

FIJI: PARTY POLITICS IN THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

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Introduction

The Fiji Group consists of more than 300 islands, which were colonised by the British in 1874, a period concurrent with the expansive phase of industrial capitalist development and commercial growth in Europe. Through colonisation, Fiji was absorbed into the capitalist world economy, joining Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. Before colonisation, indigenous Fijians believed that they had lived in Fiji since ‘time immemorial’, translated in Fijian as *‘e na dua na gauna makawa sara’*. The latest archaeological evidence of human settlement in Fiji, estimated to be 3,000 years old, was discovered recently on the island of Moturiki in the Lomaiviti Group.¹

Indigenous Fijian sociopolitical and economic organisation in the pre-European era was organised along relationships that emanated from sociopolitical structures such as the *‘itokatoka’* (extended family), *‘mataqali’* (sub-clans), *‘yavusa’* (clans), *‘vanua’* and *‘matanitu’* which were both political constructs. Outside Fiji, regular contacts were maintained with nearby neighbours, Tonga to the east and Samoa to the north-east. In this context, and also because of its geographical location, Fiji has always been classified by anthropologists and other scholars as comprising Polynesian and Melanesian characteristics in terms of the physical features of the people as well as culture.

After colonisation on October 10, 1874, the Colonial Administration established a complex system of indirect rule through the Native (later Fijian) Administration. Similar to the model of a ‘state within a state’, the institution was to govern Fijians through their chiefs.² The institution, although restructured over the years, has been maintained ever since. The arrival of Indian indentured labourers in 1879 and other later immigrants did not affect the operation of the system of indirect rule. While later immigrants were governed directly by the Colonial State, Fijians were administered through the Native Administration.

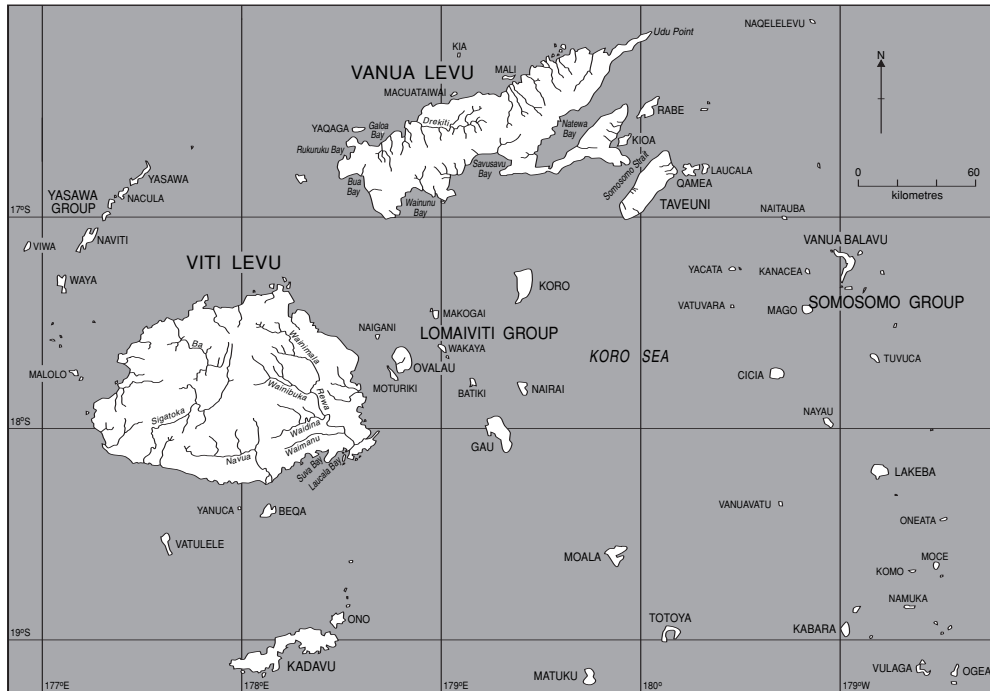


Figure 9.1: Fijian Islands

Party politics was introduced to Fiji in the 1960s, before political independence in 1970. It continued the Colonial Government's system of representation through the Executive and Legislative Councils. The membership system in the Legislative Council was organised along ethnic lines according to the major ethnic groups in Fiji, namely Fijians, Indo-Fijians and Europeans. This system of representation reflected colonial compartmentalisation of races in Fiji. It was an administrative leadership strategy of divide and rule, which was characteristic of leadership in the colonies of the British Empire. The specifics of such political leadership depended on the nature of the society in which colonisation was imposed.

I have identified three major periods of active party formation in Fiji between 1970 and 2005. These are 1970 to 1987; 1990 to 2000; and 2001 and beyond. The period between 1987 and 1990 saw military rule in Fiji after the execution of two military coup d'états by Major General Sitiveni Rabuka. These periods have also seen three different constitutions: the 1970 Independence Constitution, the 1990 (post-1987 coups) Constitution, and the 1997 Constitution. Fiji's Independence Constitution introduced a bicameral system of government based on the Westminster model, consisting of an Upper and Lower House, or Senate and House of Representatives respectively. The Upper House consisted of 22 nominated members, and the Lower House 52 elected members.³ The 1990 Constitution saw the Westminster bicameral system of government continue, however, the allocation of seats in the Upper and Lower Houses changed to 34 and 70 members respectively.⁴ This altered again after the 1997 Constitution, whereby the Senate had 32 nominated members, and the House of Representatives 71 elected members.⁵

Two different electoral systems were adopted under the three constitutions in Fiji. The 'first-past-the-post' system was used from the first elections in 1963 until the elections of 1994 and the 'alternative-vote system', which was adopted from the Australian electoral system for use in 1999, remains in place to this day. Since the beginning of party politics in the 1960s, Fiji has had an ethnic voting system whereby citizens vote under the three major ethnic categories, namely Fijian,⁶ Indo-Fijian⁷ and general voters.⁸ The constitutionalisation of this ethnic voting system in 1970 re-enforced ethnic politics in Fiji.

