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TWENTIETH CENTURY MACAU: HISTORY, POLITICS, ECONOMY A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

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# TWENTIETH CENTURY MACAU: HISTORY, POLITICS, ECONOMY A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

RODERICH PTAK

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## Abbreviations

AMYJ	<i>Aomen yanjiu</i> 澳門研究
FM	Fundação Macau, Aomen jijinhui 澳門基金會
FO	Fundação Oriente, Dongfang jijinhui 東方基金會
ICM	Instituto Cultural de Macau, Aomen wenhua sishu 澳門文化司書
IPOR	Instituto Português do Oriente, Dongfang Putaoya xuehui 東方葡萄牙學會
ISCSF	Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas
MS 46	<i>Monumenta Serica</i> 46 (1998), details see n. 1 below
RC	<i>Revista de Cultura</i> , details see 3 (h) below
UM	Universidade de Macau, University of Macau, Aomen daxue 澳門大學; formerly University of East Asia
UT	Universidade Técnica de Lisboa
*	works not seen

## 1. Introduction

In 1998 *Monumenta Serica* published a bibliographical survey of recent research on the history of Sino-Portuguese relations and Macau from earliest times through to about 1900. Since then many new publications have appeared, including an excellent bibliographical guide by Rui Manuel Loureiro, which covers more or less the same period of time.<sup>1</sup> The present note is to continue this work with respect to the twentieth century. It is perhaps the first bibliographical essay of its kind and therefore certainly rather incomplete. Generally, Macau's recent past has been investigated in a large number of books and articles, but many of these works do not bear a scholarly character. Very often they were brought out by small publishing companies or in journals not specialized in the area of "Macau Studies" or some related field, which makes it difficult to acquire these publications. Nor may one say that a certain set of works on modern Macau should be considered "classic," or indispensable and authoritative, such as some of the books and articles pertaining to earlier periods, for example the works by Okamoto, Braga, Teixeira, Boxer and others, known to historians working on the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Therefore, it is less easy to establish a balanced bibliographical picture of writings on twentieth century Macau.

The present note will try to cope with these problems in the following manner: It will mention the more frequently-quoted titles in Portuguese, Chinese, English and German, or what the author believes to be the more frequently-cited ones in these languages (publications in other languages were not systematically explored), and it will give an arbitrary selection of further works, especially books and essay collections, which should not be overlooked in a bibliographical introduction. However, not all articles can be listed here, partly because they deal with "small" issues, or because they repeat what is already known, or simply to save space. Thus, in many cases only "lump sum" references were included. Next, the present note will mostly look at works published in the 1980s and 1990s, until about 1999 (works written until the 1960s are usually cited in Luís Gonzaga Gomes' well-known *Bibliografia macaense*).<sup>2</sup> In rare cases books printed in 2000 were also listed. Newspaper articles, contributions to non-scholarly periodicals published outside of Macau, the internet (for example, the "Macau Virtual Library," available under [www.macaadata.com](http://www.macaadata.com)) and, more generally, non-print media were not considered. Finally, the focus of this survey is on historical, economic, and political issues. Anthropological and sociological studies will only be cited at random, in section nine. Religious, juridical and cultural matters, as well as the arts, including Macau's literatures and languages, are practically left untouched.

One other problem relates to the distinction between primary and secondary sources. Very often, such a distinction is not possible. Moreover, the most "genuine"

<sup>1</sup> Roderich Ptak, "Macau and Sino-Portuguese Relations, ca. 1513/1514 to ca. 1900: A Bibliographical Essay," *Monumenta Serica* 46 (1998), pp. 343-396; Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Guia de história de Macau, 1500-1900* (Macau: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999), review in *Monumenta Serica* 48 (2000), pp. 523-526.

<sup>2</sup> Originally published in *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões*, then reprinted as a monograph by the Instituto Cultural de Macau (1987).

primary sources for the twentieth century would be the myriads of documents conserved in public and government offices, firms, banks, various archives, and so on. These materials cannot be considered here. The present survey looks at published works only. Finally, it does not include government statistics of which the most essential ones are the annual yearbooks and perhaps the foreign trade and tourism statistics of Macau.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Bibliographical Tools and Handbooks

Many basic scholarly tools, including bibliographies and handbooks, have appeared in Macau. Some of these works were discussed in *MS* 46, pp. 349-351. But not all of them are relevant for the twentieth century. Bibliographical information for this period can best be drawn from internet pages and the following three works, which will be discussed below, one by one:

### Bibliographical tools

- (a) Gomes' *Bibliografia macaense*, already cited in n. 1. It only provides Western language materials, but is an essential work and the first modern bibliography on Macau. Government publications, especially statistics, and many periodicals are listed in this bibliography. Unfortunately, there are many errors and certain details are inaccurate.
- (b) Richard Louis Edmonds, *Macau* (Oxford, etc.: CLIO Press, 1989; World Bibliographical Series 105). This short and annotated bibliography provides the more important works. It lists very few Chinese titles.
- (c) *Boletim bibliográfico de Macau* (*Aomen tushu mulu* 澳門圖書目錄), published by the ICM since 1988, irregularly and in bilingual form. One of the latest issues prior to the handover, called *450 anos de relações luso-chinas* (*Zhong Pu guanxi sibaiwushi nian tushu mulu* 中葡關係四白五十年圖書目錄), has ca. 600 pages and is an excellent bibliographical guide. Earlier numbers focus on either articles or monographs. They usually contain brief comments on the contents of each entry. Both Chinese and Western sources are listed; this includes scholarly as well as "general" publications. Articles appearing in Chinese journals outside of Macau are rarely indexed.

The large number of Chinese language publications on Macau poses the greatest problem for any bibliographical inquiry. There is no adequate guide to these materials and one has to rely on the regular national bibliographies of both the People's Republic and Taiwan to collect relevant titles. "Ordinary" sinological bibliographies are less helpful. The *Bibliography of Asian Studies* carries some entries, but is definitely far from being complete. The same applies to *Revue bibliographique de sinologie* (with the exception of vol. 18 [2000], which carries a short bibliographical essay on Macau by Michel Cartier), the monthly listings in *China aktuell* and various scholarly periodicals related to modern China. Even the review sections of well-known journals are disappointing. *China Review International*, the *Journal of Asian Studies*, and other important periodicals on contemporary issues rarely publish reviews of Macau-related books. For up-to-date bibliographical information, it may be more advanta-

<sup>3</sup> Many of the more important statistics are listed in the bibliography of Peter Haberzettl and Roderich Ptak, *Macau: Geographie, Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur* (see below, section 2, handbooks, title f).

geous to acquire regular catalogues from Macau's and Lisbon's principal publishing houses and institutions – ICM, FM, IPOR, UM, FO, etc. – and to tour bookshops in both places at regular intervals. There also exist several smaller works and brochures on Macau's libraries and other collections. But very often they are of a general character and present the history of a particular institution without saying too much on the collection itself. One such work is Jorge de Abreu Arrimar's *A Biblioteca Central de Macau* (Macau: ICM, Biblioteca Central de Macau, 1992), a trilingual brochure, in Portuguese, English and Chinese.

Handbooks, almanachs, and special dictionaries (some of which were already presented in *MS 46*) are of great relevance for the study of modern Macau. Here are the more important titles:

#### Handbooks, Almanachs, Dictionaries

- (a) Wong Hon Keong (Huang Hanqiang) 黃漢強 (ed.), *Aomen jingji nianjian* 澳門經濟年鑒 (Macau: Aomen Huaqiao bao, 1983). This work is particularly useful for economists because it summarizes the development of individual industrial and commercial branches in Macau. These summaries can be profitably read together with official government statistics. They constitute an important tool for research on Macau's economy in the 1970s and early 1980s. An updated version of the *Aomen jingji nianjian* came out in 1984/86. There is also a partial English version: *Economy of Macau* (Chinese and Portuguese titles on cover: *Aomen jingji* and *A economia de Macau*), compiled by Wong Hon-Keung (i.e., Wong Hon Keong), translated from Chinese by Huang Wei-Wen (Macau: Jornal "Va Kio" [i.e., the Huaqiao bao 華僑報], ca. 1988), 539 pages + coloured illustrations and advertisements.
- (b) Aomen ribao 澳門日報 (ed.), *Aomen shouce* 澳門手冊 (Macau: Aomen ribao, 1988), 173 pages and advertisements, many illustrations. This is a finely printed handbook with general chapters on every aspect of modern Macau, including government institutions. There are also some statistics and lists of Macau's street names (in Portuguese and Chinese). Revised editions appeared later on.
- (c) "Gang Ao da baike quanshu" bianweihui 港澳大百科全書編委會 (ed.), *Gang Ao da baike quanshu* 港澳大百科全書 (*Encyclopedia of Hong Kong & Macau*) (Guangzhou: Huacheng chubanshe, 1993), 62 + 903 pages and more than 90 pages of illustrations, maps, etc. The last 250 pages cover Macau. There are hundreds of short entries (of several lines to half a column each) on geographical issues, streets, and other sites; on historical issues, events, and important written sources; on temples, churches, and religious matters; on juridical matters, laws, etc.; on economic issues, firms, business branches, industries, banks, etc.; on educational institutions and other educational issues; on medical and cultural aspects; on tourism and related fields; on social and demographic questions. Furthermore, there are ca. 330 short biographies. This is an important tool, but it contains some errors and many misprints; moreover, some data are biased.
- (d) Huang Hanqiang 黃漢強 and Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 (eds.), *Aomen zonglan* 澳門總覽 (*Panorama de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994), 3 + 549 pages. For a long time, this was certainly the best Chinese language almanach on Macau and thus a very useful tool. There are chapters on history, government, economics, culture, society, the period of transition, Macau's foreign relations, and dozens of biographies. The book is also valuable in the sense that readers will find comprehensive surveys of cer-

tain topics rarely dealt with from the bird's-eye view, for example Macau's Chinese literature, the performing arts, sports, the media, welfare institutions, environmental protection, etc. There is also a revised edition of this work.

- (e) Huang Hongzhao 黃鴻釗 and Ren Tianshi 任天石 (eds.), *Gang Ao daquan* 港澳大全 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1995), IV + 2 + 32 + 617 pages. The arrangement of many entries in this work reminds of those found in *Gang Ao da baike quanshu*. Some parts also overlap with the descriptions found in other handbooks. Entries may be located by the number of strokes.
- (f) Peter Haberzettl and Roderich Ptak, *Macau: Geographie, Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Kultur. Ein Handbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995; South China and Maritime Asia 3), 12 + 233 pages. A general work with alphabetically arranged entries on Macau's history, economy, finance, politics, foreign relations, culture, the arts and literature, architecture and religions, educational and other institutions, as well as some biographies. There is a classified bibliography of works in Western languages and Chinese, an index, and a Chinese glossary.
- (g) Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 and Jeong Wan Chong (Yang Yunzhong) 楊允中 (coord.), *Aomen baike quanshu* 澳門百科全書 (*Enciclopédia de Macau*) (Macau: FM; Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1999). 38, 2, ii, 1, 41, 718 pages, with many illustrations. Partly based on the revised edition of item (d), this is certainly the most advanced handbook on Macau. It is beautifully printed and contains many useful tables and other materials. There is a stroke index and bibliographical information.
- (h) Li Xiaojiang 黎小江 and Mo Shixiang 莫世祥, *Aomen da cidian* 澳門大辭典 (*Dictionary of Macao*) (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 1999). 7 + 52 + 928 pages, plus illustrations. This is the largest handbook on Macau published outside of Macau. It provides a large number of entries and is, in many ways, superior to the works listed under (c) and (e).
- (i) "Aomen shehui dadian" bianji weiyuanhui 澳門社會大典編輯委員會 (ed.), *Aomen shehui dadian* 澳門社會大典 (Hong Kong: Wanglian guoji chubanshe, 1999). 17 + 2 + 811 pages, many illustrations. This work, the chief editor of which was Chen Yushu 陳玉書, is the largest Macau-related handbook ever published in Hong Kong. It draws much on earlier publications, but presents certain materials and aspects not covered in the other works.
- (j) Gu Longsheng 顧龍生 and Wu Xuesheng 吳雪生 (eds.), *Aomen shouce* 澳門手冊 (*A Dictionary of Macao*) (Zhengzhou: Henan renmin chubanshe, 1999). 12 + 2 + 429 pages. This work is rather difficult to find in Western libraries. It is less erudite than item (h) and not so reliable as some of the other sources.

There are also some older handbooks, or books with a similar nature, now definitely outdated, such as José Maria Braga's *Macau: A Short Handbook* (Macau: Information and Tourism Department, 1965), with only 72 pages, and P. H. M. Jones's *The Golden Guide to Hong Kong and Macau* (Hong Kong: The Far Eastern Economic Review Ltd., 1969). Furthermore, several general works have appeared in China; they often deal with both Hong Kong and Macau, sometimes also with Taiwan. Here is a selection from among such works: Zhang Guoqian 張國前 *et al.* (eds.), *Tai Gang Ao shouce* 台港澳手冊 (Beijing: Huayi chubanshe, 1990); Li Jun 李軍 (ed.), *Tai Gang Ao baike da cidian* 台港澳百科大辭典 (Beijing: Hualing chubanshe,

1992); Liu Zesheng 刘泽生, *Gang Ao gailan* 港澳概览 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1990; ca. 80 pages on Macau); Elfed Vaughan Roberts, Sum Ngai Ling and Peter Bradshaw, *Historical Dictionary of Hong Kong and Macau* (Metuchen, N.J., etc.: The Scarecrow Press, 1992; Asian Historical Dictionaries 10; again ca. 80 pages on Macau with rudimentary information and many inaccuracies);<sup>4</sup> Song Shichang 宋世昌 (ed.), Ma Lina 马丽娜 and Zhang Pusui 张普随 (assistant eds.), *Aomen chungiu* 澳门春秋 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuiwu chubanshe, 1999; a nicely-printed handbook or survey with chapters on Macau's geography, history, economy, government, legal system, culture, and education; some biographies); Li Pengzhu 李鹏翥, *Aomen shouce. Aomen ribao zhuankan ershiwu nian jinian tekan* 澳门手册。澳门日报专刊二十五年纪念特刊 (Beijing: Zhongguo gongyipin jinchukou zonggongsi, 1983; a work of ca. 200 pages).<sup>5</sup>

Handbooks exclusively or mainly dealing with Guangdong or areas near Macau may be of some use as well. Very often they carry biographies of personalities related to both sides of the border, or they inform about other aspects of the relations between Guangdong and Macau. One outstanding example is the *Guangdong baike quanshu* 广东百科全书, edited by Guangdong baike quanshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 广东百科全书编纂委员会 (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1995). Some contributors to this encyclopedia have also published on Macau. Several sections, for example under the headings "Ao" and "Yue-Ao," deal with Macau.

### 3. Mass Media and Scholarly Periodicals

Macau has a long tradition in the field of publishing journals and newspapers. But most periodicals have appeared for short periods only. Relevant surveys may be found in the following works: Manuel Teixeira, *A imprensa periódica portuguesa no Extremo-Oriente* (Macau: Notícias de Macau, 1965; repr. ICM, 1999); Henrique Rola da Silva, *Imprensa chinesa de Macau. Envolvimento histórico* (Macau: Gabinete de Comunicação Social, 1991); the same, *Informação portuguesa de Macau* (also Macau: Gabinete de Comunicação Social, 1991). Related studies are Fang Jigen 方积根 and Wang Guangming 王光明, *Gang Ao xinwen shiye gaikuang* 港澳新闻事业概况 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1992); João Alves das Neves' *Imprensa de Macau e as imprensas de língua portuguesa no Oriente* (Macau: ICM, 1999); and

<sup>4</sup> A group of scholars, mainly in the UM, Department of Portuguese Studies, has begun to compile a *Dicionário da história de Macau*. A trilingual collection of fourteen entries has already come out: António Baptista (coord.), *Dicionário de história de Macau (contributos)* (Macau: Centro de Publicações, UM, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Other handbooks have the character of directories, for example the *Directório católico de Macau (Aomen tianzhujiao shouce 澳門天主教手冊)*, published by the Câmara Eclesiástica, Paço Episcopal de Macau (editions seen: 1986–1993). – Tourist guidebooks are not listed here. There are several dozens, including some special works exclusively dealing with the islands of Taipa and Coloane, which belong to Macau: *Roteiros das Ilhas. Ilha da Taipa*, ed. by the Departamento de Acção Cultural da Câmara (Macau: Câmara Municipal das Ilhas, 1996; 2nd ed. 1998), and *Roteiros das Ilhas. Ilha do Coloane*, same editor (1998). More on these islands in n. 17, below. – Other (learned) "historico-cultural guides" include, for example, Jorge Cavalheiro and Celina Veiga de Oliveira, *Guia histórico cultural de Macau* (Macau: Instituto dos Estudos Europeus de Macau, 1999).

Zheng Zhenming's 鄭真銘 (ed.), *Aomen dazhong chuanbo de guoqu, xianzai yu weilai* 澳門大眾傳播的過去、現在與未來 (Jilong: Zhonghua minguo chuanbo fazhan xiehui, 2000). The last title, a short work, includes non-print media. Another very useful study is Lam Lok Fong's (Lin Yufeng) 林玉鳳 "Aomen Puwen baozhang de fazhan tedian" 澳門葡文報章的發展特點 (Portuguese and English subtitles; the English subtitle is "The Characteristics of Portuguese Periodicals in Macau"), in *AMYJ* 10 (1999), pp. 117-163. Among other things, this scholarly essay contains an updated list (ca. 20 pages) with information on Macau-Portuguese periodicals (arranged chronologically) and a short but useful bibliography, which also indicates an unpublished account by Yin Degang 尹德剛 on the history and future of Macau's media.

Further works focusing on public opinion, images, and mass media are José Augusto dos Santos Alves' *A opinião pública em Macau. A imprensa macaense na terceira e quarta décadas do século XIX* (Lisbon: FO, 2000; Orientalia 3), and Ana Maria do Rosário Rei Silva Horta's rather short *Longe dos olhos ... A imagem de Macau nas televisões e nos jornais de Portugal N.º 5* (Macau: ICM, 1999). Strictly speaking, the first book should not be quoted here because it only deals with the nineteenth century (for example, with Macau's first newspaper, the *Abelha da China*),<sup>6</sup> but it is a fine study and may encourage others to undertake similar research on the twentieth century. Indeed, some work has already been accomplished on the *Zhixin bao* 知新報, a periodical published between 1897 and 1901 (see under section 12 a, below),<sup>7</sup> and on the *Ta-Ssi-Yang-Kuo* (Da Xiyangguo) 大西洋國 (also at the turn of the century), which was put out by the FM in facsimile form together with a long introduction by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves (recently this introduction also appeared as an article – "O jornal e a revista *Ta-ssi-yang-kuo* e as relações luso-chinesas" – in Alves' *Um porto entre dois impérios. Estudos sobre Macau e as relações luso-chinesas* [Macau: IPOR, 1999; Memória do Oriente 14], pp. 201-229). The second title cited above – *Longe dos olhos* – looks at the "image" of Macau in Portugal's media. Examining the "image" of Macau in English and American movies and magazines would probably yield very interesting results as well.<sup>8</sup> The anglophone world seems to associate certain stereotype attributes with Macau and it would be worth finding out, for example, to what extent these attributes differ from the ones associated with Macau in Japanese, Italian, and other media. We shall return to the question of "images" in the last section of this essay.

<sup>6</sup> On which there is now also a major Chinese work: Cheng Manli 程曼麗, "*Mifeng huabao*" *yanjiu* 《蜜蜂華報》研究 (Macau: FM, 1998; Xin Aomen luncong).

<sup>7</sup> Other early Chinese language media published in or near Macau like the *Xiangshan xunbao* 香山旬報 would also merit systematic research. This periodical is frequently cited by modern historians. Even the early editions of *Shanghai shenbao* 上海申報, *Minguo ribao* 民國日報, and other media are often used.

<sup>8</sup> Jonathan Porter's *Macau, The Imaginary City: Culture and Society, 1557 to the Present* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1996; New Perspectives in Asian Studies 195) does not explore the mass media, but indicates that historical and cultural phenomena are often observed through a very special looking-glass, and thus presented in a biased way.

There are also a number of works on individual periods of Macau's publishing activities and other special themes. Three examples may be cited: Peter Haberzettl's and Roderich Ptak's "Die portugiesischsprachige Presse in Macau: Ein Bericht über den Stand Ende 1991," in *Internationales Asienforum* 24.1-1 (1993), pp. 139-159, reflects on Portuguese language media in the early 1990s. The old *Aomen Huaqiao bao wu zhounian jinian shouce* 澳門華僑報五週年紀念年手冊 (Macau, 1942), is a general brochure celebrating the *Huaqiao bao's* (*Journal Va-Kio*) fifth anniversary with some insight into the activities of that journal. In later years, the *Huaqiao bao* issued several brochures and other materials to inform its Chinese readership.<sup>9</sup> The third work appeared in Taiwan; it is on Macau's motion picture industry and other mass media: *Bianqian zhong de Xianggang, Aomen dazhong chuanbo shiye* 變遷中的香港澳門大眾傳播事業, ed. by Xingzhengyuan, Xinwenju 行政院新聞局 (Taipei: Xingzhengyuan, Xinwenju, 1996).

It would be impossible to discuss individual Macau newspapers in the context of this short bibliographical note. Instead, we shall turn to periodicals now, which may classify as academic or partly academic. One or two general periodicals will also be included in the following notes.

- (a) *Administração. Revista da Administração Pública de Macau* (Xingzheng. *Aomen zhengfu zazhi* 行政。澳門政府雜誌). This is an important journal with many scholarly and some quasi-scholarly articles on every aspect of Macau's society. The focus is on politics, administration, law, and education. All articles appear in both Portuguese and Chinese. There are English summaries. Some numbers also contain documentary sections. Generally, the papers in this journal are frequently quoted and some have gained a certain weight in their field. There is also a separate index volume for the period 1988 to 1997. In the present survey, articles from this journal will be quoted according to their Portuguese titles.
- (b) *Aomen* 澳門. This is a mixture between three things: journal, yearbook, and scholarly essay collection. Published by the FM, *Aomen* began in 1995. Further details will be given in section 5.
- (c) *Aomen yanjiu* 澳門研究 (*Boletim de Estudos de Macau, Journal of Macau Studies*), here *AMYJ*. *AMYJ* was begun in 1988. It was edited by Huang Hanqiang (Wong Hon Keong) and published by the *Aomen yanjiusuo* 澳門研究所 (Instituto de Estudos de Macau, Institute of Macau Studies), at the UM (then still called University of East Asia). In 1993 the journal was continued – under the same name – by the FM and the university's Centre of Macau Studies (formerly Institute). Until then most articles were in Chinese, but some were also in English and Portuguese. The latest versions of *AMYJ*, in a different format and with a higher standard, were edited by the Centre of Macau Studies and published by the FM. Number 12 came out in 1999, number 13 in 2000. Practically all articles are in Chinese, most of them are scholarly pieces, some are very innovative, with a sound theoretical foundation. The tables of contents are normally trilingual, but there are certain exceptions. Usually, there are brief English

<sup>9</sup> One example is a set of brochures, compiled under the guidance of Huang Hanqiang (Wong Hon Keong): *Aomen wenti ziliao huibian* 澳門問題資料匯編 (*O problema de Macau. Coleção de informações sobre Macau*) (Macau n.d.), begun in the late 1980s.

summaries. The journal covers all aspects of Macau, including history, literature, and the arts.

- (d) *Euro Asia Journal of Management* (the first part of the title often quoted as *EuroAsia* and *Euro-Asia*). This journal, which began in the early 1990s, is in English and carries articles on Macau-related topics as well as on other themes. The focus is on business activities and economic development. Some articles have appeared elsewhere. They often address a general readership, but normally give references to other works. There are now some twenty issues (2000).
- (e) *Hou Keng* (Haojing) 濠鏡. Subtitles: *Aomen shehui kexue xuehui xuebao* 澳門社會科學學會學報, *Revista da Associação de Ciências Sociais de Macau*, *Journal of the Macau Society of Social Sciences*. The first issue of *Hou Keng* came out in 1986. Number 16 (1998) is the latest number I have seen. Again, most articles are in Chinese. Some are scholarly, others are general contributions. The focus is on modern Macau, especially economics, demography, sociology, etc. Huang Hanqiang (Wong Hon Keong) and scholars associated with various Chinese newspapers and institutions are frequent contributors.
- (f) *Nam Van* (Nanwan) 南灣. A general and illustrated Portuguese language journal, in the 1980s. Like an early pendant to the Taiwanese *Sinorama*, it carries journalistic articles on recent events in Macau plus some historical and other notes.
- (g) *Macau*. The successor of *Nam Van*, but perhaps of a better technical quality and generally with more articles per issue, some of which go beyond the purely journalistic level, addressing the learned reader. The more important pieces are all listed in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie* 18 (2000).
- (h) *Revista de Cultura* (Wenhua zazhi 文化雜誌, *Review of Culture*) (here RC). This is an elegantly printed journal with coloured illustrations. It is published by the ICM. There are separate issues in Portuguese, Chinese, and English, but some numbers are multilingual, even carrying Japanese and French articles. Many contributions do not go beyond the journalistic level, but some definitely do. The emphasis is on culture and history. Here, I mostly refer to the Portuguese version (if to the English version, this is indicated).

Other periodicals (besides daily newspapers, weeklies, newsletters, general magazines launched by professional associations, etc.) are special publications dedicated to specific fields. Two examples are: *Macau Travel Talk* (some news, some touristic spots, some historical glosses) and *Revista Jurídica de Macau* (mainly law). For economists *Economic Studies*, begun in the 1980s, and the *Macau Economic Bulletin* will be very useful. The latter is a quarterly and was originally called *Quarterly Economic Bulletin* (until number 43, 1994). The new version is published by Macau Economic Services (MES). Each number contains essential statistics and comments on the performance of Macau's macroeconomic indicators. Other journals are dedicated to literature and the arts, Church activities, and so on. These were not consulted for the present note. Finally, some earlier periodicals, for example *Renascimento*, are now available in the form of reprints (in this case, by the FM). They are normally indexed in Gomes' *Bibliografia macaense* and thus of no concern to us.

