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The Republic of China's Foreign Policy towards Africa: The Case of ROC-RSA Relations

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Johannesburg, November 2008

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I was fortunate to have the opportunity to live and work in the Republic of South Africa from October 1993 to December 1996, and from July 2001 to January 2006, as a member of the Republic of China's diplomatic service. It was a time of ongoing transition in South Africa and during those years I traveled to twenty-two African countries to further understand the politics, economic situation, and social and daily realities of life in Africa. In order to conduct my research, I relied heavily on the services, the kindness, the patience, the expertise and the assistance of others, both in South Africa and in Taiwan.

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ABSTRACT

Modern diplomacy is very different in form and substance from the diplomacy of 30 years ago. The five main components of modern diplomacy are personal diplomacy, economic diplomacy, foreign aid, conference diplomacy and public diplomacy. Personal diplomacy and conference diplomacy have much in common and have played a prominent role in the late 20th and early 21st century.

Since 1949, the Republic of China (ROC) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) have been two separate political entities competing for influence internationally. So when, in the 1960s, most African countries gained their independence and joined the UN, both the ROC and the PRC jostled to win their friendship in a zero-sum game that has lasted for the past 50 years. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the ROC used foreign aid in the form of "Operation Vanguard" as the main tool to help its African allies. It proved to be very helpful and successful and in 1969, 22 African countries had established diplomatic relations with the ROC. Yet when the ROC withdrew from the UN, its former African allies switched recognition to Beijing. By the 1980s, only South Africa, Malawi and Swaziland still maintained diplomatic ties with the ROC. In the 1990s, the ROC achieved some positive gains with ten African countries having Ambassadors in Taiwan by 1997. Also, official delegations from the ROC were established in Kinshasa, Antananarivo and Luanda. This was a setback for China, to some extent.

The thesis will analyze the relations between the ROC and the five geographic areas of the African continent. Since their independence, Malawi and Swaziland have established and kept diplomatic ties with the ROC for 40 and 38 years respectively. Countries like Senegal, Lesotho, Chad and the Central African Republic have switched recognition as their needs have changed. The ROC and the Republic of South Africa (RSA) exchanged consular offices beginning in 1905 until in 1976 when they upgraded to full diplomatic relations until their demise in December 1997. During the period from the first democratic elections in RSA in April, 1994, until December, 1997, frenzied diplomatic

efforts, bargaining and negotiations set a new record in world diplomatic history. Since January, 1998, the ROC and RSA have had substantive relations.

Without doubt, the PRC has made much progress in its influence in the domains of international politics and its economy. Beijing released an official China-Africa policy white paper, a document remarkable for the broad range of issues it covers. As a member of the UN Security Council, China has provided large amounts of donations and foreign aid to Africa, has convened the "China-Africa Cooperation Forum" and offset foreign debt, all of which have served to squeeze the ROC's diplomatic space in Africa. Since 2000, Liberia, Senegal and Chad have added their names to the long list of the PRC's diplomatic allies.

This thesis also examines the kinds of diplomacy that the ROC has employed in Africa to win friendships. Among them are three modern diplomatic tools which have proved the most useful and successful. These will be looked at in terms of their strength, weakness, opportunity and threat. Given that South Africa has been the most significant and influential country in Africa for the ROC, and bearing in mind that interactions between the ROC and the RSA have lasted for over a century, it is also worthwhile to further understand the highs and lows of these relations. Through the joint efforts and cooperation between governments, private sectors and third sectors, it is anticipated that bilateral relations between Taiwan and African states will continue to develop and blaze new trails.

Africa


TUNISIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
WESTERN SAHARA
MAURITANIA
Red Sea
CAPE VERDE
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
ERITREA
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
BURKINA FASO
DJIBOUTI
GUINEA-BISSAU
GUINEA
BENIN
NIGERIA
SOMALIA
SIERRA LEONE
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
TOGO
ETHIOPIA
GHANA
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
LIBERIA
CAMEROON
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (formerly ZAIRE)
UGANDA
KENYA
SÃO TOMÉ and PRINCIPE
GABON
RWANDA
BURUNDI
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
TANZANIA
SEYCHELLES
COMOROS
MALAWI
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
ZIMBABWE
MOZAMBIQUE
MAURITIUS
NAMIBIA
BOTSWANA
MADAGASCAR
SWAZILAND
SOUTH AFRICA
LESOTHO

Abbreviations

AAC	Asian African Conference
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EOS	Earth Observation Summit
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
G8	Group of Eight
ICDF	International Cooperation and Development Fund
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
KP	Kimberley Process
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRC	People's Republic of China
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
ROC	Republic of China
SAFTO	South African Foreign Trade Organizations
TAITRA	Taiwan External Trade Development Council
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
VOA	Voice of America
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

This thesis will expand upon and update the study of the Republic of China (ROC)-African relations, specifically within the context of modern diplomacy. It seeks to elucidate ROC-African diplomatic relations by advancing and deepening knowledge on this important international relationship. The ROC's application of a range of modern diplomatic measures, as well as the roles of key foreign policy decision-makers and implementers shall be discussed. This thesis will contribute to the knowledge and understanding of the diplomatic status and the ultimate sovereignty of the ROC, one of the most vexing issues in the post-Cold War diplomatic arena. The aim of diplomacy is to sustain and protect the national interest of a country and to execute its national policy. In international relations, a nation's conduct is judged by its ideology, geographic environment, historical background, national heritage, experience and present needs. With so many variables, foreign policy must be goal-orientated, yet remain flexible to allow for adjustments in order to obtain the best possible outcome.

The continent of Africa and the ROC on Taiwan could not be more different. Africa is comprised of a vast area of 30 million square kilometers, inhabited by about 600 million people; Taiwan is a comparatively tiny island of 36,000 square kilometers, with a population of 23 million. Almost all the known natural resources can be found in Africa, yet it remains one of the poorest regions in the world. Taiwan, on the other hand, has virtually no major natural resources, and yet has become one of the largest economies in the world. With all its vast natural resources, Africa accounts for only 3.3 percent of world exports, less than 2 percent of world industrial production, and 3.4 percent of world trade. On the other hand, the island of Taiwan is the world's 17th largest economy and 15th largest trading nation, and has the third largest foreign exchange reserves in the world.

Prior to World War II, the only African countries to be independent were Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. By the 1960s, 17 African countries had achieved independence and subsequently joined the United Nations, a fact which had a profound impact on world politics. The gradual conversion of these European colonies into inde-

pendent countries that urgently needed technical and financial aid created an opportunity for Chinese involvement.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. For historical and practical reasons, the UN is of great significance to both the PRC and the ROC. The 1960s marked the end of the colonial era and almost all countries on the African continent gained their independence. With their new-found independence, these countries gradually became members of the UN and started to play influential roles therein. Both the PRC and the ROC lobbied these countries to win their friendship and support in the United Nations. Both the PRC and the ROC campaigned vigorously to establish diplomatic relations with as many African countries as possible. These countries were faced with a choice of establishing diplomatic relations with either the PRC or with the ROC.

The ROC government on Taiwan came into being in 1949 when it was forced to move as a result of civil war in China that saw the rival communists establish the PRC there. Since that time, both the ROC and the PRC have had different diplomatic agendas and have implemented different policies in the conduct of their foreign relations as well as in the context of the United Nations. In spite of the difficulties stemming from its unique position vis-à-vis the communist regime in China, the ROC has shown remarkable resilience and resourcefulness in its conduct of foreign relations, and has persevered in maintaining a diplomatic role in the international community. Owing to their distinct political and economic systems and to the different styles and policies followed by each country in their national conduct, the PRC and the ROC are perceived differently in the international community.

As the former representative of all of China, the ROC was a founding member of the UN, with its role and influence widely recognized. However, after 1949, the situation changed due to the PRC's efforts to replace the ROC as a member of the UN. Thereafter, the ROC-PRC diplomatic interaction became a highly competitive process as the two states sought to expand influence in the diplomatic arena. The ROC was soon to be expelled from the UN. Subsequent to a proposal by the Albanian representative to the UN

that the PRC should replace the ROC in the UN, Resolution 2758, which mandated that the PRC take the ROC's UN seat, was passed. The ROC had been a member of the UN for 21 years from its move to Taiwan in 1949 until its expulsion in 1971. Those 21 years were very important for the ROC and for its African campaign, in which the ROC assisted developing countries intensively by raising the standard of living and providing infrastructure to those countries in return for their friendship, for African countries played an influential role in the UN, and would be instrumental in determining the diplomatic future of the PRC and the ROC in the UN.

Diplomacy and foreign policy reflect the domestic affairs of a country. For example, Singapore is not inclined to build foreign relations with Africa. Consequently, African countries have never formed an important part of Singapore's foreign policy. The ROC, however, relied heavily on relations with Africa as mirrored in its actions in, and interactions with, African countries. The techniques of diplomacy vary, in regard to both time and the individual countries involved. Back in the 18th century, diplomacy was essentially the art of negotiation used by nobility; the most trusted nobles were usually rewarded by the royals with ambassadorships. During a typical career, an ambassador could make crucial decisions without the prior authorization of the king. This has all changed with the onset of the information age. The influential position and role of an ambassador became largely overshadowed by modern technological communications.

Techniques used in modern diplomacy can be classified as follows:

a. Personal diplomacy – a distinguished figure exerting his or her personal character and influence for diplomatic purposes. The role model for this category is Dr. Henry Kissinger, who secretly flew to communist China in 1969 and laid the foundation for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the PRC in 1979.
b. Economic diplomacy – a powerful tool applied by the strongest and most influential countries in pressuring usually smaller developing countries into undertaking certain actions, or following a particular direction that is advantageous to the dominant country. For example, economic sanctions are often used as a means to pressure countries into changing their original policies or attitudes. Libya and South Africa are examples of

where the international community has imposed economic sanctions to exert pressure and thus influence countries.

c. Foreign aid – helping countries in need to develop economically so that they are able to help themselves and thus prosper. This can be achieved through monetary means, provision of raw materials, transfer of technical know-how, training and cooperation ventures. The recipient must be willing to accept the foreign aid from the donor. Foreign aid still plays an important role in international politics and is a very important instrument for indirectly manipulating a country's behavior and policies. The donor will normally secure political support from the recipient in return for aid.
d. Conference diplomacy – a tool that can be used to address any dispute, argument, discord or crisis. Through negotiation at meetings, consensus can be reached on delicate issues in which all parties have a vested interest. It is often impossible for one meeting to solve problems in their entirety; more meetings will be required to address an issue fully. In practice, major issues can be reduced to smaller problems, and sometimes smaller problems can be conceded or exchanged for more substantial gains in more influential meetings. In a complicated and modern world, conference diplomacy is widely used by all countries and international organizations, such as the United Nations.
e. Public diplomacy – this is a very common and easy way of introducing a country's culture, image and beliefs to the government and people of other countries. Usually, foreign missions work jointly with other institutions to facilitate and coordinate special functions, such as film and food festivals, book and cultural fairs, trade shows or even to publish special supplements in newspapers. As the promotion of tourism has become a priority, foreign missions have embarked on a number of tourism promotion campaigns to highlight their countries' tourist attractions.

The ROC has employed all of these techniques at one time or another in implementing its African policy. The ROC of today is very different to that of 1949, and it has had to overcome many political, economic, military and social problems. While the people and the government have gone through difficult times, foreign aid received from the US helped the ROC move forward and improve its lot. US aid provided strong support and invigorated the ROC government to the great benefit of the country. Through

in-depth research, this thesis will examine the modern diplomacy techniques that the ROC has employed in its Africa policy. The study will focus on Mr. H K Yang's ideology and methodology in establishing and advancing the ROC's African policy and will evaluate the results of the policy, as well as his contributions.

Mr. Yang was a pioneer and leader of the ROC's diplomatic campaign in Africa. He began his career in the United Nations in 1950 and joined the Permanent Mission of the Republic of China as Technical Councilor and as Substitute Representative in the Trusteeship Council. Meanwhile, between 1952 and 1955, he visited the so-called West African Trust Regions as a member of the United Nations Visiting Mission. His connection with Africa led to, inter alia, contact with the late Dr. Hilgard Muller, who later became South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs. H K Yang became increasingly involved with problems concerning the United Nations and the African continent on one hand, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China on the other. He participated in African affairs for nearly 40 years and, having initiated and implemented Taiwan's African policy over an extended period of time, was widely regarded as the key ROC policy maker on African affairs. His contributions to Taiwan's foreign policy and his achievements are venerated and valued by the ROC foreign policy-making elite.

The ROC used foreign aid to help newly independent African countries. Following independence, most African countries faced food shortages, poverty, unemployment and other social problems. The ROC government, under the guidance of Mr. Yang, introduced Operation Vanguard to help its African friends. In brief, Operation Vanguard included the dispatch of numerous agricultural missions to Africa to teach, assist and develop agriculture so that African countries could feed themselves. Agricultural aid, which at the time was the only assistance that the ROC provided to Africa, won the friendship of African countries and earned their respect and support in the UN.

Mr. Yang was the key figure in the drafting of the policy framework and implementation of Operation Vanguard. Within two years, the ROC had successfully established diplomatic relations with 17 countries in Africa. In return, those African countries became the ROC's allies in the UN and helped prevent participation by the PRC in the

UN. From 1969 to 1979, Mr. Yang was the vice foreign minister and later the deputy foreign minister of the ROC. Owing to the importance of Africa, he established the Department of African Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and visited more than 40 African countries. As a consequence of impressive economic achievements, the ROC was later capable of dispatching agricultural, fishery and other technical missions abroad to aid less developed countries. The export of technological expertise won the ROC great respect and admiration in the conduct of foreign relations.

Relations between the ROC and its African allies reached a pinnacle in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was due to deep-rooted friendships built on the basis of mutual cooperation. After the ROC was forced to withdraw from the UN, many African allies turned their backs on the ROC and made friends with the PRC. This was a real blow and marked the beginning of years of hardship in the ROC's foreign relations. Although the ROC today still finds itself in a difficult diplomatic position, nonetheless six African countries still maintain full diplomatic ties. On the basis of friendship and cooperation, personal diplomacy at the head-of-state level manifests itself frequently and has proved to be beneficial to both sides.

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the relations between African countries, the PRC and the ROC from the 1960s to the present day, in the context of the ROC's foreign policy towards African states, especially South Africa. Furthermore, the study will assess the contributions of Ambassador H K Yang and Ambassador I-Cheng Loh to policy-making and implementation specifically since diplomatic recognition, thus outlining a comprehensive and critical foreign policy framework.

Regarding South Africa, the first Chinese Consulate-General was opened in 1905 in Johannesburg, illustrating the close and friendly relations between South Africa and China. While isolated by the international community, both South Africa and the ROC were united in the common goal of advocating anti-Communism. Hence, South Africa and the ROC supported each other to alleviate their diplomatic isolation. The ROC upgraded the relations to full diplomatic status in May 1976. During his term of office from 1979 to 1989, Ambassador Yang endeavored to enhance the cordial relations between the

two countries. Prime Minister Sun paid an official visit to South Africa in March 1980 and invited the South African Prime Minister, P W Botha to make an official visit to the ROC in October 1980. These important contacts paved the way for closer and genial relations between the two countries, which signed 16 treaties during this period, addressing agricultural and technical cooperation as well as aviation, medical, extradition, industrial, military, cultural and press exchange programs. Ambassador Yang looked after the interests of overseas Chinese in the four homelands of South Africa and encouraged Taiwanese businessmen to invest there, thus creating work opportunities for the local people. Relations between the two countries reached new heights through this cooperation.

Following the restoration of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1990, the ROC responded with a new strategy. Ambassador I-cheng Loh went to South Africa to initiate contact with the ANC and invited Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu to visit the ROC, which paved the way for mutual cooperation and broader political support. Relations between the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and the ROC were full of challenges and opportunities after 1990. A detailed exploration of this relationship will provide a better understanding of RSA-ROC relations in the post-1994 period.

The struggle against international isolation and the shared belief in an anti-Communist foreign policy were the main reasons for the RSA and the ROC to promote good relations and establish full diplomatic ties in May 1976. While Ambassador Yang kept contact with the South African ministers and government officials at all costs, Ambassador Loh worked painstakingly to promote mutual cooperation on the economy, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the military, and on political, diplomatic, and even cultural, ties between the two countries. Ambassador Loh's efforts and achievements in this period shall be examined. On November 27, 1996, President Mandela announced that as of January 1, 1998, South Africa would recognize the PRC. Following this announcement, there were numerous negotiations and arrangements to be made concerning future interactions between the ROC and South Africa. In January 1998, the Taipei Liaison Office in Pretoria began its new role.

Key issues in this thesis can be summarized as follows:

- African countries' attitudes towards the ROC and the PRC after their independence. African votes in the UN were perceived to be of great importance, as reflected in the foreign policies of both the PRC and the ROC.
- Examining the impact of Operation Vanguard – its aims, methodology, results and, most importantly, the relationship between foreign aid and foreign policy.
- Understanding the techniques of modern diplomacy and how the ROC gained the support of African countries.
- Enriching our understanding of the relations between the ROC and African countries under the influences of the African countries themselves, the PRC and a number of other factors.
- Examining Ambassador Yang's and Ambassador Loh's contributions and work in South Africa.
- Examining South Africa's reasons for switching diplomatic recognition from the ROC to the PRC.

Ambassador Yang worked in the UN in the early 1950s and his experience and understanding of Africa and its leaders enabled him to contribute significantly to the ROC's foreign policy on African affairs for more than 40 years. He initiated Operation Vanguard as the ROC's instrument for African diplomacy, which proved to be very useful and successful in eliciting the support of African countries. Partly as a result of Ambassador Yang's efforts, support in Africa for the PRC was effectively blocked for 21 years. His endeavors earned him the nickname "Mr. Africa" from African leaders.

In the 1990s, South Africa found itself in a new environment. In those changing times, Ambassador Loh went to South Africa with instructions to keep diplomatic relations intact for as long as possible, for it was one of the ROC's most important allies, along with the Republic of Korea, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the Vatican. When Korea terminated diplomatic ties with the ROC in 1992, South Africa, a key African country, became the ROC's most important ally. President De Klerk visited the ROC in 1990, and after the first democratic elections of South Africa in April 1994, President Lee was invited to South Africa to attend President Mandela's inauguration ceremony. But with the abolishment of apartheid, PRC officials set up an office in Pretoria entitled the

Institute of Chinese Studies, with the goal of accelerating the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Africa. Both the ROC and the PRC tried to win the friendship of generals, leaders of political parties and so forth, hoping to maintain positive diplomatic links through these contacts. Ambassador Loh focused on ANC affairs, promoted mutual business interaction, established vocational training centers and provided financial aid, which in the short-term proved to be very fruitful. Due to Ambassador Loh's hard work, official ties remained intact until the end of 1997. His contribution was enormous.

In October 1999, Jiang Zemin wrote a letter to the president of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the African heads of state proposing the creation of a China-Africa Cooperation Forum, in direct contrast to China's previous approach. For example, between December 1963 and February 1964, Premier Zhou Enlai had toured 10 African states, concluding that "revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout the African continent." China had changed its foreign policy from confrontation to cooperation, from revolution to economic development, and from isolation to active international engagements. To date, 47 countries in Africa recognize the PRC compared with the six countries that recognize the ROC. In short, this was the tug-of-war between the ROC and the PRC in Africa for more than half a century, each side campaigning endlessly for African allies.

This study approach allows an empirical investigation into a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context using multiple sources of evidence. These include (1) theoretical works on diplomacy, foreign policy, methods of modern diplomacy and the relationship between national interests and diplomatic recognition; (2) firsthand documents, such as debates in the Legislative Yuan (Parliament), speeches by presidents, conference records and major newspaper and journal reports. In addition, documents in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, the national archives, and private collections of individual ambassadors are also included; (3) personal interviews, including interviews with key former ministers, ambassadors, and African and Taiwanese officials; and (4) direct observation, since the author has worked in South Africa for over seven years and traveled to more than 20 African states to collect material first hand. The structure of this thesis consists of an introduction, a body of six chapters, a conclusion and a bibliography.

The chapters are as follows:

Chapter II –Understanding the tools, effects and influences of modern diplomacy, namely personal diplomacy, economic diplomacy, foreign aid, conference diplomacy and public diplomacy through real-world examples.

Chapter III – The ROC's Africa Policy. Explaining Africa-ROC relations, the ROC's Africa policies and their implementation, and reviewing the PRC's policy towards Africa. In different contexts, the ROC has used different approaches to win friendships in Africa, which have proved to be effective and appropriate.

Chapter IV – Operation Vanguard. Examining the origins of Operation Vanguard and its effects. This type of foreign aid helped the ROC to remain in the UN for 21 years and also blocked the PRC's participation. The question remains as to what new developments there will be in the 21st century.

Chapter V – ROC and its allies in Africa. With more than 50 African countries in 5 divisions, the author has verified the exact nature of relations between the ROC and its current allies as well as former allies. Some African countries alter their preferences depending on the president in power, a fact which needs further examination.

Chapter VI – Relations between South Africa and the ROC before 1990. There have been numerous interactions between these two countries due to their similar situations and isolation experienced in the international community. High-ranking bilateral official visits highlighted the cooperation status. South Africa was the most important African country for the ROC, which in turn was the only Asian country that had an embassy in South Africa.

Chapter VII – Relations between South Africa and the ROC after 1991. Close and friendly relations between South Africa and the ROC were transformed in the 1990s, owing to a fundamental change in South African politics. Mr. Mandela and Mr. Sisulu visited the ROC, and the ROC president was invited to attend President Mandela's in-

auguration. After January 1, 1998, the two countries set up a new framework to enhance cultural, economic, and academic exchange and parliamentary interaction.

Chapter VIII – Conclusion. There are different kinds of modern diplomacy, but the questions persist: what are the most useful for the ROC in conducting foreign policy in Africa? Why was South Africa crucial to the ROC? Why did their relations last for more than 100 years?

This thesis is based on the application of diplomatic theory in the overall context of ROC-Africa relations, along with firsthand information obtained from interviews and official documents. It provides original insights into, and a novel analysis of, ROC-Africa and ROC-South Africa relations, adding to the existing body of knowledge. To avoid confusion, all African states are referred to by the names they bear today, regardless of dates of adoption.

CHAPTER TWO
MODERN DIPLOMACY OF THE WORLD

The most useful definition of the term diplomacy is to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary: "Diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiations. The method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and embassies, the business or art of the diplomatist."[1] In fact, the aim of diplomacy is to sustain and protect the national interest of a country and to execute its national policy. In international relations a nation's conduct is judged by its ideology, geographic environment, historical background, national heritage, experience and present needs. Therefore, foreign policy is both a goal-oriented and flexible.

In short, foreign policy and diplomacy constitute the two sides of a coin. While one is theory, the other is practice. Foreign policy by contrast is used to describe the objective and actions of a state or states. This is distinct from international relations, a term used to refer to all forms of interaction in the international system, including states as well as societies.[2] Diplomacy is thus but one of a set of foreign policy instruments through which decisions are implemented.[3] States utilise a number of tools to influence one another, including diplomacy, military information and economic instruments that are generally co-ordinated and used with skill to achieve foreign-policy objectives.[4]

Diplomacy, as an art of maintaining organised relations among the states, is obviously the foundation of state draft. Initially, the main purpose of diplomacy is to avoid a condition of conflict or war. However, if war breaks out, diplomacy assumes a different form with the aim of protecting and promoting the "national interest" of a state. Nowadays, diplomacy focuses primarily on political and economic co-operation. Furthermore, diplomats are all pragmatists since they have to protect and defend the ultimate national interests of their own country.

The work of diplomacy can be broken down into four broad areas within which there are a number of subdivisions. The first and most important of these is representation[5] followed by reporting, negotiation and protecting the interests of the host country. Large

nations like the USA, Germany, France and Italy need diplomacy to enhance their influence, gain some profit and safeguard their interests. However, small countries like Taiwan, Singapore and Belgium also need diplomacy to participate in the international community and simultaneously, obtain the best from other countries.

Personal Diplomacy

Personal Diplomacy means a distinguished figure exercising his or her personal character and influence for diplomatic purposes. For example, in the earlier 1990s, the official visits made by crowned heads and presidents, though largely ceremonial and symbolic, also afforded opportunities for diplomatic discussion and negotiations. In diplomatic practice the ambassador abroad is the eyes, ears, mouth and even nose of his government; hence, the ambassador must be highly resourceful and intelligent. Ambassadors act as spokespersons for their governments and serve as channels of communication between their countries and the host states. The interests ambassadors can pursue for their own countries are manifold. In other words, the ambassador plays an important key role in international politics. To some extent, he can promote the interests and enhance the good relations between the two countries, so every country in the world is very careful in selecting the most appropriate and qualified person to fill this post.

In fact, the influential post of the ambassador allows him to use his personal prestige to handle crises and achieve his country's goals. Without doubt, some of the matters should be handled secretly way in order to succeed, and sometimes both sides have to exchange benefits or make concessions. These are the special features of personal diplomacy.

There are some influential figures who took personal diplomacy to its ultimate in recent Chinese history. Their contribution to the nation was enormous and had a deep influence.

Dr. Wellington Koo. During his 44 years in Foreign Service, Dr. Koo was ambassador of the ROC to the United Kingdom, United States and France and was appointed For-

eign Minister in 1931. Dr. Koo was involved in the formation of the League of Nations as China's first representative to the League of Nations and attended the founding of the United Nations in San Franscisco, CA, USA in 1945. Owing to the fact China sacrificed a lot of lives during the war against Japan, Dr. Koo was the first delegate on behalf of the people of the Republic of China to sign the charter of the United Nations. It was a great honour for Dr. Koo himself and an achievement for the government of the Republic of China. He was elected as the judge of the Court of International Justice and promoted to be Vice President, a position he held for 10 years.[6]

Zhou Enlai. Mr. Zhou Enlai was a very prominent diplomat in the PRC's foreign relations. During his 26 years in charge of foreign affairs of the PRC, Mr. Chou was a decision-maker, conductor and pragmatist. Consequently, most leaders in the world praised his performance. His top priority was making friends and keeping good relations with neighbouring countries. Known as an able diplomat, Zhou was largely responsible for the reestablishment of contacts with the West in the early 1970s. He welcomed US President Richard Nixon to China in February 1972 and signed the Shanghai Communiqué.[7]

Madam Chiang Kai-shek. On 28 February 1943, Soong Mei-ling gave a speech before the US Congress and became the first ordinary citizen and only the second woman ever to address a joint session of the House and Senate. In her address she argued forcefully that China, as a free and democratic nation, was making a positive contribution to the world. Appealing to universal values she transformed China's national war of defence against Japanese aggression into a war of beliefs and principles for the entire world. Her awe-inspiring words won the respect and sympathy of the western nations and a steady stream of American assistance resulted.[8] In 1995, on the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, at the age of 98 Soong Mei-ling accepted an invitation to appear before the US Congress for a second time at a reception held in her home. She was as radiant and elegant as always, moving onlookers to open admiration for this "eternal first lady".[9] Soong Mei-ling relied chiefly upon her own refinement and talents to make her mark on the political stage.

Mr. George Yeh. Mr. Yeh was born on 20 October 1904 and was appointed as Foreign Minister of the ROC in 1949. During that period of turmoil, Mr. Yeh signed the Treaty of Peace between the Republic of China and Japan with the Japanese delegate on 28 April 1952 after two months' negotiations. Furthermore, Foreign Minister Yeh persuaded the American Government to sign the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of China and the USA on 3 December 1954, a feat which was a tremendous victory for the government of the ROC. Mr. Yeh believed the only way to avert future difficulties was to integrate the ROC into the world community. It is believed that Taiwan's continuing progress is due to Mr. Yeh's promotion of the two treaties. The signing of the treaties was a very important turning point in history.[10]

There are also some influential politicians who during their services for the government made some great achievements which deserve further notice.

Henry Kissinger. Kissinger was the US Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977. He also held the position of Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, a position he assumed in 1969 and held until 1975. In April 1971 the USA and China were engaged in an important communication – the Chinese with "Ping Pong Diplomacy" and Nixon with public statements of visiting China. Mao Zedong's and Zhou's interest in receiving a visit from Nixon prepared the way for Kissinger's secret trip in July 1971 and the beginning of the USA and China's effort to discuss the issues that had divided them over the years.[11] Kissinger's declaration prompted Zhou to say what he had not yet said, that he was optimistic about Sino-American rapprochement: "The prospect for a solution and the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries is hopeful."[12]

With the July 1971 announcement of his secret meeting with Zhou Enlai, Kissinger emerged into the limelight, achieving unprecedented international celebrity status, and the USA and the PRC became partners. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East set in motion the process that culminated in the Camp David agreements in 1977-1979 and in the Egyptian – Israeli accord. This has been the only peace treaty signed between Israel and an Arab State to date.[13]

In 1973 Kissinger shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Le Duc for secretly negotiating an end to the Vietnam War. Kissinger's diplomacy was personal, yet his style also caused many of the problems associated with a successful new diplomatic course. Kissinger sometimes acted as if only he possessed wisdom, knowledge and access to the President, awareness of other leaders, and strategic comprehension needed to design a new foreign policy.[14]

Anwar Al-Sadat. Anwar Al-Sadat was an Egyptian politician and President of Egypt from 1970 – 1981. Having achieved a somewhat improved negotiating position vis-à-vis Israel in 1973 and 1974 and with the sympathy of the United States, Sadat next pursued peace. After receiving an invitation from Begin, and convinced that peace with Israel would reap an enormous "peace dividend," Sadat initiated his most important ploy. On November 19, 1977, Sadat became the first Arab leader to officially visit Israel when he met with Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, and spoke before the Knesset in Jerusalem.[15] The goal of his visit was to achieve a durable peace based on justice – peace between all the Arabs and Israel together with a "just solution of the Palestinian problem." He was very frank in his speech detailing all the difficulties that had arisen between Israel and the Arabs and demanding in return for peace and secure frontiers, the evacuation of territories occupied in 1967 and the right of Palestinians to self-determination and the establishment of a state.[16] In April 1979 the first Israeli ship passed through the Suez Canal and Egypt returned to the occupied town of al-Arish in Sinoit. In February 1980 an Israeli Embassy was opened in Cairo. This breakthrough led to the Camp David talks mediated by the US President, Jimmy Carter, and eventually the Camp David Treaty. For his efforts, Sadat won the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Margaret Thatcher. Lady Margaret Thatcher was one of the world's most respected leaders. She served for over 11 years as Britain's first female prime minister. She was saved politically from the unpopularity of her economic policies by her personal handling of the Falklands war with Argentina in 1982, which won her great popular acclaim. Thatcher also pressed ahead with her plans to modernize the British fleet with Trident II nuclear submarines and resisted Soviet efforts to include British and French nuclear deterrents in the INF treaty negotiations.[17] At the end of 1984, Mrs. Thatcher

traveled 25,000 miles in 130 hours, principally for the formal signing of the Hong Kong agreement in Peking with the People's Republic of China. On this journey she also held meetings in Bahrain, Moscow, Delhi and Hong Kong, and returned via Guam, Honolulu and Washington. It is obvious that the projection of national images and export promotion are the other major purposes of personal diplomacy.[18] Mrs. Thatcher also became a familiar figure internationally, striking up a famous friendship with US President Reagan and gaining the praise of Soviet leader Gorbachev.

R. F. Botha. R. F. Botha was the world's longest serving Minister of Foreign Affairs since 1977. He first served as a high profile South African Ambassador to the United Nations in 1974 and was then Ambassador to the United States. In 1986 Botha committed the heresy of telling reporters that South Africa could one day have a black head of State. At the time that statement shocked most. However, his vision proved that he is a man of insight and unusual perception. An excellent public performer with an actor's sense for the dramatic, Botha was always the most popular speaker in defending the apartheid government on most international occasions. Two of his major diplomatic and political successes were on South Africa's borders: the Nkomati Accord of 1984, which restored neighbourly relations between South Africa and Mozambique, and Namibia's relatively trouble-free transition to independence in 1990.[19] Botha played a key role in the negotiation process in Namibia. This led to both Cuban and South African troops withdrawing from Angola and Namibia gaining independence.[20]

In essence, "Diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation, the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys, the business or art of the diplomatist". Ambassadors must, above all, be "interpreters" who can serve as channels of communication between the countries that send them and the host states. An ambassador helps the host government understand the sending country's points of view, and also must sensitise their own government to the points of view of the host state. As the conduit of this channel of communication, the first concern of the ambassadors is always their own government's interests.[21]

The interests ambassadors can pursue for their own countries are manifold, and their

beliefs, attitudes and passions are crucial in facing an important situation requiring decision-making. In dealing with bilateral relations, an outstanding ambassador can exert his personal diplomacy to pursue the best interests of his own country; in contrast, he may cause huge damage for bilateral relations. Special envoys are persons sent by one state or another entity to meet the representatives of one or more other states or entities.[22] The special envoy's task is generally limited in both time and focus, and it may take him anywhere. When special envoys are employed in diplomacy between hostile states, it is not surprising that they are usually dispatched in secret, especially when contacts are at an early stage.[23] The fact is that the employment of special envoys in diplomacy sometimes has numerous benefits for them. Special envoys are those who are not only appointed by a political leader acting in his personal capacity, but are authorized with credibility in order to achieve their objectives in a less difficult way.

Goodwill Ambassador

UNESCO's work and mission is extended and amplified by an outstanding group of celebrity advocates who have generously use their talents and status to help focus the world's attention on UNESCO. These special people, UNESCO's Goodwill Ambassadors, herald from all corners of the world and from the most diverse personal and professional backgrounds.[24] In short, the Goodwill Ambassadors' task is to make people more keenly aware of the importance of what is at stake and the role that each of us can play in the promotion of peace. Due to their successful careers and well-known reputations, the role they play is invaluable, especially in pursuit of the ideals of peace, justice, solidarity and mutual understanding. Goodwill Ambassadors are prominent personalities who have lent their names, talents and time to support UN programmes.

Peter Ustinov. As an Oscar-winning actor, director, prolific author and humanitarian, Ustinov was hailed by countless politicians as one of the greatest human beings of the 20th century. In later life he devoted much of his time to rescuing the reputation of Russia. He traveled the world for 35 years as a Goodwill Ambassador and fund-raiser for the United Nations Children's Fund. UNICEF said his work raised millions of dollars.[25]

Nicolaas Biegman. Ambassador Nicolaas Biegman (The Netherlands) is the only UNFPA Goodwill Ambassador whose "day job" is diplomacy. Ambassador Biegman represented the Netherlands at the UN for many years and is a long-time friend of UNFPA. Mr. Biegman was the co-chairman of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo which focused on various aspects of women's health and family planning.[26] Mr. Biegman is a board member of the International Women's Health Coalition and Chairman of the World Population Foundation.

Nadine Gordimer. Winner of the 1991 Nobel Prize for literature, Ms. Nadine Gordimer's commitment to social justice, her outspoken support for the disenfranchised and her commitment to the fight against HIV/AIDS have established her as a strong international voice of the world's poor. Ms. Gordimer was named UNDP Goodwill Ambassador in 1998. Since her appointment she has written articles and commentaries about the plight of the poor for major national and international newspapers and addressed international conferences, including the Davos World Economic Forum.

Mpule Kwelagobe. As a teenager, Ms. Kwelagobe was part of a UNFPA funded project aimed at teaching students about reproductive health through peer discussion. She was the 1999 Miss Universe from Botswana and was appointed UNFPA Goodwill Ambassador in 1999 as a special advocate on the issue of HIV/AIDS, particularly in relation to adolescents.[27] Ms. Kwelagobe has lobbied the US Congress for better funding to fight HIV/AIDS in Africa and greater funding for UNFPA family planning programs.

These are all internationally renowned figures, representing different United Nations funds and programs, and have devoted their time to fight poverty, HIV/AIDS and intolerance in order to improve the status of women. They have also promoted educational and employment opportunities for youth, and protection for vulnerable groups such as children and refugees. To some extent, their influence and contribution is due to personal charisma and has proved to be very successful.

Diplomacy has become a vital part of our lives, constituting as it does our principal means of tackling international problems and maintaining order in society. In general, the

growth of personal diplomacy has been brought about by changes in modern communications and the spread of regional collaboration in Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. Visits, too, have become synonymous with the presentational aspects of foreign policy.[28] Furthermore, personal diplomacy plays an important part in alliances and other collaborative relations.

Most heads of state or decision-makers in foreign policy participate in foreign affairs. This makes personal diplomacy more important than before. This is especially true when concerning the visits between heads of state and heads of governments. Those important contacts constitute the main theme of international relations. Indeed, personal diplomacy lies in proving that harmonious ideological postures, friendly relations, complete amity and co-operation at all levels are not to be regarded as an absolute sine qua non for the establishment of diplomatic relations.[29] Personal diplomacy has proved to be a very practical, convenient way of enhancing bilateral relations and mutual co-operation.

Economic Diplomacy

A major change was foreshadowed in the 1960s when trading states such as Britain began to grow increasingly concerned about their diminishing share of total world exports. This concern intensified against the background of the profound global economic turbulence of the 1970s. As a result, since that time commercial work has generally been regarded as a top priority within a unified diplomatic service.[30] At the end of the second Clinton administration, newspapers, both in Europe and the United States, agreed that economic diplomacy was the most consistent thread in President Clinton's foreign policy legacy.[31] In other words, economic diplomacy is not a contemporary phenomenon.

Economic factors such as an energy crisis, trade protectionism or financial fluctuation greatly influence international relations and demand attention. The term economic diplomacy may be defined in one of three ways; first, as the management of international relations to place emphasis on the economic dimension of a country's external relations. A second and equally limited notion sees economic diplomacy as a set of strategies and tactics formulated and applied to achieve a fundamental restructuring of the existing in-

ternational economic order.[32] Without doubt, states are the major actors in dealing with international relations, and two-way interaction, contradiction and competition are common among countries in the international community.

The third means of economic diplomacy, trade and commerce, promotes a nation's prosperity. Hence, economic diplomacy plays an important role in world politics and in international relations. To some extent, it is the core work of the diplomatic service, whether in powerful countries or in underdeveloped countries. MOFA has shown a remarkable aggressiveness with regard to bilateral commercial activities. The countries that base their power on economic superiority and military supremacy are increasingly transferring their foreign policy priorities to the economic sphere. These countries are endeavouring to accommodate their interests through a thrust of economic diplomacy.[33]

Furthermore, diplomats of many countries make no secret that their prime task now is to look after the commercial interests of the state they represent. More precisely, economic diplomacy involves the promotion of exports and investment as well as participation in global economic governance and attempts at changing the global economic dispensation. In general, the PRC constantly seeks to disrupt the Taiwanese government's internationalisation strategies, which in economic diplomacy relates to Taiwan's attempts to secure accession to or association with international economic organisations.[34] Beijing is able to effectively counteract these efforts due to the recognition by the vast majority of other states of its "One China" sovereignty claim. WTO membership would significantly enhance Taiwan's economic diplomacy options.[35]

There are some practical examples to prove that economic diplomacy has already been involved in modern diplomatic practices.

Nepal. For the last two centuries trade has always been a key agenda in Nepal's foreign policy. Nepal's "Economic Diplomacy" was directed toward India and Tibet in particular. After a period of drift and ad-hoc policy formulations, Nepal has attempted to adjust to the global economic changes. The current thrust of Nepal's economic diplomacy focuses on expanding exports, attracting foreign direct investment in industries and

water resources and promoting tourism.[36] It is obvious that Nepal seeks to prioritize foreign investment as a means to generate economic growth.

Vietnam. Prime Minister Phan Van Khai has emphasised the need to promote Vietnam's diplomacy to better serve economic development, saying "Top priority should be accorded to economic diplomacy."[37] The prime minister instructed the newly-appointed ambassadors to carry out three important tasks to effectively serve national economic development. The first task was defined as that of seeking more outlets and expanding markets, including commodities, labor and service. The second task was to seek foreign investment, expertise and modern technologies in a bid to help increase Vietnam's labor productivity as well as the quality and competitiveness of its products. The third was to further win support and assistance from the international community, including development aid to help reduce poverty in the country.[38]

Russia. Russia went through a wrenching period of economic decline and periodic political chaos during the early 1990s. Since Vladimir Putin won election in March 2000, the chief priority of Russia's foreign policy in the sphere of international economic relations is assistance to the development of the national economy. In conditions of globalization, this goal cannot be attained without the broad involvement of Russia in the system of global economic relations. The task is to create favorable external conditions for the evolution of a market economy in the country and to elaborate a new foreign economic line that would guarantee its effective involvement in the international division of labor.[39]

Belgium. In the mid-1990s, economic diplomacy once again gained increasing attention and acquired a new dynamism and political acceptability. In 1997 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Belgium re-arranged its internal organization to be better equipped for the increased international competition it faced in world markets. The multilateral and bilateral economic desks were merged into the same directorate general.[40] Furthermore, a number of specific strategies and co-ordination mechanisms were streamlined so as to become more effectual. This included bringing together the people in charge of foreign trade in the different federal and regional administrations as well as the relevant profes-

sional federations and business representatives.

Nigeria. With regards to the national interest of Nigeria, the aim of the government is to concentrate on the effect of economic diplomacy on the promotion of export trade, attraction of direct foreign investment, facilitation of a new inflow of external public loans and grants and the preservation of the autonomy of the Nigerian state in foreign affairs.[41] A new diplomacy is needed in Nigeria. There should be a carefully designed and methodically implemented diplomacy of economic liberation with external and internal dimensions. The external dimension will consist of strategies aimed at promoting regional economic integration and bringing about a radical restructuring of the existing international economic order. The internal dimension will involve strategies directed at damming the sources of capital drain from Nigeria and mobilising the human, material and physical resources of Nigeria for self-reliant development. The central strategy will be horizontal multilateralism.[42]

South Africa. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s South Africa's main function was to try to counter international criticism and condemnation. South Africa's ED also changed in nature. During the height of sanctions and disinvestments, countering these forms of punitive economic diplomacy became its main focus. Since the political change there and with a renewed emphasis on economic diplomacy, South Africa can join hands with "like-minded" countries on multilateral issues for purposes of shaping the global environment to make it a "friendlier" place for developing economies.[43]

Both the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) are responsible for the promoting of exports and external trade. Co-operation between the DTI and DFA would attract investment and new business more easily. Without doubt, the major government agency involved in export promotion is the Directorate: Export Trade Promotion of the DTI. The functions of the directorate are "to promote exports by developing the export market and providing assistance to South African exporters to encourage the creation of an export culture in SA, to formulate and maintain a long-term plan aimed at promoting exports and to manage the personnel and functions of the Department's offices abroad."[44]

More specifically, the objectives pursued by the foreign trade representatives are to promote South African exports, to encourage foreign investment in SA, to encourage technology transfers between SA and other countries, and to improve bilateral relations between SA and the host country. South Africa maintains formal trade relations with various other countries by means of treaties, trade agreements and membership in international institutions concerned with trade,[45] economic and political interests.

Economic Sanctions

Economic sanctions means deliberate government actions to inflict economic deprivation on a target state or society through the limitation or cessation of customary economic relations.[46] The recent record of sanctions is a mix of successes and failures. The Security Council imposed sanctions only twice between 1945 and 1990 but eight times between 1990 and 1994.[47] The need to use economic sanctions more often as an instrument of modern diplomacy increases the probability of political trade frictions.[48]

Sanctions generally serve three functions. They send a signal of international concern to an offending state, seek to modify the unacceptable behavior of a state toward other states or against its own citizens and warn of stronger actions to follow, including the use of force. Most importantly, boycotts and embargoes should only be used when other non-military measures have failed or are expected to fail. Moreover, great effectiveness of threats due to greater political and economic linkage may increase demand for boycotts and embargoes.[49]

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan. After the Soviet Union's 1979 intervention in Afghanistan, the United States imposed a partial embargo on the sale of grain to the country and attempted to organise a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics. The grain embargo failed to stop the flow of agricultural produce to the Soviet Union largely because of the countries (principally Argentina) which increased their exports to thwart the embargo.[50]

Yugoslavia. Shortly after the EC decided to impose tighter economic sanctions, the Se-

curity Council on May 30, 1992, by a vote of 13-0 (with China and Zimbabwe abstaining), approved a complete economic embargo on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), i.e. Serbia and Montenegro. Sanctions were not quick, sharp or tight enough to restrain FRY support for Bosnian Serb aggression, but they did have a huge impact on the Serbian economy and society. After four years of conflict, the combination of NATO air attacks on Serb-held areas of Bosnia and cumulative deprivations caused by sanctions against Serbia proper appeared to have brought Serbian leader, Slobodan Milosevic to the bargaining table with Bosnia and Croatia in Dayton, Ohio.[51]

South Africa and Apartheid. In 1981, the Reagan administration adopted toward South Africa a policy it termed constructive engagement. The broad purpose was a soft diplomatic approach to the Pretoria regime. Because the South African economy is relatively small as well as being open and vulnerable to the West, it would suffer considerable hardship if certain forms of well-enforced economic sanctions were imposed by its major trade and investment partners.[52] In April 1994 apartheid was officially demolished; most political scientists believe that the economic sanctions contributed towards this historic moment.

Iraq. Within 24 hours of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the Security Council had condemned the invasion and four days later it voted to impose Resolution 661, at the insistence of the United States, the most comprehensive, rapidly applied sanctions in the history of the UN.[53] After more than 5 years, it is still impossible to reach a definite judgement of the role that sanctions played in affecting Iraqi behavior. Sustaining sanctions after the war has been of undeniable value during the past five years. The Iraqi regime then did not have the power to rebuild the military and cannot but eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Iraqi officials have mounted a vigorous campaign to draw attention to the suffering among children and the elderly in an effort to gain unilateral support for lifting sanctions.[54]

On 14 April 1995, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council adopted Resolution 986, establishing the "oil-for-food" program. This gave Iraq another opportunity to sell oil in order to finance the purchase of humanitarian

goods, and various mandated United Nations activities concerning Iraq.[55] The first Iraqi oil under the oil-for-food program was exported in December 1996 and the first shipment of food arrived in March 1997. As of March 2003, the programme had helped to improve the overall social-economic conditions of the Iraqi people countrywide. It had prevented the further degradation of public services and infrastructure, and in several areas had stabilised and improved access to such services. Despite its achievements, however, the Oil-for-Food Programme was never intended to be a substitute for normal economic activity, and as of 20 March 2003, much remained to be done to improve humanitarian conditions for the Iraqi people.[56]

Three kinds of sanctions can be classified: universal, multilateral and unilateral sanctions. Included are embargoes, boycotts, dumping, disinvestments and imposition of tariffs or quotas.

The suitability of sanctions as instruments of persuasion is, therefore, customarily questioned whenever they are proposed or imposed. Recent examples included the OAS embargo of Haiti to force the military junta to step down, the embargo of North Korea to dissuade it from building a nuclear bomb, the economic sanctions against the rebel army Unita in Angola and US threats of trade sanctions against China in 1996 in response to its shipment of cruise missiles to Iran and its missile tests near Taiwan.[57]

Despite the apparent virtues of UN sanctions in terms of legitimacy and universality, attention in recent years has focused on their questionable achievements and adverse consequences. In particular, the cost of imposing sanctions is unevenly spread, while comprehensive measures harm the civilian population in the target and spare those responsible for the offending policies.[58]

The use of economic sanctions is a means of exercising influence over the domestic, political and economic arrangements of another country. However, economic sanctions as an instrument of policy can be effective only under certain circumstances. First, there is no absolute means of solving the problems; hence, in selecting proper tools in very critical situations and with precise judgement, the problem can be solved smoothly.

Second, there are many factors both in the international and internal environment, which are hard to control, and this is a common problem in dealing with economic sanctions. Furthermore, if sanctions are to move from the realm of symbolic gestures to the world of effective diplomatic tools, a distinction must be made not only between unilateral and multilateral sanctions, but also between financial and trade sanctions.

Sanctions nowadays can become a sharper tool of preventive action and can be used by nations to protest abuses and enforce norms of behaviour between states. Consequently, we can expect sanctions to remain popular. Apart from the questions of divergence and primacy, economic diplomacy may become a direct instrument of foreign policy. The American government has always put foreign trade, foreign aid and national security into a package for overall consideration. In Taiwan, the government also deals with negotiation and participation in the international economic organizations, establishing the ICDF as its final priority. In short, both small and large put emphasis on this economic diplomacy.

Today economic diplomacy can easily be compared in intensity and in scope with the commercial diplomacy of the European states during the nineteenth century or with the dollar diplomacy under the American president William Howard Taft. From a global perspective, APEC, WTO, OEOD, OPEC, and IAEA among others will become more and more important in economic interdependence and interactions, and also in solving international economic disputes. From a state's point of view, developing countries and countries in transition are bound to follow the example of the most advanced countries in determining their priorities in the domain of foreign policy and those in the economic sphere.[59]

It is obvious that conventional French economic diplomacy is adapting and contributing to the bilateral and multilateral success of important economic affairs, and one of the ultimate objectives of Japan's economic diplomacy is to reinforce and advance the Japanese economy by contributing to the further development of the global economy.[60] Nowadays, economic diplomacy has become a vital component of foreign policy. It covers a variety of concrete areas such as investment co-operation, interaction with in-

ternational economic organisations, financial institutions and regional structures, and involvement in the analysis and search for solutions to global economic challenges.

The political uses of trade involve diplomacy in initiatives to develop goodwill, promote regional co-operation, gain political influence or strategic assets within another state, and to coerce sanctions and other forms of punitive behavior.[61] Economic diplomacy usually forces relations instead of using discreet activities such as those used in traditional diplomacy. The task is to constantly assess the relationship between national trade interests and the country's foreign policy and reconcile as necessary conflicting prospects for external trade co-operation and promotion.[62] It is clear that of all the sectors of external policy, economic diplomacy had shown the greatest degree of growth.

Foreign Aid

One of the truly new phenomena of the post-World War II period has been the emergence of international aid as an instrument of foreign policy. Foreign aid is generally considered to be the provision of assistance on concessional terms for promoting development. The concessional aspect of these resource transfers is usually measured from the donor's point of view although it can also be measured from the point of view of the recipient, a measurement that invariably produces a lower valuation.[63] More precisely, an aid industry has evolved with three groups of protagonists, namely the donors, the recipients and the facilitators. The first group includes the governments of the developed world operating through their own agencies: multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, non-governmental organisations such as the Red Cross; and charities such as Oxfam and World Vision. The recipients are the poorer nations of the world and their citizens. They are known variously as less developed countries (LDCs), developing countries (DCs) and the third world. Assistance may be given to the governments, to individuals or to organizations in a country. The final group, the facilitators comprise the firms and individuals that assist in the provision of aid. These include consultants, construction firms, auditors and myriad other activities.[64]

The United States was the world's top foreign aid donor in 2003, disbursing a

combined $15.79 billion, up 18.8% from the year before.[65] The United States, under the leadership of President Truman, launched the Marshall Plan and the Point Four Program. Although vastly different in scope and resources, the two programs together formed the basis for what became known as the US foreign aid program. Furthermore, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) also played an important role in foreign aid. In essence, the donor's country could provide goods, techniques or funds to the recipient country. Usually, there are four ways of processing foreign aid: grants, loans (soft loans and tied loans), technical assistance and military aid.

The study of foreign aid is informed by the three major theoretical approaches of international relations: realism, neo-realism and liberalism. In accordance with a worldview that stresses the absence of a supranational coercive authority, realists consider aid as a foreign policy instrument that enables donor states to pursue their national interests. Neo-Marxists, on the other hand, understand aid as a contemporary manifestation of colonialism and imperialism that helps reproduce capital relations between developed and developing countries. Finally, for liberals, aid stands as a projection abroad of national values and social forces, as well as an instrument used by states to promote interdependence and international justice.[66] In international politics, the view of realists should be given priority.

Among political scientists, the term "foreign aid" is generally more familiar than alternatives such as "development assistance" or "development co-operation". All the donor countries in the world have almost the same beliefs: namely that it is economically correct to help each other, politically correct to form alliances and keep good relations, in keeping with human rights to pay respect to all, to keep the protection of the environment and development balanced, and give humanitarian aid.[67] Foreign aid is a process designed ostensibly to assist the economic development of the less developed countries of the world. However, this aid is often seen as subordinate to motives of self-interest on the part of the donor.[68] For example, security and strategic goals are the main concern of the American Aid policy. Among all the donor countries the political consideration of foreign aid far surpasses the economic consideration. Diplomatic advantage always is

the first guideline.

The population of Africa is one-eighth of the world population, but it receives about 45% of all UN aid. It is known to everyone that foreign aid from wealthy countries is necessary, but the task of how to execute and how to judge the priorities, especially the ways of processing, will determine its success or failure. Ambassador Yang, who had conducted ROC's foreign aid to African countries for more than 30 years, said there are three points that should be considered:

- Understanding the goal and meaning of foreign policy;
- The factor of executor;
- The attitude of the recipient countries.[69]

Foreign aid is not just a give-and-take game but a tool of foreign policy which influences relations. Fifty years have passed since the initiation of foreign aid. It is still a common phenomenon in the international community and has entered into the 21st century with new development.

Development

United States. Professor Carol Lancaster described the four major purposes of US foreign aid as: (1) Peacemaking, (2) Addressing trans-national issues, (3) Providing humanitarian relief, and (4) Advancing humane concerns abroad.[70] Surprisingly, American diplomacy enabled Israel and Egypt to take the military and political risks. Thus, Israel received the unprecedented grant of US$4 billion to relocate its military bases in the Sinan Peninsula to the Negev, and Egypt became a regular recipient of US military aid, starting with an initial allocation of US$1.5 billion.[71] Israel is the largest recipient of US aid in the world. Three quarters of the military aid to Israel goes for importing US-made military equipment such as F-16's and Apache attack helicopters. This creates a job market for US citizens and transforms Palestine into a test ground for US-made weaponry.[72]

Foreign assistance has played an important role in US relations with sub-Saharan

African countries since their independence. The establishment of US diplomatic relations with newly independent governments has been normally accompanied by the initiation of bilateral aid programs. For so many years the emphasis of US aid to Africa has been to promote US security and political interests on the continent. In May 2004 Lesotho and Mozambique were elected among a group of eight African countries likely to get a substantial increase in US aid for pursuing what is viewed as sound policies. Thus, it indicates that ruling justly, investing in people and economic reform are also important for deciding who receives US aid. In short, US aid is intended to strengthen their Western political orientation, to promote long-term economic development, to ensure the stability of the African countries and to facilitate access to African markets and resources for US business.

Japan. In the economic development of Pakistan, Japan is the most important donor, especially in the fields of education, health and family planning. By the end of 2002, China was the recipient of over $24.2 billion through the Official Development Assistance (ODA) in the form of loans, aid grants and technical assistance.[73] As Sri Lanka's largest donor country, Japan has supplied 50% of the entire amount of international aid to Sri Lanka, approaching two times the amount of the Asian Development Bank, the country's second largest donor. The above-mentioned facts prove that Japan plays an important role as an economic power in the development of those countries. In Africa, Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi said Japan would be giving priority to poverty reduction and integration of Africa into the world economy in collaboration not only with other donor countries and international organizations, but also with fellow Asian countries with interests in Africa.[74] Other areas which Japan will address include human resource development and private sector growth as well as primary education, health and clean water supplies.

Thrusts of Japan's aid to Africa are human resource development, providing skills training for Africans, promoting Africa's private sector and setting up an Asian-Africa Investment Information centre. In recent years, even though Japan has faced severe financial circumstances, it remains committed to playing a leading role in development co-operation with Africa. According to an annual list released by OECD, Japan main-

tained its position in second place in the ranking of the world's 22 major foreign aid donors in 2003 for the third year in a row.[75] Noting the longstanding fact that Japan is a country that has renounced the goal of becoming a military superpower, Japan is well placed to help developing countries who are seeking to introduce more industrialised countries' institutions and policies. Economic aid has helped Japan to recover its international credibility, while at the same time it could act as a powerful tool in achieving its foreign policy goals.

France. In the 1980s, the Africa policy of France was apparent in the question of military support for African states and their regimes, either by direct intervention or by training troops and the supply of armaments and equipment. France expects its close political and military co-operation, in particular with the francophone regimes, to balance out its competitiveness. Another indicator of Africa's unique importance to the French economy is the fact that about 66% of French investments went to Africa in 1975.[76] A non-democratic former colony gets about twice as much aid from its former colonizer as a democratic non-colony nation. Former colonies closed to trade get more than open non-colonies. This is especially true of French aid.[77]

In recent years, France has provided a substantial portion of its aid in the form of debt relief. These debt cancellations will be tied to poverty reduction within an internationally agreed framework. In order to enhance the friendly and co-operative relations between France and Vietnam, the French Minister of Transport, Gilles de Robien, said in April 2004 that France has helped finance a number of Vietnamese transport projects totaling 90 million euros since 1991.[78] France ranks third among the 22 member countries of the Development Assistance Committee in terms of the absolute amount of its official development assistance. The French development co-operation system is currently undergoing major reform, with the aid system being refocused around two cores, namely the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Finance and Industry becoming one main operating agency, the Agence Francaise de Development (AFD).[79] France decided in February 2002 to unite all of the project aid managed by the AFD. Furthermore, technical co-operation involved in investment projects would be united, whatever the amount involved.

Russia. Between 1955 and 1976, the Soviet Union approved $3,259 million in economic aid to African countries. Until 1973, the single largest recipient of Soviet economic aid was Egypt, which received more than 40 percent of the total.[80] All African states except Egypt and South Africa have to import Soviet Union's military requirements. More precisely, there are four types of Soviet economic assistance: loans, trade credits granted to governments, short term credits granted by Soviet foreign trade organizations to finance their exports in the context of bilateral cleaning agreements, and scholarship programs.[81] It is obvious that the Soviet Union came to the assistance of African states in order to further its own interests. Aid is concentrated on actual or would be allies, important regional powers and where major natural resource development projects of direct interest to the Soviet bloc are under way.[82] In the 1980s, compared with some western European countries and the US, the Soviet aid to Africa was small and concentrated in incidence. Not only were the terms of loans harder, but the grant element was lower, than for Development Assistance Committee aid. Only in the areas of technical assistance and scholarship provision does the Soviet Union have an impressive record.[83]

Eight years after communism collapsed in 1991, Russia's Soviet-era debt totals about US$69 billion owed to other governments and private banks. Russia balks at paying the Soviet era debts, which includes money owed by republics that are now independent, in addition to the huge amounts of financial help it has received from other developed countries. In June 1999, German Chancellor Schroeder said to the Russian Prime Minister that Germany promised to press the International Monetary Fund to release US$4.5 billion of Western aid for Russia.[84] Russia has completely changed from a donor country in the 1970s and 1980s to a recipient country. Since Russia has experienced serious social and economic upheaval, Russia's aid role nowadays is only humanitarian: for example, in the war in Kosovo in 1999 and the train tragedy in North Korea in April 2004.

Perception

In order to understand the influence of foreign aid on recipient countries, there are some examples that need to be noted. Eritrea believed foreign aid breeds both corruption and

dependency. Although poor, Eritrea accepts foreign aid only under certain circumstances. It sees how foreign aid in some countries has been used to keep dictatorial, repressive regimes in power; and how it thwarts social and political change. To offset what it sees as dangerous and seductive programs, Eritrea insists that foreign aid be administered by Eritreans and not by foreigners.[85]

Nepal has been a recipient of foreign assistance since 1952. During the 1950s, with the exception of scholarships, all aid was in the form of grants. In the 1970s 11 UN agencies, seven multilateral lending agencies and eight private agencies had participated in aid programs. At least 17 countries offered bilateral assistance. Between 1984 and 1987, foreign aid as a percentage of the GNP increased from under eight percent to almost 13 percent.[86] China offered aid to help Nepal to build the Kothmandukodari and Prithin highways, clear examples of strategy motives to both reduce Nepal's economic dependence on India and the West, and create a market for Chinese technical and material exports.[87]

In order to facilitate foreign capital inflow and for foreign aid programs in Georgia, the Georgian Government stipulated goals for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The main activities for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Georgia concerning foreign aid are as follows: Co-ordination of financial and technical assistance received from foreign countries and international organisations, participation in negotiations and meetings with foreign countries and international organisations, and participation in the process of elaboration of financial and technical agreements.

India has had one of the lowest rates of growth of all developing countries and remains one of the poorest countries in the world after almost 45 years of aid-financed, centrally planned development. Foreign aid has directly financed and sustained India's centralized-planning and control framework and thereby financed the growth of one of the non-Communist world's largest and most inefficient public sectors. In short, India is a paradigmatic case of the failure of government-sponsored aid; it stands as a dramatic testimonial to show that such aid should go the way of the socialist development model it has bankrolled for decades.[88]

In fact, foreign aid is predominantly a public activity in which governments deal with each other. Hundreds of millions of people in Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Peru, Singapore, Costa Rica, Chile and other countries have made tremendous progress with the help of development assistance. Aid played a positive role in laying some of the key foundations for subsequent development by helping to build up the physical and social infrastructure of South Korea.[89]

However, there are also some arguments about foreign aid having a number of negative effects. Foreign aid leads to a culture of dependency: dependency theory argues that aid ensures the continuation of the LDCs on the periphery and the dominance of the MDCs in the core. Foreign aid distorts markets: transfers of low interest concessionary grants to fill the savings or foreign exchange gaps could interfere in the market determination of interest rates and exchange rates. Foreign aid could fall into the hands of corrupt officials.[90] Foreign aid causes resentment among nations that receive none or less than they feel they deserve.

Various critics have repeatedly pointed out that foreign aid not only fails to encourage reform, but often stifles it. Development economist Peter Bauer has said foreign aid has contributed substantially to the politicisation of life in the third world. It augments the resources of government compared to the private sector, and the criteria of allocation tend to favour the government which is trying to establish state control. Foreign aid is often difficult for countries to use. Recipients generally have weak governments and they are unable to manage aid projects. Furthermore, third world nations want trade, not aid. Decades of financial transfers have not fostered economic growth. Many nations have been losing ground. Seventy developing states are poorer today than they were in 1980 and 43 than they were in 1970. Aid levels do not correlate with economic growth.

Gunmar Myrdal, the Swedish economist and Nobel Prize winner who has been called “the father of all progressive programs to aid the world,” concludes that the only acceptable form of aid is that which alleviates extreme poverty or relieves the effects of catastrophes such as drought and flood.[91] The international community’s experiences

with conflicts and national disasters in the 1990s led to big changes in the scope, funding and profile of humanitarian aid. Trends guarantee that humanitarian aid will remain enormously important for the United States – the world's largest humanitarian donor.

Foreign aid consists of government-to-government subsidies. They are funded through taxes and constitute a wealth transfer between governments. Any aid that is subsequently passed down to the poor of developing countries is secondary and incidental; the recipient country's government decides where and how much money actually reaches its citizens. The most conspicuous result of subsidies is the dependence of the recipient countries upon the benefactor. Loans and grants are tied to the incidence of poverty; therefore Third World leaders are motivated to stay within the loan/grant criteria, a perverse incentive to keep their nation in poverty.[92]

In fact, aid constitutes a fundamental, enduring aspect of north-south relations and a major financial transfer. Even though redistributing wealth from rich to poor does little to ameliorate the effects of poverty, aid smoothes international relations and provides employment, in both donor countries and in Africa, and in both public agencies and in NGOs. Aid can also be morally justified. In the 21st century, the four major goals of US foreign aid are assisting fragile and failing states, providing humanitarian assistance in natural and man-made disasters, supporting US geo-strategic interests and addressing global concerns such as AIDS.[93] Top recipients of US aid are usually countries of high security concern, including Israel, Pakistan, Jordan, Columbia and Russia in recent years. Most aid from Japan, Korea, Australia and New Zealand, by contrast, goes to neighboring Asian and Pacific Island nations.

In September 2002, Ms. Susan Whelan, Minister for International Cooperation, issued a policy statement that details the direction of Canada's aid programming. The aid programs run by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) will continue to focus on its four social development priorities – Health and Nutrition, AIDS prevention, Basic Education and Child Protection – while at the same time strengthening its investment in rural development, which includes agriculture, water and the environment.[94] Prime Minister Jean Chretien is committed to increasing foreign aid by at least eight

percent every year, of which at least half will be directed to Africa. This should double the level of Canadian aid by the end of the decade.

Taiwan's economic prosperity is founded on the generous assistance provided by the UN and US when Taiwan experienced hardship. As a member of the international community, Taiwan has the ability and intention to provide feedback to the countries in need, and that's why Taiwan's humanitarian assistance can be seen in the earthquake of Turkey, in the catastrophe of Iraq and in the winter storm of Mongolia.

The following main points should be noted:

- Foreign aid is still the tool of foreign policy in the name of a bilateral act as a means of supporting national interests and reaching goals of diplomacy.
- Foreign aid may play a supplementary role in the development process, but this role can always be made more effective if the interests and predictions of donors give way to a less selfish desire to assist the development of the third world.
- The partnership among donors, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector and host countries is more important than ever, and with fewer political, economic and diplomatic factors involved, foreign aid could be conducted more successfully.
- Often because of domestic political and bureaucratic factors that influence their aid, donors have been limited in their capacity to realize the economic, political and social changes needed to further development in Africa.

Today, 22 rich countries run development programs, donating approximately $60 billion to development areas. Most important, private and voluntary organizations, corporations, churches and individuals are channeling more aid than government bodies. Hence, review and renewal of the approach to foreign aid is an urgent matter.

