

Without a Country, There Is No Family: Patriotic Educational Policy in Portuguese Africa and Macao between 1960 and 1974

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ABSTRACT: During the 1960s, the Portuguese fought three colonial wars in Africa that indirectly impacted Macao. *Prima facie* evidence from textbooks and documents suggests that the Portuguese used education as a weapon in their fight against liberation movements. There is ample evidence showing clear nationalist and militarist themes in numerous textbooks. Nationalist values were also inculcated through the Mocidade Portuguesa (MP) and the Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (MPF). In addition, a cordial and close co-operation between Macao and Portuguese Africa was seen in the sharing of educational information. Macao was the anomaly in the Portuguese Empire with only a limited number of official schools being subject to the nationalist curriculum values. During archival research at the Archives of Macao, the author discovered several documents outlining an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to set up a university in Macao in 1949 with the provisional name being 'The University of South China'. The information is contained in an appendix.

KEYWORDS: Patriotic education; Portuguese Africa; Education in Macao; Counter-insurgency strategy; Estado Novo.

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) produced numerous studies on the social, political, educational, and economic conditions within the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. These studies painted an overwhelmingly bleak picture of colonial dependency and economic backwardness and neglect. This short article does not refute these studies but instead paints a far sinister picture of colonial education through an examination of Portuguese textbooks within the African colonies and by examining Macao archives in this same period.

In 1960, Marvin Harris wrote a scathing criticism of Portugal's colonial system in a 40-page report called, 'Portugal's African "Wards"'. In a three-page section entitled 'Education as Control', Harris argued that the main point of the education system in Portuguese Africa was to improve security by creating an ideologically inert and stagnant mass.¹ This was true before the African wars began.

This article essentially agrees with ideas posited by R. Murray Thomas which state that education is a 'symbiotic' relationship between politics and education, in which 'education systems...serve and reinforce prevailing ideologies', and the idea that political forces 'influence the content and procedures of education'.² The idea behind education during Portugal's African wars was not simply the creation of an ideologically inert mass — it was far more ambitious and much more insidious than that. Ideally, the aim was to teach a young boy like the one shown staring at soldiers in the picture entitled *O Desejo de Mamadu* to grow up and fight alongside the Portuguese against his own people.³ The Portuguese had some success in this endeavour.

As will be seen, the Portuguese had a huge advantage over their various African Liberation opponents because the education system was used

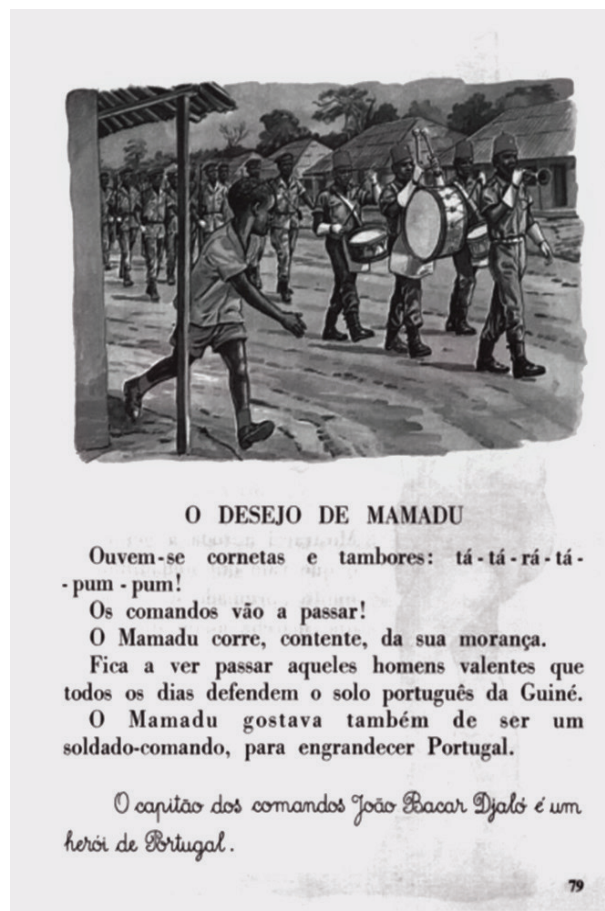


Fig. 1. *O Desejo de Mamadu*⁴

to inculcate Portuguese values and instil a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the imperial power. It did not matter whether the student was White or Black — the aim was still the same. The numerous colonial schools provided a vast captive audience for the inculcation of nationalist values as seen in an examination of the school curriculum itself.

After giving the reader a brief background survey of general educational conditions, the article then considers the role of the Mocidade Portuguesa (MP) and Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (MPF) in developing patriotic values. Then it looks at three textbooks hosted on the website O Portal das Memórias de África e do Oriente (memoria-africa.ua.pt), which contains about 30 school textbooks produced by the Portuguese for students

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in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau as well as for those in Portugal itself. These textbooks are: *Portugal no Mundo: Livro de Leituras para a 4.ª classe* (Mozambique);⁵ *O Livro do Terceiro Ano: Ensino Primário Rural* (Angola);⁶ *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura: 1.ª Classe* (Portuguese Guinea);⁷ *Mensagem* — an education periodical produced by the Angolan Education Department — is of relevance to the discussion, although it is not contained at the website O Portal das Memórias de África e do Oriente.

The final section on Macao will examine the digitised archives from the enclave with a focus on the co-operation between Macao and Portuguese Africa, the creation of colonial primary teacher training schools and the limited politicisation of education during the 1960s.

It is not this author's intention to completely trash these textbooks and the numerous educational reforms initiated by Portugal. Several reforms were sensible and long overdue. Some of the textbook content is clearly salvageable and the authors of these books were undoubtedly sincere in their belief that Portugal was a force for good. Nor does this writer doubt the sincerity of the poems and poets quoted in this short study. Instead, the intent is to outline the nationalist and militaristic thinking contained in these books and the curriculum in a clear and accurate fashion and to advance a view that colonial education in Portuguese Africa between 1960 and 1974 quite possibly played an important role in Portuguese counter-insurgency strategy.

1. PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES THE BACKGROUND

In 1958, the ACOA produced a ten-page pamphlet entitled 'The Status of Portugal's African Territories'.⁸ A small section was devoted to educational statistics. The educational system was divided into two — one part reserved for Whites

and the other reserved for '*indígenas*' Africans, an innocuous sounding term when translated to mean 'indigenous', but one which had acute colonial overtones since the term was used as a synonym to mean, 'uncivilised'.⁹ White education was controlled by the Portuguese State and '*indígenas*' education was left to charity and organised by charitable groups, which invariably meant the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰ The two-tier system was unfair since the resources went to the White schools and left little if any chance of social advancement by Africans through educational means.¹¹ School inspection rubrics from Angola made racial distinctions.¹²

Various American activist groups and scholars visited the Portuguese territories in the 1960s and produced at least two reports on education conditions — although the primary focus was usually on the lack of political freedom, economic development, and colonial exploitation. In 1960, Marvin Harris produced an unflattering and damning report about conditions in the overseas Portuguese territories. His 40-page report centred around political, economic and social conditions.¹³ A three-page section was devoted to education. It starts by quoting at length a 1941 Portuguese law outlining the purpose of education, the primary function of which was to provide a mass of relatively uneducated workers. There were moral and religious elements.¹⁴ Numbers of Black Africans in colonial schools got progressively fewer at higher levels and according to the ACOA only five Black Africans were enrolled at Mozambique Liceu, as compared to 800 Whites.¹⁵ No Black African had ever completed the full seven years of education in Mozambique's secondary education system. Whites invariably had the best resources, the best teachers and were the only community who could afford secondary school fees which amounted to one month's wages for lower secondary levels and two months' wages at upper secondary levels.¹⁶

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Prior to major reforms passed in 1964, the Portuguese State had been subsidising Catholic education and missionary schools. Volume 480 of the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* gives a table of figures showing state subsidies for the period 1940–1962. Over a 22-year period, Angola and Mozambique had the largest amounts spent, with Angola and Mozambique receiving 402.68m and 626m escudos respectively.¹⁷ The benefits of a close linkage between the church and State in the educational sphere were clearly spelt out in the same *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* report which noted that hundreds of thousands of children had ‘*um nível de civilização e cultura mais elevado*’, which means, ‘reached a higher level of civilisation and culture’, following their exposure to Catholic teaching.¹⁸

Despite more money allocated to education after 1961, there seems to have been little improvement for the average African student. The biggest educational changes took place when Decree-Law No. 45908 was signed into law in September 1964. This made primary education compulsory for all African students between the ages of 6 and 12, removed the ‘*indígena*’ distinction and deliberately weakened Catholic control over education in a clear move to secularise the system.¹⁹ The Church in Mozambique complained that the reform weakened its position and damaged national unity.²⁰

Directly linked to the need for compulsory primary education was the creation of Colonial Primary Teacher Training Schools (*Escolas do Magistério Primário no Ultramar*) which were set up following the approval of Decree-Law No. 45908 on 10 September 1964. Prior to 1964, many teachers were untrained as seen by various studies of Macao and so the reform was obviously designed to bridge this deficiency.²¹

With the winds of change blowing across Africa and with Portugal ‘not getting the drift of them’, the Salazar Government found itself increasingly marginalised in a hostile United Nations.²² In October 1968, the UN General Assembly published a report

covering the independence of colonial countries and peoples. Chapter VIII dealt with the Portuguese Overseas Territories.²³ The sparse United Nations report paints a bleak picture of underachievement and under-investment. The only students who could realistically reach secondary standard were Portuguese so that one could say they had relatively more resources devoted to their education than the Native Africans.²⁴ Both Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau suffered low teacher–student ratios and chronic under-investment in education according to the 1968 United Nations report.²⁵

A UNESCO sponsored report of the Portuguese colonial education system was equally damning.²⁶ The report was long on statistics with precious little space devoted to a detailed textual analysis of the textbooks used in Portugal’s African colonies. What little there was dealt with surface details — such as book covers of primary textbooks for Angolan students and historical topics from a purely Portuguese perspective.²⁷ The relevant table for this article is displayed in table 1:²⁸

Table 1

**State of education in the Portuguese colonies
(1969/1970)
Numbers of students**

Students	Guinea-Bissau	Angola	Mozambique
Primary	26,401	384,884	496,381
Secondary Preparatory	1,254	25,137	7,307
Secondary Academic	394	10,779	10,524
Secondary Technical	415	14,660	n/a
Higher Education	n/a	1,757	1,145
Teacher Training	n/a	1,402	1,124

Source: Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: the end of an era: The effects of Portuguese colonialism on education, science, culture and information* (Paris: The Unesco Press, 1974), 81.

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Teacher–student ratios derived from the UNESCO report are shown in table 2:

Table 2
State of education in the Portuguese colonies
(1969/1970)
Teacher–Student ratios

Schools	Guinea-Bissau	Angola	Mozambique
Primary	1:57	1:44	1:75
Secondary Preparatory	1:24	1:20	1:16
Secondary Academic	1:17	1:11	1:15
Secondary Technical	1:8	1:12	n/a
Higher Education	n/a	1:8	1:5
Teacher Training	n/a	1:11	1:9

Source: Table created by author and data derived from Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa*, 81.

The Portuguese were certainly aware of the low teacher–student ratios and one of the ways they tried to deal with this problem was by using radio communications to deliver lessons. These radio lessons were broadcast by Voz de Luanda in collaboration with the Rádio Clube do Huambo on a daily basis at 5:30 pm.²⁹ Examples of these lessons can be found in several issues of *Mensagem*, a monthly educational periodical produced by the Angolan Education Department.³⁰

If Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau had been mandates or trusteeships granted to Portugal by the League of Nations or the United Nations, then the education expansion could be praised as progressive. However, Portugal's education policy was not geared towards the preparation for independence but something precisely the opposite. The captive audiences in the African classrooms allowed the Portuguese to conduct a vast social experiment designed to inculcate love of the

Fatherland. The limited progressive reforms had an immoral downside to them, to paraphrase Joaquim Chissano, a FRELIMO fighter and future President of Mozambique.³¹ He was referring to the nefarious purposes behind the Cabora Dam HEP Project in Mozambique, but his justified suspicions about the Dam project also applied to national youth organisations and educational policy.

2. MOCIDADE PORTUGUESA FEMININA (MPF) AND MOCIDADE PORTUGUESA (MP)

2.1 LEGAL FOUNDATIONS

The 1961 edition of Mozambique *Trimestral* has a page describing Mocidade Portuguesa activities. The article is entitled 'Curso "Honório Barreto" da Mocidade Portuguesa' and is accompanied by Fig. 2.

The annual course took place in January. Over 80 students attended and they were housed in 26 tents. The camp boasted modern cooking and sanitation. The students were from various provinces such as Zambezia, Manicalá, and Sofala. Numerous classes were held. Activities which had a militaristic or ideological flavour are shown in table 3:³²

Table 3

Activities inside the 'Curso "Honório Barreto"'

Formação Portuguesa	Portuguese Formation
Moral e Educação Cívica	Moral and Civic Education
Orientação de Comando	Command Orientation
Orgânica da Mocidade Portuguesa	Mocidade Portuguesa Organisation

If one looks at the photo in the *Trimestral* magazine, it appears that not all the participants are White colonial settlers, particularly the ones marching in the left side of the picture.

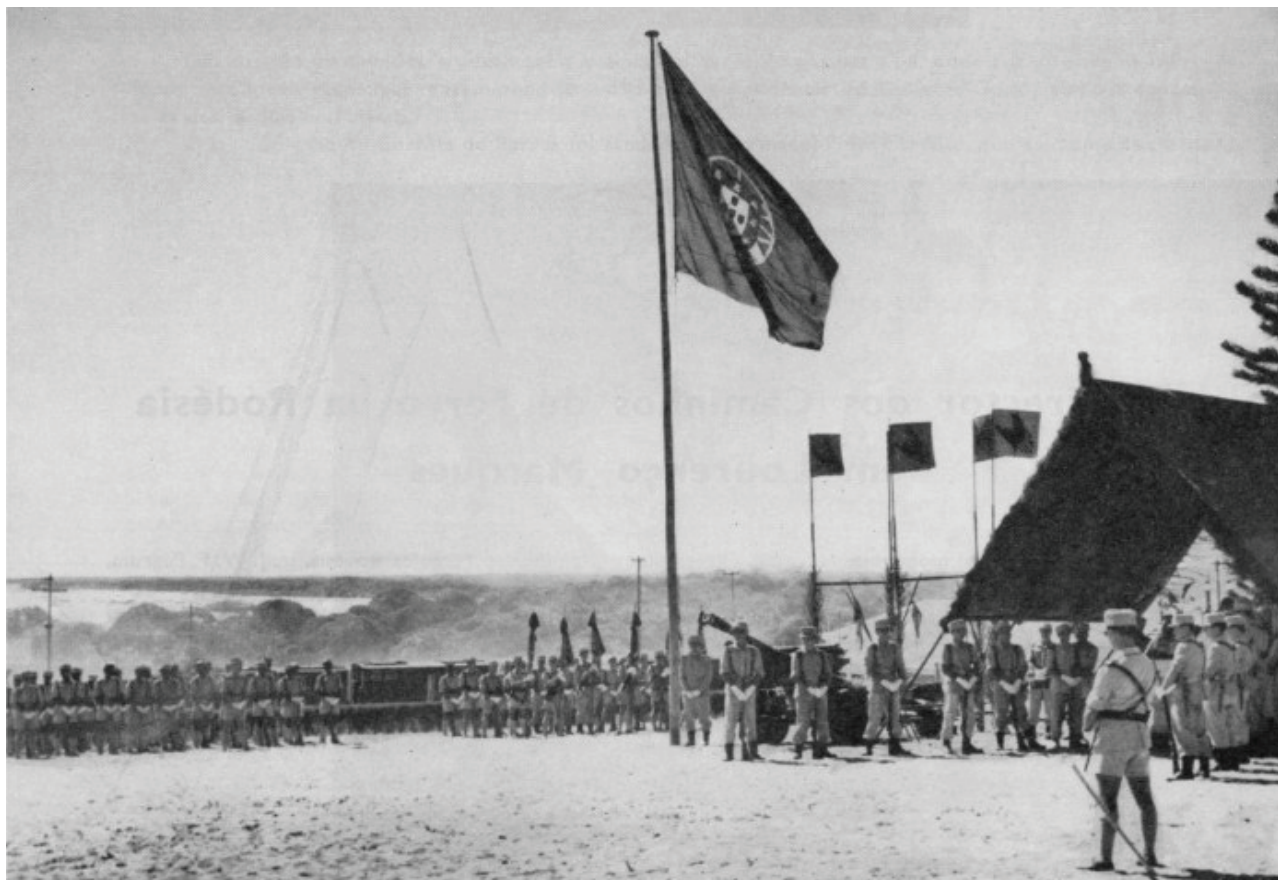


Fig. 2: A view of the camp. Source: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Moçambique, ed., *Moçambique: Documentário Trimestral*, n.º 105 (Lourenço Marques: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Moçambique, 1961), 78. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/MDT/MDT-N105&p=79>

The MP was created and regulated following the passing of three laws: Decree-Law No. 26611 (19 May 1936), Law No. 1941 (11 Apr. 1936) and Law No. 27301 (4 Dec. 1936). The overtly nationalist and militaristic objectives were clearly stated in numerous articles of Law No. 27301. The MP encouraged devotion to Fatherland...in the cult of military duty (Article 1), was designed for male students aged 7–14 in both public and private schools (Article 5), was allowed to collaborate with the Portuguese Legion (*Legião Portuguesa*, LP) (Article 9) and was divided into various regimental sizes.³³ It must be emphasised here that the MP was not a Whites-only organisation. Photos (Fig. 3 and 4) from an MP parade in Guinea-Bissau illustrate this.³⁴



Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 3: Parade of Mocidade Portuguesa. Source: <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07936.006.020>

Fig. 4: Parade of Mocidade Portuguesa (Official Visit of Governor Sarmento Rodrigues in Guinea), c. May 1945. Source: <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07936.006.006>

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The photos were taken in approximately 1945. It is interesting to note that most of the children were Black Africans and the photo on the left has eight such individuals. Only one young boy was White. All of these colonial inhabitants — Black and White — were taught loyalty and duty to country.