Important periodicals outside of Macau with news and articles on Macau's economy and political events (sometimes also history, demography, and religion) include

the following titles (a selection only): *Guangdong shehui kexue* 广东社会科学, *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 中山大学学报, *Nanfang renkou* 南方人口, *Gang Ao jingji* 港澳经济, *Dangdai Gang Ao* 当代港澳, *Gang Ao jiage xinxi* 港澳价格信息, *Ji'nan xuebao* 暨南学报, *Gang Ao cankao* 港澳参考, *Tai Gang Ao qingkuang* 台港澳情况, *Tai Gang Ao jingji* 台港澳经济, *Jinri Gang Ao* 今日港澳, *Nanfang chuang* 南方窗 (all from the People's Republic of China), *China heute*, *China aktuell*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *Jiushi niandai* 九十年代 and, of course, many daily newspapers in Hong Kong and China. Finally, in the past, several attempts were made to gather important articles on Macau in special collections, but, as far as I can tell, most collections have remained rather fragmentary. One example is *Xianggang Aomen ziliao ji* 香港澳門資料集 (Hong Kong: Zhongguo xueshu ziliao she, 1983) and a sequel (1985), which contain articles for the years 1979 to 1982 and 1983 to 1984, another example may be found in note 9.

#### 4. General Accounts and Short Introductions

The next category of works to be considered here is general accounts and introductions, mostly written in Chinese and often very similar to each other. Many of these books came out shortly before or right after the handover of Macau's administration to the People's Republic of China in late 1999. Very often they purport distinctly Chinese views, occasionally still mixed with Marxist elements. Some works are similar to handbooks. They contain chapters on history, politics, geography, sociology, and culture. The following is a selection of such titles.<sup>10</sup>

- (a) Miao Hongji (Miao Hungkee) 繆鴻基 *et al.*, *Aomen* 澳門 (*Macao*) (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe [Sun Yatsen University Press], 1988; *Gang Ao yanjiu congshu*), 2 + 3 + 2 + 230 pages. There are chapters on Macau's history, geography, population, infrastructure, economy, education system, and future development.
- (b) Liu Zesheng, *Gang Ao gailan* (see above, section 2). 2 + 5 + 352 pages. Only a small section deals with various aspects of Macau.
- (c) Hong Hong 洪虹 (ed.), Yue Xifei 岳西飞 and He Gang 何崗 (authors), *Huigui de Aomen* 回归的澳门 (Beijing: Tongxin chubanshe, 1998; several editions), 2 + 132 pages. A slim paperback for beginners.
- (d) Zhong Yan 鐘言, *Zhi wo Aomen* 知我澳門 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999; "Dangdai xuesheng" congshu), 4 + 2 + 182 pages. Another paperback for beginners and young students.
- (e) Chen Duo 稱多 *et al.*, *Jinri Aomen* 今日澳門 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1999; *Jiujiu Aomen huigui congshu*), 2 + 10 + 1 + 362 pages. Similar to a

<sup>10</sup> Works not seen (and here in some cases with incomplete bibliographical data) include: Tang Kan, *Hong Kong and Macao: History in Search of Future* (Taipei, 1989); *Aomen zhishi zhi duoshao* 澳门知识知多少 (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 1998); Qiu Ling 丘岭 and Chen Yan 陈言, *Aomen fengyun lu* 澳门风云录 (Guangzhou: Guangdong luyou chubanshe, 1998), 2 vols. with ca. 895 pages; Yang Tianze 杨天泽 *et al.*, *Aomen 1999* 澳门一九九九 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1998), 4 + 424 pages; Deng Kaisong 邓开颂, Yu Siwei 余思伟 and Lu Xiaomin 陆晓敏, *Aomen cangsang* 澳门沧桑 (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 1999).

handbook on modern Macau; there are chapters on every aspect of Macau's economy and other themes.

- (f) Guowuyuan Gang Ao ban Aomen si bianxiezhu 国务院港澳办澳门司编写组 (ed.), *Aomen wenti duben* 澳门问题读本 (Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe, 1999). 5 + 380 pages. The first section deals with the so-called "Macau question," the second part has chapters on government, the domestic economy, economic relations with the outside world, citizenship issues and legal matters, education, culture and publication, the health and welfare sector, organisations and religions. On the whole, this is a book serving political purposes, with some interesting aspects and more information than in many other short "readers."
- (g) Zhongyang dianshitai haiwai xinwenbu 中央電視台海外新聞部 (ed.), *Aomen wanxiang* 澳門萬象 (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshe chubanshe, 1999; Zhongguo xinwen bai ji xilie baodao), 10 + 4 + 374 pages. Again, a fairly general work, but covering a greater variety of themes.
- (h) Feng Bangyan 馮邦彥, *Aomen gailun* 澳門概論 (Hong Kong: Sanlian shudian [Xianggang] youxian gongsi, 1999), 10 + 547 pages. A very erudite introduction for learned readers with chapters on nearly every aspect of Macau.
- (i) Philippe Pons, *Macao, un éclat d'éternité* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1999), 197 pages. A pocket book for beginners. Many historical facets are touched upon.
- (j) Qi Pengfei 齊鵬飛 and Zhang Xiaojing 張曉京 (eds.), *Yueyin yueqing guan Haojing - Aomen cangsang* 月陰月晴觀濠鏡—澳門滄桑 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999), 4 and 386 pages. A general survey, similar to a handbook, with chapters on geography, history, politics, economics, society, and culture.
- (k) Li Lanni 李蘭妮 and Li Kai 李凱, *Aomen suiyue* 澳門歲月 (Beijing: Zuoqia chubanshe, 1999), 48 and 236 pages. On various aspects, for example social life, customs, etc.
- (l) J. A. Berlie (ed.), *Macau 2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). xviii + 238 pages. Essays on Macau's society and economy – and of mixed quality.
- (m) Wang Qiaolong 王巧瓏, *Aomen de shehui yu wenhua* 澳門的社會與文化 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1999; Aomen huigui congshu), 3 + 3 + 237 pages. Chapters on Macau's society, religions, education, culture.

Short and general accounts in the form of survey *articles* drawing Macau's basic geographical, historical, political, economic, and sometimes even cultural contours also abound. Most of these contributions focus on the twentieth century, especially on the last two decades. Very often they were written to accompany important events like the signing of the Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration (1987). The majority of these articles appeared in journals or general books, for example in handbooks on Asia. Again, a few "representative" titles shall be listed below.

To begin with, general handbooks with short data on Macau's political and economic situation include the annually published *Asia Yearbook*, edited by the Far Eastern Economic Review (Hong Kong: Far Eastern Economic Review), and a similar work, too well-known to be discussed here, namely, *The Far East and Australia*. To this one may add Dieter Nohlen's and Franz Nuscheler's (Hrsg.) *Handbuch der Dritten Welt*, the *Wirtschaftshandbuch Asien-Pazifik*, published by the Ostasiatischer Ver-

ein e.V. in Hamburg, and so forth. Werner Draguhn's *et al.* (Hrsg.) *Politisches Lexikon Asien, Australien, Pazifik* (München: C.H. Beck, 1989; Beck'sche Reihe, aktuelle Länderkunden) is a further example with a short entry on Macau (by Manfred Pohl, pp. 191-199; in the 1980 edition, entry also by Pohl, pp. 209-227 there). Comparable handbooks also exist in other languages, but they cannot all be listed here.<sup>11</sup> Contributions to these works, it is clear, tend to outdate very quickly; moreover, some pieces are superficial (for example by Nie Yu-hsi), others are based on professional knowledge (for example by Peter Haberzettl, in the 1994 edition of the *Handbuch Dritte Welt* [Bonn: Verlag J.H.W. Dietz Nachf.], pp. 281-296).

Listing all general articles in scholarly and non-scholarly periodicals would be impossible – and perhaps also an unnecessary endeavour, because, once again, essays of this type tend to outdate very quickly. Nevertheless, a few early examples in English and German should not remain unmentioned. Among other things, English readers may look up Herbert S. Yee's (Yu Zhen 余振) and Sonny S. H. Lo's (Lo Shiu Hing) "Macau in Transition: The Politics of Decolonization," in *Asian Survey* 31.10 (1991), pp. 905-919;<sup>12</sup> Richard Louis Edmonds' "Macau: Past, Present, Future," in *Asian Affairs* 24.1 (1993), pp. 3-15; Rolf Dieter Cremer, "The Political Economy of Macau Towards 1999," in *Asian Studies Review* 17.2 (1993), pp. 94-101; or Jonathan Porter's "The Transformation of Macau," in *Pacific Affairs* 66.1 (1993), pp. 7-20. These and other papers can be read as learned comments on the situation in the 1980s and early 1990s, with an eye for future changes, seen from the perspective of the time in which they were written. One final example, and a somewhat broader approach, is Edmonds' "Macau and Greater China," in *China Quarterly* 136 (December 1993), pp. 878-906. All these papers, needless to say, are mostly concerned with political trends, although economic and social factors are also considered.

German readers may consult two articles by Rolf Dieter Cremer in *Asien* 15 (1985) and 31 (1989) and two by Roderich Ptak in *Universitas* 44.519 (September 1989) and *ABP, Zeitschrift zur portugiesischsprachigen Welt* 1 (1994). More recent pieces are Anton Gälli's "Macau vor der Wiedervereinigung mit China: Ende der ältesten europäischen Kolonie in Fernost – und Neubeginn," in *ifo Schnelldienst* 36 (1997), pp. 23-40, Peter Haberzettl's "Macaus langsamer Abschied vom Entdeckungszeitalter: von der Nelkenrevolution (1974) zur Sonderverwaltungsregion (1999)," in *Periplus. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* 8 (1998), pp. 75-87, and Roderich Ptak's "Im Schatten Hongkongs: Macau auf dem Weg nach China," in Günter Bös and Roderich Ptak (Hrsg.), *Hongkong, Macau, Südchina: Wandel und Wachstum* (Köln: Deutscher Instituts-Verlag, 1999), pp. 93-109 (also in Thomas Beck, Horst Gründer, Horst Pietschmann and Roderich Ptak [Hrsg.], *Überseegeschichte: Beiträge der jüngeren Forschung. Festschrift anlässlich der Gründung der Forschungsstiftung für vergleichende europäische Überseegeschichte 1999 in Bam-*

<sup>11</sup> Especially in Portugal. Short chapters on Macau will be found in all kinds of handbooks on Portuguese colonial policy, the lusophone world, in various historical and other dictionaries, and so on.

<sup>12</sup> Also see Donald H. McMillen and Michael E. DeGoyler (eds.), *One Culture, Many Systems: Politics in the Reunification of China* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1993), pp. 175-193.

berg [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999; Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Übersee-geschichte 75], pp. 276-285). Several other essays, in English and Portuguese, could also be listed here, but since they mostly deal with either politics or economic development, they will be mentioned below, in sections 13 and 14.

### 5. Essay Collections on Diverse Themes

Here we can turn to a very different genre: essayistic works and collections of miscellaneous and rather short notes, some with a highly “impressionistic” touch and a clear sense for the uniqueness of Macau as a kind of *carrefour* between diverse cultures:<sup>13</sup>

- (a) Tao Lian 陶炼, Yang Ma 杨麻 and Zhang Chunmei 张春梅, *Xianhua Aomen* 闲话澳门 (Nanchang: Baihua zhou wenyi chubanshe, 1995; Xianhua Gang Ao Tai cong-shu), 4 + 199 pages. Short chapters on historical, cultural, political, and economic topics.
- (b) Jin Shulun 靳书伦, *Aomen yishi* 澳门轶事 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1999; Jiujiu Aomen huigui congshu), 2 + 2 + 254 pages.
- (c) Huang Zhihao 黄之豪 (ed.), *Zou jin Aomen* 走近澳门 (Beijing: Renmin ribao chubanshe, 1999), 6 + 9 + 340 pages. A collection of mini-essays by different authors.
- (d) Liu Ming 刘明 (ed.), *Jiujiu guihui kan Aomen* 九九归回看澳门 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999), 7 + 2 + 246 pages. Eighty mini-essays on diverse matters, including many cultural themes.
- (e) Yi Fan 一凡, *Xianhua Aomen* 闲话澳门 (Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 1999). 188 pages. Forty-six short chapters on diverse matters. Note: The title is the same as in (a).
- (f) Fu Ningjun 傅宁军, *Zoujin Aomen* 走进澳门 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1999), 4 + 314 pages. Again short and very “impressionistic” essays on historical themes, buildings, certain events, etc. Some unusual headings, for example “Portas do Cerco, Past and Present.”

Collections of scholarly or quasi-scholarly articles on diverse themes, ranging from history and politics to law and cultural issues, and often prepared for conferences, to accompany expositions or the handover, have also appeared by the dozens. Most works date from the 1990s. Some titles will be cited in the section on demography and elsewhere. Here, the following examples may be considered:

<sup>13</sup> For additional titles of essay collections, mostly on historical sites in Macau, see *MS* 46, p. 361 and n. 20 there. It may be added that there is another version of the *Aomen fengwu zhi* 澳門風物誌 and a sequel, both prepared for circulation in China. – The essayistic genre can be linked to other literary products, for example, certain types of diaries and *memórias*. Some works belonging to the last category have been brought out by Livros do Oriente and the ICM; they are not listed here. – Older Portuguese essay collections include Rafael Ávila de Azevedo, *A influência da cultura portuguesa em Macau* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, Ministério da Educação, 1984; Biblioteca Breve 95); Luís Gonzaga Gomes, *Macau: Factos e lendas* (Lisbon: Quinzena de Macau, 1979); Manuel da Silva Mendes, *Macau: Impressões e recordações* (again Lisbon: Quinzena de Macau, 1979).

- (a) Rolf Dieter Cremer (ed.), *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture* (Hong Kong: University of East Asia Press, 1987), xi + 4 + 202 pages. One of the most frequently cited books on Macau. A collection of articles on diverse matters. Several parts (on culture, the urban setting, language, economic, and other issues) deal with the twentieth century. There is also an enlarged and revised version (Hong Kong: API Press, 1991).
- (b) A. Lima de Carvalho (dir.), *Um olhar sobre Macau* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical and FO, 1991), 319 pages. A beautifully illustrated work with essays on the history of Macau, on the name "Macau," on the territory's urban and economic development in the twentieth century (this is a long piece with many useful maps and some geographical details, by Raquel Soeiro de Brito), on Macau's society, ethnic groups, local customs, and so on (by Ana Maria Amaro). The book was made to accompany an exposition in 1991.
- (c) Zhongshan daxue Gang Ao yanjiu zhongxin 中山大学港澳研究中心 (ed.), vol. 1, *Gang Ao luncong* 港澳论丛 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1992). Articles on economic, political and historical themes. Some rather "rare" topics are treated, like Macau and the European market.
- (d) Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 (ed.), *Dong Xi fang wenhua jiaoliu – guoji xueshu yantao lunwen xuan* 東西方文化交流—國際學術研討論文選 (*Seminário Internacional sobre Intercâmbio Cultural Oriente-Occidente, Macau; International Symposium on East-West Cultural Interflow, Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994), iii + 614 pages. Mostly on pre-1900 themes, the majority of all contributions being in Chinese, with only some in English and Portuguese.
- (e) Lu Deqi 盧德祺 *et al.*, with the UM (eds.), *Aomen jiaoyu, lishi yu wenhua lunwenji* 澳門教育历史与文化论文集 (Guangzhou: "Xueshu yanjiu" zazhishe, 1995; "Xueshu yanjiu" congshu), 2 + 316 pages. Papers presented to a conference held in Guangzhou. The emphasis is on culture in a broader sense. Education is also addressed.
- (f) Rufino Ramos *et al.* (eds.), *Macau and Its Neighbours in Transition. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the University of Macau, 18–19 March 1996* (Macau: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities and FM, 1997), xxii + 446 pages. A collection of papers on the transition period. They address political, social and cultural changes, economic growth, educational trends, and topics related to demographic issues. About one half of all contributions deal with Macau.
- (g) \**Zhongguo wenhua yu Aomen yanjiu guoji yantaohui lunwen huibian* 中國文化与澳門研究國際研討會論文集 (Macau: Aomen daxue Zhongwen xueyuan, 1998), 494 pages. Apparently a collection of articles based on a conference.
- (h) \*Li Shiyuan 李世源 (ed.), *Aomen 1999 – lishi, xiankuang, weilai* 澳門1999 — 历史、現况、未来 (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1998), ca. 400 pages.
- (i) Rufino Ramos *et al.* (eds.), *Macau and Its Neighbors Toward the 21st Century* (Macau: UM and FM, 1998), XV + 359 pages. Again a conference volume. Some papers look at Hong Kong, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and the Pearl River area, and not exclusively at Macau. There are long sections on population, migration and urbanization, on economic trends, on educational trends, and on social and cultural change, with several papers each. The other sections are much shorter.

- (j) \*Yang Fuchang 杨福昌 *et al.* (eds.), *Aomen huigui lun - qingzhu Aomen huigui zuguo xueshu yanjiuhui lunwenji* 澳门回归论—庆祝澳门回归祖国学术研究会论文集 (Beijing: Shijie zhishi chubanshe, 1999), 384 pages.
- (k) *Forum Macau - A preseça portuguesa no Pacífico* (Lisbon: UT, ISCSP, Instituto do Oriente, 1999), 398 pages. This conference volume was edited by the ISCSP. The preface is by Narana Coissoró, Director of the Instituto do Oriente. There are articles on sociological and cultural themes, on education, the transition period and Macau's future. Some papers were delivered by well-known scholars and persons closely associated with Macau. Their biographies are included.
- (l) *Macau in the Pearl River Delta* (Lisbon: UT, ISCSP, Instituto do Oriente, 2000), 317 pages. The same editor as in the previous case, again a preface by Narana Coissoró. Generally, the articles in this work try to embed Macau in the context of the Pearl River region.
- (m) *Os fundamentos da amizade. Cinco séculos de relações culturais e artísticas luso-chinesas* (Macau: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau; Lisbon: Fundação para a Cooperação do Desenvolvimento de Macau, 2000), 277 pages. A beautifully printed and fully illustrated work with general articles on the history of Sino-Portuguese relations and a catalogue of art objects (shown in an exposition by the Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau). Only some pieces deal with the twentieth century. The book has an official character; it carries four short prefaces, among which there is one by Jorge Sampaio, Portugal's President, and another one by Vasco Rocha Vieira, Governor of Macau.
- (n) Roman Malek (Hrsg.), *Macau: Herkunft ist Zukunft* (Sankt Augustin: China-Zentrum and Institut Monumenta Serica; Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2000), xviii + 666 pages. This is a very special and certainly also useful collection of essays and a source book at the same time. Furthermore, there are nearly 640 illustrations. The focus of the essays, many translated from other languages, is on religion and culture, but other themes – history, etc. – are addressed as well.<sup>14</sup>

Further collections include special issues of journals. The (*Revista*) *Camões. Revista de Letras e Culturas Lusófonas* 7 (1999) is a case in point. It carries many articles on history, but also on such things as Macau's identity, the linguistic situation in Macau, music, and so on. There are some illustrations and there is also a separate attachment with abstracts in French, English, and Spanish. Another special number on Macau – called *Aomen* 澳門 *Macau* – was brought out by the journal *Encontros de divulgação e debate em estudos sociais* 5 (2000), usually referred to under the short form *Encontros*. Even in Hong Kong and Taiwan one is able to find special issues with a focus on Macau. *Guanghua* 光華 (*Sinorama*) has published one such issue (vol. 25.2, for 2000). *Perspectives chinoises* 55 (1999) and the English version of that journal, *China Perspectives* 26 (1999), both offered by the Centre d'Études Françaises sur la Chine Contemporaine or French Centre for Research on Contemporary China (in Hong Kong), is a further example. Among other things, it addresses the sovereignty

<sup>14</sup> On the Church in modern Macau, António Carmo's *A igreja católica na China e em Macau no contexto do Sudeste Asiático. Que futuro?* (Macau: FM, ICM, IPOR, 1997), may be recommended.

question, the process of democratization, Macau's economic development, and the role of Stanley Ho.

Finally, attention should also be drawn to the annual collections of articles edited by Wu Zhiliang 吳志良, Yang Yunzhong (Yeong Wan Chong) 楊允中 and Feng Shaorong 馮少榮. This work, simply called *Aomen* 澳門 (plus the year), began appearing in 1995 (published by the FM in Macau, as part of the series *Xin Aomen luncong*). Each number is organized like a journal, with articles on various themes, but there are many pieces pertaining to the year in question and there is always an appendix with basic statistics. Generally, the earlier numbers carry short articles, the articles in the issues for 1998 and 1999 are somewhat longer and more elaborate.

### 6. Collections of Primary Materials, Anthologies, Archival Catalogues, Epigraphy

Many collections and anthologies of primary sources have come out during the 1990s. Printed primary sources include private and official correspondence, decrees, the proceedings of political negotiations, documents related to trade and other economic activities, diaries, court cases and other legal matters, and materials related to the Church and cultural activities. The more important published collections will be presented below, one by one (other special texts will be mentioned in later chapters). I shall start with Chinese works:<sup>15</sup>

- (a) Deng Kaisong 邓开颂 and Huang Qichen 黄启臣 (eds.), *Aomen gangshi ziliao huibian (1553–1986)* 澳门港史资料汇编 (1553–1986) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1991), 12 + 7 + 497 pages. A collection of texts and quantitative data drawn from primary and secondary sources, with some comments and explanations. Useful in many respects, but it cannot substitute official statistics. Chapters 5, 6, and 8 deal with the twentieth century.
- (b) Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'anguan, Aomen jijinhui, Ji'nan daxue guji yanjiusuo 中國第一歷史檔案館、澳門基金會、暨南大學古籍研究所 (eds.), *Ming Qing shiqi Aomen wenti dang'an wenxian huibian* 明清時期澳門問題檔案文獻匯編 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1999), 6 vols. with a total of ca. 4800 pages. This collection includes many documents from the last decade of the Qing, i.e., the early twentieth century. Some of these texts deal with Macau's borders.
- (c) Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'anguan (Arquivo Histórico Nacional N° 1 da China) (ed.), *Aomen wenti Ming Qing zhendang huicui* 澳門問題明清珍檔薈萃 (*Colecção de tesouros documentais das dinastias Ming e Qing sobre a questão de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 2000), 349 + ca. 28 pages. This beautifully printed and chronologically arranged collection with a table of contents in Portuguese carries only five texts of the early twentieth century.
- (d) Guangdong sheng dang'an guan 广东省档案馆 (ed.), *Guangdong Aomen dang'an shiliao xuanbian* 广东澳门档案史料选编 (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe,

<sup>15</sup> Recent collections of documents also include some works exclusively dealing with pre-1900 Macau. One example is: Jin Guoping 金國平 and Wu Zhiliang (eds.), *Correspondência oficial trocada entre as autoridades de Cantão e os procuradores do Senado: Fundo das chapas sinicas em português*, 10 vols. (Macau: FM, 2000).

1999), 7 + 10 + 395 pages. A small collection arranged according to themes with many materials drawn from newspapers of the Republican period and communist China.

- (e) Nanjing tushu guan guji bu 南京图书馆古籍部 (ed.), *Aomen wenti shiliao ji* 澳门问题史料集 (Beijing: Zhonghua quanguo tushuguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 1998; Zhongguo gonggong tushuguan guji wenxian zhenben huikan, shibu), 2 vols., together 29 + 1381 pages. The second volume contains many texts and documents, including treaties, from the late Guangxu period and the Xuantong era.
- (f) Mo Shixiang 莫世祥, Yu Heping 虞和平, and Chen Yiping 陳奕平 (eds. and trans.), *Jindai Gongbei haiguan baogao huibian* 近代拱北海關報告匯編 (Macau: FM, 1998; Haohai congkan), 3 + vii + 390. This is a collection of the annual reports by the Gongbei custom-house near Macau. The reports cover the years between 1887 and 1946. There are also five reports dealing with periods of ten years each. Many materials were translated from English and are also known under the titles *Survey of the Trade of China*, *Decennial Reports*, etc. Generally, these reports are useful for research on Macau's exports and imports and for trade and traffic in the area.
- (g) Huang Hongzhao 黃鴻釗 (ed.), *Zhong Pu Aomen jiaoshe shiliao* 中葡澳門交涉史料 (Macau: FM, 1998; Haohai congkan), 2 vols. with ca. 800 pages altogether. This collection of documents is arranged according to themes. Several chapters relate to the early twentieth century, notably the ones on Macau's border question, the projected railway between Macau and Guangzhou, the 1908 incident (Japanese ship), the Coloane events in 1910/1911, and so forth. Many of the documents presented by Huang also appeared in other works by the same author or editor. See, for example, his "Zhong Pu Aomen hua jie jiaoshe shiliao xuanbian 中葡澳門劃界交涉史料選編 (1909–1911)," in *Zhongshan wenshi* 中山文史 45 (1999), pp. 147–247 (also cf. \**Guangdong wenshi ziliao* 廣東文史資料, no. 46). This is a special issue of *Zhongshan wenshi* with the title *Jing hai tao sheng* 鏡海濤聲 (Guangzhou: Zhengxie Guangdong sheng Zhongshan shi weiyuanhui Zhongshan wenshi bianjibu).
- (h) Zhang Haipeng 張海鵬 (chief ed.), *Zhong Pu guanxi shi ziliao ji* 中葡關係史料集 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1999), 2 vols. 4 + 2 + 5 + 3 + 2277 pages. This voluminous work is thematically arranged and carries many materials on late Qing issues. There are also long chapters on the border question, the early Republican era and the years between 1949 and 1987. The last section presents some texts related to revolutionary activities in Macau during the 1960s, the establishment of bilateral relations between Lisbon and Beijing, and the negotiations of the 1980s which led to the Joint Declaration.
- (i) Yang Cuihua 楊翠華 *et al.* (eds.), *Aomen zhuandang* 澳門專檔 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1992–1997; Zhongguo jindai shiliao huibian). So far, there are four volumes of ca. 550 to 600 pages each. Yang is the chief editor of volume 4; the other volumes have different editors. Volume 3 of this facsimile collection covers the period 1862 to 1909, volume 4 the Republican era until 1928. Some Western texts are included in this last volume.

Although the above collections are extremely useful, they must be handled with care. Certain materials were left out here and there, and the non-facsimile editions contain a number of misprints. If possible, they should be read together with Portuguese documents, which often present very different views.

