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‘Viva Salazar!’: nationalistic propaganda in Macau under the *Estado Novo*

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Resumo

Após a implantação do Estado Novo em 1926, Portugal procurou de forma crescente integrar as colónias na estrutura nacional sob a sacrossanta trindade de Deus, Pátria e Família. Explorando o caso de Macau sob a administração salazarista, este estudo revela nuances no projecto alargado de centralização imperial. Evidencia que a singularidade de Macau como território relativamente marginal do império português e uma cidade sob crescente influência chinesa manteve-se fora do controlo absoluto de Portugal, levando, contudo, tal circunstância a permitir que ela permanecesse por mais tempo, como uma colónia do império português.

Palavras-chave: Estado Novo, império português, Macau colonial, regime de Salazar, imperialismo.

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Abstract

After the establishment of the *Estado Novo* (New State) in 1926, Portugal increasingly sought to integrate its colonies into the national framework under the sacrosanct trinity of ‘*Deus, Pátria e Família*’ (God, Nation and Family). Exploring the case of Macau under the Salazarist administration, this study reveals nuances in the broader project of imperial centralization. It reveals that the uniqueness of Macau as a relatively marginal territory of the Portuguese empire and a city that was increasingly influenced by China kept it out of Portugal’s absolute control, yet such circumstances ultimately allowed the territory to hold out as the longest-standing colony of the Portuguese empire.

Keywords: *Estado Novo*, Portuguese empire, colonial Macau, Salazar regime, imperialism.

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After the establishment of the *Estado Novo* (New State) in 1926, the Lisbon administration increasingly sought to integrate Portugal's colonies into the national framework under the sacrosanct trinity of '*Deus, Pátria e Família*' (God, Nation and Family). The 1930 *Acto Colonial* (Colonial Act, later replaced by the Organic Law of the Overseas Territories in 1951) highlighted the need for trans-colonial solidarity (Alexandre 1993, 1117-1136; Bivar 1978). Throughout this period, Portugal attempted to centralize control over its Asian and African possessions through various forms of propaganda such as cartography, colonial expositions, and imperial conferences (Polanah 2011; Corkill and Almeida 2009, 381-399; Cairo 2006, 367-395; Alexandre 2000, 188-189; Cunha 2001). A Portuguese economic sphere, marked by the use of a single currency (Portuguese escudo) and free trade within the empire, was constructed to increase the importation of raw materials and minerals to Portugal, and export Portugal-manufactured products to its overseas territories (Ferreira 2005). Notably, this new economic model did not apply to Macau, Portugal's tiny possession in southern China, which had long seen influences from the Chinese mainland. What we saw, instead, were the Macau administration's attempts to echo parts of the Portuguese national project in order to strengthen its grip over local affairs and sustain its authority over a predominantly Chinese population. This study explores Macau between 1926 and 1966 in revealing the limitations of Salazar's plan to construct solidarity within the Portuguese empire. We first demonstrate how local government policies and propaganda helped to construct a general image of loyalty to the *metrópole*. We then look beneath the surface to explore the failure of Salazar's attempt to centralize Portuguese authority across its overseas territories. We argue that the unique situation of Macau as a place between Portugal and China made it impossible for Macau to come under absolute Portuguese control yet it was such circumstances that allowed the territory to remain as the longest-standing colony in the Portuguese empire.

With the advent of modern print capitalism, new sites of sociability burgeoned within transnational civic associations, diasporic communities, and nationalistic organizations during the first half of the twentieth century, resulting in the emergence of what Benedict Anderson termed as 'secular, historically clocked imagined communit[ies]' (Anderson 2006, 15, 39; Lewis 2011, 127-144; Limapichart 2009, 361-399; Lewis 2012, 302-324; Aiyar 2011, 1012-1013; Kreissler 2000, 211-230). Anti-colonial sentiments spread across Asia's colonial cities, particularly Southeast Asia, resulting in the construction of unprecedented nationalisms (Harper 2000, 213-240;

Frost 2004, 59-69). Nonetheless, not all colonial cities turned against their governments in this trajectory. Domiciled subjects found alternative 'homes' in colonial cities, identifying as imperial citizens of their respective colonies. The Chinese diasporic communities of the Straits Settlement, for instance, took on more than one political allegiance: they reaffirmed their ethnic pride and loyalty to the British empire, yet simultaneously participated in the imagination of new 'Burmese', 'Singaporean', and 'Malayan' identities (Keo 2020, 99-117; Edwards 2004, 277-335; Chua 2010, 145-154). When these cities became independent nations between 1948 and 1965, the new 'local' identities intertwined with notions of nationalism, multiculturalism, and their colonial pasts (Goh 2014, 79-101; 2008, 4-19). Hong Kong witnessed the involvement and assistance of Chinese elites in sustaining the rule of the British colonial government, especially during emergencies related to the Chinese population (Carroll 2005, 146-164). Similar to Macau, the British colony did not see an outbreak of major anti-colonial movements in the post-war period but for varied reasons. The British colonial government placed emphasis on turning the Chinese into responsible citizens and during the 1970s, carried out thorough social reforms in hopes of deepening the animosity between its Chinese residents and China (Mark 2007, 1145-1181; Li 2012). Suspended between a changing China and an authoritarian Portugal, Macau saw a different development. On the one hand, the colonial government consistently expressed its loyalty to the Portuguese nation, adopting the *metrópole's* new policies of control to not only promote Portuguese nationalism, but also silence local voices of opposition against both Portugal and the Macau authorities. On the other, it relied especially during the post-1949 period on collaboration with Chinese elites linked to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to mediate Macau's relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC) with the aim of maintaining its rule over the city. As opposed to Salazarist vision of creating a unified Portuguese identity, Macau unfolded as a city that on the surface pledged allegiance to Portugal but deep down accommodated the consolidation of Chinese authority on Portuguese soil.

Encompassing three continents and in the face of varying local circumstances, the Portuguese government's efforts in executing a centralized system could only be piecemeal. In its African dominions, for instance, state broadcasting remained absent until the mid-1950s due to the lack of investments and the absence of a clear national policy concerning the creation of stations in the colonies (Ribeiro 2014, 920-937). The *metrópole*, nonetheless, heavily exploited on its African territories by imposing direct taxation

and removing the fiscal powers of chartered companies (Alexopoulou 2019, 230-263; Havik 2013, 159-221; Smith 1974, 653-667). A different terrain unfolded in Macau. Apart from paying dues to Portugal, the city's economy largely remained outside the *metrópole's* influence. After the end of the Second World War, Macau's economy thrived from the lucrative trade of gold and commodities with the PRC (Gunn 2005, 133-134). In addition, the colony was left to operate under its own currency, the pataca, with rights of access to Portugal's imperial economic sphere and some responsibilities in contributing to the strength of the Portuguese escudo in the exchange market. A 1972 report, for instance, showed unspecified earnings from Macau that helped offset a deteriorating trade deficit between Portugal's overseas dominions and foreign countries.¹ Macau's case, yet to receive scholarly attention due to its small size and relative lack of economic significance, offers us an opportunity to understand how the Salazarist regime's imperial project differed according to local circumstances.