With regard to the MPF in Macao and the other overseas territories, the particular law authorising its formation was Decree-Law No. 43271 published in the *Diário do Governo* on 26 October 1960. The 11-article law established overseas branches of the MPF.³⁵ The preamble of Decree-Law No. 43271 stated its clear purpose. As ever, an English translation will follow the Portuguese:

*Espera-se também que, dentro de cada província, a Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina contribua eficientemente para a mobilização da juventude em ordem aos trabalhos do serviço social e à intensificação das tarefas de aculturação.*³⁶

[Translation by author: *It is also expected that, within each province, the Portuguese Female Youth (MPF) will contribute efficiently to the mobilisation of youth in order to work in social work and to intensify the tasks of acculturation.*]

The MPF was designed for girls aged 4–14. They were taught feminine qualities, feminine activities and the underlying idea was that girls had to support the Estado Novo.³⁷ According to Irene Pimentel, the MPF was involved in curriculum development.³⁸

Over the course of their existence, the MP and MPF were reformed several times. However, the militaristic nature of the MP was still retained for a considerable period of time. This can be seen

in Ordinance No. 17655 which was passed on 1 April 1960:

Destinando-se a verba do subsídio à Mocidade Portuguesa estabelecido pelo artigo 41.º da Portaria n.º 16294, de 16 de Maio de 1957, a suportar encargos com a realização dos cursos especiais de preparação militar.

[Translation by author: *The amount of the subsidy for the MP...is intended to bear the costs of carrying out special military preparation courses.*]³⁹

The MP also had links with the Portuguese Legion which was a quasi-para-military organisation. The close links between the two can be seen in Decree-Law No. 44062 which was signed into law on 28 November 1961. This decree-law reiterated the Portuguese Legion's anti-communist credentials, extended the activities of the Portuguese Legion to the African colonies and Macao and outlined collaboration between the Portuguese Legion and the MP:

*Manter a colaboração com a Mocidade Portuguesa no que interesse à educação da juventude e à manutenção da luta pelas tradições e pelos valores morais e patrimoniais da Nação, pela integridade da Pátria e pela dignificação da família.*⁴⁰

[Translation by author: *To maintain collaboration with the MP in what concerns the education of youth and the maintenance of the struggle for the traditions and moral and patrimonial values of the Nation, for the integrity of the Fatherland and for the dignity of the family.*]

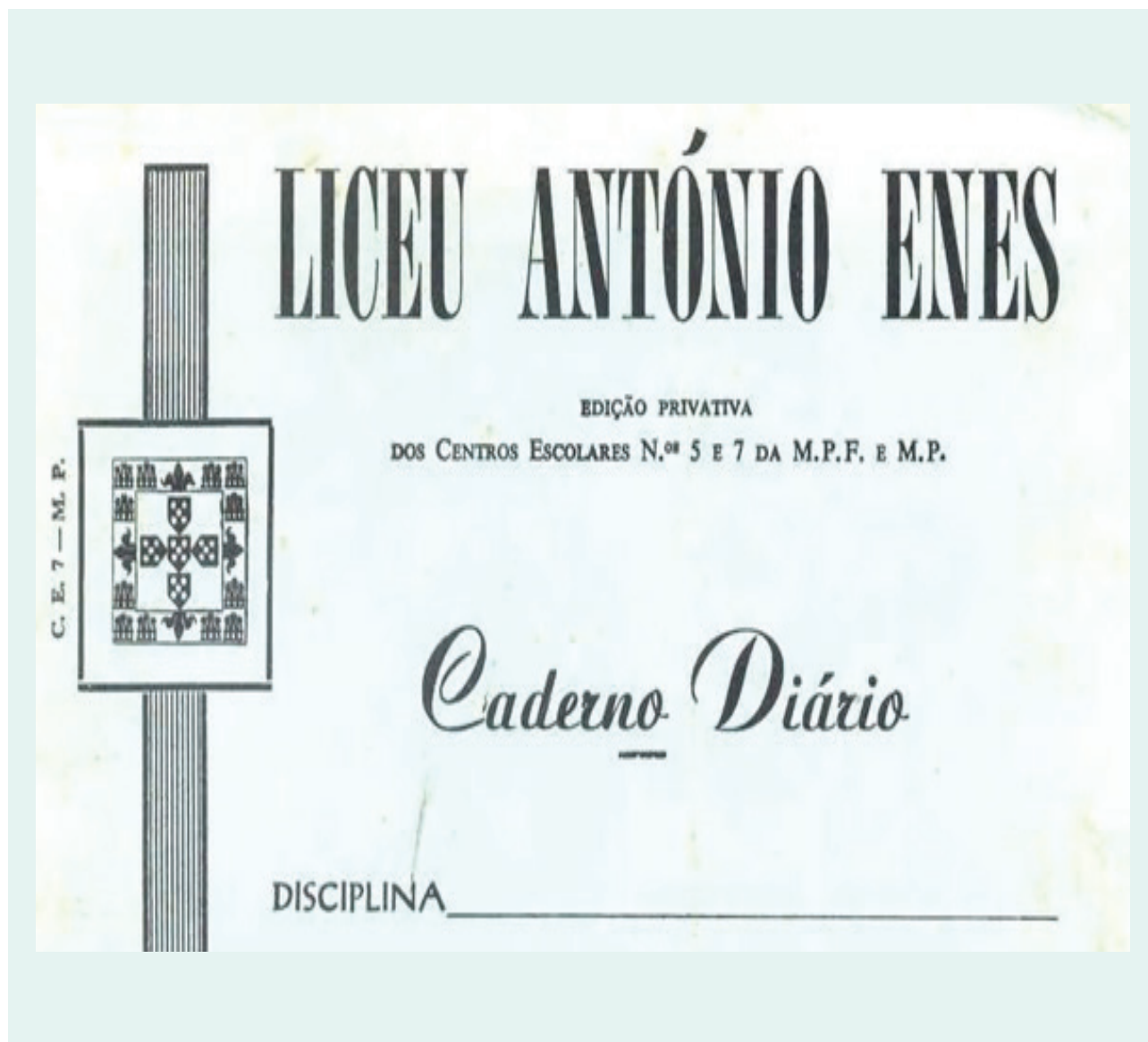


Fig. 5: School notebook showing MP and MPF branch numbers at Liceu António Enes, Lourenço Marques. <http://www.geocities.ws/liceuantonioenes/bau1.html>

The close links between the MP and MPF on the one hand and the education system in the other can also be seen in figure 5 of a school notebook. The school in question is Liceu António Enes which was based in Lourenço Marques.

Centre No. 5 of the MPF and Centre No. 7 of the MP were based at this school.⁴¹

2.2 ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES OF MPF AND MP

The administration of MP and MPF can be illustrated using numerous salary tables. The bigger the colony, the bigger the organisation. In addition, colonies dealing with liberation movements had an extensive MP network. Those at peace seemed to have smaller networks.

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Table 4
Administrative Structures of MPF and MP
(salary in escudos)

Mocidade Portuguesa Masculina		Portuguese Youth (MP)	
Comissariado:		Commissariat:	
Comissário provincial-adjunto (a)	4000\$00	Deputy Provincial Commissioner (a)	4000\$00
Comissário provincial-adjunto	3000\$00	Deputy Provincial Commissioner	3000\$00
Comandante provincial da Milícia	2500\$00	Provincial Commander of the Militia	2500\$00
Assistente provincial	2500\$00	Provincial assistant	2500\$00
Chefes de serviços	2000\$00	Service heads	2000\$00
Adjunto do Comando Provincial da Milícia	1500\$00	Deputy of the Provincial Command of the Militia	1500\$00
Adjuntos dos chefes de serviços	1500\$00	Deputy heads of services	1500\$00
Delegações regionais:		Regional delegations:	
Delegados regionais de 1.ª classe	2000\$00	First class regional delegates	2000\$00
Delegados regionais de 2.ª classe	1800\$00	Second class regional delegates	1800\$00
Subdelegados regionais de 1.ª classe	1600\$00	First class regional sub-delegates	1600\$00
Subdelegados regionais de 2.ª classe	1400\$00	Second class regional sub-delegates	1400\$00
Assistentes regionais	1200\$00	Regional assistants	1200\$00
Chefes de serviços	1200\$00	Heads of service	1200\$00
Directores-instrutores dos centros extra-escolares, especiais e de milícia	750\$00	Director-instructors of extra-curricular, special and militia centres	750\$00
Instrutores do quadro geral e dos centros de milícia	750\$00	Instructors of the general staff and militia centres	750\$00

Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina		Portuguese Female Youth (MPF)	
Comissariado:		Commissariat:	
Comissária provincial-adjunta (b)	4000\$00	Deputy Provincial Commissioner (b)	4000\$00
Assistente provincial	2500\$00	Provincial assistant	2500\$00
Chefes de serviços	2000\$00	Service heads	2000\$00
Adjuntas dos chefes de serviços	1500\$00	Deputy heads of services	1500\$00
Delegações regionais:		Regional delegations:	
Delegadas regionais de 1.ª classe	2000\$00	First class regional delegates	2000\$00
Delegadas regionais de 2.ª classe	1800\$00	Second class regional delegates	1800\$00
Subdelegadas regionais de 1.ª classe	1600\$00	First class regional sub-delegates	1600\$00
Subdelegadas regionais de 2.ª classe	1400\$00	Second class regional sub-delegates	1400\$00
Orientadoras dos centros primários	1200\$00	Supervisor from primary centres	1200\$00
Assistentes regionais	1200\$00	Regional assistants	1200\$00
Directoras regionais de serviços	1200\$00	Regional service directors	1200\$00
Directoras de centros especializados	750\$00	Directors of specialised centres	750\$00
Educadoras-instrutoras	700\$00	Educators-instructors	700\$00

(a) Substituto legal do comissário provincial.	(a) Legal substitute of provincial commissioner.
(b) Substituta legal da comissária provincial.	(b) Legal substitute of provincial commissioner.

Source: *Diário do Governo*, n.º 253/1968, Série I de 1968-10-26, 1591; English translation by author.

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Table 4 shows the structure in Angola for the year 1968:⁴²

MP and MPF also had a large administrative support staff.⁴³ The Angola MP structures depicted in the table clearly suggest a military linkage with the education system due to the presence of the following types of officials:

- *Comandante provincial da Milícia;*
- *Adjunto do Comando Provincial da Milícia;*
- *Quarteleiros dos centros de milícia;*
- *Directores-instrutores dos centros extra-escolares, especiais e de milícia;*
- *Instrutores do quadro geral e dos centros de milícia.*

The English translation is as follows:

- Provincial commander of the Militia;
- Deputy of the Provincial Commander of the Militia;
- Quartermasters of militia centres;
- Director-instructors of extra-curricular, special and militia centres;
- Instructors of the general staff and militia centres.

Some of these officials, notably 'director-instructors of extra-curricular, special and militia

centres', worked at schools and conducted extra-curricular activities with a military flavour.

Another indication of the close linkage between the military, education departments and the MP can be seen in the recommended appointment of Major Alípio Emílio Tomé Falcão as the Commissioner of the MP in Guinea-Bissau following the withdrawal of Dr. René Rodrigues da Silva from the position on health grounds. Alípio Falcão was recommended for the position of Commissioner by General António de Spínola. Prior to his appointment in early 1971, Falcão's position in the Guinea-Bissau Education Department was that of Provincial Office of Education Department Head (*Chefe de Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Educação*).⁴⁴

MP and MPF were large and ambitious organisations. One can easily see how the MP activities such as the '*Cursos "Honório Barreto"*', the linkage with the paramilitary Portuguese Legion, the ideological aims and the bureaucratic structures could boost nationalism and certainly at a purely theoretical level act as a direct feeder system into the Portuguese Army. Two legislations — Decree-Law No. 47311⁴⁵ and Decree-Law No. 486/71⁴⁶ — eventually weakened the scope of MP and MPF. However, before they were enacted, one could say that MP was a potentially efficient recruiting sergeant into the Portuguese Army for a considerable period of time as the table 5 illustrates:

Table 5

	War begins	Time between war commencement and Decree-Law No. 47311, 12 Nov. 1966	Time between war commencement and Decree-Law No. 486/71, 8 Nov. 1971
Angola	4 Feb. 1961	5 years 9 months	10 years 9 months
Mozambique	25 Sept. 1964	2 years 2 months	7 years 2 months
Guinea-Bissau	Jan. 1963	3 years 10 months	8 years 10 months

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In Angola's case, MP was almost a pure and unfettered military recruiting system from the outset of war on 4 February 1961, to 11 November 1966. Even though the system was weakened by Decree-Law No. 47311, for example by making the *milícia* optional rather than compulsory (Article 49.2)⁴⁷, Angola still partially benefited from the recruiting system for another five years, until, that is, Decree-Law No. 486/71 made MP and MPF voluntary associations (Article 1) and limited their activities to the promotion of cultural and sporting activities (Article 4).⁴⁸ Even this law did not fully weaken the MP in the school system because it allowed the MP to 'maintain nuclei of activities near educational establishments'.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Decree-Law No. 486/71 also stated:

*Art. 17.º — 1. — A Mocidade Portuguesa manterá uma milícia destinada à educação paramilitar de modo a facilitar o ingresso nas forças armadas.*⁵⁰

In English this means, the Portuguese Youth (MP) will maintain a militia dedicated to paramilitary education to facilitate entry into the armed forces.

Article 17.1 was subsequently amended to: '... *de modo a facilitar aos filiados o ingresso nas forças armadas*'⁵¹, which means, 'to facilitate membership in the armed forces'.

The author is not familiar with the nuances of Portuguese, but in English, 'facilitating entry' and 'facilitating membership' probably amount to the same thing in purely practical terms.

2.3 MPF AND MP IN MACAO

Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola were war zones in the mid-1960s and so it could be expected that the MP and the MPF could be used to help the Portuguese war effort. But what about a non-war zone such as Macao?

Evidence for MP activities in Macao can be traced back to, as early as, 18 January 1937, when the process to set up a branch of the MP at the Liceu Nacional D. Henrique commenced. The school was chosen because it was the best school in Macao and offered excellent prospects to develop a local MP network in the enclave. In addition, the school had a similar organisation set up by a former teacher which was called, 'Grupo dos Escoteiros de Nun'Álvares'. 'By January 1940 it seems that the MP was fully operational at the Liceu Nacional D. Henrique'.⁵²

The MP also appears in documents dated 18 December 1946 in correspondence regarding the use of school facilities⁵³ and subsequently in March 1947 regarding a gymnastics competition.⁵⁴ The signatory of both letters was António Telles de Vasconcellos, the Colonial Commissioner (*Comissário Colonial*) of the MP. He seems to have been a qualified teacher judging by his appearance in a list of Macao teachers compiled by the Macao Education Department with his school named '*de Académico*'.⁵⁵ The MP also had a representative on the Public Education Commission (*Conselho de Instrução Pública*) as seen in a 1950 list of members. (The headmaster (*Reitor*) of the Liceu Nacional D. Henrique was also a member of this commission).⁵⁶

In Macao, the MPF took part in extra-curricular activities as shown in a report from Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco dated May 1970. These included flower arranging, '*cursos de formação feminina*' (female training courses), cinema education, friendly tennis tournaments, regional dances, numerous Christian festivals, religious vigils and construction of Nativity scenes. The MP took part in numerous athletics meetings and bush cutting.⁵⁷ In addition, MP and MPF were possibly involved in the selection and sponsorship of students for cultural exchanges with Metropolitan Portugal. The event in question was the '*Intercâmbio Cultural*' (cultural exchange)

as seen in correspondence dated 29 January 1970 and 22 May 1971.⁵⁸

In her article on the MPF, Irene Pimentel pointed out that the MPF ceased activities in 1971 — which may well have been the case in Metropolitan Portugal — but there is some evidence that the MPF was involved in Macanese life almost to the dying day of the Estado Novo. In 1973, the MPF was involved in a major athletics tournament.⁵⁹ Evidence of further activity is also seen in a letter from the MPF dated 23 April 1974 to the Macao Education Department expressing thanks for its support for the Fifth Athletics Tournament.⁶⁰ To move a little beyond the Estado Novo, the Macao branches of MPF and MP were slowly dismantled from June to September 1974 in a process involving asset classification, asset divestments and the payment of staff.⁶¹

Irene Pimentel also argued that the MPF played a role in curriculum planning, and this was true in Macao. At least two MPF staff at some point worked at the *Escola do Magistério Primário* (Primary Teachers Training School), according to records from the late 1960s. For instance, Margarida Maria Mendes de Fraça Ferreira Rodrigues Ribeiro, the '*comissária adjunta da Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*' (deputy commissioner of MPF), was mentioned in correspondence during the period August–September 1966.⁶² She was on the staff list of the *Escola do Magistério Primário* during the academic year 1968/1969, her teaching subjects being pre-primary.⁶³ Furthermore, the letter from the MPF regarding the Fifth Athletics Tournament which was mentioned in the previous paragraph was signed by Norma Tavares Borges, whose position in the Macao MPF was deputy provincial commissioner.⁶⁴ Norma Tavares Borges had been on the teaching staff list at the *Escola do Magistério Primário*, her subjects being Special Didactics (*Didáctica Especial*), Pedagogical Practice (*Prática Pedagógica*) and School Legislation (*Legislação*

Escolar).⁶⁵ At least one Macao MPF official seems to have held numerous concurrent positions in government and in an educational capacity. Fernanda da Mota Salvador was the '*comissária provincial da Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*' (provincial commissioner of MPF) as noted in correspondence from November 1967 to February 1973.⁶⁶ According to the timetable for the Liceu Nacional for the academic year 1969/1970, she was listed as a Maths teacher and '*sub-directora da escola*' (deputy school headmaster).⁶⁷ She was appointed as a '*chefe de serviços, substituta*' (substitute head of service) in the Macao Education Department in mid-1971.⁶⁸ In 1972, she was still the '*vice-reitora*' (deputy headmaster) of the Liceu Nacional, as seen in correspondence for approved school textbooks for the academic year 1972/1973.⁶⁹ With these concurrent positions it was thus theoretically possible for Fernanda da Mota Salvador to earn more money than the Governor of Macao.⁷⁰

3. A BRIEF NOTE ON THE SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

Up to this point, this article has given a broad background regarding the educational reforms carried out by Portugal, the almost inevitable negative reaction to the reforms by the UN and brief description of MP and MPF. The next part of the article will examine the textbooks used in Portuguese colonial classrooms.