More works could be added to the above list, for example: Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'anguan (ed.), *Zhong Pu guanxi dang'an shiliao huibian* 中葡關係檔案史料匯編 (Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe, 2000). But, as a rule, there are many overlappings in contents, and it may not be necessary to look up all these different editions. That also applies to materials in which Macau only plays a minor role. Examples are Wang Tieya's 王鐵崖 (ed.) well-known *Zhongwai jiu yuezhang huibian* 中外舊約章匯編, 3 vols. (Beijing: Shenghuo, Dushu, Xinzhi Sanlian shudian, 1957–1962), with the texts of Sino-foreign treaties, Tian Tao's 田濤 (ed.) *Qing chao tiaoyue quanji* 清朝条约全集, 3 vols. (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, 1999), the huge series *Geming wenxian* 革命文獻 (published by Zhengzhong shuju in Taipei), the collections *Zhonghua minguo shi dang'an ziliao huibian* 中華民國史檔案資料匯編 (by Jiangsu guji chubanshe), *Guangdong dangshi ziliao* 广东党史资料 (by Guangdong renmin chubanshe), *Jindai Guangzhou kou'an jingji shehui gaikuang – Yue haiguan baogaoji* 近代广州口岸经济社会概况—粤海关报告集 (by Ji'nan daxue chubanshe), *Qingji waijiao shiliao* 清季外交史料 (by Shanghai guji chubanshe), and many others items like *Xuantong chao waijiao shiliao* 宣統朝外交史料, *Zhongguo jindai duiwai maoyi shi ziliao* 中国近代对外贸易史资料, and so on.<sup>16</sup>

Here we can look at Portuguese collections. The most important *recent* publication is the one edited by António Vasconcelos de Saldanha. There are two series of books in this collection:

- (j) António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (ed.), *Colecção de fontes documentais para a história das relações entre Portugal e a China (Pu Zhong guanxi shi ziliao huibian)* 葡中關係史資料匯編 (Macau: FM, 1996–). To date this series has six volumes. Some volumes contain translations of Chinese texts. These were usually prepared by Jin Guoping 金國平 and Zhang Zhengchun 張正春. All volumes deal with pre-1900 topics.
- (k) António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (ed.), *Colecção de fontes documentais para a história das relações entre Portugal e a China (Pu Zhong guanxi shi ziliao huibian). Série especial* (Macau: FM, 1998–). The first two volumes are on the nineteenth century, but volume 3, published in 1999, contains a facsimile version of the *Memorandum sobre a questão de Macau. Edição reservada da Direcção dos Serviços Diplomáticos do Ministério das Colónias* (both in Portuguese and English). Volume 4, another important work (560 p.), presents material on the 1920s: *Documentos relativos as greves de Hong Kong e Cantão e a sua influencia em Macau, 1922–1927*. This is the first Western collection on the early strike movements in Macau.

Further collections include the following titles:

- (l) *The Arquivos de Macau*, published by the Arquivo Histórico de Macau in three series (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1929–1975), and a fourth series, distributed by the ICM

<sup>16</sup> Even collections such as the recently edited *Chen Jiongming ji* 陳炯明集, ed. by Duan Yunzhang 段云章 and Ni Junming 倪俊明, 2 vols. (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1998), may be of some use. The most recent English monograph on Chen Jiongming 陳炯明 is: Leslie H. Dingyan Chen, *Chen Jiongming and the Federalist Movement. Regional Leadership and Nation Building in Early Republican China* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2000; Michigan Monograph Series in Chinese Studies).

since 1981, is the largest Portuguese collection of Macau-related documents. Some numbers focus on the twentieth century. However, in many cases these numbers do not give the full texts, but only inventories, for example of court cases and administrative issues.

- (m) Júlio César Costa, *Subsídios para a história do Município das Ilhas*. Vol. 1: *Da primeira referência à Ilha da Taipa, até à extinção do Comando Militar da Taipa e de Coloane (1689–1928)* (Macau: Câmara Municipal das Ilhas and Departamento de Acção Cultural, 1993), 296 pages. Vol. 2: *(De 1929 a 1974)* (Macau: Câmara Municipal das Ilhas and Departamento de Acção Cultural, 1994), 396 pages. This is a chronologically arranged collection of official and other materials on the history of Taipa and Coloane, the two islands belonging to the territory of Macau. In many cases references are summarized and not quoted in full. Explanations are given where necessary. Most relevant data were drawn from the *Boletim oficial*.<sup>17</sup>
- (n) António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (presentation and historical introduction), Carmen M. Radulet (ed. of manuscript and literary introduction), *Missão na China, 1909–1910. Diário do Commisário Régio Joaquim José Machado nas conferências luso-chinesas para a delimitação de Macau* (Macau: FM, Centro de Estudos das Relações Luso-Chinesas, 1999), 411 pages. This book assembles the notes by Joaquim José Machado, who was involved in the talks on Macau's border, early in the twentieth century.
- (o) Moisés Silva Fernandes, *Sinopse de Macau nas relações luso-chinesas 1945–1995. Cronologia e documentos* (Lisbon: FO, 2000; Orientalia 2), 850 + lix pages. Part 1 is a chronology (see below), part 2 a collection of important documents related to the period 1945 to 1995 (ca. 260 pages); these were mainly drawn from the Arquivo Histórico Diplomático (Foreign Ministry), the Arquivo Histórico Militar, and the Torre do Tombo, “Núcleos de António de Oliveira Salazar” and “PIDE/PGS.” The *Sinopse* is one of the largest published collections of politically relevant texts for the post-war period.

Important texts and documents related to the last two decades of the twentieth century are available in many other books, usually in the form of appendices. The most frequently cited pieces are the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law. Some titles with these and other materials are listed below, under 13 (c). Only one very recent Chinese language title may be mentioned here: Zheng Yanshi 鄭言實 (ed.), *Aomen guodu shiqi zhongyao wenjian huibian* 澳門過渡時期重要文件匯編 (Macau: FM, 2000), a collection with more than 230 pages.

<sup>17</sup> On Taipa and Coloane, see, for example: Manuel Teixeira, *Taipa e Coloane* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura do Governo de Macau, 1981); Jerzy Wojtowicz and Diane Haigh, *Cartilha para Coloane (Luhuan cun duben 路環村讀本, Coloane Village Reader)* (Macau: ICM, 1990); João Carvalho, *Taipa, Coloane. Macau da outra banda (Tanzai Luhuan 氹仔路環)* (Macau: Câmara Municipal das Ilhas, Livros do Oriente, 1998; mainly a picture book; based on an earlier edition of 1993). Some historical studies of a scholarly nature also exist, notably by Peter W. M. Cheng. See, for example, “Chinese Settlements on Taipa and Coloane Islands in the Qing Dynasty: From Village to Market Town,” in the 1991 ed. of Cremer's *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture* (see section 5, second block, title a), pp. 51–60. Furthermore, see n. 5.

The FM also published several texts related to the Church in Macau, for example, D. João Paulino d'Azevedo e Castro's *Os bens das missões portuguesas na China* (Macau: FM, 1995; facsimile ed.). Other works by D. Azevedo e Castro, Bishop of Macau from 1902 to 1918, were printed as well. Further collections include some texts by D. Jaime Garcia Goulart, formerly Bishop in Dili (Timor), and by Cardinal Costa Nunes. They will not be presented here because they chiefly deal with religious issues. Specialized collections are also dedicated to the history of education, individual institutions, buildings, and so on. One example is Albina dos Santos Silva, António Aresta and Aurelano Barata (eds., introd., notes), *Documentos para a história da educação em Macau*, 3 vols. (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1996–). Again, these works do not fall into the scope of the present article.

Anthologies constitute a different kind of source collection. They usually address the general reader and contain extracts of important descriptions related to Macau. Two recent collections are cited here. The first, in two volumes, by Carlos Pinto Santos and Orlando Neves, is called *De longe à China. Macau na historiografia e na literatura chinesa* (Macau: ICM, 1988). It mostly carries older texts, but also includes some early twentieth century pieces. The second work, edited by Donald Pittis and Susan J. Henders, *Macao: Mysterious Decay and Romance* (Hong Kong, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1997), again with some pieces dating from the twentieth century, all in English translation, gives a somewhat “romanticized” view of Macau.<sup>18</sup>

There are also several modern catalogues of archival materials, many of which are listed in my earlier survey.<sup>19</sup> These reference works mostly pertain to the pre-1900 period. One exception is the book by Isaú Santos and Vasco Gomes, *Relações entre Macau e São. Documentos para a sua história existentes no Arquivo Histórico de Macau* (Macau: ICM and FO, 1993). This is a descriptive catalogue of documents on Portugal's presence in Thailand and Luso-Siamese relations via Macau. Other exceptions with information on the twentieth century may be found in the collection *Arquivos de Macau*, especially in the fourth series, as was already stated above.

Epigraphic material mostly relates to earlier periods. But Manuel Teixeira's “A voz das pedras de Macau,” *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* 12.3-4/13.1-4 (1978/1979), pp. 5-324 (n.b.: the article fills one double number of that journal), also contains some inscriptions of later date.<sup>20</sup> The same is true for Zheng Weiming's 鄭煒明 *Pu zhan Tanzai Luhuan beiming yingbian huiban* 葡佔氹仔路環碑銘楹匾匯編 (Hong Kong: Calvarden, 1993), and Lindsay and May Ridge's *The Voices of*

<sup>18</sup> Similar, but older anthologies include, for example, Manuel Teixeira's *Macau através dos séculos* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1977).

<sup>19</sup> See *MS* 46, pp. 352-354.

<sup>20</sup> Some works with Chinese religious inscriptions, dedicated, for example, to the Goddess of Seafarers, are cited in my *MS* 46, pp. 354-355. There are also some small Chinese works, for example Xiao Guojian 蕭國健 (ed.), *Aomen beike lu chuji* 澳門碑刻錄初集 (Hong Kong: Xianchao chubanshe, 1989).

*Macao Stones*, abridged with additional material by Jason Wordie (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999). There is a short introduction by John King Fairbank.<sup>21</sup>

## 7. Geography and Environmental Issues

There are not too many general works on Macau's geography. One such book is Huang Jiushun 黃就順 *et al.*, *Aomen dili* 澳門地理 (*Geografia de Macau*) (Macau: FM, Zhongguo youyi chubanshe, 1993; Aomen congshu). It discusses Macau's physical geography, the territory's geology, meteorology, the city's urban setting, land reclamation, traffic, and environmental problems. This book is definitely superior to the older account by Peng Qirui 彭琪瑞, Xue Fengxuan 薛鳳旋, and Su Zelin 蘇澤霖, *Xianggang yu Aomen* 香港與澳門 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1986), which contains about fifty pages on Macau. Another very useful book, mostly on physical geography, is Liu Nanwei 劉南威 and He Guangcai 何廣才 (eds.), *Aomen ziran dili* 澳門自然地理 (Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1992). It also has a Portuguese cover title (*Geografia natural de Macau*) and includes bibliographical references.<sup>22</sup> Further studies one might consider are works dealing with the entire Pearl River delta. One example is the series *Zhujiang sanjiaozhou yanjiu congshu* 珠江三角洲研究叢書 published by the Zhongshan daxue. It contains monographs on natural resources, urban growth, geological and other such topics. Special journals published in China will provide access to many more sources of this type.

A very different work is Manuel Teixeira's *Toponímia de Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1997). It consists of two volumes, with 667 and 560 pages, respectively. The first volume carries the subtitle *Ruas com nomes genéricos*, the second *Ruas com nomes de pessoas*. This is an indispensable tool for research on local history, streets, buildings, institutions, temples, and small sites in Macau. Many sources are indicated in the text. There is also a useful index. Chinese names, however, can often be identified more easily through the handbooks presented in section 2, above.

Recent cartographical work includes the *Aomen ditu ji* 澳門地圖集 (*Atlas de Macau, Macau Atlas*) by Wong Chao Son (Huang Jiushun) 黃就順, Deng Hanzeng 鄧漢增, and Huang Junxin 黃鈞燊 (Macau: FM, 1997). This is a trilingual edition with modern maps showing the progress of land reclamation, the gradual growth of built-up areas on the peninsula and the islands of Taipa and Coloane, population density, different uses of urban space, and so on. Land use maps, in the form of single sheets, were also prepared by Richard Louis Edmonds and William John Kyle. To this may be added countless other maps that show Macau's modern street pattern, physical and other phenomena. Some maps, inserted in books or published separately, also present the Zhuhai area near Macau. One recent work of this kind is the bilingual *Zhongguo Zhujiang sanjiaozhou zhinan ditu ji* 中國珠江三角洲指南地

<sup>21</sup> Lindsay and May Ridge also published on the protestant cemetery in Macau, but this concerns the pre-1900 period.

<sup>22</sup> António Costa's, *Macau: imagens e números*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Geográficos, 1982–1983), which contains useful data on geography, only seems to exist in xeroxed form (?). Another work, by Raquel Soeiro de Brito, was already referred to above, under section 5, second block, title b.

图集 (*Guide Atlas to Zhujiang Delta of China*), edited by Hu Xiangyun 胡湘云 *et al.* (Beijing: Zhongguo ditu chubanshe and Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe, 1998).

Historical maps may be found, for example, in *Aomen lishi ditu jingxuan* 澳门历史地图精选, edited by Zou Ailian 邹爱连 for the Zhongguo di yi lishi dang'anguan, Aomen yi guo liang zhi yanjiu zhongxin 澳门一国两制研究中心 (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 2000), and in *Macau, a cidade e o porto* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), a catalogue made to accompany a Macau exhibition in the Mosteiro de Jerónimos. Maps drawn in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reveal many interesting aspects of urban growth, one aspect being the development of Macau's harbour projects. This topic is discussed in Peter Haberzettl's and Roderich Ptak's "Macao and Its Harbour: Projects Planned and Projects Realized (1883–1927)," in *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient* 78 (1991), pp. 297–316, and other studies. Cartographic work on more recent harbour issues is also available. Examples are included in a bilingual brochure on Macau's container port: *Plano director preliminar do Porto de Ká-Hó, Macau (Preliminary Master Plan of the Port of Ká-Hó, Macau)*, published by the Governo de Macau in 1983.

Modern maps and many written sources show that land reclamation was and still is an important feature in the territory's urban development. Several articles have been published on this subject. Here are two examples: Peter Haberzettl, "Flächendefizit in Macau: Landgewinnungsmaßnahmen als Lösung?," in Roderich Ptak and Peter Haberzettl, *Macau im Wandel. Fünf Studien zur Geschichte und Wirtschaft des Territoriums in der jüngeren Vergangenheit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990; Sinologica Coloniensia 14), pp. 33–48, and Rüdiger Glaser, Peter Haberzettl and R.P.D. Walsh, "Land Reclamation in Singapore, Hong Kong and Macau," in *Geo-Journal* 24.4 (1991), pp. 365–373. Land reclamation is of course linked to land use and urban growth. In this context two earlier papers are regularly cited: Richard Louis Edmonds, "Land Use in Macau: Changes between 1972 and 1983," in *Land Use Policy* 3.1 (1986), pp. 47–63, and C. Duncan, "Development of Macau's City Landscape," in Cremer's *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture* (see section, second block, title a), pp. 71–85. Other works take a broader approach. This includes, for example, Ana Maria Amaro's *Das cabanas de palha às torres de betão. Assim cresceu Macau* (Lisbon: UT, ISCSP and Livros do Oriente, 1998; Estudos e documentos), which links urban development issues to demographical and other phenomena (also see next section).

Environmental research in and on Macau has only started very recently. Some issues are addressed in the handbooks mentioned above. A much more comprehensive treatment may be found in Huang Jiushun 黃就順 and Li Jinping 李金平 (eds.), *Aomen huanjing baohu* 澳門環境保護 (Macau: FM, 1997; Xin Aomen luncong). This voluminous essay collection ([14] + III + 362 pages) is one of the first modern works exclusively dealing with environmental deficits and environmental protection in and around Macau. It contains nearly forty short papers on pollution problems and

strategies to improve controls. There is a Portuguese table of contents.<sup>23</sup> One other book may be cited as well: Lu Yonghong 盧永鴻 and Wu Zhengqi 吳政奇 (eds.), *Sui Gang Ao huanjing falü yu huanjing guanli lunwen ji* 穗港澳環境法律與環境管理論文集 (Beijing: Zhongguo huanjing kexue chubanshe, 1997). It contains short essays related to the Hong Kong-Macau region and the Guangzhou area. Generally, environmental issues will certainly attract more attention in modern Macau.<sup>24</sup> Small areas with a high population density have to cope with growing demand for water and energy and all kinds of waste disposal problems. These issues can be linked to other economic questions and therefore will provide terrain for further research.

### 8. Demography and Biography

Most studies on Macau's demographic development in the twentieth century are in Chinese. The most frequently cited survey still is the book by Cheang Tin Cheong (Zheng Tianxiang) 鄭天祥 *et al.*, *Aomen renkou* 澳門人口 (*População de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen congshu). This work examines major themes, including the distribution of population within Macau, age and gender issues, statistical relations between the working and non-working population as well as data on marriage and household issues. There is also a brief introduction to earlier periods. A recent account in Portuguese is Ana Maria Amaro's *Das cabanas de palha*, just quoted in section 7, above. Part 2 of that book reflects on Macau's demographic changes. Immigration and emigration problems were presented in D.Y. Yuan (Ruan Dayuan 阮大元), *Chinese Immigration and Emigration: A Population Study of Macau* (Macau: UM, 2000), a small brochure. Other important sources are the following essay collections: (a) D.Y. Yuan (Ruan Dayuan), Wong Hon Keong (Huang Hanqiang), and Libano Martins (eds.), *Comunicações do simpósio "Crescimento Populacional e Urbano de Macau"* (Macau: Universidade da Ásia Oriental, 1990), a trilingual (Portuguese, English, Chinese) collection of short articles (the cover title is in English: *Population and City Growth in Macau*); (b) UM, Centro de Publicações and Centro de Estudos de Macau (ed.), *Aomen fazhan de renkou tiaojian yu renkou zhengce yanjiuhui lunwenji. Yijiujisi nian jiuyue sanri* 澳門發展的人口條件與人口政策研究會論文集. 一九九四年九月三日 (*As condições e a política de população para o desenvolvimento de Macau. Comunicações do simpósio realizado na Universidade de Macau, 3 de Setembro de 1994*) (Macau: UM, 1996); (c) Rufino Ramos *et al.* (eds.), *Population and Development in Macau. Proceedings of the International Con-*

<sup>23</sup> Li Jinping has also published several scholarly papers on environmental issues, for example in *AMYJ* 4 (1996), 5 (1997), 7 (1998), 11 (1999). Other papers are in *Administração*, for example in volume 32 (1996), 38 (1997), 39 (1998), and in various numbers of *Hou Keng*.

<sup>24</sup> Works on Macau's flora and fauna, local parks and gardens, and similar topics are only of marginal interest here. Examples are: António Júlio Emerenciano Estácio, *Dinâmica das zonas verdes na cidade de Macau* (Macau: Serviços Florestais e Agrícolas de Macau, 1982); the same and António Manuel de Paula Saraiva, *Jardins e parques de Macau* (Macau: IPOR, 1993); two or three titles published by the Câmara Municipal das Ilhas Provisória, like *Árvores de Macau* (2 vols.) and *Evolução das zonas verdes das ilhas*; furthermore, Carlos Daniel de C. Batalha, *Agro-pecuária em Macau. Aspectos socioeconómicos* (Macau: Serviços Florestais e Agrícolas de Macau, 1984).

ference held at the University of Macau, 6–7 December 1993 (Macau: UM and FM, 1994), again a trilingual collection of conference papers with a long introductory statement by Richard Louis Edmonds.<sup>25</sup> Works (a) and (c) also cover urban development, economic changes, and other topics related to contemporary Macau (especially in c). More on Macau's demography will be found in many of the handbooks cited above, in various journals,<sup>26</sup> and in some contributions to the general collections listed under section 5, especially in the works edited by Rufino Ramos and others. In spite of so many studies and so many data, systematic research on demographic changes in early twentieth century Macau has never been done. Regarding more recent periods, we are more adequately informed, for example through the work by D.Y. Yuan, quoted above.

What little there is on Macau's demographic past has already been cited in *MS* 46. To these sources a general paper, which segments Macau's economic performance and demographic development in stages, may now be added: Roderich Ptak, "Macaus Demographie und Wirtschaft: Stadien einer Entwicklung," in Malek's *Macau: Herkunft ist Zukunft*, pp. 153–186 (see section 5, title n). This, I should like to add, is but an introductory survey and many of the ideas expressed therein might need to be substantiated.

Several biographical sources with data on personalities active in twentieth century Macau have been published over the last two decades. One such work is Chen Yushan's 陈禹山 *Gang Ao chenggong renshi 100 ge* 港澳成功人士100个 (Shenzhen: Haitian chubanshe, 1994). It contains one hundred short biographies, including the "CVs" of certain individuals related to Macau, especially Chinese entrepreneurs. A similar work, by Wong Hong Choi (Paul Wong; Huang Kangcai) 黄康财, *Gang Ao mingren jingying lu* 港澳名人精英录 (*The Elite of Hong Kong and Macao*) (Hong Kong: Jingying chubanshe, 1989), also presents biographies of persons related to or living in modern Macau. A unique work is Lin Chang's 林昶 *Haojiang qingying lu* 濠江青英录 (*Feitos de jovens excelentes de Macau*) (Macau: Aomen chubanshe, 1991), with a calligraphy by Ma Wanqi 馬萬祺. It narrates the stories of some sixty outstanding young personalities. Additional biographies can be found in the handbooks cited above, for example in *Gang Ao da baike quanshu*, *Aomen zonglan*, *Gang Ao daquan*, *Aomen chungiu*, in modern *Who is Who?* collections and in standard sinological tools such as the *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, etc.

There are also several books on individual entrepreneurs. Strictly speaking, these accounts cannot classify as scholarly works. They rather follow journalistic criteria and the information which they offer is often designed to attract a general readership. Here are some examples: (a) Leng Xia 冷夏, *He Hongxin zhuan* 何鴻燊傳 (Hong

<sup>25</sup> Another collection is: \**Aomen ji Zhujiang sanjiaozhou guoji yantaohui lunwenji* 澳門及珠江三角洲國際研討會論文集, 2 vols. (Macau: Aomen tongji ji puchasi, 1993). Material is also included in Zhongshan daxue renkou yanjiusuo 中山大学人口研究所 (ed.), *Renkou yanjiu luncong* 人口研究论丛 (Guangzhou, 1989; on cover: 1988).

<sup>26</sup> For example in *Hou Keng* and *Nanfang renkou*. German readers may also look up Rüdiger Glaser and Peter Haberzettl, "Phasen und Einflußgrößen der Bevölkerungsentwicklung Macaus im 20. Jahrhundert," *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 138 (1994), pp. 85–97.

Kong: Mingbao chubanshe, 1994; 2nd ed. 1995). This is a biography of Stanley Ho, certainly one of Macau's most prominent business leaders. It contains many narrative elements, but is generally well-researched and based on inside information plus diverse "news" taken from the media. (b) Zhong Liancheng 钟连城, *Aomen san da jiaofu* 澳门三大教父 (Huhehot: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 1998), presents the world of Fu Laorong 傅老榕, Ye Han 葉漢 and again of Stanley Ho, all known for their involvement and leadership in Macau's gambling, casino, and tourist industries. As in the case of Leng Xia's account purely narrative elements and true facts were combined. Further biographical facets of these and other leaders may be found in books on the gambling sector, some of which will still be mentioned below.<sup>27</sup>

Monographs and essays on prominent political leaders in twentieth century Macau do not abound. One exceptional case is Edmundo Ho (Ho Hau Wah, He Houhua 何厚铨), who is at the head of the new Macau government. Books on him are, for example, Liu Kegang's 劉克鋼 *Aomen teshou He Houhua* 澳門特首 何厚铨 (Hong Kong: Tiandi chubanshe, 1999) and \*Chen Liang's 陈良, *Aomen xingzheng zhangguan yu He Houhua* 澳门行政长官与何厚铨 (Guangzhou: Guangdong luyou chubanshe, 1999). Wu Nan's 吴楠 *Aomen teshou jiemi. He Houhua jiazhu zhuan* 澳门特首揭秘. 何厚铨家族传 (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 1999) is on the He family, the other prominent member of which was Ho Yin (He Xian) 何賢, head of the Macau Chamber of Commerce between 1950 and 1983.

Further biographical sources include certain works by Manuel Teixeira, for example his *Galeria de mulheres ilustres em Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1974) – on famous women related to Macau –, his *Macau e a sua diocese*. Vol. 2: *Bispos e governadores do Bispado de Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1940) – biographies of Macau's bishops –, and *Macau e a sua diocese*. Vol. 8: *Padres da Diocese de Macau* (Macau: Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1972) – biographies of missionaries and fathers serving in the Macau diocese during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries –, finally his *Marinheiros ilustres relacionados com Macau* (Macau: Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1988), which is on military and other men related to Macau's port, sea trade, naval development, defense, etc. Finally, there are several works on important artists and historians. They may be found, for example, in *RC* and *Macau*.

## 9. Ethnic Groups, Society, Education

Macau's population, it is well-known, comprises several groups: Portuguese from Portugal and its former dependencies in India and Africa; Chinese from Guangdong, Fujian, Hong Kong, Southeast Asia, etc.; and some Europeans and Asians from other countries, for example the Philippines. The best-researched group is the Macanese community, i.e., the descendents of Luso-Asian (especially Luso-Chinese) marriages. The most important work on this community is the voluminous *Famílias macaenses*

<sup>27</sup> Here, attention should also be drawn to materials on famous Hong Kong leaders and entrepreneurs, one case being Li Ka-shing. On him, see for example, Liang Jianhua 梁建華 (*et al.*), *Jie du Li Jiacheng* 解读李嘉誠, 3 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangdong jingji chubanshe, 2000) and Anthony B. Chan, *Li Ka-shing. Hong Kong's Elusive Billionaire* (Hong Kong, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1996).

by Jorge Forjaz (Macau: FO, ICM, and IPOR, 1996), with more than three thousand pages in three volumes. This is a gigantic demographic and genealogical inquiry based on parish registers and many other sources. Some biographies are included as well. Both the twentieth century and earlier periods were covered. No comparable work, I should like to add, has ever been produced for other sectors of Macau's population. Some Chinese genealogies are known to exist, but they have rarely been used by modern scholars.

