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THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF

FIJI

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X THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY OF FIJI X

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General Economic Situation

During the past decade, the inhabitants of the British Colony of Fiji have enjoyed a modest standard of living, averaging about \$110 per capita per year. While this income is low compared to that of the United States, it is almost twice the incomes of the large Asian countries of India, Pakistan and Burma. If the present rate of population growth continues, however, the national income of Fiji will have to increase about 3.5 percent per year just to maintain the present standard of living. And agriculture, presently accounting for about 50 percent of the national income and employing over half of the population but showing few signs of increasing productivity, is not helping the situation.

Fiji's economic difficulties are comparable to those of the underdeveloped countries which rely heavily upon agriculture for income. In 1959, for example, agricultural commodities made up three-quarters of the value of the total exports. In recent years, the exportation of sugar, coconut products, and bananas has accounted for one-quarter of Fiji's national income. In relying on international and predominantly agricultural markets, Fiji's economy is governed by forces which are beyond the Colony's control: International price levels, an international quota system (which restricts the sales of sugar--the primary export), and the ever-present problem of weather.

Between 1936 and 1958, agricultural production remained relatively static. Of the major crops only sugar improved in yield per acre, increasing about 2 percent per year. Coconut, the No. 2 crop, reached record production in 1956 and bananas the No. 3 crop, ascended to an alltime high in 1955. But both have since been on the decline.

For these and other crops now under production, no increase is foreseen large enough to keep pace with the rapidly expanding population. Therefore, the attention of the government and business community has turned to the possibility of establishing new crops, occupations, and industries to feed the population and provide for the increasing volume of imports necessary to prevent a decline in the standard of living.

Fiji has an additional problem in its shortage of arable land. This is largely the result of the system of land tenure which keeps about two-thirds of the land considered cultivable out of production. Lack of capital and the indifference of Fiji's subsistence-level farmers to new agricultural methods add to the Colony's problems. However, any effort to improve agricul-

tural efficiency without increasing the number of job opportunities in other sectors of the economy or changing the land tenure system will only serve to further aggravate the current situation of underemployment and labor unrest.

General Characteristics

Geography

The Fiji Islands are situated in the southwest Pacific Ocean, approximately 1,100 miles north of New Zealand. The territorial waters of the Colony include an area whose limits approach 250,000 square miles; but of this only 7,022 square miles, or less than 3 percent, is land area.

The Archipelago includes over 300 islands varying greatly in size and to a lesser extent in geology and fertility. About 100 of them are inhabited, and many others are used as planting grounds or for temporary residence during fishing expeditions. Over 85 percent of the total land area of the Colony is comprised of the principal islands of Viti Levu (4,011 square miles) and Vanau Levu (2,137 square miles).

Topography

All of the larger islands are of volcanic origin, and most of the smaller islands are coral formations. In general, the volcanic islands have rugged interiors with wide areas of rich alluvial land along their coasts and rivers. In addition, most of the rivers have built extensive deltas. Moderately high mountain ranges lying perpendicular to the prevailing winds cause differences in the vegetational covering between the windward and leeward sides on all of the larger islands.

Viti Levu, the largest island, is roughly oval in shape having its main watershed lying along a north-south axis, with the wet zone to the east and the dry zone to the west. The interior is mountainous and broken with numerous peaks over 3,000 feet high. The principal river, the Rewa, is navigable by small craft for a distance of approximately 70 miles from its mouth.

In addition, the island is fringed with fertile flats which run far back along the river valleys or fan out in level deltas. The majority of the people are settled on these lowlands. Suva, the principal town and capital of the Colony, is situated on the southeast coast of the island.

Vanua Levu, the second largest island is similar to Viti Levu. It has valuable land resources, although development has not been on a large scale except for the sugar and copra industries.

Climate

The mild and equitable climate that the Fiji Islands enjoy is due mainly to the influence of the vast ocean expanse surrounding them. The climate is not, however, uniform throughout the islands; it ranges from hot and dry to the warm and wet, providing conditions favorable for the growth of a variety of tropical foods and commercial crops.

The prevailing winds are the southeasterly trades being neither as strong nor as constant as those farther east. Temperatures seldom rise above 90°F. or fall below 60°F. except in the mountains. During the hot season, December to March, the equatorial zone of calm and light variable winds advances south with the sun and passes over Fiji, often resulting in northerly monsoons.

On the windward coast of the larger islands, the average annual rainfall is between 120 and 140 inches, distributed rather evenly throughout the year. On the leeward coast, the annual rainfall varies from 70 to 90 inches according to locality, and occurs primarily during the hot season.

Although there are variations in total rainfall, droughts are rare and it is unusual for crops to be lost from this cause. The northwest coasts of the two main islands are the only areas where lack of rain is an occasional problem. Sugar and rice production in these areas is sometimes reduced, but never disastrously. Excessive rainfall is a more serious problem.

In general, the river systems of the Colony are capable of carrying heavy rain, but at times the downpour is so intense that it causes flooding and damage to crops, particularly native food crops. On the average there are two severe storms each year. However, because of the widely distributed area the Colony occupies, only a small part of it is usually affected.

Soil

In the dry and intermediate climatic zones, geology seems to have played a very important part in the soil type formed. Thus, the volcanic origin of some soils is quite distinct and unmistakable. But in the wet zone, weathering and leaching have been so severe that parent material has had less influence on the final product.

Four general soil areas are recognized: (1) The alluvial soils of the broad flood plains adjacent to the larger rivers--these plains, the richest of the Colony, support sugarcane, rice, and dairy farming; (2) the coastal fringes of sandy and loamy soil on Vanua Levu and most of the smaller islands, which support the coconut crop and much of the native food crops of the Colony; (3) the narrow valleys on the upper courses of the river systems, which are planted with bananas and subsistence crops; and (4) the area of rolling and broken hills up to the foot of the main mountain ranges, which afford rough grazing, but limited and precarious cultivation.

The most important soils of each area are the alluvials deposited by river action. These soils tend to have a fairly heavy texture--usually clay loam. In the dry and intermediate zones the alluvial soils are very fertile, but in the wet zone they are more leached, less fertile, and poorly drained.

Soil testing has shown that after erosion, acidity and lack of phosphorous are the most serious soil problems encountered by the Fijian farmer.