Considering Fiji's colonial background, it was inevitable that the ethnic nature of political parties in Fiji emerged and prospered. In this sense, Fiji's pioneering political parties in the post-independent period reflected ethnic cleavages and formed a 'natural' extension of the different political demands during the period of colonisation, as Ali makes clear:

As rulers, British officials had to satisfy simultaneously three divergent requests: to safeguard Fijian paramountcy, to preserve the privileges of the European minority resentful of any attempt to erode their special position, and to grant Indians political rights which did not emphasize inequality and discrimination against them.⁹

In 1929, after the granting of franchise to Indians along racial lines, Vishnu Deo, the Indian Member for the Southern Constituency, made further demands. He introduced a motion into the Legislative Council that common franchise be granted to Indians similar to that granted to other British subjects in the colony, as the communal franchise was regarded by Indians as a direct contradiction of the Colonial Government's undertaking that Indians would be treated equally with other races in Fiji.¹⁰

Fijians by this time had not been granted the franchise. Their representatives to the Legislative Council were nominated by the Governor through the Council of Chiefs. Demands by Vishnu Deo for common franchise for Indians were interpreted by European and Fijian members of the Legislative Council as an infringement of the supremacy of Fijian rights in the Deed of Cession Charter. Furthermore, for Fijians, like Europeans, a common roll implied Indian dominance so the proposal was rejected on these grounds. Specifically, the Indian political demand for a common franchise threatened the European politico-economic dominance in Fiji.¹¹

By the 1950s, when the demand for a common roll had still not been granted, Indo-Fijian leaders nevertheless pressed for a political system that enabled greater participation in decision-making by local people. Self-government rather than government by colonial bureaucracy would have enabled greater participation and integration of Indo-Fijians, they argued. This would have facilitated their acquisition of an indispensable position in the colony.¹²

Fijian demands were influenced by the changes that were introduced mostly through colonisation. According to Ali:

The realization that a community descended from immigrant labourers was likely to outnumber them, perhaps permanently in their native land aroused deep emotions of future uncertainty.¹³

By 1960, 10 years before political independence, Fiji had emerged as a colony that was beset by compartmentalised interests. No common ground had been forged by the three major races as a basis for establishing the foundation of a nation-state. Different demands emerged and shaped the nature of Fiji's political parties in the period immediately before and after political independence.

Party politics in Fiji: a brief history

The practice of party politics among the different ethnic groups in Fiji was clearly influenced by the historical experiences of each group. For indigenous Fijians, the first and perhaps foremost influence was their culture. Specifically, traditional relations within sociopolitical constructs such as the *'itokatoka'*, *'mataqali'*, *'yavusa'*, *'vanua'* and *'matanitu'*¹⁴ influenced the structure and nature of Fijian political parties. In modern Fiji, relations within these constructs are utilised to either solicit support or extend competition, rivalry and dissent. Internal competition for power among the different *vanua* and *matanitu* throughout Fiji explains regional cleavages in the formation of Fijian political parties. In the first general elections in 1963, for instance, the two regions in Fiji in which political parties were formed were eastern and western Viti Levu. In eastern Viti Levu, the Fijian Association was dominated by eastern Fijian chiefs and elites, and it would go on to become the Fijian arm of the Alliance Party (AP) when it formed in 1966, the other two arms being the Indian Alliance and the General Electors. The Fijian Association was formed in 1955 by high chiefs in the Fijian Affairs Board, the ruling body of the Fijian Administration. To counter the formation of this chiefly organisation in eastern Fiji, in western Viti Levu, two different parties came to prominence, namely the Western Democratic Party (WDP) and the Fijian National Party (FNP), both of which were formed by key Fijian political figures, Apisai Tora and Isikeli Nadalo respectively.

Founder of the WDP, Apisai Tora, hails from the village of Natalau in the province of Ba in western Viti Levu. His political career in Fiji has spanned a period of more than four decades and he continues to serve as a Fijian Senator to this day. Along with the WDP, he has been directly involved in the formation of three other Fijian political parties in western Fiji, an accomplishment unmatched in the history of party politics in Fiji.

Similarly, the founder of the FNP, the late Isikeli Nadalo, came from the western Viti Levu province of Nadroga/Navosa and was involved in Fiji's party politics for more than 20 years. Nadalo and Tora joined the Indian-dominated National Federation Party (NFP) for a long period. Tora, however, joined the eastern Fijian-dominated AP in 1981 and remained in it until after the general elections of April 1987, when the AP lost to the Fiji Labour Party (FLP)/NFP Coalition.

Such regional cleavage in the formation of Fijian political parties demonstrates the complexity of power relations within Fijian society, as there was no overall Fijian chief before colonisation by the British.

Even though Fijians have formed different political parties over the years, a second major factor and common, uniting thread in this process has been the shared experience of Fijians through colonisation, i.e., the threat of being politically marginalised by new immigrants in their native land. Major Fijian political parties that have formed to

promote and defend the supremacy of Fijian rights in Fiji include the Fiji Independent Party (FIP), the Fijian Nationalist Party (FNP), the Soqosoqo ni Vakavulewa ni Taukei (SVT) Party and the Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua (SDL) Party.

FIP was formed in 1971 and contested only the first post-independence general election of 1972. Its first and only President was Viliame Savu. Most of its members were active in the formation of the Fijian Chamber of Commerce before political independence, and many of them went on to join Sakeasi Butadroka's¹⁵ FNP, which was formed in 1974 and shared much of FIP's political ideology, namely the promotion of indigenous Fijian rights over other ethnic groups in Fiji.¹⁶

The SVT Party was formed with the sanction of the 'Bose Levu Vakaturaga' or Council of Chiefs after the 1987 military coups and the promulgation of the 1990 Constitution. Its aim was to replace the Fijian Association arm of the AP as the mainstream Fijian political party. The SDL Party was formed in 2001 as a consequence of George Speight's coup in 2000. Like AP and the SVT Party, it emerged as an eastern Fijian mainstream political party, aiming, perhaps, to capture the political power base of both of its predecessors. It promotes the rights of indigenous Fijians and Rotumans through its policies on affirmative action.

In essence, then, since the two military coups of 1987 and the re-enforcement of ethnic politics through the 1990 Constitution, newly formed Fijian political parties have tended towards an emphasis on ethnicity as the most important criterion in the formation of Fijian political parties. A promise to serve Fijian interests has been the most common platform among Fijian political parties. While some parties, such as AP, have attempted to present a broad platform for all Fijians, others, because of their regional or ideological confinement, inevitably narrow their platform to their 'home' regions or to certain groups of Fijians. Examples of regionally based political parties are the Party of National Unity (PANU), the Bai Kei Viti (BKV) in western Viti Levu and the Matanitu Vanua (MV) in Vanua Levu and northern Tailevu. Ideologically confined parties include the Veitokani ni Lewenivanua Vakarisito (VLV) or Christian Democrats¹⁷ and the Nationalist Vanua Tako-Lavo Party (NVTLP).

