

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

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**Questions**

- 1. Please provide information about the SDL, its formation, policies, and political representation before and after the December 2006 coup?**
- 2. Is there an SDL representation in Australia?**

**RESPONSE**

- 1. Please provide information about the SDL, its formation, policies, and political representation before and after the December 2006 coup?**

The information contained in this research response has been divided into the following relevant sections:

- [Formation](#)
- [Structure](#)
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- [Political representation.](#)
  - [2001 election](#)
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Please note that the Alumita Durutalo report *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* at times appears to use the term ‘Fijian’ in reference to indigenous Fijians as a specific ethnic group.

## Formation

Alumita Durutalo in her 2007 report *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* states that the Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua (SDL) party was formed in 2001 in the run up to the general election. Durutalo reports that the SDL party was formed after the 2000 coup by the military installed interim government in order to revive “the staple orthodoxies of Fijian rule”. Durutalo provides the following explanation of the formation of the SDL party:

The SDL party was formed after a period of severe division amongst Fijian leaders occasioned by the coup of 19 May 2000. It was intended to fill a power vacuum within Fijian society and within mainstream Fijian politics.

...The formation of the SDL was inspired by the need to unify indigenous Fijians once again under a single political umbrella, after the decimation of the SVT at the 1999 poll. That fracturing of the Fijian vote had ensured victory for the Fiji Labour Party (FLP)-led coalition in 1999, although that government lasted only a year. In the wake of its overthrow in May 2000, the Republic of Fiji Military Forces installed an all-Fijian ‘interim’ administration. Led by Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase, that interim government reconstituted itself as the SDL in the run-up to fresh elections held in August 2001, in the process reviving the staple orthodoxies of Fijian rule.

The SDL proved a well-organized and well-funded Fijian political party from its inception. It was dominated by educated middle-class Fijians, of whom current Prime Minister Laisenia Qarase is an outstanding example. Qarase and other ministers in the 2000–2001 interim government might instead have joined or taken over one of the already existent Fijian parties, such as the SVT or the Fijian Association Party or, most likely, the Veitokani ni Lewenivanua Vakarisito party. But these were all parties in decline, and Qarase eventually chose instead to forge a new party (Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* in *From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, pp.78- 80, 28 May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007 – Attachment 1).

Durutalo also reports that the SDL formed a coalition with the Conservative Alliance-Matanitu Vanua (CAMV) party between 2001 and 2006 and that CAMV merged with the SDL party on 17 February 2006 prior to the general election (Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* in *From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, pp80-81, 28 May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007 – Attachment 1).

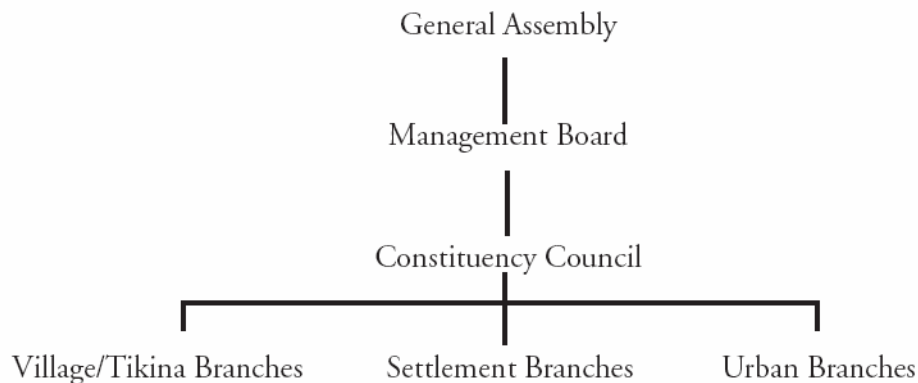
## Structure

The 2007 report *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* provides the following diagram of the “Organisational structure of the SDL party”:

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Figure 7.1 Organizational structure of the SDL party

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(Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* in *From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, p.79, 28 May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007 – Attachment 1)

### Party ideology and principles

In the report *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* Durutalo reports that the success of the SDL party “has been based on successfully upholding platforms based on the trinity of *vanua*, *lotu* and *matanitu*” (p.78). The meaning of these principles and their implementation by the SDL are outlined in the following excerpt:

*Vanua* identifies and demarcates a geopolitical boundary within which Fijian cultural practices and chiefly rule prevail. *Lotu*, meaning the new post-1835 Christian religion, replaced various forms of traditional Fijian religion and became grounded in the *vanua*. *Matanitu* is a Fijian word that denotes traditional government, and is associated with the country’s three confederacies: Kubuna, Burebasaga and Tovata.