Population

Expanding at a rate of about 3.2 percent annually, the 1959 population of Fiji was estimated at 387,600, of which 49 percent were Indians, 42 percent Fijians, and the remainder mostly Europeans, Chinese, and other Pacific Islanders. An economic consequence of this rapid increase in population has been the partial nullification of any gains resulting from government attempts to develop the islands.

Besides comprising the largest sector of the population, the Indians dominate the retail and land transport trades of the Colony, and also outnumber the Fijians in the professions—law, medicine, teaching, and dentistry. This seems quite an accomplishment when it is known that the first Indians came to Fiji between 1880 and 1920 as indentured servants to work in the sugar fields. The great majority of Indians still live in or near the sugar-producing areas where their ancestors settled.

Although the population density of the islands is only 55 persons per square mile, its distribution is very uneven. Many of the smaller islands do not have a permanent population, while other areas--particularly the fertile coastal plains and river valleys of the larger islands--are over-populated in relation to the available arable land. Viti Levu, with 57 percent of the land area, has 72 percent of the population, while Vanua Levu (including Taveuni), with about 35 percent of the land area, contains only 17 percent of the population.

Dietary Habits

Rice, the staple food of practically all the Indians of Fiji, is eaten at least once a day. Rice is also eaten extensively by the Chinese, and it is rapidly becoming an important item in the diet of the Fijians and other Pacific Islanders.

Sharps, a byproduct of wheat milling, has become one of the primary competitors of rice in the diet of the Indian population. It is popular because of its low price, but is unlikely to completely supplant rice as a food. However, Indians believe that sharps is an essential source of energy; in addition, this product can easily be made into food articles which do not deteriorate. Recently, the consumption rate has been increasing, probably because of the shortages of domestically produced rice.

The pulses, grown and consumed mainly by the Indians, are either cooked and eaten as a vegetable or incorporated with other ingredients in the Indians' curry.

Traditionally, the root crops, such as sweetpotatoes, ndalo (known as taro in some areas), tapioca, and yams, are grown and consumed by the Fijians as are most of the fruits. Local production of margarine from coconut and peanut oil is now providing a source of cheaper fats for the islander's diet than was previously obtainable through imported butter. The islanders show a preference for imported canned fish, although the surrounding waters abound in marine life.

Except for pork, meat plays a minor part in the non-European diet. The consumption of dairy products is low, although the demand for fresh milk is increasing.

Agricultural Patterns and Policies

Land Use

Of the total area of 4,541,271 acres, some 1,077,000 are suitable for cultivation, another 1,730,000 are suitable for pasture, and the remainder is in forest. Presently, approximately 380,000 acres are cultivated. However, the major part of the area considered suitable for cultivation, but not now used, can only be brought into production with the addition of large amounts of fertilizer and with drainage projects and changes in the system of land tenure.

Since the agriculture of the Colony is based primarily on crop production for food and export, livestock production is relatively unimportant; hence, little effective use has been made of potential pasture lands. Sugar and copra, the two principal export crops, occupy about 65 percent of the present crop area, while root crops and rice each occupy about 10 percent.

Land Tenure

Under the pre-European system, only the family house site of the indigenous family was owned outright. Although no other land was owned by an individual, any land once planted belonged to the planter, and the land normally went to his descendents for their use. Since agriculture was basically a "bush fallow" technique of cultivation, others under certain conditions, could farm the land if it was not in use. Even today in the hills, where little but shifting cultivation is at present possible, this system remains the dominant feature of land tenure.

Prior to the "Deed of Cession" in 1874, Europeans bought land directly from the native chiefs. After 1874, further sales of native land were prohibited and the only tenure granted was by lease. Until the 1920's the demand for leases had been mainly European, but by 1930 the problem began to appear more specifically an Indian one.

Although some freehold land has passed into Indian hands, the bulk of it is European. Between European freehold and Fijian reserves, Indian farmers remain mostly as tenants or subtenants. In the cane areas especially, this has led to strong pressure on the land and a good deal of subdivision with the buying of leases or shares of leases.

Land in Fiji is classified as Fijian land, crown land, and freehold. Fijian land is land held for Fijian use only. Crown land is divided into two categories: land which has reverted to the Crown by the extinction of the former native-owning unit and lands which were unclaimed at the time of the Cession. Crown land is administered by the Department of Lands and is

leased to private operators. Freehold land is that which had passed into the hands of foreigners prior to the Cession.

Present ownership of the estimated 4,541,271 acres of land in Fiji is as follows: Fijian land, 3,756,000 acres; crown land, 208,000 acres; and free-hold, 534,000 acres. The remaining area is largely mangrove swamps held by the Crown.

During 1959, the Burns Commission, in making a study of Fiji's economic situation, pointed out that the present poor distribution of agricultural land was due to two main reasons. The first and most important is that all the land in the Colony, other than freehold and crown land, is owned communally by the Fijians, who do not make efficient use of it. The other is that most of the best land was sold by its native owners to the Europeans before 1874. This land is not available to the small farmers (primarily Indian tenants), even though some of it is unused.

Farm Labor

Agriculture employs approximately 60 percent of the total working population of about 170,000. According to estimates made by the Department of Agriculture in 1959, 28,000 Fijian farmers cultivated about 45 percent of the 80,000 acres devoted to crops for local consumption, and a little under 32 percent of the 300,000 acres devoted to export crops. The 600 European planters and 23,000 Indian growers accounted for the remaining production.

The Census of Population, conducted in 1956, found that of all Fijian males over 14 years of age growing cash crops, 33 percent produced copra, 18 percent grew vegetables (including root crops), 12 percent grew bananas, 4 percent produced sugarcane, 1 percent grain crops, and less than 1 percent raised livestock. However, almost 32 percent grew no cash crops at all.

One possible reason for the Fijians lack of interest in this production of cash crops is the traditional system of "kerekere". Under this system a relative can demand a portion of any wealth that has been accumulated by another. This demand cannot be refused; hence, there is little incentive to become affluent.

On the other hand, 75 percent of the Indian farmers were growing sugarcane, while the remainder were engaged in dairy, rice, tobacco, vegetables, and fruit production, which were partly utilized as cash crops. The majority of European and part-European farmers were engaged in the coconut, dairying, and sugar-processing industries. Truck farming, and pig and poultry raising are carried on by the few Chinese agriculturalists.

