

Catching the Dragon's Tail: The Impact of the Chinese  
in Samoa

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## Abstract

Contemporary Samoan society is a reflection of a number of different cultures and influences. As a result of several attempts at colonisation by the British, German and New Zealand Administrations the cultural landscape of Samoa has been influenced by many different groups and peoples. As a result of integration and assimilation into the Samoan way of life the Chinese have been accepted into Samoan society and have contributed to the development of Samoan culture and identity. This thesis explores the history of the Chinese in Samoa as a method of uncovering the true extent of the influence played by the Chinese, both as a people and as a nation, in the make-up of Samoan society. It uncovers the roles and impacts of the Chinese in the island nation from the first Chinese arrivals in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, through various political administrations and into the present day. The thesis will illustrate the importance of the Chinese in Samoa and how they have contributed to, and helped to shape, the Samoan people, politics, culture, identity and economy. This thesis explains the importance of the Chinese in Samoa by examining important events in Samoan history in the past 150 years. Such events include the forbidding of Chinese settlement in Samoa through the Malietoa Laupepa Law of 1880, the establishment of the Chinese indentured scheme, and the ‘new wave’ of Chinese aid being poured into the Pacific, including Samoa, in recent times.

## Glossary

<b>Afakasi</b>	Samoan transliteration of half-caste. See ‘half-caste’ below.
<b>Ali'i</b>	A Samoan high chief.
<b>Apia</b>	Capital city of Samoa.
<b>Ava</b>	Traditional Samoan beverage, made from the root of a pepper plant.
<b>Ching Ming</b>	Chinese Memorial Day, when the Chinese honour the dead.
<b>Chopsuey</b>	A Samoan dish developed from a Chinese noodle dish.
<b>Chow mein</b>	A dish introduced in Samoa by the Chinese.
<b>Fukien Province</b>	Also known as Fujian province, on the south east coast of China.
<b>Half-caste</b>	A person sprung from the union of two races.
<b>Hong Kong</b>	Located on the south coast of China.
<b>Kowtow</b>	To kneel and touch forehead to the ground. A sign of deep respect.
<b>Matai</b>	A Samoan chief elected as the head of the family.

<b>National identity</b>	A sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, represented by the maintenance of distinctive traditions, culture, linguistics or political features.
<b>Okā</b>	A Samoan dish consisting of coconut milk, raw fish and vegetables.
<b>Saofa'i</b>	Title investiture.
<b>Sapasui</b>	The Samoan transliteration of ‘chopsuey’. See ‘chopsuey’ above.
<b>Shanghai</b>	The largest city in China.
<b>Swatow</b>	Also known as Shantou. A city located on the eastern coast of the Guangdong province of China.
<b>Tulafale</b>	A Samoan orator chief.
<b>Toishan</b>	A city located on the coast of the Guangdong province, China.
<b>Xiamen</b>	Also known as Amoy. A coastal city in the south-eastern province of Fujian, China.

Map of Samoa:



At [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/australia/samoa\\_rel98.jpg](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/australia/samoa_rel98.jpg).

Map of Provinces in China:



At:

[www.invasive.org/hwa/images/Map%20China%20Province%20coll%20sites.jpg](http://www.invasive.org/hwa/images/Map%20China%20Province%20coll%20sites.jpg).

## 1 CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

“Chinese emigration was part of a world wide migration phenomenon in the nineteenth century ... They were part of an international movement of labour which was propelled by colonial economic expansion, the demand for labour, and the established interests of trade and shipping”<sup>1</sup>

The aim of the thesis is to examine how, and to what extent, the Chinese have influenced the development of Samoan society since their arrival in the late twentieth century. Specifically it will examine the contributions of the Chinese to the economy of Samoa and the identity of Samoan nationals. It will then examine the ongoing influence of China on Samoa. In particular, the thesis will focus on China’s use of development aid to influence Samoa.

This study is divided into four main chapters. Following the introductory chapter, Chapter Two “*Political history of the Chinese in Samoa*” looks at the political initiatives used to bring the Chinese to Samoa through early legislation passed by the German Administration in 1903. The reasons for these early political initiatives are examined as they provide important contextual information for the issues that are discussed in subsequent chapters. The political response of the colonial authorities and the attitudes of the Samoans to the influx of Chinese immigrants are then examined. There have been varied political responses to the influence of the Chinese in Samoa. These responses have looked to take advantage of the benefits of Chinese development in Samoa, while at the same time minimising the perceived negative impact of the Chinese on native Samoans. The chapter then compares and contrasts the responses to Chinese immigration from the German and New Zealand Administrations. Samoa was a German protectorate from 1900 until 1914 when it was taken over by the New Zealand military Administration. There are differences in the way the German Administration

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<sup>1</sup> J. Ryan (ed), *Chinese in Australia and New Zealand: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (1995: New Delhi) p.1.

and New Zealand Administration dealt with Chinese immigration. Various scholars view the New Zealand Administration as harsh in its dealings with the Chinese. For example, B. Liua'ana states, "New Zealand policy regarding Chinese took on a mood of condemnation"<sup>2</sup>. Finally, the current political response to Chinese influence in Samoa will be discussed. This discussion includes an investigation of whether there is a positive or negative attitude towards Chinese Samoans and the current influx of Chinese in Samoa.

This is followed by Chapter Three, "Chinese impact on the Samoan economy". Since their arrival, the Chinese have contributed greatly to the Samoan economy. This section will look at early Chinese roles in the Samoan economy. Initially this saw the Chinese as primarily indentured labourers working on plantations. As the Chinese began to settle in Samoa, they took on a more active role in the economy. The Chinese began to start businesses contributing to the economy. The current place of the Chinese in the Samoan economy will be examined, determining the influence of second and third generation Chinese Samoans and the new wave of Chinese immigrants.

Chapter Four is entitled "Chinese influence on Samoan national identity". For the purposes of this chapter, 'Samoan national identity' refers to Samoan tradition and culture. Intermarriage has been a key factor in the shaping of Samoan national identity. This chapter discusses intermarriage between Samoan women and Chinese immigrant men. Intermarriage has changed the face of what it is to be Samoan, in particular impacting on family titles and social structure. Intermarriage led to the assimilation of the Chinese minority into the Samoan majority. Chinese men who married into Samoan families had to adapt to and practise Samoan culture. It is hypothesised that the impact of the Chinese on Samoan culture was more keenly felt in the urban parts of Samoa. This was due largely to the Chinese becoming involved in merchant industries prevalent in urban areas rather than the subsistent living in the more rural villages.

Chapter Five discusses "The new wave of Chinese influence in Samoa". This 'new wave' consists of aid and exchange programmes (educational and cultural). China is a

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<sup>2</sup> B. F. Liua'ana, 'Dragons in Little Paradise: Chinese (Mis)Fortunes in Samoa, 1900-1950' in *Journal of Pacific History*, 32:1(1997) p.35.

major contributor to the Samoan economy through aid. This chapter will examine the ‘Asian aid war’ in Samoa, and determine why there is so much aid poured into Samoa and other parts of the Pacific from China, Taiwan and Japan. This study will determine to what extent China’s aid is ‘free’ to Samoa, and the price Samoa has to pay for this aid. This chapter will also examine the Samoan perspective on this new wave of Chinese influence.

This thesis proposes that there is a connection between these four main themes. The initial driver for the influx of Chinese immigrants was economic. This was facilitated by the political response of both the German and New Zealand Administrations. This increase in the Chinese population saw a rise in intermarriage, which began to have an impact on Samoan identity. Chinese Samoans then helped boost the Samoan economy more directly with the development of entrepreneurship. This historic connection between Samoa and China has made it easier for China’s aid to be accepted by Samoa today.

### *1.1 The Changing Face of Chinese Influence in Samoa.*

The first group of Chinese who came to Samoa worked as crewmen on vessels and servants of government officials in the late nineteenth century. These Chinese stayed on in Samoa as free citizens under the German administration. Ah Sue was one such Chinese man. He had a restaurant in Apia as early as 1898, and joined the Roman Catholic Church in Samoa with two other Chinese. These Chinese came from different provinces of China: Shanghai, Xiamen (Amoy) in the Fujian province and Toishan (Sunning) in the Guangdong province. These Chinese men assimilated quickly into Samoan culture.

The second wave of Chinese immigrants came into Samoa as indentured labourers. The majority of these Chinese were from the province of Guangdong. They were employed under the German administration to work on plantations in Samoa to help develop land for agriculture and to tend to plantations, as there was a growing demand for copra. Copra is the dried kernel of the coconut, prepared and exported for the making of coconut oil. These immigrants had a great influence on Samoa as Chinese working on

the plantations enabled the growth and development of this industry. This era also saw a dramatic increase in relations between Chinese labourers and Samoan women. Ah Kuoi is an example of this; he and his partner Mele had twelve children. Generations later, Ah Kuoi is a well known name in Samoa today.

Some of those Chinese who had settled in Samoa developed as entrepreneurs. They started their own businesses, such as restaurants, food and clothes shops. When laws regarding Chinese indentured labourers began to relax, more labourers took opportunities to venture into business themselves. Chinese and their Samoan families often worked together in their own businesses, and this is still evident today in Samoa.

Initially Chinese-Samoan relationships were frowned upon. As they increased in number and the offspring of these relationships began to grow up as Samoans, there were increased levels of acceptance. Chinese Samoans were seen as inferior: there were many legislative debates and enactments trying to prohibit Chinese-Samoan relations. Today however, Chinese-Samoans are regarded as Samoans.

Although there is still immigration of Chinese into Samoa, it is Chinese aid that is having the most influence on Samoa today. This aid helps develop Samoa as a country, by providing funds for health or medical care, educational exchange programmes and infra-structure projects such as sports stadiums and government buildings. This aid is, however, not without some costs. This is examined more fully in a later chapter.

### *1.2 Timeframe.*

It is important to note that this thesis will be covering a number of time periods in each chapter. It will be beneficial to break down these time periods to further understand each chapter. These time periods are: the first Chinese immigrants, German Administration, New Zealand Administration, and Samoan independence to the present.

The first time period refers to the Chinese who came to Samoa in the late nineteenth century. Although these Chinese were significant to the history of Chinese in Samoa

they were few in number and did not have great influence on Samoa in this period. As a result, this time period will only be mentioned briefly in this study.

The German Administration is the second time period of the Chinese in Samoa. For the purpose of this research, this is a fundamentally important time period. It is during this time period that the door was opened to Chinese immigration, starting a chain of events that has led to over 100 years of Chinese influence in Samoa. The German Administration annexed Samoa on March 1st 1900, with Wilhelm Solf becoming the first governor of Samoa. In 1910, Governor Solf was replaced by Dr Erich Schultz, who governed Samoa until the New Zealand military take over.

In August 1914, the German administration was replaced by the New Zealand Administration. Germany lost all her colonial territories after being defeated in the First World War. New Zealand's military Administration governed Samoa for six years. Colonel Logan became Administrator of Samoa until 1919. In 1920, the League of Nations assigned Western Samoa as a protectorate of New Zealand. In 1919, Colonel Robert Tate took over from Logan as Governor of Samoa until 1923. From 1923 until 1928, General George Richardson was governor. Colonel Stephen Allen took over from Richardson in 1928 until 1931. New Zealand administered Western Samoa until 1962, when it became the first colonised Pacific Island state to become independent.

From 1962 until the present, Samoa has been a self-governing state. During this period Chinese Samoan entrepreneurialism has been consolidated. Chinese Samoans have become an integral part of Samoan culture, contributing to the Samoan economy, arts, culture and sporting achievements. More recently the independent Samoan government has leaned heavily on Chinese aid to develop infrastructure and educational facilities.

### *1.3 Statement of Significance.*

The growing influence of China in the Pacific is currently a topic of interest for many academics. One reason for this increase of interest is the aid donations from major Asian countries to Pacific nations. While there has been a lot written on the Chinese

involvement in the Pacific region, there is little material focussed specifically on Samoa.

While other scholars have looked at the historical aspect of the Chinese in Samoa, this study will examine the influence of the Chinese on the political history of Samoa, Samoan national identity and Samoan economy. It will also trace this influence through the last hundred years and make a connection between this history and the current influence of China in Samoa.

As there are many Samoans today with Chinese ancestry or connections, this research could be very valuable. Outside of academia, not a lot is known about the Chinese history and presence in Samoa. This thesis will endeavour to discuss the importance of this history. I am a New Zealand born Samoan with Chinese heritage on my mother's side of the family. Like many Chinese-Samoans of my generation, I have limited knowledge of this side of my culture and I am interested in the historical and political context that shaped and influenced my ancestors. I believe that this thesis will be a source of information for my relations in my generation, which will enrich our understanding of who we are and where we came from. It is hoped that this research will enhance a sense of identity for other people of Chinese-Samoan descent.

#### *1.4 Research Method.*

This study was based on archival and literature research only. The process of data analysis and textual content analysis has been used throughout this research.

After discussions with the Head of Department and senior supervisor, this method was chosen as the most appropriate method. One advantage of the adopted research method is that it is not as costly as 'field research' which in this instance would include travel to Samoa. This thesis is quite broad and covers a range of topics, so the main disadvantage that this study could encounter is the lack of resources available on the different issues. This thesis is also disadvantaged as oral and written information from Samoa would have been beneficial; however, they are not easily accessed.

Primary and secondary resources were used to obtain information. Secondary resources included a wide range of books, journals, databases and items on the internet. There were not many books solely on the Chinese in Samoa. Nancy Tom's book called *The Chinese in Western Samoa 1875-1985: The Dragon came from Afar*<sup>3</sup> was one of a few. This book was very useful as the author had interviews with a few Chinese indentured labourers and their Samoan wives. Douglas Haynes' <sup>4</sup> master's thesis from 1965 was also very useful as it examined Chinese indentured labour in Samoa under the German Administration and the New Zealand Administration. Databases and the internet were other useful resources. Examples of relevant databases are 'JSTOR', 'Factiva' and 'Australia New Zealand reference centre'.

Primary resources used included official government documents, speeches, manuscripts, telegrams, letters and newspaper clippings. The primary resources were not as helpful as hoped: the information was already used in the secondary sources. A documentary television programme was also beneficial to this research. Tagata Pasifika featured a segment looking at the influence of China in the Pacific. This segment looked at the current influence China has in the Pacific region, and predictions of future Chinese influence in the Pacific. This was beneficial for the chapter on the 'new wave' of Chinese influence on Samoa, as it looks at China's growing influence on the Pacific. The 'China and the South Pacific' conference was on June 17th-18th 2008, at the University of Canterbury. Although this conference did not mention the Chinese in Samoa, it was beneficial for the chapter of this study on China and aid.

### 1.5 Conclusion.

By looking at the impact of China on Samoa from the first wave of immigration in the late nineteenth century, through the arrival of the thousands of Chinese indentured labourers, to the influx of aid in present day, this thesis will provide a rich picture of Chinese-Samoan relations. These relations have had a significant impact on the economy, Samoan national identity and politics of Samoa, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

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<sup>3</sup> N.Y.W. Tom, *The Chinese in Western Samoa 1875-1985: The Dragon came from afar* (1986: Apia).

<sup>4</sup> D.R. Haynes, 'Chinese Indentured Labour in Samoa, 1900-1950'. MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1965.

The thesis will provide a thorough analysis of the first wave of Chinese influence in Samoa. By then focusing on the second wave of influence, the thesis will identify similar processes at play in both waves of influence. As often stated, if we do not understand our history we are doomed to repeat it.

## 2 CHAPTER TWO: Political History of the Chinese in Samoa

The Chinese living in Samoa have played a role in effecting the law, whether it has been through negative or positive responses by the lawmakers to the influx of Chinese immigrants. This chapter will examine the policies and political history of the Chinese in Samoa, by looking at the initiative used to bring the Chinese to Samoa, and the subsequent initiatives to reduce their impact on the country. The political response by colonial authorities and Samoan views of the influx and effects of the Chinese in Samoa will also be examined. Finally, this chapter will compare and contrast the policies of the German and New Zealand Administrations.

### *2.1 Early Immigration.*

The first three Chinese known to reach Samoa arrived in the late nineteenth century working as crew members on vessels. Facing pressure from non-Chinese consuls in Samoa at the time Malietoa Laupepa, leader of the Samoan government, put in place a law in September 1880 prohibiting more Chinese from entering Samoa<sup>5</sup>. The Malietoa Laupepa Government perceived the Chinese as a threat to the economy and the implementation of this law was specifically aimed at prohibiting the possibility of new Chinese landing or residing in Samoa. Any breach of this law would result in a fine no more than 50 dollars, imprisonment for up to 60 days, and/or forcible deportation<sup>6</sup>. In spite of this law, by early 1903 there were a further nine Chinese men living in Samoa. Some of these Chinese men arrived as crewmen on vessels or as servants of government officials. Liua’ana (1997) states that these Chinese servants “stayed on under the German Administration, free to pursue lucrative businesses and with strong Samoan

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<sup>5</sup> M. Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa: Traditional Authority and colonial Administration in the Modern History of Western Samoa* (1987: Suva) p.168.

<sup>6</sup> Papers relating to Samoa: Laws of the Samoan Government, 1880, WPHC 1 W3800 28 1/II/18 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

family connections”<sup>7</sup>. The majority of these Chinese men set up their own businesses, which will be discussed further in a later chapter.

From 1900, under the German Administration in Samoa, there was a growing production of copra. G. E. L. Westbrook, a leading merchant in Samoa at the time, wrote: “The output of copra had nearly doubled itself from the time the Germans took over the control, and more cocoanuts were coming into bearing every day”<sup>8</sup>. This was a result of an ordinance in August 1900 which Solf broadcast directing every Samoan landowner (or matai) to plant fifty coconuts per year on any unused land to overcome the decline of production<sup>9</sup>. As the International Land Commission confirmed land to Europeans for plantations, there was a need to clear the land to make it more productive<sup>10</sup>. As the plantations grew so did the demand for labour.

It became evident that there was a need to employ labour to work on the plantations, and it was difficult for planters to find a reliable source of labour from the indigenous population. In Westbrook’s opinion, it became “necessary to import and employ labour, other than Samoans, who were too free and independent to work as contract labour for Europeans”<sup>11</sup>.

The indigenous population had no interest in working for the European plantation owners for two main reasons. (1) Samoans had their own land to tend to, and their own crops to grow. Westbrook wrote: “Each Samoan having his own land to cultivate, as they grow all their food stuffs, and have their copra making to attend to”<sup>12</sup>. This meant that Samoans would be cultivating someone else’s land, when they should be maintaining their own land and crops. Working on the plantations was not a necessity for Samoans to carry on living their lives. (2) Another factor contributing to the lack of Samoan interest was that Samoans did not need to work to survive. Samoans were

<sup>7</sup> Liua’ana, pp.29-30.

<sup>8</sup> G.E.L Westbrook, “Pros and Cons regarding the Chinese Labour Question in Samoa”, p.1 (MS-Papers-5498-2, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington).

<sup>9</sup> P. Hempenstall, ‘Indigenous Resistance to German Rule in the Pacific Colonies of Samoa, Ponape and New Guinea, 1884-1914’. PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1973, p.43.

<sup>10</sup> Westbrook, p.1.

<sup>11</sup> Westbrook, p.1.

<sup>12</sup> Westbrook, p.1.

"accustomed to an easy-going life, producing sufficient food for subsistence without great effort from land and sea"<sup>13</sup>. This showed that Samoans were happy with their own way of life. Working for the plantations would have proven unnecessary for their traditional way of life.

Communal living has since time immemorial been a part of Samoan culture, tradition and lifestyle. This meant that working for the European plantations would have benefited only the worker and not the community. Haynes (1965) has recorded a Samoan testimony stating that "If then he works for the white man, his labour is a loss to the community"<sup>14</sup>. Europeans in Samoa viewed the plantations as a profitable commodity for themselves. However, the Samoans viewed work as a benefit for the wellbeing of the community. Working for the plantations could have been detrimental to the Samoan way of living as they would be working to benefit themselves rather than working to benefit the community. As the notion of Samoan labour fell through for the German plantations, there was a desire to obtain outside sources of labour.

Long before this, a German plantation owner had experimented with non-Samoan workers from other parts of the Pacific. The first labourers imported to Samoa were from Niue, Rarotonga and Micronesia<sup>15</sup>. The firm of Godeffroy and Son introduced these labourers in the 1860s to work on land obtained from the indigenous population<sup>16</sup>. This labour was for a term of 3-5 years. The importation of Micronesian workers was on the increase after 1867, but the supply dwindled in the late 1870s with approximately 1,200 Micronesians working in Samoa<sup>17</sup>. Godeffroy and Son became the foundation for one of the most prominent German plantations in Samoa.

When the firm became bankrupt in December 1879, a new German company formed, Deutsche Handels & Plantagen-Gesellschaft (DHPG), taking over the assets of Godeffroy and Son, and became the most dominant enterprise in Samoa. After 1884, the DHPG was subsidised by the German Government. The DHPG was given exclusive

<sup>13</sup> Tom, p.1.

<sup>14</sup> Haynes, p.1.

<sup>15</sup> Haynes, p.1.

<sup>16</sup> Haynes, p.1.