Conference Diplomacy

In the 20th century, conference diplomacy has been widely used on many international occasions, constitutins a profound influence in diplomatic practice. As the number of

sovereign states has constantly increased over a period of 40 years, the new technological environment has made the world progressively grow smaller. Hence, numerous new problems require joint solutions and the search for possible answers to them calls for a multilateral effort. Without doubt, the growth of multilateralism has led to the emergence of new diplomatic styles and methods in the quest to achieve common objectives. These are observed both at occasional and non-institutionalised international conferences, and in the permanent and structurally more defined international organizations.

Conference diplomacy may be defined as diplomacy as carried out in and in relation to conducting diplomatic negotiations and as the best means to settle difficult international issues. In fact, the simplest way to distinguish conferences is on the basis of their objectives. Intergovernmental conferences are deliberative, legislative or informative.

- A deliberative conference concentrates on general discussions and exchanges of points of view on certain topics;
- A legislative conference endeavors to make recommendations to governments or make decisions which are binding upon governments;
- An informal conference has as its main purpose the international exchange of information on specific questions.[95]

Furthermore, the purposes of conference diplomacy reveal the following eight categories:

- To serve as a forum for general discussion of broad or specific issues;
- To make non-binding recommendations to governments or international organizations;
- To make decisions binding upon governments;
- To make decisions giving guidance or instructions to the secretariat of an intergovernmental organization, or on the way in which a program financed by governments should be administered;
- To negotiate and draft a treaty or other formal international instruments;
- To provide for the international exchange of information;
- To provide for the pledging of voluntary contributions to international programs;
- To review progress under an agreement or a treaty concluded earlier.[96]

The object of a conference is to discuss problems and find solutions that are so far as possible acceptable to all participants, and this process is carried out by the traditional methods of diplomacy. International conferences are a playground and battlefield at the same time. Representatives will fight, ignore and agree. In short, our history is made up of many conferences. The imperial conferences, Congress of Vienna, Yalta Conference, League of Nations and the United Nations are good examples of conferences. The United Nations has helped in keeping peace and securing justice in international affairs. It has also helped to feed poor countries, establish foreign law and keep peace between rival countries.

One of the prevailing assumptions of the protagonists of conference diplomacy is that international conflict is essentially the product of misunderstanding and of a failure in communications, and that these could be avoided if those ultimately responsible for the making of foreign policy could meet together to discuss matters without the complication of intermediaries.[97] Thus, conference diplomacy is an essential and powerful instrument for avoiding potential conflicts, solving actual conflict, and for the development and strengthening of peaceful relations between states.

Conference diplomacy differs from traditional bilateral diplomacy in that delegates do not deal with relations between their home country and the host country. Rather, they attend meetings within different organizations and defend their national interests, while at the same time pursuing interests that are shared by a large community of nations.[98]If conference diplomacy has prospered because it has been felt to be a valuable device for advancing negotiations between numerous parties simultaneously, it has also gained support because of the impetus that it can give to bilateral diplomacy.[99] This point has two aspects. First, a multilateral conference can provide opportunities for participants to discuss matters outside the formal agenda and that are only of immediate concern to themselves. Second, powerful mediators can hold multilateral conferences in order to initiate a series of essentially bilateral negotiations that subsequently develop elsewhere.

Owing to the number of intergovernmental organizations that has raisen dramatically, the number of international conferences has increased at a fantastic rate. In 1985,

there were 3,868 conferences in the UN buildings in New York and 7,138 conferences in Geneva. Furthermore, economic, financial, social and cultural issues have been more prominent because of the terms of the agenda, whereas in the old days issues of peace and war dominated the international conference scenes. More specific, in principle, according to the statutes and rules of procedure of most organiztions, the old habits of arriving at decisions unanimously has been replaced by majority decision-taking.[100]

It is also fair to note that some multilateral conferences have become permanent under the impact of the enduring "functionalist" notion that it is out of such structures that regional and perhaps even ultimately global integration will grow.[101] Nevertheless, it seems clear that the multilateral conferences that achieve permanent status do so principally because the problem with which they were established to grapple is itself seen as a permanent problem.

Cooperation

Conference diplomacy reflects the world of today, a world of more than 190 states, many of which, habitually, have to get together in order to reach an effective agreement on issues of importance. Whether multilateral conferences are ad hoc or permanent, they tend to share similar procedural problems – though the solutions with which they come up are by no means identical. Among others, these problems include questions of venue, participation, agenda, style of proceedings and decision-making.[102] In most intergovernmental conferences four main actors can be detected: the delegation, as representatives of their governments; the secretariat and its executive head; the presiding officer; and various groups of governments.[103] In fact, diplomacy has changed in the course of time and has requirements to be met by the ideal diplomatist. An ideal conference diplomat must have the following characteristics: truthfulness, precision, a good temper, patience, modesty, zeal, adaptability, loyalty, physical and mental endurance, speed, linguistic versatility and courage.[104]

During conference diplomacy, pre-negotiation plays a crucial role in preparing the ground for negotiation. It includes the agreeing on goals, agenda setting, voting and

other aspects. There are no guarantees for successful negotiations. A comprehensive delineation of topics to be discussed and goals to be reached can go a long way toward preventing a breakdown of talks. In short, the importance of a pre-negotiation procedure is crucial, but must address all the involved parties if they are ultimately to succeed.[105] Another important thing is procedure, which can be very useful in inter-state relations. It performs a constructive function in forging compromise, adjuring and softening a crisis, and creating a formal basis for a dialogue even if a result is not immediately visible. Even if negotiations are long, it is better not to break up a conference, as the summoning of a new one may prove very difficult.

It is either governments themselves or existing international organisations that end up sponsoring the larger multilateral conferences that do much of the business of creating international regimes. Beginning in 1972, with a Swedish-sponsored global conference on international environmental matters, a regularized but informal global conference system has developed. Governments return to the same topics over and over again, often in a ten-year rotation.[106] Thus, there were global conferences on women in 1975, 1985 and 1995; conferences on population in 1974, 1984 and 1994; and governments debated environmental questions in a meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992 and in a meeting in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2002.

It is well known that groups of delegations undertake common functions in the conference framework. There are constant shifts in the alignments of nations in conference diplomacy. The fundamental types of groups are political and cultural, economic development, regional, and economic treaty-linked states.[107] The functions performed by groups can be distinguished in the ascending order of commitment by the members:

1. To exchange information on all or part of an agenda of a conference, either in advance or during a conference.
2. To develop common general positions on important agenda items, without definite voting commitment.
3. To develop common positions on certain agenda items or initiatives with agreement on how to vote.

4. To agree on candidates to be put forward by the group or by a common vote for candidates from outside the group.
5. To agree on a common spokesman and on the contents of the statements to be delivered.
6. To undertake joint action for or against a certain proposal

Where majority voting is employed there are typically differences in the treatment of procedural and substantive issues. Some international organisations employ weighted voting while others do not, and some require a special majority while others require only a simple majority (over 50 percent).[108] Ambiguous formulations are used in diplomacy to allow for a degree of consensus when parties in a negotiation cannot come to an agreement. In common parlance the skill of finding formulations which avoid giving offence and are at the same time acceptable to all sides is treated with justifiable respect and often referred to as a "diplomatic" form of expression. In conference diplomacy, while a party may push for precise language in stipulating claims or limits to commitments, it may seek ambiguity to allay anxieties on either side or to secure a margin for subsequent interpretation.

Some important conferences have had an impact on the social development of human history.

Law of the Sea Conference (1982). This was the longest multilateral negotiation in history and lasted for 12 years. It began in 1970 because it was at that session of the General Assembly that the seabed and the ocean floor and their resources as well as the resources of the subsoil beyond the limits of national jurisdiction were declared "the common heritage of mankind". Finally, the conference agreed on a new division of the seas of the world, a new definition of the freedom of the seas by the creation of the economic zone. The conference also produced new approaches to the notion of consensus as well as a "cooling-off-period" within which to find a compromise solution.

United Nations General Assembly's Special Session on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa (1986). The contribution of conference diplomacy to the success of the session was careful preparation, and the process of negotiation and the role of the

secretariat contributed to the success. The achievement of the special session was first and foremost a political success for Africa. Its substantive success should rather be measured in terms of the responsible, realistic and non-rhetorical way in which for the first time in the United Nation's history internal problems of one continent comprising more that 50 member states were addressed. It was of political importance as the recognition of a new beginning of Africa's development was the basis for the consensus reached. Conference diplomacy, its format and its setting at the United Nations, facilitated this achievement in an interplay of governments, secretariats and outside interests.[109]

XII Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (1998).The NAM stood firmly for the principles of active, peaceful co-existence and maintenance and consolidation of peace and security, as well as economic development among developing nations of the world. In its more than 40 years of existence, NAM has always been able to forge a strong alliance of developing countries in the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. President Nelson Mandela said, "As for my own commitment of Africa, our people's dream of an African Renaissance, as a consequence of which we will overcome a devastating past and ensure that ours also becomes a continent of democracy and peace, respect for human rights, development, prosperity and the restoration of the dignity of all Africans."[110] Then Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki said: "We trust that this movement, which stood firmly with us as we fought for the end of colonial and apartheid rule, will walk with us in a firm and meaningful South-South partnership, a critical element of whose agenda must be the achievement of an African Renaissance."

World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Relation Intolerance (2001).The conference themes were the sources, causes, forms and temporary manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, measures of prevention, education and protection aimed at eradication at national, regional and international levels, provision of effective remedies, recourse, redress and other measures, strategies to achieve full and effective equality, including international co-operation and enhancement of the United Nations and other international mechanisms

in combating.[111] Deputy President Jacob Zuma said, "Most of these issues are critical to the resolution of fundamental problems in the developing world, which are rooted in our colonial and slavery past. By implementing the programme of action and declaration that will emerge from this conference, we will be ensuring that this new millennium becomes one in which we place value on people, not because of race, colour, creed or status in life, but because of their status as human beings."[112]

World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) (2002). Mr. Emil Salim, secretary general for the Summit, said the key goals of the summit would be poverty eradication, changing unsustainable production and consumption patterns over the next 10 years and protection of the environment. WSSD 2002 was a continuation of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in June 2002.

On September 4, 2004 the declaration expressed that "we achieved much in bringing together a rich tapestry of peoples and views in a constructive search for a common path towards a world that respects and implements the vision of sustainable development at all levels, for the effective implementation of agenda 21, the Millennium Development goals and the Johannesburg plan of Implementation". Hosting the WSSD 2002 provided South Africa with a unique opportunity to showcase its competence and capacity to manage a world event of this magnitude, to take centre stage to put its own case for sustainable development in an African context to the World community.

The Asian-African Conference (2003). Foreign Minister Dlamini-Zuma led the South African delegation to the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia from 29 to 30 July 2003. The Asian-African Conference (AAC) was convened in 1955 on the invitation of the five sponsoring countries (Indonesia, India, Myanmar, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). In addition to the sponsoring countries, 24 countries were present at the gathering of the first generation of leaders of Asian and African countries in Bandung from 18 – 24 April 1955. With reference to the rationale for strengthening co-operation and partnership, Africa has much to gain from the development of a deeper long-term and stable partnership with Asia. Africa can learn from Asian experience in a number of key areas,

including trade and investment liberalization, human resource development, and capacity building as well as information technology. On the part of Asia, a stable and prosperous Africa can serve as a vibrant economic and social partner and a collaborator in the promotion of peace and stability in both continents. Together, they can gain a stronger leverage in the global arena.

Summit Conference

Simply stated, summit diplomacy is diplomacy engaged in by political principals senior to the cabinet or ministerial rank, including the participation of chief of states, heads of government, a few others who qualify by virtue of their official positions and certain agents of the heads of government who genuinely represent them at their level.[113] The type of summit diplomacy that receives the greatest amount of popular, journalistic and at times, official attention is the summit conference. There are three main kinds of summits. Firstly, there is what might be called the serial summit conference. This is a summit that is part of a regular series. Secondly, there is the ad hoc summit conference. This is generally a one-time meeting though it may turn out to be the first of a series. Finally, there is the high-level "exchange of views". Rather than being concerned with a set-piece negotiation, it has the most modest purposes of clarifying intentions, gaining intelligence and giving an extra push to a continuing negotiation at lower level.[114] Since some ad hoc summits are characteristically designed principally for symbolic purposes rather than negotiation, it seems reasonable to suggest that, whether they have an emphasis on ceremonial functions or not, they are better suited to the promotion of friendly relations than the serial summits.

Official publications and the press variously describe the presidential function in a summit conference as discussion, conversations, conferring, exchange of views or just plain talks – all of which denote face to face oral communication, the principal quality and advantage of this form of summit diplomacy. Heads of government who visit a number of countries on a foreign tour are usually engaged with the highest level exchange of views with their counterparts. Pre-summits are supposed to prepare the way for the summit proper and thus to be a secret of success. However, if they are not staged

properly they can backfire. Pre-summits consisting only of a small number of the most powerful participants scheduled to attend the summit require special care, as became obvious when the leaders of Britain, France and Germany met on 19 October 2001 immediately prior to the European Council in Ghent. This angered Italy in particular as well as the President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi.[115]

However, professional career diplomats, diplomatic officials and bureaucrats concerned about the declining importance of their role have been critical of the reliance on summit diplomacy.[116] The Development of rapid international transport and telecommunications has fostered an increase in direct contacts across national frontiers at many levels, including the emergence of summitry as a major form of diplomacy. Summit conferencing has become an accepted and vital part of the diplomatic practice and a regular feature of contemporary diplomacy. Most people agree that the Cairo Conference held in 1955 was an important event in summit conference, which had a huge influence in shaping the second half of history of the 20th century. It is also worthwhile to understand more about the Soviet-US Summits and the G8 summit.

From 1985 to 1988 Reagan and Gorbachev took part in four summits: Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington and Moscow. The Geneva summit of 1985 restarted the process of top level dialogue between the two nuclear superpowers, was the beginning of a personal relationship between the two leaders, and was a return to positive aspects of US-Soviet bilateral ties for the first time since the 1970s. Furthermore, the summit improved US-Soviet relations due to careful preparations by participants, frankness in US-Soviet talks and adherence to a four part agenda that would become the basis for advancements made in later summit meetings.[117] At the Moscow summit, both nations formally exchanged the instruments of ratification for the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty, which banned all intermediate range nuclear missiles.

As for summitry, American scholar Joseph G Whelan commented: " the successful use of summitry since Geneva has enhanced still further its value as a permanent feature of great power relations in modern diplomacy and enhanced as well the vital role of diplomacy and negotiations in international relations that is an essential precondition for

creating a secure and peaceful world."[118] Since the break-up of the Soviet Union on 25 December 1991, Presidents Clinton or Bush had met 23 times with Russian Presidents Yeltsin or Putin. They have discussed such issues as reductions in the number of weapons, economic aid and reform, and democracy and human rights. European security, peacekeeping in Bosnia, Kosovo and the Middle East, and the conflict in Chechnya had also been discussed. Prior to this, a total of 26 US-Soviet leadership meetings were held from 1943 to 1991.

The concept of the Economic Summit as an informal exchange of views rather than a decision-taking body came under strain in 1979 and 1980 in the wake of the second great rise in oil prices and the consequent energy crisis.[119] Later seven summits focused on economic issues and topical political events. Between 1994 and 1998, the term political eight was employed to describe the meeting of the G8 and Russia because their discussions were confined to political and security issues and excluded financial and most economic issues. It was in 1998 that the "Group of Eight" (G8) was born.

In mid-June 2004, Africa had its fifth encounter with the leaders of the Industrialized North at the G8 Summit on Sea Island, Georgia, in the United States. Development NGO's have predictably criticized the G8, complaining that it did not do enough for Africa. One cannot really argue with them for Africa always needs more. The G8 is not a development bank that doles out money. It is an informal meeting of the leaders of the world's strongest states to rank their priorities. Their decisions filter down from the summit into bodies such as their own governments, the EU, the WTO and the International Monetary Fund.[120]

Diplomacy is a fundamental human activity conducted between people as well as among nations. Most negotiations in conference diplomacy are not one time events but part of a process with ups and downs and should be conducted with long-term considerations. Nowadays, conference diplomacy has become an essential factor in the daily life of nations. The principal techniques available to the multilateral diplomatist are the combined knowledge of procedure tools that can be used in each conference, insight into the role of the various actors, and intellectual command of the matter at hand.[121]

Conference diplomacy and normal diplomacy are the two sides of a coin. They have helped each other in many ways including reaching agreements on significant matters. The diplomatic representative speaks not only for his own country, but also shares responsibility for the interests of the other nations represented around the conference table. Being well prepared in advance is the secret of success in any international conference and especially the summit conference.

In practice, any summits held at UN Geneva, including some that paved the way for peace, opened doors to poverty alleviation, helped to protect the environment, promoted sustainable development and human development, strengthened human rights, increased humanitarian aid and helped refugees and displaced persons. The Geneva canon's statistical office estimates that 1,938 intergovernmental meetings comprising 15,175 sessions attended by about 86,000 delegates took place in 1999. Geneva has strengthened its traditional key role as a centre for conference diplomacy and UN operational activities and is acknowledged to be the capital city of multilateral diplomacy. With more and more conferences like the "Earth Observation Summit" (EOS) which discussed the protection of the world weather environment and the "Kimberley Process" (KP) which dealt with the conflict in diamond commerce, conference diplomacy will be one of the best ways to keep co-operation, find solutions and enhance understanding in the future.

Public Diplomacy

In an age of growing democracy and mass communication, it is increasingly important for governments to be able to go over the heads of foreign governments to pursue their foreign policy agendas. Whether it is putting together or maintaining international coalitions on political or military issues, or trying to compete for a share of global trade, tourism or investments, governments will increasingly have to learn to communicate and extract a premium for their national reputation. According to the Planning Group for Integration of USIA into the Department of State (June 20, 1997) public diplomacy is defined as follows: "Public Diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest of the United States through understanding, informing and influencing foreign audiences."[122] According to Hans N Tuch, author of "Communication with the Word" (St Martin's Press,

NY, 1990), " Public diplomacy is defined as "Official government efforts to shape the communications environment overseas in which American foreign policy is played out, in order to reduce the degree to which misperceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the US and other nations."

According to the Dictionary of International Relations Terms, "Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinions in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television." USIA, which was in the business of public diplomacy for more than 40 years, defined public diplomacy as follows: "Public diplomacy seeks to promote the national interest and the national security of the United States through understanding, informing and influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad."[123]

In 1953, President Eisenhower created the US Information Agency, whose mission was to understand and influence international public opinion. The USIA operated exchange programs and the Voice of America (VOA). It also created American libraries around the world and published the Washington File, which provided daily updates about Washington's policies and pronouncements. In fact, the term " public diplomacy " was first used in 1965 by Dean Edmund Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. It was created with the establishment at Fletcher of the Edward R Murrow Centre for Public Diplomacy. The Murrow Centre, in one of its earlier brochures, describes public diplomacy as follows: "Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of inter-cultural communications."[124]

There is no doubt that pubic diplomacy entails efforts to inform and influence public

opinion in other countries. It also involves monitoring global opinion and engaging in dialogue with international audiences. There are three different dimensions in which the term public diplomacy is employed.

- Public diplomacy, as the opposite of secret diplomacy, is performed with the full awareness of the public. It does not automatically provide the public with endless information access related to the substance of diplomatic discourse. Secret diplomacy was made unpopular by US President Wilson, who in 1918 wanted it to be outlawed as an instrument in the conduct of international relations. He was mainly against secret agreements standing on their own or as notorious appendixes to publicly acknowledged treaties.
- The internal use of public diplomacy as a way of informing domestic constituencies about their country's diplomatic activities. The reference to public affairs became particularly popular after the end of the Cold War when domestic audiences pressed for a higher transparency and accountability of their country's national diplomatic systems.
- Public diplomacy as a tool of promoting foreign policy objectives abroad. This dimension of the term public diplomacy is used mainly in the United States. It is a more elegant and acceptable term for propaganda activities.[125]

Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy in that traditional diplomacy is a government-to-government exercise conducted between officials, whereas public diplomacy that is broadly aimed at the international public deals not only with governments, but primarily with non-governmental individuals and organizations. Furthermore, public diplomacy activities often present many different views as represented by private individuals and organizations in addition to official views. In traditional diplomacy diplomats represent their own governments in a host country primarily by maintaining relations and conducting government business with the officials of the host government, whereas public diplomacy primarily engages many diverse non-government elements of a society.

There is a difference between public diplomacy and propaganda. Since propaganda can be based on fact, public diplomacy can be equated with propaganda: that is, ideas,

information or other material disseminated to win people over to a given doctrine. If based on untruths, while still propaganda, it is best described as disinformation. USIA officials always contended that their programs dealt with the known facts; to do otherwise would be counterproductive as their reliability would be questioned. In short, truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive one must be believable; to be believable one must be credible; to be credible one must be truthful.

The core idea of public diplomacy is one of direct communication with foreign peoples with the aim of affecting their thinking and ultimately, that of their governments. In terms of content, it describes activities directed abroad in the fields of information, education and culture, whose objective is to influence a foreign government by influencing its citizens. The mass media and international broadcasting in particular are just one of the channels used in public diplomacy. Others include cultural and scientific exchange of students, scholars, intellectuals and artists, participation in festivals and exhibitions, building and maintaining cultural centers, teaching a language, and establishing local friendship leagues and trade associations.[126] The mass media channels are used directly to affect the general public while the other mostly cultural channels are oriented towards elite audiences believed to have influence on public opinion. While uses of the mass media focus on current affairs, the cultural channels deal more with fundamental long-term perceptions of countries and societies.

Norway. In order to enhance Norway's image abroad and formulate the specifically Norwegian stories, the foreign ministry has entered into co-operation with the British research body, the Foreign Policy Centre. Their report, Norwegian Public Diplomacy, was issued in June 2003 and formed the basis for a closed workshop with representatives from politics, cultural organizations, research, NGOs and trade and industry. This was an engaging exercise in which people discussed the proposals for four stories about Norway, which were based on extensive surveys of Norwegian opinion formers. Furthermore, a national image must satisfy three requirements: it must be genuine and trustworthy, it must be internally anchored and it must be perceived as attractive in those markets one wish to target.[127]

Norway understands that public diplomacy is an important tool for creating a positive national image and hence, the foreign ministries pay more attention to the media, international organizations and non-governmental organizations. Business interests have become more active in defining public opinion. At the same time, the foreign ministry has decided to confine co-operation with the foreign policy centre. In short, in conducting public diplomacy, the Norwegian government engages in dialogue with wider audiences on a wider range of issues than those of day-to-day politics. This mode of working requires building lasting networks and having the staying power to see projects through even though long-term effects may not be seen for years to come.[128]

China. On March 19, 2004, the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs invited experts and scholars from the Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee, Peking University, Tsinghua University, Nankai University, Foreign Affairs College, Institute of Modern International Relations as well as Xinhua News Agency to discuss China's public diplomacy. During the seminar, all participants presented their views on the definition, operation and mechanism of public diplomacy respectively. A Division for Public Diplomacy was then established under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The seminar aimed to explore ideas, channels and measures with regard to public diplomacy so as to bring about a new situation of public diplomacy in China. It is obvious that China wants to meet the requirements of present times, satisfy the expectations of the people and catch up with the level of public diplomacy in some developed countries.

South Africa. The Department of Foreign Affairs played an important role in the branding and imaging of South Africa abroad mostly through South African missions. The Department serves as a link between other government departments, civic society, NGO's and other private institutions. The scope of activities in the public diplomacy undertaken included the following:

- Ensuring that South African marketing compaigns were properly co-ordinated as an inter-Departmental and national effort.
- Ensuring that Missions in strategic countries undertook major positioning initiatives influencing local and foreign media reporting on South Africa.
- Improving relations and co-operation with business, civic society, media and the labor

movement within the targeted period.

- Implementing a pro-active communications strategy within the Department for all international visits.[129]

We can find that many cultural activities were undertaken to promote and project a positive image of South Africa, and the department also played an important role in facilitating and co-ordinating major international sporting events. Furthermore, the department also made use of the great marketing platform provided by the hosting of WSSD to further popularize the AU and NEPAD through informative leaflets and booklets. In short, the department continued to organize media briefings, press conferences and timely dissemination of information to the media regarding state, official and working visits, joint commissions and bilateral meetings. It also assured the attendance of the Ministry and Presidency at important international functions. These were all done in support of South Africa's efforts to push back the frontiers of poverty and underdevelopment with a special focus on South Africa, the African continent and countries of the south. South Africa's leadership of the NAM, the AU and the commonwealth also received positive coverage and thus enhanced the status of the country as a global player in international relations.

Yugoslavia. Before the break-up of Yugoslavia, the economic, cultural, scientific, information and sports blockade of Yugoslavia had its roots in the political and diplomatic blockade, from the UN system and its financial and other specialised agencies, the Non-Alignment Movement, the OSCE and the Council of Europe, up to the pressures exerted on non-political, cultural, sports and similar organisations by individual governments or groups of governments. One of the few remaining channels of communication with the world that could not be completely severed and that stayed fairly passable was parliamentary co-operation. The reason for that is mainly the pluralist tradition of parliamentarism in the world, but also the practical needs of countries hostile to the FRY, who wish to preserve a possibility of less formal contact when diplomatic contacts are undesirable or impossible.[130]

Bilateral parliamentary co-operation exists between Yugoslavia and Austrian Fed-

eration, China, India, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, Japan, Vietnam and some sub-Saharan African countries, which proved quite useful in connecting FRY(Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) and the world. When official diplomacy finds it difficult to reach its goal, parliamentary co-operation will be another choice. On November 28, 2000, President and Mrs. Clinton hosted and Secretary of State Albright chaired the first White House Conference on culture and diplomacy. The central purpose of the conference was to focus attention on the role of culture in US foreign policy and produce conclusions that could inform the future development of American cultural diplomacy. The role of culture in the practice of diplomacy is, of course, one of the four specific, interrelated issues. Many diplomats, artists and scholars attended the discussion on how to better integrate cultural concerns into the day-to-day conduct of American foreign policy and strengthen cultural exchange programmes that serve as invaluable forms of international communication.

Obviously, cultural factors are utterly inseparable from foreign policy; culture is not marginal, but central to diplomacy. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said that cultural factors play a pivotal role in many of the international challenges we face, from establishing rules for trade to finding common ground in the pursuit of peace. Furthermore, cultural programs are central to the success of American foreign policy.[131] Noting that the consolidation of the US Information Agency with the State Department had provided new opportunities for funding cultural programs, she emphasised that:

- Cultural factors are inseparable from foreign policy;
- The United States must do a better job of explaining American culture to the world;
- Funding for programs of cultural exchange, understanding and collaboration must be increased, and;
- Culture is not elitist, but the way the people of a country express themselves.[132]

Conducting successful public and cultural diplomacy to increase cultural programs, international scholarships, exchange and visitor programs, as well as artistic and scholarly collaborations with other countries, is very crucial. These include the launching of large scale, model cultural exchange projects in China and Nigeria, and the development of working partnerships with public and private cultural organizations such as the Na-

tional Endowment for AIDS, the White House Millennium Council, and the Library of Congress. The flagship international educational exchange program, the Fulbright Program, designed to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of the countries has provided more than 230,000 participants – graduate students, scholars and professionals, and teachers and administrators from the US and other countries, chosen for their leadership potential – with the opportunity to learn from each other. All in all culture shapes and pervades all aspects of government's policy. The conference aims to sensitise the US foreign policy establishment to this reality and at the same time raise awareness of how culture shapes attitudes, positions and policies.

Information Technology

Information is power and today a much larger part of the world's population has access to that power. The new threats involve drugs, global crime, environmental concerns, worldwide population, migration and refugee problems, disease, famine and the need for democratisation and human rights in many parts of the world. Underlying forces have compelled the United States to move from traditional diplomacy with its lack of public transparency to public diplomacy, which focuses on the dissemination of information and two-way communications.[133] The prime mover of change is information technology. The network of communications technology will become the central nervous system of international relations, making public diplomacy more important than ever.

Information Technology can provide effective tools for public diplomacy through understanding, informing and broadening dialogue. More precisely, information technology can support diplomacy as a tool for planning, decision-making, prevention of conflict, mediation and management, networking, information sharing, communication and building understanding and political will on the part of leaders and the public. New technologies such as the Internet should be exploited more extensively to increase cross-cultural communication and preserve cultural diversity throughout the world. The importance of tapping the vast potential of Internet-based information and resources in cultural activities cannot be overstated. Modern technologies must be harnessed to re-

cord, preserve and share the cultural histories and expressions of diverse cultures.[134]

The internet can make diplomacy more transparent; new information technology is changing the world today as much as the invention of movable type revolutionised Europe. In a world where instant communication takes place across oceans and state borders, governments cannot manipulate public policy and public opinion. Mr. Joseph Nye in his book, "Soft Power, the means to success in world politics" proposed three dimensions of public diplomacy. All three are important and they require different relative proportions of direct government information and long-term cultural relationships.[135]

The first is daily communication, which involves explaining the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions. The second dimension is strategic communication, in which a set of simple themes is developed, similar to what occurs in a political or advertising campaign. The third dimension of public diplomacy is the development of lasting relationship with key individuals over many years through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences and access to media channels. Another powerful viewpoint is the article "Pillars of public diplomacy." It was published in the Harvard Review, Summer 2003, by ambassador Christopher Ross.

Modern diplomacy is now a multidimensional enterprise in which so called "non state" actors and foreign publics play an increasingly prominent role. The increase of the influence of the non-state actor has been paralleled by two other equally important developments – globalization and information technologies. This is the transformed international environment in which public diplomacy now operates. In such a world, the public-diplomacy quotient of virtually every foreign policy issue today has risen dramatically, whether regarding a trade negotiation over genetically modified corn, the reconstruction of Iraq, or the threat of HIV/AIDS. Policies can still be forged in private confidential talks among professional diplomats, much as they were 200 years ago, but no policy initiative can succeed over the long term without the understanding and support of multiple foreign publics and other non-state actors.

The public diplomacy and international communications of the United States must reflect a basic set of principles and practices – the seven pillars of public diplomacy – to meet its mandate to inform, engage and influence foreign publics. The seven pillars are as follows:

- All public diplomacy activities are designed to support US national interests and meet its international duties.
- The US must rely on providing reasons and rationale for its policies.
- US international messages must be consistent, truthful and credible.
- The obverse of consistency is our ability to tailor messages for specific audiences.
- The US must also find ways to repeat key messages for audiences of two million, or 20 million, through national and trans-national media.
- Alliances and partnerships recognise that as the number and importance of non-state actors have grown in international affairs, the official voice of the US has grown smaller.
- The United States must build the foundations of trust and mutual understanding through a genuine commitment to dialogue.

Indeed, for diplomacy to be effective, the tools of public diplomacy must be used throughout the process to explain what is going on, why it is being done and how it is proceeding. Today, public diplomacy is neither an oxymoron nor an afterthought, but an integral component for successfully conducting US foreign policy.[136]

Under the Clinton Administration, public diplomacy meant how to gain support for foreign engagement from the American people, whose interests were turning inwards after the end of the Cold War. In a report submitted by President Clinton to the congress on 30 December 1998, one can find: We place very high priority on public diplomacy with foreign audiences and are firmly committed to integrating public diplomacy more fully into foreign policy. Our goal is to strengthen public diplomacy through its integration into the policy process. Negotiations on such issues as NATO enlargement, Iraqi sanctions, and global climate change show the value of being proactive, informing and influencing foreign publics, NGOs and others. These audiences are playing greater roles on international issues as communication improves and pluralism expands.

Public diplomacy promotes US national security and other interests by seeking to understand, inform and influence foreign publics and policy- makers, and by broadening the dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad.[137] Anti-Americanism seems to have become a new buzzword that spread around the world when the grave incidents on September 11, 2001 took place. There are limits on what public diplomacy can achieve.[138] Fully aware that the war on terrorism requires the co-operation of world leaders, Washington turned to the media to disseminate its message. And winning the hearts and minds of Arab and Muslim populations has quite understandably risen to the top of the Bush administration agenda.

Thus, more than in the past, the United States will need to modify not simply the implementation of its foreign policies, but in certain cases, the foreign policies themselves. The purpose is not to increase US popularity abroad for its own sake, but because it is in America's national interest to do so. This requires a deeper understanding of foreign attitudes and more effective communication of US policies. It also means fully integrating public diplomacy needs into the very foundation of American foreign policies in the first place. Particularly, in a period when the United States is fighting a war on terrorism, the country must come to understand and accept the basic notion that 'image problems' and 'foreign policy' are not things apart. They are both part of an integrated whole.[139]

Public diplomacy is important because foreign attitudes and understanding can affect the success or failure of initiatives. Thus, effective reform of public diplomacy must go beyond the provision of more resources to the development of a new paradigm. This means redefining the role of public diplomacy as part of a comprehensive strategy, tying it to foreign policy objectives. It means changing the recruitment and training of diplomats and other public officials and redefining their missions.[140]

Some key recommendations include the following: issue of a presidential directive on public diplomacy; create a public diplomacy coordinating structure and a dedicated secretariat led by the president's personal designee; more public diplomacy from the margins to the centre of foreign policy-making, supporting voices of moderation, with

special attention over the long term on young people: empower them to engage in effective debate through means available or created in their societies; foster increasingly meaningful relationships between the US government and foreign journalists; deliver more bang for the government buck by creating a much expanded role for the private sector; send credible and independent messengers; capitalize on internet-age realties; bring funding in line with the role of public diplomacy as a vital component of foreign policy and national security; build a stronger public diplomacy through enhancements in key areas.[141]

Public diplomacy helps the people to better understand foreign cultures and the people of the world. Today, public diplomacy is neither an oxymoron nor an afterthought, but an integral component of successfully conducting foreign policy. Moreover, public diplomacy is being practiced overseas. It is a set of skills and tools for any diplomat who must communicate with the vast and varied foreign publics that are now role players in international affairs and governments, but also news media, academics, students, youth groups, technologists, artists, cultural organizations, community and regional entities, private enterprises and a vast array of special interests and non-governmental organizations.[142]

Public diplomacy is effective only when it builds on long-term relationships that identify common interests between people and capitalize on them. It must be strategic, consistent and flexible in its use of channels, and above all, must encourage two-way communication. In the US three principles – promoting the interests, investing in allies, and advancing a principled image should form the core of America's redesigned public diplomacy. Strong leadership and imaginative thinking, planning and co-ordination are critical. Public diplomacy is a strategic instrument of foreign policy and US leaders must provide the sustained, co-ordinated, robust and effective public diplomacy that America requires.[143] Public diplomacy helped win the Cold War, and it can help overcome the philosophy of hate being spread overseas today.

Conclusion

Diplomacy is a tool for using affordable resources to increase national interests. Personal diplomacy has been used throughout history; its basic premise is that the intervention of certain prominent and influential figures can be used to reach consensus or results between states. Foreign aid is another appealing tool of diplomacy, especially for those less developed states which are usually attracted by the political, humanitarian and economic gains that can be had on receiving foreign aid. Wherever interaction between states occurs, economic diplomacy can found, and scholars have remarked that it is a very useful method for enhancing one nation's relations with another. The use of conference diplomacy is also substantial and growing; it is yet another practical tool for achieving results and solving problems between states. Public diplomacy is effective in increasing cultural interactions and improving the perceived image of countries. These are the main components of international diplomacy that enrich international relations through more frequent and meaningful interaction as well as enhanced exchanges for the benefit of the sides involved. Diplomacy is political contact between governments of different nations. Diplomacy as an art of maintaining organized relations among the states is, obviously, the foundation of statecraft. International society is changing rapidly, and the changes affect the modalities of diplomacy, though not its basic nature. Interdependence and ease of communication are speeding up the diplomatic dialogue and extending its subject-matter, and bringing statesmen into more frequent direct contact. We have discussed the five methods of modern diplomacy which most countries use to some extent to reach their diplomatic goals. Each country will employ the most suitable methods to execute its foreign policy, which can be adjusted over time by decision- makers. In the next chapter, we will analyze the ROC's Africa policy, especially with respect to its origins, evolution, confrontation with the PRC and possible future developments. It is without doubt that different approaches towards African states will meet with different outcomes. The ROC has no choice but to face the tough challenges in conducting its diplomacy in Africa, and the choices available need to be carefully examined.

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CHAPTER THREE
THE ROC'S POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA
(1949-2004)

Africa's position in the world

The written history of Africa starting from 3400 B.C. in the Pyramid Dynasty of Egypt and the Nile River, gave extensive input to civilization. The Arabs conquered Egypt in A.D.642 to develop the Arab culture in Northern Africa. During the 15th Century, the European countries wishing to develop business and open the market, moved into Africa one by one. Portugal and Spain sought to do business in West Africa, while Britain, France, Holland and Belgium came later. They moved into the African interior to build their colonies. By the end of the 19th Century, most of Africa was colonized by European countries. In this period, European powers held the Berlin conference in 1885 to determine a boundary as their sphere of influence. After the Second World War, owing to the upsurge of democratic ideologies and Nationalism, and through the assistance of the United Nations, more and more African colonies, gained independence. During the 1950s, only four sovereign nations emerged─Ethiopia, Liberia, The Union of South Africa and Egypt─among the continent's sixty-odd territorial units. In September 1960, there were 19 members, an average of nearly two new nations a year.

Most of the newly independent African countries mainly adopted the presidential system. Hence the presidents had great power and a type of dictatorship. In foreign affairs, African countries were against colonialism, claiming national self-determination. In addition they adopted the non-alignment policy, so that they remained neutral in the conflict between Western democratic and Communist countries and thus not to provoke either side. This kind of attitude and policy proved to be quite successful, since on one hand it could gain profit in the political situation and on the other hand get financial and other aid from both sides. Even though there were many problems related to politics, economic stagnation and social welfare in most African countries with their various cultures, tribes and languages that caused disunity in international society, there were still some advantages that need to be noted:

Africa with an area of 30,065,000 square kilometers, covering 20.2% of the Earth's land, is the second largest continent in the world, second to Asia. The population of Africa is 877,500,000. Africa borders the Mediterranean Sea on the North, the Atlantic Ocean on the West and the Indian Ocean on the East. It is opposite Europe to the North and Antarctica to the South. Morocco in northwestern Africa holds a strategic position in the Straits of Gibraltar; Egypt in northeastern Africa has control over the Suez Canal. Somalia stretching along Africa's "horn" controls the exit of the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean. The Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa holds a strategic position in the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, where large oil tankers from the Middle East countries pass all the year round, especially when the Suez Canal is closed.[1] The Cape Route, an important sea route for transporting material and goods, is the lifeline for Europe and Asia. The port of Darka in the Western African country, Senegal, in the estimation of NATO, is also playing an important role in controlling the South Atlantic Ocean.

Economically, Africa's traditional importance as a supplier of raw material (which in many African countries still generates up to 90 per cent of export earnings) has diminished with competition from synthetic substitutes and suppliers in Asia, Latin America and the former Soviet Union; between 1968/9 and 1986/7, Africa's share in world primary product exports declined by half, from 8.3 percent to 4.2 percent.[2] Furthermore, Africa has rich natural resources including some material of high strategic and economic value. Africa's uranium accounts for one-fifth of the world production. South Africa, the largest uranium producer, has one-fourth of the world deposit. Africa produces 85 percent of the world's supply of cobalt, 27 percent of copper; and 67 percent of gold. South Africa alone produces about 700 tons of gold a year. There also are important deposits of chrome, iron, coal and petroleum. The largest oil producers are Libya, Nigeria, Algeria and Gabon. Africa also has plenty of cocoa, coffee, sisal, timber, vegetable oil and cotton. For this reason, Africa became a continent under European colonial rule and remains an arena of East-West rivalry.[3]

Many strategic minerals were discovered in Africa, very useful both for military and economic use. Uranium, gold, copper, diamonds, aluminum and platinum are some of

the main products, besides Libya, Nigeria, Algeria and Gabon having a great quantity of crude oil. Uranium in Gabon, diamonds in Angola, steel in Sierra Leone and Mauritania, chromite, steel, copper and tin in Zimbabwe are also in full production.[4]

As far as agricultural products are concerned, coconuts and coffee have high production, and timber, cotton and plant oil as well. Most countries depend on these materials; for example, more than 60 percent of natural resources are imported from Africa.

Independent Countries

There were only three independent countries in Africa before World War I ― Ethiopia, Liberia and South Africa. In 1957, Ghana (Golden Coast) gained independent status, from Britain and is one of the foremost Black countries in Africa. After the Second World War, with the rising tide of Nationalism and the support of the United Nations, an increasing number of African countries became independent. In 1960, 17 countries became independent, among them Benin, Upper Volta, Cameroon, and Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Mauritania and Niger. This was the year of Africa. Between 1961 and 1968, another 17 countries also became independent, including Burundi, Gambia, Malawi, Rwanda, and Swaziland. Such developments resulted in more influence. It meant the bankruptcy of Imperialism and Colonialism, and since then every country, whether Western or African, was equal in international communities. The newly independent African countries were the symbols of anti-hegemony and anti-super power politics as well as an important force to protect world peace.

Seven causes of the rise of Africa in world politics have been outlined ― the shift of world power stretches from Western Europe to the United States and the Soviet Union, African nationalism and anti-colonialism; the growing principle of international accountability for colonial peoples; the Asian revolt against the West; the pressure of communism; the pressure of the United States; and the new colonial policies adopted in Western Europe. Gaining strength through mutual support, this combination of nationalist pressures within Africa and external pressures from overseas proved so powerful that they bore fruit more quickly than anyone expected. The Second World War further

stimulated all seven of these factors. Although there were underlying causes predating the war, nonetheless the war served as their catalyst.[5]

After 1960, more African countries participated in the United Nations, influencing the structural change of the international organization. African countries were the dominant powers in the United Nations, instead of the United States, European Allies and Latin American countries, and at the same time anti-colonialists and human rights were the main topics, not the Cold War.[6] Many African countries participated in the UN and formed a kind of Third Power, with the Soviets and the United States as separate groups. Owing to the "One Country, One Vote" and "The Majority Rules" principles, the influence after the newly independent African countries entered into the UN caused an imbalance of power and confrontation within the UN. For example, in 1960, during the Fifteenth General Assembly, when a resolution was raised by African and Asian countries, there were no obstacles to get past because those countries had the power of numbers to support them. To some extent, the UN had become the diplomatic centre of those African countries, and the Trusteeship Council played an important role in helping those trust territories to begin to attain self-government or independence.

In the perspective of history, it would probably appear that the most powerful impact on Africa of the United Nations during its first 15 years was its stimulation of political agitation among colonial peoples.[7] The UN also played a major part in the Congo crisis between 1960 and 1965. When it ended, the UN had spent $392.8 million, while 20,000 troops from 23 countries had served in the UN force.[8] In fact, those African and Asian countries were very concerned about economic development and the colonies struggling for independence. Therefore they treated the UN as the tool of anti-colonialism, to help underprivileged nations to develop economically. Furthermore, those countries, outnumbered in voting, boycotted the superpowers, which could not reflect real power politics. In such situations, the superpowers would rather not put discussions or resolutions before the General Assembly, but rather put them before the Security Council. The Security Council, instead of the General Assembly, became the real organ of power in the United Nations, after the influx of the African countries.

Undeniably, however, the first 25 years of African independence were focused on political questions involving decolonization and, to a lesser extent, on consolidation of statehood.[9] For colonial Africa and for colonial peoples around the world, the promise of the United Nations outshone that of its predecessor, the League of Nations. African countries tried repeatedly to act together. There were several organizations through which they could do this. Problems of unity, however, often made such action difficult. Differing political attitudes, poor inter-African communications and varying states of economic development all contributed to disunity. However, all African states faced the same problems. This often enabled them to speak with one voice.[10]

Actually, the anti-superpower attitude among African countries was very strong and only by eradicating this could Africa have peace and security. African countries also took some useful actions, including a peaceful coexistence policy, non-alignment policy, anti-military competition, not allowing a foreign military power to be based in its own country, promising a peace zone and creating a non -nuclear zone, and so forth, decisions which have proved very useful in maintaining world peace. Moreover, the rise of Africa had a significant impact on the ideological rivalry of the Soviet Union and the United States. It stimulated them to step up their efforts, both by increasing their propaganda and by refining their ideas and goals. At the same time, both superpowers were confronted by appeals from African leaders to settle their major Cold War disputes.[11]

The achievements of the OAU, since its origin in 1963, have depended on the collective will of its members. The main objectives of the organization were to promote the unity and solidarity of African States, and to protect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of African States.[12] In fact, the goals of the organization, such as the eradication of colonialism (and Apartheid), have been realized.Actually, after the Second World War, more and more newly-born countries became part of the Third World which gave rise to many international organizations and led to a type of international law of development.

The Right of Development strongly promoted by the Third World, was soon acknowledged by the United Nations. In November 1979, the General Assembly accepted

Resolution on the Right to Development. Furthermore, in December 1986 the General Assembly accepted Declaration on the Right to Development, once again confirming that the right of development is a human right of which countries and people cannot be deprived. In theory, the right of development operates in two ways: to ask for development and to help other countries develop. In other words, the Third World Group, many of which were African countries, could dominate or play a decisive role in international affairs, a fact which cannot be ignored.

It is obvious that after the independence of African countries, each national economy had to be established with an African style of management. The states have full economic power, and citizens should get more money than before. Without doubt, the prosperous economies of developed countries related closely to the resources and cheap labor provided by Africa. For them, African countries provided riches.[13] In 1964, at the first Trade and Development Conference of the United Nations, the new African countries, with other Third World countries, with one voice established "The 77 Group", and called for the establishment of a new international economic order. This meant that they were not satisfied with the economic environment and wished to have a structural change.

In May 1974, in the Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations' Special Committee, accepted On the Creation of a New International Economic Order and Action Plan, which enabled African countries and other Third World countries to have a new international economic order to execute and operate. Since then, more co-operation has taken place, from two-way co-operation to multilateral co-operation, from regional economic systems to different continental systems. The substance of co-operation includes among other things raw material, financial aid, food, energy production and information.[14]

All these steps forced developed countries to take a constructive and positive attitude to deal with African countries, to improve bilateral relations, with dialogue and negotiation to replace oppression and confrontation. In practice, the former had to make some concessions to the latter in Generalizes System of Preference which stipulated that developed countries had to spend one percent of their Gross National Product in helping

new African countries and less developed countries.

As a whole, Africa has vast natural resources and mineral deposits, and its markets are becoming bigger and bigger. Although its history and background are full of struggle, it is a continent of great potential and influence. In the international community, African countries easily spoke with the same voice which meant they played an important role in international politics. In the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the West wanted to influence African countries in the spheres of politics, economics, culture and ideology. After the Cold War, the West tried to set the model of democracy or democratic systems in Africa, causing huge political turmoil. As time goes by, Africa remains an important area needing further attention to these matters. Every country needs an objective and comprehensive understanding of Africa as well as more contacts and interaction.

The ROC and Africa

Foreign Policy is the pursuit of national interest and therefore an integral part of overall national policy. In the case of the ROC (Taiwan), a whole set of historical and economic determinants and their interplay with the changing external environment, increasing in a regional context, have shaped her foreign policy towards Africa. Even though a Chinese consulate was established by the Ching dynasty in 1911 in Johannesburg, the relations between China and Africa were never truly close because Africa is remote from China. The revolution led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen overthrew the Ching dynasty and founded the Republic of China in 1911. There was no immediate improvement of relations between the Republic of China (ROC) and Africa. In short, mutual neglect characterized the relationship of the ROC and Africa before the Second World War.

The Period 1949-1971

The government of the ROC moved to Taiwan in 1949 as a result of its defeat in the civil war on the mainland. During the 1950s, most African territories remained colonies of the European countries; the region was irrelevant to the ROC foreign policy in terms of voting on the China question in the United Nations. Nominal relations with Egypt were

maintained, nevertheless, until 1956 when Nasser decided to recognize the PRC. On the whole, the relations between the ROC and Africa in the early 1950s can be described as minimal, almost nonexistent.[15] Without doubt, a nation exists in the world when recognized by other countries and it is crucial to realize that the only way to recognition is through establishing diplomatic relations. Hence, the ROC leaders were aware of the future importance of African states not only in gaining diplomatic relations but also in the voting on the China question in the United Nations.

The ROC's friendship with Africa began in early 1960. A special delegation including Yang Chi-tseng, Minister of Economic Affairs and Vice Foreign Minister H.K. Yang attended the celebration of Cameroon's independence. The delegation spent two months visiting Nigeria, Togo, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Mali, Tunisia, Somalia and Ethiopia. They were warmly received wherever they went. The official visit heralded the era of the ROC's close relations with these African countries.[16] In 1960, 17 African countries attained independence. The ROC's government sent delegations to attend the independence celebrations of most of these countries and established diplomatic relations with them. In 1964, at the peak of the ROC's success in African diplomacy, the number of African countries having diplomatic relations with our country increased to 22.[17]

In order to deal with the changing situation, the Department of African Affairs was established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and actually came from the department of West Asian affairs. Mr. H.K. Yang was the first Director, and also the Vice Foreign Minister. In fact, Taipei had no wish to lead the Africans to a particular ideology or political system, but only to warn them away from communism for reasons that were essentially altruistic. This basic approach and some of the ROC ideas for achieving it were succinctly expressed on August 13, 1960, by H.K. Yang: "Politically, while nationalism is roaring over Africa and it (Africa) is very vulnerable to the penetration of Communists, we offer our most painful experience from the aggressions of international Communists and our most valuable experience in fighting them. We want to tell (Africans) about our experience so that our African friends can escape what we have suffered. Economically, Taiwan in the past decade has advanced from a backward agricultural economy to an industrial society. Our achievements and experience provide a good example for the

new African nations in their economic development. We would like to share this experience sincerely with African friends."[18]

When the ROC established full diplomatic relations with France, it was good for French-speaking countries in Africa to have diplomatic relations with ROC as well. After the establishment of diplomatic relations between France and the PRC in January 1964, four African States shifted their diplomatic recognitions from the ROC to the PRC. In 1966, the ROC established diplomatic relations with Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana, and Gambia one after another, which increased the total in Africa to 22. The Cultural Revolution, the ROC's diplomatic efforts and the international situation as a whole made it possible for Taipei to keep its seat in the UN and maintain good relations with African states. With their support the ROC was able to stay in the UN until 1971. The United Nations' decision in 1971 to seat Beijing and expel Taipei was a major blow to the ROC's diplomatic efforts and consequently caused a host of nations to make moves towards the PRC.

The Period 1971-1989

From July 1970 through June 1971, 22 groups totaling 93 African guests visited the ROC. Ten groups from the ROC totaling 25 persons visited Africa. Deputy Foreign Minister H.K. Yang made his twenty-third trip to the African continent as presidential special envoy from July to September 1970. His visit covered 25 countries. By July 1971 three African countries had established embassies in Taipei. They were the Malagasy Republic (October 1964), Gabon (March 1967) and the Democratic Republic of Zaire (May 1970). In June 1971, the Government of Swaziland appointed an honorary consul in Taipei. African countries that have accredited non-residential ambassadors to the ROC are Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Liberia and the Central African Republic.[19] In general, the ROC's diplomacy toward Africa during the 1971 was rather successful. As of July 1971, independent African countries totaled 42, of which 20 maintained diplomatic or consular relations with the ROC.

US president Richard M. Nixon's visit to China paved the way for an unfavorable

situation toward the ROC, which was forced to withdraw from the UN on October 25, 1971. The PRC pressure on the UN to remove the ROC from UN membership began on 1 October 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party set up the PRC. It was not easy for the ROC to stay in the UN for 21 years facing constant challenges and pressure, and the support of African countries to help the ROC remain in that organization was crucial and meaningful. The attitude of African countries in the UN voting was closely linked to diplomatic relations; and the change of attitude came about because of the different political thinking among the various nations.[20] The ROC being forced to leave the UN had less to do with the position of the African countries than to the world situation where fundamental changes took place.

In 1972, Japan cut diplomatic relations with the ROC, and more countries turned to recognize the PRC so that by 1975 only nine African countries maintained diplomatic relations with Taipei. From October 1971 to January 1979, more than 40 countries turned to the PRC, a serious setback for the ROC. In such a difficult situation, the Government of the ROC had the following foreign policy: to those countries which had diplomatic relations with the ROC, the ROC would try its utmost to maintain such relations, enhancing the traditional friendship; for other countries, whether the national power was big or small, no matter whether friendly or not, the ROC tried to enhance the basic nature of relations.[21] Fortunately, the ROC survived this intensely difficult period.

The Ivory Coast is one of the important countries in Africa not because of size, population, material or strategic position, but because of its political stability from the 1960s to 1980s, and its prestigious President, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. After maintaining diplomatic relations for 13 years, the Ivory Coast cut relations with Taipei in March 1983, and was the last French-speaking country in Africa to recognize the PRC. In 1988, only the Republic of South Africa, Malawi and Swaziland had diplomatic ties with the ROC. As the Director of Department of African Affairs in MOFA for 5 years, Mr. Du Ling said, the period between 1971 and 1989 was the bitterest and toughest for the ROC's diplomacy in Africa,[22] even though the ROC still maintained trade with many African countries as well as technical relations.

Lee Teng-hui said the following at the ruling party KMT's Thirteenth National Party Congress, encouraging members "with more strong confidence, to take more pragmatic, more flexible and more forward looking actions, in order to upgrade and break the limit of only pragmatic diplomacy." It is obvious that facing the setback in international relations, the ROC had to take more pragmatic steps and to adjust its foreign policy. In 1989, the massacre in Tiananmen Square was a turning point for the PRC as well as the ROC.

The Period 1989-2000

As a result of the June 1989 Tiananmen killing of students asking for better government, human rights, and democracy, the PRC was no longer in a favorable position in attempting to isolate Taiwan diplomatically. In fact it had, by its own actions, diplomatically isolated itself or caused itself to be regarded as a pariah. A host of nations cut their embassy staffs. Many important nations severed or reduced economic and trade relations. Some spoke of breaking diplomatic relations. International financial organizations stopped or put a hold on loans to China. People throughout the world reacted negatively and stopped traveling to China.[23]

This seemed like an ideal opportunity for Taipei to exploit the situation by asking some countries to recognize or re-recognize it diplomatically and/or allow Taipei into some important international organizations. Thus Taipei increased its formal ties abroad in terms of the scoreboard. Starting from 1989, Taipei increased its efforts aimed at gradually overcoming the diplomatic isolation that Beijing tried to bring about in Africa regarding Taiwan. The African countries that successively established diplomatic relations with the ROC since 1989 were Liberia (October 1989), Lesotho (April 1990), Guinea-Bissau (May 1990), the Central African Republic (July 1991), Niger (June 1992), Burkina Faso (February 1994), Gambia (July 1995), Senegal (January 1996), Sao Tome and Principe (May 1997) and Chad (August 1997). However, some of these countries later sided with Beijing: Lesotho in 1994, Niger in 1996, the Central African Republic and Guinea-Bissau in 1998.

From 1989 to 2000, it was a favorable period for the ROC in gaining more diplo-

matic recognition than it had achieved since the 1960s. The ROC would consolidate and strengthen ties with diplomatic allies in Africa by enhancing technical co-operation and investment and providing funds. As for African countries that did not maintain diplomatic ties with Taipei, ROC diplomatic initiatives would take three factors into account: abundance of resources, political stability and sincerity.[24] In this period, the ROC Special Delegation was set up in Madagascar in June 1991; the ROC Trade Mission in Nigeria in April 1991; the ROC Delegation in Congo in September 1991; and the ROC Special Delegation in Angola in September 1992. Even though these were not full diplomatic relations, the ROC had gained recognition by some African countries which proved useful to some extent.

Since 1975, the number of countries with which Taiwan had diplomatic relations numbered 30 only three times (in 1993, 1995 and 1996), but this situation did not last for more than two years. As for African countries, their number reached 10 only once in 1997.[25]

In fact, the Tiananmen Massacre in 1989 and the collapse of the Soviet "Empire" in 1991 had a great influence on the attitude of Africa in world affairs. According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the ROC: "Since the downfall of the Communist block and the process of democratization which is in progress on the continent, Africa is the most promising zone for expanding the ROC's diplomatic horizon,"[26] The end of the Cold War in 1988 co-incided with the start of Lee Teng-hui's presidency and the pursuit of a "pragmatic foreign policy" (also referred to as a "flexible foreign policy"). That is to say, if a country that had formed diplomatic ties with Beijing wanted to establish or resume formal relations with the ROC, then Taipei would not refuse to do so. The implementation of pragmatic diplomacy enabled the ROC to launch an offensive on the diplomatic front.[27] The climax was that there were 10 African countries with diplomatic relations with the ROC, and the ROC established eight official representative offices in seven African countries that still maintained diplomatic relations with China.

However, some African countries were either lured by China or had a change of government that switched the recognition to the PRC, which resembled a "tug-of-war",

between the ROC and the PRC. Those countries were Lesotho, Niger, the Central African Republic and Guinea-Bissau. South Africa, accounting for nearly a quarter of Africa's gross national product, also fell into this category even though Taipei continuously made every effort to maintain the diplomatic recognition. The joint communiqué on establishing Sino-South African diplomatic relations, signed by Qian Qichen and Alfred Nzo in Pretoria on December 30, 1997, was a huge blow to the ROC. Besides, since 1998 there were no major countries in the ROC's diplomatic directory, and the ROC had to adopt a defensive strategy in her diplomatic attitude instead.

The Period 2000-2004

The Republic of China entered a new era of democratization in 2000 when it had its first change of governing party. On March 18, 2000, Mr. Chen Shui-bian was elected the tenth term President of the ROC. Since his inauguration on May 20, 2000, President Chen thoroughly understood that the future of the nation and the hope of people depended on him. President Chen's foreign policy is based on the concept that Taiwan should not only stand up, but also step out. Emphasizing continuity and innovation in foreign relations, the President made his first state visit, the "Trip of Democracy, Diplomacy, and Friendship," to six diplomatic partners in Central America and Africa in August 2000, successfully solidifying relations with these allies and sharing the advantages of Taiwan's democratic development.

The stops in Gambia, Burkina Faso and Chad made Chen the first ROC President to visit those African countries. In Gambia and Burkina Faso, the President toured the agricultural farms that Taiwan's technical missions helped to develop. The success of these farms won the admiration of humanitarian corps from other parts of the world. According to the ROC International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF), the Canadian government expressed a willingness to offer US$3 million to the Gambia government for the development of more vegetable farms under the guidance of Taiwan technical missions.[28] Actually, this part of Africa has long been the site of a diplomatic tug of war between Taipei and Beijing. All three countries forged ties with the ROC in the 1960s, broke off relations in the 1970s and re-established them in the 1990s.

The overseas trip was yet another goodwill gesture demonstrating Chen's dedication to reinforcing diplomatic ties. ROC Foreign Minister Tien Hung-mao described Chen's diplomatic journey as a courtesy call and a gesture of reciprocal friendship to the ROC allies. Tien's words captured the meaningfulness of the trip.[29] At the same time, Taiwan's international standing would also be elevated as a result of Chen's globetrotting diplomatic activities. After years of hard work, Taiwan finally joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) as its 144th member in January 2002, giving Taiwan the opportunity to participate equally with other nations and to contribute its experience to international trade and economics. In these circumstances, from June 30 to July 10, 2002, President Chen Shui-bian led a delegation to Africa on a 10-day "Tour of Mutual Cooperation and Care", making state visits to four of the ROC's diplomatic allies ─ Senegal, São Tomé and Principe, Malawi and Swaziland.

Since his inauguration, President Chen has been committed to promoting "diversified diplomacy" and the principle of "new internationalism" as part of his diplomatic strategy and thinking. "New internationalism" should guide diplomatic thinking and "diversified diplomacy" serves as a strategic guideline. Only then would Taiwan be able to participate as a member of the international community in such global activities as the safeguarding of peace, pursuit of security, sustaining prosperity, protection of human rights, conservation of the environment, and provision of humanitarian assistance.[30] President Chen received a warm welcome from the Presidents of the four countries he visited on this trip and he was the first ROC President to have visited Senegal, São Tomé and Principe, and Malawi. Often, diplomacy relies on the sincerity of the leaders of two countries. Malawi has been ROC's diplomatic ally for 40 years, and Swaziland has maintained relations with the ROC for 38 years. Leaders of these two countries have visited Taiwan many times. This is the reason President Chen traveled so far to repay the visits; strong friendship is built on the basis of mutual co-operation and sincere care.

It goes without saying that visibility of this sort is so important in the world of diplomacy that it has earned its own entry in the diplomat's dictionary: it is the "acte de presence" – the act of being in attendance. In foreign relations, symbolic acts carry real consequences. Comparing President Chen's African visits in 2000 and 2002, President

Chen spread the message of Taiwan's democratic achievements in accomplishing the ROC's first peaceful change of governing parties through his "democracy diplomacy" and "head-of-state diplomacy." The second visit was a kind of "humanitarian diplomacy" which has sown seeds of humanitarian care and has already begun to achieve concrete results. In short, the two visits not only bolstered the ROC's diplomatic foothold in the region, but also brought Taiwan into the international limelight.

In October 2003, since the situation in Liberia was deteriorating and the fighting between the Government force and the rebels continued, President Taylor was forced to leave Liberia by international pressure. The UN peacekeeping force was the key point to control the situation. The new President of Liberia, Mrs. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, announced that she would establish diplomatic relations with China, a big setback to Taiwan. Since then Taiwan has had only seven diplomatic allies in Africa. Since 2000, when President Chen assumed his post, he visited the seven allies in Africa twice. Liberia was the only country that he did not visit and that ended in breaking diplomatic relations. For practical reasons, the ROC closed the Representation Offices in Madagascar and Angola in 2001, and offices in Egypt and Mauritius in 2002. At the same time, the Government of the ROC also sent young people to work in these friendly countries as an alternative to doing military service, i.e. to support the Foreign Service. To face the reality and take the appropriate strategy, the ROC could not but adopt a defensive policy to strengthen the relationship with the seven African allies in order to maintain her international character in the world.

The PRC and Africa

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the PRC has had enormous influence in the Third World. Since Taiwan and China are antagonistic to each other, various effects may be seen in foreign affairs and diplomacy. Actually, China invented the term Third World in the 1970s.[31] In this theory, China classified the USA and Soviet Union as First World; Australia, Canada, Germany, France and Italy as the Second World; all other countries are the Third World–and China wanted to be the leader of the Third World.

The ROC's Africa Policy has had very close relations with the PRC's, simply because most African countries gained independence after 1960s and needed time to establish a good environment for normal political and economic functioning, so the two sides used their influence to make friends. The key point was which side could represent China. The ROC in Taiwan was founded in 1912 and moved to the island because of the Civil War in 1949, which existed and is still recognized by some countries in the world. The PRC was founded in 1949 and most countries gave their recognition and established diplomatic relations. Both sides proclaimed that they were the real China, which caused the international community to have contrasting views.

From 1949 to 1979, the United States recognized that the ROC was the only Government that could represent China and maintained full diplomatic relations. Newly independent countries in Africa had to make a decision whether to recognize the ROC or the PRC. That was the reason since 1960s, the ROC and the PRC competed in Africa to win the friendship of its people. For the last 50 years, the PRC's policy towards Africa changed much, and is explaned further in the following pages:

The Period 1949-1971

When the Geneva Conference had a recess between June 21 and July 9, 1955, the chief delegate of the PRC returned home for consultation. Zhou Enlai visited India on his way to Beijing and with Nehru concluded the well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. They were: (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) non-aggression, (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefit, and (5) peaceful coexistence.[32] These became a landmark of the era of peaceful coexistence and had a far-reaching impact on Chinese foreign policy.

The Asian-African Conference (April 18 to 24, 1955) at Bandung, Indonesia, was another significant development during this era. Zhou Enlai outlined seven principles that would govern China's relations with other Afro-Asian countries. These included respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; abstention from aggression

and threats against each other; non-interference in the internal affairs of one another; recognition of the equality of races; recognition of the equality of all nations, large and small; respect for the rights of all people to choose their own political and economic system; and mutual benefit in economic and cultural relations.[33] It represented an effective means of strengthening the Afro-Asian movement for national independence, and of cementing the bonds between the newly-independent states. On May 30, 1956, China established diplomatic relations with Egypt, the first African country to open the door to China. In the 1960s, the African National Independence Movement witnessed unprecedented progress; China staunchly supported the just struggle of the African countries for national independence and sovereignty against foreign interference, gaining the trust and praise of African countries.

The most important diplomatic activity during that period was Premier Zhou's goodwill visit to 10 African countries between late 1963 and early 1964, which was a milestone in the history of Sino-African friendship. During his visit, Premier Zhou proclaimed the five principles of China in handling relations with African countries, namely, to support the struggle of all African nations against imperialism and old and new colonialism and for gaining and safeguarding their national independence; to support the governments of African countries in pursuance of a non-alignment policy of peace and neutrality; to support people of all African countries to realize unity and solidarity in their own way; to support the African countries to resolve their disputes through peaceful consultations; and advocated that the sovereignty of African countries be respected by all other countries, opposing infringement and interference from any party.[34] For those newly independent African countries, this provided great encouragement and signaled friendship. As he visited Mali, Premier Zhou put forward eight principles on China's foreign economic and technological aid, stressing that the mutual economic aid between Asian and African countries was mutual assistance between poor friends. The eight principles, the basic norms governing the Chinese government's foreign economic aid, fully reflected China's wishes for economic co-operation and cultural exchange with the newly-rising African countries at that time. The Africans were impressed by this approach and Zhou's tour promoted China's image and influence there.

