

# Bibliography

## Books, reports & theses

- Akram-Lodhi, H (ed.), *Confronting Fiji Futures*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 2000.
- Amnesty International, *Beating Justice: How Fiji's Security Forces Get Away with Torture*. London: Amnesty International Publications, 2016.
- , *Fiji: Paradise Lost – A Tale of Ongoing Human Rights Violations*. London, 2009.
- Anthony, J, 'Freedom & independence of the media in Fiji: A report'. Suva: Fiji Human Rights Commission, 2008.
- Baledrokadroka, J, 'Sacred king and warrior chief: The role of the military in Fiji politics', PhD Thesis, The Australian National University. Canberra, 2012.
- Ball, N, *Security and Economy in the Third World*. Princeton University Press, 1988.
- Baran, P, *The Political Economy of Growth*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1957.
- Beattie, A, *False Economy: A Surprising Economic History of the World*. London: Viking, 2009.
- Britton, S, *Tourism & Underdevelopment in Fiji*. Canberra, The Australian National University, 1983.
- Brookfield, HC, Ellis, F & Ward RG, *Land, Cane & Coconuts: Papers on the Rural Economy of Fiji*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1985.

- Bullock, A, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*. London: Penguin, 1962.
- Burns, AAC, *Fiji*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963.
- Carstairs, R & Prasad, R, *Impact of Foreign Direct Investment on the Fiji Economy*. Suva: Centre for Applied Studies in Development, University of the South Pacific, 1981.
- Citizens' Constitutional Forum, *An Analysis: 2013 Fiji Government Constitution*. Suva: Citizens' Constitutional Forum, 2013.
- Cliff, AD & Haggett, P, *The Spread of Measles in Fiji & the Pacific*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1985.
- Cole, R & Hughes, H, *The Fiji Economy May 1987: Problems & Prospects*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, 1988.
- Collier, P, *Wars, Guns & Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. London: The Bodley Head, 2009.
- Dean, E & Ritova, S, *Rabuka: No Other Way*. Sydney: Doubleday, 1988.
- Derrick, RA, *A History of Fiji*. Suva: Government Press, 1950.
- Durutalo, A, 'Of roots & offshoots: Fijian political thinking, dissent & the formation of political parties, 1960–1999'. PhD Thesis, The Australian National University. Canberra, 2005.
- Durutalo, S, 'Internal colonialism & unequal regional development: The case of western Viti Levu, Fiji'. MA Thesis, University of the South Pacific. Suva, 1985.
- Field, M, Baba, T & Nabobo-Baba, U, *Speight of Violence: Inside Fiji's 2000 Coup*. Auckland: Reed Publishing, 2005.
- Fiji Bureau of Statistics, *2007 and 2009 Population Census of Fiji*. Suva: Fiji Island Bureau of Statistics, June 2012.
- Fiji Constitution Commission, *Explanatory Report on the Draft Constitution*. Suva, December 2012.
- Fiji Independent News Service, *Fiji Situation Report*. Sydney, 13 November 1990.

- Fijian Initiative Group, *Nine Points Plan*. Suva, 1988.
- Fraenkel, J & Firth, S (eds), *From Election to Coup in Fiji: The 2006 Campaign and its Aftermath*. Canberra & Suva: ANU E Press & Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 2007.
- Fraenkel, J, Firth, S & Lal, BV (eds), *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups*, Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009.
- France, P, *The Charter of the Land: Custom & Colonization in Fiji*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Fry, G & Tarte, S (eds), *The New Pacific Diplomacy*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2015.
- Furnivall, JS, *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*. Cambridge University Press, 1939.
- Gillion, KL, *Fiji's Indian Migrants – A History to the End of Indenture in 1920*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Green, M, *Persona Non Grata, Breaking the Bond – New Zealand and Fiji 2004–2007*. Auckland: Dunmore Publishing, 2013.
- Griffen, A (ed.), *Election Watch II: A Citizen's Review of the Fiji General Election 2001*. Suva: CCF, 2002.
- , *With Heart and Nerve and Sinew: Postcoup Writing from Fiji*. Suva: Christmas Club, 1997.
- Grynberg, R, Munro, D & White, M, *Crisis: The Collapse of the National Bank of Fiji*. Suva: USP Book Centre, 2002.
- Halapua, W, *Tradition, Lotu & Militarism in Fiji*. Lautoka: Fiji Institute of Applied Studies, 2003.
- Harrison, L, *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Howard, MC, *Fiji: Race and Politics in an Island State*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991.
- Huntington, S, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