<sup>17</sup> Haynes, p.2.

rights to import labour from the Solomon Islands, to help alleviate the labour shortage situation<sup>18</sup>. There were 800 Melanesians working on the plantations in Samoa by the mid 1880s<sup>19</sup>. During this period, Melanesian workers were not permitted to interrelate with Samoans. “The fact of their mixing with or having intercourse with, Samoan women, in those days, was quite out of the question”<sup>20</sup>. This showed that the workers had strict regulations, which they were to abide by. The importation of Melanesian workers helped alleviate the labour shortage; however smaller plantations were in far worse positions compared to the DHPG. Smaller plantations were struggling, as they could not employ the Melanesian workers that the DHPG did. In 1901, negotiations with the newly formed planters association began for additional workers on the smaller plantations<sup>21</sup>. The DHPG began to find that the employment of Melanesian workers was quickly becoming expensive and competition amongst recruiters was increasing, so the DHPG chose to support the smaller plantations<sup>22</sup>. With the DHPG supporting the smaller planters, it was clear there was a great need for a dependable labour source.

Claims of great cacao cultivation in Samoa enticed a large wave of European immigrants to Samoa, many of whom later became disillusioned and left. These immigrants came to help establish and develop the plantations for rubber, copra and cocoa cultivation and export<sup>23</sup>. Many of the European immigrants went to Samoa as plantation owners, managers, engineers and overseers, lawyers and businessmen<sup>24</sup>. These immigrants became disillusioned by their inexperience in tropical agriculture, land shortage, the drought of 1902 and the labour shortage<sup>25</sup>. After examining other labour prospects, the planters association and government concluded that Chinese indentured labour was most suitable for the plantations as it was the cheapest and most reliable source.

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<sup>18</sup> Tom, p.1.

<sup>19</sup> Haynes, p.3.

<sup>20</sup> Tom, p.3.

<sup>21</sup> Haynes, p.3.

<sup>22</sup> Haynes, p.3.

<sup>23</sup> Tom., p.1.

<sup>24</sup> Tom, p.1.

<sup>25</sup> Haynes, p.3.



Picture 1: Cacao tree. (Selma Scott).

Having decided upon the suitability of Chinese indentured labour, the German administration sought to begin the wave of immigration to Samoa. The impact was rapid: between 1903 and 1934 over 6,900 Chinese labourers were recruited to work in Samoa.<sup>26</sup> From the outset of recruitment “Chinese labourers, or coolies as others prefer to label them, became a valuable economic commodity”<sup>27</sup>.

## 2.2 *The German Administration.*

Germany annexed Samoa on 1 March 1900, with Wilhelm Solf becoming the first Governor. The Administration saw that plantation owners had a constant labour insufficiency as early as 1898. Richard Deeken’s private planters organisation, Deutsche Samoa Gesellschaft<sup>28</sup>, stated that assistance from the Administration was vital for the survival of the plantations. As the planters and Administration had their eye fixed on China as a suitable source of labourers, there was still one problem. Section seven of Malietoa Laupepa’s law in September 1880 stated that “No Chinaman shall land or reside in Samoa from and after the date of the publication hereof, except as herein after

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<sup>26</sup> Tom, p.71.

<sup>27</sup> Liua’ana, p.29.

<sup>28</sup> Tom, p.3.

provided”<sup>29</sup>. Governor Wilhelm Solf issued an Ordinance on March 1, 1903, with the approval of the Samoan Fono and Faipule, superseding Malietoa Laupepa’s immigration law of 1880<sup>30</sup>. This Ordinance paved the way for planters to recruit their Chinese labourers. The first shipload of 289 indentured labourers arrived in Apia on March 28, 1903 from Swatow, Fukien Province on the S.S. *Decima*<sup>31</sup>.

After the first arrival of indentured labourers, the German Administration dispatched a commissioner to China, Herr R. Fries who was a Swiss police officer, to attend to the recruitment of the second shipment of 528 workers in 1905 on the S.S. *Progress*<sup>32</sup>. The 1905 shipment was followed by five more shipments before the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Approximately 3,868 Chinese arrived under the German Administration between 1903 and 1913, with 1,039 Chinese labourers on the biggest shipment in 1913<sup>33</sup>. The Chinese imported to work on Samoan plantations were from southern provinces in China, such as Fukien (Fujian) and Kwangtung (Guangdong)<sup>34</sup>. Ships left for Samoa from the ports of Swatow and Hong Kong.

Many Chinese immigrated to Samoa to flee the harsh conditions they faced in China. They were “eager to escape population pressure, war, unemployment, famine and other catastrophes”<sup>35</sup>. Recruiters aimed at making Samoa appear as attractive as possible as Samoa was an unknown destination. In Hong Kong and South China, Fries “displayed posters of a Samoan drawing a rickshaw in which sat a Chinese coolie fanned by Samoan women. On other posters, Fries utilised images which were much more attuned to Chinese expectations, such as scenes of cheering receptions accorded to Chinese labourers landing in Samoa by Chinese women”<sup>36</sup>. When the new arrivals reached Samoa they found that the images portrayed on the posters did not match the reality of working as an indentured labourer.

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<sup>29</sup> Papers relating to Samoa: Laws of the Samoan Government, 1880, WPHC 1 W3800 28 1/II/18 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>30</sup> Tom, p.3.

<sup>31</sup> Tom, p.3.

<sup>32</sup> Tom, p.vii.

<sup>33</sup> Liua’ana, p.31.

<sup>34</sup> Liua’ana, p.31.

<sup>35</sup> Liua’ana, p.29.

<sup>36</sup> Liua’ana, p.31.

Chinese labourers faced cruel and harsh work conditions in Samoa. They had low wages, were deprived of their Chinese holidays, were forced to work up to 11 ½ hours a day, some planters often only permitted 2 Sundays off a month, no pay was earned when sick due to working in a severe environment, Chinese labourers were not allowed to leave the plantation without permission of their employer, and flogging was permitted. Flogging was authorized once a week and was not to exceed 20 lashes per person, and was to take place in the presence of a government official. Flogging was permitted if workers were found guilty of hiding, laziness, running away, disobedience, insulting behaviour, breaking the curfew, and for not bowing “low enough in respect for their masters”<sup>37</sup>.

As word of the harsh conditions got back to China, Chinese officials Lin Jun Chao and Lin Shu Fen were sent to Samoa in 1908 to assess the situation. They found wages had been cut, contracts had been breached, and flogging was excessive<sup>38</sup>. As a result, a Chinese consulate was opened in Samoa at the end of 1909. Lin Jun Chao became the first Chinese consul. It is said that “He lifted up the position of the indentured labourers in an all around improvement”<sup>39</sup>.

In August 1909, planters employing Chinese labourers formed a Hospital Association (Krankenkasse fuer Chinesisch Contractarbeiter). Membership of this association was compulsory for employers who had no doctor for attendance on their indentured labourers. Each member was to pay five marks every six months for each labourer he employed<sup>40</sup>. In December 1909, the Chinese ward at Apia hospital was opened<sup>41</sup>. The government funded this ward to “provide medical treatment for the Chinese”<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Tom, pp.4-5.

<sup>38</sup> M. Field, *Black Saturday: New Zealand's Tragic Blunders in Samoa* (2006: Auckland) p.26.

<sup>39</sup> Tom, p.82.

<sup>40</sup> Haynes, p.10.

<sup>41</sup> Haynes, p.9.

<sup>42</sup> Haynes, p.9.

### 2.3 The New Zealand Administration.

In August 1914, after the Germans surrendered to the New Zealand military Administration, Colonel Logan became Administrator of Samoa until 1919, when he was succeeded by Colonel Tate. The League of Nations made Samoa a protectorate of New Zealand in 1920. This period saw an increase in policies regarding Chinese labourers in Samoa.

One such policy was the Chinese Free Labour Ordinance 1920. The Free Labour system ran between 1920 and 1936<sup>43</sup>. The heart of this new system was stated in Section 2 of this Ordinance stating that “No labourer...shall hereafter be under circumstances criminally punishable by fine, imprisonment or otherwise for any breach of contract or indenture service”<sup>44</sup>. This system also gave labourers the right “to change jobs, if they had the approval of the Consul”<sup>45</sup>. The 1923 amendment of this Ordinance gave the labourer responsibility to purchase his own food: the employer was to ensure food prices were reasonable and to provide first aid facilities on his plantation<sup>46</sup>. In 1933, the Labour Contract was drawn up in consultation with the Planters’ Association, as a result of a decision to reduce wages<sup>47</sup>. This contract was similar to the Ordinance, but in the 1933 contract there “was a clause which forbade a labourer to engage in trade or be used by his employer for such work”<sup>48</sup>. This system saw many Chinese labourers leaving the plantations for urban work and business. One example of this was Leung Wai Avai, who had been working in Samoa since 1910; he was an “energetic entrepreneur”, who set up a farm, laundry, butchery and restaurant<sup>49</sup>.

Marriage between Samoan women and Chinese labourers was not permitted by the New Zealand Administration as it was seen by Europeans and some Samoan people as ‘polluting’ the Samoan race. Both the Samoa Act 1921 and Samoan Marriages

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<sup>43</sup> S.J. Yee, *The Chinese in the Pacific* (1974: Suva) p.21.

<sup>44</sup> Haynes, p.33.

<sup>45</sup> Yee, p.21.

<sup>46</sup> Haynes, p.33.

<sup>47</sup> Haynes, p.38.

<sup>48</sup> Haynes, p.38.

<sup>49</sup> R. Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (2007: Suva) p.32.

Ordinance 1921 stated this prohibition. This Ordinance forbade the marriage of Chinese indentured labourers with Samoan women. The New Zealand Parliament also passed the Samoa Act 1921, which was written by Sir Francis Bell of the New Zealand Legislative Council<sup>50</sup>. The Samoa Act 1921 replaced the ‘Constitution Order’, as it covered everything needed for a “state like Samoa”<sup>51</sup>. This Act further prohibited marriages between the Chinese indentured labourers with Samoan women. For example, section 300 of this Act prohibited marriage between Chinese men and Samoan women. Section 300 of this Act was similar to that of Section 300 of the Samoan Marriages Ordinance 1921. It stated that “no person who has arrived in Samoa...in pursuance of any contract scheme...shall marry a Samoan woman, or go through the ceremony of marriage with a Samoan woman”<sup>52</sup>. Breach of this section was punishable by £20 or six months imprisonment<sup>53</sup>. The only difference between these two laws is wording. The Samoa Act specified that “No Chinaman...in pursuance of any contract to perform manual or domestic service, shall marry a Samoan woman”<sup>54</sup>.

The Samoa Immigration Order 1930, under clause 17, required “the repatriation of labourers brought to Samoa under any scheme”<sup>55</sup>. Clause 27 of this Order stated that the High Commissioner of Western Samoa has the power of “exempting from the requirements and obligations of the Order”<sup>56</sup>. As the 1934 shipment of Chinese labourers was the last, it was assured that there would be no further influx of indentured labourers in Samoa<sup>57</sup>. There was no more sense of urgency or necessity to return the remaining Chinese, as they were fewer in number and had assimilated well into the Samoan community<sup>58</sup>. Under the Samoa Immigration Amendment Order 1947, the Chinese elderly who numbered around 100, who had lived in Samoa for many years and now were labelled as free settlers, were exempted from repatriation, as well as

<sup>50</sup>M. Field, *Mau: Samoa's struggle against New Zealand oppression* (1984: Wellington) p.57.

<sup>51</sup>Field, *Mau: Samoa's struggle*, p.57.

<sup>52</sup>Tom, p.97

<sup>53</sup>Tom, p.97

<sup>54</sup>Field, *Mau: Samoa's struggle*, p.57.

<sup>55</sup>R.T.G. Patrick, Memorandum for the High Commissioner of Western Samoa, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1949, AAEG 950 619B 311/6/8 1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>56</sup>R.T.G. Patrick, Memorandum for the High Commissioner of Western Samoa, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1949, AAEG 950 619B 311/6/8 1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>57</sup>Tom, p.84.

<sup>58</sup>Tom, p.85.

pensioners who were too old and sick to work<sup>59</sup>. These Chinese men had been away from China for so long that forcing them to return would be an ‘act of cruelty’. Of the 293 Chinese labourers who remained, it was reported by the Chinese Consul that 125 wanted repatriation<sup>60</sup>. From 1914 until 1949, the New Zealand Administration reduced the numbers of Chinese labourers from 2100 to 174 by repatriation<sup>61</sup>. On 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 1948, 104 Chinese boarded the S.S. *Yunnan* back to their homeland<sup>62</sup>. However, although there is no written evidence of this, it is interesting to note that some oral traditions of Chinese-Samoan families believe that some of these shipments of Chinese indentured labourers did not reach China. Some believe that something happened at sea as some family members are unaccounted for back home in China and in Samoa.

The Administration passed the Marriage Ordinance 1961 on September 28, which amended all prior laws on the subject stating that “All marriages solemnized...shall be deemed to have been and to be lawful, and the issue born of any such marriage...shall be deemed to have been born in lawful wedlock”<sup>63</sup>. This was of great significance to those Chinese men and Samoan women who had lived together and had families without consent of the Law or Church<sup>64</sup>.

#### *2.4 Comparison of the Administrations.*

In comparing the policies and actions of the German and New Zealand Administrations, it is evident that the Chinese indentured labourers had worse working conditions under the German Administration. As previously mentioned in the chapter, the labourers were subjected to long work days, six days a week, no Chinese holidays, little pay with flogging ‘for misdemeanours’ and corporal punishment for ‘lack of respect’. Working conditions improved under the New Zealand Administration with the new Free Labour

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<sup>59</sup> Tom, p.85.

<sup>60</sup> Tom, p.85.

<sup>61</sup> R.T.G. Patrick, Memorandum for the High Commissioner of Western Samoa, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1949, AAEG 950 619B 311/6/8 1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>62</sup> Tom., p.86.

<sup>63</sup> Tom, p.97

<sup>64</sup> Tom, p.84.

System between 1920 and 1936, which abolished corporal punishment and flogging in labour contracts, and enabled the Chinese to change jobs with the approval of the Consul. Liua'ana (1997) states that “It was a period in which the Germans saw the Chinese as ‘paid slaves’, while New Zealand treated them as ‘third class citizens, at best, just behind the Samoans”<sup>65</sup>.

The German Administration was more relaxed about the repatriation of the Chinese indentured labourers than the New Zealand Administration. Up until 1914, when the military Administration took over from the Germans, there were 2,184 Chinese working as indentured labourers in Samoa. The German Administration repatriated only approximately 600 labourers between 1906 and 1908<sup>66</sup>. While this Administration saw the need for Chinese labourers, the New Zealand Administration did not. From 1914 with 2184 Chinese plantations workers, Logan wanted this number significantly reduced, and by 1919, he had managed to cut the number down to 832<sup>67</sup>. Logan’s harsh stance towards the Chinese was evident as “his first measure was an ordinance defining the offence of ‘loafing’, which only Chinese could commit. Logan instructed Samoan police to prevent Chinese men from entering Samoan homes”<sup>68</sup>. He then issued a proclamation prohibiting Chinese to enter a Samoa house, which was punishable by six weeks imprisonment<sup>69</sup>. Logan enforced repatriation, on the assumption that Samoans could fill the gap of the Chinese labourers<sup>70</sup>. Tate, however, believed Logan strained Chinese relations, and had no objection to Chinese labour so long as they were repatriated at the end of their terms<sup>71</sup>.

After the war in 1918 and when Samoa was placed under New Zealand mandate in 1920, “New Zealand policy regarding Chinese took on a mood of condemnation”<sup>72</sup>. Section 300 of the Samoa Act 1921 is an example of this. This Act forbade the marriage of Chinese labourers and Samoan women, declaring “any such marriage or ceremony of

<sup>65</sup> Liua'ana, p.47.

<sup>66</sup> Tom, p.67.

<sup>67</sup> Field, *Black Saturday*, p.58.

<sup>68</sup> Field, *Black Saturday*, pp.59-60.

<sup>69</sup> Field, *Black Saturday*, pp.59-60.

<sup>70</sup> Field, *Black Saturday*, p.58.

<sup>71</sup> Liua'ana, p.35.

<sup>72</sup> Liua'ana, p.35.

marriage shall for all purposes be null and void”<sup>73</sup>. Some writers see this Act as embarrassing for New Zealand. For example, Field (1984) states “Clause 300 must be regarded as one of the most shameful pieces of legislation ever to be passed into New Zealand law”<sup>74</sup>.

### *2.5 Samoan Responses to Chinese Immigration.*

Over the years, Samoans have had mixed attitudes to the influx of Chinese indentured labourers under the German and New Zealand Administrations. Despite the 1880 Malietoa Laupepa law, those Chinese free settlers who resided in Samoa assimilated well into Samoan culture, taking Samoan wives, and living in Samoan villages. Field (1984) believes that Samoans thought that the Chinese “fit far more readily into Samoan social life than did whites”<sup>75</sup>. One reason for this is that there are similarities between the Samoan and Chinese cultures, such as the importance of showing respect for elders, courtesy shown to others and the love of children. Many Samoans approved of Chinese Samoan marriages as Chinese men made good husbands compared to some Samoan men<sup>76</sup>.

This positive view was, however, not universal. After the military occupation in 1914, Samoan chiefs stressed to Colonel Logan their desire for the Chinese to be repatriated as soon as possible as they were brought to Samoa without their consent and were viewed as corrupting Samoan women<sup>77</sup>. In 1947, the Samoan Assembly stated that they wanted all Chinese-Samoan children to have Samoan status, if the Chinese agreed to this; they could stay in Samoa to marry a Samoan woman<sup>78</sup>. Chinese-Samoan children had already been assimilated into Samoan culture in practice so they only needed legislative permission. Also, Samoans were acknowledging their own children as being Samoan regardless of their mixed blood heritage. The Samoan Assembly would not

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<sup>73</sup> Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle*, p.57.

<sup>74</sup> Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle*, p.57.

<sup>75</sup> Field, *Mau: Samoa's Struggle*, p.217.

<sup>76</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.32.

<sup>77</sup> Haynes, p.15.

<sup>78</sup> Report on the Situation of the Chinese Population in Western Samoa, pp.2-3, AAEG 950 619B 311/6/8 1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

oppose Chinese remaining in Samoa if they accepted their conditions. They strongly hoped that Chinese would be assimilated into the Samoan population thus avoiding them ‘dominating the country’ in the future<sup>79</sup>.

The issue of the Chinese became less of a problem to Samoans as time went on. Field’s (1984) opinion is that “The reality had been that Samoan public opinion on the question was illformed at best, and non-existent. Samoans were likely to make broad comments about Chinese, but were inclined to judge individuals on their merits”<sup>80</sup>.

Today, part-Chinese Samoans are regarded as Samoans. The full blooded Chinese in Samoa today are new arrivals starting businesses<sup>81</sup>. These Chinese numbered around 80 in 2003<sup>82</sup>. Crocombe (2007) considers that compared to other Pacific nations, Samoa’s relations with Chinese are better because many Samoans are part-Chinese and full Chinese are few in number<sup>83</sup>. However, in January 2005, a bitter debate took place in parliament over the number of new Chinese being allowed to enter the country and buy land and businesses that ‘should remain with local people’<sup>84</sup>. There appears to be growing concern that more relaxed immigration policies allowing the increase of new Chinese into the country may create future divisions over the limited resources in Samoa. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

## 2.6 Conclusion.

From 1880, the Chinese had a great impact on the laws of Samoa. The importation of indentured labourers to Samoa was initiated by an economic driver. This driver was the Planters Association in Samoa, as they were in need of a reliable source of labour. Samoans were not interested in working the plantations because it was not part of their culture or in their interests to do so. Labour from other countries such as Melanesia and

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<sup>79</sup> Report on the Situation of the Chinese Population in Western Samoa, pp.2-3, AAEG 950 619B 311/6/8 1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>80</sup> Field. *Mau: Samoa's Struggle*, p.217.

<sup>81</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.33.

<sup>82</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.33.

<sup>83</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.87.

<sup>84</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.87.

the Cook Islands was insufficient. Finding a reliable labour source for the plantations would help boost the Samoan economy, so the planters looked to the Government for assistance. Chinese labourers were regarded as cheap, reliable and hard working; however, Malietoa Laupepa's law of 1880 had forbidden the Chinese entry into Samoa. Thus "the labour shortage provoked strong demands for government assistance"<sup>85</sup>. In 1903, Governor Solf amended the 1880 law, enabling the Chinese to work in Samoa on condition that they were to return to China at the end of their contract. The demand for labourers increased and so too did the shipment of Chinese into the country.

Complaints of Europeans and Samoans led to more policy making under the New Zealand Administration from 1920 when Samoa became a protectorate of New Zealand. To Samoans, the issue of Chinese labourers dissolved as time went on, as Chinese intermarried and assimilated into the Samoan way of life. However, the Samoa Act 1921 and section 300 of the Marriages Ordinance 1921 both prohibited intermarriage between Chinese indentured labourers and Samoan women.