Production Practices

Mechanization.--Mechanized cultivation is developing slowly. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company and several of the larger cane farmers own tractors. In addition, a few coconut planters use tractors for hauling and power.

Following the Department of Agriculture's work in making available full information on tractor equipment and the demonstration of such equipment at experimental stations, increased interest is being shown in mechanization, particularly by the Indian farmers. Most peasant farmers are, however, still dependent on bullock draft and single-furrow plows. Crops are harvested chiefly by hand, and the rice crop threshed by trampling with bullock or by flail. The Department of Agriculture is pursuing inquiries regarding the development of small-scale harvesting equipment used on experimental stations in Australia, which may in turn be adaptable to Fiji's farming requirements.

Cooperative Movement. -- The cooperative movement in Fiji is fairly recent and predominently Fijian. The oldest cooperative in Fiji was founded in 1942 as part of the wartime drive to supply the armed forces with food. By 1959, there were 51 Fijian societies compared to 5 Indian and 22 mixed.

Most of the Fijian societies are primarily producer marketing societies handling copra as their principal crop; but most of these are also interested in numerous subsidiary trading ventures, of which the most popular is the village shop. The remainder are consumer societies.

Fijian cooperation is marked by a complete absence of women's or craft societies; yet there is an active demand by the tourist trade for Fijian crafts. So far this demand has been met only by the most casual production.

The majority of Indian societies are resource societies organized primarily for the acquisition and employment of agricultural machinery. Cooperative cattle grazing is a subsidiary objective for some.

The cooperative movement has had some valuable indirect effects. It has assisted in improving the marketing of copra, thus giving quicker returns to the grower even though there has been little improvement in its processing. The movement has also trained several hundred Fijians in simple accounting.

Agricultural Credit and Taxation

<u>Credit.--Besides</u> the commercial banks, the Agricultural and Industrial Loans Board, established in 1952 to make loans to agriculture and industry, is the most important source of credit for the farmers. Its funds consist of money voted by the Legislative Council from the general revenue of the Colony, repayments of loan, and the proceeds of the investments made from properties acquired by the Board.

Another source of small loans has been from the Credit Unions established since 1954. The aims of the Credit Unions are to train its members in the use and control of money and to encourage regular saving. Loans are mostly for small productive enterprises in the villages.

<u>Taxation.--Both individuals and companies pay income taxes.</u> A secondary income tax was imposed in 1956 when the former Residential Tax Ordinance was repealed.

Only one tax is paid, either income tax or secondary tax, whichever is the higher. However, a surtax is charged on individual incomes other than companies. Fijians who pay a special provincial tax are exempt from the secondary income tax. In addition to income taxes, a real tax burden on individuals in Fiji lies in death and gift duties.

Education and Research

Education. -- Agricultural education is considered of vital importance, and rural science -- technical, theoretical, and practical -- forms an important part of the primary school's curriculum. The Department of Agriculture has an Agricultural Educating Officer who, with the assistance of a small staff of Agricultural Organizing Teachers, supervises the teaching of agricultural subjects and also helps organize Young Farmers' Clubs and their activities. In addition, the government maintains several technical schools. Students wishing to follow higher studies usually go to New Zealand, since no institution exists in the Colony at the university level. The government has also promoted adult education and assisted in the formation of several libraries.

The control of education is in the hands of a Board of Education appointed by the governor. The major educational problem has been the provision of schools, and an adequate supply of trained teachers to satisfy the needs of the rapidly increasing population. To alleviate this situation, the government established a Teacher's Training College in 1947 to replace several small denominational colleges which were formerly the only sources of supply of trained teachers. It also has undertaken a school building program.

Research.--Little progress has been made during the past few years to-ward the diversification of Fiji's agriculture, except in the establishment of a cocoa industry. Bean samples from some of the original cocoa trees planted were pronounced acceptable, but somewhat mild by Australian chocolate manufacturers. As a result, seeds of a very strong West African variety have been introduced into the Colony.

Continued efforts by the Fijian Government in conjunction with the South Pacific Commission are being made in their fight to eradicate the rhinoceros beetle. It is because of this insect that Fiji's coconut industry is threatened with extinction. Currently, several parasites are looked upon as answers to the problem.

Experimental cultivation of tobacco and coffee is being carried on with satisfactory results. No progress has been made toward the reintroduction of the former pineapple, tea, or cotton industries, but varietal and nutritional studies, pure seed production, investigations of diseases, and weed and pest controls are being conducted.

The Department of Agriculture is also promoting the livestock industry by experimenting with the improvement of pastures, and by the distribution of grass and legume seeds. It also maintains animals for breeding purposes at the research stations.

The Colonial Sugar Refining Company maintains several experimental stations where imported sugarcanes are tested and new ones developed by cross breeding to resist disease. Today, as a result of research, nearly half of the Fiji crop is Badila cane--a variety that originated in New Guinea. A campaign to control pests and disease of sugarcane is also carried out by the Company.

The Company has been trying to improve the quality of the bullocks used for cultivating the sugarcane. Some purebred Zebu cattle have been imported and crossed with the local stock to produce a big-framed hardy animal able to withstand the tropical climate.

Transportation

Fiji has approximately 1,000 miles of all types of roads, mainly unpaved, the greater part of which are found on the main island, Viti Levu. Bus transportation is faily well established on Viti Levu, particularly in areas near towns and urban centers. The rugged interiors of the larger islands, coupled with heavy rainfall, make road building difficult and expensive.

There are no full-scale railways in Fiji, but there is a light railway owned and operated by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in Viti Levu and Vanua Levu, for hauling sugarcane to company mills.

Most travel between the islands is by boat, as is also to some extent intraisland travel. The Rewa River of Viti Levu is used extensively to transport agricultural products to the ocean for export. Regular interisland cargo, passenger, and mail services are maintained by vessels operated by private shipping lines. Irregular cargo and passenger service exists between Suva, the capitol, and the various centers of sugar, fruit, and copra production in the outer islands.

Fiji is becoming an important international stop for airplanes traveling between North America, Australia, New Zealand and Asia, because of the airport facilities at Nadi on the island of Viti Levu. However, local air communications have not as yet developed to any considerable extent, but service is being extended to more of the islands.

Political Divisions

The Colony of Fiji is divided into three administrative districts: Northern, Southern, and Western. The Northern District contains the two large islands of Vanua Levu and Taveuni and all of the minor islands in the surrounding area. The Southern District contains the eastern half of Viti Levu and all of the islands to the east and south. Finally, the Western District is made up of the western half of Viti Levu and the islands to the west.

