



CHAIR'S REPORT
CHRIS JESPERSEN
THOMAS MILLS
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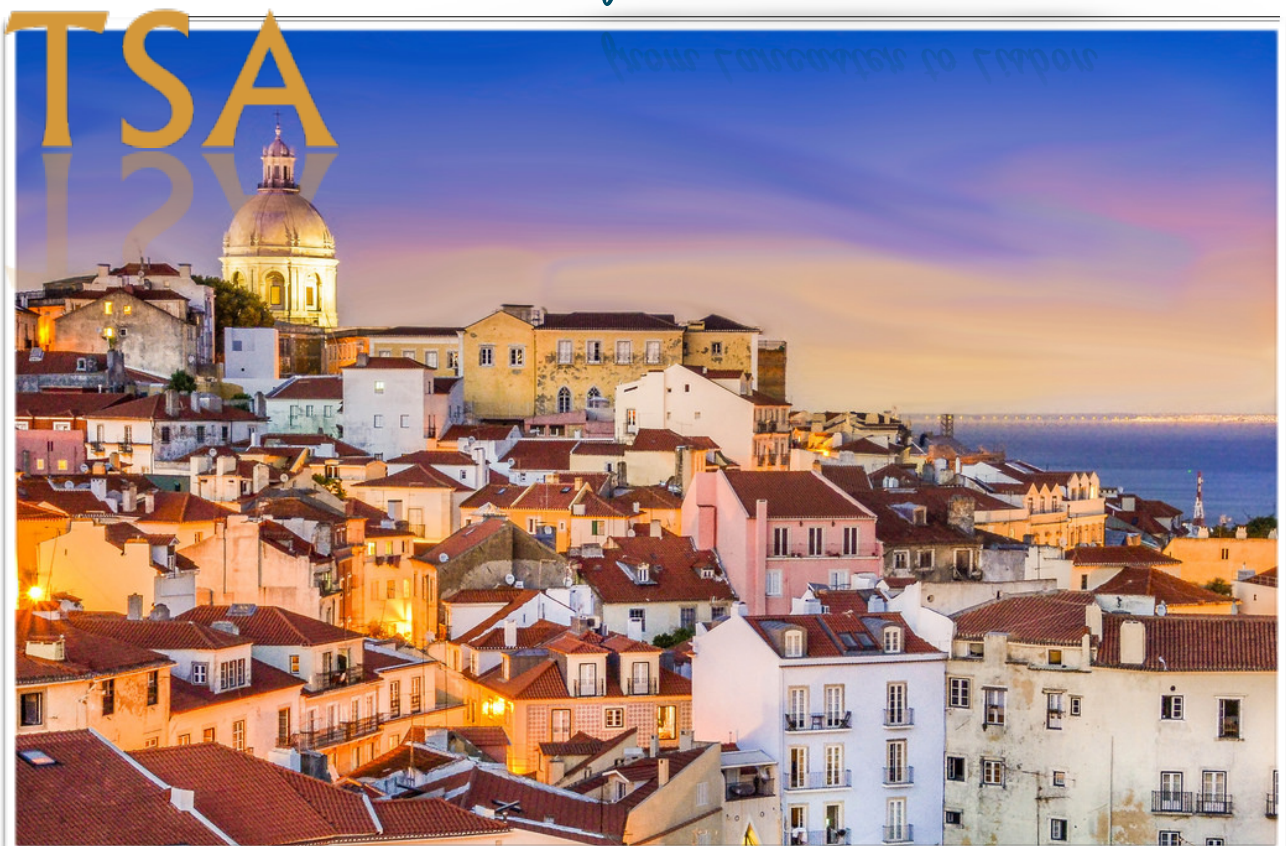
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The **TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

from Lancaster to Lisbon



TSA'S SUCCESSFUL FIRST-EVER FORAY ACROSS THE ATLANTIC in 2018 to the North Georgia mountains is being followed up in 2019 with the annual meeting in Lancaster and the Lake District of northwestern England. And the 2019 conference looks like it will be a banner event, very likely the largest conference the TSA has ever held, with close to 200 presentations taking place over the course of two and a half days. With plenary sessions scheduled on NATO at 70, Transatlantic Romanticism, and the Beatles in Miami, plus a roundtable on transatlantic relations in the age of a rising China, the 2019 conference promises to be an exciting event with vibrant and stimulating intellectual exchanges on a wide range of topics. Continuing the strong social element of TSA, a drinks reception will take place on the opening evening of the

**CHAIR'S REPORT:
2018-2019**

**Christopher Jespersen,
University of North
Georgia**

**Thomas Mills,
University of Lancaster**

conference, featuring live entertainment by local jazz group, the Luca Brasi Four, featuring Gaia. The conference will close with a formal dinner at the renowned 1930s art-deco Midland Hotel in Morecambe.