In comparing the German Administration and New Zealand Administration in Samoa, it is evident that there are a few differences and similarities. The German Administration tended to have a harsher stance when it came to working conditions, as conditions improved under the New Zealand Administration, although this was heavily influenced by the Chinese consul and the way the scheme was perceived by China. For example, the Free Labour Ordinance 1920 and the amendment in 1933 relaxed the working conditions of the indentured labourers and also gave them the right to change jobs if they wished. The German Administration tended to be more relaxed when it came to repatriation of the indentured labourers, whereas the New Zealand Administration enforced this.

This difference appears to stem from the German view that the Chinese were an economic commodity. Therefore they could be treated harshly to fully exploit their labour. Being less focussed on repatriation meant that they were able to keep this commodity within Samoa. New Zealand appeared to view the Chinese as a necessary

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<sup>85</sup> Liua'ana, p.30.

evil. As such they were more concerned with using their labour but limiting the damage the Chinese could do on the Samoan population. Hence they passed legislation to prevent intermarriage and work to remove the Chinese from the country as soon as they could.

### 3 CHAPTER THREE: Chinese Impact on the Samoan Economy

There are always close connections between economic and political issues in any country. The last chapter covered the responses of policy makers over the last hundred years to the Chinese in Samoa. While early policy was designed to bring the Chinese to Samoa and treat them like an economic commodity, later policy was designed to reduce their social impact on the country. This chapter will focus on the changing nature of the Chinese impact on the Samoan economy. It will trace the progression of the Chinese from early settlers to exploited labourers, through fledging trades, to major entrepreneurs and business owners.

To understand the role of the Chinese in the Samoan economy, this chapter will examine the role of the Chinese in the Samoan economy from their arrival prior to 1880 until the present. Initially the role of the Chinese was limited to the establishment of the free settlers setting up their own businesses and enterprises. Under the German Administration, the Chinese were brought to Samoa primarily as a source of indentured labour working on copra and rubber plantations. As a number of these indentured labourers began to settle in Samoa, they too established businesses further contributing to the Samoan national economy. The Chinese invested in the Samoan economy through a range of different stages. From free settlers and indentured labourers to businessmen, and women, the Chinese have progressed with the Samoan economy as well as helping to develop it.

#### *3.1 Early Chinese Settlers.*

In 1880, Malietoa Laupepa, the Samoan high chief, passed a law forbidding Chinese entry into Samoa. As previously mentioned, this law resulted from the pressure of non-Chinese consuls in Samoa, as they saw the few Chinese that resided in Samoa at the time as a threat<sup>86</sup>. The Chinese were perceived as a threat as they set up their own

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<sup>86</sup> Meleisea, p.168.

businesses in Samoa and married Samoan women; so, it was thought that the more Chinese that entered Samoa, the bigger the threat was to the Samoan economy and race. Before this law, only three Chinese men resided in Samoa, thus the law of 1880 can be viewed as an over-reaction. These men were Ah Sue, Ah Ching and Ah Mu. Hired to work as a cook on Captain “Bully” Hayes sailing vessel, Ah Sue and the Hayes crew members were based in Samoa for two years<sup>87</sup>. In 1876, he decided to return to Samoa to settle down<sup>88</sup>. By 1884, Ah Sue was forty years old and settled in Samoa as a cook and a box maker. He set up a restaurant in Samoa and later set up a two storied store, which evidently was burnt down twice, both times he rebuilt<sup>89</sup>. Ah Sue married a Samoan woman; and their Chinese-Samoan son, James Ah Sue, became the publisher and editor of the weekly bilingual German and English newspaper, the *Samoanische Zeitung* in 1914<sup>90</sup>.

Ah Ching was born in Foochow, Fukien Province of China on January 19<sup>th</sup> 1854. He became a crew member on a small trading ship sailing whilst in his teens. He decided to make Apia his home after spending 10 years at sea, later marrying Faatupu Leota, a chieftain’s daughter<sup>91</sup>. Ah Ching started a small business in Apia by selling tins of salmon, sugar, matches, tobacco, Samoan kava and flour, later expanding his business by buying larger quantities and a wide variety of goods. His business developed into a great success after years of trial and error, as he became the owner of three separate stores and a bakery<sup>92</sup>. Ah Ching was considered one of the leading merchants of his days, along with other settlers such as S.H. Meredith, H.J. Moors, P.L Hoeflich, G.E.L Westbrook and J. Meredith<sup>93</sup>. Ah Ching married a Samoan woman and had a family of ten. Through his business he was able to provide four of his children with the opportunity to study in China<sup>94</sup>.

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<sup>87</sup> S. Smith, *The Samoa (N.Z.) Expeditionary Force 1914-1915: An account based on official records of the Seizure and Occupation by New Zealand of the German Islands of Western Samoa.* (1924: Wellington) p.107.

<sup>88</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.32.

<sup>89</sup> Tom, p.38.

<sup>90</sup> Smith, p.107.

<sup>91</sup> Tom, p.40.

<sup>92</sup> Tom, p.40.

<sup>93</sup> Tom, p.40.

<sup>94</sup> Tom, p.40.

Ah Mu, a Chinese man with British citizenship, was believed to have been taken in by a group of British sailors whilst at a Chinese port when he was young. He spent many years sailing the ocean with these sailors, later settling in Samoa around 1875. Ah Mu started a successful carting and transporting business. Additionally, Ah Mu sold milk as his cows produced enough for sale<sup>95</sup>. Although the Chinese in Samoa were few in number; their success was so significant that it had prompted the Malietoa Laupepa law. This law was seen as a way to prevent future Chinese businesses successes in Samoa as all three Chinese men at the time had successful businesses.

Before the first shipment of Chinese indentured labourers in 1903, records showed that there were twelve Chinese men in Samoa at that time<sup>96</sup>. The three Chinese settlers, who resided in Samoa prior to the 1880 Malietoa Laupepa law, were granted free settler status; however, the rest who came after could not gain this status without special consideration by the Governor<sup>97</sup>. Tom (1986) states that one of these men arrived in Samoa in 1883, one in 1886, two in 1887, two in 1888, two in 1889 and one in 1899. These nine men were Ah Siu, Ah Fook, Ah Soon, Ah Kiau, Ah Yen, Ah You, Ah Chong, Ah Gee and Ah Man<sup>98</sup> and were thought to have come to Samoa as crew members on vessels or as servants of government officials, staying on under the German Administration free to pursue lucrative businesses<sup>99</sup>. In 1904, the nine Chinese men without free settler status requested that Governor Wilhelm Solf consider granting them freedom as Europeans, so they could continue business as storekeepers for their children<sup>100</sup>. Being granted ‘European’ status would also give these Chinese men legal and political status along with other non-Samoans residing in Samoa<sup>101</sup>. These Chinese men took on Samoan wives and were cooks, carpenters, boxmakers, bakers, storekeepers and one was a steward of the first U.S. Consul in Samoa. Governor Solf

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<sup>95</sup> Tom, p.42.

<sup>96</sup> Tom, p.38.

<sup>97</sup> Tom, p.43.

<sup>98</sup> Tom, p.43.

<sup>99</sup> Liua’ana, pp.29-30.

<sup>100</sup> Tom, p.43.

<sup>101</sup> F. Keesing, *Modern Samoa: its government and changing life* (1978: New York) p.37.

accepted the requests of these nine men. This allowed these men to set up or continue with their businesses, later handing them down to their children and grandchildren.



Picture 2: Ah Fook (Cheung Fook). (Selma Scott).

My great-grandfather, Ah Fook (Cheung Fook), was one of these nine Chinese men who were granted ‘European’ status in Samoa. Ah Fook set up three general stores, a café and was one of the first owners of racehorses in Samoa. Although his businesses were not carried down through the generations, he instilled the notion of entrepreneurship in his children which has been handed down through the generations. My grandfather set up a general store, a taxi service, the popular Sunset nightclub and a billiards room. My mother’s generation set up Tautua Money Transfer, commercial leasing, Palau Eggs, Maxkar selling stationery, office furniture and equipment and servicing office machinery, Maxsteel selling steel pipes, M & J Ah Fook beverage distributor, Dolly’s retail clothing, Beeper Electrical, rental accommodation, sports coaching/personal training, investment property, juice production, a café and retail clothing all in Samoa. Even in New Zealand a law practice, two privately owned preschools, container shipping services to Samoa, and rental accommodation were set up. Most of the third and fourth generation businesses are still operating to date. My generation or the great-grandchildren of Ah Fook have also set up businesses in Samoa and overseas. Such businesses in Samoa include Tida’s ice-cream shop and café, rental accommodation, commercial leasing, ground maintenance service, Evening Shades

nightclub, Paddles nightclub and Why Not nightclub, while businesses in New Zealand include a courier service, graphic art and design in the film industry, marquee hire, accounting, retail clothing and mechanical repairs. The range of businesses is a demonstration of the strong entrepreneurial values instilled in the many generations of Chinese-Samoan families.

Men such as Ah Fook and others during this particular era may not necessarily have the most significant impact on the Samoan economy, yet they still contributed in the way that these businesses founded the notion of, or paved the way for, Chinese entrepreneurship in Samoa. Chinese entrepreneurship developed despite the law imposed by Malietoa Laupepa in 1880. The nine Chinese men who had come into Samoa and established themselves in the Samoan economy were able to stay on as European settlers under the Solf administration, thus further influencing the Samoan economy through their presence.



Picture 3: M & J Ah Fook Ltd, (Selma Scott).



Picture 4: Maxkar building. (Nicky Pereira).

### *3.2 Growth of Plantations.*

During the period of colonisation in the late nineteenth century, Germany, Great Britain and the United States demonstrated a great interest in the Samoan Islands, mainly for agricultural purposes<sup>102</sup>. Many countries, companies and individuals wished to take advantage of Samoa's highly profitable potential. Many European plantation owners, engineers, businessmen and lawyers migrated to Samoa to assist with the development of plantations for the cultivation of copra, rubber and cocoa<sup>103</sup>. Copra, cocoa and rubber were used for making a wide variety of goods, and thus seen as valuable commodities. The value of such products drove Samoa's economy as the numbers of plantations increased to sustain the increased demand for the products. As the number of plantations increased, so did the drive for success and competition for the resources. In 1857, the German firm of Johann Cesar Godeffroy and Son made Apia their headquarters, organising a fleet of small vessels to collect coconut oil from surrounding

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<sup>102</sup> Westbrook, p.1.

<sup>103</sup> Tom, p.1.

Pacific Islands in Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia<sup>104</sup>. As early as 1869, the firm developed its copra and cotton plantations, influencing other migrant traders into its operation<sup>105</sup>. One such trader was Theodore Weber, who arrived in Samoa in 1861 vigorously expanding the plantation activities<sup>106</sup>. Weber took land and turned this land into commercial plantations<sup>107</sup>. In 1865, the Mulifanua plantation was set up, the Vailele and Vaitele plantations were laid out in 1867 to the east and west of Apia, and the Utumapu plantation was set up to produce coffee in 1882<sup>108</sup>. At this time, with the exception of one New Zealander, Germans were the only planters in Samoa, monopolising the trade in Upolu and Savaii<sup>109</sup>. In December 1879, the Godeffroy and Son firm became bankrupt and its assets were taken over by a new German company, the Deutsche Handels & Plantagen Gesellschaft (DHPG)<sup>110</sup>. The German Government subsidised this company after 1884<sup>111</sup>. The DHPG consolidated the operations of the Godeffroy and Son firm, and experimented with a variety of crops such as coffee, cacao, cinnamon, vanilla, bananas, pineapples, tropical tree fruits and rubber<sup>112</sup>. The DHPG became the ‘most powerful commercial enterprise’ in Samoa, owning four plantations on Western Samoa’s Upolu Island, and one on Savaii, with a total area of 4933 acres<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> W.E. Willmott, ‘Origins of the Chinese in the South Pacific islands’, in *Histories of the Chinese in Australasia and the South Pacific*, edited by Paul Macgregor. (1993: Melbourne) p.136.

<sup>105</sup> Willmott, p.136.

<sup>106</sup> J.W. Fox and K.B. Cumberland, *Western Samoa: Land, Life and Agriculture in Tropical Polynesia*. (1962: Christchurch) p.242.

<sup>107</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.242.

<sup>108</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.242.

<sup>109</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.242.

<sup>110</sup> D. Munro and S. Firth, ‘Samoa Plantations’, in *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, edited by Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro and Edward D. Beechert. (1993: Honolulu) p.113.

<sup>111</sup> Haynes, p.2.

<sup>112</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.242.

<sup>113</sup> Tom, p.1.



Picture 5: Coconut plantation. (Selma Scott).

After the annexation of Western Samoa by Germany on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1900, Governor Solf determined that his main objective was to make the country more productive by passing a law ensuring that a certain number of coconuts were to be planted each year<sup>114</sup>. When the planting of cocoa and rubber was well underway, new plantation companies formed to help develop these crops<sup>115</sup>. By this time, the plantation enterprise grew to 7773 acres, with approximately 350 European immigrants arriving in Samoa to seek great fortune<sup>116</sup>. Many of these immigrants became disillusioned and left Samoa due to their lack of experience in tropical agriculture<sup>117</sup> and perhaps not being used to doing hard labour in the tropical heat. Additionally, the immigrants faced problems with the shortage of freehold land, a drought in 1902 and a shortage of

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<sup>114</sup> Westbrook, p.1.

<sup>115</sup> J.W. Davidson, *Samoa Mo Samoa: The Emergence of the Independent State of Western Samoa*. (1967: Melbourne) p.77.

<sup>116</sup> Tom, p.1.

<sup>117</sup> Haynes, p.3.

labour<sup>118</sup>. Despite these issues, revenue from plantation cultivation developed exponentially and contributed significantly to Samoa's economy. This saw Samoa quickly turn into an export economy relying principally upon labour intensive agricultural enterprises<sup>119</sup>.

As the number of agricultural plantations continued to develop in the late nineteenth century, it became evident that there was a constant great need for increased labour. At the time, other European colonies in Africa, South East Asia and the Pacific, were also developing their resources and encountering a shortage of labour, hence the commencement of an international mobilization of labour<sup>120</sup>. All companies and small planters in Samoa suffered from the labour shortage; there was a constant need for cheap and reliable labour. The DHPG was the only company given the right to recruit external labour from Melanesia. However, the DHPG preferred to support the small planters in Samoa as Melanesian labour was not as effective as it was hoped and so there was increasing competition amongst recruiters<sup>121</sup>. The Melanesian labour imported to work on the plantations were too few in numbers for the amount of work that needed to be done on the plantations, so it became apparent that there was a need for a new source of labour<sup>122</sup>. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Samoans were not interested in working for the European plantations and were seen as too costly<sup>123</sup>. Haynes (1965) states that, "The Samoans' wants were few and could be obtained with relatively little effort from a bounteous natural environment". The planters were disappointed that their expectations of having Samoan labour had not come to fruition<sup>124</sup>.

Richard Deeken, a German settler, set up a private planters association called the Deutsche Samoa-Gesellschaft, to consult with the Government on a new source of

<sup>118</sup> Haynes, p.3.

<sup>119</sup> Tom, p.1.

<sup>120</sup> P. Richardson, 'The Recruiting Of Chinese Indentured Labour for the South African Gold-mines, 1903-1908', in *Journal of African History*, Vol.18, No.1 (1977), p. 85.

<sup>121</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.152.

<sup>122</sup> D. Munro and S. Firth, 'German labour policy in the Western Pacific: The view from Samoa', in *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol.25, No.1 (1990), p. 87.

<sup>123</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.152.

<sup>124</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.152.

labour<sup>125</sup>. With their experience of other colonies, the Germans saw the Chinese labourers as a promising option as they were hard-working, great in number (which the plantations needed to alleviate the labour shortage), and the cost to import this labour was less than for other labourers. From as early as June 1901, discussions were held between the planters and the Government with the Chinese being decided upon as the most reliable and the cheapest source of labour<sup>126</sup>. Negotiations commenced with the Hawaiian Chinese Association to recruit time expired Chinese labourers from Hawaii, but the negotiations fell through<sup>127</sup>. Eventually the German administration gave the Deutsche Samoa Gesellschaft the right to import Chinese labourers<sup>128</sup>. To assist in the recruitment of cheap Chinese labour, Governor Solf passed a law in 1903, repealing the law of Malietoa Laupepa in 1880, to allow the Chinese to enter Samoa as indentured labourers.

### *3.3 Importation of Chinese Labour.*

On 28 April 1903, the first shipload of 289 Chinese indentured labourers arrived in Apia on the *S.S. Decima* from Swatow, Fukien Province<sup>129</sup>. Planters had mixed reactions about the Chinese labourers. Deeken was quoted in the *Samoanische Zeitung* newspaper, “the Chinamen had met his expectations. More than half of the lot are capable of doing heavy work with axes, picks and shovels without unduly exerting themselves. They are steady in their work, and are admirably adapted for small plantation work”<sup>130</sup>. In contrast, Fox and Cumberland (1962) write that planters were unhappy and disappointed by the cost and quality of the Chinese labourers. They state that they were “the scum of Chinese society in the opinion of some-but, after a year or two of training, the coolies were pronounced the most reliable and trustworthy labour yet available”<sup>131</sup>. The next recruitment of Chinese indentured labourers was to be taken

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<sup>125</sup> Tom, p.3.

<sup>126</sup> Haynes, p.3.

<sup>127</sup> Haynes, p.3.

<sup>128</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.152.

<sup>129</sup> Tom, p.3.

<sup>130</sup> Tom, p.3.

<sup>131</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.152.

by 12<sup>th</sup> January 1904<sup>132</sup>. The price of a labourer was 350 Marks, and was to be paid in advance by the planters<sup>133</sup>. Contracts of labourers were for three years, after which the labourer was to be repatriated. Labourers were to be paid 10 Marks per month<sup>134</sup>. The second shipload arrived in Apia on the *S.S. Progress* on 30 May 1905, with 528 indentured labourers onboard<sup>135</sup>.

As is discussed in the previous chapter, Chinese labourers faced extremely harsh working conditions. For plantation owners to fully exploit this labour source, thereby maximising profit, they needed to ensure low wages and high productivity. The use of short contract periods enabled the plantation owners to drive Chinese labourers into the ground as they knew they could repatriate anyone who was no longer productive and replace them with a new worker. There was no long term investment in this workforce and it was seen as a disposable commodity.



Picture 6: Chinese indentured labourers cutting copra. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand).

<sup>132</sup> Tom, p.4.

<sup>133</sup> Tom, p.4.

<sup>134</sup> Tom, p.4.

<sup>135</sup> Liua'ana, p.31.

Word of the harsh conditions got back to China and damaged the ideal of recruitment to Samoa. In March 1908, the Chinese Government sent its first official to Samoa, Lin Shu Fen (or Thomas Ling) to examine the conditions of his people working on the plantations<sup>136</sup>. Lin Jun Chao followed in July, also reporting on the harsh conditions their people faced<sup>137</sup>. After the fifth transport of Chinese indentured labourers to Apia in 1909, Lin Jun Chao became the first Chinese consul of the Chinese consulate. His job was to look after the welfare of the increasing number of Chinese in Samoa<sup>138</sup>. This action saw the conditions of the Chinese indentured labourers begin to improve<sup>139</sup>. For example, a Samoan newspaper, the *Samoa Times*, stated that wages increased, European status was able to be given to some labourers, flogging was abolished and housing standards improved<sup>140</sup>. The improvement in the conditions of labour ensured that the Chinese would continue to sign up and go to Samoa. However, as the plantations were dependent on the exploitation of Chinese labour, the improvement of conditions in turn made it more costly for the planters to recruit Chinese labour. This was, however, preferable to this source of cheap labour drying up all together.

From 1903 until 1913, there were seven shipments of Chinese labourers. By 17 June 1913, approximately 3868 Chinese labourers had been shipped to Samoa. Of these 2278 had expired contracts and were eligible for repatriation<sup>141</sup>. Despite repatriation being a requirement after a labourer finished his three year term (unless they extended their contract), records show that there were 2184 Chinese working in Samoa in 1914<sup>142</sup>, which indicate that only approximately 1684 Chinese were repatriated under the German Administration<sup>143</sup>. Given the German approach to the Chinese, this suggests that there were some economic benefit to the plantation owners in maintaining labourers past the term of their contract.

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<sup>136</sup> Tom, p.82.

<sup>137</sup> Tom, p.82.

<sup>138</sup> Tom, p.82.

<sup>139</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.152.

<sup>140</sup> Tom, p.83.

<sup>141</sup> Tom, p.7.

<sup>142</sup> Tom, p.71.

<sup>143</sup> Tom, p.36.

At the outbreak of World War I in 1914, German rule in Samoa ended as the New Zealand Expeditionary Forces occupied Samoa in August 1914 on behalf of Great Britain. In 1920, New Zealand was authorised to govern Samoa under a League of Nations mandate. With the change in Administration there was a clear shift in policy direction with regard to the Chinese. Perhaps rooted in the New Zealand experience of Chinese immigration, there was a desire to reduce the social impact of the Chinese in Samoa. Colonel Robert Logan became the first Administrator of Samoa under the New Zealand Administration. In 1914, Colonel Logan believed that there was a surplus of Chinese labourers in Samoa<sup>144</sup>. As there was a severe drop in copra prices due to the war, as well as the high cost of shipping Chinese labourers, and the liquidation of German assets in 1916, it became evident there was a decline in plantation work<sup>145</sup>. Logan clearly saw this as an opportunity to reduce the number of Chinese in Samoa. He believed that Samoans could fill the gap in working on the plantations and as a result Chinese indentured labourers were unable to renew their contracts<sup>146</sup>. Three repatriation shipments reduced the number of Chinese labourers from 2,184 in 1914 to 838 in 1918<sup>147</sup>.