Notably, Portugal lost the majority of its overseas dominions during the period of the *Estado Novo* when local elites 'imagined' new identities built on anti-colonial sentiments: Angolan elites, for instance, took advantage of the 1934 *Exposição Colonial Portuguesa* (Portuguese colonies exhibition) to articulate local identity through displaying a map that was printed by the *Empresa Gráfica de Angola*, a company owned by an advocate of Angolan autonomy (Spangler 2018). In Goa, the loss of provincial autonomy under the *Acto Colonial* resulted in protest and a surge of interest towards developing an anti-colonial Goan identity (Risbud 2002, 44-45). Portugal eventually lost its colonies in Africa, Timor, and India by 1975, leaving Macau standing as its last colony until 1999. In contrast, Macau saw the relative absence of anti-Portuguese sentiments. This, nonetheless, did not mean the Salazar administration was successful in implementing its imperial project on Macau. Macau's status quo as a Portuguese colony was made possible by countless negotiations between China and the Portuguese colonial administration, led by Chinese elites that pledged allegiance to both governments, as well as Portugal's appeasement of Chinese demands in the post-1949 period. To demonstrate the extent to which Salazar's vision and objective of making Portugal 'rise again' were implemented in Macau, the first section explores the measures the colonial administration took in mirroring Salazar's imperial project and the general picture of loyalty that

¹ For the official report, see Central Intelligence Agency, *Portugal Handbook* (<https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp79-00891a001300060001-3>), pp. II-7.

was constructed through official propaganda. The second section highlights various episodes of tension and negotiation that took place between China and Portugal. It emphasizes the failure to integrate Macau into the *metropole's* plans and the limitations of Salazarist governance as Macau gradually came under the influence of the CCP. Ultimately, this study suggests that although the Salazar regime was profoundly anti-communist, the Salazarist regime's desire to uphold its overseas territories worked hand-in-hand with the PRC government's attempts to consolidate its footing in the circumstances of an ongoing Cold War. It also aims to provide an alternative narrative to the experiences of Portugal's colonies under the Salazar regime. As opposed to the unfolding of anti-Portuguese movements in Portuguese Africa and India, Macau remained as a Portuguese colony sustained by close collaboration between the Macau administration and local Chinese elites with links to the Chinese mainland.

I

Between the thirties and the sixties, the *Estado Novo* sought to integrate its overseas dominions through a number of national initiatives. The 1933 Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire explicitly stated that the nation considered the native races of Portuguese India, Macau and Cape Verde equally as 'Portuguese citizens' (Silva 2019, 81). While Macau was not fully integrated into the Portuguese economic sphere, the presence of Portugal was felt in various projects. The Macau government sent representatives to the imperial conferences, which was meant not only to improve communication between the colonies and Portugal, but also to stimulate discussion with top colonial officials regarding the deployment of colonial resources to stimulate Portugal's global trade.² In 1932, Macau presented a fee to the *metrópole*, which constituted 200 000 in Hong Kong dollars, squeezed out of a drastic fiscal budget cut in public works and services. The following year, the governor of Macau and the director of finance and accounting services joined the *Conferência Imperial Colonial Portuguesa* (Portuguese colonial empire conference) in Lisbon.³ Before his departure, the governor revealed to a local newspaper, *A Voz de Macau*, his hopes of discussing

² "Portugal and Macao: question of a military contribution for coming discussion", *South China Morning Post*, 23 May 1933, p. 3.

³ Ida à metropole de governador de Macau e do director dos serviços de fazenda e contabilidade, nos termos do decreto no. 22322, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/14299.

local issues such as improving the city's medical provisions and increasing the salaries of public servants with the minister for the colonies. In 1935, Macau was chosen as the meeting place for a Portuguese imperial economic conference.⁴

In addition to meetings between Portugal and its colonies, the *Estado Novo* used commemorative events and colonial expositions as cultural platforms to forge the celebration of 'diversity' and 'hybridity' in order to spread Salazar's nationalist-imperialist vision, which was intended to shape feelings of national pride and suppress the "anti-national" (Corkill and Almeida 2009, 381-399). The core symbols featured in the expositions encompassed God, nation, family, unity, cohesion, universalism, empire, civilization, and multi-racialism (Corkill and Almeida 2009, 382). Fitting particularly into the categories of empire, civilization, and multi-racialism, a tea pavilion with Chinese colours was featured in Porto in the 1934 colonial exhibition to represent Macau (**fig. 1**), together with some Chinese-styled clay displays and traditional musical and religious acts.⁵ In 1940, a local street named Rua de Macau was recreated in the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (Portuguese world exhibition). The main attraction comprised of a collection of over fifty paintings depicting Macau's people and streets from a Portuguese painter named Fausto Sampaio. To complete the collection, Sampaio stayed in Macau under the appointment and sponsorship of the state (Castro 2020, 293-298).

⁴ "Portuguese parley: inter-colonial conference to be convened", *South China Morning Post*, January 18, 1935, p. 11.

⁵ The carved displays were sent to the writer of a blog and was mentioned in João Botas, "Pavilhão do Chá no Porto em 1934" (<http://macauantigo.blogspot.com/2011/04/pavilhao-do-cha-no-porto-em-1934.html>).



1 An orchestra in front of the Macau pavilion.
Credits: Manuel de Sousa, “Revisitar a
Exposição Colonial Portuguesa através
das fotografias de Alvão”, *Sensos-e* 9, no. 3
(2022), p. 38.

Another objective of Salazar’s project was to strengthen the national consciousness of all youth living in the Portuguese territories. To achieve this, the Portuguese administration created youth associations that subsequently flowered across the colonies.⁶ Macau witnessed the emergence of two associations, *União Nacional de Macau* (Portuguese national union) in 1940 and *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Portuguese youth) in 1939. The former, which emerged in Portugal in 1930, reflected the state’s intention to “promote, protect and help” organizations designed to train and prepare the youth for military responsibilities whereas the latter, formed in 1936, was known as a ‘national and pre-military organization designed to stimulate the formation of character and devotion to the *Pátria*’ (Meneses 2009, 137). Although the *Mocidade* was meant to operate like the Italian Fascist *opera nazionale balilla* and the Nazi Hitler youth, Macau’s version of the *Mocidade Portuguesa* worked like a scouts association. After receiving a uniform, a flag, and an anthem, participants of Macau’s *Mocidade Portuguesa* took part in various sports and

⁶ Similar organizations had previously emerged in the metropole under the Republic such as the *Instrução military preparatória* (IMP).

early military training.⁷ They also subscribed to the official gazette, *Boletim da Mocidade Portuguesa* and performed in national celebrations organized by the Macau government.⁸ In 1946, Macau's *Caixa Escolar*, a welfare fund for the education of the poor, was further dissolved and integrated into the activities of the *Mocidade*.⁹ However, the *Mocidade* was not a successful initiative inside and outside Macau. Salazar was indifferent to these organizations, resulting in chaos and disorganization (Meneses 2009, 138-139). The Portuguese themselves did not regard it seriously and elsewhere in the Portuguese colonies, the youth organization was taken as nothing more than a scouts association (Errante 1998, 281, 293).

