring the confidence of the natives. His early success in this direction was evident when, in 1876, a rebellion among the hill tribes of Viti Levu rallied loyal chiefs around him. He evolved a novel system of communal plantations for Fijians which enabled them to pay their taxes in kind. Although the settlers complained that this system restricted their labour supply and deprived traders of their profits, Gordon pursued it vigorously, refusing to sacrifice the interest of the natives to the immediate needs of planters and middlemen, and throughout his term of office as Governor of Fiji, Gordon was subjected to bitter attack and obloquy. Nevertheless, he accomplished

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[1] Ibid. Pp. 102-103.

[2] Infra. Appendix A. Full text of the Deed of Cession.

what he set out to do, confirming and protecting the natives in the ownership and occupancy of their lands, and ensuring for them a rightful place in their country. His policy has, of course, been modified in the light of changing conditions but its basic principles have remained unshaken.[1]

Indian Indentured Labourers. The early eighties were years of depression and discontent amongst the planters as there was a scarcity of money and sugar-cane had not fully replaced cotton as the main plantation crop. Efforts by the planters to effect a change of government by federation with Australia or New Zealand failed in 1883 and again in 1885. By that time, however, large sugar mills were in operation and indentured labourers from India had been introduced. Despite adverse market conditions, export of sugar reached 15,291 tons in 1890. In the same way exports of copra and bananas rose rapidly.

Further agitation for federation with New Zealand came at the turn of the century, but when this was seen to be impracticable there was a demand for elective representation in the Legislative Council. This was granted, for the European population, in 1904. The improved economic position made other reforms possible; new lands were opened up, native taxation was lightened and a school, Queen Victoria, was established by the government for the sons of the Fijian chiefs. While steps were taken to ameliorate the lot of the Indian indentured labourers, nevertheless there were alarming reports of social and moral evils amongst them. Investigators found that these evils were inherent in the indenture system and, in 1917, the Government of India abolished it. All unexpired contracts in Fiji were cancelled from 1st January,1920. The high cost of food led to a period of unrest among the Indians, but before long they had settled down as free

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[1] Fiji - Report for the year 1960. Op.cit. P. 103

cane-growers and farmers. The planters on the other hand, fell on hard times; the price obtainable for their copra was uneconomic; an Australian tariff excluded their bananas; and their sugar estates were being cut up into small holdings for the Indian growers.[1]

Development in the last thirty years has been considerable and, what is a matter of pride to record, has been achieved without sacrificing that sense of "balance" which has kept the various races of the Colony working contentedly and peacefully alongside each other. For the Europeans, the centre of gravity has shifted from the plantations to the towns and industrial centres. The development of mining and secondary industries, and of special services, has brought many trained men from overseas. The Fijians, for their part, have maintained a steady rate of increase and they retain in a large measure their traditional social structure. The coming into operation of the Fijian Affairs Ordinance, in 1945, marked the beginning of a period in Native Administration when the Fijian people assumed greatly increased responsibility for the management of their own affairs, each province becoming in effect a unit of local government with its own courts, treasury and executive officers. Meanwhile, the Indians too have prospered, both physically and materially. In the last 25 years their numbers doubled without any significant accretions from immigration; and they are now the largest single section of the population. They are mainly settled in or near the sugar producing areas.[2]

In the constitutional field there has been some progress.

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[1] Ibid. Pp. 103-104 [2] Ibid. P. 104.

During the early 'twenties, the Indians sought political status befitting their new place in the Colony, and in 1929 Letters Patent granted them elective representation in the Legislative Council. Eight years later, in 1936, new Letters Patent granted the Indian people equal representation with the Europeans and Fijians in the Legislature.[1]

Economic Conditions

Economically there have been important changes. What was for long virtually a sugar economy has been broadened by the development of dairying and mixed farming; mining has become one of the principal industries; and secondary industries are being established. The economic position of Fiji is summed up by Burns Commission, in these words:

> The economic situation in which Fiji finds herself today can be summed up very easily. Its inhabitants enjoy a modest standard of living, the average income per head over the last decade or so having remained stationary at £F70 per annum. While this is obviously a low income level, it is considerably above that of large Asian countries such as India, Pakistan and Burma, and of the main British African dependencies and emerging Commonwealth countries...
>
> Fiji's economic problems are similar to those found in many so-called less-developed countries.She relies heavily upon export crops, notably sugar, coconut products and bananas, deriving something like one-quarter of her national income from this source in recent years ..... A large proportion of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture using fairly primitive methods of cultivation.[2]

Agriculture. Agriculture is the basic industry of the Colony, employing more than 60 percent of the total occupied

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[1] Ibid. P. 105.