- International Bar Association, *Dire Straits: A Report on the Rule of Law in Fiji*. Human Rights Institute Report. London, March 2009.
- Kelly, JD & Kaplan, M, *Represented Communities: Fiji & World Colonization*. University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Kermode, R, 'Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Deed of Settlement dated 17.09.92 between Anthony Frederick Stephens and the Attorney General of Fiji', Parliamentary Paper 45. Suva: Government Printer, 1993.
- Knapman, B, *Fiji's Economic History 1874–1939: Studies of Capitalist Colonial Development*. Pacific Research Monograph 15. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, 1987.
- Kuper, L & Smith, MG (eds), *Pluralism in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969.
- Lal, BV, *Fiji and the Coup Syndrome*. Special issue: *The Round Table. Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 101: 6, December 2012.
- , *Islands of Turmoil: Elections and Politics in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006.
- , *A Vision for Change: AD Patel and the Politics of Fiji*. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, 1997.
- , *Broken Waves: A History of the Fiji Islands in the Twentieth Century*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1992.
- , 'Girmitiyas: The Origins of the Fiji Indians'. Canberra: *Journal of Pacific History*, 1983.
- Lal, BV & Chand, G (eds), *1987 and All That: Fiji Twenty Years Later*. Lautoka: FIAS, 2008.
- Lawson, S, *The Failure of Democratic Politics in Fiji*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Leckie, J, *To Labour with the State: The Fiji Public Service Association*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1997.

- Leys, C, *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism*. London: Heinemann, 1975.
- Malcomson, SL, *Tuturani: A Political Journey in the Pacific Islands*. New York: Poseidon Press, 1990.
- Mamak, A, *Colour, Culture & Conflict: A Study of Pluralism in Fiji*. Sydney: Pergamon Press, 1978.
- Mara, K, *The Pacific Way: A Memoir*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997.
- Mausio, A, 'Boomerangs & the Fijian dilemma: Australian aid for rural development 1971–1987'. PhD Thesis, The Australian National University. Canberra, 2006.
- McNaught, TJ, *The Fijian Colonial Experience: A Study of the Neo-Traditional Order under British Colonial Rule prior to World War II*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1982.
- Naidu, V, *Violence of Indenture in Fiji*. Lautoka: Fiji Institute of Applied Studies, 2004.
- Naidu, V & Tarte, S (eds), 'No Ordinary Election': *The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue. *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.
- Narayan, J, *The Political Economy of Fiji*. Suva: South Pacific Review Press, 1984.
- Nayacakalou, RR, *Tradition & Change in the Fijian Village*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1978.
- , *Leadership in Fiji*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Nicole, R, *Disturbing History: Resistance in Early Colonial Fiji*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011.
- Overton, J, 'Fiji Since the Coups'. *Pacific Viewpoint*, 30: 2, October 1989.
- , *Land and Differentiation in Fiji*. Pacific Research Monograph 19. Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, The Australian National University, 1989.
- Powles, A & Sousa-Santos, J, 'Principled engagement: rebuilding defence ties with Fiji', Lowy Institute Analysis paper, Sydney, July 2016.

- Prasad, S (ed), *Coup & Crisis: Fiji – A Year Later*. Melbourne: Arena Publications, 1988.
- Ratha, D & Xu, Z (eds), *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2008*. Washington: World Bank, 2008.
- Ratuva, S & Lawson, S, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- Ravuvu, A, *The Façade of Democracy: Fijian Struggles for Political Control, 1830–1987*. Suva: Reader Publishing House, 1991.
- Reeves, P, Vakatora, T & Lal, BV, *The Fiji Islands: Towards a United Future*. Report of the Fiji Constitutional Review Commission, Parliamentary Paper 34. Suva: Parliament of Fiji, 1996.
- RFMF Board of Inquiry Report into the Involvement of the First Meridian Squadron in the Illegal Takeover of Parliament on 19 May 2000 and the Subsequent Holding of Hostages until 13 July 2000, 24 October 2000*, [www.truthforfiji.com/uploads/8/4/2/3/8423704/1st\\_meridian\\_report\\_rfmf\\_opt2.pdf](http://www.truthforfiji.com/uploads/8/4/2/3/8423704/1st_meridian_report_rfmf_opt2.pdf) (unauthorised).
- Rist, G, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*. London & New York: Zed Books, 1997.
- Robertson, R (ed.), *Livelihoods and Identity in Fiji*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2006.
- , *Multiculturalism & Reconciliation in an Indulgent Republic. Fiji after the Coups: 1987–1998*. Suva: Fiji Institute of Applied Studies, 1998.
- Robertson, R & Sutherland, W, *Government by the Gun: The Unfinished Business of Fiji's 2000 Coup*. Sydney & London: Pluto Press & Zed Books, 2001.
- Robertson, R & Tamanisau, A, *Fiji: Shattered Coups*. Sydney: Pluto Press, 1988.
- Robinson, P, 'The Crown Colony Government & the regulation of relations between settlers & Fijians, 1880–1910'. Master of Letters Thesis, Oxford University, 1984.
- Rostow, WW, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge University Press, 1960.