União Nacional de Macau, aimed at securing universal support towards the Portuguese government's civic, social, and economic activities, inaugurated in 1940. Its establishment coincided with the fourteenth anniversary of the 1926 coup d'état, prompting the Macau administration to organize a grand inauguration filled with nationalistic fervour. Carlos Eugenio de Vasconcellos, the first chairman of the *União* assembly, emphasized its primary objective as offering support to the colonial and Lisbon governments in their efforts of 'achieving unselfish national development'.¹⁰ The event came with a display of booklets issued by the Lisbon publicity department and eventually concluded with the publication of the *Publicação da União Nacional de Macau no ano XIV da revolução*, which included official writings about developments in Macau's national education, military cooperation between Macau and Mozambique, the *Estado Novo*'s imperial policies, and Macau's historical developments.¹¹ In 1943, a weekly newspaper, *União*, was established in the colony as the official mouthpiece of both national institutions.¹² On the surface, the *União* emerged as a centralized platform for the construction of feelings of brotherhood, loyalty, and patriotism through

⁷ See, for instance, the *Mocidade*'s participation in the activities of the *Club Náutico de Macau*, formed in 1949. Aomen zaoqi fanchuan yundong 澳門早期帆船運動, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AM/DA/029.

⁸ 1.^{as} regatas internacionais em Macau, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AM/DA/029/09; Assinatura dos Boletins da Legião Portuguesa e da Mocidade Portuguesa, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/17999.

⁹ Extinção da Caixa Escolar de Macau e a sua integração com os seus compromissos e haveres na Mocidade Portuguesa, 1 Nov. 1946, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19407.

¹⁰ "Macao ceremony, inauguration of quarters for national union: Portuguese regime", *South China Morning Post*, 31 May 1940, p. 4.

¹¹ *Publicação da União Nacional de Macau no ano XIV da revolução* (Macau, 1940).

¹² Pedido feito por António Maria da Conceição, para estabelecer em Macau, um jornal semanal denominado 'União', que será o órgão da União Nacional e da Mocidade Portuguesa, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/18752.

discussions of Salazar's thoughts, but it was in reality dominated by prominent and ambitious elites eyeing political ascension.¹³ Serving as a long and outstanding member was crucial in running for the higher offices, particularly for those aspiring to enter the national assembly of Portugal.¹⁴ Candidates were first nominated by the local *União*, and they were later elected by the electorate of the colony, whose members were also a part of the *União* itself. The influence of the *União* over the elections was profound as only its members could run for election and having a good reputation amongst its committee members was key to retaining power and prestige. Lr. Col. Alvaro Fontoura, for instance, was able to serve continuously in the national assembly after winning four elections owing to his popularity amongst members of the union.¹⁵

While the Salazarist administration envisioned the creation of a unified Portuguese nation that extended to its overseas dominions, the Macau government used the *metropole's* national projects to justify its local authority. The *Estado Novo* closely monitored and silenced all forms of media that challenged, threatened, or deconstructed the national myth of solidarity and power under Salazar's dictatorship (Fernandes 2008, 131-148). Manipulated education paved the way for the systematic indoctrination of Salazar's thoughts and the international and state defence police (PIDE) used brute force to suppress anti-Portuguese critics (Pereira 2014, 59-81; Gameiro 2012, 87-112; Stoer et al. 2005, 547-559; Moniz 2008). Such control spread from the province of Minho in northern Portugal to the overseas colony of Timor in the Indonesian archipelago where residents got used to seeing the infamous stamp "*visado pela Comissão de Censura*" (reviewed by the censorship committee) on newspapers. Historians of Portuguese history similarly faced strict censorship rules. The Brazilian edition of British historian Charles Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* was banned during the Salazar regime for questioning the practice of racial equality in the empire, a principle that the Portuguese government had claimed as a fundamental basis of its administration (Terenas 2008, 30-46; Boxer 1967). Like the *Estado Novo's* other centralized initiatives, the implementation of press censorship across the colonies differed according to local circumstances (Spirk 2014, 1-23; Morais 2016, 88-107; Piçarra 2016,

¹³ *Sessão solene organizada pela união nacional no salão nobre do leal senado da câmara de Macau no. 25 aniversário da sua subdão ao poder, 27 de Abril de 1953* (Macau, 1953).

¹⁴ The national assembly served as the *Estado Novo's* legislature. For examples of election propaganda in Macau, see *Macau na V legislatura da assembleia nacional 1959-1953* (Macau, 1953).

¹⁵ *Macau na V legislatura*, p. 169.

283-297). In Macau, the chief of staff of the governor was appointed to head the central censorship apparatus, with the assistance of other high-ranking civil servants (Texeira 1965; Braga 1963, 48-52; Chan 2020, 754-768). Adding to pre-existing censorship rules on local Portuguese-language newspapers, the colonial administration extended its rules to foreign newspapers printed in Portuguese, English, or Chinese including Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*, *China Mail*, *Hong Kong Standard*, and *The Star*, Macau-published Chinese newspapers like the *Aomen ribao* 澳門日報 and *Huaqiao bao* 華僑報, and international media like *Time* magazine (Silva 2020).¹⁶ In 1947, the Canton press started a general campaign against Macau's censor office for confiscating vernacular newspapers arriving from Canton. The newspaper companies collectively condemned the recent seizure of all imported Canton newspapers but to no avail.¹⁷

The Macau government took advantage of the metropole's orders to tighten press censorship in eliminating voices of opposition against the local administration. For instance, it kept an eye on *A Voz de Macau*, a Portuguese-language newspaper ran by Portuguese exile, freemason, and republican supporter Domingos Gregório Rosa Duque. Notably, Duque, an avid colonialist, openly supported the Salazarist regime for its imperialist policies. In 1935, he wrote an article that commended Salazar's rule as a 'miracle' and criticized residents of China for ignoring the 'top to bottom evolution' that was taking place in Portugal.¹⁸ He even urged the Macau government to print 2,000 copies of António Ferro's book *Salazar* for public distribution.¹⁹ Despite his patriotic stance, the Macau government repeatedly suspended *A Voz* for material deemed offensive to the colonial administration.²⁰ By the time of his passing in 1947, the patriotic Duque had become such a representational icon of press freedom in Macau that a Hong Kong newspaper

¹⁶ Central Intelligence Group Intelligence Report, "Political information: censorship of news, Macao," 10 December 1946, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp82-00457r000100830013-9>.

¹⁷ "Future of Macao: Canton newspapers start campaign for return", *South China Morning Post*, 28 April 1947, p. 1.

¹⁸ "Um alvitre", *A Voz de Macau*, 7 January 1935, p. 1.

¹⁹ "Alexandre Noronha to Director of Civil administration services", 22 January 1935, 29 January 1935, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/15264.

