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ARTICLE



## The migration routes of Chinese and Taiwanese Hakka to Africa

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### ABSTRACT

Based on the literature review, we conclude a variety of foreign and domestic factors directly and indirectly contributed to the migration of the Chinese indentured laborers from the late nineteenth century to the early twenty-first century. These factors can be summarized as follows: (1) The domestic economy; (2) The civil war; (3) The legalization of Chinese emigration; (4) The change of the international situation; (5) The labor demanded by the industrialization in colonial countries. Moreover, we interviewed several Taiwanese and Hakka migrants and state four migrating routes. The Hakka culture in Africa is rich and diverse. When we start to know their origins and migration routes, we can have a clear and complete knowledge of African and Asian history.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

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### KEYWORDS

Hakka; immigration;  
agricultural mission; Taiwan;  
Africa

## Introduction

According to the statistics of the Overseas Community Affairs Council, Republic of China (hereinafter referred to as the OCAC), the number of Chinese in Africa has exceeded 10,000 since 1948. However, the Chinese population size in Africa is the smallest as compared to the Chinese populations in other continents. In 1999, there were totally 132,000 Chinese living in Africa, and the majority lived in the Republic of South Africa, Mauritius, French Reunion, the Kingdom of Swaziland, and the Republic of Kenya, as the Republic of South Africa accounted for 40,000 and Mauritius accounted for 30,000.<sup>1</sup> This shows the distribution of the Chinese in Africa. However, we are unable to know the actual size of Hakka population in Africa because these African countries do not note the ethnic group of each Chinese immigrant in any immigration-related documents or statistics. In this case, when we want to depict the history of Hakka immigrants to Africa, we can follow the history of Chinese immigrants to Africa with a focus on the existing Hakka historical materials and assistance of interviews with Hakka immigrants.

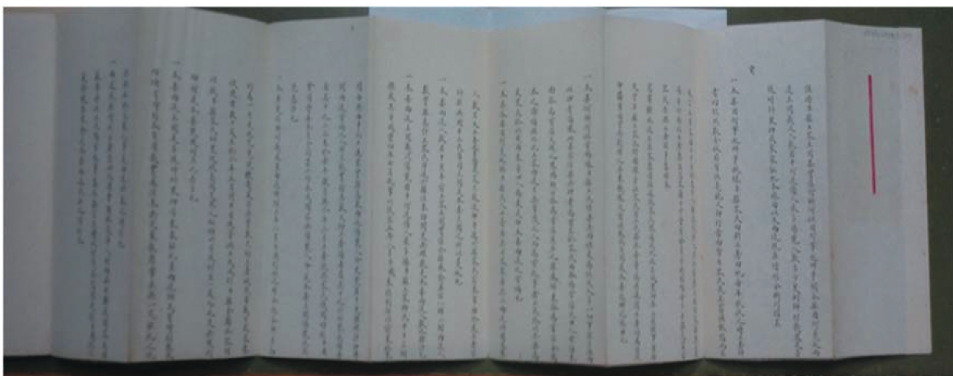
Before the middle of the twentieth century, the reasons for the appearance of Chinese indentured labor to work outside China were population growth and warfare. After the reigns of *Qianlong* 乾隆 and *Jiaqing* 嘉慶 in the Qing Dynasty, the Hakka population in *Taishan* 台山, *Kaiping* 開平 and *Sihui* 四會 in China began to grow rapidly. This caused a

shortage of land for cultivation. As a result, they turned to rent land from the natives to increase their harvest. In a few years, their way to obtain land gradually changed to purchase. Their actions of land acquisition aroused antipathy among the natives and led to fierce conflicts even though the land acquisition was not unfair. Later, the Guangdong governor Jiang, Yifen 蔣益豐 called for an armistice between the two sides and made them to exchange land. Finally, the conflicts came to an end. However, the land in *Chixi* 赤溪 was not enough to accommodate a large number of Hakka people.<sup>2</sup> The officials thus allocated 200,000 yuan and distributed the money, with funds self-raised locally, to the Hakka people who volunteered to cultivate in other places. [Figure 1](#) presents a report on one of the conflicts between the Hakka people and the natives in Southeast China. After the founding of the Republic of China, the Hakka people moved from mountains to plains, from plains to cities, and then moved to overseas places.<sup>3</sup>

The communication between China and Southeast Asian countries began during the Han Dynasty. During the Tang and Song Dynasties, more and more Chinese moved to foreign countries, and the emigration trend became even more prosperous in the Ming Dynasty. In the sixteenth century, the influence of Western countries into Southeast Asian countries changed the societies of Southeast Asian countries and affected Chinese people in terms of the behavior of going abroad, overseas residence, work, and social status in these countries. After the Opium War (1839–1842), China became a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. With the escalation of sharp conflicts at home and abroad, the number of Chinese going abroad increased rapidly. By the first half of the nineteenth century, the estimated total number of Chinese expatriates was one million.<sup>4</sup>

During the heyday of the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese government developed foreign trade backed up by strong military forces, and a booming era appeared. The Chinese took this advantage to freely emigrate to Central Asia, Mongolia, and Southeast Asia. During the reign of Yongle 永樂 (1403–1424), Zheng, He 鄭和 made seven far-reaching ocean voyages to the coastal territories and islands in and around the South China Sea, the Indian Ocean, and beyond, and visited 14 Southeast Asian countries and regions.

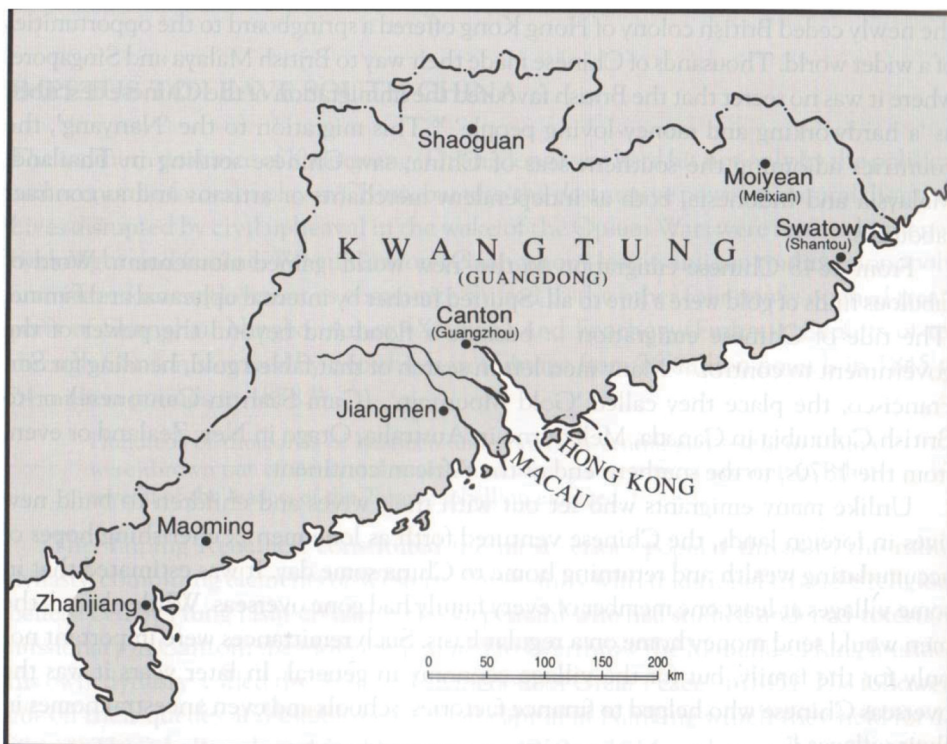
According to the records from Ma, Huan 馬歡, Fei, Xin 費信 and Gong, Zhen 鞏珍, members of Zheng, He's retinue of aides, some Chinese clans had already lived in Southeast Asia when they visited there.<sup>5</sup> In 1644, the Qing army occupied northern



**Figure 1.** A report on the conflicts between the Hakka people and the natives in Southeast China. Source: The National Archives, UK (FO 931/346, photographed by Chiachi Lin on 11 November 2016).