The Macanese community has also been dealt with in a number of works combining ethnological, sociological, historical, and even linguistic criteria. These works were mostly written in Portuguese. Here are some representative titles: (a) Ana Maria Amaro, *Filhos da terra* (Macau: ICM, 1988; a Chinese translation, by Jin Guoping, was also brought out by the ICM in 1993); (b) Ninélio Barreira, *Ou-Mun, coisas e tipos de Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1994); (c) João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, *Em terra de tufões: Dinâmicas da etnicidade macaense* (Macau: ICM, 1993; Chinese translation by ICM, 1995); (d) Carlos Manuel Piteira, *Mudanças sócio-culturais em Macau (A questão étnica do Macaense)* (Lisbon: ISCSP, UT, 1999).

Another broad approach was taken by Almerindo Lessa. There are two major works by him, combining historical, ethnic, and socio-cultural dimensions: *A história e os homens da primeira república democrática do Oriente. Biologia e sociologia de uma ilha cívica* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1974) and *Macau: Ensaio de antropologia portuguesa dos trópicos* (Lisbon: Administração de Macau, FO, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical and IPOR, 1996). Both are fully illustrated and based on earlier research by the same author (including his thesis written in France). Ana Maria Amaro's *Macau: O final dum ciclo de esperança* (Lisbon: UT, ISCSP, 1997) also gives a broad view. This book was written for students of anthropology and international relations. Among other things, it discusses different ethnical groups, different professionals, social and demographic mobility, and Macau's society within the context of China and Southeast Asia.

Here we may return, once again, to the Macanese. Special aspects related to this group were also presented in several smaller studies. Examples are João de Pina Cabral and Nelson Lourenço, "Macanese Ethnicity and Family: A Methodological Prologue," in *RC* (Engl. ed.) 11/12 (1991) and *RC* (Port. ed.) 16 (1992); the same, "Personal Identity and Ethnic Ambiguity: Naming Practices among the Eurasians of Macao," in *Social Anthropology* 2.2 (June 1994), pp. 115-132; the same, "Macau bambú – um estudo sobre a identidade étnica macaense e a sucessão das gerações," in *Administração* 21 (1993), pp. 523-558; Herbert S. Yee (Yu Zhen), "The Eurasians (Macanese) in Macau: The Neglected Minority," in *Issues and Studies* 33.6 (1997), pp. 113-132. Articles on the Macanese and other groups and on socio-cultural phenomena related to these groups may also be found in the essay collections listed under section 5, above. For further references, the many publications by Ana Maria Amaro, António de Almeida, and Carlos Manuel Piteira may be consulted. English readers will certainly also profit from *RC* (Engl. ed.) 20 (1994), which is exclusively on the Macanese.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Many Macanese left Macau to settle in other countries. One illustrated brochure reminding of

As was said, Ana Maria Amaro has also written on the Chinese in Macau and on various aspects of China proper. Usually anthropological questions are the main concern of these publications. One broad approach is her *O mundo chinês. Um longo dialogo entre culturas*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: ISCSP, 1988).<sup>29</sup> This work is somewhat reminiscent of *Macau: O final dum ciclo* – certainly due to its “hybrid” character. Be that as it may, a systematic investigation of the Macau-Chinese – in the form of a major monograph on the different ethnic and immigrant groups – does not exist. Migrational patterns, in particular, will remain a difficult issue. Some works, for instance Karsten Giese’s *Irreguläre Migration vom chinesischen Festland nach Taiwan. Vom antikommunistischen Flüchtling zum (un)erwünschten Illegalen. Historische Entwicklung seit 1949 und empirische Befunde der achtziger und neunziger Jahre im Vergleich zu weiteren Zielregionen*, 2 Bde. (Berlin: Uni Tetra, 1999), contain short chapters on migration to Macau (with detailed references in the footnotes), but the findings presented in such accounts do not convey the “full story.”<sup>30</sup>

Information on the Chinese segment of Macau’s society may also be found in some of the titles listed above, especially in the essay collections under section 5. Other works deal with regional groups, or more general contexts. Early examples are *Aomen Xinhui tongxianghui chengli zhounian jinian tekan* 澳門新會同鄉會成立周年紀念特刊 (Macau, 1957; n.p.), a small brochure related to the Xinhui community; *Aomen jinri zhi qiaoyun* 澳門今日之僑運 (Hong Kong, ca. 1984; originally Macau: Shijie chubanshe, 1948); and Chen Qingquan 陳清泉, *Aomen Huaqiao wenren lu* 澳門華僑聞人錄 (Macau, 1945; n.p., unpagged). A broader work covering historical and other aspects is the *Aomen Huaqiao zhi* 澳門華僑志, by Ding Zhongjiang 丁中江 *et al.* (for the Huaqiao zhi bianzuan weiyuanhui) (Taipei: Huaqiao zhi ..., 1964). Here, attention may also be drawn to works discussing the relations between Macau and different parts of China. Some titles are referred to below, under section 15. A further example is Feng Ziping’s 馮子平 *Gang Ao Qiong ren ji shi* 港澳瓊人紀事 (Hong Kong: East and West Culture Co., 1995), which traces the links between Hainan and the Hong Kong-Macau region (there are some 5,000 Hainanese in Macau). Propaganda works also exist. One small brochure is called *Guangdong Huaqiao Gang Ao tongbao huixiang fuwutuan shiliao* 广东华侨港澳同胞回乡服务团史料, compiled by the Zhonggong Guangdong shengwei

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their stay in Portugal is *Macaenses em Lisboa*, coordinated by Ana Maria Amaro (Lisbon: Missão de Macau em Lisboa, n.d.; preface 1992), a work made to accompany an exhibition. Chapter 8 in the second volume of Amaro’s *O mundo chinês* also deals with the Macanese in Portugal. – There are also small articles on the Portuguese in Hong Kong, and there is: Luís Andrade de Sá, *The Boys from Macau. Portugueses em Hong Kong* (Lisbon: FO; Macau: ICM, 1999).

<sup>29</sup> For a list of Ana Maria Amaro’s publications readers may consult her *Das cabanas de palha*, pp. 247-251 (see section 7, above).

<sup>30</sup> Migration is closely associated with labor import. A recent study on this is Chan Sau San (Chen Shouxin) 陳守信, “Shuru laogong yu Aomen de shiye wenti 輸入勞工與澳門的失業問題,” in *AMYJ* 12 (1999), pp. 40-52. There are Portuguese and English subtitles, the English one being “Labor Importation and Unemployment in Macau.” An even more recent essay is “Unemployment and Labour Market Adjustment. The Case of Macau,” by S.S. Chan and H. Lei, in *Euro Asia Journal of Management* 19 (2000), pp. 7-22

dangshi yanjiu weiyuanhui 中共广东省委党史研究委员会 and the Zhonggong Guangdong shengwei dangshi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui 中共广东省委党史资料征集委员会 (Guangzhou, 1985; n.p.). Needless to add, none of these titles made systematic use of traditional Chinese *jiapu* 家譜.

On other ethnic groups associated with Macau little is known. The Filipino community, in particular, would merit a major publication. All we can rely on at this point is a number of short essays, for example Benito Lim's "Filipino Workers in Hong Kong and Macau: Their Status and Future," in Rufino Ramos *et al.* (eds.), *Macau and Its Neighbours in Transition*, pp. 393-398 (section 5, second block, title f). The role and fate of expatriates from Portugal's former territories in Africa, the Thai community, to mention just two more cases, might also be rewarding themes for further research.

Works investigating social conditions (independent of ethnic dimensions) abound. Examples are Chen Xinxin's 陳欣欣 *Aomen shehui chutan* 澳門社會初談 (Macau: Wanshiwei guwen ji yinwu gongsi, 1992) and *Aomen shehui wenti* 澳門社會問題 (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1995). The second title is frequently quoted. It discusses youth problems, education, security issues, local transport, pollution, and even old age in Macau. Wu Zhiliang and Chen Xinxin also put out an essay collection called *Aomen zhengzhi shehui yanjiu* 澳門政治社會研究 (*Estudos sócio-políticos de Macau*) (Macau: Aomen chengren jiaoyu xuehui, 2000). This is a mixture between sociological and political themes. Bruce Taylor and others edited *Socioeconomic Development and Quality of Life in Macau. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Macau, 28 February 1992* (Macau: Centre of Macau Studies, UM; ICM, 1992), a multilingual collection of papers.

Various aspects of Macau's society were dealt with in special studies. The question of Macau's identity (and not only the identity of the Macanese or other groups) is one recurrent theme. It is closely associated with the Fundação Sino-Latina (Sino-Latin Foundation). Wei Meichang (Gary Ngai; Ngai Mei Cheong) 魏美昌, in particular, has dedicated many essays to this topic, following both scholarly visions and political needs. One interesting piece may be found in *Administração* 24/25 (1994), pp. 299-319: "Macau em transição – a preservação da sua identidade no próximo século." The theme was further developed in contributions to Rufino Ramos' *Macau and Its Neighbours in Transition* and *Administração* 35 (1997), as well as on other occasions. That includes an article in Malek's *Macau: Herkunft ist Zukunft* (see section 5): "Die Identität Macaus: Zur Notwendigkeit, sie zu bewahren und in das nächste Jahrhundert hinein zu entwickeln," pp. 609-638. The German translation of this paper originally presented to the "International Symposium on the Culture of Metropolis in Macau" (September 1998; the proceedings of which will appear in the form of a conference volume) was prepared by Gerd Wäadow. It originally came out in *China heute* (1998), pp. 122-133.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Gary Ngai also wrote several related essays on Macau's role as a bridge between China and the Latin world. One piece is his "Macau – ponte especial de ligação entre a China e o mundo latino," *Administração* 32 (1996), pp. 339-348. Earlier articles of this kind, mostly on the journalistic level, can be found in many Chinese publications both in Macau and China. Very often they address the idea of Macau being a pluralistic society. Gary Ngai has also worked on this

On the darker sides of Macau's life one may consult Peng Bangfu's 彭邦富 and Gao Xiangyang's 高向阳 *Gang Ao Tai hei shehui shilu* 港澳台黑社会实录 (Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1999). Pages 149 to 222 summarize the most important characteristics of organized crime in the territory. This concerns secret societies and certain tourist attractions. Furthermore, there are a few interesting observations on the late 1990s. According to the preface, the book was read by insiders before it got published – whatever that may mean. João Guedes' *As seitas. História do crime e da política em Macau* (Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1991; 2nd ed. 1999), a popular work, also discusses the role of Chinese secret societies. But Guedes was more interested in historical themes and he also examined the background of important political events. Some readers may not necessarily like all aspects of this revealing account.

Gambling is an important facet of Macau's daily life. Several scholars have dealt with this phenomenon, either from a tourist's view, a sociologist's perspective, or within the context of economic reasoning.<sup>32</sup> Ling Zi's 凌子 *Dongfang de Mengte Kaluo: Aomen zhi lü* 东方的蒙特卡罗：澳门之旅 (Guangzhou: Guangdong lüyou chubanshe, 1999) is more like a guide book.<sup>33</sup> Wan Xin's 万新 *Pujing da duchang* 葡京大赌场 (Xi'an: Shaanxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000) oscillates around the famous Casino Lisboa. It narrates some historical details and also deals with the biographies of relevant personalities, for example Stanley Ho. *O jogo em Macau*, edited by the Governo de Macau (Macau: Inspeção dos Contratos Jogos, 1986), is an older survey. Among other things it presents the different kinds of games offered in Macau, plus some glimpses of the past. Zhuang Yixun 庄义逊 *et al.*, *Gang Ao Tai qishisan hang* 港澳台七十三行 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1993; "Qishisan hang" xilie congshu), pp. 85-122, offers another general description. Zhu Chunting's 祝春亭 *Aomen duchang fengyun* 澳门赌场风云 (Shantou: Shantou daxue chubanshe, 1998), presents a "backstage" view.<sup>34</sup> Chen Donglin's 陈东林 *Aomen fengqing* 澳门风情 (Shanghai: Shanghai shijie tushu chubanshe, 1998) may also be mentioned in this context.

The gambling and tourist industries have led to some unwanted phenomena in Macau, one being prostitution. This is discussed in several general accounts. Special studies on that "trade," mostly in the pre-1900 period, include Isabel Nunes' "The Singing and Dancing Girls in Macau: Aspects of Prostitution in Macau," *RC* (Engl. ed.) 18 (1984), pp. 61-84, and *RC* (Port. ed.) 18 (1991). Regarding other themes related to women (and gender studies), not very much work has been accomplished. But there is a special issue of *RC* with some interesting pieces – *RC* (Port. ed.) 24 (1995) – and some short essays are also available on female education.

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question; see, for example, his contributions to *Política Internacional*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1991), and *Administração* 10 (1990).

<sup>32</sup> Several general works on gambling and games in China and among the Chinese outside of China exist. One work which puts these phenomena in a historical context may be cited here: Guo Shuanglin 郭雙林 and Xiao Meihua 蕭梅花, *Zhongguo dubo shi* 中國賭博史 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1996; *Zhongguo wenhua shi congshu* 42).

<sup>33</sup> "Practical" guides also exist, for example B. Okuley's and F. King-Poole's *Gambler's Guide to Macao* (Hong Kong: South China Morning Post, 1979).

<sup>34</sup> There is an identical title published by the Mingliu chubanshe in Hong Kong (1997; not seen).

Macau's education system and its history, now almost separate fields of inquiry, are covered in a number of articles and special books. António Aresta's *A educação portuguesa no Extremo Oriente. Estudos de história de educação* (Porto: Lello Editores, 1999; O Mocho de Papel) discusses different personalities linked to education in Macau and elsewhere. Aresta is also among the editors of a source collection already mentioned above: *Documentos para a história da educação em Macau* (see section 6). M. Conceição Alves Pinto's *Ensino em Macau. Uma abordagem sistemática da realidade educativa* (Macau: Gabinete do Secretário-Adjunto para a Educação e Cultura, 1987) is an official survey of ca. 70 pages. Manuel Teixeira's *A educação em Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Cultura, 1982), provides a general introduction. There are also various essay collections, for example: Gu Ding-yi 古鼎儀 and Ma Qingtang 馬慶堂 (eds.), *Aomen jiaoyu – jueze yu ziyou* 澳門教育 – 抉擇與自由 (*Macau Education: Continuity and Change*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong), all in Chinese but with an English table of contents; *Os estudos superiores em Macau. Seminário internacional (Macau, 16 a 18 de Janeiro de 1995)* (*Aomen de gaodeng jiaoyu. Guoji yanjiuhui lunwenji* [Aomen, yijiujiuwu nian yi yue shiliu ri zhi shiba ri] 澳門的高等教育。國際研究會論文集[澳門一九九五年一月十六日至十八日]), edited by the Instituto Politécnico de Macau, the UM, and the FM (Macau: UM, Centro de Publicações, 1996), a bilingual work; Wong Hon Keong (Huang Hanqiang) (ed.), *Aomen jiaoyu gaige* 澳門教育改革 (*Reforma da Educação de Macau*) (Macau: Dongya daxue, Aomen yanjiu zhongxin, 1993), with an English title on the cover and an English title page (*Proceedings of the Symposium on "Education Reform in Macau"*), but with essays mostly in Chinese and only some contributions in Portuguese; *Aomen gongmin jiaoyu (yanjiuhui wenji)* 澳門公民教育 (研究會文集) (*Comunicações do simpósio "Educação Cívica em Macau"*), same editor (Macau: Centro de Estudos de Macau, UM, 1992), again mostly in Chinese.

Separate essays on educational and related phenomena were also produced in great quantity, many of them appearing in *AMYJ* 3 (1995), 6 (1997), 12 (1999), and in *Administração*, for example in volumes 22 (1993), 23 (1994), 29 (1995), 36 (1997), 38 (1997), 46 (1999). Finally, the Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude has published many brochures and special works, including the bilingual *Boletim Mensal de Educação* (since 1994).

Furthermore, most handbooks cited above contain separate chapters on education. Special fields of investigation not always covered by these handbooks, or just touched upon at random, relate to the complex question of bilingual training<sup>35</sup> – in schools, the civil service, and other sectors of society – and the role of the Church. Regarding the latter and its involvement in Macau's education system, chapter 16 (in part 3) of António Carmo's voluminous *A igreja católica na China e em Macau* (see n. 14) will provide essential data. Indeed, the entire third part of this well-researched book with

<sup>35</sup> On bilingualism, bilingual training, and languages, see, for example, articles in *Administração* 16, 17/18 (all 1992), 23, 26 (1994), 27, 28 (1995), 31, 33 (1996), 35, 38 (1997), 40 (1998), 45 (1999), etc.

861 pages (tables, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index included) is an authoritative and up-to-date introduction to the role of the Church in modern Macau.<sup>36</sup>

### 10. History: Surveys, Chronologies, Miscellaneous Collections

Books on Macau's history usually follow a chronological arrangement, but sometimes they also contain chapters or addenda on special themes. In many cases the presentation differs considerably from parallel works, depending on different views. Some works are less critical than others, some still follow a Marxian approach, mixed with Chinese nationalism, others look at Macau from a traditional Portuguese point of view. Still others have a journalistic touch. Here is a list of such surveys:<sup>37</sup>

- (a) Huang Hongzhao 黃鴻釗, *Aomen shi* 澳門史 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1987), v + 245 pages. Chapters 10 and 11 deal with the twentieth century. A bibliographical survey is appended. The cover shows João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, but the text is flavoured differently.
- (b) Huang Wenkuan 黃文寬, *Aomen shi gouchen* 澳門史鉤沉 (Macau: Aomen xingguang chubanshe, 1987), 209 pages. A *mélange* of historical notes, mostly on pre-Republican times. Anti-Portuguese in tone, very polemical.
- (c) Fei Chengkang 費成康, *Aomen sibai nian* 澳門四百年 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), 3 + 4 + 431 pages. By now certainly a "standard" survey of Macau's history, frequently quoted in Chinese works. For the chapters on the twentieth century, a mixture between chronological and thematic presentation was chosen. The post-war years are not really discussed. The strength of the book lies on earlier periods. There is an English translation by Wang Yintong 王寅通: *Macao 400 Years* (Shanghai: The Publishing House of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences [Shanghai shehui kexueyuan chubanshe], 1996), 360 pages.
- (d) \*Fernando Correia de Oliveira, *500 anos de contactos luso-chineses* (Lisbon: Público and FO, 1998), 264 pages.
- (e) Yuan Bangjian 元邦建 and Yuan Guixiu 袁桂秀, *Aomen shilüe* 澳門事略 (Hong Kong: Zhongliu chubanshe, 1988), 4 + 330 pages. Often quoted, but sometimes striking the wrong chord. The chapter on the Republican period overemphasizes the

<sup>36</sup> Many sources and secondary works are cited, including Teixeira's *A educação em Macau*, which also discusses the role of the Church in the educational sector. Small notes and articles in the *Boletim Eclesial de Macau* and older journals provide further details. It may be added that *China heute*, based in Sankt Augustin, also carries news on the Church in Macau, even some articles in translation.

<sup>37</sup> Gonçalo Mesquitela, *História de Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1996–1999), comprises several volumes (part 1 with 2 vols.; part 2 with 3 vols.; part 3 with 2 vols.). All volumes deal with earlier periods. – Older surveys, for example the accounts by C. A. Montalto de Jesus, César Guillen-Núñez, Austin Coates, and others, also briefly look at the early twentieth century. They can be found in most Western libraries and bibliographies and were already presented in MS 46. Some recent Chinese works were not seen, for instance Li Fulin 李福麟, *Aomen si ge ban shiji* 澳門四個半世紀 (Macau: Aomen Songshan xuehui, 1995). There are also some studies on historiography. One is Wu Zhiliang's *Dong Xi jiaohui kan Aomen* 東西交匯看澳門 (Macau: FM, 1996; Hao hai congkan); more historiographical and bibliographical tools are cited in Loureiro's *Guia de história de Macau* (see n. 1, above).

role of Sun Yat-sen. The 1930s and 1940s are not adequately covered. The last two chapters – on Macau's take-off in the 1970s and 1980s and on Sino-Portuguese relations up to the signing of the Joint Declaration – follow distinctly Chinese images.

- (f) Huang Hongzhao, *Aomen shi gangyao* 澳门史纲要 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1991), 6 + 323 pages. Similar to Huang's *Aomen shi*, but with a grey cover.
- (g) Deng Kaisong 鄧開頌, *Aomen lishi (1840–1949 nian)* 澳門歷史 (1840–1949年) (Macau: Aomen lishi xuehui, 1995), 2 + 3 + 437 pages. This is a continuation of Huang Qichen's 黃啓臣 *Aomen lishi (zi yuangu zhi 1840 nian)* 澳門歷史 (自遠古至1840年), published by the same society and in the same year. There are elaborate chapters on Macau's role in the opium trade and the trade in contract workers, both based on earlier essays by the same author, and on Macau's development in the first half of the twentieth century. The institutional history is also covered. Further chapters deal with Kang Youwei 康有為, Sun Yat-sen, and others, the local government and the military in Macau, religious and cultural issues. There is an English table of contents.
- (h) Deng Kaisong and Lu Xiaomin 陆晓敏 (eds.), *Yue Gang Ao jindai guanxi shi* 粵港澳近代关系史 (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1996; Lingnan wenku), 2 + 5 + 5 + 352 pages. This book narrates the history of the Pearl River area with its three centres – Guangzhou, Macau, Hong Kong – from pre-Opium War times to ca. 1949. Some interesting observations on the 1920s and 1930s may be found. Important Chinese sources, including Deng's own works, and a limited number of Western titles were consulted.
- (i) Geoffrey Gunn, *Encountering Macau: A Portuguese City-State on the Periphery of China, 1557–1999* (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 1996; Transitions: Asia and Asian America), xvii + 211 pages. A general approach. Some Portuguese sources were used, but practically no Chinese works. There is a Portuguese translation, published in 1998. About half the book is dedicated to the twentieth century.
- (j) Jonathan Porter, *Macau, the Imaginary City* (see note 8). A general portray of diverse historical and cultural topics. Macau is presented in the form of "images," mixed with "reality." Very "impressionistic" and somewhat anglophile, showing that American and English gardeners grow their own plants.
- (k) Steve Shipp, *Macau, China: A Political History of the Portuguese Colony's Transition to Chinese Rule* (Jefferson, N.C., etc.: McFarland & Company, 1997), 228 pages. A very short historical account, the appendix contains some documents in English translation. Almost exclusively based on English works.
- (l) Rosemarie Wank-Nolasco Lamas, *History of Macau: A Student's Manual* (Macau: Institute of Tourism Education, 1998), 150 pages + coloured illustrations. A book for students wishing to acquaint themselves with Macau's past. Adequate coverage of twentieth century issues. Select bibliography of Western works, index.
- (m) Chang Qing 常青, *Bainian Aomen* 百年澳门 (*Tides of Macau*) (Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe, 1999, 2 + ii + 392 pages. A very patriotic account, arranged chronologically, for the most part, but with some special themes under each segment.
- (n) Dai Yixuan 戴裔煊 and Zhong Guohao 钟国豪, *Aomen lishi gangyao* 澳门历史纲要 (Beijing: Zhishi chubanshe, 1999). 4 + 4 + 369 pages. Throughout the last

few decades, Dai Yixuan (d. 1988) was considered a leading authority on Macau in communist China.<sup>38</sup> Of his *Aomen lishi gangyao* four sections were originally written by him, the other sections are by Zhong Guohao. The book is generally well-edited, quotes many sources, but is very anti-Portuguese in every respect. Only a very small segment deals with the twentieth century. Nearly all chapters can be read as independent essays (and were already published as such).

- (o) Deng Kaisong, Huang Hongzhao, Wu Zhiliang, and Lu Xiaomin (eds.), *Aomen lishi xinshuo* 澳门历史新说 (Shijiazhuang: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1999), 3 + 837 pages. This very detailed work (with copious notes) builds on the expertise of several well-known Chinese historians. According to its postscript the book was compiled under the guidance of Deng Kaisong, there being seventeen authors altogether. Chapters 1 to 12 follow a chronological pattern, chapters 13 to 16 present various themes: the development of Portuguese government in Macau, economic changes after the Opium War, the structure of Macau's society (with segments on the demographical evolution, the Macanese, urban growth, etc.), and finally, religion and education. Certainly an important book that will replace many earlier survey histories in the Chinese speaking world.
- (p) Deng Kaisong and Gu Mu 古木, *Jiujiu guiyi* 九九归一 (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe, 1999; Jiujiu Aomen huigui congshu), 2 + 3 + 322 pages. A general history, mostly following a chronological arrangement.
- (q) Deng Kaisong, Wu Zhiliang, and Lu Xiaomin (eds.), *Yue Ao guanxi shi* 粤澳关系史 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1999), 6 + 3 + 643 pages. About ten authors were involved in writing this account. The focus is on economic, political, institutional, cultural, and other aspects of the relations between Macau and Guangdong, but many parts can be read as a kind of survey history not too different from similar works. The arrangement follows a chronological pattern.<sup>39</sup>
- (r) Deng Kaisong and Xie Houhe 谢后和, *Aomen lishi yu shehui fazhan* 澳门历史与社会发展 (Zhuhai: Zhuhai chubanshe, 1999), 3 + 3 + 233 pages. About half the book is on the twentieth century.
- (s) Huang Qichen, *Aomen tongshi* 澳门通史 (*General History of Macao*) (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), 8 + 2 + 700 pages. One of the most detailed histories of Macau in Chinese. Partly based on earlier works by the same author. Most chapters follow a chronological arrangement, but some sections deal with themes, for example Macau's religions, the structure of the city's government institutions, Qing influence on Macau, the economic situation, etc. There is an English table of contents. More sources might have been indicated, many views are very Chinese.

Of all recently published survey histories, one work should perhaps be singled out here because of its authoritative character. This is the *História dos Portugueses no*

<sup>38</sup> A Marxist and ultra-nationalist hardliner by every standard, he was recently honoured with a festschrift: Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生 (ed.), *Aomen shi yu Zhong Xi jiaotong yanjiu* 澳門史與中西交通研究 (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998).

<sup>39</sup> Wei Qingyuan 韋慶遠 published an extraordinary and very long review of this book in *AMYJ* 10 (1999), pp. 66-94.