Government Administration of Agriculture

The Department of Agriculture is responsible for crop, livestock, and veterinary services. In addition, chemical and analytical services, including mineral assays, are provided for all departments of government and to the public.

Two agricultural stations are maintained by the Department where short-term investigational work in field crops and animal husbandry is carried out. A plant introduction and quarantine station is maintained in collaboration with the South Pacific Commission, and sites for coconut stations are being investigated.

In connection with the establishment of the cocoa industry, four nurseries which include provisions for plant propagation, have been established. An animal quarantine station is maintained and all livestock imported are required to pass through it in order to maintain the Colony's valued freedom from tropical livestock diseases. The Department also maintains soil conservation, seed control, produce, meat, and dairy inspection, and extension services.

Agricultural Policy

Agriculture normally accounts for approximately half of the net national income of Fiji. For 1957, sugarcane contributed 14 percent, copra 8 percent, bananas 1 percent, root crops 13 percent, rice 4 percent, and all other agriculture 9 percent. Since agriculture is so important to Fiji, the government is concerned with its welfare and has shaped its policies accordingly.

The government's policy is directed toward the encouragement of diversified agricultural production and greater individual enterprise among Fijians. It has also adopted an overall policy of expansion of production by improving the efficiency of cultivation and the adoption of the best possible technical and advisory facilities. Efforts are being made to expand livestock numbers through the introduction of hardier strains of both dairy and beef cattle. The government hopes that in the near future cocoa, coffee, and other crops now of minor importance will be able to supplement the declining export trend of bananas and coconut products.

Much has been done by the British Government to try to insure the future prosperity of the indigenous agricultural population. The Native Land Trust Ordinance of 1940 protects the interests of the native landowners by preserving ample lands for their present and future needs; the Fijian Affairs Ordinance of 1945 gave the Fijian people greater responsibility in the management of their governmental affairs; the Fijian Development Fund Ordinance of 1951 provided for compulsory savings by the Fijian copra producers and the material improvement of Fijian living standards; and the Fijian Banana Venture of 1960 was organized to enable Fijian producers to market their produce independently, and to utilize the profits to improve village conditions.

Agricultural Production

Agricultural Regions

Because of its environment, Fiji has three distinct agricultural regions: The leeward, or dry, areas; the windward, or wet, areas; and the smaller islands.

The main areas of sugar production are in the dry zone, particularly on Viti Levu at Penang, Ba, Sigatoka, and in the Lambasa area of Vanua Levu. A limited amount of sugar is also produced on the alluvial flats near Nausori in the wet zone of Viti Levu.

Mixed farming is practiced in the dry and intermediary climatic zones outside the sugar areas of the two main islands. The principal crop is rice, but peanuts, pulses, corn, pineapples, and vegetables are also produced. Peanuts, pulses and pineapples are grown primarily in the Western District of Viti Levu.

The greatest concentration of dairy stock is on the coastal flats and alluvial soils in the Southern District. Cattle are also located on some of the coconut estates to control the weeds. In addition, the rolling or broken hill country up to the foot of the main mountain ranges affords some rough grazing and limited and precarious cropping.

Coastal fringes of sandy and loamy soil on most of the islands support the coconut and native food crops of the Colony. The narrow mountain river valleys in the wet zone of the two largest islands contain the majority of banana and subsistence crops.

Commercial Crops

<u>Sugar.--During</u> the 1880's, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company brought into operation its first large sugar mill and by 1915, as the sole buyer and exporter of Fiji's sugar, was shipping about 190,000 long tons of sugar.

During the 1920's, the Company changed its cane growing policy from one of large-estate production to one of small farms capable of being run by a single family. Currently, only 2 percent of the cane is grown by the Company. The rest of the cane comes from tenants of the Company, from growers leasing land from the Fijians, or from the Fijians themselves. During 1958, 97 percent of the crop was produced on farms averaging about 10 acres each.

Today, the Indian descendants of the original indentured workers produce about 95 percent of the crop. On the Fijian farms yields are low, but with a gross return per acre of around \$150, sugarcane is the most rewarding crop the natives can grow, especially in the dry areas, with a minimum of effort and a guaranteed market.

During the past decade, the area devoted to cane has been increased about 40 percent. Although much of the new cane land is of poor quality, average yields of raw sugar per harvested acre in the dry zone has remained

relatively constant at about 2.8 long tons. For the 1959-60 season the yield is estimated at about 3.2 long tons.

Table 1.--Crops: Area cultivated, 1949, 1956, 1957 and 1958 1/

Crop	1949	:	1956	:	1957	:	1958
:	Acres	:	Acres	:	Acres	:	Acres
Cereals cut for grain::		:		:		:	
Corn:	1,200	:	220	:	250	:	250
Rice:	36,830	:	34,500	:	34,750	:	31,200
Pulses:	7,350	:	1,650	:	1,800	:	1,850
Root crops:	28,200	:	38,920	:	35,740	:	35,930
Peanuts:	1,200	:	800	:	750	:	700
Spices and condiments.:	310	:	270	:	240	:	240
Tobacco:	500	:	200	:	250	:	250
Yaqona:	3,000	:	4,100	:	4,250	:	4,400
Cocoa		:	960	:	1,200	:	1,500
Vegetables:	830	:	830	:	840	:	840
Tree and bush crops: :		:		:		:	
Bananas	2,500	:	5,200	:	6,000	:	5,000
Citrus:	250	:	150	:	150	:	150
Pineapples:	750	:	250	:	230	:	230
Industrial crops: :		:		:		:	
Sugarcane	93,510	:	115,650	:	123,990	:	128,860
Coconuts:	130,000	:	168,000	:		:	168,000
Other	270	:	100	:	60		80
Total	360,700	:	371,800	:	378,500	:	379,480

^{1/} Fiji Department of Agriculture estimates.

The relative importance of the dry area, as related to sugar growing, is evidenced by the fact that four of the five remaining sugar mills are situated there. The only mill in the wet zone is located at Nausori in the Rewa River valley, but it was to close at the end of the 1959-60 season, because of the low yields (about 2 long tons per harvested acre) from the area serviced by it.