Portugal's three colonial wars began with Angola in February 1961, followed by Guinea-Bissau in January 1963, and Mozambique in September 1964. All the textbooks examined were produced during wartime.

Portugal followed a '4 + 2 + 3 + 2' pattern of schooling with 4 years devoted to primary, and the remaining 7 years devoted to secondary.⁷¹ Education was divided into '*ciclos*'. Primary 1–4 comprised the first '*ciclo*'; secondary 1–5 comprised the second '*ciclo*'; secondary 6–7 comprised the third '*ciclo*'. Students in Secondary 7 were known as '*finalistas*' (graduates).

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The Angola textbook examined in this study was produced before Decree-Law No. 45908 was signed in September 1964. It will be recalled that this decree-law secularised the overseas education system and theoretically weakened the Catholic church. The Mozambique textbook was produced in 1966 and the Guinea-Bissau textbook was produced in 1972.

Two of the books — *Ensino Primário Rural* and *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura* were clearly designed for young African learners and, as will be seen, this was reflected in the relatively simple level of Portuguese which in the Guinea-Bissau textbook never really went beyond the simple present and present continuous tenses. *Portugal no Mundo* was obviously designed for the colonial elite.

3.1 ANGOLA

Angola: *O Livro do Terceiro Ano: Ensino Primário Rural* ('Third Year Textbook: Rural Primary Education')

The textbook *O Livro do Terceiro Ano: Ensino Primário Rural*⁷² is 98 pages long. There is a very prominent Christian element, and the textbook has stories of pictures of Christmas, a section about attending church on Sunday, a story about Jesus visiting a paralysed man and a section devoted to prayer.⁷³ There are sections on necessary food,⁷⁴ healthy living and a poem portraying the qualities of a good student.⁷⁵ The textbook is quite well illustrated.⁷⁶



Fig. 6: A selection of textbook illustrations from Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano: Ensino Primário Rural* (Luanda: Lello Edições, 1963).

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It is interesting that the picture of the children marching happily in the field has two White children leading four Black African children. On page 52 is the following poem with a simple nationalist theme:⁷⁷

<u>O SOLDADINHO</u>	<u>THE LITTLE SOLDIER</u>
Alto! Firme! Descansar!	Stop! Firm! At ease!
Sou pequeno e sei marchar,	I'm small and I know how to march,
sou valente e sou leal.	I'm brave and loyal.
E, depois, quando crescer,	And, after that, when I grow up,
hei-de sempre defender	I shall always defend
o nome de Portugal.	The name of Portugal

The children's names are all European and/or Judeo-Christian such as Josefa, Abel and Manuel.

The most striking part of the textbook to any educationalist is the section called '*Deus, Pátria, Família*' ('God, Fatherland, Family'), the picture of which is contained in the bottom right of the four pictures above. In words which would give most modern educationalists several pulmonary embolisms, the textbook boldly and confidently states to any child willing to listen (Fig. 7):

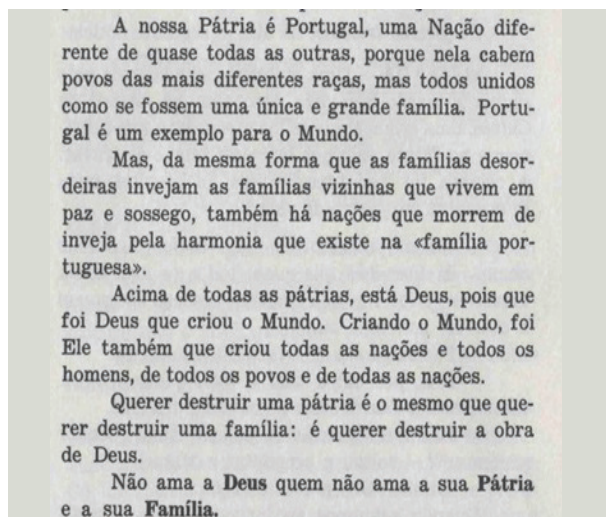


Fig. 7: '*Deus, Pátria, Família*', in Governo Geral de Angola: *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 1973.

When paraphrased, this translates as:

*Portugal is a family of different races all united into one large family. Portugal is the finest example of this. The races live in peace and harmony. Above the nations and the peoples is God, creator of the world and all the nations. Destroying your country is the same as destroying your family: and is the same as destroying the work of God. If you don't love God, then you don't love your Fatherland or your family.*⁷⁸

And just in case students really did not get it, superimposed over a huge Portuguese flag on page 87 is the following poem:⁷⁹

<u>PORTUGAL</u>	<u>PORTUGAL</u>
Minha Pátria é muita linda,	My Fatherland is very beautiful,
tem encantos sem igual.	Has unique charms.
O céu não cobriu ainda	Even the sky is not able to cover
terra como Portugal.	A land like Portugal.
Deus criou-a deste jeito	God created it this way
e sorriu de emoção!	And smiled with emotion!
De aço lhe fez o peito,	He made its chest with steel,
de veludo o coração.	And its heart of velvet.
Para que eu a mereça,	To make myself deserve it,
Cumpro sempre o meu dever...	I will always do my duty...
E fiz solene promessa	And I made a solemn promise
de servi-la até morrer!	To serve it until I die!

With words like these, there is no need to read between the lines. It is boldly, confidently, shamelessly supportive of the three pillars of the colonial order, especially the Roman Catholic church. The poem just quoted had a militaristic, patriotic element. European names were preferable to African ones — which in the textbook just quoted are completely non-existent.

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3.2 MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique: *Portugal no Mundo: Livro de Leituras para a 4.ª classe* ('Portugal in the World: Reading Book for Class 4')

INTRODUCTION

Of the three textbooks examined in this article, *Portugal no Mundo* is the most strident and forthright in support of the Estado Novo and all things Portuguese.⁸⁰ At 174 pages, it is one of the longer textbooks featured on the website O Portal das Memórias de África e do Oriente. The target is students aged 8–10 — since the Portuguese education system allowed grade repetition, some of the students could have been much older.⁸¹ The book was aimed at the Portuguese colonial elite since this was the only group who continued from beyond primary 3 to secondary education with any degree of consistency. As the name suggests, the textbook is a hybrid of several things. There are lessons on geography, religion, history, and literature.

The textbook opens and ends on a nationalistic note. Page 1 has several paragraphs written by Salazar, the Portuguese prime minister. Entitled '*Amemos a nossa Pátria*' (Love our Fatherland), Salazar envisions a strong and progressive Portugal with a moral mission. Portuguese youth had an important role to play in this mission. Portugal's long history has been 'a brilliant rosary of glory, a brilliant rosary of greatness'.⁸² Even the closing words in the textbook do not escape the nationalist brush:

*A TUA PÁTRIA É A MAIS LINDA DE TODAS AS PÁTRIAS!
MERECE TODOS OS TEUS SACRIFÍCIOS.*⁸³

In English, this can be translated as:

*YOUR FATHERLAND IS THE MOST BEAUTIFUL OF ALL THE FATHERLANDS!
IT DESERVES ALL YOUR SACRIFICES.*

Between the beginning and the end is a story of heroism, bravery, genius and fidelity, and the underlying idea is Portugal's greatness.

Nationalism and Portuguese exceptionalism underpin many of the lessons contained in the textbook. However, there are two sections that really stand out. These are '*Amor da Pátria*' (Love of Fatherland),⁸⁴ and '*Elogio das Virtudes Militares*' (Eulogy of Military Virtues).⁸⁵

'*Amor da Pátria*' is noteworthy because Portugal is symbolised by a woman who bears a resemblance to Mary, the mother of Christ. She has a cross and radiant light seems to shine from her and all around. Black and White children are portrayed as equals and are dressed identically. The young African is completely Europeanised with no evidence of cultural identity other than skin colour. The picture and its English translation are shown below with key ideas underlined.

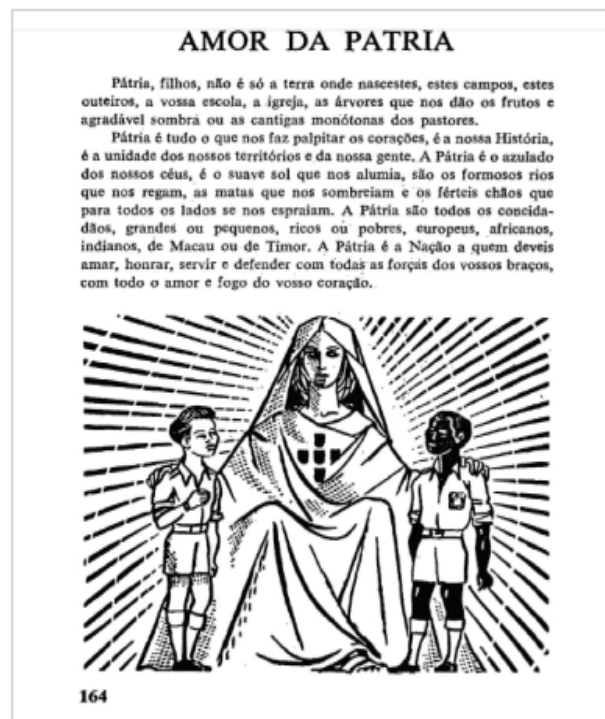


Fig. 8: 'Amor da Pátria,' in Eduardo Andrade Pires and América Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo: Livro de Leituras para a 4.ª Classe* (Lourenço Marques: Livraria Casa Spanos etc., 1966), 164. <http://memoria-afrika.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/Geral/L-00000040&p=177>

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Fatherland, children, it is not only the land where you were born, these fields, these hills, your school, the church, the trees that give us fruit and the pleasant shade or the monotone songs of the shepherds.

Fatherland is everything that makes our hearts beat, and is our History, and the unity of our territories and our people. Fatherland is the skirting of our skies, and the soft sun that illuminates us; it is the beautiful rivers that water us, the forests that shade us and the fertile ground that spreads on all sides. The Fatherland includes all citizens, big or small, rich or poor, Europeans, Africans, Indians, Macanese and Timorese. The Fatherland is the Nation whom you must love, honour, serve and defend with all your strength, with all the strength and fire of your heart.

The nationalist theme continues in the next page.



Fig. 9: 'Amor da Pátria,' In Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*, 165. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/Geral/L-00000040&p=178>

It is essential to have inside and outside the borders, wherever Portuguese earn their living, whether European or African, whether from Goa, Macao or Timor, a patriotic, noble, serene, firm movement among the people — alive to and supportive of the the love aggrandisement of the Fatherland, of the racial union, of the co-operation of all for the common good. This fraternal, orderly union of souls completely dedicated to working for their Fatherland will be the supreme guarantor of peace, prosperity and the glory of Portugal.

And there is another poem with a nationalist motif:

Pátria, meu doce berço de inocente	Fatherland, my sweet cradle of innocence,
Lindo vergel de pomos encantados,	Beautiful garden of enchantment,
Ergue-te, grita ao mundo, em voz potente:	Stand up, shout to the world in a powerful voice:
«—Eu fui a mãe da mais heróica gente,	'I am the mother of the most heroic people,
Da mais gloriosa raça de soldados.»	The most glorious race of soldiers.'

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Even more unusual for a school textbook is the praise regarding military virtues which is situated at the end of the textbook. Key parts are below:

Para cada um de nós o patriotismo não pode desprender-se da família, do torrão natal, dos interesses e dos haveres [...]

Para o soldado, porém, não há a aldeia, a região, a província, — há territórios nacionais; não há família, parentes, amigos, vizinhos — [...] há a população que vive e trabalha nesse território: só há, numa palavra, a Pátria, em toda a sua extensão material [...]. Diante do inimigo externo, que representa uma ameaça à existência ou à integridade da Pátria, esta é, para o soldado, tão material e tangível como um relicário de ouro [...].

Fora do são nacionalismo, fora da noção e amor da Pátria não há, pois, vida nem força militar: há exércitos de parada ou hordas organizadas para a pilhagem.⁸⁶

The English translation is as follows:

For each one of us, patriotism cannot be detached from the family, from the homeland, from interests and possessions [...]

For the soldier, however, there is no village, region, province — there are national territories; there is no family, relatives, friends, neighbours — there is the population that lives and works in that territory: there is only, in one word, Fatherland, in all its material extension [...]. In the face of the

external enemy, which represents a threat to the existence or the integrity of the Fatherland, this is, for a soldier, as material and tangible as a golden reliquary [...].

Besides the sacrosanct nationalism, besides the concept and love of the Fatherland, there is not, therefore, neither life nor military force: there are [merely] parade troops or hordes organised for looting [...].

‘Amor da Pátria’ and ‘Elogio das Virtudes Militares’ are kind of breathtaking in their forthright defence of nationalist ideology, and their ideas would not be out of place in a military or naval academy for the training of soldiers.

There is the classic conflation of nation and family. The ‘Elogio’ is well written and has its own internal logic. The effect is seductive and enticing with the parallelisms of ‘in all its material extension...in all its feelings...in all its beauty.’ Defending the Fatherland was a clear religious duty, ‘as tangible as a golden reliquary’.

The target age group and target racial group were Portuguese between 7 and 11 years old. Even they could not escape the Estado Novo’s insistence on patriotic love and duty. Of all the textbooks examined in this article, *Portugal no Mundo* was the most blatant and arguably the most eloquent in its focus on loyalty to the Estado Novo.

3.3 GUINEA-BISSAU

Guinea-Bissau: *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura: 1.ª Classe* (‘My First Textbook: Primary 1’) and the accompanying teacher notes — *Caderno de Instruções Didáticas para “O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura”*

Unfortunately, *O Portal das Memórias de África e do Oriente* does not have any primary school textbooks for primary 1 students in Mozambique. However, it does have the Portuguese Guinea primary 1 textbook geared for those between 4 and 6 or for adults who were illiterate.⁸⁷ The 18-page teacher manual gives some basic lesson guides.⁸⁸

The first 20 pages of *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura: 1.ª Classe* are purely educational, with pictures of animals, people, plants, professions, and one doubts that modern educationalists would have any particular issues with these. There is even a page devoted to Ramadan.⁸⁹

There is a clear delineation of male and female roles with boys building things and saluting flags, and girls cooking and cleaning.⁹⁰ The activities that Black Guineans do include fishing, building, cooking, cleaning and farming, and these are most probably a reflection of what life was like for an average Black Guinean in a Portuguese colony — a life performing fairly menial tasks and living at a subsistence level.

However, the textbook has 14 pages which have a clear Portuguese nationalist message.⁹¹ On a section on verb conjugation using the simple present tense, Guinean students had to write down ‘*Os alunos cantam o hino*’, meaning the students sing the national anthem. Above the verb exercises is a picture of numerous students standing to attention as if on a military parade. All the students are dressed in military-like uniforms. An African student is pictured raising the flag.⁹² Page 24 has a picture of soldiers assisting in the construction of a house and the grammar exercise consists of learning the following sentence: ‘*Os soldados ajudam o homem a fazer a sua casa.*’⁹³

On page 31 there is the following picture (Fig. 10) which can be seen on the bottom left:



Fig. 10: Black African Troops fighting for Portugal. Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 31, 70.

The grammar exercise below the picture is another conjugation exercise. This time the simple sentence reads, ‘*Os Soldados defendem a nossa Guiné*’ — ‘The soldiers defend our Guinea.’⁹⁴ The picture itself shows some aspects of villagers being defended by a mixed-race army, with the White soldier being in a minority. On page 46 of the book there is another simple writing section. The grammar exercise reads, ‘*Todos trabalhamos para o bem da Pátria Portuguesa*’ — ‘We all work for the good of the Portuguese Fatherland’. In

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one picture there is a Portuguese soldier assisting in the construction of a house for Black Guineans. In another there is a group of young men working on a farm and wearing what appear to be army fatigues.⁹⁵ Page 70 expands the simple present tense exercise, ‘*Os soldados defendem a nossa terra*’ (The soldiers defend our land), by including the following two sentences, ‘*A nossa terra é portuguesa*’, and ‘*Portugal é a nossa Pátria*’, which mean, ‘Our land is Portuguese’, and ‘Portugal is our Fatherland’ respectively. Two men with guns (Fig. 10) are on a military mission or exercise in the jungle.⁹⁶

Just in case Guinean students had forgotten what the Portuguese flag looked like, a simple mnemonic exercise can be found on pages 76 and 77:⁹⁷

Bandeira verde, encarnada,	Green, red flag,
como tu não há igual.	There is nothing like you.
És a bandeira sagrada,	You are the sacred flag,
deste nosso Portugal.	Of our Portugal.

The flag was used for students to memorise colours: *verde* (green), *vermelho* (red), *amarelo* (yellow), *azul* (blue), *branco* (white), and *preto* (black). The teaching guide for the lesson associated with the national flag stated:

*[...] a lição das páginas 76 e 77, além da leitura propriamente dita e do estudo das cores, deve merecer ao professor uma atenção especial, de modo a exprimir vivamente o sentido patriótico que a mesma exige.*⁹⁸

In English, this means:

[...] the lesson on pages 76 and 77, in addition to proper reading and the study of colours, should deserve special attention from the teacher; to express vividly the patriotic sense that it requires.

This is clear evidence that teachers had to instil patriotic fervour in their classes.

By page 79 of the textbook, the Guinean primary 1 student was learning all about military parades. Entitled, ‘*O Desejo de Mamadu*’ (The Desire of Mamadu), page 79 has a young Black Guinean boy gazing happily and longingly at a military parade. The simple Portuguese reads, ‘fica a ver passar aqueles homens valentes que todos os dias defendem o solo português da Guiné. O Mamadu gostava também de ser um soldado-comando, para engrandecer Portugal’.

The English translation of this is as follows:

Watching those brave men passing by, who defend the Portuguese soil of Guinea every day. Mamadu would like to be a commando-soldier in order to make Portugal great.

Underneath was a sentence designed for penmanship which reads, ‘*O capitão dos comandos João Bacar Djaló é um herói de Portugal.*’⁹⁹ In English this means, ‘Commando captain João Bacar Djaló is a hero of Portugal.’ Alongside a picture of a boy carrying a wooden rifle, there is another short poem on page 80.¹⁰⁰

<u>SOLDADO VALENTE</u>	<u>BRAVE SOLDIER</u>
Sou um soldado valente,	I am a brave soldier,
sei defender Portugal	Who knows how to defend Portugal
com amor e devoção	With love and devotion
de português bem leal.	Of a loyal Portuguese.
Mostrarei a toda a gente	I will show everyone
o que vale um soldadinho	What a child soldier is worth
muito apumado e garboso	Very upright and gallant
que marcha assim direitinho!	Who marches so straight!