Logan appeared to underestimate the importance of the Chinese to the economy. The repatriation of the Chinese labourers negatively affected the economy in Samoa, as there was a great labour shortage that in turn resulted, in combination with other factors, in the ruin of the plantation industry. This was also a result of intense competition between planters for the limited decreasing labour, and as shipping multiplied repatriation costs<sup>148</sup>. In 1919 the *Samoa Times* printed an article by A.R. Cobcroft, a planter, stating that it was in Samoa's best interest to maintain a good supply of economic labour, and that the Chinese were the best class of labour<sup>149</sup>. Distressed by the consequences of their actions regarding the repatriation of Chinese labour, Logan and the New Zealand Government were forced to reverse earlier policy. In 1920, an urgent telegram was issued from the London Secretary of State requesting the immediate

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<sup>144</sup> Haynes, p.16.

<sup>145</sup> Haynes, p.16.

<sup>146</sup> Fox and Cumberland, p.161.

<sup>147</sup> Fox, p.161.

<sup>148</sup> Fox, p.162.

<sup>149</sup> Tom, p.7.

despatch of 500 labourers from Hong Kong<sup>150</sup>. This is evidence that over the period of 17 years since the first shipload in 1903, the Samoan economy had become dependent on Chinese labour.

After a seven-year break of shipments of Chinese labourers to Samoa, the eighth shipment of 502 labourers arrived in Apia on 9 August 1920 on the S.S. *Haldis*<sup>151</sup>. The last shipment of indentured labourers arrived in Apia on 27 July 1934 carrying 281 Chinese on the S.S. *Seistan*<sup>152</sup>. The strict repatriation policy enforced by the New Zealand Administration and the planters' difficulty in finding replacements for the Chinese labourers took its toll on the plantations. Furthermore, rhinoceros beetles, a pest to coconut trees around the South Pacific, also caused concern as it began to destroy plantation crops. The rhinoceros beetles were accidentally introduced to Samoa from Sri Lanka in 1909. Planters feared that these rhinoceros beetles would breed quickly, destroying their plantations<sup>153</sup>. These factors contributed to the deteriorating agricultural situation and were the cause of great concern to the European community, as it led to the bankruptcy of three large companies, with other plantations on the verge of it<sup>154</sup>. Plantation agriculture in Samoa was critically threatened. The S.S. *Yunnan* left Apia on 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1948, with 104 repatriates who wished to go back to their homeland<sup>155</sup>. This shipment was significant, as it marked the end of Chinese repatriation.

Approximately 100 elderly Chinese were exempted from repatriation as they had been working in Samoa for up to fifty years; pensioners who were sick and too old were exempted as they had been away from China for too long, Samoa had become their home<sup>156</sup>. In 1949, there were 175 ex-indentured Chinese living in Samoa. As the Chinese labourers grew older death and old age affected the number of available workers with the number of ex-indentured labourers dropping to 32 in 1985<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> Telegram from Secretary of State, London, to Governor, Hong Kong, 28<sup>th</sup> May 1920, T 1 204 23/67/25 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>151</sup> Tom, p.36.

<sup>152</sup> Tom, p.36.

<sup>153</sup> Tom, p.10.

<sup>154</sup> Haynes, p.27.

<sup>155</sup> Tom, p.86.

<sup>156</sup> Tom, p.85.

<sup>157</sup> Tom, p.71.

Plantation agriculture contributed significantly to the Samoan economy in the nineteenth century<sup>158</sup>. Fairbairn (1991) believes that export agriculture was the ‘backbone’ of the Samoan economy<sup>159</sup>. It is evident that the skills of the Chinese indentured labourers became a necessity for the growing European plantations, which in turn contributed towards the development of the country’s economy<sup>160</sup>. The Chinese were seen as the most reliable and cost-effective source of labour, and in fifteen transports nearly 7000 Chinese were brought over to work on the plantations<sup>161</sup>. These Chinese indentured labourers contributed significantly to the growth of the plantations and the Samoan economy. Tom (1986) states that without these indentured labourers, the key agricultural industries would have failed<sup>162</sup>. If it were not for the introduction of the Chinese labourers, the development of plantation agriculture in Samoa would not have occurred. The development of plantation agriculture saw Samoa enter the global market for the first time. It is fair to say then that the Chinese played a pivotal role in the development of a modern economy in Samoa.

### *3.4 The Transition Period*

As the indentured labour industry grew, a number of Chinese with the aid of particular law changes were able to try their hand in different fields of work. This subsequently led to the development of Chinese entrepreneurship. There was a period of transition where Chinese primary involvement in the economy moved from exploited indentured labour to independent business ownership. For the purposes of this chapter I have defined this period, as the ‘transition period’.

Before the arrival of the first shipload of Chinese indentured labourers into Samoa, the Europeans saw the Chinese as an economic threat to the community. H.J. Moors, a leading merchant in Samoa, wrote to Governor Solf, in 1903, stating that some of the Chinese who obtained licences and entered into trade, would start their own businesses

<sup>158</sup> Fox and Cumberland, pp.240-241.

<sup>159</sup> T.I. Fairbairn, *The Western Samoan Economy: Prospects for Recovery and Long-term Growth*. (1991, Canberra) p.15.

<sup>160</sup> Tom, p.11.

<sup>161</sup> Tom, p.106.

<sup>162</sup> Tom, p.107.

whilst others will let a newcomer start a business under his name<sup>163</sup>. Other traders complained that Chinese were allowed to compete with them in business, rather than working on the plantations as their contract to come to Samoa specified. Despite Solf's ordinance in 1903 prohibiting Chinese indentured labourers from having commercial influence, some Chinese labourers replaced more and more Samoans as artisans while some invested money in businesses of the Chinese with free settler status<sup>164</sup>. In 1921, an amendment of the 1920 Immigration Order allowed the importation of Chinese not only as agricultural labourers, but also as mechanics, artisans and as domestic servants<sup>165</sup>.

Working conditions faced by the Chinese labourers forced continual changes to the laws surrounding the treatment of Chinese labourers. As the Chinese became increasingly employed as mechanics and artisans, the 1923 Free Labour Ordinance further endorsed the immigration of Chinese workers<sup>166</sup>. As the labour shortage intensified, there was a growing discontentment amongst the Samoans and European settlers. In 1921, Mr A. Stowers, another leading merchant at the time, proposed that "all Chinese be repatriated, except agricultural and domestic workers"<sup>167</sup>. European and Samoan businesses felt threatened, as there was an increase in Chinese businesses in competition with their own businesses. The Chinese settlers who resided in Samoa as 'free settlers' were often seen as an elite group and some later employed Chinese labourers in their businesses<sup>168</sup>.

According to Haynes (1965), one registered European half-Chinese carpenter employed a few Chinese indentured labourers for construction of a church<sup>169</sup>. Situations like these further heightened European and Samoan fears of the Chinese "taking over". It is noted that today many Chinese-Samoan business owners employ a large number of full blooded Samoans. This represents a complete shift in the level of involvement that the Chinese have had in the countries economy.

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<sup>163</sup> Haynes, p.6.

<sup>164</sup> Haynes, p.8.

<sup>165</sup> Haynes, p.29.

<sup>166</sup> Haynes, p.39.

<sup>167</sup> Haynes, p.39.

<sup>168</sup> Liua'ana, p.30.

<sup>169</sup> Haynes, p.39.

### 3.5 Chinese Entrepreneurship.

The Chinese Free Labour system from 1920 to 1936 gave Chinese indentured labourers the right to change work if it was approved by the Chinese Consul<sup>170</sup>. This saw many Chinese indentured labourers leave plantation work. The Labour Ordinance in 1933, which was an amendment of the first Labour Ordinance in 1920, attempted to prohibit Chinese labourers from entering business<sup>171</sup>. However the free labour system, with the Chinese Consul approval, still enabled many Chinese labourers to leave the plantations for urban work and business work. Leung Wai (Avai) is one example. He worked as an indentured labourer from 1910 and later became an entrepreneur, setting up his own plantation, laundry, butchery and restaurant<sup>172</sup>.

In response to the petition from the Chinese Association requesting the right for Chinese to be able to open businesses, the New Zealand Administration stated that after 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1953 (when Chinese became permanent residents of Samoa), the Chinese were entitled to a trading licence to open a business; and that for any Chinese applying for a trading licence prior to this date, it would be at the discretion of the High Commissioner<sup>173</sup>. The Chinese labourers who had stayed on in Samoa after the final repatriation in 1948 were therefore legally no longer restricted to work in plantations. Although a number of Chinese continued to work in plantations, others decided to take up new occupations, some finding it easier than others. For example, Chun Yin Foon and Ah Gee opened a tailor shop; Ah Boon made jandals out of rubber tyres; Ah Kau worked as a repairman, repairing umbrellas, bicycles, and boots and so on; Ma Ching wove fish nets; Fon Yek and Wong Ki became clock repairmen; and Hoi and Ah Heni became planters after being able to lease land<sup>174</sup>.

Many of these Chinese businesses were later handed down in the family, to their children and grandchildren. Ho Yun's shop is one example of such a family business.

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<sup>170</sup> Yee, p.21.

<sup>171</sup> Haynes, p.38.

<sup>172</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.32.

<sup>173</sup> Observations of the Administering Authority on the Petition from the Chinese Association in Western Samoa (T/Pet/1/3), AAEG 950 619B 311/6/8 1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>174</sup> Tom, p.86.

After he worked in the plantations for ten years, he opened a shop in Falefa. He worked very hard and in three years, the shop expanded, with a wider range of goods to be sold, such as cosmetics, crockery, toys and hardware. His eight children helped out with the shop, the eldest majored in business and became manager of the shop, the second eldest handled the orders and accounting; one made deliveries whilst the others assisted by shelving, pricing and selling<sup>175</sup>. Samoans were becoming less threatened by these Chinese businesses because many Samoans were now part Chinese and benefited from jobs in their family businesses<sup>176</sup>.

For many of the Chinese, venturing into retail businesses was a very popular goal. Not every entrepreneur did well financially, or succeeded in their field. Descendants of the Chinese entrepreneurs are currently involved in the establishment and running of a number of prominent businesses. Families such as the previously mentioned Ah Fook family began with small stores and cafés. Over generations the family has ventured into different branches of business as a means of providing for the needs and desires of the different generations of family members, spanning the food and agricultural industry, entertainment industry, transport industry, retail, property, finance and investment, and professional services. So the early influence of the Chinese on the Samoan economy related to developing external economic relationships. The age of the Chinese entrepreneur saw the development of internal economic relationships. By developing sustainable business structures, the Chinese have helped to build a domestic economic system that keeps many Samoans employed.

Over recent years there has been a new influx of full blooded Chinese into Samoa. In 2003, it was estimated that there were approximately 80 Chinese immigrants in Samoa<sup>177</sup>. These full blooded Chinese have been setting up businesses, seeing the number of Chinese enterprises growing. One such new arrival, Frankie Cai, arrived in Samoa in 1990. He owns supermarkets, restaurants, retail outlets and other assets in Samoa<sup>178</sup>. There has been a recent growing resentment amongst Samoans to the number

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<sup>175</sup> Tom, p.88.

<sup>176</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.87.

<sup>177</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.33.

<sup>178</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.159.

of new Chinese in Samoa. In 2005, a debate took place in the Samoan parliament over the new influx of Chinese being able to set up businesses and buy land, which politicians believe should remain with the Samoan people<sup>179</sup>. MP Aeau Peniamina argued that he was not referring to the Chinese who married into Samoan families in the last century, as they were Samoans, but the new full-blooded Chinese who did not have ties to Samoa, singling out Frankie Cai<sup>180</sup>. Aeau Peniamina believes Samoa is too small for Chinese immigration and he is worried about the future of the country. Aeau Peniamina's outburst disappointed politicians in parliament. Prime Minister Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi thought Aeau Peniamina's remarks were inappropriate, racist and foolish as Frankie Cai had been a resident in Samoa for 15 years, a citizen for 10 years, and was married to a Samoan woman, so he is regarded as Samoan<sup>181</sup>. Two part-Chinese Government Ministers, Joe Keil and Tuioloma Pule Lameko, were also disappointed with Aeau Peniamina's remarks<sup>182</sup>, as they were concerned that his comments may be detrimental to the current Chinese-Samoan relations.

### *3.6 Conclusion.*

The first three Chinese free settlers became so successful in business that their perceived threat to other businessmen led to the law of 1880 forbidding Chinese entry into Samoa. By 1903, a further nine Chinese men settled in Samoa and were granted 'European' status by German Governor Solf allowing them to set up businesses amongst other privileges.

By the late nineteenth century, the development of plantation agricultural work started to increase. As Samoans were not considered suitable for plantation work, and Melanesian labour numbers were insufficient, the planters worked with the German Government on overcoming the labour shortage. Chinese indentured labourers were seen as a cost effective alternative and reliable source of labour. The German

<sup>179</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *Samoa PM accused of racism over anti-Chinese remark* (2005). At <http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=14388>, accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>180</sup> Sina News Website, *Samoan MP hits out at growing Chinese influence* (2005). At <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2005-01-21/12044905885s.shtml>, accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>181</sup> Sina News Website, *Samoan MP hits out at growing Chinese influence* (2005). At <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2005-01-21/12044905885s.shtml>, accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>182</sup> Sina News Website, *Samoan MP hits out at growing Chinese influence* (2005). At <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2005-01-21/12044905885s.shtml>, accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

Government saw Samoa as having great profitable potential in agricultural exports, and Governor Solf issued an ordinance superseding the Malietoa Laupepa 1880 law forbidding Chinese entry to Samoa. Between 1903 and 1934, fifteen shipments carried thousands of Chinese indentured labourers to Apia to work on copra, cocoa and rubber plantations. The Chinese labourers helped increase the country's export of its three main crops. With thousands of Chinese labourers working in Samoa, it is not surprising that they had a significant impact on not only the Samoan economy. Primarily Chinese indentured labour assisted in the development of a modern, globally focussed economy in Samoa.

The Chinese have also contributed to the Samoan economy through their commercial businesses. Chinese and Chinese-Samoan businesses have shown an ongoing contribution to the lives of the Samoan community and to the Samoan domestic economy. The majority of the first twelve Chinese settlers, who came to Samoa prior to the indentured labour system, set up their own businesses. Then as the laws relaxed with the Free Labour System from 1920-1936, there was an increase of indentured labourers switching from working in the plantations to being artisans and mechanics. After September 1953, when the Chinese who had arrived and still remained in Samoa as indentured labourers became permanent residents of Samoa, they were free to obtain licences to open their own businesses. Many of these businesses have developed intergenerationally, and expanded across multiple industries. The new Chinese businesses established by the recent influx of full-blooded Chinese have led to debates in the Samoan community and in Parliament. Some people believe that the ownership of Samoan land and businesses should remain with the Samoan people. This issue is complicated by intermarriages, the treatment and acceptance of the mixed or part-Chinese children as "Samoans" by full-blooded Samoans and in turn the general acceptance that these Chinese-Samoans are entitled to hold Samoan land and titles and commercial businesses. The debate continues to be a hot topic in Samoa at present. From indentured labourers to established business people, the Chinese in Samoa have had a marked influence in the development of the Samoan economy over the last hundred years, and it is apparent that they will continue to do so for many years to come.

#### 4 CHAPTER FOUR: Chinese Influence on Samoan National Identity

Having examined the Chinese impact on the political and economic landscape of Samoa, it is now time to consider whether the Chinese have had any impact on Samoan national identity. When looking at the growth in the country's economy and the passing of laws to regulate the influx of Chinese indentured labourers, it is apparent that the Chinese have made some impression on the Samoan way of life. This chapter will investigate the extent to which the Chinese have influenced Samoan national identity. To understand the impact the Chinese have had on the Samoan national identity, the chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section examines intermarriage and relations between Chinese men and Samoan women. The second section looks at the involvement of the Chinese in the family, church, language and food of Samoa, as these all play a significant role in making up national identity.

In order to gain a proper understanding of this topic, it is important to have a clear definition of 'national identity'. The Oxford Dictionary defines 'national identity' as "a sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by (the maintenance of) distinctive traditions, culture, linguistic or political features"<sup>183</sup>. Samoan national identity refers to Samoan traditions and culture. The Samoan people put a strong emphasis on family and tend to focus on the community rather than focussing on the individual.

Samoa has always had a strong sense of national identity, which was made stronger during times of colonialism. Macpherson (2008) explains that this is the result of the three colonial powers in Samoa at the time (Germany, Britain and United States) who divided Samoa amongst themselves, which gave Samoans the opportunity to make the most of the divisions<sup>184</sup>. It was not until 1900 when the German Administration began

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<sup>183</sup> Oxford English Dictionary Online. *Definition of 'national identity'*. At [http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00305579/00305579se16?single=1&query\\_type=word&queryword=national+identity&first=1&max\\_to\\_show=10&hilite=00305579se16](http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00305579/00305579se16?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=national+identity&first=1&max_to_show=10&hilite=00305579se16), accessed on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

<sup>184</sup> C. Macpherson, 'Transnationalism and Transformation in Samoan Society', in *The Chinese Diaspora in the Pacific*, edited by Anthony Reid (2008: Hampshire) p. 166.

in Western Samoa, that the Samoan people faced a united colonial power<sup>185</sup>. Samoa was able to retain a strong sense of national identity, despite attempts by colonial powers to transform their society. This is because the colonial powers, Germany, Britain and the United States, were divided amongst each other, so the Samoans were able to take advantage of the divisions to become the most dominant<sup>186</sup>. It is also important to note that indicators of national identity, such as culture and religion, are constantly evolving due to globalisation. Lockwood (2008) explores this idea in *The Chinese Diaspora in the Pacific*, and believes that many multiethnic and multicultural nations have to redefine their social identities as their communities are always changing<sup>187</sup>. Therefore, with the increase in Chinese influence in Samoa, the national identity of the Samoan people was destined to evolve.

#### *4.1 Intermarriage.*

Intermarriage between indigenous Samoans and people of other cultures was traditionally accepted and was part of Samoan culture. By tradition, only those of high rank were afforded the right to intermarry. Samoans of high rank often intermarried men or women in a similar position from Fiji, Tonga, Uvea or other nearby Pacific Islands. Meleisea (1987) believes that this is one reason why there are so many similarities between the origins of customs, titles, place names and creation stories<sup>188</sup>. The offspring of Samoan unions with Tongans or Fijians were very highly regarded due to their mixed heritage<sup>189</sup>. For some Samoans with titles, there may not be a person of similar or higher rank to marry in Samoa, so it was necessary to marry a person from outside Samoa<sup>190</sup>. So the notion of intermarriage in Samoa was not introduced when European settlers came to Samoa; it was always part of the Samoan culture.

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<sup>185</sup> Macpherson, p. 166.

<sup>186</sup> Macpherson, p. 166.

<sup>187</sup> V. Lockwood, 'The Global Imperative and Pacific Island Societies', in *The Chinese Diaspora in the Pacific*, edited by Anthony Reid (2008: Hampshire) p. 31.

<sup>188</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 157.

<sup>189</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 157.

<sup>190</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 157.

Intermarriage continued when the Europeans arrived in Samoa in the late eighteenth century as some highly ranked women looked to have matrimonial connections with European men. It was customary for women of high rank to welcome guests, some with expectations of marriage between the hosts and visitors<sup>191</sup>. Samoans may have sought links with Europeans, as their knowledge, and technological materials would have been useful to enhance their own culture<sup>192</sup>. It is believed that relations between Polynesia and the West originated in the eighteenth century, with contacts between island women and European men. The European men were usually beachcombers, castaways, plantation owners, whalers, traders, soldiers and colonial administrators. Their relations with the Samoan women were on different levels: social, political, sexual and romantic<sup>193</sup>. Shankman (2008) states, “After many months at sea, Polynesia must have seemed like paradise to these weary voyagers”<sup>194</sup>. A paradise so great that some voyagers chose to stay in Samoa with Samoan companionship.

As previously stated, the offspring of traditional Samoan intermarriages were regarded as high ranking and as being Samoan. However, this changed when the European settlers started to have influence in Samoa. The notion of being a ‘half-caste’ originated from the Europeans. The Oxford Dictionary defines ‘half-caste’ as “A mixed caste; a race sprung from the union of two castes or races”<sup>195</sup>. The word ‘half-caste’ was often used as a derogatory term by the Europeans. Samoans refer to half-castes as ‘afakasi’ or ‘totolua’, but both have a less racist connotation to Samoans. Meleisea (1987) believes that the ‘issue of the half-caste’ began “as the Europeans became more numerous and less dependent upon Samoan goodwill in their own community around Apia”<sup>196</sup>. The Europeans began to feel threatened by the growing number of half-caste offspring, as the half-castes had access to both the Samoan and European (white) worlds. For example, half-castes could work and interact with the Europeans, while still retaining respect amongst the Samoan community. It has been suggested that the so called ‘half-

<sup>191</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 157.

