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POLITICAL IMPACTS OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN DECOLONIZATION: HONG KONG AND MACAU

by

Dr. Beatrice Leung

Faculty of Social Sciences
Lingnan College
Hong Kong
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Dr. Beatrice Leung is an Associate Professor in the Department of Politics and Sociology, Lingnan College, Hong Kong.

Faculty of Social Sciences
Lingnan College
Tuen Mun
Hong Kong
Tel : 2616 7429-32
Fax : 2591 0690
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POLITICAL IMPACTS OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN DECOLONIZATION: HONG KONG AND MACAU

Under the “human capital theory” education is regarded as an important means of enhancing human resources. Thus researchers confirm that education is an important part of national development. On the other hand, in the colonial period colonizers organised their education policy not so much for development but for rule, and sought co-operation with missionaries in the arena of education. Church run education played an important role in the colonial education system. So the decolonialization process also involves education in general including missionary education. Some scholars, based on their research findings, argue that education can be a vehicle for resisting decolonization of attitudes and structures. Catholic education cooperated with the British and Portuguese in Hong Kong and Macau. Education provided by the Roman Catholic Church in Hong Kong and Macau, in terms of numbers and historical significance calls for attention, not only because Catholic missionaries were the first educators in these two colonies but also their schools are still prestigious and have been attracting long queues of applicants. This article aims at discussing the partnership of Catholic education with the British and Portuguese in colonial times. Then it will move to Catholic education and its interaction with the societies of these two territories in the process of decolonization. In other words it will discuss to what degree the return of Hong Kong and Macau to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) has affected Catholic educational policies in the context of the special nature of the Catholic church in Hong Kong and Macau. Discussion will be in the context of the Catholic-China relationship, which is the underlying problem of Catholic education policy in the decolonisation on one hand, and the convergence with the new SAR government on the other.
Catholic-China Relationship

All religions, including Catholicism, hold a world view which is irreconcilable with the atheist ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has no intention of endorsing any religious belief whatsoever. Being patriotic, CCP leaders from the beginning did not have positive feelings towards any type of Christianity, including Catholicism; all were considered as part of cultural imperialism. Being nationalists, CCP leaders, who advocated national pride and dignity, could not support Christianity which is a foreign religion. The Catholic problem was aggravated by the claim of the Vatican to exercise authority over its clergy in organizational and theological terms coupled with the Vatican’s sovereign status in International Law. In China, due to ideological conflict between it and the Party, the Chinese Constitution stated that no education run by any Christian denomination is allowed.

Catholic Education in the Colonial Period

Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, traditionally the British rulers did not show the same favour to the Catholic Italian missionaries who headed the local Catholic church as they did to the Anglican Church in Hong Kong. However, as soon as the British occupied Hong Kong in 1841, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries started to provide care for abandoned children in the territory. Then Italian missionaries provided education both to British and Chinese boys in 1842. Later on both Catholic and Protestant missionaries were allies with the government in education and other services throughout the whole
history of the colony. In 1848 with the arrival of the Catholic French Sisters of St. Paul de Charters, an orphanage and an old age people’s home asylum began to established.8

Before the Second World War (WWII), Christian Churches were already making good educational provision to Hong Kong community as a whole. While the government record showed only nine government schools, there were seven Catholic and four Protestant schools. All of these schools received financial support from the Hong Kong Government.9 These Christian schools have been known as “prestigious” schools since their establishment until today. They are the Diocesan Boys School, the Diocesan Girls’ School, the French (St. Paul’s) Convent School, De La Salle College, Maryknoll Convent School, Wah Yan Branch Senior School, and St. Mary’s School.10 For the whole history of Hong Kong, these missionary schools have been helping Hong Kong society to educate their elite. In the government Education Board after WWII, three church leaders (two Catholics and one Protestant) were among the 17 appointed members who advised the government on the education policy of the colony.11

Following the defeat of the Kuomintang Government and the establishment of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) at the end of the Chinese civil war, hundreds of thousands of mainlanders who refused to live under a Communist regime flocked to Hong Kong. After their arrival, most of them needed relief services including medical and social services and education for their children.