Among Indo-Fijians, the major influence in the formation of political parties reflected the nature of the economic exploitation they encountered during the colonial era. On the one hand, were the demands of those who came to Fiji as indentured labourers for the Australian-owned Colonial Sugar Refining (CSR) Company. On the other, were the demands of those who had immigrated to Fiji as free settlers and established their own businesses. Political demands initially reflected the different classes of Indian immigrants. The political issues that arose from the core of the Indian middle class expressed a demand for equality with European settlers in terms of the adoption of a common roll electoral system. Further demands emerged in the mid-1930s on issues relating to farmers' leases after the abolition of the indenture system. In response to these political demands, the Colonial Government attempted to encourage moderate leadership among militant Indo-Fijians.¹⁸

Demands for a common roll were further kept at bay by the Colonial Administration with consistent evocation of the Deed of Cession Charter, which stated that its foremost

task was to safeguard the paramountcy of Fijian interests. Indians were seen by Europeans and Fijians as a threat to their interests. For Europeans, political equality implied a challenge to their political and economic monopoly in Fiji. For Fijians, it was a direct challenge to their sociopolitical and economic rights as the indigenous people of Fiji.¹⁹ If European colonisation was bad enough, being dominated by Indians in their native land after colonisation was seen as even worse. The fear resulting from Indo-Fijian political demands thus shaped the nature of party politics in Fiji.

Indo-Fijian political parties on the whole evolved through the contest for leadership between those who lived in the cane-growing areas, especially in western Viti Levu, and the urban middle class who lived mostly in Suva, in south-eastern Viti Levu. The more militant leaders of the farmers' unions in western Viti Levu went on to form the NFP in 1966 and the moderates in Suva formed the Indo-Fijian arm of Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's AP in 1966.²⁰

Party politics between 1970 and 1987

The AP formed in 1966²¹ and was multiracial, including members from all three major ethnic groups — the Fijian Association, the Indian Alliance and the General Electors.²² Each party member joined the AP through one of the ethnic components of the party. In this context, although AP was multiracial, it was dictated by the requirements of ethnicity. Like a government within a government, each of the three arms of the party was a separate entity within a whole. In reality, the party's constitution and its manifestos were interpreted in three different ways by AP members. An understanding of the party and what it meant to members was viewed through an ethnic lens.

Members of the Fijian Association arm viewed the AP from the perspective of the eastern Fijian sociopolitical hierarchy since the party was founded by eastern Fijian high chiefs in the Fijian Administration, such as Ratu Sir Edward Cakobau and Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau. The political power base of the Fijian Association was derived from grassroots village Fijians in the 14 provinces. This support was gained mainly out of respect for chiefs in party politics. An understanding of the party and its complexities was derived through its elite leadership. Leadership within the Fijian Association arm of the AP followed traditional hierarchy and protocol.²³ In this context, although the AP was multiracial, its Fijian Association members regarded the party as the only party that safeguarded the paramountcy of Fijian interests and should promote such interests first and foremost. As such, being founded on a basis of unity of race and class, the AP was a fragile political organisation. Durutalo makes the point that:

The composition of the party was politically volatile because ethnic Fijian grass root [sic] unity was used to support class interests.²⁴

This further demonstrated that the multiracial union within the AP was inevitably an 'unbalanced and an unequal one'. During the 1982 voter registration, out of a total of 14,304 registered AP voters, 10,503 (73 per cent) were Fijians, 2,104 (14.71 per cent) were Indo-Fijians and 1,697 (11.86 per cent) were general electors.²⁵ These figures demonstrate the dominance of the Fijian Association arm in the 'multiracial' AP.

Likewise, the other political parties that were formed by other ethnic groups were dominated by those ethnic groups. The NFP, for instance, was almost a wholly Indo-Fijian party, as seen in the results of voter registration before the 1982 general elections. Out of a total of 9,799 registered voters, the NFP registered 9,406 Indo-Fijian (96 per cent), 356 Fijians (3.6 per cent), and 37 General Electors (0.36 per cent).²⁶

Unity among members of the Fijian Association arm of the AP was maintained through patron-clientelism whereby the patrons or the political leaders maintained the allegiance of their clients (voters) in a number of ways. Perhaps, first and foremost, was the traditional allegiance of the clients to the patrons and vice versa. Most of the political leaders in the Fijian Association were eastern Fijian chiefs so their traditional status was used in a modern context to demarcate power bases.²⁷ Before the beginning of party politics, Fijians had never participated in modern elections in which they had to vote for their leaders as individuals. Fijian membership of the Legislative Council until 1963 was by way of the Governor's nomination through the Council of Chiefs.

The first general election after independence was in 1972. By this time, it was clear that two major political parties dominated Fiji's party politics. These were the AP and the NFP. The general electors, who were the 'non-Fijians' and 'non-Indo-Fijians', in general had always voted with the AP.

Under the 1970 Constitution, there were 52 seats in Fiji's House of Representatives for which voting was conducted according to a 'first-past-the-post' system. Fiji was demarcated into three different electoral boundaries to cater for the three ethnic voting categories of Fijians, Indo-Fijians and the general electors, which were further divided into communal and national seats. The results of the 1972 general election, as shown in the table below, reflect the polarity of Fiji's party politics and the general tendency of each ethnic category to vote for its own party — Fijians for the AP and Indo-Fijians for the NFP. General electors tended to vote with the AP throughout its 17 years of existence between 1970 and 1987.

Table 9.1: Results of the 1972 General Elections.

Seats	Alliance Party	National Federation Party
Fijian communal	12	0
Indo-Fijian communal	0	12
General communal	3	0
Fijian national	7	3
Indo-Fijian national	7	3
General national	4	1
Total seats	33	19

(Source: Howard, M. C. 1991. p. 82.)

The dissenting tradition in Fijian party politics (1970–87)

Between the two major ethnic groups, Fijians and Indo-Fijians, the latter tended to subscribe to the NFP, at least before the formation of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP) in

1985. Fijians, on the other hand, have always formed alternative political parties since party politics began in the 1960s.

Apart from the two major political parties — the AP and the NFP — a minor Fijian political party that also contested the elections in 1972 was Viliame Savu's Fiji Independent Party (FIP). The FIP was formed by a group of Fijians who were dissatisfied with the Fijian Association and also with the terms of Fiji's Independence Constitution. In my interview with Savu in 2002, he indicated that the chiefs who had negotiated Fiji's Independence Constitution had not done enough to secure a special place for indigenous Fijians; in particular, they did not do enough to help Fijians in setting up businesses. Their dissent was finally expressed in the formation of an alternative Fijian political party.²⁸ Fijian political parties in this perspective became an avenue for expressing dissent within Fijian society. This opportunity was not open during the period of colonisation when all citizens were united under the Colonial State and there were limited avenues for redressing problems.²⁹

There were other Fijians who joined non-Fijian political parties such as the NFP. These included Apisai Tora and Isikeli Nadalo of western Viti Levu, Ratu Julian Toganivalu, a chief of Bau, and Ratu Mosese Tuisawau, a high chief of Rewa. Tora and Nadalo formed their political parties, the Western Democratic Party and the Fijian National Party respectively, in the 1960s. They joined the NFP in 1972. In 1975, Sakeasi Butadroka of Rewa joined the ranks of dissenting Fijians when he formed the FNP. As discussed earlier, supporters of FIP supported Butadroka's FNP after its formation. Butadroka extended the FIP's 'Fijian marginalisation' claim by accusing the AP Government of not doing enough to help indigenous Fijians. He blamed Fijian economic marginalisation on the prosperity of non-Fijians. Butadroka's solution for this problem was the repatriation of Indo-Fijians to India. His racial outburst in Parliament cost him his AP parliamentary seat when he was dismissed by former AP Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara.