<sup>192</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 156.

<sup>193</sup> P. Shankman, ‘South Seas Confidential: The Politics of Interethnic Relationships in Colonial Samoa’, in *The Chinese Diaspora in the Pacific*, edited by Anthony Reid (2008: Hampshire) p. 378.

<sup>194</sup> Shankman, p. 377.

<sup>195</sup> Oxford English Dictionary Online. *Definition of ‘half-caste’*. At

[http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50101644?single=1&query\\_type=word&queryword=half-caste&first=1&max\\_to\\_show=10](http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50101644?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=half-caste&first=1&max_to_show=10), accessed February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2010.

<sup>196</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 158.

'caste problem' began in 1900, as a result of Governor Solf's model for economic policy<sup>197</sup>. In this economic model there was no place for the half-caste Samoans as they were neither Samoan nor European in his view. However the concepts of intermarriage and the half-caste offspring of two different cultures existed in Samoa long before the Europeans arrived in Samoa in the late eighteenth century. As European influence increased, the attitudes of the Samoans towards mixed relationships began to change. It is within this social context that intermarriage between Chinese and Samoans needs to be seen.

In the late nineteenth century and before the 1880 Malietoa Laupepa law, only three Chinese men arrived in Samoa, making it their new home. The European traders saw the Chinese as an economic threat as they set up business and married Samoan women. As a result of pressure from the European traders, in 1880, Malietoa Laupepa issued a law forbidding Chinese entry into Samoa. However, between 1880 and 1903, it is believed another nine Chinese men came to Samoa, some working as crew members on vessels or as servants for Government officials. These Chinese men also intermarried and integrated into Samoan families, producing (many) half-Samoan, half-Chinese children. Under the German Administration of 1900-1914, approximately 3,868 Chinese indentured labourers came to work on the plantations<sup>198</sup>. Under the New Zealand Administration from 1914 until Chinese recruitment stopped in 1934, a further 6984 Chinese came to Samoa<sup>199</sup>. With such a significant number of Chinese coming to Samoa, it was inevitable that there would be mixed relations with the Samoan population.

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<sup>197</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 155.

<sup>198</sup> Liua'ana, p.31.

<sup>199</sup> Tom, p.36.



Picture 7: Selma and James Cheung Fook (Ah Fook). (Selma Scott).

Samoan women were attracted to Chinese men, as they were seen as better partners than Samoan men. Chinese men tended to be more hard-working than Samoan men. They took care of housework and would support the women financially more than Samoan men, and it has been said around the world that “if a woman has once had a Chinaman she never wants anybody else”<sup>200</sup>. Newton Rowe (1930) states, “The main attraction apparently of living with the Chinese is that the coolies give the greater part of their money to the women, who are allowed to live in complete idleness”<sup>201</sup>. This is not to say that Samoan women are lazy and wanted to have a Chinese partner for an easy life. Many Chinese-Samoan couples had loving relationships and would be just as happy without money. Many Samoans approved of Samoan-Chinese marriages, as the Chinese were good husbands<sup>202</sup>. There were some Samoans who were concerned about

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<sup>200</sup> N. Rowe, *Samoa Under the Sailing of Gods* (1930: London) p. 271.

<sup>201</sup> Rowe, p. 271.

<sup>202</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.32.

intermarriage between Samoans and the Chinese, but they were rare, and were often thought of as having European inspiration<sup>203</sup>.

Although Governor Solf admired the Samoan people, he regarded them as being inferior to Europeans. He also did not think highly of the Europeans in Samoa as he believed they were people of low status in their own home countries, who wanted to exploit the Samoan people<sup>204</sup>. It is for this reason that Solf believed the half-caste offspring would be worse off than their parents<sup>205</sup>. Half-castes of European descent were seen as less problematic as they could be assimilated easily into the European community<sup>206</sup>. However, there could have been a difficulty if the Samoan mother wanted the child to grow up in her village. Samoan relations with Chinese or Melanesians, however, were seen as worse than relationships between Samoans and Europeans. Both the Chinese and Melanesians were regarded as the lowest of all ethnic groups in the country. Thus the Europeans saw the Melanesians and Chinese as polluting or contaminating Samoan blood. Some believed that the Samoans should demand the removal of the Chinese from their islands if they wanted to save themselves. Rowe (1930) alludes to the views of a number of Europeans when he reveals European sentiment surrounding the rhinoceros beetle epidemic. During this period an influx of the beetle was destroying large sections of coconut plantations. He states that many Europeans believed that “the wisest thing the Samoans could do would be to let the beetle increase and wipe out the greater part of all the coconut-plantations”<sup>207</sup>. With the result, there would be no further need for Chinese indentured labour, which to the European would be their salvation.

Although the German Administration had been concerned with interethnic unions, or as they put it ‘the pollution’ of the Samoan race, they were in a difficult position as their wealth depended on the cheap labour of the Chinese<sup>208</sup>. The German Administration, to help discourage Samoan Chinese relations, rejected applications for ‘free settler’ status

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<sup>203</sup> Liua’ana, pp.47-48.

<sup>204</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 162.

<sup>205</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 162.

<sup>206</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of Modern Samoa*, p. 162.

<sup>207</sup> Rowe, p. 283.

<sup>208</sup> Shankman, p. 383.

from Chinese who arrived after 1900<sup>209</sup>, the only exception being the twelve Chinese men who were granted this status as they had arrived prior to the indentured labourers. The Germans also passed laws against Chinese labourers being able to enter Samoan houses, and against Samoan women entering Chinese labourers' quarters.

It is understandable when looking at a controversial issue such as intermarriage, that people would want to find someone to blame for the intermarriages. Chinese men were not the only men having relations with Samoan women; there were also Melanesian indentured workers with Samoan partners, and European men with Samoan partners. Governor Tate, the Administrator of Samoa under the New Zealand Administration from 1919 until 1923, put the blame on the Samoan women because they would pursue Chinese men as they were seen as better husbands, and more of a gain for their family<sup>210</sup>. Some people tended to blame intermarriage on the parents of the women. Rowe (1930) states ‘For their attitude in the matter the parents of the girls are perhaps to be blamed’<sup>211</sup>. However, intermarriage has always been accepted in Samoan culture, so to blame the parents would be to place blame on Samoan tradition. It was often seen as beneficial for Samoan families to pursue alliances with foreigners<sup>212</sup>.

The main reason why Chinese men intermarried and did not have relations with Chinese women in Samoa was because Chinese women were very few in number. In 1903, Chinese indentured labourers were forbidden to bring their wives<sup>213</sup>. After 1918, due to an unprecedented increase in the number of illegitimate Chinese-Samoan children, the Administration reversed its stance and allowed Chinese men to bring their wives<sup>214</sup>. However, this did not relieve the situation. Governor Tate tended to import single Chinese men as it was cheaper and Chinese men could not afford the passages of their wives<sup>215</sup>. The Chinese women who went to Samoa usually went either as a family member of officials or as their servant. For example, Consul Ah Lo in 1920 was

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<sup>209</sup> Liua'ana, p.46.

<sup>210</sup> Liua'ana, p.45.

<sup>211</sup> Rowe, p. 271.

<sup>212</sup> Rowe, p. 271.

<sup>213</sup> Shankman, p. 383.

<sup>214</sup> Liua'ana. p.45.

<sup>215</sup> Liua'ana. p.45.

accompanied by his wife and daughter; and two maids, Mrs Li and Mrs Lo<sup>216</sup>. Tom (1986) notes that there were only four Chinese women who permanently resided in Samoa, Mrs Lo Wha Lam, Mrs Sui Ha Arp, Mrs Hung Leung Wai and Mrs Mary Myrtle Soon<sup>217</sup>. By 1948, there were only two full Chinese women in Samoa, and they were both married to half-caste Europeans<sup>218</sup>. Some oral traditions state that some of the Chinese indentured labourers who went to Samoa were women pretending to be men to escape troubles from their homeland. It is said that working the harsh conditions of plantation life would have been much easier than their life back in China, hence their new male identities. However no written evidence has been found to support this.

As the Chinese indentured workers numbers increased and began to outnumber Europeans and part-Europeans, the New Zealand Administration and other Europeans in Samoa increasingly felt inferior and threatened. The Administration began to put in place measures to help prohibit Chinese-Samoan relationships<sup>219</sup>. The New Zealand Administration adopted the German law against Chinese labourers entering Samoan houses and Samoan women entering Chinese labourers' residence, in 1917<sup>220</sup>. The New Zealand Administration was also very strict on repatriation of the Chinese labourers to help decrease the number of interethnic relationships. However, this became problematic, as there were some instances where some Chinese men who did not want to leave were repatriated to China but left behind large families in Samoa. Repatriation of the Chinese labourers also became a problem for plantation owners as it caused a major labour shortage in the plantations<sup>221</sup>. The New Zealand Administration introduced Section 300 of the Samoa Act 1921 making it unlawful for a Chinese indentured labourer to marry a Samoan woman. A breach of this law would result in a fine of £20 or six months imprisonment<sup>222</sup>. It was not until 28 September 1961 that the Marriage Ordinance of 1961 was passed. This law was very significant to those Chinese-Samoan

<sup>216</sup> Liua'ana. p.39.

<sup>217</sup> Tom, p.47

<sup>218</sup> Memorandum for the Secretary, Department of Island Territories, from High Commissioner, Administration of Western Samoa , 20<sup>th</sup> September 1948, IT 1 W2439 8 20/1/1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>219</sup> Shankman, p. 383.

<sup>220</sup> Shankman, p. 385.

<sup>221</sup> Shankman, p. 384.

<sup>222</sup> Tom, p.97

families who had been together for a long time, without being recognised or having western approval. This amendment of the provision in the Samoa Act was monumental as it allowed the children of Chinese men and Samoan women to become legitimate<sup>223</sup>. From this point on, Chinese-Samoan intermarriage was legally recognised and accepted.

#### *4.2 Social Structure.*

The intermarriage of Chinese men and Samoan women resulted in the Chinese assimilation into the Samoan way of life. Some assimilated better than others did. The Chinese families living in the town area tended to be more prominent and more noticeable as being Chinese. This is because the majority of those of Chinese descent lived in or close to town and they were also better educated than those Chinese living in the villages, as the quality of schooling in the town was higher. The Chinese living in the villages were completely absorbed into the Samoan way of life. They lived as Samoans, some without knowing their Chinese heritage, the only difference between them and full Samoans being their Chinese physical features. Crocombe (2007) believes that one third of Samoans are part Chinese, some would now even acknowledge it<sup>224</sup>. This section examines Chinese assimilation into the Samoan majority, through family titles, religion, language and food.

##### *4.2.1 Family Titles.*

According to Meleisea (1992), “The term matai comes from ‘mata i ai’ which has the connotation of ‘being set apart’ or ‘consecrated’”<sup>225</sup>. A matai (Samoan chief) is elected by the family to the head of the family<sup>226</sup>. A Samoan family consists of several sets of nuclear families. Sizes of families vary considerably. Samoan titles are bestowed by family consensus. To avoid disagreements between family members, a matai (head of the family) is elected, to represent the family on the village council and to look after its

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<sup>223</sup> Shankman, p. 386.

<sup>224</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.32.

<sup>225</sup> M. Meleisea, *Change and Adaptations in Western Samoa* (1992: Christchurch) p.15.

<sup>226</sup> Meleisea, *Change and Adaptations*, p.15.

family members, land and property. The matai system is a social, political, and economic system which is led by the elected chiefs on behalf of the family<sup>227</sup>. It is for this reason that the matai system is the foundation of the Samoan way of life.

With intermarriage between Chinese men and Samoan women, the Chinese became completely assimilated into the Samoan way of life and some Chinese men and half-caste Chinese have been selected as matai for their villages. Those of Chinese descent would have found it easier compared to those of European-Samoan descent in inheriting land<sup>228</sup>. This is because the Chinese generally assimilated into the Samoan way of life, raising their children as Samoans<sup>229</sup>. The Chinese were accepted by the Samoan people because they were content to live according to the Samoan lifestyle and traditions. They were regarded as Samoans. However, in contrast to the Chinese, Europeans who married Samoan women maintained a Eurocentric view of the world and a very western style of life. Unlike the Chinese, the Europeans did not view themselves as guests in a foreign country and with their thoughts of supremacy they were less inclined to integrate and assimilate with the Samoan community.

One can obtain a matai title in three different ways: (1) By being a true heir, or the title being passed down through ancestry<sup>230</sup>. A male with a direct link to prominent previous title holders is an advantage<sup>231</sup>. Chinese of the second and third generations were first eligible to obtain a title this way. (2) By providing great service to the family<sup>232</sup>. The family acknowledges the service by bestowal of a title, and it is not necessary in this case to be blood related. This method of obtaining a title is not usually passed on. The family decides whether it can be bestowed in future generations. (3) By marrying into the family<sup>233</sup>. The title is bestowed on the spouse or partner although he is not entitled to

<sup>227</sup> T. O'Meara, 'The Cult of Custom Meets the Search for Money in Western Samoa', in *Contemporary Pacific Societies: Studies in Development and Change*, edited by Victoria Lockwood, Thomas Harding and Ben Wallace (1993: New Jersey) p.137.

<sup>228</sup> Meleisea, *The Making of a Modern Samoa*, p. 161.

<sup>229</sup> Memorandum for the Secretary, Department of Island Territories, from High Commissioner, Administration of Western Samoa , 20<sup>th</sup> September 1948, IT 1 W2439 8 20/1/1 (Archives New Zealand, Wellington).

<sup>230</sup> O'Meara, p.138.

<sup>231</sup> O'Meara, p.138.

<sup>232</sup> O'Meara, p.138.

<sup>233</sup> O'Meara, p.138.

the title by blood. The children will then be blood related through the Samoan side of the family and thus become true heirs.

There are two types of matai titles, *ali'i* and *tulafale*. Stanner (1953) defines the difference of these two titles: “rank” came to lie mainly but not exclusively with the *ali'i* chiefs and “power” mainly but not exclusively with *tulafale* chiefs<sup>234</sup>. The *ali'i* titles are regarded highly, as they can be traced back to sacred origins and major aristocratic lineages<sup>235</sup>. Stanner (1953) also states that *ali'i* title holders “have the formal privilege of precedence in the kava ceremony, a more ornate gesture in the service of kava, and immense social respect including a special style of address in respectful euphemisms<sup>236</sup>. *Ali'i* are regarded as a titular chief, more for ceremonial purposes<sup>237</sup>. Those with *tulafale* titles provide more of a service with their role, and are orators on behalf of the *ali'i*<sup>238</sup>. *Tulafale* matai tend to have more power in dictating protocol and custom in the village than those with *ali'i* titles. Stanner (1953) states that “They [*tulafale*] have the right to address the fono, announce decisions, control distribution of food and to receive presents on stated occasions from the *ali'i* chiefs<sup>239</sup>. Matai with either *ali'i* or *tulafale* titles are eligible to sit in the village council<sup>240</sup>.

Chock Wai is one Chinese man who was bestowed a matai title by his Samoan partner’s family in Salelologa<sup>241</sup>. He came to Samoa as an indentured labourer and in time met his Samoan partner, Tiana. Due to the Samoan Marriages Ordinance of 1921, they could not marry, so like many other Chinese-Samoan couples they happily stayed together unlawfully<sup>242</sup>. Although their relationship was forbidden by the New Zealand Administration, Tiana’s family endorsed their relationship as they had always regarded Chock Wai as hardworking and productive<sup>243</sup>. Tiana’s family recognised his

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<sup>234</sup> W. Stanner, *The South Seas in Transition: A Study of Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Three British Pacific Dependencies* (1953: Sydney) p.267.

<sup>235</sup> Meleisea, *Change and Adaptations*, p.15.

<sup>236</sup> Stanner, p.267.

<sup>237</sup> Stanner, p.267.

<sup>238</sup> Meleisea, *Change and Adaptations*, p.15.

<sup>239</sup> Stanner, p.267.

<sup>240</sup> Stanner, p.267.

<sup>241</sup> Tom, p.63.

<sup>242</sup> Tom, p.61.

<sup>243</sup> Tom, p.61.

productiveness in the workforce and were happy to bestow Chock Wai with a matai title due to his providing great service to the family<sup>244</sup>. Chock Wai felt honoured to be bestowed a title, as it gave him a great position of leadership in the village<sup>245</sup>. A Chinese becoming a matai marked the beginning of acceptance of the Chinese in Samoan tradition and social structure. This is seen today within the Ah Fook family mentioned earlier. Just last year, three descendants of Ah Fook received matai titles from the village of Lepa. These descendants are pictured below with their full blooded relatives.



Picture 8: Saofa'i (title investiture) – Left to Right: Oloialii Ruby Ripley, \*Oloialii Gary Tuiletufuga, \*Poalaga Selma Scott, \*Poalaga George Ah Fook, Poalaga Aukusitino Ripley, Seumaaloalo Sonny Ginnen. \* indicates those of Chinese descent. (Selma Scott).

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<sup>244</sup> Tom, p.63.

<sup>245</sup> Tom, p.63.

#### 4.2.2 Religion.

Christianity was, and still is, the biggest impact that the Europeans have had on Samoa. Today the Samoan way of life is centred on the church. Samoa's motto is "Samoa is founded on God". Before World War I broke out in 1914, 60 percent of Samoans adhered to the London Missionary Society faith, the Methodists being the next biggest denomination, followed by the Roman Catholic Church, the Latter Day Saints (Mormons) and the Seventh Day Adventists<sup>246</sup>. It is evident that religion plays a major role in Samoan national identity, as every village has at least one church, with some villages having two or even three<sup>247</sup>. "To drive along the main roads fringing the islands is to see village after village dominated by massive churches and their associated buildings, often of several denominations, usually on rising ground and surrounded by lawns and flowering gardens. Some are of good architectural style, perhaps a little over-ornamented for the quality of the material, but solidly built, well furnished, and with a captivating atmosphere. The pastor's house is more often than not the best, certainly the most costly dwelling in the village"<sup>248</sup>.

Before the first shipload of Chinese indentured labourers arrived in Samoa in 1903, there were twelve Chinese men residing in Samoa. Four of these Chinese men adopted the Christian faith. Ah Sue and two others belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, and one was Protestant<sup>249</sup>. When the numbers of Chinese in Samoa drastically increased due to the indentured labour scheme, it was evident that the Chinese would soon attract interest from the missions. The churches became more interested in the Chinese from 1911, as their links with Samoan women were increasing rapidly and Chinese gambling was beginning to become of interest to Samoans<sup>250</sup>. On Sundays, some Chinese spent their days gambling at Chinese gambling houses, and many had serious opium

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<sup>246</sup> Stanner, p.290.

<sup>247</sup> W. Skinner, *Handbook of Western Samoa* (1925: Wellington) p.65.

<sup>248</sup> Stanner, p.290.

<sup>249</sup> A. Don, *Under Six Flags: Being Notes on Chinese in Samoa, Hawaii, United States, British Columbia, Japan and China*. (1898: Dunedin) p.11.

<sup>250</sup> Liua'ana, p.42.

addictions<sup>251</sup>. The Chinese would obtain opium from businessmen from New Zealand travelling to Asia, returning via Samoa with opium for distribution<sup>252</sup>. Liua'ana (1997) states that the Chinese “made more money selling drugs and spirits in one night than working on a plantation for a month”<sup>253</sup>. Opium was a major addiction to the Chinese and when supplies ran out, the Chinese made drugs by the distilling of proof spirits from cocoa juice<sup>254</sup>.



Picture 9: Catholic Church at Mulivai, Apia. (Selma Scott).

The London Missionary Society, noticing these wayward Chinese habits, introduced their beliefs to the Chinese, and the best way to do this was to find a Chinese pastor<sup>255</sup>. In May 1914, Governor Solf approved of a Chinese pastor, named Li-Shiu Kwai<sup>256</sup>. In 1916, 15 Chinese were baptised during the Samoan General Assembly, with another 17

<sup>251</sup> Liua'ana, p.41.

<sup>252</sup> Liua'ana, p.41.

<sup>253</sup> Liua'ana, p.41.

<sup>254</sup> Liua'ana, p.41.

<sup>255</sup> Liua'ana, p. 42.

<sup>256</sup> Liua'ana, p. 42.

baptised the following year<sup>257</sup>. Although the London Missionary Society was interested in the Chinese from 1911, other denominations such as the Latter Day Saints, Methodists and Roman Catholics at the time had little to do with the Chinese<sup>258</sup>. This changed, however, in the late 1950s as more Chinese became Roman Catholics<sup>259</sup>.



Picture 10: Congregational Christian Church of Samoa (formerly London Missionary Society) at Sapapalii, Savaii. (Where the missionaries first landed). (Selma Scott).

Many Chinese-Samoan families put their faith into Christianity and began to let go of some of their Chinese spiritual beliefs, and as the generations went by many Chinese rituals were lost. As there were no Chinese temples, as such, in Samoa, it was not possible for the Chinese to practise their faith the way they would back home in China. Thus, it became common for Chinese-Samoan families to attend the Samoan mother's church. Although some Chinese men assimilated and put their faith into Christianity in Samoa, the majority still maintained some of their own spiritual beliefs and culture from

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<sup>257</sup> Liua'ana, p. 42.