- Routledge, D, *Matanitu: The Struggle for Power in Early Fiji*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1985.
- Scarr, D, Fiji, *Politics of Illusion: The Military Coups in Fiji*. Sydney: NSW University Press, 1988.
- SDL, *Government Paper to the National Economic Summit*. Suva, 2006.
- , *Strategic Development Plan 2007–2011*. Suva: National Economic Summit, 2006.
- Sen, A, *Development as Freedom*. Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Singh, A, *Silent Warriors*. Suva: FIAS, 1991.
- Shameem, S, ‘The assumption of executive authority on December 5 2006 by Commodore JV Bainimarama, Commander of the RFMF: Legal, constitutional and human rights issues’, Fiji Human Rights Commission, Suva, 3 January 2007.
- Sharpham, J, *Rabuka of Fiji*. Rockhampton: Central Queensland University Press, 2000.
- Spate, OHK, *The Fijian People: Economic Problems & Prospects*. Suva: Legislative Council of Fiji, 1959.
- Stubbs, R, *Rethinking Asia’s Economic Miracle*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Sutherland, W, *Beyond the Politics of Race. An Alternative History of Fiji to 1992*. Canberra: The Australian National University, 1992.
- Swainson, N, *The Development of Corporate Capitalism in Kenya, 1918–1977*. London: Heinemann, 1980.
- Thomson, P, *Kava in the Blood: A Personal & Political Memoir from the Heart of Fiji*. Auckland: Tandem Press, 1999.
- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: A Manual for National Human Rights Institutions*. Sydney & Geneva: Asia Pacific Forum of National Human Rights Institutions and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2013.
- Walsh, C, *Fiji: An Encyclopaedic Atlas*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2006.

Wangome, J, 'The African "neocolonialism" that is self-inflicted'. MA Thesis, Marine Corps University Command and Staff College. Quantico, Virginia, 1985, [www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1985/WJ.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1985/WJ.htm).

Warren, B, *Imperialism: Pioneer of Capitalism*. London: Verso, 1980.

Ziemann, W & Lanzendorfer, M, 'The state in peripheral societies', *The Socialist Register 1977*. London: Merlin Press, 1977.

## Articles & media presentations

Acemoglu, D, Ticchi, D & Vindigni, A, 'A theory of military dictatorships', *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 2: 1, January 2010. [doi.org/10.1257/mac.2.1.1](https://doi.org/10.1257/mac.2.1.1).

Appiah, KA, *Mistaken Identities*, 2016 BBC Reith Lectures, [www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00729d9/episodes/guide](http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00729d9/episodes/guide).

—, 'There is no such thing as Western civilisation', *Guardian*, 9 November 2016.

Arms, D, 'Analysing the open list system of proportional representation in Fiji's 2014 General Election: A perspective from the Fiji Electoral Commission', in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), '*No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*'. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.

Baker, N & Nakagawa, H, "'Known unknowns and unknown unknowns" in the 2014 Fiji election results', in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), '*No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*'. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.

Baledrokadroka, B, 'Showtime as the US call's Bainimarama's bluff', [www.coupfourandahalf.com](http://www.coupfourandahalf.com), 8 November 2010.

Baleinakorodawa, P, Barr, K & Qalowasa, S, 'Time of uncertainty, opportunity', *Fiji Times*, 19 December 2006.

Ball, N, 'The military in politics: who benefits & how?', *World Development*, 9: 6, 1981. [doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(81\)90006-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(81)90006-1).



- Barbour, P & McGregor, A, 'The Fiji agricultural sector', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 13: 2, November 1998.
- Bettelheim, C, 'Theoretical comments', in A Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977.
- Bogidrau, W, 'Inside a palace coup', *Fiji Times*, 25 June 2005.
- , 'Checkmate: Why the army and state went head-to-head', *The Review*, 1 July 2003.
- Brown, M, 'Fiji military chief already in power', *Age*, 4 December 2006.
- Callick, R, 'Poll tests diplomatic will of Canberra', *Australian*, 2 April 2013.
- , 'No ready way out of Speight's big hole', *Australian Financial Review*, 24 July 2000.
- , 'Fiji grasps for a bonanza', *Australian Financial Review*, 30 November 1988.
- Callinan, R, 'Fueling Fiji's coup', *Time Magazine*, 20 December 2006.
- Casimira, A, 'Democracy in many guises', *Fiji Sun*, 18 February 2007.
- Cawthorne, P, 'Fiji's garment export industry: An economic and political analysis of its long term viability', Faculty of Economics & Business Working Paper, University of Sydney, 2000.
- Chand, S, 'Coups, cyclones & recovery: The Fiji experience', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 15: 2, November 2000.
- Chandra, R, 'Manufacturing in Fiji: Mixed results', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 11: 1, May 1996.
- , 'The political crisis and the manufacturing sector in Fiji', *Pacific Viewpoint*, 30: 2, October 1989.
- Chippendale, M, 'Qarase sees a future of affirmative action', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 2001.
- Chung, M, 'Ethnic politics and small business: The case of the Fiji poultry industry', *Pacific Viewpoint*, 30: 2, October 1989.

