THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA
AND
THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA,
1948-1998

by

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved wife Su-hwa (Sophia) Lin, and my three daughters, Jane, Helen and Tina.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page ................................. i  
Dedication ................................ ii  
Abstract .................................. v  
Acknowledgements ................. vii  
Declaration .............................. viii  
Abbreviations ......................... ix  

Chapter I: Introduction .............................. 1  
1.1 An Overview of the Historiography .......... 1  
1.2 Aim and Scope of the Study .................. 9  
1.3 Approach and Method ...................... 11  
1.4 Research Problems ....................... 13  
1.5 Historical Background–The Separation of the Chinese Mainland and Taiwan .......... 14  
1.6 A Note on Romanization .................... 21  

Chapter II: The Period of Reluctant Relations, 1948-1971 .................................................. 27  
2.1 Introduction ................................ 27  
2.2 The Turn of the Tide against South Africa .......... 30  
2.3 The Turn of the Tide against the Kuomintang government .......... 36  
2.4 Stability under the Kuomintang Rule .......... 41  
2.5 The ROC’s Domestic and Foreign Policies .......... 45  
2.6 Initial Relations between the ROC and the RSA .......... 50  
2.7 Threats to the National Security of the Two Countries .......... 57  
2.8 Summary .................................. 58  

Chapter III: The Evolution of Cordial Political-Diplomatic Links between the ROC and the RSA, 1971-1994 .................................................. 64  
3.1 Introduction ................................ 64  
3.2 Considerations for Forging Closer Ties with the RSA .......... 65  
3.3 Events which led to the RSA’s Change of Policy towards the ROC .......... 81  
3.4 The Evolution of the ROC–RSA Political-Diplomatic Relations .......... 83  
3.5 The ROC–RSA Diplomatic Alignment .......... 109  
3.7 The Uncertainty of ROC–RSA Relations .......... 119  
3.7 Summary .................................. 123  

Chapter IV: Economic and Financial Ties between the ROC and the RSA, 1948-1998 .................................................. 131  
4.1 Introduction ................................ 131  
4.2 The Evolution of ROC–RSA Trade Relations .......... 138  
4.3 The Composition of ROC–RSA Bilateral Trade .......... 143  
4.4 Bilateral Institutional Structures to Strengthen ROC–RSA Economic and Trade Interactions .......... 145

5.1 Introduction
5.2 The ROC’s Quest for Nuclear Energy
5.3 The ROC’s Energy Strategy and the Attractiveness of the RSA to the ROC
5.4 The Development of the ROC Nuclear Industry
5.5 The Establishment of Uranium and Nuclear Industries in the RSA
5.6 The Implementation of ROC–RSA Nuclear Co-operation
5.7 The Termination of ROC–RSA Nuclear Co-operation
5.8 Summary


6.1 Introduction
6.2 Military Co-operation between the ROC and the RSA
6.3 Academic, Cultural and Social Links between the ROC and the RSA
6.4 Summary


7.1 The RSA’s New Foreign Policy and International Relations
7.2 The Changing Situation of ROC–RSA Relations
7.3 The Position of the GNU on the Severance of ROC–RSA Diplomatic Relations
7.4 The ROC Government’s Efforts to Save ROC–RSA Diplomatic Relations
7.5 Pressure put on Mandela to Reverse the Status Quo
7.6 The RSA’s Normalisation of Relations with the PRC
7.7 The Establishment of ROC–RSA Substantive Relations

Chapter VIII: Conclusion
8.1 Conclusion
8.2 Epilogue

Appendix: List of Tables
Bibliography
ABSTRACT

To date, no in-depth analysis has been made of the diplomatic relations that existed between the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and the Republic of China on Taiwan (ROC) from 1976 to 1997. Current scholarly works on relations between the two countries tend to oversimplify the forces that drew the two countries into close association during the said period, and presume that ROC–RSA bilateral relations were merely the result of the mutual pariah status of both states. In addition, several common misconceptions regarding the nature of ROC–RSA relations are recurrent in the existing research. This thesis, therefore, examines the development of ROC–RSA relations and interactions from the eve of the ROC government’s relocation to Taiwan in 1948 to the severance of ROC–RSA diplomatic relations in 1998 against the background of the overall historical circumstances of both countries. This study argues that the factors in the formation of ROC–RSA ties are manifold and a result of the convergence of anti-communist ideologies and common interests. Pariah status and international ostracism are only part of the array of complex factors. Efforts are made to investigate the historical conditions, foreign policy objectives and national interests that helped cement diplomatic relations, as well as the extent of co-operation in the complete spectrum of ROC–RSA relations, including economic and cultural relations, and military and nuclear collaborations. These various aspects are explored in order to give a fuller picture of ROC–RSA ties, and the effectiveness and limitations of these relations are analysed. Furthermore, the causes that led to South Africa’s switch of diplomatic recognition to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the prospects of future relations between the ROC and the RSA are also studied.