[2] Report of Burns Commission - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 13-14.

population.[1] European and Part-European enterprise is mainly concerned with coconut and dairying industries and the processing of sugar, the Indian farmers with sugar-cane, rice and certain vegetable crops, and the Fijian with the production of food crops, coconuts, bananas and to a limited extent with sugar-cane and rice. The Chinese concentrate on market gardening and pig and poultry production.[2] The following table shows the acreage of crops grown by each sector of the farming community in 1958:

TABLE 1

Acreages Under Crops - 1958*

Crops	Total Acreage	Fijian	Indian	European & P-European	Chinese & Others
Sugar-cane ..	128,863	8,448	118,184	2,231	-
Coconuts ..	168,000	84,000	5,000	76,000	3,000
Bananas ..	5,000	4,600	380	20	-
Rice	31,200	400	30,150	250	400
Roots (Food) ..	35,933	31,696	2,877	-	1,360
All other Crops	9,997	4,860	3,672	210	1,300
TOTALS	378,993	134,004	160,218	78,711	6,060

* Report of Burns Commission - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 212.

The sugar industry provides some 70 percent of the Colony's agricultural exports, while the coconut industry accounts for 25 percent. Bananas and miscellaneous fruit and vegetables account for about 3 percent. Other export crops, particularly cocoa and

[1] Ibid. Para. 213.

[2] Ibid. Para. 212.

coffee, are being established and the earlier planted areas are starting to come into production. Efforts are being made to foster greater production of rice, pulses and other food crops for domestic consumption and so reduce the Colony's import bill; the same applies to beef production and dairying, the latter industry now being served by a modern sterilised plant and two butter factories.[1]

Fiji is a primary producing country and its main industries are based on the processing of agricultural products. Industries already established in the Colony include:

(1) Sugar manufacture
(2) Coconut oil production
(3) Biscuit making
(4) Soap manufacture
(5) Clothing
(6) Cigarette manufacture
(7) Brewing of beer
(8) Furniture making
(9) Manufacture of concrete products
(10) Paint manufacture
(11) Tyre retreading
(12) Ship building and repairs
(13) General engineering
(14) Rice milling[2]

The economy of the Colony is mainly dependent upon agriculture. The increase in population and the limited area of good quality land for leasing give urgency to the need to develop new areas for land settlement. It is also necessary to improve agricultural techniques and to encourage diversification of crops so that the overall agricultural production and exports can be increased.

Minerals. Gold and silver, manganese, copper and iron ores

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[1] Fiji Information - May, 1961. Op.cit. P.7.

[2] Ibid. P. 4.

are all produced in the Colony. Prospectors and geologists are continually seeking fresh sources of minerals. Export of gold and other minerals provide an important share of the Colony's income. In 1958 minerals represented rather more than 10 percent of the total value of the Colony's exports.[1]

Administration

Constitution. The Government of the Colony is provided for under the Letters Patent and Royal Instructions. The Letters Patent, after constituting and prescribing the office of the Governor, provide for an Executive Council and a Legislative Council.

The Executive Council is presided over by the Governor and consists of the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary as ex officio members, and five appointed members, who include three of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, one European, one Fijian and one Indian; when a vacancy occurs among the three unofficial members of the Legislative Council serving on the Executive Council, the European, Fijian or Indian unofficial members of the Legislative Council, as the case may be, are invited to nominate one of their own number as a suitable candidate for the vacancy.

Under the Royal Instructions, the Governor is required to consult with the Executive Council in the exercise of his authority, but he may act in opposition to the advice tendered to him by the members of the Council, in which case he is required to report the matter to the Secretary of State at the

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[1] Report of Burns Commission - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 591.

first convenient opportunity, giving the grounds and reasons for his action.