The teacher manual that accompanies the textbook advises that the students could recite the poem, dramatise each of the poems and were able to tell small stories on these contents.¹⁰¹

To instil some sort of deference to Portuguese administrators and governors, there is a section on pages 82 and 83. It shows that the Governor was visiting a village, and he is surrounded by Guineans waving flags. A sentence reads, '*Todos estão muito contentes*' (Everyone is very happy). The next page shows the Governor leaving the village in a helicopter with the villagers waving goodbye. There is a short sentence for students to practise handwriting which reads, '*O Governo deseja o bem do Povo*' (The Government desires the good of the people).¹⁰² Then there is the obligatory Catholic messaging with a Nativity scene towards the end of the book, although to be fair, there is not much religious teaching in this particular textbook.¹⁰³ At the end are several pages celebrating the end of the course with pictures of the work and life that one could expect in 'My Portuguese Guinea'.¹⁰⁴ Soldiering, farming, carpentry, and further education were some of the choices as shown by the pictures.

4. THE ANOMALY OF MACAO

Macanese teacher and administrator Graciete Batalha published her diaries in 1990, in which she recounted her time teaching in Macao from 1949 to the late 1970s. An acute observer of Macanese life she wrote:

É já um lugar comum afirmar que em Macau se reúnem dois mundos. O mais extraordinário, porém, não é que esses dois mundos, pois que aqui se reúnem há quatro séculos, se entremisturem como as tintas numa paleta, dando à cidade o seu tom muito suigeneris. O que afinal me parece causa de admiração é que, em certos aspectos, as duas civilizações que

aqui convivem pareçam tão extremadas, tão distintas uma da outra, como se jamais tivessem vivido lado a lado.

*[Translation by author: It is already commonplace to say that in Macao two worlds come together. The most extraordinary thing, however, is not that these two worlds, since they have been meeting here for four centuries, blend together like the paints of a palette, giving the city its very sui generis tone. What, after all, seems to be a cause for admiration is that, in certain aspects, the two civilisations that live here seem so extreme, so different from one another, as if they had never lived side by side.]*¹⁰⁵

Macao was, and is, a city of contrasts. For the period of this article, namely 1960–1974, Macao might be described as an anomaly within the Portuguese Empire. Academics such as Mark Bray, who studied the Macanese educational system, noted that the enclave stood out as a relative beacon of brightness.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the government took a laissez-faire, non-interventionist approach towards education in general.¹⁰⁷

The educational system has been variously described as 'a collection of different systems',¹⁰⁸ and a 'fragmented system',¹⁰⁹ with a wide variety of schools: from official government schools, to missionary schools, to schools that were pro-KMT or pro-communist.¹¹⁰ Christianity was deeply embedded in the educational life of the Macanese, and this is seen in a report from the period 1949–1955 which specifically names 14 Catholic Schools and 10 Protestant Schools,¹¹¹ and from a December 1961 report which names 30 missionary schools.¹¹² The Portuguese had official schools for the colonial elites in Macao. There were nine of these.¹¹³ As will be seen in subsequent sections,

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only students at these official Portuguese schools and the so called ‘Luso-Chinese schools’ were subject to the politicised curriculum emanating from Metropolitan Portugal.

Entrepreneurs also financed schools. A good example of this was the 250,000 patacas donated by Sir Robert Ho Tung in February 1949 for the establishment of a school which bore his name.¹¹⁴ This was in marked contrast to the indigenous communities of Mozambique and Angola, who for a variety of economic and cultural reasons never built Western-style schools for their own local communities on the same sort of scale that the local Chinese did for their children in Macao. The conditions in Macao that allowed Chinese entrepreneurs such as Teddy Yip, Stanley Ho, and Henry Fok to thrive in the 1950s and 1960s never existed for indigenous Africans in any comparable sense in Portuguese Africa.

The educational department was fairly sophisticated and conducted numerous school inspections in the late 1960s.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, schools had to submit annual reports to the educational department and some of them had been doing so since the late 1930s, at least.¹¹⁶ Regular reporting allowed the compilation of statistical tables spanning 20 years, a good example being the ‘*Relação numérica dos professores e dos alunos das escolas particulares chinesas de Macau, desde 1938*’ (Data sheet of teachers and students of Chinese private school in Macao, since 1938), a table spanning the period 1938–1959, a period which saw a large increase of Chinese student numbers from 14,840 in 1938 to 38,786 in 1959.¹¹⁷ School bursars had to submit accounts to the education department and these ledgers shed a good deal of light on the type of educational materials that schools were purchasing.¹¹⁸ There were more teachers per capita and more schools

per capita in Macao than Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique. Mozambique had about 6,600 teachers in the period 1969–1970, serving a population of approximately 8 million.¹¹⁹ At the time of the publication of *Portugal’s African ‘Wards’* by Marvin Harris in 1958, Macao had 171 schools staffed by 1,810 teachers serving a population of 169,299 people.¹²⁰ Macao was also unusual because some schools seemed to have made allowances for teaching local history. A surviving school inventory list from the 1950s seems to show this to be the case. The Escola Primária Oficial Luso-Chinesa “Sir Robert Ho Tung” submitted several inventory reports for the period 1953–1957. The total value of the school inventory for this period was a consistent \$1,736, which suggests that no allowances were made for depreciation and/or amortisation.

On the list were *Macao — A mais Antiga Colónia Europeia no Extremo-Oriente* by Jaime Inso, *Resumo da História de Macau* by Jacinto Moura, and *Macao “Souvenir”*.

Without specimens of the books, it is impossible to know if these were written from an entirely Portuguese perspective, with little if any reference to the local Macanese. What is noteworthy, however, is that the school had two books entirely devoted to local history.¹²¹

Only Portuguese teachers could work at the official schools as a certain Cilla Sheehan from Deerfield, USA found to her cost. Sheehan, an ex-Peace Corps member who had done her service in the Philippines, sent a speculative enquiry regarding educational employment to the Macao Education Department on 24 September 1972. About two weeks later, the ‘Supervisor of the Department of Education’ replied:

[...] Unfortunately, according to the Portuguese law, only Portuguese citizens are allowed to teach in State Schools.

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You may, however, apply to any one of the following schools:

Colégio de Santa Rosa da Lima — Rua da Santa Clara

Colégio Sagrado Coração de Jesus — Avenida Ouvidor Arriaga

Colégio Yuet Wah (Secção Feminina) — Avenida Coronel Mesquita

Colégio Linson — Avenida Conselheiro Ferreira de Almeida, 113

These are private schools, and they are allowed to accept foreign teachers to teach their own languages.¹²²

The Portuguese also had a teacher blacklisting system, and this is seen in the following telegram from the Department of Education of Portuguese Ministry of Overseas to the Macao Education Department, which was dated 21 December 1972:

Para conhecimento de V. Ex.^a e devidos efeitos, comunico que, por parecer do Conselho Permanente da Acção Educativa, de 30 de Agosto p.p., homologado por despacho ministerial de 12 de Setembro findo e relativo a um processo disciplinar instaurado contra um professor do ensino particular JAIME JOÃO BENTO VIEITAS, foi determinado que a esse professor fosse impedido o exercício do ensino em todos os liceus e escolas técnicas do País, pelo que não devem ser autorizadas matrículas de alunos em regime individual ou doméstico sob a responsabilidade daquele professor.¹²³

[Translation by author: [...] by the opinion of the Permanent Council of Educational Activity, of last 30 August, approved by ministerial dispatch of 12 September

ended and related to a disciplinary process instituted against a teacher of private education JAIME JOÃO BENTO VIEITAS, it was determined that this teacher should be prevented from teaching in all high schools and technical schools in the country. Therefore, enrollment of students on an individual or domestic basis should not be authorised under the responsibility of that teacher.]

The telegram does not state why Jaime João Bento Vieitas was banned, other than it was decided at a high administrative level. The long arm of the State even reached into private sphere, as seen in the denial of private tutorial work, which effectively meant a denial of livelihood.

Despite being thousands of miles away from Portugal's African colonies, Macao was impacted by them. The governor of Macao from 1962 to 1966 was António Adriano Faria Lopes dos Santos, who was a former governor of Nampula in Mozambique.¹²⁴ In a career move which may or may not have been related to the outbreak of war in Angola in February 1961, a Macao District Court judge called José Martins Jacinto was transferred to Luanda to fill the position of judge of the Angolan Military Court.¹²⁵

The first real mention of war can be found in the set of documents from the Archives of Macao from 1961. The file is called '*Alunos cujos estudos foram interrompidos por terem sido chamados para qualquer dever ou serviço militar 1961/09/25–1961/11/28*'.¹²⁶ Literally meaning 'student life interrupted by military service', the 14-page file deals with Liceu students across the entire Portuguese Empire who would be impacted by long periods of military service. The idea was based upon discussions with Mozambique, so this is an example of how Portuguese Africa impacted Macao. In 1962, the *Boletim Oficial de Macau* mentioned the fact

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that children of war veterans were to receive some subsidised education following a parent's injury or incapacitation.¹²⁷

During the Overseas Week (*Semana do Ultramar*) in the 1967, First Lieutenant of Naval Administration (1.º Ten. de Admin. Naval) António Vieira Nunes gave a talk at the Clube Militar, which was entitled, '*Contributo da Marinha para a presença de Portugal em África*' (Contributes of Navy for the Portuguese Presence in Africa).¹²⁸

Large-scale investment in colonial infrastructure and the exigencies of war led to an increased demand for colonial administrators of various types from the mid- to late 1960s onwards. This impacted Macao. In early July 1968, the *Chefe dos Serviços* of the Macao Education Department sent several letters to schools and the Information and Tourism Centre (*Centro de Informação e Turismo*) informing them of a recent request for administrators in Angola.¹²⁹ Instead of the usual competitions for posts as stipulated in various Portuguese laws,¹³⁰ the positions were advertised '*Sem Concurso*', which means 'without competition'.¹³¹ Furthermore, the basic educational requirements were the completion of the second '*ciclo*' at the Liceu, i.e. the completion of basic secondary education at the secondary 5 level.¹³² This suggests an urgent need for administrators at all levels. It seems that secondary school graduates would have been eligible to apply for the most junior position available — that of '*Adjunto de Administrador de Posto*' (assistant of post administrator), which had a basic salary of 3,300 escudos per month.¹³³

Portuguese citizens were also subject to the military service laws which required four years of military service.¹³⁴ The children of combatants were entitled to certain fee exemptions and a 1970 correspondence suggests that this applied to several schools, including the Liceu Nacional.¹³⁵ The demand for additional troops within Mozambique

from July 1970 to January 1971, quite possibly influenced the job applications of Macanese soldiers Mamede do Nascimento Rodrigues and José Manuel dos Santos, both of whom applied for jobs within Mozambique.¹³⁶ In addition, the Macao Education Department funded three scholarship holders (*bolseiros*) '*em serviço militar*' (in military service) costing \$9,473 for the period January–December 1970, and an identical amount for January–December 1971.¹³⁷

In a possible, albeit oblique, reference to Alcora¹³⁸ — the alliance between South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a message to the Macao Civil Administration Service (*Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Administração Civil*) on 6 July 1971 regarding UNESCO. It reads as follows:

*Tenho a honra de junto remeter a Vossa Excelência uma lista das organizações internacionais não governamentais que mantêm relações oficiais com a UNESCO e que responderam a um inquérito tendo por fim saber se tinham filiais ou ramos na República da África do Sul, na Rodésia ou nas Províncias Ultramarinas Portuguesas [...].*¹³⁹

The letter refers to hostile UNESCO initiatives taken at the 14th session of the General Conference regarding collaboration with apartheid regimes and mentions racial discrimination. The letter has a list of four categories of organisation, with Categories A and B groups supporting the UNESCO initiative, Category C groups which oppose the initiative and Category D groups whose opinion was either not known or which had no opinion either way.¹⁴⁰ In Categories A and B there were a total of 87 organisations listed which included the International Association of Plastic Arts, the International Association of

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Universities, the International Council on Cinema and Television, the Association of Librarians, the International Catholic Press Association and the Pax Romana, which was divided into Catholic Intellectuals and Catholic Students.¹⁴¹ Only two organisations were on the Category C list — the International Council of Nurses and the International Press Telecommunications Council.¹⁴² The letter was sent to the Macao Education Department, the Civil Administration Service and the Public Security Police Force.¹⁴³

One can speculate regarding policy implications. It seems clear that Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa co-operated in the sharing of information and quite possibly in blocking or hindering the activities of UN bodies such as UNESCO. Perhaps the organisations listed in Categories A and B were to be subject to expulsion orders. Perhaps workers and staff were to be subject to denial of entry at numerous borders. Perhaps the groups were to be placed under targeted surveillance and/or harassment by security services in Overseas Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa. Perhaps the purpose in sending the organisation list to the Macao Education Department was to warn civil servants, school administrators and teachers about co-operation with groups directly or indirectly linked to UNESCO.¹⁴⁴

Judging by correspondence received, it seems that Macao took part in a military festival (*Festival Militar*) in mid-1972. Copies of the event programme for the *Festival Militar* were sent to educational departments in Mozambique, Angola, Timor and Cabo Verde.¹⁴⁵ In May 1973, the Liceu Nacional, Colégio D. Bosco and Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco were all obliged to put up notices requesting military volunteers.¹⁴⁶ And finally, on 25 March 1974, students at the Liceu D. Henrique suddenly found themselves being taught by Major Helder Reis de Oliveira (Artillery), and three other officers from the

military, following an abortive coup in Lisbon.¹⁴⁷ Thus, whether Macao liked it or not, the enclave was embroiled in distant African wars.

However — and this is why Macao is anomalous and even paradoxical — the Portuguese never displayed the strident anti-communism that was on show in their African colonies. Numerous studies have pointed out that after December 1966 riots, the Portuguese took an apologetic and subservient line towards the PRC. This was almost certainly due to the weak strategic position of Macao in the face of mainland Chinese might and power.¹⁴⁸

4.1 CORDIAL EDUCATIONAL LINKS BETWEEN MACAO AND PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN COLONIES

The relatively close links between the different education systems in Portuguese Africa and the smaller system in Macao can be seen through the sharing of educational resources. As Bray, Tang and others have pointed out in numerous articles, the city of Macao was too small to produce its own textbooks, but was instead reliant on overseas publishers, especially those from Hong Kong.¹⁴⁹ Correspondence between Portugal's African colonies and Macao clearly shows educational co-operation from at least as early as 1960.

Macao, on a regular basis, sent over copies of its Annual Education Reports to the other colonies in the Portuguese Empire, and the Archives of Macao have a single 549-page file documenting this and other things from 1960 to 1973.¹⁵⁰

On 13 March 1964, the Macanese Education Department received a letter from the Agência-Geral do Ultramar asking if they would be interested in purchasing a set of teaching materials entitled, '*Curso de Férias do Professorado Primário de Luanda*' (Holiday courses for primary teachers in Luanda).¹⁵¹ Priced at 30 escudos per volume,

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these books contained 1,000 copies organised in the following fashion:

Cabo Verde — 40 copies
 S. Tome and Príncipe — 40 copies
 Guinea-Bissau — 40 copies
 Angola — 400 copies
 Mozambique — 400 copies
 Macao — 40 copies
 Timor — 40 copies.

Nine Macao schools were asked if they would purchase the books.¹⁵² 14 books were eventually ordered¹⁵³ with the biggest purchase order from the Pedro Nolasco Schools.¹⁵⁴ The correspondence also gives the names of the teachers at the Pedro Nolasco Schools who either used the books or who were interested in using the books for teaching purposes.¹⁵⁵

Another Angolan import was the *Jogos de Leitura e de Escrita para a 1.ª Classe* (Games for Reading and Writing for Primary 1 Students), edited by the Angolan Provincial Education Secretariat, complimentary copies of which were sent to six Macao schools on 17 November 1970.¹⁵⁶

Mozambique also sent over educational materials. These included the *Anuário do Ensino* (1968)¹⁵⁷ and Volume 12 of *Revista Seiva da Província de Moçambique*.¹⁵⁸ These materials were then distributed to the Pedro Nolasco Schools and the Liceu Nacional.¹⁵⁹ Guinea-Bissau sent a copy of the Guinea 'Programas de Ciclo Elementar de Ensino Primário' (Programmes of Elementary Ciclo of Primary Education) materials to Macao.¹⁶⁰

4.2 MENSAGEM (MESSAGE)

From January to November 1970, the Angolan *Inspecção Provincial de Educação* (Provincial Inspection Office of Education) sent via sea-mail six copies of issues 57–67 of the Angola educational periodical called *Mensagem*

to the Macao Education Department.¹⁶¹ Schools which may have received copies — as indicated in items of correspondence — included Escola Pedro Nolasco da Silva,¹⁶² Escola Primária da Taipa, and Escola Primária de Coloane.¹⁶³ Several copies of *Mensagem* exist in the Archives of Macao, the contents of which will be analysed. The Archives of Macao do not contain the issues mentioned in the correspondence referred to above. However, they do contain issues 80, 81, 93, 95 and 113.

Mensagem was a serious and sincere educational magazine produced by the Angolan Education Department. Most surviving issues in the Archives of Macao are 24 pages long, which suggests a disciplined and/or strict budget. Most of the articles in the periodical are of a non-political nature. There were regular sections concerning health and well-being.¹⁶⁴ In one issue, there was a long article on rabies and rabies prevention.¹⁶⁵ Several issues have a section of Portuguese grammar entitled 'Linguística Cruzada' which meant, 'solved (cured) grammar problems'.¹⁶⁶ All the issues have a puzzle page on the inside back cover.