- Cole, RV, 'The Fiji economy: From go to woe', *Pacific Viewpoint*, 30: 2, October 1989.
- Collier, P & Hoefler, A, 'Grand extortion: Coup risk & the military as a protection racket', Second Workshop on Political Institutions, Development And a Domestic Civil Peace (PIDDCP), 19–20 Jun 2006, ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:ff727e54-408e-4288-a202-cf46a61d7187.
- , 'Coup traps: Why does Africa have so many coups d'état?', August 2005, ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:49097086-8505-4eb2-8174-314ce1aa3ebb.
- 'Cyclone George', *Four Corners*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 15 November 2000, [www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/4Cprograms\\_151295.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/stories/4Cprograms_151295.htm).
- Dagney, MF, 'RFMF in Fiji's defence policy', in *Background Paper on the RFMF and Fiji's Defence Policy*, CCF papers submitted to the Defence Review Committee, October 2003.
- Dakuvula, J, 'The unresolved issues at stake over the commander controversy', *Asia-Pacific Network*, 30 January 2004.
- , 'More land gossip from the grassroots', *Citizens' Constitutional Forum*, ccf.org.fj, 2 May 2001.
- Dass, B, 'Ailing sugar industry', *Fiji Times*, 3 August 2015.
- Davis, G, 'The camera doesn't lie', 15 June 2011, [www.grubsheet.com.au/the-camera-doesnt-lie/](http://www.grubsheet.com.au/the-camera-doesnt-lie/).
- , 'It's hail to the chiefs no longer', *Australian*, 6 January 2007.
- , 'Fiji – democracy by the gun', *Sunday*, 7 May 2006, Nine Network, [www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/sol\\_adobe\\_documents/world/paclaw/davis\\_debate\\_fiji.htm](http://www.vanuatu.usp.ac.fj/sol_adobe_documents/world/paclaw/davis_debate_fiji.htm).
- Davis, M, 'The origins of the Third World', in S Chari & S Corbridge (eds), *The Development Reader*. Oxon & New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Davis, M, 'Perfectly Frank', *Dateline*, SBS, 26 July 2009, [www.sbs.com.au/news/dateline/story/perfectly-frank](http://www.sbs.com.au/news/dateline/story/perfectly-frank).

- Digitaki, L, 'Laisa Digitaki's statement & sequence of events re pro-democracy group of five rounding up and bashing by the RFMF on December 24th–25th, 2006', [fijimediawars.blogspot.com.au/2014/09/laisa-digitakis-story.html](http://fijimediawars.blogspot.com.au/2014/09/laisa-digitakis-story.html).
- Digitaki, T, 'Dangerous tinkering', *Review*, April 2000.
- Dobell, G, 'The Canberra column: "The Pacific Way wanes"', *The Interpreter*, Lowy Institute, Sydney, 8 August 2008, [www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/pacific-way-wanes](http://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/pacific-way-wanes).
- Doornbos, M, 'The African state in academic debate: Retrospect and prospect', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 28: 2, 1990. doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X00054410.
- Dore, C, 'Just another day in paradise', *Australian*, 27–28 May 2000.
- Doring, P, 'US cables reveal the brutality of Fijian regime', *Age*, 27 August 2011.
- Dropsy, A, 'The church & the coup: The Fijian Methodist coup of 1989', *Review* 20, September 1993.
- Durutalo, S, 'The liberation of the Pacific Island intellectual', *Review*, 4, September 1983, SSED, University of the South Pacific.
- Edelstein, J, 'Coups as a human right', *Fiji Sun*, 7 January 2007.
- Field, M, 'Farewell to Coup-Coup Land', *Fiji Times*, 8 August 2000.
- Fiji Constitutional Process (Constitution Commission) Decree (no. 57 of 2012), [fiji.gov.fj](http://fiji.gov.fj), 18 July 2012.
- 'Fiji coup could be its last', *Pacific Islands Report*, PIDP, 21 March 2007.
- FijiFirst, 'Our manifesto', [fijifirst.com](http://fijifirst.com).
- Firth, S & Fraenkel, J, 'The Fiji military and ethno-nationalism: Analysing the paradox', in J Fraenkel, S Firth & BV Lal (eds), *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009.
- Foley, R, 'Rabuka says interim government a "sideshow"', *Canberra Times*, 11 August 1988.

- Forsyth, D, 'Fiji at the crossroads', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 11: 1, May 1996.
- Fraenkel, J, 'In the Pacific, two cheers for democracy', *Inside Story*, 13 December 2016.
- , 'Fiji's December 2006 coup: Who, what, where and why?', *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009.
- Frank, AG, 'The development of underdevelopment', in S Chew & R Denmark (eds), *The Underdevelopment of Development: Essays in Honour of Andre Gunder Frank*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications 1996.
- Gebhart, S, 'The role of the military in a democracy: Civil–military relations in Fiji', in *Background Paper on the RFMF and Fiji's Defence Policy*, CCF papers submitted to the Defence Review Committee, October 2003.
- Godfrey, M, 'Kenya: African capitalism or simple dependency?', in M Bienefeld & M Godfrey (eds), *The Struggle for Development: National Strategies in an International Context*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1982.
- Gounder, N, 'The Opposition in an effective democracy', *Fiji Times*, 28 May 2016.
- , 'Elective dictatorship', *Fiji Times*, 7 May 2006.
- Grynberg, R, 'The WTO incompatibility of the Lomé Convention trade provisions', Working Paper 98/3. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 1998.
- Heartfield, J, 'You are not a white woman: Apolosi Nawai, the Fiji Produce Agency and the trial of Stella Spencer in Fiji, 1915', *Journal of Pacific History*, 38: 1, 2003. doi.org/10.1080/00223340306076.
- Herr, R & Bergin, A, 'Fiji vital to an effective regional system', *Australian*, 3 August 2012.
- Hunter, R & Lal, V, 'Fiji police chief tried to get Bainimarama arrested in NZ', *New Zealand Herald*, 18 February 2012.