China, and the adherents of the Ming dynasty fled to the provinces of southern China. The Han Chinese who arrived in these provinces were called 'Hakka', which is a direct translation meaning 'guest'. To escape the suppression from Qing army, some of these people joined coastal pirate organizations or underground societies while some fled overseas to Southeast Asian countries, such as Japan or Taiwan. Later on, many followers of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851–1864) fled to Thailand and other Southeast Asian areas. In the Qing Dynasty, Guangzhou was the main port to go to Southeast Asia, but after the First Opium War (1839–1842), Hong Kong became a British colony, and many immigrants would also move overseas via Hong Kong.

Hakka immigrants in Africa can be traced back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They were brought to Mauritius, French Reunion, and South Africa by Europeans.<sup>6</sup> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Qing government faced several internecine wars, the invasion of foreign powers, and the living conditions for ordinary people were very difficult. Under the circumstances, some people living in the southeast coastal areas moved overseas. There were many Hakka among them. [Figure 2](#) shows the hometowns of the two ethnic groups of Chinese immigrants in South Africa, and one of the ethnic groups is Hakka.



**Figure 2.** The hometowns of the Cantonese-speaking Chinese and Hakkas in South Africa. Source: Yap and Man, *Colour, Confusion and Concessions*, 27. Note: Cantonese-speaking Chinese originated from villages in the vicinity of Canton (Guangzhou) while the Hakkas emigrated largely from areas surrounding Moiyen (Meixian).

They emigrated largely from areas surrounding Muiyen (Meixian). Deceived by human agencies, some immigrants left their hometowns with the dream to get a good job overseas. Unfortunately, it turned out that they were sold to Southeast Asia as the lowest-class laborers, commonly known as ‘piglets’, while the sold Chinese women were called ‘pig flowers’. Some Chinese immigrants in Southeast Asia later moved to Africa. There were also a small number of Chinese who moved directly to Africa. These Chinese were mostly exiled criminals, released prisoners, small businessmen, skilled craftsmen, etc.<sup>7</sup>

There were two large Chinese emigration waves: the first was from the early Ming Dynasty till the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion (1368–1850), and the second was from the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion to the first half of the twentieth century (1851–1949). There was evidence of Chinese people working abroad from the Ming dynasty until the outbreak of the Taiping Rebellion. For instance, in 1812, Great Britain recruited about 2,000 Chinese laborers from Fujian and Guangdong and sent them to the St. Helena Islands for cultivation. In 1817, some Chinese laborers arrived in Mauritius, and by that time, Port Louis already had a residential area known as camp des Chinois. In 1824, the government of Mauritius intended to expand the sugar industry and made its first attempt to import ‘Chinese indentured laborers’ to solve the problem of the labor shortage. In 1829, 400 Chinese landed in Mauritius, and the Mauritius government issued the first decree on the introduction of Chinese indentured labor. In 1836, a large number of Chinese workers participated in the construction of the roads in Madagascar. In 1843, the Governor of French Reunion decided to allow the introduction of Chinese labor.<sup>8</sup>

The Qing government’s suppression of the Taiping Rebellion (1851–1864) led to the decrease of the population in China by at least 70 million, most of which occurred in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River, the most densely populated areas. The turmoil of war is also an important cause of population migration. As long as the place was sparsely populated, the mainland, the frontiers, the plains and mountains, the people in its surrounding areas would quickly settle. People would also continue to move abroad due to wars. A document of 1862 in Madagascar recorded the arrival of Chinese for the first time. By 1885, the number of Chinese who moved to South Africa increased year by year, and the South African government thus enacted laws to limit Chinese migration as a result. In 1898, the Qing government and the Congo Free State signed a ‘special chapter’ in Beijing, which was the first official treaty in the history of China–Africa relations. The treaty clearly stated itself as a ‘treaty of friendship and trade’. During this period, a large number of Chinese moved to Africa. For example, in some regions of Africa, there were Chinese schools, temples, newspapers, magazines, and Chinese immigrants even obtained the right to vote.<sup>9</sup>

In 1903, Great Britain, the mother country of South Africa, intended to revitalize the mining industry in Transvaal and revive the economy of South Africa and thus had the need to import labor from China or Japan. At that time, China was forced to open its doors to western powers, and successively signed a number of unequal treaties after being defeated in the Opium War, such as the Sino-British Treaty of 1860, the Sino-Dutch Treaty of 1863, and the treaties with other countries during 1861–1864. These treaties allowed foreign countries to freely hire Chinese workers to work abroad and legalized their labor recruitment in China. Moreover, with the spread of capitalism in China, the

traditional peasant economy gradually collapsed. Rural laborers began to consider the option of working overseas, and this gave human traffickers some opportunities. Most local bureaucrats did nothing to stop people from working overseas because overseas migration could reduce the pressure of food shortage caused by overpopulation.<sup>10</sup>

As mentioned previously, a variety of foreign and domestic factors directly and indirectly contributed to the migration of the Chinese indentured laborers from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. These factors can be summarized as follows:

1. The domestic economy: After the Opium War of 1840, China's traditional economy was destroyed by foreign capitalism, a large number of peasants and handicraftsmen went bankrupt. In order to earn a livelihood, many chose to work overseas. This was one of the causes leading to a large number of Chinese indentured laborers.<sup>11</sup>

2. The civil war: Many Taiping Rebellion followers were Hakka. After the failure of the rebellion, they had no choice but to flee overseas. There were also people who wished to earn a livelihood overseas but turned to be sold abroad. Therefore, the motives behind the Chinese migration can be divided into two types: active and passive. However, due to the limited existing documents, we do not know which type dominated most cases of the Chinese migration.

3. The legalization of Chinese emigration: On 6 April 1856, a Guangzhou Judge issued a statement condemning the induction of Chinese laborers to work abroad, but at the same time he proclaimed that those who intended to emigrate could move abroad as long as they had basic preparation. A few days later, the Guangzhou government issued a new announcement under the pressure from the British: Chinese businessmen could move abroad and do business in other places, and those who were willing to be hired by foreigners were free to move abroad after obtaining legal contracts.

