Notes

Foreword


Chapter Two

1. This was the metaphor used by the powerful Fijian traditional leader Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna. See *Fiji: The Three-legged Stool: Selected Writings of Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna*. Edited by Deryck Scarr (Basingstoke, 1984).


10. This is discussed at length in my *Another Way: The politics of constitutional reform in post-coup Fiji* (Canberra, 1998).
I N T E R S E C T I O N S


15. Indo-Fijian members on the committee were Joe Singh, Ben Bhagwan, Fred Achari and Joseph Kanhaiya Lal Maharaj, all Christians, when the overwhelming majority of the Indo-Fijian population is Hindu and Muslim.


17. According to 1996 census figures kindly supplied to me by the Fiji Bureau of Statistics.

18. See, for example Satendra Prasad, Jone Dakuvula and Darryn Snell, Economic Development, Democracy and Ethnic Conflict in the Fiji Islands (London, 2001), p.5. The authors report that indigenous Fijians make up 75 per cent of the police force, 75 per cent of the nurses, 90 per cent of the permanent heads of department and, of course, 99 per cent of the Fiji military forces.


20. Private communication.


22. For an earlier study of this issue from an anthropological perspective, see Rusiate Nayacakalou, Leadership in Fiji (Melbourne, 1975).

23. For an example, see Eddie Dean with Stan Ritova, Rabuka: No Other Way. His Own Story (Melbourne, 1988), and John Sharpham, Rabuka of Fiji. The authorised biography of Major-General Sitiveni Rabuka (Rockhampton, 2000).


26. There is no proper consideration of these concepts in the published literature, but see AC Mayer, Peasants in the Pacific: A study of Fiji Indian Rural Society (Los Angeles, 2nd ed. 1973), KL Gillion, The Fiji Indians: Challenge to European Dominance, 1920-1946 (Canberra, 1977), and my Chalo Jahaji: On a journey through indenture in Fiji (Canberra and Suva, 2000).


29. See, for example, Robert Norton, ‘Chiefs for the Nation: Containing Ethnonationalism and Bridging the Ethnic Divide in Fiji,’ *Pacific Studies* 22:1 (March 1999), 21-50.


31. Among them is Adi Litia Cakobau from the powerful Cakobau family of Bau.

32. Except briefly under the leadership of Dr Ilaitia Tuwere in the mid-1990s.


35. Former Deputy Prime Minister Taufa Vakatale has also spoken of the need ‘to establish good channels of communication between various groups.’ See her address, ‘The Constraints and Challenges to Building Multiculturalism in Fiji,’ in Jill Cottrell (ed.), *Educating for Multiculturalism* (Suva, 2000), 13.


38. See, for example, its publication, Steven Ratuva, *Participation for Peace: A Study of Inter-ethnic and Inter-Religious Perception in Fiji* (Suva, 2002). ECREA has also sponsored important studies of poverty in Fiji.


41. From a Mission Statement obtained from the Department of National Reconciliation and Unity.

42. For instance, the Minister of Women and Social Welfare, Asenate Caucau likened Indo-Fijians to noxious weeds,’ and refused to retract her words.

43. See also Vijay Naidu, ‘Evaluating Our Past and Moulding Our Future,’ in Cottrell (ed.), *Educating for Multiculturalism*, 59-64.

44. Assela Ravuvu, *Development or Dependence: The Pattern of Change in a Fijian Village* (Suva, 1988), 171.
Chapter Three

1. The document was known as the ‘Deed of Sovereignty.
3. These are available at the Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, The Australian National University.

Chapter Four

1. KS Inglis, This is the ABC: The Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932-1983 (Melbourne, 1983), 1
2. EH Carr, What is History? (Hammondsworth, 1964), 35
4. See, for a typical example, David Butler, ‘Instant History,’ in New Zealand Journal of History, 2:2 (1968), 107-14
5. As opposed to, say, Jim Davidson, OHK Spate, Harry Maude, Ron Crocombe, David Stone, who were all expatriate advisors and experts.
8. Ibid., 7
9. Among the influential historians of the past who hold the hope of ultimate history is Hebert Butterfield. See his *History and Human Relations* (London, 1951), 10: 'If we consider the history of historical writing that has been issued, generation after generation, on a given body of events, we shall generally find that in the early stages of this process of reconstruction the narrative which is produced has a primitive and simple shape. As one generation of students succeeds another, however, each developing the historiography of this particular subject, the narrative passes through certain typical stages until it is brought to a high and subtle form of organisation.'