However, the magazine also dealt with political matters and very occasionally with military matters. For example, the magazines had a series of photos on the back page entitled 'Imagens de Portugal' (Portugal Images). Portugal also included the overseas provinces. Thus, for example, issue 82 had a photo called 'Maxima Church — the spiritual centre of Angola'.¹⁶⁷ Issue 83 had a photo of Lisbon with the caption, 'Determinação a fim de continuar Portugal em África' (Determination in order to make Portugal continue in Africa).¹⁶⁸ The issue concerning Portugal's National Day had the following caption, 'Prestam homenagem aos heróis que deram a vida pela Pátria que é de todos', which meant, 'everlasting homage to the heroes who sacrificed their lives for the Fatherland'.¹⁶⁹

In every magazine there was a 'notícias' or news page and Portugal's African wars were

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mentioned twice. Issue 80 covered the visit of the Portuguese Minister of Defence to Angola¹⁷⁰ and issue 81 mentioned war casualties and population displacements in the Zambezia area of Mozambique.¹⁷¹ Interestingly, these were the only examples of war reports; issues 82–86 and 93–95 do not give any war reports, and this may well have been deliberate editorial policy.

In addition, there were numerous political articles, such as ‘O Que de Portugal Se Diz no Mundo’ (Vol. 80), ‘Razão de Ser de Portugal no Ultramar’ (Vol. 80), ‘A Educação e o Futuro de Angola’ (Vol. 81), ‘A Questão Racial e a Tradição Portuguesa’ (Vol. 81), ‘No Âmbito da Batalha da Educação’ (Vol. 93), ‘Em África Defendemos a Paz’ (Vol. 93), and ‘O Ensino da História: Pátria e o Seu Valor Formativo’ (Vol. 95). These will be examined sequentially.

In ‘O Que de Portugal Se Diz no Mundo’, the author argued that the liberation movements in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola were part of wider communist conspiracy led by Russia and China. These two states wanted to subvert and undermine western values in Africa by portraying Portugal as a deeply racist country.¹⁷²

‘Razão de Ser de Portugal no Ultramar’ acted as sort of explanation of and apologia for Portuguese imperialism. It begins by outlining the various voyages of discovery and mentions early pioneers. The actions of these men helped to build a vast overseas empire. And this was not purely territorial — it involved a community spirit and integration into a Lusophone family. There was an important civilising mission which involved shifting the native populations from a primitive state to a civilised society. This involves co-operation between various sectors of society from schools to businesses. The Portuguese Empire is a multiracial entity, of White, Brown, Black people all working together to promote peace and progress of the nation.¹⁷³

‘A Educação e o Futuro de Angola’, by Dr. Pinheiro da Silva, is a defence of the multiracial state and the argument is as follows. All aspects of life depend on education. Portuguese History acts as a guide to education principles. Education is united by a common language, that of Portuguese. All tribes to be taught the same way — there is to be no tribal distinction. Education aids the integration of the native people. This principle aids the formation of the ‘Portuguese Man’ regardless of ethnic origin. The ultimate aim is a multiracial state.¹⁷⁴

‘A Questão Racial e a Tradição Portuguesa’ by Dr. Óscar Soares Barata is another apologia for the Portuguese Empire. Acknowledging foreign criticism, Barata defends the multiracial nature of the Empire and points out that any acts of Portuguese brutality are the exception rather than the norm. Portugal has a long history of morality and supports the dignity of man. It follows the ideas of St. Paul, where there is neither man nor woman, neither slave nor free, neither Jew nor Gentile — everyone is equal in the sight of God.¹⁷⁵

‘Em África Defendemos a Paz’ is illustrated with a picture of a White soldier or cadet assisting African children in a rudimentary classroom. This article is a short report of a speech given by Dr. António Augusto de Medeiros Patrício at the plenary session of the 26th United Nations General Assembly. This speech is a robust defence of Portugal’s African policy. Medeiros Patrício accuses various African states of violating Portugal’s territorial integrity and sovereignty as a result of African states’ support for ‘terrorist’ groups which have the sole aim of causing death and desolation against the peace people of ‘*nossa África*’ (our Africa). He criticised various unnamed African countries of circulating unfounded propaganda attacks. He reiterated Portugal’s desire for peaceful co-operation and collaboration. He accused numerous African states of acting against the UN Charter by inciting a climate of political violence.

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He quoted some recent words of Portugal's leader Marcello Caetano, 'Em África Defendemos a Paz'. The speech ends with a factually inaccurate statement that Portugal had nothing to do with any troop incursions into Guinea.¹⁷⁶

'No Âmbito da Batalha da Educação' is a summary of the ideas of Prof. Veiga Simão, who worked at the Ministry of National Education. He argues for a complete remodelling of school teaching which would prepare students for the future. He warned against the dangers of subversive literature and films which created a '*mentalidade doentias e perversas*' (sick and twisted mentality). Certain political pamphlets were dangerous because they incited revolutionary activities. These ideas were apparently infiltrating schools and universities and posed a danger to student life and the nation itself.¹⁷⁷

'O Ensino da História: Pátria e o Seu Valor Formativo' by António Pereira Andrade is a serious examination of history and the teaching of History. It begins by briefly examining the evolution of the subject and states it had three distinct periods throughout its developments — narrative, didactical and '*genético*' (genetic). The latter took root during the 18th and 19th centuries and involved investigations into general conditions, causation theory and the interplay of causes and consequences. The aim was to produce an objective historical account.¹⁷⁸

Pereira Andrade argues History helps to form moral character and quotes Cicero, 'History is a life teacher' or '*Magistra Vitae*'. For this reason, it is necessary to look at heroes of the past:

*É a idade dos "Heróis" que tanto empolga os jovens e que, por vezes, sonham em querer imitar (temos o caso típico de Nun'Álvares que quis imitar Galeas.) [...] [A História] lhes pode oferecer esses modelos que lhes ensinam a ser cidadãos dignos e úteis.*¹⁷⁹

[Translation by author: It is the age of 'Heroes' that excites young people so much and that sometimes they dream of wanting to imitate (we have the typical case of Nun'Álvares who wanted to imitate Galeas.) [...] [History] can offer you those models that teach you to be worthy and useful citizens.]

Race and nationality are also mentioned:

*[...] A história deve ser ensinada às crianças, não com características científicas, na verdadeira acepção do termo, mas antes com uma finalidade essencialmente educativa, pois se elas se estão a preparar para a vida, hão-de saber as razões que informam a sua conduta, a sua nacionalidade enfim, tem de possuir uma consciência histórica que melhor as leve a cohecer e amar a pátria a que pertencem [...].*¹⁸⁰

[Translation by author: [...] History should be taught to children, not with scientific characteristics, in the true sense of the term, but rather with an essentially educational purpose, because if they are preparing for life, they will to know the reasons that inform their conduct, their nationality, in short, they must have a historical conscience that better makes them know and love the country to which they belong [...].]

The common themes that run throughout these *Mensagem* articles is the idea of loyalty to mother country, the emphasis on the multiracial state, the civilising mission of Portugal and the belief that Portugal was defending its colonial possessions from a communist threat.

As the African wars dragged on, however, one might have reasonably expected that the confident swagger would have become less strident and perhaps less obvious. However, even as late as

October 1973 — by which time Guinea-Bissau had effectively been lost — the editors and writers still pushed the Portuguese nationalist cause as seen in issue 113 of *Mensagem*.

There is a penmanship exercise designed for primary 4 students which follows the blatantly nationalist themes of former issues. The key parts are as follows:

*Tenho a honra de pertencer à Pátria Portuguesa [...] dentro de mim o esforço que te-lhou a minha Pátria: a grande coragem que lhe vestiu a terra [...] e os homens de ideais e nobre propósito que a dilatou para além dos mares desconhecidos; e revivo em mim, dentro de mim, residem todos os sacrifícios e todas as honras e todas as catástrofes que constituem a vida de Portugal [...].*¹⁸¹

[Translation by author: I am honoured to belong to the Portuguese Fatherland [...] Inside me resides the combined national effort that carved the Fatherland: the great courage that the land gave it, and the men of ideals and noble purpose that expanded it beyond unknown seas; within me resides all the sacrifices and all the honours and all the catastrophes that constitute the life of Portugal.]

‘Muito Esperam dos Professores as Famílias, a Nação e a Igreja’ continues the classic conflation of religion and nation. It argues that negation of religious instruction will cause almost irreparable damage to the students. The formative years of education provide the best path to decent and morally upright citizenship. Primary schools are, ‘*um meio privilegiado [sic] de evangelização*’ (a privileged means of evangelisation).¹⁸²

However, what is striking about the issue 113 of *Mensagem* is the presence of two articles which are rather more critical of educational

practices in Angola. In normal circumstances i.e. a non-war situation, this would be expected in any educational magazine worth its salt. But these were not normal circumstances for the Estado Novo which at this point was reaching the fag end of its existence.

‘Considerações e Momentos de Reflexão’ is a short reflective piece written by Augusto Francisco Manuel, teacher of a school post (*posto escolar*) in Munenga, Cuanza-Sul.¹⁸³ Manuel is deeply critical of rural education.¹⁸⁴ Key phrases which suggest a critical tone are ‘*Pobre do papagaio*’, ‘*Fazem da escola um templo de distração*’, and ‘*Nunca deve imperar o despotismo e tirania*’. ‘*Pobre do papagaio*’ suggests repetition without interesting learning content or real knowledge and conscience of the subject. ‘*Fazem da escola um templo de distração*’ means, in my opinion, that school is not doing its educational purpose but is rather an institution to fulfil the statistics. ‘*Nunca deve imperar o despotismo e tirania*’ might have two meanings:

1. Schools in Salazar times were an institution where the process of learning implied violence from teachers towards students. This was very common even in Portugal, still in the 1970s, to teach with beatings and humiliation. With the 1974 Revolution things start changing.
2. He might also be referring to Caetano regime in general.¹⁸⁵

In other words, schools in rural Angola were perhaps analogous to or a microcosm of Portugal itself — places under tyrannical and despotic rule. From a pro-government magazine, this is remarkable for being published in the first place. One can speculate as to why it was allowed into the magazine. Censors could have been asleep at the wheel or never considered *Mensagem* to be a threat to the system due to its reliable output particularly from 1971 and 1972. The magazine may have

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suffered a dearth of articles and so a formerly reliable contributor may have been allowed to submit an article. Manuel does indeed state in his opening sentence, ‘After many months of prolonged silence, behold, I use the pen to say something that I think is pertinent about the academic year that is approaching like a whirlwind’.¹⁸⁶

‘Mais Um Ano Lectivo Findou’, a letter written from a teacher called M. S. Palhares, is noteworthy because it reveals problems encountered in rural educational areas. It is unusually honest as seen in the line. ‘*Formar um indivíduo para ser útil a si próprio, a Deus, à sociedade e à Pátria, é uma tarefa difícil*’,¹⁸⁷ which roughly means, ‘it is difficult to teach patriotic values’. Palhares then explains why this is the case. Students in rural schools had little awareness or knowledge of modern values and of the world around them, i.e. outside the village space. Teachers in the rural areas faced a constant battle with parents who wanted their children to occasionally skip school to help out on the farms. Over the course of an academic year this sort of behaviour inevitably led to poor grades and the inevitable parental concern or complaints about poor grades. Palhares offered no solutions to these problems and ended his article with these words, ‘*Como fazer? É difícil, é. Contudo, um professor no meio rural tem de enfrentar, com ânimo, com sacrifícios e calma, todos estes problemas*’.¹⁸⁸ In other words, keep calm and carry on like the stoics of yore.

4.3 COLONIAL PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS

In 1965, the *Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau* (Macao Primary Teacher Training School) was created following the passing of Decree No. 46616, of 26 October 1965.¹⁸⁹ The Archives of Macao have the entire syllabus for the *Escola do Magistério Primário*, from the periods 1967–1968 and 1970–1971. No students were actually named

in the first report — they had the appellations, ‘student 1, student 2 and student 3’. The second report gives the names of the students. The staff-subject lists are contained in the table below. For purely space reasons, the full names of the professors will be reduced to title, first name and surname.¹⁹⁰ Staff changes are noted in bold on table 6.

As one might expect, the staff were extremely experienced. According to 1961 correspondence with the Macao Education Department, Beatriz Nolasco da Silva was the headmaster of the Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco.¹⁹¹ The same archival folder (MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0005) contains correspondence with the Macao Education Department from Rubye Fernandes, the headmaster of the Escola Infantil D. José da Costa Nunes.¹⁹² Fernandes had been teaching in Macao since December 1947.¹⁹³ Maria Felício had been teaching in Macao since 19 March 1949.¹⁹⁴

Several teaching staff worked at the Liceu Nacional. Graciette Batalha had been teaching in Macao since 1 December 1949¹⁹⁵ and was a member of the teaching staff at the Liceu Nacional according to staff records for the period 1969–1970.¹⁹⁶ Ditto Dr.^a Ana Maria Amaro taught Geography and Natural Sciences.¹⁹⁷ D. Maria dos Santos taught Handcrafts (*Trabalhos Manuais*).¹⁹⁸ Father Manuel Teixeira was also a staff of the Liceu Nacional,¹⁹⁹ who was immensely experienced and over the course of his career would eventually publish over 120 books and articles on local Macanese and Chinese History before dying in 2003 at the age of 91.²⁰⁰

Teaching staff at the Magistério Primário were paid a gratuity for their work which was in addition to their normal teaching duties at the schools where they were based. The value of the gratuity seems to have been based upon seniority and the precise amount of work done. This can be illustrated with the following table 7 for the period October–December 1973.

Table 6
Staff-subject list in the Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau

1967–1968		1970–1971	
Staff Name	Subject(s)	Staff Name	Subject(s)
Dr. ^a Graciette Batalha	Pedagogia Didáctica Geral História da Educação	Dr.^a Ana Maria Amaro	Pedagogia Didáctica Geral História da Educação
D. Maria Reis	Psicologia Aplicada à Educação Formação Portuguesa Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação	Dr.^a Beatriz da Silva	Psicologia Aplicada à Educação Formação Portuguesa Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação
D. Norma Borges	Didáctica Especial (Grupo A) Prática Pedagógica (Grupo A) Legislação Escolar	D. Norma Borges	Didáctica Especial (Grupo A) Prática Pedagógica (Grupo A) Legislação Escolar
D. Maria Felício	Didáctica Especial (Grupo B) Prática Pedagógica (Grupo B)	D. Maria Felício	Didáctica Especial (Grupo B) Prática Pedagógica (Grupo B)
Pe. Manuel Teixeira	Educação Moral	Pe. Manuel Teixeira	Educação Moral
Dr. ^a Maria de Assunção	Higiene Escolar	Dr. ^a Maria de Assunção	Higiene Escolar
D. Rubye Fernandes	Educação Feminina e Desenho e Trabalhos Manuais Educativos	D. Rubye Fernandes (left school in April 1971. Replaced by D. Maria dos Santos.)	Educação Feminina
Pe. Ramiro Galhispo	Educação Musical	Dr.^a Idalina da Silva	Desenho e Trabalhos Manuais
Dr. ^a Branca Lindo	Educação Física	D. Maria Salvador (died in December 1971. Replaced by Me. Rachele Plebáni.)	Educação Musical
D. Maria Baptista	Actividades Sociais	Dr. ^a Branca Lindo	Educação Física
D. Margarida Ribeiro	Pré-primária	Mário Viana	Educação Física
António do Rosário	1. ^a classe	D. Maria Baptista	Actividades Sociais
D. Maria Pinto	2. ^a classe		
D. Gracinda Borges	3. ^a classe		
D. Maria Alves	4. ^a classe		

Source: For 1967–1968, MO/AH/EDU/FA/09/0005 Relatórios da Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau, 1967–1968, pp. 3–4. For 1970–1971, MO/AH/EDU/FA/09/0015 Relatórios da Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau, 1970–1971, pp. 6–7.

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Table 7

Monthly stipend received by the teaching staff at the Escola do Magistério Primário in Oct.–Dec. 1973

Subject	Staff Name	Monthly stipend rounded down to the nearest pataca
Pedagogia Didáctica Geral História da Educação	Dr. ^a Beatriz Basto da Silva (Directora)	720
Psicologia Aplicada à Educação Formação Portuguesa Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação	Maximina Figueredo e Almeida	368
Didáctica Especial (Grupo A) Prática Pedagógica (Grupo A) Legislação e Administração Escolares	D. Norma Borges	728
Didáctica Especial (Grupo B) Prática Pedagógica (Grupo B)	Laura R. de B. Batalha	656
Educação Moral	Pe. Américo Casado	72
Higiene Escolar	Dr. António V. Gracias	144
Educação Feminina	D. Rubye Fernandes	357
Educação Musical	Maria de F. S. dos Santos Ferreira	144
Educação Física	Mário M. Brito Viana	144
Actividades Sociais	Maria de F. S. dos Santos Ferreira	72
Desenho e Trabalhos Manuais Educativos	Luiza de Brito e Abreu	368
Funcionária da Secretaria	Luísa Rangel	299

Source: MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/06/0062 [ant. 1974/01/18]–1974/12/09 Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau, p. 53.

The accountancy ledger from which these figures are taken shows that the total monthly staff costs of the school were approximately 4,076 patacas with an annual staff expenditure of 40,441 (It seems that staff during vacations were not paid.)²⁰¹

School hours were 9:00–16:30 on weekdays and 9:00–12:50 on Saturdays.²⁰² There are tables noting the numbers of classes provided/envisaged compared to the number of classes delivered. Interestingly, the lowest numbers were for political topics which were taught in the second semester (see table 8).

Table 8

	1967–1968 Report ²⁰³		1970–1971 Report ²⁰⁴	
Subject	No. of planned lessons	No. of actual lessons	No. of planned lessons	No. of actual lessons
Formação Portuguesa	15 (1 st Year) 12 (2 nd Year)	10 (1 st Year) 9 (2 nd Year)	15	7
Organização Política ²⁰⁵	31 (1 st Year) 11 (2 nd Year)	20 (1 st Year) 10 (2 nd Year)	28	15

The 1970–1971 annual report mentions the fact the school took in a total of eight trainee teachers, all of whom passed the second semester and were allowed to proceed to the third semester. They were²⁰⁶ António Manuel Lancelote Inácio, Inácia Genoveva de Andrade Lobo, Isabel Gouveia, Maria Bessa dos Santos, Maria da Conceição do Céu Salvado Viera, Maria Odete Magalhães de Sousa, Maria Olinda Ferreira, and Marina do Espírito Santo Guilherme.