²⁰ Pedido de autorização feito pelo director e proprietário do jornal diário *A Voz de Macau*, Domingos Gregório da Rosa Duque, para circular novamente o referido jornal que havia sido suspenso, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19109.

reported, 'His death marks the end of a staunch supporter of the Freedom of Press in Macao'.²¹

Local Portuguese-language newspapers were similarly placed under the government's regulation. During the 1950s, the Macau government censored *O Clarim*, a weekly newspaper ran by the Catholic Diocese. Under the orders of the Governor, the censorship office suspended *O Clarim* for almost nine months between May 1955 and February 1956 (Pires 2012). The suspension of *O Clarim* in the 1950s, was due to the publication of two articles that the local government found offensive. The first one, titled '*Tudo Sofre*' (All Suffers), criticized the state of affairs of Macau.²² The second featured critical opinion questioning the participation of high-ranking government officials in civilian activities that pertained to other religion other than Catholicism. This was in line with Macau officials kowtowing at the funeral of Kou Ho Neng, a leading Chinese elite of the city.²³

Apart from temporarily suspending newspapers, the Macau government used other repressive measures to curb local voices of opposition. Herman Machado Monteiro, also exiled following the 1926 military coup d'état in Portugal, was deported to the island of Coloane in 1940 for criticizing the local administration during his editorship of *O Combate*, which he used to criticize the colonial government. There, he was asked to report to the local authorities on a daily basis for two years.²⁴ Monteiro later ran *Notícias de Macau*, which was used to expose the repressive atmosphere of Macau. In a similar vein to *A Voz* and *O Combate*, *Notícias* carried articles that criticized the colonial government's strict control over the actions and thoughts of its peoples. The Macau government fined *Notícias* several times and in 1962, imposed a 15-day suspension of the newspaper.²⁵ A third example, Leonel Borralho, was a loyal supporter of Portugal yet a critic of the Macau government. He founded *Gazeta Macaense* in 1963 and declared its motto as '*Por Portugal, pela verdade*' (for Portugal, for truth). Borralho used his newspaper to voice his support of the metropole's projects. In its inaugural issue, one of the articles titled "Angola é Portugal e Portugal é dos Portugueses" (Angola is Portugal, and Portugal belongs to the Portuguese) carried a message

²¹ "Capt. da Rosa Duque", *South China Morning Post*, 18 August 1947, p. 6.

²² "Tudo Sofre", *O Clarim*, 20 March 1955.

²³ "Princípios Inalteráveis", *O Clarim*, 29 April 1955.

²⁴ "No. 2:924", *Boletim Oficial* (Suplemento), 41 (14 October 1940), Macau, Arquivo de Macau.

²⁵ "To resume publication", *South China Morning Post*, 1 March 1962, p. 14.

hailing the Portuguese empire. Supportive of the metropole's imperialist projects, Borralho openly supported Portugal's fight in protecting its African territories and often reprinted articles from the official news agency of the Portuguese government.²⁶ Nonetheless, Borralho did not refrain from attacking the Macau administration and was often fined, sometimes for reasons only the chief censor would know. In 1965, he was served with a libel from the director of tourism and information for writing an article that contained 'offensive words' and *Gazeta* was suspended for twenty days.²⁷

Mirroring the *Estado Novo*'s nationalistic initiatives across the empire, the Macau government not only affirmed its allegiance to Portugal, but also took to extending its amicability to the Chinese government. This was achieved by showcasing the participation of Chinese residents in national events that celebrated the Portuguese government. In events celebrating Dr. Salazar, the colonial administration made sure to publicize the presence and participation of Chinese residents. In late April 1948, for instance, it encouraged all Macau residents to celebrate Salazar's twentieth anniversary as Portugal's financial minister by handing out 10 kilos of rice worth one pataca to each participant.²⁸ A total of 1800 packages were distributed in the parishes of Sé, S. Lourenço, S. António, S. Lázaro, *Sociedade de S. Vicente de Paulo*, as well as in Chinese-led associations like the charitable *tung sin tong* (tong shantang 同善堂) and the Kiang Wu hospital.²⁹ Propaganda for the event came in both Portuguese and Chinese languages, as seen in the slogan for the celebration: "Salve Salazar! 偉哉! 薩拉沙!" (Almighty Salazar!; Weizai! Shalasha!). Furthermore, official notifications were written honouring Salazar as 'the most glorious of all Portuguese leaders' and to show gratitude and admiration for his hard work and struggle in upholding and reviving the faith of Portugal.³⁰ Taipa, an island south of the Macau peninsula with a dominant Chinese population, celebrated with an extensive programme that began with the raising of the national flag at eight in the morning, a procession that included a lion dance performance from students of the Chinese schools, and a popular march at half past nine the evening

²⁶ *Gazeta Macaense*, 30 September 1963, p. 1.

²⁷ "Newspaper suspended 20 days in Macao", *South China Morning Post*, 24 April 1965, p. 1.

²⁸ "Festejos comemorativos do dia 27 de Abril de 1948 Senha No., 27 April 1948; 'Qingzhu dahui zengjuan慶祝大會贈券', 27 Apr. 1947, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

²⁹ José de Figueirido Modesto to Chief of Civil Administration services', 30 April 1948, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

³⁰ Weizai! Salasha! 偉哉! 薩拉沙! Salvè Salazar!, Macau, Arquivo de Macau MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

with lit balloons and a display of Portuguese and Chinese paper flags.³¹ Jorge Grave Leite, chairman of the administrative commission of the municipal council, ended the event with a report that hailed Portugal's efforts in the far east as a basis to further strengthen the Macau government's pre-existing friendly relations with the great Chinese nation.³²

Learning about the event, the Kuomintang branches of Macau and Hong Kong sent their well wishes for Salazar through the Macau government. In turn, the governor of Macau, under the orders of Salazar, sent a telegram of thanks to the president of the Macau KMT.³³ The Chinese merchants of the municipality of Ilhas, one of Macau's two municipalities, presented a poem to honour Salazar.³⁴ Chan Chi Fun, representing the population of Ilhas, published a message that affirmed Salazar as a strong leader and a saviour of Portugal whose rule allowed the residents of the Portuguese territories to live away from fear and in peace and harmony.³⁵ Similar celebrations devoted to Salazar continued to take place in the next decade, all of which served the dual purpose of emphasizing Macau's loyalty to the metropole while demonstrating the colonial government's collaborative relations with the local Chinese. In 1953, for instance, a delegation from Macau consisting of the president of *União Nacional*, government officials, and Macanese professionals arrived in Lisbon to attend a tribute party celebrating Salazar. A Chinese leader from the Chinese chamber of commerce, Chui Kei (more commonly known as Chui Tak-kei 崔德祺) joined the delegation as a "Portuguese civil constructor".³⁶ Funded by the Macau government, the delegation traveled from Macau to Hong Kong, and then to Rome and finally Lisbon on an eighteen-day trip. In Macau, local celebrations were in place: the Chinese community of the Ilhas municipality, for instance, presented 882.60 Macau patacas to the colonial administration to show their support of the festivity and the participation of two hundred

³¹ Administração do Concelho das Ilhas, Programa dos festejos comemorativos do 20.º aniversário da posse do Dr. Oliveira Salazar, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

³² Report from Jorge Grave Leite, n.d., Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

³³ Albano Rodrigues de Oliveira to Lei Peng Seak, 24 May 1948, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

³⁴ Os comerciantes do concelho das Ilhas, "Tradução de mensagem dos comerciantes do concelho das Ilhas, a Sua Exa. O Presidente do Concelho, Doutor António de Oliveira Salazar", 27 April 1948, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

³⁵ Chan Chi Fun to Salazar, n.d., Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

³⁶ "Processo No. 265", 7 April 1953, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/20784.