On January 27, 1964, France established diplomatic relations with China, and De Gaulle's government even encouraged some West African French-speaking countries to do the same. Hence, despite the Cultural Revolution and the Nuclear Test that occurred in China in the late 1960s, from 1963 to December 1971, China gained the recognition of 15 nations and offered more than 300 million US dollars in economic aid. However, from the viewpoint of China, the appearance in 1960 of Taiwanese delegates on the continent was described in the People's Daily as "an extremely dangerous conspiracy" which "we deem it necessary to explain further to our African friends,"[35] It is evident that the concept of Sino-African unity was being exploited in a wholly premeditated way to achieve Beijing's aims.

The Period 1971-1989

The presence of the PRC in the United Nations since 1971 has been of profound importance in promoting the emergence of the world's most populous nation as a major player in international affairs. Mao said it was our African brothers that took us into the UN. In the 1960s, China's improper handling of some questions due to harassment by the ultra-"Left" trend of thought and, among other things, the change of government and foreign policy in certain countries, led to the suspension of China's diplomatic relations with Zaire, Burundi, the Republic of Central Africa, Benin and Ghana, the downgrading of such relations with Kenya from ambassadorial to chargé d'affaires level, and the closure of its embassy in Tunisia for a time. China's diplomatic relations with these seven African countries returned to normal in the 1970s, with China taking the initiative to apologize to the countries concerned for those twists and turns in their bilateral relations and to admit the main responsibility.[36] From 1972 to 1977, by establishing diplomatic relations with 16 more countries, China was finally recognized by 42 countries.

Furthermore, Beijing was to grant Tanzania and Zambia an interest-free loan of 2,886 million Kwacha (US$402 million), repayable over 30 years to build the Tanzam Railway. Beijing formally committed itself, financially and technically, to the construction of the 1860 km (about 976 km in Tanzania and 884 km in Zambia) Tanzam Railway, the largest single PRC aid project ever undertaken in Africa. Western reaction

was a mixture of surprise and misgiving. It is not surprising that the Tanzam Railway was described by Western powers and South Africa as "China's Trojan Horse in Africa".[37] Construction was completed in late 1975, at a total cost of well over US$500 million, with 147 stations, 300 bridges, and 23 tunnels, and was described by a United Nations expert as "first-rate hardware". The PRC officially handed over the railway to Tanzania and Zambia on July 14, 1976.

In addition to its vigorous support to the African people in their efforts to seek national independence and liberation, China extended continuous support to countries that had already won independence in their efforts to safeguard state sovereignty and territorial integrity. China opposed the invasion of Guinea in 1970, Zaire in 1977 and 1978 and Seychelles in 1981 by mercenary troops in the pay of colonialists, hegemonies and racists. In 1974, Mao expounded to President Kaunda of Zambia his theory of the three worlds. Vice-Premier Li Xiannian built on this idea by maintaining, during his tour of Africa in 1979, that the Third World was the antithesis of the Soviet Union; and co-operation between the countries of the South was described as "strategic" in nature.

In 1979, China normalised its diplomatic relationship with the United States and Deng Xiaoping put forth his modernisation programmes. Those two things were very useful for China to gain more friends, but a blow to Taiwan, which lost some allies. Deng's diplomacy aimed at preserving a peaceful and respectable international environment that would be favourable to China's modernisation programmes.[38] From December 1982 to January 1983, Premier Zhao Ziyang toured 11 African countries: Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Gabon, Zaire, the Congo, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya. During his tour, Zhao had a wide exchange of views with African leaders on economic co-operation between China and African countries. Zhao said that in strengthening its economic relations with other Third World countries, China would try gradually to shift the focus to developing mutually beneficial economic and technological co-operation. To this end, China put forward four principles: "equality and mutual benefit, stressing practical results, diversity in form, and attainment of common progress."[39]

On June 6, 1985, Zhao delivered a speech to the Royal Institute of International Affairs in the UK, stressing that China was a developing country belonging to the Third World and China would forever stand with the Third World. … The steady strengthening of this friendly co-operation, and the active development of economic and technological exchanges and trade so as to promote peace and development, were important components of China's foreign policy.[40] It could be said that China's Africa policy had turned from the one-way donation to African countries to economic and technological co-operation based on mutual benefit. China's aid to Africa in the 1970s to early 1980s, was used in the building of several large construction projects such as stations, railways, parliament buildings, bridges, and Presidential palaces. In addition, many African leaders visited China either to ask for financial assistance or to consolidate good relations. The relations and interaction between the Chinese Communist Party and the various ruling parties were very cordial and close.

Beijing leaders routinely used aid offers as an inducement to African governments which had established ties with Taiwan to switch their diplomatic allegiance, undertaking for good measure to finish off any projects which Taiwanese technicians might have begun in the countries involved.[41] From 1971 when China entered into the United Nations until June 1989, China established relations with 48 of the 51 countries in Africa, excluding Malawi, Swaziland and South Africa. For Taiwan, it was a bitter period of setback when many allies switched to China.

The Period 1989-2000

Sino-African relations were on the decline in the 1980s because of China's policy of establishing closer relations with developed countries to attract investment and technology. The events of June 4, 1989, in Tiananmen Square in many respects revealed the place of Africa in China's thinking and the utilitarian attitude of Beijing towards the developing world. However, judging from the events in this turmoil, at a critical moment it was still those Third World countries and old friends who gave China the necessary sympathy and support. In July and August 1989, Qian Qichen, the Foreign Minister of China visited Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia and Mozambique to express the PRC's

support of justice for the people of Southern Africa. In short, between June 1989 and June 1992, Qian visited 14 African countries, while 12 heads of state and 15 foreign ministers paid visits to China, highlighting the important position in which Beijing held Africa as a constituent for garnering potential political support.

At government level Taiwan had made diplomatic progress for the first time in 20 years. African countries that successively established diplomatic relations with the ROC since 1989 were: Liberia (October 1989), Lesotho (April 1990), Guinea-Bissau (May 1990), the Central African Republic (July 1991) and Niger (June 1992). The diplomatic achievements were a great victory for Taiwan and of course a blow to PRC. However, several African leaders voiced support for China's crushing of the student movement, criticized Western interference in China's affairs and stressed the right of Third World peoples to be governed according to systems they had chosen themselves.[42] The Organization of African Unity's Secretary General described China as the "pillar of strength" of the developing world. China saw Africa as an integral part of its policy of opening to the outside world after Tiananmen and pledged to expand its trade with the continent.

Beijing confirmed its new policy towards the continent during a visit by President Yang Shangkun to Africa in July 1992. According to Yang, China believed in and would conduct its policies based on support for Africa to safeguard state sovereignty, national independence, opposition to foreign intervention and the development of their economies; respect for the different political systems and development paths chosen by African countries; support for Africa's unity and co-operation; support for the OAU; belief that the active participation in the international system by African States as equal members was crucial and that the establishment of a new international economic and political order was paramount importance; support for economic co-operation with Africa.[43] In short, China postured a highly attractive policy towards Africa that was aimed at boosting Chinese prestige on the continent at little actual cost, for much of China's policy was rhetorical and needed little physical commitment.

Since then, Burkina Faso (February 1994), Gambia (July, 1995), Senegal (January

1996), Sao Tome and Principe (May 1997) and Chad (August 1997) established diplomatic relations with the ROC. In 1997, there were 10 African countries, which recognized the ROC, the highest since the ROC's withdrawal from the United Nations in 1971. President Jiang Zemin, the leader of Central Committee of the Communist Party of China attached great importance to developing long-term stable and friendly relations with the African countries marked by all-round cooperation. He put forward three principles of China in handling the relations with the developing countries: All countries, big or small, are equal with each other; China supports the struggle of the developing countries for safeguarding their political and economic rights and interests; and China refrains from imposing its own ways on others.[44]

The Period 2000-2004

In October 1999, Jiang Zemin wrote a letter to the president of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and other African heads of state proposing the creation of a China-Africa cooperation forum. The first forum was held in Beijing from October 11-12, 2000, with 44 African countries bringing 80 ministers. It produced two documents: the Beijing Declaration and the Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economics and Social Development. The second China-Africa cooperation forum took place in Addis Ababa from December 15-17, 2003. The conference reviewed the implementation of the two documents adopted at the first meeting and explored new initiatives and measures with which to move forward.[45]

Premier Zhu Rongji confirmed in Beijing that economic interaction with Africa has taken center stage and will define future relations while political collaboration in the form of South-South interaction is a secondary concern. The Chinese government has taken action in the field of debt relief, signing debt exemption protocols with 31 African states, cancelling 156 individual debts around Africa with a total value of US$1.27 billion. Sino-African bilateral trade exceeded US$10 billion in 2000 and reached US$18.55 billion in 2003.[46] In addition, China has signed investment protection agreements with 26 African countries, and 674 Chinese companies were operating in Africa as of June 2004. Mutually beneficial cooperative projects have mushroomed.

Chinese leaders like to highlight historical links to modern economic objectives and to promote Beijing as a reliable partner that has no interest in lecturing Africa on sensitive subjects such as human rights, governance and corruption. Actually, China's Africa push is spurred in large part by its mounting hunger for raw materials, especially crude oil. China is the largest developing country in the world, while the African continent has the highest concentration of the world's developing countries. Cementing Sino-African relations is therefore of great significance for the common development of both China and Africa. Since 1989, it has become a tradition for the Chinese foreign minister to visit African countries at the beginning of every year. Exchanges of high-level visits have also strengthened the mutual understanding and trust between China and Africa.

China is a member of the UN Security Council and has used its influence there to the detriment of Taiwan's relations universally, particularly in Africa. For example, the PRC pressured Liberia into severing relations with Taiwan in October 2003. China has also played a more active role in the UN peacekeeping missions in Africa, and by the end of July 2004, China had sent about 1,404 peacekeeping troops to take part in nine UN missions in Africa.[47] From October 2000 to November 2003, the Chinese government sponsored nearly 300 training courses for 6,000 African personnel in areas of diplomacy, economic management, national defense, agriculture, medical treatment, education, science, technology and culture, and dispatched 500 Chinese experts and teachers to Africa to give short-term training courses. China's deepening engagements in Africa, combined with its significant economic growth and rise to power, has allowed African states to see the reality of the changes in the global political and economic landscape. This has obviously sparked much interest, but perhaps of more concern for the ROC is that diplomats in Pretoria have commented that China's growing activity in Africa has not yet caused any concern.

The ROC's Policy Towards Africa

Fifty-three countries occupy the vast territory of Africa, the largest number for any continent. These African countries can be broadly put into three categories. The first includes northern Africa and a few countries in eastern and southern Africa which enjoy a com-

paratively high GNP and per capita income. The second category includes the vast number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The overall development across each of the nations in this category, where the people live in communities based on race, clan, tribe and religious beliefs, is still slow. The third category dominates the inland countries in sub-Saharan Africa, sometimes referred to as Black Africa, which suffer from poor communications and transportation. This group endures the worst economic conditions.

Despite these issues, the international status of Africa and African states is still very important. The reasons for this are first that Africa is vital to modern international politics. African states comprise more than one-fourth of the United Nations' membership and half that of the non-aligned countries. African states therefore play an increasingly important role in safeguarding world peace. Secondly, the African continent is a large land mass directly south of the European continent. The two sea lines of communication either side of Africa, and the continent's four corners, are therefore of great strategic importance. Thirdly, Africa has a great diversity of mineral deposits, being home to almost every kind of the world's 50 major mineral products. These three factors contribute to Africa's undeniably important status in the world.

For over half a century, since 1949, China has been divided into two separate governments, the PRC on the Chinese Mainland, and the ROC on Taiwan. Consequently, the two sides have different attitudes and goals and have developed divergent political and economic systems as well as different lifestyles. In order to expand the ROC's presence on the international stage, and thus ensure its survival and continued development, the ROC's foreign policy, as stated in the constitution, stipulates that the ROC shall "cultivate good neighborliness with other nations, in order to protect the rights and interests of Chinese citizens residing abroad, promote international cooperation, advance international justice, and insure world peace."[48]

Both the ROC and the PRC maintain their claim to be the only legitimate government of China. The diplomatic sparring started on October 1, 1949, and continues to this day with no sign of abating. Both sides of the Taiwan Strait maintain that there is but one China, of which Taiwan is a province. Beijing will not enter into full diplomatic relations

with any government that recognizes Taipei, and any form of dual recognition is not acceptable to either the ROC or the PRC.

In September 1972, Premier Chiang King-kou stated that the firm and unshakeable principles to which the ROC shall always adhere are:

- The system of the state of the ROC as established under Article 1 of the constitution.
- The overall goals of anti-communism and national recovery of the ROC.
- The ROC will always side with the democratic bloc and it will uphold righteousness and justice, and safeguard world peace.
- The resolute position of the ROC is of never compromising with the Chinese Communist rebel group.[49]

This is the fundamental national policy of the ROC, and its diplomacy is carried out with care and discretion based on the principles of independence, self-determination, equality and mutual benefits. More precisely, the ROC is an independent sovereign state that has the right to establish normal diplomatic relations with any country in the world. Africa, with its high number of independent sovereign countries, has long been a principal target of the ROC's foreign policy. The success of this Africa policy, since the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established the Department of African Affairs on April 12, 1963, has varied greatly during the last five decades. The ROC had 22 diplomatic allies in Africa in 1969, 3 allies in 1988, 10 allies in 1997, and 7 allies in 2004. The ups and downs reflected the highs and lows in relations between the ROC and Africa.

Over the course of the last half century, changing circumstances have necessitated different approaches, which in turn have returned different results. The ROC's policy towards Africa during this time can be summarized as follows:

1. **Safeguarding the ROC's international status and seat in the UN.** The ROC was one of the founding members of the UN and contributed enormously to world peace and sustainable development. After China was divided into the PRC and the ROC owing to civil war, the issue arose as to whether Taipei or Beijing should represent China in the UN. In order to justify the status of the ROC as a legitimate, independent sovereign state, diplomatic recognition of ROC is of paramount importance, a situa-

tion unique to the ROC. Hence, the ROC needs diplomatic recognition to support her legal status in the UN.

From 1949 to October 1971, securing African allies' support for the ROC in the UN was very important if the ROC was to successfully block the PRC from participating. During this period, Taiwan brought into play different economic development strategies, including population policies, human resource policies and land reforms, which paved the road for an economic takeoff.[50] US aid delivered from 1951 to 1965, which comprised more than 30 percent of domestic investment each year in Taiwan, also played an important role. Rather than targeting certain narrow sectors of industry, US aid was focused on the overall improvement of infrastructure. This strategy proved to be effective in achieving balanced economic development in Taiwan.[51] The ROC established diplomatic relations with between 58 and 62 countries, succeeded in preventing some major western nations from recognizing communist China, and continued to maintain its status as a permanent member of the UN Security Council. The full support of the ROC's African allies was critical and decisive and cannot be dismissed.

2. **Battling for diplomatic recognition to justify the ROC's international status.** Since the United Nations' diplomatic turnaround and decision in 1971 to switch official recognition from Taiwan to China, the ROC was forced to watch helplessly as its international status and profile slipped to a new low, to the point that even the United States changed recognition to the PRC in 1979. Thereafter, the Vatican, Korea, South Africa and Saudi Arabia were the only states of major importance that officially recognized the ROC; the other states were small and impoverished countries. No country's diplomatic status has been so out of step with its real power as that of the ROC. This has resulted in an intensely frustrating situation for Taiwan, for while it possesses a comparatively powerful economy and huge foreign reserves, it struggles to exist in official diplomatic circles and has largely become an isolated state.[52]

It is clear that Taipei's international status is lower that its power legitimately warrants, and the ROC must struggle continuously to obtain and then maintain what is

granted automatically to almost every other country.[53] From the 1980s to 1990s, most allies switched recognition to the PRC. Only South Africa, Malawi and Swaziland still had official ties with the ROC. These were dark days for Taiwan, and Taiwan truly treasured her African friendships.

3. **Establishing diplomatic ties and competing with the PRC.** The question of who, or what, represents the whole of China is largely irrelevant to most Africans, and astute politicians on the continent have become aware that the competition between the ROC and the PRC can be very profitable for economically depressed countries. By playing the two sides of against each other, this diplomatic competition has proved to be a vital source of economic assistance and aid to some African countries. From the 1990s onwards, the ROC has successfully established diplomatic relations with Burkina Faso, Chad, Gambia, São Tomé and Principe, and the Central Africa Republic, a triumph in the ROC's diplomatic war.

By isolating the ROC and actively trying to prevent the reemergence of Taiwan as an officially-recognized state, the PRC is attempting to force its own norms onto the international community. It aggressively claims the right to force other nations to accept its view on Taiwan's status. Furthermore, China proclaims itself a third world country and provides funds and aid to African nations in the tug-of-war over Africa. Since the ROC has a broad international profile, forced integration by China is unlikely, as it would draw the global community into a military conflict. Hence, in order to avoid forced integration of the island into the PRC, Taiwan must use all means to compete with China in winning the recognition of African States.

4. **Interacting with African nations to safeguard the national interests of the ROC.** Between May and July of 1992, the ROC set up representative offices in Nigeria, Zaire and Madagascar, and established full diplomatic ties with São Tomé and Principe, and Guinea-Bissau. Even though some nations are too small or too poverty-stricken to figure prominently on the international stage, by the same token these are the most likely to engage in relations with the ROC. Since the goal of diplomacy is the promotion of a country's national interests overseas,[54] the ROC provides sub-

stantial assistance in the form of economic and technical aid in exchange for support of the ROC position in the diplomatic quarrel with the PRC.

Liberia has accepted help from both Taiwan and China, switching sides in 1977 and again in 1989. The Central Africa Republic had established diplomatic relations with Taiwan twice, in 1962 and 1968, but then switched recognition from Taipei to Beijing in 1964 and 1976.[55] With diplomatic ties in place, Taiwan promised and provided substantial aid to those African countries as compensation for loss of PRC aid and as a gesture of good will. Taiwan's strong economic performance has also attracted increasing attention, thus giving the ROC more opportunities to pursue its pragmatic foreign policy. African countries that have serious economic problems have to choose between international politics and national development, which provides the ROC with opportunities for diplomatic maneuvering.

5. **Taiwan investment spurs growth in Africa.** Economically, Africa's overall GNP is still less than 2.5 percent of the global total, even though its population of 756 million represents 12 percent of the world total. Africa's long term prospects for economic development are not promising unless some major obstacles and fundamental issues can be resolved.

Since 1990, despite a concerted effort by the PRC to obstruct the ROC from establishing and maintaining foreign relations in the region, most of the countries with which the ROC established new diplomatic relations were in Africa. The ROC can combine the strength of its private sector with its development experience of the past few decades to actively promote its diplomacy in Africa. Trade between the ROC and Africa, although small, is growing. Its main trading partners in the region are South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco, Mauritius, Congo, Angola, Cameroon and the Ivory Coast.[56] The Taiwan External Trade Development Council (TAITRA) maintains offices in Egypt and Morocco to promote bilateral economic and trade relations.

As the most powerful country in Africa, trade relations between South Africa

and the ROC are the strongest among African states. South African exports to Taiwan amounted to R3.69 billion in 2000, with imports amounting to R4.22 billion in the same period.[57] The pursuit of profit has always been the main concern for Taiwanese business interests in the region. Taiwanese investment in South Africa, Swaziland and Lesotho amounted to roughly US$2.15 billion.

6. **Urging African states to voice support for Taiwan in the United Nations and the World Health Organization (WHO)**. Taiwan is willing and able to actively cooperate in international issues. Nevertheless, Taiwan's lack of proper representation in the UN prevents Taiwan from participating in the WHO, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and many other international organizations, as well as multinational treaties. Since the ROC wants to keep the issue of Taiwan's exclusion from the UN and its specialized agencies alive and in the open, it encourages its African allies such as Swaziland, Malawi and Burkina Faso to speak out in favor of its bid for participation in the UN and WHO. An example of this is President Mauritika, who posed the questions, "How can the United Nations stand for equity and justice when it is denying membership to over 23 million people who contribute significantly to global trade and development? How can the UN justify its denial of membership to Taiwan when the countries listed above were admitted? Why is Taiwan being discriminated against by the UN? Unless the questions are honestly answered, observers will conclude that the UN is applying double standards. The government of Malawi believes that the UN should use the same standards to grant membership to the ROC."[58]

For the last 10 years, at the request of the ROC, African allies have spoken in favor of Taiwan's participation in the UN and WHO to remind the world that the ROC's exclusion is unfair and needs to be re-examined, and that Taiwan can be a positive contributor. Letting Taiwan's voice be heard in the international community is one of the chief policy aims that the ROC has adopted in recent years. By so doing, it is more likely that the international community will understand that China and Taiwan are two different states and should be dealt with as such.

In a nutshell, the goal of the ROC's diplomatic strategy towards Africa is to ensure that the ROC's situation is internationalized through the establishment of diplomatic ties with as many African states as possible. This also promotes and safeguards the ROC's national interests in Africa and allows the ROC to assist its African allies through a positive international role and an effective aid strategy. Since 2000, Taiwan's NGOs have assisted local organizations in taking part in international organizations, conferences and exchange projects which, to some extent, are useful for enhancing Taiwan's interaction with Africa. These kinds of NGOs are growing in number and their contributions are becoming more substantial. Naturally, such a development is welcomed by Africa, particularly as the government specifically encourages NGOs to focus on Africa. Yet it is clear that when comparing their respective international roles for influence and aid, China has the upper hand on Taiwan. Taiwan is in a defensive situation, so it needs suitable and reasonable means to approach, safeguard, and enhance relations, both diplomatic and substantive, with its allies and important countries in Africa.

The spirit of ROC foreign policy is one of mutual respect, cooperation for mutual benefit and progress for all, not only to Taiwan's African friends. The conduct of the ROC's diplomatic strategies and tactics towards Africa for the last 50 years can be classified as follows:

1. **High level exchanges and visits by heads of states**. Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan was the first Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit Africa, in 1961. Since then, almost every Minister of Foreign Affairs has done so. Before 1971, Mr. H.K. Yang stayed in Africa for three months of every year to keep interactions active, to inspect cooperative agricultural projects and persuade the allies to vote for the ROC in the UN. Since then, frequent exchanges between Taiwan and Africa consolidate relations, increase understanding of the scope and results of cooperation and promote Taiwan's successful achievements. After his inauguration, President Chen visited Gambia, Burkina Faso and Chad in July 2000, and visited Senegal, Sao Tome and Principe, Malawi and Swaziland in July 2002.

   In May 2004, all of Taiwan's African allies sent high-ranking delegations to

Taiwan to attend the inauguration of the 11th-term President and Vice President of the ROC. These were led by President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso, President Dr. Alhaji Yahya A.J.J. Jammeh of the Republic of Gambia, President Fradigue Bandeeira Melo de Menzes of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Principe, King Mswati III of the Kingdom of Swaziland, Premier Moussa Faki Mahamat of the Republic of Chad, and President Envoy S.D. Kaliyoma Phumisa of the Republic of Malawi.[59] In May 2004, Weng Yue-sheng, President of the Judicial Yuan, led a delegation to attend the inauguration ceremony of President Mutharika in Malawi. In January, 2005, President Mutharika paid a state visit to the ROC. These visits enhanced substantial bilateral relations between the ROC and its African allies, promoted the ROC's economic achievements and increased Taiwan's visibility in the international community. High-level exchanges are a form of personal diplomacy that can sometimes be combined with conference and/or summit diplomacy.

2. **Promoting international cooperation through foreign aid.** Agriculture is very important in Africa. In the 1960s, Taiwan sent agricultural missions to its allies to help the African people. Over the years, these overseas technical missions have helped those of Taiwan's allies that are developing countries build up their domestic agriculture, fisheries, handicraft industry, health care, economy and trade, and learned from Taiwan's successful experience in national development. For the last 45 years, more than 2,000 African technicians have participated in training programs in Taipei. Without such training programs, the ROC could not possibly have reached such a large number of African elites. By bringing them to Taiwan to observe the positive results of the ROC's development, they have benefited substantially.

The basic idea of the aid program was to emphasize the role of agricultural development in the economic process of developing states. Again, the dispatch of agricultural missions served the ROC politically.[60] In recent years, the ROC built Muzuzu Hospital in northern Malawi, cultivated and enlarged the Kou area in Burkina Faso, where it also constructed a bridge, and a road in Chad. In short, technical and medical cooperation is one of the most important elements of bilateral relations between the ROC and its allies in Africa. The sum of Taiwan's technical mis-

sions more than excels its component day-to-day exertions; they have often achieved miraculous results with projects whose fruits continue to be reaped indefinitely. To reiterate, foreign aid has been the vital component of the ROC's Africa policy over the last 45 years.

3. **Increasing economic cooperation with Africa.** Economic cooperation at the international level can be divided into commercial and noncommercial, or concessionary, categories. In commercial transactions, the ROC encourages private sectors to invest in its allies in Africa. This has not been so successful, and trade between the ROC and Africa accounts for roughly one percent of the ROC's total export trade, or US$3.5 billion in 1999.

   Concessionary programs are undertaken in the form of grants and loans which the ROC provides to the recipient countries in Africa. Although recipients view these as real and timely assistance, critics argue that most recipients are less developed countries that are hardly serious players in the world arena, so spending hundreds of millions of dollars in exchange for merely symbolic recognition cannot be considered prudent. After all, they argue, Taiwan has been isolated for so long, adding a few more countries to the list of allies that provide diplomatic recognition is devoid of further political meaning. However, some less developed countries have accepted this aid and improved their relations with Taiwan.

   The International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF) is the only organization in Taiwan that deals with international cooperation. In recent years, the ICDF has actively collaborated with international partners to develop regional banks drawing on international resources and engaging the work of international organizations. Taiwan's economic cooperation helps convince industrial countries of its genuine contributions to the international community and its willingness to cooperate with others in international affairs.[61]

4. **Promoting understanding through cultural and media activities.** In the 1960s and 1970s, the ROC actively sent pictorials and magazines introducing its recon-

struction achievements and reporting on Chinese communist infiltration to officials, libraries, schools, press and advertising organizations and educational organizations in Africa for their reference. Nowadays, well-known African personalities, journalists and scholars are invited to visit Taiwan, and propaganda and cultural activities are actively performed by ROC diplomats in African countries.

In addition, the ROC sends sports teams, sports delegations and performing artist troops to visit African countries to promote cultural exchange with the African people. They also hold various cultural and historical exhibitions to enhance knowledge of Taiwan. Two other useful channels for increasing contact and interaction between Africans and Taiwanese is through providing scholarships for prominent students to study in Taiwan and offering short courses for officials that show potential. In recent years, Taipei has held Africa Day celebrations with President Chen in attendance, which has proved to be a popular and well-known event that shortens the distance between the ROC and Africa, thus promoting unity. While cultural exchanges and cooperation is not a decisive factor in ROC-Africa relations, it is helpful in at least warming relations. In 2002, the ROC issued the ROC-Burkina Faso and the ROC-Chad postage stamps, which had both political and cultural meaning. Through their circulation, more people could understand and feel the friendships and cooperation.

5. **Providing humanitarian aid to African people in need.** Providing humanitarian aid to other countries has become ever more necessary. Under the current system, humanitarian grants (coming out of the International Relief and Humanitarian Fund) are under the direct control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the fund is appropriated from the government budget. In 1988 and 1989, emergency assistance was offered by the ROC to help Malawi purchase corn during a food shortage. In 1994, the ROC donated two million dollars to Rwanda to help it through extraordinarily difficult times. Being a donor country reflects Taiwan's national pride and national image.

In 2002, millions of people in southern African nations such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland suffered from famine. President Chen donated

US$300,000 to Malawi and US$150,000 to Swaziland during his visit to four of Taiwan's allies between June and July, highlighting Taiwan's humanitarian concern for Africa. Due to its limited diplomatic channels, it is important for Taiwan to consolidate its diplomatic relations and to enhance its international participation through all means, including non-political means. Thus Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) became a critical tool for Taiwan to broaden its international breathing space and to pursue engagements internationally.[62]

6. **Launching the Taiwan Youth Overseas Service.** In March 2000, Chen Shui-bian was elected President of the ROC. In order to increase the visibility of Taiwan on the international stage and to honor the dedication and hard work of overseas technical personnel, President Chen paid visits to countries that remained diplomatic partners with Taiwan. In these countries, President Chen found the time to visit Taiwan's technical missions and to witness the sweat and labor of the personnel, the nameless heroes who work daily on behalf of Taiwan, upholding its name for the world to see. President Chen also actively promoted the Taiwan Youth Overseas Service, thus introducing fresh blood into Taiwan's international cooperative efforts.[63]

In 2000, 35 young men were selected to participate in the Taiwan Youth Overseas Service in lieu of the mandatory army service. Before being sent abroad as members of technical missions, they received training in such specialized areas as medicine, information technology and agricultural techniques. Recently, some Taiwan overseas volunteers, religious groups and NGOs have joined with the Taiwan Youth Overseas Service to demonstrate that Taiwan is not just the symbol of an economic miracle, but is keen to devote itself to sharing its experiences, resources and knowledge with the rest of the world.[64] The ROC also promotes substantive relations with other nations that do not have formal ties with the ROC, such as South Africa, Nigeria and Libya. In essence, international cooperation is the core value of the ROC's foreign policy strategy in Africa. In order to combat competition from China, the ROC will not give up this effective practice, nor will it change this strategy in the future.

Diplomacy is the instrument by which one conducts foreign policy. The ROC has rightly chosen to conduct its foreign policy using appropriate strategies. And the ROC really has made an enormous contribution to Africa's agricultural development. Making use of Taiwan's numerous strengths, the ROC will continue to help developing nations learn from the "Taiwan Experience" so that they can move towards prosperity and affluence.

Evaluation

Africa is comprised of 53 countries, many of which are characterized by low gross national income, racial conflicts and unstable governments. Hence, given that fighting poverty is the most important issue for many African states, particularly for sub-Saharan states, the search for aid is often at the forefront of African nations' foreign policy. Geographically distant and economically weak, though potentially significant through their possession of voting rights in bodies such as the UN, African states remain at the center of the two Chinas' diplomatic competition.

Since 1949, the ROC and the PRC have competed with each other for international legitimacy and recognition from the world community. Before 1971, the ROC enjoyed the diplomatic recognition of a majority of independent states. After 1971, when the PRC replaced the ROC in the UN as the legitimate representative of China, the number of countries that recognize the ROC dropped from approximately 70 to about 22 by the early 1980s. Gaining diplomatic recognition, therefore, has become the most important task for the ROC's foreign diplomacy.

Premier Zhou Enlai made a tour of 10 African states between December 1963 and February 1964 and asserted that "revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout the African continent".[65] Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited Kenya, Ethiopia, Egypt, Mali, Namibia and Zimbabwe in May 1996 and referred to China and Africa as "all-weather friends." Jiang Zemin traveled to South Africa in April 2000, where he signed the Pretoria Declaration with his counterpart, President Thabo Mbeki.

The PRC has long promoted itself as the leader of the Third World and as a major power in the post-Cold War multi-polar world, and it seeks out alliances with African countries in order to target the ROC's remaining friends there. As a member of the UN Security Council since 1971, with fast economic growth as well as growing international influence, China continues to consolidate and deepen its friendly relations and cooperate more substantially. In 2004, during his visit to Gabon, President Hu Jintao delivered a speech in which he made a three-point proposal for closer China-Africa relations in the new era. The three points were building on traditional friendships and pushing for new progress therein; persisting in mutual assistance and mutual benefit and promoting common prosperity; and working in close cooperation to safeguard the rights and interests of the developing countries.[66] These statements proved that China wants closer relations with Africa.

Frankly speaking, China's ability to provide huge amounts of foreign aid to Africa and its veto power in the UN are two powerful instruments with which to woo African states. Owing to the zero-sum nature of the so-called "One China" policy, African countries have to decide between Taiwan and China. This has created a tug-of-war that has lasted for over five decades. Compared with other states in other regions, it is relatively easy for African states to establish and disestablish diplomatic relations with both the ROC and the PRC.[67]

The main direction of the ROC's foreign policy towards Africa is consolidating relations with its diplomatic allies, promoting substantive relations with nations having no diplomatic ties with the ROC, and requesting African allies' assistance in participating in international organizations and related activities.

1. **Consolidating relations with diplomatic allies**. In order to strengthen the ROC's relations with its African diplomatic allies, the ROC government has held commercial exhibitions, provided business information services, improved investment regulations and encouraged ROC business investments in friendly countries. To help economic development in the region, the ROC government also combines the use of private charities and medical personnel to assist in improving the public health and medical

services of these countries. The ROC further provides them with agricultural technology and skills training in the hope of both solidifying its relationships and reviving the local economies.[68]

2. **Promoting substantive relations with nations having no diplomatic ties with the ROC**. The ROC actively promotes the Taiwan Experience to assist in the economic development of these nations, based on the ROC's sincere desire to contribute to the international community. The ROC hopes to take further steps to develop friendly relations with these countries on the basis of reciprocity and mutual benefit.

3. **Requesting African allies' assistance in participating in international organizations and related activities**. Taiwan's African allies have long supported Taiwan's participation in international organizations. Burkina Faso, Gambia, Senegal and Chad jointly submitted a proposal to support the ROC's bid to join the United Nations during the UN General Assembly in September 2001. Malawi and Swaziland signed the proposal and spoke in Taiwan's favor along with Liberia, and São Tomé and Principe in the UN General Assembly and in General Committee. Regarding Taiwan's bid to join the WHO, representatives of Taiwan's allies continue to praise Taiwan's medical achievements at international health conferences and express appreciation for the medical assistance from Taiwan. For instance, Senegal and Chad submitted a proposal to the WHO in November 2001 to support Taiwan's bid to join the organization as an observer. The proposal was discussed by the Executive Board of the WHO in January 2002, as well as at the World Health Assembly in May of the same year.[69]

The ROC's emergence as a developed country, especially with its successful experience in developing small and medium enterprises, appeals to African states. Besides, Taiwan's successful political and economic development serves as a role model for friendly countries in Africa.

The whole picture of the ROC's Africa policy can be best demonstrated by the sub-themes of Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat.

Strength – The ROC's strategy towards Africa for the last four decades is simple and clear; to win the friendship of African nations through foreign aid, grants, soft loans and international cooperation. The ROC has no intention of competing with the PRC or challenging its sphere of influence. The ROC's strengths include inviting the political figures of African allies to visit Taiwan, promoting summit diplomacy between African heads of states and the president of the ROC, and most importantly, enhancing international cooperation through foreign aid. Up to now, the ROC has dispatched technical missions to six allies in Africa with the expectation that those countries will voice their support in the UN and WHO for Taiwan's plight, and to draw attention to her unfair treatment.

Weakness – Economic relations and trade should be the main components of the relations between Africa and the ROC. Yet since the ROC's investment in Africa is just one percent of its total foreign investment, the two sides do not have much in common in economic relations. Also, the two sides do not share similar political or cultural characteristics, a fact which is not easily altered. Furthermore, the ROC is not a member of the UN and WHO, which makes participation in international society very difficult. The challenges that the ROC faces in this context are much more difficult than those faced by any other country in the world.

Opportunity – In essence, the ROC's main interest in Africa is to win the diplomatic recognition and political support which has been needed for decades. The African allies' interest in Taiwan is to receive the economic benefits, financial assistance and technical cooperation. Only when the tense relations across the Taiwan Strait improve will the ROC have the opportunity of winning more friends in Africa, for the ROC doesn't want to irritate the PRC and those pro-Taiwan African leaders currently in power. With the situation on the world stage being distinctly in the PRC's favor, the ROC must conduct its Africa policy prudently, with the pre-condition of not irritating the PRC.

Threat – Since 1949, both sides of the Taiwan Strait have proclaimed that they are the only legitimate government of China. The ROC's only real threat has always been the PRC. With accepting the so-called "One China" policy as a precondition to relations with

the PRC, and with the PRC as a member of the UN, every country has had to make a choice between the two, thus putting the ROC in an unfavorable position. Another threat is that African states are unstable, prone to coup d'etats, civil wars and famine, which makes the political situation hard to manage or predict. The fact that more and more African allies want increased aid, financial support, loans, etc, has also put the ROC in a difficult position in its response to these requests. Africa's appetite is getting larger, creating new challenges for the ROC.

The ROC has a unique international status which has forced Taipei to seek political recognition from states in Africa. The number of states to recognize Taiwan in 1969 was 22; three in 1988; 10 in 1997; and at the end of 2005, there were six states which had diplomatic ties with the ROC. Taiwan's economic performance and successful development is a powerful tool to be used in foreign diplomacy. Yet there are still many challenges arising from the outside world, especially from the PRC. It is much easier to safeguard the current diplomatic ties that the ROC currently has than to establish diplomatic relations with new allies in Africa. After all, the PRC has already become an important player on world stage, which has seriously curbed the ROC's already limited international space.

In March 2004, Taiwan donated funds to assist Chad resettle refugees from the Darfur region. In July that year, Taiwan donated 40 metric tons of rice to the people of Tanzania. In August, Taiwan joined other donors of the international community and offered emergency relief funds to help Burkina Faso, Chad and the Gambia battle swarms of desert locusts devouring crops in that region.[70] These examples highlight the close cooperative relations between Taiwan and its African allies as well as Taiwan's humanitarian concern for Africa. Regarding Taiwan's bid to join the UN, Burkina Faso, São Tomé and Principe and Swaziland submitted a proposal to the WHO Assembly in April 2004 supporting Taiwan's efforts to join the organization as an observer. The proposal was discussed and voted on with full support from Taiwan's six African allies at the World Health Assembly in May 2004.[71]

A quick glance at the ROC's six allies in Africa will reveal that São Tomé and

Principe is the only country that can be considered a democratic nation by world standards. While not ideal, the ROC needs diplomatic recognition and the African allies need financial assistance or foreign aid, which facilitates the two sides coming together. The ROC has to then pay close attention and provide more financial support to fit their needs, and relations revolve around this kind of assistance. Yet regular elections in Africa mean that different political parties can come to power and decide on a new foreign policy, which is a potential threat for friendly relations. Diplomatic relations between the ROC and its African allies are fraught with challenges and need to be handled very carefully if they are to be sustained.

After the first Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, held in Beijing from October 10-12, 2000, representatives from over 40 African states gathered in Beijing to discuss South-South cooperation, North-South dialogue, debt relief and Chinese economic cooperation with African states.[72] China attempted to consolidate its role as a major player, second to the US and France, in the African continent, and at the same time to contain Taiwan involvement. With the official document "China's Africa Policy" published in January, 2006, China seemed to be announcing that China-Africa cooperation is in the PRC's best national interests and is as important as the China-Russia relationship of the 1960s. At the same time, since international cooperation is one of the major parts of its foreign policy, the aims of Chinese technical missions have shifted from purely agricultural to agribusiness and on further to science and technology.[73]

Taiwan's then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tien Hong-mao, said, "Using democracy and the ROC's economic achievements as an axis, the ROC will create a mechanism for all people to participate in diplomatic work." MOFA wants to integrate the resources of both the government and the civilian sector to strengthen cooperation with the ROC's diplomatic allies and enhance substantive relations with countries having no diplomatic ties with the ROC. This once again stressed the ROC's willingness to actively participate in international community. Taiwan's outstanding techniques have allowed it to share its achievements with the world, and collaboration with other international organizations and NGOs has enhanced the depth and breadth of its work in technical assistance, and expanded the outlets through which Taiwan gives back to international society.

Although the ROC is a successful, economically developed, free and peace-loving sovereign state, and its democratic government is the sole legitimate government that can represent the interests and wishes of the people of Taiwan, it has been politically discriminated against and remains adrift from the UN, like South Africa during the apartheid years. The ROC relationship with its African diplomatic partners is based not on mutual economic benefit, but rather on a pattern of friendship founded on the ROC's mutual assistance programs and on the historical nature of its ties. Despite enjoying very little political return on its engagement with Africa, the ROC has continued to remain committed to its Africa program.[74]

Even though international cooperation is the main tool for conducting the ROC's strategy towards Africa, the PRC also uses similar methods to woo African states. The ROC needs diplomatic recognition and uses every means to sustain the ties. However, faced with such a strong opponent, the challenge is enormous and unpredictable. At the end of the day, it is relations between the ROC and the PRC that have the biggest impact on Africa relations. The two sides have competed for over five decades, and this competition, especially in Africa, will continue for the foreseeable future. Either way, it is the African states that will benefit from either the ROC or the PRC.

Conclusion

The main goals of diplomatic relations between the ROC and African states, which have seen distinct highs and lows, have been to safeguard the ROC's international status and seat in the UN; to win diplomatic recognition in order to justify the ROC's international status; to compete with the PRC; to interact with African nations to safeguard national interests; to spur growth in Africa through Taiwanese investments; and to urge African states to voice their support for Taiwan in the UN and WHO. The strategies and tactics used in conducting the ROC's policy towards Africa can be classified as follows: high-level visits including those by heads of states; promoting international cooperation through foreign aid; enhancing economic cooperation with Africa; promoting understanding through cultural and media activities; providing humanitarian aid to people in need; and launching the Taiwan Youth Overseas Service. During the diplomatic battles

between China and Taiwan of the last half century, both sides have provided many funds, resources and personnel in their efforts to win the friendship of African countries. This tug-of-war will continue for the foreseeable future, yet with China becoming evermore powerful at an alarming rate, Taiwan is set to face an even bigger challenge. Indeed, when Liberia, Senegal and Chad switched to China's side after 2000, it became clear that China is intent on claiming the whole Africa pie. In the light of China's aggressive push into Africa, the ROC should work to consolidate diplomatic ties with its African allies by helping to develop their economies. Instead of merely providing financial assistance, the ROC should improve their business environments and lure Taiwanese companies to invest there. To strengthen the ROC's ties with Africa, the government and the African nations formed the Africa Taiwan Economic Forum (ATEF). The forum is held jointly by the five embassies and two trade offices of the African countries represented in Taiwan, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To better encourage investment in Africa and so consolidate diplomatic relations, the government should help build infrastructure such as highways and ports to facilitate trade. In short, the ROC needs a new plan for Africa. Since the rise of China in the African arena has caused concern for both the EU and the US, the ROC can consider engaging in informal strategic dialogue with those powers on ways to collaborate in pursuing common interests in Africa. The following chapter will explore further the ROC's most significant foreign aid contribution in Africa during the 1960s and early 1970s--Operation Vanguard-- to paint the overall picture and its effects.

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CHAPTER FOUR
OPERATION VANGUARD
(1960-1974)

More than 40 years have passed since the Republic of China on Taiwan launched Operation Vanguard and dispatched technical missions to various nations in an attempt to share technologies that would enhance the quality of life of the people. After the Second World War the winds of independence were blowing around the African continent: Libya became independent in 1951; Tunisia, Sudan and Morocco in 1956; Ghana in 1957; Guinea in 1958. The year 1960 was known as the African year. There were 17 African countries which achieved independence from colonialist oppression. In 1959, President Chiang Kai-shek decided to dispatch his Economic Affairs Minister, Chi-tseng Yang, to participate in the independence ceremony of Cameroon. The group served as the bridge to Africa, visiting Togo, Nigeria, Gabon, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Tunisia, Somalia and Ethiopia. From the group's detailed report, President Chiang was further convinced that these countries had achieved their independence and the most urgent and primary development should be that of agriculture. Agriculture has been the mainstay of China's economy for centuries. In addition, the emphasis on agricultural growth and land reform in the early 1950s had crucial effects on Taiwan's development. Thus, President Chiang decided to single out agriculture as the cornerstone of Operation Vanguard.[1]

Origin and Operation Safari

In 1960, 17 African countries received independent status, and all joined the United Nations. Therefore their influence began to play an important role in international affairs. Thus 1960 was the United Nations' African Year. In September 1960, Mr. Sékon Touré, the President of Guinea went to China and signed the so-called Friendship Co-operation Treaty. China promised to provide a loan of US$2.5 million without interest. This was an obvious signal that China wanted to use Guinea as a foothold in Africa.[2] Another crucial decision was made at the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations in 1960. During the voting for a Chinese Representative, only two out of eight African countries that had diplomatic relations with the ROC, supported the ROC's position. Another five

countries abstained from voting and Senegal even voted against it.

Based on the fact that more and more African countries would participate in the United Nations, Communist China had already contacted some countries and influenced them and the ROC could but try its best to win the friendship of the newly independent African countries. Most importantly, the traditional way of diplomacy was not enough to deal with the new situation, and formal diplomatic recognition could not guarantee that African countries would support the ROC in a crucial situation.

Foreign Minister George Yeh, Permanent Representative of China to the UN Tsiang Tingfu and Vice Foreign Minister Yu-chi Hsueh all agreed that the newly independent African countries were very poor and needed foreign aid urgently. It was a very good opportunity if the ROC could provide some technical co-operation proposals, which could enhance the relations between the ROC and its African allies. The US Department of State also had this viewpoint. Hence the MOFA drafted the "actions plan towards African countries", while the Chinese Embassy also drafted the "Operation Safari" on October 24, 1960. It was very clear that the purpose was to improve and strengthen relations with newly-independent African states, through the rendering of technical assistance and other means, with a view to securing their positive support or at least preventing their abstention from turning into unfavourable votes at the Sixteenth and the subsequent sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations.[3] At the same time, two delegations visited Africa, and the ROC invited some business and agricultural leaders to visit Taiwan.

In January 1961, MOFA finalised the proposals from the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, Council for U.S. Aid, and GIO. MOFA established the project, under the name of Operation Vanguard. Its aim was to promote, within the next nine months, a better understanding and close ties between the ROC and some of the African countries. The project consisted of two parts, one relating to technical co-operation and the other dealing with publicity.[4] The methods involved inviting Africans to visit Taiwan, training classes for prospective African technicians, providing scholarships for African students, sending specialists and experts to African countries to render technical assistance in ag-

ricultural and industrial fields. With reference to publicity, it included the establishment of information services, the provision of publications and audio-visual materials, dispatching a theatre troupe on a visit to 12 African countries, inviting political leaders, parliamentarians, newspapermen and civic leaders to visit Taiwan, and organising friendly association between China and African countries.[5]

From February to September 1961, the ROC negotiated with the USA and hoped the latter could provide financial aid for this project. The American government thought the project was too large and wanted to reduce the scale in expenditure. Furthermore, many African Ministers visited Taiwan to discuss how to start the agricultural co-operation, which caused the ROC to make concessions. According to the agreement, the American Government would provide NT$16,500,000, about two thirds of the project, and the rest, about one-third of the total, would be borne by the ROC. On November 1961, the first agricultural mission started in Liberia, with 11 people working in Gdedin, about 200 kilometres west of Monrovia. The expense of this mission was supported by the American government. To some extent, it meant that an important new phase in the ROC diplomatic offensive against the PRC in Africa began formally. A summary of the reasons for the ROC to choose agricultural co-operation as the way to help its African allies are as follows: (1) it was beneath its capacity to have this kind of ability; (2) the ROC had good agricultural techniques; (3) it was for the need of African people; (4) African people would also participate in the project; (5) it was only technical assistance and would not cause misunderstanding.

In the early stages, there was a series of meetings involving officials of the ROC MOFA, MOE, and Council for UD Aid, Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR), and the Taiwan Provincial Government's Department of Agricultural and Forestry. The ROC Government dealt with the African countries and negotiated the form of support with the American Government. That Operation Vanguard was able to function within a year was largely due to the foresight and leadership of President Chiang. Although the original reason for Operation Vanguard was to meet political and diplomatic purposes, the ROC also wanted to help African countries by way of humanitarian aid. Furthermore, because of the implementation of the less costly Operation

Vanguard, friendship between Chinese and African peoples could prosper and flourish.

Action and Execution

MOFA, MOE, Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction and Council for U.S. Aid together established "Operation Vanguard Task Unit", and H.K. Yang was the leader of the group of six people, who first met in October 26, 1961. "Operation Vanguard" proceeded rather rapidly and soon grew beyond the administrative capacity of its initial executive committee. To cope with the rapid development and to facilitate co-operation between its components, the Executive Committee was expanded and renamed the Sino-African Technical Co-operation Committee on April 18, 1962.

Objectives of the cooperation at its early stage included:

- To introduce the ROC's agricultural technical know-how and experiences to African countries;
- To help African countries train their farmers and agricultural workers;
- To help African countries carry out agricultural extension programs;
- To help African countries produce enough food crops to attain self-sufficiency;
- To create Sino-African friendship through technical cooperation.

With a view to attaining the aforementioned objectives, it was common to carry out the Sino-African agricultural technical cooperation program in the following four ways:

- To send survey teams of agricultural specialists to survey and study the local agricultural situation in order to recommend the most effective and practicable co-operative measures that could be taken to further agricultural development.
- To invite African agricultural officials and technicians to understand agricultural practices and economic development in the ROC.
- To dispatch farming teams and other relevant technical teams to African countries.
- To conduct training courses for African agricultural technicians who were also offered scholarships.[6]

The Sino-African Technical Cooperation Committee (SATCC), a logistic support and coordination agency, was in charge of the operation of the Sino-African agricultural

technical cooperation program. The Department of African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially the Third Section of the Department, handled matters concerning policy. The SATCC's regular work covered selecting and training of members of the farming demonstration teams, organizing and conducting courses, and establishing and dispatching farming demonstration and other technical teams to Africa.[7] The committee carried out a total of 18 training programmes from 1961 to 1975, in which 1,229 people took part and were dispatched thereafter to Africa. At the beginning, the government decided that the guidance of Sino-African cooperation was "diplomacy goes to the countryside, agriculture goes abroad." The committee therefore selected its technicians on the basis of technical expertise as well as commitment to the outreach.

Another important arm of "Operation Vanguard" was a series of 15 "Seminars for African Agriculturalists" held between 1962 and 1974. Since Africa was handicapped most by an acute shortage of experienced and well-trained technicians in all fields, the ROC in 1962 established these seminars to train agricultural technicians for friendly African countries. Trainees attended a four-to-eight month agricultural seminar in Taiwan to learn cultivation techniques and to receive on-the-job training. The first such seminar was held from March 31 to October 15, 1962 with 25 participants from 11 African countries.[8]

The training programme of each seminar consisted of three main phases: (1) Orientation: to help trainees acquire a general understanding of the ROC's political organisations, economy, culture and customs; (2) Training courses, the longest and most important phase of the project: Trainees were taught in classrooms and in the field on all rice and upland crop cultivation techniques: the curriculum included the selection of seeds, land preparation, rotational irrigation, pest control, cultivation of upland rice, vegetables, and sugar cane, use and maintenance of power tillers, water and soil conservation, seed grading and improvement, irrigation installation, farm demonstrations and extensions; (3) Observation tours: when the major training courses were over, participants were given an opportunity to undertake " a study tour to various rural districts to observe farm operations and the work of peasant organizations."[9] In short, training offered to foreign technicians was aimed at advancing agricultural development and, eventually, economic prosperity in their countries.

Several African countries that sent participants to these agricultural seminars when they were not then independent or had no diplomatic relations with the ROC have since become Taiwan's close allies in the United Nations.[10] From 1962 to 1974, 15 technical seminars were held involving 715 participants from 31 countries. Among these participants, 64 were from seven African countries that had no diplomatic relations with Taipei: Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Rhodesia, Somalia, Tanzania and Zambia. All but Ethiopia and Rhodesia of this group actually had diplomatic relations with Beijing. All these seminars laid special emphasis on field operation and observation. Participants were required not only to attend lectures in the classroom but also to do every kind of work with their own hands to put their learning into practice. It was hoped that with their understanding of the ROC, they would become cadres in their respective professional fields. By the 1970s most African countries recognised Beijing rather than Taipei. The ROC seminar programme for African agricultural technicians was therefore terminated in 1974 after the fifteenth session, ending one of ROC's most impressive and successful aid projects.

After receiving a request for technical assistance from a country, the ROC first sent a survey team of experts to assess feasibility. The mission worked with officials of the host country to study various subjects, including agricultural policy, environmental and climatic conditions, and status of agricultural production, limitations, and possible solutions. A preliminary recommendation for possible areas and the scope of co-operation would then be drafted by the study mission. The officials of the host country carefully studied the recommendation. If both parties agreed, the draft proposal would be written in the form of an "Agreement" or "Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)" which would be signed by representative officials of both parties. After signing the "Agreement" or "MOU", the ICDF would dispatch a team of experts to that country to set up a technical mission.[11]

One such agreement was expressed in a diplomatic note from Belletten Gabre-Tzadik, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Imperial Ethiopian Government to Shih-ying Woo, ambassador of the ROC on special mission. The message acknowledged the recommendations of the Chinese Agricultural Survey Mission and stated: "That the Imperial Ethiopian Government concur in the proposals transcribed above and that this

note in reply and Your Excellency's Note shall be considered as constituting an agreement between our two Governments effective as on June 3, 1963."[12]

Each team usually started with 10 to 20 members, depending on the size of the project undertaken in each country. In most cases, the team was later enlarged. The largest team was the one sent to the Ivory Coast, which at one time included 160 people.[13] The agreement of technical co-operation between the ROC and the United Kingdom of Libya, signed by Ambassador Chen Chih-ping and Minister of Agriculture Hawid al-Obeidi on February 26, 1962, stated: "The Chinese Government shall send to Libya a Farming Demonstration Team to carry out rice growing for two years in the areas in Wadi Chati, Fezzan on an experimental and demonstration basis. The team is composed of one rice expert, one soil and fertilizer expert and six farmers."[14]

Dispatching agricultural missions to African countries to give demonstrations, education and extension to recommend the most effective and practicable measures for food self-sufficiency was the main task of Sino-African co-operation.

a) Major work at demonstration stage:

- Establishment of demonstration farms at carefully selected sites: Suitable location with good accessibility and favorable agricultural conditions were the major concerns in selecting the sites. In the early stages the agricultural mission concentrated on one experimental and demonstration plot. In this way the mission was able to observe and study local conditions. It was advised that demonstration plots should avoid using either fertile or barren land. Barren soil would bear no fruit, while fertile land could produce good fruits but would be difficult to promote. To achieve their main task of promotion, agricultural missions were obliged to expand demonstration farms in various parts of a country for full scale cultivation.

- Introduction of good varieties for local trial planting: Working in an unfamiliar environment, the agricultural team set about introducing new varieties of grains, crops, vegetables, melons and fruits and appropriate methods of cultivating them. A major project was to select and improve local crops for planting and promotion.

- To improve farming techniques and establishment of suitable systems: Some African countries grow paddy rice. They depend upon rainfall with no irrigation facilities, not to mention weeding, fertilization, insect and pest control. It was clear that new ways of promoting development of agriculture were essential. Because of the lack of irrigation facilities, a rotating crop-planting system ensured high productivity, i.e. rice in the wet season and a dry crop in the dry season.

- To develop water resources and install simple irrigation and drainage facilities: Most African countries could not afford large-scale irrigation schemes. Therefore, the agricultural mission had to explore and exploit local water resources to initiate projects of water conservation and irrigation works. Among them, irrigation works of the Kou River in Upper Volta, Saga in Niger and Dowasi in Malawi were less costly yet most successful to the growth of the country's agricultural sector.

- To train local farmers in the use of modern farm machines and implements: "Learning from working" was one way that the agricultural team taught local farmers. By working shoulder-to-shoulder with ROC specialists, local farmers gradually acquired and accepted new technology and know-how. Simple and economical farm machinery was also introduced to increase farm production.

- Emphasis on economic impact: One of the purposes of the demonstration work of the teams was to enhance Africans' interest in farming so as to promote the living standard of the people.[15]

b) Major work at extension stage:

- To increase demonstration acreage on a regional basis.
- To encourage local farmers to join their work to receive practical training on the farm.
- To help trained farmers take over the demonstration farms to operate by themselves.
- To introduce new and superior varieties of crops and the application of scientific cultivation methods through field experiments and demonstrations in order to increase crop production and establish appropriate crop systems.

- To set up irrigation systems gradually in consideration of local environments and actual requirements.
- To assist in establishing farmers' organizations and also to maintain, repair or manufacture farm machinery and implements.[16]

To avhieve major objectives of host countries, many handicraft, animal husbandry and veterinary medicine and fishery missions were sent to Africa to assist the Government and the people and hence won friendship in those countries. The most important objective was extension, since it could improve the standard of living and provide remarkable assistance. Technical co-operation followed the same module as agricultural assistance. At the request of certain countries the ROC first dispatched technicians and specialists to survey and study local conditions and then recommended the most effective and practicable measures. By the same token, there would have to be a suitable animal husbandry environment before dispatching an animal husbandry team. Local materials and markets were studied before dispatching a handicraft team. A reliable source of sugar and oil seed had to be assured before dispatching a sugar refining and oil extraction team. Such feasibility studies were conducive to the success of technical co-operation with African countries.

In an open letter, dated May 24, 1969 to all members of agricultural teams, H.K. Yang said, "With limited resources and manpower, we can win the friendship and support of the African people. It is such a great honor to have the opportunity to work in Africa." " there are 24 African countries that supported us in the United Nations; 20 African countries supported our legal status, moreover, about the two Chinas' case, our African allies' full support is much appreciated"[17] Mr. Yang also encouraged people to deem Sino-African cooperation as their own business, to put in every effort possible to meet the needs of African allies.

The performance also drew Europe's attention. Ms. Kathleen Baker published an article, "The Chinese Agricultural Model in West Africa," in *Pacific Viewpoint* saying that "The Taiwanese devoted considerable effort to integrating themselves into village life and gained the confidence and trust of the villagers by bringing them gifts of new

seeds, fertilizer, insecticide and pesticide and, in some cases, such as at Deni Biram N'Dao, donating a hand pump for applying the plant protection chemicals." Both Taiwan and China had agricultural teams in Africa at the same time, but the perception of the Senegalese interviewed was that the Chinese lacked the warmth, friendliness and generosity of the Taiwanese.[18]

Another key factor that must be noted is that the funding from America was very crucial. In April 1964, Washington was favourable in principle to Operation Vanguard but considered it to be too ambitious. Furthermore, with regard to Sino-Liberian technical cooperation, Washington thought the Chinese government seemed to be throwing too much of its limited resources into one African country. All in all, America advocated the idea of starting pilot farms in Liberia whereby to demonstrate Free China's farming techniques to the Liberian people, and indeed to other African people in the neighbouring countries, and to prove to the African people what the Free World could do for them.

The ROC contacted the US in October 1964 to provide funds for Sino-African technical cooperation, by means of many consultations. On December 31, 1964, the two countries signed the "PL 480 program". According to this agreement, the US provided US$12 million to the ROC, and the ROC had to find the rest, around US$5 million by themselves. By the late 1960s, it cost Taipei US$7 million a year, and in 1969 alone, African missions and training programmes cost Taipei US$10 million dollars. However, beginning in 1968, the US, impressed by the Nationalist Chinese accomplishments in Africa, provided most of the necessary money through the scale of US agricultural surplus in Taiwan under the PL 480 program.[19]

In January 1970, U.S. Ambassador Walter P. McConaughy informed the ROC that the recently signed agreement concerning Operation Vanguard would be the last financial donation from the US Government. Since then, the ROC took a new strategy and formed the "Committee of International Technical Cooperation" in November, 1972. In 1973, American Foreign Aid ended, but the ROC still kept the policy of helping African countries and funded all expenses on her own. The new strategy was called "Funds for International Technical Cooperation."

H.K. Yang played an important role in enhancing the good relations between Africa and Taiwan. For example, in November 1964 and January 1965, he led delegations to visit Africa, to discuss the economic and technical co-operation and made commitments to those countries. In July 1969, Mr. Yang, on his twenty-second African visit, had five main goals: maintaining contact with ROC's African allies and some other countries; inspecting the agricultural missions as a gesture of concern from the President; thanking African countries for their support in the General Assembly of the UN; on behalf of the President, congratulating the re-elected President of Chad; and accepting the invitation to attend the anniversary celebration of Swaziland's independence.[20] To some extent, this was an example of perfect personal diplomacy in the history of Chinese diplomacy.

At the cultural level, in August 1964 a cultural delegation led by Ambassador Bernard T.K. Joei, consisting of 40 members, visited 15 African countries. During the three-month tour, they introduced traditional Chinese culture and handicrafts, as well as the economic accomplishments of Taiwan to Africa. Besides, they held many performances with Chinese music, folksongs, national dance and Chinese opera for African people. This tour opened the gate of Sino-African cultural exchange and also led to African people having a better understanding of Taiwan, the ROC.

Achievements of Agricultural Cooperation

In 1960, the invitation for agricultural co-operation with African countries was launched. From then up to the death of President Chiang in 1975, among 47 African countries there were 25 that signed the Agreement of Technical Co-operation with the ROC, and 32 that sent their farmers and technicians to agricultural and technical seminars in Taiwan. During this 16-year period, 1,168 agricultural officials and technicians from 37 African countries were invited to visit the ROC; 718 agricultural technicians from 31 countries participated in 15 agricultural seminars and seven African countries participated in training courses such as electrical skills, handicrafts, hog raising, youth activities, sugarcane refining, pineapple and rice cultivation.

During this 15-year period, the ROC had organised a total of 40 technical missions

for assignments in African countries. Among them, 23 agricultural missions to Liberia, Libya, Dohomey (now Benin), Ivory Coast, Gabon, Rwanda, Cameroon, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Niger, Central African Republic, Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), Chad, Togo, Malawi, Gambia, Zaire, Malagasy Republic, Botswana, Ghana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mauritius; three veterinarian teams to Ethiopia, Chad and Liberia; five handicraft teams to the Central African Republic, Rwanda, Swaziland, Malagasy Republic and Ivory Coast; furthermore, a sugar refinery, seed multiplication, wine brewing, peanut oil extracting, fishery, farm machinery manufacture and high construction teams to Ivory Coast, Rwanda, Liberia, Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Central Africa Republic respectively. The above missions had a total of 1,220 technicians posted in almost every corner of the African continent. Over the period of 15 years, 11 technicians in both agricultural and technical missions dedicated their lives for the cause of the green revolution. Nine of them were mission chiefs, team leaders, deputies or specialists. All of them were *bona fide* technicians and Chinese agricultural elites. Their blood, tears and sweat were sacrificed for the well being of their African brothers.[21]

The above-mentioned 1,168 agricultural officials and technicians attained professional skills and also acquired an understanding of the progress made in the ROC's economic development. After returning to their home countries, many become cadres in their respective professional fields. They contributed significantly to the agricultural and economic development of their own countries and to the promotion of friendly relationships with the ROC.

The Operation Vanguard Program was generally guided by the following lines of basic approach:

Grassroots Contact: It is the ROC's conviction that the most effective way to disseminate know-how is to get into close contact with the people who will actually be doing the work and show them how to do it. The rate of illiteracy may be high among the people of some under-developed countries, but they are intelligent and full of enthusiasm. The ROC's specialists and technicians work shoulder-to-shoulder with the workers of host countries. They are never asked to do anything that the Chinese personnel would not do themselves. The trainers and trainees mix happily together as friends. They live in the same environment and do the same type of work as members of the same team.

Spirit of Cooperation: ROC's economic and technical cooperation is offered in a genuine spirit of co-operation. ROC's primary consideration is whether its participation in a certain project will be helpful to the economic welfare of the host country and to the promotion of international understanding. For instance, some of the projects are designed to increase the local output of certain products, even though they may be competitive with the ROC. The ROC also works with countries where no diplomatic relations have been established. For example, an ROC veterinary team has been stationed in Ethiopia since August 1963. In Senegal, the technical mission continued its services after the disruption of diplomatic relations between the two countries in November 1964. In fact, it has since been extended at the request of the Senegal Government.[22]

The Operation Vanguard Program has had far-reaching effects:

- African nations have confidence in and welcome ROC's technical assistance.
- ROC assistance had proved that rice and other crops could be grown successfully in African countries.
- Technical assistance rendered by ROC specialists has developed the natural resources and manpower of co-operating countries, resulting in a sense of self-confidence and self-reliance.
- ROC technical assistance to African countries has changed the image of the people of Africa, has attracted people of other countries to visit the areas where ROC technical teams operate, and has led international financial agencies, such as the World Bank, to consult with ROC specialists with regard to aid programmes to African countries.

ROC technicians stationed abroad have helped the farms of co-operating countries to solve their technical difficulties and improve their livelihood. The personal contacts and friendships thus established have cemented the ROC's close relationship with these countries. It has also enhanced the status of overseas Chinese who take pride in their motherland and its international ventures.[23] In 1971 alone, rice output was 34,000 metric tons in the Ivory Coast. President Félix Houphouët-Boigny said with ample evidence, "In the past, people considered Africa too barren for cultivation. After ROC agri-farming teams helped us grow three crops of rice per year, we have begun to realize that beneath us lies a land of wealth." President Banda of Malawi once said, "The friendship of ROC

has been fully manifested by its agricultural assistance."

The most important effect is the support in the United Nations from the African allies. In the worldwide diplomatic war with Beijing, particularly in Africa since 1960, Taipei had only one short-term goal: to protect its seat in the United Nations and thus promote the survival of the ROC as a political entity.[24] Foreign Minister Shen said: "In order to keep our seat in the United Nations, we cannot but fight with the enemy. With some newly independent countries that are far away from Taipei, and have very little connection in economic, cultural and overseas Chinese affairs, we have to establish official relations for gaining their understanding and support and countering their support to Mainland."[25]

When the UN General Assembly voted against ROC's membership in 1960, only two out of eight African countries having diplomatic relations with ROC voted in ROC's favour. After the ROC began their technical co-operation programme in Africa in 1961, the ROC had the support of nine out of 12 African countries having diplomatic relations with the ROC. In 1962, the ROC had the vote of 17 African countries, two of which had no diplomatic relations with ROC. When the French gave their recognition to the Beijing regime in 1964, the policy of "appeasement" influenced a number of African countries. In 1965 when the China representation issue came up for a vote, the result was 47 to 47; African countries cast 10 votes in the ROC's favour. Thanks to Gambia's support, the ROC could keep its seat in the UN. From 1966 through 1970, those African countries receiving the ROC's technical assistance, but having no diplomatic relations, also supported the ROC. The technical assistance undoubtedly has yielded great influence.

