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gold production by Australian capital and Fijian labour. Most significantly, distribution, finance, transport and other services, together, with the construction industry, not only grew absolutely, but increased their share of gross domestic product, from 40 per cent in 1950 to 52 per cent in 1965. The crucial factors here were, firstly, the development and growth of tourism from the late 1960s funded by foreign capital inflow; and secondly, the equally expansionary, Fiji was approaching self-sufficiency in production of beef, pork, beer, cigarettes, rice, cement and paint.

At the end of more than nine and half decades of colonial rule, then, Fiji was not poor by contemporary low world standards, as Fisk noted in a book published in 1970, the year of political independence. Fiji’s GDP per head was “greater than that of any Asian country except Japan and Singapore ... about three times that of India ... and nearly twice that of Thailand.” But averages can conceal important economic disparities. In particular, average urban incomes were roughly double average rural incomes; and surveys of income tax returns made in the late 1960s suggested that Fijians and Indians earned 60 per cent and 80 per cent of the national average income respectively, while Chinese earned 115 per cent and Europeans 140 per cent. This in turn reflected a continuing racial pattern of sectoral economic activities.

An Indo-Fijian population that had reached 2,410,00, or 51 per cent of the total 1966 population, had been forced by intensified population pressure on agricultural land to find alternative employment. Fifty one per cent of the 58,700 economically active Indo-Fijians were commercial farmers; but 39 per cent of Indo-Fijians lived in urban areas; and 33 per cent of the economically active were working in, and made up 61 per cent of the workforce of, the growth areas of construction, commerce, secondary industry and transport, hotels and entertainment. Just under half of these people were in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, 28

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3 Central Planning Office. n.3, p. 12.
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