Chinese residents was secured by handing out ten kilos of rice and one pataca to each individual.³⁷

In 1952, a highly publicized national event took place in Macau when the colonial minister, Sarmento Rodrigues, visited the city as a part of his tour of the Portuguese territories in the far east. The Macau government took the opportunity to demonstrate the colony's devotion to the *Estado Novo*. A committee was set up, consisting of a mix of local Macanese and Chinese elite figures who were put in charge of Rodrigues's welcoming reception. These included Pedro José Lobo, a local businessman and head of the economic services, representatives from the church, the *Leal Senado* (municipal council), and prominent Chinese elites Ho Yin, Chong Chi Kwong, Fu Tak Iam, Kou Hó Neng and Y.C. Liang. The two-week-long programme included official protocol sessions, receptions, military parades, the inauguration of new buildings and facilities, several visits to local institutions, and a Chinese carnival. Rodrigues was proclaimed "honorary citizen" at the city hall of the *Leal Senado*. In addition to the colonial government's reception, the pro-Beijing *Associação Comercial Chinesa de Macau* (Macau Chinese Commercial Association) also organized a welcome reception for Rodrigues. The Macau authorities created much publicity and documented the visit with a book published under the propaganda department of the *Repartição Central de Serviços Económicos* (central office of economic services). Governor Esparteiro later wrote a telegram to Rodrigues, describing his visit as an important boost to the patriotism of Macau residents. He wrote, "*esforço Vêxa vem dando em prol da unidade espiritual todos os portugueses*" (the effort your Excellency is offering benefits the spiritual unity of all Portuguese). Esparteiro further emphasized the spiritual solidarity of the Portuguese as a 'family', mirroring Salazar's slogan of "*Deus, pátria, família*" (God, fatherland, family).

From imperial events to national institutions, the Salazar administration unprecedentedly integrated Macau into the national terrain of Portugal. On the surface, the formation of *Mocidade* and *União* demonstrated the manifestation of Portuguese institutions across the territories, yet their impacts were not profound. *Mocidade* was perceived as a scouts association for the youth whereas the *União* became a tool for ambitious men to ascend to higher offices. The Macau government also used the tightening of press

³⁷ António Emilio Maria Rodrigues da Silva, "Conta corrente dos festejos commemorativos do XX aniversario da posse de s. exa. O Ministro das finanças Dr. Oliveira Salazar", 24 May 1948; António Emilio Maria Rodrigues da Silva, 'Administração do Concelho das Ilhas', 6 May 1948, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/01/19839.

censorship across the Portuguese empire to monitor the local and foreign press, punishing newspaper editors who were patriotic but critical of the Macau authorities. National celebrations were publicized to emphasize the colony's loyalty to Portugal while simultaneously showcasing friendly relations with prominent Chinese elites. More than displays of patriotism, the Macau administration adopted and revised Salazarist policies to fit in the city's circumstances.

II

While not all Macau residents supported the *Estado Novo*, the government made sure to spread pro-Portuguese propaganda and publicize the voices of those who were loyal to Portugal. In 1937, for instance, some local residents from both the Macanese and Chinese communities gathered after learning about Salazar's escape from an explosion at the entrance of a church. These citizens attended a *tedeum* service of thanksgiving at the church of St. Dominic and then proceeded to the government house where the governor and other officials stood waiting at a verandah. The crowd echoed the officials' chants of "Viva, Dr. Oliveira Salazar! Viva Portugal!" and "Viva Macau!" and the event ended with a telegraphic message to Lisbon. The message was an affirmation of everlasting support from the colony and conveyed the Macau people thanks to God for saving Salazar from danger.³⁸ The Macau government grasped onto every opportunity of show, turning important dates for the *Estado Novo* into annual celebrations. In 1948, it organized an impressive event to commemorate two decades of Salazar's rule, complete with dragon dances, lion dances, boat races, and fireworks.³⁹ For Salazar's twenty-fifth year as Portugal's prime minister, the government and Macau's residents celebrated with fervour. The *South China Morning Post* reported,

Sightseers thronged the streets at night when Government buildings were illuminated. By now, his name is a household name all over the world and his honest and serious government is time and again cited as an example to be followed. What he has done for his country can hardly be measured by current standards. He dug up a country, materially and morally sunk into a

³⁸ "Portugal's premier: Macao demonstrates its thanksgiving for escape", *South China Morning Post*, 13 July, 1937, p. 14; "Macao rejoices: Chinese send messages to Dr. Salazar", *South China Morning Post*, 9 July 1937, p. 13.

³⁹ "Macao en fete: 20th anniversary of Dr. Salazar celebrated", *South China Morning Post*, 30 April 1948, p. 7.

morass of misery and decadence and slowly made it into what it is today: a modern, proud, and orderly state.⁴⁰

The governorship of Albano Rodrigues de Oliveira between 1947 and 1952 also saw extensive public works and national celebrations designed to demonstrate Portugal's commitment to Macau and vice versa. This included bringing in Father Ernesto Gherzi, a Jesuit priest and meteorologist who had previously served as the director of the Zikawei Observatory in Shanghai, to improve the Macau Observatory (Raposo 2017, 139-168).⁴¹ In 1950, homage was paid to Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama through an impressive ceremony.⁴²

Since the 1930s, the *Estado Novo* sought to revive Portugal's glory by proposing "material restoration, moral restoration, [and] national restoration", linking the selection of heritage sites with national construction (Baptista Neto 2001, 157). While this pioneering initiative did not inspire the Macau government to make a similar move, the metropole's decision to further classify national monuments in the late forties resulted in Macau's first heritage-making project. In 1949, the Lisbon administration enacted a legislation to classify national monuments of "archaeological, historical, artistic or landscape value" for future protection and conservation.⁴³ The ultimate objective was to reinterpret architectural structures into 'Salazarist monuments' that could highlight and incorporate moments of triumph in Portugal's history into the construction of a new national identity. Echoing this call, Macau's governor Joaquim Marques Esparteiro announced the formation of a relevant commission on December 1953 that would be responsible for identifying and classifying national monuments.⁴⁴ Five months later, the government hosted a cultural event at the *Salão Nobre* of the *Leal Senado* (municipal council) where the governor laid out the main objective of protecting historic sites that could reflect Macau's unique position as a Portuguese "*cidade do 'NOME DE DEUS NA CHINA'*" (city of the name of God in China). A leading member of the commission stressed that the eventual list of monuments would serve to commemorate "the almost

⁴⁰ "Newsletter from Macao: Salazar's 25th anniversary celebrated", *South China Morning Post*, 30 April 1953, p. 7.

