INTRODUCTION

Minority differences are manifest around the world, in innumerable realms—religious, linguistic, ethnic, geographic, and economic—often in combinations thereof, and can lead to discrimination. Throughout Southeast Asia, ethnic discrimination is widespread, particularly discrimination against Chinese emigrants and their descendants. The large number of such emigrants and their descendants threatens many Southeast Asian governments, including Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. This is due to their perceived infiltration into regional politics, economics, and culture and the fear that the Chinese might, in effect, turn those states into Chinese colonies.

Southeast Asia has sometimes been called “the Third China” by scholars because the region contains the largest southern Chinese emigrant population. At present, approximately 16–18 million overseas Chinese—95 percent of all Chinese emigrants and their descendants—are concentrated in Southeast Asia. These Chinese emigrants and their descendants play important social, economic, and political roles in Southeast Asia, particularly in Thailand.

Nothing seemingly parallels the extraordinary standing and achievements of the Thai with Chinese ethnic roots—particularly
their political and economic success, which can be traced back to the start of the Thai Kingdom in the 13th century. Successive waves of immigration in the 20th century gave rise to new generations of ethnic Chinese in Thailand. In modern history (after 1932) many prime ministers, high-ranking officials, and business leaders have been Thai with Chinese ethnicity. For instance, the Sophonpanich family, which owns the Bangkok Bank (one of the largest banks in Southeast Asia), is from an emigrant family from Southern China that has resided in the Thai Kingdom for generations. Furthermore, former Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai, former Prime Minister Banharn Silapa-acha, and controversial former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, along with many of his former Cabinet members, were also all from ethnic Chinese families. The Chinese community in Thailand today does not live in exclusive communities separate from the local population, like in the neighboring countries of Malaysia and Indonesia. Indeed, the ethnic Chinese in Thailand have come to identify themselves as Thai with Chinese ethnicity.

Such an achievement of assimilation is not merely a balancing act but rather an organic and complex process—a synthesis of their proclivity towards moderation and their ability to adapt and survive. This ability to assimilate and to do so with seeming ease is different from the experience of other minority groups in the country and of the Chinese in other Southeast Asian countries.

**DEFINITIONS**

**Definition of Overseas Chinese and Ethnic Chinese**

For the purpose of clarity, I will first define the meaning and parameters of the term “overseas Chinese,” as it will be used throughout this book. It applies to both Chinese descendants who live outside of mainland China and maintain their Chinese citizenship and to Chinese emigrants who hold citizenship in a new country. Webster’s dictionary describes the “overseas Chinese” as “ethnic Chinese who live outside of Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, or Taiwan.”

There are approximately 60 million overseas Chinese living in
Southeast Asia; they make up a majority of the population of Singapore and significant minority populations in Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia. According to Suryadinata, the phrase “overseas Chinese” implies that the Chinese emigrants are sojourners who will eventually return to mainland China. The Chinese often refer to this group as huaqiao (or Chinese sojourners). This term had been used before the ethnic conflicts when discrimination arose between the overseas Chinese and local Thai. The term continues to be used today by the Chinese who reside outside of the PRC but plan to go back to the mainland in the future.

Stephen Fitzgerald (as cited by Suryadinata) notes that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) first used the term “overseas Chinese” to include all ethnic Chinese living outside of China. By the mid-1950s, it was narrowed to refer to Chinese nationals who maintained some attachment to the Chinese homeland and still held Chinese citizenship. Fitzgerald also suggests that the term can extend beyond the concept of “nationality” to include many ethnic Chinese who are non-Chinese citizens. However, after 1955, the Chinese government did not support dual citizenship and encouraged the overseas Chinese, especially the ethnic Chinese who were born outside the PRC, to take the citizenship of the new nations in which they lived, after which they were called “hua yen”—meaning foreigners with ethnic Chinese origins but having no current connection or attachment to mainland China. To confirm Fitzgerald’s definition, Hay-Him Chan of the Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism (CCCOWE) defines the “ethnic Chinese” as those Chinese whose primary language is not Chinese and whose primary cultural orientation is not toward Chinese culture. Most ethnic Chinese are born outside China (or more specifically, outside “Greater China,” that is, in countries other than the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau). In Thailand, the ethnic Chinese are called Thai-Chinese or Thai-born Chinese.