At the beginning of the arrival of the refugees, the Hong Kong government took them as temporary asylum seekers; therefore no long term planning in education or housing was made for them. Considering the limited resources, government officials
and local newspapers held the opinion that the limited resources of Kong Kong’s social services should be confined to Hong Kong born people or at least these should receive priority provision. However, the refugees from the Mainland were accompanied by missionaries who were also at the same time expelled by the atheist Chinese Communist Party for political reasons. The influx of extra hu-manpower and relief goods to Christian churches in Hong Kong enabled them to initiate some social services for refugees including relief work, education, and housing. The American Foreign Missionary Society (Maryknoll Fathers), for example, affiliated with the American Catholic Relief Service (whose Headquarters is in New York) in 1945, and the Maryknoll Fathers in China through relief projects in New York had been providing social services including education and relief service to backward areas of China where their missionaries worked. After their arrival in Hong Kong in the 1950’s, their China projects funded by the New York based Catholic Relief Service were diverted to Hong Kong for Chinese refugees. Thus, large scale church relief and education services began even before the Hong Kong government was stimulated to launch refugee services in 1954 by such disasters as the Shek Kip Mei squatter fire of Christmas Day 1953.

The initiative taken by Christian churches in Hong Kong in the areas of education, and relief work not only relieved the burden on the government but also cast the church in the role of an ideal partner for the government which worked through private contractors as its outreach mechanism. Only a few years later, the government’s outreach program in the education field was aimed only at Christian churches, but not to other Chinese traditional civil organizations such as the Tung Wah Hospital Group and
the workers Union and its Workers’ Children’s School. Political considerations might provide an appropriate explanation for this policy.

**The Cold War and the British Policy Towards the Communist Bloc**

In the international political arena, Soviet-American rivalry dominated international relations during the Cold War Period (1945-1994). As the traditional ally of the USA, Britain was very careful not to allow Hong Kong, its colony at the southern tip of PRC, to get involved when the Chinese Communist Party either exported its revolutionary ideology or dispensed aids to Communist parties in Southeast Asian countries like Vietnam, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. Thus, with a clear policy of keeping communism at bay as instructed by London, Hong Kong implemented its anti-Communist policy at the grassroots level.15

Malcolm Macdonald, British Commissioner-General for south-East Asia had experience in dealing with the Chinese Communist Party’s infiltration in Malaysia and Singapore, and its subversion of the British rule in Malaya at that time. During a visit to Hong Kong, he not only confirmed the CCP’s intended infiltration drive, but also suggested that Hong Kong should ban all political parties. Otherwise the door would be open for a Chinese Communist party within the colony. According to him it would be better to prevent its birth than to try to control it later. He also recommended that the Government should take action to curb Communist activities.16

For its own security, Hong Kong could not afford not to prevent the Communist infiltration. Given that the fight against the Chinese Communists was the first priority, the Hong Kong Government would trust Christian churches more than the traditional Chinese associations when it sought partners or contractors to undertake the much
needed projects in providing education and social services to the inflowing refugees of the 1950’s. Foreign church leaders with their anti-Communist ideology were considered more trust-worthy than local Chinese leaders of charity organizations, who could be sympathetic to the Communists out of patriotic or nationalistic reasons.

On Education

In 1949-54, the Hong Kong government was busy adapting itself to the post-war period, which saw a large, potential threat generated from the People’s Republic of China, Hong Kong’s neighbour, across the border. The British in Hong Kong had the experience of collaborating with the Chinese Communists in joint guerrilla warfare in the Sai Kung area of Hong Kong against the Japanese during the Second World War, when Hong Kong was occupied by the Japanese. As early as December 1945 doubts had been expressed about the educational activities of the communists, especially in the New Territories where communist guerrillas and couriers had operated during the Japanese occupation.

By the end of 1948, the new Hong Kong governor, Sir Alexander Grantham openly said that he would not tolerate Communist propaganda in Hong Kong. He said in an opening ceremony of a new school:

“This we know is what happened in the schools of Fascist States and is now happening in Communist-dominated countries. This deforming and twisting of youthful mind is most wicked and the Hong Kong Government will tolerate no political propaganda in schools.”
Out of the fear of the spread of Communism in Hong Kong, the government had to work out strategies for this policy in every aspect of governmental operation. In education, a two-front strategy was carried out. Firstly, there was a continued and enhanced determination by the Hong Kong Government to prevent schools from being used for disseminating political propaganda. The government intervened in the operation of pro-Communist schools, such as in the deportation of the principal of Heung Tao Middle school in January 1950, the deregistration of several teachers at the Portland Street Motor Car Workers’ Children’s School in late 1950 and early 1951, and in the closure of Nanfang College in March 1951. In each of these cases, the Hong Kong Teachers’ Welfare Association and the leftist press printed sharp criticism against the government action.\textsuperscript{21}