Not all dissenting Fijians subscribed to Butadroka's solution to Fijian economic marginalisation. Each dissenting group from different regions of Fiji continued to form their own parties or joined other political parties such as the NFP. Ratu Soso Katonivere, a high chief from the Pprovince of Macuata in Vanua Levu, joined other dissenting Fijians in the NFP. During the first elections of April 1977, Ratu Osea Gavidu of Nadroga in western Viti Levu stood as an independent candidate at the request of the Nadroga/Navosa chiefs and people. He won a seat in Parliament. Gavidu championed the plight of the pine landowners in his province who were marginalised by the AP Government's policy on the development of the pine industry.³⁰

Dissent among indigenous Fijians caused the first defeat of the AP at the polls in April 1977. Butadroka's FNP managed to gain 25 per cent of indigenous Fijian votes. The FNP undercut the AP political power base, causing a victory for the rival NFP. Other Fijians who stood as independents or joined other political parties such as the NFP also won seats in Parliament. However, a leadership rift within the NFP after the April 1977 general elections delayed their choice of a Prime Minister. This resulted in the nomination of former AP Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, by the Governor-

General, Ratu Sir George Cakobau, to lead a care taker government until elections were held again in September 1977, which the AP won.³¹

The AP's return to power created more challenges. By 1981, a new Fijian political party, based in western Viti Levu, Ratu Osea Gavidi's 'Western United Front' (WUF), was formed. With the backing of western pine landowners, Gavidi won his seat in 1977 as an independent candidate. The pine landowners' longstanding grievance against the AP finally culminated in another Fijian political party. Lal explains that:

Western Fijians have long complained of regional discrimination and step-brotherly treatment. In the 1960s and early 1970s, several attempts were made to re-assert a distinct western identity, but the separatist tendencies were contained through traditional reconciliation ceremonies. The WUF is the latest and probably the most ambitious attempt to articulate western grievances in some coherent political fashion.³²

During the 1982 general elections, the AP managed to win 28 of the 52 seats in Parliament, with the WUF winning two and the NFP 22.³³ Opposition to AP rule continued and, in 1985, the formation of the Fiji Labour Party (FLP) posed the ultimate challenge to the long reign of AP.

The Fiji Labour Party and the 1987 military coups

The most formidable opposition to the AP between 1970 and 1987 occurred with the formation of the FLP in 1985. While Fiji's political parties have always tended to be ethnic in orientation, the FLP was the first attempt to form a large political party through the trade unions. As I made clear in 2000,³⁴

The formation of the party posed a long term challenge to ethnic politics in Fiji, especially in an era of increasing globalisation. The specific impetus behind the formation of the party lay in the IMF-required austerity measures in 1984-85 which recommended deregulation of the labour market, reduction in the size of government, a freeze on the expansion of the civil service posts, a wage freeze, privatization of parastatals, and removal of price controls and subsidies.

The door for political competition was opened wide after the formation of the FLP. The party was not only well organised and supported locally by workers across the ethnic divide, it had its international affiliations through global labour and trade union organisations. The FLP's multi-ethnic structure threatened a number of interests in Fiji, not least the AP. While the AP was viewed broadly as an elite multiracial party, the FLP did not have its ethnic compartmentalisation and people could become direct members. The leadership of the FLP by Dr Timoci Bavadra, an indigenous western Fijian, posed a direct threat to eastern Fijian chiefly elites who had assumed the leadership role in Fiji since independence in 1970. The party also challenged class interests within Fiji's political economy.³⁵ FLP's coalition with the NFP finally sealed the fate of the AP in the general elections of 1987, ending its 17-year rule. Exactly one month after Dr Bavadra's FLP/NFP Coalition Government formed, however, the first 1987 military coup d'état

was executed by Major General Sitiveni Rabuka. The coup overthrew Fiji's 1970 Constitution together with its elected government.

Party politics under the 1990 Constitution (1990–2000)

Between the two coups of 1987 and 1990, Fiji was ruled by an interim military government under the leadership of former AP Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. It was during this period that the Fijian establishment through the Council of Chiefs attempted to introduce a number of things. First was the promulgation of a new constitution for Fiji in 1990. The Constitution and its electoral provisions were regarded as racist by non-Fijians and also some Fijians. Second, in 1991, a new Fijian political party was launched to replace the Alliance Party. The 'Soqosoqo ni Vakavulewa ni Taukei' (SVT) Party was formed with the blessing of the Council of Chiefs. Its new leader was coup chief, Major General Sitiveni Rabuka. The Fijian establishment generally assumed that all indigenous Fijians would rally behind the new constitution and the SVT Party. This did not happen, however, as indigenous Fijians started forming alternative political parties even before the launching of the SVT Party. Apisai Tora, for example, formed the All National Congress (ANC) with other former AP members in the west in his home village in Natalau, Sabeto, in 1991.

Since the electoral provisions were drastically altered in the 1990 Constitution, allowing for wider communal voting, it was inevitable that the SVT Party would win. Thirty-two out of the 37 Fijian seats were derived from the 14 provinces and only five seats were allocated to the urban dwellers.³⁶ The SVT Party formed the first government under the 1990 Constitution.

The FLP and the NFP contested the 1992 general elections separately. On the whole, Fijian support for the FLP declined after the 1987 coup. Such political crises tend to polarise people's choices into ethnic categories.

The failure of the 1993 Budget led to another general election in 1994. Conflicts leading to the failure of the SVT Government's Budget emerged from within the ranks of the SVT Party itself. Josevata Kamikamica led a breakaway group from the SVT Party and formed a new Fijian political party called the Fijian Association Party (FAP). This party was one of the six Fijian political parties that took part in the 1994 general elections. Another group of Fijians stood as independents and another as candidates of the FLP. The table below shows the percentage of votes polled by each of the eight political parties in the Fijian provincial and urban constituencies during the 1994 general elections.