Most importantly, from 1966 to 1968, as Italy raised the issue of "two Chinas" in the UN, African countries helped the ROC to veto the proposal.[26] Even though, in the Twenty-seventh General Assembly of the UN in 1971, the ROC was forced to withdraw as one of the founding members of the UN, 15 African countries were against accepting the PRC instead of the ROC. Foreign Minister Shen said: "In foreign affairs, we provided economic and technical co-operation that has already upgraded our international status; especially the Operation Vanguard program made a great effect. With limited manpower

and funding, in confrontation with Communist China's huge manpower and vast funding in Africa, we defeated Communist China. This is to prove that those agricultural experts should take the credit."[27]

The attitude of African countries in the voting on the China Representative Issue in the UN was influenced by the diplomatic relations. There is no doubt that the agricultural co-operation provided by the ROC was quite useful in establishing of diplomatic relations. With regard to the failure in voting in the United Nations in 1971, the main reason was not that African countries changed their attitude, but that the world situation had changed fundamentally.

H.K. Yang also indicated that after the ROC Government moved to Taiwan in 1949 until the ROC withdrew from the United Nations in 1971, the ROC survived in the UN for 22 years. During those years, the agricultural teams in Africa were the main factors of success because of their hard work. The ROC's Africa Policy was brought about by Taiwan's own endeavours and strategy. The ROC's participation in the UN for 22 years is very critical for the future development of Taiwan, and the last 10 years with the agricultural missions to win the support of African countries is the most crucial factor in ROC's foreign policy. It is obvious that H.K.Yang was the generator and executor of the Operation Vanguard Program and is the key figure in this successful strategy.

The issue of October 18, 1968, of TIME magazine described the ROC foreign aid programme as "Taiwan's small but surprisingly successful technical assistance programme to under-developed nations." *Der Spiegel* of West Germany in its issue of April 17, 1967, carried an article entitled "Rice and Revolutionist", reporting that the ROC farming demonstration teams in Africa were highly praised by the governments and people of the countries they served because of their superior expertise and industriousness. Furthermore, *Jeune Afrique* of France, *Est et Ouest* of France, *Afrique Nouvelle* of Senegal, *Fraternité Matin* of Ivory Coast, and the *Readers' Digest* of USA all had highly favourable comments about the performance of ROC's agricultural cooperation and the government of ROC. The Representative of Liberia delivered a speech in the Twenty-Fourth General Assembly of the UN in 1969, with a copy of *Readers' Digest* in

his hand, saying that Liberia was proud of being the first African country that received the ROC's agricultural team.

In fact, many countries and agencies have entered into economic cooperation with African countries, such as the United States, Britain, France, Canada, Japan, Israel, Denmark, and some communist countries as well. The World Bank and the European Common Market have also helped them. In terms of funds involved, the ROC's budget was far below those of other countries and agencies, but the impact has turned out to be strikingly outstanding.[28] President Chiang received thousands of African visitors from 1960 to 1975. Many dignitaries told him that "If you give me a fish, it will be finished in one meal. Now by teaching us how to catch fish, we shall always have fish to eat." This was the best remark about the ROC's Africa Policy in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Kou River Reclamation District

Upper Volta achieved its independence on August 5, 1960, but did not establish diplomatic relations with the ROC until December 14, 1961. On May 25, 1964, during his second visit to Africa, Yang Chi-tseng, ROC Minister of Economic Affairs, signed an agricultural technical co-operation pact with Upper Volta, under which Taipei sent a 12-member agricultural team in April, 1965. The initial activities included the surveying of project sites, the planning of irrigation facilities that would improve water use efficiency, land reclamation, experimental planting of rice, field demonstrations, the training of local extension workers and farmers, and extension of farming techniques to new settlers.

Upper Volta sees only about a third of the rain that Taiwan receives in a year. As a result, much of the country is desert. While the raising of livestock is the main economic activity, Upper Volta did not produce enough food to feed itself. Extremes of climate make irrigation essential to the success of any agricultural programme in Upper Volta. Situated at the southern edge of the Sahara desert (known as the Sahel), its six-month season brings torrential downpours and damaging floods. Afterwards, the hot six-month dry season parches the green fields and makes water once again a precious commodity.

Hence, finding a suitable source of water to irrigate the desert and support productive fields was a daunting task.

About 600 km west of the capital city of Ouagadougou is the Kou River Reclamation District. The site was selected to make best use of the abundant water flow of the Kou River. A diversion dam with a water inlet was built below the Diordougon village. Water channels consist of 11 kilometres of canals, ten of laterals, 11 of sub-laterals and 73 of branched sub-laterals. Farm roads measuring 15 kilometres with 84 kilometres of side roads were constructed. The facilities served 1,260 hectares of reclaimed land. Of the Boulbi, Louda and Kou project areas, this is the largest reclamation operation, serving 913 families and 5,480 people. Rice yields of above 5 t/hectares were obtained on the 1,260 hectare of reclaimed land.[29]

Through the above efforts, rice yields were raised to 12 t/ha on a double cropping system, raising production level by nearly 20 times. Six rice crops were grown during 1970-73 with water resources fully utilized. As a result of extension work done by the Taiwanese mission, a total of 1,205,821 tons of rice was produced from the Kou area covering 2,078 ha of land. The total income earned from the selling of rice amounted to 278,707,641 CFA, which brought 134,123 CFA for each rice farmer.[30] At that time, some 58 people, the third-largest group in the history of the Agricultural Missions, worked at the Kou River Site, digging out over 10 kilometers of irrigation channels. By turning the barren wilds into fertile fields in only three years, they made it possible for over a thousand farming families to settle down and earn their livelihood from the land. And the scene, with its golden waves of rice, looks like something straight out of a southern Taiwanese farming village.

Among the three projects, the Kou River Reclamation District has the only irrigation channels that were designed and built by the ATM (Agricultural Technical Mission). After the farmers moved in, villages formed. The government built schools and infrastructure and the area gradually prospered. Most important, all these developments were effected by means of manpower only.[31] The unexpected returns from this project not only impressed the top officials of the country, but also the foreign staff of other inter-

national organisations stationed there. The U.S. Embassy donated a school and an infirmary, and the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN (FAO) provided food and crop production subsidies at the beginning of the first planting season. The World Bank also indicated willingness to provide soft loans to the country if technical assistance from the Taiwanese Mission could be made available.[32]

President Sangoule Lamizala, who replaced Yameogo after a coup, was also "very much satisfied" with the work of the Taiwanese technicians. Many French officials congratulated President Lamizala on the great achievements and success of the Kou River Site. After visiting the site in March 1972, Robert Strange McNamara, the President of World Bank said, owing to the agricultural development the livelihood of the Kou River residents had been greatly improved. Compared with other areas, the Kou River Site had many more positive results. The Kou River Reclamation has become widely known as one of Africa's largest specialised rice-producing zones. This project also became a model of successful agricultural cooperation between an African country and other countries.

A report published at the time by a Dutch agricultural journal noted that the Kou River Valley, opened up in the 1970s by aid works from Taiwan, is an exceptional example of successful agricultural development in Africa.[33] In November 1972, in terms of another agreement, the ROC granted Upper Volta 50 million CFA francs for construction of a rice mill. However, just before the project was to begin, Upper Volta established diplomatic relations with Beijing on September 15, 1973. There had been five co-operative agreements between the ROC-Upper Volta from August 1964 until September 1973, to enhance relations and enact projects. Upper Volta's change in alliance caused Taipei to break off relations with Ouagadougou on October 23, 1973 and withdraw its 42 agricultural technicians. However, the Taiwanese Mission turned over the management of the irrigation facilities to the local authorities before they left the country.

Bagre Reclamation

After the name of Upper Volta changed to Burkina Faso in the 1980s, BF re-established

diplomatic relations with the ROC on February 2, 1994. Burkina Faso's Minister of External Affairs, Tomas Sanon and ROC Vice Foreign Minister Fang Chin-yen signed a communiqué in Taipei, agreeing to open embassies in each other's territories. Sanon said that the BF was willing to maintain ties with both the ROC and Mainland China. He said, "I don't believe ties with one side should necessarily influence relations with the other." Burkina Faso became the twenty-ninth country to recognise the ROC.[34] Since Burkina Faso had a population of 9.5 million and nearly 90 percent of its economy relied on the agricultural sector, Taiwan promised that technology, medical and agricultural assistance would be offered to BF as soon as possible. The exchange of diplomatic recognition provided evidence that there was room for the ROC to build diplomatic relations despite Beijing's persistent efforts to isolate Taiwan internationally.

In his greeting to the ATM, Foreign Minister Sanon said, "Our country still does not produce enough to feed itself; we look forward to the Agricultural Technical Mission for guidance to help increase our rice harvest. My hope is that you will help us expand yields by another 40 thousand tons." In such a situation, finding a convenient source of water for irrigation was the ATM's primary concern. After days of analysing and discussing information, the ATM decided on Bagré as the centre for the mission's irrigation project. A reservoir on the upper reaches of the Nakambé River, Burkina Faso's largest, and the land downstream, spanning the Nakambé, was suitable for developing an irrigation network.

The first task was to excavate the main irrigation channel that could link the area to the Nakambé. However, the channel needed to flow alongside the river, which meant digging mostly into the solid bedrock. The only solution would be to use dynamite to create a path along the riverbank. There were explosions everywhere, and the air was filled with the smell of smoke. Since the ATM arrived, they created a river bank fringed in terraced rice fields. The mission brought a total of 1,000 hectares on the right bank of the river under irrigation. A consortium of 11 international organisations developed 2,165 hectares on the left bank in cooperation with the Taiwan Mission.[35] A rural development plan was made for the local government to develop the Bagre area into a community centre. The project included the establishment of new villages, schools, health centers, and so forth. Thirteen members of the mission were concentrating their efforts not only on

the lowland paddy rice, but also on the extension of upland rice in the water deficient areas. Taiwanese technicians also trained 29 local cadres and 2,989 farmers to adopt improved varieties and cultural practices.

The successful greening in such unfavourable terrain was greeted with high praise from BF officials, foreign assistance agencies, and even the ambassadors and heads of state of other countries. When noted Japanese scholar Toshiyuki Wakatsuki visited the Kou Valley in 1998, he was amazed to see farmers still using farming techniques taught by the Taiwan Agricultural Technical Missions nearly 30 years before. He remarked that if the experience could somehow be replicated throughout Africa, it may indeed result in a "green revolution" for the continent, delivering sorely needed sustenance to the people and coaxing fertility and previously unimagined prosperity from difficult West African soils.[36]

All in all, using water from the nearby Bagre Dam, the Bagre Rice Plantation, also known as the Bagre Project, covers over 1,000 hectare. Developed using funds and technology from Taiwan between 1995 and 2000, it is now the major granary of this land-locked African country. To facilitate the rice plantation there, Taiwan helped develope a 580-metre canal system along the River Nakambe. The canal system was the largest in all of West Africa. On the heels of the Bagre Project, Taiwan also helped BF develop another 200 hectares of rice paddies near the River Nakambe (White Volta) and was helping the locals to develop their fishing industry in the Bagre area.[37] The President of Burkina Faso personally visited the Bagre Reclamation, and followed the progress of agricultural land reclamation very closely. What undergirded their efforts was seeing barren land turn into rice-growing villages, seeing the fruits of the farmers' labours, and helping solve the problem of food supply.

New Development

For the last three decades, Taiwan has made tremendous progress in economic development, and the "Taiwan Experience" is known to the world. The standard of living is recognisable as that of a developed country. In order to do something for the international

community, the ROC established the ICDF on July 1, 1995, as an important department to deal with foreign affairs.

Six strategies for foreign aid were identified:

(1) To comply with the foreign policy, to open more space for Taiwan's international role, which meant that ICDF was definitely a foreign instrument.
(2) Comparatively favourable subjects were key goals, such as the management of macro economics, small and medium enterprises, promoting foreign trade, the developing of human resources and the upgrading of agricultural techniques, technical transfer and assistance, and so forth.
(3) Co-operation with international organisations was the best way to learn from the experience of others and could guarantee both the success of the project and international publicity as well.
(4) To co-operate with Non-Governmental Organizations as an international trend.
(5) According to the different conditions of separate foreign aid recipient countries, the ICDF stipulated different strategies for assistance. For example, the aim in Africa was to focus on increasing food production and initiatives related to basic technical industry.
(6) Providing the small loan project, and at the same time using technical co-operation, plus education training to solve the vicious cycle of poor farming.[38]

More specifically foreign aid that Taiwan provided for the African allies could be classified as follows:

(1) Technical co-operation: related to agriculture, fisheries, grading, medical and irrigation projects, with SME specialists and volunteers to provide consulting services as well as inviting mid-ranking officials to Taiwan to attend courses, seminars and educational training, and so forth.
(2) Loans: Allies sometimes required loans. All the loans were to be examined carefully beforehand, and through the channel of ROC's Business Bank to sign the agreement with the recipient country's bank.
(3) Encouraging enterprises to invest in allies; to help allies to develop their economy, creating job opportunities and increasing foreign income, the MOFA encouraged

business sectors to invest in allies and do this by means of subsidies. Furthermore, ICDF stipulated the way to facilitate the business sectors applications for the necessary funding.

(4) Donations: Providing food, equipment, daily necessities, or helping allies to build infrastructure such as Muzuzu Central Hospital in northern Malawi.

(5) International Humanitarian Aid: the fundamental concept of international co-operation is "The world is one", "Your misery is my misery too". Sharing international obligation, the Government and people of Taiwan have always provided assistance to war zones and natural disaster areas as well as poverty-stricken countries.[39]

For Taiwan, to help the African allies to develop was the basic substance for diplomatic action. For more than four decades Taiwan had already proved a reliable partner. Reasons for the success of the ROC's technical co-operation efforts may be summarised as follows:

(1) Basic needs orientation: In every country, economic well-being and equal opportunities for all are prerequisites for social and political stability. Basic human needs, including access to adequate amounts of food, clothing, shelter and essential services, should be met. The most basic of needs is food production; accordingly, the ROC's efforts have focused heavily on the production of staple food crops (rice, sweet potatoes, maize, and so forth) horticultural crops (vegetables, fruits and, in some cases, flowers), fishing and aquaculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts. In the process, employment opportunities in small farming have been developed.

(2) Hands-on Approach: Even the best assistance programme can fail if it is designed or implemented by officials who are not in touch with local circumstances. ROC mission members live and work side –by- side with local workers, bringing about greater mutual respect and leading to lifelong friendships. The exchange of technical know-how and the training of local farmers, workers, entrepreneurs and officials require the continuing presence of mission members in the field.

(3) Use of Appropriate Technology: In many parts of the world, inappropriate and overly sophisticated technologies are applied to tasks that require simple solutions and the productive employment of local labour. Picks and shovels can get the work done more

quickly and efficiently than bulldozers that lie idle as a result of lack of spare parts or inadequate repair capabilities. In most developing countries, some farm mechanisation is appropriate, but the objective is to offer employment opportunities to local people. The semitropical climate in Taiwan has fostered the development and adaptation of farming machinery that is consistent with climatic and soil conditions. This knowledge is valuable in many of the overseas technical assistance projects, since many countries share similar conditions with the island.

(4) Local Participation: Many worthwhile development projects have been completed successfully but have foundered following the departure of the field mission. In many cases that was because local personnel have not been integrated into the process and are thus unable to maintain the project or to adapt it to changes in conditions. In most cases, the ROC's projects place a high premium on the participation of local farmers, workers and village leaders; all of these are important to the continuation and extension of gains accomplished.

(5) Self-help Approach: In the long run, few development projects will succeed if they depend on inflows of capital or technical resources which dry up once the donor mission leaves the scene. The technical assistance efforts of the CITC have from the outset been oriented to self-help, with a major emphasis on training for continued operation after field missions return home.

(6) Co-operation, Not Aid: The ROC approach is one of co-operation, not foreign aid. Programmes are designed as bilateral co-operation efforts, in which the ROC shares its techniques and experience with other nations while learning from them at the same time.[40]

In the foreseeable future, Taiwan will still use this kind of approach to provide assistance to its African allies, to enhance the close friendly relations, and at the same time to improve the livelihood of the African people.

Conclusion

Foreign aid has been instrumental for conducting relations between Taiwan and Africa. Operation Vanguard, a creation of Ambassador Yang that was undertaken from 1960 to

1974, successfully helped the ROC to keep its seat in the UN until 1971. It also cemented the image of the ROC as an important and beneficial world player through reports in the world media. In 1969, 22 African states had diplomatic ties with the ROC. Foreign aid that Taiwan had received from the US was channeled into these countries. Taiwan's marvelous achievements and contributions will be recorded in history. At the present time, there are ROC agricultural and medical missions in Africa providing assistance to the local people.

Footnotes

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CHAPTER FIVE
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROC AND AFRICAN STATES

With all the trade and other contacts, full diplomatic relations are generally a prerequisite to systematic contacts and therefore set limits for a government's foreign undertakings. By this criterion, the ROC's opportunity for influence in Africa has always been limited. The lack of diplomatic relations closed large sections of Africa to most ROC activities. During the last four decades, some African countries switched their recognitions between the ROC and the PRC; some still keep diplomatic relations with the ROC since achieving independence, but the alliances need to be examined. This chapter surveys relations between the ROC and individual countries in Africa, grouped regionally in the sequence: North Africa, East Africa, West Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa.

North Africa

Egypt

The ROC established the Consulate in Cairo in 1934 and upgraded it to a Legation in June 1942. The ROC embassy existed from September1948 to May 1956. Relations between Chiang Kai-shek and Africa began in 1942 when he was in Cairo attending a summit meeting. Witnessing the way the British police treated the Egyptians with great cruelty, Chiang Kai-shek felt deep sympathy for the oppressed people. During Chiang's short stay in Cairo, the king of Egypt sent his personal envoy to him seeking his help. Then and there, Chiang Kai-shek reaffirmed his determination to help African countries obtain independence.

In April 1986, six business specialists visited Egypt to start the economic interaction. Taiwan External Trade Development Council (TETDC) office in Egypt was established in April 1989. MOFA established its official office in Cairo in 2000; however, under pressure on Egypt by the PRC, the office was forced to close in July, 2000. Currently, only Taiwan Trade Center Cairo, under the umbrella of the Taiwan External Trade De-

velopment Council, functions in Egypt.

Libya

The ROC established diplomatic relations with Libya in May 1959. Since then, the two countries signed the Agricultural Co-operation Agreement and agricultural and medical teams were sent to Tripoli. The Libyan people were satisfied with the performance of the ROC specialists, and more medical personnel were sent to Libya upon the request of the Libyan government. However, in September 1978, Libya recognised the PRC, bringingt good relations to a full stop.[1] From March 1980 to September 1997, the ROC commercial office in Libya was a *de facto* government office in Tripoli.

Mauritania

Mauritania became independent on November 28, 1960, and established diplomatic relations with the ROC on the same day. At the Sixteenth UN General Assembly meeting in 1961, the Soviet Union again sponsored Outer Mongolia's membership and indicated that it would not vote for the admission of Mauritania if Taipei again blocked Mongolia. Finally, Taipei was forced to compromise; both Mauritania and Outer Mongolia joined the United Nations in 1961. Despite this sacrifice made by the ROC, no ROC ambassador was sent to Mauritania, and relations between the two countries were never close. Mauritania, nevertheless, was the first country visited by ROC's Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan during his 1963 trip to 16 African countries, and in February 1965, Mauritania accepted an offer of assistance made by ROC Vice Foreign Minister H. K. Yang on a visit to Nouakchott. In June, Taipei sent a technical co-operation mission to Mauritania and at last appointed an ambassador. However, less than a month later, Mauritania suddenly changed its attitude and established relations with Beijing in July. Taipei consequently broke diplomatic ties with Nouakchott on September 11, 1965.[2]

Morocco

There is little business contact with Morocco and currently the Taiwan Trade Center,

Casablanca Sarl, an overseas office of the Taiwan External Trade Development Council, is the only office there.

Algeria

According to a reliable source, the Chinese Council was established in Algeria in October 1943 and closed in January 1945.[3]

Tunisia

The deputy director of MOFA led a commercial delegation to visit Tunisia in April 1966. The two countries then signed an agricultural co-operation agreement on February 7, 1967. Owing to the announcement by Foreign Minister Habie Bourguiba Jr. that there are two Chinas in the world, Communist China reprimanded the Tunisia government for interfering in the internal affairs of China and protested against the visit of Taiwan's commercial delegation. Relations between the two countries were never cordial.

Sudan

According to the memories of Dr. Fong-san Ho, the Chinese ambassador to Egypt until 1956, Dr. Ho was busy with secret contacts with the Sudan government under instruction by the ROC government to establish formal relations.[4] Generally speaking, since none of the countries there recognise Taipei now, the ROC has little interaction with North African countries; even commercial relations are not very robust.

East Africa

Malawi

Malawi achieved its independence on July 6, 1964. In July 1966, Malawi became a republic, and PM Hasting K. Banda became the first president. Banda received Vice Foreign Minister Yang on July 11 and informed him that Malawi had decided to establish

diplomatic relations with Taipei. On the same day, Banda and Yang, expanding Taipei's agricultural assistance by 20 additional agricultural technicians, signed the first Sino-Malawi technical co-operation agreement. The Chinese team achieved great success in increasing Malawi's average rice yield from 500 pounds to 6,000 pounds per hectare.[5] Malawi under Banda consistently supported Taipei in the UN between 1965 and 1967. President Banda arrived in Taipei on August 4, 1967, for an eight-day visit, and signed a joint communiqué with President Chiang to enhance the good relations. Premier Sun paid an official visit to Malawi in March 1980, which highlighted the close ties that existed between the two countries. The Premier described the Chinese Agricultural Mission Projects in Malawi as the best of all those established by the ROC under its programme of providing technical aid to developing countries. During the Premier's visit, a technical agreement was signed providing for increased assistance in the future. Part of this assistance was to cover the provision of more power tillers, a key factor in increased rice production.[6]

The government of Malawi set up an embassy in the ROC in December 1994. High-ranking officials on both sides maintain frequent interactions. Since President Bakili Muluzi took office in 1994, he has visited the ROC four times----1995, 1996, 1999 and 2003. In the joint communiqué signed by President Chen and President Muluzi, the latter reaffirmed his support for the ROC's bid to participate in the UN and other international organisations. He also expressed his sincere appreciation for the assistance that the ROC has extended to the ROM in its economic development. Both presidents expressed their satisfaction with the cordial ties of friendship and co-operation that exist between the two countries. President Chen visited Malawi in July 2002. At a state banquet, President Chen said: "we understand the needs of most developing countries because Taiwan experienced a similar development process, and we are eager to share the 'Taiwan experience' of development with such allies as Malawi."[7] With the cordial relations between Malawi and the ROC for spanning 40 years, this friendly tie is the one of longest standing among the ROC's African allies.

Kenya

Kenya is a powerful country in the East African region. Before it gained independence in December 1963, the ROC donated 20,000 pounds of rice to help the victims of famine. What is more, the two sides signed a common communiqué to enhance friendship and co-operation with the intention on the part of the ROC to send an agricultural team to Kenya. Madam Chiang also received the women's leader of Kenya, Ms. Ruth Kariuki Njieri. The interaction among people of both countries is quite good and even nowadays the ROC would like to establish government level contact with Kenya. An explosion occurred at the US embassy in Nairobi on August 7, 1998 that killed hundreds of people. The MOFA condemned this vicious and brutal action and also paid condolences to the Kenyan government and the families of victims.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the world's old kingdoms. In 1960, the king of Ethiopia received the ROC delegation led by Mr. Yang. There was are an exchange of notes between the ROC and the Empire of Ethiopia on Agricultural Technical Co-operation on June 3, 1963, and an Agreement on Handicraft Technical Co-operation on April 19,1966.[8] Based on this, the ROC sent agricultural, veterinary and handicraft technical missions to assist the Imperial Ethiopian Government. In 1967, the Ethiopian King Haile Selassie I received the ROC special envoy Mr. Yang for the celebration of the Kenya's seventy-fifth birthday and discussions on agricultural co-operation. Since Addis Ababa was the headquarters for the African Union, the Central News Agency stationed a journalist there to report on African affairs during the 1980s. On November 24, 1970, Ethiopia established diplomatic relations with the PRC. After serving in Ethiopia for more than seven years, all veterinary missions withdrew and returned back to Taiwan.

Uganda

Before Uganda achieved independence, some delegations led by the Prime Minister visited the ROC and expressed the intention of establishing diplomatic relations after in-

dependence. On October 9, 1962, the ROC sent a congratulatory telegraph on the independence of Uganda, and Dr. Simpson Shen was the special envoy visiting Kampela. Furthermore, on October 15, 1962, the Chinese Representative to the UN strongly urged that Uganda should be allowed to be a full member of the United Nations. After 1990, the political situation of Uganda became stable again and the Minister of Tourism and Finance visited the ROC to discuss cooperation between two countries. It was clear that Uganda was interested in the economic performance of the ROC and would like to have some non-political contact.

Rwanda

Rwanda became independent on July 1, 1962 and established diplomatic relations with the ROC on the same day. A four-member Rwandan government delegation led by the Minister of Agricultural and Economic Affairs P. D. Nkezabera visited Taipei from October 9 to 16, 1963, and signed an agricultural technical co-operation agreement that resulted in the dispatch of a 10-man agricultural team in late January 1964 to work for two years in Rwanda. A handicraft technical co-operation pact was signed between the two countries at Kigali on May 26, 1965. The 1963 agreement was renewed in 1966 by Li Kou-ting, the Minister of Economic Affairs of the ROC and Thad Dee Bagaragaza, the Minister of International Cooperation of Rwanda. In terms of the new agreement Taipei was to provide US$1.5 million in technical aid over a five- year period to help Rwanda .Rwanda pledged to fully support Taipei in the UN. Rwanda had abstained on the "Chinese representation" issue in November 1965, but in the next five years, kept the promise.[9]

However, pressed by its strongly pro-Beijing neighbour Tanzania and lured by a PRC promise of aid, Rwanda began to change its policy in early 1971, and for the first time voted for Beijing's admission to the United Nations on October 26, 1971. On November 12, 1971, Rwanda officially established diplomatic relations with Peking. Taipei therefore closed its embassy on May 13, 1972 and withdrew its 47 agricultural technicians.[10] On July 25, 1994, the ROC donated 2 million dollars through the UN Children's Foundation-American Branch to help the victims of slaughter during the bloody genocide

in Rwanda.

Burundi

Burundi gained independence on July 1, 1962. The ROC sent a congratulatory message to the Burundi government and instructed the Chinese ambassador in the Congo (Kinshasa) to attend the independence ceremony as special envoy. The Burundi government once showed interest in the ROC's Agricultural Missions in Africa, expecting that the ROC could send some agricultural specialists to Burundi. Burundi established diplomatic relations with the PRC on December 21 1963, but broke off the relations on January 29, 1965 and forced the staff in the embassy to leave the country within two days. Mr. Yang had high praise for this decision of the Burundi government and encouraged African leaders to take the same action against the PRC's psychological attack and subversion in Africa.[11]

In East Africa, the ROC had diplomatic relations with Malawi, Rwanda and Burundi. Right now the ROC still has friendly relations with Malawi, maintaining these relations for 40 years and setting a record in the ROC's diplomatic history. The ROC also maintains contact with Kenya, a country of influence in the region, attempting to promote co-operation at the governmental level.

West Africa

Burkina Faso

Upper Volta achieved its independence on August 5, 1960, but did not establish diplomatic relations with the ROC until December14, 1961. From July 17 to 20, 1963, ROC FM Shen Chang-huan visited Ouagadougou to confer ROC decorations on President Maurice Yameogo and FM Lompolo Kone, and to receive the Upper Volta's second highest decoration from President Yameo. A joint communiqué on July 20 indicated plans for co-operation, particularly in agriculture. On May 25, 1964, during his second visit to Africa, Yang Chi-tseng, the ROC's Minister of Economic Affairs, signed an agricultural

technical cooperation pact with Upper Volta, by terms of which Taipei sent a 12-member agricultural team in April 1965. This pact was subsequently renewed and expanded several times. As in many other African countries, the Chinese team achieved great success in Upper Volta, with an average yield of 6,600 kilograms of rice per hectare.[12] During HK Yang's visit on September13, 1971, Taipei signed a most favored trade agreement with Ouagadougou to increase commerce between the two countries. Upper Volta switched recognition to the PRC on September 15, 1973; Taipei then withdrew its 42 agricultural technicians.

On February 2, 1994, Burkina Faso's Minister of External Affairs Tomas Banon, and the ROC's Deputy Foreign Minister, Fang Chin-yen signed a communiqué in Taipei, agreeing to open embassies in each other's territories. The exchange of diplomatic recognition provided evidence that there was room for the ROC to build diplomatic relations despite Beijing's persistent efforts to isolate Taiwan internationally. Since July 18, 1994, President Blaise Compaore has visited Taiwan four times (1994, 1996, 1998, 2001) and actively supports the ROC returning to the international community by speaking in favour of the ROC at the UN General Assembly. This fully reflects Burkina Faso's firm friendship with the ROC. President Chen visited Burkina Faso from August 21 to 23, 2000, and was the first president from Asia to visit the country.

The Mixed Commission of Co-operation between the ROC and BF was established and signed in July 1994. The ROC and BF rotate every two years to host the meeting, whose purpose is to gather major officials and experts from the two countries to study and implement bilateral co-operation projects. It has so far been held in Ogadugadu in June 1995, Taipei in June 1997, Ouagadougou in June 1999, Taipei 2001 and in November 2003 Ouagadougou. Both countries carry out various co-operation projects according to the meetings minutes, and both governments recognise the success of these projects.[13] Taipei also sent an Agricultural Mission and Medical Mission to Ouagadougou, which was not only warmly welcomed by the people of BF, but also won the praise of other foreign missions based in Burkina Faso.

In order to witness the friendly relations between BF and the ROC, the issue of two

sets of one million commemorative stamps is of historical significance for Burkina Faso. The themes of these stamps are the Kou River rice-growing area, built with the assistance of Taiwan in the 1960s, and the Bagre Reclamation Project, which is under construction. Both of them are the result of efforts of Taiwan's early and current technical agricultural missions and of the people of Burkina Faso. The Kou River rice-growing area was started by Taiwan's Technical Mission in 1968 and completed in 1973. It includes 1,260 acres of rice paddies and agricultural irrigation facilities and can be called the first grain barn of Burkina Faso. The Bagre Reclamation Project area was once regarded by Western experts as unlikely to grow rice, but the first phase of this difficult reclamation project was completed in 2000. It was praised by the French TV5 as "a model of sustainable development" and was broadcast to the whole world during the 2002 World Summit in South Africa.[14]

Gambia

The Republic of The Gambia, the smallest country on the continent of Africa, became independent on February18, 1965, but did not establish relations with either China until late 1968. A technical cooperation agreement between Gambia and the ROC was signed at Bathurst on August 12, 1966. Because the Chinese team made 'great contributions to the increase of rice production' in Gambia, at Gambia's request, the Sino-Gambia Technical co-operation agreement was extended for two years on May 14, 1986 and the team was expanded from 16 to 24 men. Gambia's Prime Minister Jawara paid a state visit to the ROC from November 8 to 12, 1968, and a joint communiqué at the end of this visit announced the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Jawara paid another state visit to Taipei as President of The Gambia on October 16, 1972.[15] Nevertheless, pressed by the pro-Beijing trend prevailing in Africa, Gambia established diplomatic relations with the PRC on December14, 1974. The ROC therefore broke relations with Gambia on December 28 and withdrew its farm technicians.

On July 13, 1995, Gambia re-established diplomatic relations with the ROC. Since then, Yahya Jammeh, President of The Gambia has visited the ROC six times---1996, 1998, 2001, 2003, May 2004 and October 2005, reflecting the excellent relations be-

tween the two countries. Several co-operation programmes have been developed, and government officials of all levels have exchanged frequent visits. The Republic of The Gambia has been a strong supporter of the ROC in the international arena, speaking in favour of the ROC repeatedly at meetings of the UN, the WHO and other international organisations. Furthermore, President Jammeh voiced Gambia's support for the ROC at the UN Millennium Summit.[16]

President Chen Shui-bian visited Gambia in 2000 during his Journey of Democracy, Diplomacy and Friendship and was warmly received by President Jammeh and the Gambian people. There are agricultural and medical missions from the ROC working in Gambia, together with some other assistance that the ROC extended in various fields of national development. President Chen and President Jammeh expressed their satisfaction with the cordial ties of friendship and co-operation that exist between the two countries.

Chad

Chad achieved independence on August 11, 1960 but did not establish diplomatic relations with the ROC until January 13, 1962. Under an agricultural co-operation agreement signed in Taipei on April 7, 1964, the ROC sent a 17-person agricultural team to Chad to help with the cultivation of rice and sugar cane.[17] In a joint communiqué on June 26 1969, Taipei promised US$3 million in aid to Chad over five years, the first credit assistance granted by the ROC to a foreign country. Furthermore, a new technical co-operation agreement was signed in Fort Lawy on January 15, 1966, providing for the expansion of the ROC agricultural assistance, scholarships for training young Chad farmers in Taiwan, and construction of an oil refinery and a factory to produce 150,000 tons of soap per year. The 1964 agricultural pact and the 1966 technical co-operation agreement were incorporated into a new Sino-Chad economic and technical co-operation agreement signed on July 10, 1972, in Taipei.[18] Despite the considerable aid it had received Chad deserted Taipei on November 28, 1972. Even though Chad had voted against the expulsion of Taipei from the UN, it nevertheless recognised Beijing, a year after Taipei lost its UN seat in late 1971.

On August 12, 1997, Chad's Foreign Minister Mahamat Annadif and John Chang signed the agreement to re-establish diplomatic relations. Since then, President Idriss Deby of Chad has visited the ROC twice---October 1997 and March 2002. President Chen visited Chad on August 23, 2000, signing joint communiqués with President Deby, successfully promoting the ROC's democratic achievements and elevating visibility in the international community. Cooperation between the two countries extends to many fields such as medical care, agricultural technology, drinking water treatment, education and road construction. The ROC medical and agricultural missions stationed in Chad gave great assistance and were welcomed by the people.

Foreign Minister Eugene Chien led a delegation to visit Chad from November 29 to December 4, 2002, and co-hosted with President Deby the ceremony for the unveiling of Taiwan Avenue and the Solidarity Bridge, both made possible through assistance from the ROC. The two great projects are the fruits of co-operation between the ROC and Chad over the years. On December 1, 2003, the ROC issued four stamps commemorating co-operation, each depicting a different field of bilateral co-operation: road construction, agricultural techniques, health and medical care, and symbols of bilateral friendship.[19] These stamps fully illustrate the productive results yielded by various co-operation projects during the seven years in which diplomatic ties had been resumed.

However, Chad established diplomatic relations with the PRC on August 5, 2006. President Deby sent a letter to President Chen expressing that "For Chad's survival, I had to make such bitter decision," which ended the relations of nearly 10 years. Chad is an important country full of crude oil, and this move was is a big setback for the ROC. After recovery the unwelcome news, the ROC withdrew its missions from Chad.

Senegal

Taipei established relations with Senegal on September 23, 1960. Foreign Minister Shen visited Senegal on July 15, 1963, and on behalf of the ROC government, conferred a decoration on the President of Senegal, Leopold Sedar Senghor. The ROC signed a technical co-operation agreement with Senegal on September 13, 1963, and sent a

12-person agricultural demonstration team in April 1964. On November 8, 1964, the ROC severed relations with Senegal after the country established relations with Beijing and closed its embassy in Dakar. Diplomatic relations between the ROC and Senegal were not resumed until July 16, 1969, and lasted only two-and-a-half years after that. At the request of the Senegalese government, the ROC set up an Economic and Technical co-operation Office in Dakar in April 1972 that only lasted for four-and-a-half years. The office closed in November 1976.

In December 1995, President Abdou Diouf sent his special advisor, Mansour Cama, to Taiwan to discuss the resumption of relations On January 3, 1996, Foreign Minister Moustapha Niasse signed the agreement with Foreign Minister Fredrick Chien to resume diplomatic relations.[20] Another four agreements ranging from agricultural and medical to technical co-operation were signed. President Abdou Diouf led a delegation to visit the ROC in July 1996. Mr. Ahmed Kane was ambassador to the ROC and came to Taiwan in October 1998. In the year 2000, the countries signed five-year co-operation programmes to execute projects. In October 2001, Senegal hosted an international seminar on Africa's stance regarding Taiwan's participation in the United Nations. The event, organized by the Dakar regional center of the Center for Diplomatic and Strategic Studies (CEDS), gathered participants not only from countries that had diplomatic relations with the ROC but also from the rest of the region.

President Abdoulaye Wade led a delegation to visit the ROC in 2001, and President Chen visited Senegal in July 2002. In order to strengthen relations with Senegal, the ROC organised different kinds of official visits to Dakar. In return, high-ranking officials such as the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Economic Affairs Minister, Health Minister, Speaker of the Parliament and others, also visited the ROC. Taiwan even sent officials to participate in the NEPAD meeting held from April 15 to16, 2002, in Dakar in order to share their small and medium enterprise experience with African countries, and to prove that the ROC fully supports NEPAD.[21]

However, Senegal established diplomatic relations with the PRC on October 25, 2005. President Wade sent a letter to President Chen expressing that "Between countries

there is no forever friend (sic), only forever interests," which ended the relations of nearly 10 years. Senegal is an important regional country in western Africa, and this movement was another setback for the ROC, which then withdrew its missions. Diplomatic history shows that the ROC and Senegal established official and friendly ties three times, the third time being the longest.

Liberia

A treaty of amity between the ROC and Liberia was signed in Paris on December 11, 1937 by Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, then Chinese Ambassador to France and Baren de Bogaerde, Liberian Minister to France. This was China's first treaty with an African country, and the two countries set up formal relations August 19, 1957.[22] A two-year technical co-operation agreement was signed between the ROC and Liberia in Monrovia on October 13, 1961. Then the ROC began its African aid programme by sending a 14-member team led by Tsou Mei to help Liberia improve its cultivation of rice and vegetables. The agreement was renewed in 1963, 1965, and 1967 and in June 1970, extended to four years. The impressive results achieved by the ROC agricultural team led other African countries to ask Taipei for aid. Officials of the two countries exchanged frequent visits. Between 1954 and 1971 Liberia continuously supported Taipei in the UN. After Liberia established diplomatic relations with Beijing on February 22, 1977, Taipei broke relations with Monrovia the next day, ending a cordial relationship of two decades.

Liberia and the ROC resumed diplomatic relations on October 9, 1989. In February 1997, Charles Taylor, then Vice Chairman of the Liberia Council of State, paid an official visit to the ROC. In July 1997, he was elected the President of Liberia under the observation of UN and international observers. At the invitation of President Lee Teng-hui, President Taylor visited the ROC again in November of the same year.[23] Relations between the two countries have been growing steadily. However, the lack of security, the collapse of public infrastructure, and the absence of the rule of law in Liberia have resulted in a paucity of foreign investments and donations.[24] Taylor sought to court Taiwanese investors, holding the first session of the Joint Commission between the Republic of Liberia and the ROC in Monrovia from April 28 to 30, 1998. The Chinese delegation

agreed to provide assistance in rehabilitation of air and seaports and in other reconstruction programs as well as to encourage the ROC private sector to invest in Liberia.

President Taylor visited the ROC in February 2000 and March 2001. During the visits, Taylor expressed sincere appreciation to the ROC for the assistance rendered to the Republic of Liberia in the form of economic development and humanitarian assistance. In December 2002 and again in May 2003, the ROC donated 5,000 metric tons of rice to the people of Liberia suffering from civil war. However, the PRC influenced politicians from Liberia by threatening to obstruct the passage of the US$250 million budget in the UN Security Council for the dispatch of troops from the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). Hence the interim government of the Republic of Liberia bowed to threats and enticements from the PRC, so the ROC decided to suspend diplomatic relations and to cease all assistance projects that it initiated in Liberia.[25]

Guinea-Bissau

Guinea-Bissau gained independence on September 24, 1973 and in 1974 Portugal recognised its independence. It is the first Portuguese colony to have this status. GB established diplomatic relations with the PRC on March 15, 1974. In September 1987, the Minister of Trade of Guinea-Bissau came to Taiwan to discuss co-operation, and Foreign Minister Julio Semedo also came in May 1990. The ROC and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau established diplomatic relations on May 26, 1990.[26] In October that year, President Joao Bernardo Vieira headed a delegation to the ROC and signed a joint communiqué with President Lee Teng-hui, affirming their willingness to strengthen the friendly relations and co-operation between two countries.

From April 7 to 13, 1995, President Vieira led an important delegation on a state visit, during which the first session of the ROC and Guinea-Bissau Mixed Commission was held in Taipei to review mutual co-operation projects and discuss the direction and framework of future co-operation. There were three co-operation agreements between the ROC and Guinea-Bissau. The ROC dispatched an Agricultural Mission and a Medical Mission in June and November 1990 respectively to GB to provide assistance to the

people. Foreign Minister Jason Hu paid a visit to GB in February 1998. The Prime Minister, Carlos Augosto Correia, and the Minister of Agriculture, Avito Jose Da Silva, visited the ROC in February and April 1998.[27] However, on April 23, 1998, Guinea-Bissau signed a resumed communiqué with the PRC, and the ROC ended relations the next day, putting the friendship of nearly eight years to an end.

Niger

The Republic of Niger became independent on August 3, 1960. Only the Foreign Minister, Shen Chang-huan visited Niamey, the capital of Niger, and a joint communiqué was issued on July 22, 1963, announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations between Taipei and Niamey. In 1966, Taipei promised Niger US$3 million in technical and material assistance over the next five years.[28] Niger President and Madame Diori arrived in Taipei on October 23, 1969 for a five-day state visit. Speaking at a banquet given in his honour by President Chiang, Diori thanked Chinese leaders for their assistance in agricultural development. During the 1960s, Niger was one of Taipei's strongest supporters in Africa, consistently voting for Taipei in the UN, and was among the 15 African countries which voted against Beijing's admission in 1971. But Niger recognised Beijing on July 20, 1974. As a result, Taipei closed its embassy in Niamey nine days later and withdrew its 15 agricultural technicians.

The Republic of Niger and the ROC re-established diplomatic relations on June 19, 1992. Two months later Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou led a delegation to visit the ROC. President Mahamane Ousmane paid a state visit to Taiwan from June 2 to 7, 1994. Foreign Ministers of both countries signed the trade agreement and established the mixed commission to further enhance the interaction, promoting friendly relations. The ROC set up an agricultural mission in Niger in November 1994. The President of National Assembly, Mr. Mahamadou Issoufou; Minister of State in charge of Industrial Development, Trade, Craft and Tourism, Mr. Sidikou Oumarou; and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Mohamed Bazoum, visited Taiwan in July, November and December respectively.[29] After Niger signed the reassumed agreement with the PRC on August 19, 1996, the ROC cut off relations the same day, ending the friendship of only four years.

Ivory Coast

When the Ivory Coast achieved independence on August 7, 1960, the ROC sent Chen Hsiung-fei, its Minister to Paris, as special envoy to the independence ceremony at Abidjan, capital of the new republic. In September 22, 1962, Young Chin-tseng, Minister of Economic Affairs of the ROC, and Minister of Agriculture of the Ivory Coast, Charleo Donwahi, signed the Technical Co-operation Agreement. On July 20, 1963, during Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan's visit to Abidjan, Shen and Acting President P A Denise signed the official diplomatic relations agreement. In 1967, the number of people in the ROC agricultural demonstration and cadre-training mission to the Ivory Coast totalled 160, the largest ever sent by Taipei to an African country.[30] In addition, Taipei established a 'Seed Multiplication and Supply Center' in the Ivory Coast in April 1968.

The Ivory Coast was one of Taipei's closest allies in Africa and the relations were to be among the most enduring and most fruitful with any African country. President Houphouët-Boigny, acclaimed by the ROC as the "leader of leaders" in Africa, was one of the very few senior African statesman who persistently warned Africans of the danger presented to Africa by Communism, especially the Beijing variety. Under his leadership, the Ivory Coast continuously supported Taipei in the United Nations from 1961 to 1971. In 1978, the Ivory Coast was the only West African country that still recognised Taipei rather than Beijing.[31] After the official relations ended on March 2, 1983, the Economic and Trade Services Center was still in Abidjan. The Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast even supported the ROC to rejoin the UN in the General Assembly of September 1993.

Nigeria

Nigeria gained independence in 1960. Mr. Sun Yun-suan was the General Manager of Taiwan Power Electricity Company in 1960s. At the invitation of the World Bank, Mr. Sun worked as CEO & General Manager of the Electricity Corporation of Nigeria from 1964 to 1967. He was appointed Minister of Economic Affairs from 1969 to 1978, and Premier of the ROC from 1978 to 1984. During the years he worked in Nigeria, people paid high respect to him for his enormous contribution and achievements.

In February 1971, Nigeria and the PRC established diplomatic relations. However, after signing the Memorandum in November 1990, Nigeria and the ROC agreed to set up an official office in Taipei and Lagos respectively. The Trade Mission of the ROC (Taiwan) was set up in April 1991 and the Nigeria Trade Office in Taiwan in November 1992. In order to help Nigeria develop the Calabar Export Processing Zone, the ROC opened the Chinese Consulate General in Calabar on August 17, 1993. Furthermore, in April 1994 the Minister of Commerce and Tourism, Chief Metford Okilo and the ROC Minister of Economic Affairs, P. K. Chiang, signed an Agreement for Promotion and Protection of Investments and an Agreement on Economic Cooperation on Export Processing Zones. [32] However, because no investors from Taiwan came to Calabar, the ROC closed the Consulate General in September 1997.

Cameroon

When Cameroon became independent on January 1, 1960, Taiwan sent a government delegation led by Yang Chi-tseng, Minister of Economic Affairs, to attend the independence ceremony at Yaounde, and the countries officially established diplomatic relations on February 19, 1960. From 1962 to 1967, the ROC and Cameroon signed four agreements regarding agricultural, economic and technical co-operation. Foreign Minister Jean Faustin Betayene visited the ROC in August 1963 to enhance friendly relations. In spite of receiving continuous agricultural aid from Taipei from 1964 onwards, Cameroon only half-heartedly supported the ROC in the UN. Although never voting against Taipei, Cameroon abstained in many votes on the China issue. Cameroon announced on April 2, 1971, that it had decided to recognise Beijing, Taipei severed relations the next day and withdrew its agricultural teams. Cameroon was among the 26 African countries that voted for Beijing's admission to the UN in October 1971.[33]

Togo

When Togo became independent on April 27, 1960, the ROC was invited to the independence celebrations, and diplomatic relations were established on the same day. In December 1963 the ROC sent four specialists to study the potential for rice cultivation in

Togo: Prof. Chin Cheng, Dr. Tseng Chun-fu, Tsou Mei and Yu Yin-piao. Tsou and Yu were then the heads of the ROC agricultural teams in Liberia and Benin, respectively. On December 7, 1978 a car accident claimed the lives of Professor Chin and Dr. Tseng and permanently paralyzed Tsou Mei. This was the most tragic cost to the ROC's African aid programme. On August 12, 1964, the ROC and Togo signed a technical co-operation agreement on agriculture at Lome. The Sino-Togolese Agricultural Co-operation Programme was renewed twice, in 1968 and 1970. Lome and Taipei established the sister cities on October 12, 1966. By late 1969, there were 38 Chinese agricultural experts working in Togo. However, Togo established diplomatic relations with Beijing on September 26, 1972. In response, Taipei closed its embassy on October 4, 1972 and withdrew its agricultural mission.[34]

Benin

When Benin became independent on August 1, 1960, under the name of Dahomey, Taipei appointed Chen Hsiung-fei, its charge d'affaires in Paris, as special envoy to the independence celebrations. Benin established diplomatic relations with the ROC on January 18, 1962. From October 7 to 12, 1963, President and Madam Hubert Maga paid a state visit to Taiwan and received a warm welcome from President and Madam Chiang Kai-shek. A joint communiqué promised further co-operation between the two countries. On November 12, 1964, a year after the first coup in Benin, the new government allowed Beijing to establish an Embassy in Cotonou, which opened in December while Taipei also still had one there. This curious situation continued until April 6, 1965, when Taipei broke relations with Benin. After two coups in quick session brought a pro-Taipei government back to power in Benin, and the China policy was again reversed, Benin resumed relations with Taipei on April 21, 1966.[35] Because of Benin's extreme political instability, a Marxist government reverted to pro-Beijing policy, and Taipei severed relations with Benin on January 14, 1973. Benin had diplomatic relations twice both with the ROC and the PRC at different times.

Mali

On June 20, 1960, Mali gained independence, which Taipei recognised and sent Chen Shiung-fei to attend the independence ceremonies. On September 27, 1960, Mali divided into the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Mali. Three weeks later, Mali recognised the PRC; the ROC severed diplomatic relations with Mali, closed the Embassy and withdrew its embassy staff.[36] Diplomatic relations had lasted only four months, when Mali became the first African country with which the ROC ended diplomatic relations. In April 1994, the Sino-Mali Friendship Association was established to encourage more people in Mali to understand the country and the people of the ROC.

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone became independent on April 27, 1961, and established diplomatic relations with the ROC on September 28, 1963. After the Foreign Minister John Karefa-Smart visited Taiwan in March 1964, the two countries signed the first Technical Co-operation Agreement in Free Town, the capital of Sierra Leone. A new technical co-operation agreement was signed in Taipei on July 26, 1965, providing for US$2 million in agricultural aid from Taipei over the next five years.[37] After Prime Minister Siaka Stevens visited Taiwan in May 1969, SL took a definite pro-Taipei stand in the UN. It later voted in favor of Taipei on the "representation issue" in both 1969 and 1970. Influenced by Guinea, one of Beijing's closet allies in West Africa, and attracted by Beijing's promise of economic and technical aid, Stevens, by then President of SL, established diplomatic relations with the PRC on July 29, 1971. The ROC subsequently broke relations with SL on August 20, 1971, and withdrew its agricultural mission.

Ghana

On March 6, 1957, Ghana became independent and by July 1, 1960, was a full republic. Five days later, Ghana and the PRC established diplomatic relations. However, from October 20, 1966 to February 29, 1972 the two countries did not have official relations. In November 1966, the spokesman of MOFA, ROC said: "Since African countries have

already understood the real intention of the PRC, Ghana cut off the relations with the PRC." Furthermore, in August 1967 when the new representative of Ghana to the UN Richard M Akwei presented his credentials, he said: "Ghana supported the ROC to stay in the UN." Ghana has only business interests in Taiwan and wants to have commercial interaction with Taiwan.

Central Africa

Sao Tome and Principe

SP gained independence on July 12, 1975, and had full official relations with the PRC. Then in May 6, 1997, at the request of SP's Foreign Minister, Homero Salvaterra, Foreign Minister, John Chang signed the agreement with him to establish diplomatic relations.[38] Thereafter, the ROC dispatched a medical mission and an agricultural technical mission to assist SP in improving hygiene conditions in medical facilities and developing agricultural pisciculture and livestock. The ROC also helped SP to promote several programmes such as national housing, road repairs and paving, sports facilities renovation, and national education as well as public health.

President Miguel Trovoada visited the ROC in June 1998, and Prime Minister Guillaume Posser da Costa led a delegation to Taiwan on January 9, 2000. During the Prime Minister's visit, a memorandum on the second phase of Bilateral Co-operation was signed to continue strengthening the cordial relations. President Fradigue Bandeira Melo de Menezes visited the ROC on December 10, 2001, and President Chen reciprocated on his "Tour of Mutual Co-operation and Care" in 2002. At a state banquet in SP, he said: "I admire President Menezes for his work and believe that SP will progress and develop quickly under his leadership, I am confident that these co-operative projects will improve the lives of your people and enhance friendship between our two countries."[39]

In fact, co-operation projects between the two countries have produced great results and made outstanding contributions to the development of local institutions, quality of medical care and agricultural production. These admirable achievements have won praise

and appreciation by the ruling and opposition parties as well as the people of SP. With regard to the coup d'etat on July 16, 2003, the MOFA, ROC made the following statement: "The Government of the ROC expresses its deep regret and concern over the coup d'etat that occurred in SP. Based on the universal values of democracy, the Government of the ROC urges the international community to assist SP to restore its democratically-elected government and constitutional system."[40] President Fradique de Menezes visited the ROC again on January 5, 2004 to seek opportunities through which Taiwan-based enterprises could invest in SP. It has been eight years since the two countries established diplomatic relations; the cordial and constructive atmosphere between the two countries is excellent.

Central African Republic

The CAR established diplomatic relations with Taipei on April 13, 1962. During his 1963 tour of Africa, ROC FM Shen Chang-huan visited Bangui and met with President Dacko. However, after Bangui recognised Beijing, Taipei closed its embassy on November 5, 1964. After a military coup led by Colonel Jean-Bedel Bokossa, diplomatic relations between Bangui and Taipei were restored on May 6, 1968. Bokossa paid a state visit to Taiwan in October 1970, which was very successful for him, because he met a Taiwanese lady whom he married. Six years later, Bokossa decided to established diplomatic ties with the PRC in August 1976; Taipei then broke relations with Bangui on August 23, 1976.[41] Based on the political and economic interests of both countries, the CAR and the ROC resumed diplomatic relations on July 8, 1991. The CAR was the first French-speaking country in Africa that resumed diplomatic ties with the ROC.[42]

From 1992 to 1996, President Andre Kolingba, Foreign Minister Simon Beoaya-Ngaro, President of National Assembly Hugues Dobozendi, President Ange-Felix Patasse, and Prime Minister Jean-Luc Mandaba visited the ROC to promote friendly relations between the two countries. Beginning in April 1996, the military and civil servants were not paid their salaries, causing increases instability in CAR. The PRC's representative to the UN, as the rotating chair of the Security Council, came to CAR from October 21 to 23, 1997, causing the CAR to switch its recognition to the PRC

on January 27, 1998. Taipei severed relations the same day. In brief, Bangui and Taipei had a record of establishing and severing relations three times, an indication that the PRC and the ROC were still competing with each other in Africa.

Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire)

The former Belgian Congo achieved its independence on June 30, 1960, and diplomatic relations with Taipei were subsequently established on August 10, 1960. On October 13, 1964, Zaire's Minister of Agriculture, Albert Kalonji-Ditunga and Yang Ching-Tseng, Minister of Economics of the ROC, signed the technical co-operation agreement in Taipei. General Sese Seko Mobutu, Zaire's President since November 1965, later praised the Chinese contribution, saying, "The Dutch reclaim land from the sea; the Chinese produce rice and vegetables in sandy soil. The Chinese agricultural team is made up of people who know only hard work instead of filing reports."[43]

At the invitation of the ROC President Chiang, President and Madam Mobutu made a state visit to Taiwan from April 15 to 21, 1971. In a joint communiqué, the two leaders agreed "to strengthen co-operation with special emphasis on the cultivation of rice, maize, cotton, sugarcane and the establishment of sugar mills" in Zaire, and "to establish a joint committee that would meet once a year in Taipei and Kinshasa alternatively to discuss co-operation between the two countries." Zaire was one of the 15 African countries that voted against Beijing's admission to the UN in October 1971. After that, however, Mobutu's pro-Taipei attitude changed. Zaire established diplomatic relations with Beijing on November 24, 1972. Taipei broke off relations with Zaire on January 30, 1973. Zaire was the first central African country to establish relations with Beijing, and the loss of Zaire's support was the most serious setback suffered by the ROC in Africa in the early 1970s.[44]

On June 10, 1991, the ROC and Zaire signed the "Special Agreement for Establishing Mission" by which the ROC delegation in Kinshasa could have diplomatic privileges and have the authority to do consular affairs. On May 1997, the rebels took over Kinshasa and changed the name to DRC. Because of the civil war in the DRC that

has raged for many years, relations between two countries could not improve and the ROC closed its mission in mid-November 1998.

Republic of Congo

After the former French colony achieved independence, Taipei established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Congo on September 10, 1960. After a bloody demonstration instigated by left-wing trade unions, conservative and anti-Beijing Congolese President You Lou was forced to resign on August 15, 1963. Two months later, on October 4, 1963, ROC Ambassador Dr. Sampson C. Shen met with Prime Minister Alphonse Massamba-Debat and expressed the intention of keeping diplomatic relations with the new government.[45] When France recognised Beijing on January 27, 1964, the new Congo regime followed suit in February. Taipei severed relations with Brazzaville on April 17, 1964. In July 1995, the Republic of Congo and the ROC signed special agreement that both countries could have an official delegation set up in each other's capital with the full official name of the country. For various reasons, Taipei closed this mission on September 12, 1997.

Gabon

Gabon became independent on August 17, 1960, and established diplomatic relations with Taipei on December 9, 1960. Relations were raised to ambassadorial level in May 1965. An Agricultural Co-operation Agreement was signed by the Minister of Agriculture, Rene Paul Sousatte and Foreign Minister Shen Chang-huan in Taipei on January 19, 1963. The agreement was renewed in 1966, 1969 and 1972, and the agricultural demonstration team was also expanded. Besides cultivating rice and vegetables, the Chinese team also helped the Gabonese to improve their fishing catch. Jean Remy Ayoune, Gabonese Minister for External Affairs, who visited Taiwan in April 1969, praised the Chinese Team for its training of Gabonese fishermen. On November 8, 1973, Taiwan also signed an agreement to help Gabon build a sugar plant and train Gabonese technicians to manage it. However, the agreement was never implemented, since diplomatic relations between the two countries were soon terminated. Libreville granted Beijing *de jure*

recognition on March 5, 1974; Taipei then closed its embassy on March 30, 1974.[46]

Angola

Angola's independence achieved on November 11, 1975, was followed by a 16-year civil war. On January 12, 1983, Launda and Beijing established diplomatic ties. The Angola Government sent the Deputy Minister of Oil, Desiderio da Costa, to Taiwan to sign the Special Agreement with the ROC on March 14, 1992.[47] Based on this fact, the ROC set up a Special Delegation in Launda in September 1992. However, civil war plagued the country, causing relations to come to a standstill. Taipei therefore closed its mission in Launda in September 2000, ending eight years function.

Southern Africa

Swaziland

Swaziland, a former British Protectorate, became an independent kingdom on September 6, 1968, and established diplomatic relations with the ROC on the same day. The ROC signed a technical co-operation agreement with Swaziland on August 9, 1969, at Mbabane and a handicraft technical co-operation agreement on February 12, 1973.

His Majesty King Mswati, who ascended to the throne in 1986, has visited the ROC many times. The cordial relationship between the two countries has been highlighted by many mutual visits of high-ranking officials of the two nations. President Lee Teng-hui led a delegation to Swaziland in May 1994 and visited an agricultural and handicraft centre, promising economic aid for Swaziland's development as well as continuation of the close co-operation between the two nations.[48] During President Chen's visit to Swaziland in July 2002, Chen said, "I wish to reiterate that my government will continue to promote various exchanges and co-operation projects with the Kingdom of Swaziland and develop a partnership based on mutual benefit and prosperity."[49] President Chen donated US$150,000 to Swaziland during this visit, highlighting Taiwan's humanitarian concern for Africa. From 1995 onwards, there were economic and technical meetings

between the two nations each year in Taipei and Mbabane in rotation to discuss continued co-operation. For the last 10 years, the ROC signed "investment guarantee" and "tax free" agreements with Swaziland, even an extradition treaty. Swaziland opened an embassy in Taiwan in February 2000 to prove the close and sincere relations between the two nations. On February 23, 1998, Swaziland announced that visas for citizens of ROC can be obtained free of charge at the point of entry.

Swaziland spoke in support of the ROC's bid to join the UN and other international organisations, a needed voice for the ROC. Since the ROC withdrew from the UN, many African allies have turned to recognise the PRC, but Swaziland still maintains friendly relations with the ROC and does not have confidence in Communists.

South Africa

A Chinese consulate general was opened in JHB as early as 1905, while China was still under the Manchu Empire and SA still a British colony. After the division of China in 1949, South Africa continued to recognise the ROC government in Taiwan and consistently voted against Beijing's admission to the UN. After South Africa set up a consulate general in Taipei in 1967 and an ROC consulate in Cape Town was finally opened in January 1973, relations between the two countries upgraded. Taipei and Pretoria announced on April 26, 1976, that diplomatic relations between the two countries would be raised to ambassadorial level.

Because the international community took sanctions against South Africa's apartheid policy since 1980s, interactions between Taipei and Pretoria kept a low profile, in order to avoid condemnation. After 1990 when President de Klerk announced that the ANC was no longer a subversive party and abolished the apartheid policy, the ROC then contacted the ANC from central level to local level to build cooperative relations. Under ambassador I-cheng Loh's endeavour, Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of ANC led a delegation to visit the ROC. President Lee Teng-hui visited SA to attend the inauguration of Nelson Mandela on May 1994. Lee's visit aimed at solidifying Taiwan's official relations with the new South African government. President Mandela gave his assurance to

the ROC's Vice-Premier Hsu Li-teh, during his visit to South Africa in August 1995, that relations between SA and the ROC would be maintained. However, Mandela announced that SA would cut formal diplomatic ties with Taiwan, recognising the PRC instead on November 27, 1996. The surprise decision, following Mandela's statement, brought SA into line with the international trend of recognising China.

Ending diplomatic ties with South Africa until December 31, 1997, the ROC used the Taipei Liaison Office in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town respectively from January 1, 1998, instead of formal Embassy and Consul-Generals functioning in SA. South Africa is an important country in Africa, and an important partner for the ROC. It is because South Africa is playing an influential and useful role in African affairs, as well as in world affairs, that the ROC will continue to keep up relations in business, trade, cultural and other fields of mutual concern.

Lesotho

Lesotho became independent on October 4, 1966, and established diplomatic relations with the ROC on October 31. Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan visited Taiwan from November 21 to 28, 1966. At the end of his visit, Jonathan signed a joint communiqué agreeing that "International Communism's attempt and ambition to conquer the world is the most serious threat to world peace." In August 1969, Prime Minister Jonathan paid a second visit to Taiwan, reporting that the Chinese Farm Team in Lesotho "had done an excellent job and won the respect" of the people of Lesotho.[50] He returned a third time to the ROC in September 1977. Prime Minister Sun paid his visit to Lesotho in March 1980 to enhance the friendly relations between the two countries. These good relations lasted for 17 years and ended on May 14, 1983.

On April 5, 1990, the special envoy of the ROC Mr. Du Ling, Deputy Director of the Department of African affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, signed a joint communiqué of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Major General Justin Metsing, Chairman of the Military Council of the Kingdom of Lesotho, in Maseru. In this communiqué, the two sides decided to re-establish full diplomatic relations for the purpose of

strengthening ties of friendship and co-operation conforming with the principles of international law, in particular, those relating to the equality of states, and mutual respect for sovereignty.[51] On June 27, 1990, the two countries signed an agricultural co-operation agreement, and several members of the military council Brig B. Lerotholi and Colonel Jacob Mahlabe Jane visited the ROC. With the agricultural mission of the ROC based in Maseru to help the people to cultivate the land, the ROC government donated US$1 million to buy 5,000 tons of maize for the needy people of Lesotho.[52]

When Dr. Liu Ta-jen was the ROC ambassador to Lesotho, from 1972 to 1980, he had encouraged the Taiwanese citizens from Pozih to immigrate to Lesotho. For the last 20 years, more than 500 Taiwanese worked in Maseru and most of them stayed in Ladybrand, a border town in South Africa.[53] The opposition won the election held in March 1993 and formed a new government. Owing to the government's pro-Beijing attitude, Taipei therefore broke off diplomatic relations with Lesotho on January 12, 1994 and withdrew the agricultural mission. Nowadays, the biggest blue-jeans factory, Nien Hsing Textile, owned by Taiwanese businessmen, and 19 other textile factories in Maseru, have created 20 thousand jobs for the people of Lesotho, an economic benefit welcomed by the people and government of Lesotho.

Botswana

Bechuanaland, a former British protectorate, became the independent Republic of Botswana on September 30, 1966 and established diplomatic relations with the ROC on December 30 of the same year. On July 15, 1968, Botswana Vice-President Q. K. J. Masire arrived in Taipei for a nine-day official visit, and said Botswana was "grateful to the Chinese government for sending an agricultural team to Botswana--a significant demonstration of genuine friendship." Two months later, H. K. Yang, during his twenty-second trip to Africa, signed a technical co-operation agreement with Botswana at Gaborone. The rice cultivation carried out by the Chinese teams in Botswana achieved tremendous success and prompted Botswana to request extension of the 1968 agreement, which was granted by Mr. Yang on April 28,1972, during his twenty-eighth trip to Africa.[54]

However, relations between the ROC and Botswana gradually deteriorated after the 1970 UN vote on " Chinese representation", when Botswana joined Chad, Togo, Cameroon, the CAR and Senegal---- all then receiving ROC agricultural aid---in saying they would no longer try to block Beijing from the UN. Even Botswana voted for the Beijing to participate in the UN in October 1971, yet diplomatic relations lingered for two-and-a-half more years until Botswana granted recognition to Beijing on March 25, 1974. Taipei then closed its embassy at Gaborone on April 5, 1974, and withdrew its agricultural mission and medical personnel from Botswana.[55]

Namibia

On May 5, 1967, Permanent Representative of China to the UN Liu Chieh spoke for supporting SWA's independence. In early March 1976, H. K. Yang visited Pretoria and met with both Dr. H. Diederichs and Prime Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster. With Pretoria's approval, Yang visited South-West Africa for the first time, met with South-Wwest African tribal delegations then attending a constitutional meeting at Windhoek, and told them that the ROC "always supports any nation to achieve their legitimate political goals through peaceful means.[56] The ROC sent an "observer delegation" to Windhoek on August 21, 1989, to observe the process of rewarding independent and constitutional activities, but the PRC protested this action to SWA Authority. Without a doubt, the ROC also tried to take this opportunity to find a possibility of establishing formal relations after SWA became an independent country. On March 21, 1990, SWA became a new country named the Republic of Namibia. Two days later, Namibia and the PRC established diplomatic relations.