In this book, the terms “overseas Chinese” or “ethnic Chinese” refer to the above description. In addition, “Chinese” in Thailand includes the whole community of both the overseas Chinese and the

**Definition of Assimilation**

A clarification of the definition and concept of “assimilation” as applied in this study is essential before the discussion of the central questions, hypothesis, and other main arguments. This is necessary in order to highlight the particular conditions surrounding the assimilation of the Chinese community in Thailand. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “assimilation” is the action of making or becoming like; the state of being like; similarity; resemblance; likeness.\(^{10}\) Furthermore, the *Brainy Dictionary* defines “assimilation” as the act or process of assimilating or bringing to a resemblance, likeness, or identity; also, the state of being so assimilated; as, the assimilation of one sound to another.\(^{11}\) Various scholars have proposed different definitions for “assimilation.” At Princeton, anthropologists define assimilation as the state of being assimilated by which people of different backgrounds come to see themselves as part of a larger national family through the social process of absorbing one cultural group into harmony with another.\(^{12}\) Simon, a social scientist, views assimilation as “a process of adjustment and accommodation which occurs between the people of different races and the result is group homogeneity to a greater or lesser degree.”\(^{13}\)

Henri Bunle pays particular attention to “immigrant assimilation,” which he defines as “a conformity of immigrant behavior with that of native inhabitants.” He points out that immigrants are assimilated only when they speak the language of their new country by preference, have adopted the native customs and their way of life, and their original outlook gives way to that of their new surroundings. Bunle views the assimilation of temporary immigrants as of limited interest to them but is more important for those who leave home permanently with the idea of settling down in a new country.
Natives or the receiving country might be interested in the immediate assimilation of newcomers whether they welcome and favor it or fear and oppose it.  

Bunle’s concept of immigrant assimilation is the one that best describes the situation of Chinese emigrants in Thailand because it focuses on the assimilation of immigrants who relocate permanently in the host country. This book, therefore, adopts Bunle’s concept of assimilation in the analysis of the Chinese community in Thailand.

It must be noted here that the usage of the term assimilation in this book is conceptually different from the term integration. Integration is defined by T. Kuhlman as “that outcome of an adaptation process where the migrants maintain their own identity, yet become part of the host society to the extent that the host population and migrants can live together in an acceptable way.” Clearly, assimilation and integration are conceptually different. Integration assumes the maintenance of the ethnic identity of the migrants or immigrants. Integration, in this book, refers to the action of incorporating a racial or religious group into a community. According to the American Heritage Dictionary, “integration” means the bringing of people of different racial or ethnic groups into unrestricted and equal association, as in society or an organization; desegregation. Until recently in world history, “integration” implied that persons of different racial or ethnic backgrounds who choose to reside in the host country would elect to adapt to the host country’s cultural norms and customs, including learning the official native language.

The definitions of assimilation mentioned above do not take into account the ability of an immigrant group to preserve its own identity. Because this study concerns itself with the complete assimilation of the ethnic Chinese in Thailand, it will not deal with integration.

Generation

“Generation” in this book signifies the replacement of one population by their offspring. The first generation overseas Chinese refers to the
generation that moved from China, and the second generation is the child of the first generation. The third generation is the first generation’s grandchild and the fourth generation is the great-grandchild. However, if a family moves back and forth between China and Thailand, the great-grandchildren of the first generation will not be categorized as a fourth generation. The fourth generation in this book refers to families who have lived in Thailand for four consecutive generations.

Complete assimilation of the fourth generation occurs for most immigrants unless a significant part of their cultural belief system, e.g., their religion or language, remains different from that of their adopted nation. This is true in Thailand for the ethnic Chinese in comparison to the Thai-Muslims. While the ethnic Chinese could readily follow Thai assimilation policies requiring them to pay respect to the Buddha statue, this was more difficult for the Thai-Muslims. Thus, a similarity in culture and beliefs has made it easier for the Chinese to adapt and constitutes an important variable for their assimilation process in Thailand.