Seven political parties competed in the 1994 elections: the 'Soqosoqo ni Vakavulewa ni Taukei' (SVT); the Fijian Association Party (FAP); the Fijian Nationalist Party (FNP); the All National Congress (ANC); the Fiji Labour Party (FLP); the 'Soqosoqo ni Taukei ni Vanua' (STV); the National Democratic Party (NDP); along with independent candidates (IND). The STV was another regional-based party, formed by landowners in the Province of Nadroga/Navosa who were dissatisfied with the SVT as a mainstream Fijian political party. The table generally indicates that while the SVT Party emerged to replace the AP as a mainstream Fijian political party, it did not, however,

Table 9.2: Votes Polled by Fijian Political Parties in the 1994 General Elections.

Fijian Provincial Constituencies	Valid votes	SVT %	FAP %	FNP %	ANC %	FLP %	STV %	NDP %	IND %
Ba	11,769	55.8	2.8	1.1	40.3	-	-	-	-
Bua	4,428	88.2	2.8	1.2	-	-	-	-	7.8
Cakaudrove	10,550	93.3	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kadavu	3,855	96.9	2.2	0.9	-	-	-	-	-
Lau	4,957	41.9	57.8	0.4	-	-	-	-	-
Lomaiviti	4,815	84.6	2.8	4.1	-	-	-	-	8.5
Macuata	5,283	91.2	6.2	2.5	-	-	-	-	-
Nadroga/Navosa	8,719	48.5	-	-	13.9	-	37.5	-	-
Naitasiri	6,866	40.0	52.8	7.2	-	-	-	-	-
Namosi	1,650	80.2	-	17.4	-	-	-	-	2.3
Ra	5,392	24.9	2.6	18.2	-	-	2.4	-	51.9
Serua	2,250	58.3	-	25.7	10.7	-	-	0.97	4.3
Tailevu	9,879	48.1	29.1	18.9	0.8	-	-	-	3.1
Fijian Urban Constituencies									
Suva city	8,085	72.1	21.6	3.9	2.4	-	-	-	-
Serua/Rewa west	3,441	68.0	23.9	4.0	2.6	-	-	-	1.4
Tailevu/Naitasiri	9,977	69.9	25.1	-	4.9	-	-	-	-
Western urban	6,008	61.7	12.0	5.8	8.6	5.1	-	-	6.9
Total	27,511	68.5	21.1	2.9	4.7	1.1	-	-	1.7
Grand Total	111,540	63.4	15.3	6.3	8.0	0.2	2.8	0.02	4.0

(Source: Electoral Commission Report for January 1, 1994–December 31, 1996.)

deter the formation of alternative Fijian political parties in different regions. The move by the Council of Chiefs and the Fijian establishment to unite Fijians under one political party did not prevent the formation of specific regional parties such as the ANC, STV and NDP.

Regionalism in Fijian party politics was again demonstrated clearly in the results of the 1999 general elections as shown in the next table. By 1999, the FNP had changed its name to the Nationalist Vanua Tako-Lavo Party (NVTLP), and three new political parties were formed before the 1999 elections. These were the 'Veitokani ni Lewenivanua Vakarisito' (VLV), the Coalition of Independent Nationals (COIN) and the Party of National Unity (PANU). The VLV was formed by a faction of the Methodist Church of Fiji and COIN was formed by a group in the Province of Bua on Fiji's second-largest island of Vanua Levu. PANU was formed by the Ba Provincial Council in western Viti Levu and continued the tradition of party formation in the western region of Fiji.

Table 9.3: Votes Polled by Fijian Political parties in the 1999 General Elections.

Fijian Provincial Constituencies	Valid votes	SVT %	FAP %	NVTLP %	VLV %	PANU %	FLP %	COIN %	IND %
Bua	5,330	20.09	-	4.38	54.37	-	-	20.77	-
Kadavu	4,987	83.40	9.81	-	6.80	-	-	-	-
Lau	5,927	47.51	-	-	50.82	-	-	-	-
Lomaiviti	6,361	22.0	-	-	-	-	23.4	-	54.6
Macuata	7,926	46.29	-	-	53.71	-	-	-	-
Nadroga/Navosa	13,071	41.05	50.65	-	-	-	-	-	-
Naitasiri	8,992	-	71.21	28.79	-	-	-	-	-
Namosi	2,315	43.41	56.54	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ra	7,811	-	-	47.02	-	52.98	-	-	-
Rewa	5,193	-	59.70	40.30	-	-	-	-	-
Serua	3,345	37.28	-	62.72	-	-	-	-	-
Ba East	8,398	34.9	-	5.66	6.88	52.55	-	-	-
Ba West	10,052	34.47	-	-	-	63.53	-	-	-
Tailevu North	7,449	53.63	46.36	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tailevu South	7,110	40.38	53.59	6.03	-	-	-	-	-
Cakaudrove East	6,582	78.01	-	-	16.70	-	-	-	-
Cakaudrove West	7,920	68.94	6.94	-	24.1	-	-	-	-
No. of seats won		4	5	1	3	3	-	-	1
Fijian Urban Constituencies									
North East	10,182	68.94	6.94	-	24.1	-	-	-	-
North West	12,342	32.77	-	-	-	67.23	-	-	-
South West	9,475	43.24	56.76	-	-	-	-	-	-
Suva city	9,191	42.22	57.78	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tamavua/Laucala	10,014	45.19	54.81	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nasinu	9,096	49.57	50.42	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of seats won		1	4	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total No. of seats won		5	9	1	3	4	-	-	1

(Source: *Fiji Times*, May 20, 1999)

The table shows that, by 1999, Fijians no longer favoured the Council of Chiefs and Fijian establishment party, the SVT. The main reason for the drastic decline in support for the party was Prime Minister Rabuka's decision to review the 1990 Constitution, which was formed as result of his two military coups in 1987. Rabuka's 'political eclipse' did not augur well with the majority of indigenous Fijians who had enabled the success of his coups through their support.³⁷ The SVT's rival, FAP, won more Fijian seats in the 1999 elections, which were won by the FLP, which then formed a coalition with FAP, PANU and VLV.

The formation of a coalition to form a multi-party Cabinet is a provision in the 1997 Constitution. Specifically, the 1997 Constitution states that the Prime Minister must form a multi-party Cabinet according to the relevant requirements of the Constitution, which includes an obligation to the fair representation of all parties with members in the House of Representatives. Such political parties are to be included in Cabinet according to the proportion of their numbers in the House. If a party with more than 10 per cent membership in the House of Representatives declines the offer from the Prime Minister to join the Cabinet, then the seats allocated to it can be offered to another party in proportion to its respective entitlement. In the case where all other parties have declined the invitation to the coalition, the Prime Minister can look to his own party or at a coalition of parties to fill the places in Cabinet. In selecting members from other political parties for Cabinet positions under the 1997 Constitution, the Prime Minister is required to consult with the leaders of the respective parties before making appointments.³⁸ In the case of the People's Coalition Government, the invitation that was extended to the SVT after the 1999 general elections was rejected by the FLP because of the conditions the SVT wanted the FLP to fulfil.