Madagascar

The ROC set up a consulate in Antananarivo on May 9, 1945 and upgraded to consulate-general on April 2, 1949. When Madagascar became independent on June 26, 1960, Taipei established diplomatic relations with the new republic on the same day and raised its consulate –general to embassy rank. Because of his earlier close relations with the French Socialist Party, President Philibert Tsiranana became one of the most

anti-communist leaders in Africa. On April 3, 1962, he became the first African Head of State to visit Taiwan. A Sino-Madagascar Treaty of Amity was signed on April 4, 1962. President Tsiranana later called his visit to Taiwan "very rewarding" and indicated that Madagascar had "much to learn from Nationalist China in economic development, land reform and the modernisation of armed forces." From November 12 to 15, 1965, President and Madame Philibert Tsiranana paid a second state visit to Taiwan.[57] A Sino-Madagascar agricultural technical co-operation agreement was signed on January 9, 1967 and this pact was extended on September 22, 1969.

Madagascar under the leadership of Tsiranana was one of the ROC's strongest African supporters in the UN between 1961 and 1971. After Tsiranana was forced by left-wing labour unions and students to resign in mid-May 1972, the new regime under Major General Gabrid Ramanantsoa established diplomatic relations with Beijing on November 6, 1972. Taipei then closed its embassy at Antananarivo on December 15 and withdrew all its technicians.

In February 1990 Foreign Minister Jean Bemananjara visited the ROC twice, to discuss establishing official relations. On October 31, 1990, a memorandum was signed in Antananarivo that the two sides could set up their special delegation with the country's full name in Taipei and Antananarivo. On January 10, 1991, President Ridier Ratsiraka announced in his new-year message that the ROC was going to establish a special delegation to promote economic and trade interaction. Six months later, "the ROC Special Delegation" started its consular function in Antananarivo, with its staff at diplomatic status.[58] Deputy Speaker J. E. Voninahitsy visited the ROC in May 1995, and Deputy Prime Minister Mohajy Ackram visited Taiwan in January 1997, to discuss matters of mutual concern. However, the cabinet of Madagascar abolished the "Special Agreement" on its own on September 9, 1998, but the President did not approve it. For various reasons, Taipei closed this special delegation office on August 30, 2000.

Mauritius

Before Mauritius gained independence on March 12, 1968, the French colony's Prime

Minister, S. Kamgoolam, visited Taiwan on January 5, 1965. On April 15, 1972, Mauritius established diplomatic relations with the PRC. On September 21, 1984, the ROC set up a Trade Mission in Port Louis to promote two-way commercial, cultural and co-operative interaction. Deputy Prime Minister, Gaetan Duval visited Taiwan in August 1986 and January 1988 to discuss promoting two-way trade. Two months later, Mauritius Export Development and Investment Authority opened in Taipei, but this office was closed in December 1992. Since relations between Mauritius and the ROC could not upgrade as expected, Taipei closed the commercial delegation office on July 31, 2000.

Seychelles

In March 1976, H. K. Yang and Dr. Liu Ta-jen visited the small country of Seychelles, consisting of 92 small islands, and met Prime Minister Wen-jen Chen, a poet and a Chinese descendant. Three months later, the Republic of Seychelles became independent. With a total number of 600 descendants in this island country in 1976, to be a President of Chinese origin is very rare and difficult. However, Seychelles established diplomatic relations with the PRC the next day. Right now, the Trade commission of the Republic of Seychelles at Taipei is the only channel of contact between the two countries.

Conclusion

ROC relations with Malawi and Swaziland, which have lasted for 40 years and 38 years respectively, are cordial and valued. However, some countries, including the Central African Republic, Senegal, Lesotho and Liberia, opted for relations with China over Taiwan. North Africa was, and remains, the weakest link in Taiwan's foreign relations with Africa. The ROC and South Africa have had interactions for more than 100 years. Some Central and West African countries switch their positions back and forth between the two Chinas. Since the Democratic Progressive Party took power in Taiwan in 2000, Liberia, Senegal and Chad have switched their recognition to the PRC which is a worrying development. To-date, Malawi, Swaziland, Sao Tome and Principe, The Gambia, and Burkina Faso still maintain diplomatic relations with the ROC. Africa is a continent where the most developing countries are situated. The ROC's remaining allies are vital to prevent the

country from becoming isolated diplomatically, and it is no surprise that Beijing wants to reduce the ROC's influence on the continent even further. Seven states in six years have switched allegiance to Beijing. It is likely that in the future the ROC's diplomatic position in Africa will be put under even more intense pressure from the active campaign by the PRC to secure access to Africa's natural resources and squeeze the ROC's diplomatic space in Africa. There is, subsequently, little room for optimism in facing what is proving to be an intense diplomatic war. In the next two chapters, we will further examine relations between the ROC and the RSA, with emphasis given to the period from 1976 to 1998. Both countries were once isolated states. However, the RSA has been welcomed into international community since 1994 while the ROC is still struggling to break out of the diplomatic deadlock and is devoting enormous effort to gain diplomatic allies around the world.

Footnotes

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CHAPTER SIX
SOUTH AFRICA'S LINKS WITH THE ROC
(1905-1990)

The Challenges to Both Countries

Since the communist take-over of Mainland China in 1949, the Kuomintang (Nationalist) government was forced to relocate itself on the tiny island province of Taiwan. The official position all along has been that the ROC–established in 1912 with its seat in Nanking–has only temporarily moved its government to Taiwan following the communists' illegal seizure of power; the Kuomintang considers itself the only legitimate government of all China and its stated policy is to recover the mainland from the control of the Communist "rebels".

A majority of states initially supported the ROC's claim to international legitimacy and they accordingly refused to recognise the PRC. The ROC's non-recognition, by scores of states acting unilaterally and then collectively in the UN in 1971, meant that the world community no longer formally recognised the ROC as the sole Chinese state.[1] Nor does the outside world recognise the ROC as a separate, second Chinese state, but as part of China. On the latter point, the PRC, ROC and the international community all agree: there is but one China, and that includes both the Mainland and Taiwan.

The 1950s and 1960s saw a steady erosion of the ROC's international status as a growing number of states switched their recognition to the PRC. The ROC's international decline was an inverse image of the PRC's diplomatic assent. This trend was cultivated in the UN's decision of 1971 to admit the PRC to membership at the expense of the ROC, severely undermining her claim to be the only legitimate government of China.

Both the ROC and PRC have long insisted that foreign states make a clear choice: they may recognise and enjoy diplomatic ties with only one of them. Although the World community has chosen overwhelmingly against it, the ROC will not opt for "independence" from the rest of China and seek recognition of a sovereign state located

solely on Taiwan. Beijing has made it plain that it will not tolerate independence for Taiwan – a warning that not only deters Taiwanese from considering this option but would also prevent many foreign states from recognising an independent Taiwan.[2]

Owing to the gold rush in the Transvaal, a final agreement was the Anglo-Chinese Labour Convention, signed in London on May 13, 1904, by Chang The-Yih and Lord Lansdowne, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The terms of reference for the appointment of the first Chinese diplomatic representative to the Transvaal were contained in Article VI of the Convention.

The first Chinese Consul-General in Johannesburg, Lew Yuk Lin arrived in JHB on May 14, 1905, to look after the interests of Chinese labourers and solve their problems. Transvaal authorities wanted the consul to be an official of high rank, paid by the Chinese government, and to take up the Chinese point of view in matters of principle that might arise, but not to occupy himself with the conditions of the labourers in the mines.[3] This was the first official contact between South Africa and China.

After the National party won the election in 1948, the radical Afrikaner Nationalists created a vast legal superstructure to enforce separation. From then on, "apartheid" governed every aspect of national life: it assigned every baby from birth to a rigid "population group", which determined where he or she could live and go to school, what lavatory he or she could use, and whom he or she could marry. On August 5, 1963, the Chinese Permanent Representative Liu Chieh said: "Towards the situation aroused by the Apartheid in South Africa, the UN should put some pressure to the Government."[4] Two months later, on October 24, 1963, the Chinese delegation leader delivered a speech, during the UN discussion of South Africa's apartheid, that the ROC's sincere wish was that this issue could be solved in a peaceful manner.[5] In fact, the ROC and SA did not have much interaction in the 1960s. Only Foreign Minister Shen invited the Foreign Affairs Minister, Eric H Louw and South Africa's Permanent Representative Botha to have dinner in UN Headquarters on December 9, 1964.

It is noteworthy that the use of the High Commissioner as a channel of diplomatic

communication became so controversial that KEGJ Pakendorf, Second Secretary, appealed from London in 1955, pointing out that the UK didn't recognise the ROC, but rather the PRC. South Africa's diplomatic approaches to the ROC, which it recognised, of necessity therefore went through Washington, even though the British consular office in Taipei handled South African passport and visa issues. The Department was hesitant to use the Consul-General of the ROC in Johannesburg as a channel because Norway, Israel, Denmark and Japan also had only Consul-Generals in South Africa, and those governments were perceived to be trying to raise their *de facto* status by insisting on their being used for non-consular issues.[6]

There matters rested until 1962, when the Consul-General of the ROC approached the Department of Community Affairs directly on behalf of Chinese living in SA. He implied that his country had until then taken a moderate stance in the UN on the issue of sanctions and condemnation of SA's polices. This demarche amounted to indirect interference in SA's domestic affairs and Eric Louw again reminded the Department that he needed to be kept abreast of developments and to have key documents always available. His successor, Dr H Muller retained this procedure.[7] It was only on January 14, 1967, that South Africa opened its Consul-General office in Taipei, Taiwan, and Mr. K.E. Pakendorf was the first Consul-General. And for the first time, in celebration of South Africa's National Day, a large banquet reception was held in Taipei by the Consul-General's office, and many ministers and dignitaries as well as members of the diplomatic corps attended.

Before 1945 the Union of South Africa was a respected member of the British Commonwealth as well as of the League of Nations, and seldom if ever were her internal policies challenged. Many observers assume that the drastic changes after the war were due to the coming into office of the National Party and its particular handling of the internal race situation. The National Party's determination to legislate its race relations policy was a factor that contributed to South Africa's weakened position in international politics after the Second World War.[8]

The post-war expansion of the Commonwealth to include a substantial number of

Afro-Asian countries resulted in yet another controversy about South Africa's position. On January 30, 1961, Dr. Verwoerd declared unequivocally that membership of the Commonwealth would not be sought at the cost of sacrificing policy principles on which only South Africa could decide. That meant that South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth. An intimation of things to come was South Africa's temporary withdrawal from the UN in 1951, the decision to recall its mission from the tenth session of the General Assembly in 1955, and its maintaining only token representation at the UN in 1957 and 1958. These were all protest actions against what Pretoria considered the world body's unwarranted and unconstitutional interference in South Africa's domestic affairs.[9] Considering the part played by General J.C. Smuts in the founding of the UN, it is ironic that the relationship between South Africa and the world body had deteriorated so drastically.

Because the Afro-Asian states were vociferously opposed to South Africa's apartheid policies, the ROC was not in a position to develop full diplomatic relations with South Africa before the 1970s. Its priority at this stage was to avoid offending the Afro-Asian states and to safeguard its position in the UN. The ROC obviously took cognisance of the inevitability that its growing links with South Africa would surely alienate its friendly relations with Black Africa and jeopardise its UN seat. Moreover, to establish alignment with South Africa might also endanger the ROC's relations with Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries in the Middle East, which supplied vital oil to the ROC.[10] It was with these considerations that the ROC was against SA's racial policies and repeatedly voted at the UN in favour of sanctions against South Africa during the period 1948-1971. For more than 20 years, the ROC was unwilling to be associated with South Africa. In the 1950s and 1960s, the representative of the ROC in the UN Security Council, expressed the hope that the South African government could find a satisfactory settlement. The ROC delegates routinely voted in favour of the dismantling of apartheid and sided with the Afro-Asian states. Besides, because the NP government was perceived as one of the most oppressive in the world, even some Chinese scholars were opposed to the establishment of diplomatic links between the ROC and the RSA. Hence, during the period 1948-1975, the ROC merely maintained a low-level consular relationship with SA. The RSA then also had many of its own reasons to keep its distance

from the ROC. Although the NP Government had been in power for more than two decades by the end of 1960s, as a Eurocentric society, South Africa was still closely tied to the West through economic links, cultural heritage, security needs, family contact and other common interests. The white population was inclined to identify themselves with Western interests and share Western values. Even in the realm of international relations, the NP government found it necessary to rely on Western support. Therefore, the links with the West were far more important than the relations with the Far East.

Fear that large numbers of Chinese would migrate to South Africa to complicate the issue of Asians in the country was another reason for the South African government to be hesitant to forge diplomatic links with the ROC.[11] The RSA entered an era of rapid economic progress and continued prosperity from the end of the Second World War to 1974, which gave confidence to the SA government and diminished the need to diversify its economy and to develop closer links with the ROC. Discrimination against cheap products from the Far East made it even more difficult for the SA government to venture into expanding relations with the East Asian countries, including the ROC.

In fact from 1948 to 1971, both the ROC and the RSA were reluctant to develop full diplomatic ties. Therefore relations between the ROC and the RSA were merely maintained at the relatively low level of consular links for more than two decades. During this period, both countries were preoccupied with their respective internal and external priorities. The great cultural divide, geographical distance and South Africa's apartheid policy, as well as its colonial connections with the West, further contributed to the mutual lack of interest in expanding relations.[12]

There is some common ground between the two countries warranting further research.

- Both the Chinese Nationalist Party and the SA National Party were fervently anti-Communist in their ideological make-up and adopted a common hard-line approach towards Communism.
- Both the Chinese majority (in Taiwan) and the European minority (in SA) in their respective new settings, each had their "native" problems.

- Both were minority-rule countries: in SA, the white minority ruled over the black majority, but in the ROC, a minority of Chinese mainlanders dominated the native-born Taiwanese majority – albeit that these two ethnic groups are of Chinese origin and they have no colour distinction.
- Both the Chinese republic and the Afrikaner republic fought and opposed imperialism and colonialism even as both were imposing hegemony and colonialism on their native populations.
- The ROC experience with Communism was long, bitter and historico-empirically grounded; while that of SA was essentially metaphysical, ideological and theoretical.[13]

However, it is interesting to note that after the division of China in 1949, the RSA continued to recognise the ROC on Taiwan in line with USA's policy. While the ROC was still a member of the UN before 1971, SA consistently voted for the ROC to keep its seat each time the issue was put to a vote. The support granted by SA to the ROC was due to the common anti-Communist stance of the two governments. We may say that relations between the ROC and the RSA from 1948 to 1971 were quite tentative, with only consular relations existing.

Establishing full diplomatic relations

Reasons for the formation of close links between the ROC and the RSA were manifold. From the ROC side, the foremost factor was removal from the UN in 1971. In fact, the ROC former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chien-jen Chen, gave the following explanation: After the ROC was ousted from the UN, the political consideration was removed that by associating with the RSA, its apartheid policies might lead the ROC to offend other black African countries, and the ROC's foreign policy towards the RSA was less influenced by factors of political stance.[14]

The second factor was the change of American policy towards the ROC. In 1971, the RSA effected a complete change in its China policy. Nixon was determined to normalise relations with the PRC and to phase out USA-ROC diplomatic relations. On

July 15, 1971, an announcement was made by the White House that Henry Kissinger, then the Assistant for National Security Affairs and later the Secretary of State of the USA, had made a secret trip to Beijing from July 9 to 11, 1971, to have talks with Zhou Enlai, then Prime Minister of the PRC. Thereafter, Nixon decided to pay a state visit to the PRC in February, 1972.[15] The decision of the Nixon administration to play the "China card," had enormous repercussions on the international relations of the ROC and the retaining of its seat in the UN.

The third factor was economic need. Despite its racial problems, SA was the leading industrial country in the whole of Africa. South Africa was rich in natural resources, but its manufacturing sector was not as competitive as that of the ROC. The ROC needed access to SA's markets as well as its maize, wood pulp, coal, gold, basic metals and minerals, including uranium, to develop the ROC's economy.

The importance of SA's strategic location, its relatively long coastline with an abundance of fishing opportunities, together with its fairly advanced agriculture and the nuclear co-operation were also some advantages causing the ROC to want to upgrade relations.[16] To put this into action, the ROC established its Consulate (office) in Cape Town in 1973 to look after its fishing interests in the Atlantic Ocean and to liaise with Parliament. This office was upgraded to Consulate-General in March 1980. Furthermore, to cope with the growing economic relations, the office of the ROC commercial attaché was opened by the ROC government in Johannesburg in May 1974 to handle matters related to trade and commerce.

From the South Africa side: The first factor was that SA was a member of the UN, but since the rejection of its credentials by the General Assembly in 1974, it had been unable to participate in Assembly proceedings.[17] The second factor was the sudden collapse of Portuguese control in Mozambique and Angola set in motion a chain of events that considerably altered Pretoria's foreign policy options, forcing a policy retreat to within the boundaries of Southern Africa.[18] The third factor was that apartheid caused the whole country to become locked in turmoil, with the economic performance going from bad to worse.

During the 1960s, the phase of separate development came into common use. The idea behind this phase was to set up black homelands for the different ethnic groups. Only in these homelands would black people have any political power. They were no longer to be regarded as citizens of SA but as citizens of one of the black homelands. The 1970s saw the turning of the tide for apartheid. The economy was in a bad state because of the international oil crisis, which led to massive increases in the price of oil. New forms of resistance emerged, such as Black Trade Unionism and the Black Consciousness Movement. The Soweto Uprising helped turn more overseas countries against the South African government.

Yet, at the same time, Taiwan made a great economic achievement by focusing growth efforts on manufacturing and exports. Indeed, economists identified a number of factors common to the phenomenal performance of that period: the elements of labour, capital, human resources and the ability to combine them effectively.[19]

To increase bilateral trade, the SA Government decided to remove trade barriers. To this end, the Consul-General of the RSA in Taipei, Mr. John Kincaid, announced at the beginning of 1975 that in view of the tremendous increase in the volume of trade, the RSA would remove tariff discrimination against imports from the ROC, while the ROC would import more maize and iron ore from South Africa. Soon after the announcement, a trade agreement was concluded in Taipei by the two countries.[20]

Following the steadily expanding economic ties, the exchange of visits of high-ranking officials and cabinet ministers between the two countries also began to occur more frequently. In 1975-alone, there were three delegations of South African parliamentarians, Cabinet ministers, and high-ranking officials in charge of trade and commerce such as A.L. Schlebusch, Speaker of the House of Assembly, C.P. Mulder, Minister of the Interior and Information and G.J.J.F. Steyn, Secretary of Commerce. While the ROC-RSA economic relations were deepening and each country's diplomatic views had been prepared for the forthcoming closer association with the other isolated state, the two governments considered that the time was ripe to establish full diplomatic ties.[21] During Deputy Foreign Minister Yang's visit to South Africa, the RSA State

President N. Diederichs, and Prime Minister B.J. Vorster received Yang. The common ground of a strong anti-Communist ideology and aspiration for freedom had gradually led the two sides to have an appreciation for one another.

Eventually, as both the ROC and the RSA found themselves cast out of the wider international community, albeit for different reasons, the two countries exchanged full diplomatic relations, shifting to the status of ambassadorial level in April 1976. The ROC was the only Asian country that had an embassy in Pretoria, which proved to be a reliable ally. The South African policy-makers recognised the anti-Communist government of the ROC as the true representative of China.

In the wake of establishing diplomatic ties between the ROC and the RSA in 1976, the second stage of bilateral relations was unfolding. The 1975 Trade Agreement signed on February 26, 1975, indicated both countries were desirous of further developing, extending and strengthening the commercial relations on a mutually advantageous basis. For example, the Maize Trade agreement between the Board of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Affairs, ROC and the Maize Board, RSA, signed on October 7, 1975 once again enlarged the trade volume between the two countries, stipulating that annually for three years, the ROC would import 450,000 metric tons of maize with the total amount of 1 million 350,000 metric tons from the RSA.[22] Furthermore, several other agreements in various fields were concluded during the period of 1977 to 1979. Among these agreements was one concerning the exchange of postal parcels between the Postal Administrations of the ROC and the RSA, concluded on January 11, 1977; another agreement between the ROC and the RSA on Mutual Fishery Relations was signed on February 26, 1978; and the Agreement for Technical Cooperation between the South African Bureau of Standards became effective on November 10, 1979.[23] In 1979, the two countries signed another Maize Agreement. In doing so, the Office of Commercial Attache upgraded into Economic Counsellor Office of the Chinese Embassy on February 20, 1979, to enhance the close trade interactions between the two countries. P.K.Chiang the Economic Counsellor, said: “On October 1979, the Economic Minister Chang visited South Africa to attend the Economics Ministers’ Conference, which promoted the economic relations to a climax; trade and investment (sic) was the main substance for co-operation.”[24]

In South Africa, the Soweto Uprising in 1976 and the death in police custody of Steve Biko in 1977, together with the imposition of a mandatory UN Arms Embargo in 1977 and increasing antipathy of the Carter Administration towards South Africa's race policies, heightened Pretoria's perceptions of vulnerability and "set the stage for a fundamental policy reappraisal."[25] Hence, even though Prime Minister B.J. Vorster and Foreign Affairs Minister Dr. H Muller made the decision to upgrade diplomatic relations with the ROC and Vorster did accept the invitation of the ROC government intending to pay an official visit during the period October 14 to 18, 1978, none of South Africa's Prime Ministers visited the ROC before 1980.

Following Pik Botha's assumption of office as Foreign Minister of the RSA on June 7, 1977, and P.W. Botha as Prime Minister in 1978, the ROC-RSA bilateral links were visibly strengthened. The New Chinese Ambassador, H.K. Yang presented his credentials to Prime Minister Botha, starting a new page in the diplomatic ties between the two countries. Yang sent a citation to Pik Botha in September 1979 while he paid a courtesy call shortly after his assumption of duties as the ROC Ambassador to the RSA. On the first occasion, Pik Botha frankly indicated that as the current development of a Rhodesian settlement was of critical importance to SA, he had to postpone his visit until 1980. Both sides agreed that in the face of common, increasing international adversity, the two countries should strengthen their bilateral ties and deepen co-operation in various aspects, including the development of technology and military self-sufficiency, at a low profile.[26] On the second occasion, Pik Botha and his wife accompanied by Brand Fourie and his wife, attended a dinner hosted by Ambassador Yang on October 6, 1979 at his residence. Pik Botha spoke graciously about the close relationship existing between the two countries. He referred to the efforts of the ROC government to overcome difficulties resulting from world politics and Ambassador Yang's role as an instrument of the ROC national policy.[27]

The main indicator of the forging of closer ROC-RSA ties was the exchange of visits of high-ranking executives of the foreign ministers of the two countries that began in 1979. The first significant visit of the head of the RSA's Department of Foreign Affairs was made by Brand Fourie, the Director General of the MFA, in October 1979. At the

time of his visit, Fourie as head of this Department was a key figure in the formulation of South African foreign policy.

Fourie's visit served as a precursor of a series of more important visits to be made by the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of the two nations from 1980 onwards. In fact, the visit paid by Fourie and his wife during October 1979 was in lieu of a visit by Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. During their stay in the ROC, they met the ROC Premier Sun Yun-suan and held discussions with Y.S.Tsiang, the Minister of Foreign affairs, Chen hsing Yen, who was Acting Chairman of the Atomic Energy Council (AEC); Shien-sin Shu, Chairman of the National Science Council (NSC) and other high ranking officials. Fourie and the ROC leadership exchanged views on the world situation and also discussed issues of mutual concern, including co-operation in the fields of science, trade, economics, military and nuclear energy.[28] Fourie was deeply impressed with the ROC's remarkable achievements in various fields, and he was "heartened by the extremely positive approach adopted by the Government of the ROC regarding the relations between our two countries and the expressed intention of even closer co-operation between us." At the end of his visit, Fourie was awarded a medal by the ROC government for his contribution to cementing closer bonds between the ROC and the RSA.

Fourie was an important figure in conducting South Africa's Foreign Policy from 1966 to 1980, and he made very positive remarks about Ambassador Yang's contribution in consolidating the friendly relations between the two countries.[29] According to a reliable source, there were some informal talks that SA wanted to form a new type of "Fourth World" by the pariah states in addition to the First, Second and Third Worlds.[30] This idea was raised for both sides to think about whether it would be possible to organise this kind of alliance. In fact, both countries still considered their long-standing relationship with the traditional major powers as crucial.

In short, it was the Vorster administration that nurtured and formalised the ROC-RSA relations; with the same position in international affairs, anti-Communist, and with complementary forms in economic and trade interaction, the friendly relations grew stronger from 1976 to 1980. However, in order not to be a diplomatic nuisance, the two

countries worked together discreetly, keeping a low-profile. The former Foreign Minister said that the achievement of the ROC's alliance with the RSA is that it deterred Communism from coming to Africa for 10 years, indeed a candid comment.[31] They also said: My enemy's enemy is my friend, which indicated that the ROC was SA's friend and the PRC was SA's enemy.

Premier Sun's Visit and Prime Minister P W Botha's Visit

Premier Sun Yun-suan who was Minister of Communications in 1969, then became Minister of Economic Affairs before becoming Premier in May 1978. The Twelve Construction Projects were launched as he entered the premiership. He won the trust of both industrialists and businessmen.

At the invitation of Prime Minister P.W. Botha, Premier Sun and Mrs. Sun, accompanied by an entourage of 31 delegates and 24 journalists from Taipei, paid an official visit to South Africa during March 1980. Among Premier Sun's entourage were the Minister of State Kuo-ting Li; Minister of Communications, Lin Chin-sheng; Chief of the General Staff in the Ministry of National Defence, Admiral Soong Chang-chi; Political Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, Edward Y Kuan; the Director-General of the Government Information Office, Dr James Soong, and other high-ranking officials. Premier Sun and his entourage held discussions with their South African counterparts on matters of mutual interest. The first issue concerned the status of Chinese in South Africa. The South African government agreed that it would try to eliminate the chronic discrimination against the Chinese through amendment of legislation, but cautioned the ROC delegation that this matter might have complex implications regarding the treatment of the RSA's Asian population (implied, Indian descendants), which numbered nearly one million. It was feared that if the Chinese were granted full constitutional rights as white South Africans, other racial groups, particularly the Asians, would make similar demands. Therefore, there was a tacit understanding that since the Chinese population in SA was relatively small, the SA government was willing to improve its treatment of the Chinese by granting them "honorary white" status, so long as the Chinese understood the complexity of the racial situation and the political sensitivity without openly publicising this

tacit understanding.[32]

The two Prime Ministers also discussed the formation of a "Fourth World". The concept of forming a "Fourth World" by the pariah states such as the RSA, the ROC, Israel, Paraguay, and Chile was first brought up by P.W. Botha during the second round of summit meetings held on March 11, 1980 in Cape Town. P.W. Botha expressed his view that because the RSA was deeply disillusioned with Western vacillation and unjustified hostility to SA, his government was in favour of the formation of the "Fourth World" by the medium-sized powers to strengthen mutual cooperation, to break out of isolation and to solicit the recognition and support for these states.[33] Despite the desire to break out of international isolation, each pariah state had its own agenda and different constraints. During the summit meeting, Premier Sun was of the opinion that the formation of a "Fourth World" by these pariah states was unrealistic and was not feasible. Finally, the two Prime Ministers agreed that the two countries should start to strengthen bilateral co-operation as the first step and then gradually expand the scope of co-operation to other pariah states.[34]

Premier Sun's visit also offered an opportunity for the two governments to exchange views on mutual diplomatic support. A proposal was made by Foreign Minister Pik Botha for each country to render necessary support to the other by lobbying its close diplomatic allies to improve their relations with the ROC or the RSA. The ROC would attempt to convince Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Paraguay, Costa Rica, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Panama to improve their relations with the RSA; while the RSA would approach Botswana, the U.K., France and West Germany, seeking to enhance relations with the ROC.[35] As a result of this official visit, the following six important agreements and one procurement contract for uranium were entered into and signed between the two governments:

- Agreement on the Co-operation of ROC-RSA Defence Industries (Confidential).
- Agreement on the Reciprocity of granting Most Favoured Nation (MFA) status in respect of navigation and shipping.
- Aviation Agreement.
- Agreement of the Reciprocal Exemption of the Income Tax on Aviation & Navigation.

- Agreement on the Co-operation of Science and Technology.
- Exchange of Personnel between the National Science Council of the Executive Yuan of the ROC and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research of the RSA.[36]

Mr. Botha said that the agreements were precursors of others which would benefit commerce, communications and future co-operation, "Visits of representatives of both the public and private sector covering all fields of cooperation between us will be important to maintain the momentum which your visit and conclusion of the agreements between us have generated." The Grand Cross of the Order of Good Hope was conferred on Premier Sun when he paid a courtesy call on the State President at his official residence, Tuinhuys. Before the order was conferred, Foreign Minister Pik Botha explained that it honoured those who had promoted South Africa's international relations.[37]

At the state banquet held in Cape Town on March 12, 1980, Premier Sun stated: Four years ago the level of our respective representation was elevated from consular to that of diplomatic, the foundation of our friendship further consolidated, and the co-operation further strengthened. …And I am also pleased to announce that a purchase contract of approximately 400 tons of uranium from South Africa between the period of 1984 and 1990 amounting to US$400 million will be signed this coming Friday, March 14.[38] P.W. Botha echoed the viewpoint of Premier Sun by emphasing that "We both know the meaning of integrity in politics and integrity in friendship. Both our countries can point to phenomenal post-war economic growth despite international problems we have had to face. Your visit has placed us on the threshold of significant development in our relations."[39]

In summary, the visit to SA by the PM of the ROC Mr. Sun, underline the cordial relations that existed between the two countries and presage a further strengthening of the bonds. It provided the ground work for further bilateral co-operation in ROC-RSA relations by nurturing mutual understanding and a value system between the leaders of the two friendly countries. Subsequent to Premier Sun's visit, a SA official delegation led by P.W. Botha and his wife visited Taipei during October 13-17, 1980. The delegation was comprised of 66 officials, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Pik

Botha; Minister of Transport Affairs, H.S. Schoeman; Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism, D.J. de Villiers; the Director General of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, Brand Fourie, as well as the wives of the officials and 19 journalists representing the major media of SA.[40] The media group included The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the South African Press Association (SAPA), The Star, Pretoria News, Beeld, The Cape Times, Die Burger, The Daily Dispatch, The Mirror, The Sunday Times, Rapport and the Rand Daily Mail.

During his visit, P.W. Botha met with President Chiang Ching-Kon on October 15, 1980, and held two rounds of talks with his counterpart, Premier Sun. The two sides reached a consensus that because both countries were strategically important and their common enemy was Communist expansion, the ROC and the RSA should augment both their national strength and mutual co-operation to further contribute to the cause of the free world. They agreed that while the ROC could be viewed as the cornerstone of security in the west Pacific, holding the key to Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia, the RSA held the strategic position of a gateway to the Indian and Atlantic oceans.[41] After two rounds of thorough discussion on the implementation of relevant mutual co-operation agreements, P.W. Botha invited Taiwan to become involved in development projects in the Homelands; a major co-operation project was to be in the field of exploring energy sources and developing heavy industries.[42] Botha also suggested that the two countries could co-operate in the use of nuclear power "for peaceful purposes".

Having served as Minister of Defence for 14 years, P.W. Botha toured military installations was impressed by the ROC's well-organised and well-trained military forces. He and his delegation were also in favor of the ROC's social, economic, cultural and technological developments. Two days after the conclusion of the visit, the two countries signed an agreement to boost trade and technical co-operation. A joint statement was issued committing both countries to opposing Communism.[43] Prime Minister Botha's visit was the first official foreign trip in his capacity as Prime Minister–heading a 20-strong delegation. As this was the first time that a South African Prime Minister had set foot on the soil of Taiwan, the visit was covered with massive publicity in both the ROC and the RSA. Before the visit, the government and people of RSA did not know

much about the ROC because of the differences in cultural background and geographical distance. Due to prominent media coverage, Botha's visit helped to change the perception of the two countries towards each other. The visit had also highlighted an awareness of the real situation of what each country could offer to each other. Many journalists were surprised to witness the remarkable progress and achievements of the ROC. Many of them did not expect to see that the ROC was so progressive in some fields of its developments, which were worth emulation by the RSA.

P.W. Botha proclaimed "SA is proud to have the Republic of China as a trusted friend." He further declared that "We have every reason to co-operate, not only because we have a common enemy, but more positively, because we have a great deal to learn from each other and a great deal to gain." Botha's declaration was a clear reflection of the growing partnership between the two countries.[44] Premier Sun's visit to the RSA in March 1980 and Prime Minister Botha's return visit to the ROC in October 1980, cultivated the close relationship between the two countries. With the exchange of visits of the two Prime Ministers, good will and trust developed, and the significant events held profound practical consequences. These enhanced the mutual understanding and the foundation of a long-term partnership between the ROC and the RSA had been laid.

The cordial partnership lasted for almost one decade until P.W. Botha's stepping down as party leader after suffering a stroke in February 1989. In the ROC's view, the ruling years of P.W. Botha, from 1978 to 1989, were a period of cordial partnership in the history of the ROC-RSA relations. The close diplomatic and political links supported various economic and strategic co-operation projects, and new economic frontiers were unfolding for ROC entrepreneurs and businessmen in terms of investments and trade with the RSA.[45]

After accepting the invitation from Pik Botha, Foreign Minister Fu-sung Chu, accompanied by his wife and three officials, made his first official visit to the RSA from May 28 to June 4, 1981. The main purpose was to participate in the celebrations of the Twentieth Anniversary of South Africa as a Republic and to discuss mutual relations with his counterpart, Pik Botha. He was the first ROC foreign minister to pay an official visit

to South Africa, and his visit symbolised the cordial ties existing between the two countries.[46]

During the one-week visit, Chu paid a courtesy call on Marais Viljoen, the State President, and a courtesy call on P.W. Botha, the Prime Minister, to deliver a letter from the President of the ROC and another from the Premier of the ROC respectively. Chu and his delegation met Pik Botha and Brand Fourie and exchanged views on the world situation with special emphasis on Asia and Africa. Chu urged the SA Government to stand with the ROC to fight international Communism. He also toured SA military installations. As the request of the SA Government, Foreign Minister Chu was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Order of Good Hope to honour his distinguished contribution in the promotion of ROC-RSA cordial relations.[47]

Prime Minister Botha addressed a large crowd of celebrants on the Republic Day 20th anniversary in Outeniqua Park, paying special tribute to the hard-working and devoted people of Taiwan, who shared with the people of South Africa a role as guardians.[48] He said, "They are fighting for freedom in the South China Sea – and we are guarding the Cape Sea route." At a banquet given in his honour by R.F. Botha on June 3, 1981, Foreign Minister Chu said, "I wish to point out that the close co-operation between our two countries in various fields during the last couple of years and the efforts that have been made to promote such co-operation are signs of will-power and determination in their fight for survival. And it is gratifying to note that in order to ward off threats to national existence, our two countries have been doing all they can to build and strengthen their sinews, without fanfare but with conviction and confidence to win."[49]

When Foreign Minister Chu was in SA, the ROC Naval Goodwill Squadron was invited by the South African Navy to visit South Africa's ports for the first time. The squadron consisted of two destroyers, one supply vessel and about 1,400 officers and cadets. Members of the Marine Corps were overwhelmed by the warm reception and generous hospitality accorded them in all the 10 cities and towns where their performances became part of South Africa's overall celebration programmes. In addition, 55 pieces of reproductions of objects of art from the National Palace Museum Collection

were exhibited in SA for the general public during the festival. This exhibition served as the beginning of systematic and periodic cultural exchanges between two countries.

Prior to his departure, Foreign Minister Chu held a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on June 4, 1981. He first spoke warmly of the ties of friendship between the ROC and the RSA and declared that "we want to share our experiences with our friends and we also want to exchange information… to work out programs against such Communist infiltration and subversion". When asked about the ROC's Africa ties, he simply made it clear that the ROC government was not concerned about ties with other black African states, and he did not believe that the ROC's links with the RSA would really harm the ROC's ties with other countries in Africa.[50] It was evident that the ROC government considered the ROC-RSA bilateral relations as important as diplomatic ties with other African countries, and it had no fear that its growing links with SA might jeopardise its friendly relations with those countries. Foreign Minister Chu was gratified to see how South Africans treated the ROC nationals as brothers and sisters during the Republic Day Twentieth Anniversary. His official visit was of great political signifince.

Official Mutual Visits

After the diplomatic setback in the 1970s, especially the severing of diplomatic relations with the USA in 1979, the ROC treated the RSA as one of the top four diplomatic allies in its 28 friendly countries. Having isolation in the international community, the two countries supported each other. An important aspect was their efforts to promote mutual understanding through visits by prominent personalities from both countries. Various delegations from different governmental departments visited the other country every year to chart the course of bilateral co-operation projects. Each country backed the other's diplomatic stance. High-level exchange of visits was further continued. On the ROC side, following the visit of Foreign Minister Fu-sung Chu, Minister of Finance Hsu Li-teh visited South Africa in September 1982. Two months later, the Minister of Economic Affairs, Chao Yao-tung and the chairman of the Vocational Assistance Commission for Retired Servicemen of the Executive Yuan, General Cheng Wei-yuan, visited SA separately. In April 1983, the Chief of the ROC Defence Force, General Hau Pei-tsun visited

the RSA and SWA to strengthen military co-operation. In May 1983, Vice Premier Chiu Chung-huan and Minister of Transport Lien Chan paid a visit to the RSA. After Premier Sun suffered a stroke and resigned from the government, Premier Yu Kuo-hwa, his successor, paid an official visit to the RSA in July 1984. ROC Vice- President Lee Teng-hui visited SA for the third time in September 1984 to attend the ceremonies involving the inauguration of the new Tricameral Constitution and the new State President of the RSA. The Deputy Premier of the ROC, Lin Yang-kang, also visited SA in 1985. Inauguration ceremonies of SA's seventh State President De Klerk on September 20, 1989, at Pretoria, was attened by Dr. K Huang, Minister without Portfolio on behalf of the ROC.[51]

From the RSA side, distinguished visitors to the ROC included Dr. Hilgard Muller, Foreign Minister in 1979; R.F. Botha, Foreign Minister in 1980; Dr. P.G..J. Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development in 1982; J.W. Greeff, Speaker of the House of Assembly in 1983; Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance in 1984; P.W. Steyn, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs in July 1984; D.J. de Villiers, Minister of Trade and Industry in 1985; F.W. de Klerk, Minister of National Education in 1985; General M.A. Malan, Minister of Defence in 1986; A.L. Manley, permanent representative to UN in 1987; Danie Steyn, Minister of Economic Affair and Technology; Eli Louw, Minister of Transport; and Greyling Wentzel, Minister of Agriculture.[52]

In the 1980s with Western countries using sanctions and embargos, and experiencing confrontation and riots internally, South Africa faced a difficult period. In such an environment, the frequent visits by high-ranking officials from the ROC were a strong symbol of support to the RSA. Although the ROC was still one of SA's reliable allies, the ROC government urged the fractions to engage in negotiation and end the violence.

In the eyes of the ROC, the RSA was getting better and better. Ambassador H.K. Yang in his Seventy-fourth National Day Anniversary speech said: "In SA in 1985, we were pleased to see significant changes taking place. Among other things we saw the new constitution brought into effect. As has been contemplated or planned, apartheid in all its ramifications is in the process of phasing out. For legislature, there is now a trilateral parliament, with the Coloured and Indians each having its own House: House of

Delegates for the Indians and House of Representatives for the Coloureds. The Blacks too have been promised citizenship and decision-making power at high level. Not only will they be brought into the new system, but also they are to have an equitable role to play in the new dispensation. Who can say that these are not significant changes? As all these changes are brought to pass, we as friends of South Africa can do no less than to wish both its Government and its people well."[53]

Homelands

There are various tribes in South Africa who constitute the bulk of the people in this country. Under the name of so-called separate development, four out of the 10 tribes got "independent status" during the 1980s. They were Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Trankei. Owing to this special political development inside SA, no country in the world recognised those areas as being fully independent countries. Actually they were homelands, and only SA recognised them as countries with an exchange of ambassadors. On December 6, 1986, when Bophuthatswana obtained "independence", Ambassador Yang upon the instruction of the ROC government wrote a letter of congratulation as a friendly gesture to the "President" Chief Lucas M. Mangope.[54]

SA wanted the ROC to recognise those countries and establish official relations to demonstrate to the world that SA was not the only country sending ambassadors to the "homelands". Foreign Minister Chu said positively that the ROC wanted to make friends with all democratic and peace-loving countries of the world but would not have any official relations with those homeland countries whether they were independent or not.[55] SA accepted the position of the ROC towards the homelands.

However, the ROC did invite the leaders and some high-ranking political figures to visit Taiwan. For example, the President of the Republic of Venda, Frank N. Ravele, led a delegation to visit the ROC on September 26, 1989[56] to promote mutual understanding and encourage non-political co-operation. Hence all these visits were underway maintaining a very low profile not to cause unnecessary speculation or have further implications. The government and the embassy of the ROC also encouraged Taiwanese busi-

nessmen, entrepreneurs, and small and medium enterprises to invest in the homelands, to expand their businesses and to create job opportunities, a move which proved very successful for both countries.

Since the ROC was a close friend of the RSA, the ROC's attitude towards apartheid was very sensitive and was handled appropriately. Ambassador Yang explained: "We do not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. All this is consistent with the UN Charter on non-interference in other countries' domestic affairs. Let the South Africans find their own solution. The country (SA) has its problems, but these are inherited from the past. The government of P.W. Botha wanted to bring about changes, but circumstances have made this difficult." [57] Foreign Minister Chu answering the apartheid issue also said that the ROC was always in favour of harmony and equity among racial groups and that it would never interfere in any countries' domestic affairs.

P.W. Botha was in power as Prime Minister from 1978 and stepped down on February 1989 as President of the RSA, after suffering a stroke. Ambassador Yang came to South Africa in 1979 and left in May 1989, the most difficult years in the history of South Africa. The relations between the two countries were indeed very cordial and at their best. On behalf the South Africa, Foreign Minister R.F. Botha conferred the Grand Cross of the Order of Good Hope to ambassador Yang for his enormous contribution and great achievement in promoting the friendly relations between the two countries. During that period, both countries were very satisfied about the close relations with regard to trade and in matters of a more political nature. Numerous inter-governmental visits at all levels took place, including attendance at a variety of educational and training establishments.[58]

Economic Cooperation and Investment

Economic and trade relations were one of the most decisive aspects of the bilateral relations. After 1971, the ROC-RSA interaction included investment, trade, air links, tourism, fishing, loans and technical co-operation. In the 1960s, many African countries had become independent and joined the UN. The ROC established diplomatic ties with

friendly nations and sent agricultural missions to Africa with a view to winning their support in the UN. Because of all the political considerations, the ROC did not give much attention to economic and trade relations with SA, but the political and economic relations between the two countries were equally important. In other words, because the political and diplomatic ties were very close, the economic and trade relations would become very fruitful. Through the two governments' joint efforts in creating an environment conducive to sound and orderly economic development, the ROC-RSA bilateral economic and trade ties expanded achieving some positive results. In the 1970s, the two countries signed four agreements; in the 1980s, the two countries signed 15 agreements.[59] More precisely, those agreements covered the area of air services, trade, tariffs, agriculture, culture, technical cooperation, mineral and energy affairs and medical co-operation. With these agreements in place, the legal foundation and framework of the economic co-operation between the two countries was solidified.

Taiwan is an island country which lacks natural resources, but from the late 1960s, Taiwan laid the foundation for its outstanding economic growth. On June 20, 1978, Taiwan was listed as the twenty-fifth largest trading country in the world by the International Monetary Fund.[60] Agriculture, the main productive sector of Taiwan at the beginning of its development, was hindered by the problems of high farmland rentals, insecure tenure, and small tracts of arable land. The land reform was aimed at turning tenants into land owners, giving incentives to increase production, and improving agricultural productivity. Since the 1980s, Taiwan has vigorously pursued massive privatisation as an irrevocable trend. Besides, in the terms of numbers, Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) have dominated Taiwan's manufacturing sector. For most of the time in Taiwan's economic transition, SMEs have maintained the lion's share (more than 98%) of all manufacturing firms.[61]

There are a few hundred thousand small businesses dotting the landscape of the small island. It is these that have powered the economic and industrial growth of Taiwan after the agricultural take-off. For this reason, the "Made in Taiwan" label of the country's high quality products is recognisable around the world. Another obvious example is the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) that earned much foreign capital for Taiwan. The

ROC government also built the EPZ in Subic Bay in the Philippines.

It was the 1980s, however, which were critical for Taiwan's industrial period. This era was spurred by vigorous government promotion of strategic, technology-intensive industries such as electronics, precision machinery, industrial automation, and semi-conductors. In 1981, for instance, the first Science-Based Industrial Park for Taiwan was set up in Hsinchu. This was modelled extensively on the famous Silicon Valley in California. A decade after the Science Park was established, top earners in Taiwan were machinery electronic products, textiles, basic metals and articles manufactured from them, information and communication products, transport equipment and electrical machinery products.[62] For almost 40 years, the Taiwanese economy was one of the fastest growing in the world, posting an annual growth rate of 8.9 per cent over the period 1953 to 1989, approximately double the average of the developing nations over the same period (4.71 percent). In short, the major lessons from the Taiwanese experience were agricultural reform, import substitution, export-led economic growth guided by the comparative advantages of international trade and a concrete commitment to free trade.[63]

No single factor explained Taiwan's extraordinarily successful development. Rather, Taiwan's economic miracle was initiated and maintained by a number of key factors that remained relevant to all developing countries. These factors include a favourable international environment, domestic stability, frugality and hard work, foreign direct investment, market economy, manufacturing, high productivity, export-led growth, government guidance, the super-technocrats, export processing zones and science industrial parks, and especially the vocational training system and small and medium enterprises.[64] As time passed, Taiwan experienced phenomenal growth and transformed itself in less than 40 years from an agrarian rice-and-sugar economy to the world's fifteenth biggest trading power with the largest gold and foreign reserves, amounting to more than US$100 billion.

South Africa has a well-developed formal sector based on mining and manufacturing and a smaller, but important, sector based on agriculture and services. SA is an in-

dustrializing country with most of the characteristics associated with developing economies – a division between formal and the informal sector, uneven distribution of wealth and income, a dependence on commodity exports, and a legacy of government intervention. South Africa is the world's biggest producer of gold and platinum and one of the leading producers of base metals and coal. South Africa's mineral wealth is found in diverse geological formations, some of which are unique and very extensive by world standards.[65]

According to the US Department of State, it is the world's leading producer of gold, gem diamonds, vanadium, and ferro-chromium, and a major producer of platinum-group metals, titanium, antimony, asbestos, and manganese. South African reserves of manganese, platinum-group metals, and chrome ore are each greater than half of the world's known supplies; reserves of gold are almost half of total known reserves. Gold mining is the most critical sector in the South African economy, accounting for about 40% of all export proceeds, and other minerals account for a further 20%. The price of gold went from $35 an ounce in the 1960s to an average of $130 in the 1970s to $450 in 1980-1985.[66] The only problem is inadequate petroleum resources, but South Africa's SASOL corporation provides a coal gasification/liquefaction process to produce petroleum products and is capable of providing an estimated 50% of South Africa's petroleum requirements.

During the apartheid years, economic goals came second to political objectives in SA. The SA government protected and deliberately encouraged large-scale investment in projects that would enhance the country's strategic self-sufficiency. This included state initiatives such as Armscor, Sasol, Atlantis and Mossgas. The outcome of these policies was that SA displayed its best performance in export products such as minerals, basic manufactured goods, chemicals, and transport equipment.[67] In a purely economic context, the ROC's and the RSA's national interests coincided during the 1980s, and the mutual attraction of the two economies was important for the gradual deepening of the ROC-RSA economic and trade relations in the 1970s and the 1980s. As the two economies were basically complementary, each country pursued common economic and strategic interests, in particular when SA's major trading partners imposed international

sanctions.[68] Under the threat of economic isolation, the RSA naturally looked to the ROC for assistance in countering the economic sanctions imposed by Western countries.

With a view to handling the various issues arising from bilateral economic relations, the two countries founded three kinds of institutional structures.

- The two governments initiated the ROC-RSA Ministerial Conference on Economic and Technical Cooperation in 1977. This conference took place once a year alternatively in the respective capitals. Initially, the Ministerial Conference was co-chaired by the Deputy-Minister of Economic Affairs of the ROC and the Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industries and Consumer Affairs of the RSA during 1977-1978. From 1979 onwards, based on the recommendation made by the SA Government, the Conference was upgraded to the level of full Ministerial Level.
- The RSA/ROC Chamber of Economic Relations (also known as SAROC) in Pretoria and its counterpart, the ROC/RSA Economic Council (also known as ROCSA) in Taipei, were established simultaneously in 1982. The main purpose of SAROC and ROCSA was to facilitate the exchange of visits between the private sectors of the two countries and closer co-operation of the organisations that had been established to promote trade and the enhancement of the ROC-RSA economic and trade relations.[69]
- The contact between the China External Trade Development Council (CETRA) and the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (SAFTO) was another channel of interaction at a private business level. The principal function of CETRA was, and still is, to advance close co-operation between the ROC government and industries to develop foreign trade relations with its trading partners. Association of ROC Industrialists in Southern Africa also played an important role in this regard.

The first Economic and Technical Cooperation Conference was held on March 7, 1977 in Taipei. The ROC Vice Economics Minister S.C. Liu and the RSA Deputy Minister G.J.J.F. Steyn co-chaired the conference. The Second Conference was held on August 21, 1978, in Pretoria, with the ROC Vice Economics Minister Wang I-ting and Deputy Minister T.F. Van der Walter co-chairing. The Third Conference was upgraded to Ministerial Level and was held on December 12, 1979, in Pretoria. The ROC Minister of Economic Affairs Kwang-shih Chang and Minister of Trade and Industries of South

Africa, Dr. Schalk co-chaired this conference.[70] According to the minutes of the first conference, the conclusions were summarized as follows:

- Removal or modification of area restriction applied by the government of the ROC on imports from the RSA.
- Removal of Tariff and Non-tariff barriers against ROC's products
- Exchange of experience in respect of customs administration
- Co-operation between the television manufacturers of both countries in the manufacture of 16-inch and smaller television sets in SA
- Exchange of information on industrial technology and trade
- Exchange of visits of business for the improvement of trade relationships between the two countries.
- Agricultural, scientific and technical co-operation.[71]

Furthermore, the ROC Minister of State and Governor of the Central Bank, Yu Kou-hwa paid a visit to SA in September 1981 to contact the authorities and private sectors concerned in economic and financial fields to discuss matters of bilateral co-operation. The Minister of Finance, Li-teh Hsu, visited SA in December 1983. On the SA side, F.W. de Klerk, Minister of Energy and Mineral Affairs, visited the ROC in 1981. O.P.F. Horwood, Minister of Finance, paid a visit to the ROC from September 13 to 15, 1982. Dr. P.G.J. Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development visited Taiwan from July 15 to 23, 1983. Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, and G.P.C. de Kock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, both visited the ROC in 1985. All these decision-makers were just names of a few delegations that came to the ROC to discuss matters of mutual concern, especially in the fields of energy, finance and trade. In the 1980s, the two countries signed 15 agreements, which covers reciprocal treatment of Navigation, Scientific and Technological Co-operation, Meteorological Co-operation, Mineral and Energy Affairs, and so forth. These agreements proved that economic and trade interactions were close and that both sides were satisfied with the results and achievements. In short, the annual Minister's Economic and Technological Co-operation Conference, together with visits by high-ranking officials from both countries, and the signing of agreements (altogether 15 in the 1980s), are the main substance of the close economic co-operation which cemented the two countries and was the core

value of all the co-operation.

Dr. Hilgard Muller emphasised: "We prefer schemes which help others in the long run to help themselves. In this field South Africa has proved her reliability as a partner. There are no hidden strings attached to such co-operation. The Republic of China is an example of productive co-operation based on common interests with a resultant expansion of fruitful relations."[72] Minister of Economics of the ROC, Mr. Kwang-shih Chang said the ROC believed both countries were at a similar stage of development and had to depend greatly on developed countries. They should depend more on their own efforts to develop their own economies. That's the underlying reason for our wanting close cooperation and permanent relations with South Africa."

Foreign trade was the major impetus behind Taiwan's economic development. South Africa was Taiwan's main trading partner in Africa and during the close economic interaction cultivated in the 1980s. The bilateral trade between the ROC and the RSA in the 1950s was rather insignificant, even before 1971, the trade volume were very limited. It was only with the maize agreement in 1973 and the trade agreement in 1975 that both countries had the most favoured status, opening the door to further trade relations. The quality of the South African maize was very good and the agreement was extended many times. For a time maize was the biggest import to Taiwan. Without doubt, the 1973 Maize Agreement was the watershed of the economic relations between the ROC and the RSA.[73]

The trade volume was increasing after 1973, and the two-way trade reached R8.3 million in 1977.[74] The establishment of diplomatic ties provided further momentum to the expansion of bilateral trade. The Minister of Mining and Energy, F.W. de Klerk, visited Taiwan in January 1981, and agreement was reached for cooperation in mining and the refining of coal, zinc, copper and aluminium. SA undertook to supply Taiwan with 10,000 ton of magnesium and 5,000 ton of nickel p.a.[75] Hence, trade with Taiwan increased rapidly – from US$27.6 million in 1980 to US$400 million in 1981. Over those years, there were five SA trade missions to Taiwan and 15 reciprocal missions.[76]

SA and the ROC were developed closer economic ties quickly after the visit of Prime Minister P.W. Botha to the ROC. F.W. de Klerk told the annual meeting of the SA-ROC chamber of Economic Relations in Johannesburg on June 25, 1984, "The 1983 bilateral trade agreement between SA and the ROC had resulted in strong commercial relations that were mutually advantageous to the two countries. This growing interaction had an impact beyond commerce and trade, and most important, the two countries shared a common goal – to promote trade and sound relations."[77] After the fruitful visit to SA in September 1984, Mr. Loh Jen-kong, the Minister of Finance, told the Sunday Star that for the first time since the two countries concluded trade agreements, the balance of trade was now in favour of the ROC. Loh replied: "The fact is that we are not looking for a trade balance with you; we would rather have a balance in favour of SA because we want to buy more South African goods in future, especially maize and iron ore."[78]

The two-way trade between SA and the ROC continued to grow, just as the cordial friendship and co-operation between the two countries flourished. In 1986, the trade between the RSA and the ROC totalled US$550 million with a balance of US$102 million in favour of South Africa. Although the trade between the RSA and the ROC increased significantly in 1986, the trade volume in terms of percentage of the total external trade of the two countries was small; i.e., the trade in 1986, which amounted to US$550 million, represented only 0.8% of the total external trade of the ROC, and 1.6% of that of the RSA in that year.

There were some concerns about the increase of trade between the two countries being mainly due to the sanctions imposed by other countries on SA. Ambassador Yang explained: "The major products the ROC bought from SA were base metals, maize and coal. In 1986, the ROC bought about two million tons of coal from SA, accounting for 20% of its total coal imports. We should realise that in 1986, SA exports to the ROC represented only 4.5% of its total export. The remainder went to Europe and other countries. The ROC major export items to the RSA were electronics, textiles and plastic products. We would also find that the trade growth had nothing to do with economic sanctions imposed by other countries."[79] Ambassador Yang said the real reason for improved trade was because of better understanding between the people and attributed the

remarkable growth of trade to the revaluation of European currencies and the Japanese Yen against the US dollar, which made the price of ROC exported goods more competitive on the international market.

In brief, trade and technical co-operation were the main links between the ROC and the RSA, but in the realm of technical co-operation, significant progress was registered. This had been extended in many fields with tangible results beneficial to the people of both countries. Over the years, South Africa had established a special trade relationship with the ROC. The SAROC chamber of Economic Relations made a valuable contribution in the development of this relationship, and the chamber may have an even greater role to play in the future. The chairman of SAROC, Mr. Allen Sealey, said in an address: "SA was one of Taiwan's smallest trading partners. If SA is to repay its foreign debt and re-establish its credit worthiness so as to once again attract the foreign capital it needs for development, we will have to emulate the ROC's trade performance. Given the required time and the right climate, we could go a long way towards achieving the levels reached by Taiwan."[80]

On the South Africa side, despite all the political obstacles, SA managed to engage in considerable trade promotion activities. In 1988, South Africa's permanent exhibition – the largest in floor space – was opened at the Taipei World Trade Center. Two-way trade between SA and Taiwan soared by 120% to over US$ 900 million in the first half of 1988, compared with the same period in 1987.[81] SA was estimated to be Taiwan's twelfth largest import source in 1988. The primary items exported to Taiwan by SA included platinum, gold, silver and other precious metals; coal, iron and steel; aluminum and aluminum products; wool and textile products; copper and copperware; pulp; petrochemicals and basic industrial chemicals; paper and paper board; rice; silicate minerals; canned food and juice; veneer and plywood and reconstituted woods. Taiwan's trade liberalisation policy had been a boon to SA exporters, with price-competitive SA products being well received. The two-way trade between the two countries reached US$1,539 million in 1990,[82] which was also a harvest year for SA's economic diplomacy.

Taiwanese investment in South Africa

Taiwan's political leaders have regularly called for Taiwanese citizens to assist in the development of African economies and for business to expand investments in Africa. Taiwan's investments in Africa were extremely limited except in South Africa.[83] After P.W. Botha visited the ROC, Premier Sun made it very clear that the ultimate goal of the ROC –RSA ties was to take advantage of South Africa's minerals, energy resources and metal products to promote the ROC's economic development. In accordance with the spirit of this guideline, the domestic policies of the RSA such as apartheid, the homelands, democracy and human rights were not the concern of the ROC government.[84]

The beginning of Taiwanese investment occurred during the 1980s and stemmed from two major factors. First, in the early 1980s, Taiwan began to enjoy high economic growth of more than 10 percent and relaxed exchange controls. This encouraged Taiwanese companies to invest abroad. Secondly, South Africa under apartheid had introduced many incentives to attract foreign capital, including tax breaks, allowances and the financial rand. Taiwan's government also played a major role in promoting investment in SA when the two maintained diplomatic ties.[85] The number of factories relocated from Taiwan increased in 1985 to 36, reached over 100 in 1987, and 300 in 1990.[86] Many of these investors poured in their capital investment without doing sound prior market research. Many actually were encouraged to relocate in SA by friends or family members, since most of their businesses were small-to medium-sized family- owned factories. Prime Minister Mpephu of Venda and Phatudi of Lebowa both visited Taiwan in 1983, and President Sebe of Ciskei traveled there in 1984. The purpose of their visits was to lure foreign investors.

Taiwanese industrialists had invested US$60 million by early 1987 to establish 68 factories in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. Such labour-intensive investment is significant primarily for the homeland concerned by creating employment. In economic terms, the investments created jobs in areas of extremely high unemployment, and politically they gave an element of recognition to homeland governments shunned by most of the world.[87] Many products manufactured by Taiwanese investors

in South Africa were computers, knitted sweaters, socks, electronics, surgical gloves, shoes, yarn and packing tapes. However, Taiwanese investment in the homelands was small compared to investments there of South African origin. "Many investors in the ROC were afraid of unrest in SA. They only saw that affairs were stable and calm when they came here," ROC's economic counsellor in Johannesburg, C.C. Kan, said.[88]

Two successful factories are worthwhile to understand: Union Drug (Pty) Ltd. and Mustek Electronics (Pty) Ltd. The former is the largest latex glove manufacturer in SA, rated among the top five in the world. With five modern automatic latex glove manufacturing machines, each line can produce 70,000 pieces of surgical or examination gloves per day. The latter is the RSA Mustek Group. Mustek SA was founded in 1986 as a supplier of computer and associated equipment to local dealers and corporations. Mustek produces locally the well-known Mercer computer brand in Midrand and has grown significantly. ROC industrialists who started to invest in SA from the early 1980s have made a meaningful contribution to the economic development of SA, creating needed jobs in the former homelands areas and the economically peripheral parts of the country.[89]

Based on the agreement between the ROC and the RSA for the Reciprocal Treatment of Navigation, South African Airways began a weekly round-trip flight between Johannesburg and Taipei in November 1980 and increased its direct flights to twice a week from November 1987. This flight proved that more tourists, businessmen and visitors would visit Taiwan and South Africa, and this route which connected Johannesburg Mauritius, Hong Kong and Taipei, carried mail, freight and business goods, promoting the economic activities of both sides. Even though the two countries were geographically far apart, the ROC-RSA direct service by SAA brought the two states much closer together. It was obvious that the air-links not only facilitated the development of air transportation and the exchange of visits and tourism, but also further strengthened economic, cultural and other relations. The state-funded South African Tourist Bureau (SATOUR) also set up a branch office in Taipei, after SAA's direct feight to Taipei twice a week. SATOUR's Business Section encouraged more tourists from Taiwan to visit South Africa,

South Africa's commercial shipping company, the South African Marine Corporation Limited (Safmarine) started its regular service to the Far East including Taiwan in 1967.[90] But it was only when the two countries signed the Reciprocal Treatment of Navigation in March, 1980, that the real co-operation in shipping swung into action. During the 1980s, in addition to Safmarine, Nantai Shipping Lines, Uniglory Marine Corporation and Kien Hung Shipping SA (Pty) Ltd. entered the shipping business and trade between the two countries was well served. Many vessels were busy at the seaports in Keelung and Kaohsiung as well as in Durban and Cape Town. The shipping business once again promoted two-way trade and transported the goods, machinery, equipment and investments from Taiwan to SA.

The bilateral cooperation agreement on fisheries dates back to 1978 when the ROC government concluded a Bilateral Agreement on Mutual Fishery Relations. In particular, the two countries agreed that they would promote future bilateral co-operation on such matters as exchanges of technical information and personnel and the improvement of utilisation and processing of catches. Based on this agreement, the annual bilateral consultation meeting was held in Cape Town to discuss such matters as the issue of permits to tuna vessels, total tuna catches within the South African fishery zone, levies, and quotas and security. The South African Government allowed fishing vessels of the ROC to catch the following species of fish and quantity of each species: Horse Mackerel 3,500 tons; Squid 1,700 tons; Hake 2,000 tons; other species, 15% by-catch on 7,200 tons.[91] Every year about 450 Chinese fishing vessels carried out their overhaul maintenance and purchased their supplies in Cape Town, contributing one hundred million rand to the revenue of that city.

The bilateral cooperation on fishing was an important facet of the ROC-RSA economic relations. While mutually beneficial to both countries, yet the co-operation worked more in the ROC's favour economically. Every year, approximately 450 ROC fishing vessels docked at Cape Town harbour for provisions such as fuel, food and water as well as for repairs or to sell their catches. To enable the seamen to have a secure place to rest, the ROC government, through the ROC consulate-General in Cape Town, spent R2.5 million on December 1, 1989, to rent a double story building as the Fishermen's

Club. The 24-year lease expires on November 30, 2013. The ROC government undertook to pay annual rentals, repairs and renovations of the premises to the South African authorities.[92]

South African agricultural exports include animal and vegetable products, processed foods and beverages. In 1987, farmers who settled in Ka Ngwane were growing rice that compared favourably with that produced in the ROC. The selected project area was situated in the Tonga Irrigation Scheme and there was about 350 ha of land under gravity irrigation. The first crop of rice was planted in October 1985, with rice experts from Taiwan watching the area closely.[93] The black farmers cultivated rice, yielding a harvest of almost three tons per hectare more than the yield achieved in the ROC. Similar rice projects were envisaged for the self-governing territory of Lebowa. The Director-General of the Department of Development Aid said this success story was a good example of what could be achieved through effective co-operation.[94]

During the 1980s, with co-operation taking place between forestry, mineral and energy sectors, especially the training programme of the Chinese steel company and ISCOR, and the encouragement of two-way investment activities, the two countries had already established a full-scale and comprehensive interchange and co-operation in economic, energy, investment and medical fields. The ROC even proposed to establish a Sino-South Africa Investment Corporation. With the Standard Bank of South Africa establishing a branch office in Taipei to promote business investments in 1989, together with the request to relax South African visa restrictions against ROC businessmen, the overall cordial ties between the two countries were greatly cultivated.

Military and Nuclear Cooperation

Military links between the ROC and the RSA were established in 1977 when the two countries exchanged military attachés. Both countries were isolated in the military domain and faced severe security threats. The ROC was under constant threat from the PRC for many decades and sought to develop its own strong national defence capabilities. The USA switching their recognition to the PRC in 1979 was a serious blow to the ROC's

national security, nullifying the USA-ROC Mutual Defence Treaty. Thus an urgent need existed to seek other sources of military technology to safeguard its national security.