4. The change of international situation: The Western Indian Ocean was open to Chinese immigrants. As Pacific countries gradually shut doors on Chinese immigrants, the coastal countries of the Western Indian Ocean began to open their doors to Chinese who had left their homes. After the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, the Indian Ocean region became a place of competition for European powers because the Indian Ocean was connected to the Mediterranean Sea. In 1885, France imposed a protectorate over Madagascar. In 1886, South Africa discovered diamond mines and gold mines, and the Chinese became indentured laborers to work in mines.<sup>12</sup>

5. The labor demanded by the industrialization in colonial countries: Southeast Asia contributed a great amount of raw materials to the industrialization of the West at that time and attracted individual capitalists to invest. As the economy developed rapidly, the demand for labor increased. However, local farmers in Southeast Asia were reluctant to leave their farmlands to work in cities, large-scale mines, and plantations. As a result, capitalists could only replenish labor from other places, and China with a large population, became one of their choices.<sup>13</sup>

### **Before the twentieth century: the situation of Chinese indentured laborers**

In order to develop its colonies in Africa, Great Britain required a large amount of labor and took various means to recruit Chinese workers to Africa. The Hakka people initially went to Africa through Southeast Asia or other ports such as Mauritius, Kolkata. A

popular saying among overseas Hakka Chinese is that ‘*YouQianHuiTongShan, MuQianFanGuoFaE.*’(有錢轉(回去)唐山, 無錢番(外洋)過番; *Make enough money to go back home. If there is no money, go far abroad.*) The phrase means that if you have made a fortune abroad, you will be able to return to your motherland; otherwise, you will have to transfer from this place of residence to another port to gain a better life. Therefore, many overseas Chinese who had a hard time living in their lives still bore a glimmer of hope to move to another country. In this case, more and more Hakka Chinese (mostly from Meixian) gradually moved from Southeast Asia to Africa.<sup>14</sup>

In *Zhongfei guanxishi wenxuan*, they collected a letter which was sent to Farrar, the Minister of Mines of South Africa, the issue of importing Chinese workers and the source of Chinese labor sent to Africa were mentioned. According to this letter, most likely written by a manpower agency in China, there were two main sources for recruiting Chinese workers from China. One was the ports that were open to foreign commerce and their surrounding areas. The other was from the interior regions of China. The writer of the letter also talked about the main areas of the labor supply he was familiar with. They included the open commercial ports, the areas from the interior regions to Hubei, Henan, Shanxi, Shaanxi and other provinces close to the Yangtze River Valley, as well as areas near Hankou city, and between the Yellow River and Beijing penetrated by the Grand Canal. He also believed that the Chinese workers recruited from Shanxi and Hebei provinces would be the most valuable because they were very strong and could easily get used to the life in mines and the climate in South Africa.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, the Chinese government and Great Britain also had a correspondence about the selection of the port to export labor. Figure 3 is the coordination letters between China and Great Britain discussing the port to export labor. On 13 May 1903, China and Great Britain signed a treaty for the recruitment of Chinese workers. Figure 4 is one of the labor contracts at the time. On 6 April 1904, the first batch of 9,968 Chinese workers arrived in South Africa.<sup>16</sup> One year later, some of them returned to China while some of them continued to stay in South Africa.

One of those workers who returned to China wrote a report about what he saw and heard in Africa including his own work situation (Figure 5). The book *Qingmo huagong dui nanfei qulan siwa er jinkuang kaikai de gongxian* 清末華工對南非屈蘭斯瓦爾金礦

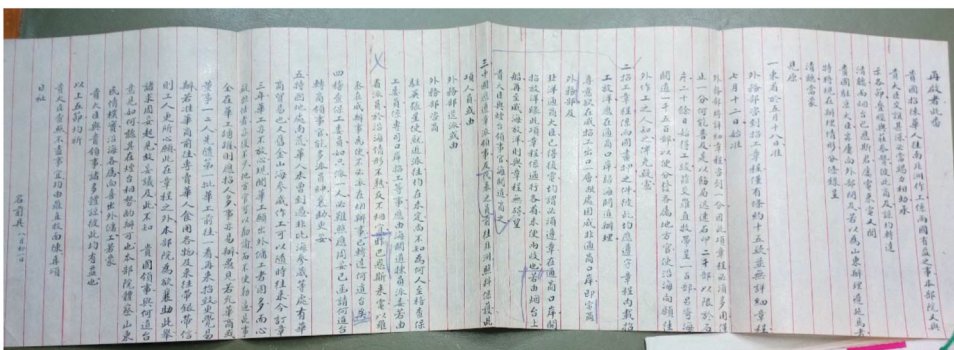


Figure 3. A letter sent to the British minister who supervised the Weihai concession. Source: The National Archives, UK (FO 931/346, photographed by Chiachi Lin on 11 November 2016).

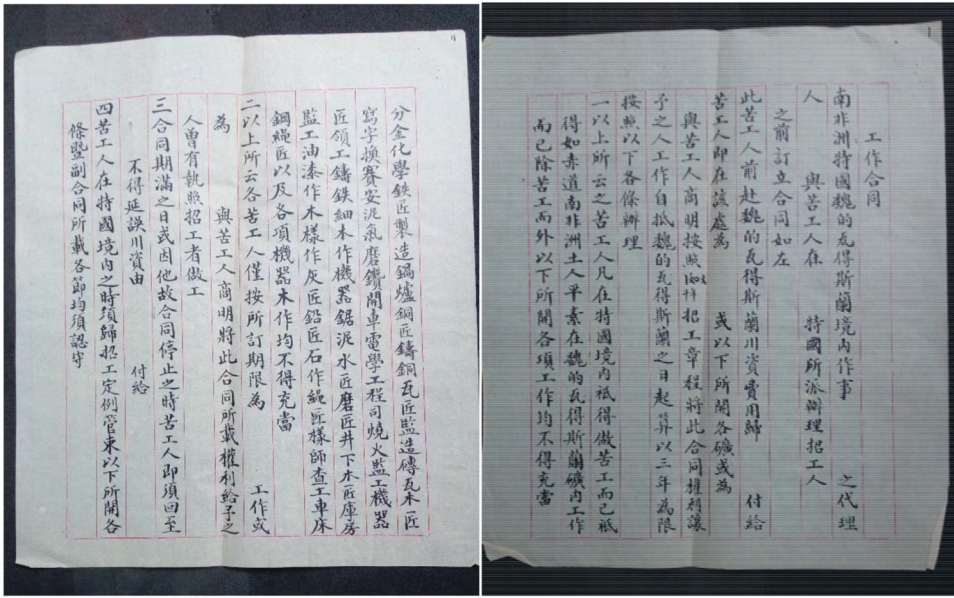


Figure 4. A work contract for Chinese indentured workers who worked in the Transvaal, South Africa. Source: The National Archives, UK (FO 228/2151, photographed by Chiachi Lin on 11 November 2016).

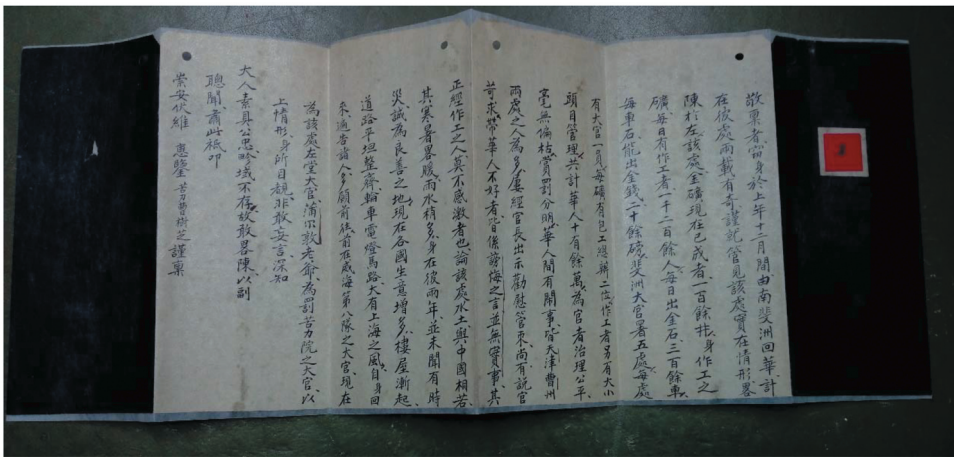


Figure 5. A report written by a Chinese coolie. Source: The National Archives, UK (CO 813/224, photographed by Chiachi Lin on 11 November 2016).