It is contended that better agricultural methods will supply the Colony's entire quota from the cane-growing areas adjacent to the remaining four mills. This was borne out in 1959 when the crop was a record 282,000 long tons of raw sugar; that year, excellent weather was also an aid. In 1960, production is estimated at 205,000 long tons harvested from fewer acres.

Since production for 1959 greatly exceeded Fiji's total needs of 194,000 long tons, the Colonial Sugar Refining Company has initiated a system whereby each farmer will receive a quota for the amount of cane he can sell to the Company instead of regulating the planted acreage. It is hoped that this will bring production in line with Fiji's quota under the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement, but is looked upon unfavorably by some of the growers.

Fiji is a member of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement. Under this agreement a specified amount of Fiji's exports to the United Kingdom (up to 123,000 long tons for 1959) may be marketed at an annually negotiated, guaranteed price, not tied in any fixed manner to the world market price, and will also receive Commonwealth tariff preference. Any amount sold to the United Kingdom in addition to the guaranteed price quota also receives a tariff preference but otherwise is sold competitively in relation to world prices.

The exporting members of the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement are collectively bound by a commitment under the International Sugar Agreement, to an aggregate limit set on the annual tonnage of sugar which may be exported. This limit includes exports between Commonwealth countries. Fiji's share in the Commonwealth's export quota for 1959 was 179,000 long tons of raw sugar, and will be about 184,000 long tons for 1960 and 1961. In addition, Fiji uses about 15,000 long tons for its domestic sales.

In the past, cane growers have had to combat beetles, cane borers, rats, and leaf-scale and other diseases; but these problems have been overcome by the industry's introduction of Badila, the disease-resistant variety of cane from New Guinea, which has helped to increase yields. Today, improved varieties plus technology have pushed per acre yields to the point where land can now be taken out of cane production, revising the past trend, and thus be available for other cash crops or mixed farming. It is hoped that much of the land not needed for future cane production in the wet zone will be used for rice.

Although overcoming natural disasters, the industry has not been able to find a remedy for the frequent strikes and labor unrest in recent years. Low wages have been the apparent cause, but much of the unrest stems from Fiji's major ills of population pressures, underemployment, and the land tenure system.

<u>Copra.--</u>The copra industry is not only Fiji's second largest source of export revenues, but also the principal source of income for the Fijian villagers. The indigenous population has had long experience with coconut production, and although gross returns are only a little over \$40 per acre, production costs are low.

Copra is produced on both a communal and estate basis. About 60 percent is produced by Fijian villagers, with the remaining 40 percent grown on plantations, most of which are in the hands of Europeans.

Copra yields and production have varied widely from plantation to plantation and with time. Yields as high as 1,100 pounds per acre on the well-managed estates are obtained, but the average is only about 550 pounds, and drops to about 450 pounds for Fijian groves. Production reached a postwar peak of 41,200 long tons in 1956, but dropped to 30,300 by 1958.

Copra exports, including copra products, were valued at \$5.6 million in 1959, a reduction from the 1958 figure of \$6.1 million in spite of higher world prices. Hurricanes and drought were the principal causes for the drop in value.

Copra prices are closely tied to world markets, and mainly owing to competition from whale and palm oils, they have fluctuated widely during the past 35 years. The low prices received during the depression of 1930's had a disastrous effect on the industry. A majority of the estates became deeply mortgaged, and cultivation was reduced to a minimum or completely neglected. However, prices recovered during World War II and by the end of the 1940's the industry was again operating profitably.

High postwar prices made possible the successful launching during 1951 of the Fijian Development Fund in the copra areas. This is a compulsory method of saving by means of statutory assessment of about \$25 per ton of copra sold. It also involves the legal control of marketing through licensed buyers. The assessment is credited to the depositor for his use, and on application may be withdrawn by him for such projects as home building or communal projects like water supplies and schools. Although the Fund has been mainly used for village improvement rather than direct development, it points to the possibilities of assessment and produce taxes as a means of accumulating development funds.

Today the industry is faced with further declines in production because of the effects of little replanting over a period of years (65 percent of palms have reached the maximum producing age of about 50 years) and inroads of the rhinoceros beetle. Although the beetle had not reached the outer islands of the Fiji Archipelago at the end of 1959, it seems likely that the Colony's entire copra crop will eventually be destroyed by it if a workable eradication program is not discovered soon.

Another threat to copra production comes from rats which destroy up to 30 percent of the coconuts on some of the islands. Experiments are being conducted in the control of this rodent by the banding of trees.

In addition, groves are often badly kept, and processing as a rule is extremely primitive. The introduction of hot-air dryers is also being advocated because of the high rainfall which renders out-of-door drying uncertain.

The Fiji Government is well aware of the critical condition of the copra industry, but has found that neither better marketing facilities, the availability of a copra mill, nor lectures in copra drying serve as alternatives to replanting and supplying better quality copra. Recently, the use of livestock to control the weeds and underbrush and the growing of cocoa among the palms as another source of cash income has been promoted.

Bananas.--Bananas have long ceased to be a plantation crop and today are grown on small plots primarily by the indigenous population. Through the years, as the returns from bananas decreased in relation to other crops, banana production has moved further and further into the mountain valleys of Viti Levu. The areas formerly occupied by this crop are now planted mainly with sugarcane.

Production in most of the upper valleys is inefficient. Plots are small and even good soil is exhausted in a few years from lack of fertilizer.

Data on the numbers of growers and area planted are scarce. Probably there are in any one year between 4,000 and 5,000 growers with about the same number of acres devoted to bananas. About three-quarters of the planted area is harvested for export, yielding from 50 to 60 cases of 72 pounds each per acre.

Susceptibility to hurricanes has resulted in a highly variable output, leading to distress in parts of southeastern Viti Levu where bananas are the main source of cash income. As a result of such storms, exports fell from 319,000 cases in 1957 to 149,000 in 1958, and 77,000 in 1959. However, the crop is expected to recover during 1960.

The Fijian Banana Venture aids in the production, shipping, and marketing overseas of Fijian-produced bananas. It ships about half of the total banana exports. Besides being a shipping agent, the Venture also supplies packing cases and has organized a voluntary assessment which is used to improve production and village life.

Fiji's principal problem with bananas remains the lack of markets. For many years New Zealand has been the sole buyer; then in 1959, it restricted its banana imports from Fiji. Consequently, the Fijian Government has been trying to find new markets for this product, but the distance from potential markets is a handicap. The possibility of exporting dried bananas to the United States, in which a small market for this product exists, has been examined by private citizens.