According to a Hong Kong government report, after the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, Chinese civilians -- many of whom had moved into China during the war--returned at the rate of almost 100,000 a month. The population which by August 1945 had been reduced to about 600,000 rose to 1.8 million by the end of 1947. In 1948-9, Hong Kong received an influx unparalleled in its history. Hundreds of thousands of people entered the territory during 1949 and the spring of 1950. By mid-1959, the population had swelled to an estimated 2.2 million.\textsuperscript{21}

With the rapid increase of population from 600,000 to 2.2 million within six years, a British expert in education was called to investigate the problem and to chart out strategies to cope with the education problem. A Fisher Report was formulated although with little relevance to meet the immediate needs of the Chinese refugees.\textsuperscript{22} The Education Board, the government’s advisory body on education, mainly with British but with a few elite Chinese members, met from time to time to discuss
strategies to cope with the rapid increase of children and the great demand for primary
education. One member, Bishop R.O. Hall, the Anglican bishop of Hong Kong, in
supporting the Fisher Report even suggested having Christian church schools alone, not
non-religious secular schools, to provide the urgently needed primary education. The
memorandum reads like this:

In view of what was said by two members of the Board who do not share
my Christian faith, I could not say publicly that my main concern is with the use
of Christian churches by subsidy in primary education. The government both in
UK and in its colonial policy recognizes that by large only religion can resist
Communism and that non religious secular primary education on a large scale
will produce atheistic proletariat as prepared ground for Communist sowing. I
very much hope that the Roman Catholic Church will with encouragement from
the Department strengthen and enlarge their primary school work.

I think the Director understands my view on this matter, but it’s not easy
to say it publicly.  

The reply from the Secretary of Board of Education revealed that Bishop Hall’s
view was adopted. The following reply to Bishop R.O. Hall on 21st September 1950
reads:

I agree entirely with your view in your penultimate paragraph. I consider
myself that religion should play a more and more important part in school since
it is the very essence of cultured civilization.....I read the report of your address
with interest and can well sympathize with your feelings.....

In other words, in the following days Christian schools, but not schools run by
traditional Chinese associations like the Tung Wah Hospital Group nor pro-Communist
organizations, would be aided to develop education to cope with the much needed education for refugee children in the 1950s and 1960s. Apparently there are at least two possible interpretations of the Anglican bishop’s view on assisting the Hong Kong government in education. First, out of Christian compassion, Christian leaders, both Protestant and Catholic felt the urgent need to provide education to the refugee children of school age. The influx of church personnel from China enabled Christian churches to take a bigger role in education while these church educators allied with the government to resist the possible spread of Communism in Hong Kong.

At that time in September 1950, the government had a campaign for registration of children for schooling. Altogether 21,906 children between the ages of 5 and 12 registered.\textsuperscript{25} Christian churches not only provided relief services but also had to provide education for the children. In making education policy, all Christian churches (including the Catholic church) shared the same anti-Communist feeling. The correspondence between the Christian leaders and the chairman of the Hong Kong Education Board confirmed this feeling, and the suggestion made by church leaders was accepted by the Hong Kong government, because the ideological feasibility of church education served the British policy of banning Communist presence in Hong Kong through the control of education by Christian churches whose teaching is directly opposite to atheism, the orthodox teaching of CCP. This explained why from the 1960’s onwards many subsidized primary and secondary schools were assigned to Protestant churches and Catholic churches until in 1970s the Christian churches said that they had not enough church personnel to take up additional schools any more.

The co-operation with the government and Christian leaders in education policy, the close cooperation with Christian leaders in making educational policy, and
the entrusting of most primary education to Christian church organizations resulted in the tremendous growth of church schools. In 1953 the number of new Catholic schools were 22 (14 in the New Territories, 8 in Hong Kong and Kowloon), ten years later 33 new Catholic schools were added (16 in the New Territories, 17 in Hong Kong and Kowloon). The number of students going to Catholic schools increased from 3,909 in 1953 to 28,029 in 1963.28

Catholic schools saw great expansion in 1950s and 1960s, partly because of the great expansion of Catholic population from 20,000 during the Japanese occupation in 1941 to 200,000 in 1960.27 Immediate building Catholic schools was necessary for meeting the needs of the large number of school-age Catholic children. The government first built the school buildings and then invited the church to run the schools with government subsidy covering the recurrent expenditure. Also the government at first allowed school halls and playgrounds to be converted for Sunday worship, then later allowed land for the church adjacent to school built for two thirds of lease price and the land for living quarters for the priest of that church for full price. Both Catholic and other Christian churches were eager to take over subsidized schools according to the plan of the government because it could allow the church to have either a church built for a cheap land price or the church building sharing the school buildings for worship.28

**Macau**

The Macau Catholic church with its first Portuguese bishop Melchoir Carneiro became part of the governing group to give law and order before Lisbon sent its first governor to Macau.29 Thus, it laid the foundation of the harmonious church-state relationship in Macau. Like the church-state cooperation in Hong Kong, this
relationship was further strengthened because the Macau Catholic church has been the partner of the Macau authority in sharing the government’s responsibility by providing education and social services.