*Extremo Oriente* under the general direction of A.H. de Oliveira Marques, one of the leading historians in the Portuguese speaking world. The *História*, published by the FO in Lisbon, can be compared to the *Cambridge Histories* in terms of standard and depth. Publication of volume 1 (which consists of two separate books with a total of nearly 1100 pages) began in 2000. This first part deals with Macau and other Portuguese possessions and areas of influence in the Far East and Southeast Asia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Volume 2 will be on Macau and Timor from ca. 1662 to 1780/90. Volume 3, with 800 pages, carries the subtitle *Macau e Timor, do antigo regime à república* and has come out in 2000. Volume 4 will cover the period from 1910 to 1955. The FO intends to bring out volumes 2 and 4 in the course of 2001. All volumes are beautifully printed and finely illustrated. There are copious notes and excellent bibliographies. Many contributions, by different authors, certainly deserve to be called state-of-the-art pieces. Since volume 3 is also concerned with the early years of the twentieth century, its contents should be briefly listed: The first two contributions – “A conjuntura política: antes de Hong Kong” (by Ângela Guimarães) and “A conjuntura política: depois de Hong Kong” (Fernando Figueiredo) – provide the geo-political setting. The larger part of the book (ca. 600 pages) presents key topics: “Os vectores da economia” (again Figueiredo), “A organização administrativa” (Paulo Drummond Braga), “Sociedade e quotidiano” (João Carlos Oliveira), “Ensino e cultura” (Pedro Mesquita). Figueiredo’s section on the Macau economy (ca. 200 pages) in particular explores new terrain. No comparable account exists for this period. There can be no doubt that this section – as well as the other parts – will be of great help for further investigations.

Here we can switch to a different category of history writing: chronologies that summarize events on a period-by-period or a year-by-year basis. Some handbooks and survey histories, for example the one by Yuan Bangjian and Yuan Guixiu (see section 10, title e), carry rudimentary chronologies in their appendices. Other chronologies are much more elaborate, such as the one in Malek’s *Macau: Herkunft ist Zukunft*, pp. 21-140 (see section 5), which is also very special in the sense that it is perhaps the major one of its kind with a focus on Church history. Besides these and other chronologies integrated into books, there are also independent works. Two recent and very important ones are listed here:

- (a) Chen Xin 陈昕 and Guo Zhikun 郭志坤 (eds.), *Aomen quanjilu* 澳门全纪录 (*Illustrated Chronicle of Macao*) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), 436 pages. This beautifully printed book with hundreds of illustrations gives a survey of longer periods first and then continues with individual years and events. It begins with the times of Qin Shihuangdi 秦始皇帝, thereafter proceeding to the medieval period, pre-twentieth century Macau, and finally to the twentieth century, which takes about ninety percent of the book. (Of course, the intention of presenting a few data on the Macau region in pre-Macau times is related to visions of “continuity.”)
- (b) Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da história de Macau*, 5 vols. (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1992–1998), 198 + 217 + 467 + 454 + 320 pages). This monumental chronology has become an indispensable item for historians and is certainly much more elaborate than the compilation by Chen Xin and Guo Zhikun. Its strength is the earlier periods (vols. 1 to 3), but the last two volumes are dedicated to the twentieth century. They follow events until 1988, although later

years are briefly covered as well (in a short appendix to vol. 5). A Chinese version, in four volumes, has appeared under the title *Aomen biannian shi* 澳門編年史 (Macau: FM, 1998; Aomen yicong [Coleção Traduções Macau]). It is also frequently referred to by Chinese historians in Macau and China. Both versions carry detailed bibliographies and other useful information.

Some chronologies deal exclusively with the twentieth century or the last decades. One example is: Zheng Yanshi 鄭言實, *Aomen huigui dashi ji 1972–1999* 澳門回歸大事記 1972–1999 (*Cronologia sobre a transição de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 2000). Another example is the appendix in Fernando Lima's *Macau, as duas transições*, volume 1 (Macau: FM, 1999), pp. 585–632 (the years 1945–1985). But to date the largest and most detailed chronology exclusively concerned with one part of the twentieth century is Moisés Silva Fernandes' *Sinopse de Macau* (see under 6, title o). Part 1 (nearly 500 pages) of this path-breaking book summarizes important political and other events almost on a daily basis. Entries for each date vary from a few lines to several paragraphs. Part 2 is a collection of important documents. Furthermore, there are appendices, illustrations, and an index. For the years from 1995 onwards there are also short chronologies in the appendices of the annual *Aomen* 澳門 yearbook published by the FM in the series *Xin Aomen luncong* (see sections 3 and 5). Finally, in some cases it may be useful to consult chronologies pertaining to the recent history of Guangdong, Guangzhou, and Zhuhai. One example is the *Zhonggong Guangdong dangshi dashi ji* 中共广东党史大事记, edited by Zhonggong Guangdong shengwei dangshi yanjiushi 中共广东省委党史研究室 (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1993).

The last days of Portuguese rule over Macau were outlined, day by day, in José Pedro Castanheira's elegantly printed and finely illustrated *Macau, os últimos cem dias do império* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote; Macau: Livros do Oriente, 2000). On the title page the words *Macau: Cem Império* appear in fat letters. Obviously a word play was intended.<sup>40</sup> Dinis de Abreu's *Macau: Diário sem dias* (Lisbon and S. Paulo: Editorial Verbo, 2000), which "summarizes" the same period, is a peculiar mixture between themes and chronological narration, flavoured with personal impressions. Again, the title has a deeper meaning: *sem* ("without") can be exchanged for *cem* ("one hundred"), as in the first case ...

Next, there are various essay collections with studies mostly or exclusively dedicated to historical topics. One example is: *Jing hai tao sheng* (see under 6, title g). This special collection of *Zhongshan wenshi* 45 (1999) carries nine essays by Huang Hongzhao (including a collection of documents on border issues) and two other pieces. Of the latter two, one deals with the Republican period, one with wartime Macau. All other pieces are either on pre-1900 topics or general aspects. Other periodicals and collections also carry special Macau issues or at least numbers with clusters of articles on Macau. These special numbers were mostly published in late 1999 or early 2000 to celebrate the handover. Examples are *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中国边疆史地研究 (*China Borderland History and Geography Studies*) 2/1999 (eight articles), 3/1999 (three articles), 4/1999 (one article); *Lishi yanjiu* 历史研究

<sup>40</sup> The same author published on diverse matters; one work to be noted here is his *Os 58 dias que abalaram Macau* (same publisher, 1999)

6/1999 (two articles); *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 (*Modern Chinese History Studies*) 6/1999 (three articles); etc.<sup>41</sup> Some Portuguese periodicals may be added, for instance *Encontros de divulgação e debate em estudos sociais* 5 (2000) and *Camões. Revista de Letras e Culturas Lusófonas* 7 (1999) (these last two were already referred to above).

Finally, the history of Macau has also been dealt with in the form of novels. Wen Meiping's 温美平 *Aomen lishi yanyi* 澳门历史演义 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1999), divided into twenty *hui*, Wen Chunlai's 温春来 *Aomen chuanqi* 澳门传奇 (Guangzhou: Guangdong jingji chubanshe, 1999), in 12 *hui*, and Zhang Liming's 张黎明 *Haojing shi jia* 濠镜是家 (Beijing: Qunzhong chubanshe, 1999) are recent examples. Needless to say, they are all patriotic texts. An earlier case of narrated history is the *Aomen yanyi* 澳门演义 by Guang Yu 广宇 and Ma Wentian 马文田 (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi chubanshe, 1994; Gao Ao Tai yanyi). Many other literary products, in Chinese and Portuguese, touch Macau's past, but all this would have to be treated in a separate bibliographical note.

### 11. Politics and Economics: Surveys and General Studies

In the case of Macau, history is nearly always related to politics, and politics is tied to the complex theme of Sino-Portuguese relations. The latter, in turn, cannot be disconnected from legal and institutional history, especially if the status of Macau is involved. Therefore it is difficult to separate history and politics from each other. Indeed, many of the surveys listed above carry long chapters on political and status questions. In this section we shall look at books and articles which may qualify as falling into a general "political" category without giving up the historical frame into which they were embedded.

A good starting point is the work by Wu Zhiliang. By now it comprises several monographs and dozens of essays. His *Aomen zhengzhi fazhanshi* 澳门政治发展史 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue chubanshe, 1999), which carries an English table of contents, is perhaps the most representative account. Originally a doctoral dissertation, it looks at both Macau's political status and various issues related to local politics. About one half of the book is dedicated to the twentieth century, for example the events of 1922, wartime Macau, the impact of the Cultural Revolution, etc. The period after the peaceful revolution of 1974 is also covered at some length, again mostly by setting all relevant events in and around Macau against the background of long-term trends in Sino-Portuguese relations. There also exists a Portuguese version of Wu's dissertation, with an introduction by António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and a postscript by Jin Guoping 金國平. Both the Portuguese text, called *Segredos de Sobrevivência. História política de Macau* (Macau: Associação de Educação de Adultos de Macau, 1999), and the Chinese version carry useful and up-to-date bibliographies. Although Western readers will not agree with all views presented by Wu, it has to be conceded that this work may become an important tool for political scientists and historians.

<sup>41</sup> Even magazines related to other fields have devoted some space to Macau, for example the bi-monthly *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 (*Literary Review*) 6 (1999), one of the leading journals of its kind in the People's Republic of China.

The account *Aomen guicheng* 澳门归程, edited by Zhonggong Guangdong shengwei dangshi yanjiushi and other institutions (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 1999), belongs to the same category, although it deals with other aspects as well. Since it was brought out by party institutions, its style is "special." The same may be said of certain other works, for example Fang Yan's 方言 *Aomen wenti shimo* 澳门问题始末 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 1997). A further title with political and historical "aspirations" is Zheng Pengnian's 郑彭年 *Aomen kaifu 450 nian: Qingzhu Aomen jiujiu huigui* 澳门开阜450年: 庆祝澳门九九回归 (Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 1999); the title suggests that this book was made to celebrate the handover. Qi Pengfei's 齐鹏飞 and Zhang Xiaojing's 张晓京 *Aomen de shiluo yu huigui* 澳门的失落与回归 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1999; *Aomen huigui congshu*) mirrors similar intentions.

Some earlier works may be cited as well: Jiang Bingzheng's 姜秉正 *Aomen wenti shimo* 澳门问题始末 (Beijing: Falü chubanshe, 1992) discusses Macau's status, legal history and the various Sino-Portuguese treaties. There are also separate chapters on the period up to the Nanjing treaty and the negotiations leading to the Joint Declaration. This is a very biased book. Camões C.K. Tam's (Tan Zhiqiang) 譚志强 *Aomen zhuquan wenti shimo, 1553-1993* 澳門主權問題始末1553-1993 (*Disputes Concerning Macau's Sovereignty between China and Portugal [1553-1993]*) (Taipei: Yongye chubanshe, 1994), a revised dissertation, also looks at disputes concerning Macau's status and the sovereignty issue. Francisco Gonçalves Pereira's *Portugal, a China e a "Questão de Macau"* (Macau: IPOR, 1995; *Memória do Oriente* 4) contains chapters on the Republican period, the *Estatuto Orgânico* (Macau's "constitution" prior to the handover), China's "tutelary" presence in Macau, the Joint Declaration, the Basic Law, etc. It is based on earlier studies by the same author, for example his contribution "Towards 1999: The Political Status of Macau in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in the second edition of Cremer's *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture* (see 5, second block, title a).

Surveys of Macau's economy from the beginning through to the twentieth century are still rare. To date the only major economic history is a descriptive account by Huang Qichen 黃啓臣 and Zheng Weiming 鄭煒明: *Aomen jingji sibai nian* 澳門經濟四百年 (*An Economic History of Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; *Aomen luncong*). This book with more than 300 pages and many tables may serve as an introduction, but it clearly has its weak sides. About half of the account deals with the twentieth century. The fishing and handicraft industries and trade and finance during the Republican period are more adequately treated than the years between 1945 and the take-off in the 1970s. The book also includes short chapters on Macau's modern industries, trade and commerce, real estate, tourism, finance, etc. For these modern parts it frequently relies on Wong Hon Keong's *Aomen jingji nianjian* (see 2, handbooks, title a). Furthermore, there is a preface by Quan Hansheng 全漢昇 and an English table of contents.

The *Aomen jingji nianjian* is another important source. But it is organized like a handbook and not like a chronological account. There is adequate information for the 1970s and 1980s, earlier periods are not systematically discussed. Trade and commerce, banking and finance, manufacturing, fishing, the retail and service sectors as well as different industrial branches are all treated in separate chapters. Readers wish-

ing to obtain basic data on such special branches as the ceramic industry, to mention just one example, may consult this work with some profit.

General monographs with a focus on Macau's economy in the twentieth century, especially the last two or three decades, include the following titles:

- (a) Jeong Wan Cheong (Yang Yunzhong) 楊允中, *Aomen yu xiandai jingji zengzhang* 澳門與現代經濟增長 (Macau: Aomen jingji xuehui, 1992), v + 3 + ii + 150 pages. English introduction. The English and Portuguese titles are: *Macau and the Modern Economic Growth* and *Macau e o crescimento económico moderno*.
- (b) Jeong Wan Chong (Yang Yunzhong) and Ricardo Chi Sen Siu, *Macau – a Model of Mini-Economy* (Macau: UM, Publications Center, 1997), 4 + ii + 160 pages.
- (c) Cao Kunhua 曹坤化, *Aomen jingji fazhan touxi* 澳門經濟發展透析 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1997), 12 + 6 + 296 pages.
- (d) Huang Hanqiang, *Aomen de jingji* 澳門的經濟 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1999; Aomen huigui congshu), 3 + 1 + 167 pages.
- (e) \*S.S. Chan (Chen Shouxin) 陳守信, *The Macau Economy* (Macau: UM, 2000), 113 pages.

The above works are mostly descriptive accounts with only some interest in macro-economic concepts and standard models. Nevertheless, they discuss structural features, such as the gradual transition of Macau from an entrepôt society to a society characterized by the simultaneous existence of production, trade, tourism, and banking. Roderich Ptak's "Macaus Demographie und Wirtschaft: Stadien einer Entwicklung," in Malek, *Macau: Herkunft ist Zukunft* (above section 5 title n, furthermore section 8) addresses the same question in condensed form, partly by defining major economic cycles.

General information on the Macau economy may also be found in works looking at Guangdong, the Pearl River estuary, Hong Kong and Macau, or Zhuhai and Macau. Some of these works will be introduced below. Only one early example shall be cited here: Wu Yuwen 吳郁文 *et al.* (eds.), *Xianggang, Aomen diqu jingji dili* 香港、澳門地區經濟地理 (Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe, 1990; Zhongguo sheng shi qu jingji dili congshu). This book contains about eighty pages on Macau's geography and development, the characteristics of the territory's modern economy, especially the tourist sector, and Macau's future.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Naturally, Macau's political and economic history, from its earliest times to the present, can also be seen in the light of Guangdong's development. Therefore, many works related to that province, to Guangzhou or to the old district of Xiangshan (modern Zhuhai) refer to Macau. Examples of frequently cited surveys dealing with Guangdong are the following titles: Cheng Hao 程浩, *Guangzhou gangshi (jindai bufen)* 廣州港史 (近代部分) (Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe, 1985; Zhongguo shuiyun shi congshu); Qi Yi 齊易 (ed.), *Guangdong hangyun shi (jindai bufen)* 廣東航運史 (近代部分) (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe, 1989; Zhongguo shuiyun shi congshu); Chen Bojian 陳柏鑑 (ed.), *Guangzhou maoyi liangqian nian* 廣州貿易兩千年 (Guangzhou: Guangzhou wenhua chubanshe, 1989); Chen Bojian and Huang Qichen, *Guangzhou waimao shi* 廣州外貿史, 3 vols. (Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe, 1995; the last two volumes on the twentieth century).

## 12. Special Topics, ca. 1900 to 1978/1979

While parts of the earlier history of Macau can be segmented into well-defined cycles of economic activity and political development, the same may not be said of the twentieth century. Generally, political scientists, economists, and others approach this question in different ways.<sup>43</sup> Here, a very rudimentary chronological “scale” was chosen for categorization. This “scale” follows important events and certain “key issues”: (a) Macau and South China’s gradual transition from imperial power to the Republican age – this concerns Kang Youwei, Sun Yatsen, warlordism, the efforts to define Macau’s borders, etc. –; (b) Macau during the Sino-Japanese conflict in the late 1930s, the Second World War, and the war between China’s communists and the Guomindang; (c) and the period from ca. 1949 to ca. 1978/1979, i.e., to the time when China began opening its doors to the West and when Lisbon and Beijing began reconsidering bilateral relations, Macau’s status and future role. Sections 13 and 14, below, will then look at the last two decades of Macau, which were marked by the preparations for the 1999 handover.

**(a) 1900–1937.** Many survey histories and works on politics or political history (listed under sections 10 and 11) contain detailed chapters on the early decades of the twentieth century; these surveys, notably in the *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente* (vol. 3 and, soon, vol. 4), may serve as introductions to the period in question. Specialized studies on this period are also available, but there are no detailed modern monographs on some very elementary topics such as the structure and organisation of Macau’s government in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s. For these topics, readers must rely on the relevant chapters in broader accounts like Wu Zhiliang’s *Segredos* (section 11, above) or on other works (some by the same author; see below, section 13 b). Of these works Avelino Rosa’s *Os municípios em Macau*, with a preface by António Vitorino (Macau: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1999; *Estudos e Documentos*) may be mentioned here as one example. It deals with the local level of the territory’s internal administration.

On other topics we are more adequately informed. Macau’s external relations and certain international issues are presented in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha’s *Estudos sobre as relações luso-chinesas* (Lisbon: ISCSP and ICM, 1996). This book (with more than 700 pages and Chinese summaries) links up the political discussion in the second part of the nineteenth century with the discussion that gave shape to Macau’s role and status during the first three decades of the twentieth century. All chapters in Saldanha’s book can be read independently. The last three are of interest here: they look at the border question, Macau’s role during the Washington Conference (1921/1922), and Macau and the United Nations.<sup>44</sup> There are copious notes and references to a large number of primary sources and scholarly works in Western languages. Parts of Saldanha’s work were translated by Jin Guoping. The Chinese title

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Wu Zhiliang, “Cong zhengzhi fazhan kan Aomen lishi fenqi” 從政治發展看澳門歷史分期 (Portuguese and English subtitles; the English one reads “Macau Historical Stages through Political Development”), in *AMYJ* 6 (1997), pp. 53–66, and Roderich Ptak “Macaus Demographie und Wirtschaft ...”

<sup>44</sup> They have appeared earlier in various journals: *Administração, RC, Revista Portuguesa de Instituições Internacionais*.

is: *Putaoiya zai Hua waijiao zhengce, yibasiyi – yibawusi* 葡萄牙在華外交政策, 1841–1854 (Macau: Pu Zhong guanxi yanjiu zhongxin, FM, 1997).

João Guedes, in his *Laboratório constitucional* (Macau: IPOR, 1995; *Memória do Oriente* 3), opts for a more traditional – and somewhat journalistic – approach. The topics of this essay collection (based on the author's earlier publications) include the Coloane pirates (1910), Sun Yat-sen and Macau, the various conflicts in the decade from 1900 to 1910, and some events of later periods. *As seitas: História do crime e da política em Macau*, by the same author, was already introduced above (in section 9). Sun Yat-sen and “low level politics” figure prominently in this volume. Much of the material found in *As seitas* and *Laboratório* is based on or related to separate essays by Guedes, for example in the *RC* (Port. ed.) 16, pp. 63–95: “Sun Yat-sen, Macau e a revolução.”

There are also one or two modern summaries of early twentieth century Macau. One is Peter Haberzettl's and Roderich Ptak's “Macau 1920–1930: Geschichte, Wirtschaft und Politik,” in *MS* 41 (1993), pp. 249–281, a paper describing basic political and economic features, the demographic situation and Macau's infrastructural development, especially the harbour works. For the last topic, “Macao and Its Harbour: Projects Planned and Projects Realized,” quoted in section 7, may also be consulted. Both these articles refer to accounts written in the early years of the twentieth century and listed in Gomes' *Bibliografia macanese*. Several of these accounts (for example by Jaime de Inso) were once very influential in the lusophone world – so influential, indeed, that some works were reprinted in recent years. One example is Álvaro de Melo Machado's *Coisas de Macau* (originally 1913; repr. Macau: Kazumbi – Editoria Multimédia Lda., 1997), and Jaime do Inso, *A China* (originally 1936; repr. Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1999).

Here we can turn to more specialized topics. The first is Kang Youwei's famous reforms. Strictly speaking, they belong to the end of the nineteenth century, but the reformers had also a certain impact on Macau after 1900. A number of scholarly essays and other works are available on all this, for example in *AMYJ* 6 (1997) and 11 (1999). There is also a facsimile edition of the journal *Zhixin bao* 知新報 (early 1897 to early 1901), which was closely associated with the reform movement; this edition, in two volumes, was jointly published by the FM and Shanghai kexue chubanshe in 1996.

Sun Yat-sen was already mentioned above. However, an honest *major* monograph on him and his attitude towards the Portuguese has never been written. Most works dealing with him and Macau are either very general or too generous. A good example is the trilingual “photo-biography” by Zheng Lei (Zhang Lei) 張磊, Sheng Yunhua (Sheng Yonghua) 盛永華 and Fok Kai Cheong (Huo Qichang) 霍啓昌, *Macau: Portal e palco por onde Sun Yat Sen ganhou acesso ao mundo* (Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1996; Estudos e Documentos). Another rather specialized work is Carlos Gomes Bessa's *Macau e a implantação da república na China. Uma carta de Sun Yat-sen para o Governador José Carlos da Maia* (Macau: FM, 1999), which contains a documentary appendix. Short essays on Sun Yat-sen may be found, for instance, in Xu Xin (Choi San) 徐新, *Aomen de shi ye* 澳門的視野 (*Macau in Cultural Perspective*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong). This brochure contains an

English table of contents.<sup>45</sup> A further but very different recent study on the early Republican era is Wu Zhiliang's "Contactos realizados nos inícios da República da China pelos governadores do sul e do norte em torno de Macau," in *Administração* 47 (2000), pp. 287-300. A topic that might be further explored in this context is the rivalry between Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming and its implications for Macau (also see note 16).

Early in the twentieth century Macau became involved in combat against pirates, another theme already mentioned above. Manuel Teixeira published a small brochure on these events: *Os piratas em Coloane em 1910* (Macau: Edição do Centro de Informação e Turismo, n.d.). Since then many more works discussed this topic which is linked to secret societies and important Chinese personalities. Of course, not all authors agree with Teixeira's views, although it must be admitted that Portugal, at that time, demonstrated its loyalty to the Chinese government. As the military was called in for help against the pirates, one might cite here another important work, namely Manuel Teixeira's *Os militares em Macau* (2nd ed. Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1984), a book of more than 600 pages with some biographical and other information on the military in Macau, mostly related to the pre-1900 era, but also to the early twentieth century.

On the border question, various smaller studies may be consulted. An interesting account is also contained in *Aomen lishi xinshuo* (many small sources are cited there, which cannot be listed here; see section 10, title o). Relevant documents were collected, for example, by Huang Hongzhao (see section 6, title g). However, Western readers will find it easier to get acquainted with this theme through Saldanha's *Estudos sobre as relações luso-chinesas* or such early sources as Joaquim José Machado's *Delimitação de Macau e suas dependências* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1914) (also see section 6, title n). One subject that might be taken up anew – and in different format – is Portugal's presence in areas which now belong to Zhuhai. Old sources like the *Breve memória documentada acerca da soberania e jurisdição de Portugal na Ilha de D. João, Macarira ou Sio-Vong-Cam* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1923) would then become better known.

In 1922 and 1926/1927 Hong Kong and Macau were hit by strikes. The Hong Kong scenario was examined in several special studies, but the Macau scenario was never treated in monographic form. However, many materials related to Macau can be found in item k of section 6, above, and some sources are also referred to in the notes of Haberzettl's and Ptak's "Macau 1920–1930." More details may again be found in *Aomen lishi xinshuo*, which presents the Chinese view.<sup>46</sup>

Further aspects of early twentieth century Macau concern "small issues" such as the history of aviation. Luís Andrade de Sá, *A Aviação em Macau: Um século de aventuras* (Macau: Livros do Oriente, 1999; Cadernos de Apontamentos), with many contemporary illustrations, may serve as an introduction to this topic. It also extends to later periods. The same applies to Huang Jiushun's and Huang Runguang's 黃潤光 (eds.), *Aomen youhua* 澳門郵話 (Macau: FM, 1995; Hao hai congan), a recent

<sup>45</sup> More in *MS* 46, pp. 394-395.

<sup>46</sup> Manuel Teixeira, *A polícia de Macau* (2nd rev. ed.: Macau: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1991), and other works do of course furnish different details.

collection of short notes on Macau's postal services and philatelist topics (on which there is more in other works), and to *Oficinas navais de Macau. Cem anos de construção e reparação naval*, by Fernando David e Silva (Macau: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1993), an illustrated introduction to the history of shipping and naval construction in Macau.<sup>47</sup> "Macau e Timor: Laços de paz e guerra," by Carlos Gomes Bessa, in a special issue of the *Revista Militar* (subtitle: *Presença portuguesa no Oriente*) 51 (1999), pp. 349-410, is an outline of Macau's history, but the last pages deal with Macau and Timor in the early twentieth century. The same special number of *Revista Militar* contains an article on aviation, by António de Jesus Bispo. Other works may now already qualify as "primary" sources, for example (Joaquim Alberto de) Almeida Pinheiro's *O tufão de 20 de Agosto de 1927* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1927), which describes one of the worst natural disasters Macau had to go through. Individual buildings or institutions have also attracted much curiosity. Luís Andrade de Sá, *A história na bagagem. Crónicas dos velhos hotéis de Macau* (Macau: ICM, 1989) is a fine example (again with notes on later periods). Several studies by Manuel Teixeira – for instance *Liceu de Macau* (various editions) – fall into this same category.<sup>48</sup>

For an up-to-date Western work on the economy of the early twentieth century one may again wait for the fourth volume of Oliveira Marques' *História dos Portugueses no Extremo-Oriente*. Generally, Macau was then characterized by infrastructural improvements (the harbour works were already mentioned), a flourishing fishing sector, the growth of small industries, and several interesting developments in the financial sector. The following titles are a selection of contemporary materials on these segments of the Macau economy: Eugénio Sanches da Garcia, "Macau e o seu porto," in *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias* 22 (253) (1946), pp. 67-92 (one representative title on the harbour issue); Mai Zhenhua 麥振華, *Aomen yuye gai-kuang* 澳門漁業概況 ([Macau?]: Zhonghua wenhua fuwushe, 1945); Luís Gonzaga Gomes, "A pesca na China e em Macau," in *Revista de Macau* 1.2 (1949), pp. 26-35; and Luís Gonzaga Gomes, "A indústria de panchões em Macau," in *Revista de Macau* 1.3 (1949), pp. 51-57. More details may be found in modern Chinese survey histories and in Huang Qichen's and Zheng Weiming's *Aomen jingji sibai nian* (see section 11).