10. Lal, Deryck Scarr and Robbie Robertson.


12. Greg Dening, *The Bounty: An ethnographic history* (Melbourne, 1989), 109. Dening argues: 'History is a way of knowing, an act of consciousness, constantly repeated, never the same, always relative to the language in which it is expressed, always relative to the audience to whom it is given, itself a cultural artefact of an age than the one whose story it tells. History is reductionist insofar as it transforms the totality of the past into words.' See also his 'Reflections on the cultural history of Marshall Sahlins and Valerio Valeri,' in *Journal of Pacific History Bibliography and Comment* (1986), 45.


15. Lasaqa, *The Fijian People*, xii

16. The quotes are from David Thomson, *The Aims of History: Values of the historical attitude* (London, 1969), 27. Without meaning to be unfair to him, I have the sense that Ahmed Ali held back from searching enquiry into Fiji politics in the 1970s because he had been closely allied to the Alliance party under whose banner he would enter national politics later.

17. See his *Tandava* (Melbourne, 1992), and his poems in Arlene Griffin (ed.), *With Heart and Nerve and Sinew: Post-coup writing from Fiji* (Suva, 1997).

18. For more, see my *In the Eye of the Storm: Jai Ram Reddy and the politics of postcolonial Fiji* (Canberra, 2010).


23. Thomson, *The Aims of History*, 28. See also WH Walsh, *Philosophy of History* (New York, 1958), 112: ‘There is no such thing as history free from subjective prejudice,’ and 114: ‘Inside any given set of presuppositions, historical work can be more or less well done. The history served by party propagandists to encourage the faithful and convert the wavering is bad history not because it is biased (all history is that), but because it is biased in the wrong way. It establishes its conclusions at the cost of neglecting those certain fundamental rules which all reputable historians recognize: scrutinize your evidence, accept conclusions only when there is good evidence for them, maintain intellectual integrity in your arguments, and so on. Historians who neglect these rules produce work which is subjective in a bad sense; those who adhere to them are in a position to attain truth and objectivity so far as these things are attainable in history.’

Chapter Five
5. See my *Mr Tulsi’s Store: A Fijian Journey* (Canberra, 2001).
7. See my *In the Eye of the Storm: Jai Ram Reddy and the politics of postcolonial Fiji* (Canberra, 2010).
14. See, for example, *The Quantitative Analysis of Poverty in Fiji* (Suva, 2008).
Chapter Eight


3. Pacific Island Portraits (Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1970). Those ‘portrayed’ were Peter Dillon, the Henrys of Tahiti, King George Tupou 1 of Tonga, Cakobau and Ma’afu, Xavier Montrouzier, John Coleridge Patterson, Kwaisulia of the Solomon Islands, Lauaki Namulau’ulu Mamoe, Baiteke and Binoka of Abemama, Pacific beach communities, the Pacific labour trade and the planter community in Fiji.

4. Sione Tupouniuia was the editor, and Editorial Committee members included Iosa Gavidi, Lionel Brown, John Samy, Finau Tabakaucoro and Gary Finlay besides academics Peter Stone and Brian Lockwood.

5. I published a set of senior prize-winning graduate essays at the University of Hawaii titled Wansalawara: Soundings in Melanesian History (University of Hawaii Center for Pacific Islands Studies, Occasional Paper 31, 1987), and Honours essays done under my supervision at the ANU in my Chalo Jahaji: On a journey through indenture in Fiji (ANU: Division of Pacific and Asian History and Suva: Fiji Museum, 2000).


10. Sister Mary Stella, Raymond Pillay and Asesela Ravuvu, ‘Pacific History and National Integrity,’ in Pacific Perspectives 1:2 (1973), 1-7

11. ‘Pacific History: Past, Present, Future,’ Journal of Pacific History 6 (1971), 24. Maude retired to an academic career after a lifetime as a colonial civil servant. His academic colleague, JW Davidson, was active in advising island people during their transition to independence.

12. For more on this, see Nicholas Thomas, ‘Partial Texts: Representation, colonialism and agency in Pacific history,’ Journal of Pacific History 25 (2), 1990, 139-58.


Chapter Nine

1. For reflections on the Coombs Building itself, see essays in Brij V Lal and Allison Ley (eds), The Coombs: A House of Memories (Canberra, 2006).

2. My thesis was on the origins of Fiji's North Indian indentured migrants titled 'Leaves of the Banyan Tree: Origins and Background of Fiji's North Indian Migrants, 1879-1916,' 2 vols, ANU, 1980. A considerably shortened version was published as Girmityyas: The origins of the Fiji Indians (Canberra, 1983).


10. And the subject of Jim Davidson’s splendid biography, *The Historian WK Hancock: A Three-Cornered Life* (Kensington, NSW, 2010). Doug Munro is writing JW (Jim) Davidson’s life.