Although the Catholic Jesuit congregation established St. Paul’s Seminary, the first western university in the Far East in 1572⁵⁰, yet not until 1792 did the first Catholic Portuguese primary school for orphans begin to operate. It has continued to this day, becoming the prestigious Catholic school, Colegio Santa Rosa de Lima with Portuguese, Chinese and English sections⁵¹. It took the Hong Kong government more or less 30 years after its arrival before it took up leadership in education even at the risk of a row with the Catholic church in 1878, on the issue of religious education in schools.⁵² The Macau government did not take up its responsibility even to cater for Portuguese education until 1847. By that time no attention had been given to the education for the Chinese.⁵³ Nevertheless, in 1819 the first Macau Chinese private school run by Chinese associations came into being, and initiated private education for the Chinese. In 1903, both the Canossian Sisters and the Salesian Fathers opened girls’ and boys’ schools for Chinese orphans which in the course of time had developed into Chinese primary schools for the public.⁵⁴ This was the beginning of the Church education for the Chinese which constitutes 95% of Macau’s student population. In 1993 Catholic education constituted more or less 50 per cent, while pro-leftist schools are at 30 per cent of student population.⁵⁵

In terms of education policy and administration, the Macau authorities had a non-interventionist attitude. This led to a great diversity of models of educational provision; Macau has no single or even dominant education system. The environment thus depended heavily on Catholic education. In the 1960s Macau Education Ministry
began to operate and its function was limited to accept registration of private schools, but this did not affect local Catholic education whatsoever. In fact in the 1970’s when the Government started to subsidize non-profit making private schools, Catholic education in the poor areas like Green Island got only a small subsidy to relieve the burden on the church.

Even with the great flow of refugees to Macau from Mainland China in the 1950’s, the Catholic church of Macau but not the government took up the responsibility to provide education for the increased number of school children by building 12 primary and secondary schools for them. The Macau branch of the American Catholic Relief Service was established and provided food and medical care to refugee children in the schools. In 1989 there were only 6.5% (4,474) of students in government schools doing education Portuguese while the great majority (93.5%) received Chinese Mainland, Taiwan or Hong Kong British models of education in private schools. In the 1980s and 1990s, among the 63,803 students who attended private schools, 52% are in Catholic schools. In other words, half of the Macau student population is in Catholic schools.

The December 1966 Riot in Macau, was a turning-point in the development in Macau in economic, social and political spheres. The Riot was a spill over from the Cultural Revolution into Hong Kong and Macau. The Hong Kong British government stood firm. It crushed the riot and crippled the local clandestine Communist organization. Unlike the British in Hong Kong, the Portuguese in Macau failed to hold firm. This led to Lisbon’s humiliation when it sent the Macau governor to make a public apology to the local Chinese. Subsequently the Portuguese, have lost much of their popular support in Macau with the rise in political influence of the pro-China elements.
first among the grassroots and the working class, then among the business society. Two years after the riot, when Macau failed to carry on effective governance, social order and security was maintained by the pro-China Neighborhood Associations and other influential social, religious and economic organizations.

In the Riot, the Macau Catholic church, being traditionally allied with the Portuguese government, was a target to be attacked. The largest diocesan secondary school, St. Joseph’s, was surrendered to pro-leftist hooligans. Slogans were chanted and big character posters were put on the exterior wall of the school. They demanded the removal of the pro-Taiwan principal, a Macau diocesan priest who had to make an immediate departure for Hong Kong and spent the rest of his life in exile there. After this incident, with the rise of the pro-China influence, there was a gradual decline of support for the Catholic church after the public had witnessed how cowardly and weak the Catholic church was in front of hooliganism. The victory of the pro-leftists in Macau frightened the Catholic personnel including those working in education. For political and ideological reasons, the Catholic church became introverted and eventually gave up its leadership in Education. Take the Chinese Education Association for example. This trade union for teachers was founded in 1920 under the leadership of a Chinese Catholic priest, Fr. James Liu. Yet when the Association decided to turn to a pro-China stance in 1950s, Catholic priests and nuns who were members of the Association, left because of political differences stance. The vacuum of leadership of the Association was taken up by pro-leftist educationists, who have remained with them. Religious congregations in Macau transferred their personnel to Hong Kong and elsewhere and it led to the decline of Catholic services including education. The Catholic church in Macau, which had enjoyed high social status, had to allow the pro-
China associations to share its prestige and leadership in the field of education. From this time onwards more pro-China schools were established.