<u>Cocoa.--</u>Fijians are taking the lead in the infant cocoa industry. It is hoped that this will eventually grow into a reliable source of cash income for the indigenous population. By 1959 about 2,500 acres of cocoa trees had been planted with exports expected to commence during 1961.

Domestic Consumption Crops

Rice.--Cheap rice is considered to be essential for the prosperity of the Colony, as it is the chief article in the diet of the Indians and Chinese. Approximately 95 percent of the rice growers are Indians, but within recent years Fijians, appreciating its value as a cash crop, have increased production on their land. Although returns are less than from sugarcane--only one-half to two-thirds--in many areas this is the most promising outlet for excess labor and idle land.

The total area devoted to rice each year usually exceeds the combined acreages of the traditional root crops of the Fijians--tapioca, ndalo, and yams. Over the past several years, rice acreage has remained stable and averaged between 30,000 and 35,000 acres, or approximately 10 percent of the total cultivated land in Fiji.

About two-thirds of the domestic rice crop is grown in the dry zone during the rainy season without the aid of irrigation. Approximately 60 percent of the land on which rice is produced is in the sugarcane districts, and more than two-thirds of this acreage is sugar land in fallow. Plots devoted to rice average 2-4 acres per farm with most of the rice planted, harvested, and threshed by hand.

Yields vary from 225-335 pounds of paddy per acre for upland rice to 3,360 pounds per acre on the irrigated areas. Average yields of paddy during a normal year are in the neighborhood of 1,800 pounds per acre. This compares favorably with the yields generally obtained in other countries producing rice under similar conditions.

The majority of rice growers have primitive facilities for storing their requirements of paddy for the full year following harvesting. If properly dried, paddy will keep well under these conditions, but storage difficulties occur in the wet zones. There are no large-scale drying, storage, or milling facilities in Fiji, nor is there any rice marketing organization or control. Growers tend to hoard surplus paddy until the highest prices expected are offered.

Milling is done in a large number of inefficient, small, Indian-owned and operated rice mills. The return of milled rice seldom exceeds 60 percent and the proportion of broken grain is usually high.

Marketing from small blocks scattered over a wide area is difficult, and imported rice is competitive even in places lacking direct overseas service. But the government is trying to overcome this difficulty by placing a high tariff on the imported commodity to raise domestic prices which in turn would act as an incentive to increase production.

It has been estimated that only about 40 percent of the total rice production of approximately 17,000 long tons of milled rice reaches the market. This amount has been inadequate to supply consumption requirements, and it has been necessary to import rice each year. In recent years imports have varied from about 500 to 8,000 long tons milled rice per year, depending on the available local supply. The trend has been generally upward. The government expects that the present rice consumption of approximately 20,000 long tons of milled rice a year will eventually increase to about 30,000 long tons in the near future, all of which, it is hoped, will be produced in Fiji.

Moot crops.--The traditional root crops of the Fijians are ndalo--the
main root crop--and yams. To these have been added in more recent years
kumalas (sweetpotatoes), tapioca, and the white potato.

Acreages and production of the root crops cannot be determined with any accuracy since there are no large-scale plantings, but the area has been increasing and is presently estimated at 36,000 acres. These crops are traditionally grown in thousands of small gardens, usually with other crops.

In recent years large quantities of root crops have been moving into the main towns of the Colony to meet the growing demand of the increasing popula-

tion. Hence, root crops are leaving the subsistence category and are becoming cash crops. Small quantities of root crops, mainly ndalo, are exported from the Colony, primarily to New Zealand. Some yaqona is also exported.

Yaqona, a root crop, is a highly profitable crop in Fiji. The dried roots are made into a drink (kava) which is used by the Fijians as their chief beverage at most social occasions. The crop takes anywhere from 3 to 6 years to mature but, in first-class condition, the gross return from one acre in this period is as much as \$5,400. The average is not much more than one-half or one-third of this figure.

The estimated contribution of root crops to the national income in 1957 was \$9.4 million--nearly 13 percent of the total and second only to sugar.

Pulses.--Pulses are grown primarily by the Indian farmers in the Western District. The pulse crops consist mainly of pigeon peas, cow peas, mung, urd, and rice beans. The pulse-growing area is estimated at about 9,000 acres. About 20 percent of this acreage is harvested for food and the rest used as green manure. The greater proportion of the total acreage is devoted to pigeon peas, which are grown partly as a rotational crop for rice, maize, or sugarcane, and partly as an independent crop. Rice beans, pigeon peas, and cow peas are used extensively in Fiji as a green manure crop.

Peanuts.--Peanuts grow wild in the Western District and have been cultivated for a number of years as a local food crop, as well as for export. An estimated 700 acres are devoted to this crop, with yields averaging only about 400 pounds per acre. The poor yields are a result of continuous planting at all seasons, neglect of cultivation at the right stage of growth, planting on poor worked-out soils, and the absence of any management practice involving crop rotation. But prices received have been high enough in the past to warrant their continued growth and the increasing demand for peanut oil might revive the industry.

Corn.--It is estimated that the present area devoted to corn approximates only 250 acres, compared to 1,200 acres in 1949. The corn acreage has varied in the past since it has competed with peanuts for the land and labor of the farmer. During a period of high peanut prices, corn is neglected. However, as the demand for cane lands diminishes, corn can be substituted.

Corn grows well on the alluvial flats of the dry and intermediary zones, with yields of 40 to 50 bushels being obtained. Average yields in the Colony, however, are generally low--less than 20 bushels per acre--due to poor farming practices, particularly the lack of inter-row cultivation.

Where the soil is satisfactory the crop is renumerative to the peasant farmer, and acreage is likely to increase. Larger quantities than are at present available could be used locally for poultry and pig raising as a substitute for sharps.

Tobacco.--Tobacco is becoming a successful local cash crop, with about 250 acres cultivated annually, mainly by the Indians. Yields of 800 pounds per acre are normal, provided cutworm damage is not serious. Many varieties

are grown, but there is a preponderance of types suitable only for the manufacture of trade twist, which is sold in large quantities in the local markets, although the demand for this type is declining.

The Colony's Department of Agriculture has demonstrated at one of its experimental stations that good-quality leaf of the best varieties can be grown, and that excellent tobacco can be produced of the cigar filler type if properly cured. Several private foreign firms have investigated the possibility of developing high-quality tobacco for local manufacture.