開採的貢獻 written by Song, Xi 宋晞 (1974)<sup>17</sup> also contains several records and pictures of the daily life of Chinese indentured workers in South Africa (Figure 6).

The number of Chinese indentured laborers rose for the first 3 years. However, the number began to decline by 1908, and in 1910, there were only 305 Chinese workers<sup>18</sup> (Table 1). There are three main causes leading to such a dramatic decline: (1) Severe personal control and inhumane abuse were imposed on Chinese indentured laborers (Figure 7); (2) Several riots started among Chinese indentured laborers due to the





**Figure 6.** The daily life of Chinese indentured workers in South Africa. Source: Song, ‘*Huagong xintu*’ 華工信圖 (Letters and Pictures of Chinese Indentured Labor).

**Table 1.** The number of Chinese workers in South Africa during 1904–1910.

Year	Number of People	Year	Number of People
1904	9,668	1908	21,207
1905	39,952	1909	6,516
1906	51,427	1910	305
1907	49,302		

Source: Zhang, ‘*Nanfei huaren de lishi yanbian*,’ 8.

inhumane treatment, and the severe conflicts among the political parties in Great Britain. The party who opposed the introduction of the Chinese indentured labor strongly urged the abolition of the Chinese indentured labor system. The pictures in *Beijing huabao* 北京畫報 (Beijing Pictorial) (Figure 8) were presented to the British Parliament to highlight the problems of Chinese workers in South Africa; (3) In 1905, Liu, Yulin 劉玉麟, the Chinese Consul General in South Africa, took office and became a diplomatic channel to solve the problem of Chinese workers. In this case, the working life in Africa could be truly passed back to China. Africa, therefore, was no longer a wonderland for the Chinese.

The reasons for Chinese and Hakka immigration to Africa have been described above, including the poor economic conditions, wars, and natural disasters of their hometown. The wars were the main reason for the Chinese and Hakka immigration to Africa, such as the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, and the wars in the late Qing Dynasty. After the founding of the Republic of China, the period of the civil war between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the period after the KMT retreated to Taiwan were the peaks of Chinese immigration. The Chinese immigrants who moved abroad during the time before the middle of the twentieth century are called *laohuaqiao* 老華僑 or *laoqiao* 老僑, which means ‘Old Overseas Chinese’. They mainly speak Hakka

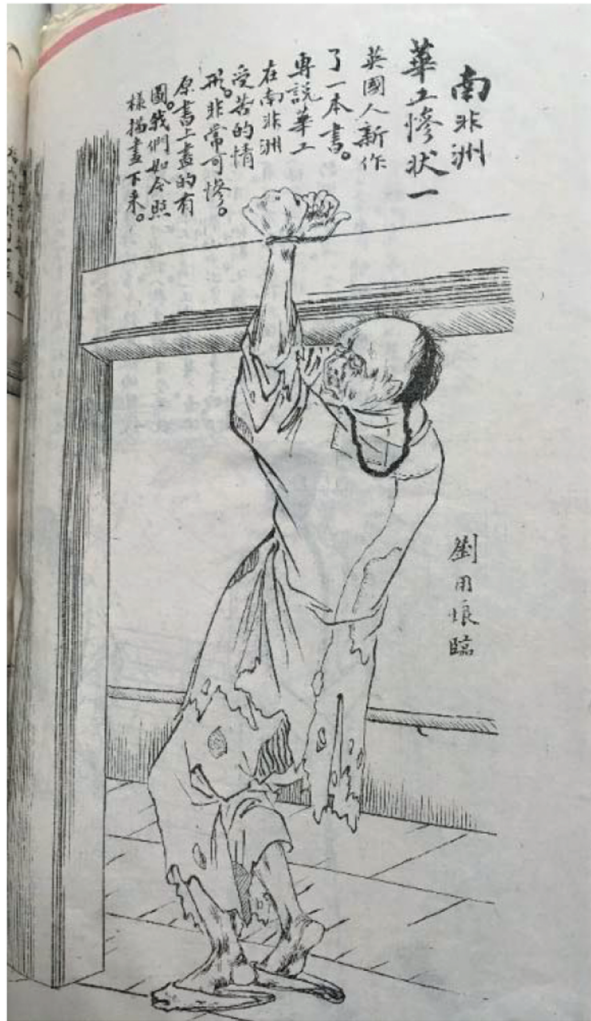


**Figure 7.** Cartoon from the Daily Mirror 鏡報 published in 1905 commenting on Chinese workers in South Africa. Source: British Cartoon Archive for the Centre for the Study of Cartoons & Caricature at the University of Kent: WH0066, W. K. Haselden, Daily Mirror, 31 July 1905. ([South African holding whip:] You vosn't a slave, vos you, mein John? [Chained Chinese man:] John velly much wish him back at home!).

or Cantonese. The Chinese immigrants who moved abroad in the mid or late twentieth century are called *xinhuaqiao* 新華僑 or *xinqiao* 新僑, which means 'New Overseas Chinese'.

Based on the interviews with 'old' Hakka immigrants in Africa and relevant historical documents, this study draws four primary routes which most Chinese immigrants took to Africa. These immigrants were mainly from *meixian* 梅縣 in Guangdong Province while some were from *shunde* 順德 in Guangdong Province, Fujian Province, or other provinces. In this stage, the four routes they took to Africa were (1) Hong Kong → Singapore or Malaysia → India → Africa; (2) Guangzhou → Hong Kong → India → Africa; (3) Hong Kong → Singapore or Malaysia → Africa; (4) Hong Kong → Africa.

In 1904, a large number of Chinese moved to South Africa and aroused dissatisfaction among local residents. As a result, the argument of 'Chinese Threat' emerged. Nevertheless, after the import of Chinese indentured workers to South Africa stopped



**Figure 8.** Picture from the 1st issue of *Beijing huabao* 北京畫報 (Beijing Pictorial) showing the physical abuse suffered by the Chinese indentured workers in South Africa. Source: The National Archives (FO 228/2152, photographed by Chiachi Lin on 11 November 2016).

and the South African government issued a number of prohibitions against Chinese, the majority of the Chinese who moved to South Africa were independent immigrants, and their number was only a few hundred after 1910.<sup>19</sup>

The '*Nanfei huaqiao qingkuang yishu*' 南非華僑情況憶述 is the memoir of the author Ye, Xun 葉迅 (1996)<sup>20</sup> who moved to South Africa in 1942 and had lived there for more than 20 years. In this book, Ye recalled his life in South Africa, including his experience as a teacher in local Chinese schools and his interactions with local overseas Chinese groups. At that time, the Union of South Africa was comprised of four provinces: the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. The British colonialists invaded South Africa in 1860.

After the invasion, they needed a large amount of labor to develop the colonies, so they used various means to deceive Chinese workers to work in South Africa. Most of these Chinese workers were Cantonese speakers from *guangfu* 廣府 in Guangdong Province and Hakka speakers. They passed through South Asia, Mauritius, or Calcutta in India and finally arrived in South Africa. After arrival, the Hakka people would invite their acquaintances in their hometowns to come and join them, and gradually their number thus increased.<sup>21</sup>

By 1946, when Ye left the country, there were more than 3,000 overseas Chinese in the Union of South Africa. If Rhodasia and Portuguese Mozambique were included, there were about 10,000 overseas Chinese in South Africa. Most of these Chinese lived in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth. In the Cape of Good Hope, East London, Durban, and Kimberly, there were also hundreds of Chinese. After the Second World War, the Chinese were again willing to move to South Africa due to the changes in the international situation and the restored relationship between South Africa and Taiwan after 1980.<sup>22</sup>

### The African policy, Chinese and Hakka immigration from Taiwan after 1945

After retreating to Taiwan, the government of the Republic of China sought new foreign policies to deal with the changes in the international situation. Following the Second World War, many African territories gained their independence from European colonization, and these newly established countries formed the force of the Third World during the Cold War. In the later years of the Cold War, the People's Republic of China (PRC) tried hard to compete with the Republic of China (ROC) in the United Nations to gain the 'China' representation. The PRC sent officials to African countries to seek support while a delegation organized by the World Bank went to Africa in the early 1960s to visit 10 African countries in order to consolidate the representation of the ROC in the United Nations.