- Kaplinsky, R, 'Capitalist accumulation in the periphery – the Kenyan case re-examined', *Review of African Political Economy*, 16, 1980. doi.org/10.1080/03056248008703416.
- Kearney, S, 'Army seizes control of Fiji', *Australian*, 2 December 2006.
- Keith-Reid, R, 'Fiji's simmering election pot', *Islands Business*, April 2006.
- Khan, C, 'Reflections on the September 2014 elections: A CSO perspective', in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), '*No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.
- Knapman, B, 'Afterword: The economic consequences of the coups', in R Robertson & A Tamanisau, *Fiji: Shattered Coups*. Sydney: Pluto Press, 1988.
- Komai, M, 'Fiji's foreign policy and the new Pacific diplomacy', in G Fry & S Tarte (eds), *The New Pacific Diplomacy*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2015.
- Kotobalavu, J, 'Statistics for Fiji's future', *Fiji Times*, 27 October 2008.
- Kotoisuva, E, 'When reconciliation is unjust', *Fiji Times*, 11 January 2006.
- Lal, BV, 'Where has all the music gone? Reflections on the 40th anniversary of Fiji's independence', *Contemporary Pacific*, 23: 2, 2011. doi.org/10.1353/cp.2011.0040.
- , 'Anxiety, uncertainty and fear in our land: Fiji's road to military coup', in J Fraenkel, S Firth & BV Lal (eds), *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009.
- Lal, P, Lim-Applegate, H & Reddy, M, 'Fijian landowners and IndoFijian tenants have their cake and eat it too', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 16: 1, November 2001.
- Lal, P & Reddy, M, 'Old wine in a new bottle: Proposed sugar industry restructuring and land conflict in Fiji', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 18: 1, May 2003.
- Lal, V, 'Bainimarama's behind-the-scenes backers were in the judiciary', *coupfourandahalf.com*, 24 May 2012.

- Lal, V & Hunter, R, 'Details of the death of CRWU soldier Selesitino Kalounivale revealed', *coupfourandahalf.com*, 19 March 2012.
- , 'Smuggled papers show Bainimarama's lust for power', *New Zealand Herald*, 25 February 2012.
- Lawson, S & Lawson, EH, 'Chiefly leadership in Fiji: Past, present, and future'. State, Society & Governance in Melanesia Discussion Paper 2015/5. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Lenzer, A, 'Fiji Water: Spin the bottle', *Mother Jones*, September–October 2009.
- Leung, G, 'Lawyers must cry freedom to the challenge in Fiji', *Fiji Times*, 9 June 2009.
- Leys, C, 'Capital accumulation, class formation, and dependency – the significance of the Kenyan case', *The Socialist Register 1978*. London: Merlin Press, 1978.
- Liki, A & Slatter, C, 'Control, alt, delete: How Fiji's new PR electoral system and media coverage affected election results for women C=candidates in the 2014 election', in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), *No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.
- Luvenitoga, J, 'The vision', *Sunday Post*, 14 March 2004.
- Maclellan, N, 'Fiji, the war in Iraq and the privatization of Pacific Island security', *Australian Policy Forum*, Nautilus Institute, 6 April 2006.
- MacWilliam, S, "'Not with a bang but a whimper": SODELPA and the 2014 elections', in Steven Ratuva and Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- Madraiwiwi, J, 'Mythic constitutionalism: Whither Fiji's course in June 2007?', *Fiji Times*, 11 June 2007.
- , 'Making the right choices', keynote address to the 34th Annual Congress of the Fiji Institute of Accountants, Sofitel Resort Spa, 23 June 2006.
- , 'Challenges and opportunities in Fiji today', *fjilive*, 20 April 2006.
- , 'Building the peace', *Fiji Times*, 17 March 2005.