Pineapples.--For many years Fiji had a promising pineapple-canning industry, with large amounts of the fresh and processed fruit exported by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. But, continuing unfavorable conditions-primarily a lack of a dependable supply--led to the closing of the last cannery several years ago. Pineapples are still grown throughout the islands and there is a good demand for them locally. Exports of the fresh fruit are made to New Zealand, but nothing has been done to re-establish the processing plants.

<u>Vegetables.</u>--During the cooler months of the year, particularly from June to October, a wide range of European vegetables are grown in most parts of the Colony. The production of vegetables for sale is mainly in the hands of Chinese market gardeners near the main city of Suva.

Best yields are obtained by the use of artificial fertilizers, provided insects are controlled. However, the shortages of imported organic fertilizer on which the larger market gardeners supplying Suva have come to depend and uncontrolled erosion continue to have an adverse effect on quality, yield, and the length of the growing season.

Minor crops. -- An area of approximately 250 acres is devoted to mustard and sesame seed from which food oils are extracted by wooden presses. Fruits of the usual tropical types are grown mainly in the higher rainfall areas. In season, adequate local supplies of fruit are available and some are exported.

Livestock

In the past, the Fijian livestock industry has been plagued by overgrazing of pastures, poor animal husbandry practices on the part of the farmers, and indiscriminate slaughterings. On the credit side, the Colony is relatively free from serious cattle diseases and the government is making an effort to improve the general situation.

It has been the government's policy since World War II to promote the expansion of the livestock industry. The degree of success has not been very remarkable. Only the hog population has shown a marked increase.

The cattle population has remained fairly stable in spite of regulations planned to expand its numbers. These regulations generally prohibit the slaughtering of steers under 3 years, and cows under 8 years of age without

permission. However, many young animals are slaughtered illegally for traditional ceremonies.

Table 2.---Livestock: Numbers on farms, 1942, 1950, 1957 and 1958

:	Livestock Numbers									
Species	1942	:	1950	:	1957	:	1958 1/			
•	Thousands	:	Thousands	:	Thousands	:	Thousands			
:		:		:						
Cattle:	84.3	:	808	:	113.0	:	114.0			
Pigs:	8.5	:	8.6	:	21.3	:	21.4			
Goats:	27.0	:	23.8	:	23.8	:	23.8			

1/ Estimated.

Beef raising.--There are only a few large beef ranches in the Colony, primarily those run by the sugar company. Difficulties in land tenure and the high cost of developing land and keeping it free from weeds have precluded other large-scale enterprises in this field. On the other hand, with the exception of tuberculosis, there is a total absence of the serious cattle diseases usually associated with the Tropics.

Breeds kept in Fiji for beef include Hereford, Red Poll, Aberdeen Angus, and crosses of these and other breeds with Zebus. Since the end of World War II, the government has helped in securing purebred beef cattle from Australia and the United States. Presently most of the beef slaughtered in the Colony is derived from peasant farmers and consists mainly of dairy stock.

<u>Dairy</u>.--Dairy farming on a large scale in Fiji is an industry of comparatively recent growth. Prior to World War II the production of dairy products was great enough to satisfy the demands of the Colony. However, with the rapid development of the Colony following the War, dairy products, particularly butter, were in heavy demand and importations from New Zealand were necessary.

The government, for a number of years, has encouraged settlers to improve their breeding stock by paying a subsidy on the import of good-quality purebred animals. Present production per cow averages only about one gallon of milk per day.

In 1950, a copra crushing mill was established in the Colony producing margarine and ghee substitutes. These cheaper vegetable products have largely replaced the more expensive animal fats in the diet of the lower income families. At the same time, demand for liquid milk has been growing and with the improvement of road transport facilities, there has been a considerable changeover from butterat to whole milk production in many areas. Recently a cooperative dairy company has established an up-to-date milk treatment and bottling plant reflecting the increased demand for whole milk.

<u>Pigs.</u>--In most countries pigs are largely raised where there is a surplus of cheap grain or dairy products. In Fiji there is no cheap grain available and the equivalent root crops grown are not at present an economical pig food in view of the demand for human food. Since the Colony's dairy industry is limited in size, the skim milk available is mainly utilized for calf feeding and not available for hogs.

The cost of imported foodstuffs is currently uneconomical; hence, the swine industry is largely dependent on slaughterhouse offal. Accordingly, it is in association with slaughterhouses that the larger concentration of pigs is found. Pig numbers have been growing, reaching about 21,000 in 1958, an increase of about 13,000 since 1950.

All pigs produced locally are slaughtered and eaten as fresh pork. In addition, substantial importations of fresh pork are made from New Zealand. All cured pork is imported since there is no local curing.

Poultry.--Interest in commercial poultry raising is increasing. The ready availability of day-old chicks from Australia and New Zealand and the growing supply from the government's hatchery have contributed to this expansion. In view of the growing interest shown by the public, the government has promoted radio broadcasts on various aspects of poultry husbandry and conducted field visits.

Sheep and goats.--The sheep originally introduced into the Colony in the early part of the century suffered badly from internal parasites, the depredations of wild dogs, and stealing. Currently, there are no sheep raised in Fiji.

Goats are mostly run in small flocks by Indian farmers, though larger flocks are raised on some coconut plantations to check grass and weed growth under the palms. Goats are raised entirely for their meat with virtually no goat milk consumed.

International Trade

The economic importance of international trade varies from country to country. For example, the agricultural exports of the United States represent about 1 percent of its national income, while for Fiji this figure is between 20 and 25 percent. Being so dependent on foreign markets for its income, the economy of Fiji is highly sensitive to changes in world prices for the goods it exports.

To illustrate this sensitivity, only about 12 percent of Fiji's sugar exports receive a fixed price higher than the world price; this is under the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement. The rest must be sold at whatever amount it will bring. Since sugar normally represents between 50 and 60 percent of the value of all exports and about 15 percent of the national income, fluctuations in world sugar prices affect Fiji greatly. Exports of copra and coconut products show a similar relationship to world markets; representing 16 percent of the value of Fiji's exports in 1959, their share in terms of total world ex-

ports was minute. In addition, no one country depends to any marked degree on Fiji as a source of supply. Yet Fiji is dependent on a few buyers.