On May 19, 2000, exactly a year into the rule of the FLP People's Coalition Government, Fiji underwent more political turmoil when George Speight attempted another coup. Although the coup was unsuccessful, the FLP People's Coalition Government was not returned to power.³⁹ An interim government under the leadership of Laisenia Qarase took over the reigns until fresh elections were held in April 2001.

Party Politics: 2001 and beyond

Before the 2001 elections, yet again a number of new Fijian political parties were formed. These included Laisenia Qarase's 'Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua' (SDL) and the Matanitu Vanua (MV) Party. On the main island of Viti Levu, MV was formed by supporters of the George Speight destabilisers of May 2000. In Vanua Levu, where the idea of a new Fijian political party was first mooted, MV was formed to replace Rabuka's Council of Chiefs-sponsored SVT Party. The idea of a Matanitu Vanua party emerged out of the Fijian political thought of founding a government out of the unity and consensus of the *vanua* as a geopolitical entity. This party emerged initially from the grassroots in the various *vanua* within the provinces of Cakaudrove, Bua and Macuata.⁴⁰

During the 2001 general elections, the MV Party won all four Fijian communal seats in the provinces of Cakaudrove, Bua and Macuata. The fifth Parliamentary seat for the MV was won in George Speight's stronghold of Tailevu North Fijian provincial constituency on the island of Viti Levu. The spontaneous formation and success of the MV has continued a long trend of dissent and alternative party formation within Fijian society since the 1960s. It has partially demonstrated the dynamic nature of Fijian party politics as it is interwoven with traditional politics. Fijian sociopolitical constructs such as *vanua* and *matanitu* are entrenched permanently as bases of unity under political parties. This feature of Fijian party politics evolves from the diverse and complex nature of traditional Fijian society itself. It also explains the constant rise and demise of Fijian political

parties and the difficult attempt to unite all Fijians under one party. The table below shows the number of Fijian political parties that contested the 2001 elections and the percentage of votes polled by the parties.

Table 9.4: Percentage of Votes Polled by Fijian Political Parties in the 2001 General Elections.

Fijian															
Provincial	Valid	BKV	FAP	NVTLP	VLV	PANU	FLP	MV	DN T	NFP	NLUP	POTT	SDL	SVT	IND
Constituencies	votes	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Bua	5,264							61.08					38.92		
Kadavu	4,326												55.39	44.61	
Lau	5,705							1.33					91.48	4.31	2.87
Lomaiviti	6,247										11.11		72.31	13.06	3.52
Macuata	6,640							61.34					38.66		
Nadroga/															
Navosa	11,719	9.13	20.21				12.94	4.51					53.22		
Naitasiri	8,603							24.39					75.61		
Namosi	2,224			1.12			1.35	12.05					85.48		
Ra	7,613	16.59						32.17					51.23		
Rewa	5,133			2.1				33.96					51.35	10.44	2.14
Serua	3,054		6.88	7.76				13.98					62.61	8.78	
Ba East	7,846					41.35							58.65		
Ba West	9,155	39.88											60.12		
Tailevu North	6,791							51.38			5.27		36		7.35
Tailevu South	7,212		10.34					32.63					50.21		6.82
Cakaudrove East	5,844							56.09					14.1	29.81	
Cakaudrove West	7,066							67.79							32.21
No. of seats won								5					12		
Fijian Urban															
Constituencies															
North-East	9,854							21.53			10.23		53.76	14.47	
North-West	10,730												68.4	31.6	
South-West	9,125		2.36	1.39				16.52	1.22		7.47		61.82	9.23	
Suva city	8,742			1.44				10.42	0.88		12.67		55.75	18.14	0.69
Tamavua/															
Laucala	9,495			2.94	2.36		3.77	12.56			10.42		61.16	6.79	
Nasinu	8,329		1.39		1.36			14.85			7.26	2.64	65.73	5.11	1.66
No. of seats won													6		

(Source: UNDP Project Fiji Elections 2001 web site: <http://www.undp.org.fj/elections/> Accessed February 14, 2002.)

During the 2001 elections, the Council of Chiefs sponsored-SVT Party was totally defeated. The demise of its charismatic leader, former Prime Minister Sitiveni, Rabuka spelled the end of the party. In its place emerged the SDL as the new mainstream Fijian political party. The rise and demise of Fijian political parties in general demonstrates internal rivalries, dissent and shifting alliances, common characteristics of traditional Fijian politics.

The ruling SDL and MV Coalition still has to contend with rival Fijian political parties in the elections of 2006. These will include those that competed in the 2001 general elections and those that were formed after the last elections in preparation for the 2006 elections. Filipe Bole's Fiji Democratic Party (FDP) was formed in 2002⁴¹ and Ratu Epeli Ganilau's National Alliance Party was registered on January 18, 2005.⁴² These two new parties have merged as one under the banner of the National Alliance, aiming to strengthen multiracialism from a Fijian perspective. Their attempt to strengthen multiracialism through party politics is similar to the attempt by political parties such as Dr Timoci Bavadra's FLP, which was formed in 1985. While the FLP had Fiji's trade unions as its power base, the National Alliance Party still has to identify and secure its power base.

With the formation of yet new political parties in the period after the 2001 elections, the trend indicates that party formation will be a long-term trend within Fijian society. For Indo-Fijians and general voters, under the United People's Party (UPP), stability in terms of supporting one or two political parties has been a long-term trend since party politics started. This trend is likely to continue.

The future of Fiji's party politics

After four decades of party politics in Fiji, a number of outstanding features have emerged. Firstly, political parties have reflected the nature of pre-colonial and colonial societies in Fiji. For indigenous Fijians, modern political parties have been more than organisations for political representation in government; they have also been a means of expressing dissent and independence, reflecting the nature of pre-colonial society. Despite the attempt by the Fijian establishment to impose unity through party politics, diversity has continuously been expressed through the formation of alternative political parties in different regions since the 1960s. The military coups of 1987 exacerbated party formation, fully exposing the diversity and complexity of Fijian culture and society.