Teachers trained under the new system has the word ‘*Magistério*’ registered as a qualification and this can be seen in the annual school report from the Escola Primária Oficial Luso-Chinesa

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“Sir Robert Hó Tung” do Sexo Masculino for the period 1970–1971. Under the heading ‘*habilitações literárias*’, a teacher for classes 1A and 1B called Olga Baptista had Curso do Magistério Primário on her qualification list. The Class 4 teacher, Maria Hoesa Yeong Hó, had ‘*Curso do Magistério Primário chinês*’.²⁰⁷

According to Titus Li and Ora Kwo, these graduates were to be among the last because the two-year course was eventually abandoned in 1973 when most students preferred to take scholarships abroad.²⁰⁸ Yet in the Archives of Macao there is evidence that the Magistério Primário was functioning in some official capacity in late 1973 and early 1974. Staff were still being paid in October 1973,²⁰⁹ which begs the question: What exactly were staff being paid to do? There are staff absence lists for October–November 1973²¹⁰ and for May 1974.²¹¹ The staff lists for November 1973 and May 1974 are noteworthy since it is clear that the school staff was cut from ten in November 1973 to five in May 1974.²¹² The school was officially mothballed on 18 September 1974 on the grounds that no teachers could be found for the year 1974–1975 and because of the fact that only two students had enrolled for the course.²¹³ (The teacher shortage was self-inflicted because the new regime fired many Portuguese teachers associated with the Estado Novo. It seems the grounds for the mass firing were officially based upon teacher competency, rather than political affiliation.)²¹⁴

4.4 POLITICISED CURRICULUM

In a previous section, it was noted that senior instructors at the Magistério Primário school were responsible for teaching courses which had overt political content. During the 1967–1968 semesters these were taught by D. Maria Reis and in the 1970–1971 semesters the political courses were taught by Dr.^a Beatriz da Silva. The courses concerned were Political and Administrative

Organisation of the Nation (*Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação*) and Portuguese Formation (*Formação Portuguesa*). There was no point in having these courses on the syllabus unless they had a practical teaching application. In other words, trainees were expected to teach these kinds of courses when they eventually found work.

Nor was the politicised curriculum a closely guarded political secret. The *Boletim Oficial de Macau* published the Decree-Law No. 45908, and this was a publication generally available to the Macanese public. In the section on religious and moral instruction, the following objectives were listed:

Consciente das suas responsabilidades, o Estado Português «aceita o carácter absoluto dos valores característicos da civilização histórica que criou a Nação...» e que «hão-de necessariamente informar qualquer sistema educativo português».

Mas para que estes valores tradicionais portugueses tenham realmente um «carácter absoluto» [...] torna-se indispensável fundamentá-los em convicções pessoais positivas e fortes de carácter religioso.

A Nação Portuguesa não pode, por conseguinte, manter os padrões de moralidade individual, social e cívica que a criaram e têm feito a sua grandeza, se não aceitar ao mesmo tempo as verdades da religião católica, fundamento dessa mesma moralidade.

*Tudo, pois, que sirva a formar cristãmente os alunos serve também a Pátria, como serve o homem.*²¹⁵

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[Translation by author: Aware of its responsibilities, the Portuguese State 'accepts the absolute character of the characteristic values of the historical civilisation that created the Nation...' and that 'it will necessarily inform any Portuguese educational system'.

But for these traditional Portuguese values to really have an 'absolute character' [...] it is essential to base them on positive and strong personal convictions of religious character.

[...] The Portuguese Nation cannot, therefore, maintain the standards of individual, social and civic morality that created it and have made it great, if it does not accept at the same time the truths of the Catholic religion, the foundation of that same morality.

[...] Everything, therefore, that serves to form students in a Christian way also serves the Fatherland, as it serves man.

The objectives underpinning a course called 'Formação Portuguesa' (Portuguese Formation) were:

[...] os eventos principais que no dobrar dos séculos imprimiram a sua marca ao povo português, pretende-se, com a disciplina de Formação Portuguesa [...] Inculcará ainda a «portugalidade», o orgulho — que deverão por seu turno espalhar entre os discípulos — de fazerem parte de uma comunidade em constante elaboração e que tem por escopo fundamental imprimir nas diversas etnias que compõem a Nação a universalidade do seu espírito.

[Translation by author: [...] The main events that have marked their mark on the Portuguese people through the discipline of Portuguese Formation [...] It will also inculcate the 'Portugality', the pride — which in turn must spread among the disciples — of being part of a community in constant development and whose fundamental scope is to imprint the universality of its spirit in the different ethnic groups that make up the Nation.]

The teaching guide mentioned the interrelation of the trinominal 'Fatherland, Religion and Culture', as conceptualised by the Portuguese.²¹⁶ The 'destiny of Portugal' was also important:

Pretende-se ainda, e finalmente, que o professor apresente a realidade da existência de um só fio condutor, através dos tempos, na formulação do destino para que tendem os Portugueses na sua caminhada [...]

Mostrar-se-á que a cultura portuguesa, agindo como elemento catalisador e vitalizante dos grupos que contaminou, afirma uma tradição comum colectiva obediente às supremas leis da Vida.²¹⁷

[Translation by author: It is also intended, and finally, that the teacher presents the reality of the existence of a single guiding thread, through the ages, in the formulation of the destiny for which the Portuguese tend in their journey [...]

It will be shown that Portuguese culture, acting as a catalyst and vitalising element of the groups it contaminated, affirms a common collective tradition obedient to the supreme laws of Life.]

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As its name implies, Formação Portuguesa involved indoctrination and the teachers involved were subject to Decree No. 46974, which stipulated:

*§ 1.º A regência da disciplina de Formação Portuguesa será exercida pelos professores de Psicologia Aplicada das escolas do magistério primário, ou por professores do ensino liceal ou técnico profissional da localidade sede daquelas escolas, designados por despacho do governador da província.*²¹⁸

[Translation by author: *§ 1. The Portuguese Formation discipline [Formação Portuguesa] will be governed by teachers of Applied Psychology from primary schools, or by teachers of secondary education or professional technician from the locality of those schools, designated by order of the governor of the province.*]

One might expect Formação Portuguesa and Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação to be overtly nationalist. However, other subjects were tainted with the same kind of nationalist sentiment. One of the aims of primary school Geography was:

*Ao ensinar a geografia de Portugal, o professor terá sempre presente a intenção de dar às crianças a consciência da unidade portuguesa, uma unidade intercontinental e interoceânica.*²¹⁹

[Translation by author: *When teaching the geography of Portugal, the teacher will always bear in mind the intention of giving children an awareness of Portuguese unity, an intercontinental and interoceanic unity.*]

Portuguese language classes for primary schools had this as an aim:

*Narração, pelo professor, de histórias pequeninas, atraentes e instrutivas [...] versando, quanto possível, procedimentos e hábitos a inculcar nos alunos, sobretudo de higiene, de trabalho e de amor à Pátria Portuguesa.*²²⁰

[Translation by author: *Narration, by the teacher, of small, attractive and instructive stories [...] dealing, as much as possible, with procedures and habits to be instilled in the students, especially hygiene, work and love for the Portuguese Fatherland.*]

More or less the same went for History:

*O ensino da história na escola primária destina-se a consolidar o natural sentimento de patriotismo, dando-lhe forma consciente e esclarecida [...] é perfeitamente lícito escolher, para objecto de um ensino eminentemente formativo (como é o ensino primário), alguns dos momentos mais belos e dignificantes da nossa história.*²²¹

[Translation by author: *The teaching of history in primary school is intended to consolidate the natural feeling of patriotism, giving it a conscious and enlightened form [...] it is perfectly lawful to choose, for the purpose of an eminently formative education (as is the primary education), some of the most beautiful and dignifying moments in our history.*]

Even music was not exempt:

O hino nacional e as canções de sentido patriótico devem ser executados com perfeição,

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*devendo o professor ter o cuidado de salientar o seu especial significado e de promover que entrem no entendimento e no coração dos alunos.*²²²

[Translation by author: The national anthem and songs of a patriotic sense must be performed perfectly, and the teacher must take care to emphasise their special meaning and to promote that they enter the understanding and hearts of the students.]

Surviving Macao school timetables for the official Portuguese schools partially show the reforms in action. The 1969–1970 report for Liceu Nacional shows that Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação was taught in secondary 6 and 7.²²³ (This was the 30th year that this course had been taught at the Liceu.)²²⁴ One of the textbooks for the course was called *Princípios Fundamentais de Organização Política e Administrativa da Nação (3.º ciclo)* (Fundamental Principles of Political and Administrative Organisation of the Nation — 3rd ciclo) by A. Martins Afonso. This was a compulsory course, but it seems not to be a popular course if one judges the numbers of books borrowed from the school library on the subject. For example, the Liceu Nacional Library report for 1965–1966 mentions the fact that only 37 book withdrawals were made relating to Organização Política as opposed to 109 for History, 141 for English, 133 for Latin, 59 for Maths and 1,313 for Tales and Novels.²²⁵

4.5 THE FAILED ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE A PATRIOTIC COURSE FOR PRIMARY 4 AT THE PEDRO NOLASCO SCHOOLS

Such was the importance attached to History, Geography, and Portuguese, that the Macao Education Department — presumably at the behest of Lisbon — tried to incorporate all three into a combined subject at primary 4 level.

This occurred on 6 June 1971 when the Head of Service (*Chefe de Serviços*), Ricardina Costa Rosa y Alberty Lopes da Silva, sent a long memorandum to the Governor of Macao regarding the new combined subject. His memorandum costed the new course at 9,314 patacas. Each class would last 90 minutes, and each week would have three classes thus giving a total weekly teaching time of four and a half hours. The combined course would fulfil two functions — it would be a preparatory course for entry into secondary schools and would also strengthen the position of the Portuguese language due to the fear that the English and Chinese languages were too strong in the enclave.²²⁶ The memorandum ultimately found its way to the Pedro Nolasco Schools via Government Circular No. 1613 on 30 September 1971.²²⁷ The male section of the Pedro Nolasco Schools had 43 students who could potentially do the new course. The female section of the school had 58 students.²²⁸ This resulted in some fascinating correspondence which involved the schools rejecting the proposal on cost grounds, teaching resource allocation grounds and timetabling grounds.²²⁹ The dryness of the correspondence language means that one may never really know if the Macao Education Department was blindsided by the negative responses from the principals of each of the schools involved. The abortive exercise led Deputy Head of Service (*Assistente Chefe de Serviços*), Fernanda da Mota Salvador, to write to the Governor of Macao explaining the problems with the proposed new course:

*[...] pois uma orientação didáctica diferente poderá estabelecer confusão no espírito dos alunos, não se alcançando assim os fins desejados, uma consciencialização dos valores pátrios e um melhor domínio de uso da Língua Nacional [...].*²³⁰

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The key phrase, ‘...*fins desejados, uma consciencialização dos valores pátrios...*’ shows the fundamental objective of the course — ‘the inculcation of patriotic values...’.

In her letter to the Governor, she recommended an experimental version of the course for the academic year 1972/1973.²³¹

This relatively minor incident within the educational system is interesting on several levels. It further supports the views of Bray et al. regarding a *laissez-faire* approach.²³² It shows that the Macao Education Department had to respect the views of the Chinese community — the Pedro Nolasco Schools may have been part of the official system, but the student body was overwhelmingly of Chinese extraction or children from mixed marriages. The Estado Novo was a dictatorship, but the incident shows that opposition to certain reforms was possible if the arguments followed the values of the system. In other words, it was not sufficient to argue that a reform was wrong because it was fascist. One had to argue that the reform was too expensive — and since financial probity and sound money was a virtue in the Salazar system, then this argument could cut some ice.

4.6 THE *DEFESA NACIONAL*

To strengthen patriotism in provincial schools, the Portuguese government sent out Circular No. 495 on 18 March 1970, entitled ‘Assinatura da Revista *Defesa Nacional*’. The government gave the rationale and the cost for the annual subscription to the magazine which was 70 escudos for 12 issues. Why would schools need a magazine on defence issues? The answer was clearly stated in the government circular: ‘*com o propósito de melhor estruturar a formação patriótica dos alunos*’. Circular No. 495 was sent to school institutions in Macao and quite possibly to the other overseas provinces. In Macao, the circular was forwarded to several

schools — the Escola Magistério Primário, Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique, Colégio D. Bosco, and Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco. It seems that the schools had some latitude on this matter.²³³ Colégio D. Bosco replied in response to the circular on 1 April by saying that they had already been receiving the publication.²³⁴ The Liceu Nacional on 6 April²³⁵ and Escola Magistério on 11 April²³⁶ both agreed to receive the new publication. Only Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco — a school founded in 1878 — refused the subscription with a terse, ‘*não estamos interessados na Assinatura da Revista...*’ (we are not interested in subscribing to the magazine) in a letter dated 7 April 1970.²³⁷

No hard copies of *Defesa Nacional* exist in the Archives of Macao. There were two magazines with similar sounding titles, ‘*Defesa Nacional*’, which were publicly available in 1973. One of the magazines was founded in 1913²³⁸ and the other was founded in 1934.²³⁹ Without copies of the magazines, it is difficult to know which ‘*Defesa Nacional*’ was actually being referred to in the school correspondence. However, this in no way negates the primary intention of the Portuguese government to instil patriotic loyalty via subscriptions to this magazine.

4.7 THE ACADEMIA MILITAR

On 13 July 1973, the Rebelo Decrees were passed which implemented accelerated courses at the Academia Militar. The idea behind the reforms was to solve a chronic officer shortage in the Portuguese army.²⁴⁰ Under the reforms, conscript officers now only needed to spend a year or two at the Academia Militar whereas professional soldiers needed four. The policy caused massive resentment among professional soldiers even though the military logic behind the Rebelo Decrees was compelling and entirely sensible.²⁴¹ The Rebelo Decrees also impacted Macao.

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On 30 July 1973, the Liceu Nacional, Colégio D. Bosco and Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco received information allowing those who had completed a certain minimum standard of education to apply to the Academia Militar.²⁴² The Pedro Nolasco Schools had a track record of sending military recruits as seen in documents from the 1950s.²⁴³ The Liceu Nacional received a detailed set of application forms along with a detailed set of student criteria to fill the forms in. General conditions for entry included minimum height of 1.62 m, citizenship — either indigenous (*'originário'*) or naturalised, moral and civil deportment, a commitment to defend the Estado Novo and a certain level of physical fitness. In addition, there were certain other requirements such as a minimum education level of year 3 in

the Liceu system and minimum scores in Maths and Science should a student decide to pursue military engineering.²⁴⁴ Documentation to be submitted in the application process included birth certificates, parental permission for those under 21 and school transcripts.²⁴⁵ The course at the Academia Militar would count towards university preparation which was clearly designed to incentivise recruitment.²⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

Fig. 11 shows a Portuguese official pinning military decoration on Angolan troops who fought alongside the colonial power in Angola. There is no date, but the photo is in the section in *Mensagem* celebrating Portugal's National Day in the June 1971 issue of the magazine.²⁴⁷

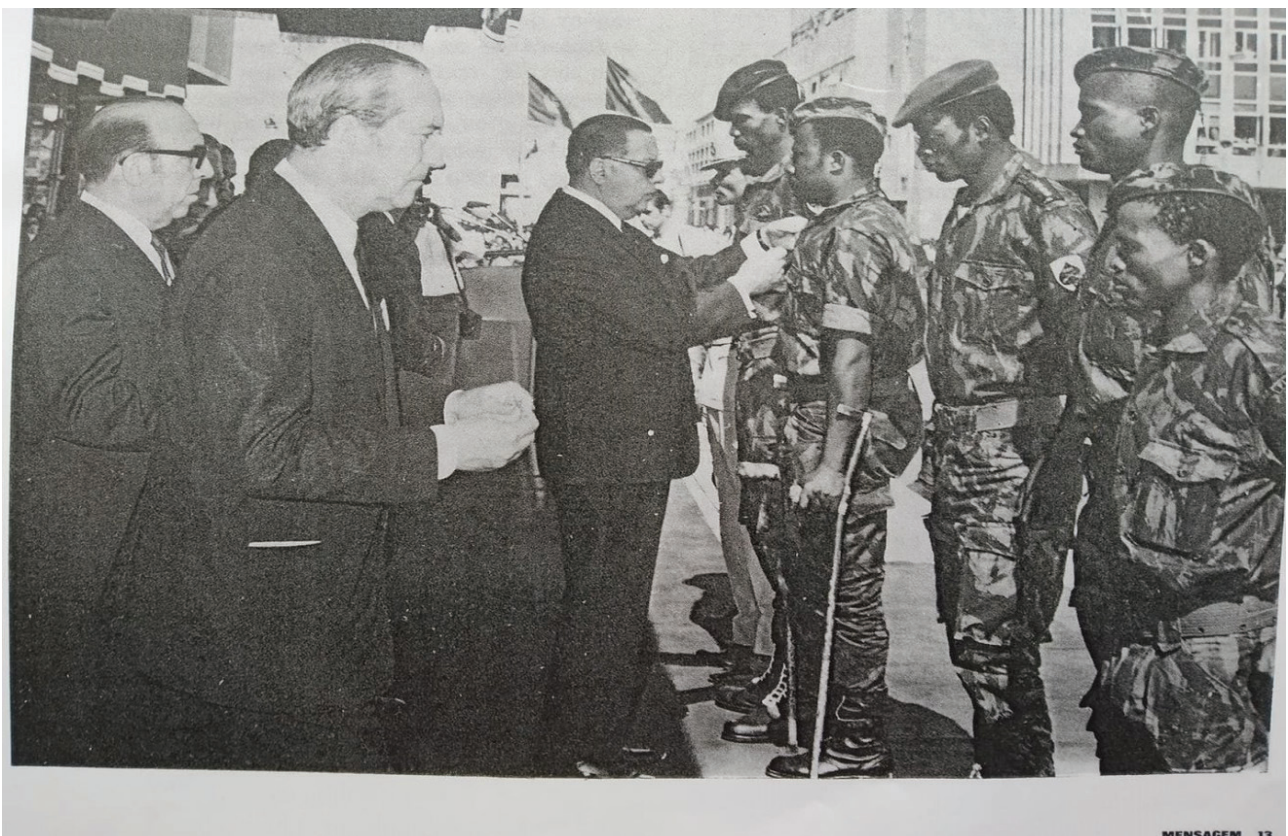


Fig. 11: Black African troops receiving military decorations in Angola. *Mensagem*, year VIII, Volume 85, Jun. 1971, 13.