**Research Objectives**

The aim of this book is fourfold:

1. To examine the assimilation process of the Chinese community in Thailand in the present by focusing on Thai-Chinese relations from a historical perspective. The following questions will be explored:

   a. What were the objectives and interests of the overseas Chinese in migrating to Thailand from the 13th century until the present?
   
   b. How has the Thai government formulated its foreign and domestic policies towards China and its immigrants in each period of time?
   
   c. How have the Thai foreign and domestic policies affected the Chinese in Thailand in each different period of time?
d. How did China react to the Thai policies towards the Chinese in Thailand in each period from the beginning of Thai history until the present?

2. To examine whether religion, the Chinese language, and Chinese language newspapers affected the assimilation processes of the Chinese in Thailand in the past century.

3. To collect data investigating the Skinnerian hypothesis from various groups of the Chinese who live in Bangkok in different areas and social environments. This investigation is aimed at discovering whether living in different areas affected the assimilation process for the ethnic Chinese in Bangkok in the past century.

4. To fill in the gaps and update the literature on overseas Chinese in Thailand with current data from the past century.

**Research Questions**

Having explained the terminology of assimilation, it is now possible to elaborate on the main components of this study. To examine the Chinese community’s experience of assimilation in Thailand, the following questions are posed:

1. What are the factors, particular to Thailand, that facilitate the assimilation of the Chinese in Thailand and give them a different experience from their compatriots in neighboring countries?

2. Does the assimilation experience of the Chinese in Thailand support the Skinnerian paradigm, which assumes complete assimilation of the Chinese by the fourth generation?

**Hypotheses**

The forces of assimilation occur at two levels: On the first level, the Chinese in Thailand seem to have possessed natural attributes that facilitate social and cultural assimilation into Thai society. These factors do not operate alone and have been insufficient to prompt the complete assimilation of the Chinese. On the second
level, the Thai government’s pro-assimilation policies, and the political situation in both Thailand and China, have also been responsible for the assimilation of the Chinese who reside in the Thai Kingdom.

FOCUS OF THE STUDY

The Skinnerian Paradigm
Because a large part of this book is devoted to testing the Skinnerian paradigm, it is essential to introduce the basic tenets of G. William Skinner’s (1957) arguments. Skinner was one of the first authors to write a scholarly work on the overseas Chinese in Thailand. As a result, many scholars in this field refer to his works. This study tests whether Skinner’s findings are still valid today. Much of the existing research on the topic of overseas Chinese in Thailand suggests that they have tended to assimilate into Thai society rather than resist this pressure. Skinner hypothesizes that a majority of the descendants of Chinese emigrants in each successive generation would merge with Thai society such that the next generation would eventually become indistinguishable from the indigenous population. The Skinnerian paradigm projects that by the fourth generation, ethnic Chinese would completely assimilate and identify themselves as Thai. He claims that the Chinese in Thailand have been assimilating at a steady rate over the past century and a half (1800–1950), and that assimilation has occurred at a rate comparable to the Europeans in the United States.\(^{18}\)

Skinner asserts that the similarity of the Chinese and Thai cultures makes it easier for the Chinese in Thailand to assimilate into Thai society over other groups. The findings of this book support Skinner’s argument and elaborate upon it by discussing the differences between the Chinese and Muslim experience in assimilation in Thailand. Skinner points out that similarity in food, physical appearance, and religion are the advantages that the Chinese have had in assimilating into Thai society.\(^{19}\) Thailand is primarily Hinayana Buddhist, and the state, throughout the past seven centuries, has based certain policies and regulations on
Buddhist beliefs and philosophy. The predominant Chinese religion is based on Mahayana Buddhism, which is quite similar to the Hinayana Buddhism in Thailand. Hence, there is less conflict with respect to religious customs, beliefs, and identity for the Chinese, such as with the Thai national code whereby Thai are expected to pay homage to Buddha. Thus, the Chinese minority have been able to easily merge into the Thai majority, unlike other ethnic and religious minorities such as the Malay-speaking Muslims of the south and the Thai-Indians, who at one point had threatened to secede as a result of Thailand’s Buddhist-oriented laws. Furthermore, the Chinese are quite similar to the Thai in appearance and that has also made it easier for the Chinese to fit in than for the other groups that look different from the Thai. It is also easier for the Thai to accept the Chinese into their community, more so than the Malay and Indonesian Muslims who have different religious beliefs. For example, Malays do not eat pork because it is against the Muslims’ strict Halal code. Consequently, the Thai and the Chinese are not quite welcomed living within that community due to such religious differences.