<sup>258</sup> Liua'ana, p.42.

<sup>259</sup> Liua'ana, p.42.

their homeland, handing down some of their rituals and culture to their children. Such rituals include honouring the dead and respecting their family, parents and elders<sup>260</sup>. Honouring the dead occurs annually and is known as Ching Ming (Memorial Day). In Samoa on this day, the Chinese pay respects to the dead at the Chinese cemetery at Talimatau<sup>261</sup>. The Chinese pay their respects by putting into the ground incense and lighting two red candles, lighting the way for the dead and lighting sheets of gold and silver marked tissue to represent money used in the afterlife<sup>262</sup>. A plate of roast pork is displayed in front of the burning tissue which is the offering of food for the departed ancestors. A prayer is then recited and one kowtows three times to the grave<sup>263</sup>. Once the money is burned to ashes, the food is removed to take home<sup>264</sup>. This ritual of Ching Ming is still practised from time to time, but it is most commonly practised by elderly Chinese. One Chinese custom which has been lost in Samoa due to effects of living in a new country and the passage of time is the Chinese New Year. Traditionally for the Chinese New Year, each child knelt before each parent, kowtowed three times and provided them each with a cup of tea, candied carrots and squash; each parent would then give each child a coin wrapped in red paper symbolising good luck<sup>265</sup>.

Globalisation has seen resurgence in the celebrations of the Chinese New Year internationally; however these traditional practices have all but disappeared in Samoa. With few Chinese and their families practising traditional Chinese rituals, the Chinese have assimilated into Christianity with their Samoan families, indicating they had very little influence in contributing towards Samoan Christianity religion. The next section on language and food, describes two ways in which the Chinese have evidently contributed a lot more into Samoan national identity.

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<sup>260</sup> Tom, p.109.

<sup>261</sup> Tom, p.60.

<sup>262</sup> Tom, p.60.

<sup>263</sup> Tom, p.60.

<sup>264</sup> Tom, p.60.

<sup>265</sup> Tom, p.60.

#### 4.2.3 *Language and Food.*

With intermarriage between Chinese men and Samoan women increasing, more Chinese became assimilated into the Samoan culture and traditions and it became expected that the Chinese husband would learn ‘gagana Samoa,’ the Samoan language. The offspring of Chinese-Samoan relationships were also fluent in the native Samoan tongue rather than in Chinese.

The majority of Chinese men in Samoa lost their Chinese language as there were not enough people around to converse in Chinese. For example, Chun Loo said in an interview with Tom (1986), “But as often happens, if you don’t use a language, it’s quickly forgotten, as happened even to me!”<sup>266</sup>. Even if they were around other Chinese it was not guaranteed that they could speak to each other in Chinese as there are many different dialects. Don (1898) states that “we saw three Chinese – one from Shanghai, one from Amoy and one from Sanning – representing thus three provinces of China”<sup>267</sup>. Men from different provinces would find it difficult to communicate, thus the Samoan language and English became the common and main spoken languages.

By the second generation, the children of the initial Chinese-Samoan relationships, the Chinese language was lost even further. It became almost non-existent. Chun Loo further stated in his interview with Tom (1986), “If I have any regret, it’s that our children can’t speak Chinese”<sup>268</sup>. There were few remnants of Chinese culture, such as Chinese language schools, temples or newspapers, and with too few Chinese in a predominantly Samoan nation, it was difficult to carry on such activities<sup>269</sup>. Although the Chinese learnt the Samoan language, the most evident influence of Chinese language on Samoan culture is the Chinese surnames in Samoan families. Samoan women took on their Chinese husband’s surname once they married. These surnames are still common amongst Samoan families today, which is a constant reminder of the

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<sup>266</sup> Tom, pp.109-110.

<sup>267</sup> Don, p.11.

<sup>268</sup> Tom, pp.109-110.

<sup>269</sup> Tom, p.108.

Chinese in Samoa. The Chinese had very little influence on the Samoan language, apart from this impact on Samoan family names.

Food is another way in which the Chinese contributed to the Samoan national identity. There are three ways in which the Chinese have influenced or contributed towards Samoan food: (1) By integrating Chinese traditional dishes with Samoan dishes. (2) By introducing a variety of vegetables and herbs which are used in Samoan cooking. (3) By setting up Chinese restaurants which serve Chinese and Samoan traditional dishes.

The Samoan people consider Chopsuey, or Sapasui as the Samoans refer to it, as a national dish for the country. Sapasui was developed from a traditional stir-fry style of Chinese noodle dish, encompassing Chinese ingredients such as soy sauce, garlic and ginger. Chow mein is another stir-fry style of Chinese noodle dish introduced by the Chinese in Samoa<sup>270</sup>. Mintz (1996) states that the Chinese increased “the absolute quantities of available foods, heightened their diversity, and significantly expanded the list of foods available to ordinary people: new rice varieties, litchis, fresh fish, and the like”<sup>271</sup>. Raw fish is a Samoan food enhanced by the Chinese. The Samoan dish called oka consists of coconut milk, raw fish and vegetables<sup>272</sup>. Rice is a Samoan staple that was introduced by the Chinese and is still used in many Samoan households<sup>273</sup>.

The Chinese changed Samoan food with the introduction of a variety of their vegetables and herbs. Choy (2002) states that “Chinese workers brought their love of rice, parsley, cabbages, turnips, ginger, and garlic”<sup>274</sup>. The Chinese would grow vegetable gardens, the crops were then sold at markets to Samoans and other Chinese which was then

<sup>270</sup> Living Heritage Website, ‘Samoan food’ in *Fa'a Samoa: The Samoan Way*. At <http://www.livingheritage.org.nz/schools/secondary/marcellin/samoa/food.php>, accessed on January 28 2010.

<sup>271</sup> S. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture, and the Past*. (1996: Boston) p.103.

<sup>272</sup> Mintz, p.103.

<sup>273</sup> N. Pollock, ‘Food and Transnationalism: Reassertions of Pacific Identity’, in *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*, edited by Helen Lee and Steve Tupai Francis. (2009: Canberra). p.107.

<sup>274</sup> S. Choy, U. Goldsberry and S. Goldsberry, *Sam Choy's Polynesian Kitchen: More Than 150 Authentic Dishes From One of the World's Most Delicious and Overlooked Cuisines*. (2002: New York) p.xvi.

incorporated in their food<sup>275</sup>. This is evident when looking at several Samoan dishes, for instance corned beef, as Samoans tend to blend protein ingredients with cabbage and other introduced vegetables and herbs. The introduction of these Chinese vegetables and herbs into Samoa have helped increase the number of foods available in Samoa and increase the diversity of foods into the Samoan diet. This has allowed Samoans to modify traditional dishes according to their liking with a variety of introduced vegetables and herbs to choose from.

Chinese restaurants are also very popular in Samoa and can be seen as a strong Chinese influence on Samoan food. Chinese restaurants in Samoa tend to serve a combination of Chinese and Samoan food. Li Mun, who came to Samoa as an indentured labourer, and his Samoan wife Luisa, ran a small restaurant with two cooks. Their menu included noodles, rice, beef stew, oxtail soup, chop suey, chow mein, sweet and sour pork, taro and banana<sup>276</sup>. When Li Mun retired he grew a mixture of Chinese and Samoan fruits and vegetables on his two and a half acre of freehold land for his friends and family: these crops included breadfruit, coconut, sugarcane, bananas, mangoes, mandarins, pomeloes, taro and pineapple<sup>277</sup>. From Li Mun the Chinese restaurant business blossomed. Today Chinese food use is not necessarily associated with any particular aspect of oriental ideology; the foods have been adapted to blend with the abundance of fresh Pacific produce<sup>278</sup>. By creating a fusion of Chinese and Pacific dishes, “oriental influences on Pacific gastronomies have been enduring as well as expanding”<sup>279</sup>. Pioneer restaurateurs such as Li Mun created a new world of flavours and meals that were appealing to the traditional Chinese taste as well as that of the indigenous Samoan population.

Food for both the Chinese and the Samoan communities is marked by an emphasis on sharing with relatives and the community, respect for food, and its importance in

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<sup>275</sup> Choy, p.xvi.

<sup>276</sup> Tom, p.91.

<sup>277</sup> Tom, p.91.

<sup>278</sup> Pollock, p.108.

<sup>279</sup> Pollock, p.108.

spiritual rather than material wellbeing<sup>280</sup>. It was a shared passion for food and family that allowed for the ease of transition between the two cultures and that expanded the influence of Chinese flavours, produce and cooking styles on the Samoan culture.



Picture 11: Samoan food with Chinese influence. (Selma Scott).

#### *4.3 Conclusion.*

Intermarriage between Samoans and other Pacific cultures dates back to pre-colonial days. These unions were traditionally for those of high rank, with some titles making it necessary to marry someone from outside the country. Samoans accepted the notion of intermarriage until the Europeans brought in the notion of ‘half-caste’, and the perceived ‘contamination’ or ‘pollution’ of the Samoan race that prompted some of the law changes under the Germans as well as the New Zealand Administration to discourage intermarriages and to try to retain ‘the purity’ of the Samoan race.

Samoan women began to have relationships with Chinese men when they first arrived in Samoa in the late nineteenth century. As thousands of Chinese indentured labourers

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<sup>280</sup> Pollock, p.108.

were brought to Samoa through the indentured labour scheme, relations between Samoan women and Chinese men became increasingly common. Chinese men were seen as more suitable partners than Samoan men because they were more hardworking.

The biggest influence the Chinese have had on Samoan national identity was through intermarriage. The most obvious result of these unions is the Chinese features found in the faces of Samoan offspring and also the commonness of Chinese surnames in Samoan families. The Chinese became completely assimilated into the Samoan way of life, even becoming Christians and learning the Samoan language. However, the Chinese have put their stamp on some parts of Samoan national identity. By earning the respect of their Samoan peers, some Chinese have been bestowed with matai titles. This has allowed the Chinese to show leadership in their villages and to exercise influence over other Samoan people who place their trust and faith in them. One of the greatest influences of the Chinese on the Samoan national identity has been in the development and diversity of what is now considered to be Samoan national food. A strong passion for food allowed the Chinese and the Samoan to engage. As both cultures placed emphasis on sharing with relatives and the community, it was a shared passion for food and family that allowed the easy transition between the two cultures and the acceptance of the Chinese by the Samoans.

## 5 CHAPTER FIVE: The ‘New Wave’ of Chinese Influence in Samoa

Previous chapters have discussed the historical impact of the Chinese on Samoa. There has been an examination of how policy makers have attempted to manipulate legislation to meet the economic or social agendas with regard to the Chinese. With the legislation platform in place to allow Chinese immigration, the economic and social impacts of the Chinese in Samoa have been examined. This first wave of Chinese influence was the result of 30 years of actively encouraging Chinese labourers to come to Samoa and then another 30 years of their assimilation into the Samoan economy and culture.

The influence of the Chinese on Samoa does not stop with the assimilation of the Chinese migrants. The last five years has seen a resurgence in Chinese influence. It is interesting to note that the difference between the first wave of influence and the new wave of influence. The first wave of influence was initially controlled by European businessmen living in Samoa and involved the importation of human capital. The second wave is clearly controlled by Chinese politicians living in China and involves the importation of financial and intellectual capital.

This current ‘new wave of Chinese influence’ in Samoa comes in the form of foreign aid, which is when one country voluntarily offers another country economic or other assistance. Traditionally it was the old colonial powers in the region that developed aid relationships in the Pacific. Naidu (2006) supports this by stating, “aid has ensured the consolidation of the linkages forged during colonial rule and the patterns of economic subordination remain”<sup>281</sup>. We are now in a transition period where there has been a shift in external powers active in the region<sup>282</sup>: China, Japan and Taiwan are becoming increasingly important as bilateral donors. Of these three Asian countries, China has a

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<sup>281</sup> V. Naidu, ‘Development Assistance Challenges’, in *Pacific Futures*, edited by Michael Powles. (2006: Canberra) p.149.

<sup>282</sup> R. Crocombe, ‘Regionalism Above and Below the Forum: The geographical/culture regions, Asia-Pacific and others’, in *Pacific Futures*, edited by Michael Powles. (2006: Canberra) p.201.

long established relationship with Samoa. Although this may not have been at governmental level, the relationship is still present and influences current Samoan views of Chinese aid. This is evident when looking at Samoan relations with China, as its aid and trade contributions have jumped significantly in the last five years to being among the region's largest economic contributors<sup>283</sup>. This chapter will explore China's current role in Samoa, as it is a major contributor to the Samoan and other Pacific nations' economies. The type of aid China provides, and the use of Chinese aid in Samoa will be discussed, as well as China's motives for pouring aid into Samoa. When countries in the Pacific accept aid from donor countries, there must be some costs involved. This chapter also examines the costs Samoa faces in accepting Chinese aid. Finally, the chapter will look at how Samoans view China and its aid in Samoa.

The relationship between China and Samoa began with the indentured labour scheme, which, in its own right, was a benefit to the Samoan economy. This relationship affected all aspects of Samoan life, as discussed in previous chapters. Today, through foreign aid, the relationship between China and Samoa has come full circle to the point where China is once again assisting the growth and development of Samoa and the economy.

### *5.1 Definition of 'Foreign Aid'.*

Traditionally, foreign aid has been used as a means for the donor countries to assist recipient countries through times of economic struggle. Foreign aid was given to help ease the transition from economic weakness until the recipient nation had sustainable economic growth. This type of assistance in Samoa was given by monetary grants, technology transfer, technical assistance and soft loans. The agreement to give or receive foreign aid is usually bilateral, with donor government to recipient government transfers; or multilateral, with donor government to international/regional multilateral organisations, who transfer to recipient governments<sup>284</sup>. Foreign aid has been a major contributor to the economic growth and development in most of the Pacific Island economies. Viviani (1999) states that, "It provides a source for foreign exchange, fills

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<sup>283</sup> T. Shie, 'Rising Chinese Influence in the South Pacific: Beijing's 'Island' Fever', in *Asian Survey*. Vol. 47. No.2. (2007) p.312.

<sup>284</sup> Naidu, p.150.

the investment-savings gap and meets the shortfall in resource needs”<sup>285</sup>. Without this source of aid, the recipient economies would not be in the position they are in today.

There are two types of foreign aid given by donor countries: humanitarian and development. Humanitarian aid is usually given to help relieve a country suffering from natural disasters or war. Development aid is given to a developing country to help build up its social or economic situation. Samoa benefits from development aid the most, as it is more of a long-term benefit in trying to reduce poverty and uplift the Samoan economy. Other means of aid tend to create optimal short-term gain for the donor as opposed to the long-term gain of the recipient nation<sup>286</sup>.

### *5.2 Chinese Aid in Samoa*

In Samoa, foreign aid has been given mainly through bilateral agreements, with few multilateral arrangements<sup>287</sup>. In the case of Chinese aid to Samoa, aid is transferred from the Chinese government to the Samoan government. Foreign aid is a major contributor to the country’s economy as it has been used to finance the balance of payments and public sector development programmes, such as infrastructure and resource development<sup>288</sup>. This indicates that the effect of foreign aid is greatly dependent on how the Government distributes the aid. One negative factor when government has the main control over distributing funds is the intent of some of the politicians; some buy into ‘gifts’ from donor countries like China to serve foreign interests rather than the needs of their country, making their intent just as bad as the donors<sup>289</sup>.

China has economic interests in the Pacific region, and has been expected to take over from Japan as the Pacific region’s next economic superpower. Samoa was the first

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<sup>285</sup> R. Viviani, ‘Foreign Aid and Economic Growth of the South Pacific Microstates: Selected Case Studies of the Cook Islands, Kiribati, Samoa and the Solomon Islands (1970-1995)’. Master of Applied Economics thesis, Massey University, 1999, p.II.

<sup>286</sup> S. Sesega, ‘The Western Samoa Forestry Development Project: A Study of Aid Donors Participation in Implementation Level of the Development Process’. MSc Resource Management Project, University of Canterbury, 1990, p.2.

<sup>287</sup> Viviani, p.70.

<sup>288</sup> Viviani, p.70.

<sup>289</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.217.

Pacific Island nation to cement its relations with China, approximately 20 years ago<sup>290</sup>. This is likely to be due to the strong historical ties between China and Samoa. This will have influenced Samoa's response to China, although it is acknowledged that there is unlikely to be any significant influence the other way. As such while Samoa was the first to cement relations, China actively pursues its interest with other Pacific nations. China and Samoa have had diplomatic relations since November 6<sup>th</sup> 1975, after a Chinese official travelled to Apia to encourage the reversal of the Samoan government's decision to recognise Taiwan rather than China<sup>291</sup>. In 1976, a Chinese embassy set up in Samoa and in May 1996, a Samoan consulate was established in Hong Kong<sup>292</sup>. Relations between China and Samoa have developed smoothly over the years. An example of this financial assistance is the signing of an inter-governmental and technical co-operation agreement in 1995, in which China will give Samoa a grant of \$1.18 million<sup>293</sup>. Samoa is seen by China as an old friend with an 'unchanging friendship' as it supports the 'one-China' policy and has had relations with China over the last two decades<sup>294</sup>.

The one-China policy refers to China's attempts to regain 'lost provinces' such as Taiwan and Hong Kong<sup>295</sup>. China regards Taiwan as a territory of the Peoples Republic of China, as it had been for over hundreds of years before invasion<sup>296</sup>. China would like to unify these lost territories under one country and for them to operate on their own system. For example, Hong Kong was reunited with China in 1997 and now operates under its own administration<sup>297</sup>. Taiwan is seen as a renegade province by China as it will not conform to the one-China policy, remaining independent. Pacific countries that

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<sup>290</sup> X. Yang, 'Samoa aid and relations renewed', in *China Daily* (1995, February 21) p.1-2.

<sup>291</sup> T. Biddick, 'Diplomatic Rivalry in the South Pacific: The PRC and Taiwan', in *Asian Survey*, Vol. 29, No. 8 (1989) p. 803.

<sup>292</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China Website, *China and Samoa* (2003). At [www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>293</sup> Yang, p. 1-2.

<sup>294</sup> Yang, p. 1-2.

<sup>295</sup> Y. Chu, 'The Challenge of the 1997 Hong Kong Handover for Taiwan', in *Public Affairs*, Vol.72, No.4 (1999) p.555.

<sup>296</sup> Chu, p.555.

<sup>297</sup> Chu, p.555.

accept Chinese aid are to adhere to the one-China policy by not recognising Taiwan as a country; there are eight Pacific states that adhere to the one-China policy<sup>298</sup>.

In the first 25 years of China's participation in aid in the region, China focused bilaterally on the political leaders, by providing them with the most prestigious government buildings and luxury cars; popular culture, by paying for sporting equipment and construction of new sporting facilities; and the security forces, the country's military if they have them<sup>299</sup>. An example of China focusing on political leaders in Samoa is the annual Forum of Heads of Islands Governments in 2004. China gave Samoa a fleet of new cars for the heads of governments to be driven around in during the commencement of the meeting, these cars were to remain in Samoa thereafter<sup>300</sup>. China's funding of a sports stadium built in Samoa for the 1983 South Pacific Games is an example of Chinese aid being used for popular culture in Samoa<sup>301</sup>. China's aid packages differ greatly to those of the Western donors and international organisations as they emphasised economic development in health, governance and education<sup>302</sup>. However, in 2006, Chinese aid in Samoa and the Pacific increased to new levels as its assistance increased in agriculture, education, forestry, fishing, tourism, manufacturing, telecommunications, aviation, shipping and health<sup>303</sup>.

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<sup>298</sup> Shie, p.309.

<sup>299</sup> Crocombe, *Regionalism Above and Below*, p.159.

<sup>300</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.217.

<sup>301</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.252.

<sup>302</sup> Crocombe, *Regionalism Above and Below*, p.159.

<sup>303</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.218.



Picture 12: Government building in Samoa funded by Chinese aid. (Selma Scott).

Foreign aid is used in two main ways in Samoa; that is, for development projects and infrastructure projects. Takeda (1993) explains that development projects relate to agriculture, forestry and fisheries; and infrastructure-type projects relate to land, marines and aviation transportation<sup>304</sup>. An example of China's development projects in Samoa was the ten million Yuan loan project which was established after Samoan Prime Minister, Tupuola Efi, visited China in 1980; this project included two agricultural projects and a water supply project and was to be completed in 1988<sup>305</sup>. Japanese aid is used in Samoa and the Pacific mainly in fisheries, on marine research facilities, fishery-training facilities and on training boats<sup>306</sup>. In contrast, Chinese aid in Samoa is more visibly focused on infrastructure enhancement.

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<sup>304</sup> I. Takeda, 'Japan's Aid to the Pacific Island States', in *Japan's Foreign Aid: Power and Policy in a New Era*, edited by Bruce Koppel and Robert Orr Jr. (1993: Oxford) p.232.

<sup>305</sup> Biddick, p. 805.

<sup>306</sup> Takeda, p.232.