Usually modern surveys also refer to the dark sides of Macau's life – opium, then still available in small quantities, and prostitution. J. Caerio da Matta, *La colonie de Macao et la question du trafic de l'opium* (Lisbon: Imprensa Portugal-Brasil, 1940), addresses the first problem, Isabel Nunes' "The Singing and Dancing Girls in Macau" highlights the second issue. More ideas may be collected from such works as

<sup>47</sup> The Museu Marítimo de Macau brought out several other works related to fishing, traditional shipping and the navy, for example: Olímpia Pinto, *Pescadores, o outro rosto de Macau* (mainly a trilingual picture book); Leonel Barbosa Carmona, *Lorchas, juncos e outros barcos usados no sul da China. A pesca em Macau e arredores* (originally Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1954); Adelino Rodrigues da Costa, *A marinha portuguesa em Macau – uma relação muito singular* (apparently also [?] Macau: Capitânia dos Portos de Macau, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> There is also a kind of sourcebook on the Liceu, organized by António Aresta and Aureliano Barata (preface by Albina dos Santos Silva), *Liceu de Macau. Genealogia de uma escola* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, 1996).

Zhu Chunting, *Aomen duchang fengyun* (Nunes and Zhu cited in section 9), which is a long account of Macau's gambling "industry" from earliest times to the present – with a strong journalistic touch and many narrative elements.

(b) 1937–1949. The Sino-Japanese War, which was "absorbed" into World War II as one of its major scenarios, brought about many temporary changes in Macau. Almost over night the city became crowded with refugees. Charitably institutions had to undertake extraordinary efforts to cope with shortages in daily supplies and housing. The fact that Macau managed to survive, was in part due to the extraordinary diplomatic skills of its leaders. During the war, Macau remained unoccupied, in contrast to Timor which was first "secured" by Western troops and then taken by the Japanese. While war in Timor has been dealt with in monographic form,<sup>49</sup> no single scholarly book exclusively dedicated to wartime Macau seems to exist, neither in a Western language nor in Chinese. All we get is a number of essays and some contemporary accounts.

A convenient starting point for looking at wartime Macau will again be the fourth volume of Oliveira Marques' *História dos Portugueses no Extrêmo Oriente* – upon its publication, scheduled for 2001 (see section 10, above). For short surveys on the war period, particularly the years from 1941 to 1945, the following titles may also be read: Manuel Teixeira, "Macau durante a guerra," in *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* 15.1-2 (1981), pp. 33-67 (an interesting account partly based on personal experience); Peter Habertzettl and Roderich Ptak, "Macau im Zweiten Weltkrieg," in A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Alfred Opitz and Fernando Clara (coordinators), *Portugal – Alemanha – África. Do imperialismo colonial ao imperialismo político. Actas do IV Encontro Luso-Alemão* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1996; Colecção Actas & Colóquios 7), pp. 139-151; Shinji Ginoza 宜野座伸治, "Taipingyang zhanzheng shiqi de Ao Ri guanxi" 太平洋戰爭時期的澳日關係 (English and Portuguese subtitles; the English one: "The Relationship between Macau and Japan in the Pacific War"), in *AMYJ* 5 (1997), pp. 76-85 (a short essay with references to Japanese sources). There is also a recent piece by Fang Jianchang 房建昌, "Cong Riben zhu Aomen lingshiguan dang'an kan Taipingyang zhanzheng baofa hou Rikou zai Aomen de huodong" 从日本驻澳门领事馆档案看太平洋战争爆发后日寇在澳门的活动, in *Zhongshan wenshi* 中山文史 45 (1999), pp. 262-269 (already published in *Guangdong shizhi* 4/1998), but it cannot classify as a survey. António de Andrade e Silva, *Eu estive em Macau durante a guerra* (Macau: ICM and Museu e Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1991), is another important work. It contains personal observations and is frequently quoted. *Haojiang fengyun er'nu – Aomen Sijie jiuzai hui kang Ri jiu guo shiji* 濠江風雲兒女 – 澳門四界救災會抗日救國事蹟, compiled by the "Haojiang fengyun er'nu" bianjizu 濠江風雲兒女編輯組 (Macau: Starlight Bookstore, 1990), highlights the activities of the Sijie jiuzai hui 四界救災會, which became involved in social and charitable activities, mainly between 1937 and 1941, just prior to Japan's invasion of Hong Kong. Again, this book is a frequently cited source.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Carlos Vieira da Rocha, *Timor. Ocupação japonesa durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial* (2nd ed. Lisbon: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1996), and two or three books, mainly from an Anglo-Australian view.

Other works one might consider include several small essays in *Zhuhai wenshi* and *Zhongshan wenshi*, although some pieces are very one-sided. Finally, general surveys of Macau's history also deal with the war years. Deng Kaisong's *Aomen lishi* may be mentioned here; it contains several short segments on this period. Fei Chengkang has also commented on that period, but again in a very condensed form. More can be found in chapter 10 of *Aomen lishi xinshuo* (see section 10, titles c, g, o).

For the late 1930s, the years immediately preceeding Hong Kong's conquest, *A guerra vista de Cantão. Os relatórios de Vasco Martins Morgado, consul-geral de Portugal em Cantão, sobre a guerra sino-japonesa*, edited by António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (Macau: IPOR, 1998; Memória do Oriente 12), will also furnish interesting material, although most of the descriptions contained therein do not deal with Macau itself, but rather with the war scenario in southern China. The texts, originally written in 1938 and 1939, were kept in the Arquivo Histórico e Diplomático of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros in Lisbon. Another book is José Calvet de Magalhães' *Macau e a China no após da guerra* (Macau: IPOR, 1992; Memória do Oriente 1). Essentially a personal report, it observes events in the brief period between 1945 and 1949. It is an interesting account because fresh light is thrown on Guomindang politics towards Macau and the ability of Portuguese diplomats to handle difficult situations.

A chronological presentation of the years between 1945 and 1949 may be found in Moisés Silva Fernandes' *Sinopse de Macau* (see under 6, title o). This presentation is based on archival and published sources, as was already said, including some American materials (taken, for example, from the *Foreign Relations of the United States*). One other work must be mentioned here: Fernando Lima, *Macau, as duas transições*, 2 vols. (Macau: FM, 1999). The first volume (654 pages), already referred to above, is a general or rather political history which embeds Macau into Asian and world politics, covering the period between ca. 1945/1946 and 1984/1985 (the second volume [318 pages] deals with the years 1985 to 1987). Its first chapter, entitled "A ameaça nacionalista" (The Nationalists' Threat), is a very revealing account of the years after 1945.

Works on individual personalities associated with the late 1930s and the 1940s are rare. One exception is Veiga Jardim's "Pedro Lobo: uma história de amor por Macau," *Macau*, 2 ser. (June 1992), pp. 59-68. More details will be found in biographical collections (see under section 8) and in the relevant sections of many Chinese handbooks. Regarding Pedro Lobo, he was one of the most influential men in that period of Macau's history and would deserve a special monograph.

With Pedro Lobo, who ran his own business, we may briefly turn to the economic situation in the 1940s. Generally, many of the works mentioned in the last part of the preceeding paragraph also cover these years. One additional title, still quoted in modern works, is an article by Lobo himself: "A economia de Macau," in *Revista de Macau* 1.1 (1949), pp. 1-20. Some details are also found in *O jogo em Macau*, quoted above, in section 9, and in Emílio Simões de Abreu, *Finanças de Macau em 1946. Relatório das contas de gerência e de exercício de 1945 e de projecto de orçamento geral para 1947* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1947). The last work throws light on the government's budget and financial planning. Currency questions prevailing during the war years against Japan are addressed in Mai Jianzeng's 麥健增

*Aomen jinrong shichang* 澳門金融市場 (n.p., 1945), a complex report of 189 pages. An official work with a broader character is *Obras e melhoramentos efectuados em Macau no último triénio (Setembro de 1947 – Setembro de 1950)* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1950). Other books that might be consulted are general accounts of the economic situation in Asia or China during the Second World War. But most of these studies do not tell us anything about Macau, in some cases Macau is not mentioned at all. Finally, the famous gold trade, traceable in official statistics of the late 1940s, is briefly addressed here and there, for example in Lima's *Macau, as duas transições*, but no detailed investigation has ever been published of this fascinating topic.

(c) 1949–1978/1979. Both Lima's *Macau, as duas transições* (see section 10 and 12 b) and Silva Fernandes' *Sinopse de Macau* (see section 6, title o) will lead readers through the political events of the 1950s to 1970s. The "big" topics are quickly mentioned: the communist takeover in China, the tension in the early 1950s, the impact of the Korean war on Macau, the role of Ho Yin (He Xian) 何賢, the reorientation of mainland politics *vis-à-vis* Asia and other parts of the world, India's occupation of Goa and its consequences, the Cultural Revolution and Macau, Salazar's efforts to knit together Portugal's overseas territories, Sino-Soviet rivalries and its effects on Africa and the lusophone camp, and the gradual opening of China towards the West.

The period in question here – or parts thereof – is screened in several survey articles. One example is Anthony R. Dick's "Macau: Legal Fiction and Gunboat Diplomacy," in Göran Aijmer (ed.), *Leadership on the China Coast* (London: Curzon Press, 1984; Studies on Asian Topics 8), pp. 90-128. This essay follows new roads, but gives very few references. Moisés Silva Fernandes, in his "Enquadramento das relações luso-chinesas entre 1949 e 1966," in *Administração* 11 (June 1988), pp. 299-331, is more helpful in this respect. The same author also published "Macau nas relações sino-portuguesas, 1949–1979," again in *Administração* 46 (1999), pp. 989-1002, another very useful and reliable work. Guedes' *Laboratório constitucional* (see section 12 a) discusses the scenario in the early 1950s, the Cultural Revolution, the events of 1974, their effects on Macau, etc. A somewhat difficult-to-digest account is a series of articles by Willy Anderson Hanna, "A Trip to Macao," in *American University Field Staff, East Asia Series* 5.1 (1956), pp. 1-9; "A Trial of Two Colonies; Part I: Precarious Balance in Portuguese Macao," in same 16.1 (1969), pp. 1-14; "Part II: The City of the Name of God Hails a New Messiah," in same 16.2 (1969), pp. 1-16.

Several other accounts highlight shorter periods or individual events. David Barrote's (coordinator) *Monografia da visita do Ministro do Ultramar à Macau, de 18 de Junho à 1 de Julho 1952* (n.p.: Repartição Central de Serviços Económicos, Secção de Propaganda, Publicidade e Turismo, n.d.; preface by the Governor of Macau, Joaquim Marques Esparteiro, October 1952; on title page and cover: *A visita do Ministro do Ultramar à Macau em Junho de 1952*) is one such work. Its 328 pages are chiefly dedicated to Manuel Maria Sarmiento Rodrigues' stay in Macau. Sarmiento Rodrigues was Portugal's Minister for Overseas Affairs and his visit marked an important event in Macau's post-war life. Joaquim Marques Esparteiro has also published on Macau: *Alguns problemas magnos de Macau: breve memória descritiva e justificativa* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1952), *No primeiro biénio de governo: dis-*

*curios e alocações, brindes e mensagens* (Macau: Repartição Central dos Serviços Económicos, Secção de Propaganda e Turismo, 1953), and *No segundo biénio de governo ...* (Macau: Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral, Secção de Propaganda e Turismo, 1955). Two small works by António Adriano Faria Lopes dos Santos deal with the 1960s: *O governo de Macau nos anos 1962 a 1966* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1966) and *Alguns aspectos da administração de Macau* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1962), also available in Chinese, but rare. One other work used by several modern writers for this decade is Franco Nogueira's *Um político confessa-se (diário: 1960–1968)* (3rd ed. Lisbon: Livraria Civilização Editora, 1987). Furthermore, there is J.M. de Souza's and Faro Nobre de Carvalho's *\*Acção governativa (1966–1970)* (Macau: Centro de Informação e Turismo, 1971). Finally, for a general view of the 1970s and Macau's future (as it was then seen) one may consult, for example, Ou Hua's 區華 *Aomen zhanwang 澳門展望 (O progresso de Macau)* (n.p., 1974), which is a small brochure.

The Cultural Revolution, I was told, will be the subject of a special investigation by Moisés Silva Fernandes (which is announced in the bibliography of Castanheira's *Macau, os últimos cem dias*; see section 10, above). "Primary" materials on the Cultural Revolution were collected in *Fandui Pudi zai Aomen de xuexing baoxing* 反對葡帝在澳門的血腥暴行 (*Opposing the Sanguinary Atrocities Perpetrated by the Portuguese Imperialists in Macao; Luta contra as atrocidades sanguinarias do imperialismo português em Macau*) (Macau: Aomen ribao, 1967). As the title suggests, this is a propaganda work idealizing revolutionary activities. The publisher – *Macao Daily News* – was then and at times still seems today very sympathetic to the Marxist case. More on the riots will be found in *\*Aomen Tanzai shijian: jianbai hui-tie, 1966 nian 11 yue 16 ri zhi 1967 nian 1 yue 30 ri* 澳門匪仔事件：剪報匯貼，1966年11月16日至1967年1月30日 (Hong Kong: n.p., 1967?); this small brochure contains articles from the Chinese language press in Hong Kong and Macau.

A few more works on miscellaneous topics may be added: Anthony R. Dicks, in his "The Position of Hong Kong and Macao in Recent Chinese Legislation," *Hong Kong Law Journal* 4 (1974), pp. 151–161, throws some light on how the mainland Chinese government saw Macau in that period. Pedro José Lobo's *Bases e processos da economia de Macau* (Macau: Repartição Central dos Serviços Económicos, 1953) deals with the economic situation in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Several contributions in *Colóquios sobre as províncias do Oriente* (Lisbon, 1968; Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais. Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais 80) present basic economic trends of the 1950s and 1960s. Jorge R.S. Basto's *Macau 1960s – 1990s: Technology Upgrading in a Toy Manufacturer – A Dynamic and Interactive System of Strategic Management* (Macau: FM, 1996; Macau Studies in Management Series 6) analyses the role a toy manufacturer ("Plastoy") who opted to stay in Macau instead of moving to China where factor costs are lower (although this chiefly concerns the 1980s and 1990s, earlier periods were also looked at). Manuel Teixeira and others have discussed the history of individual buildings and institutions. One example is his brochure *Cem anos de vida do Quartel dos Mouros, 1874–1974* (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1974). [Emílio] Rodrigues da Silva's *Assistência em Macau* (Macau, 1954), another booklet, furnishes details on charitable and similar institutions. Finally, one other work was already mentioned above:

António Vasconcelos de Saldanha's book *Estudos sobre as relações luso-chinesas* (see section 12 a). The last part of this book deals with Macau and the United Nations.

### 13. Politics, ca. 1978/1979 to 1999

**(a) Introductions, General Works, Miscellanea.** Many of the works cited above (especially survey histories, surveys on politics and economics, Lima's *Macau, as duas transições* and Silva Fernandes' *Sinopse de Macau*, etc.; see sections 10 and 12 b, and section 6, title o) provide basic data on the political situation of Macau in the 1980s and 1990s. Sometimes this period is also referred to as the "Period of Transition" (*Período de Transição*, *Guodu shiqi* 過渡時期), although, strictly speaking, "transition" only began with the signing of the Joint Declaration in 1987. Hence, most authors would now consider the years between 1987 (or 1988) to 1999 as the "real" transition period. Of the many works dealing with these years, one rather lengthy and complex account shall be listed in *primo loco*: Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Conceição Gomes, *Macau. O pequeníssimo dragão* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento [1998]). Part 1 of this work with more than 650 pages discusses Macau's status, the political system and various key issues related to Sino-Portuguese negotiations in the 1980s. Parts 2, 3, and 4 look at basic components of Macau's society, the legal apparatus and other features. Part 5 deals with local Chinese institutions (for example the *kaifong* or *jiefang* 街坊), secret societies, and so on. There is also an annex with documents. The overall presentation is dominated by socio-juridical and political considerations, economic issues are not really discussed.

Another work of some influence is Jorge Morbey's *Macau 1999: O desafio da transição* (Lisbon: author's edition, 1990). Written at an early stage of the transition period, it presents interesting views which have to be placed in the context of their time. This is one of the first Portuguese-language monographs of its kind, looking at present and future developments. A recent work from Taiwan is Zhang Hu's 張虎 *Aomen "jiujiu": wenti yu yanjiu* 澳門「九九」問題與研究 (Taipei: Guiguan tu-shu gufen youxian gongsi, 1999; Guiguan congkan 75). It can be classified as political history, but also investigates the events of 1999 and their implications for Macau. Finally there is João Paulo Meneses' *Macau, o que vai acontecer depois de 1999* (Porto: Dividendo Edições, 1998). The chapter headings in this general account are in the form of questions, for example "what degree of democracy is there likely to be in Macau after 1999?" or "will the Triads disappear?"

Several essay collections may also be classified as works with a general interest in modern politics: Chen Xinxin's 陳欣欣 *Aomen fazhan xianzhuang* 澳門發展現狀 (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1993) contains articles on Macau's transformation, demography and immigration, youth problems, the middle class and democratization; they refer to the 1980s, but were written with an eye for future developments. Wei Meichang's (Gary Ngai; Ngai Mei Cheong) *Aomen zongtan* 澳門縱談 (*Free Talks on Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong) is similar. The following topics are covered: political and legal reforms, the Basic Law, the legal system, bilingualism in the local administration, the changing face of pluralism, the Chinese middle class, Macau's economy, cooperation with China, Macau as a cul-

tural bridge, education, etc. There is an English table of contents. Lin Chang's 林昶 *Zhong Pu guanxi yu Aomen qiantu* 中葡關係與澳門前途 (Macau: FM, 1994; Hao hai congkan) is more specialized: It offers short articles on Sino-Portuguese diplomacy through the 1980s and early 1990s, summarizes major visits by leading politicians to China, Portugal, and Macau, reflects on the various rounds of bilateral negotiations, and presents several problems occurring during the first few years of transition. Some details are seen through Chinese eyes. Yu Zhen's (Herbert S. Yee) 余振 (ed.), *Aomen zhengzhi yu gonggong zhengce chutan - Aomen daxue Zhongwen gonggong xingzheng kecheng bufen xuesheng lunwen ji* 澳門政治與公共政策初探—澳門大學中文公共行政課程部分學生論文集 (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong, tekan), presents scholarly essays on political participation, party politics, the interplay between politics and the economy, and so on. A second work by Yu, again as editor, *Aomen: chaoyue jiujiu* 澳門：超越九九 (Hong Kong: Wide Angle Press, 1993), with the proud statue of João Maria Ferreira do Amaral in front of the Bank of China Building on the book cover, assembles sixteen pieces, of which eight are directly concerned with politics: the Basic Law, political culture, the 1992 elections, public administration and "localization" (i.e., the gradual transmission of responsibility to local officeholders and local personnel), the position of Chinese as an official language, Macau's position in the international world, etc. (note: some articles and ideas were also published separately, in journals). Next, there is a joint work by Yu Zhen, Liu Bolong 劉伯龍, and Wu Derong 吳德榮, *Aomen Huaren zhengzhi wenhua* 澳門華人政治文化 (*The Political Culture of the Macau Chinese*) (Macau: FM, 1993; Aomen luncong), with an English table of contents. It deals with such themes as "political orientations," participation and political "subculture," mainly among the Macau-Chinese, and is of interest to both political scientists and sociologists. The latest of Yu Zhen's works is a voluminous book of more than 500 pages, called *Aomen huigui qianhou de wenti yu duice* 澳門回歸前後的問題與對策 (Macau: Mingliu zhengce [Aomen] yanjiusuo; Hong Kong: Mingliu chubanshe, 1999). It combines the political and sociological expertise found in many earlier publications by this very productive author. Finally, a special number of *AMYJ* (number 8, 1998) may be cited as well. This number contains chapters of ca. 35 to 50 pages each. Among other things it looks at "localisation," the health sector, labor import, the industrial sector, real estate and housing. Some essays are founded on a theoretical basis.

For Anglo-American readers Lo Shiu Hing's *Political Development in Macau* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1995) has become an important book. It is based on earlier essays by Lo, all dealing with political themes related to the 1980s and early 1990s. The introduction is a revised version of the author's "Aspects of Political Development in Macao," in *China Quarterly* 120 (December 1989), pp. 837-851. It summarizes important developments in the 1980s. Chapters 2 and 3 are enlarged versions of "Political Culture and Participation in Macao," in *Asian Affairs* 17.3 (1990), pp. 147-155, and "Political Mobilization in Macao: The 1992 Legislative Assembly Elections," in *Issues & Studies* 29.5 (May 1993), pp. 89-122. They discuss the democratic instruments of Macau and the issue of public participation in the political process. Chapter 4 is an update of "Civil Service Reform in Macao" in *Issues & Studies* 28.4 (April 1992), pp. 46-66. Chapter 5, on "localization" and simi-

lar to "Localization of the Macao Civil Service" (working paper for the Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, 1992), is new. Chapters 6 and 7 are based on "Bureaucratic Corruption and Its Control in Macao," in *Asian Journal of Public Administration* 14.1 (1993), pp. 32-58, and "The Political Implications of Macau's Basic Draft Law," in *Asian Profile* 20.5 (October 1992), pp. 375-383. Chapter 8 discusses the political implications of Macau's economic integration with China and Hong Kong; it was written for this book. Chapter 9 has come out as "Comparative Political Systems: The Cases of Hong Kong and Macao" in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 25.2 (1995), pp. 254-271. – The book is almost exclusively based on Chinese and English sources. Many developments are seen through Anglo-American eyes. The Portuguese side is not adequately represented.

Essays of a rather general nature also abound. The introductory essay in Lo's book falls into this category. Further pieces were mentioned above, under section 4, for example Edmonds' article on Macau and "Greater China." "Greater China" was then (and still is today) a fashionable topic that sold well in parts of the Western world. Rolf Dieter Cremer's "Hong Kong, Macau, and the People's Republic of China: A David and Goliath Relationship?," in *Asian Affairs* 18.3 (1991), pp. 153-166, is another general contribution, but of a different kind. It tries to define Macau's role *vis-à-vis* the People's Republic of China and thereby, within the framework of international politics.

Works looking at the internal political situation of modern Macau – from "within" – are still rare. Rola da Silva's *Eanes e os mistérios de Macau* (Lisbon: Vozes da Tribo, 1985; also published in Macau) is one example. It contains short essays, mainly on the times of Governor Almeida e Costa, and is somewhat polemical. To what extent such views are legitimized, remains a matter of debate and personal taste. A very different "internal" aspect (with external dimensions and a high symbolic value) concerns the statue of Ferreira do Amaral. On this see Peter Haberzettl and Roderich Ptak, "Ferreira do Amaral oder wie man Geschichte in Kisten verpackt," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 147.2 (1997), pp. 461-479.

Finally, there are many official publications which may be helpful. This includes the *Anuário diplomático e consular português*, published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, and various reports on important events. One such work is *Macau: um desafio nacional – Visita a Macau da Sua Excelência o Presidente da República, Dr. Mário Soares (28 Fevereiro / 3 de Março de 1989)* (Macau: Gabinete de Comunicação Social do Governo de Macau, ca. 1990).

**(b) Political System and Government Institutions.** Macau's modern government apparatus – with all its liberal and democratic elements (many of which came earlier than in Hong Kong) – can best be understood within the context of long-term developments. Therefore, the pre-1900 period should briefly be considered. For these early times, António Manuel Hespanha's *Panorama da história institucional e jurídica de Macau* (Macau: FM, 1995) may be recommended. A Chinese version, without appendix, appeared in 1996 (also published by the FM). For the twentieth century, readers can consult Wu Zhiliang's *Aomen zhengzhi* 澳門政制 (*Sistema político de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1995; Aomen congshu; also Beijing: Zhongguo youyi chubans gongsi, 1996). This book (with a Portuguese table of contents) de-

scribes the characteristics and duties of all major offices and institutions, those of the governor, the *secretários adjuntos*, the *Conselho Consultivo*, the *Assembleia Legislativa*, the municipal administration, the different courts, and so on. The book ends with the Joint Declaration, the Basic Law, and various questions related to the issue of "localization." It supersedes Wu's earlier *Aomen zhengzhi zhidu. Yange, xian-zhuang he zhanwang* 澳門政治制度。沿革現狀和展望 (Macau: Aomen gong-gong xingzheng guanli xuehui, 1993; introduction by Jorge A.H. Rangel); similar information can be found in one or two Chinese handbooks, for example in *Aomen zonglan* (above, section 2, handbooks, title d). Mainland publications also discuss Macau's government structure, for instance, Yang Xiankun 楊賢坤 *et al.*, *Aomen falü gailun* 澳門法律概論 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1996), although this book is chiefly concerned with Macau's laws and legal system.<sup>50</sup>

Here it may be mentioned that the Direcção dos Serviços de Administração e Função Pública de Macau (short: SAFP; Aomen xingzheng ji gongzhi si 澳門行政暨公職司) has brought out annual directories of the Macau administration. The latest number I have seen bears the title *Administração pública de Macau 99 (Aomen gonggong xingzheng 99 澳門公共行政99)* (Macau: Direcção ... [1999]; the cover carries the abbreviation APM). These bilingual guides list all segments of the Macau government, including Macau's courts, the lower levels of local administration and various specialized offices. The APM is an indispensable tool without which many specialized accounts would not have been written. It can be consulted to find out the official Portuguese or Chinese designation of certain offices, common abbreviations, the basic functions and duties of institutions, etc.