The Legislative Council, which is the legislative body of the Colony, is presided over by the Governor. A speaker, who presides when the Governor is not present, was appointed for the first time in 1956. The Council consists of 16 official members (of whom the Colonial Secretary, Attorney-General and Financial Secretary are ex officio members) and 15 unofficial members, of whom five are Europeans, five Indians and five Fijians. Both the European and the Indian representation is made up of three elected members and two nominated members, the elected members being appointed every three years as a result of elections held in the three electoral divisions into which the Colony is divided. The five Fijian members are elected by the Council of Chiefs who vote by secret ballot.[1]

The Fijian Administration. The Fijian Administration constitutes a local government system having jurisdiction over all Fijians in the Colony. For the purposes of the Fijian Administration, the Colony is divided into 14 Provinces, based on the old tribal boundaries, each of which consists of a number of tikina (sub-districts) which comprise groups of villages. At the head of each province there is a Roko Tui and at the head of each tikina there is a Mbuli, all salaried officials of the Fijian Administration. Each Province and each tikina has its council which has power to make by-laws and to levy rates, in the case of former, and to make orders, in the case of the latter. At the apex is the Council of Chiefs, presided over by the Secretary of Fijian Affairs, and comprising the Roko Tui of all the provinces

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[1] Fiji Information - May, 1961. Op.cit. P. 4.

(ex officio), six chiefs appointed by the Governor, a Magistrate and an Assistant Medical Practitioner nominated by the Chairman, and representatives of each province selected by secret ballot at the various Provincial Councils. The Council of Chiefs select five Fijian for the Legislative Council, thus providing a direct link with the Legislative Council.[1]

Broadly speaking, the Fijian Administration serves two purposes. Firstly, they secure the continuance of the Fijian communal system and the customs and observances traditionally associated with that system. Secondly, it provides a simple code of civil and criminal law adaptable to situations arising in the communal way of life, enforcing in some instances the traditional Fijian moral standards, and comprehensible to the Fijian people and the magistrates who are drawn from their ranks.

Courts of Justice. The administration of justice in the Colony is carried out by the Supreme Court and the Magistrates' Courts of the first, second and third class. In addition, Provincial and Tikina (district) Courts exercise a limited jurisdiction over Fijians.[2]

Most of the laws in force are Orders-in-Council and Ordinances enacted by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council. Also applicable to the Colony, but subject to the requirements of the above and certain qualifications, are the Common Law, the Rules of Equity and the Statutes of general application which were in force in England on 2nd January, 1875 - the date upon which the Colony obtained a local legislature.

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[1] Report of Burns Commission - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 165-170

[2] Fiji - Report for the year 1960. Op.cit. P. 68.

People

Population. Censuses of the population of the Colony have been taken every ten years (with one exception) since 1881, the last being taken in September, 1956, and the total population was then 345,737. A compulsory registration on the English model enables fairly accurate estimation of the population during the inter-censal years.

At the end of 1960, the total population was estimated to be 401,018 made up as in the following table:

TABLE 2

Population of Fiji - 1960*

Race	Number	Approximate proportion of whole
Fijian	167, 473	41.8 percent
Indian	197,952	49.4 percent
European	10,667	2.7 percent
Part-European	8,696	2.2 percent
Chinese	4,943	1.1 percent
Other Pacific Races	11,287	2.8 percent
TOTAL	401,018	

* Fiji - Report for the year 1960. Op.cit. P. 10.

In 1874, at the time of the Cession, Fiji was populated almost entirely by Fijians; various estimates have been given of their number, the most probable being about 200,000. Immediately after the Cession a measles epidemic took severe toll of the Fijian population; this was followed by several

epidemics which together with endemic diseases and various other maladies to which the Fijians were not immunized, steadily reduced the population. By 1905 the Fijians numbered only 87,000. For the next ten or twelve years the population remained stationary, but it began to increase from 1917 until the influenza epidemic of 1919 reduced the population to its lowest point of 83,000. Since that year, steady increases have been recorded until in 1960 the Fijian population numberd 167,473 probably about three-quarters of their pre-Cession total.[1]

Shortly after Cession the development of the Colony demanded labour which the Fijian population at the time was unwilling to supply and in 1879 the immigration of indentured labourers from India was started. Between this year and 1916 (when sponsored migration virtually ceased) about 40,000 to 50,000 Indians were introduced into the Colony, only a small proportion of whom returned to India at the expiration of their service. These Indian immigrants arrived with few women-folk and therefore at first reproduced themselves slowly. In 1911 there were 43,000 Indians, in 1936 there were 85,00 but by 1960 there were 197,952. In 1945 the Indians outnumbered the Fijians for the first time and their numerical superiority is becoming more marked each year.[2]

The Fijian People. The Fijians are of mixed Melanesian and Polynesian stock, Polynesian influence being most noticeable in the eastern islands where contact with Tongans and to less extent with Samoans is evident in a lighter skin colour, straight rather than frizzy hair, and the more