- , 'Ethnic tensions and the law', *Fiji Times*, 25 September 2004.
- , 'Fiji 2001: Our country at the crossroads', 2001 Parkinson Memorial Lecture, University of the South Pacific, *Wansolwara*, 15 August 2001.
- Mar, T, 'A village based eco-tourism venture: A case study of Tai village', in R Robertson (ed) *Livelihoods and Identity in Fiji*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2006.
- Mara, K, interview, *Closeup*, Fiji TV, unofficial transcript on [pcgovt.org.fj](http://pcgovt.org.fj), accessed 29 April 2001.
- Mara, T, 'Fiji's dictator Frank Bainimarama's truth revealed', *Truth for Fiji*, [www.truthforfiji.com/uploads/8/4/2/3/8423704/fijis\\_dictator\\_frank\\_bainimarama\\_revealed.pdf](http://www.truthforfiji.com/uploads/8/4/2/3/8423704/fijis_dictator_frank_bainimarama_revealed.pdf).
- Mataca, P, 'Churches must preach unity', *Fiji Times*, 9 February 2005.
- Mottram, M, 'Speight meets his match', *Age*, 5 June 2000.
- Naidu, R, 'True democracy and the cost of credit', *Fiji Times*, 30 April 2016.
- Nanau, G, 'Representative democracy, the Constitution & electoral engineering in Fiji: 2014 & beyond', in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), *No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.
- Narayan, PK, 'A tourism demand model for Fiji. 1970–2000', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 17: 2, November 2002.
- Narsey, W, 'Critical issues for 2017', *Fiji Times*, 31 December 2016.
- , 'The costs of compromise: A dead-end parliamentary farce', [narseyonfiji.wordpress.com](http://narseyonfiji.wordpress.com), 21 February 2016.
- , 'Fiji's cancerous conspiracies of silence', [www.coupfourandahalf.com/2011/11/fijis-cancerous-conspiracies-of-silence.html](http://www.coupfourandahalf.com/2011/11/fijis-cancerous-conspiracies-of-silence.html), 5 November 2011 (see also [narseyonfiji.wordpress.com/2012/03/18/fijis-cancerous-conspiracies-of-silence-5-november-2011-on-blogs/](http://narseyonfiji.wordpress.com/2012/03/18/fijis-cancerous-conspiracies-of-silence-5-november-2011-on-blogs/)).
- , 'Fiji's far reaching population revolution', 21 March 2010, [www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/Wadan\\_Narsey/Media\\_articles/2010\\_C\\_\\_\\_\\_Fiji\\_s\\_population\\_revolution.pdf](http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/Wadan_Narsey/Media_articles/2010_C____Fiji_s_population_revolution.pdf).

- , 'The moral gutting of Fiji and coming economic collapse: To raise our voices as one', *narseyonfiji.wordpress.com*, 13 July 2009.
- , 'Just wages & coup impacts', *Fiji Times*, 15 April 2009.
- , 'The struggle for just wages in Fiji: Lessons from the 2009 wages councils and the continuing coups', the Rev. Paula Niukula Lecture, University of the South Pacific, 15 April 2009.
- , 'Incidence of poverty & the poverty gap in Fiji: Unpalatable facts for ethnocentric parties', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 23: 2, November 2008.
- , 'Costly coups: No catching up', *Fiji Times*, 11 December 2007.
- , 'Truth behind our poverty', *Fiji Times*, 10 June 2007.
- , 'Let's pull together for once', *Fiji Times*, 19 May 2006.
- , 'Great concept, bad reality', *Fiji Times*, 31 May 2005.
- , 'What's the plight of women garment workers', *Fiji Sun*, 10 November 1985.
- , 'Monopoly, capital, white racism and superprofits in Fiji', *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 5, 1979.
- Nesian, 'The forces coalesce', *Croz Walsh's Blog – Fiji the Way it Was and Can Be*, [crosbiew.blogspot.com.au](http://crosbiew.blogspot.com.au) (hereafter *CW*), 31 January 2010.
- Newland, L, 'From the land to the sea: Christianity, community and state in Fiji and the 2014 elections', in Steven Ratuva & Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- Norton, R, 'The changing role of the Great Council of Chiefs', in J Fraenkel, S Firth & BV Lal (eds), *The 2006 Military Takeover in Fiji: A Coup to End All Coups*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2009.
- O'Callaghan, M-L, 'Rabuka legacy: Rule by the gun', *Australian*, 26 May 2000.
- O'Callaghan, M-L & Dore, C, 'Shadowy figures thicken the plot', *Australian*, 24 May 2000.



- OPS FME, Unsigned Military Document, 30 March 1988.
- Overton, J & Ward, RG, 'The coups in retrospect: The new political geography of Fiji', *Pacific Viewpoint*, 30: 2, October 1989.
- Parkinson, T, 'The rebels had military chief in their sights', *Age*, 3 November 2000.
- Phillips, A, 'The concept of development', *Review of African Political Economy*, 8, 1977. doi.org/10.1080/03056247708703308.
- Prakash, S, 'Return to theatrics', in S Prasad, *Coup & Crisis: Fiji –A Year Later*. Melbourne: Arena Publications, 1988.
- Prasad, B, 'Sugar sector analysis: Caught up in cobwebs', *Fiji Times*, 4 March 2017.
- , 'Another view of the sugar industry', *Fiji Times*, 30 July 2016.
- , 'Growth must result in more for us', *Fiji Times*, 12 September 2015.
- , 'Why Fiji is not the "Mauritius" of the Pacific? Lessons for small island nations in the Pacific', Discussion Paper 23. Canberra: Development Policy Centre, The Australian National University, September 2012.
- Prasad, BC & Asafu-Adjay, J, 'Macroeconomic policy & poverty in Fiji', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 13: 1, May 1998.
- Prasad, BC & Kumar, S, 'Fiji's economic woes: A nation in search of development progress', *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 17: 1, May 2002.
- Prasad, S, 'Civic challenges to Fiji's democracy and the CCF's agenda for the next decade', in Arlene Griffen (ed.), *With Heart and Nerve and Sinew: Postcoup Writing from Fiji*. Suva: Christmas Club, 1997.
- Premdas, R, 'The foundations of political conflict in Fiji', Suva, mimeo, 1986.
- Qalo, S, 'Champion of rights or lawbreaker?', *Fiji Times*, 16 March 2006.
- Rabuka, S, 'Divine intervention', *Fiji Times*, 26 October 2008.
- Raicola, V, 'Who will prevail in the end?', *Fiji Times*, 30 November 2006.
- , 'Doctrine of necessity', *Fiji Times*, 29 March 2006.