Another outstanding characteristic of party formation in Fiji, which is generally observable between 1970 and 2005, is the tendency for indigenous Fijians to be actively involved in alternative party formation. Throughout the three major periods of active party formation already identified, alternative Fijian political parties have emerged to compete with the major and mainstream political parties such as the Alliance, the SVT and currently the SDL Party. Furthermore, in the same period, dissenting Fijians have also joined and won parliamentary seats in non-Fijian political parties. Two prominent western Fijian pioneering politicians, Apisai Tora and Isikeli Nadalo, joined the NFP in 1972. Other eastern and northern chiefs, including Ratu Mosese Tuisawau, Ratu Soso Katonivere, Ratu Julian Toganivalu and Ro Asesela Logavatu, joined later. While

dissenting Fijians who refused to join mainstream political parties such as the AP and later the SVT were easily dismissed by mainstream Fijian society as ‘rebels’ or at times ‘communists’, what has been overlooked by critics is that Fijians were never united politically before colonisation and the introduction of party politics. Such unity was realised partially for the first time after colonisation and the establishment of the Colonial State. This did not, however, eradicate the influence and authority of traditional institutions. The coexistence of ‘traditional legitimacy’ and ‘legal rational legitimacy’ makes modern party politics a complex issue indeed.

Since the military coups of 1987 and the demise of the AP, parties that emerged to fill the vacuum, such as the SVT in 1991 and the SDL since 2001, have introduced platforms that appear to capture the interest of Fijian voters first and foremost. The ruling SDL, for instance, has included a Fijian ‘blueprint’ in their policy for the development of indigenous Fijians and Rotumans. What the FIP initiated and the FNP followed with regarding specific provisions for indigenous Fijians and Rotumans, the SDL is currently turning into specific policies. With the 2006 elections approaching, Fijian voters might once again be drawn to pragmatic politics as demonstrated by the SDL’s blueprint.

With globalisation and the strengthening of the ‘good governance’ agenda by international lending agencies, Fiji too is caught in such philosophy and rhetoric. In such a situation the governing SDL/MV is caught in a complex internal dilemma. On one hand, the Government is pursuing good governance, while on the other, it directly implicates loyal supporters who took part in the 2000 coup and its ensuing mutiny. Trials of those who were implicated in the 2000 crisis have continued, resulting in the imprisonment of a number of high chiefs from eastern and north-eastern Fiji. Bau high chief and Deputy Vice-President of Fiji, Ratu Jope Seniloli, along with Natewa high chief and former Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, Ratu Rakuita Vakalalabure were imprisoned in 2004. Seniloli has since been released on medical grounds to serve his sentence outside prison. Naitasiri high chief, the ‘*Qaranivalu*’, Ratu Inoke Takiveikata, is still in prison for his role in the 2000 mutiny. Other high chiefs, including the ‘*Tui Cakau*’ and high chief of the ‘*Matanitu Tovata*’, Ratu Naiqama Lalabalavu, Ratu Josefa Dimuri, a high chief of Macuata, and two high chiefs from Cakaudrove, have also received prison terms.⁴³ Lalabalavu and Dimuri have been released to serve their terms outside prison as well.

The 2000 coup has already had widespread consequences on Fijian society and party politics. The fate of the ruling government therefore depends on its handling of the crisis, given that its political power base is centred on the traditional areas of chiefs who were implicated in the coup. This does not, however, imply that opposition Fijian parties such as the National Alliance Party will automatically be voted into Parliament by Fijians; for the crisis of 2000 might have been read by a number of indigenous Fijian voters in a different light than the legal rational reasoning applied by the modern judiciary system. Such circumstances throw up the complexity of modern party politics as it blends with continuing ancient Fijian rivalries.

Between 1960 and 2005, allegiance to one or two political parties has been common among Indo-Fijians and members of other ethnic groups. For these groups,

party formation and choice has been consistent and stable in the four decades of party politics. This can be explained partially through their common historical experience. For Indo-Fijians, the NFP has been the longest existing party in Fiji since its formation in 1965. Its stability might also be explained in other ways. Firstly was the common experience of the majority of party members through the indenture system or through their business activities, for those who migrated specifically to establish businesses. In this case, economic experience necessitated the founding of a common platform. Secondly, the party acts as a unifying force in an adopted country and has been successful in fulfilling its objectives among its members through the requirements of a modern party system — objectives such as the desire to attain political and economic rights. On the whole, the success of a party depends on its members and what they make of it.

The results of the 2006 elections for non-Fijian political parties are predictable according to the long-term trend of party politics in Fiji. The triple overthrow of the FLP has made the party resilient to political destabilisation. Hard-core supporters of the party from across the ethnic spectrum remain committed. Added to this has been the support of Indo-Fijians who, since the formation of the party in 1985, have regarded the FLP as the best alternative to the NFP. By the elections of 1999, the FLP again emerged victorious as the representative of Indo-Fijians as well as non-Indo-Fijian trade union supporters. The biggest challenge for the FLP's multi-ethnic trade union base has been government restructuring and the weakening of union powers through new labour laws. The FLP, however, remains a powerful force to be reckoned with in the 2006 elections.

Conclusion

For as long as it is adopted as a modern means of political representation, party politics in Fiji will continue to evolve according to the historical experiences of the different societies. For indigenous Fijians, the continuation of one mainstream Fijian political party and the consistent formation of many alternatives might yet be a long-term trend. Regional cleavages in the formation of political parties have continued throughout the more than four decades of party politics. In such circumstances, a coalition of parties that have similar platforms and ideologies, such as that between the ruling parties, the SDL and MV, becomes inevitable. The inclusion of the alternative-vote system with its multi-party cabinet provision in the 1997 Constitution appears to be a pragmatic provision, given such circumstances. To explain such development to its logical conclusion, this can also give rise to the long-term challenge of finding a common ground for the formation of multiracial political parties and hence a common ground for building a nation-state. There is a compartmentalisation of political views according to different *yavusa*, *vanua*, *matanitu* or regions. On a positive note, such development can also be a means of maintaining a 'balance of power' situation as each region checks the dominance of another.

A coalition of parties across the ethnic divide, however, remains a tough challenge in a country where ethnic politics is constitutionalised and accepted as a 'natural' state. The second overthrow of the FLP Coalition Government attests to this. In such a situation, the formation and evolution of an 'ethnically balanced' political party becomes

critical as ethnicity is used constantly to marginalise the political rights of certain groups and political parties. In the long term, Fiji still has to achieve the ideal situation for any multi-ethnic and multicultural society, and that is to create multiracial political parties. This does not imply the old AP model of multiracialism, whereby people became members through their ethnic groups, but an open membership system in which there is equality for all. Political parties, after all, are social constructions; they turn out according to their intended structure and nature.