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[1] Ibid. Pp. 10-11. [2] Loc.cit.

prominent position taken by the womenfolk in many customs. The social structure of the Fijians has predominently Polynesian characteristics except in western Viti Levu, where the institution under which a chief holds office hereditarily subject to acceptability of his leadership by the people. The physical features of the highlanders of Viti Levu are similar to those of other melanesians, and they maintain that they are the autochthonous people of Fiji in contrast with the large majority of Fijians, who trace their origin to an arrival by sea from the west. The dialects spoken by the Fijians belong to the Malayo-Polynesia group of languages, but the dialect of Mbau is understood, spoken and written throughout the archipelago.

Before the coming of the white men, the Fijian had no written language. The vestiges of a mere handful of startling or unusual events have been preserved in rhythmical chants (meke) which have been passed on from generation to generation with such embellishments or suppressions as the fancy of succeeding generations have suggested.[1]

Most Fijians live a communal life in villages on land they themselves own. With the gradual spread of industrial activities, however, the tendency has become marked for many Fijians to take up work in one of the several centres of population, where their traditional way of life is appreciably affected. Their houses in the villages are built with a timber framework and thatched walls and roof, but an increasing use is made of corrugated iron for roofs even in the remotest villages. The work of house-building is undertaken by the members of the social unit to which

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[1] Ravuama Vunivalu. Op.cit. P. 18.

the householder belongs. The family house is usually about 25 to 30 feet long by 18 to 25 feet wide and is divided by screens or reeds or plaited bamboo or bark cloth into living and sleeping quarters. Kitchens are built separately nearby. Many Fijians, however, have built themselves houses of timber and concrete and/or corrugated iron on a European plan. Fijians no longer build the tall, steep-roofed houses nor the huge double-hulled sailing canoes for which they are justly known as master-craftsmen, but in some areas they continue to practise other crafts with consummate skill. Pottery is made without the use of a wheel; large cooking vessels, bowls and water containers are expertly made from clay and sand with wooden patting tools. Bark cloth is made from beaten-out lengths of the bark of a mulberry tree which are joined to make large sheets and then carved with intricate patterns in reddish-brown and black. Mats are plaited from the leaves of a screw-pine cultivated for the purpose and are used mostly for floor coverings or as bedding. All these three crafts are practised by women, and the products of their work are sold or bartered as well as being used for domestic purposes by the people themselves. Many of these products are decorated with stylized designs, the detail of which depends on the nature of the material used.[1]

Elaborate ceremonial dress and personal decorations are worn on numerous occasions when ritual is practised. Men wear a fringed kilt and arm and leg bands of coloured leaves, their faces are blacked and their hair dusted with powdered yellow tumeric; women wear white or decorated bark cloth; and both sexes oil their skins with scented coconut oil.

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[1] Ibid. Pp. 25-26.

Some of the old customs were cruel, yet they were practised as an integral part of the Fijian way of living. They were gradually dropped during the second half of the 19th century under the influence of christian missionaries; the leading Fijian chiefs agreed to abandon the worship of spirits of their ancestors, usually performed through the medium of a priest who affected to determine the fate of such activities as warfare or fishing expeditions.

Certain ceremonies embodying a medicum of ritual little changed since pre-cession days are still carried out in all parts of Fiji. One of which all Fijian regard as of much importance is the formal presentation of a tambua; that is, a whale's tooth to the ends of which a plaited coconut fibre cord is attached for convenience in handling. This is offered as a token of goodwill on the occurrence of births, marriages and deaths, or on other special occasions, as, for example, council meetings. In each instance the party making the presentation accompanies it with a request, perhaps for nothing more than a reciprocal expression of good-will or perhaps for something more tangible, such as permission to plant on a piece of communal land or help in time of trouble. The recepient is expected to carry out the request if he accepts the tambua; if he cannot do so, he should not accept it. A kava plant is sometimes offered as a mark of goodwill on a less formal occasion instead of a whale's tooth; but the kava plant (which is known as yaqona in Fiji) as well as the whale's tooth are presented as a preliminary to a council meeting, and then follows the preparation of the kava drink, the first cup being offered with ritual to a senior chief present. Kava is a species of pepper plant (Piper methysticum), and the drink consists of a solution of the pounded root in cold water,

strained of all bits of fibre; it is drunk as soon as it has been made. It is not alcoholic but it has a slight diuretic effect when large quantities are consumed. When prepared for ceremonial purposes kava was drunk in small quantities but in a strong solution; the latent narcotic properties found in the root of this plant may then have caused slight temporary muscular weakness, but it does not appear to have affected the mental powers.[1]