...While other Fijian parties have tried to embody these three pillars in their party identity in one way or another, the Alliance Party, the SVT and the SDL have successfully maintained the orthodoxy as a common rallying point for their Fijian supporters.

### Strategic Methodist Church alliance

Central to the structure of the SDL was the use of *lotu* as a powerful uniting force amongst indigenous Fijians. The SDL emphasized the *lotu* and Christian morality as political virtues in its 2006 candidate line-up. Candidates seeking SDL nominations were required to show evidence of adherence to family values. Additionally, as seen in the curriculum vitae of a number of candidates, a number were Methodist lay preachers in their own churches. While direct chiefly leadership in Fijian party politics has declined since 1987, the emphasis on the *lotu*, uniting both chiefs and commoners, was a most important factor in SDL victory at the 2006 election.

...In the SDL primary elections for the 2006 election, Methodist Church membership was considered an important yardstick by which to measure a candidate’s sense of morality and commitment to societal development. In large urban centres like Suva, where Fijians from the

rural areas have relocated from to work, and where the influence of the *vanua* is not as strong, the church was used to identify SDL candidates for the 2006 election.

### **Strategic *vanua* alliance**

In 2006, the SDL considered the support of chiefs as fundamental to the success of the party, even if they did not compete as candidates. Chiefs, as traditional political leaders, are often nominated as office bearers in Fijian political parties. President of the SDL Ratu Kalokalo Loni, for example, is Tamavua high chief, who, through his chiefly influence, is able to attract people from the *vanua* in Naitasiri to the party.

...The SDL's hold on Fijians in western Viti Levu was strengthened by the inclusion of chiefs (Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election in From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, pp.81 -84, 28 May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007 – Attachment 1).

The principles of Christian faith, indigenous paramountcy and *Vanua* are outlined in the 2006 SDL party manifesto. The SDL 2006 manifesto “values” include:

- The ideals and principles of the Christian faith;
- Respect for the Vanua and the cultures and traditions of the indigenous Fijians and Rotumans;
- Respect for the cultures, traditions and religious beliefs of other communities in Fiji;
- Recognition of the paramountcy of indigenous Fijian and Rotuman interests, as proclaimed in the Constitution (Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua 2006, *Beat poverty, Raise prosperity- 2006 SDL Manifesto Summary*, Fiji live website, p2 <http://www.fijilive.com/elections2006/pdf/SDL.pdf> – Accessed 19 September 2007 – Attachment 2).

## **Policies**

### **Affirmative Action**

Durutalo reports that “the SDL attempted to address Fijian issues through what it termed the ‘Blueprint for Affirmative Action for Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans’” (Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election in From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, p.86, 28 May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007 – Attachment 1). A November 2005 working paper from the University of the South Pacific's School of Economics titled *What does Affirmative Action Affirm?*, discusses the blueprint for affirmative action in detail:

The aim of the blueprint was to address the disparity that exists between the indigenous community and other communities. It was claimed that until this disparity is reduced in areas of education, business and professions, there would never be political stability in the country.

The blueprint had three areas; *legislation, policy direction and budgetary provision*. The legislation objectives included: a new constitution; law on affirmative action; strengthening of the Great Council of Chiefs; Compulsory Savings Scheme; tax exemption for Fijian companies; Fijian Development Trust Fund; transfer of schedule A and B crown land to native land; agricultural leases on NLTB to be moved to Native Land Trust Act; ownership rights to customary *qoliqoli*; Land Claims Tribunal to settle land claims; and royalty for underground water.