Some general essays on Macau's government and legal apparatus are also very informative. Two or three, in particular, are frequently cited: Jorge Bruxo, "Institutions of Macau" (part 1) in *RC* (Engl. ed.) 4 (1988), pp. 58-66; (part 2) in *RC* (Engl. ed.) 5 (1988), pp. 115-123 (mostly historical dimensions); Rui António Craveiro

<sup>50</sup> Earlier works on political, constitutional, and juridical issues include, for example, Peter Wesley-Smith, "Portugal, Macau," in Albert B. Blaustein and Phyllis M. Blaustein (eds.), *Constitutions of Dependencies and Special Sovereignities*, vol. 3 (Dobbs Ferry, New York: Oceana Publishing Ltd., 1987), pp. 39-80, and \*Huang Xianhui's 黃顯輝 *Aomen zhengzhi tizhi yu fayuan* 澳門政治體制與法淵源 (Macau: Publicações e Direito, 1992). – Although the present bibliographical survey is not concerned with Macau's laws, perhaps this is the place to cite at least some introductory titles: Jorge Noronha e Silveira, *Subsídios para a história do direito constitucional de Macau (1820-1974)* (Macau: Publicações O Direito, 1991); Mi Jian 米健 *et al.* (for the Universidade de Macau), *Aomen falü* 澳門法律 (*Direito de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen congshu); Mi Yetian 米也天, *Aomen fazhi yu dalu faxi* 澳門法制與大陸法系 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhengfa daxue chubanshe, 1996); José Maria Rodrigues da Silva, *O direito português no contexto cultural de Macau* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1997); Lan Tian 蓝天 (ed.), "Yi guo liang zhi" falü wenti yanjiu: *Aomen juan* "一国两制" 法律问题研究: 澳门卷 (Beijing: Falü chubanshe, 1999), more than 900 pages. The FM published several important Chinese volumes on Macau law and on comparative aspects (Macau and Chinese law), plus a number of Portuguese works. Furthermore, there are special periodicals and many relevant news and texts in the internet. Other works were brought out by the Instituto Politécnico de Macau and the Direcção dos Serviços de Administração e Função Pública (SAFP), by Beijing daxue chubanshe, Zhongguo zhengfa daxue chubanshe, etc. Some titles are also listed in the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* and in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie*, especially volume 18 (2000), p. 19.

Afonso and Francisco Gonçalves Pereira, "The Political Status and Government Institutions of Macao," in *Hong Kong Law Journal* 16.1 (January 1986), pp. 28-57 (later revised, enlarged, and integrated into Pereira's *Portugal, a China e a "Questão de Macau"*; see section 11); Jorge Costa Oliveira *et al.*, "An Outline of the Macau Legal System," in *Hong Kong Law Journal* 23.3 (1993), pp. 358-394.

At this point we may turn to literature on special themes related to Macau's government institutions and internal administration. One institution often dealt with is the Macau Senate. For a general presentation of the building, R. Beltrão Coelho's *Leal Senado de Macau: Esboço de um edifício* (*Aomen shizhengting: Da lou jilüe* 澳門市政廳：大樓記略; *Leal Senado de Macau: A Sketch of the Building*) (Macao: Leal Senado de Macau and Livros do Oriente, 1995) may be recommended. The 1990s were summarized in Luís Cunha's *Leal Senado: Uma experiência municipal (1989-1997)* (*Yi ge shizheng de licheng [1989-1997] 一個市政的歷程*) (Macao: Leal Senado de Macau, 1997). Both works are beautifully illustrated and designed for a broad readership. The first is trilingual, the second bilingual. The revised edition of Manuel Teixeira's *A polícia de Macau* (see note 46), though mostly on earlier times, also looks at the 1980s. On Macau's municipalities Avelino Rosa's *Os municípios em Macau* (cited above) will furnish useful information. The appendix of that book lists the presidents of the Macau Senate and the Municipal Council of Taipa and Coloane (such lists are rare). The last chapter discusses the future of the municipalities; for that one may also look up Rosa's "O futuro dos municípios de Macau – contributo para a abordagem de transição," in *Administração* 37 (1997), pp. 859-879. Another recent article on the municipalities is Wu Zhiliang's "Aomen de shizheng chuantong, zhidu ji qi fazhan – jian tan Xianggang de jingyan" 澳門的市政傳統、制度及其發展—兼談香港的經驗, in *AMYJ* 9 (1998), pp. 13-25 (Portuguese and English subtitles; the English title runs "The Tradition, Policy and Development of Macau Municipal with Hong Kong Perspectives"; a better title might have been thought of). On the governor and the *Assembleia Legislativa* there is Li Bingshi's (Lei Peng Si) 李炳時 *Aomen zongdu yu lifahui* 澳門總督與立法會 (*Executive Power and the Legislative Assembly in Macau*) (Macao: FM, 1994; Aomen conglun). Further articles in this small brochure deal with different government periods during the 1980s and early 1990s. Anabela Ritchie, too well-known to be introduced here, also published on the *Assembleia*: "A Assembleia Legislativa de Macau e a transição. Notas sobre o seu passado, presente e futuro no âmbito do sistema de governo," in *A presença portuguesa no Pacífico*, pp. 315-340 (see section 5, second block, title k).

Other dimensions of Macau's administration in the 1980s and 1990s have also been presented in the form of learned articles. Examples are Wong Cham Li's "The Public Personal System in Macau," in *Asian Journal of Public Administration* 12.2 (December 1990), pp. 176-195, and Lam Tao-chiu's "Administration and Public Service System in Macau," in Rolf D. Cremer (ed.), *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture* (2nd ed. Hong Kong: API Press, 1991; also see section 5, second block, title a). One aspect of the public sector concerns the so-called "localization" issue, as was already said. This is often linked with ideas of reform and participation, democratization and mobilization. There are countless articles on these questions, especially in the journal *Administração*, for example in numbers 34 (1996), 43, 44, and 45 (all 1999), 49 (2000), and so on. Some of the chapters included in the books by Lo Shiu

Hing and Wu Zhiliang (above) also deal with them. Other early discussions are the ones in *AMYJ* 1 (1988), furthermore, Herbert S. Yee's (Yu Zhen) "Macau's Civil Service in Transition: The Politics of Localization," in *Hong Kong Public Administration* 2.1 (March 1993), pp. 58-70, and Lo Shiu Hing's "The Politics of Localization of the Civil Service in Hong Kong and Macau," in *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 33.1 (March 1995), pp. 103-136. Bilingual education and problems related to the translation of official texts and the Macau laws are a further aspect of the "localization" question. Again, relevant articles can be found in *Administração*, one example being Eduardo Nascimento Cabrita's "Tradução jurídica – instrumento nuclear da autonomia jurídico-política de Macau e condição necessária para o cumprimento da Declaração Conjunta," in volume 16 (August 1992), pp. 343-389. For further studies see note 35.

Mobilization, participation in the political process, the Macau elections and democratic values were not only analysed by Lo Shiu Hing (in his book – see section 13 a – and in his "Colonial Policy-Makers, Capitalist Class and China: Determinants of Electoral Reform in Hong Kong's and Macau's Legislatures," in *Pacific Affairs* 62.2 [Summer 1989], pp. 204-218), but also in several articles by Herbert S. Yee (Yu Zhen).<sup>51</sup> See, for example, his "Money Politics and Political Mobilization in Macau: The 1996 Legislative Assembly Elections," in *Asian Survey* 37.10 (October 1997), pp. 944-960, and "Attitude das pessoas de Macau pelos valores democráticos – revelações sobre o desenvolvimento da política democrática de Macau," in *Administração* 45 (1999), pp. 765-778; furthermore Herbert S. Yee, Liu Bolong and Ngo Tak-wing, "Macau's Mass Political Culture," in *Asian Journal of Public Administration* 15.2 (December 1993), pp. 177-200; and Yu Zhen, Liu Bolong, Wu Derong (the same team), *Aomen Huaren zhengzhi wenhua* (cited in section 13 a). Still further articles on these subjects are in Yu Zhen's collections (also 13 a), in the journal *Macau* and in official government publications. Finally, there are works combining institutional progress and general political changes. One large-size official work (375 pages), with many illustrations, is *Macau: O segundo terço da transição, 1991-1995* (Macau: Imprensa Oficial de Macau, 1996), circulated by the Governo de Macau.

**(c) Other themes.** Various articles comment on China's negotiation techniques *vis-à-vis* Macau. This ties in the Joint Declaration and, later on, the Basic Law. Early examples on these topics are: Joanne Jaw-ling Chang, "Settlement of the Macao Issue: Distinctive Features of Beijing's Negotiating Behaviour," occasional paper 4, Baltimore: School of Law, University of Maryland, 1988; also *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 20.1 (1988), pp. 253-278; Julian Weiss, "The Negotiating Style of the People's Republic of China: The Future of Hong Kong and Macau," in *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 13.2 (1988), pp. 175-194; Pedro Catarino, "A declaração conjunta e a sua relevância nas relações diplomáticas entre a China e Portugal," in *Boletim da Academia Internacional da Cultura Portuguesa* 17 (1990), pp. 23-35; Richard Y. Chuang, "The Joint Declaration on Hong Kong and Macao and the Draft Basic Law for Hong Kong," in *Revue de Droit International de*

<sup>51</sup> Reports on the Macau elections can be found in several journals, for example, in *Macau* or in the form of documentary annexes in *Administração* (the 1996 elections, for example, in number 33 [1997], pp. 703-741).

*Sciences Diplomatiques et Politiques* 2 (1990), pp. 139-155. Hundreds of scholarly and non-scholarly articles have followed these and other papers. Some deal with individual aspects of the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law. For those investigating political trends and economic changes, many of these papers are too special – and somewhat repetitive, although they are well-received by specialists in international law.<sup>52</sup> It may be of greater interest here, that there are also several essays by insiders, who at one point or the other were actively involved in Sino-Portuguese politics. Their views can be compared to those presented ten or fifteen years ago. One recent contribution is João de Deus Ramos' "As relações luso-chinesas e a Declaração Conjunta de 1987," in *A presença portuguesa no Pacífico* (see section 5, second block, title k), pp. 143-155.<sup>53</sup>

Both the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law have not only provided material for countless articles, but also for special books. Four or five early examples shall be cited here: Martin P. Scheuer, *Die Rechtslage von Hongkong und Macau nach den "Gemeinsamen Erklärungen vom 19. Dezember 1984 und 13. April 1987. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der chinesischen Verfassung und der "Grundgesetze" (Basic Law, Lei Básica)* (Frankfurt a.M., etc: Peter Lang, 1993; Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe II, Rechtswissenschaft 1333); Aomen jibenfa wenxianji bianweihui 澳門基本法文獻集編委會 (ed.), *Aomen jibenfa wenxianji* 澳門基本法文獻集 (Macau: Aomen ribao, 1993); Yang Yunzhong (Ieong Wan Chong), *Aomen yu Aomen jibenfa* 澳門與澳門基本法 (*Macau and the Macau Basic Law*) (Macau: FM, 1994; revised edition 1995; Aomen luncong); Liang Fan 梁凡, *Jibenfa jiujiu jiang* 基本法九九講 (*99 Talks on the Basic Law of Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong); Xu Chongde 許崇德 (ed.), Wang Qiaolong 王巧琮 (ass. ed.), *Gang Ao jibenfa jiaocheng* 港澳基本法教程 (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 1994); Yang Jinghui 楊靜輝 and Li Xiangqin 李祥琴, *Gang Ao jibenfa bijiao yanjiu* 港澳基本法比較研究 (*Estudos comparativos das Leis Básicas de Hong Kong e Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1996; Xin Aomen luncong); etc. Many of these books contain both documents, the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law, and sometimes even the *Estatuto Orgânico* and other such texts. Very often, these texts are also included as separate chapters in general accounts, for instance in João Miguel de Sampaio e Melo Galhardo Coelho, *Macau, diplomas fundamentais* (Macau: FM and Livraria Oriente, 2000), or Joaquim Pintado Nunes and Paulo Manuel Costa, *Macau e Hong Kong – que futuro?* (Lisbon: Livros do Horizonte, 1997). The title of the second work, it may be added, is misleading because it does not tell very much about Macau's future.

Further aspects concern Macau's role in international politics – beyond the level of the Joint Declaration and the Basic Law. The following selection of titles is almost self-explicatory. Bryon Weng's "The Organization and Personnel of the State Council Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office," in *Issues and Studies* 21.7 (1985), pp. 138-142, provides a glimpse of an important Chinese government body. Liu Bolong's

<sup>52</sup> For those wishing to work on these topics, the journal *Administração*, which has regularly published on legal issues, may be a convenient starting point.

<sup>53</sup> An earlier study by the same author is: "A Declaração Conjunta sobre Macau no âmbito das relações luso-chinesas," in *Política Internacional*, vol. 1, no. 14 (1997), pp. 19-30.

"International Organizations and Macau's Development," in *AMYJ* 1 (1993), pp. 17-22, combines local and international dimensions. Milton D. Yee's "The ROC's Policy Towards Hong Kong and Macau," in *Issues and Studies* 27.12 (1991), pp. 60-72, is one of the first papers on Taiwan and Macau. Meanwhile there are more works on this subject, for example the collection *Aomen xianshi yu Tai Gang guanxi zhanwang: di wu jie Tai Ao guanxi yantaohui lunwenji* (see below, section 15).

Next, there are several publications commenting on the relations between Macau and the European Community. Many of these works are chiefly concerned with economic issues, but one very recent article, by Ana Gonzalo Castellanos, "Presente e futuro das relações entre a União Europeia e Macau," in *A presença portuguesa no Pacífico*, pp. 341-353, is mostly interested in political dimensions. For a recent Chinese view on this theme, Zhou Yunyuan 周运源 (ed.), Zheng Tianxiang 郑天祥 and Guo Xiaodong 郭小东 (ass. eds.), *Aomen huigui yu Zhongguo he Ou meng de jingji guanxi* 澳门回归与中国和欧盟的经济关系 (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1999), may be recommended – although, once again, economic considerations appear to be more important in this book than politics. Earlier Western views may be found in Arménio Cardo, *Das relações entre a CEE e Macau* (Lisbon: Fundação A-Má-Kok, 1982).

Other broad views focus on Macau's role as a bridge between China and the Latin world, a topic very dear to Gary Ngai (see above, section 9, works on "identity," and note 31) and recently also presented, again with an eye for political and cultural needs, by Luísa Bragança Jalles in her "O papel da futura região administrativa especial de Macau no contexto das relações entre a RPC e os países lusófonos," in *Administração* 42 (1998), pp. 1053-1082. One may add that no major *monograph* on modern trade and investment flows between Macau and other lusophone regions (besides Portugal) has ever been written. Nor is there any major work on the political relations between Macau and the Portuguese speaking world (outside of Portugal).

#### 14. Economy, ca. 1978/1979 to 1999

**(a) General Works, Surveys, Essay Collections.** General introductions to the economy of modern Macau may be found in several handbooks, for example in *Aomen zonglan*. For the 1980s, Wong Hon Keong's *Aomen jingji nianjian* is also very useful (see above, section 2, handbooks, title a). Other surveys include descriptive accounts by the Statistical Bundesamt Wiesbaden, the Economist Intelligence Unit, and similar institutions in various countries which have issued country reports. Furthermore, there are many small brochures, often labelled "investment guides," which describe the situation in the 1980s and 1990s. One early example is the bilingual brochure by Roland Braun and Thomas Jetter, *Portugals Macau: Chinas Tor zur Welt. Eine politische und wirtschaftliche Analyse für Investoren und Kaufleute* (Territory of Macao: China's Gate to the World. A Political and Economic Analysis for Investors and Business-Men) (Bammental: Klemmerberg-Verlag, 1985). Another example is Chen Baixiang's 陳百祥 *Aomen touzi ji shuiwu zhinan* 澳門投資及稅務指南 (Macau, 1990). Guides such as these are based on a mixture of data drawn from official statistics (not discussed here) and various reports.

Macau's official institutions also published on the territory's economic performance. One useful work for the early 1980s is a book of 198 pages, called *Sectorial Policies Investment Plan (Public Sector) 1984. Analysis of the Economic and Financial Situation of the Territory*, edited by the Macau government (Macau: Macau Government Printing Press, 1984). It explains key indicators in every major field, including the financial market.<sup>54</sup> A related work is the *Linhas de acção governativa: Plano de investimento 1985. Análise da situação económica e financeira do território*, edited by Governo de Macau (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1985). Similar brochures are available for other years. Some have grown to sizeable "accounts"; the *Linhas de acção governativa, plano de investimentos* for 1988, for example, has over 200 pages. Additional data may be found in the journals *Economic Studies* and *Quarterly Economic Bulletin* (now *Macau Economic Bulletin*), introduced above, in section 3, and in such materials as *Macau: Investing in the Future*, by the Direcção dos Serviços de Economia, i.e., the Economic Services (Macau: Economic Services, 1988).

Further titles of a general nature are the following: (a) Gu Guang 顾广, *Aomen jingji yu jinrong* 澳门经济与金融 (n.p., Wuhan [?]: Zhongguo dizhi daxue chubanshe, 1989); a comprehensive account with many interesting observations related to the financial sector. (b) Yang Yunzhong (Ieong Wan Chong), *Zhuanxing zhong de Aomen jingji* 转型中的澳门经济 (*As economias de Macau no decurso de transformação*) (Macau: Aomen ribao chubanshe, 1991); a collection of small essays on structural changes, the tourist and service sectors, cooperation between Macau and China, etc.; all pieces were written between 1986 and 1991. (c) Yang Daokuang 楊道匡 and Guo Xiaodong 郭小東, *Aomen jingji shuping* 澳门經濟述評 (*An Economic Review of Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong); again a collection of essays on the structure of Macau's economy, its transformation, the investment environment, the industrial sector, the real estate market, urban development, finance and currency issues, cooperation with Guangdong and other topics; there is an English table of contents. (d) Sui Guangjun 隋广军 *et al.*, *Aomen guancha yu zhanwang: Aomen jingji shehui chixu xietiao fazhan tansuo* 澳门观察与展望：澳门经济社会持续协调发展探索 (Guangzhou: Ji'nan daxue chubanshe, 1996); on economic and other issues. (e) Li Zhongjian 黎中坚, *99 huigui – Aomen jingji gailan* 99回归—澳门经济概览 (n.p.: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe, 1999). (f) \*Li Huiyuan 李会远 *et al.*, *Aomen yu Zhongguo duiwai kaifang* 澳门与中国对外开放 (Zhengzhou: Henan daxue chubanshe, 2000; Quyu jingji yu quyu dili congshu). (g) S.S. Chan (Chan Sau San, Chen Shouxin) 陳守信 (ed.), *Leading Issues of the Macau Economy* (Macau: FM, 2000; Macau Studies in Management Series); a collection of up-to-date essays that also discuss current recession problems in Macau; monetary questions, national output, the telecommunication market, tourism, and other themes are presented; some articles apply theories and go beyond the purely descriptive level. Finally readers will need to consider the works listed above, under section 11 (titles a to e) – especially: Ieong Wan Cheong's (Yang Yunzhong), *Aomen yu xiandai*

<sup>54</sup> Information on Macau's economy (and other topics) is also in the *Anuário de Macau 1984*, published by the Macau government and not to be confused with the annual statistical yearbooks. The *Anuário* is not a regularly published work.

*jingji zengzhang*, Jeong Wan Chong's and Ricardo Chi Sen Siu's *Macau – a Model of Mini-Economy*, Cao Kunhua's *Aomen jingji fazhan touxi*, and Huang Hanqiang's *Aomen de jingji* – as well as some essay collections with a broader regional interest.<sup>55</sup>

Dozens of essays published in journals also deal with general aspects of the Macau economy and with economic politics. Many pieces were published in China and in such periodicals as *Administração*. Two contributions that I found particularly useful are: Norberto Ferreira, "A economia de Macau nos primeiros anos da década de 90 – evolução e perspectivas," in *Administração* 27 (1995), pp. 49-69, and José Hermínio Paulo Rato Rainha, "Notas sobre objectivos e instrumentos de política económica de Macau," part 1, in *Administração* 35 (1997), pp. 87-127.

**(b) Industries, Companies, Management, Technology.** In the 1980s the first important Chinese books – next to dozens of Chinese articles – dealt with Macau's rapidly growing industries, especially the textile and manufacturing sectors. One work to consult in this context – Wong Hon Keong's *Aomen jingji nianjian* – was already mentioned on several occasions. At that stage Western surveys were still rare. Rolf Dieter Cremer's "The Industrialization of Macau," in Y.C. Yao, Victor Mok and Ho Lok-sang (eds.), *Economic Development in Chinese Societies: Models and Experiences* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1989), pp. 221-231, is an early example. Cremer also edited a small volume called *Industrial Economy of Macau in the 1990s. Conference Proceedings* (Macau: API Press, China Economic Research Centre, 1990), which, among other things, contains the following contributions: Cremer, "Economic Development under Conditions of International Dependency of the Manufacturing Industry" (pp. 5-26), Wong Siu-lun, "Chinese Entrepreneurship in Macau" (pp. 27-48; some comparisons with Hong Kong entrepreneurship), and Victor F.S. Sit, "Industrial Policies for Macau" (pp. 67-76).

Soon thereafter, Sit, Cremer, and Wong brought out a joint book called *Entrepreneurs and Enterprises in Macau: A Study of Industrial Development* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press and API Press, 1991). This work, the first comprehensive Western analysis of modern entrepreneurship in Macau (xii + 269 pages), is mainly interested in small and medium size industries, industrial organization and economic development. But it also looks at economic policies and other topics. Many statistics were used and there is an accurate bibliography, which lists relevant works up to that date. The early 1990s also saw the publication of several academic and more general articles. Three examples are Victor F. Sit's "Evolution of Macau's Economy and Its Export-Oriented Industries," in *Copenhagen Papers in East and Southeast Asian Studies* 6 (1991), pp. 63-88; Eric Yeung's (Yang Junwen 楊俊文) "Sector industrial de Macau – que futuro?," in *Administração* 21 (1993), pp. 497-519; and António Teixeira's and Virgínia Trigo's "Business Environment and Entrepreneurship in Macau," in *Euro Asia Journal of Management* 5 (1993), pp. 5-25.

The next major step was Yang Yunzhong's (Jeong Wan Chong) *et al.*, *Lun Aomen chanye zhuanxing 論澳門產業轉型 (A reestruturação industrial de Macau)*

<sup>55</sup> One example: Henry Steele and António Nelson Santos (eds.), *The First South China International Business Symposium. Managing Business in the 1990s*, 2 vols. (Macau, n.y.), based on a conference in March 1994, organized by the FM, the UM, and Lingnan College.

(Macau: FM, 1995; Xin Aomen luncong). This collection of short essays (ii + 4 + ii + 208 pages; Portuguese table of contents), mostly on Macau's industries, describes structural changes, planned improvements, the textile sector, the toy manufacturers, industrial cooperation with Zhuhai and other places inside China, human factors and technology, etc. It is certainly an important collection reflecting the many problems and opportunities linked to Macau's growth in that period. In the mid and late 1990s several specialized monographs began to appear: Jorge R.S. Basto's *Macau 1960s-1990s: Technology Upgrading in a Toy Manufacturer* (see 12 c, above) looks at toy production which, at one time, was a very promising sector in Macau. The book deals with the toy branch *in toto* as well as with one particular firm, showing how and why this firm decided to cope with increasing international competition by upgrading its own technological and other input. Some simple models are applied. Cui Guanjie's 崔冠傑 *Road of Development for Macau High-Tech Industry* (Macau: FM, 1994) discusses the gradual transition of Macau's industries from labour intensive to capital and technology intensive production. Macau is placed in the greater context of international competition and the Chinese world; an outlook on future trends is also given (there is a Chinese version of this monograph, published by the same institution and in the same year: *Aomen gao jishu chanye fazhan zhi lu* 澳門高技術產業發展之路).

The need to develop new technologies and to move into capital intensive sectors can be linked to educational strategies. An early paper advocating better training facilities is Chris Green's "Technology and Training for Macau's Industry: Proposals for an Institute of Technology," in Cremer's, *Industrial Economy of Macau*, pp. 77-83. More recently Zhou Ligao 周禮杲, *Aomen de kexue jishu fazhan* 澳門的科學技術發展 (*Desenvolvimento de ciências e tecnologia em Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1996; Xin Aomen luncong), has also dealt with these issues. Very often technological improvements and upgradings are closely associated with quality management and control. This is presented in António Teixeira's *Quality Management and Chinese Companies in Macau* (Macau: FM, 1996; Macau Studies in Management Series 5), which applies simple analytical tools used in business theory to Macau's management sector. Further studies concern special sectors of trade and commerce, one example being Lam Cheng Fong's (Lin Qingfeng) 林青楓 "Aomen lingshouye fazhan qian-jing" 澳門零售業發展前景 in *AMYJ* 5 (1997), pp. 15-46 (Portuguese and English subtitles, the English one: "The Prospective of Retailing Industry Development in Macau").

A few more observations may be added. The gambling and tourist industries, inseparably linked to certain segments of traffic and transportation (mainly through the Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau), were already mentioned in section 9. However, most works on these strata of Macau's economy have a journalistic touch. A comprehensive scholarly book has never been published. There are only short studies such as Kwan Fung's (Guan Feng) 關鋒 "Aomen bocaie de xiankuang yu qian-jing" 澳門博彩業的現況與前景, in Yu Zhen, *Aomen: Chaoyue jiujiu*, pp. 213-228 (see section 13) and two works by Li Zhihong 李治洪, one being his M.A. thesis (*macaadata.com*). The history, growth, and performance of individual firms and enterprises also remain largely unknown. There are some brochures – for example, *Nanguang sishi nian* 南光四十年 (*The Forty Years of Nanguang [Nám Kwóng]*),

1949–1989 (Macau: Nanguang [jituan] youxian gongsi, 1989), or a book commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Associação Comercial de Macau, i.e., the Macau Chamber of Commerce (Aomen Zhonghua zongshanghui 澳門中華總商會) – but no academic monographs. The real estate and construction sector would be a further case for a major scholarly monograph. Some government studies and statistics are already available on these topics and they might provide a basis for such an undertaking.