The Fijian delighted in feasts. When he had to entertain a friendly tribe he aimed at lavish profusion, and his descendents today have the same hospitable instincts. The missionary Thomas Williams, who lived in Fiji in the early days, gave some graphic descriptions of feasts he witnessed. In describing a wedding banquet at Mbau he said:

> As in other native feasts, so here it is easier to specify the good cheer by yards and hundredweights than by dishes. When Tanoa gave his daughter to Gavidi, the Lasakau chief, there was provided for the entertainment of the friends assembled a wall of fish five feet high and twenty yards in length, besides turtles and vegetables in profusion. One dish at this feast was ten feet long, four feet wide and three deep, spread over with green leaves on which were placed roast pigs and turtles.[2]

Meetings that are of sufficient importance for these ceremonies to be performed are usually attended by large numbers of persons, who reciprocate the hospitality of the hosts by gifts of food, mats or bark cloth as well as by vigorous communal gesture-dances in which the precision of movement in unision is assisted by an orchestra using wooden

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[1] J.D.Legge. Op.cit. Pp. 7-9.

[2] As quoted in Ravuama Vunivalu. Op.cit. P. 24.

gongs or bamboo stamping tubes.

An important aspect of the social organisation of the Fijian is the inseparable connection between the social unit to which a person belongs and the land that all the members of the unit, chiefs and people, alike own in common. This common ownership by related groups of peoples of their family lands and of their customary fishing rights over the shore reefs is the basis of Fijian economic activities today. C.F.Andrews, in his book India and the Pacific, wrote:

> The Fijian is essentially a member of a tribe. Individual effort, of a persistent character, does not come easily to him. He has never been accustomed to work as a unit, but always in a community. He does not start with the idea of individual, private property, but with the conviction that property is tribal, communal.... Tribal customs still takes up the major portion of their lives.[1]

And Burns Commission has this to say:

> The Fijian tends to regard his ancient customs as sacrosanctwithout appreciating that custom, like fashion, varies with the age. Many Fijian customs are already changing and others have but a short history. As examples of these, we cite the expensive celebration of weddings and the vakatawase (the Fijian New Year). Other customs have been condemned by the Fijians themselves and forbidden by regulation. Notable amongst these is that of kerekere or the practice of "borrowing" from a kinsman at the will of the borrower. This is certainly one of the most severe handicaps under which the Fijian lives. An energetic and progressive man can be completely ruined by his predatory relatives. As early as 1908 kerekere was described as "formerly the pivot of native society (which), now wars increasingly against the mercantile progress of the people".

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[1] C.F.Andrews. India and the Pacific. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937. Pp. 54-55.

> Fijian Affairs Regulation No. 10, Section 20(1) makes it an offence to kerekere money or property above the value of five shillings; that is... notoriously disregarded, and many Fijians, chiefs, officials and villagers alike, continue to feel themselves bound by this harmful custom.[1]

The Indian People. The history of Indian emigration to distant and unknown lands goes into the dim and distant past. As early as 400 B.C. the culture, religion and literature of India had penetrated what is today known as Malaya. Indian commercial and cultural contacts with the Far East are at least 1,500 year old and even to this day, the people of Bali are mainly Hindoos. Indians had colonized Kenya in Africa and carried on a flourishing trade in Indian merchandise there. Nearer home, merchants and buddist priests and missionaries from India went to Ceylon and settled there centuries before Christ. Thus a number of brave Indians, pioneers in search of adventure and trade, had sailed their ships to far-off foreign lands long before Vasco-da-Gama brought his ships to the East and "discovered" it for the West.

This glorious past is, however, a very much faded and worn-out page in the history of the Indians in foreign lands. The centuries that have elapsed have only brought misery to these Indians and an increasing deterioration in their living conditions. There are several reasons for the decay of this once proud race, perhaps the most important being the indenture system under which Indians went out of the country almost as slave labour instead of being interpid adventures and daring businessmen in search of wealth and opportunities for progress.

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[1] Burns Commission's Report - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 66.