Secondly, the similarity in lifestyles and beliefs (e.g., food and folk beliefs) between the two cultures has rendered a rather smooth assimilation of the Chinese into Thai society. This cultural affinity has prompted successive generations of the Thai government to craft policies that help the Chinese to assimilate. Indeed, proactive assimilation policies have played a strong role in helping the Chinese minority adapt, unlike Muslim countries that have overtly discriminatory policies against the Chinese.

Chan and Tong
Chan and Tong (1993) counter Skinner’s hypothesis that the similarity in lifestyles and beliefs, especially in religion, has prompted the Chinese to emigrate to Thailand and has eased their assimilation process. Their findings will also be addressed in this book. In their article “Rethinking Assimilation and Ethnicity: The Chinese in Thailand,” Chan and Tong (1993) claim that Skinner “overemphasized the forces of assimilation.” They point out that if Skinner was right and assimilation took place
on an ongoing basis, then the Chinese could not survive as “Chinese” in Thailand. However, Chan and Tong argue there are a substantial number of ethnic Chinese in present-day Thailand and that communities of ethnic Chinese are strong, as evident in Chinese associations and the numerous private Chinese schools in and around Bangkok. Furthermore, the authors point to their observation that Chinese as a language remains in use and that Thai has not replaced Chinese as the predominant language spoken by the Chinese in Thailand. Rather, the Chinese in Thailand are bilingual and choose to speak either language in certain social settings or situations. In their fieldwork, Chan and Tong encountered many instances where their subjects spoke a mix of Chinese and Thai at home. Similarly, Chinese businessmen prefer to conduct their affairs in Chinese. The authors cite their meeting with a Chinese shopkeeper who spoke to his clients in Thai but spoke to the other shopkeepers in a Chinese dialect as an example. Drawing from these experiences during their fieldwork in Thailand, Chan and Tong conclude that bilingualism and the usage of different languages in different environments signify the maintenance of the Chinese cultural identity.

Chan and Tong’s research receives attention because it counters Skinner’s theory, which has been the basis for other scholarly research in this area over the past 30 years. Most importantly, during this time, there has been a dearth of literature that pays direct attention to the Chinese in Thailand. Chan and Tong’s work has been by far the most respected work that counters the prominent Skinnerian paradigm. As such, a work that supports the Skinnerian paradigm must address Chan and Tong’s findings. This book will provide new evidence to show that Chan and Tong’s findings were not quite correct and have become obsolete over the past ten years, adding to the debate on whether or not the complete assimilation of ethnic Chinese in Thailand occurs by the fourth generation.

Furthering the Research
However, a perplexing aspect about Chan and Tong’s research is that they did not cite any statistical data to substantiate their claims against Skinner’s findings. Rather, the authors rely on Punyodyana’s data
on bilingualism collected in 1971, which is outdated for the current environment. This book shall test the validity of Chan and Tong’s assertions with new data collected from surveys distributed to 200 ethnic Chinese in Thailand. It has been found that in present-day Thailand, Chan and Tong’s main points are not valid. The data presented in this research provides empirical evidence that support the Skinnerian paradigm.

This book has designed, collected, analyzed, and presented solid empirical evidence to evaluate findings presented by previous authors (Skinner and Chan and Tong) and also provides published methodology of the most current data of the Chinese community in Thailand. While this study supports Skinner’s main hypothesis that the Chinese in Thailand generally become assimilated by the fourth generation, a different assessment on the subject of the willingness of the Chinese to assimilate is presented. This study argues that despite the Chinese’s cultural attributes that have assisted their assimilation, the Chinese displayed resistance to the Thai government’s forced assimilation policies. Through a discussion of the history of Chinese emigration to Thailand and the Thai government’s assimilation policies, I will demonstrate that the Chinese have been less willing to assimilate than argued by Skinner.