After the riot, some religious orders left Macau and some Catholic schools left behind were amalgamated into the diocesan system. This led to the restructuring of Catholic schools under the Catholic Macau diocese. The re-structuring took place between 1970 and 1980, when a network of six diocese in secondary schools under the name of Colegio Diocesano de Sao Jose (Diocesan St. Joseph’s Secondary School) was established with 6 schooling locations all scattered around the territory. Its six school campuses consist of 6,024 students and 132 class rooms; the largest school in Macau. The restructuring of diocesan schools produced better school management resulting in better quality of teaching. Together with prestigious Catholic schools run by religious congregations, Catholic education in Macau has a better bargaining power vis-a-vis government policies on free education and the teaching of Portuguese in 1989.

Catholic Education in the Decolonization Period: Hong Kong and Macau

In the Hong Kong prelate’s pastoral Exhortation, *March Into the Bright Decade* (1989), education was listed as a focus of attention. Given this Catholic policy, the Hong Kong Catholic Board of Education, founded in 1977, and which aimed at fostering greater unity among Catholic schools in Hong Kong, was reactivated in 1995 by receiving more resources. The Board was convened by the Cardinal, the highest Catholic leader in Hong Kong, chaired by the Episcopal delegate for Education, and the superiors of religious congregations which run Hong Kong Catholic education were invited to join as members in this policy making Board. Then a new executive-type Catholic Development Committee was added, with representatives from Catholic
schools as members to implement policies made by the Board. Then the Catholic Education Office, an administrative office to serve the Board and the Committee, was created to enhance the work. After the re-structuring, more unity and communication among Catholic schools has been achieved. Some projects on sex education, civil education and on the mother language as a teaching medium were launched in all Catholic schools. This is a herald to greater unity, aiming at having one voice on Catholic educational policy in future, when change in education is anticipated under the HKSAR. Although no one can predict the exact changes in the first few years of HKSAR rule, yet to prepare for the change by forming a unity can strengthen the bargaining power of Catholic education. The production of textbooks and teaching materials on civil education for primary and secondary students by the joint effort of Catholic Education Office and Catholic Centre for Religion and Society has a long range effect. The first set of textbooks for civil education in secondary schools was produced by a diocesan priest as an experiment.

In the 1980s, the Macau Catholic Education Association was formed to bring Catholic school principals together to discuss common problems related to Catholic education. When Catholic education did not have specific problems which aroused their attention or called for action, the Association served the purpose of a friendship club. However, when the government declared a policy of making Portuguese a compulsory second language starting from primary school, not only Catholic schools but also other schools united under the auspices of the Macau Catholic Education Association to express their opposition to this plan which aimed to ensure the continuation of Portuguese culture after the Handover of Macau in 1999. For the first time in the history of Macau, the Catholic Education Association jointly discussed the problem of
teaching Portuguese with the pro-leftist Chinese Education Association. Although Catholic schools and pro-leftist schools did not agree to publish a joint communiqué, yet separately the Chinese Education Association and the Catholic Education Association made their own announcement to express their opposition to the teaching of Portuguese being a pre-requisite for free education.  