Issues under policy direction are: Fijian Education Fund (scholarships and research into Fijian education); National Small Business Agency; setting aside major licences (50% of all major licences to be reserved); setting aside of major contracts (50% of government contracts reserved); setting aside of government shares (50% of government shares in companies to be reserved for indigenous Fijians); Special Loans Scheme from Fiji Development Bank; lease of commercial buildings owned by provinces and *tikina* companies; establishment allowance to indigenous Fijian landowners taking up cane farming on reverted land; and payment of mining royalty;

The following provisions were to be made under budgetary actions: freehold land buy-back (an allocation of \$0.5m for the purchase of freehold land for landowners who do not have land); annual grants to provincial councils (a \$1.5m grant to provincial councils to support their participation in business) (Gounder, N. & Prasad, B.C. 2005 *What does Affirmative Action Affirm? An Analysis of the Affirmative Action programmes for Development in the Fiji Islands*, University of the South Pacific, pp.15-16  
[http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/working\\_papers/2005/wp200527.pdf](http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/working_papers/2005/wp200527.pdf) – Accessed 19 September 2007 – Attachment 3).

According to the working paper *What does Affirmative Action Affirm?* the blueprint was “further developed in a document titled the *Twenty Year Affirmative Action Plan (2001-2020) for the Enhancement of Effective Participation of Indigenous Fijians and Rotumans in Socio Economic Development*”. The working paper states that the objective of the Twenty-Year Development Plan was to achieve “equal and meaningful” participation by indigenous Fijians by 2020. The paper states that:

The broader plan is to achieve equal participation with other communities by 2020; as captured in the declaration “50/50 by Year 2020”. The Twenty-Year Development Plan (TYDP) argues that a critical issue facing Fiji today is the continued disparity in the distribution of benefits of development within ethnic groups and the disadvantaged group are the indigenous Fijians and Rotumans.

The TYDP aims to address the so called ‘economic disparity’ with a sectoral development approach: education; population, human resource development and utilization; commerce and finance; public enterprise reform; health; resource based industries; tourism; culture and heritage; and rural development. The broad objectives of this plan are stated as follows:

- to reinforce and hasten greater participation of indigenous Fijians, particularly in the areas of corporate ownership, entrepreneurship and management;
- to augment and accelerate the improvement of indigenous Fijian educational achievement in terms of knowledge, skills, attitude and Christian values;
- develop and make stronger the ability of organisations to provide quality technical advice and to effectively and efficiently implement affirmative action programmes; and
- guarantee the future security of the rights of indigenous Fijians.

...The overall benchmark is that by 2020 indigenous Fijians are to make up 50% participation in the following areas: household income; salaried income; wage employment; government; public corporations; micro finance; small business; medium business; large business; employment in resource based industries; and ownership in resource based industries (Gounder, N. & Prasad, B.C. 2005 *What does Affirmative Action Affirm? An Analysis of the Affirmative Action programmes for Development in the Fiji Islands*, University of the South Pacific, pp. 17- 18

[http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/working\\_papers/2005/wp200527.pdf](http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/working_papers/2005/wp200527.pdf) – Accessed 19 September 2007 – Attachment 3)

## Legislation

The UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office reported in a 2007 country profile for Fiji that in 2005 the SDL government sought to introduce controversial legislation including the Native Lands Bill, the Customary Fisheries Bill and the contentious Promotion of Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill. According to the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office report in October 2006 military commander Commodore Bainimarama called for the Government to either withdraw all controversial legislation or resign. On 5 December 2006, despite reported negotiations and concessions by the Qarase government, Bainimarama assumed executive political power and deposed Prime Minister Qarase (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2007, *Country Profile: Fiji*, 5 September

<http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/front?pagename=openmarket/xcelerate/showpage&c=page&cid=1007029394365&a=kcountryprofile&aid=1018965318864> – Accessed 24 September – Attachment 4). A discussion of the controversial pieces of legislation will now follow:

### The Native Lands Bill

A legislation brief for *The Native Lands (Amendment) Bill* states that the purpose of the Act is “to bring all vacant lands under the control and administration of the Native Land Trust Board and to declare such lands as native lands” (Parliament of Fiji Islands 2002, *Native Title (Amendment) Bill 2002- Legislative Brief*, February

<http://www.parliament.gov.fj/legislative/bills.aspx?billID=213&viewtype=summary&billnav=bill> – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 5).