Thai assimilation policies, which include many laws such as the Immigration Law and Education Law, have forced the Chinese to develop a Thai identity, albeit a special one. However, I show that the Thai government’s assimilation policies were not the only factor that enabled the overseas Chinese to assimilate so well. Additionally, and more importantly, I argue that the Chinese people’s ability and willingness to adapt played a greater role in helping the Chinese assimilate. The Thai assimilation policies’ limitations are clearly demonstrated by the enduring “separateness” of Thailand’s other major ethnic group, the Muslims, who have protested against the many laws and regulations that they feel have threatened their religious and cultural practices. In short, my argument suggests that the Chinese emigrants’ religious beliefs, urbanity, open-mindedness, and ability to adapt have been more influential in creating a strong Thai identity than Thailand’s assimilation policies.
This argument supports Skinner’s paradigm and counters Chan and Tong’s (1992) findings. In addition, it explores how the Chinese government helped ameliorate the plight of the Chinese minority in Thailand over the past century and how the Thai government responded to this.

Even though these scholars discuss how the differences in religion can affect assimilation, their approach does not compare the experience between the Chinese, who are predominantly Buddhist, with the Muslim minority in Thailand. This book, is, therefore, the first to demonstrate the uniqueness of the Chinese assimilation experience by contrasting the assimilation experience between the Chinese and the Thai-Muslims, thereby introducing a new analytical concept to overseas Chinese studies. Additionally, the book comments on how Chinese language newspapers and publications affect the assimilation process. Neither Skinner nor Chan and Tong have examined this variable.

Furthermore, this study finds that in today’s Thailand, fourth generation Chinese do not exist. The history of the oscillating relationship between Thailand and China has driven the Thai government to issue domestic policies and regulations aimed at new Chinese emigrants who have constituted the Chinese community in the Kingdom, and which on different occasions have prompted them to assimilate into Thai society, voluntarily or through force. These policies have in fact been implemented by Thai leaders who have Chinese ancestors but have come to identify themselves as Thai.

This study also provides further support for scholars who argue that the combination of Thai government policies towards the Chinese have facilitated Chinese assimilation in Thailand. Historically, when good relations prevail between two governments, the host country will generally treat the overseas community well, and the reverse will occur if relations are poor. Surprisingly, this has not always been the case in Southeast Asia. For example, Indonesia was the first country in the region to engage in amicable diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China (PRC) beginning in the 1950s, but it
maintained a more discriminatory policy towards the ethnic Chinese than Thailand did. On the other hand, Thailand was slow to open formal ties with the PRC, but it has always upheld the most flexible and accommodating regulations towards its Chinese community. This flexibility is due to the Thai government’s domestic policies, which have not harshly discriminated against minorities, and also because many Thai people, especially those in high positions, have some Chinese ancestry. Furthermore, a historically amicable relationship between the royal courts of China and Thailand has helped Thai rulers to treat the Chinese with equality in relation to Thai citizens. This in turn has facilitated the assimilation of the Chinese into the local society.

Finally, this book elaborates on how the ethnic Chinese in modern Thailand have acted as a channel for understanding and cooperation between the Thai and Chinese governments. The ethnic Chinese helped Thailand and the PRC build an amicable relationship during the most critical period of their modern relationship: the post-World War II era (1945–1984). The two nations’ positive relationship actually was established in the 13th century during the Thai Kingdom in the Sukhothai epoch. Recently, however, after the anti-communist era in Thailand following the Chinese Communists’ coup in 1949, the ethnic Chinese became the essential mediator between the two nations, and the ethnic Chinese prospered from this role.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The discussion of the literature on overseas Chinese in Thailand demonstrates that the information used in the analyses is not up to date, and hence those analyses may not be the best reflection of the situation of the Chinese community in Thailand today. The primary task of this book was to collect new information to determine whether or not the prevalent Skinnerian paradigm is still relevant. My research relies on 1) public documentary research, 2) extensive interviews with ethnic Chinese in Thailand, Thai and Chinese officials both in Thailand and the PRC, Thai and ethnic Chinese business people both in Thailand and
the PRC, and surveys with the ethnic Chinese in Bangkok. 3) Primary sources related to the research topic in both Thailand and China are also examined. 4) Furthermore, secondary sources in Thai, Chinese, and English are utilized. 5) I also extensively refer to PhD dissertations, master’s theses, newspaper reports, and articles published in scholarly and business journals.

**Interviews and Questionnaire Sampling Design**

The ethnic Chinese who live in Bangkok can be divided into three groups: those who live in the Chinatown area and maintain Chinese cultural traditions, those who live outside Chinatown but still maintain their Chinese tradition and practices, and those who live outside Chinatown and do not follow Chinese tradition. The reason for dividing the Chinese in this survey into three groups is to help me assess whether a strong Chinese cultural environment and traditional practices is a key factor in their assimilation into Thai society.