Footnotes

- 1 See Reid, R. K. 2003. 'Pacific's Oldest Man: Unearthed in Fiji Where He Lies Undisturbed for About Three Thousand Years.' In *Islands*, Vol. 2. Suva, Fiji: Island Business International. pp. 54–6.
- 2 See also Spate, O. H. K. 1959. *The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects*. Suva, Fiji: Government Press. p. 31.
- 3 See also Lal, B. V. 1986. 'Politics Since Independence: Continuity and Change, 1970–1982.' In B. V. Lal (ed.), *Politics in Fiji*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin. pp. 74–106, at pp. 76–7.
- 4 See *Constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of Fiji, 25 July 1990*. p. 49.
- 5 See *Constitution (Amendment) Act 1997 of the Republic of the Fiji Islands, 25 July 1997*. pp. 86–92.
- 6 In this paper, the words Fijian or indigenous Fijian or native Fijian refer to the indigenous people of the Fiji Islands. Under Fiji's electoral system, Fijians make up an ethnic category. All Fijians are registered in the '*Vola ni Kawa Bul*' (VKB) or the Fijian genealogy.
- 7 The first Indians in Fiji arrived from mainland India in 1879 to work as indentured labourers for the Australian-owned Colonial Sugar Refining (CSR) Company. The indenture system ended in 1920 and Indians were free to return to India or live permanently in Fiji. Other Indian immigrants, mainly from the state of Gujarat, arrived later in the early 20th century to establish their own businesses. Indo-Fijians make up an ethnic category in Fiji's electoral system.
- 8 Fijian general electors are composed of ethnic groups who are neither indigenous Fijians nor Indo-Fijians. These include Europeans, part-Europeans, Chinese, Pacific Islanders, etc.
- 9 Ali, A. 1986. 'Political Change: 1874–1960.' In B.V. Lal (ed.), op. cit. pp. 1–27, at p. 9.
- 10 Ibid, p. 10.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid, p. 21.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 *Vanua* and *matanitu* were political constructs that extended out of the kinship infrastructure of '*itokatoka*', '*mataqali*' and '*yavusa*'. The most basic Fijian social unit was the '*itokatoka*', '*bito*' or '*bati-ni-lovo*'. These are extended family units, traced patrilineally in most parts of Fiji, and matrilineally in others. One or more '*itokatoka*' comprised a '*mataqali*' or sub-clan. A number of '*mataqali*' formed a '*yavusa*' or clan. Members of a *yavusa* descended from a common '*yavu*' or house foundation and a '*Kalou Vu*' or ancestral god. Above the *yavusa* were the political constructs of *vanua* and *matanitu*. The *vanua* was formed out of a unity of a number of *yavusa* by a *vanua* chief, usually through warfare. The *matanitu* was composed of the unity of a number of *vanua*. These were still being formed in some parts of Fiji when Europeans arrived in the 1800s. See also Derrick, R. A. 1946. *A History of Fiji*. Colony of Fiji: Government Printing Press. pp. 8–9. Traditional socio-political and economic relations evolve in these kinship and political constructs.
- 15 Butadroka was formerly a member of the Fijian Association arm of the Alliance Party. He came from the Province of Rewa in south-eastern Fiji. In 1972, he won a parliamentary seat on an AP ticket and served as Cabinet Minister for Cooperatives in Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara's Alliance Party. His conflict with the Fijian Association began in 1973, and eventually led to his dismissal from the AP and the formation of the Fijian Nationalist Party (FNP).

- 16 See Norton, R. 1990 (2nd ed.) *Race and Politics in Fiji*. St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press. pp. 111–18.
- 17 The VLV was formed before the elections of 1999 by a group in the Methodist Church. These members were mainly from the Provinces of Cakaudrove and Lau. The VLV was formed as an alternative to the SVT in an attempt to unite all indigenous Fijians under one political party. Interview with Ratu Inoke Tabualevu, a founding member of the VLV from the Province of Cakaudrove, 2002, Suva, Fiji.
- 18 Norton, op. cit p. 53.
- 19 See Ali, A. op. cit. pp. 9–15.
- 20 See also Norton, op. cit. p. 61.
- 21 See also Alley, R. 1986. 'The Emergence of Party Politics.' In B. V. Lal (ed.), op. cit. pp. 28–51, at p. 29.
- 22 All three Fijian constitutions since independence in 1970 have emphasised ethnic voting through the three major ethnic divisions: Fijians, Indio-Fijians and general electors.
- 23 Within Fijian society, hierarchy and protocol are '*vanua* specific' and, in regions where there are *matanitu*, also '*matanitu* specific'. This implies that there is a diversity of hierarchy and protocol given the diverse nature of Fijian society and culture. With the dominance of eastern Fijian chiefs in the Fijian Association arm of the Alliance Party, the dominant Fijian hierarchy and protocol were those found in eastern Fiji — more so from the dominant *vanua* in the *matanitu* of Kubuna and Tovata.
- 24 Durutalo, A. 2000. 'Elections and the Dilemma of Indigenous Fijian Political Unity.' In B. V. Lal (ed.), *Fiji Before the Storm: Elections and the Politics of Development*, Canberra: Asia Pacific Press, ANU. pp. 73–92, at p. 75.
- 25 See *The Alliance Newsletter*, No. 8, April 1982. p. 58.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 See Howard, M. C. 1991. *Fiji: Race and Politics in an Island State*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. pp. 79–80.
- 28 Interview with Viliame Savu, 2002, Suva, Fiji. See also Howard, ibid. p. 80.
- 29 The formation of the Native (later Fijian) Administration in 1875 facilitated the system of indirect rule whereby indigenous Fijians were governed through their chiefs.
- 30 Interview with Ratu Osea Gavidi, 2004, Suva, Fiji. See also Howard, op. cit. pp. 87–9
- 31 See also Durutalo, A. 2000. op. cit. p. 77.
- 32 Lal, B. V., 1986. op. cit. p. 98.
- 33 See also Norton, op. cit. p. 189.
- 34 Durutalo, A., 2000. op. cit. pp. 76–7.
- 35 Ibid. p. 77.
- 36 Ibid. p. 81.
- 37 Eight of the 14 provincial councils, including Prime Minister Rabuka's Province of Cakaudrove, rejected the review of the 1990 Constitution. Interview with Ratu Inoke Tabualevu, a member of the Cakaudrove Provincial Council, 2002, Suva, Fiji.
- 38 See Part 3, Cabinet and Government, Subsection 99 (1)–(9), on the Appointment of Other Ministers, *Constitution of the Republic of the Fiji Islands*, 27 July 1998. pp. 60–61.
- 39 The People's Coalition Government, since 2000, has legally challenged its dismissal in court, however, nothing has been resolved yet.
- 40 Interview with Ratu Rakuita Vakalabure, 2003, Parliament of Fiji, Suva, Fiji.
- 41 Interview with Filipe Bole, 2002. Suva, Fiji.
- 42 See *Epeli Ganilau: From Hierarchy Pedia* on http://www.hierarchypedia.com/~hierarch/wiki/index.php/Epeli_Ganilau
- 43 See *Fiji Times*, April 5–8, 13, 19, 2005.