During the visit, the African countries requested agricultural technical assistance and loans from the President of the World Bank because some of the African countries still relied on the agricultural institutions supported by their former colonizing countries to develop agriculture. At that moment, someone suggested to the President of the World Bank that the ROC could be the one to provide these African countries with agricultural technical assistance. At that time, Taiwan had gained satisfactory achievement in agricultural improvement in 1950. Therefore, the ROC established technical missions to help African countries to develop agriculture and drew attention from the African governments, which thus looked for further agricultural collaboration with Taiwan.

All of the agricultural technical mission members had to be agricultural vocational senior high school graduates and must pass examinations on the subjects of Mandarin, English, and agriculture. Other job-related expertise, such as photography, language, driving, etc. would be deemed as an asset in the mission member selection. The exam on agriculture included a written test and the operation of farming machines and tools. Therefore, Hakka people gained the chance to pass the exam by having practical experience in farming.

With farming experience, hard-working attitude, and the courage to open up, Hakka people became the important force of the agricultural technical missions which made great achievement in its early period. The Hakka people are good at farming, and their

settlement in Taiwan has its historical origins. In 1683, the Qing government conquered Taiwan. After that, the people along the coast of Fujian and Guangdong were prohibited from migrating to Taiwan. However, driven by poor life, some still sneaked into Taiwan for land reclamation.<sup>23</sup> The early Hakka migration to Taiwan mostly occurred in the first 2 to 3 years after the Qing government conquered Taiwan. However, the Hokkien people, benefitted from the comparatively short distance between their hometowns and Taiwan, were more dominant than the Hakka people. (Today's Tainan City 台南市)<sup>24</sup> Around the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, some Hakka people began to move to the east of Taiwan for cultivation.<sup>25</sup> After the middle of the twentieth century, the Hakka people in Taiwan became the group of contributors to the ROC's African agricultural diplomacy.

### Mid-twentieth century: diplomatic Chinese and Hakka immigration

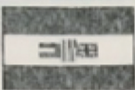
At the end of 1960, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Council for United States Aid (the predecessor of the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development), the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and the Taiwan Provincial Government Agriculture and Forestry Department jointly promoted the 'Pioneer Project'.<sup>26</sup> Two-thirds of the project funds were provided by the United States, and the actual funding limit was NT\$16 million. The ROC was responsible for providing agricultural techniques, veterinary teams, oil factory teams, sugar factory teams,<sup>27</sup> teams of bamboo ware, etc., and the total cost was NT\$8 million, accounting for one-third of the funds. With the slogan of "Develop diplomacy in the countryside, export agriculture across the sea", the project aimed to enhance the food production and improve the quality of life in African countries.<sup>28</sup> Diplomatically, it successfully won support from African countries for the ROC. [Figure 9](#) is a news article about the friendly relationship between China and South Africa.

The agricultural technical missions stationed in Africa were the key to the cooperation between Taiwan and Africa. Unlike the teams from other countries, every technical mission sent by Taiwan was a very complete team, including technicians and farmers. The missions not only offered technical guidance but also did farming practically to understand the problems. In addition, they brought Taiwan's plant species to Africa to test which plants were the most suitable for local cultivation. Then, they cooperated with the local government to grow the most suitable plants and teach the local farmers the related planting techniques. Taiwan's agricultural technical missions repeatedly set new agricultural production records in various African countries.


Local government officials often visited the demonstration farms and expressed their admiration for Taiwan's agricultural technical missions. The results of growing honeydew melons on a trial basis in different areas of Africa were welcomed by local residents. The local residents even called honeydew melons 'Chinese apples'. After successfully assisting Liberia and Libya with agricultural techniques, Taiwan's officials stationed there held a harvest reception in which politicians and embassies from many African countries were invited to promote Taiwan's agricultural technical missions and to persuade other African countries to accept Taiwan's agricultural assistance.

The success of the agricultural technical missions brought international fame to Taiwan. Even the Central and South American countries requested agricultural technical

## ROC-RSA

# Relations since 1976 A CHRONOLOGY



*Diplomacy at the highest level ...*

**IT** is just seven years since South Africa and the Republic of China established diplomatic ties. But in this relatively short space of time, contact between the two countries has been growing at all levels. Here are some milestones:

**1976 April:** The Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa elevated the status of their Consular relations to full diplomatic ties.

**Edward Y Kuan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, was named ROC's first Ambassador to RSA.**

**May:** Willem Pretorius, RSA's first Ambassador to ROC, presented his credentials.

**1977 January:** Li-Gen H de V du Toit, intelligence chief of the South African Defence Force, visited ROC.

**February:** Li-Gen C L Viljoen, Commander-in-Chief of the South African Army visited ROC.

**March:** J J F Steyn, Minister of Commerce of RSA, visited ROC.

**October:** S J M Steyn, Minister of Indian Affairs, Community Development and Tourism, visited ROC.

**Carel de Wet, former Minister of Mining and Public Health, visited ROC.**

**1978 January:** A fishery agreement was signed between ROC and RSA.

**A M Muller, Commander-in-Chief of the South African Air Force, visited ROC.**

**1979 September:** H K Yang became ROC's Ambassador to RSA.

**November:** Kobie H J Coetzee, Minister of Justice, RSA, visited ROC.

**December:** Dr W de Villiers, Chairman of Atomic Energy Commission, visited ROC.

**1980 February:** Louis Venter, new Ambassador of RSA, presented his credentials.

**March:** Premier Sun Yun-suan of ROC visited RSA. Among his entourage were: K T Li, Minister without Portfolio; Lin Chang-sheng, Minister of Communications; Adm Soong Chang-chin, Chief of the General Staff; Wong Yi-ting, Vice-Economic Minister; Edward Y Kuan, Vice-Foreign Minister; Dr James Soong, Director-General of Government Information Service.

**As a result of the visit, the following agreements between the two Governments were signed: Bilateral Air Service Agreement; Reciprocity in Navigation Agreement; Agreement for Reciprocity Exemption from Taxes on Income Derived from the Operation of Sea and Air Transport; Exchange Agreement for Scientific Co-operation between the National Science Council of the ROC and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research of RSA.**

**April:** Fanie Botha, Minister of Man-power Utilisation, RSA, visited ROC.

**October:** Prime Minister P W Botha of RSA visited ROC. Among his entourage were: Pik Botha, Foreign Minister; Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Transport; Da wie de Villiers, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Economics; Paa S P Kotze, Minister of Community Development.

**November:** A Boeing 747SP of South African Airways touched down at Chiang Kai-shek International Airport to open the twice weekly direct flight service between Johannesburg and Taipei.