I developed and distributed 200 surveys to ethnic Chinese who live in Bangkok with differences of background (economic status, education, age, and sex). I used questionnaires, and the “Simple Random Cluster Sampling” and “Snowball Sampling” formats to update the data that Chan and Tong (1993) gathered in the last decade. To design the questionnaires, I have chosen open questions to test the validity and reliability of the respondents by using some similar questions on a different level of the questions to make sure that the answer could be valid for different types of questions. Furthermore, to analyze this quantitative research, I have chosen the percentage classification method to verify the outcome of each respondent.

Furthermore, to verify the validity and reliability of the questionnaires, I conducted 30 open-ended interviews with Thai and Chinese government officials, leading scholars, business people, and overseas Chinese groups both in Thailand and China on the same topics and included the questions on Thai-Chinese foreign relations, Thai domestic policies that have affected the overseas Chinese, and
the Thai social, political, and cultural environment with respect to Chinese assimilation. This data and information gathering were used to test whether the Skinnerian Paradigm is still valid and whether fourth-generation Chinese in Thailand exist.

**Scope of this Study**

Chapters 1 and 2 examine Thai-Chinese relations that date back to the first Thai dynasty, Sukhothai (from the 13th to 15th centuries), to the present Rattanakosin Epoch (beginning in 1782 to date). It investigates major events and crises involving China and Thailand that have affected the Chinese community in Thailand. To get a holistic picture of the process of assimilation of the Chinese in Thailand, it is essential to explore the history of the overseas Chinese emigrants in Thailand and Thai history itself. Most scholars who study overseas/ethnic Chinese in Thailand are anthropologists, historians, or political scientists. Academic work on Thailand’s overseas Chinese concentrates on questions about the nature of the Chinese community’s social organization, the preservation of their culture, and the concepts of assimilation. This book is a synthesis of the different approaches used to examine the issue of the overseas Chinese; it looks at how the history of Chinese emigration, political developments in Thailand and China, as well as the cultural traits of the Chinese and Thai have affected assimilation.

After this historical outline, chapter 3 explores Thai domestic policies that have affected the Chinese population following World War II, an era that transformed both the Thai government and the Thai public’s stance toward immigrants. This will be illustrated by a trajectory of foreign and domestic policies and a discussion of their effectiveness. Chapter 4 turns to the debate on the assimilation of the Chinese in Thailand: whether or not the Chinese have completely assimilated by the fourth generation. The book examines both Skinner’s and Chan and Tong’s arguments and analyzes their main ideas in the context of the present-day environment for the ethnic Chinese. Chapter 5 presents how Buddhism, Chinese
schools, and Chinese language newspapers influenced assimilation. Finally, chapter 6 presents the results of my surveys conducted on ethnic Chinese in Thailand from 2002–2004. The empirical data gathered from the survey supports the Skinnerian paradigm and hence rejects Chan and Tong’s challenge to the former.
1. A Chinese emigrant is defined as a Chinese who migrated to Thailand from China. This term will be used interchangeably with Chinese emigrants to reflect the aforementioned definition of Chinese persons in Thailand only.


**Overseas Chinese** vary widely as to their degree of assimilation, their interactions with the surrounding communities, and their relationship with China. In Thailand, overseas Chinese have largely intermarried and assimilated with the native community, while in Malaysia and Singapore, overseas Chinese have maintained a distinct communal identity. Often there are different waves of immigration leading to sub-groups among overseas Chinese such as the new and old immigrants in Cambodia. Many people, particularly in Malaysia and Singapore, who are considered overseas Chinese do not welcome the label. The Chinese in Southeast Asian countries have often established themselves in commerce and finance.

Both the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC) maintain highly complex relationships with overseas Chinese populations. During the 1950s and 1960s, the ROC tended to seek the support of overseas Chinese communities through branches of the Kuomintang based on Sun Yat-sen’s use of expatriate Chinese communities to raise money for his revolution. During this period, the PRC tended to view overseas Chinese with suspicion as possible capitalist infiltrators and tended to value relationships with Southeast Asian nations as more important than gaining support of overseas Chinese. The Bandung declaration explicitly stated that overseas Chinese owed primary loyalty to their home nation.