⁴¹ "Newsletter from Macao", *South China Morning Post*, 25 May 1950, 7.

⁴² "Newsletter from Macao", *South China Morning Post*, 13 May 1950, 5.

⁴³ Ministério das obras públicas – gabinete do ministro, Decreto-Lei n.º 37622, *Diário do Governo*, 246 (1949), 18 November 1949.

⁴⁴ *Boletim Oficial de Macau*, 1953, p. 867.

always heroic deeds of our ancestors". In addition, the commission proposed the building of a museum that could showcase the "honour and pride of national conscience" (Henriques 1956, 57-58). A slender volume of literature that has tackled this initial attempt at heritage making has criticized the narrow scope of the initiative, considering it merely a political move to legitimize Portuguese national monuments and reinforce Portugal's claims over its overseas dominions (Marreiros 2003, 205-241; Chung 2009, 131).

The commission eventually narrowed down to three major categories: *monumentos religiosos* (religious monuments), *monumentos militares* (military monuments), and *monumentos diversos* (miscellaneous monuments), all of which were dominated by architectural structures linked to Portuguese activities in Macau. Religious monuments referred to Catholic churches built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as the Ruins of St. Paul's, the St. Lazarus Church, St. Augustine's Church, the Cathedral of the Nativity of Our Lady, St. Lawrence Church, St. Dominic's Church, the Church of the Seminary of Joseph, and the Church of St. Anthony, with a narrative that boasted the efforts of Portuguese missionaries in spreading Catholicism across East Asia and facilitating Macau's maritime trade with Japan during the seventeenth century (Henriques 1956, 10-22). This narrative gravely undermined the historical influence of foreign missionaries, particularly the Italians, neglecting as well the presence of Chinese temples across Macau. The commission did not consider the fifteenth-century-built A-Ma Temple or the nineteenth-century folk Na Tcha Temple, which were representative of Macau's dominant Chinese populations and today, UNESCO-acknowledged heritage sites.

In a similar vein to the religious monuments, the chosen military monuments shed light on Portugal's authority over Macau, particularly in relation to historical milestones that strengthened the empire's grip on the Chinese city. Unlike British colonization of Hong Kong, the legitimacy of Portuguese rule over Macau had been a consistent point of contention between Portugal and China. While the treaty of Nanking safeguarded the status of Hong Kong as a British colony as early as in 1842, there was no formal agreement between Portugal and China until the signing of the ambiguous Sino-Portuguese treaty of Peking in 1887, more than three centuries after the first Portuguese settlers arrived in Macau. Even thereafter, the two nations continued to face conflict over the territorial borders of Portuguese Macau and whether the Portuguese had sovereignty or simply the rights to administer (Pereira 1991, 261-268; Conceição 1988). To emphasize Macau as a Portuguese possession, the committee included military monuments

that signified the separation of Macau from China. This included the barrier gate (*Portas do Cerco*) and monumental arc that separated Macau from the rest of the Chinese mainland. The commission also incorporated the Coloane Victory Memorial, also known as the ‘combatting pirates monument’. The Coloane Victory Memorial marked an episode in history when the Macau government defeated Chinese pirates in 1910 and successfully expanded Portuguese jurisdiction towards the areas of Taipa and Coloane. Two other selected structures were linked to the tightening of Portugal’s sovereignty over Macau. The first was the statue of João Maria Ferreira do Amaral, the one-armed governor who was assassinated by Chinese men in 1849 after demanding the taxation of Chinese residents and the expulsion of Qing officials from Macau. The other was that of Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita, who helped recuperate Portuguese authority over Macau after Amaral’s untimely death.

The only two chosen sites linked to the Chinese were given Portuguese narratives. Kiang Wu Hospital, a public-subsidized medical institution where Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen pioneered the hospital’s western medical provisions and his residence in Macau, São Lázaro, were introduced as symbols of Portugal’s role in the establishment of the first Chinese Republic in 1911. Through using Sun’s brief stay in Macau as evidence, the commission stressed Portuguese Macau’s history as a safe haven for the facilitation of anti-Qing activities that eventually led to the demise of China’s monarchical political system. In addition, the government pointed to these sites as evidence showing the close relationship between Macau and Guangzhou after the establishment of the Chinese Republic (Henriques 1956, 34-60, 55). The absence of Chinese historic sites and neglect of Chinese culture in the heritage-making initiative demonstrate the Macau administration’s attempt to echo the metropole’s activities. During the 1950s, more than ninety percent of Macau’s population was Chinese and its Luso-Asian residents had for centuries integrated Chinese cultural practices and the use of Cantonese language into their everyday lives. The aim of moving the colony in line with the metropole was further evidenced by the Macau government’s decision to construct buildings modelled after the architectural style of the *Estado Novo*. The *Estado Novo* architecture was symbolized by aesthetic modernism and a vision to convey national myths while projecting on an imagined future of Portuguese glory and solidarity (Carvalho 2018, 148). In Macau, this evolved into a few structures: new government building on Praia Grande (Palácio das Repartições), a post office at Taipa, the St. Domingos Market’s official buildings and the Infante Dom Henrique

school (Carvalho 2018, 154). The Palácio, for instance, had an austere façade with monumental proportions that mirrored the modernist essence of Portuguese architectural structures built during Salazar's time (**Fig. 2**). Apart from modernist aesthetics, the *Estado Novo* also sought to recreate rural landscapes within urban spaces (Fernandes 2001, 113-132). This was seen in the construction of Macau's CTT neighbourhood, consisting of modest houses for the city's civil servants that mirrored housing projects in Lisbon (Tostões and Dias n.d.).



2 The Palácio. Credits: Authors.

More than an attempt to preserve historical sites, Macau's first try at heritage making reflected the colonial government's intention to show their loyalty to the metropole. Under the *Estado Novo*'s calls to marry Portugal's overseas territories with the nation, heritage making emerged as a platform

for Macau's active integration into a broader national terrain. The colonial government's enthusiasm to become engaged with Portugal and carry out the metropole's calls for the revitalization of Portuguese glory was further seen in the neglect of actual preservation work and the absence of any attempt to arouse public interest and support, particularly of the dominant Chinese population. In fact, the Macau administration gradually lost interest in the project. It was only years after the fall of the *Estado Novo* that a Macau governor appointed a new commission to continue the city's heritage-making journey. This attempt was more productive as the commission legislated Macau's heritage classification (August 1976; no. 34/76/M) and finally included historic structures of Chinese colours. In the 1980s, the government further issued a new law containing a more comprehensive definition and categorization of Macau's cultural heritage, establishing the Committee for the Defence of the Architectural, Environmental and Cultural Heritage to oversee proposals for the listing and classification of cultural and natural heritage. The heritage-making project of the 1950s, thus, could only have been a symbolism of the *Estado Novo*'s strategy of interlacing the nation with its colonies and the metropole's influence over the Macau government during this period.