MOVING FORWARD, THE 2020 CONFERENCE HAS BEEN SET FOR 6-8 JULY AT THE CENTRO DE ESTUDOS INTERNACIONAIS (ISCTE-IUL), which is part of the University Institute of Lisbon. The Management Committee Officers are soliciting proposals for the 2021 conference, which will mark the 20th anniversary of TSA's founding.

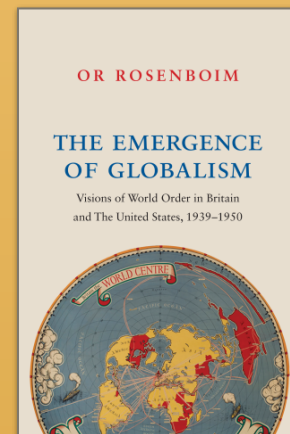
Perhaps the most noticeable change over the past year has been the transition of the TSA website to a new platform. The MC Officers looked at a number of options and decided to go with Squarespace for its versatility, ease of use, and clean visual style. The MC Officers share responsibilities for posting material to the website, and are working with the publications sub-committee to ensure maintenance and future development. Plans are underway to draft a fuller history of the organisation for the website, including photos from past conferences.

The annual conference will see the award of established prizes, including the TSA-Cambridge University Press book prize and the DC Watt prize for the best paper presented at the annual conference by an early career scholar. As in previous years the TSA has been able to support early career scholars attending the annual conference by offering a number of travel grants. Additionally, we are delighted this year to announce the inaugural winner of the TSA-Palgrave-Macmillan research award of £2,000.

The TSA has strengthened relationships with existing partners and initiated a new one as well. We have signed an agreement with McGill-Queen's University Press to act as official partners in their new Transatlantic Studies series. This will provide an important outlet for publications by TSA members, as well as other benefits including a discount on books. We are delighted that McGill-Queens will be launching this important new series at our annual conference in Lancaster. TSA has also taken important steps to strengthen its relationship with its sister journal, the Journal of Transatlantic Studies. We will hear more on developments concerning the JTS from editor Alan Dobson at the conference.

In sum, TSA is healthy, is well regarded, and is carefully expanding its scope and reach.

We welcome you to the University of Lancaster.



An engaging look at the ideas that have shaped today's world, *The Emergence of Globalism* is a major work of intellectual history that is certain to fundamentally transform our understanding of the globalist ideal and its origins.

During and after the Second World War, public intellectuals in Britain and the United States grappled with concerns about the future of democracy, the prospects of liberty, and the decline of the imperial system. Without using the term "globalization," they identified a shift toward technological, economic, cultural, and political interconnectedness and developed a "globalist" ideology to reflect this new postwar reality. *The Emergence of Globalism* examines the competing visions of world order that shaped these debates and led to the development of globalism as a modern political concept.

Or Rosenboim describes how a transnational network of globalist thinkers emerged from the traumas of war and expatriation in the 1940s and how their ideas drew widely from political philosophy, geopolitics, economics, imperial thought, constitutional law, theology, and philosophy of science. She presents compelling portraits of Raymond Aron, Owen Lattimore, Lionel Robbins, Barbara Wootton, Friedrich Hayek, Lionel Curtis, Richard McKeon, Michael Polanyi, Lewis Mumford, Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr, H. G. Wells, and others.

PUBLIC ARROGANCE AND THE ROAD AHEAD: PONDERING ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

FROM MY CHILDHOOD IN A FARMHOUSE IN THE HOT SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY IN CALIFORNIA, when I used to read news stories about Britain (and Japan), throughout my whole academic career, I have been interested in Anglo-American relations. As have most of us, I've watched the relationship rise and fall, depending on the leaders, public opinion and events. Public opinion is important, because a strong alliance requires its support. Leaders can sometimes make a difference – consider Reagan, Thatcher and the Falklands War or Blair, Bush, Jr and Iraq – but there are Presidents whose very personality and presence can also work a transformation in a relationship; in this case, consider Kennedy, Obama, and Trump. Of course, events are crucial and arguably the most important in determining the nature and strength of an alliance relationship, but at the same time their effects can be exacerbated or mitigated depending on the two leaders.