- Rakuita, T, 'Analysing the polls', *Fiji Times*, 25 February 2017.
- Rashbrooke, G, 'Reform of the Fiji National Provident Fund', [www.actuaries.org/HongKong2012/Papers/MBR12\\_Rashbrooke.pdf](http://www.actuaries.org/HongKong2012/Papers/MBR12_Rashbrooke.pdf).
- Ratuva, S, 'Shifting democracy: Electoral changes in Fiji', in *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- , 'Politics of ethno-national identity in a post-colonial communal democracy: The case of Fiji', *Identity & Belongingness in Fiji*, 18 June 2008, [ecreanfriends.wordpress.com/2008/06/18/politics-of-ethno-national-identity-in-a-post-colonial-communal-democracy-the-case-of-Fiji](http://ecreanfriends.wordpress.com/2008/06/18/politics-of-ethno-national-identity-in-a-post-colonial-communal-democracy-the-case-of-Fiji).
- , 'Officers, gentlemen and coups', *Fiji Times*, 25 January 2006.
- , 'Addressing inequality? Economic affirmative action and communal capitalism in post-coup Fiji', in H Akram-Lodhi (ed.), *Confronting Fiji Futures*. Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, 2000.
- Ratuva, S & Lawson, S, 'Concluding note: The election to end all coups', in Steven Ratuva and Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- , 'The people have spoken', in Steven Ratuva & Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- Reddy, M, 'Growth policy lacking', *Fiji Times*, 3 March 2007.
- 'Reflecting on the Fiji experience and USP', *University of the South Pacific Bulletin*, 23: 4, 2 March 1990.
- Ridgway, P, 'Use your democracy', *Sunday Sun*, 26 July 2005.
- Robertson, R, 'Cooking the goose: Fiji's coup culture contextualised', *The Round Table*, 101: 6. December 2012. doi.org/10.1080/00358533.2012.749095.
- , 'Coups & development: The more things change, the more they stay the same', in BV Lal & G Chand (eds), *1987 and All That: Fiji Twenty Years Later*. Lautoka: FIAS, 2008.

- , ‘Elections & nation-building: The long road since 1970’, in J Fraenkel & S Firth (eds), *From Election to Coup in Fiji: The 2006 Campaign and its Aftermath*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007.
- , ‘Fiji: Opportunities & challenges’, in CCF, *Reviewing Fiji’s Electoral System*. Suva: Citizens’ Constitutional Forum, 2006.
- , ‘The parliamentary system’, in C Walsh, *Fiji: An Encyclopaedic Atlas*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2006.
- , ‘Fiji futuring’, paper to the Asia-Pacific Development Review Conference: *Fiji Forward 2000*, 15–16 June 2006, Raffles Tradewinds, Suva, Fiji, in *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 21: 2. 2006.
- , ‘A house built on sand’, *Time* (Sydney), 24 July 2000.
- , ‘“The greenery of well-engineered factory complexes”: Fiji’s garment-led export industrialization strategy’, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 25: 2, 1993.
- Robie, D, ‘“Unfree and unfair?”: Media intimidation in Fiji’s 2014 elections’, in Steven Ratuva & Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- , ‘Coup Coup Land: The press and the putsch in Fiji’, paper presented to the Journalism Education Association Conference, Queensland, 5–8 December 2000.
- , ‘Taukei Plotters Split Forces’, *Dominion*, 7 January 1988.
- Rye, J, ‘Religion, the Christian state and the secular state: Discourses during the 2014 Fiji General Election’, in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), *No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.
- Sakai, S, ‘Native land policy in the 2014 elections’, in Steven Ratuva & Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- , ‘Insecurity of Taukei land as an issue in the 2014 general election: Real threat or political gimmick?’, in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), *No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue, *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.