When in 1833 slavery was abolished in the British Emprire and in 1848 in the French Colonies, thereby releasing from bondage hundreds of Negro slaves who were working in the rubber, tobacco and sugar plantations in the East and West Indies, the British and French imperialists pitched upon Indian labour to take the place of the Negro slaves. They found Indian labour cheap and before the Indian Government could interfere and public opinion in India could express itself on this heartless move, recruitment of Indians had begun in some parts of the country. Even before the slave trade was completely abolished, illegal export of Indian labour had begun from the French possessions in India and thousands of labourers had left India. But the year 1834 saw the beginning of a large-scale organised emigration, and in three or four years over 8,000 Indian labourers had left their motherland to earn their livilihood in foreign lands like Mauritius and British Guiana. Known as the "indenture system", this iniquitious practice went on for nearly 85 years bringing in its wake such great hardships and sufferings, humiliations and insults as have ever soiled the pages of human history.[1]

Professional recruiters, who were paid a certain fixed sum per head for the labour they supplied, roamed far and wide in India and by fraud, force and unscrupulous misrepresentation, gathered together men and women and packed them off to foreign lands like sheep and cattle. Legally speaking, of course, these people left the country at their own free will as they had to enter into a contract with the recruiting party. But these

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[1] N.V.Rajkumar. Indians Outside India. New Delhi, The Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress, 1951. P. 11.

contracts were intrinsically valueless as those simple but ignorant and helpless rural folk had neither the capacity nor the sense of discrimination to grasp the significance of the agreements they had entered into. And so the Indian workers went in their thousands to strange and unknown countries to eke out a mere livelihood.[1] (This "semi-servile" practice, largely through the untiring efforts of Mahatma Gandhi, Gokhale, C.F.Andrews and Polak, was finally abolished in 1916.)

Although the great majority of the Indians who came to Fiji were "from a normal, average agricultural village stock",[2] a number of merchants, bankers, shopkeepers, pedlars and contractors inevitably followed them. Even doctors and lawyers came hoping to earn a living by serving their own countrymen. Together they represented a cross-section of the Indian society with its virtues and vices. With them went their languages and their way of life, their religions, customs and observances. As C.F.Andrews says:

> What has equally struck me is the fact that the Indian has not left religion in abeyance. From the moment he became free he began to build it up again... the deep religious background of Hinduism, when set free from trammels and impediments, has greatly increased. For it has been this clinging to dharma (religious duty) which has saved the Indians in Fiji. The same may be said of Islam also.[3]

An India in miniature was transplanted on these distant shores. This then is the most characteristic feature of

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[1] C.F.Andrews. Op.cit. Pp. 17-24.

[2] Ibid. P. 2.

[3] Ibid. P. 148.

of Indians settled in Fiji - their distinctive way of life and their tenacity of purpose in keeping their ancient heritage. It is true that the younger generation has strayed far from their old moorings. Nevertheless, the Indian blood still runs in their veins and the spirit of India still becons to them. On this subject C.F.Andrews has this to say:

> Very soon, with the exception of a few traders and merchants, who constantly travel backwards and forwards, every Indian in Fiji will learn to look upon these islands as the home country where he was born. In that sense, though not of course by race, he will be a Fijian.
>
> By ancestry he will still be Indian, looking back to India with all its great traditions. Indian history will be his own history. The ties of sentiment which attach him to India are likely to grow stronger, even while the actual knowledge and memory of India grow weaker. But all the time, year after year, his feet will be planted more firmly on the soil of Fiji as his permanent home.[1]

While some of the indentured labourers returned to India on completion of their terms of servitude, a great majority of them settled down permanently in Fiji. As Burns Commission says:

> The first Indians were brought to Fiji as indentured labourers in 1879. From that date, and until the indentured labourers system was stopped in 1916, some 40,000 to 50,000 Indians came to Fiji. Under the terms of their indentures they were entitled to repatriation after ten years but only a small proportion of them decided to return to India. Of the Indians now in Fiji at least ninety-two per cent have been born in the Colony and have no other home. Those who were born in India have lived so long in Fiji that they have lost touch with their places of origin and may have not even visited

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[1] Ibid. P.148.

> India since they came to the Colony. Most of those who have visited India have returned to Fiji where they are now domiciled.[1]

A new generation grew up under the protecting wing of Indian traditions, but cutting away gradually from the sentimental ties which bound their fathers and forefathers to India. This new generation treads new paths. Education, largely through their own efforts, has given them a new status in the soil and political life of their country and they have joined all important professions as doctors, lawyers, technicians and even public men and politicians. They have new hopes and aspirations and they identify themselves with the interests of the country of their birth.