Even though in November 1977, the UN Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo on SA, that UN member states had to implement the resolution, the country had continued to make remarkable progress in the production of the armaments necessary to defend itself and so increased the level of preparedness of the South African Defence Force. These developments resulted in far-reaching improvements in technology throughout the economy.[95]

Based on the belief that two countries were also anti-Communist, because Prime Minister P.W. Botha had been the Minister of Defence for 12 years, he had a keen interest in national defence. Thus official military co-operation between Taipei and Pretoria began on March 13, 1980 when Prime Minister Sun visited the RSA and signed a secret agreement on the Co-operation of the Defence Industries with Prime Minister Botha in Cape Town.[96] In accordance with Article II of this agreement, the ROC-RSA military cooperation encompassed the following fields:

- Research, development and exchange of know-how in respect of military/para-military equipment or armaments;
- Exchange of information in other related fields as may be determined from time-to-time;
- Bilateral training and reciprocal visits of personnel; and
- Reciprocal sale of military/para-military equipment, materials or armaments.[97]

The first ROC-RSA Defence Industry Co-operation Conference was held in Taipei on May 15, 1980, and the second in Pretoria on October 30 of the same year. From the third conference held in Taipei on April 18, 1981, the conference was held alternatively in Taipei and Pretoria once or twice each year.

Exchange visits by top-ranking military personnel of both countries were frequent. The Chief of General Staff of the ROC, Pei-tsun Hau visited SA from April 24 to May 3, 1983. General Hau was invested with the medal of Grand Cross of the Order by General Magnus Malan. General Malan, in presenting the decoration, said the close and friendly

relations enjoyed by the RSA and ROC Defence Forces were largely responsible for the high standard of co-operation that had existed between the two countries over the years, co-operation covering a broad spectrum of matters of mutual interest.[98] "The common ground of being obliged to look after ourselves and to fight the same enemy is constantly drawing us closer together." Most of the ROC Chiefs of General Staff and Commanders-in-Chief of the ROC Army, Navy and Air Force visited SA in the 1980s.

Most of the top South African generals and military commanding officers visited the ROC and were decorated with various medals in recognition of their contributions towards promoting the close military exchange and co-operation between the ROC and the RSA. The South African Minister of Defence paid official visits to the ROC many times, and General Malan said: Taiwan is almost my second hometown.[99] In 1984, General Johann Coetzee was awarded the ROC Medal of Yun Hai for promoting traditional friendship and military co-operation between the two countries.[100] The ROC also offered to set up a political warfare class to train South African military officers. The programme was set up for the purpose of helping friendly countries see clearly the nature and intrigue of international Communism, introducing them the theory and practice of "political warfare" so as to head off Communist infiltration and expansion, maintain social order, further people's welfare and safeguard national security.

To counter Communist expansion, the ROC assisted the RSA in setting up a monitoring station in a Pretoria suburb 1980 to decipher the Chinese Communist broadcasts, radio announcements, electronic transmissions and intelligence communications, and to gather information on the broadcasts from Moscow in the Chinese language as well. The exchange of intelligence and the monitoring of Communist activities in South Africa were important facets of the military co-operation between the ROC and the RSA.[101]

The ROC Naval Goodwill Squadron visited South Africa in May 1981, in celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Republic. Afterward, the ROC sent the Goodwill Squadron to South Africa many times, mainly docking in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban harbours. The Squadron consisted of two destroyers, one supply vessel and approximately 1,300 naval officers and cadets. In July 1985, the ROC dispatched a

Naval Task Group of three ships with 1,400 officers and midshipmen to visit SA for 15 days. The visit coincided with the South African Navy Week, July 8 to July 13, and the Durban Tattoo. Even though the value of Armscor's arms export to the ROC was limited, and the main item in the 1980s was ammunition, there were some exchange military medical co-operation and training programmes beneficial to both sides. Since South Africa was in the forefront of the struggle against Communism in Africa, while the ROC was playing a similar role in Asia and Indo-China, the two countries had much in common. Military co-operation had to maintain a low profile, with sensitivity and confidentiality. Both the RSA and the ROC were satisfied in general in the interactions in the military domain in the 1980s.

Nuclear Cooperation

There was a widespread belief in the 1980s that Israel, South Africa and the ROC, all isolated states, had nuclear weapons. South Africa had developed the capability to produce nuclear warheads.[102] This was to deter enemies that could invade the Republic, notably Ccommunists forces joined by African armies and exiled South African political movements. There was also co-operation in the development of a nuclear industry between the RSA and Israel.[103] The first nuclear power station in Chinshan, Taiwan had two nuclear reactors. The first reactor began to operate in 1977 and the second functioned as of December 1978. In the wake of the first world oil crisis of 1973, the ROC government hastened to build two more nuclear power stations. Construction of the ROC's second nuclear power plant commenced in November 1974 and the third nuclear power station was under construction as of May 1978.[104] In short, it was the ROC's seeking of an alternative supply of energy and its strategy of diversification that led to the development of its nuclear industry.

The ROC Prime Minister Chiang Ching-kuo declared, during an interview with journalists of the *United Press International* on September 17, 1975, that "The ROC does have the technical ability to make its own nuclear weapons, but it will never proceed to develop atomic bombs or nuclear weapons." South Africa had sufficient uranium reserves. Increasing international restrictions on the supply of conventional arms to South

Africa supported the argument that the country had virtually no alternative but to develop its own nuclear deterrents to counter an external threat.[105] In August 1977, the preparations of the Kalahari site for an underground test came to the notice of the super powers, by their surveillance satellites, and intense diplomatic pressure was brought to bear on the South African government.[106] Upon direct instruction of the head of government, the site was abandoned in August 1977.

During the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa had some serious doubts about the Non-Proliferation Treaty, but clearly the central reason for not accepting the treaty was to maintain the secrecy of a nuclear weapons programme.[107] The ROC's nuclear collaboration with the RSA had its origins from the contact made between the Atomic Energy Council of the ROC and Atomic Energy Board of the RSA in November 1979. The President of the AEB, J.W.L de Villiers visited Taiwan to evaluate the progress of the ROC in the nuclear field and the prospect of future nuclear energy co-operation, paving the way for further exchange of visits by high-ranking officials and nuclear scientists.

During Premier Sun's historical visit to South Africa in March 1980, arranged by the SA Government, Mr. Sun was accompanied by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Taiwan Power, Chen Lan-kao Vice Economics Minister Wang Yi-ting; and the Minister of State K.T. Li to the uranium enrichment pilot plant at Pelindaba. They were warmly received by A.J.A Roux, Chairman of UCOR, and briefed on the uranium enrichment process used by the UCOR pilot plant and the constraints of meeting SA's needs and exports in the course of time.[108] One of the achievements of this visit was that, a R400 million contract for SA to supply the ROC with 4,000 tons of uranium oxide concentrates from 1984 to 1990 was signed on March 14, 1980 by the chairman of Taiwan Power company and the President Chamber of Mines and Chairman of the Nuclear Fuels Corporation of SA (Nufcor).[109] Besides, the Minister of State, K.T. Li and A.J.A Roux, Chairman of UCOR (SA) signed the "Memorandum on Possible Collaboration between the ROC and the RSA in the fields of Conversion and Enrichment of Uranium." This memorandum thus can be considered as the first working document that ushered in the new era of ROC-RSA nuclear co-operation.

In 1981, two important visits from the SA government heightened the close nuclear co-operation. F.W. de Klerk, Minister of Mineral and Energy, in his first trip to Taiwan from January 5 to 10, 1981, visited the ROC's two nuclear power plants and discussed matters of mutual interest with the Minister of Economic Affairs, K.S. Chang. The bilateral discussions were mainly focused on energy co-operation and the RSA's export of minerals to the ROC. As a result of the visit, the two governments not only agreed to strengthen nuclear energy collaboration, but also to explore and expand cooperation in the field of minerals and energy resources. A.J.A Roux, Chairman of UCOR, paid a visit to Taipei from April 8 to 15, 1981. He was well received by S.L. Chien, Chairman of the ROC Atomic Energy Council. He was deeply impressed by the progress made by the ROC's nuclear industry and its advanced manufacturing industry as well.[110] Most of the joint venture in nuclear cooperation was largely due to his recommendation and proposals.

The main concern for the ROC-RSA joint operations was economic in nature, rather than military. In practice, the ROC-RSA nuclear relations also included the exchange of the latest nuclear technology, and equipment and to acquire the ROC's financing, which would help the RSA's nuclear enrichment production to expand. In terms of military co-operation, this kind of interaction between the two countries was conducted covertly, so as not to draw the attention of the West and the US.

However, things changed radically. On April 26, 1986, one of the nuclear reactors at Chernobyl in the Ukraine exploded, which drew world attention to the safely and security of the use of nuclear energy. The government in Taiwan faced tremendous pressure from the media, opposition and conservation groups. In December 1987, Colonel Chang Hsien-yi, a CIA spy infiltrated the CIST, got hold of the confidential nuclear research files and escaped to the US. The secret of the ROC's nuclear development programme and the country's nuclear links with the RSA were exposed.[111] After 1988, American intervention led the ROC government to gradually disengage itself from nuclear co-operation with the RSA.

One SAA plane flying from Taiwan to Johannesburg on November 28, 1987, ex-

ploded near Mauritius killing all passengers and crew. The media speculated that the reason for the explosion was that the airplane was loaded with nuclear material. This was never confirmed or clarified by either the RSA or the ROC governments. Being a nuclear threat did not enhance South Africa's international status and may have contributed to strengthening the perception of being a "rogue" state. It is therefore not surprising that within eight weeks of President P W Botha's fall from power, F.W. de Klerk ordered the complete cancellation of the nuclear weapons programme. In effect, De Klerk acknowledged that nuclear weapons were extremely expensive, unusable and an impediment to South Africa's full participation in the international system.[112] It also meant the termination of the two countries' nuclear ties.

Cultural Exchange and Cooperation

As the inheritor of an historical tradition stretching back thousands of years, the ROC offered decent, traditional oriental cultural fare. Cultural cooperation promotes mutual understanding and creates a friendly atmosphere between countries. But since the educational systems in the ROC and the RSA were different and there was no agreement to link the two sides, educational and cultural exchange was very limited before 1976.

Most people in Taiwan knew about South Africa only through television and newspapers, which largely covered negative aspects such as sanctions, embargos, shooting, riots, the state of emergency and so forth. However, most people did not know that South Africa was 33 times bigger than Taiwan with beautiful scenery, a good education system, diverse cultures and an advanced infrastructure in modern cities. For SA, the ROC was the only Asian country with which it had diplomatic relations. Most people did not have a correct picture of Taiwan. Some were even confused about Taiwan and Thailand.

After the upgrading of diplomatic relations in 1976, the cultural and academic exchange started, and to some extent, was vitalised. Vice Premier Ching-Chung Hsu, Deputy Foreign Minister H.K. Yang, and the Director of the Institute of International Relations of the ROC, W.P. Tsai, visited the RSA.[113] There were numerous exchange

visits by education ministers, high-ranking educational officials, chancellors, vice-chancellors, professors, scholars and teachers. During the 1970s and 1980s, Professor Daniel M Joubert, Principal of the University of Pretoria; Professor P.T. Pienaar, University of Durban-Westville; Dr. S J Baynham, University of Cape Town; and Professor Deon Geldenhuys, Rand Afrikaans University were among a total of more than 200 people who visited the ROC. All these visits by top academics were very useful since they could present the real picture of Taiwan to the South African people, and through their eyes and pens, people would know more about the current situation in Taiwan's politics, economics, social life, culture and customs.

The South African Institute of International Affairs had closer contact with the Institute of International Relations of the ROC, exchanging publications and visits. The Director of the Africa Institute, Dr. G.M.E. Leistner, visited the ROC twice, not just giving speeches at the University, but also attending academic seminars. The Human Sciences Research Council's Sino-South Africa Conference was held once a year in the mid-1980s, alternatively in Taipei and Pretoria. In 1988, Dr. Chang King-yuh led a visiting group to attend this conference and meet top South African experts and academics versed in the same or similar fields.[114] This visit contributed greatly to the future strengthening of the ties of friendship and co-operation, not only between the HSRC and IIR, but also between the two countries. Because Taiwan put much emphasis on education, people respected academics and intellectual leaders. Prominent South African scholars and professors that visited Taiwan could stimulate progress, and that was the reason the ROC government invited so many from various disciplines to Taiwan.

At the same time, artists, actors, journalists, writers, performers, musicians, various kinds of performing groups were also encouraged by the two governments to engage in exchange visits, tours, competitions, and social association. For example, the Roodepoort International Eisteddfod of song and dance, a famous event, drew a Chinese Folklore Troupe in 1985, the only group from Asia to participate in this event. The National Contract Bridge League sent a national team to participate in the 1987 National Congress in SA. The Youth String Orchestra from SA, Harmonia Juventia, visited Taiwan and had seven performances during the tour. The ROC also invited young

people from SA to attend the International Youth Culture Recreation Tour to Taiwan. It offered an opportunity for the youth of all anti-Communist parts of the world to get together, to exchange ideas, strengthen mutual understanding and promote friendship. Painter Christo Coetzee and the world-famous heart specialist, Dr. Christiaan Barnard, visited the ROC in the 1980s. At government level, the ministers of education of the two countries also exchanged visits. The Minister of National Education, F.W. de Klerk visited Taipei in October 1985, his second official. Minister of Education Lee Huan visited SA in May 1987 and afterwards strongly proposed to establish the office of Cultural Counsellor within the Chinese Embassy to deal with mutual cultural affairs.[115]

In order to promote Taiwan's image, the Office of the Press Counsellor provided various books, pamphlets, video tapes, magazines and periodicals to university libraries, government departments and institutions. The Free China Review, Free China Journal and the Republic of China Yearbook were quite commonly available in public libraries. The embassy also sponsored a Chinese Film Festival in Johannesburg, Cape Town and other cities, which was part of the cultural exchange programmes being promoted between the two countries. Every year before October 10, the National Day of the ROC, the embassy contacted *The Star*, *The Citizen*, *Die Burger, Cape Times, Sunday Times, Business Day and Pretoria News* to publish a supplement about the National Day Celebrations of the ROC, to give readers a vivid update and correct impression of the ROC of the present.

The Head of Bureau for Information D.W. Steward led a delegation that visited the ROC in June 1987. Before that, an educational tour by 14 journalists from Taiwan came to SA for a 19-day working visit; the Embassy also invited journalists, editors and reporters from the news agencies and the media to promote mutual understanding. After M A Johnson, editor-in-chief of *The Citizen* came back from Taiwan, he wrote: "The point is that we need not have been so badly off, even with our own peculiar problems, if we had the same dedication, the same common purpose, the same discipline and capacity for hard work of the Taiwanese, as well as the same will to succeed despite all odds."[116] After 1976, the ROC's Central New Agency stationed a special correspondent in Johannesburg to gather and report news on South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa for the

mass media in Taipei.

In 1979, the Speaker of the House of Assembly J.J. Loots was invited to pay an official visit to the ROC from November 6 to 18, 1979. In return, the President of the ROC's Legislative Yuan, Wend-ya Nieh, visited SA from June 10 to 19, 1981. The mutual visits of the two speakers enabled the two Parliaments to have some understanding of the real situation of each country. Many mayors and city councillors of local SA governments accepted the invitation to Taiwan in the 1980s. Among them were P.R. Smith, Mayor of Pretoria; Danie van Zyl, Mayor of Johannesburg; D.E.W. Schumann, Mayor of Stellenbosch; G. J. Coetzer, Mayor of Queenstown; J.M. Pretorius, Mayor of Bloemfontein; Dirk Liebenberg, Mayor of Kimberley. In the 1980s, more than 10 cities, including Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Oudtshoorn and Mossel Bay, had established sisterhood ties with their counterparts in the ROC. A sister-city relationship was formed between Pretoria and Taipei on October 8, 1983, in an effort to improve relations between the cities and the countries involved. Mayors of the two cities agreed to undertake visits to promote the activities of the other city and country and boost tourism as well as cultural and sports ties.

To some extent, the sister-city relationships could promote educational and scientific exchange, accelerate the modernisation of the two cities, or even provide support in times of adversity or natural disasters.[117] From the ROC, prominent visits included those of the Governor of Taiwan province, Lee Teng-hui in November 1982; the Speaker of Taipei City Council C.P. Chang at Johannesburg's Centennial Celebration, August 30 to September 6, 1986; the Goodwill Mission from I-Lan County, Taiwan to the City of Cape Town from August 29 to September 1, 1987; and Deputy Speaker of Taipei City Councillor James C C Chen to Pretoria from February 18 to February 24, 1989. Exchange visits between members of the two Parliaments were also quite frequent during the 1980s.

Since the UN imposed sports boycotts on South Africa, sports lovers who wanted to participate in the international-national activities had to be either professional or junior players to observe the regulations of the International Olympic Committee. With the mutual understanding of South Africa, the ROC's sports exchanges with the RSA were

mainly conducted by university and college students, as well as professional and junior players. In other words, the ROC refrained from engaging South African teams at the national level. Since real substance is more important than formalities, there were some exchanges of sports teams, including golf, baseball, basketball, cricket, netball, softball, and swimming. After the South African police wrestling team paid a visit to Taiwan from April 21 to May 6, 1987, the Acting Commissioner, Lt.-General H.G. de Witt, said this visit had strengthened the friendship ties between the two countries.[118]

While food nourishes the body, culture nourishes the soul. At a time when two countries were jointly exerting themselves to promote co-operation in the economic, scientific and technical fields, similar efforts were also made to promote cultural, educational, academic and press co-operation. On June 19, 1989, Minister of National Education F W de Klerk and Minister of Education Mao Kao-wen signed a cultural agreement to promote artistic, scientific, sporting and educational links between the two countries.[119] In order to facilitate bilateral educational and cultural co-operation, the ROC government established the Office of the Cultural Counsellor in Pretoria in July 1990, the only one on the African continent. In the same year, Mandarin Chinese was offered by the Centre for Contemporary Asian studies as a UNISA distance-teaching course.

Because of ambassador H K Yang's unfailing efforts to strengthen every existing tie between the ROC and the RSA from 1979 to 1989, and his service as Doyenne of the diplomatic corps in Pretoria for many years, the University of Pretoria conferred on him an Honorary Doctorate on July 17, 1989. He also received the honorary citizenship of Pretoria at a special meeting of the Pretoria City Council and a civic banquet[120] in recognition of his contribution and achievement.

South African Chinese

It would appear that some of the first Chinese to enter SA in the early years of the nineteenth century came at a time when there was a shortage of skilled carpenters. Subsequent arrivals from China were mainly skilled artisans and merchants from Canton and Moi

Yean. The Chinese community in the 1980s in SA appears to have developed from the sporadic immigration that began in 1891, of Chinese traders who made their way from Canton to SA via Madagascar and Mauritius.[121] In South Africa, the prevailing racism was worsened by apartheid legislation, to the extent that Chinese South Africans were discriminated against by legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Population Registration Act of 1950, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959.[122] According to the law of SA in the 1950s, South Africans were classified into White, Asian, Coloured and Black, and Chinese and Indians belonged to the Asians. From 1950s, South African Chinese were confronted with many problems in living, studying, working, sports and recreation. The Chinese, like other non-Whites, suffered political, social and economic discrimination. Not only could they not live in certain areas and could not attend certain schools, but also could not hold certain jobs or own property. The main work of the Chinese Consulate in Johannesburg was to deal with and resolve different kinds of issues related to these aspects on a daily basis.

A careful and comprehensive survey of the Chinese community revealed an estimated 8,500 Chinese in SA, possibly one of the smallest minorities of all. There was only one Chinese Group Area in SA, in Port Elizabeth. The Chinese were too few, their numbers so insignificant, that they posed no threat to any group in SA. Apart from boosting trade, both Prime Ministers' visits also gave rise to press speculation that the position of the South African Chinese would be reviewed. Prime Minister Botha said the government was "already working on a better deal for the local Chinese." Constitutional commission chairman, Alwyn Schlebusch, said he would investigate the question of their political rights.[123]

During Foreign Minister Chu's visit on June 3, 1981, he said that while the existence in SA of a Chinese community of some 10 thousand people whose contribution to the growth and development of the nation should not be overemphasized, the many similarities in terms of family tradition, outlook and sense of values should not be overlooked.[124] Through the friendly attitude of the SA government of the time towards the Chinese and the endeavours of the Chinese Embassy Consulate-General in Johannesburg,

Mr. Kenneth Winchiu, a South African Chinese, was nominated as a member of President's Council, which had been established in September 1981 but lasted only until September 1984.[125] The fact that Mr. Winchiu was taken into the President's Council brought cautious optimism in the community that their constitutional position – the same as the Asian and Coloureds – would be normalised.[126]

After the Group Areas Act was amended allowing South African Chinese the same rights as Whites in early 1985, the Chinese finally could no longer be treated as second class citizens. Since then the Chinese have had equal rights in living, studying, working and even in using public facilities as Whites.

The steady influx of Taiwanese industrialists into SA in the 1980s was one of the significant effects of the warm relationship between the two countries. South Africa's long-standing prohibition on non-White immigration had to be waived to accommodate them. Investors from Taiwan were initially permitted entry only on temporary permits. By 1988, it was estimated that nearly 2,500 immigrants from Taiwan had arrived. They settled in remote parts of SA, in the TVBS states, Lebowa, GazanKulu, KwaZulu and QwaQwa, with several establishing themselves in Newcastle.[127] Mr. Chung-nan Aou who established the first of several factories in 1977 in the Ciskei and Trankei, donated money and clothing worth R32,400 to the Flood Relief Fund in Ciskei on March 18, 1988. The donation was received by the South African Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr. Christiaan van Aardt, who thanked the Chinese community for its kindness and consideration at a moment of great need for the victims of the flood.[128]

One of the main tasks of the ROC Embassy was to assist the Chinese schools and develop Chinese education. There were three main Chinese schools in South Africa: Port Elizabeth Chinese School, established in 1918; Pretoria Chinese School, founded in 1934; and the Kou Ting Chinese School in Johannesburg, opened in 1950.[129] All these schools have played an important role in the Chinese community by helping residents maintain their language and culture. The famous *Overseas Chinese Gazette* has been published since 1931; it has one of the longest histories of all Chinese newspapers all over the world. It was the spiritual food for all the Chinese in Southern Africa and

through this newspaper most Chinese stayed in touch with Chinese culture, current affairs in Taiwan and the progress of the ROC. Another thing to note was the Johannesburg Chinese Cultural Centre, constructed in 1982 to provide a space for the use of the Chinese community. More than two thousand people attended the opening ceremony. The Cultural Centre was an ideal venue for the Chinese community to hold their various functions.

Conclusion

China established a consular office in Johannesburg in 1905. It wasn't until 1976 that the ROC and South Africa upgraded to full diplomatic relations, a necessary move since the both countries both faced international isolation and wished to enhance cooperation. Since the upgrade to diplomatic relations, many mutual visits and investments from the ROC strengthened trade as well as scientific and technological ties and concluded agreements in various fields. Even in the 1980s, South Africa was unstable and carried out many changes in political affairs. Co-operation, official or otherwise, was extended to almost all fields and began to yield results beneficial to all concerned.

South Africa was the ROC's biggest diplomatic ally in terms of size and population. From 1976 to 1990, mutual visits of political figures, economic cooperation and cultural exchanges deepened the cordial relations. Taiwan encouraged immigration to South Africa in the second half of the 1980s, and both sides had agreements on direct air flights. Both countries were proud of the ties of friendship and co-operation and had the intention to further strengthen them. At the end of 1980s, the relations between the RSA and the ROC were at their best.

Without a doubt, the State President P.W. Botha and Foreign Minister Pik Botha played important roles in promoting cordial relations. Ambassador Yang, who was the key figure in cementing the friendly ties for 10 years, humbly said he is very happy to witness that South African Chinese could have equal rights as Whites. The Ambassador admitted that this was his only accomplishment to look after the vital interests of the Chinese Community. Owing to Ambassador Yang's commitment, the SA Government

decorated him with the Order of Good Hope, the greatest honour that SA can bestow upon a foreign citizen, for his endeavours and contribution. Since the US switched their recognition to the PRC in 1979, the RSA was one of the top four diplomatic allies among its 29 friendly countries. The RSA was the ROC's most important partner in Africa, and the ROC intended to maintain these relations.

The Tianamen Square incident in 1989 led to the ROC's establishment of full diplomatic relations with Liberia in October that year. Soon afterward, in April 1990 and May 1990, Lesotho and Guiena-Bissau signed agreements on the resumption of full diplomatic relations status with the ROC. Hence, the number of allies the ROC had in Africa doubled from three to six. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia cut its diplomatic ties with the ROC in July 1990.

After 40 years of this diplomatic tug of war, the ROC adopted a resolution in that those nations seeking diplomatic ties with the ROC would not have to sever their diplomatic ties with the PRC. In other words, the ROC would accept "dual recognition" in an effort to win more diplomatic allies. This was a great pragmatic and significant step. In February 1990, Mandela was released from jail. In the second half of that year, the cabinet of South Africa discussed its relations with the ROC twice, but no decision was reached. Moreover, gill net use, seal hunting and the frostbite event damaged the cordial relations between the ROC and South Africa, dragging the ROC's expectations down to an all-time low. The ROC dispatched Mr. I-cheng Loh to South Africa to assume the post of ambassador on October 19, 1990. That very same day, Mr. Neil van Heerden, Director General of the MFA, visited Beijing to enter talks with China's foreign monister Mr. Qian Qichen.

As South Africa was the ROC's most important diplomatic ally in Africa, its pro-China move was a blow to the confidence of the ROC's allies. In short, China's desire to clean up its negative image and China's sending its foreign minister to visit Africa, presented big challenges to the ROC. Making matters worse, certain unpleasant incidents occurred in South Africa, thereby damaging the ROC's images. As a result, the friendly relations between the two nations became full of uncertainty.

Even though the ROC obtained a few new allies and announced its willingness to accept dual recognition, the ROC faced constant challenges. Despite the PRC's efforts to maintain its allies in Africa, the ROC did manage to win some new friends in Africa. Subsequently, the two sides started paying closer attention to the continent. For the ROC, 1990 was a crucial year full of challenges, a year of full of doubt. It also marked a turning point in the ROC's Africa policy.

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CHAPTER SEVEN
The ROC-RSA Relations After 1991
(1991-2004)

Challenge from the PRC

At the end of the 1980s, the world situation changed significantly including improved relations between the USA and Russia as well as the independence of countries of Eastern Europe, Cuban troops' withdrawal from Angola, and SWA was about to become an independent country, Namibia. President de Klerk inherited an environment similar to that of his predecessor 11 years earlier. Recognising that South Africa's international position could not be improved without internal political accommodation, de Klerk set about to achieve necessary changes. Avoiding the frequent displays of hubris and the need to placate the conservative elements in his white constituency that characterised his predecessor's term of office, the new president embarked on the most radical period of political reform yet seen in SA.[1] His actions were followed by the dramatic unbanning of the liberation movements, the release ultimately of all political prisoners and, most importantly, the freeing of Nelson Mandela from Verster prison on February 11, 1990.

Mainland China's image was seriously damaged by the Tianamen Square incident of June 4, 1989. The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and reactions to the incident made Beijing eager to reconstruct its tie with the Third World. It paid special attention to Africa, which it considered to be an important force on the international stage,[2] believing that the countries and people of the Third World regarded Beijing as a reliable friend and were genuinely sympathetic to Mainland China.

In 1990, the PRC established diplomatic relations with Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and Singapore. With a changed atmosphere in SA, more countries desired to befriend SA, including the PRC. It was obvious that the cordial relations between the ROC and the RSA faced a new era with many challenges. Because of the tremendous business potential, people in South Africa did have the expectation to have contact with the PRC to do business, export goods and make investments. This put pressure on the SA government

while the Department of Foreign Affairs was also aware of the PRC's military power and that it was one of five members of the UN Security Council whose influence could not be ignored.

Facing the new situation, the ROC immediately took two important steps. First, on February 13, 1990, because the ANC was a legal political party in SA, the MOFA of the ROC made a statement that the new political situation would promote stability in Southern Africa and that the Chinese Government hoped that all groups could solve their domestic disputes in a peaceful, rational way through negotiation.[3] This was a hint of goodwill to the ANC, since the ROC had no contact with the ANC before 1990. Secondly, the ROC dispatched Ambassador I-cheng Loh to replace Ambassador Steven Wang, who had been in SA for only one year.

Before the Ambassador assumed his post, he testified in the Legislative Yuan (Parliament) that the future diplomatic relations between the two countries would be decided by (1) The interaction between the SA government and the ANC, and (2) the ROC's efforts to maintain ties. With regard to the first, the SA government started the Constitutional negotiation with the ANC in January 1991 but it would be three years before both the term of the white parliament and De Klerk's term of office would end. The new situation at that time would be a key point. Ambassador Loh, with 30 years of foreign service overseas, expressed very confidently that diplomatic ties would not change before 1994.

With reference to the second point, the ambassador suggested that

- The ROC should contact the ANC at once to establish friendly interaction, since the ANC would play an important role in SA.
- Invite political figures from government and party and leaders in different fields, to promote mutual understanding.
- Keep close contacts with the media, provide positive information, and encourage the media to take a fair position towards the ROC.
- Increase investments: the volume was less than US$1.5 billion. The ROC would have to expand investments, especially in the field of trade and investment.

- All ministries in the Government of the ROC should co-operate and get things done.[4]

Ambassador Loh arrived in SA on November 19, 1990, to assume his post as the fourth ROC Ambassador. It was the same day that the Director General, N P Van Heerden; DDG, J H A Beukes and Chief Director, D W Auret of the Department of Foreign Affairs were visiting in the PRC. Neil van Heerden, the Director General, was in favor of establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC in accordance with the world mainstream. Mr. Van Heerden had discussions with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC with no concrete result; he then flew to Taiwan via Tokyo to have discussions with Foreign Minister Qian. The first secret telefax from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the ROC to the Ambassador was the exchange of views between Van Heerden and Foreign Minister Qian.[5] At that time, SA had only 27 diplomatic allies. This excluded the four TVBS state embassies. Actually there were only 23 diplomatic allies, and the ROC was the only country from Asia.

There were several events that damaged ROC-RSA relations: resolution of the frostbite incident and the seal culling incident was a top priority. The "unfortunate" incident led to much embarrassment for the ROC, and the government had decided on compensation scales considerably higher that those of the South African Workman's Compensation Act. Taiwan paid out more than R1.3 million in compensation to 32 South African seamen whose fingers had to be amputated after they got frostbite while working on Chinese fishing trawlers in 1989 and 1990.[6] The frostbite incident caused a lot of damage both to the Chinese fishing industry and South Africa. Furthermore, because of the incident a large number of Chinese boats no longer docked at South African ports and those that did, no longer hired local fishermen.[7]

The seal-culling incident also resulted in considerable pressure on the ROC and aroused fear that it could discourage Chinese businessmen from investing in SA. Mr. Loh said that the businessman involved had made a large investment in SA to set up the seal-processing factory in the Cape and that he was now "left holding the bag" after the protests by environmentalists. "He broke no laws in either SA or the ROC and there is no legal way we can stop him from continuing his venture. We are, however, putting

moral pressure on him to stop it, but there is still the question of compensation," he said.[8]

After dealing with these unpleasant incidents, FM Chien paid a visit to SA in January 1991. During this visit, he and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis signed a Loan Agreement worth US$60 million to the Industrial Development Corporation, for importing Taiwanese machinery to South Africa. On February 20, 1991, Taiwan's national airlines, China Airlines (CAL) announced that it was to open air links with South Africa. The CAL flights would commence on September 1 and would service the Taipei-Johannesburg route via Singapore.[9]

The South African Ambassador told FM Chien: South Africa wants to develop trade and tourism relations with the PRC, but not to develop political relations.[10] At the celebration of the National Day of the RSA on May 31, 1991, Ambassador Harvey said: "During the past 15 years relations between our two countries have grown from strength to strength, and it would not be an exaggeration to say that there are hardly any fields of human endeavour in which we do not maintain contact, to the great and on-going benefit of all our peoples."[11]

At the invitation of SA Government, a visiting professor from the Rand Afrikaans University, Dr. John K.J. Chao, gave a lecture on June 20, 1991, with the title "ROC's Foreign Policy and Recognition Problem." He summarized the current ROC-RSA commercial relations as follows:

- The ROC-RSA Ministerial Conference on Economic and Technical Co-operation has been held each year since 1979.
- The ROC is not only the thirteenth largest trading nation of the world but also the sixth biggest trading partner with the RSA after Germany, Britain, the USA, Japan and Italy. Two-way trade volume between ROC and RSA in 1990 totalled some R5.4 billion while SA exports are triple the amount of ROC imports.
- The ROC had deposited US$0.5 billion in the South African Reserve Bank and US$60 million in the form of a long-term low interest loan to SA.
- There were 250 factories from Taiwan, which employed more than 40,000 workers in SA. Many large-scale private enterprises and investors were waiting for a closer

co-operation between the RSA and the ROC.

- The Bank of Taiwan would soon set up a branch in Johannesburg .
- The ROC was in the process of establishing a Fruit and Vegetable Centre, which would introduce advanced agricultural techniques to SA.
- China Airline of the ROC would fly to Johannesburg via Singapore once a week from September 1, 1991.[12]

As for ROC-RSA Political Relations:

- The ROC and SA had more than 22 agreements encompassing trade, industry, fishery, navigation, agricultural and technical co-operation, mineral and energy co-operation, medical co-operation and some other areas.
- The reason for the major industrial states to recognise the Beijing regime was either to protect their existing interests in mainland China or to take into consideration global strategy.
- Newly-independent countries recognised the Beijing regime partly because of their application for membership to the United Nations, which needed the PRC's affirmative vote. However, the RSA revived its membership in the UN on the approval of the General Assembly and did not need the PRC's support in the Security Council.
- If SA established diplomatic relations with the PRC, it would undoubtedly encourage the Maoist faction of the ANC, which was headed by Harry Gwala, who aggressively championed the nationalisation of white farmlands without compensation, to continue its military struggle to gain power by the barrels of guns.
- Both State President F.W. de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha repeatedly promised that SA was the ROC's all-weather friend, not just a fair-weather friend since ROC had stood firm with SA during its difficult time. If SA severed its formal relations with the ROC, it would be extremely difficult for the ROC to maintain substantive relations with the RSA.[13]

The ROC observed that the RSA was more welcome in the international community, not a good sign for the maintenance of relations. The PRC would definitely get involved in gaining South Africa's friendship. In 1991, the RSA abolished the Group Areas Act, Land Act and Population Registration Act, which meant that apartheid had totally died. This was one of two obstacles in the way for the PRC to establish formal relations with

the RSA. Since this one was solved, only the second one-- the Taiwan Issue--needed to be discussed. In July 1991, The Forty-Eighth National Congress of the ANC was held in Durban. One high-ranking official of the Chinese delegation from Beijing congratulated the ANC on behalf of the 50 million Chinese Communist party members. The number 50 million is more than the population of SA and greatly impressed participants and audience.[14] Two months later, the China News Agency opened a branch office in Johannesburg. Furthermore, unconfirmed news sources reported that the PRC had imported G-5, cannon artillery from the RSA. All these were warning signals that proved the relations between the RSA and the PRC were getting closer and closer.

The most important step for the ROC was to invite State President F W de Klerk to pay a state visit to Taipei to symbolise the cordial relations existing between the two countries. De Klerk accepted the invitation and instructed Foreign Minister Botha to visit Taipei in October 1991. Foreign Minister Botha arrived in Taipei on October 4 and departed on October 6, 1991. On his way back to SA, he stopped at Hong Kong and flew to Beijing with P.J. Botha, South African Consul General in Hong Kong, to meet the PRC's Foreign Minister, Chien Chi-Shen at the airport for two hours. After that, Botha flew to Johannesburg via Hong Kong again. *The Star* reported the news next day that Foreign Minister Botha had paid a visit to Beijing, which was a diplomatic breakthrough. In writing a letter to Chien, Botha expressed that this meeting was an historic contact between the RSA and PRC governments.[15]

State President de Klerk visited the ROC from November 14 to 16, 1991. During this period, de Klerk said SA would strive to follow the ROC's good example of hard work, economic achievement and stability. SA was looking forward to further decades of mutual co-operation and friendship.[16] He said at a news conference "South Africa has full diplomatic relations with Taiwan and so long as I have any influence in the decision taking process, this will remain the position."[17] In the joint communiqué, the two governments agreed to establish projects to promote agricultural and technical co-operation for the benefit of the Southern African region as a whole. It was further agreed that other feasible programmes would be explored and undertaken jointly by the two Governments in the near future. The two Presidents were convinced that the signing of the Agreement

of Cooperation on the Promotion of Investment and the Bilateral Air Services Agreement would further cement the ties of cooperation between the two countries.[18]

In diplomatic practice the fact that Foreign Minister Botha went to the PRC was a strong implication that there were interactions between them, especially about improving relations. For this reason, Ambassador Loh paid a visit to ANC headquarters at Shell House, Johannesburg on November 22, 1991, to meet Mandela, Alfred Nzo and Thabo Mbeki. On December 19, 1991, the RSA and the PRC announced that both States were represented by "interest offices" in Beijing and Pretoria respectively. Without a doubt, when Foreign Minister Botha went to Beijing in October, they had already reached this consensus. One month later, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen landed at Johannesburg international Airport to meet Foreign Minister Botha, and once again stressed that the conditions for having diplomatic ties with the PRC were that the RSA's diplomatic ties with the ROC should first be broken.

The two meetings between Foreign Minister Botha and Chien at airports were significant in the evolution of RSA-PRC relations. Before establishing official ties, airport diplomacy may be used as an effective channel for negotiation and exchange between two governments.[19] On February 1, 1992, the South African Research Centre was opened in Pretoria as a liaison office, but actually it was a semi-official institution which issued visas for South Africans wanting to visit the PRC. The same day, the South African ambassador to the ROC, Alan Harvey was summoned by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Fang Chin-Jen, to express the ROC's disapproval of the contact between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.[20]

After 1990, trade and other relations between SA and the PRC improved significantly. For SA, the PRC, with a population of 1.2 billion people and a rapidly growing economy, offered vast trade opportunities. Nor was the PRC without political clout; since 1971, the PRC had been one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.[21] Besides, there were 39 Chinese embassies on the African continent, so the PRC's influence therefore had to be taken seriously. From December 1991 to May 1992, the whole country was busy with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

(CODESA). If there were positive and satisfactory results from CODESA, the RSA would definitely not be isolated any longer and more countries would welcome SA to the international community. At that time, domestic affairs in SA were far more urgent than foreign affairs. Even in foreign policy, South Africa put Southern Africa countries first, whether friends or enemies. After that came Western European Countries and finally the US. The China issue was never a priority in the Department of Foreign Affair's agenda. For the ROC, the RSA was its top diplomatic ally. They helped each other during the difficult years and Taiwan's investment and creation of more than 40,000 jobs in SA gave the ROC the right to expect fair treatment.

It was evident, under such circumstances, that the PRC tried to take this opportunity to establish relations with the RSA, urging the country to sever ties with the ROC first. The RSA also wanted to improve its relations with the PRC, encouraging its private sector to establish commercial links with China,[22] but also hoping to keep Taiwan's investment and other interests. Hence, in moral value and in substantive profit, SA would hesitate to take the radical decision. The SA promised the ROC that since the RSA-PRC relations were booming, SA would inform the ROC about actions toward the PRC and hoped that her actions would be beneficial to both the RSA and the ROC as well.

In a meeting between South African Chinese Community leaders on February 19, 1991 in Cape Town, Foreign Minister Botha talked to more than 50 people and confirmed that the relations between the RSA and the PRC was restricted only to economic and business purposes. In diplomatic status, SA would never betray her good friend, the ROC.[23] This statement was very clear and precise, leaving no space for ambiguity or vagueness. In order to prove Taiwan's support, the Bank of Taiwan opened its branch office in Johannesburg in May, 1992 to facilitate Taiwan's investment in the RSA.

Foreign Minister Botha outlined the foreign policy in August 1992: "The Department of Foreign Affairs will continue to bring forth innovative and creative ideas for new diplomatic initiatives, regional co-operation, economic opportunities and other efforts to improve the welfare of our people."[24] This implied that facing the new world situation, SA had to adjust foreign policy to gain the most national interest. There was no doubt

after February 1990, when both the ROC and the PRC sought to come closer to the ANC, especially its leading figure, Mr. Nelson Mandela. In October 1992, two years after Mandela was freed from 27 years of incarceration, he visited Beijing at the invitation of the PRC. On October 31, 1992, Finance Minister Derek Keys left for Taiwan in a bid to take advantage of the country's $303 billion capital expansion projects and Director-General of the Department of Trade and Industry Stef Naudé accompanied the delegation.[25]

In brief, in the early 1990s, the world situation had changed very rapidly. Inside SA, ANC was a legal political party, a fact which caused SA to win friends from all over the world. Even in the UN, the South African Mission was more socially acceptable to other delegations. The UN was increasingly acting as a forum for governments that wanted to establish ties with Pretoria.[26] The PRC also showed a willingness to formalise relations with the RSA, with some conditions. The ROC immediately sent ambassador Loh to SA to strengthen the diplomatic ties, not only in arranging for State President F.W. de Klerk to visit the country in November 1991, but also to inaugurate the direct flight from Taipei to Johannesburg. Foreign Minister Botha and Foreign Minister Qian met twice at Beijing and Johannesburg airports. The so-called "airport diplomacy" means taking an important step in historical contact. The RSA government dealt with the ROC and at the same time contacted the PRC with economic purposes in mind. For diplomatic reasons, the ROC tried its best to win the friendship of the ANC – the soon-to-be ruling party of South Africa.

Contact and Co-ooperation with the ANC

From 1993 to the end of 1994, there was turmoil and a period of major political change in SA. Mr. Chris Hani, member of the ANC National Executive Committee, was murdered in April 1993.[27] Two months later, different political parties agreed that the first Democratic Election should be held on April 27, 1994. The most special development in 1993 was that Mr. Mandela paid a visit to the ROC from July 30 to August 27, 1993, despite objections from Beijing. Earlier before this significant visit, the ANC sent Thabo Mbeki and Joe Modisie to Beijing to explain why Mandela accepted this invitation

and tried to gain the PRC's understanding.

Mandela led a 10-member delegation that arrived in Taiwan on July 30, 1993. This was the tenth visiting group from ANC. For Mandela the purpose of this visit was to understand current relations between the RSA and the ROC and to seek financial support for the MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe). However, this visit also sparked fears among local legislators and the public that the ANC might sever official ties with the ROC once it headed the government. Mandela noted that South Africa's foreign policy would be bound by the decisions of the UN and international organisations, and said that a decision would be made on the matter after the April 1994 election.[28] Mandela was received by President Lee Teng-hui and was awarded the Brilliant Star with Grand Cordon and an Honorary Doctorate of Law by Soo-Chow University in Taipei. Mandela's ANC delegation had asked the ROC Government for financial support. At the end of the visit, Mandela said the New SA would carefully examine its foreign relations but would base its decisions on national interests. To some extent, Mandela's attitude had softened after this successful visit.

On September 7, 1993, Parliament passed the four bills to establish the Transitional Executive Council and the various commissions that would oversee the election scheduled for April 1994. The MOFA of the ROC expressed its positive response and support for this constitutional development.[29] Owing to the ROC embassy's efforts, Mr. Walter Sisulu paid a visit to the ROC to attend the National Day Celebrations from October 7 to 14, 1993. Addressing a luncheon honouring Mr. Sisulu, Premier Lien Chan said "Because our hearts are with you, we committed ourselves to a specific amount of development loans at government level once the new South Africa is born. We also promised to establish a vocational training center, comparable in scale to the one you visited, and to help train the staff to operate it professionally. When Mr. Mandela brought up the subject of those members of Umkhonto We Sizwe who have returned from exile and who are now facing extremely difficult conditions at home, we immediately dispatched emergency aid, while agreeing to include assistance on a long-range basis as a part of the development loan projects." [30] In fact, the ROC's policy towards South Africa at that time involved providing loans and encouraging investment.

South African Ambassador Johan Viljoen said 1993 was a fruitful year for both countries, with total trade projected to grow by 10 per cent that year. South Africa enjoyed a trade surplus of US$500 million.[31] He said there were numerous investment opportunities that SA could offer Taiwan, such as the commercial and residential complex being developed in Bronkhorstspruit, where the biggest Buddhist temple in the world outside of China was being built. The project had attracted over US$300 million in investments. The uncertainty and unpredictability of South Africa's political future as well as the recurring violence seriously hampered Taiwanese investment confidence.

As for the PRC's approach to SA, there were three ways to damage the friendly relations between the ROC and the RSA: sending high-ranking officials to SA; forging close economic links; and dividing the Chinese community in SA.[32] The former Chinese ambassador to the US, former foreign minister, Han Xu paid a visit to South Africa in 1993. The PRC imported 12,500 Jetta VW cars from SA in 1992 and 17,000 cars from SA in 1993. The two way trade between the PRC and SA was R1.6 billion in 1993. The PRC even incited contradiction and confrontation among members of the Chinese community. In February 1994, the Chinese Communist Vice Foreign Minister, Tian Zengpei, visited South Africa. He wanted the ANC to sign a document committing itself to breaking relations with the ROC, but the ANC declined.[33]

In order to support the first democratic election in SA, the ROC embassy in Pretoria co-operated with the local Chinese community in organising two fund-raising dinners for the ANC and NP respectively. Mr. Nelson Mandela, Jay Naidoo and Gill Marcus attended the ANC voters' education fund-raising dinner on March 9, 1994, in Braamfontein Recreation Centre, Johannesburg. More than 700 guests attended this gala and raised R580,000. Mr. Pik Botha, on behalf of the NP, participated in a similar fund-raising dinner on March 31, 1994 and collected R100,000.[34] The next day, six election observation group members from Taiwan arrived in SA and the ROC announced that President Lee Teng-hui accepted the invitation to attend the new President's inaugural ceremony to be held in May 10 in Pretoria.

The first non-racial general election on a one-man, one-vote basis was held

throughout South Africa on April 27, 1994. As predicted, the ANC won 62.65% of the popular vote and gained for itself 252 seats in the National Assembly. The National party scored 20% with 82 seats, the Inkatha Freedom Party 10.5% with 43 seats, the Freedom Front 2.17% with 9 seats, the Democratic Party 1.73% with 7 seats and the Pan African Congress 1.25% with 5 seats.[35] The ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs praised this free, fair and peaceful election and congratulated the leader of ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela. According to the interim Constitution, Mandela would be the President; Thabo Mbeki, the First Deputy President; and F W de Klerk, the Second Deputy President. In the Cabinet, there were 18 ANC Ministers, 6 NP Ministers and 3 IFP Ministers. This formed the Government of National Unity, since all ANC Ministers were the majority and held the important posts; hence all important decisions and policies were under ANC control.

President Lee Teng-hui led a large delegation to SA to attend the inauguration of President Mandela from May 9 to May 15, 1994. In the afternoon of May 11, the two presidents had a fruitful and constructive private talk for 50 minutes. President Lee told a group of ROC investors, "I met and have talked with President Mandela. I am willing to solemnly declare that relations between the ROC and SA are very solid. You can keep your minds on doing business here."[36] Since after the election, ANC ran short of money, at the suggestion of Ambassador Loh, the ROC government approved the provision of US$10 million to the ANC. Ambassador Loh reported this to President Mandela on June 20, 1994.[37]

In the New South Africa, Mr. Alfred Nzo succeeded Mr. Pik Botha as Foreign Minister, and the country's foreign relations underwent a dramatic change. In starting a new era, South Africa was no longer isolated, changing from being destitute to popular, and South Africa wanted to play an active role in regional, continental and even international affairs. Nzo emphasised that in the age of rapid global communication, SA should expand its role and integration to become a global village. Furthermore, SA would establish and normalise her relations with the rest of the world. On May 23, 1994, SA was officially admitted as a full member of the OAU; on May 31, SA joined the Commonwealth.[38] The restoration of South Africa's seat in the UN General Assembly was the

climax, not only ending its isolation of many decades but also developing a partnership with the whole world.

A leading article pointed out the new situation regarding foreign policy, stating that "the adjustment to a world of open doors would not be easy, but the guidelines were clear: identify our interests and pursue them. If we are to become strong enough to play the role we are capable of, we must have economic growth – and that depends heavily on trade."[39] To run a country with different groups of people and different political parties at a time when the new government structure had not been established, the SA government's first priority was to assist national reconciliation and develop economically, especially the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The government appointed Jay Naidoo as Minister of the Department of RDP.

After the visit to SA, President Lee instructed the Executive Yuan to organise a mission to promote trade, investment and technical co-operation with the new SA. Headed by Vincent Sien, Minister of State and Chairman of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, the mission consisted of 48 government officials and business leaders from both the public and private sectors and was accompanied by 18 journalists. It arrived in SA on August 29, 1994, for a nine-day visit. During its stay, the Mission was divided into eight groups that visited and discussed numerous co-operation projects with their counterparts. SA was very impressed with this Mission's visit.

In fact, since the new Government was formed on April 27, 1994, there had been much speculation that the RSA would soon recognise the PRC and that the PRC was already looking for an embassy. On May 23, 1994, the Minister of Housing, Joe Slovo, also the leader of the SA Communist Party, proposed that the RSA should establish diplomatic relations with the PRC and cut diplomatic ties with the ROC. Other parties in the GNU did not support this proposal. The most important step was to provide sound economics, trade, job opportunities, education, housing, water and electricity, health services and for other domestic issues. For the New South Africa to solve its domestic problems was a concern 10 times more urgent than foreign affairs. That was the main reason the GNU did not want to deal with the China issue at that time.

The Deputy Foreign Minister told *The Star*: our viewpoint has been that the decision must be taken on the basis of national interest and international precedent.[40] Subsequently, in October 1994, President Mandela contended that South Africa "doesn't break relations with countries unless a country does something wrong which causes us to break relations. We are prepared to enter into diplomatic relations with China but we are not going to break our relations with Taiwan."[41] Of course, this was the final decision-maker's position about the China issue so that no one could challenge it. Both the ROC and the PRC had mixed feelings about this statement. The "two Chinas" dilemma, as it came to be called in SA, was the first substantive foreign policy issue to face the post-apartheid government. It preoccupied the foreign policy-making establishment, the free press, and the business community and, for the first time a number of emergent interest groups. Furthermore, because it dealt with a region of the world in which South Africans had relatively little concrete experience, the latitude for influence, obfuscation, and outright confusion was particularly pronounced.[42] The solidarity movements suggested that continued relations with the ROC made it difficult to distinguish Alfred Nzo's foreign policy from Pik Botha's.

In 1993, the ROC was South Africa's sixth largest trading partner; their total trade amounted to R 6.1 billion, with a surplus of R2.3 billion in South Africa's favour. The ROC has already invested some R1.4 billion in SA, creating more than 40,000 jobs in over 280 factories. The ROC Trade and Investment Mission that came to SA in September 1994 concluded agreements for trade, investment, technical co-operation and financial assistance totaling R1.1 billion. A good deal of this money was likely to flow to the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme. Taipei had offered to establish a vocational Training Centre in Gauteng Province as another major contribution to the RDP.[43]

Mainland China is the world's most populous country with nearly 60 times the 20-million people in Taiwan and it would soon be the world's largest economy. According to the PRC's viewpoint, SA's official ties with the ROC would curb any further investment in RSA. Trade was already up to US$1.3 billion in 1993. The establishment of formal links was only a matter of time, even under the present government. Some South

Africans even argued the ROC and the PRC traded more with each other than with SA.

In dealing with the two Chinas dilemma, one of the solutions for the ANC-led GNU would be the "dual recognition of the ROC and the PRC at the same time, as the two Koreas, two Vietnams and two Germanys before 1990, when each enjoyed international recognition through the concept of dual recognition." The case for dual recognition, made elsewhere by Willie Breytenbach (1994) and Deon Geldenhuys (1995), rested on three sets of criteria:

- A case in international law;
- A de facto but publicly unacknowledged recognition by both the PRC and ROC governments that in their mutual interactions, they were dealing with autonomous, if not sovereign, entities with distinct – and not overlapping – areas of jurisdiction;
- A changing international reality involving a growing recognition worldwide that the ROC government was a force to be reckoned with in international relations and that it was wishful thinking, and self-defeating, to pretend it did not exist.[44]

In principle, the ROC was willing to accept dual recognition. Taipei had declared that it would not sever ties with SA if Pretoria established diplomatic relations with Beijing. It would accept dual recognition and coexist with the mainland.[45] However, the PRC would not accept the notion. For the PRC, there was only one China in the world and the one China position was a non-negotiable issue. The PRC regarded this stance as a most important question of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and allowed no room for compromise on this issue. Previously, there were at least four attempts at dual recognition – by Grenada in 1989, Nicaragua in 1990, South Korea in 1992 and Burkina Faso in 1994. None of these succeeded.

In the UN, Foreign Minister Nzo met the PRC's representative Lee Choshin in June 1994 and Foreign Minister Qian in September 1994, who asserted that the PRC wanted to normalize relations with the new SA and encourage the country to take the same position as more than 150 other countries; to have diplomatic ties with the PRC.[46] Foreign Minister Nzo agreed that the PRC was an important player in the world, and SA needed time to solve this issue. He also said that the new SA had inherited its diplomatic reality

from the previous government. There were many co-operation treaties and projects in between and certainly the changing of the ties could not be done in one day. On December 4, 1994, Foreign Minister Nzo paid an official visit to the ROC. In February 1995 the Foreign Minister gave his assurance that ties would not be cut with Taiwan, noting, "This is a matter which should be resolved by the Chinese themselves."[47]

In essence, there is little need for Pretoria to rush this issue, simply SA would stick with diplomatic relations with Taipei until either SA swaps to Beijing or something happened between the ROC and the PRC that prevented a decision from having to be made. In this situation, South Africa should bide its time until 1997 when Chinese politics would take a decisive turn with the incorporation of Hong Kong into China. This may be the catalyst for more parity between the ROC and the PRC.

In short, after State President de Klerk, Mr. Nelson Mandela and Mr. Walter Sisulu visited the ROC in the early 1990s, before the first democratic election in the RSA, the ROC tried to solidify the bonds between the two countries. The ROC's President Lee visited SA to attend the inaugural ceremony of President Mandela and promised to co-operate in building urgent projects, especially the RDP. The PRC urged SA to cut diplomatic ties with the ROC first and normalise relations with Beijing. South Africa attempted to take the position of dual recognition with both Chinas, but in vain. In the GNU, there was no consensus in handling the China issue, and foreign affairs were not the first priority among all the important issues. For SA, it took time to handle this sensitive problem prudently, which meant keeping the status quo, hoping the Chinese themselves could solve the problem.

Various Kinds of Cooperation

To invite the decision makers, the Ministers of the GNU, to the ROC was the first step for understanding and for future co-operation. From July 1994 to June 1995, Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo; Defence Minister Joe Modise; Minister of Public Enterprise Stella Sigcau; Minister of Correctional Services Sipho Nzimela; Minister of Arts, Culture, Science & Technology Ben Ngubane; Minister of Public Works Jeff Radebe and other

members of Parliament were part of the delegation that visited the ROC.[48]

In supporting the RDP, which covered economic development, land distribution, housing, supply of water and electricity, compulsory health education, and the social welfare system among others, the ROC took four main steps:

- In September 1993, Mr. Mandela visited a vocational training centre in Taiwan and was very impressed. Consequently, Dr. Lee, President of the ROC, promised two years later to assist SA in setting-up a similar centre at an estimated cost of US$40 million. President Mandela and Ambassador Loh signed a Technical Assistance Agreement for the Establishment of a Vocational Training Centre. In the initial stage, the VTC would only train retired military personnel and help them to learn the necessary skills for other jobs.
- The ROC donated more than R320,000 to the Department of Agriculture for the training of small-scale farmers. This amount represented half of the estimated costs for the first phase of the project. The joint venture was aimed at the training of small farmers and would stretch over a period of three-and-a-half years. In fact, the ROC's contribution towards the project would mainly consist of financial aid, but the ROC experts would also help with the training of the South African trainers.[49] In addition, 22 South Africans attended the food processing, agricultural management training courses, sponsored by the Committee of International Technical Co-operation in the ROC. On November 29, 1994, an agreement was signed with the Development Bank of Southern Africa for US$15,482,000 for assistance to small farmers.
- Under its technical co-operation programme with the RSA, the ROC offered training courses for RSA citizens in a variety of fields, ranging from land reform to SMME development, from taxation to foreign investment, and from plant tissue culture to precision scientific instrumentation. The length of courses varied from two weeks to four months, depending on the subject content. During 1994, training awards were granted to 44 persons, and the number of trainees selected during the first half of 1995 was 53.
- Obviously, economic relations between the countries were the key factor in deciding SA's continued ties with the ROC. On February 14, 1994, the two countries signed a no-double-taxation agreement. It was the second no-double-taxation accord the ROC

had signed with another country, the other being Singapore. The South African Agreement would help reduce the tax burden on Taiwan investors and promote more Taiwan investment there.[50] The ROC and SA also agreed to exchange information to crack down on tax evasion.

Most commentators have cited trade figures to justify their support in debating the China issue. According to a monthly abstract of foreign trade statistics released by the Commissioner of Customs and Excise, trade with Taiwan in 1993 was at the value of R 4.2 billion while that with China was R1.6 billion. More significantly, the balance of trade with Taiwan was consistently in South Africa's favour. Coal, iron, aluminium and other metal alloys were the mainstays of South African exports to Taiwan. ROC exports to SA were mainly electronic and textile products. Taiwan's importance to SA lay in the sphere of investments – crucial for the successful implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

After Taiwan's largest trade and investment mission visited SA on August 29, 1994, and committed R1,105 billion in trade, investment, loans finance and technical co-operation, a further agreement included setting up a Taiwan Trade Centre in JHB by July 1955. This involved the signing of a government procurement contract, promoting co-operation in the food, telecommunications and tourism industries.[51]

At the end of the Thirteenth Economic and Technical Co-operation Conference between the ROC and the RSA, Economic Affairs Minister Pin-kung Chiang said a task force would probe the multibillion-dollar Taiwanese investment in South Africa's petrochemical industry. Both governments agreed on a two-stage approach to the envisioned project. Officials from the industrial conglomerate that supplied most of Taiwan's fuel and petrochemical needs, the Chinese Petroleum Company, attended the conference and visited the Sasol plant at Secunda.

Ambassador Loh said up to 3,000 ha of coastal industrial land would be needed at Saldanha Bay, Cape Town, Mossel Bay, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Richards Bay for in integrated chemical complex of Chemsystems. The findings were posi-

tive. "We strongly support the initiative, not only because we are impressed by SA's political reforms but also as it could involve lucrative investments for all parties, with export products targeted at the SA, African, South American and even European markets." [52] The governments also expressed the intention to take steps to establish exchange programmes to train black entrepreneurs for two years in Taipei in running small and medium-sized enterprises.

The ROC set up a special mechanism called the "fixed rate relending facility" (FRRF) to encourage small South African entrepreneurs to start their own businesses. FRRF would help would-be entrepreneurs who had the ambition, but lacked the know-how and sufficient capital to start their own business. The embassy said FRRF would enable local entrepreneurs to buy capital goods and non-consumer strategic products made in Taiwan.[53]

In support of RSA's Reconstruction and Development Programme, the ROC provided financial assistance amounting to R556 million in the forms of grants and loans in the first year of the Government of National Unity. Under the sponsorship of the ROC, many South Africans received technical training in a variety of fields, such as land reform, SMME (small, medium and micro enterprise) development, taxation, foreign investment, and precision scientific instruments. To underline its attitude towards the new government, Taiwan donated R35 million to the ANC's election coffers. SA Embassy Minister in Taiwan, Pieter Snyman, noted that SA remained the big prize for the two Chinas; should SA opt for diplomatic ties with Beijing, it would have a negative effect on the trade relationship with Taiwan.[54]

In other areas, Nobel Laureate Desmond Tutu paid a visit to Taiwan on June 10, 1995 as a gesture of goodwill. From July 1995 to November 1996, the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Parliament, Raymond Schutter; the chairman of the RDP committee, Max Sisulu; Matthews Phosa, Premier of Mpumalanga; Ngoako Ramathlodi, Premier of Northern Province; and Popo Molefe, Premier of North West were among well-known political figures that visited Taiwan. Having cordial relations with the National Party for many decades, the ROC also won the friendship of the Inkatha

Freedom Party by inviting the leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Premier of KwaZulu-Natal, to Taiwan to solidify the ties. The ROC opened a Consulate in Durban in 1994 to enhance the relations. In October 1995, according to the KwaZulu-Natal Marketing Initiative, the ROC was the largest foreign investor in KwaZulu-Natal, with approximately 42 per cent of all foreign investments in the region. In Ladysmith alone, there were 24 factories set up by businessmen from Taiwan, 10 of which were newly-established. These factories created approximately 4,000 job opportunities for the local residents.[55]

The Taiwan Experience: Implications for South Africa was a conference held at the Senate Hall, University of South Africa, Pretoria, on August 26, 1995. The purpose of the Conference was to demonstrate to South African policy makers, government officials, the academic community, the business sector and the South African public in general, the deeper character of Chinese economy, politics, government and culture in the island of Taiwan. In educational co-operation, the ROC offered scholarships for prominent and potential university students; many mutual visits between principals of universities were conducted with positive results. In 1994, approximately 30,000 tourists from Taiwan visited SA while 6,698 South Africans visited Taiwan.

Taiwan was loyal to SA, not only during the apartheid era but after Mandela took office. All agreed that President Mandela was the key figure in deciding SA's diplomatic recognition in the China issue. Therefore, both the ROC and the PRC exerted their influence to gain his acceptance. After Mandela's stance in favour of dual recognition was turned down by the PRC, Mandela listened to public debate to determine South Africa's national interest. Some of the Cabinet ministers, including Minister of Defence Joe Modise and Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans, favoured maintaining the *status quo.* The three partners of the ruling alliance, the ANC, the SACP and COSATU, as well as the Department of Trade and Industry and most of the senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs were in favour of establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC.[56]

Many times in Cabinet meetings there was discussion of diplomatic recognition of the PRC, with no complete consensus owing to RDP having top priority among various

difficult topics. The National Assembly's Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs became the debating forum. Raymond Suttner, the Chairperson of the Committee, strongly advocated that SA should break with the past and reprioritise its relations. Suttner urged the Government that it was necessary for the RSA to urgently establish diplomatic relations with the PRC and reduce the level of its relationship with the ROC. However, he was pragmatic enough to point out that "there are many areas of friendship and relations other than at the official diplomatic level."[57] On May 23, 1995, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad chaired an interdepartmental meeting to assess South Africa's real long-term interests with regard to the two Chinas and to what extent a shift in South Africa's policy position was necessary Twenty-one departments participated in this meeting, where concluded that the PRC was a major power and therefore, in the RSA's long-term economic and political interest, SA should seek to normalise its relations with the PRC and downgrade its relations with the ROC.[58]

Because of this, South African businesses were even more eager to do business with the PRC, which encouraged or put pressure on the South African government to normalise its relations as soon as possible. SAB, Armscor, Eskom, Investec Bank and Denel all had a keen interest in exploring and establishing a foothold in the enormous and fast growing market of China. The business sector's needs could not be ignored by the SA government. In the academic sector, foreign policy institutions such as the South African Institute of International Affairs and the Foundation of Global Dialogue were in favour of recognising the PRC and advocated that improving relations with the PRC was in South Africa's national interest. Greg Mills, the Director of SAIIA pointed out that Taiwan needed South Africa more than the other way around and a diplomatic choice between Beijing and Taipei was inevitable.[59] Among all prominent members in the academic sector, only Professor Deon Geldenhnys, Professor Willie Breytenbach, Professor Themba Sona and Professor John Daniel were in favor of keeping the *status quo* or suggested opting for dual recognition. It was a very difficult situation that the ROC had to face and deal with everyday.

The PRC was impatient that after two years since the ANC-led Government was in office, there were still no formal relations between the PRC and the RSA. The Director

of the Chinese Centre for South African Studies, Ji Peiding, said, "South Africa has to solve this question"; "We want South Africa to follow international practice and recognise China as the legitimate government, and accept that Taiwan is a province." [60] He also said it would be in South Africa's international political interest to recognise China because of the PRC's position in the UN and relationship with the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity.

In South Africa's view, the consular office in Hong Kong, SAA's landing rights in Hong Kong, and a possible seat in the UN Security Council were all important considerations when making a choice. Furthermore, China's huge market and the fact that 160 countries around the world recognised China, compared with the 28 which had ties with Taiwan, had to be taken into account. Jiang Zemin also wrote a letter to Mandela "In order to establish diplomatic ties, the Taiwan issue should be solved first… We do have confidence that Your Excellency will conduct the bilateral relations into a right direction."[61] The PRC's precondition for diplomatic ties was the termination of links with Taiwan. Whenever a head of government which already had diplomatic ties with the PRC visited SA, the PRC requested that pressure be put on the SA government to normalise relations with the PRC and downgrade with the ROC. During Deputy President Mbeki and Foreign Minister Nzo's tour to New York to attend the UN Assembly, the PRC Foreign Minister Qian once again advocated the importance of the PRC.[62]

The sensitive and complex matter caused such a dilemma for SA from May 1994 until early 1996, that the RSA instructed Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo to visit the PRC and the ROC separately to clarify the situation and find a solution. During Nzo's visit to the PRC, he said it was abnormal that SA did not have ties with the PRC and hoped that SA would solve the problem soon. ANC MP and chairman of the parliamentary committee on foreign relations Raymond Suttner, who was part of Nzo's delegation to Beijing, said: "There is a definite desire to form diplomatic relations with China, but Beijing's condition is that SA break off diplomatic relations with Taiwan. This would mean no relations with Taiwan, but we would have to work hard to ensure that economic benefits of relations with Taiwan are retained."[63] Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo led a fact-finding delegation to the ROC from June 30 to July 2, 1996.