**Discussion**

Both in Hong Kong and Macau, mission schools have a much longer history and superior quality than diocesan schools. In terms of quality and historical significance it was these mission schools which represented Catholic education in contributing more to local education. Incidentally, due to geopolitics, the China factor had an important bearing on the Catholic educational development in Hong Kong and Macau during their colonial period. The church-state partnership in Hong Kong education since the 1950s was caused by the British policy of curbing the spread of Communism from China. On the other side of the Pearl river Estuary, there was a power struggle between the leftists and the Macau authority in the December Riot of 1966; and the Macau authority, the traditional partner of Macau Catholic church, was humiliated. Subsequently, the teaching responsibility in the private sector of education had to be shared with the pro-China group. This is because in the "Human Capital Theory" education has been regarded as a means of shaping the value system and professional skills, and to produce human capital accordingly. "Patriotic" schools have grown in Macau since then, and in 1993 they accounted for almost 1/3 of the student population. Catholic education comprises ½ of the education population, compared with a high or percentage (90-80%) in the 1950s.
In the colonial period, the Catholic school principals in Hong Kong and Macau had their line of authority going to the Education Department of the civil authority and their own religious superiors but not to the bishop’s office, which had nothing to do with the operational matters of Catholic education. With the advent of the Chinese takeover of Hong Kong and Macau, Catholic educators were reminded that owing to ideological difficulties, Catholic education would be vulnerable in a socialist regime.\(^52\) In the Hong Kong scene, by involving the religious congregations and their regional superiors to the policy making committee in education, the church authority hit the nail on the head. It is because these religious superiors have full power over Catholic schools and school principals who are under the jurisdiction of their congregations. It was the root cause for the possibility of going towards a greater unity within the Catholic education circles of Hong Kong. In Macau, the immediate problems such as teaching Portuguese as the secondary language confronted Chinese Catholic schools. The latter had to enlist the support of the pro-leftist Chinese Education Association before they had a loud enough voice in opposition to this government policy.\(^53\) From this issue, the Macau Catholic educators learned the importance of unity, which sometimes needs concession and compromise. Given these situations, in the later part of decolonization period, both Hong Kong and Macau Catholic Education Associations were activated; and mission schools and diocesan schools became willing to unite together under the leadership of the diocese. This is the first step of the Catholic’s church’s common action in education.

After the Hong Kong Catholic education circles had completed a set of six textbooks on civil and moral education, a Macau priest and school principal also started the project of writing a set of textbook for civil education for Macau students.\(^54\) The
Hong Kong and Macau textbooks were for the general student population. These projects were prepared and written in the British/Portuguese era and intended for use in the post-colonial period.

As a matter of fact, Beijing more than once made negative comments to Hong Kong and Macau Catholic education visitors in the transitional period on two issues. Firstly, civic education in Hong Kong under colonial rule was almost nil. Secondly, Catholic education in Hong Kong/Macau is less patriotic than it should be. Both in Hong Kong and Macau, it is never easy for the Catholic church to teach civics, which is a value loaded subject. Yet, if they did not initiate the project, after the Hong Kong/Macau handover, they would have to accept any type of civic education textbook, which might be contrary to Catholic teaching and gospel values. Because of the ideological dichotomy, these textbooks must be accepted both by Beijing and by the Catholic church, and they must have an open mind and a spirit of tolerance to strike a balance between loving the motherland and upholding their religion in the textbook. In 1990, a progressive priest of Hong Kong diocese produced a new set of textbooks with an orientation which fits into the demand of “loving the motherland and religion”. Subsequently, the textbooks were adopted by the Chinese and Catholic authorities. Firstly the Hong Kong Catholic Education Office endorsed the books, then with some modification the whole set of books (six volumes) were allowed to be printed and sold in China. In Macau, the civic education textbook is in the process of writing. It is undertaken by Catholic personnel headed by a Salesian priest, responding to the suggestion of the Macau education authority, which requested the production of a set of civic education textbooks with Macau characteristics. However, even at the initial stage the Salesian congregation provided financial sponsorship for the whole project, and
assistance to the writing team has been guaranteed. The Macau Catholic church under its first Chinese bishop has established a warmer church-state relationship for the Macau SAR than that of Hong Kong. The socio-political impact of the Macau Church, nonetheless, is much less than that of the Hong Kong church.

**Conclusion**

Both the Hong Kong and Macau Catholic churches have maintained warm relationships with the British and Portuguese, leading to a partnership between the church and the state in these two places in providing education and social services. Also owing to the ideological incompatibility between Marxism-Leninism and church teachings, the Catholic church in general has a cool and negative relationship with socialist states. However, both China and the SAR government have to cooperate with civil organizations including the Catholic church to maintain prosperity and stability after the handover. On the other hand, Hong Kong and Macau Catholic churches wish to survive and continue their service in the Hong Kong/Macau SAR. This explains why both sides can be so conciliatory and so many textbooks on sensitive and value-loaded subjects can be produced.

Because of their historical links with the colonial authorities in fostering Catholic education, the Catholic authorities both in Macau and Hong Kong are aware of the fact that education will be a matter of attention for the SAR governments in the future. Shortly before and after the change of sovereignty, the government’s policy will be revealed gradually. However, with different experience with the Communist rule and alliance with the colonial governments, the Catholic educators in Hong Kong and Macau have common intentions: to strengthen themselves through unity, and adopt a
more conciliatory approach in education on the issue of writing textbooks on civic education. It is too early to judge whether Catholic education has to go further in its adjustment. However, it seems that in both places they are prepared to do so.