A 2002 paper by the South Asia Analysis Group reports that the Native Lands Bill will lead to a transfer of “extinct mataqali lands” and also “vacant lands” from the State to the Native Land Trust Board. The paper reports that this will “increase the land ownership of Indigenous Fijians from 83 percent to 92 percent to the detriment of poorer sections of Indo Fijians who are already at the mercy of indigenous land owners”. Dr Chandaderkharan from the South Asia Analysis Group reports that:

Qarase in his capacity as Minister for Fijian affairs pushed through in great haste two bills to amend the Native Lands bill and Native Lands trust bill to effect the transfer of Schedule A and B lands from the State to the Native Land Trust Board.

Schedule A lands are known as extinct mataqali lands and Schedule B lands are known as vacant lands and both together represent about 52 percent of state land administered by the State.

...The return of Schedule A and B lands would increase the land ownership of Indigenous Fijians from 83 percent to 92 percent to the detriment of poorer sections of Indo Fijians who are already at the mercy of indigenous land owners (Chandrasekharam, S. 2002 ‘Fiji: Constitutional Impasse- Prime minister Qarase should talk it over with Mahendra Chaudhry’, South Asia Analysis Group, 16 May <http://www.saag.org/papers5/paper457.html> – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 6).

### The Customary Fisheries (Qoliqoli Bill)

The Customary Fisheries Bill is outlined in the 2006 SDL Manifesto. According to the Manifesto:

This will return ownership of qoliqoli fishing areas to the original owners. Ownership was transferred to the State at the time of Cession (SDL 2006, *Beat poverty, Raise prosperity-*



2006 SDL Manifesto Summary, Fiji live website, p.19  
<http://www.fijilive.com/elections2006/pdf/SDL.pdf> – Accessed 19 September 2007 – Attachment 2).

A 2006 paper by the South Asia Analysis Group reports that the Qoliqoli bill was introduced to the parliament on 9 August 2006. The paper reports that the term *qoliqoli* “refers to traditional fishing rights” and the bill proposed to “return the control of the traditional fishing grounds from the government to the native owners”. Dr Chandaderkharan from the South Asia Analysis group states that:

The bill proposes to return the control of the traditional fishing grounds from the government to the native owners and for the establishment of a Qoliqoli commission with its powers and functions and for the purpose of regulating and managing fisheries resources within the Qoliqoli areas.

There are 410 Qoliqoli owners to the 18,200 square kilometers of Qoliqoli area in 320 islands in Fiji of which 105 are inhabited.

... The immediate party affected in Fiji would be the resort owners who now will have to pay for the usage and the costs would go up. The Hotel and resort owners claim that the bill would cripple their operations and the tourist industry will be affected.

Qarase had to choose between certain political advantages that would accrue from the Bill and the damage it would cost to the tourism industry. He chose the former in line with his ruthless pursuit of defending, protecting, winning over and consolidating the indigenous Fijians in the name of protecting their traditional culture. This does not directly affect the Indo Fijians who are mostly farmers and whose lives are already affected by the Native Land trust Board whose aim is mainly to protect the land rights of the indigenous Fijians. But the Qoliqoli Bill would only confirm the feeling that they have no future in Fiji and that they should go elsewhere (Chandasekharan, S. 2006 ‘FIJI: Multi Party Cabinet Experiment-Struggling to Survive’, South Asia Analysis Group, 17 September  
<http://www.saag.org/%5cpapers20%5cpaper1954.html> – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 7).