China has contributed significantly towards the infrastructure development of Samoa. China funded the stadium which was used for the 1983 South Pacific Games, built new offices for the Prime Minister and all ministries in Samoa, funded the Women's Convention Centre, revamped Apia Park, and spent approximately \$40 million on a sports facility when Samoa was to host the 2007 South Pacific Games<sup>307</sup>. Crocombe (2007) believes that these buildings can be viewed by China as symbols of power. He states "These nation symbols become monuments to China – in the same way that colonial governments built such emblems of their power"<sup>308</sup>. China may have established these symbols of power to portray to the world that they have made their mark in Samoa and similarly throughout the Pacific. China's main rival in the Pacific is Taiwan, as they compete against each other for the support of the Pacific Island nations. These Chinese monuments throughout Samoa and the Pacific can be seen by Taiwan as China marking its territory.



Picture 13: Sports complex in Samoa funded by Chinese aid. (Selma Scott).

<sup>307</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.252.

<sup>308</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.252.

Another way China assists Samoa is in health care. In 2007, the Chinese government funded a CT scanner to be given to the Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole hospital of Samoa<sup>309</sup>. This scanner x-rays patients with cancer symptoms, and will benefit the hospital, as it is the first time it has been given access to such a machine. Also in 2007, a fourth group of volunteer doctors arrived in Samoa from China to work for the Ministry of Health in Samoa<sup>310</sup>. These groups of Chinese doctors were working for the ministry to help alleviate the doctor shortage, which has been an ongoing problem in Samoa<sup>311</sup>. Since 1986, there have been nine medical teams sent from China to work in Samoa<sup>312</sup>. In September 2008, the Samoan Prime Minister, Tuila'epa Sa'ilele Malielegaoi met with China's President, Wen Jiabao, to further discuss aid for the reconstruction of the Tupua Tamasese Mea'ole hospital<sup>313</sup>.

Education is seen as being linked to the development of a country's economy. For example, Tuioti (2005) believes that if governments view education as an investment, rather than expenditure, the product of this investment is "an educated and disciplined workforce, which will generate economic growth"<sup>314</sup>. China has given aid to help develop education in Samoa, by sending teachers and offering scholarships to study in China. Two Chinese teachers were sent to Samoa in September 1984 to teach for two years<sup>315</sup>. In 2002, China sent a Chinese teacher to the National University of Samoa to teach Chinese language<sup>316</sup>. From 1982, China has given two scholarships per year to

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<sup>309</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *Samoa national hospital to get Chinese funded x-ray machine* (2008). At [www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=35612](http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=35612), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>310</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *Samoa national hospital to get Chinese funded x-ray machine* (2008). At [www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=35612](http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=35612), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>311</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *Samoa national hospital to get Chinese funded x-ray machine* (2008). At [www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=35612](http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=35612), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>312</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China Website, *China and Samoa* (2003). At [www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>313</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *Samoa looking for Chinese Aid to rebuild main hospital* (2008). At [www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=42032](http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=42032), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>314</sup> L. Tuioti. 'Project Management: Why Culture Matters', in *Re-Thinking Aid Relationships in Pacific Education*, edited by Kabini Sanga, Cedric Hall, Cherie Chu and Linda Crowl (2005, Wellington and Suva) p.240.

<sup>315</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China Website, *China and Samoa* (2003). At [www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>316</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China Website, *China and Samoa* (2003). At [www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

Samoa. In 2002, there were seven Samoan students studying in China<sup>317</sup>. On January 29<sup>th</sup> 2008, Radio New Zealand International reported that the Chinese government will be giving Samoa more than two million US dollars to help improve youth education in Samoa<sup>318</sup>. Therefore, not only are the Chinese building physical monuments symbolising their influence in Samoa, they are also introducing cultural monuments through health care provision and education.

### *5.3 Motives of Chinese Aid.*

Before looking at the motives of Chinese aid in Samoa, it is interesting to note this statement by Crocombe (2007): “China’s income per person only reached \$1,000 per year in 2003, yet it gives to Islands countries with higher incomes. Why do the poorer give to the richer, as they have for nearly 30 years? Why so generous abroad and so mean at home? Chinese tend to think in terms of the past 3,000 years and the next 300”<sup>319</sup>. Perhaps the reason China is so generous abroad is because they want the world to see them in a more positive light, by increasing their contributions towards humanitarian affairs and assisting in the development of developing countries. Another reason China is much more generous abroad is that they have something to gain from it or they are interested in buying a favour from the recipient country. As China tends to focus on the future rather than the present, it is clear that China’s influence in the Pacific has been growing rapidly and will continue to do so over the years. So, why the rapid increase of aid in the region and what exactly does China want from Samoa?

Naidu (2006) emphasises the idea that currently motives for aid donors in the South Pacific vary drastically. They vary from “competitive cheque-book diplomacy” by China and Taiwan, to the marine resource-related ODA by Japan and the more conditional aid of Australia and New Zealand”<sup>320</sup>. This has given the Pacific Island recipient countries more variety in which aid donor or donors they choose to accept. Eastern donors have been seen as donating no-strings-attached aid to poor island

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<sup>317</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of China Website, China and Samoa (2003). At [www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm](http://www.mfa.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/bmdyzs/gjlb/3422/t17090.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>318</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *China to give Samoa more money for education* (2008). At [www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=37542](http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=37542), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>319</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.252.

<sup>320</sup> Naidu, p.149.

governments and do not ask for 'good governance' as a precondition<sup>321</sup>. For example, when Samoa decided on setting up a national university the Western donors tried to shut down this notion, as the University of the South Pacific was designed and funded by the colonial powers<sup>322</sup>. Japan then stepped in and supported the National University of Samoa, which Crocombe (2006) believes Samoa is better off for having as it would motivate a greater sense of Samoan language and culture than any regional university<sup>323</sup>.

Sesega (1990) believes that there are three motives for becoming a donor. First, all aid is politically motivated with foreign policy objectives. China provides aid to Samoa as it wants to maintain its good relationship. This relationship helps achieve one of China's objectives, which is to gain more influence in the Pacific region. Second, aid benefits the recipient through developmental objectives, whilst at the same time it fulfils internal objectives of the donor. Third, donors will always try to maximise their benefits in the course of pursuing developmental objectives of its aid<sup>324</sup>. Sesega (1990) further states that, "The involvement of aid donors is a subject of considerable debate both regarding the alleged motives of aid donors and as well, the real impacts of aid in the development of countries they purport to assist"<sup>325</sup>. Although it is an additional positive factor, there is always an ulterior motive, sometimes hidden, which benefits the donor country. Perhaps one ulterior motive for the fact that China keeps pouring aid into Samoa is so their economy becomes dependent on Chinese aid, giving China more influence and control on Samoa in future. As Samoa is sympathetic to China, Samoa's support could be seen as a linchpin in the Pacific, making it easier to gain support from the other Pacific nations. The motives that have been discussed suggest that donor countries generally provide aid for their own sake, rather than for the good of the recipient nation. Because of this, the recipient countries need to be cautious when they accept agreements, as it is not always at face value.

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<sup>321</sup> S. Windybank, 'The China Syndrome', in *Policy Magazine*. Vol.21, No.2 (2005) p.31.

<sup>322</sup> Crocombe, *Regionalism Above and Below*, p.202.

<sup>323</sup> Crocombe, *Regionalism Above and Below*, p.202.

<sup>324</sup> Sesega, p.2-3.

<sup>325</sup> Sesega, p.1.

Donor countries use aid in a political way, as aid tends to fluctuate to cater to their needs more than the needs of the recipient country<sup>326</sup>. It is of interest to compare the apparent motivations of the major donor countries. Japan chose to increase their aid into the Pacific region in the 1980s. According to Takeda (1993) this aid comprises of “development needs of the island economies, the decline of traditional donors; economic power and the rise of aid requests to Japan”<sup>327</sup>. Japan has increased aid in all three Pacific sub-regions. Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu are the major recipients of Japanese aid in Polynesia<sup>328</sup>.

As previously mentioned, China views Taiwan as a ‘renegade province’ that will not conform to its one China policy, however, Taiwan sees itself as a democracy enjoying its ‘moral high ground in its dispute with China’<sup>329</sup>. Taiwan has been recognised as being separate to China by approximately 26 nations around the world, including Nauru, Tuvalu and the Solomon Islands from the Pacific region<sup>330</sup>. As a reward for recognising them, Taiwan has offered cash grants, development and technical expertise<sup>331</sup>. For example, Taiwan officials funded construction for a stadium in Tonga (for the 1989 South Pacific Mini Games), and construction on a hospital project in Honiara, Solomon Islands<sup>332</sup>.

There has been longstanding tension between China and Taiwan, as Taiwan wishes to remain independent from China. In 1971, the United Nations internationally recognised China<sup>333</sup>. This encouraged Taiwan to compensate for China’s diplomatic victory by seeking new allies among the emerging independent states of the Third World. Taiwan and China then actively took part in the Pacific region, as the colonising nations were withdrawing, making it great ground for diplomatic projects<sup>334</sup>. As a result, there has been a ‘cheque book diplomacy’ rivalry, between China and Taiwan with the Pacific

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<sup>326</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.216.

<sup>327</sup> Takeda, p.239.

<sup>328</sup> Takeda, p.231.

<sup>329</sup> J. Henderson. ‘The International Setting’, in *Securing a Peaceful Pacific*, edited by John Henderson and Greg Watson. (2005: Christchurch) p.507.

<sup>330</sup> Biddick, p. 805.

<sup>331</sup> Biddick, p. 805.

<sup>332</sup> Biddick, p. 805.

<sup>333</sup> Biddick, p. 803.

<sup>334</sup> Biddick, p. 803.

Island nations. Cheque book diplomacy is where both China and Taiwan try to outbid each other for the recipients' support or recognition. For example, in 2004 Vanuatu switched its allegiance from Taiwan to China and in two weeks the government switched again from China to recognising Taiwan, after Taiwan offered \$30 million compared to Chinas \$10 million<sup>335</sup>. Then, Vanuatu finally switched back to recognising China<sup>336</sup>.

As China is becoming increasingly influential, its gaining recognition in the region is seeing China transform into a major player waiting to dominate<sup>337</sup>. Windybank (2005) states that, "Chinese influence coincides with growing political instability in a region facing an uncertain economic future, thus making the islands vulnerable to manipulation"<sup>338</sup>. Although other Asian nations such as Malaysia, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan are active in the Pacific, China is viewed as having the potential to transform power relationships<sup>339</sup>.

Another motive China has in providing aid in Samoa is to gain support for votes in international forums. As recently as 2007, of the 14 nations in the Pacific Island Forum, excluding Australia and New Zealand, just over half of these nations recognise China. These countries were the Cook Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Tonga and Vanuatu. These Pacific nations have seen their relationship with China intensify economically and culturally. For example, financial assistance packages to improve trade, building infrastructure, government, military resources and to develop natural resources<sup>340</sup>. The Pacific Islands Forum nations have 14 votes in the United Nations General Assembly, with more votes in over 30 UN specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organisation (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), International Labour Organisation (ILO) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)<sup>341</sup>. So, the more

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<sup>335</sup> Naidu, pp.160-161.

<sup>336</sup> Windybank, p.31.

<sup>337</sup> Henderson, p.506.

<sup>338</sup> Windybank, p.29.

<sup>339</sup> Windybank, p.29.

<sup>340</sup> Shie, p.309.

<sup>341</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.216.

support or votes China has from the Pacific and other developing nations around the world, the greater the support they get in international forums regarding China's ideas and stances on certain policies.

By gaining the support of Samoa and other Pacific Islands China can access their resources and markets for Chinese products and services<sup>342</sup>. This has seen a major increase in the Pacific's level of trade with China, as the Pacific can be seen as one big open market<sup>343</sup>. Pacific countries are now buying Chinese products and services as their products are very cheap with reasonable quality<sup>344</sup>.

#### *5.4 Costs of Accepting Chinese Aid.*

In order for a donor country to give aid, it is expected that there will be guidelines for the recipient countries on what is expected of them. The donor and recipient governments mutually agree on these guidelines, which influence the relationship between both parties, and how the money is spent<sup>345</sup>. All foreign aid agreements between donor and recipient countries, whether it is through bilateral or multilateral agencies, look at reducing poverty and achieving development goals. Barr (2004) believes that bad governance, which includes corruption, biased judiciary and mismanagement of public funds are the cause of growing poverty in the developing countries<sup>346</sup>. In an attempt to conquer bad governance, donor countries often demand that the recipient countries must have 'good governance', democracy and human rights enforcement as top priorities in order to obtain aid<sup>347</sup>. These three priorities are then promoted through trade and investments. He also believes that "the way to fight poverty and promote development is to build, not only strong processes and institutions of government, but also to encourage the participation of a strong civil society, which engages the power of the people. This will give rise to real democracy, the

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<sup>342</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.216.

<sup>343</sup> TVNZ, *Tagata Pasifika*. 27 November 2008.

<sup>344</sup> TVNZ, *Tagata Pasifika*. 27 November 2008.

<sup>345</sup> Sesega, p.2.

<sup>346</sup> K. Barr, *The Reality of Aid: An Independent Review of Poverty Reduction and Development Assistance* (2004: London) p.85.

<sup>347</sup> Barr, p.85.

implementation of human rights, and will result in good governance”<sup>348</sup>.

One cost involved in accepting foreign aid is that no aid is ‘free’, which is why recipient countries need to be wary of what their agreements mean, and how it could affect their country or the region in the future. Samou (1999) supports this by saying, “the Pacific Islands have compromised their national sovereignty by signing away their fishing rights in exchange for foreign aid and minuscule licence fees, especially in the cases of the USA and Japan”<sup>349</sup>. An example of this is when the international 200-mile exclusive economic zone marine regime came into play in 1974. The Japanese initiated a new type of grant aid as “36 percent of total Japanese fishing catches would be affected”<sup>350</sup>. This new grant aid was brought about to help alleviate this new marine regime, which could lead to a loophole for Japans fishing interests<sup>351</sup>.

Another cost Samoa has in accepting Chinese aid is the risk of being heavily influenced by China. Sesega (1990) states that the aid donor’s involvement in the development in recipient nations does not stop at the giving of the aid, but heavily influences the way the aid is used and how to manage funded projects<sup>352</sup>. Therefore, the result of aid-funded projects rests not only on the agencies conducting the project, but also on the involvement of the aid donors. Lima (1992) states that “Aid is a conduit whereby the values and ideas of donors are transmitted to developing countries, eventually influencing the ideas, values and more of the recipients”<sup>353</sup>. This can be seen in the examples cited above of China’s influence in Samoa’s education and healthcare institutions.

The biggest problem resulting from aid in Samoa is that the country is now dependent on foreign assistance in one way or another<sup>354</sup>. Foreign aid plays a big role in

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<sup>348</sup> Barr. p.85.

<sup>349</sup> S. Samou, ‘Marine Resources’, in *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific*, edited by John Overton and Regina Scheyvens (1999, London) p.152.

<sup>350</sup> Takeda, p.232.

<sup>351</sup> Takeda, p.232.

<sup>352</sup> Sesega, p.2.

<sup>353</sup> M. Lima, ‘A Theological Reflection on the Impact of Development Aid in Western Samoa’. BD thesis, Pacific Theological College, 1992, p.31.

<sup>354</sup> Takeda, p.239.

government budgets of Samoa, as it is a vital contributor to their economy<sup>355</sup>. With Samoa's heavy reliance on foreign aid, a major problem will occur when their resources run out, or if the donor countries choose to no longer provide their assistance to the recipient country.

Another cost involved with accepting foreign aid is that the recipient country can lose more than it gains. Crocombe (2007) states that "The Pacific public is told a lot about the money and resources that come in, but little about what goes out, even though more goes out than comes in"<sup>356</sup>. Profits of foreign owned companies all go out of the country to overseas. Examples of these companies are telecommunications, air and shipping lines, banks, insurance, merchandising companies, fishing, logging, fishing processing, and pension funds<sup>357</sup>. Islanders working in Asian countries send remittances back home to the Islands, but much more money is sent to Asia from Asians working in the Pacific<sup>358</sup>.

A further cost Samoa faces in accepting foreign aid is that it can widen the gap between the rich and the poor. Lima (1992) believes that aid "further widens the gap between the rich and poor in Samoa"<sup>359</sup>. Secondary education in Samoa is an example of this. Lima (1992) explains that it is only children of the financially well-off who have better chances of completing their education, and are eligible to compete for aid-funded scholarships. Samoan children, who are less well-off, though they have the ability to do well, do not have the same chances due to a lack of financial support<sup>360</sup>. Therefore, tertiary scholarship awards in Samoa do not address this disproportion in education opportunities available to the rich and the poor<sup>361</sup>.

The Cook Islands News reported on July 23<sup>rd</sup> 2009 that Chinese aid in the Pacific has

<sup>355</sup> R. Wartho and J. Overton, 'The Pacific Islands in the World', in *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Experiences from the Pacific*, edited by John Overton and Regina Scheyvens (1999, London) p.41.

<sup>356</sup> Crocombe , *Asia in the Pacific*, p.215.

<sup>357</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.215.

<sup>358</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.215.

<sup>359</sup> Lima, p.32.

<sup>360</sup> Lima, p.32-33.

<sup>361</sup> Lima, p.32-33.

left ‘frightening levels of debt’ in states like the Cook Islands and Samoa<sup>362</sup>. As stated above, a US \$12.9 million swimming complex was built in Samoa, which the country is unable to maintain<sup>363</sup>. Another example is when Samoa decided to host the 1983 South Pacific Games. No Western donors wanted to fund construction of the sports complex, as their aid should be used for ‘development’<sup>364</sup>. China stepped in and built a big facility, which Samoa has to maintain. This level of indebtedness in Samoa is becoming increasingly concerning to New Zealand and Australia.

Educational exchange programmes, often part of aid packages, are a double edged sword. Once University graduates return to Samoa they have a significant impact. The skills they acquired are hoped to make a positive contribution to the economic development of the country. However, Lima (1992) believes that mostly, the skills and ideas that these graduates acquired whilst studying cater to that particular country and do not fit or are not relevant to Samoa<sup>365</sup>. Another problem educational exchanges pose for Samoa is that some graduates return to Samoa for a year or two but they head back overseas, leaving a major brain-drain affecting the economy. Lima (1992) states, “brain-drain aid-funded students clearly indicate that aid in this sense is a ‘curse in disguise’”<sup>366</sup>. This is evident, not only in Samoa but in all Pacific countries receiving foreign aid.

As the traditional aid donors in the Pacific, such as New Zealand, the United States and the United Kingdom, are cutting back on their aid, foreign aid from France, Japan, China and Taiwan is on the increase<sup>367</sup>. The growing influence of China in Samoa is likely to stir responses from the United States, Japan and Australia<sup>368</sup>. For regional powers such as Australia and New Zealand the concern will be the ‘Asian aid war’ in the Pacific between China and Taiwan. This could further weaken the Samoan

<sup>362</sup> Cook Islands News Website, *Chinese aid pushes up debt levels* (2009). At [www.cinews.co.ck/2009/July/Wed29/local.htm#2](http://www.cinews.co.ck/2009/July/Wed29/local.htm#2), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>363</sup> Cook Islands News Website, *Chinese aid pushes up debt levels* (2009). At [www.cinews.co.ck/2009/July/Wed29/local.htm#2](http://www.cinews.co.ck/2009/July/Wed29/local.htm#2), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>364</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.252.

<sup>365</sup> Lima, p.31.

<sup>366</sup> Lima, p.32.

<sup>367</sup> Warthro and Overton, p.42.

<sup>368</sup> Henderson, p.505.

government<sup>369</sup>, threatening the regions security. For example, Naidu (2005) believes that to China and Taiwan, how the aid funds are used are not of great concern<sup>370</sup>. In the Solomon Islands in 2000, the majority of Taiwan’s multi-million dollar aid was used to pay politicians and gang leaders<sup>371</sup>. Putting this in contrast with the conditions of aid that Western donors presented, Taiwan had given \$9 billion for diplomatic recognition, whereas Australia warned the Vanuatu Government that if good governance was not seen as a priority, their bilateral aid will be reduced<sup>372</sup>. Also, in 2004, Serge Vohor, former Vanuatu Prime Minister, lost his office after trying to set up diplomatic ties with Taiwan without the consent of his cabinet<sup>373</sup>. Henderson (2005) states that “Both Chinese and Taiwanese diplomats have been accused of paying bribes and becoming involved in financing elections”<sup>374</sup>. This shows that there is great competition between the Chinese and Taiwanese parties in order to get diplomatic recognition in the Pacific.

### *5.5 Samoan View of China and Chinese Aid.*

As previously discussed, the relationship between China and Samoa has been one of great length compared to others in the Pacific. Misa Telefoni, who was acting Prime Minister of Samoa in 2008, stated that “China is a genuine friend of Samoa” and praised “a relationship that has gone from strength to strength over the past 33 years”<sup>375</sup>. On June 23<sup>rd</sup> 2008, the Samoan Prime Minister, Tuliaepa Sailele Malielegaoi, announced that Samoa has decided to establish embassy offices in China and Japan<sup>376</sup>. On September 17 2008, Malielegaoi was in China to watch the closing ceremony of the Beijing Paralympic Games. Malielegaoi in his visit said, “Samoa will continue to adhere to the one-China policy”,<sup>377</sup>.