**Adm Tsou Chen, Commander-in-Chief of the ROC Navy, visited RSA.**

**Gen Ho Ying-chang, Senior Strategic Adviser to the President of ROC, visited RSA.**

**1981 January:** Dr J W de Klerk, Minister of Minerals and Energy Affairs, RSA, visited ROC.

**Dr L D Barnard, Director-General of National Intelligence Service, visited ROC.**

**March:** Gen Wang Chiang, Commander-in-Chief of Combined Service Forces, ROC, visited RSA.

**May:** Chu Fu-ming, ROC's Foreign Minister, visited RSA.

**Jane Nielt Wen-ya, Speaker of Legislative Yuan, ROC, visited RSA.**

**Chiang Hsiao-wu, President of Broadcasting Corporation of China, ROC, visited RSA.**

**July:** Professor Chris Barnard visited ROC with his wife Barbara.

**August:** Yu Kuo-hua, Governor of the Central Bank of China, visited RSA.

**Dr James Soong, Director-General of the Government Information Service, ROC, visited RSA.**

**September:** Koo Chen-fu, chairman of ROC-RSA Economic Co-operation Association, visited RSA.

**V Adm R A Edwards, Commander-in-Chief of the RSA Navy, visited ROC.**

**December:** An agreement on meteorological co-operation between ROC and RSA was signed.

**Chris Heunis, Minister of the Interior, visited ROC.**

**Gen J J Geldenhuys, Commander-in-Chief of the RSA Army, visited ROC.**

**1982 May:** Dr Yen Chen-ying, chairman of the Atomic Energy Council, ROC, visited RSA.

**August:** Mo Tsung-nien, chairman of Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, ROC, visited RSA.

**A B Eksteen, director-general of the RSA Department of Transport, visited ROC.**

**Dr Owen Horwood, Finance Minister, RSA, visited ROC.**

**September:** P R Smith, Mayor of Pretoria, visited ROC.

**Danie van Zyl, Mayor of Johannesburg, visited ROC.**

**October:** E Gine Low, Administrator of Cape Province, visited ROC.

**November:** Chao Yao-tung, Economic Minister, ROC, visited RSA.

**Lee Teng-hui, Governor of Taiwan, visited RSA.**

**1983 March:** Prof D M Joubert, rector of the University of Pretoria, visited ROC.

**April:** Gen Hsu Pei-tsun, chief of the General Staff, ROC, visited RSA.

**May:** Chiu Chaoang-huan, Vice-Premier of ROC, visited RSA.

**Lien Chan, Minister of Communications, and Yu Wei, Director-General of Tourism, ROC, visited RSA.**

**Agness Jackson Yang, Mayor of Taipei, visited RSA.**

**Gen Kuo Ju-lin, Commander-in-Chief of the ROC Air Force, visited RSA.**

**September:** Alan Gadd, Mayor of Johannesburg, visited ROC. ●

Advertising Supplement to the South African Magazine, October 9, 1983

**Figure 9.** A newspaper article giving a chronology of the relations between the Republic of China and South Africa. Source: The National Archives (FO 228/2152, photographed by Chiachi Lin on 11 November 2016).

assistance from Taiwan. Later, the Middle East agricultural technical mission and the Southeast Asian agricultural technical mission were also established. Based on the Agricultural Technical Cooperation Agreement signed between Taiwan and Swaziland, the agricultural technical mission stationed in Swaziland established 10 sub-groups.

Figure 10 shows the archives of the work of the agricultural technical mission stationed in Shivaziland. In addition, the Embassy of ROC launched the ‘mission of handicraft techniques’ in 1973 to assist Swaziland to establish its only national handicraft training center.<sup>29</sup>

Since 1998, Taiwan and Swaziland have carried out 19 cooperation projects, including the ‘Vocational Training Program (Swaziland)’ and the ‘King’s Diary Farm-Royal Corporation Assistance Project (Swaziland)’ from 2011 to 2015. The ‘ROC (Taiwan)-Kingdom of Swaziland Medical Project’ in 2012 included expatriate medical staff, mobile health care, assistance in the hospital management, medical staff education and training, medical technology transfer, etc. In 2013, there was the ‘Lower Usuthu Smallholder Irrigation Project, LUSIP (Swaziland)’.<sup>30</sup>

The operation strategy of Taiwan’s agricultural technical missions was different at early and later stages. The initial goal at the early stage was to make rice the staple food in Africa through intensive farming. At the later stage, Taiwan’s agricultural technical missions changed their operation model to adopt a strategy of diversification in order to compete with the PRC. The promotion goal switched from enhancing agricultural production to reducing planting costs and increasing the diversity of fruits and vegetables.<sup>31</sup> The change received a better response from local people and gradually broke the stereotype that Taiwan’s agricultural technical missions only benefited the rich people.

In addition, although the agricultural technical missions encountered many difficulties, it had a continuous influence on local people. Friendship also grew between the local people and the mission members. For example, one resident in the Haute-Volta kept contact with the members of Taiwan’s agricultural technical mission and even named his child after the captain of the mission. The local residents also tried hard to maintain the cultivation model designed by the agricultural technical missions.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the team of bamboo craft stationed in Madagascar taught local people how to utilize the locally

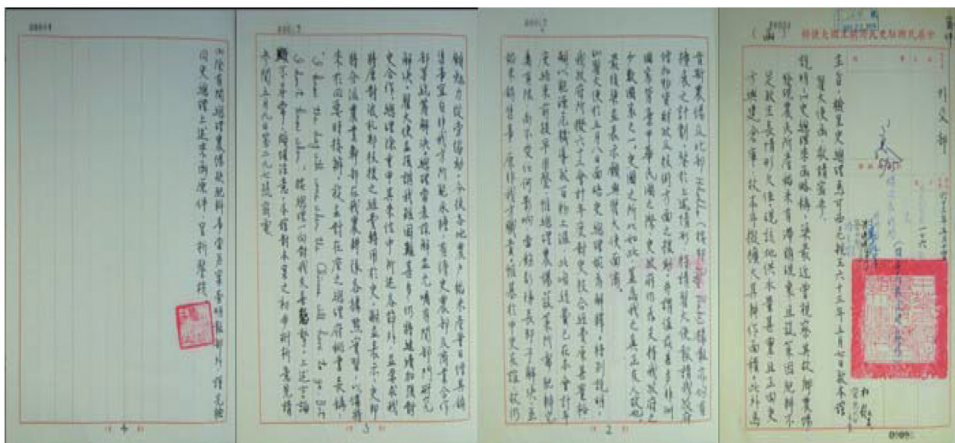


Figure 10. The archives of the agricultural technical mission in Shivaziland. Source: Bureau of Archives Administration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan. (File No. 0063/231.33/0022-0026).

rich bamboo to produce a variety of bamboo ware, which was more and more popular and became an important product.<sup>33</sup>

According to our interviews of a Hakka member of an agricultural technical mission who had returned to Taiwan, there were four routes to African countries: (1) Taiwan → Hong Kong → Cambodia → Thailand → Saudi Arabia → Rome → Spain → Senegal; (2) Taiwan → Hong Kong → Athens → Vienna → Cairo → Luanda; (3) Taiwan → Hong Kong → Bangkok → Greece → West Africa; (4) Taiwan → Hong Kong → India → Liberia. After the Hakka members of the agricultural technical missions returned to Taiwan at the end of their work periods, some of them again took over the foreign aid jobs in the agricultural technical missions, some settled in Taiwan, while some migrated to Africa as individual immigrants.