As it has been stated earlier, the economy of this Colony is predominently agricultural, and the Indian community is an important element in that economy. The Indians were introduced into the Colony for permanent colonization and they were given solemn promise by her Britannic Majesty that their rights in the Colony would be "no whit inferior to those of any other race".[2]

On their arrival they made contribution in man-power in the sugar and other industries, and on the termination of their indentures, the majority of them settled down in the Colony as peasant farmers and labourers. Some did well and accumulated wealth; others continue in grinding poverty and eke out a miserable existence. Despite several difficulties and

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[1] Burns Commission's Report - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 43.

[2] Infra. Appendix B. Lord Salisbury Despatch.

disabilities the Indians have in collaboration with the other races played their full part in developing the Colony and building up its prosperity and wealth. The Fiji Government publication "Colony of Fiji" comments on this issue thus:

> The Indian in Fiji has developed into a permanent element in the population whose presence is essential to the prosperity of the Colony. With the two other major races - the European and the Fijian - he has entered fully into, and actively participates in, all aspects of life in the Colony.[1]

The Indians in Fiji, of course, have some grievances. The chief complaint of the Indian community is that the Colonial Office has not in spirit or in letter, wittingly or otherwise, fulfilled its pledged word in the matter of land utilization and holding. The vast majority of the Indians in Fiji today, as pointed out earlier, are Fiji-born. They are an integral part of the local population, and are permanently settled in the Colony. They have no other home or allegiance, and there is, therefore, no reason why they should not be accorded equal economic and political rights in this Colony. The Immigration Ordinance of 1947 introduced by the Fiji Government has very much perturbed the Indian community. Originally an Indian could stay away from Fiji for two years without requiring a fresh permit to enter the island, but the 1947 Immigration Ordinance has reduced this period to one year. This limitation is very galling, as the lack of necessary facilities for higher education of Indian students and the social and religious requirements of Indians necessitate their absence from the Colony for a long time. None-the less, Fiji is a bright spot in an otherwise black picture.

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[1] Ravuama Vunivalu. Op.cit. P. 35.

Racial Harmony and Comparisons. A former Governor of Fiji drew an analogy between Fiji and a three-legged stool whose stability lasted only as long as each of the three legs bore its share of the weight. The three legs of the metaphorical stool are of course, the Europeans, the Fijians and the Indians. In the development of this country, the European provided the capital; the Fijian the land; and the Indian the labour - each complementary to one another. On November 20th, 1954, the Governor in his address to the Fiji Legislative Council, inter alia, stated:

> One newspaper put it very succinctly when it referred to the fact that the prosperity of Fiji had been built on a three-cornered foundation, the Fijian providing the land; the European the money; and the Indian the labour. All these initial contributions have, of course, with the passage of time become inter-mingled so that there is now no clear pattern of contribution by the different elements of our society to the common weal, beyond the general fusing of talent and effort of all races, which has brought about our present economic stability and political harmony.
>
> The basis of this satisfactory state of affairs has been a policy - possibly unconsciously adopted - of live and let live. In high diplomatic circles it is nowadays fashionable to refer to such a policy as "peaceful co-existence". But whatever phrase is used I believe that the majority of us understand and applaud this modus vivendi which we have evolved for ourselves. It has already led us along a path of prosperity and peacefulness and, subject to the safeguards which we work out from time to time and which - in our wisdom - we shall no doubt continue to apply at the appropriate time, I see small cause for the apprehensions and alarming prognostications with which some of our local tub-thumbers, and outsiders from abroad (who know little about our racial amity), would curdle our blood and obscure our own sense of balance and perspective.
>
> We are all proud of our racial origin: we are all proud of our national characteristics and our own way of life; then let us be as proud of the spirit of tolerance which

> has made the Colony of Fiji what it is, and so press on with a determination,... to keep out man-made disasters from our fair country, by obliterating any racial hostility from our midst.[1]

This mutual co-operation of the three races in securing common prosperity has been responsible for the generally friendly relationship which now exists amongst them. In the creation of this atmosphere of mutual goodwill at least, Fiji's three-legged stool shows no sign of toppling.