**(c) Taxes, Finance, Banking.** On Macau's tax sector several studies are available, one being Baldwin Y.B. Hui and Carlos Noronha (authors), Larry B. Armstrong (ed.), *Macau Tax and Economy* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Finanças, Macau Management Association, 1991). This is an early descriptive account (iv and 235 pages). It deals with many aspects of the tax system and also discusses questions related to tax legislation. Two more recent accounts are Huang Dun's 黃墩 *Aomen shuishou zhidu* 澳門稅收制度 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuiwu chubanshe, 1999) and Yu Dingcheng's 于鼎承 *Gang Ao Tai shuizhi* 港澳台稅制 (Guangzhou: Ji'nan daxue chubanshe, 1999; Shuizhi lilun shiwo congshu). Carlos Noronha, in a further work, deals with mainly one type of tax as the title of his book suggests: *Direct Taxation in Macau* (Macau: FM, 1996; Macau Studies in Management Series 7). There are chapters on industrial taxes, professional taxes, complementary taxes, urban property taxes, and some appendices. General aspects are also considered.

The mechanics and problems of Macau's fiscal administration are treated in government publications and several articles, for example in *Administração*, recently especially in numbers 40 (1998) and 47 (2000). Two older studies, both by José Hermínio Paulo Rato Rainha, are also worth mentioning: "Receitas públicas do território de Macau: Origem e evolução (1980–1989), in *Administração* 10 (1990), pp. 761–778, and "Reflexões sobre o sistema fiscal de Macau," in *Administração* 15 (1992), pp. 57–126. Another very interesting article is Rainha's "Introdução ao estudo da fraude e da evasão fiscal em Macau," in *Administração* 39 (1998), pp. 107–132. It deals with a topic that few writers have dared to screen: fraud and fiscal abuses. More studies of this kind would certainly be of interest.

No modern scholarly monograph on Macau's banking sector seems to exist. Information has to be gathered from banking brochures (issued, for example, by the Autoridade Monetária e Cambial de Macau and by the earlier Instituto Emissor de Macau), propaganda material, handbooks, general works, and diverse articles. There are, nonetheless, a few interesting studies on financial policy and the Macau currency system, characterized by the simultaneous circulation of both the local Pataca and the Hong Kong Dollar: Siu Chisen (Xiao Zhicheng) 蕭志成, "Aomen diqu de huobi gongqiu yu yinhang jiagou zhong de ruogan wenti" 澳門地區的貨幣供求與銀行架構中的若干問題 in *AMYJ* 7 (1998), pp. 31–49 (Portuguese and English subtitles, in English: "The Local Currency Demand and Supply, and the Banking System in Macau"); Feng Shaorong 馮少榮, "Aomen huili yu huobi zhengce chutan" 澳門匯率與貨幣政策初探, in *AMYJ* 4 (1996), pp. 96–102; Robert Haney Scott, "Macau's Dual Currency System in Transition," in Rufino Ramos *et al.* (eds.), *Macau and Its Neighbours in Transition* (section 5, second block, title f), pp. 227–238. Chan's *Leading Issues of the Macau Economy* – see above, section 14 (a) – also contains several contributions: Chan's own "The Pataca under the One Country, Two

Currencies System" (pp. 13-21), Chan's and Keith S.K. Lam's "Macau: An Emerging Offshore Banking Centre?" (pp. 22-54), David Cheong's "Hong Kong Dollarization in Macau: The End of the Pataca?" (pp. 55-74), Tiffany K.P. Lam's "Banking and the Economy of Macau: A Brief Review and Some Reflections" (pp. 115-128), and Ricardo C.S. Siu's "The Foundation of Macau's Multi-Currency Phenomenon" (pp. 186-212).<sup>56</sup>

Financial cooperation between Guangdong, Hong Kong, and Macau has become another fashionable topic. A recent major work on this theme is Chen Zhangxi's 陈章喜 *Yue Gang Ao jinrong hezuo de xitong yanjiu* 粤港澳金融合作的系統研究 (Guangzhou: Ji'nan daxue chubanshe, 1999). It looks at currency issues, bonds and stocks, offshore banking, securities, commercial and other banks from a regional perspective. The approach is mostly descriptive, but useful. Most other works of this kind concentrate on Hong Kong and China, without considering Macau in any adequate way.

**(d) Foreign Trade.** Macau's take-off in the 1970s and 1980s did not only depend on the tourist industry, but also on rapid growth in the textile and garment sector. In many years textiles accounted for more than 75 percent of Macau's total exports. Structurally this development was in part the result of quota rules and regulations granted to Macau under the "Generalized System of Preferences." Surprisingly, no specialized Western monograph deals with these issues or Macau's textile industry itself. For the 1980s one has to rely, once again, on government statistics and Wong Hon Keong's *Aomen jingji nianjian* (section 2, handbooks, title a). For the 1990s the *Quarterly Economic Bulletin* will provide essential data. There is also a Chinese book on the institutional framework under which the textile industry was able to expand so rapidly. This is Tan Zhanyun's 譚展雲 and Lin Haoran's 林浩然 *Aomen yu duoxian xieyi* 澳門與多纖協議 (*Macau and the Multi-Fibre Agreement*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen luncong).

Through its exports of textiles and other commodities (such as toys, ceramics and optical instruments) Macau became linked to the markets of North American and Europe. At the same time it had to import raw materials and equipment. All this has been dealt with in many smaller studies, mainly in Chinese. These can be found in essay collections and in journals such as *Gang Ao jingji*. Early Western studies include: Manuel Carlos Lopes Porto, *Portugal, a CEE e o comércio mundial. A problemática de Macau* (Macau: Governo de Macau, 1987); Roderich Ptak, "Die Exportwirtschaft von Macau, 1979-1986," in *Internationales Asienforum* 19.3/4 (1988), pp. 317-336, "Macau's Importe aus der Volksrepublik China, 1980 bis 1985," in *Asien* 28 (1988), pp. 61-80, and "Aomen de jinchukou maoyi 澳门的进出口贸易" ("Macau's Exports and Imports"), in *Tequ jingji* 特区经济 (*Special Zone Economy*) 3/1989, pp. 51-54; H.K. Tse, "Macau's International Trade Relations: The Changing External and Internal Environment," in Cremer's *Industrial Economy of*

<sup>56</sup> The history of Macau's currencies has been presented in several exhibitions, catalogues, and small works. The most recent example is Gao Shidao 高士道 and Cen Weilun 岑偉倫, *Aomen huobi tulu* 澳門貨幣圖錄 (*Illustrated Catalogue of Macau Currency*) (Macau: Riji jiyou huaijiudian, 1999). – I did not see Xiao Zhicheng's dissertation *Duoyuan huobi lun* 多元貨幣論 (1999).

*Macau in the 1990s*, pp. 57-66; furthermore Peter Haberzettl and Roderich Ptak, "Macaus Außenhandel, insbesondere mit der Europäischen Gemeinschaft, 1980 bis 1987," in *Macau im Wandel*, pp. 113-136 (see section 7), and "Macaus Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zur Europäischen Gemeinschaft, besonders zur Bundesrepublik Deutschland (80er und frühe 90er Jahre)," in Marília dos Santos Lopes, Ulrich Knefelkamp and Peter Hanenberg (Hrsg.), *Portugal und Deutschland auf dem Weg nach Europa* (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995; Weltbild und Kulturbegennung 5), pp. 73-93.

A more recent account is Zhou Yunyuan (ed.), Zheng Tianxiang and Guo Xiaodong (ass. eds.), *Aomen huigui yu Zhongguo he Ou meng de jingji guanxi* (section 13 c). It summarizes the historical background of Sino-European contacts *via* Macau, then looks at the present situation, the issue of "One country, two systems" and Macau's position in modern Sino-European relations, Macau's role as a special "window" for China, its trade and business links to both China and Europe, and possible developments in the future. The presentation is very general and descriptive. Another recent study can be found in Chan's *Leading Issues of the Macau Economy* see 14 a, above): Henry C.K. Lei, "The European Trade of Macau – A Gravity Model Study," pp. 129-155.

### 15. Macau, Zhuhai, the Pearl River Region, and the Chinese World

With the creation of special economic zones in 1979/1980, Macau and its hinterland, especially Zhuhai, began moving together more closely. Initially, this process concerned bilateral trade and tourism. In more recent times, relations between Macau and Zhuhai also involved the infrastructural sector, finance and investment activities. Cooperation was not always smooth and often overshadowed by strong competition, but, generally, both sides have learned to profit from each other, and structural integration on the western side of the Pearl River is now moving ahead. All this is mirrored in hundreds of journalistic and scholarly publications. Some of these works also look beyond Macau and Zhuhai, either dealing with the Guangzhou–Hong Kong–Macau area as a macro-region, or with that region and the entire province of Guangdong.

Early Chinese and Western sources on cooperation between Macau and Zhuhai are indicated, for example, in Roderich Ptak, "Die Stadt Zhuhai und ihre wirtschaftliche Verflechtung mit Macau, 1979 bis 1987," in Roderich Ptak and Peter Haberzettl, *Macau im Wandel*, pp. 49-91 (see section 7). The sources cited there include government statistics from both Macau and Zhuhai, for example the Zhuhai yearbooks, and many short articles in periodicals such as *Gang Ao jingji*. An essay that came out at about the same time is Zheng Tianxiang's (Cheang Tin Cheong) 鄭天祥 "A coordenação da construção de infraestruturas entre Macau e Zhuhai," in *Administração* 10 (1990), pp. 781-794. Three years later there appeared Don Dioko, Achim Schulz and Fanny Vong, *Macau, Zhuhai: A Two-Headed Export Dragon* (Macau: Faculty of Business Administration, UM, 1993). This is a small brochure (90 pages) with very basic data on both places, Macau and Zhuhai. By then many new articles had appeared in *Hou Keng* and other journals, mostly in Chinese. Some general works on modern Macau and the special economic zones, in Chinese and Western languages, also began looking at the Macau–Zhuhai question.

Towards the middle of the 1990s essays like Lei Qiang's 雷强 "Cooperação económica entre Macau e Zhuhai," in *Administração* 33 (1996), pp. 591-598 (also cf. *Euro Asia Journal of Management* 10 [1996], pp. 77-83), were very common on both sides of the Portas do Cerco. There were then also many new books and papers exclusively on Zhuhai, some with an official character. Two examples are cited here: Bao Yuhuang's 包于黄 *Zhuhai jingji yanjiu* 珠海经济研究 (Beijing: Gaige chubanshe, 1995), which carries an English table of contents, surveys different sectors of the Zhuhai economy, one chapter being on cross-border links to Macau; *Zhuhai shi* 珠海市, edited by Zhonggong Zhuhai shiwei zhengce yanjiushi 中共珠海市委政策研究室 (Beijing Zhongguo chengshi chubanshe, 1994; Zhongguo chengshi zonghe shili wushi qiang congshu), is like an almanach or handbook with chapters on variegated themes. Further works of this kind – including publications on Zhuhai's geography, culture, history, important personalities, etc. – cannot be listed here; they would have to be the object of a special study. The same applies to brochures and studies published by companies and specialized institutions. There are, for example, texts on Zhuhai's water supplies to Macau, on Macau investments in Zhuhai, on cross-border traffic, etc. I am sure that further studies on these materials will bring to light interesting connections. Even in the historical field new facts can be "unearthed." Local family chronicles, for example, have never been explored in a systematic way.

Ideas of merging parts of the Zhuhai economic zone, especially Hengqin Island (originally two islands, Da Hengqin 大橫琴 and Xiao Hengqin 小橫琴; now linked through reclaimed land), with the territory of Macau after 2000, can be traced in several articles already published in the mid-1990s. But these articles are mainly of a journalistic nature and will not be discussed here. The same is true for certain "trouble spots." Major projects in Macau – like the construction of the international airport – were not always welcomed in Zhuhai. Indeed, there was a time when several places around the Pearl River estuary developed plans to build their own airports. This led to a series of articles in newspapers and magazines, not only in Macau, but also in Hong Kong and China. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the *South China Morning Post* carry several pieces which make interesting reading on this topic. Further publications are indicated in *Revue bibliographique de sinologie* 18 (2000), p. 24. This also includes a trilingual book by \*Luis Cunha and others.

Macau's cooperation not only with Zhuhai but also with Foshan 佛山, Guangzhou, or Guangdong in its totality – and with Hong Kong – is addressed in many works as well. Here are some examples in chronological order: John T. Kamm's articles "Macau's Economic Role in the West River Delta," in Cremer's *Macau: City of Commerce and Culture* (1987; section 5, second block, title a), pp. 165-187, and "Guangdong-Macau Economic Relations: The China Factor," in Cremer's, *Industrial Economy of Macau in the 1990s*, pp. 49-56, are early contributions to this theme, the focus being on the western side of the Pearl River estuary. Wu Guochang (Ng Kuok Cheong) 吳國昌, "A interacção regional no delta do Rio das Pérolas e a política económica de Macau," in *Administração* 7 (1990), pp. 21-61, is another account. He Jiasheng 合佳聲, Feng Xiaoyun 封小雲 and Zhang Bingshen 張炳申, *Yue Gang Ao hezuo de yanjiu* 粵港澳合作的研究 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Press Publisher, 1990), is mostly on Hong Kong and Guangdong, but also contains two essays on eco-

nomic cooperation between Macau and Zhuhai. Anton Gälli, "Wachstumsdreieck am Perlfluß: Kanton, Macao und Hongkong – ein Modell für China von morgen," in *ifo-Schnelldienst* 28 (1993), is one of many Western articles which present the Pearl River area as a fast-growing regional entity. Wei Meichang's (Gary Ngai; Ngai Mei Cheong) *Aomen zongtan* (1994; see section 13, above) also addresses Macau's cooperation with China. Yun Wing Sung *et al.*, *The Fifth Dragon: The Emergence of the Pearl River Delta* (Singapore, etc.: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1995), contains scattered references to Macau.<sup>57</sup>

Many more works similar to the ones in the foregoing paragraph could be listed here. They can be found in the *Euro Asia Journal of Management*, in *AMYJ* (number 13 of 1999, for example, contains an article on Guangzhou and Macau), and many other periodicals. Here it will certainly be sufficient to mention just a few more recent examples: Liang Weixiong 梁渭雄 and Li Pumi 李蒲弥 (eds.), *Yue Ao guanxi yu Aomen fazhan yanjiu* 粵澳关系与澳门发展研究 (Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1999), an essay collection of more than 670 pages, highlights all levels of cooperation between Macau and Guangdong. Trade and investment, even infrastructural issues are discussed, for instance, the old idea of building a railway between Macau, Zhuhai, and Guangzhou (also treated in many periodicals, for example *Administração* 4 [1989], pp. 423-438), the possibility of intensifying links between Hengqin and Coloane, and so forth. Other papers deal with the relations between Foshan and Macau, and Jiangmen 江門 and Macau. Richard Louis Edmonds' "Problemas da integração de Macau no Rio das Pérolas após 1999," in *A presença portuguesa no Pacífico*, pp. 355-374, and the book *Macau in the Pearl River Delta* (see section 5, second block, titles k and l) are two recent Western contributions. Both are fairly general and more useful for political scientists. Zheng Yushuo 鄭宇碩, Chen Guanghan 陳廣漢 and Zhou Yunyuan 周運源, *Fansi yu qianzhan – Aomen huigui ji Gang Ao yu neidi guanxi tansuo* 反思與前瞻—澳門回歸暨港澳與內地關係探索 (Hong Kong: Tiandi chubanshe, 2000), is a like case, discussing Hong Kong, Macau, and China's relations in the light of Macau's handover. Mário Murteira's (ed.) *Hong Kong and Macau at a Time of Transition* (Macau: FM, 2000) is a collection of papers, some of which deal with Macau. Among other things they investigate the links between Macau and Zhuhai and the effects of Japan's recent economic crisis.

An even broader view can be encountered in Meng Qingshun's 孟庆顺 *Gang Ao yu haixia liang'an guanxi* 港澳与海峡两岸关系 (Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe, 1999; *Guogong guanxi yu liang'an guanxi congshu*), which deals with Hong Kong and Macau in the context of relations to both China and Taiwan; political as well as economic dimensions are considered. Earlier works are Li Chongwei 李崇威 (ed.), *Zhongguo dalu yu Gang Ao Tai diqu jingji hezuo qianjing* 中国大陆与港澳台地

<sup>57</sup> Several works with an explicit Hong Kong or Guangdong focus will also be of use for the Macau specialist. Frequently cited studies on Guangdong are, for example: Ezra F. Vogel, *One Step Ahead in China: Guangdong Under Reform* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1989); Y.M. Yeung and David K.Y. Chu (eds.), *Guangdong: Survey of a Province Undergoing Rapid Change* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1994); Brian Hook (ed.), *Guangdong: China's Promised Land* (Hong Kong, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1995; Regional Development in China 1).

区经济合作前景 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1996), Guo Shiping 国世平 and Zhang Zhonghua 张中华 (eds.), *Gang Ao Tai shichang jingji tizhi* 港澳台市场经济体制 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1994), and Yang Songhua 杨松花, *Gang Ao Tai jingji jianlun* 港澳台经济简论 (Beijing: Zhongguo jingji chubanshe, 1995). The broadest possible approach is the one from the “Greater China” perspective. Studies of this type normally have little to say on Macau. But there are some exceptions, one being Anton Gälli’s and J. Franzen’s *Die Familie des Großen Drachen*, 2 Bde. (München, etc.: Weltforum-Verlag, 1995; ifo studien zur entwicklungsfor-schung 27), which contains various general sections on Macau.

Here we may go back to “smaller” topics, which are less well-known. Yan Zheng 嚴正 has published on the economic relations between Fujian and Macau. Two works may be cited: “As relações económicas Fujian-Macau – uma nova fase,” in *Administração* 35 (1997), pp. 155-170, and Yan Zheng *et al.*, *Min Ao jingji guanxi* 閩澳經濟關係 (*Relações económicas entre Fujian e Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1997). The second title (203 pages) is a very unusual work. It provides historical data<sup>58</sup> and then summarizes recent investment flows and trade relations between both places. Financial cooperation, tourism, Fujian’s involvement in Macau’s real estate sector, the impact of Hong Kong’s handover on Macau-Fujian relations, and other themes are examined as well. The last chapters present Fujianese associations in Macau, individual companies, and the biographies of famous Fujianese living in or associated with the former Portuguese territory. Feng Ziping’s *Gang Ao Qiong ren ji shi*, quoted above in section 9, is a very different book. It traces the links between important Hainanese and the Hong Kong-Macau region, but there is practically nothing on Hainan-Macau economic relations.<sup>59</sup> The collection *Aomen xianshi yu Tai Gang guanxi zhanwang: di wu jie Tai Ao guanxi yantaohui lunwenji* 澳門現勢與台港關係展望：第五屆台澳關係研討會論文集 (Taipei: Zhonghua Gang Ao zhi you xiehui, 1999), with 348 pages, is the outcome of a conference concerned with various aspects of Taiwan-Macau relations, including economic links (papers of earlier meetings not seen). Recent articles on these relations, still rare in Macau periodicals, are also cited in Chen En’s 陳恩 “Taiwan tonghang yu Aomen jingji guanxi fazhan” 台灣通航與澳門經濟關係發展, in *Hou Keng* 16 (1998), pp. 21-28, which analyses the impact of direct air traffic on bilateral trade and investment flows. – One must hope that more studies of this kind and more books comparable to the one by Yan Zheng will be written on the relations between Macau and, say, Shantou 汕頭, Shunde 順德, Taishan 台山, the Chinese overseas communities in Southeast Asia, and so on. Such works would also throw more light on the composition of the Chinese community – or rather communities – in Macau itself.

<sup>58</sup> A modern synthesis of Iberian and Chinese sources on early Luso-Fujianese relations, prior and directly after the foundation of Macau, is urgently needed. The same applies to the period of the Guangzhou tea trade, which was partly in the hands of Fujianese merchants.

<sup>59</sup> The collection *\*Guangxi Aomen jingji hudong yantaohui lunwenji* 廣西澳門經濟互動研討會論文集, edited by Huang Hanqiang 黃漢強 (Wong Hon Keong) and Yuan Shaofen 袁少芬 (Macau: UM, 1998), with the subtitle *Economic Interaction between Guangxi and Macau* (?), may also be of interest for interregional relations. Some short articles in newspapers and journals deal with Macau-Hainan and Macau-Guangxi relations, but mostly on a journalistic level.

## 16. Cultural Epilogue

As was mentioned in the introduction, this bibliographical excursion is not concerned with religious, linguistic, literary, and other cultural themes. Materials on these fascinating topics abound, separate bibliographical articles could easily be written on each subject. Only a few recent books on Macau's religions and "general" cultural dimensions can be indicated here – to "round off" my notes and because Macau continues to be a place where religion, politics, business, and everyday life cannot be disassociated from each other.

*In primo loco* one would of course have to list the many authoritative books and articles by Manuel Teixeira (especially the gigantic collection *Macau e a sua diocese*), but these works are much too well-known to be discussed anew. Representative titles are quoted in MS 46, in the bibliographical tools listed under section 2 above, and in special catalogues dedicated to him (see numbers 34 and 35 in Loureiro's *Guia*, which is quoted in note 1, above). The works by Carmo, *A igreja católica na China e em Macau*, and Malek, *Macau: Herkunft ist Zukunft*, were already mentioned above (in note 14 and section 5). Several studies by Beatrice Leung could be added, for example, her recent "Church-State Relations in the Decolonization Period in Hong Kong and Macau," in Ramos *et al.*, *Macau and Its Neighbors Toward the 21st Century* (see section 5, title k), pp. 311-326, which indicates many sources, including some of Leung's own works. Further titles are concerned with the relations between the Vatican and China. This sometimes involves Macau, for historical and many other reasons.

While the role of the Catholic Church has been fairly well-studied, research on Macau's Chinese cults and religions is not as old yet. The following is a set of recent surveys: Huang Zhaohan 黃兆漢 and Zheng Weiming 鄭煒明, *Xianggang yu Aomen zhi dao jiao* 香港與澳門之道教 (*Taoist Religion in Hong Kong and Macau*) (Hong Kong: Calvarden Ltd., 1993); Zheng Weiming and Huang Qichen 黃啓臣, *Aomen zong jiao* 澳門宗教 (*Religiões de Macau*) (Macau: FM, 1994; Aomen congshu); Li Guiling 李桂玲 (ed.), *Tai Gang Ao zong jiao gai kuang* 台港澳宗教概況 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1996; about forty-five pages on Macau); Li Xianzhang 李獻璋, *Mazu xinyang yanjiu* 媽祖信仰研究 (*O culto da deusa A-má*) (Macau: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1995; based on earlier studies by Li and translated from Japanese); Xu Xiaowang 徐曉望 and Chen Yande 陳衍德, *Aomen Mazu wenhua yanjiu* 澳門媽祖文化研究 (*Estudos sobre o culto da deusa A-Ma*) (Macau: FM, 1998; Aomen jijinhui baogao); He Jianming 何建明, *Aomen fo jiao – Aomen yu neidi fo jiao wenhua guanxi shi* 澳門佛教—澳門與內地佛教文化關係史 (*Buddhism of Macau*) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1999).<sup>60</sup>

Another subject of concern for business people and the political world is the question of "images" and, more generally, "cultural links." Some ideas pertaining to this theme were addressed above, in section 3. In short, Macau's past and presence is of-

<sup>60</sup> Further monographs on the Mazu cult and other special themes (mostly on the pre-1900 period) also exist, one recent example being Jiang Boqin's 姜伯勤 *Shilian Dashan yu Aomen chanshi. Qing chu Lingnan chanxue shi yanjiu chubian* 石濂大汕與澳門禪史。清初嶺南禪學史研究初編 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1999; Zhonghua diyu wenhua yanjiu congshu); more works like the one on Dashan would urgently be needed.

ten depicted in the form of stereotypes, i.e., in an “impressionistic” manner. Certain elements associated with these views are repeated in almost every major book. They are deeply engraved in the minds of scholars and readers alike. Not infrequently this mental dimension exerts a strong influence on public opinion and decision-making in “real” life, without there being a general awareness for the underlying causes and the mechanics of mental fabrications. Three Western books with a certain sense for these themes can be listed: António Aresta and Celina Veiga de Oliveira, *Arquivos do entendimento: Uma visão cultural da história de Macau* (Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação e Juventude, FM, Instituto Politécnico de Macau, 1996), 252 pages; Porter’s *Macau, the Imaginary City* (see note 8); Christina Miu Bing Cheng, *Macau: A Cultural Janus* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1999), x + 238 pages.

The last book is particularly interesting. It discusses “intercultural” themes based on historical research and images. Some new insights into the characteristics of Macau’s role between China and Europe are offered, but the presentation itself is caught in a network of stereotype elements and does not always look beyond that screen. Another work highlighting Macau’s cultural facets is Lin Mingde’s 林明德 *Aomen de bianlian wenhua* 澳門的匾聯文化 (Taipei: Caituan faren Zhonghua minsu yishu jijinhui, 1997). Here we may move back to the “real” world. Representative books like *Os fundamentos da amizade* (section 5, title m, above), by and large falling into the “historical category,” were made with an intention to cement the image of long-lasting Sino-Portuguese friendship and mutual tolerance. Indeed, many works serve these and similar purposes. They are usually in Portuguese and they mostly originate from Lisbon and Macau. True, the images they purport are close to reality, but they sometimes follow their own dynamics, and the good intentions guiding them have gone through a mental “filter.” We are thus dealing with two things, which are closely knit together: sets of images as objects of scientific inquiry, where the inquiry itself wishes to throw light on the semantics of the “image structure” (and no more than that), and intentions guiding the presentation of these images and “reality.” The intentions, in turn, are also influenced by the images.

The perception of reality can be associated with yet another difficult issue – the question of “identity,” the theme of Gary Ngai. If there is something like a Macau identity, it should be composed of many “real” and “imagined” elements, flavoured with multi-culturalism in the best sense of the word. In China these positive ingredients are perceived differently – if they are perceived at all. By and large Chinese analysts follow their own “impressions” of the “truth,” many of which were created years ago – in the service of political considerations. This is reflected in China’s literature on Macau. Historical themes are still dominated by old images, whereas modern economic topics are discussed more openly and often with great enthusiasm. Therefore, if Portuguese and Chinese visions are juxtaposed, a strange paradox emerges: Not infrequently, the visions and intentions of the first are almost “Confucian” in style; they are designed to preserve the old, the harmony of things, and are rarely guided by profit considerations. China’s views reflect the search for something new. Bridging the gap, there can be no doubt, will remain a difficult task. Metaphorically put, the mirror which Portugal has left in Macau still appears a bit too Oriental for an impatient “adolescent” to look in.