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The same National Day edition of *Mensagem* just quoted above had a large section devoted to those in Angola who had been awarded teaching prizes. It was an important occasion with many dignitaries present. A speaker at this event outlined the achievements and goals of the teaching profession. He said this in his closing remarks:

Vida fora, nunca esquecemos os nossos professores primários, aqueles que nos ensinaram a ler e a contar, aqueles que nos ensinaram a amar a Pátria, aqueles que nos ensinaram a sermos bons portugueses.

*V. Ex.^{as}, representam aqui, hoje, mais de 10 mil professores primários que, espalhados por todos os cantos e recantos desta Angola, nas cidades, nas vilas, nas aldeias e nos matos, arrostando com mil dificuldades de toda a ordem, ensinam aos pequeninos cérebros o evangelho da Pátria.*²⁴⁸

[Translation by author: [...] we never forget our primary teachers, those who taught us to read and count, those who taught us to love our Fatherland, those who taught us to be good Portuguese.]

[...] today, more than 10,000 primary school teachers who, scattered in all corners of this Angola, in cities, towns, villages and forests, and facing thousands of difficulties, teach the little children the gospel of the Fatherland.]

The Portuguese phrase used was ‘*ensinam [...] o evangelho da Pátria*’ which has religious overtones because from ‘*evangelho*’, we get ‘evangelist’ and ‘evangelise’, both of which have strong religious connotations.

The books and resources analysed in this article clearly aimed to produce a patriotic love. In a letter published in *Mensagem*, a class assistant called António Manuel da Cruz who was based at Posto Escolar de Mongongue–Negola (Caluquembe), had this to say about the educational task:

*O Estado admitiu-nos como seus colaboradores directos e, apesar da nossa tão pouca instrução, deposita tanta confiança em nós que nos manda para os cantos mais longínquos desta vasta Angola, entregues a nós mesmos, quer dizer, no sentido de conhecimento que temos sobre a responsabilidade perante Deus, Pátria e Família.*²⁴⁹

[Translation by author: The State has admitted us as its direct collaborators and, despite our so little education, it places so much trust in us that it sends us to the furthest corners of this vast Angola, given to us, that is, in the sense of knowledge we have about responsibility to God, Fatherland and Family.]

It probably takes too many steps to suggest that Angolan and Mozambican children automatically loved the Portuguese fatherland. As one of the contributors to *Mensagem*, issue 113 noted, it was difficult to teach patriotic values in farming communities with students being repeatedly called away to family farms.²⁵⁰ However, it is striking that by 1973 there were 61,816 locally recruited troops in the colonies compared to 87,274 recruited from Metropolitan Portugal. Many of the men recruited in the overseas territories were Black Africans.²⁵¹ This is an astonishing number and part of the reason for their loyalty to Portugal was due to the education they received as youngsters. In the colonial

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schools, there was a gigantic captive audience for the promulgation of Portuguese values and government propaganda. Many of these African troops were quite possibly similar in outlook to the boy called Mamadu in his desire to be a soldier for the Portuguese.²⁵²

The books quoted in the section on Portuguese Africa and course content mentioned in the section on Macao are clearly aimed at people between the ages of 4 and 14, the ages when people are generally more susceptible to propaganda of differing descriptions. Some of these young people obviously grew up believing that Portugal was the future, that Portugal really was a melting pot of differing races, where there was no White or Black, but only Portuguese citizens living in a proud Metropolitan society.

Macao is the anomaly in this article. The children of Portuguese elites were subject to the educational aims and the curricula of Metropolitan Portugal. Yet, most of the Macanese ensconced in their pro-KMT or pro-PRC schools remained far removed from Portuguese colonial propaganda. Furthermore, there is evidence of Chinese pushback in the Luso-Chinese schools as seen in Escola Pedro Nolasco's rejection of the proposed History, Geography and Portuguese course at primary 4 level and in its rejection of the *Defesa Nacional* subscription.

The numerous liberation groups in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau were deeply critical of the education provided by Portugal. FRELIMO, for example, clearly saw the Portuguese education system as a major threat. The conflation of religion and Portuguese nationalism was clearly the sort of thinking that had to be completely eradicated in the post-independence world, and was presumably what Janet Mondlane, wife of the FRELIMO leader Eduardo Mondlane, had in mind when she spoke of the need to 'free the minds of the people, and educate them towards the independence that will be theirs...' ²⁵³

APPENDIX: The University That Never Was

Had it not been for the fall of Chiang Kai-shek in October 1949, Macao may well have its first university since St. Paul's College permanently shut its doors in 1762.²⁵⁴ Considerable progress had been made on planning the University of South China. The rationale for the university was to provide higher education for Chinese people who was denied this during the ongoing civil war. Students were to learn about other cultures through a variety of courses. The aim was to have four faculties — Arts, Commerce, Engineering and a combined Law and Political Science faculty.²⁵⁵ The Faculty of Arts would teach Chinese, Foreign Literature, History, Sociology, Music and Philosophy. The Faculty of Commerce would teach Banking, Accountancy, Industrial Management, and International Commerce. The Faculty of Law would teach Jurisprudence, International Law, Judicial Administration, Economics and Political Science. The Engineering Faculty would teach Civil, Architectural, Mechanical and Chemical Engineering.²⁵⁶ There would be a council of Directors of between 15 and 35 people and one of its functions was the appointment of the rector and vice-rector of the University. There would be a small cabinet advising the rector. The rector would appoint a general secretary who would take charge of matters of finance and administration.²⁵⁷ It would take four years to earn a bachelor's degree and graduates would receive a bachelor of Arts or a bachelor of Science.²⁵⁸

The initial budget was 3 million patacas, a third to be raised by the Macanese Civil Administration, another third raised by personal donations from local and overseas Chinese people and the final million to be raised by Chinese civic groups.²⁵⁹ (An earlier draft version of the University Proposal had the directors footing a third of the 3 million cost. They obviously changed their minds!)²⁶⁰ The provisional opening date of the University of South China was 10 October 1949²⁶¹ — which clearly honoured the date of the 1911 revolution in China.

A provisional Council list comprising 27 people

was also drawn up. The Council comprised a diverse range of individuals. Several were members of the Kuomintang, others were representatives of the government of China — although which government was not specified. The proposed university had its international supporters with one of the council members based in Vancouver and another in Toronto. In addition, there were numerous Macanese who were influential in the world of business and commerce.²⁶²

The author lacks the requisite Chinese skills to fully investigate this further. It is up to other scholars to investigate the backgrounds of the 27 individuals comprising the council and find out what happened to them after 1949.

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NOTES

- 1 Marvin Harris, *Portugal's African 'Wards' — A First-Hand Report on Labor and Education in Moçambique*, Africa Today Pamphlets 2 (New York: American Committee on Africa, 1958), 14.
- 2 Originally quoted in Mark Bray, "Colonialism, Scale, and Politics: Divergence and Convergence of Educational Development in Hong Kong and Macau," *Comparative Education Review* 36, No. 3 (Aug. 1992): 322.
- 3 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura: 1.ª Classe* ([Bissau?]: Governo da Província da Guiné, 1972), 79.
- 4 Photo credit: Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 79. <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=/geral/L-00000012&p=80>.
- 5 Eduardo Andrade Pires and Américo Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo: Livro de Leituras para a 4.ª Classe*, 4th ed. (Lourenço Marques: Livraria Casa Spanos etc., 1966).
- 6 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano: Ensino Primário Rural* (Luanda: Lello Edições, 1963).
- 7 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura: 1.ª Classe*.
- 8 American Committee on Africa, *The Status of Portugal's African Territories* (New York: American Committee on Africa, [1958?]).
- 9 ACOA, *The Status of Portugal's African Territories*, 5–6.
- 10 Eduardo Mondlane, in an unsourced footnote, said that the Catholic mission schools were funded by the Portuguese State. Eduardo C. Mondlane, "Old Roots in African Education," in *America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education* (Syracuse: Syracuse University — School of Education, 1962), 9.
- 11 Mondlane, "Old Roots in African," 6–7.
- 12 MO/AH/EDU/FA/09/0011, Relatórios de visitas de inspecção 1968/1969, 5.
- 13 Harris, *Portugal's African Wards*.
- 14 'Native education will conform to the doctrinal orientation established by the Political Constitution, will for all effects be considered official and will regulate itself by the plans and programs adopted by the governments of the colonies. These plans and programmes will have in view the perfect nationalisation and moral uplift of the natives and the acquisition of habits and aptitudes for work [...] it being understood that by moral uplift is meant the abandonment of indolence and the preparation of future rural and industrial workers who produce enough to meet their own necessities and fulfil their social obligations.' Harris, *Portugal's African Wards*, 15.
- 15 Harris, *Portugal's African Wards*, 16.
- 16 Harris, *Portugal's African Wards*, 16–17.
- 17 Manuel Fernandes Costa, "As Missões Católicas e o Ensino no Ultramar," *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* XLI, no. 480 (Jun. 1965), 59.
- 18 Original excerpt in Portuguese, 'Os resultados obtidos justificaram amplamente as verbas dispendidas, porquanto, no capítulo da educação, somam-se por muitas centenas de milhar as crianças que aproveitaram os benefícios das escolas elementares, escolas de formação de professores e escolas de artes e ofícios, em todo o ultramar português, e por um número muito maior os que pela catequização atingiram um nível de civilização e cultura mais elevado.' Costa, "As Missões Católicas", 59.
- 19 Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: the end of an era: The effects of Portuguese colonialism on education science, culture and information* (Paris: The Unesco Press, 1974), 75–76.

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- 20 Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa*, 77.
- 21 Siu Pang Titus Li and Wai Yu Ora Kwo, "Teacher Education," in *Education and Society in Hong Kong and Macao*, eds. Mark Bray and Ramsay Koo (Dordrecht: Springer Press, 2005), 73–74.
- 22 Gregory L. Mattson, "Gregory L. Mattson," interview by Raymond Ewing, *Foreign Affairs Oral History Project*, October 23, 2000, <https://adst.org/OH%20TOCs/Mattson,%20Gregory%20L.toc.pdf>.
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- 24 A/7200/Add.3, 92 (Annex II Table 1).
- 25 A/7200/Add.3, 127 (Annex III Table 3); A/7200/Add.3, 139 (Annex IV ¶ 27).
- 26 Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa*.
- 27 Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa*, 85–87. Eduardo de Sousa Ferreira mentions caravel ships in an unnamed textbook which might well have belonged to an Angolan textbook entitled *Livro de Leitura da Terceira Classe*, published in 1965. This has Portuguese ships on the front cover.
- 28 Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa*, 81.
- 29 *Mensagem*, year VIII, no. 82, Mar. 1971, 17.
- 30 These lessons were entitled, 'Uma Lição de Telescola' and issue 82 of the magazine had pronunciation exercises involving pronouns such as, 'eu', 'tu', 'nós', 'vós' and 'eles'. *Mensagem*, year VIII, no. 82, Mar. 1971, 11–12; the February 1972 issue of *Mensagem* also had a page devoted to radio lessons. *Mensagem*, year VIII, no. 93, Feb. 1972, 5; another solution to the teacher gap was to use classroom assistants and the Portuguese initiated, 'Cursos de Monitores', to train these assistants. *Mensagem*, year VIII, no. 83, Apr. 1971, 12–13.
- 31 Joaquim Chissano, "Joaquim Chissano," interview by Tor Sellström, *The Nordic African Institute*, May 2, 1996, <https://nai.uu.se/library/resources/liberation-africa/interviews/joaquim-chissano.html>.
- 32 "Curso 'Honório Barreto' da Mocidade Portuguesa," in *Moçambique: Documentário Trimestral*, n.º 105 (Lourenço Marques: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Moçambique, 1961), 78, <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=MDT/MDT-N105&p=79>.
- 33 Decreto n.º 27301, *Diário do Governo*, n.º 284/1936, Série I de 1936-12-04, 1592.
- 34 *Parada da Mocidade Portuguesa, Estádio Sarmiento Rodrigues*, Bissau, May 1945 (?), Photograph, INEP, <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07936.006.020>; *Parada da Mocidade Portuguesa [Visita oficial do Governador Sarmiento Rodrigues à Guiné. Maio de 1945. ?]*, May 1945 (?), Photograph, INEP, <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07936.006.006>.
- 35 The Commissioner and Adjunct Commissioners of the MPF in each province were directly appointed by the Minister for Overseas (*Ministro do Ultramar*). Junior positions were appointed by provincial governors. The MPF had its own particular day of celebration — 8 December — and was authorised to participate in other patriotic holidays, such as 28 May (commemorative day of coup d'état which overthrown the First Republic) and 10 June (Day of Portugal and Camões). The MPF was permitted to set up branches in official schools. The MPF had its own distinctive uniform. *Diário do Governo*, n.º 249/1960, Série I de 1960-10-26, 2325–2326.
- 36 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 249/1960, Série I de 1960-10-26, 2325.
- 37 Irene Pimentel, "Women's Organisations and Imperial Ideology under the Estado Novo." *Portuguese Studies* 18 (2002): 121–131.
- 38 Pimentel, "Women's Organizations," 130.
- 39 Portaria n.º 17655, *Diário do Governo*, n.º 76/1960, Série I de 1960-04-01, 844. Underline by author.
- 40 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 276/1961, Série I de 1961-11-28, 1494.
- 41 This particular website contains excellent information on this particular school. "Do Fundo do Baú 1 — Curiosidades," *Liceu António Enes*, accessed March 23, 2022, <http://www.geocities.ws/liceuantonioenes/bau1.html>.
- 42 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 253/1968, Série I de 1968-10-26, 1591.
- 43 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 84/1968, Série I de 1968-04-08, 523; *Diário do Governo*, n.º 237/1968, Série I de 1968-10-08, 1539.
- 44 INEP, *Processo/dossier da Repartição do Gabinete do Governador contendo correspondência (recebida e expedida) e outra documentação relativas à Mocidade Portuguesa*, (Bissau: Repartição do Gabinete da Província da Guiné, 1970–1974), 70, 73–76, <http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=11269.002.004>.
- 45 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 263/1966, Série I de 1966-11-12, 1807–1812.
- 46 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 262/1971, Série I de 1971-11-08, 1712–1714; Pimentel, "Women's Organizations," 126–130.
- 47 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 263/1966, Série I de 1966-11-12, 1811.
- 48 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 262/1971, Série I de 1971-11-08, 1712.
- 49 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 262/1971, Série I de 1971-11-08. Artigo 18.º, 1713.
- 50 *Diário do Governo*, n.º 262/1971, Série I de 1971-11-08, 1713.
- 51 Original excerpt in *Diário do Governo*, n.º 267/1971, Série I de 1971-11-13, 1752, '[...] No artigo 17.º, no n.º 1, onde se lê: «... de modo a facilitar o ingresso nas forças armadas», deve ler-se: «... de modo a facilitar aos filiados o ingresso nas forças armadas», e no n.º 2, onde se lê: «O Departamento da Defesa, os Ministérios da Marinha e do Exército...», deve ler-se: «O Departamento da Defesa Nacional, os Ministérios da Marinha e do Exército...» Presidência do Conselho, 8 de Novembro de 1971. — O Presidente do Conselho, Marcello Caetano.'
- 52 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0004 Diversos 1939/01/20–1950/06/03, page 50 in the government document and page 53 in the archive file. Undated — but possibly 18 June 1940 at the very earliest.
- 53 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0005 Diversos 1946/01/28–1961/11/13, pp. 397, 399. Letters dated 18 December 1946 and 8 January 1947.
- 54 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0005 Diversos 1946/01/28–1961/11/13, p. 380. Letter dated 5 March 1947.

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- 55 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0004 Diversos 1939/01/20–1950/06/03, p. 28.
- 56 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0004 Diversos 1939/01/20–1950/06/03, p. 88.
- 57 MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/05/0085 Atividades circum-escolares da Mocidade Portuguesa Masculina, e Feminina do Centro n.º 2 da Escola Comercial Pedro Nolasco, 1970/05/22, pp. 1–4.
- 58 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/007 Intercâmbios culturais 1964/01/23–1972/07/25, pp. 11–14, 78–83.
- 59 MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/13/0273 Torneio de atletismo 1973/04/10–1973/04/11, pp. 1–2.
- 60 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0310 Diversos 1973/11/10–1974/12/03 V Torneio de Atletismo da Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, 24.
- 61 MO/AH/EDU/FA/11/0014 Informações e propostas 1974/01/02–1974/12/30. The 478-page file is badly damaged by humidity. The index is in perfect condition. It is possible to read some of the pages by using a mirror or by reflector software because the typewriter keys have indented the paper. The documents relating to the breakup of MP and MPF are no. 79, 86, 99–104, 107 and 134. The full winding up process of MPF and MP seemed to have lasted from June 1974 to early September 1974.
- 62 MO/AH/AC/SA/01/23158 1966/08/31–1966/09/19, pp. 1–12.
- 63 MO/AH/EDU/FA/09/0005 Relatórios da Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau, 1967–1968, pp. 3–4.
- 64 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0310 Diversos 1973/11/10–1974/12/03 V Torneio de Atletismo da Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina, p. 24.
- 65 MO/AH/EDU/FA/09/0005 Relatórios da Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau, 1967–1968, pp. 3–4; MO/AH/EDU/FA/09/0015 Relatórios da Escola do Magistério Primário de Macau, 1970–1971, pp. 6–7.
- 66 MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/13/0106 Escola Luso-Chinesa Sir Robert Hó Tung, dos sexos masculino e feminino 1967/03/02–1967/11/30, p. 11; MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0220 1970/04/27–1974/02/20 Diversos, pp. 41–43. Letter from Fernanda da Mota Salvador to *Chefe de Serviços* (Head of Service) of Macau Education Department dated 9/5/1970 regarding MPF activities; MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0261 1972/01/20–1973/11/20 Ordens de execução permanente, pp. 1–8. Fernanda da Mota Salvador was 17th on the precedence list for February 1973 which related to seniority in official functions. The law regarding precedence was Article 205 of the Overseas Civil Service Regulation (*Estatuto do Funcionalismo Ultramarino*) as noted in official correspondence in this particular file.
- 67 MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/03/0049 Horários dos professores 1970/03/09–1970/03/30, p. 19.
- 68 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0230 1970/12/31–1971/07/08 Apresentação de cumprimentos e despedida, p. 58; Fernanda da Mota Salvador seems to have held the position of Substituted *Chefe de Serviços* for at least six months as seen her 20/10/1971 letter to official Portuguese schools regarding World Mission Day (*Dia Mundial das Missões*), in her letter dated 27/12/1971 to the Macao Social Assistance Institute (*Instituto de Assistência Social de Macau*) regarding a charitable donation from the mentioned institute to junior staff and workers (*peçoal menor — serventes e equiparados*) at Macao schools and in a letter dated 21/1/1972 regarding student design awards for the front cover of the brochure commemorating the 400th anniversary of the publication of *Os Lusíadas* by Luís de Camões. MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0231 1971/01/04–1971/12/27 Diversos, pp. 1, 24, 26 and MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0232 1971/01/05–1975/02/17 IV Centenário da Publicação de “Os Lusíadas”, p. 191. Each staff or worker, whose ethnicity seems to have been Chinese judging by the staff lists, received 20 patacas; The World Mission Day was authorised by Pope Paul IV in a message to the Catholic Diocese of Macau and all Catholic schools and churches were to take part. If this was the case, then it is highly likely that the Papal message was also sent to Catholic Bishops and Catholic Schools in Portuguese Africa at approximately the same period that the Bishop of Macao, Paulo José Tavares, wrote to the Macao Education Department, i.e. 29/10/1971. MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0231 1971/01/04–1971/12/27 Diversos, pp. 2–3.
- 69 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0274 Listas dos livros aprovados para o ano lectivo de 1972/1973 1972/05/04–1972/05/27, p. 27, Letter from Fernanda da Mota Salvador to Macao Education Department, dated 18 May 1972, regarding approved textbooks.
- 70 However, without her payslips it is impossible to prove this either way. The new governments that succeeded the Estado Novo launched an inquiry entitled, ‘*Inquérito sobre cargos ou lugares exercidos por inerência ou acumulações de funções*’ (Survey on positions or posts held in ex-officio capacity or accumulation of posts) (Circular Urgente N.º 13/Gab/1974 de 14/6/1974). This involved all the basic pay plus the additional moneys derived from numerous administrative positions that civil servants received. Fernanda da Mota Salvador was listed on page 18 in file MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0323 but her details are missing. However, a glimpse into the sort of moneys involved can be seen in the information submitted by Túlio Lopes Tomás, the *Chefe de Serviços*. He received the following amounts: salary — 2,994; gratuities — 400; amounts earned in his capacity as headmaster of Liceu D. Henrique — 908. His total monthly income was 4,302 patacas. Américo Oliva received the following income: *Inspector Escolar* (School Inspector) — 2,668; gratuity — 320; member of censorship commission — 120, total monthly income was 3,108 patacas. MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0323 1974/01/04–1974/11/26 Expediente geral, pp. 10–29.
- 71 Bray, “Colonialism, Scale, and Politics,” 329.
- 72 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*.
- 73 Christmas, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 26–27, 30; Church on Sunday, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 6; Jesus visiting paralysed man, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 40–41.
- 74 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 42.
- 75 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 60, 57.