In the joint statement issued in Taipei by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the ROC and the Embassy of the RSA, Minister Nzo explained that South Africa would like to maintain and expand its cordial relations on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. How to achieve this was currently the subject of debate in South Africa. His current visit to Taipei and an earlier one to Beijing were meant to exchange views and information on the subject with leaders on both sides and to report on these exchanges to President Nelson Mandela."[64]

During Nzo's visit, the ROC leaders reiterated that they did not question SA's desire to promote relations with Beijing but stressed that this should not occur at the cost of existing relations between the ROC and the RSA. The ROC reconfirmed the full support of its Government for South Africa's RDP. In the scope of South Africa's overall assessment of relations with the Greater China region, all countries were waiting to see what Pretoria would do next. The ROC pointed out the scale of its investments to the RSA and with one simple goal, the maintaining of diplomatic ties, even proclaimed to accept so-called dual recognition. With the PRC's powerful status in the UN, a population of 1.2 billion people, enormous market opportunities, the recognition of 160 countries and holding the landing rights of SAA in Hong Kong, SA's consulate in Hong Kong stressed that SA should take international practice to make the right decision. Frankly speaking, foreign policy could only be determined by what was in the country's best interests. Neither sympathies nor ideology, moral and emotional arguments could determine foreign policy. Despite Taiwan's R35 million donation to the ANC's election chest in 1994 and subsequent technical assistance worth R146 million for retraining demobilized soldiers, the ROC faced a tough challenge for formal recognition of the PRC rather than the ROC.

The Cutting of Diplomatic Ties

The Ninth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Johannesburg at the end of April 1996, involved participation by nine heads of state and 3,000 government officials from nearly 188 countries. The PRC Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Co-operation, Madame Wu Yi, met President Mandela and Foreign Minister

Alfred Nzo. She insisted that after establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC, both countries would get huge profits from economic development, bilateral trade and investments. She envisioned that within the next 15 years, valuable opportunities for the development of trade and joint ventures between the two countries would arise. She succeeded in signing of the Exchange of Notes for the granting of Most Favoured National Trade Status with the Minister of Trade and Industry, Alec Erwin. A growing consensus on the need for the normalisation of relations was thus aroused the South African media by Madam Wu's visit.[65]

In answering a journalist's questions, Madame Wu said the RSA would establish diplomatic relations with the PRC soon. President Mandela phoned ambassador Loh to clarify that the statement was not quite correct. Even in July 1996, Mandela reaffirmed his position that nothing had changed towards the China issue. As the storm was approaching, the ROC sent Vice-Premier Hsu Li-teh to SA from August 26 to September 3, 1996, pledging to offer more trade, investment, economic aid programmes and various co-operation projects. Mandela received Hsu and repeated his assurance that he would not break off diplomatic ties with the ROC.

The ROC's intention was very clear, that it was using economic bonds to sustain the weak ties the only possible way. Vice Premier Hsu's visit in August did not receive much news coverage. Most political analysts said that SA's normalization of relations with the PRC was not a topic for debate, but only a matter of timing. When would the shift take place? Dr. Greg Mills said the obvious time frame was sometime between the March Taiwanese Presidential election and the July 1997 handing over of Hong Kong to the PRC.[66]

On November 27, 1996, Mandela, with Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo and Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, announced at a press conference that SA had decided to recognise the PRC and enter into diplomatic ties with Beijing at the expense of formal relations with the ROC. In his four-paragraph statement, Mandela offered only one reason for switching recognition, "A permanent continuation of diplomatic recognition of the Republic of China on Taiwan is inconsistent with South Africa's role in international

affairs."[67]

The President explained that formal ties with the ROC were harming South Africa's active participation in multilateral forums such as the UN, the Organisation of African Unity, and the Non-aligned Movement, all of which recognised the PRC. Mandela also decided that the changes would take effect on January 1, 1998, leaving the ROC with 12 months to conclude its diplomatic mission in SA. Mandela also tried to sever the relationship on good terms. He recorded his and his government's "enormous appreciation" for the ROC government's contribution to the RDP and for encouraging Taiwanese investment in SA. Furthermore, Mandela insisted that SA would continue to maintain strong economic and cultural ties with Taiwan.[68]

In Taiwan Mandela's surprise announcement caused a great shock since Mandela had given his assurance to the ROC's Vice Premier Hsu Li-teh in August that South Africa would not cut diplomatic relations with the ROC in favour of relations with the PRC. On the same day, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lodged a strong protest against the decision, saying the move would seriously hurt existing friendly relations between the two countries. The ROC government expressed regret at what it termed "a very unfriendly" decision and called on Pretoria to reconsider.[69] The next day Foreign Minister John Chang protested to the South African Ambassador Johannes Viljoen about his country's intention to establish full diplomatic ties with Beijing and the chairman of the Council for Economic Planning and Development, Chiang Ping-kun, announced that the government would not continue to encourage Taiwanese investment in SA.

As a famous statesman in the world, Mandela voiced his appreciation for Taiwan's help to the ANC making it possible to win the 1994 election, "something we will never forget": As for his decision, Mandela perhaps did not want to saddle his crown prince, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, with the burden of having to break the Taipei connection after Mandela's planned retirement in 1999. It was suggested that the twelve-month period of transition was in part designed to place Beijing under pressure to indicate what it would offer to compensate SA for any loss of assistance from Taiwan.[70] Mandela presented the diplomatic switch as a painful decision that he wished he did not have to

make. According to his words, "But there comes a time when a man, in the interest of his own country, has to take a decision which hurts a very close friend."

Mandela's announcement prompted divergent reactions among the various political parties. It was welcomed in ANC ranks, but condemned by the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front. At a news conference, NP leader, F W de Klerk said the severing of diplomatic ties with Taiwan was a disturbing and serious situation. He said it was difficult to understand how South Africa could break ties with a country from which it had benefited considerably in the past. He blamed the decision on the SACP's influence on government policy. Mr. De Klerk added he would have expected President Mandela to discus the issue with him as a leader of the opposition before making the announcement. The IFP said it was shocked and dismayed at the decision. IFP Secretary-General, Dr. Ziba Jiyane, said although the IFP supported the establishing of formal links with a fast-emerging world power like mainland China, it was regrettable that President Mandela had alienated one of South Africa's foremost trading powers in the process.[71] Freedom Front foreign affairs spokesman, Dr. Pieter Mulder, said the decision had followed in the face of all efforts by the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs to find an amicable solution to the matter. He said the committee, which had visited both countries last year on fact-finding missions, had not completed its work.[72]

Press commentaries were mostly favourable to SA's decision. *Business Day* wrote "South Africa's switch is primarily to do with international diplomacy and our government's desire to become increasingly a world player – for example, winning a permanent seat for Africa on the UN Security Council, which China could veto." The *Daily News* described the situation as follows:" Taiwan has for long treasured and nurtured its friendship with South Africa. The diplomatic ties may soon be coming to an end, but that's no reason why the two cannot remain good friends." *The Sunday Independent* was of the opinion that from a practical standpoint, South Africa's recognition of the People's Republic of China did not come a day too soon. *The Citizen* described the handling of the China issue as "a classic example of bungling" and insisted "It's time our Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo quit.[73]

For Ambassador Loh, who had assiduously cultivated links with the Mandela government and earned much of the credit for the continuation of diplomatic ties after May 1994, declared that "I personally should take responsibility for Pretoria's change." However, the PRC's economic and political weight and the Hong Kong factor were reasons for South Africa's change of policy. The Taiwanese community in SA, most of which was involved in the business sector, was outraged at Pretoria's decision. Some members openly declared that they were nervous and worried about the future of their investments in South Africa.

A week after Mandela dropped his diplomatic bombshell, the two countries held high-level meetings on their future relationship. From December 3 to 6, 1996, ROC Foreign Minister John Chang visited Pretoria for talks with Mandela and Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo. Taipei saw this visit as an opportunity to persuade Pretoria to reconsider the severance of ties. The Mandela government, by contrast, intended using the talks to explain the decision to terminate diplomatic links and also to begin working out a new formula for future relations.[74] Mandela described Taiwan as a very close friend and was confident the countries would maintain relations on the highest possible short of full diplomatic recognition. Chang was very disappointed not only that diplomatic ties with SA could not be saved, retaining the three Consulates-General in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, but also because the use of the name Republic of China in the designations of future missions and the use of the ROC national flag and national emblems would be discontinued.

Having failed to persuade Pretoria to reconsider its diplomatic switch to the PRC, Chang announced three retaliatory measures: (1) the recall of Ambassador Loh to Taipei for an indefinite period "to express our displeasure and our concern caused by the action of the South African government"; (2) the immediate suspension of programmes of co-operation between the two countries; (3) many of the 39 bilateral treaties would also be suspended, one of which was an aviation agreement. The Johannesburg-Taipei route, served by South African Airways, would be terminated on February 15, 1997.[75] Asked about Taiwanese investments in SA, Chang said the total volume of investments in SA was US $1.5 billion. More than 43,000 jobs had been created by these investments. In

the past, the PRC government advised and encouraged businessmen to work in SA. Now, businessmen would have to make their own decisions whether or not to stay.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said the suspension of the Taiwanese projects was regrettable. "The reaction will influence our sincere desire that the friendly relations that have been built up over the years should continue to the mutual benefit of SA and the ROC." Although businessmen and economists say that trade and economic relations between the two countries are bound to continue, the big question is whether they will be on the same scale. The ROC is South Africa's seventh biggest trading partner, with two-way trade totaling R5.7 billion in 1995.

In December, Foreign Minister Chang indicated that his government had not ruled out the possibility of taking the initiative to break diplomatic links with SA if deemed necessary. It could indeed be argued that it would be a humiliating experience for the ROC to maintain a full diplomatic mission in SA while the clock ticked away.[76] The highest possible recognition other than official relations needed to be negotiated in the interest of both SA and Taiwan. On returning to South Africa in January 1997, Foreign Minister Chang and Foreign Minister Nzo held the second round of negotiations to discuss the future arrangements after January 1998. He indicated that the ROC government would not discourage Taiwanese from investing in SA provided that the ROC was given adequate representation in SA to provide sufficient protection for Taiwanese doing business there. Chang told Nzo that Taipei wanted future relations based on the principles of reality, continuity, governmentality, legality and morality,[77] but the talks did not produce concrete results. In June 1997, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad led a delegation to Taiwan for the third round of negotiations with Deputy Minister Chen Chien-jen.

With the three high-level rounds of negotiation, there were 12 bilateral working-level discussions between Ambassador Loh's ROC delegation and the appointed special committee of the DFA of the RSA. The final goal was to work out a mutually acceptable framework for future relations. During the negotiations, the two sides had a different perception about "the highest possible level short of full diplomatic recognition",

but all agreed to sustain economic, investment, cultural, scientific and technological, agricultural and fishery relations for the purpose of promoting mutual interests.[78] In May 1997, RSA Ambassador Johan Viljoen finished his term and was succeeded by Ambassador Cornelius Scholtz. Mandela asked Ambassador Loh to stay in SA after 1998, but the ambassador neither agreed to this goodwill proposal nor did he report it to the government. The PRC also had several rounds of negotiations with the SA government, trying to establish diplomatic ties six months earlier to coincide with the transfer of Hong Kong to the PRC. Owing to South Africa's firm stand, this idea did not bear fruit. The ROC also kept their office building and the Heads of Mission's residence was not transferred to the PRC.

The twelfth round of negotiations ended December 23, 1997, when the two sides agreed that from January 1, 1998 the new framework for interaction would be as follows:

- Taiwan's interests in SA would be handled by the Taipei Liaison Offices in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town. South African interests in Taiwan were to be represented by the Liaison Office of the Republic of SA in Taipei.
- The representative would be the head of mission. Mr. Du Ling would be the first Representative from Taiwan. Former Ambassador Scholtz would be the first representative from Pretoria. Representatives would be appointed according to international practice and conduct their duties from January 1998.
- The function of the offices was to promote two-way economic, educational, cultural, financial, scientific exchange and co-operation, in order to sustain mutually beneficial and substantial relations.
- In order to realise these functions of the offices effectively, the two sides agreed, based on the equal and mutual beneficial foundation, to provide their staff with what was necessary so as to conduct duties.[79]

One week later, the RSA and the PRC signed the joint communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations. Among the four clauses, it stipulated that the Government of the RSA recognised there was but one China in the world, the Government of the PRC was its sole legal government and Taiwan was an inalienable part of China.[80] By accepting the "One China" position, the RSA formally ended official relations with

the ROC which had been established since 1905.

The year 1997 was a difficult one for the ROC Embassy staffs in Pretoria, who were busy with the negotiations yet aware that their days were numbered. Only the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, Lionel Mtshali and the Mayor of Greater Pretoria, Mrs. Nombuyiselo Joyce Ngele visited Taiwan in 1997. Another obvious consequence of these events was that programmes of co-operation, including concessionary loans, grants, technical assistance and arms purchases were suspended. With regard to the existing 36 bilateral treaties, Taipei indicated that 50 to 60 percent would be suspended. The ROC closed the Consulate-General in Durban and reduced the number of diplomats in another three offices.

With the demise of apartheid and the ANC assuming power in 1994, South Africa's international fortunes were transformed into the paragon of the 1990s. Prior to 1994, the ROC government had envisaged the fundamental changes and sent Ambassador Loh to attempt to solidify ROC-RSA relations. Taipei acknowledged that the ROC had a political motivation to encourage investment in SA. There were three options for SA: keep the *status quo*, dual recognition or switching diplomatic ties. SA decided to cut ties with the ROC and downgraded the close relationship it had enjoyed from 1976 to 1997. SA made a most unusual decision: to allow one year for the ROC Embassy and Consulates to remain before the official change of recognition to the PRC would occur.

Ambassador Loh was captain of the ship, steering into a tremendous storm. With a formidable opponent, the ROC government prevented the worst event for more than three-and-a-half years. Without doubt, Ambassador Loh's diplomatic techniques were one of the key factors in sustaining relations. President Mandela wrote a letter to President Lee (appendix XIX) to explain why SA had to face the reality in changing the recognition and mentioned Ambassador Loh "I would like to extend my appreciation to Ambassador Loh I-cheng for his personal sacrifices and endeavours in this regard. During our private discussions, he has become a close personal acquaintance of mine and it is my sincere belief that no government can wish for a better representative. The foreign diplomatic community in South Africa of which Ambassador Loh is the doyen holds

both Ambassador Loh and his wife in the highest regard. They are sensitive and loyal ambassadors of your country."[81] Mandela decorated Ambassador Loh with the Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross Class which was the highest honour possible from South Africa. Ambassador Loh pointed out that the ROC did not do anything inappropriate in SA. On the contrary, the ROC tried its utmost to enhance diplomatic ties, owing to the international reality, but each country had its own national interests to consider, resulting in the conclusion of an important chapter in relations between the countries.

Substantive Relations after 1998

In international politics, SA was an important role-player, not just in sending peace-keeping forces to African countries, but also in organising different kinds of summits and international conferences. In 1998 South Africa was the leading and most powerful country in Africa with 39 embassies through the continent. Most countries sent influential figures to SA as ambassadors or representatives. Even though there were no diplomatic relations, Taiwan still had three Liaison Offices which started functioning January 1, 1998, to encourage substantive relations.

On January 28, 1998, Foreign Minister Nzo at the request of the PRC sent an official circular letter to ban official visits by ministers and premiers of the RSA to Taiwan, and restrict access of ROC diplomats to the South African government. South African ministers, premiers and officials were advised not to attend any official functions.[82] However, a professional relationship was built gradually through the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Taipei Liaison Office in Pretoria, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the South African Liaison Office in Taipei. Mr. Fasil Ismail, the Deputy Director General of the Department of Trade and Industry; Mr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Premier of the Western Cape; Mangosuthn Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs all visited Taiwan in early 2005. In May 2005, Dr. Manto Tshabalala Msimany, Minister of Health, became the first Cabinet member in the ruling party to pay a visit to Taiwan.

From Taiwan, Deputy Foreign Minister Michael Kau and Dr. Chang Fu-mei, Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Commission, visited SA after 2000. In spite of these

visits, there were limitations in the political field because no diplomatic ties existed. Director Scholtz from the Department of Foreign Affairs said that to enhance political relations with Taiwan was not the current policy of the government of SA.[83] Basically, South Africa insisted on the One China policy and would not provoke the PRC. After Minister Buthelezi visited Taiwan, he instructed that Taiwan be listed as one of the countries whose citizens would not need a visa for visits of less than 90 days in SA. This favourable attitude was to encourage more Taiwanese to visit and invest in SA. The *Government Gazette* promulgated this announcement in April 2003 and put it into force in July 2003. Taiwan was grateful about this friendly step and regarded it as a beneficial development. However, SA terminated this policy in 2005. When Taiwan requested SA's support to gain participation in the UN and WHO, South Africa either voted against Taiwan or remained neutral.

According to the Department of Foreign Affair's Strategic Plan – 2005/08, the territory of Taiwan was mentioned as one of the largest Asian investors in South Africa.[84] Bilateral trade between SA and Taiwan reached US$1,294 million in 2003. South Africa's main exports to Taiwan included iron and iron ore, steel, machinery and electrical machinery, aluminium, motor vehicles, vehicle parts, coal, wood, precious stones and metal, granite, organic chemicals, wool, tobacco, preserved food and fruit juice. Taiwan's main exports to SA included machinery (computer), bicycles, motorbike & auto parts, yarn & fabric, iron/steel products, toys, sports equipment, hand tools, rubber and optical goods. Most importantly, total bilateral trade between SA and Taiwan increased by 51.6 % between 2001 and 2004.[85]

Taiwanese investment remained at high volume of more than US$1 billion. There were over 620 Taiwanese businesses investing in SA, of which 280 were involved in the manufacturing sector. These companies managed to occupy some 60% of the market share in SA for products such as personal computers, jerseys, sweaters, denim jeans, cutlery, shoes, woven plastic bags and gloves. The companies employed between 40,000–50,000 South Africans. Mustek and Evergreen were two of the famous companies from Taiwan. Given the high-tech nature of Taiwan's economy, significant South African investments in Taiwan were unlikely. However, South Africa could do more to

attract Taiwanese drect foreign investment by:

- Reconvening the annual economic co-operation conference to promote increased investment in SA;
- Identifying mechanisms for the enhancement of bilateral commercial relations;
- Encouraging "a Taiwan Investment Study Mission" to visit South Africa.
- Improving the domestic environment and advancing business-friendly policies.[86]

In 2004 and 2005, with the participation of SAITEX and the Trade Mission of Taiwanese Businessmen to SA in November 2005, Taiwanese investments began flowing into South Africa again.

In 2002, Mrs. Santosh Vinita Kalyan, a member of the Portfolio Committee on Health, led a delegation to Taiwan. Dr. Boy Geldenhuys, MP in 2002 and Ms Patricia de Lille, MP and leader of ID, in 2003 also visited Taiwan. From Taiwan, several MPs visited SA for different purposes. Among them, Dr. P K Chiang, senior MP and former Deputy Speaker and Minister of Economic Affairs, led a delegation of eight MPs to attend the 2005 Annual Conference of the Taiwanese Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg on March 7, 2005. During their visits, they exchanged views on how to strengthen co-operation between the two countries and discussed matters of mutual concern with their counterparts.

On March 4, 2004, Sherry Chen was the first Chinese from Taiwan to become an MP in SA.[87] This businesswoman, who won the Gauteng Business Person of the Year Award in 1994, and was a Johannesburg City Councillor for four years, was named as Democratic Alliance Permanent Representative on the National Council of the Province. Furthermore, at the end of 2004, there were four South African Chinese MPs in Parliament of Taiwanese origin, representing different Parties. This proved that more Taiwanese would like to represent the interests of political parties.

On February 21, 2003, the two countries signed the Memorandum of Understanding on Police Co-operation to curb crime activities.[88] Many Scholars and goodwill missions visited SA. For example, Dr. Chang King-Yu, President of the Sino-Euro Foundation, attended the international conference "World Movement for Democracy, the Third As-

sembly: Building Democracy for Peace, Development, and Human Rights" in January 2004. Dr. Chang was the principal of the National Chengchi University and conferred an Honorary Doctorate on F.W. de Klerk in 1991. He said, "South Africa's peaceful transfer of power to the ANC, no bloodshed, was a great achievement in world history."[89]

A Taipei Goodwill Mission led by the Taipei City Council also went to SA many times and talked to the Executive Mayor of Tshwane, Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa to renew the friendship. From SA many political scholars came to Taiwan, including Dr. Greg Mills, Director of the South Africa Institute of International Affairs, Professor Themba Sono, Professor Garth Shelton, Dr. Martyn Davies and Professor Aden Xhenga, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand. Professor Garth Shelton came to conduct research on topics such as democracy in the ROC, ROC-Africa relations, and the ROC's economic development.

Before 2005, Taiwan donated more than 1,000 wheelchairs to the Department of Social Development and Department of Health to help people in need, a deed which won the respect and applause of SA. The Tzu Chi Foundation donated parcels containing 20 kg rice, 750 ml cooking oil, 1 kg sugar and 500 g dried beans to 2,000 families in the Winterveld in an attempt to alleviate poverty.[90] Actually, donating wheelchairs and food parcels to needy people was almost a routine task that lasted for 10 years, not just in one place, but also in Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban and Soweto, several times a year. This friendly gesture was motivated by the South African Taiwanese community.

The Taipei Liaison Office in SA also co-operated with the Department of Music of the University of Pretoria on several occasions by means of Charity Concerts to raise funds for talented students in Pretoria. At the same time, cultural exchange at the Charity Concerts was an inspiration for all concerned. In sports, the National Women's Football team of Taiwan undertook a goodwill and friendship tour to SA in September 2003. Bafana Bafana scored a hard-fought 1-0 victory over an obstinate Taiwan side in an international/friendly match at Eldorado Stadium.[91] The South African Dragon Boat Association organised teams to participate in the International Dragon Boat Competition in 2004 and 2005. All these were some of the sports exchanges between the two coun-

tries.

The ROC government attaches great importance to the well-being of overseas Chinese communities and so does its utmost to look after the interests of the Taiwanese community in SA. This was once again illustrated with the visit by the Minister for the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, Dr. Fu-mei Chang to SA in September 2002, during which she also attended the launch of the African Chapter of the Global Alliance for Democracy and Peace in Durban. Most Taiwanese immigrants stay in Gauteng, especially in Johannesburg and Pretoria, and use the venue of Nan Hwa Temple, situated in Bronkhorstspruit, like a colourful Oriental Mirage for various activities. In Gauteng, *Waya Waya*, the publication of Gauteng Tourism Authority, Nan Hwa Temple is a highly recommended place of peace to visit.[92] With the help of the SA Tourism Authority many favourable impressions of Taiwanese in SA are effected, advancing interaction between the two countries.

After the break of diplomatic relations, economic relations were the main interaction between SA and Taiwan. These economic ties were determined by market forces. Prior to January 1, 1998, political interest motivated Taiwan's relationship with SA. Now the post-formal relationship centres upon economic exchange.[93]

Conclusion

In the 1990s, the internal situation in South Africa changed dramatically. Mandela was released from jail, and the ANC was no longer considered a subversive party. In the elections that followed in 1994, the ANC took power and considered dual recognition to be best for South Africa's national interests. However, this option never became a political reality, and President Mandela announced over a year in advance that diplomatic relations between South Africa and the ROC would be terminated, an unprecedented action. Since then, both countries have had cultural, commercial, medical and police co-operation and signed memorandum of understanding on police cooperation. In fact, in the field of trade and investment, tourism, cultural exchanges and science and technology are the key areas for mutual co-operation. The ROC remains the top foreign investor in

South Africa, and the two countries have cooperated in many different fields with mutually beneficial results. Even though these positive interactions cannot compare to the years from 1976 to 1997, it is a promising sign that relations are constantly improving and thus gradual and careful political contact may be realised in the future.

The ROC faces a unique situation in that most nations refuse to provide diplomatic recognition yet still hope to maintain substantive bilateral relations. For more tham 50 years, the international environment dictated ROC's foreign relations and squeezed its sphere of influence. In May 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the ROC's presidential election, with the democracy, human rights and freedom forming its main campaign platform to distinguish itself from the previous government. Once the DPP gained power in May, President Chen paid official visits to Africa that year and two years later. The first visit covered Gambia, Burkina Faso and Chad and the second visit Senegal, Sao Tome and Principe, Malawi and Swaziland.

In President Chen's inaugural speech for his second term (2004-2008), he emphasized his hope to re-position Taiwan in terms of both global competition and international cooperation. He also stressed that Taiwan should continue to actively participate in the international community and support multilateral humanitarian and counter-terrorism endeavors. For instance, in March 2004, Taiwan donated funds to assist Chad resettle refuges from the Durfur region. In July, Taiwan donated 40 metric tons of rice to the people of Tanzania. President Chen also expressed his wish that Taiwan become more involved in international NGOs to consolidate respect for the universal values of freedom, democracy and human rights throughout the world. Thus it was clear that the ROC not only helps to promote international economic and trade cooperation, but also shares its experiences with other developing or least developed nations. Taiwan especially wanted to provide assistance to nations and people in times of need.

One should note that, while the DPP held power, it preferred to use the moniker "Taiwan" for the ROC's foreign affairs in order to more clearly differentiate itself from the PRC. Although the ROC's allies in Africa seemed to support President Chen's calls

for democracy, human rights and freedom in principle, such ideals were not their primary concern. They sought to increase the flow of foreign investment, technical know-how transfer and foreign aid. While democracy, human rights and freedom are universal values, they can not meet the immediate needs of these countries.

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CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

Official ties with Africa had already commenced prior to the precipitous events of 1949. In 1905, during the Chin dynasty, the Chinese government established the Chinese Consul-General in Johannesburg. In 1934, President Chiang Kai-shek attended the Cairo Conference, and later that year the Chinese government established the Consul General in Cairo. Three additional government offices then began their formal functioning: in Mauritius and Algeria in 1934, and Madagascar in 1945.

In the San Francisco Conference, 1945, the Chinese asserted that they would assist the majority of African colonies in acquiring their independent status, and insisted that this position be included into the clauses of the United Nations Charter.

Following civil war in 1949 in China, the PRC was established on October 1, 1949, and the ROC was forced to relocate in Taiwan. It was then that competition between the two Chinas, which persists until today, began.

In the 1960s, there were only four independent states on the African continent, namely Egypt, Liberia, Ethiopia and South Africa. The PRC had already established diplomatic relations with Egypt in 1956, and the ROC had diplomatic relations with Liberia and South Africa. The ROC needed friendship and diplomatic recognition in order to assert its legitimate status in the international community, and it equally needed to keep its seat in the UN. These were the two pillars that helped the ROC to stand firm in the years of turmoil. Yet only 15 countries moved their embassies to Taipei, causing the situation to be unstable.

Foreign policy needs to be realistic and decisive, and any foreign minister must delicately and carefully carry out diplomacy against a background of changing realities, needs and goals. Diplomacy is an important tool for securing national interests, for enhancing the substantive relations with foreign countries, and for national development. Every country in the world strives to extend its influence for political, economic or

military purposes. Nevertheless, it is ultimately national interests that remain the foremost priority in diplomatic consideration and decision-making.

The ROC dispatched its first agricultural team to Africa in 1959, to Liberia. In October of the same year, the President of the Malagasy Republic, Philibert Tsiranana, paid an official visit to Taipei, making him the first African head of state from to visit the ROC. When 17 African states acquired independence in 1960, all 17 joined the United Nations, thus changing the political map of the world. It can be said that 1960 was the year of Africa, and naturally the ROC was keen to establish diplomatic relations with as many of these 17 African countries as possible, doing so with great success.

Having secured relations with all 17 countries, the ROC sent agricultural teams to help the local people grow rice, invited African officials and experts to Taiwan to attend related courses, and invited heads of African states to visit the ROC. By stimulating interaction between the ROC and Africa, the ROC was fulfilling its foreign policy of increasing the number of friendly allies in Africa and strengthening its position in the UN. Even when the PRC established diplomatic relations with France in 1964, a setback that caused some French-speaking African countries to switch their recognition to the PRC, by 1969 the ROC still had full relations with 22 African states. By then, more than 600 agricultural team members were collaborating with 100 diplomats in Africa, and agricultural cultivation and production was at its peak.

The visits by Minister of Foreign Affairs Shen Chang-huan and Deputy Foreign Minister H K Yang to Africa in 1959 and 1960, respectively, had proved to be very useful in laying the foundations for enhancing friendly relations and also for gaining the respect and promises of support of African allies. Taiwan used part of the US foreign aid it had received for its first foray into providing foreign aid to its African allies. Called Operation Vanguard, the ROC used its strengths in agricultural development to great success and fulfilled a basic need of its allies, that of food. In return, the African allies supported the ROC in the UN.

H.K. Yang, or Mr. Africa as he was known, confessed that in those days he stayed in

Africa almost three months every year solely for the purpose of solidifying relations, lobbying different countries for support, inspecting the agricultural teams and intermittently conveying African needs to Taipei. This kind of personal diplomacy, endorsed by the assistance of foreign aid, proved to be quite successful and effective. In October 26, 1971, when the ROC withdrew from the UN after 21 years, the ROC had relations with 15 African countries compared with the 26 that recognized the PRC.

While the situation changed drastically thereafter, the ROC's Africa Policy from 1949 to 1971 was considered very successful. Through the efforts of its agricultural teams and Mr. H.K. Yang, the ROC was able to sustain itself on the world stage, while also focusing on the goal of making concrete progress in its national development.

The approach to diplomacy must be continually adjusted according to the external environment, which for the ROC underwent enormous change in the 1970s when the PRC opted to play an active role in world affairs, and the ROC subsequently withdrew from the UN. The two pillars that the ROC had based its foreign policy on in the 1960s and early 1970s -- its seat in the UN and maintaining diplomatic allies -- collapsed and ceased to exist. This changed reality forced the ROC to try to find another way through the complexity of world affairs. But Taiwan was to suffer another blow when the US terminated diplomatic relations with the ROC in 1979, exacerbating an already crippling situation. If that was not enough, the Ivory Coast turned its recognition towards the PRC in 1985, leaving just South Africa, Swaziland and Malawi as the three African countries with full diplomatic relations with the ROC.

The PRC had a vast land with a huge population, market potential, opportunities and membership in the UN, which attracted other important countries to join its growing list of allies. Under the PRC's so-called One China policy, all countries had to make a choice between the ROC and the PRC. The years between 1971 and 1988 comprised a tumultuous period for ROC diplomatic efforts and can be dubbed the dark days of Taiwan's foreign relations.

During this period, the ROC maintained assistance to its three remaining African

allies. However, the external environment had changed radically, and many agricultural teams were called back. Under President Chiang King-Kou's leadership, the ROC then concentrated its efforts on its own national development, which went from a GDP of US$ 449 in 1971, to US$ 6,357 in 1988. Fortunately, this Taiwan experience was to become an important model for developing countries to emulate. After all, according to Article 141 of the Constitution of the ROC, "The foreign policy of the ROC shall, in a spirit of independence and initiative and on the basis of the principles of equality and reciprocity, cultivate good-neighborliness with other nations, and respect treaties and the charter of the UN, in order to protect the rights and interests of Chinese citizens residing abroad, promote international cooperation, advance international justice and ensure world peace."

International cooperation is the all-important goal of the ROC's foreign policy. The US government's foreign aid had formerly brought the ROC practical assistance, and this also allowed the ROC to provide aid to African nations with substantial results. Yet the tug-of-war between the ROC and the PRC for allies in Africa was allowing African countries to choose between the two Chinas at will and to profit handsomely.

After President Lee Teng-hui implemented a policy of pragmatic diplomacy in 1988 and the Tiananmen Square incident occurred in Beijing on June 4, 1989, the ROC's fortunes rebounded with the establishment of diplomatic relations with Niger, the Central African Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Burkina Faso, Gambia, and Chad: a grand victory for the ROC's African Policy. The ROC upgraded its office in Liberia to full diplomatic relations and set up the Consul General in Lagos, Nigeria. Furthermore, the ROC set up official offices in the Congo, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritius and Angola with the full name of The Delegation of the Republic of China.

In order to break the negative image of China that the Tiananmen Square incident had imposed on the world, the PRC's foreign minister made official visits to its African allies every year after 1991, with the aim of proving its active participation in the international community and also to show the world that the PRC was still very popular among third world countries, especially those in Africa.

Since the PRC would not allow its African allies to accept the ROC's existence in their spheres of influence, the ROC's newly-formed delegations did not last very long. A further diplomatic setback came in the form of South Africa's switching recognition to the PRC in January 1998. What had been close to a century of official ties, from 1905 to 1998, came to an unfortunate end. However, this did not spell the end of relations in their entirety; in order to preserve and build on burgeoning economic, cultural, scientific and other exchanges, South Africa and the ROC reached a satisfactory arrangement after the severance of diplomatic relations.

The reality today is that it is almost impossible to see the full title of "the Republic of China" in Africa, especially among the PRC's allies. Before the end of 2000, there were eight African countries that had full diplomatic relations with the ROC. In international politics, diplomacy is an important and necessary tool with which small counties can survive. However, in the case of the ROC, which wanted to represent the whole of China, its attempts could not be accepted by the world.

In May 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party won the presidential election and took power as the ruling party in the ROC. The DPP took a new approach to enhancing interactions with Africa. This included more international cooperation, humanitarian aid, volunteer missions, and summit, or meeting, diplomacy. As a result, the ROC president made fruitful visits to Africa in July 2000 and July 2002, and all the heads of state of Taiwan's African allies attended President Chen Shui-bian's second inaugural ceremony in 2004. During this period, the use of foreign aid, and personal and conference diplomacy, clearly illustrated the ROC's intention of enhancing Africa-ROC interaction.

Even though Liberia and Senegal switched recognition to the PRC at the end of 2005, and Chad was soon to follow in 2006, Burkina Faso, Sao Tome and Principe, the Gambia, Malawi and Swaziland have kept their diplomatic ties with the ROC. Among these countries, Malawi has maintained cordial relations with the ROC for 40 years since its independence. All these countries voice their support for the ROC in the UN and WHO on the basis that its exclusion in these international organizations is unfair and needs to be reconsidered.

Taiwan, with its unique status in the world, needs friends urgently and wants to extend its goodwill to the world, but owing to the PRC's relentless intervention, the ROC faces an immensely difficult and rugged foreign policy terrain indeed. For over 50 years, a push and pull competition has existed between the ROC and the PRC, and African countries continue to choose which one will benefit them most as a friend.

The following diplomatic strategies each have certain implications, the details of which illuminate the ROC's Africa policy,

1. Personal diplomacy – Mr. Africa, H.K. Yang, devoted his entire life to Africa. His charisma is noteworthy, especially in terms of winning the friendship of African allies. He helped establish formal relations with 17 African countries within two years, an outstanding contribution. In the early 1960s, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shen Chang-huan, and then Yang Chi-cheng, visited more than 15 countries on each Africa trip, thus enhancing cordial relations. Also, Ambassador Chen Hsiung-fei and Dr. Joei both traveled extensively in West Africa to persuade countries there to support the ROC in its UN campaign. This kind of contact proved to be effective. After 2000, President Chen visited Africa twice to solidify relations. The president's African counterparts, the leaders of Chad, Gambia, Burkina Faso, Malawi, Swaziland, and Sao Tome and Principe all visited the ROC, some of them several times.
2. Foreign aid – The ROC has been providing foreign aid to Africa since Operation Vanguard began in 1959. This has included aid given through its agricultural missions, expanding the Kou River and building a bridge in Burkina Faso, constructing Muzuzu Central Hospital in Northern Malawi, and building a road in Chad. It has also established medical and handicrafts missions and animal feeding centers, has invited agricultural experts to attend courses in Taiwan, provided scholarships for outstanding students and sent volunteers through NGOs. In less visible ways, the ROC has also provided loans and grants and also shared its knowledge with SMEs, taught people how to be self-supporting and provided information on how to accomplish land reform. Emphasis has been very much on helping Africans help themselves. The Kou River project in Burkina Faso proved to be a real success and paved the way for the production of rice in the desert.
3. Conference diplomacy: - Regular conferences, commissions or forums have been in-

strumental in institutionalizing relations. Examples are the ROC-South Africa Economic & Technical conference, the ROC-Burkina Faso mixed conference and the ROC-Liberia mixed conference, which have been held annually or biennially, depending on the country, to discuss, examine and execute cooperative projects and mutual concerns. These conferences have been a platform for the countries involved to exchange views, express ideas and, of course, bargain over requests. These conferences have increased in frequency in recent years and have helped improve relations. Also, a new trend of holding virtual conferences has emerged, allowing decision makers to discuss current issues directly and conveniently. However, this has also diminished the role of diplomats.

4. Economic diplomacy: - Substantive relations can be promoted through direct investment, trade or debt relief. However, trade volume between Africa and the ROC remains limited, constituting only 1% of ROC foreign investment. While the ROC government has encouraged private businesses, companies and factories to invest in Africa, it has only really been in South Africa that positive results have been achieved. The ROC also bought tea and tobacco from Malawi and because of increasing energy needs had sought closer cooperation with Chad in exchange for crude oil transportation to Taiwan.
5. Public diplomacy: - This provides an easy route for people to gain direct access to different cultures and peoples. For the last 20 years, sports exchanges and exchange visits by cultural groups and journalists have allowed people from Africa and Taiwan to experience each other's cultures and form genuine friendships. Hosting Dragon Boat festivals and issuing commemorative stamps in both countries are some of the more distinguishable activities, and Africa Day and Africa Week held in Taipei have also attracted much attention. African students that study in Taiwan also provide opportunities for civilian interaction, which helps people understand one another. While public diplomacy should not be underestimated as a tool for achieving foreign relations successes, it is of secondary importance.

South Africa has been the most significant country in Africa for the ROC's foreign relations. Full diplomatic ties were established with South Africa in 1976 when, owing to the similarity in their circumstances in that both were anti-Communist and isolated in the

world, the two nations were well-suited for mutual aid. Premier Sun brought back six agreements from his visit to South Africa in March 1980, ranging from economic cooperation to direct flights agreements. These opened a new chapter in the ROC's history of diplomacy. Prime Minister P.W. Botha's visit to the ROC in November later that year further reinforced the cordial relations. Since diplomatic ties with the US were severed in 1979, South Africa became the most crucial diplomatic partner to the ROC.

The ROC did everything it could to safeguard this crucial relationship. It was of special meaning when General Malan stated that 'Taiwan looks like my second hometown'. Trade relations were central to ROC – RSA relations, and in 1993 the ROC was South Africa's seventh largest trading partner, with a total trade volume of US$1.9 billion. More than 25,000 Chinese immigrants from Taiwan moved to South Africa where they settled all over the country. Mr. Y. K. Yang, as the ROC's Ambassador to South Africa from 1979-1989, brought relations of the two countries to new heights. Foreign Minister R. F. Botha, on behalf of the South African government, conferred the medal of Cape of Good Hope on Ambassador Yang for his unreserved devotion and selfless contributions. President de Klerk visited the ROC in November 1991 and Nelson Mandela came in 1993.

When the African National Congress (ANC) eventually took power in April 1994, they did not immediately establish diplomatic ties with the PRC, largely because of the range of approaches that the ROC used, including investment, setting up vocational training centers, making political contributions and inviting MPs and officials to visit Taipei. In 1994, Professor Deon Geldenhuys also asserted that dual recognition of the ROC and the PRC might be in South Africa's best national interests. However, the PRC rejected this proposal immediately. In confronting such a difficult situation under enormous pressure from the PRC, the South African government had to take the decision to cease diplomatic ties with the ROC, and on November 27, 1996, President Mandela announced that South Africa would establish full diplomatic ties with the PRC from January 1, 1998.

This was a tremendous blow to the ROC, resulting in the cancellation of direct

flights, the recall of Ambassador Loh and the ceasing of all existing negotiations. The Department of Foreign Affairs of South Africa announced that South African interests in Taiwan would be attended to the under the name of the Liaison Office of South Africa. The offices of Taiwan in South Africa were to be known as the Taipei Liaison offices in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

Ambassador Loh had been the ROC's top diplomat in South Africa from 1991 to 1997, during which time he invited 225 members of parliament to visit the ROC. However, when President Mandela announced the severance of ties, none of these MPs spoke out positively on behalf of the ROC, adding insult to injury. It also proved that the parliament had no real role in formulating the country's foreign policy. All that remained was for the ROC and South Africa to establish a framework for future interaction, which was done through 12 rounds of negotiations.

For the ROC, the PRC and the African countries, conducting their foreign policies via diplomacy was all about protecting their own national interests. This can be said to be true for all countries at any time in their history. To fully grasp the landscape of the ROC's Africa policy, one can elaborate by identifying the following four elements: Strength, Weakness, Opportunity and Threat.

Strength: - The ROC's policy towards Africa is plain; to win the friendship of Africans through assistance and aid. It tries to do this through positive measures that include inviting political figures from its allies to visit Taiwan, promoting summit diplomacy between African heads of state and the president of the ROC, and above all, enhancing international cooperation through foreign aid. Foreign aid can be classified as loans, donations, grants, technical cooperation and investment. To date, the ROC has dispatched technical missions to six African allies in the expectation that these allies will voice their support for Taiwan's plight at the UN and WHO and decry the unfair treatment of Taiwan. The ROC does not want to compete with the PRC or to challenge its policies.

Weakness: - Economic relations and trade should be the central focus of interactions between Africa and the ROC. Yet since the ROC's investment in Africa is a rather meager

one percent of the country's total foreign investment, the two sides do not have much in common in economic relations. Also, the two sides do not have similar political or cultural characteristics, a fact which makes it difficult to integrate. Furthermore, the ROC is not a member of the UN and WHO, which makes its participation in international society marginal. The challenges that the ROC faces in this context are much more difficult than those faced by any other nation.

Opportunities: - In essence, the ROC's main interest in Africa is to win the diplomatic recognition and political support which has been needed for decades. The African allies' interest in Taiwan is to receive the economic benefits, financial assistance and technical cooperation. Only when the tense relations across the Taiwan Strait improve will the ROC have the opportunity of winning more friends in Africa, for the ROC does not want to provoke the PRC or those pro-Taiwan African leaders currently in power. With the situation on the world stage being distinctly in the PRC's favor, the ROC must revise its Africa policy prudently, taking into consideration any potential effects on the PRC.

Threat: - Since 1949, both sides of the Taiwan Strait have proclaimed that they are the only legitimate government of China. The ROC's only real threat has always been the PRC. With the need to accept the so-called "One China" policy as a precondition to relations with the PRC, and with the PRC as a member of the UN, every country has had to make a choice between the two, a situation which has put the ROC in an undesirable position. Another threat is that African states are unstable, prone to coup d'états, civil wars and famine, making the political situation hard to manage or predict. The fact that more African allies want increased financial aid has also put the ROC in a difficult position, to such an extent that it hesitates to respond to these requests. However, there is no room for pessimism in conducting the ROC's diplomacy. Even if its position is often untenable, it has to face the obstacles and overcome them. The grossly unfavorable diplomatic situation that the ROC faces today is one that has evolved for historical reasons, aggravated by the ROC's withdrawal from the UN and the so-called One China policy, which the PRC insists on internationally. Despite the overall unfavorable position that the ROC finds itself in today, there are certain noteworthy conclusions that can be drawn.

Conclusion 1: The ROC and its African allies can unite with common interests. In its early years, the ROC needed diplomatic recognition to sustain its seat in the UN. Winning the friendship of African countries was therefore of paramount importance, and such political and diplomatic considerations became the dominant force in shaping the ROC's efforts to sustain the nation. In return for recognition, the ROC provided different kinds of assistance in Africa. For the ROC's African allies, economic support and aid was their main objective, largely for relief from poverty for their peoples. The two sides became friends based on their respective needs.

Even though the ROC has not been a member of the UN for 35 years, it still needs international recognition and visibility. The current total of 23 diplomatic allies means a great deal to the ROC. While Africa is geographically distant from Asia, and it has very little in common economically, the ROC's chief concern is political support and recognition. From 1960-1971, the ROC's African policy was largely successful. After 1989, the new era that dawned necessitated that the ROC win more friends. It is noteworthy that of the ROC's six African allies, the only democratic country-Sao Tome and Principe-still remains in favor of maintaining political ties. Nevertheless, since 2000 President Chen and the African heads of state pay frequent mutual visits which, to some extent, will be beneficial for Sino-African interactions.

Conclusion 2: the PRC is the only factor which hinders ROC-Africa relations. The PRC launched their first official contact with Africa by establishing diplomatic ties with Egypt on May 30, 1956. The PRC then established diplomatic ties with Guinea on October 4, 1959, thus initiating their first contact with sub-Saharan Africa. For more than four decades, under the zero-sum game of the so-called One China policy, African states could only choose either the ROC or the PRC, not both. The ROC continued to use the full name 'Republic of China' in the international community and tried to befriend non-aggressive countries. However, it encountered tremendous challenges from the PRC, which declared itself to be the only legal China, with Taiwan being merely part of China.

In short, the ROC wanted to make friends but was restricted by the PRC factor, not by the African states themselves. As the PRC has grown increasingly powerful since the

late 1990s, African states such as South Africa, Liberia and Senegal have all been attracted to it. The PRC has put much emphasis on Africa for the express reason of trying to banish the ROC from the African continent. This tug-of-war that has existed for more than five decades already will definitely continue in the future. For the time being, the ROC has been pushed into a defensive position, and it now faces a PRC that, with economic ties and military cooperation with 47 African states, could even pose a threat to the US, the UK or France.

Conclusion 3: Personal diplomacy, foreign aid and conference diplomacy are the main tools of ROC's Africa policy. In its early days, personal diplomacy and foreign aid formed the backbone of the ROC's diplomatic efforts. Once the ROC withdrew from the UN, however, only foreign aid was used. During the last decade, personal diplomacy, foreign aid and conference diplomacy have each played their part in ROC's Africa policy. Sending foreign aid, medical and agricultural missions and joint venture programs resulted from political motivation. More precisely, foreign aid can be said to be the ROC's main tool in conducting its foreign policy. Personal diplomacy, conducted through visits by heads of states, has also managed to directly enhance relations; conference diplomacy, which utilizes legal or formal frameworks to institutionalize interactions, has also showed promise. On the other hand, economic diplomacy and public diplomacy have not been so successful, owing to very limited trade and economic opportunities and the different political settings between the ROC and its African allies.

President Chen's visits to Africa in 2000 and 2002 were valuable in winning African friendship. In the foreseeable future, providing foreign aid and inviting political figures from Africa to visit the ROC will continue. It is important here to mention the 39 people, including two ambassadors, who devoted their lives to executing the ROC's Africa policy.

Conclusion 4: South Africa was and still is the most important country for the ROC. Under similar political circumstances at the time, South Africa and the ROC upgraded their diplomatic relations in May 1976. The government of the ROC invested heavily in South Africa and encouraged ROC immigrants there to do the same. P. W. Botha, Presi-

dent De Klerk, Nelson Mandela all visited the ROC. One embassy was established in Pretoria along with three consulates in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, where more than 40 diplomats were stationed. South Africa was the ROC's biggest ally in terms of size and population among the 30 diplomatic allies that remained after the cessation of diplomatic ties with the US in 1979. President Mandela announced the end of diplomatic relations 13 months ahead of time in 1997, giving both sides opportunity for negotiations concerning future legal frameworks. In the joint communiqué between the PRC and South Africa, it was agreed that there is but one China, the government of the PRC is the sole legal government representing the whole of China, and Taiwan is an inalienable part of China.

Nevertheless, South Africa still provides the Taipei Liaison Office in South Africa and its staff with diplomatic privileges and diplomatic status as a gesture of goodwill, and has displayed interest in bilateral trading, investment and economic cooperation in its post-1998 policy towards Taiwan. In 2004, four South African citizens of Taiwanese origin were elected as new MPs in its parliament, so they can attend to the interests of Taiwanese immigrants while simultaneously contributing to the South African parliament. Ambassador Loh also received a medal from President Mandela.

Conclusion 5: Less than one-fourth of African countries can be friends with the ROC.

The underlying reason for countries shifting their recognition to China during the last decade has been the PRC's ability to advance their national interests. South Africa and Senegal wanted to play an important role in the world, hence they recognized the PRC. Liberia and Guinea-Bissau wanted the UN to solve their domestic problems, and the PRC, being a member of the Security Council, was able to provide assistance. Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Mauritius and Guinea identified with the same ideology as Beijing, and they therefore wanted to create close ties. Still other countries, namely Liberia, Ivory Coast, Congo, Burundi, Sierra Leone and Chad, had serious problems and civil war. They needed China which, again as a member the UN Security Council, could solve their problems through mediation. Gabon, Angola and Equator-Guinea, rich in natural resources, needed China to exploit their markets. Some of Africa's other major states, such as Nigeria, Egypt and Algeria, will not have contact with the ROC since they

regard China as the leader of the Third World.

With the tendency of some African states to waver in their position from time to time, such as Senegal and the Central Africa Republic, which established, and severed, diplomatic ties with the ROC three times; and Lesotho, Niger and Benin, which did so twice; there are only 13 to 14 countries which the ROC might befriend. Since five of these countries already have full ties with Taiwan, the actual number of countries which could still establish ties with the ROC is only six to seven.

Conclusion 6: diplomacy has its limits and national power is the decisive factor. For a small island-state, diplomacy is a crucial and effective mechanism through which to seek national survival and development. Through making friends with other countries, Taiwan can use diplomacy to gain and then safeguard its national interest. If national power is the underlying reason to support diplomacy, which in turn supports foreign policy, then it is vital for Taiwan to have a certain number of diplomatic allies with which to assert its legal status as a nation in the world. This is especially true given the uniquely formidable situation with which the ROC is faced.

Support for the ROC's participation in the UN by its six African allies serves as a weather vane for the stability of bilateral relations with these countries. Senegal did not support the ROC in the UN in 2004 and subsequently severed diplomatic ties with the ROC on October 25, 2005. As of the end of 2005, six African countries maintained diplomatic relations with the ROC. These were Burkina Faso, Chad, Gambia, Malawi, São Tomé and Principe, and Swaziland. Taiwan has embassies in all of these countries, which also maintain embassies in Taiwan. Furthermore, Taiwan has set up a representative office in Nigeria and liaison offices in South Africa, and both countries have also established trade and liaison offices in Taipei. It is evident that diplomacy has its limits and cannot be relied on as a cure-all for every kind of situation between two countries. Diplomacy requires an attitude of give and take, not all or nothing. Yet it requires national, economic and military power as well as time. The example of Senegal illustrates that there is no such thing as all-weather friends, only all-weather national interests.

In assessing relations between the ROC and African countries, the PRC is the critical factor. The Chinese government started building the Tanzania-Zambia railway in the 1960s and provided other kinds of donations and assistance. Recently, China cancelled the debt owed by African states, an act which came as a big surprise to all observers. It was perhaps a small price to pay for access to mineral resources and crude oil that stood to be gained.

Beyond China's commercial and economic potential and military influence, its permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council and its willingness to wield veto power like a club, provides it with huge leverage in compelling weaker countries, especially undemocratic regimes in crisis, to kowtow to Beijing. The government in Liberia surrendered on October 12, 2003, to the PRC's threats and lures, resuming bilateral ties with China. Senegal switched diplomatic recognition to Beijing on October 25, 2005, and President Wade was bold enough to write a letter to President Chen saying there is no such thing as a forever-friend, only national interests. On August 5, 2006, the eve of Premier Su Tseng-chang's departure for Chad, China forced that African nation to sever diplomatic relations with Taiwan. President Deby declared that he had had to make the decision for the very survival of his country.

Minister of Foreign Affairs, James Huang, has said that Senegal, which switched diplomatic recognition from Taiwan to China, "played a negative role" in influencing Chad, as its president chaired a meeting between the Chadian and Sudanese presidents in Dakar on the possibility of the restoration of diplomatic relations with the PRC. Even though Minister Huang had paid two visits in April and July 2006 to secure and strengthen diplomatic relations, and President Chen had even telephoned President Deby on July 27 to offer his congratulations on Deby's upcoming presidential inauguration, Chad still switched recognition from Taipei to Beijing.

The international leverage that China gains from its status at the UN, combined with its incessant "three alls" campaign to "take all" of Taiwan's diplomatic allies, "block all" of Taiwan's international channels and "crush all" of Taiwan's international space means that the number of allies Taipei has will inevitably decrease. Chad's decision leaves

Taiwan with only 24 allies, whereas China increased its number of diplomatic allies to 48 out of the 53 African countries, a number that is likely to increase, leaving Taiwan to face an even tougher challenge in the future.

For the past half century, the ROC has provided tens of millions of dollars worth of financial aid every year for health, agricultural and infrastructure projects to African allies. Furthermore, about half of the ROC's total foreign relations budget is available for international development assistance or cooperative activities. Yet this is no match for Beijing's increasingly liberal and high-profile use of debt relief and huge grants. More importantly, with Taiwan unable to compete with China, the PRC is actually expanding and consolidating its global dominance and control over crucial mineral resources.

After comparing the size of the countries, population, market, economic potential and international influence of the PRC and Taiwan, most African states would rather choose the PRC over the ROC, and have indeed done exactly that. That Taiwan is not a member in the UN does not help. Also, most countries in Africa that have had official ties with Taiwan in the past have elections, civil war, and famine, and they have requested increasingly more help from Taiwan with these and other emerging issues.

Since the ROC urgently needs diplomatic allies, it is always willing to establish ties with other countries. Yet under continual pressure from the PRC, African states are prone to sever diplomatic ties with the ROC, a situation that no other country today faces. China's communiqué with African countries insisting that "there is but one China in the world; the PRC is the only legitimate Chinese government in the world; Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory" is also strong political wording that, despite contradicting fact, has forced African countries to accept the PRC, and only the PRC.

Since 2000, the Chinese-African Forum has attracted the participation of 47 out of Africa's total 53 states. In this forum, China has canceled debts amounting to more than US$12 billion, winning the praise of its African allies. China has also urged all African states to transfer diplomatic power to their parliaments to prevent any presidents, prime ministers and/or foreign ministers from establishing diplomatic ties out of personal will.

The PRC has also promulgated "China's Africa Policy", which covers investment, policy, assistance, position, aid, and cooperation. Its ambition is obvious and its real intention is to gain access to natural resources, crude oil, markets, political support and profits. China has also recently significantly increased its diplomatic presence in Africa and has arranged for high-ranking officials to visit Africa. Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Africa in April 2006 and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao in June 2006, signing a total of 71 communiqués on mutual cooperation and investment agreements with seven African countries.

China's state-run enterprises have been quick to march into Africa, investing in a number of projects, ranging from local internet networks to infrastructure planning. This is in direct contrast to Taiwan where, as a democratic country, any policy needs public scrutiny and approval, making readily mobilizing the nation's resources to invest in Africa difficult.

On the whole, China's increasing might in financial diplomacy, which often takes the form of low-interest loans, aid grants and infrastructure projects, increasingly outweighs what Taiwan can offer. Therefore, Taiwan has to develop a kind of "refined diplomacy" that strategically focuses on its strengths and specialties. Taiwan has a comparative advantage in technical skills and medical advances, which could be used to build an internet network for its African allies and to assist them in avian flu prevention, among other things. Furthermore, the quality and sustainability of the aid that Taiwan provides is relatively higher than that offered by China, and the aims of technical missions have shifted from agricultural to agribusiness and from agribusiness to science and technology, to Taiwan's advantage. Taiwan's outstanding techniques in these areas have enabled it to share its achievements with the world.

High-ranking official visits to Africa therefore also become even more essential. President Chen Shui-bian's last visit to African allies was in 2002, when he visited Senegal, Sao Tome & Principe, Malawi and Swaziland. In order to strengthen bilateral ties in the face of increasing diplomatic competition from China, Minister of Foreign Affairs James Huang embarked on a seven-day overseas visit to Taiwan's six diplomatic

allies in Africa on July 4, 2006. Minister Huang also led a delegation to Malawi to attend the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Before any final resolution is reached between Taiwan and China, it is perhaps inevitable that China will gain even more allies from Africa, thus making Taiwan's international position increasingly difficult. China is already a quasi-superpower that will use the zero-sum game of its One China policy to full effect in curbing the ROC's diplomacy. The only way for Taiwan to exist in these complex times is to safeguard its five African allies, to not challenge China and to ease cross-strait tensions. While Taiwan will not close the door on African countries that want to establish diplomatic ties, it must however have an evaluation process in place in advance. High-ranking official exchanges and the provision of humanitarian aid from Taiwan together constitute the main thrust for reinforcing the ROC's diplomatic ties with its African allies.

Even though only five countries maintain relations with Taiwan, in contrast to China's 48, certainly an uphill battle, the ROC still has some room to maneuver. So it is that Taiwan finds itself in a unique position. Its diplomatic relations with Africa have gone from 22 countries in 1969, the highest number ever, to the 1980s, when only three countries had diplomatic relations with the ROC. Among these, Malawi has had diplomatic ties with the ROC since its independence, which began over 40 years ago. Swaziland has also kept up its friendship with Taiwan for 38 years.

Based on the facts, the ROC should utilize its limited international assistance resources in cooperative efforts to help its African allies upgrade their living standards and skills in fields where the ROC has core competences, such as health, agriculture, community building and human rights. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue providing scholarships to 17 Chadian students until their graduation, a move which has already come as a welcome surprise to the affected students. In the foreseeable future, the ROC will utilize the advantageous economic and trade opportunities available to its African allies so as to promote their economic and trade development, which would also help further develop friendships. The ATEF has already done much to promote two-way trade between the ROC and its African friends, and further cooperation can be expected.

In the meantime, the ROC shall aim to assist its allies by creating business opportunities and improving investment conditions so as to create jobs and decrease the gap between the rich and the poor. The ROC looks forward to sharing its experience in economic development with its allies and to utilizing its advantages to assist developing countries grow and prosper. It is expected that the ROC will make efforts to open new strategic options in North Africa soon.

The ideas contained within this thesis that are different and original are as follows:

First, according to declassified diplomatic files, the US Ambassador Walter McConaughy reported to Washington after Taiwan's UN expulsion in 1971 that then Vice Foreign Minister Yang told him that for Taiwan to survive it was necessary to declare that "the government of Taiwan is entirely separate and apart from the government on the mainland and that henceforth the government here will have nothing to do with the mainland." Yang said that the declaration should prescribe a new designation for the government, namely "the Chinese Republic of Taiwan". Yang's foresight and efforts were enormous, even though unacceptable at that time. But Yang's statements show that he understood that the legal status of Taiwan had yet to be determined.

Second, the ROC has always recognized the urgent need to retain its diplomatic allies. From 1960 to 1972, the ROC focused on saving its allies in Africa, because without them the ROC clearly would lose its seat in the United Nations. However, by 1988, only three nations on the continent had maintained diplomatic ties with the ROC. In 1989, Lesotho, Guiena-Bissau and Gambia abandoned their diplomatic ties with the PRC. As of 2000, only Malawi and Swaziland had been maintaining relations with the ROC since gaining independence in 1966 and 1968 respectively. Some nations switched recognition between the ROC and the PRC according to their national interests. President Chen visited Africa twice with a view to strengthening bilateral relations and escalating the visibility of Taiwan in international community. In brief, the ROC expected to win fresh political support of Taiwan's participation in the UN and key international organizations, while the ROC renewed its commitment to providing them with economic and other forms of substantive support. In its foreign aid, the ROC government puts priority

to its allies on the continent. As for the other nations in Africa in need, Taiwan's NGOs still share whatever resources they can spare.

Third, out of the five modern diplomacy methods that are widely used nowadays--personal diplomacy, foreign aid, conference diplomacy, economic diplomacy and public diplomacy--the ROC uses personal diplomacy, foreign aid and conference diplomacy as the main tools for conducting its foreign policy towards Africa, an approach which has proved quite useful and successful. Foreign aid -- including sending agricultural and medical missions to African allies, cultivating the Kuo River and Bagre Reclamation Area in Burkina Faso and establishing the Muzuzu Central Hospital in northern Malawi – is particularly useful. Since economic conditions in the ROC and Africa are totally different, economic diplomacy could not play an obvious role in the economic development of Africa. In the era of globalization, Taiwan should urge the use of more public diplomacy in the future to publicize and vitalize both Taiwan's interaction and current image in Africa.

Fourth, of the five African regions, the ROC has established embassies or official offices in four, with North Africa being the sole exception. The ROC closed its Libya office in September 1997 and cut official contact with the whole region, which later would prove to be a poor decision. In general, the presence of an official overseas office is a sign of a nation's power which is then acknowledged by most other nations. North African nations are oil exports that command a strategic geographic position and therefore, should be taken seriously. The ROC should reopen at least one representative office in this region as soon as possible to ensure its national interests and better serve the region.

Fifth, in the 1960s and the 1970s, the ROC sent agricultural, medical and skill-training missions to Africa to help the people of the host countries increase crop productions, reduce mortality rates from diseases and learn skills with which to earn a living. In light of the changing times, the ROC should focus on new tasks, such as fostering the creation of SMEs and a modern labor pool, providing micro-loans, attracting foreign investment to the area, and transferring technical know-how. More precisely, the

peoples of Africa have to adopt new methods, ideas and actions to meet their needs. The ROC has tried to use positive, concrete actions to convince its African allies that maintaining diplomatic relations with Taiwan is in their best interest.

Sixth, before the first direct popular election held in the ROC on March 23, 1996, President Lee wrote a letter (see appendix XVIII) to President Mandela requesting "May I, therefore, formally invite South Africa to play the role of facilitator and carry my offer to the leaders in Beijing…" This proved that the ROC showed goodwill and had formally asked South Africa to be an influential facilitator in China-Taiwan negotiations. Most importantly, this unprecedented move came before the first direct presidential elections in Taiwan, which is meaningful in showing that the ROC had strong intentions of finding any possible opportunity to solve the problems across the Taiwan Strait.

Seventh, from the time Mandela was released from prison until November 27, 1996, when he suddenly announced the cutting of diplomatic ties with the ROC, Mandela had guaranteed Ambassador Loh on many occasions that his country would not betray the ROC unless the ROC behaved wrongfully towards South Africa. However, Mandela changed his position and wrote a letter (see appendix XIX) to President Lee to explain why he had to make this tough decision, and to once again express his appreciation of the valued contribution that the ROC had made to the RDP. He also promised that after recognition was switched to China, Taiwan's representation in South Africa would continue at the highest possible level, but stop just short of full diplomatic recognition. It was because of the friendly relations that had lasted for over 90 years since China established its Consulate General in Johannesburg in 1905 that this letter fixed cordial relations as so-called "constructive relations". South Africa had had no choice but to make a decision between the two Chinas.

Eighth, the Chinese government opened a consulate in Johannesburg in 1905. After the ROC was founded in 1911, new government kept official ties at the consulate level until 1976, when the two countries upgraded their relations to full diplomatic status until December 31, 1997. Despite the change in South Africa's diplomatic alliance, the ROC has maintained three offices in South Africa. As for the people-to people

diplomacy, in 1996 Buddists from Taiwan built Nan Hua Temple, Africa's biggest Buddhist place of worship, in Bronkhorstspruit. In 2004, four South African ethnic Chinese of varying political parties affiliation were sworn in as members of parliament. Such developments have painted a clear picture that the two nations enjoy very close relations. The ROC has more government offices, diplomats and compatriots in South Africa than in any other country of Africa. More Taiwanese people visit South Africa than any other African nation. Likewise, Taiwan receives more official guests, tourists and white collar workers from South Africa than the other African states. In short, even though the two nations now lack formal diplomatic relations, they still maintain solid and substantive interaction.

Ninth, since the DPP took power in Taiwan, its foreign policy is slightly different to the former ruling party, the KMT. The DPP insists on nurturing the identity of Taiwan and prefers to be clearly separate from China. As a result: (1) "TAIWAN" is used on the cover of passports for distinction; (2) All the embassies overseas use Republic of China (Taiwan) as their full title; (3) The official foreign aid agency, ICDF, now uses the new name TaiwanICDF; (4) the donation of goods and infrastructure projects contain a label indicating they come from "Republic of China (Taiwan)." According to Premier Su of the DPP, Taiwan should build up its own image and reputation in the international community by clearly spelling out the country's name, adding that Taiwan should let the world know that Taiwan is not China. Judging from the facts, this gesture can do little to help Taiwan in the competition with China in Africa.

Tenth, it is a fact that to sustain diplomatic relations with African countries, the ROC must provide huge assistance such as grants, loans and investments, so as to make relations more meaningful. Even though the ROC did whatever it could, some African allies switched recognition to the PRC abruptly. And since the African states could not pay back the loans agreed upon years before, the ROC had to eat bitter fruits. Because there were some setbacks in Africa, people in Taiwan have started to doubt whether it is worthwhile investing a lot of resources in far away, underdeveloped states. They question if Taiwan's international status may be changed because of some unimportant states' recognition of the ROC. Fortunately, in spite of the dissenting voices on this issue, the

ROC has kept on the right track in doing whatever is possible to win the friendship of African states and other countries as well.