SAMEVATTING

Tot dusver is geen grondige analise van die diplomatiek verhoudinge tussen die Republiek van Suid-Afrika (RSA) en die Republiek van China op Taiwan (ROC) vir die tydperk 1976 tot 1997 gedoen nie. Akademiese werke hieroor is geneig om die kragte
wat die twee lande gedurende die betrokke tydperk in ‘n noue verbintenis saamgesnoer het, te oorvereenvoudig. Daar word veronderstel dat ROC–RSA-verhoudinge bloot die gevolg van hulle paria-status was. Daarbenewens kom verskeie algemene wanopvatings, oor die aard van ROC–RSA-verhoudinge, herhaaldelik in bestaande navorsing voor. Hierdie proefskrif beoordeel gevolglik die ontwikkeling van ROC–RSA-verhoudinge en interaksie, sedert die hervestiging van die ROC-regering op Taiwan in 1948 tot met die beëindiging van diplomatieke verhoudinge tussen die twee state in 1998, teen die omvattende historiese agtergrond van die onderskeie lande. Hierdie studie voer aan dat die faktore in die totstandkoming van die ROC–RSA-bande veelvuldig is; en dat dit die gevolg van ‘n gemeenskaplike anti-kommunistiese ideologie en belange is. Die paria-status en internasionale isolasie was slegs ‘n deel van die komplekse faktore. Pogings is aangewend om die historiese omstandighede, buitelandse beleidsdoelstellings en nasionale belange wat daartoe bygedra het om sowel die diplomatieke betrekkinge as die omvang van samewerking in die volle spektrum van ROC–RSA-verhoudinge, sluitende ekonomiese en kulturele verhoudinge en militêre en kernsamewerking, in berekening te bring. Hierdie verskillende aspekte is nagegaan ten einde ‘n meer volledige beeld van ROC–RSA-bande te gee. Die doeltreffendheid en beperkinge van hierdie verhoudinge is ook ontleed. Verder is die oorsake vir Suid-Afrika se sluiting van diplomatieke betrekkinge met die Volksrepubliek van China (PRC) ondersoek, sowel as die vooruitsig vir toekomstige verhoudinge tussen die ROC en die RSA.

**KEYWORDS:**

Reluctant relations; pariah status; diplomatic isolation; apartheid; complementary economic/trade relations; convergence of common interests; national interests; nuclear energy co-operation; ROC–RSA defence industry co-operation; limitations of alignment; Government of National Unity (GNU); development aid; “cheque-book” diplomacy; “Two Chinas” dilemma; “One China” policy; pragmatic diplomacy; substantive relations; mechanism of mutual consultation.
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Song-huann (Gary) Lin
May 2001
I declare that *The Relations between the Republic of China and the Republic of South Africa, 1948-1998* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used and quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

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Song-huann (Gary) Lin

Date
## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEB</td>
<td>Atomic Energy Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEC</td>
<td>Atomic Energy Corporation/Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>AGOA</td>
<td>Africa Growth and Opportunity Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asian-Pacific Economic Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARMSCOR</td>
<td>Armaments Corporation of the RSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCP</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>CETRA</td>
<td>China External Trade Development Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIST</td>
<td>Chungshan Institute of Science and Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSIR</td>
<td>Council for Scientific and Industrial Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFA</td>
<td>Department of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPP</td>
<td>Democratic Progressive Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTI</td>
<td>Department of Trade and Industry</td>
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<tr>
<td>EPZ</td>
<td>Export Processing Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESKOM</td>
<td>Electricity Supply Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>Freedom Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>GATT</td>
<td>General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNU</td>
<td>Government of National Unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEU</td>
<td>Highly Enriched Uranium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAEA</td>
<td>International Atomic Energy Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDC</td>
<td>Industrial Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>Inkatha Freedom Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTERPOL</td>
<td>International Criminal Police Organisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ISCOR: South African Iron and Steel Corporation
ITRI: Industrial Technology Research Institute
KMI: KwaZulu-Natal Marketing Initiative
KMT: Kuomintang (Nationalist Party)
LNLA: Lesotho National Liberation Army
MK: Umkhonto we Sizwe
MOEA: Ministry of Economic Affairs
MOFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPLA: Movimento Popular de Liberaccao de Angola
NEC: National Executive Committee
NCS: National Calibration Service
NIC: New Industrialising Countries
NP: National Party
NPT: Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty
NSC: National Science Council
NT: New Taiwan Dollar
NUFCOR: Nuclear Fuels Corporation
OAU: Organisation of African Unity
OPEC: Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC: Pan Africanist Congress
PLA: People's Liberation Army
PRC: People's Republic of China
RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme
ROC: Republic of China
ROCSA: ROC–South Africa Economic Council
RSA: Republic of South Africa
SACP: South African Communist Party
SACTWU: South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union
SADC: Southern African Development Community
SADF: South African Defence Force
SAFTO: South African Foreign Trade Organisation
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SANDF</td>
<td>South African National Defence Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAPA</td>
<td>South African Press Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAROC</td>
<td>South Africa–ROC Chamber of Economic Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMME</td>
<td>Small, medium and micro enterprises</td>
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<tr>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>South West Africa People’s Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TWTC</td>
<td>Taipei World Trade Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UANC</td>
<td>United African National Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNCTAD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNITA</td>
<td>Uniao Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>Vereenigde Nederlandsche Oost Indische Compagnie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTC</td>
<td>Vocational Training Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZAPU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African People’s Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZANU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union</td>
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