### **The Promotion of Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill (the RTU Bill).**

Mosmi Bhim provides a comprehensive overview of the SDL’s RTU Bill in the report *The impact of the Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill on the 2006 election*. According to Bhim the RTU Bill was first introduced into parliament on 31 May 2005 but was shelved by the SDL government “shortly before the 2006 election” with the intention of revisiting the issues at a later time. The RTU Bill controversially included an amnesty clause which allowed individuals convicted of ‘politically motivated’ coup-related offences to apply for amnesty. According to Bhim “opponents saw the amnesty provisions in the Bill as a dangerous concession to Fijian nationalist opinion, and as potentially entailing the release from prison of 2000 coup leader, George Speight, and of prominent chiefs convicted for coup-related offences” (p.111). Bhim reports that the Fijian military viewed the RTU Bill “as a threat to its efforts to stabilise the security situation in the aftermath of the 2000 coup” (p.126). The Amnesty clauses of the RTU Bill have been outlined in the following excerpt of *The impact of the Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill on the 2006 election*:

Of the 36 clauses contained in the RTU Bill, the longest was clause 21, titled ‘Applications for Amnesty’, which had 15 sub-clauses. It allowed those convicted of coup-related offences that were classified as ‘politically motivated’ and committed between 19 May 2000 and 15

March 2001 to apply for amnesty. 'Politically motivated' activities were to be distinguished from those of a 'criminal' nature, a proposal which generated obvious difficulties: 'treason', for example, is usually highly politically motivated but nevertheless usually also considered the most severe form of criminal activity against the state. The intended application of the Bill to the 2000 coup-related prisoners was explicit, and the four clauses relating to this indicated some urgency in securing the release of prisoners on the part of government. The four clauses were:

(2) In dealing with applications for amnesty, the Commission shall give priority to applications from persons in custody...

(6) If an applicant for amnesty is charged...or is standing trial...the Commission may request the court to postpone the criminal proceedings pending the consideration and disposal of the application for amnesty...

(12) Any person who has been granted amnesty...shall be released from prison forthwith on a warrant issued by the President...

(13) An amnesty granted by the President...shall have the effect of erasing the

conviction (Bhim, M. 2007, 'The impact of the Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill on the 2006 election 'in *From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J.Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, pp.113

[http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/whole\\_book.pdf](http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/whole_book.pdf) – Accessed 4 July 2007 – Attachment 8).

## **Political representation**

### **2001 election**

According to a Fijian government election website the SDL government won 31 seats in the 2001 election. A list containing the elected SDL candidates can be found in the following attachment ('2001 Election results' 2001, Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website, 7 September <http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2001.html> – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 9).

A diagram from the Fijian government election website indicates that the SDL party won 46% of the overall seats in parliament in the 2001 election ('Summary of total seats won by party' 2001, Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website, 19 November [http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2001/summaries/01\\_total\\_seat.html](http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2001/summaries/01_total_seat.html) – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 10).

### **2006 election**

Sources provide different information as to the exact number of seats won by the SDL party in the 2006 election. According to a news article on the International Foundation for Election Systems website 35 SDL members were elected to parliament and the incumbent Prime Minister Laiseni Qarase was sworn into power on 18 May 2006:

On May 18, incumbent Prime Minister Laiseni Qarase was sworn in for a second term in power following the narrow victory of his United Fiji Party (SDL) in the May 6-13 parliamentary elections. The Prime Minister was able to secure a working majority in the 71-



seat parliament only after two independents decided to ally themselves with the 35 SDL members elected to parliament ('Election Guide IFES – Fiji PM Qarase sworn in for a second term after the 2006 election' 2006, International Foundation for Election Systems website, 18 May <http://www.electionguide.org/news-search.php?country=73&submitted=1&year=any> – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 11).

In the report *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* Durutalo states that the SDL party, newly merged with the CAMV party, won “80 per cent of the overall Fijian votes, and 36 out of the 71 seats” (Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election* in *From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website, pp80-81, 28 May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007 – Attachment 1).

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office reported in a 2007 country profile that “The SDL secured 38 parliamentary seats in the election” (UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2007, *Country Profile: Fiji*, 5 September <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/front?pagename=openmarket/xcelerate/showpage&c=page&cid=1007029394365&a=kcountryprofile&aid=1018965318864> – Accessed 24 September. Attachment 4).

For a list of the successful SDL candidates please see the following attachment ('List of Candidates for the 2006 elections' (undated), Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website [http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2006/elect\\_candidates.html](http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2006/elect_candidates.html) – Accessed 20 September 2007 – Attachment 12).

## **2. Is there an SDL representation in Australia?**

No information was found in the sources consulted regarding SDL representation in Australia.