12. See more generally his “Making History Now (An Inaugural Lecture) delivered as the Director of the Institute of Historical Research in the University of London in 1996 at http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Whatishistory/cannadine.html.


15. *A Vision for Change: AD Patel and the politics of Fiji* (Canberra, 1997), to be re-issued by ANU E Press in 2011 along with a volume of his speeches and writings.

16. *In the eye of the Storm: Jai Ram Reddy and the politics of postcolonial Fiji* (Canberra, 2010).


**Chapter Ten**


2. 5 August 1980.

3. Colin Clarke, Ceri Peach and Steven Vertovec (eds), *South Asians Overseas Migration and Ethnicity* (Cambridge, 1990). Now the size of the Indian diaspora is estimated at over 20 million.


8. See generally my Chalo Jahaji: On a journey through indenture in Fiji (Canberra, 2000).


12. See Lai for more discussion.

13. Lai, Indentured Labor, 204.


15. ‘East Indian women in the Caribbean: Experience and Voice,’ in Brinsley Samaroo and David Dabydeen (eds.), India in the Caribbean (Warwick, 1987), 232.


22. Samaroo, ‘The India Connection: The Influence of Indian Thought and Ideas on East Indians in the Caribbean,’ in Samaroo and Dabydeen (eds), India in the Caribbean, 56. He quotes Naipaul: ‘India is for me a difficult country. It isn’t my home; and yet I cannot reject it or be indifferent to it; I cannot travel only for the sights. I am at once too close and too far …Any enquiry about India—even an enquiry about the Emergency—has quickly to go beyond the political. It has to be an enquiry about the Indian attitudes; it has to be an enquiry about the civilization itself.’

Chapter Twelve

1. See my Girmityas: The origins of the Fiji Indians (Canberra, 1983) and other works cited elsewhere in this volume.

2. See ‘Hinduism Under Indenture’ in my Chalo Jahaji: on a journey through indenture in Fiji (Canberra and Suva, 2000).
3. For the Caribbean experience generally, see Brinley Samaroo and David Dabydeen (eds), *India in the Caribbean* (Warwick, 1987), and *Across the Dark Waters: Ethnicity and Indian Identity in the Caribbean* (London, 1996).


6. For more on this see my *Mr Tulsi’s Store* (Canberra, 2001).


9. JW Coulter, *Fiji: Little India of the Pacific* (Chicago, 1942), 93


Chapter Thirteen

1. I use Hindi for the sake of brevity, but my usage incorporates Urdu. In that sense, Hindustani is probably a more accurate term for the language I have in mind.


4. I am concerned here with those descended from the indenture experience. In urban areas in post-indenture times, Gujarati words and expressions entered the language as well. To make a *Khichri* (mixed dhall-rice dish, a staple of the Gujarati community) of something was to make a mess of things.


8. Fiji *Samachar*, 27 June 1931 comments on MacMillan’s book: ‘This Handbook has been prepared for Europeans. The compiler himself admits this; but Indian teachers can derive benefit from this work.’ For the language controversy in the 1940s, see my *A Vision for Change: AD Patel and the politics of Fiji* (Canberra: ANU National Centre for Development Studies, 1997), pp.109-110.
9. This is treated in my Chalo Jahaji: On a journey through indenture in Fiji (Suva: Fiji Museum, 2000).


12. See my Mr Tulsi’s Store: A Fijian Journey (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2001) for fuller discussion.

13. MacMillan, a LMS missionary and long-time Inspector of Indian Schools, had served in India before coming to Fiji and joining the government in 1929. The first (quarterly) issue of the School Journal was published in 1931, replacing Raj Dut which published government gazette notices and some children’s reading material.

14. The Pathis were used in Fiji until independence in 1970 when a new curriculum emphasising nation building came into effect.

15. A copy of this text is in my possession.

16. I have discussed this in my ‘Primary Texts,’ in this volume.

17. But things have changed considerably in the last two decades or so as migration and urbanisation have brought the two communities into great contact. Now nearly half of Fiji, both Fijians and Indo-Fijians, live in urban or peri-urban areas.

18. If truth be told, as editor of several journals over the years—The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs, The Journal of Pacific History, and Conversations (a Canberra-based literary journal), I myself make little concession to the linguistic handicaps of the contributors.

19. This is particularly evident in the work of ‘Niu Wave’ writers at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji.

20. I am unsure of the usage in India, though in some parts dada, for instance, can mean grandfather.

21. I should use the past tense here because things are much more mixed in contemporary life. I still don’t call my bhobbies by their name. I don’t know their names! But I now address my younger brothers' spouses by their first names.

Chapter Seventeen

1. Published as Fiji: British Documents on the End of Empire (London: The Stationery Office, 2006), lxxxix+547