- Sampford, C, 'Dare to call it treason', *Overhere.com*, May 2001.
- Sayed-Khaiyum, A, 'Political support and the law', *Fiji Times*, 13 January 2005.
- Schumpeter, 'Khaki capitalism', *Economist*, 3 December 2011.
- Singh, S, 'The thin line', *Review*, December 2000.
- Singh, TR, 'Shame on our banana republic', *Fiji Sun*, 18 April 2006.
- Slatter, C, 'Women factory workers in Fiji: The "half a loaf syndrome"', *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 13, 1987.
- Su, B, Jin, L, Underhill, P, Martinson, J, Saha, N, McGarvey, ST, Shriver, MD, Chu, J, Oefner, P, Chakraborty, R & Deka, R, 'Polynesian origins: Insights from the Y chromosome', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*, 97: 15, July 2000. doi.org/10.1073/pnas.97.15.8225.
- Tabaiwalu, P, 'The genesis of the Social Democratic Liberal Party: A struggle against the odds', in Steven Ratuva & Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- Tagicakibau, E, 'The politics of forgiving', *Fiji Times*, 23 October 2004.
- Tarai, J, Kant, R, Finau, G & Jason Titifanue, J, 'Political social media campaigning in Fiji's 2014 Elections', in Vijay Naidu & Sandra Tarte (eds), *No Ordinary Election: The Fiji General Election of 2014*. Special issue. *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 35: 2, 2015.
- Tarte, S, 'What Rabuka's return means for Fijian politics', *eastasiaforum.org*, 5 August 2016.
- , 'Fiji: 1989 in review', *Contemporary Pacific*, Fall 1990.
- Vakaoti, P, 'Fiji elections and the youth vote: Token or active citizenship?', in Steven Ratuva & Stephanie Lawson, *The People Have Spoken: The 2014 Elections in Fiji*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2016.
- Veramu, J, 'Budget and prospects', *Fiji Times*, 7 July 2017.
- Veramu, J, 'Our rising generation', *Fiji Times*, 5 January 2017.

- Walsh, C, 'Fiji's prehistory: Lapita', in C Walsh, *Fiji: An Encyclopaedic Atlas*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2006.
- , 'Fiji's prehistory: Ring-ditch fortifications', in C Walsh, *Fiji: An Encyclopaedic Atlas*. Suva: University of the South Pacific, 2006.
- Williams, G, 'Class relations in a neo-colony: The case of Nigeria', in P Gutkind & P Waterman (eds), *African Social Studies, A Radical Reader*. London: Heinemann, 1977.
- Wilson, C, 'Lies, lies, lies', *Fiji Sun*, 10 November 2006.
- Wolpe, H, 'The theory of internal colonisation: The South African case', in I Oxaal, T Barnett & D Booth (eds), *Beyond the Sociology of Development*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Yellow Bucket, 'Coups, what coups?', *fjivillage*, 8 November 2006.

## Newspapers, journals & websites

abc.net.au

*Age* (theage.com.au)

aljazeera.com

*American Economic Journal*

*Auckland Star*

*Australian* (theaustralian.com.au)

*Australian Financial Review* (afr.com)

bbc.co.uk

*Canberra Times* (canberratimes.com.au)

*Citizens Constitutional Forum* (ccf.org.fj)

*Contemporary Pacific*

*Cros Walsh's Blog – Fiji: The way it was, is and can be* (crosbiew.blogspot.com.au)

*Daily Post* (Fiji)

THE GENERAL'S GOOSE

*Dateline* ([sbs.com.au/news/dateline](http://sbs.com.au/news/dateline))

*Dominion Post* ([stuff.co.nz/dominion-post](http://stuff.co.nz/dominion-post))

*EastAsiaForum* ([eastasiaforum.org](http://eastasiaforum.org))

*Economist* ([economist.com](http://economist.com))

*Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong)

*Fiji Coupfourpointfive* ([coupfourandahalf.com](http://coupfourandahalf.com))

*Fiji Daily Post*

*FijiFirst* ([fijifirst.com](http://fijifirst.com))

*FijiLeaks* ([fjileaks.com](http://fjileaks.com))

*fjilive.com*

*Fiji Sun Online* ([fjिसun.com.fj](http://fjिसun.com.fj))

*Fiji Times* ([fjitime.com](http://fjitime.com))

*fjivillage.com*

*Grubsheet Feejee* ([grubsheet.com.au](http://grubsheet.com.au))

*Guardian* ([theguardian.com/au](http://theguardian.com/au))

*Inside Story* ([insidestory.org.au](http://insidestory.org.au))

*Islands Business* ([islandsbusiness.com](http://islandsbusiness.com))

*Journal of Pacific History*

*Journal of Pacific Studies*

*Lowy Institute* ([lowyinstitute.org](http://lowyinstitute.org))

*Monthly Review Press*

*Mother Jones* ([motherjones.com](http://motherjones.com))

*NarseyOnFiji: Fighting censorship* ([narseyonfiji.wordpress.com](http://narseyonfiji.wordpress.com))

*New Zealand Listener*

*nzherald.co.nz*

overhere.com

*Pacific Economic Bulletin*

*Pacific Islands Monthly*

*Pacific Islands Report*

*Pacific Scoop* (pacific.scoop.co.nz)

*Pacific Viewpoint*

*PACNews* (pina.com.fj)

pcgovt.org.fj

*Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* (USA)

Radio Fiji (fbc.com.fj)

rawfijinews.wordpress.com

*Review, news and business magazine of Fiji* (Suva)

*Review of African Political Economy*

*Sangharsh* (Suva)

*Scoop* (scoop.co.nz)

*Sydney Morning Herald* (smh.com.au)

*The Fijian Government* (fiji.gov.fj)

*The Round Table* (Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs)

*The University of the South Pacific Bulletin*

*Time* magazine

*Truth for Fiji* (truthforfiji.com)

*Wansolwara*

*Weekender* (Suva)

*World Development*

This text is taken from *The General's Goose: Fiji's Tale of Contemporary Misadventure*, by Robbie Robertson, published 2017 by ANU Press,  
The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.