### **List of Sources Consulted**

#### Internet Sources:

#### **Government Information & Reports**

Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada <http://www.irb.gc.ca/>

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office <http://www.fco.gov.uk/>

US Department of State <http://www.state.gov/>

#### **Non-Government Organisations**

Amnesty International website <http://www.amnesty.org/>

Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org/>

#### **International News & Politics**

ANU E Press website <http://epress.anu.edu.au/>

BBC News website <http://news.bbc.co.uk/>

International Foundation for Election Systems website <http://www.electionguide.org/>

South Asia Analysis Group <http://www.saag.org/>

#### **Region Specific Links**

Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website <http://www.elections.gov.fj/>

Fiji live website <http://www.fijilive.com/>

Parliament of Fiji Islands <http://www.parliament.gov.fj/>

University of the South Pacific, <http://www.usp.ac.fj/>

## Search Engines

Google search engine <http://www.google.com.au/>

## Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)

BACIS (DIMA Country Information database)

REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)

ISYS (RRT Country Research database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

## List of Attachments

1. Durutalo, A. 2007, *Defending the inheritance: the SDL and the 2006 election in From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website May <http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/ch10.pdf> – Accessed 14 September 2007.
2. Soqosoqo Duavata ni Lewenivanua 2006, *Beat poverty, Raise prosperity- 2006 SDL Manifesto Summary*, Fiji live website <http://www.fijilive.com/elections2006/pdf/SDL.pdf> – Accessed 19 September 2007.
3. Gounder, N. & Prasad, B.C. 2005 *What does Affirmative Action Affirm? An Analysis of the Affirmative Action programmes for Development in the Fiji Islands*, University of the South Pacific, [http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/working\\_papers/2005/wp200527.pdf](http://www.usp.ac.fj/fileadmin/files/schools/ssed/economics/working_papers/2005/wp200527.pdf) – Accessed 19 September 2007.
4. UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office 2007, *Country Profile: Fiji*, 5 September <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/front?pagename=openmarket/xcelerate/showpage&c=page&cid=1007029394365&a=kcountryprofile&aid=1018965318864> – Accessed 24 September.
5. Parliament of Fiji Islands 2002, *Native Title (Amendment) Bill 2002- Legislative Brief*, February, <http://www.parliament.gov.fj/legislative/bills.aspx?billID=213&viewtype=summary&billnav=bill> – Accessed 20 September 2007.
6. Chandrasekharam, S. 2002 'Fiji: Constitutional Impasse- Prime minister Qarase should talk it over with Mahendra Chaudhry', South Asia Analysis Group, 16 May <http://www.saag.org/papers5/paper457.html> – Accessed 20 September 2007.
7. Chandasekharan, S. 2006 'Fiji: Multi Party Cabinet Experiment- Struggling to Survive', South Asia Analysis Group, 17 September <http://www.saag.org/%5cpapers20%5cpaper1954.html> – Accessed 20 September 2007.
8. Bhim, M. 2007, 'The impact of the Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity Bill on the 2006 election' in *From election to coup in Fiji. The 2006 campaign and its aftermath*, eds J. Fraenkel & S. Firth, ANU E Press website [http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/whole\\_book.pdf](http://epress.anu.edu.au/fiji/pdf/whole_book.pdf) – Accessed 4 July 2007.

9. '2001 Election results' 2001, Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website, 7 September <http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2001.html> – Accessed 20 September 2007.
10. 'Summary of total seats won by party' 2001, Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website, 19 November [http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2001/summaries/01\\_total\\_seat.html](http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2001/summaries/01_total_seat.html) – Accessed 20 September 2007.
11. 'Election Guide IFES – Fiji PM Qarase sworn in for a second term after the 2006 election' 2006, International Foundation for Election Systems website, 18 May <http://www.electionguide.org/news-search.php?country=73&submitted=1&year=any> – Accessed 20 September 2007.
12. 'List of Candidates for the 2006 elections' (undated), Elections 2006- Fiji Islands website [http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2006/elect\\_candidates.html](http://www.elections.gov.fj/results2006/elect_candidates.html) – Accessed 20 September 2007.