Eleventh, the ROC faces an uphill battle in its foreign affairs. All nations of the world are forced into choosing either the ROC or the PRC, thus putting the ROC in an unfavorable situation. Only two countries in the world are not members of the United Nations: the Vatican and the ROC. However, unlikely the Holy See, The ROC has limited diplomatic freedom, thereby making the ROC's situation unique. After many decades of swimming upstream, the ROC has realized that the relations between it and the PRC are far more important than its foreign policy. If its mainland policy can not make a positive breakthrough, then the ROC will still have to continue facing a bitter struggle.

Lastly, as China increasingly exerts its political and economic influence in the world arena, the ROC's diplomatic space to maneuver continues to shrink. The ROC has little choice but to find a feasible solution to this problem, with making peace with China playing a key role. The ROC can not but make certain concessions in its standpoints, principles and actions, while striving to safeguard national interests. Fundamentally, these steps will benefit both sides. It has been predicted that the ROC will change its foreign policy, but not under the DPP steps down from power. Change in political party will bring results, and taking new foreign policy to make peace with China is the only solution for the ROC's future.

The Republic of China is the world's fifteenth largest trade nation (2004), and ranks the third in foreign exchange reserves. However, the ROC is faced with an unfair international situation that is not commensurate with its economic standing. Through its African policy, which has proved to be an immensely difficult form of diplomacy, it has tried to change this environment. The sad truth is that nowadays the long journey to diplomatic recognition has become even more fraught with difficulties than before. Perhaps the final conclusion should be that the quickest solution for the ROC would be to negotiate with the indomitable PRC for a way forward that is acceptable to both sides.

Appendix I

Treaty of Amity between the Republic of China and the Republic of Liberia. Signed on December 11, 1937; Ratifications exchanged at Lisbon on October 16, 1941; Entered into force on October 16, 1941.

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Liberia, being equally animated by the desire to maintain friendly relations between the two countries and to promote the mutual interests of their peoples, have decided to conclude a Treaty of Amity and have, for this purpose, named as their Plenipotentiaries:

His Excellency the President of the Republic of China:

H. E. Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of China to France;

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Liberia:

H. E. M. le Baron de Bogaerde,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Liberia to France;

Who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following Articles:

Article I

There shall be inviolable peace and sincere and perpetual friendship between the Republic of China and the Republic of Liberia, and between the nationals of the two States.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties shall have the right reciprocally to send duly accredited diplomatic representatives who shall enjoy, in the country to the Government of which they are accredited, all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions generally recognized by public international law.

Article III

Each of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to send Consuls-General, Consuls, and Vice Consuls to those localities in the territory of the other which shall be

determined by common accord. Such consular officers shall exercise the functions and enjoy the treatment generally recognized by international practice. Prior to their assumption of office, they shall obtain from the Government of the country to which they are sent exequaturs which are subject to withdrawal by the said Government. The High Contracting Parties shall not appoint persons engaged in industry or commerce as their consular officers, honorary consuls being excepted.

Article IV

The High Contracting Parties agree to regulate, by special conventions, their relations concerning commerce and navigation as well as the conditions for the residence and sojourn of the nationals of either Party in the territory of the other.

Article V

The present Treaty is drawn up in duplicate in the Chinese and English languages. The two texts which have been carefully compared and verified shall be equally authoritative.

Article VI

The present Treaty shall be ratified as soon as possible by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris. It shall enter into force on the day on which the exchange of ratifications shall have taken place.

In faith whereof, the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Paris this eleventh day of the twelfth month of the twenty-sixth year of the Republic of China corresponding to the eleventh day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-seven.

(Seal) V. K. Wellington Koo (Seal) O. de Bogaerde

Source: Treaties between the Republic of China and Foreign States (1927-1957), MOFA, ROC, 1958, pp. 309-310.

Appendix II

Premier Chiang Ching-kuo's speech in the Legislative Yuan, ROC:

(a) February 21, 1975

In his last testament, Dr. Sun Yat-sen told us "to unite with all peoples who treat us as equals in a common struggle." Keeping this counsel in mind, we have never ceased to promote international friendship on the basis of equality and reciprocity. We have no purpose except to contribute to world peace. In the 64 years since establishment of the Republic, we have never engaged in aggressive expansion. As we were in the past, so we are today and so we shall be in the future.

At this critical moment of decisive change in a bewildering world, we reiterate that the Republic of China will continue its cultural tradition of peace and friendship, will do its utmost to assist all countries that need our help to promote domestic progress and serve the welfare of their people and will fulfill its responsibility to join with all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries to promote world peace and prosperity.

-- Externally, to contribute in every possible way to the upholding of international justice and peace with our faithfulness, our respectability and our just stand, we shall meet the challenges of all changes in the situation, develop total diplomacy and enhance our friendship and substantial relations with all countries under the principle of adhering to our anti-Communist policy and safeguarding the national interest.

-- To pledge that we shall never compromise with the Chinese Communists, we shall spare no effort in joining with anti-Communist and anti-Mao forces in Taiwan and abroad, and in front of and behind the enemy lines, to engage the Chinese Communists. Our objective of eliminating the Maoists, recovering the mainland and establishing a new China of San Min Chu I must be accomplished without alteration.

We are totally convinced that with our fortitude and moral courage, and our belief that the benevolent can conquer any enemy, we shall overcome every difficulty and open up a new era with roads at every turn. The country will have a bright prospect no matter how heavy the impact of the international situation, provided we can manifest our dauntless fighting spirit and self-reliance in meeting all challenges.

(b) September 17, 1976

In the past six months, the world has remained caught in the turmoil of the confrontation between freedom and slavery and the crossfire between cold war and hot war. The democracies have begun to become disillusioned about "détente" after suffering great losses, but we can still find that the waves of appeasement are surging high in the background of world events, if we watch developments with sober minds. There is still a distance to travel before we can suppress the evil and restore the good on the anti-Communist horizon.

The flames of war have flared often in the Mideast and in Africa, but as the Communists are, since the fall of Indochina, bent on enlarging their aggression and on carrying out their plan of world communization, the center of gravity in the development of world affairs, undoubtedly, is still in Asia and the West Pacific region. Situated in such an uncertain and hectic times and in such a crucial region of potential crises, we feel deeply that we must make national security our primary task in creating opportunities and commanding changes.

We never overlook these two factors that might affect our national security: First is the changing shape of events that are not of our own make. They include the changes in world situation and on the Chinese mainland.

The second, which is of our own make, is to build up or strength, our national defense in particular. A strong national defense force is a primary pre-condition to our national security. In our efforts to strengthen our national security, we have adhered to the following principles:

1. Through scrutinizing the changes in world events, we must, hold our position in diplomacy, win more friendly countries and friendship with sincerity, so as to know the changes, cope with the changes and command the changes. Then, we can command the world trend and create an international horizon in our favor.

2. Through the strengthening of our national defense, we must complete our preparations for meeting any eventuality and able to hold an absolute military advantage in offense as well as defense.

3. Through our close watch on the development in Chinese Communist affairs, we must grasp the chaotic changes on the mainland so that we can deal the enemy a fatal blow at his weakest point in front of or behind the enemy's lines, thus expediting his total collapse.

It is undeniable that in recent years the free world's failure in distinguishing friend from foe and right from wrong has added to our difficulties in the practice of our unyielding diplomacy. Difficult it though may be, we have never been, and will never become, timid and frustrated in our diplomatic efforts. To the contrary, we will move forward with tenacity.

In improving our relations with the democratic countries, we will always adhere to the principles of uprightness. We will never forget that we must maintain our national dignity. We will never do anything that may impart our identity or besmirch our national integrity. We believe deeply this is the way to ensure national security.

All our actions in the past, such as suspending diplomatic relations with some countries, walking out of the United Nations, breaking off the air routes with Japan and refusing to take part in the Olympic Games in Montreal, were based on this solemn principle. We took these actions to maintain our righteous national spirit, on which we rely for our victory in the struggle against Communism and for national recovery.

We are pursuing a total diplomacy today. We will try in every possible way to increase our international communications and strengthen our cooperation with democratic countries. But we must make it plain that in our dealings with various countries, we will never engage in the "diplomacy of special agents," such as has been done by the shameless Chinese Communists.

Nor will we engage in the capricious "united front diplomacy" adopted by the Chinese Communists, who may regard a foreign power as neither enemy nor friend, as both enemy and friend, or as an enemy today and a friend tomorrow. We will deal cordially with democratic countries on the basis of "justice" and "friendship." We will take a consistent attitude of "faithful in words and respectable in actions" to continue our contributions to world justice and peace. We believe deeply in the old saying: "The virtuous

always have friends." And we are sure that we can create a new horizon for world justice and peace and for the freedom and happiness of humankind.

(c) February 25, 1977

The advancement of international justice and the assuring of world peace constitute our basic diplomatic policy, as clearly expressed in the Constitution. We shall adhere to this principle and never change our minds. Consequently, we shall remain firmly in the democratic camp and be forever determined to oppose the Communism in the present as we have in the past. This is because we believe that the political system and way of life based on democracy and freedom are consistent with the common wishes of humankind and the best weapons for defeating Communism.

It is true that in past years we have encountered a number of difficulties and setbacks as we stuck to our basic policy in a world shrouded in a miasma of appeasement. Even so, with the spirit of sailing against the tide, we have never become pessimistic and have persevered in our courageous struggle. This is because we have strong faith that justice will have its way and that democracy will triumph at last.

We are well aware that international developments are complicated and often influenced by pragmatic considerations. Consequently, we should not approach our problems with one-track minds even as we faithfully adhere to the principles of benevolence and justice. At the least, we can advise other countries of advantages and disadvantages in our dealings with them and strengthen our relationship with the free world by convincing others that cooperation will be in the great interest of all, while divisiveness will bring great harm to each of us.

We also understand that diplomacy is the extension of domestic affairs and the vitality of a country is the strong backbone of its diplomacy. To be frank, it is also the determinant of "advantages and disadvantages." In the last more than twenty years, we have worked hard and devotedly to promote construction and national strength with a tranquil mind amidst adversities. We have in every aspect demonstrated the glory of our unity and our unflagging and growing spirit. We have made ourselves a beacon of freedom and democracy in Asia and the anti-Communist bulwark of the Western Pacific. So it is that we can raise our heads and stand proudly erect and hew to the righteous position in pursuing our diplomacy squarely in order to assure national sovereignty, defend our national in-

terests and shatter all international conspiracies against us.

In terms of diplomatic priorities, we should on the one hand continue to strengthen sincere cooperation and promote mutual friendship with all friendly countries. This is especially so in the case of the Republic of China and the United States. Because both countries are defenders of human rights, freedom and democracy, and they have a friendship based on an alliance of defense against aggression, they should help each other understand each other and unite with each other closely. On the other hand, we should enlarge our substantive relations with all the democracies through more vigorous economic, trade, cultural, scientific and technological interflow and cooperation, and jointly fulfill.

(d) September 23, 1977

Based on a spirit of independence and initiative and the principles of equality and reciprocity, the Republic of China follows a consistent foreign policy of good neighborliness with other nations, respect for treaties, the promotion of international cooperation, the advancement of international justice and the assurance of world peace. We shall never change our position of adhering to the democratic camp. We shall continue our close and sincere communications with all freedom-loving nations and peoples. We shall not, however, accept any arrangement that might jeopardize our national interest and our national dignity.

Source: 行政院蔣院長對當前外交工作之指示與言論, MOFA, ROC, May 20, 1978.

Appendix III

Consul General John Kincaid delivered a speech on the National Day of the Republic of South Africa, May 31, 1975.

Excellencies, Ministers of the Republic of China; His Worship the Mayor of Taipei; Heads of diplomatic mission; other distinguished guests and friends:

It is indeed a pleasure for me to see so many old friends on this happy occasion, the anniversary of Republic Day.

A year ago I spoke of the need for all free countries to stand together against subversion. During the past year the Free World has suffered reverses in many areas but these reverses have not damaged old friendships nor discouraged old allies. Nor has the grievous loss to the Republic of China of its beloved President, the late Generalissimo CHIANG KAI-SHEK diminished the determination of the Chinese people to achieve their objectives.

The Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa are constitutionally both young countries – in fact, they are separated in age by only one year (if the fifty years in which South Africa was a Union inside the British Commonwealth are included). Both are vital, determined and well-endowed with a modern spirit. South Africa has great wealth in national reserves; China the wealth of its hard-working people.

The past year has seen them move steadily closer together. A milestone of particular significance to both was the conclusion of a trade agreement in February last. Imports of goods produced or manufactured in the one may now be imported into the other on most-favoured-nation terms. Visits by manufacturers and businessmen will undoubtedly lead to increased commercial interest, but I feel strongly that it is up to businessmen in each country to work harder in making their products known. The inauguration of two direct flights a week in each direction between Johannesburg and Hong Kong last year has made travel easier and the two countries are now less than twenty-four hours apart. These flights should facilitate the growth of tourism, while industrial and cultural exhibitions, and competition is sport, would also help to bring the two countries even closer together. I am sure, that this trend will continue in the coming year.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, thank you.

Source: Department of African Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ROC.

Appendix IV

Ambassador H K Yang delivered a speech on the 74th Anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China, October 10, 1985.

I shall start off by thanking all of you for being here this evening to assist us in celebrating our National Day, the 74th Anniversary of the Republic of China – a National Day known as Double Ten, meaning the Tenth Day of the Tenth Month, or October 10th, of the year.

As my country and my people have always attached great importance to Double Ten as a day when the corrupt Manchu Dynasty was at long last brought down and the Republic of China, a new Republic of the people, for the people and by the people, was brought into being, your gracious presence this evening on this auspicious occasion is deeply appreciated. Indeed, your presence has not only added luster to the occasion but also served as a reminder that in spite of what is being done to keep democracy an on-going supreme system for human dignity, fundamental freedom and economic prosperity, there are still evil forces of a totalitarian hue working perniciously to mislead innocent people into bewilderment, chaos and final destruction.

As I have said before and I am saying this again now, for us Free Chinese, Double Ten is an occasion to reflect, to take stock, and to rededicate ourselves to the ideals for which our founding fathers, in bringing into being the Republic of China 74 years ago, laid down their lives.

Double Ten also serves to remind us of the sad plight of a billion of our people on China's mainland, our mainland, leading a precarious life under the whims and escapades of a totalitarian regime and waiting desperately for deliverance. As a matter of fact, in celebrating out Double Ten we purport to inject into our heart and mind a sense of urgency commensurate with the nature of our struggle which is still on and which, due to the continued poisoned international political atmosphere, calls for redoubled efforts to surmount obstacles which threaten to obstruct our progress towards maximum achievements and final successes.

Indeed, for us Double Ten is more a challenge than just a holiday. To celebrate it is to accept the challenge. As we are gathered here to celebrate the 74th Anniversary of the

Founding of our Republic, we are in fact, pledging ourselves anew to accept the challenge in earnest and in high seriousness. And it goes without saying that in accepting the challenge, we have to rely heavily on our friends for understanding and support.

The year which has just elapsed since Double Ten 1984 is, for my country, a year of consolidation and reflection with sustained development and progress and for the Republic of South Africa, a year of drastic changes with expectations and adjustments. If to consolidate achievements is difficult, then to adjust for changes, particularly when there are undue expectations likely to end up with disappointment and disillusion, and when there are evil forces determined to undermine the good results of the changes, must necessarily be more so.

As I see it, both consolidation and change, if they are to succeed, call for conviction and self-confidence. Of course, in order to ensure success, positive thinking, determination and good-will are also needed. There is simply no room for negativism, let alone vandalism and hooliganism. As long as we are sure of our intents and purposes, of what we are doing, there can be no doubt but that we shall eventually reach the goal we set for ourselves. In politics, when the future of the nation is at stake or when the vital interests of the people are involved, it is not destruction, but constructive and tangible results that count – results that are good for the nation and the people.

In our case, as we continue to march forward, both in the political and in the economic sense, under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of President Chiang Ching-kuo, on the road to final victory, we are convinced that before long we shall be able to return to our mainland and live with one billion of our compatriots in peace and freedom, under the banner of the Three People's Principles.

As you are aware, in 1985 there have been more defections by people from Mainland China. The defectors include pilots, scholars, artists, sports people, researchers and students. In fact, in recent years, due to poor living conditions, more young people have managed, through bribery or other means, to flee for Taiwan or foreign lands. Indeed, the situation in China's mainland under the Communist regime has long been a serious one, both politically and economically, - perhaps more serious than many people in the Free World would like to believe. Of course, Deng Shiao-ping knew this. That accounted for the fact that in 1979, the Chinese Communist regime under Deng went out of its way to

hobnob with the United States, trying hard to fool the American Government into believing that the regime sincerely wanted to be friendly and co-operative with the West in general and with the United States in particular and that the Chinese Communists were capable of making changes. My view on all this referred to above is that when Communists are desparate, they change tactics and overnight they can appear moderate and agreeable, and that when Communists simulate moderation and decency, they are all the more dangerous. For after all, a chameleon is a chameleon, no matter in what colour it elects to appear at the moment.

In South Africa, during the year under review we were pleased to see significant changes taking place. Among other things we saw the new constitution brought into effect. As has been afore-contemplated or planned, apartheid in all its ramifications is in the process of phasing out. For legislature, there is now a tricameral parliament, with the Coloureds and Indians each having its own House: House of Delegates for the Indians and House of Representatives for the Coloureds. The Blacks too have been promised citizenship and decision-making power at the high level. Not only they shall be brought into the new system, but also they are to have an equitable role to play in the new dispensation. Who can say that these are not significant changes? As all these changes are brought to pass, we as friends of South Africa can do no less than to wish both its Government and its people well.

For us Chinese, we are particularly appreciative and thankful for the official declaration Mr P W Botha, the State President of South Africa, made on May 30, 1985, whereby all the members of the Chinese Community in South Africa are to enjoy equal status and equal rights as the Whites.

As regards the over-all relationship between the Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa, all I want to say is that it continued to forge ahead. In the economic field, the two economic Ministers met to discuss matters of mutual interests; and co-operation in almost all important fields continued to grow and flourish to the benefit of both countries. Mutual visits by important officials, parliamentarians, journalists, and business leaders as well as civilians were frequent. In July, our Navy squadron arrived at the east coast of South Africa to assist celebrating your Navy Week and also to participate in the activities organized by the Durban Tattoo, 1985.

As regards the trade and economic activities by the private sector, surely my report would not be complete if I were not to mention the important work being done by the South Africa and the Republic of China Chamber of Economic Relations in Johannesburg. We are pleased that as a result of new efforts made to recover lost ground and of new orientation, new leadership has emerged with Mr A A Sealey of Rand Mines Ltd., elected as new Chairman of the Chamber and Mr A L Schlebusch, the distinguished former Vice President of South Africa and Chairman of the first President's Council and presently Chancellor of the University of Pretoria elected as its Honorary President – a post which was left open after Dr Hilgard Muller passed away on July 10th this year. Here, we wish, first thing first, to offer once again our warmest congratulations both to Mr Schlebusch and to Mr Sealey as Honorary President and Chairman of the Chamber respectively.

About Dr Hilgard Muller, for us, he was a founder of the Chamber and a true friend of the Republic of China. Recalling as I certainly do the efforts he made in his lifetime to promote friendship and co-operation between the Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa as well as to help elevate the status of the members of the Chinese Community in South Africa, together with his profundity as a scholar, his genteel manner as a gentleman, his thoughtfulness and kindness towards friends and his superb performance as a diplomat and foreign minister, I do not think I can find words adequate enough to evince our admiration and respects to him. All I can do here is to pray that he rest in peace!

Finally, with your indulgence, I should like to quote a few passages by two well-known Americans: one is a general and he is dead and the other is a politician and he is alive, as a footnote to my views and comments, expunged by myself for good reasons, on the present world situation.

The following are my quotations:

"The Soviets know that war, revolution, and economic depression can destroy the fabric of a society and make the siren song of Communism sound sweeter. When people feel panic, tyranny can look attractive if it promises order. Chaos, war and revolution are thus the natural allies of Communism …."

"The next two decades represent a time of maximum crises for America and for the West,

during which the fate of the world for generations to come may well be determined. Other nations have much longer experience than we have in the use of power to maintain the peace. But they no longer have the power. So, by default, the world looks to the United States. It looks today with nervous apprehension, as the bulwarks against Soviet expansion crumble in one nation after another, and the United States appears so lost in uncertainty or paralyzed by propriety that it is either unable or unwilling to act."

"Soviet ambitions present the United States with a strategic challenge of global proportion, which requires a renewed strategic consciousness and response. It requires a coherent national strategy based upon informed public support. Piecemeal temporizing will not do. Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, South Yemen, Mozambique, Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam all have been brought under Communist domination since 1974; nearly 100 million people in the last five years. Iran has been plunged into bloody chaos and turned overnight from a bastion of Western strength to a cauldron of virulent anti-Westernism, its oil treasure lying provocatively exposed to lustful Russian eyes. Cuba acts increasingly as an agent of wide-ranging Soviet ambitions. These are examples of how the pieces will continue to fall if we take a piece-meal approach….."

"The history of failure in war can be summed up in two words: Too Late. Too late in comprehending the deadly purpose of a potential enemy; too late in realizing the mortal danger; too late in preparedness; too late in uniting all possible forces for resistance; too late in standing with one's friends".

If we are really concerned with the deteriorating world situation in which we now find ourselves, can we possibly believe that in the Soviet grand strategy to bring the whole of Africa into its orbit, Southern Africa does not loom big and enjoy top priority?

Source: TLO files: Ambassador H K Yang's Speech.

Appendix V

Prime Minister P W Botha's speech on March 11, 1980 at National Banquet in Taipei

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a privilege and indeed an honor this evening to welcome for first time on South African soil the Prime Minister of the Republic of China. On my own behalf and on behalf of Government and people of South Africa, I extend to you and members of your party a particular warm welcome. We are more than happy that you have come to South Africa to see for yourself a country about which you doubtless have heard a great deal. We sincerely hope you will enjoy your brief stay with us and return with positive impressions of your visit. Your presence here today represents a milestone in the development of our relations and the forging of bonds of friendship between our two countries.

More and more this is proving to be a mutually rewarding friendship. Your culture is as old as ours is young. We have both traversed difficult paths in our recent history and we have won through. We have much to learn from each other's experiences, much to gain from continued contact. We have seen how fickle the nations and the world can be, how transient their relationships with one another. We both know the meaning of integrity in politics and integrity in friendship. Both our countries can point to phenomenal post war economic growth despite international problems we have had to face. Today your economy is one of the strongest in your region of the world and you can face the future with optimism. Trade between our two countries has expanded dramatically in recent years. Yet despite the growth already achieved in our trade with each other, there are still unlimited opportunities for further expansion since in many respects our economies are complementary.

There is also room for further development of our relations in scientific and technological fields. We have a great respect for the achievements of the Chinese people in this sophisticated area, and we believe that we too have much which we could offer you. It is accordingly with particular satisfaction that I can announce this evening that in order to facilitate contact over a broader spectrum and to assure more direct links between our countries we have today signed an agreement instituting a reciprocal air services. We have also signed an agreement for reciprocal exemption from taxes on income derived from the operation of sea and air transport. These agreements are precursors of others

which will benefit our commerce, communication and future mutual cooperation. I believe, Mr. Prime Minister, that visits of representatives of both public and private sector covering all fields of cooperation between us will be important to maintain the momentum which your visits and the conclusion of the bilateral agreements between us have generated. Your visit has placed us on the threshold of significant development in our relations. We should not allow the momentum to be lost in the months and years ahead. Concerted efforts on both your part and ours will be required to ensure that this does not happen.

Mr. Prime Minster, we assure you of our friendship and goodwill and extend to you, your Government and people of the Republic of China our very best wishes for the future.

Source: TLO files: Prime Minister P W Botha's Visit.

Appendix VI

Remarks made by Ambassador H. K. Yang on the occasion of the Conferment of a Decoration upon Dr. A. J. A. Roux at the Chinese Embassy in Pretoria on January 13, 1983

For me and my colleagues in the Chinese Embassy, the occasion for which we are gathered here to-night is not only an auspicious one but also an important one. I am grateful to the Honourable Minister and Mrs du Plessis for their acceptance of our invitation to be here with us. Their presence will certainly add lustre to the occasion. I am also much indebted to Prof. and Mrs Joubert, Dr. and Mrs Grant and Mr and Mrs Winchiu for their being here to assist in this unique occasion – an occasion which is exclusively for Dr. and Mrs Roux.

To night, I have the pleasant duty, upon the instruction of my Government, to confer upon Dr. Roux, on behalf of my President, President Chiang Ching-kuo, a decoration of a high order to show our recognition of his exceptionally high quality as a scientist and our appreciation of the efforts he has made throughout the years to promote friendship and cooperation between the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of China.

As early as in the early thirties, Dr. Roux has already evinced keen interest in nuclear energy, although at that time his real affection was, if I am not mistaken, aerodynamics.

For a little over a decade that followed, his accomplishments in the nuclear field were so impressive that he was generally recognized and well known not only in South Africa but also internationally as one of the world's leading authorities on nuclear research and development.

From 1952 onward, the tempo of Dr. Roux's rise so accelerated, that by 1967 he became Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board and by 1970 its President – a position normally reserved for the Minister of Mines.

During the intervening years, awards and appointments, academic and professional, some honorary and others active, piled up, filling five pages of his curriculum vitae. Among the more notable were appointments as Chairman of the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of

South Africa, as Member of the Prime Minister's Scientific and Planning Advisory Councils and as Member of the National Council of Universities. Moreover, he was recipient of honorary doctorate from all the leading universities in South Africa and of the Havenga Prize for Engineering, the Railway Prize and the Hendrik Verwoerd Award, the last of which, if my memory serves me right, his life-long colleague and friend Dr. Grant also shared.

Mr Minister, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: As we all know, the size of the territory or of the population does not make a nation great. Only the quality of its people does. Material things alone do not make a nation rich or make its people feel proud. Accomplishment of something which gives meaning to life, which reveals the secrets and wonders of nature, and which inspires does.

Dr. Roux is not only a great scientist but also a great statesman. If we admit that knowledge is power, then Dr. Roux must be a very powerful man. We in the Republic of China feel proud of him and we respect him.

Having said this, may I now have the honour of conferring upon Dr. Abraham Johannes Andries Roux, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of China, the Order of Brilliant Star with Grand Cordon.

And we wish him and Mrs Roux everything of the best.

Thank you.

Source: Department of African Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ROC.

Appendix VII

His Excellency President Lee Teng-hui's remarks at the banquet given by His Excellency F.W. de Klerk, State President of the Republic of South Africa, on November 15, 1991.

Your Excellency State President and Mrs. De Klerk,
Excellencies,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a privilege and an honor for my wife and myself to attend this auspicious occasion. On behalf of my wife and myself as well as the Government and people of the Republic of China, I would like to express to Your Excellencies State President and Mrs. De Klerk our sincere thanks and appreciation for the splendid banquet given in our honor tonight.

Mr. State President, during your visit to the Republic of China, I am very pleased that we have the opportunity of fully exchanging views on the current international situation and on matters of mutual interest. This, I firmly believe, would contribute greatly to the strengthening of mutual understanding and friendship between our two nations. This would also lay a sound foundation of furthering the close ties of cooperation between our two countries.

The Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa have enjoyed a longstanding traditional friendship and a solid foundation for cooperation. This year is the eighty-sixth year since our two countries established consular relations in 1905. It also marks the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of fifteen years, through joint efforts of our two Governments and two peoples, our two countries have developed close bonds of friendship and cooperation. Our cooperative relations now cover almost all important fields such as agriculture, education, health, environment, fisheries, trade, transport, energy and mining. These ties of friendship and cooperation are beneficial not only to our mutual interest but also to our common goal of upholding world peace and international justice.

The Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa have long been faithful allies. Throughout the years, we have worked together shoulder to shoulder to safeguard free-

dom and democracy and to promote our economic development. Even in the face of the many difficulties precipitated by international politics during the last decade, both countries have adhered to our shared principles and rendered firm support to each other.

The trade volume between our two countries amounted to approximately US$1.9 billion in 1990, making the Republic of China as the sixth largest trading partner to the Republic of South Africa. After the 11th ministerial conference for economic and technical cooperation was successfully concluded in August this year, I am sure that the cooperation in the fields of trade, investment, commerce and industry will be further enhanced. I am deeply convinced that because our two economies are complementary in many respects, the strengthening of our cooperation will be in the long-term interests of our two countries.

In recent years, the Republic of South Africa, under Your Excellency's brilliant and dynamic leadership, has made remarkable progress both domestically and internationally. Due to your progressive efforts in the international arena, the international status of the Republic of South Africa has been greatly elevated and almost all forms of economic sanctions imposed by the outside world have been lifted. Moreover, the historical reform policy in South Africa initialed and undertaken by Your Excellency has accomplished great breakthroughs. We have witnessed the final elimination of all racially discriminating laws and regulations. We are also pleased to take not of the consensus reached among all political parties in South Africa to carry out its constitutional reform through a process of negotiation.

Mr. State President, I wish to extend again, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of China, to your Excellency my heartfelt esteem and admiration for all your accomplishments. I sincerely hope that in the process of building a new South Africa, you will soon reach your goals to establish a just, democratic and prosperous nation.

Looking to the current international situation, we already see an end of the Cold War, the crumbling of communism in many parts of the world, and the emergence of a new international order. Freedom, democracy, peace, and prosperity have become the trend for countries all over the world. In view of the development of the new international order as well as the political changes taking place in our two countries, we must ensure that the existing close and friendly relations between us will form a firm and solid basis for fur-

ther and expanded cooperation. Our two countries should continue to cooperate closely to each other in the future to further strengthen our substantive cooperation in the best interest of the two nations.

Mr. State President, the visit of Your Excellencies to the Republic of China again fully testifies to the cordial and friendly relationship between our two countries, which, I am sure, will continue to grow and flourish. The singing of the Agreement of Cooperation on the Promotion of Investment between our two countries by your distinguished Foreign Minister R.F. Botha and our Foreign Minister Dr. Fredrick F. Chien during the visit has also further solidified our cooperation. I am confident that Your Excellency's visit stands for a new milestone in the history of our bilateral relations.

Your Excellencies State President and Mrs. De Klerk, please accept my thanks and appreciation again. And now, ladies and gentlemen, may I ask you to join me in a toast to the good health and personal well-being of Their Excellencies, State President and Mrs. De Klerk and to the

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Source: Department of African Affairs, MOFA, ROC.

Appendix VIII

Remarks made by Minister Fredrick F. Chien at the Reception Celebrating the First Anniversary of Freedom Day of the Republic of South Africa, hosted by R.S.A Ambassador to the R.O.C. and Mrs. J. L. Viljoen.

Your Excellencies Ambassador and Mrs. Viljoen, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a great honour and privilege for me to attend this auspicious occasion in celebration of the First anniversary of Freedom Day of the Republic of South Africa. On behalf of the government and people of the Republic of China, I would like to extend to the government and people of the Republic of South Africa our heartiest congratulations.

Both the Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa are freedom seeking and peace loving countries sharing the same aspirations in upholding world peace and international justice. Throughout the years, our two countries have developed very close bonds of friendship and cooperation. During this year with the new Government of National Unity (GNU), we have had the pleasure of greeting five cabinet ministers, five premiers of nine provinces, Deputy Speaker, and many member of the National Assembly as well as the President and the Deputy President of the Senate together with your elite from academic, cultural and mass media fields. Reciprocally, our Minister of Economic Affairs Mr. P. K. Chiang and former chairman of Council for Economic Planning and Development Mr. Vincent Hsiao also led two large business and investment groups to our counterpart friendly country – the Republic of South Africa. I am particularly proud to point out that through the exchange visits and cooperation a number of projects between our two nations have achieved substantial results.

After the historic all-race elections held a year ago today, South Africa ushered in a framework of a true democratic nation, the historic task of building democracy in South Africa is nearly completed. As President Nelson Mandela once said, since the establishment of GNU, it has attributed greatly in uniting inter-racial people together, reducing political tensions and easing partisan factions. In the meantime, the social harmony and stability has also flourished and met with great success. We are confident that the future

of the new South Africa will be even more illustrious.

However, the rebirth of a nation also marks a new epoch for her people. The new South Africa will face the challenge of economic reconstruction and development. This calls for strong and continued support from international community. Based on the existing cordial relations between our two countries, the Republic of China is obligated and willing to render her fullest support. We are now undertaking projects to establish a vocational training center for retired South African servicemen and young people. We are also providing soft loans for small farms in South Africa. We sincerely hope that our two countries will cooperate with each other even more closely in the future to enhance the well-being of our peoples. At this moment in time, we are opening up new chapters of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, which affirm the defining statement of your great President as he reiterated only recently the intention of Republic of South Africa to maintain our strong bonds of unity.

Your Excellency, I wish to take this opportunity to convey to you and your colleagues my deep awareness and appreciation for your outstanding contribution in bringing our two countries closer.

Now I would like to invite all the distinguished guests and friends to join me in a toast to the personal well-being of His Excellency, President Mandela, and to the prosperity of the Republic of South Africa.
Thank you.

Source: Department of African Affairs, MOFA, ROC.

Appendix IX

Statement regarding ROC Relations with the Republic of South Africa,
By Lien Chan, Vice President and Premier, November 28, 1996.

The ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs has clearly set forth our government's stand in response to South African President Nelson Mandela's statement of ROC-South African relations. After listening to Foreign Minster Chang Hsiao-Yen's report, I would like to raise a few points:

We understand Johannesburg's desire to seek a new role and status in international affairs. We have always believed that the profound friendship and common interests shared by the peoples of our two countries would allow us to work together at opening up new horizons in bilateral relations and within the international community. Therefore, we have striven with great commitment to maintain ROC-South African relations. We deeply regret the South African government's November 27 statement that it would most likely make adjustments to its policy that would be inimical to the friendship and interests our nations have shared.

Of course, the source of this trouble ultimately lies with the Chinese mainland regime. This incident and similar ones in the past have demonstrated time and again the Chinese communist authorities' relentless efforts to box the ROC into a diplomatic corner and belittle its international status, completely disregarding the rights and interests due the 21 million people of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu.

I would like to remind the Peking authorities once more that each side of Taiwan Straits is ruled by a separate political entity at present, and the Chinese nation is not yet reunified. National reunification at some point in the future must be built on a foundation of mutual respect. The use of this kind of underhanded tactic by the Chinese communists to undermine the ROC's diplomatic relations and buy foreign friendship has gravely harmed the fraternal feelings shared by the Chinese people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait; it in no way helps further cross-Strait relations or the cause of national reunification.

I must stress that for several decades the Republic of China has played an active and positive role in the international community. We are a participant, cooperative partner, contributor, and a respectable member of the world community. Our resolve to continue assertively working toward raising out international profile remains undeterred and we shall do what we must to accomplish this.

I wholeheartedly support the views expressed and measures taken by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding ROC-South Africa relations. And the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should (1) reiterate our unswerving stance to the Republic of South Africa, and (2) ask the Republic of South Africa to carefully reconsider all decisions pertaining to this policy decision. continued prosperity of the Republic of South Africa.

Source: Government Information Office, Executive Yuan, ROC.

Appendix X

Remarks by H. E. Vincent C. Siew, Premier of the Republic of China at the Banquet in honor of H. E. Charles G. Taylor, President of the Republic of Liberia, November 7, 1997

Your Excellency President Taylor, Madame Taylor,
Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
It is indeed a great pleasure for my wife and me to host this luncheon today in your honor. I should like, first of all, to extend my warmest welcome to Your Excellency and Madame Taylor and all the members of your delegation.

May I express my heartiest congratulations on your victory in the recent election. This year marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Liberia, a significant year in which you have been given an overwhelming mandate by the people of Liberia. In March last year, the Republic of China held the first direct election of its president in the history of China. Dedicated to freedom, the governments of both the Republic of Liberia and the Republic of China have already made important achievements in the full democratization of our political institutions and demonstrated our commitment to the welfare of the people. I firmly believe that, under the dynamic and inspiring leadership of Your Excellency, the future of the Republic of Liberia, which is endowed with abundant natural resources, will be brilliant and prosperous.

Since the resumption of diplomatic ties in 1989, our two countries have enjoyed very cordial relations. Understandably so, for the people of both countries share the same commitment to democracy, freedom and international justice. Your visit to my country is further evidence that you and your government attach great importance to the relationship between our two countries.

Your Excellency, we have solid confidence in democracy and the free enterprise system. Based on this confidence, we have successfully transformed our country into a dynamic economy. We are willing to share our experience and technology with friendly countries such as yours. As a matter of fact, the bonds of cooperation between our two countries date back to 1961. The first ever ROC agricultural mission assigned to Africa was the Republic of Liberia in November of that year. Over the years, the service provided by our

agricultural mission proved to be quite fruitful in the past. I have no doubt that this visit of Your Excellency will help to build even closer cooperation between our two countries, to the mutual benefit of both nations.

There is an old saying, "A friend in need is a friend indeed." So I wish to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude to Your Excellency and all the Liberian people for the strong support extended to us in international affairs, in particular with respect to our bid to rejoin the United Nations. The voice of justice and righteousness raised by the Republic of Liberia has resounded around the world. Your honorable deed will long be cherished by the people of the Republic of China.

Your Excellency, we in the Republic of China have been observing with utmost concern and profound sympathy the tribulation through which Liberia has been passing and I am delighted to see peace and stability finally return to the country. It is my sincere hope that Liberia, under the able leadership of Your Excellency, will be developing rapidly into a prosperous country and before long will once again be playing an important role in Africa.

Ladies and gentlemen, may I invite you now to join me in a toast to the continued prosperity of the Republic of Liberia and to the good health and well-being of His Excellency President Taylor and Madame Taylor. We wish that hope and cheer will prevail forever in the land of the pepperbird.

Source: Government Information Office, Executive Yuan, ROC.

Appendix XI

Remarks by the Chairman of the African Group of Ambassadors and Representatives in Taipei, H.E. Ambassador John Cummings, Ambassador of the Republic of Liberia to Taiwan, R.O.C. on the occasion of the OAU Day, May 25, 2001.

Your Excellency, the Vice President of the Republic of China,
Your Excellency, the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
R.O.C.,
Your Excellencies, members of the Diplomatic Corps & Representatives,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

It was exactly 38 years ago, when 32 leaders of independent African countries met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and signed the Charter establishing the Organization of African Unity, OAU. The establishment of the OAU was the actualization of the Pan-Africanist sentiments that was deeply engrained in the psyche of all Africans including those in the Diaspora. It thus symbolizes African aspirations, unity and solidarity. Since 1963, the 25th of May every year is celebrated as the OAU Day as a mark of respect and salute to the wisdom of the founding fathers of the continental organization. It is in this wise that our group, Ambassadors and Representatives of African countries in Taiwan wish to share with you this momentous occasion.

Considering the fact that many African countries were under colonial domination at the time the OAU was founded, the emphasis of the founding fathers of the organization was then on the total liberation of the continent from the vestiges of colonialism and racial oppression. Through concerted efforts and sheer determination, the objective of the OAU towards the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and apartheid was achieved. Though, there are other important challenges facing the OAU for which it has not been that successful, such as the scourges of internecine conflicts, under development, diseases like malaria and HIV-AIDS, these adversities were not allowed to deter the leaders of our great continent from forging ahead with their pursuits to better the lots of the people of the continent.

In this regard therefore, the focus of African leaders has now shifted towards issues of economic development and democracy. Landmark efforts in this regard include the

Zimbabwe declaration, the adoption of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community in 1991. In the Zimbabwe declaration, African leaders firmly resolved for democratization, multi-party system and protection of human rights. The Lagos Plan of Action on the other hand, encouraged the establishment of regional economic groupings such as Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), The Arab Magherb Union (UMA), etc as a prelude to the establishment of the African Economic Community.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is heartening to note that the progress being made by our leaders towards the economic, political and social integration of our continent is so encouraging to the extent that next year by now, we may not be celebrating OAU Day, rather, we may be celebrating the African Union. This is as a result of the historic Sirte declaration on 9th September, 1999 by African leaders in which they resolved to establish the African Union. With the ratification by two thirds of the member states of the OAU on 26th April, 2001 the Constitutive Act of the African Union will come into effect from tomorrow, 26th May, 2001. By tomorrow therefore, the Sirte declaration will become a political and legal reality. From that date onwards, the OAU will begin to wind up and transform into the African Union.

Unlike the OAU, the African Union will have a Pan-African Parliament, the Executive Council, the African Court of Justice, the African Central Bank, the African Monetary Fund, the African Investment Bank, etc. The objectives of the African Union include among others achieving unity and solidarity among African countries, defending the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states, accelerating political and socio-economic integration of the continent, promoting and defending African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its people as well as promoting democracy, good governance and human rights.

On this auspicious occasion, it is the hope of the Group of African Ambassadors and Representatives in Taiwan to forge closer collaborative relationship between our continent and Taiwan. With the highest block of membership in the UN, Africa can be a formidable partner towards the re-integration of the R.O.C. into the UN and other International Organizations. Africa on the other hand, stand to benefit from Taiwan's experience in economic development, trade and investment. In this regard, our Group is calling on

the government of the R.O.C. to consider the idea of holding periodically, an African-ROC Economic Forum. It is our belief that such a body will foster greater understanding as well as economic well-being of the participating countries.

At this juncture, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to express, on behalf of our Group, our sincere appreciation to H.E., the Vice President of the R.O.C. and other top government and business leaders that spared their precious time to share with us this important occasion. I would also like to thanks officials of the Asia Pacific Public Affairs Forum (APPAF) for the series of activities they organized in support and solidarity with us on this occasion. It is our sincere hope that the efforts and resources APPAF committed in this regard will come to fruition. Finally, I want to thank my colleagues, members of the African Group of Ambassadors and Representatives for their support for me and untiring efforts towards the success of this occasion.

Adieu OAU and long live the African Union, long live the Republic of China.

I would now like to propose a toast for the progress and well-being of our people.

Thank you.

Source: Embassy of the Republic of Liberia, Taipei.

Appendix XII

Vice President Lu Hsiu-lien delivered a speech on May 25, 2001.

Your Excellency Ambassador Cumming, Ambassadors of our African allies,

I am pleased to learn that today marks the 38th anniversary of Africa Day. I wish to extend my warmest and sincerest congratulations to all of our African friends on this auspicious occasion.

On May 25th, 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Organization has since contributed greatly to the regional development of the African continent. Its outstanding accomplishments have won praise from the world community. After the Constitutive Act of the African Union entering into force tomorrow, May 26th, 2001, the OAU will be gradually transformed into the African Union. I firmly believe that it will further enhance and promote the unity and development of Africa.

The government and people of the Republic of China value greatly the friendship and relations with African countries. We are willing to share "Taiwan Experiences" with our African allies in their national developments. The essence of "Taiwan Experiences" is characterized by the "Soft Power" of Taiwan people. Unlike rigid economic autocracies and military might, Soft Power makes use of noble and attractive moral, philosophical and value systems to lead the development of domestic society, economy and politics. As far as Taiwan is concerned, the principal areas where Soft Power of Taiwan people is expressed are democracy, human rights, peace, love and hi-tech. In fact, Taiwan's Soft Power and influence have been carried abroad and are spreading around the entire world. As the African countries have been progressing in social, economic and political developments, the African Union will play a more and more important role in international community. You may rest assured that the Republic of China will further cooperate with the African states in the future.

Your Excellency Ambassador Cummings, Ambassadors of our African allies, let me convey my highest respect for your efforts to make this 38th Africa Day activities very successful. Let me also convey my best wishes to the continued prosperity and well-being of Africa and the everlasting friendship between Africa and the Republic of China.

Source: Office of the President, ROC.

Appendix XIII

President Chen Shui-bian's address at the CKS airport on returning from the Tour of Mutual Cooperation and Care, July 10, 2002.

I am happy that the 10-day visit to four of our diplomatic partners was successful and productive. It is wonderful to be home again. I view this "Tour of Mutual Cooperation and Care" a complete success. We brought heartfelt humanitarian concerns abroad, and, in return, we were rewarded with warm and sincere friendship. The tour took me to Senegal, São Tomé and Príncipe, Malawi, and Swaziland. Each of these countries has its own distinct culture and customs, but each showed similar affection for Taiwan. We were really impressed by their sincerity.

In the past, people called Africa the "dark continent." This is not true. Our delegates personally saw Africa as a land of sunshine and smiles. The optimistic African people with their bright smiles impressed me very much. The innocent and lovely children there are just like Taiwan's children – they are all children of heaven. I saw hope in their clear bright eyes, and we felt honored that the hope was partially nurtured by compassion and love from Taiwan.

Centuries ago, Christian missionaries arrived in Africa and spread the gospel. Today, Taiwan sends medical and technical teams to different parts of Africa to provide service. During the past several decades, medical and technical teams spread humanitarian concerns, giving warmth and hope to the people of our diplomatic partners, just like the messengers of God did in the past. We admire and respect all our citizens stationed overseas, including those serving on the medical and technical teams and those working as an alternative military service.

Many African countries and their peoples suffered greatly in the early stages of development. In the post-colonial period, building a nation is not easy and is replete with hardship. The spirit and efforts of our African allies deserve our respect. During the trip, I have managed to develop a close friendship with the heads-of-state of the four countries through dynamic, face-to-face discussions. I thoroughly dedicated myself to winning the support of our diplomatic partners, and they greatly appreciated the concerns of the 23 million Taiwan people. They will definitely speak conscientiously for Taiwan in the in-

ternational community, act as the voice of Taiwan, and continue to be a solid foundation for Taiwan's international participation.

Even though Beijing uses every effort, combining threats with inducements against us, Taiwan's active contributions to the international community cannot be denied or altered. Neither can the international community accept Beijing's high-handed tactics against Taiwan's international humanitarian acts.

Several decades ago, Taiwan also received foreign aid and eventually was able to become self-sufficient. Now, we are a contributor to the international community and should be proud of our achievements. The "Tour of Mutual Cooperation and Care" could therefore also be called a "Tour of Warm Friendship and Success." Let's express our heartfelt thanks to all the staff and delegates of the trip and, in particular, to the business leaders, legislators of the governing and opposite parties, and heads of local governments.

Their participation proves that our efforts to enhance diplomatic relations and to expand Taiwan's international relations transcends differences between the government and the private sector, between governing and opposition parties, and between the central and local governments. The trip has been a great success, as a result of the careful and attentive arrangements made by the domestic and overseas staffs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the related departments. Everyone recognized their meticulous care and the earnest service provided by China Airlines. We are here to express our sincere thanks to them.

We gained a lot during the past 10 days and have been in a pleasant mood. We lost no weight but came back with beautiful tans; and the friendship with our diplomatic partners deepened.

Source: Tour of Mutual Cooperation and Care, Office of the President, 2002, pp.90-92.

Appendix XIV

Representative of the Liaison Office of South Africa Horst Brammer delivered a speech on the National Day of the Republic of South Africa, 26 April 2004.

Ladies and Gentlemen

In 2003, South Africa's largest manufacturer of personal computers, laptops and printers, Mustek, became the first South African company ever to list on the Taiwan Stock Exchange. Thank you, Tony Wang for all your hard work and I hope Mustek will continue to grow from strength to strength.

The South African Standard Bank office in Taipei reported an increased amount of Taiwanese investments flowing into South Africa in 2003. The year was so successful that Standard Bank SA has doubled its staff in Taipei and moved to new premises to accommodate the growing demand. Thank you, Michael Swo, for all your hard work.

And thank you, Vena Cheng, for your commitment and dedication to ensure that Nedbank SA continues to do so well here in Taiwan.

SARS really had a bad impact on tourism to South Africa from Taiwan last year. Despite the setback, however, we saw an average of 1000 Taiwanese citizens traveling to South Africa every month in 2003. Thank you, Sophia Chen and your team at South African Airways in Taiwan for all your hard work and co-operation.

Every single BMW 3-series vehicle driving on the streets of Taiwan was manufactured in South Africa.

Last year was a good one for bilateral commercial relations between South Africa and Taiwan. Total bilateral trade increased by nearly 18% to US$ 1.3 billion. Once again, the trade balance was in our favour.

It is my sincere wish that this positive trend will continue and that commercial relations between Taiwan and South Africa will break trough new barriers this year.
Ladies and gentlemen

Welcome to all of you this evening, and thank you for coming.
Ten years and one month ago, South Africa was extremely tense.

Mediators were desperately trying to get the Inkatha Freedom Party of Mangosuthu Buthelezi to participate in South Africa's first fully representative elections, which were set for 27 April 1994. But they failed, as Buthelezi stubbornly reiterated his position that he and his party would boycott the elections.

Violence was rife on the streets of South Africa. Blood was flowing in the township of Boipathong and in Kwazulu-Natal as conflict between the IFP and the ANC was fuelled by a sinister "Third Force", members of the old security establishment of apartheid South Africa.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the world's 15th largest, was buffeted by a tumbling Rand, a declining gold price and massive buying and selling by both foreign and domestic investors.

Inflation stood at 16.8%

Pre-election stockpiling of non-perishables had spread country-wide as panic-buying emptied the shelves at supermarkets throughout the country.

Political violence in Natal had prompted Australian officials to cancel a rugby tour to Durban.

However, the leadership refused to be derailed by the bleak reality presenting itself in the streets and towns of South Africa. They had committed themselves toward building a new South Africa of the future, and were not deterred by the destabilizing events of the present. In his book, *The Last Trek: A New Beginning*, then President FW de Klerk writes:

"We negotiated under fire. South Africa was burning with violence, but no one allowed himself the luxury of believing that we could wait with negotiations until the violence ceased."

At the last moment, all political parties – including the IFP – agreed to participate in the

election and more than 20 million ballot papers, which had already been printed, had to be amended in record time.

On 27 April 1994 South Africa became free from the shackles of the past. Nelson Mandela, who had spent 27 years of his life in prison, became South Africa's first fully representative and legitimate head of state.

He formed a Government of National Unity, which included members of the major political parties – even bitter enemies of the past – and preached the message of this new South Africa where there were not be winners and losers of the election – all were declared winners. Because all South Africans had become liberated.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission under the able leadership of Nobel Peace Laureate Desmond Tutu played a pivotal role in revealing the atrocities of our past. By opening these wounds and cleansing them with truth, reconciliation could take place without vengeance and retribution, and the divisions of the past could begin to be bridged.

So what has happened in South Africa over the past ten years?

- We were re-admitted to the world family of nations and have become a champion of the developing world at all international fora;

- Tourism has blossomed and nearly seven million people came to visit this land of peace and reconciliation in 2003, and Johannesburg was found by a global survey to be the cheapest major city in the world;

- Inflation is down to 4.5%; our GDP has shown consistent annual growth of 3% and more; in an effort to relieve the burden of the poor, personal income tax has been cut by more than R50 billion since 1995; South Africa's export boom, achieved without subsidies, is larger than the boom that Japan experienced in the 1950s and 60s; and we have the cheapest Big Mac hamburger in the world;

- South Africa has hosted numerous international conferences like CHOGM and the WSSD; we hosted the Rugby World Cup, the Cricket World Cup, the All-Africa Games, and we hope to be host to the Football World Cup in 2010;

- Since 1992, we have produced four Nobel laureates, two for peace and tow for literature;

- Twelve days ago we saw the third fully democratic elections take place in South Africa and tomorrow Thabo Mbeki will be inaugurated for his second and last term as President;

- Clean water has been brought to 9.1 million homes; electricity has been connected to 4 million new homes, and people with houses increased from 64% to 77%.

As Pliny the Elder Roman writer said nearly two thousand years ago: *"Ex Africa simper aliquid novi":* Something new always comes out of Afirca. And although much, much more needs to be done to create more jobs and alleviate poverty, to reduce crime rates, to combat HIV/Aids and to ensure sustainable development, we believe there is reason to celebrate.

Ladies and gentlemen

Please charge your glasses and join me in a toast to South Africa's continued growth, stability and prosperity and to continuing good relations with Taiwan.

Source: Liaison Office of South Africa in Taiwan.

Appendix XV

Malawi President Bingu wa Mutharika's speech in the UN, September 8, 2005.

As part of the reform of the UN system, I wish to bring to the attention of the General Assembly an important aspect of the reform of the United Nations. This involves the determination of eligibility for membership in the United Nations. As you now, the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights guarantees the right of all peoples of the world to belong to the United Nations and that no country should be denied membership in this organization. Malawi believes that the Unites Nations was founded on the principle of inclusivity in its membership.

That is why we in Malawi call for the admission of the Republic of China (Taiwan) as a member of the United Nations.

This request is made on the premise that following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the new states that emerged there from had expressed their desire to become sovereign and independent members of the United Nations. These countries were Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. These countries were accepted and were readily admitted as members of this organization. This was a political decision.

In the same way, when Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia broke up into separate states of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovenia, each state was admitted in the United Nations. This was a political decision.

Czechoslovakia broke up into the Czech Republic and Slovakia, and each state was admitted into the United Nations.

In South East Asia, Singapore pulled out of the Federation of Malaya and became a member of the United Nations. Later, East Timor broke away from Indonesia and was also admitted as a member of the United Nations. These were also political decisions.

Mr. President

The Government of Malawi is therefore puzzled that the Republic of China, which took a similar political decision, is denied membership in the United Nations. How can the United Nations stand for equity and justice when it is denying membership to over 23 million people who contribute significantly to global trade and development? How can the United Nations justify its denial of membership to Taiwan when the countries listed above were admitted? Why is Taiwan being discriminated against by the United Nations?

Unless these questions are honestly answered, observers will conclude that the United Nations is applying double standards. The Government of Malawi believes that the United Nations should use the same standards to grant membership to the Republic of China.

I am therefore appealing that the United Nations should extend membership to the Taiwanese people in the same way as it has done for countries of the Eastern Europe, and South East Asia.

This will enable the dynamic and resourceful people of Taiwan to play their rightful role in global affairs, industrialization, trade and social development. I believer that the admission of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in the United Nations will also bring credibility to the Universal declaration of Human Rights.

Source: Department of International Organizations, MOFA, ROC.

Appendix XVI

Letter from Consul General John Kincaid to Deputy Foreign Minister H.K.Yang, August 19, 1975.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to extend to you, on behalf of Dr. H. Muller, Minister of Foreign Affairs, an invitation to visit South Africa at your convenience as a guest of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Despite your many visits in the past, your duties have not permitted you to see as much of South Africa as we would have wished; not has there always been time enough for you to meet many persons in government and the private sector with whom you might have been able to discuss matters of concern in the world to-day.

While I am aware that your many preoccupations may prevent you from accepting Dr. Muller's invitation within the near future, it is my sincere hope that you will be able to do so before many more months pass. I should be grateful to receive in due course an indication of the period that might be most convenient to you.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

John Kincaid
CONSUL-GENERAL

Source: Department of African Affairs, MOFA, ROC.

Appendix XVII

Letter from Premier of the Republic of China Sun Yun-Suan to Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa His Excellency Mr. P. W. Botha, December 19, 1979.

Your Excellency,

I acknowledge with thanks receipt of your letter dated 5 December, 1979 which was forwarded to me by Ambassador H. K. Yang immediately upon his arrival in Taipei from Pretoria.

It was very kind of you to extend a formal invitation to me to visit your noble country and I accept it with great pleasure.

If it is agreeable to you, I would like to pay my official visit to the Republic of South Africa in March 1980. Certainly I will inform you, through our Embassy in Pretoria of the exact dates and other details of my visit in due course.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Sun Yun-Suan
Premier of the Republic of China

Source: Liaison Office of South Africa in Taiwan.

Appendix XVIII

Letter from President Lee Teng-hui to President Nelson Mandela, March 20, 1996.

Dear Mr. President:

Ambassador I-Cheng Loh has reported to me in detail on your conversation with him when you honoured him with a meeting and dinner on February 26.

I deeply appreciate your firm friendship and personal interest by taking time out of your extremely busy schedule, when externally and internally various pressing matters demand your personal attention, to offer your good offices to bring about renewed negotiations at a high level between my government and mainland China.

By sheer coincidence, on February 23 at my first press conference this year, I offered to negotiate a peace agreement with Beijing. I take great pleasure in enclosing a transcript of exactly what I said at that conference, attended by about 150 local and foreign media people and carried live by CNN, among others.

May I, therefore, formally invite the Republic of South Africa to play the role of a facilitator and carry my offer to the leaders in Beijing. As long as we are treated as their equals, we are prepared to enter into negotiations with them for such a peace pact and we attach no other preconditions thereto. We will meet them at a time and at a venue acceptable to both sides.

As you are aware, the Republic of China will hold its first ever direct popular election of its President and Vice President on March 23. Myself and Premier Lien Chan will bear the standard of the Kuomintang (National Party) in a field of four contesting teams. We expect to win although it will be a tough contest.

I understand that a high-level South African delegation is being formed to visit both sides of the Taiwan Straits. I take great pleasure in inviting your delegation to come to Taipei immediately after March 23. I await eagerly your response to this cordial invitation.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest esteem and consideration.

/s/ Lee Teng-hui

Source: TLO files: Correspondence between two Presidents.

Appendix XIX

Letter from President Nelson Mandela to President Lee Teng-hui, November 28, 1996.

Dear President Lee

I thought that I should personally write to you about my statement to the media on 27 November 1996 concerning South Africa's relations with the Greater China region.

Mr President, I wish to give you the assurance that the statement was one of the most difficult I have had to make since assuming office. It was only made after long and agonising thought and extensive deliberations both within South Africa and abroad.

Mr President, as I stated, I am personally very much aware and appreciative of the valued contribution that the Government of the Republic of China has made to the RDP and specifically of the commitment of the Government of the Republic of China to encourage greater participation by the Taiwanese business sector in the economic development of South Africa. The smooth transition to democracy in South Africa was greatly facilitated by the active and generous participation by the Government of the Republic of China. For this, I will always have enormous appreciation and the people of Taiwan will always enjoy my heartfelt gratitude and sympathy.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to Ambassador Loh I-cheng for his personal sacrifices and endeavours in this regard. During our many private discussions, he has become a close personal acquaintance of mine and it is my sincere belief that no government can wish for a better representative. Both Ambassador Loh and his wife are held in the highest regard by the foreign diplomatic community in South Africa of which Ambassador Loh is the doyen. They are sensitive and loyal Ambassadors of your country.

Mr President, as you are aware, there are times when one has no option perforce of circumstances to act in the larger interest of one's country. One wrestles in solitude over such decisions which can be most painful, especially where it can be expected that decisions will hurt close and trusted friends. In this case I could, however, no longer ignore international realities.

Mr President, in my statement to the media I said that South Africa would like to conduct constructive relations with Taiwan. It is my sincere desire that the friendly relations that have been built up over the years would continue and that Taiwan would stay fully engaged in South Africa.

Representatives from both sides will have to come together during the next twelve months to reach a modus vivendi on our future relations. I wish to convey my personal assurances, Mr President, that I shall do my utmost to see that Taiwan's interests in South Africa are sufficiently safeguarded and that Taiwan's representation in South Africa will continue at the highest possible level short of full diplomatic recognition. There is no reason, to my mind, why South Africa and Taiwan cannot continue to develop mutually beneficial relations.

Mr President, please be assured of my highest personal consideration and commitment to the resolution of the matter in this difficult period. I trust that we will be able to find ways of continuing the warm relations that have been built up between our two countries.

Yours sincerely

NR MANDELA

Source: TLO files: Correspondence between two Presidents.

Appendix XX

NO	Subject	Date
1	Trade Agreement between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA.	26/02/1975
2	Agreement Concerning the Exchange of Postal Parcels concluded between the postal Administrations of ROC and RSA.	11/01/1977
3	Agreement between the ROC and the RSA on Mutual Fishery Relations.	26/01/1978
4	Agreement for Technical Cooperation between the National Bureau of Standards of ROC and the South African Bureau of Standards of RSA.	29/10/1979
5	International Express Mail Agreement between the postal Administration of ROC and the postal Administration of RSA.	21/01/1980
6	Agreement between the Government of RSA and the Government of ROC (on Defense Industry Development).	11/03/1980
7	Agreement between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA for the Reciprocal Treatment of Navigation.	11/03/1980
8	Exchange of Notes between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA Constituting an Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation.	12/03/1980
9	Agreement on Scientific Cooperation between the National Science Council (NSC) or ROC and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) of RSA.	18/03/1980
10	Exchange of Notes between ROC and RSA Constituting an Agreement on Meteorological Cooperation.	04/02/1983
11	Exchange Agreement on Scientific Cooperation between the National Science Council of ROC and the Medical Research Council of RSA.	28/03/1983
12	Exchange of Notes between ROC and RSA for Mutual Implementation of the International Convention on Tonnage Measurement of Ships, 1969.	19/05/1983
13	Exchange Agreement on Scholarly Cooperation between the National Science Council (NSC) of ROC and the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) of RSA.	26/09/1983
14	Agreement between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA Relating to Cooperation in Mineral and Energy Affairs.	22/04/1985

NO	Subject	Date
15	Treaty of Extradition between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA.	30/10/1987
16	Agreement on Medical Cooperation in Providing Advanced Training for Medical and Nursing Personnel between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA.	12/01/1988
17	Agreement for the Cooperation and Exchange on Science and Technology Information between the Science and Technology Information Centre, NSC and the Division of Information Services, CSIR.	24/02/1989
18	Agreement between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA on Matters Relating to Co-operation in the Field on Population Development.	15/06/1989
19	Agreement between the Government of the ROC and the Government of RSA Relating to Cultural Matters.	19/06/1989
20	Arrangement for Programmed Contracts and Cooperation between Agricultural Scientists and Institutions of the Council of Agricultural of ROC and the Agricultural Research Council of RSA.	03/07/1992
21	Arrangement for the Exchange of Plant Material between the Council of Agriculture of ROC and the Department of Agricultural Development of RSA.	03/07/1992
22	Agreement of Mutual Recognition of National Measuring Standards Memorandum of Agreement made and Entered into by and between: Industrial Technology Research Institute(ITRI) of ROC and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) of RSA.	04/02/1991
23	Bilateral Scientific Exchange Agreement between the National Foundation for Science and Technology (NFST) of ROC and the Foundation for Research Development (FRD) of RSA.	11/07/1991
24	Protocol between the China External Trade Development Council and the South African Chamber of Business for the Implementation of the ROCSA Carnet System.	31/07/1991
25	Agreement between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA on the ROCSA Carnet for the Temporary Admission of Goods.	09/08/1991
26	Amended Bilateral Air Services Agreement between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA.	15/11/1991
27	Agreement of Cooperation on the Promotion of Investments between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA.	15/11/1991

NO	Subject	Date
28	Technical Undertaking on mutual Recognition of the National Calibration Services between the Chinese National Laboratory. Accreditation of the ROC and the National Calibration Services of the RSA.	06/11/1993
29	Agreement on the Training of Small-scale Farmers in RSA.	25/11/1993
30	Agreement between ROC and RSA for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income and Capital gain.	14/02/1994
31	Agreement on Cooperation for peaceful uses of Atomic Energy between the Atomic Energy Council, ROC and Atomic Energy Corporation of South Africa Limited.	29/09/1994
32	Amended Annex to the Amended Bilateral Air Services Agreement between the Government of the ROC and the Government of RSA.	17/11/1994
33	Loan Agreement between Chiao Tung Bank Co., Ltd and Development Bank of Southern Africa.	29/11/1994
34	Guarantee Agreement Between the Chiao Tung Bank Co, Ltd, of ROC and RSA, represented by the Minister of Finance of RSA.	06/01/1995
35	Agreement between the Government of RSA and the Government of ROC regarding Technical Assistance for the Establishment of a Vocational Training Centre.	07/12/1995
36	Memorandum of understanding on the Exchange of Information between The Securities and Exchange Commission of ROC and The Financial Services Board of RSA.	01/04/1996
37	Agreement between ROC and RSA on the Establishment of Community Forestry Projects in the Republic of South Africa.	29/08/1996
38	Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of ROC and the Government of RSA on Education Support.	29/08/1996
39	Agreement between the ROC and RSA on Technical Cooperation in the Field of Endangered Species Conservation.	02/09/1996

Appendix XXI

Country	Year Diplomatic relations with the ROC established	Year Diplomatic relations with the PRC established
Algeria		1958
Angola		1983
Benin	1962, 1966	1964, 1973
Botswana	1966	1975
Burkina Faso	1961, 1994	1973
Burundi		1963, 1971
Cameroon	1960	1971
Cape Verde		1976
Central African Republic	1962, 1968, 1991	1964, 1976, 1998
Chad	1962, 1997	1972, 2006
Comoros		1975
Congo	1960	1964
Cote d'Ivoire	1963	1983
Djibouti		1979
DR. Congo	1960	1972
Egypt	1934	1956
Equatorial Guinea		1970
Eritrea		1993
Ethiopia		1970
Gabon	1960	1974
Gambia	1968, 1995	1974
Ghana		1960, 1972
Guinea		1959
Guinea-Bissau	1990	1974, 1998
Kenya		1963
Lesotho	1966, 1990	1983, 1994
Liberia	1957, 1989	1977, 2003
Libya	1959	1978
Madagascar	1963	1972
Malawi	1966	

Country	Year Diplomatic relations with the ROC established	Year Diplomatic relations with the PRC established
Mali	1960	1960
Mauritania	1960	1965
Mauritius		1972
Morocco		1958
Mozambique		1957
Namibia		1990
Niger	1963, 1992	1974, 1996
Nigeria		1971
Rwanda	1962	1971
São Tomé and Principe	1997	1975
Senegal	1960, 1969, 1996	1964, 1971, 2005
Seychelles		1976
Sierra Leone	1963	1971
Somalia		1960
South Africa	1905	1998
Sudan		1958
Swaziland	1968	
Tanzania		1963
Togo	1960	1972
Tunisia		1964
Uganda		1962
Zambia		1964
Zimbabwe		1980

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