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5 Lee Wing-on & Mark Bray. “Education: Evolving patterns and Challenges”.
In tertiary education the Jesuit Seminary in Macau, St. Paul’s Seminary was the first university of western style in the Far East. See: D.M. Gomes dos Santos.”Yuandong diyıceo xishi Daxiu Taixue[The First Western Type University in the Far East]Culture (Chinese version) (published by the Ministry of Culture, Macau) 215:20 (Winter 1994).
For the social and educational service provided for girls the French Sisters provided of this period see; “Sister of St. Paul de Chaters File” of Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive. For the education catered for boys see “Father Teruzzi File” and “Father Mangieri File” of Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive. Dates and Events Connected with the History of Education in Hong Kong 1877 by a Catholic missionary institute called St. Louis Institute of Rehabilitation to discuss education catered by the government in Christian churches in the period of 1857-1877. See: Sergio Ticozzi. Xianggong Tianchujiao Zhanggu [The Anecdotes of Catholic Church in Hong Kong]. pp.108-112.
9 Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/1, Hong Kong Public Record Office.
10 Ibid.
11 Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/2 (2), Hong Kong Public Record Office.
12 South China Morning Post 15 December 1949, p.5; 19 December 1949, p.3; 10 April 1950, (Editorial).
13 Lokuong (ed) Tianjinjiao Geihua Chuenjiao Xishi [The History of Catholic Missions in China.]
Taiwan: Guangchi Press, Hong Kong Catholic Truth Society, 1967, pp.45-74. Also Maryknoll Archives
no. MPBA Hong Kong 9/8.
14 Ibid.
15 “Grantham to StFs, 311 secret, 1 April 1949”, in CO537/4824.” Hong Kong Public Record Office.
16 “Grantham to StFs, 384 secret, 30 April 1949”, in FO371/8397. Hong Kong Public Record Office.
17 An elderly resident in Sai Kung who joined the guerrilla warfare described to this writer how he
witnessed the Chinese Communists and the British working secretly in WWII to combat the Japanese
who occupied Hong Kong as well as south China that time.
18 Antony Sweeting. The Phoenix Tranformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post War Hong Kong.
Hong Kong: Oxford University press, 1993, pp. 192-220. Sweeting devoted a chapter on “Control
Over Politics in Schools” to discuss how Communists had been active in formal and informal education
in Hong Kong before and after WWII, and how Hong Kong government tried hard to combat it.
19 South China Morning Post 16 December 1948, p.7
20 Antony Sweeting. The Phoenix Tranformed: The Reconstruction of Education in Post War Hong Kong,
pp.52-3.
21 Information Service Department (ed) Hong Kong 1997, Hong Kong: Hong Kong Government, 1997,
p.409.
22 See “The minutes of Board of Education Meeting Held in the Council Chamber, Colonial
Secretariat on Friday, 3rd November, 1950”. Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/2 (1), 127, Hong Kong
Public Record Office.
23 See “The Letter of Bishop R.O. Hall, Bishop of Hong Kong and South China to the Secretary, BOARD
of Education, 16th Sept. 1950” in Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/2 (1), 119, Hong Kong Public
Record Office.
24 See “Letter of Secretary of Board of Education to the Rt. Rev. R.O. Hall, the bishop of Hong Kong,”
ref. E.D. 3/2106/45”. in Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/2 (1), 120, Hong Kong Public Record Office.
25 See “The Report on Children Without Schooling” in Hong Kong Record Series 147 2/2
(1), 119, Hong Kong Public Record Office.
26 HK-DA S.6-01, F/03, the Hong Kong Catholic Diocesan Archive.
27 Stephen Law. “Social Commitments of the Catholic Church in Hong Kong Education” p.23
(manuscript) This was confirmed by Father Mencarini when he was interviewed on 6th May 1997.
28 Information given by Father Mencarini who was the Vicar General in the 1950s and 1960s
for responsibility for building churches and schools to cope with the expansion of the Catholic population
of that time. He was interviewed on 6th May 1997.
30 D.M. Gomes dos Santos. “Yuan dong di yio xishi Daxiu Taixue [The First Western Type University
in the Far East] Culture (Chinese version) (published by the Ministry of Culture, Macau) 21:5-20 (Winter
1994).
31 Estabelecimentos de Ensino de Macau. Macau: Direcao dos Servicos de Eduacao Juvenile
32 Hong Kong Record Series HK-DA S6.2, F/01, Hong Kong Public Record Office.
33 Estabelecimentos de Ensino de Macau. Macau: Direcao dos Servicos de Eduacao Juvenile
1994, p.49.
34 Zhang Bilian. “Xue xiao zhi yi zhengfu guanli zhi jian guanxi [The Self Rule of School and the Rule
of Government] in Wong Hon Keong (ed), Education Reform in Macau. Macau: Macau Studies Centre,