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<sup>369</sup> Windybank, pp.31-32.

<sup>370</sup> Naidu, p.150.

<sup>371</sup> Naidu, p.150.

<sup>372</sup> Naidu, p.150.

<sup>373</sup> Henderson, p.508.

<sup>374</sup> Henderson, p.508.

<sup>375</sup> Radio New Zealand International Website, *Samoa looking for Chinese Aid to rebuild main hospital* (2008). At [www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=42032](http://www.rnzi.com/pages/news.php?op=read&id=42032), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>376</sup> Xinhua News, *Samoa to establish diplomatic offices in China, Japan* (2008). At [www.news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-06/23/content\\_8423639.htm](http://www.news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-06/23/content_8423639.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>377</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Peoples Republic of China Website, *President Hu Jintao Meets with Samoan Prime Minister* (2008). At [www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t513637.htm](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t513637.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

Samoa appreciates the aid China has provided over the years as their friendship continues to strengthen. When the Samoan Prime Minister Malielegaoi, visited Chinese President Hu Jintao in 2008 he said “Samoan people thanked China for providing valuable economic and technological support and assistance to Samoa”<sup>378</sup>. Both China and Samoa have reached a series of agreements on cooperating in the field of tourism and infrastructure construction. Samoa has great hope that both sides will work together to implement these agreements<sup>379</sup>.

Although Samoan people appreciate Chinese aid; some remain wary of the hidden costs in choosing to accept aid. One such cost is the loss or lack of job opportunities. This occurs when China sends over to Samoa Chinese workers to do jobs that are wanted by local people with the same experience and similar qualifications. Whereas other donors tend to use local staff more, spreading money and opportunities<sup>380</sup>. The concern of some Pacific people to foreign aid has been publicised by Te Vaka, a popular Polynesian music group. Their song called ‘Tutuki’ on their 2004 CD, warning Pacific countries to be cautious of donors, “You come dressed to impress, invite yourself into my home, another gift-bearing foreigner, controlling another’s domain”<sup>381</sup>.

### *5.6 Conclusion*

In conclusion, foreign aid plays a major part in the Samoan economy and has been a means to improve the country’s development and infrastructure. There has been a shift in aid donors from West to East. Traditional foreign aid donors were those with colonial links to the Pacific Island nations. As the Western influence in the Pacific has tended to slow down, the Asian influence has dramatically increased. Japan, Taiwan and especially China, are becoming increasingly important in the region. It is believed by many scholars that China will become an economic and influential superpower in the Pacific. Samoa’s historical link with China makes it a more obvious aid partner. China’s

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<sup>378</sup>Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Peoples Republic of China Website, *President Hu Jintao Meets with Samoan Prime Minister* (2008). At [www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t513637.htm](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t513637.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>379</sup>Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Peoples Republic of China Website, *President Hu Jintao Meets with Samoan Prime Minister* (2008). At [www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t513637.htm](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t513637.htm), accessed November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2009.

<sup>380</sup>Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.255.

<sup>381</sup>Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.216.

aid to Samoa and the Pacific are driven by competition with Taiwan, recognition and support of China's foreign policy.

Although there are benefits to Samoa receiving Chinese aid, there is also a price to be paid. Such prices include: the loss of independence, as Samoa runs the risk of becoming heavily dependent on the aid; a major brain-drain of skilled workers in Samoa; more money going out of the country than being poured in; an increased gap between rich and poor; and a loss of jobs held by Chinese rather than local people. When looking at the costs involved of accepting foreign aid, one can ask whether the benefits outweigh these costs. However, even though there is a great price to pay, Samoa depends on foreign aid, as it is a major source of the nation's income. China's aid in Samoa has had great influence not only on the economy, but is also beginning to impact the cultural development of the country through the Samoan healthcare and education systems.

In the future, Samoa will continue to be a recipient of Chinese aid, as long as Samoa continues to support China and adhere to the one-China policy. Samoa sees its relationship with China as being one of great length and strength, so as long as Samoa sees China as a friend, it is very unlikely that Samoa will switch its allegiance to Taiwan.

As mentioned earlier, the "Chinese tend to think in terms of the past 3,000 years and the next 300"<sup>382</sup>. So, where does China see itself in the next 300 years? The Pacific is seen as a gateway to the West, so the support of the Pacific nations is a way for China to establish itself alongside the West as a superpower. Samoa's support could be a linchpin for China in the Pacific, so that China could receive more support from other Pacific nations, making China more influential in the region. China has been gaining the trust and support of the Pacific through the generous distribution of aid in the region.

The first wave of Chinese influence in Samoa started with an influx of Chinese labourers, who over time, made Samoa home. Although there were attempts to limit the impact of the Chinese immigrants on Samoa, it is clear that they have had economic and

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<sup>382</sup> Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific*, p.252.

social impacts that have gone well beyond what was anticipated at the time. It is clear that we are seeing similar processes playing out in this new wave of Chinese influence. We see political responses and attempts to control the impact of Chinese aid. We also see the dominance of economic imperatives, and we are beginning to see the social impact with the introduction of closer educational ties between Samoa and China.

## 6 CHAPTER SIX: Conclusion

From the first twelve Chinese men residing in Samoa before 1903, the Chinese who came during the indentured labour scheme, to the current new influx of Chinese in Samoa and the Chinese development aid, it is evident that the Chinese have played a significant part in influencing different aspects of the development of Samoa. When determining how and to what extent the Chinese have influenced Samoa, it is beneficial to analyse these in categories such as the political history of the Chinese in Samoa, the Chinese in the Samoan economy, the Chinese in Samoan culture and the current influx of Chinese aid into the Samoan economy.

### *6.1 Political Influence.*

Looking at the political history of the Chinese in Samoa, it is clear that the Chinese drew the attention of the Samoan law makers since their arrival in the late nineteenth century. In 1880, the first law relating to the Chinese was passed by Malietoa Laupepa. Before this law, only three Chinese men resided in Samoa, and all three of these men worked as successful businessmen. This law forbade the entry of any other Chinese into Samoa, as the few Chinese at the time were seen as a threat to society and to the commercial activities of Europeans. In 1903, Governor Wilhelm Solf issued an ordinance superseding the 1880 law of Malietoa Laupepa, allowing Chinese indentured labourers to work on the plantations in Samoa. This ordinance was a result of a shortage of labour in the plantations, so it was necessary for the importation of cheap, reliable labour, hence the law to enable Chinese labourers to enter Samoa (and to return to China once their contract ended).

As the numbers of the Chinese in Samoa grew, the Chinese were bound to have an impact on Samoan society. One such impact was through Chinese intermarriage with Samoan women. This became an issue to the Europeans and to some matai. Chinese-Samoan relationships came to be frowned upon and seen as ‘polluting’ the Samoan race

and corrupting Samoan women. This prompted ordinances in the German and New Zealand Administrations on the prohibition of Chinese labourers entering Samoan homes and Samoan women entering Chinese quarters. The New Zealand Administration passed a number of policies on Chinese-Samoan intermarriage, such as the Samoa Act 1921 and section 300 of the Marriages Ordinance 1921. Both of these policies prohibited intermarriage between Chinese indentured labourers and Samoan women. It was not until the amendment of the Marriage Ordinance 1961 that Chinese-Samoan relationships and their children became legitimate. To Samoans, the issue of Chinese labourers dissolved as time went on, as Chinese intermarried and assimilated into the Samoan way of life.

The Chinese indentured labourers faced harsh working conditions, with long hours, little pay, and little entitlement to holidays. From the first contract of indentured labourers in 1903 and with the establishment of the Chinese consul in Samoa, the Chinese indentured labourers' contracts gradually began to change for the better. The Free Labour Ordinance in 1920 and in 1933 gave the Chinese indentured labourers the option to change jobs if they wanted, as long as it was not working in or for the trade sector. These laws also relaxed the working conditions of the Chinese working in plantations, by abolishing flogging for misdemeanours.

Although the Chinese had no influence on laws at that time, it becomes clear that their presence has affected the laws of Samoa throughout recent history. These laws resulted from the perceived threat of the Chinese being successful in their business, such as the Malietoa Laupepa Law in 1880, and the Free Labour Ordinance 1920 and 1933. The laws relating to the prohibition of Chinese-Samoan relationships resulted from the perceived threat to the European establishment and to some in the Samoan community that the Chinese were “polluting” or contaminating the Samoan race.

## *6.2 Influence on the Samoan Economy.*

The Chinese have played a significant role in contributing to the Samoan economy ever since their arrival to Samoa. There are two main ways in which they have done so, entrepreneurship and through the indentured labour scheme.

The majority of the original twelve Chinese men who resided in Samoa prior to the indentured labour scheme established businesses. These men contributed to the Samoan economy through the success of their commercial businesses. The three Chinese men who arrived in Samoa before the 1880 Malietoa Laupepa law were free settlers, whilst the other nine men were granted ‘European’ status by Governor Solf.

By the late nineteenth century, the development of plantation agricultural work started to increase. As Samoans were not considered suitable for plantation work, and Melanesian labour numbers were insufficient, the planters worked with the German Government on overcoming the labour shortage. Chinese indentured labourers were seen as a cost effective alternative and reliable source of labour. This in turn created the political driver to instigate the rewards of plantation agriculture. The German Government saw Samoa as potentially profitable in agricultural exports, and Governor Solf issued an ordinance superseding the Malietoa Laupepa 1880 law forbidding Chinese entry to Samoa. Between 1903 and 1934, fifteen shipments carried thousands of Chinese indentured labourers to Apia to work on copra, cocoa and rubber plantations. The Chinese labourers helped increase the country’s export of its three main crops. With thousands of Chinese labourers working in Samoa, it is not surprising that they had a significant impact on not only the Samoan economy, but also socially on the Samoan culture.

The introduction of the Free Labour System, allowed those who came after 1903 as indentured labourers, to remain in Samoa and set up business. Although this contribution was not as significant as that of the indentured labour system, these Chinese and Chinese-Samoan businesses have shown an ongoing contribution to the lives of the Samoan community and to the Samoan economy. As the laws relaxed with

the Free Labour System from 1920-1933, there was an increase of indentured labourers switching from working in the plantations to becoming artisans and mechanics. After September 1953, the Chinese who had arrived and still remained in Samoa as indentured labourers became permanent residents of Samoa, and were free to obtain licences to open their own businesses. Many of these businesses have developed inter-generationally, and expanded across multiple industries. The new Chinese businesses established by the recent influx of full-blooded Chinese have led to debates arising in the Samoan community and in Parliament. Some people believe that the ownership of Samoan land and businesses should remain with the Samoan people. This issue is complicated by intermarriages, the treatment and acceptance of the mixed or part-Chinese children as “Samoans” by full-blooded Samoans and in turn the general acceptance that these Chinese-Samoans are entitled to hold Samoan land and titles and commercial businesses. The debate continues to be a hot topic in Samoa at present. From indentured labourers to established business people, the Chinese in Samoa have had a marked influence in the development of the Samoan economy over the last hundred years, and it is apparent that they will continue to do so for many years to come.

### *6.3 Influence on Samoan Culture.*

The unions between Samoans and people of other cultures began prior to colonial days as in some cases it was necessary for those of high rank to marry a person from another country. As intermarriage between Samoans and persons of other culture occurred prior to colonial days, the idea of intermarriage between the Chinese and Samoan women was not regarded as a threat to many of the Samoans. This is because the Samoans had accepted intermarriage as part of their culture. However the acceptance of intermarriage began to change when the Europeans brought in the concept of being ‘half-caste’ contaminating the ‘purity’ of Samoans. Intermarriage between the Chinese and Samoan women began once the Chinese first got to Samoa in the late nineteenth century, and this increased with the greatly increased numbers of Chinese indentured labourers in Samoa. Some Samoan women saw Chinese men as more suitable partners than Samoan men, as they were seen as more hardworking.

Intermarriage of the Chinese men and Samoan women was the biggest influence on Samoan national identity. The most obvious influence of intermarriage is that it is possible for Samoan offspring to have Chinese physical features, as well as common Chinese surnames found in Samoan families. These Chinese men assimilated into the Samoan way of life, they became Samoans. They learnt gagana Samoa, the Samoan language, and many became Christians. The Chinese have also earned the respect of the Samoan community, as some have been bestowed matai titles. This has allowed the Chinese to provide leadership and support in their villages, having influence over their Samoan peers. Samoan food is another way in which the Chinese have influenced Samoan national identity. With the introduction of Chinese crops and dishes, such as rice, raw fish, noodles and Chinese vegetables to name a few, the Samoan culinary landscape has been provided with more diverse national dishes heavily influenced by oriental flavours. Such dishes include chopsuey (sapasui), chow mein and corned beef with cabbage.

The Chinese have had a great influence on Samoan identity with intermarriage. This is one of the biggest effects of the Chinese being in Samoa. Although the Chinese assimilated into the Samoan majority, Samoan culture will always be reminded of the Chinese history as many Samoan families have taken Chinese surnames, and the Chinese influence can be seen from facial features in the people to Chinese influenced Samoan dishes.

#### *6.4 Influence of China's Aid in Samoa.*

Foreign aid plays a major part in the Samoan economy and has been a means to improve the country's development and infrastructure. There has been a shift in aid donors from West to East. Traditional foreign aid donors were those with colonial links to the Pacific Island nations. As the Western influence in the Pacific has tended to wane, the Asian influence has dramatically increased. Japan, Taiwan and especially China, are becoming increasingly important in the Pacific region. It is believed by many scholars

that China will become an economic and influential superpower in the Pacific. Samoa's historical link with China makes them a more obvious aid partner.

Motives for granting aid relate to what benefits the donor country. China's aid to Samoa and the Pacific are driven by competition with Taiwan, recognition and support of China's foreign policy. Pacific nations that recognise Taiwan as a country by accepting Taiwanese aid do not have the support of China. The rivalry between China and Taiwan is intense, with their 'aid war' in the Pacific leaving mixed reactions in the Pacific. Although their 'chequebook diplomacy' is beneficial to the islands, it also threatens the security of the region with China and Taiwan competing to win the support of different Pacific nations. As there is uncertainty over security or environment threats, it is important for the Pacific Island nations to work together and to strengthen their sense of community. In short, no foreign aid is in fact given free either in Samoa or the Pacific. All the donor and recipients countries have this mutual agreement from which each gets a benefit.

Although there are benefits to Samoa receiving Chinese aid, there is also a price to be paid. Such prices include: the loss of independence, as Samoa runs the risk of becoming heavily dependent on the aid; a major brain-drain of skilled workers in Samoa; more money going out of the country to China rather than being poured in; and increased gap between the rich and poor. When looking at the costs involved of accepting foreign aid, one can ask whether the benefits outweigh the negatives. However, even though there is a great price to pay, Samoa depends on foreign aid, as it is a major source of the nation's income. China's aid in Samoa has had great influence not only on the economy, but also in the cultural development of the country through the Samoan infrastructure, healthcare and education systems. Chinese aid has built important physical and cultural monuments like parliament buildings, court buildings, a sporting complex, hospital buildings, government buildings and so on.

Samoa will continue to be a recipient of Chinese aid as long as Samoa continues to support China and adhere to the one-China policy. Samoa sees its relationship with

China as being long term and strong so as long as Samoa sees China as a friend it is very unlikely that Samoa will switch its allegiance to Taiwan.

Although it is clear that China's main motives in providing aid to Samoa is to sideline Taiwan and to gain support for China's foreign policy in international forums, I believe these two motives are only a stepping stone towards what China really wants in future. The Pacific is seen as a gateway to the West, so the support of the Pacific nations is a way for China to establish itself alongside the West as a superpower. Samoa's support could have been a linchpin for China in the Pacific, so that China could receive more support from other Pacific nations, thus making China more influential in the region. China has been gaining the trust and support of the Pacific through the generous distribution of aid in the region. Such aid, economic, humanitarian and development, can be seen as a way for China to inform the world of its positive international influence and contributions.

### *6.5 Interrelation of Themes.*

When comparing the themes of the various chapters it becomes apparent that all these topics are closely interrelated.

The economic contribution was the first to occur. It originated with the first Chinese settlers who resided in Samoa setting up their own businesses. The importation of indentured labourers to Samoa was also initiated by an economic driver. This came from the Planters Association in Samoa, which was in need of a reliable source of labour. Samoans were not interested in working the plantations because it was not part of their culture or in their interests to do so. Labour from other countries such as Melanesia and the Cook Islands had become insufficient. Finding a reliable source of labour for the plantations would help boost the Samoan economy, so the planters looked to the Government for assistance.

Chinese labourers were regarded as cheap, reliable and hard working; however, the Malietoa Laupepa law of 1880 forbade the Chinese entry into Samoa. This was

overcome by Governor Solf issuing an ordinance allowing the Chinese indentured labourers to work in Samoa and returning to China once their contract had been fulfilled. This in turn heavily boosted the Samoan economy. The increase of the Chinese population also affected Samoan culture, or the Samoan way of life, through intermarriage and the Chinese assimilation into the Samoan majority.

China's foreign aid is the new economic contribution to the Samoan economy, and was initiated due to the historical links that China has with Samoa. This can be seen as a historical 'driver', as many Samoans today have Chinese ancestry. The amount of Chinese aid accepted by Samoa could influence national identity of Samoans today and in the future. No aid is free, and it can be argued that Samoa could be losing part of its culture by accepting Chinese aid. Although foreign aid is being poured into Samoa, it also has negatively affected the Samoan economy as it is in a lot of debt. One could argue that China's aid is purely for its own benefit for gaining international recognition and to sideline Taiwan. However, China's foreign aid influences both Samoa's economy and development, whether it may be positively or negatively.

In conclusion, when analysing the data, it is apparent that the Chinese have played a significant part in the development of government policies, the economy and national identity in Samoa. The most significant influence of the Chinese is on the Samoan economy, through the indentured labour system, and through entrepreneurship and foreign aid. The Chinese have also, since their first arrival, had an influence on Samoan laws in all sectors - economy, society and politics.

At the surface of both waves of Chinese influence, it is apparent that their principal features differ. For example, the surface feature of the first wave is human capital, in regards to the importation of indentured labourers. In the second wave, the surface feature is financial capital through foreign aid.

Even though at face value the two waves differ, the four processes underlying each wave are the same: (1) Each wave begins by 'opening the door' or enabling this new influence in Samoa. In the first wave this is through the introduction of Chinese

indentured labourers. In the second wave this is through the introduction of Chinese aid. (2) This process is followed by the government using the law to try manipulating the impact of the wave. So, in the first wave this refers to the New Zealand Administration's harsh stance on the repatriation of Chinese indentured labourers and putting in place laws to minimise their social effect on Samoa. In the second wave, there were laws put in place preventing the ownership of land and business from falling under the complete control of foreigners. (3) Although these laws are put in place, the economic drive wins in both waves as a result of dependency. In the first wave, the New Zealand Administration had to relax their laws as the agricultural plantations had become dependent on the Chinese indentured labourers. In the second wave, it is apparent that the Samoan economy has become dependent on foreign aid. (4) The fourth process is the ongoing and unanticipated social impact. Intermarriage, food and surnames are examples of social impacts from the first wave. With the second wave, we are beginning to see the social impact with the introduction of closer educational ties between Samoa and China.

However, we are still going through the first three processes in the second wave. Some Samoan politicians are becoming concerned about the new wave's effects on the Samoa; hence we have similar views to that of the early stages of the first wave with the Government making laws to help minimise the perceived threat. As we are in the early stages of this second wave, only time can determine the social impact of foreign aid in Samoa and whether this second wave will travel a full circle and repeat the previous wave. No matter what ones views of the influences of the Chinese in Samoa are, it is important for Samoan society to understand their history as a means of avoiding mistakes made in the past in order to move forward as a nation.

For further study, there is a need to look at the social effects of the second wave of 'full' Chinese immigrants and the social impact of foreign aid in Samoa. It will be interesting to see whether new Chinese beliefs or practices will be integrated into the Samoan way of life as a result of the new wave. As part of China's aid, China has sent teachers to teach the language in Samoa. Is education a new way for the Chinese to influence Samoan society? Chinese religion is one area which had failed to take root in the

previous wave. Perhaps with the presence of Chinese women in Samoa there will a greater chance that Chinese religion could become established in Samoa.

As the number of full blooded Chinese men and women coming into Samoa increases, will relationships involving Samoan men marrying Chinese women be a trend?

Although they are not coming over in big numbers compared to those of the first wave, it will be interesting to see the extent of their influence in Samoa. Also, will the new full blooded Chinese in Samoa assimilate into the Samoan majority like those in the first wave? Or will they become a separate community group living in Samoa, much like the situation of the Indians in Fiji?<sup>383</sup>. It is possible that full blooded Chinese in Samoa may find it easier to assimilate as they already have close bonds or historical ties with those of Chinese-Samoan descent.

Having now caught hold of the ‘dragon’s tail’, it appears Samoa has become reliant on the dragon itself. It will be interesting to see how the future development of relations between China and Samoa unfold, now that the ‘dragon’ is firmly rooted in the nation.

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<sup>383</sup> In Fiji, assimilation between the indigenous population and Indian indentured labourers never occurred. As a result, the two societies developed separately.

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