The 1960s saw increasing anti-Portuguese sentiments spread across Portugal's overseas territories. An article appeared in *The Times of India* criticizing the Salazar regime for authoritarianism and for exploiting its colonies. Apart from predicting Africa's political awakening and highlighting Goa's resistance campaign, the author pointed out that Portugal had sown the seeds of turmoil in its colonies, adding, "It cannot be very long before the tremor comes" (Passos 1957). In 1961, India occupied Goa and the Portuguese government struggled against guerillas in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea. The Macau government took the opportunity to reiterate its support to the Portuguese nation. It printed and circulated more than one thousand copies in Portuguese, English, and Chinese a speech that Salazar delivered at a national assembly regarding Portugal's stance on the anti-colonial movements.⁴⁵ In it, Salazar addressed anti-Portuguese events in Africa as irrational and uncivilized, and further condemned anti-colonialism as an

⁴⁵ Jaime Robarts, "Publicação do discurso proferido por Sua. Exa. O Presidente do Conselho, com textos em português, inglesa e chinesa", 6 March 1961; António Emílio Maria Rodrigues da Silva, "Publicação do discurso de Sua Exa. O Presidente do Conselho", 13 March 1961, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/O1/21956.

act of 'anti-white racism'.⁴⁶ In early 1962, the Macau administration collected a few hundred signatures from Chinese and Macanese residents in a petition against Goan independence. The residents, including a ninety-year old Macanese, government officials, Macanese refugees from Shanghai, 756 'bons Portugueses' (good Portuguese), journalists, professors, young scholars, Macanese elites, and organizations like *União Nacional*, the *Leal Senado*, and the municipal council of Ilhas, pledged to defend Portuguese territory.⁴⁷ In 1963, Sr. Carlos Humberto da Silva, secretary of the *Leal Senado*, headed to Lisbon to attend a mass rally in support of the metropole's plans to reject criticism from the United Nations and defend Portuguese Africa.⁴⁸

Notably, maintenance of Portugal's continued presence in Macau was achieved not only by Salazar's ambition of a unified Portuguese empire, but also China's lack of incentive to regain Macau. Throughout the Salazarist regime, China experienced a turbulent period marked by foreign encroachment, Japanese invasion, a civil war, and after the formation of the PRC, western opposition against communism under the Cold War. Between 1926 and the end of the Second World War, the Kuomintang did not have a clear agenda towards Macau. The Nanjing government was struggling not only with foreign ambitions for more economic concessions, but also the control Chinese warlords had over large swathes of the Chinese mainland and Guangdong. This was seen in a brief episode where local authorities in Guangzhou attempted to call for the return of Macau to China. In late 1928, the KMT government renewed the 1887 Sino-Portuguese treaty into a new treaty of friendship and commerce, inciting a Guangzhou representative of the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs to announce that it had been giving instructions from Nanjing to start negotiations with the Macau colonial government regarding the city's return to China. The central government immediately denied such claims and the issue died down (Wu 1999, 259-269).

On the other side of China's lack of interest in regaining Macau was Portugal's appeasement of the Chinese authorities, which was often made possible by lengthy negotiations led by Chinese intermediaries who pledged allegiance to both the Macau and Chinese authorities. After the

⁴⁶ "Portugal e a campanha anticolonialista", *Notícias de Portugal* XIV, no. 709, 3 December 1960, pp. 5-14; "Putao Ya xingfan zhimin di yundong 葡萄牙興反殖民地運動", 1 February 1961, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/O1/21956.

⁴⁷ "Telegramas expedidos para o presidente do Concelho, dr. Oliveira Salazar", 6 Jan. 1962, Macau, Arquivo de Macau, MO/AH/AC/SA/O1/22203.

⁴⁸ "To attend rally for Salazar", *South China Morning Post*, 23 August 1963, p. 9.

end of the Second World War, the Nationalist government asked Lisbon to cease all its consular extraterritoriality in China, complemented by a plan to recover Macau that was directed by the European department of China's ministry of foreign affairs. According to the plan, the Macau population would be mobilized in favour of the Chinese government and support from the United States, Russia, and eventually Britain would be sought for. Propaganda campaigns with slogans suggesting the recovery of Macau emerged in Macau and Zhongshan; agitators also appeared in Macau to rally for Chinese support of a takeover by the Nationalist army (Silva 1997, 246, 305-313). The Macau government tried to appease the Chinese authorities by making a number of promises to the Guangdong government. These included the surrender of alleged Chinese war criminals, communist supporters, and Japanese refugees hiding in Macau, as well as statements prohibiting the trade of opium and the relinquishment of Portuguese extra-territorial rights, respectively in 1946 and 1947. Nevertheless, the Macau governor ensured the safety of prominent Chinese elites who doubled as collaborators of the Portuguese administration. Governor Teixeira backed Fu Tak Iam, the first casino mogul of Macau and a CCP supporter, when the Chinese businessman claimed that he was anti-Japanese and had been working for the Portuguese colonial administration during the war. Fu was in reality involved with Macanese businessman Pedro Lobo in the purchase of Macau supplies from the Japanese (Fu 2018, 164-176).

Salazar's determination to preserve Portuguese presence in Macau and sustain the empire was seen in his plans to reinforce Macau's military shortly before the establishment of the PRC in 1949. Fearing the end of the empire would start with the collapse of Portuguese rule over the enclave, Portugal decided to strengthen the Macau garrison of the Portuguese armed forces. Initially, Salazar intended to send 12,000 troops. This would have been a sizeable force in Portuguese standards and a heavy logistic and financial burden for the Macau government. The CCP leadership, however, decided in February 1949 to sustain the colonial statuses of Hong Kong and Macau. As European colonies, these cities would serve as China's platform to the outside world in light of ongoing hostilities between the communist and capitalist blocs (Fernandes 2008, 232). In Macau's case, this meant permitting the formation of communist-backed and state-owned organizations like the Nam Kwong trading company on Portuguese territory. The Beijing-appointed head of the company, O Chen Ping was the brother of the first secretary of the Macau CCP branch. The company itself was set up to promote commercial relations between the Chinese mainland and

Macau, as well as to represent the official voice of the CCP in dealing with the Macau government. In return, the CCP publicly reiterated its commitment to maintain Macau's 'status quo'. This was demonstrated in an interview given by the chairman of the politico-military administration of Shiqi and Zhongshan to a leading Chinese-language newspaper in Macau, which ended with the publication of an article entitled "Macau's position shall be respected" (Fernandes 2006, 55). Although Chinese protests to end the Portuguese occupation of Macau continued to take place in Guangzhou and the Beijing radio broadcast condemned the Salazar's fascist regime, the CCP and Portugal seemed to have found, through unwritten terms, a certain balance of their interests on Macau (Pereira 2013, 52-53). This 'balance' nevertheless was precarious, built on a mixture of negotiation, compromise, and tension.