36 Ibid. It was within the capacity of the Catholic church to run these 12 schools because the exiled
religious personnel from China added manpower to Macau diocese in Education and social service.
37 Revealed by Fr. Lancelot Rodrigues, the director of Macau Catholic Social Centre. He represented
the Macau Catholic diocese to jointly launch American Catholic relief projects in Macau during the 1950s
and 1960s.
40 Guanyu Fanduet Puguo Zhengfu Xuejian Baolie Tongzi.
41 The Archive Office of St. Joseph’s School has kept all the written documents and pictures of this event. The priest principal died in Hong Kong in 1992. After he left Macau in 1966, he never returned to his own diocese.
42 Lei Yinlin."Aumen Tianjiaowei Xiyi de gongxian de ling yi man."[The other side of ‘The Contribution of Catholic Education in Macau’] an unpublished research paper. Lei Yinlin is an official serving the Ministry of Education and Youth, Macau.
45 Revealed by one of the assistants to the Episcopal Delegate for Education.
46 Indirectly revealed by the Coadjutor Bishop of Hong Kong, the designed successor of Cardinal Wu.
47 The educational policy of Macau government was written in “law no.11/91/M" of Macau. It was written down that the Macau government would start organise free education for 9 years, and at the same time the teaching of Portuguese would be enforced in primary and secondary schools.
48 Recalled by Lei Yinlin, the government official serving the Ministry of Education and Youth, Macau. Lei was working for the government in dealing with the joint force of Catholic and pro-leftist education groups.
50 The “patriotic” schools in Macau were organized by the pro-China business union, trade unions and neighbourhood associations, with education system, curriculum, and course syllabi all based on the mainland model and to be registered in Guangdong Province.
52 The nationalization of Catholic education in China right after 1949 Revolution gave Catholic personnel the impression that Catholic education is vulnerable to the social system.
54 The leader of a team of writers of this set of textbook in civic education is a priest of the Salesian congregation whose priests were the first ones to start Chinese education in Macau in 1903. This priest, Fr. Wu Tak Lau by name, is the principal of Instituto Salesiano da Imaculada Conceicao.
55 This was stated in the private report on the “Sisters of precious Blood’s Visit to China”. The visit was made by Hong Kong diocesan women religious congregation from 27 Dec.1996 to 4 Jan. 1997. Also the same type of remarks was received by a member who was in the group headed by the Macau Bishop and which visited China in 1995.
56 Apparently these textbooks were accepted by the Chinese authority, because with minor modification, the Lanzhou People Press reprinted the whole set of the book to be sold in China. The writer, Fr. Luke Tsui of Hong Kong Diocese, later was nominated as the Electoral Committee for the election of the first Chief Executive of HKSAR in 1996. In October, 1997, he was nominated as one of candidates in the election of Hong Kong representative to the National People’s Congress.
57 Revealed by Fr. Wu Tak Lau, the head of writing team of three, when he was interviewed on 25 October 1997.
58 The Hong Kong Catholic Church is pro-Vatican, led by Cardinal Wu, the prince of the Church, HK Catholics have the orientation of accepting the universality of the Catholic church, while the Macau
bishop advocated the individualist approach of the local church. Apparently China prefers Macau's approach to that of Hong Kong.

59 In the first annual report of Tung Chee Wah the First Executive of Hong Kong, education is a high priority for the government.
Research Fellows

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Dr. Bridges, Brian, AEP
Dr. Chan, Che-po, UL
Dr. Cheung, Kui-yin, AEP
Dr. Fan, C. Simon, UL
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Dr. Lei, Kai-cheong, UL
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Dr. Wong, Yiu-chung, UL

Centre for Public Policy Studies

Professor Ho, Lok-sang, Director
Dr. Che, Wai-kin, USL
Dr. Fan, C. Simon, UL
Dr. Law, Wing-kin, Kenneth, UL
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Dr. Li, Pang-kwong, UL
Dr. Lin, Ping, ATP
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All the Research Fellows listed above are staff of Faculty of Social Sciences. Interested staff from other academic departments of the College and other institutions are welcome to join the Centres as Research Fellows or Research Associates. Please contact Dr. Raymond Ng (Tel. 2616 7427) for further information.

AEP = Associate Professor
ATP = Assistant Professor
USL = University Senior Lecturer
UL = University Lecturer
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