About 45 percent of all exports normally go to the United Kingdom, 15 percent to Canada, 12 percent to New Zealand, 10 percent to Australia, and 2 percent to the United States. At one time New Zealand offered the best market for Fiji's exports, but since 1951 the United Kingdom has been their primary customer.

Export Policy

It has been the policy of the Fiji Government to leave marketing of exports to private enterprise, and to rely on protective tariffs for the support of certain crops and other products in order to create favorable conditions in its domestic markets. One exception has been in the case of exports of bananas. Here the Banana Venture with very wide authority has delegated some of its powers to licensees who in turn make arrangements for the buying and marketing of bananas.

Import Policy

The present Customs Ordinance provides for extensive concessions to encourage industrial development through reduced import duties on agricultural and industrial machinery and equipment, and in some cases on materials. It is the policy of the Government of Fiji to encourage any foreign investment which will assist in the development of the Colony.

An unfavorable balance of visible trade during 1959 was attributed to the high rate of capital development in the Colony. This deficit is expected to become a normal annual occurrence since the Colony hopes to accelerate its capital development program in the decade to come.

Agricultural Trade

Until Fiji can broaden its economic base, it must depend upon the export of a few agricultural commodities to sustain itself. About three-fourths of the value of all exports each year is derived from agriculture. In recent years, sugar has accounted for about 55 percent of exports by value, bananas, copra, and copra products have represented 17 percent, and all other agricultural exports an additional 5 percent. However, Fiji cannot depend on each segment of the farm community to produce export crops related in value to the amount of arable land cultivated.

Agricultural Exports

Fiji's dependence on a few buyers is even more apparent when they are listed by the commodities purchased. The United Kingdom generally purchases most of the unrefined sugar as well as copra and coconut products; Canada primarily buys sugar; New Zealand has been a good customer for sugar, bananas, and fresh pineapple; and Australia is an important buyer of hides.

Table 3.--Trade: Value of imports and exports by commodity groups 1946, 1957, 1958 and 1959

Commodity	1946		195	57	19	958	1959			
	:Impor	t:Export	Import	Export	:Import	t:Export	:Impor	:Import:Export		
	:				:		:			
	: Mi	llion	Mil	lion	: Mil	llion	: Million			
	: U.S.	dollars	U.S.dollars :		: U.S.	dollars	: U.S.	: U.S. dollars		
Agricultural:	:				:		:			
Food	: 2.1	5.7	8.0	21.4	: 8.1	20.8	: 9.5	19.8		
Beverages and	:	0/		0/	:		:	0/		
tobacco	6	2/	1.4	2	: 1.7	.1	: 1.1	2/		
Crude materials 1	: .3	1.1	1.0	1.8	: 1.0	1.6	: .9	1.2		
Animal fats and	:				:		:			
vegetable oils	: .1	.2	5	6.4	: .6	5.6	: .7	5.2		
	:				:		:			
Nonagricultural 3/	: 5.9	2.1	27.5	8.2	:33.0	8.6	:30.3	8.6		
Total	9.0	9.1	: 38.4	37.8	:44.4	36.7	:42.5	34.8		
	. P	ercent	Per	cent	: Pe:	rcent	: Pe	rcent		
Percent agricultural.	: 34	77	28	78	: 26	77	: 29	75		

Inedible.

Agricultural exports, valued at \$26.2 million in 1959, were slightly below the previous year, but were over 30 percent greater than for the period 1950-54. However, a further decline in the value of exports is expected for 1960, mainly because of a smaller coconut crop and troubles in the sugar industry.

The banana crop is expected to recover during 1960. Coconut production may continue to decline until the present conditions in the industry are corrected. But even then, it will take a considerable period of time for production to recover to its former levels. Recent conflict between the Colonial Sugar Refining Company and certain segments of the cane growers over the price of cane has produced some doubts as to whether Fiji will process enough of its cane (of which a surplus is available) to be able to meet its 1960 sugar quota under the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement.

Agricultural Imports

The great reliance placed on sugar as a cash crop to the exclusion of food crops and the rapidly expanding population have led Fiji into a position of importing substantial quantities of the food it consumes each year. For example, imports of rice normally average about one-fifth of the estimated annual rice consumption. However, in 1959 this rose to 40 percent.

Despite the government's efforts to make Fiji self-sufficient in such basic foods as rice, potatoes, dairy products, fish, and red meats, these products have accounted for 10 percent of the value of all imports in recent

^{2/} Less than \$50,000. 3/ Includes re-exports.

years. The importation of all agricultural items amounted to over one-fourth of the value of all imports during the same year.

The major food imports in recent years have been potatoes, rice, pulses, red meats, and fish. New Zealand has supplied the bulk of the potato imports: Thailand and Australia are the principal suppliers of rice; pulses are imported mainly from Burma and Australia; red meats principally from New Zealand; and fish from the Union of South Africa, the United States and Canada.

Table 4.-- Exports: Value of specified commodities, average 1950-54, annual 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959

Commodity :	Average 1950-54		1956	1957	:	1958	:	1959
•		:	:		:		:	
:	Million	:	Million:	Million	:	Million	:	Million
:	U.S.dol.	:	U.S.dol.:	U.S.dol	.:	U.S.dol.	:	U.S.dol.
Sugar 1/	12.7	:	12.7 :	19.8	:	19.8	:	18.8
Bananas:	•5	:	.5 :	•9	:	•4	:	•,2
Copra:	1.6	:	.7 :	.1	:	.1	:	<u>3</u> /
Coconut products:	4.2	:	5.9:	6.9	:	6.0	*	5.6
Other	1.0	:	1.6 :	1.9	:	1.8	:	1.4
Nonagricultural 2/	5.5	:	7.0:	8.2	:	8.6	:	8.8
Total	25.5	:	28.4 :	37.8	:	36.7	:	34.8

 $[\]frac{1}{2}$ Includes molasses. Includes re-export

Trade With the United States

Trade in agricultural commodities between the United States and Fiji has never been very significant. Unmanufactured tobacco is the only important agricultural product sold to Fiji, of which the United States has been the second largest supplier. However, the United States supplies minor amounts of many agricultural items and substantial quantities of canned fish. On the other hand, the United States is a major supplier of petroleum products and machinery. Fiji's only exports of any size to the United States have been manganese ore and coconut products.

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^{3/} Under \$50,000.

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