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- 76 Cuckoo, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 57; Boy praying, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 61; Children walking, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 62; Jesus with a child, Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 72.
- 77 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 52.
- 78 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 73.
- 79 Governo Geral de Angola, *O Livro do Terceiro Ano*, 87.
- 80 Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*.
- 81 These were known as ‘*alunos repetentes*’ (pupils in repeated grades). In both Angola and Macao — and in an absolute worst-case scenario — it might take more than ten years to proceed beyond 4th class. This would also mean that a class could have several different age groups ranging from 6 to 12 and the Archives of Macao reference in this endnote shows 3rd class having students aged between 7 and 14. From a subject preparation point of view, this was challenging to say, the least, since materials had to suit the cognitive ability of different maturity levels. The subsequent page in the Colégio D. Bosco report shows students in *Ciclo Preparatório Classe 1^a* had an age range of 10–15. At middle school levels, the age ranges were even more glaring. For example, *Curso Formação Classe 1^o Ano* had a class aged between 11 and 18. MO/AH/EDU/FA/15/0002 Estatística - Anuário do Ensino de Macau 1949/08/15–1961/12/11, pp. 214–215.
- 82 Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*, 1.
- 83 Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*, 174.
- 84 Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*, 164–165.
- 85 Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*, 171.
- 86 Pires and Oliva, *Portugal no Mundo*, 171.
- 87 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*; Literacy in the African colonies was between 7% to 10% among Black Africans. “Mozambique: Country Profile,” National Intelligence Agency — CIA, accessed March 23, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP01-00707R000200100010-4.pdf>.
- 88 Governo da Província da Guiné, *Caderno de Instruções Didáticas para “O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura” (1.^a Classe)* ([Bissau?]: Governo da Província da Guiné, [1972?]).
- 89 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 95.
- 90 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 7–8.
- 91 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 21, 24, 31, 46, 76, 77, 79, 80, 83, 88–90, 100, 101.
- 92 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 21.
- 93 ‘Soldiers assist in house construction/Soldiers help man to build his house.’ Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 24.
- 94 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 31.
- 95 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 46.
- 96 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 70.
- 97 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 76–77.
- 98 Governo da Província da Guiné, *Caderno de Instruções*, 15.
- 99 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 79.
- 100 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 80.
- 101 Governo da Província da Guiné, *Caderno de Instruções*, 16.
- 102 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 83.
- 103 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 88–90.
- 104 Governo da Província da Guiné, *O Meu Primeiro Livro de Leitura*, 100–102.
- 105 Graciete Batalha, “Macau Há Trinta Anos (Excertos de Um ‘Diário’),” *Revista de Cultura* 10 (Apr.–Jun. 1990), 135–138; Graciete Batalha (1925–1992) was a published author with her research interests covering Macao customs and folklore, Macanese dialects and Macanese language structures and ways to tackle student illiteracy.
- 106 Mark Bray, “Decolonisation and Education: New paradigms for the remnants of empire,” *Compare* 24, no. 1 (1994), 47.
- 107 Bray, “Colonialism, Scale, and Politics,” 322–342.
- 108 Mark Bray et al., *Higher Education in Macau: Growth and Strategic Development* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2002), 16.
- 109 Siu Pang Titus Li and Wai Yu Ora Kwo, “Teacher Education,” in Bray and Koo, *Education and Society*, 75.
- 110 Bob Adamson and Siu Pang Titus Li, “Primary and Secondary Schooling,” in Bray and Koo, *Education and Society*, 38–40.
- 111 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0009 1949/02/24–1955/06/30 Translations of Chinese newspaper articles about Chinese private schools; statistical data, expenses and reports from official schools and private schools, p. 22.
- 112 MO/AH/EDU/FA/15/0012 Elementos estatísticos 1961/12/12–1962/12/04, p. 31.
- 113 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0375 1974/11/23–1974/12/30 Visitas do Governador às escolas oficiais e oficializadas, à Biblioteca Nacional de Macau e à Repartição dos Serviços de Educação, pp. 3–4. The official schools mentioned were: Liceu Nacional Infante D. Henrique, Escola Magistério Primário, Escola Preparatória anexa ao Liceu, Escola Primária Oficial Pedro Nolasco da Silva, Escola Primária Oficial da Taipa, Escola Primária Oficial de Coloane, Escola Luso-Chinesa “Sir Robert Ho Tung”, Escola Infantil D. José da Costa Nunes and the primary school sections of Colégio D. Bosco and Santa Rosa da Lima.
- 114 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0009 Diversos 1949/02/24–1955/06/30, p. 88.
- 115 MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/03/0001–MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/03/0017: Informações e propostas da Inspeção Escolar, 1969/03/14–1976/12/28, and MO/AH/EDU/

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- SIDE/05/0001 Registo das instruções de orientação pedagógica, 1967/11/14–1968/12/03.
- 116 Relatórios anuais das escolas primárias oficiais e oficializadas.
- 117 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0009 Diversos 1949/02/24–1955/06/30, p. 68.
- 118 MO/AH/EDU/CEM/11/0054 Documentos de receita e despesa dos anos de 1967, 1968 e 1969 1967/03/09–1969/11/29; MO/AH/EDU/CEM/11/0055 Documentos de receita e despesa dos anos de 1970 e 1971 1970/01/15–1971/12/13; MO/AH/EDU/CEM/11/0056 Documentos de receita e despesa dos anos de 1972 e 1973 1972/01/04–1973/12/11.
- 119 Ferreira, *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa*, 81.
- 120 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0030 Estatística de estabelecimentos de ensino e pessoal docente [1959]–[1961], p. 10; Population according to 1960 census. Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *Anuário Estatístico*, Volume 2, Ultramar – 1965 (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 1966).
- 121 Students also had access to books on local Macanese flora and fauna with two titles noted in the school stock, one of which was a large wall chart measuring 1.28m by 0.97m. MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/13/0018 Inventários da Escola Primária Oficial Luso-Chinesa “Sir Robert Hó Tung” 1953/03/21–1957/03/30, pp. 8–9.
- 122 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0253 1971/12/10–1972/12/23 Diversos Pedidos para leccionar, pp. 1–5.
- 123 MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/04/0157 1972/12/21–1973/12/03 Diversos, pp. 77–79.
- 124 No mention of the African wars is made by Governor António Adriano Faria Lopes dos Santos. He spends a good deal of his time on the expulsion of a *de facto* Taiwanese consulate in 1965 following mainland Chinese pressure and on major land reclamation and infrastructure programmes. [António Adriano Lopes dos Santos], “DA VARANDA DE SANTA SANCHÁ: Memórias do Ex-Governador António Adriano Faria Lopes dos Santos,” *Revista de Cultura* 16 (Oct.–Dec. 1991), 181–187.
- 125 MO/AH/AC/SA/01/21947 1961/02/14–1961/02/25, pp. 1–3.
- 126 MO/AH/AC/SA/01/22123 Alunos cujos estudos foram interrompidos por terem sido chamados para qualquer dever ou serviço militar 1961/09/25–1961/11/28.
- 127 *Índice Alfabético do Boletim Oficial de Macau Referente ao Ano de 1962*, XI.
- 128 The Overseas Week (*Semana do Ultramar*) was an annual event organised by the Sociedade de Geografia da Lisboa. MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0129 1966/03/30–1973/04/09 *Semana do Ultramar*, pp. 372, 373.
- 129 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0195 1968/06/26–1968/07/06 Anúncio para ingresso sem concurso no quadro administrativo de Angola, pp. 1–4. Letters sent to Centro de Informação e Turismo on 6/7/1968, to Liceu D. Henrique on 28/6/1968, to Colégio D. Bosco on 6/7/1968 and Escola Comercial “Pedro Nolasco” on 6/7/1968.
- 130 For example, Decree-Law No. 45908, ‘Art. 19.º O concurso de provimento de professores de ensino primário elementar será sempre anunciado no Diário do Governo e no Boletim Oficial da respectiva província.’ (Article 19 The competition for the provision of elementary school teachers will always be announced in the *Diário do Governo* and in the *Boletim Oficial* of the respective province). Decree-Law No. 45908 *Diário do Governo* n.º 213/1964, Série I de 1964-09-10, 1101; Articles 16–25 of Decree-Law No. 46982 expressly deal with public competitions for civil service positions. *Diário do Governo* n.º 99/1966, 1.º Suplemento, Série I de 1966-04-27, 653–654.
- 131 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0195 1968/06/26–1968/07/06 Anúncio para ingresso sem concurso no quadro administrativo de Angola, p. 5.
- 132 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0195 1968/06/26–1968/07/06 Anúncio para ingresso sem concurso no quadro administrativo de Angola, p. 5.
- 133 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0195 1968/06/26–1968/07/06 Anúncio para ingresso sem concurso no quadro administrativo de Angola, p. 6. The salary table on page 6 indicates that it was possible to increase the monthly salary to 4,100 escudos, with 300 granted as a family allowance (*abono de família*) and an additional 500 escudos earmarked as, ‘*gratificações*’ or gratuities. The highest positions available to apply for were ‘*Intendente de distrito*’ (8,000 escudos per month) and ‘*Inspector Administrativo*’ (13,000 escudos per month).
- 134 MO/AH/AC/SA/01/23591 Lei do Serviço Militar 1969/05/07–1969/06/12.
- 135 MO/AH/EDU/FTTP/04/0102, 1970/09/02–1970/12/07, Circular n.º 1589, 1970/09/28.
- 136 MO/AH/AC/SA/01/23796 1970/06/03–1970/08/12 Correspondence related to job application from José Manuel dos Santos; MO/AH/AC/SA/01/23803 1970/07/02–1970/10/01. Correspondence related to job application from Mamede do Nascimento Rodrigues.
- 137 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0079 Intercâmbios culturais 1964/01/23–1972/07/25, pp. 32–33.
- 138 The so called, ‘Triple Alliance’ was long rumoured with many newspapers speculating about the existence of the alliance from as early as the late 1960s. The relevant papers and dates for each newspaper report are: UK *Guardian* 5/12/1964 and 10/9/1965; the *Financial Times* 16/7/1965 and the *Times of London* 11–13/3/1968. Co-operation on sanction busting in which Portugal aided Rhodesia in selling oil was reported in the UK *Guardian* on 3/11/1967 and 17/2/1968. South African investment in the Cabora Bassa HEP project was reported in the *Times of London* on 5, 6 and 8 June 1970 with the *Financial Times* reporting about this issue on 18/6/1970. Military co-operation reports began appearing after 1970 with articles in the *Times of London* on 23/12/1970, 30/12/1970, 8/9/1971, 17/5/1972, and 14/10/1972, and the *Financial Times* on 18/2/1971. In the National Archives at Kew Gardens, the FCO 45 series makes numerous references to Portuguese co-operation with South Africa and Rhodesia. Relevant files include FCO 45/863 (Alleged military aid from South Africa to Portugal for use in Portuguese Africa); and FCO 45/807 (Visit by Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patrício, to South Africa 22–27 June 1971). The UK press were broadly accurate in the sense that

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- the sequence seems to have economic co-operation from 1965–1970, followed by military co-operation after 1970. Sayaka Funada-Classen in her book, *The Origins of the War in Mozambique* (Cape Town: African Minds, 2013), supported the existence of the Triple Alliance but lacked concrete documents backing up her analysis which was the problem that all books prior to 2014 had. The alliance was finally discovered — in the sense of smoking gun documents — by Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses and Dr. Robert McNamara at the Universities of Maynooth and Ulster, respectively, as reported in *The Irish Times* on 25/4/2014 and in the subsequent book written by Meneses and McNamara which was called, *The White Redoubt, the Great Powers and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1960–1980* (London: Palgrave, 2018). Documents on the alliance are now available in the Lisbon National Archives under file ‘SR. 231 – EXERCÍCIO ALCORA Datas: 1966–1974 Dimensões: 5 cxs. (n.º 784–788) contendo um total de 40 processos’.
- 139 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0222 1970/06/19–1972/01/15 Diversos pp. 17–18. Ao Ofício n.º 3894 (GC-6-2-921), Ângelo Ferreira to Macao Governor, cc. PSP, Macao Education Department and Civil Administration Service; MO/AH/EDU/FA/04/0001 1963/01/02–1972/04/19 Registo de correspondência externa recebida, p. 184. Telegram No. 3894. The summary of the telegram is rather innocuous, noting that it contains lists of organisations associated with UNESCO. The action to be taken (*seguimento*) was, ‘*arquivo notas*’.
 - 140 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0222 1970/06/19–1972/01/15 Diversos, pp. 17–18.
 - 141 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0222 1970/06/19–1972/01/15 Diversos, p. 15.
 - 142 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0222 1970/06/19–1972/01/15 Diversos, p. 16.
 - 143 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0222 1970/06/19–1972/01/15 Diversos, p. 14.
 - 144 The Macao Education Department seems to have been regularly co-operating with UNESCO during the 1960s. For example, MO/AH/EDU/FA/15/0016 contains correspondence regarding the filling in of UNESCO questionnaires by the Macao Education Department which were then dispatched to Lisbon. The statistics were to be used for a 1967 UNESCO school yearbook. MO/AH/EDU/FA/15/0016 1964/01/06–1966/03/02 Elementos estatísticos Devolução dos questionários à UNESCO, sobre estatísticas do funcionamento do ensino e bibliotecas, pp. 1–15.
 - 145 MO/AH/EDU/FA/04/0002 1972/04/19–1977/07/28 Registo de correspondência externa recebida, p. 8.
 - 146 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0300 Edital para o alistamento de voluntários 1973/05/02–1973/07/30, p. 2. Letter from Major Ravara to Macao Education Department, dated 3/5/1973.
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 - 160 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0210 Diversos 1969/08/27–1970/12/23, p. 74. Letter from Pedro Cardese/Cardoso(?), *Secretário-Geral, Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Educação* (General-Secretary of the Provincial Office of Education), Guinea, 14/10/1969, in which a complimentary copy of the Guinea *Programas de Ciclo Elementar de Ensino Primário* was sent to the Macao Education Department.
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 - 207 MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/09/0001, Relatórios anuais das escolas primárias oficiais e oficializadas, 1971/06/25–1971/09/25, p. 43.
 - 208 Siu Pang Titus Li and Wai Yu Ora Kwo, “Teacher Education,” in Bray and Koo, *Education and Society*, 78; Correspondence from file MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0617 shows interest in re-introducing courses for primary teachers due to a lack of Chinese speaking teachers. Colégio S. José in a correspondence from June to July 1979 informed the Macao Education Department that their college could introduce a two-year night-school course from September 1979 to 1981. Evening classes would run from 19:30 to 21:30. MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0617 Magistério Primário para o ano lectivo de 1979/1980, 1979/06/18–1979/07/14, pp. 1–23.
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 - 230 ‘...because a different didactic orientation may create confusion in the students’ spirit, thus not achieving the desired ends, an awareness of the values of the land and a better use of the National Language...’ MO/AH/EDU/SIDE/13/0205 1971/06/14–1971/10/19 Cursos de Português, História e Geografia de Portugal, destinados aos alunos da 4.ª classe, p. 5.
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 - 232 Bray, “Colonialism, Scale, and Politics,” 322–342.
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- 242 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0300 Edital para o alistamento de voluntários, 1973/05/02–1973/07/30, p. 4. Letter from Macao Education Department to Liceu Nacional dated 30/7/1973, regarding admission to the Academia Militar.
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- 244 MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0300 Edital para o alistamento de voluntários, 1973/05/02–1973/07/30, p. 10.
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MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0009	Diversos	1949/02/24–1955/06/30
MO/AH/EDU/FA/18/0210	Diversos	1969/08/27–1970/12/23

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