Referring to my interviewees, the members of the first agricultural technical mission mostly returned to Taiwan to settle down and did not work for the second agricultural technical mission at the expiration of the contract because they had reserved positions in the public sector of Taiwan. By contrast, more members of the second agricultural technical mission renewed the contract to keep working in the mission at the end of their work period because the clause about the reserved positions in the contract had been cancelled. There were also Hakka members who immigrated to Africa independently after the expiration of the contract. Most of them had found employers during their work periods, and most of the jobs were to help the local landlords to look after the farms and continue to make good use of their professional knowledge. These Hakka immigrants in Africa would invite their relatives and friends in Taiwan to immigrate together, and some of them might immigrate to Europe later.

### **From late twentieth century to early twenty-first century: corporate Hakka immigration**

After the Second World War, the restrictions imposed on Chinese immigrants by the United States, Canada, and Australia were relaxed. However, due to racial discrimination and to protect their own interests, European whites did not welcome Chinese to immigrate to Africa; therefore, Chinese immigrants were discriminated against in Africa. In South Africa, for example, the status of Chinese residents changed with government policies and international relations. After the South African National Party came to power in 1948 and implemented the apartheid law, as well as after the CCP took power in 1949, the situation of the Chinese in South Africa worsened. In 1950, South Africa enacted the Group Areas Act, which divided residents into white, black, and colored people, and the Chinese were included in the group of colored people. According to the act, the different groups of people had to live in different areas. In addition, Chinese residents' right to education, business opportunities, and voting rights were also restricted.<sup>34</sup> A small number of Chinese were allowed to immigrate to South Africa between 1949 and 1953, but after the Immigrants Regulation Amendment Act passed in 1953, only a few Taiwanese immigrated to South Africa.

In the late 1970s, African countries had a friendly relationship with Taiwan due to technical assistance from Taiwan's agricultural technical missions. Along with the agricultural technical mission members returned to Taiwan and shared their experiences in Africa, the people of Taiwan began to learn more about African countries. By word of



mouth, more and more retired agricultural technical mission members and entrepreneurs got interested in investing in Africa, and South Africa is the country which had most Taiwanese-Hakka immigrants. After South Africa and the ROC government established a friendly diplomatic relation and economic ties, the second wave of Chinese immigration to South Africa was initiated. In order to attract investors from Taiwan, the South African government provided various economic incentives and immunity from segregation laws. The welcomed immigrants from Taiwan were therefore regarded as 'honorary whites'. Table 2 shows the number of Chinese immigrants in South Africa from Taiwan, Hong Kong (HK), and China between 1979 and 2005.

Many Taiwanese entrepreneurs started to open textile factories throughout South Africa. The textile mills and garment factories were mostly established in rural areas near South Africa's aboriginal areas. They provided many jobs for local residents and delayed the speed for the blacks to move to cities, and this was the result that the South African government wanted to see. Most of the factories founded by Taiwanese immigrants were in the four Aboriginal areas of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda, and their fringe area.<sup>35</sup> In the early 1980s, the South African government also exempted the Taiwanese immigrants from some discrimination laws applicable to other non-white races. However, after the segregation policy ended in the early 1990s, the legal status of the Chinese immigrants was in a gray area. They were often tied to whites but did not enjoy the same rights. Also, they could not obtain the compensation for non-whites after segregationism.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1980s and 1990s, the flight routes to South Africa became more convenient and were changed from multi-stops flight to one-stop flight through Hong Kong or direct flight. This prompted more Taiwanese entrepreneurs as well as small businessmen and students to go to South Africa. However, they mostly lived in big cities or towns. During the peak period, there were about 30,000 Taiwanese in South Africa. In this period,

**Table 2.** The number of Chinese immigrants in South Africa from Taiwan, China, and Hong Kong (1979–2005).

Year	Sum	Taiwan	China	HK	Year	Sum	Taiwan	China	HK
1979	10	2	-	8	1993	2,293	1,471	409	413
1980	7	2	-	5	1994	914	584	264	66
1981	1	-	-	1	1995	415	247	110	56
1982	4	4	-	-	1996	426	244	158	24
1983	7	2	-	5	1997	391	182	180	29
1984	1	1	-	-	1998	523	329	171	23
1985	2	2	-	-	1999	317	133	178	6
1986	7	7	-	-	2000	527	219	281	27
1987	148	129	-	19	2001	422	153	254	15
1988	314	286	-	28	2002	491	127	361	3
1989	497	460	-	37	2003	731	149	561	21
1990	1,496	1,382	-	114	2004	708	131	543	34
1991	2,198	1,959	3	236	2005	1,163	406	718	39
1992	1,969	986	222	761	Total	15,982	9,597	4,415	1,970

Source: Overseas Community Affairs Council, 'Nanfei huaren renko tongji tuigu,' 108.

Notes: 1. The Immigrants are categorized according to the last of their former residential areas.

2. Since 2004, Hong Kong (HK) has been listed in the category of other Asian countries and is no longer listed separately. Therefore, the trend is estimated from 1999 to 2003.

3. From July 2005, the South African government no longer disclosed the number of immigrants from various countries. Therefore, the number of immigrants in 2005 is estimated from January to June of 2005.

4. No available data on the number of immigrants after 2005.

children's education was another reason for many families to choose to immigrate to South Africa in addition to economic factors. They believed that the higher education in South Africa was the same as the British education system. Since they could not have their children receive education in the UK through immigration, South Africa thus became an alternative option for them. Therefore, the Taiwanese children and teens that first arrived in South Africa would first enter overseas Chinese schools and then transfer to local schools. This also formed the main reason that many of the second-generation Chinese South Africans immigrated to Europe while their parents returned to Taiwan to live.

From the late 1990s to the early 2000s, many Taiwanese who had obtained South African citizenship left South Africa due to the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the PRC. This was the first wave of 'return migration' to Taiwan. The stricter and stricter labor laws in South Africa, the competition from cheap Chinese imports, and the rising crime rates were all reasons for Taiwanese to return home. About 6,000 Taiwanese are now in South Africa, and they are also South African citizens. Recently, international political and economic pressures have made South Africa open the door to foreigners, who can obtain permanent residency as long as they invest US\$180,100 and can apply for citizenship after living in South Africa for 5 years. Therefore, a new group of Taiwanese people have moved to South Africa as investors and established Taiwanese Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Association in a variety of districts (Table 3).

### **The 'return migration' of Taiwanese and Hakka immigrants in Africa and case records**

From the end of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century, the South African government was forced to open up by international political and economic pressures. It enacted a number of incentive acts to attract Taiwanese immigrants. During this period, some Taiwanese-Hakka people immigrated to South Africa as skilled workers or business investors and formed the third wave of Chinese immigration in Africa – corporate Hakka immigration. Later, the political turmoil in the African countries caused chaos in society. South Africa was no exception. The political instability encouraged a second wave of 'return migration'.

Some of the early overseas Chinese in Mauritius returned to Taiwan after their children grew up while some of them moved to other countries with their children. Even if these early overseas Chinese have returned to Taiwan, they often visit the countries they immigrated to. As for the late overseas Chinese in Africa, to look for better economic development, to get better education for children, or to get married is their major motive for migration. Most of them have not stayed in the new country for a long time and have not retired yet, so they have not thought of the problem of returning to their hometown. Therefore, the situation of 'return migration' has not appeared among the new overseas Chinese.

