

In every case, the annual increase in those males of working age exceeds 3 per cent. With the Indians in Fiji, it exceeds 4 per cent. Economic growth rates must, therefore, be kept at commensurate levels if living standards are not to decline. The attainment of such a goal will not be easy, as may be illustrated from the cases of Fiji and Western Samoa.

The most difficult case seems clearly to be Fiji, partly because of the differential growth rates and economic functions of Fijians and Indians. Indian males aged 15-59 are increasing at the rate of approximately 4.5 per cent compared with a Fijian rate of just over 3 per cent. Should this difference be sustained, the ratio of Indians to Fijians, which was 114 : 100 in 1956, will increase to 138 : 100 by 1971. Now the 1956 census revealed that 17,000 of all economically active Indian males (43.6 per cent of the Indian male population aged 15-59) were engaged in the cultivation of sugar cane. The area under cane has increased considerably in recent years, particularly since the lifting of the quota on cane growers with the suspension of the International Sugar Agreement in 1962, but the further land suitable for cane growing is not limitless. Nor is sugar a labour-intensive industry. Consequently sugar cannot solve the labour-surplus problem. McArthur has suggested that the future employment of 20,000 Indians may be the upper limit, which would mean that by 1971 some 55,000 Indian males aged 15-59 might have to be provided with other forms of livelihood. Other forms of rural occupations are likely to be closed to them, for Fijians own the land, and it is unlikely that even the extension of subsistence farming (which was already the form of livelihood of 90 per cent of the Fijian males who were classified in 1956 as engaged in agriculture) can cope with the expected increase of the Fijian population. A drift of Fijians from agriculture is already apparent, and this is likely to continue. Thus, to the 55,000 Indians who may seek non-agricultural employment by 1971 have to be added probably 20,000 or 30,000 Fijians. Allowing for some improvement in productivity in rural industries, the total numbers of males aged 15-59 to be employed in Fiji by 1971 in non-rural occupations may well exceed 80,000, which is clearly going to be a difficult task in a country with a chronic tendency towards an unfavourable balance of trade and limited local capital for investment.

Demographers, like their spiritual father Malthus, may seem to wallow in gloom by over-emphasising the human factor and under-emphasising geographical and economic aspects. Some Economic Geographers working in Fiji seem at least to be a little more cheerful, arguing that with only 11 per cent of the land area cultivated out of at least 30 per cent that is utilisable *now*, with a sizable total land area of 7,040 square miles, with considerable known resources of mineral ores, and with a growing attraction for tourists, the prospects for both increasing employment and economic diversification are reasonably good for a considerable time ahead⁸. There seems little doubt that Fiji has considerable unused resources. Gold is Fiji's third largest export. Minor amounts of silver, iron ore, manganese ore and copper ore are also produced. Bauxite appears to be plentiful enough to attract the interest of Canadian and Japanese companies. And, in the words of an official pamphlet, "it is believed that underdeveloped resources await systematic exploration and plans

8. See particularly Watters, R. F., 1965. This article is, however, more cautious than some of the views expressed at the Symposium of the New Zealand Science Congress at which Fiji's economic future was discussed. In his article, indeed, Dr Watters virtually admits that current trends in agricultural and industrial output cannot cope with the population increase and he concludes by looking for the long-term solution in fertility decline. There are hopeful but slight signs in this regard; but any relief this may bring to the increase in the labour force must of course be some 15 years away.