A good-humoured friendliness exists between the rank and file of the two major races - Indians and Fijians - as well as amongst their leaders. Most of the Indians have learnt a smattering of the Fijian language and some have picked up a remarkable knowledge of the Fijian tribal customs. As regards the relationship between the Fijians and the Indians, C.F. Andrews observed as follows:

> At least 90 per cent of the Fijians still live in their villages, keeping up their tribal customs, with a closely-knit, self-contained life of their own. Among these I was not conscious of any sense of rivalry with the Indians. On the contrary I found always friendly relations on either side.[2]

And more recently the Burns Commission commented on this issue thus:

> Nevertheless, relations between the two races appear at present to be remarkably good. Indians and Fijians work together, in Civil Service, the Police, and in other walks of life, with apparent harmony and little friction. There is, however, some danger that the Indian

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[1] Hansard. Sessions of 1954. P. 183.

[2] C.F.Andrews. Op.cit. P. 68.

> land hunger, and Fijian determination to retain their land, may break down this harmony, and lead to the widening of the gulf that now exists between the races. This gulf is due not only to ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences, but to different customs and habits and especially to the different sense of values as between the races. The Indian is an individualist while the Fijian has been accustomed in the past to a community life which even today, in spite of some restiveness among the younger generation, governs the mentality of the race.
>
> The descendants of the Indian indentured labourers, probably on account of the centuries of poverty which lie behind them, are hard workers, acquisitive of land and money; the Fijians, accustomed to a communal system which shields them from direst effects of poverty, are generally disinclined to excessive labour and are careless and easy-going with money...
>
> In spite of all these potential causes of friction, the relations between the two races are remarkably good, and will probably remain so unless they are worsened by disputes over land or by the activities of political leaders.[1]

The Fijians are a charming people, good-natured, well-mannered and generous to a fault, but as a race they seem to lack at present those qualities which would enable them to prosper in a competitive world. These qualities will never be acquired unless they are encouraged to stand unsupported on their own feet, and to realise the facts of modern life. The administration is to be blamed for this sad state of affairs. The administration through a handful of Fijian chiefs do all the thinking and planning for the Fijian people. Unlike the Indian, the commoner amongst the Fijian waits for instructions from the top. He does not think for himself nor does he act on his own initiative; he lives a protected life; his activities are governed by rules and regulations. Professor Spate summed

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[1] Burns Commission's Report - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 47-49.

up this situation admirably in these words: "The Fijian have had many devoted British friends, too few candid ones."[1] And like a nagging parent who spoils the child with constant interference with "not to do this, not to do that," the administration has killed the initiative of the Fijian race. The contrast between the two races is clearly stated by the Burns Commission in these words:

> The Indians, who are chiefly of peasant stock and came to Fiji as indentured labourers, are now prominent in business and in the professions, while the Fijians are successful in neither. Many Indians are wealthy. Indians and Chinese own shops in every town but Fijian-owned shops scarcely exist. There are numerous Indian tailors but no Fijian. Most of the bus services are owned and operated by Indians. There are a few successful Fijian cane-farmers, but the largest industry of the Colony, the growing of sugar-cane, is almost entirely (92 per cent) in the hands of Indians, sometimes employing Fijian labour. In the professions, too, the poor showing of the Fijian is striking.[2]

These two points are illustrated in the following two tables. Table No. 3 records the relative importance of the different racial groups in business by reference to the net profits assessed for tax in individual and partnership business in 1957, and Table No. 4 gives the number of qualified persons by racial groups in the three professions, namely, law, medicine and dentistry, for the year 1958.

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[1] O.H.K.Spate. The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects. C.P. No. 13 of 1959. Suva, Government Printer, 1959. Paragraph 33.

[2] Burns Commission's Report - 1959. Op.cit. Para. 50.

TABLE 3

Net Profit Assessed for Tax - 1957
Individual and Partnership Businesses*

	No.of Persons Assessed	%	Net Profit (£F) Assessed	%
Europeans	634	6.2	696,201	14.9
Indians	9,076	88.6	3,582,301	76.8
Chinese	401	3.8	348,494	7.4
Fijians and Others ...	134	1.4	41,815	0.9
TOTAL	10,245	100.0	4,668,811	100.0

* Burns Commission's Report - 1959. Op.cit. P. 11

TABLE 4

Numbers Qualified in Selected Professions 1958*

Professions	Fiji-ans	Indi-ans	Chin-ese	P-Europ-eans	Europ-eans	TOTAL
Lawyers ...	-	38	-	1	17	56
Doctors ...	1	12	1	1	51	66
Dentists ...	1	8	-	-	6	15
TOTAL	2	58	1	2	74	137

* Burns Commission's Report - 1959. Op.cit. P. 12