In contrast, South Africa's social security problems have caused many overseas Chinese to return to Taiwan since the end of the twentieth century. Many of them were Hakka people. In this project, we interviewed five Hakka people who either worked in Africa for a while or immigrated to Africa but have returned to Taiwan already (Table

**Table 3.** Taiwanese Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Association in Africa.

Name of the Chamber of Commerce	Name of the Commercial Association
Chinese Association in Swaziland	Gauteng Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce in Angola	Johannesburg Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Newcastle Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Free State Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Northern Cape Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Northern Cape Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Free State Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Eastern Cape Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
KwaZulu-Natal Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	KwaZulu-Natal Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Gauteng Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Newcastle Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Eastern Cape Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Cape Town Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa
Cape Town Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Lesotho Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
Johannesburg Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce South Africa	Chinese Association in Swaziland
Trio Courage. Co LTD (Ghana)	Malawi Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
Uganda Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce	Malawi Capital Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
Malawi Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce	Trio Courage. Co LTD (Ghana)
Malawi Capital Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce	Association des Entrepreneurs Taiwanais en Cote d'Ivoire
Association des Entrepreneurs Taiwanais en Cote d'Ivoire	Mauritius Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
Mauritius Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce	Uganda Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
Lesotho Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce	Namibia Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
Namibia Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce	Taiwan Chamber of Commerce (Tanzania)
	Kenya Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
	Madagascar Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce
	Botswana Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce

Source: Global Taiwan Business Service Network, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Accessed 15 July 2016. <http://twbusiness.nat.gov.tw/page.do?id=335>. Africa Taiwanese Chambers of Commerce (ATCC). Accessed 15 July 2016. <http://www.atccza.org/#!team/cecw>.

The above information is currently published by the Taiwan Business Network, Ministry of Economic Affairs. However, the information about the chairmen have not been updated for a long time, most of the above chairmen are not current chairmen.

**Table 4.** Five Interviewees who are Taiwanese-Hakka returning migrants.

Interviewee	Interview Date	Home Town	The Country Moved in	Year of Migration	Way of Migration
Zhang	2016/07/17	Miaoli	South Africa	1995	Skilled professional
Huang	2016/08/05	Taoyuan	Senegal	1970	Agricultural technical mission
			Gabon	1973	
			Swaziland	1982	
Wang	2016/08/06	Hualien	South Africa	1976	Business investor
Zou	2016/09/03	Hsinchu	Launda	1968	Agricultural technical mission
			Niger	1971	
Liu	2016/09/04	Hsinchu	Senegal	1964	Agricultural technical mission

Sorted by interview date.

4). Three of them are former agricultural technical mission members, and two immigrated to Africa, respectively, as a skilled professional and as a business investor. With the memories of the five interviewees, we can complete this article of Hakka immigration in Africa. Their life experiences and current linkage with Africa are recorded in the earlier paragraphs.

## Conclusion

According to the analysis of the number of overseas Chinese in various regions, the year of immigration and the motivation of immigration, the history of Hakka immigration in Africa can be divided into three phases: (1) before the middle of the twentieth century – the Chinese indentured labor; (2) in the middle of the twentieth century – diplomatic Hakka immigration; (3) from the end of the twentieth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century – corporate Hakka immigration. In the first phase, in addition to the large number of Chinese workers who were press-ganged or deceived into working in Africa by colonialists in the early nineteenth century, and the people who followed their own will to move to Africa, there were a large amount of people who moved to Africa during the incessant fighting between warlords as well as before and after the anti-Japanese war. They moved to Africa to avoid China's successive wars and unstable living situation. They tried to escape from serving in the army, from famine and hunger, and from the oppression of life.

In the middle of the twentieth century, the international situation changed at the end of the Second World War. In order to meet the change and obtain international support, the ROC government organized agricultural technical missions to aid foreign countries. The Taiwanese-Hakka people played an important role in the 'agricultural diplomacy' and made up a big portion of the Chinese immigrants in Africa. That was the second wave of Chinese immigration in Africa – diplomatic Hakka immigration. However, with that many African countries shifted their political attitudes from pro-ROC to pro-PRC, the number of Chinese immigrants in Africa was thus affected after the middle of the twentieth century. In the case of South Africa, the white European Africans felt threatened by a large number of Chinese immigrants and believed that these Chinese would share their vested interests, so the South African government promulgated a number of laws to restrict Chinese immigrants, such as the Group Areas Act. This led to the first wave of 'return migration' among Chinese immigrants in Africa.

The Hakka culture in Africa is rich and diverse, but the relevant research is still insufficient. In the future, this field can be studied in many directions, such as carrying on extended research projects (European Hakka Research Project, Hakka Research in African states which have diplomatic relations with ROC, etc.), holding exhibitions of Hakka historical artifacts, and publishing books about Hakka immigration. It is still worth having a separate article for different Hakka missions.

## Notes

1. OCAC, *Statistical Yearbook of the Overseas*.
2. Chen, *Taiwan de kejiaren*, 33.
3. Chen, *Taiwan de kejiaren*, 34.

4. Chu, *Dongnanya huaqiao shi (wai yi zhong)*, 5-6.
5. Chu, *Dongnanya huaqiao shi (wai yi zhong)*, 8-12.
6. Zhang, *Nanfei huaren de lishi yanbian*, 7.
7. Ibid.
8. Ge, *Zhongguo yimin shi*, 50.
9. Ge, *Zhongguo yimin shi*, 71-72.
10. Ibid.
11. Chu, *Dongnanya huaqiao shi (wai yi zhong)*, 94.
12. Fang, *Fezhou huaqiao shi ziliao xuanji*, 100-106.
13. Chu, *Dongnanya huaqiao shi (wai yi zhong)*, 94.
14. Ye, "Nanfei huaqiao qingkuang yishu," 277.
15. The letter did not indicate the year, estimated to be 1903. "Moren zi yuehan neisibao boluoke dalou zhi falaer han" 某人自約翰內斯堡波羅克大樓致法拉爾函 (A letter sent to Farrar from someone in Polok building, Johannesburg), in *Zhongfei guanxishi wenxuan* 中非關係史文選 (The selected works of Sino-African relations), edited by Z. C. Ai, 218.
16. Zhang, "Nanfei huaren de lishi yanbian," 7-8.
17. The contribution of Chinese workers to the Transvaal gold mines in South Africa in late Qing Dynasty.
18. See note 14 above.
19. Zhang, "Nanfei huaren de lishi yanbian," 7-9.
20. The recollections of the overseas Chinese in South Africa.
21. Clansmen, classmates, colleagues, fellow villagers, and friends.
22. Zhang, "Nanfei huaren de lishi yanbian," 7-9; and Chen, *Taiwan de kejiaren*, 75-81, 87-93.
23. Chen, *Taiwan de kejiaren*, 28; and Zhang, "Nanfei huaren de lishi yanbian," 7-9.
24. Chen, *Taiwan de kejiaren*, 28-29.
25. Jiang, *Kejia yu Taiwan*, 250-252.
26. Yang, "Woguo nongengdui zai feizhou de gongzuo chengguo," 3.
27. Zhou, "Nongengdui zai feizhou," 25.
28. Wang, *Waijiao xiaxiang*, 22.
29. Xiao, "Man gong chu xihuo," 11.
30. Please refer to International Cooperation and Cooperation Fund: <https://www.icdf.org.tw/lp.asp?ctNode=29902&CtUnit=136&BaseDSD=100&mp=1>
31. Liu, "Huiyu 1960 niandai zhonghua minguo nongji waijiao," 141.
32. Wang, *Waijiao xiaxiang*, 125-150.
33. Liu, "Huiyu 1960 niandai zhonghua minguo nongji waijiao," 142.
34. Reprobate, "The People of South Africa: Chinese South Africans," Accessed 16 January 2017. <https://reprobate.co.za/the-people-of-south-africa-chinese-south-africans/>
35. See above 32 above.
36. The Wall Street Journal, 2008.

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