The Korean war provides another example of Macau as a city whose life-line depended on both the PRC's policies and the Portuguese government's insistence to keep the colony in place. The CCP's decision to back North Korea in late October 1950 resulted in the imposition of a trade embargo that banned the export of strategic goods such as rubber, steel, copper, tires, gasoline, lubricants, and transport equipment into China. For Macau's businessmen, this presented a lucrative opportunity to earn the trust of the new Beijing authorities by violating the embargo. For Portugal, the opportunity was too profitable to ignore. Portuguese authorities both in Macau and in Lisbon tried to establish an exemption allowing Macau to sell some of the prohibited commodities to its neighbours in order to help its dwindling economy and to secure the importation of rice and other foodstuffs into Macau. Portugal simultaneously received backlash from the western bloc and pressure from the Chinese government.⁴⁹ This resulted in a number of border skirmishes in 1952, which evolved into a four-month blockade and an intense armed conflict that saw casualties on both ends. Lengthy negotiations took place with the intermediation of Macau's pro-Beijing Chinese leaders, Ho Yin and Ma Man Kei for the CCP, and Pedro Lobo who represented the Portuguese government. The Portuguese eventually took the blame, paid an undisclosed sum for the casualties and

49 "The Ambassador in Portugal (MacVeagh) to the Secretary of State", Lisbon, November 13, 1951, 493.53E9/11-1351, Office of the Historian, Department of State, USA. (<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1951v07p2/d330>).

victims, and pledged to make adjustments in border management. This was certainly not the last time the Macau government would give in to Chinese demands. Throughout the decade, the administration continued to be inefficient and corrupt; policies from Lisbon did not help in transforming the reality that the Portuguese colonial government was hanging by a thread. Celebrations of the fourth centenary of Portuguese establishment in the enclave stopped short after an editorial in the *People's Daily* openly asserted Macau's status as a Chinese territory and stressed that the Chinese people had never forgotten their right to demand the return of Macau (Pereira 2013, 73).

Macau's ambiguous positioning between the PRC and Portugal placed the Lisbon authorities in constant dilemma. The Portuguese government did not formalize diplomatic relations with the PRC until 1979, not so much due to Salazar's anti-communist view, but more because he was aware of the vulnerabilities surrounding his imperial project in the wake of Portugal's commitment to the capitalist bloc in the Cold War. He feared that angering the United States of America would lead to criticism from the American government towards Portugal's continued policy of colonization, particularly in Africa (Martins 2010, 253). This question would be further complicated after the PRC participated as a leading power in the Bandung conference, which unprecedentedly facilitated Afro-Asian collaboration against colonialism. A new source of tension between Portugal and China emerged with the outbreak of anticolonial movements in Portuguese Africa throughout the sixties. China supported the African movement through what Fernandes referred to as 'indoctrination campaigns' of Mozambique's troops and Portuguese officers stationed in Macau. This made the Portuguese government wary of whether China would stir anti-colonial sentiments amongst the African soldiers stationed in Macau (Fernandes 1999, 997). Alerted by the possibility of anti-Portuguese movements around southern China, the Chief of Staff of the General Headquarters of Macau of the Portuguese Army informs his military counterpart in Portugal that two Angolan crew members of a Portuguese ship, claiming to have been mistreated by PIDE agents, had asked the Hong Kong government for political asylum while awaiting authorization to go to mainland China.⁵⁰ Eventually, nothing happened until December 1966, when the cultural revolution-inspired 12-3 incident shook the authority of

⁵⁰ "Mensagens sobre a situação político-militar em Macau", PT/TT/AOS/D-M/15/13/5, PC-781, cx. 552, capilha 5, Arquivo Salazar.

Portuguese rule in Macau with the largest anti-colonial and pro-communist movement the city has ever experienced.

The maintenance of Macau's status quo as a Portuguese territory from the thirties to the sixties was made possible by the circumstances set by Portugal's and China's wider national projects. This was demonstrated by the ways the Macau government struggled to keep its footing as it answered simultaneously to the metropole's imperial policies and the Chinese government's demands. By the 1950s, the Salazar administration sought to secure Portugal's presence across its colonies while the newly-established CCP government tried to use Portuguese Macau as a platform to facilitate its economic, political, and diplomatic aims on the PRC's path to consolidating its position at home and in the international stage. Macau, thus, became a pawn for Portugal and China to propel very dissimilar national projects and ambitions. Significantly, it was the purpose Macau served to both nations that allowed it to remain as a Portuguese colony with increasing Chinese influence at a time when anti-colonialism was prevalent in other Portuguese overseas territories.

For more than three decades, the Macau government remained loyal to the *Estado Novo*. In June 1966, the government presented Salazar with two honours—a portrait of the Portuguese dictator was unveiled in the Council of the Islands of Taipa and Coloane, where Salazar was further proclaimed an “honorary citizen of the islands”. The *Leal Senado* offered him the title ‘honorary citizen of the city of Macau’.⁵¹ The support Macau residents showed towards Salazar continued until his death in 1970. To mark his passing, Macanese and Chinese communities attended a requiem mass at St. Joseph's church and the Macau government ordered a three-day citywide mourning. While strict press censorship and propaganda helped in creating an image of absolute loyalty to the metropole, this study has shown that the Macau colonial government sustained its lifeline by adopting the imperial policies, albeit piecemeal, of the Salazar administration while appeasing the Chinese authorities. The formation of national institutions and enforcement of strict press censorship helped not only in emphasizing Macau as a part of Portugal, but also in allowing the Macau government to strengthen its local authority by eliminating criticism and voices of dissent. This, nonetheless, does not sufficiently explain why Macau remained

⁵¹ “Dr. Salazar honoured”, *South China Morning Post*, 30 June 1966, p. 24.

Portuguese under the *Estado Novo*. Salazar failed in enlivening his nationalist-imperialist vision, which gradually transpired into anti-colonial movements in Africa and India. In Macau, *Mocidade* and *União* were no more than platforms for show and the government resorted to propaganda and the assistance of Chinese elites in campaigning for the support of the Chinese population.

The general absence of anti-colonial sentiments in Macau from the 1930s to the 1960s could be better understood as a complex issue linked to the political and diplomatic considerations of the Macau government, the Chinese administration and Lisbon authorities. While the evidence deployed in this study has suggested that the colonial government and a portion of Macau's Macanese and Chinese residents supported the Salazar regime, it should be noted that the colonial government constructed this general image of unwavering support for the metropole by publicizing national celebrations and encouraging the participation of its dominant Chinese population. The other half of this picture was marked by recurring tension with the Chinese mainland and repeated appeasement of demands from the Chinese authorities, with the assistance of Chinese intermediaries who pledged allegiance to both the Macau colonial government and the Chinese government. After the establishment of the PRC 1949, it became more apparent that the future of Macau and the maintenance of its status quo relied not only on amicability between the People's Republic of China and the *Estado Novo*, but also on the purpose that Portuguese Macau served in the national strategies of the two nations. Salazar's vision of a glorious Portuguese empire crumbled elsewhere yet it found a precarious balance with the CCP's plans of manipulating Macau as a window to the outside world amidst the Cold War. Looking beyond the loud cries of 'Viva Salazar', it was ultimately the compromises made between the two governments that prolonged the colonization of Macau and shielded the city against the turbulent tides of anti-colonialism.

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