For years I have believed and written that regardless of what happened publicly, the Anglo-American relationship would retain its closeness. This was based on obvious factors. First of all, there is inertia or habit or whatever you wish to call it, but this means that something important has to happen before ways of thinking and behaving change. Bureaucracies are used to working together, whether they are military, intelligence, or in foreign relations. The militaries work together through NATO, through the closeness of the two navies (a bit different from the historical relationship...), and in the associated activities. I do not need to describe the intelligence relationship. In foreign relations, there is the close relationship of the State Department and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, which sometimes exchange officials to learn the people and the ways of the other, and the analogous relationships out in the field: if you are the Second Secretary of the British Embassy out in Lagos, for example, and you want to know what is going on, you are likely to ring your opposite number in the American Embassy, and vice versa. Very important is the supreme ability of the Washington Embassy to be a participant in decision-making in Washington. This is, of course, very much less the case with the American Embassy in London. One must also remember important private sector relationships, where, for example, journalists, and especially foreign correspondents, know each other, and can influence countries' perceptions of each other.

My fundamental argument, based on all of the above, and more, is that even a superpower - no matter how much the leader wants to be the cat who walks by himself – needs someone to talk to, and for decades Great Britain has filled that position for the United States. The advent of the Trump cont. 4

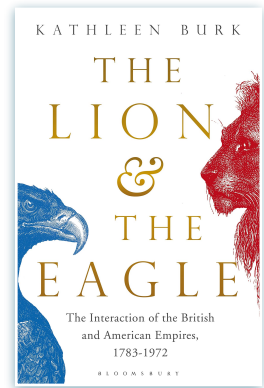
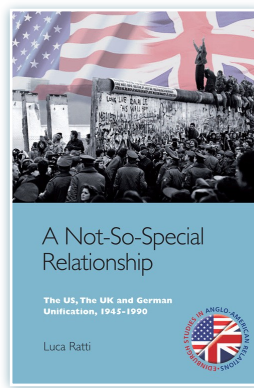
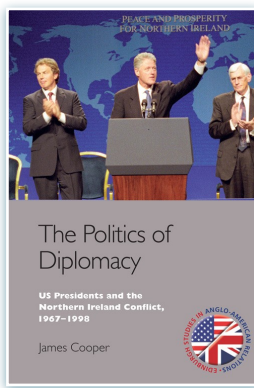
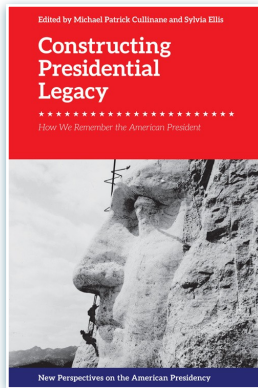


**CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS**

TSA-CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS BOOK PRIZE

In partnership with Cambridge University Press, the TSA is pleased to award the Book Prize for 2017 titles at its annual conference dinner in Lancaster.

Nominations are now being accepted for titles published in 2018 and 2019.



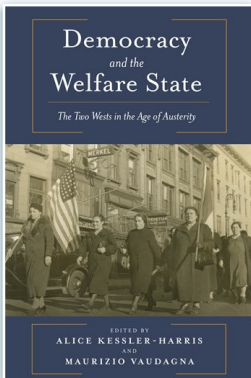
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administration, however, is forcing me to rethink in a fundamental way about the Anglo-American relationship. The relevant bureaucracies have been significantly hollowed out. Trump has challenged the importance and durability of NATO. The US has questioned or withdrawn from important international organisations. For some time, the intelligence relationship has experienced greater or lesser shut-downs by the Americans. Fellow autocrats have replaced long-standing allies as Trump’s best friends. And, in general, the foreign relationships of the Trump administration have changed from what in banking- appropriately enough - has been termed a long-term relationship, one that weathers rough periods, to transactional relationships.

I do not think that the world will return to what it was like before nor will the Anglo-American relationship. Some think that the former is a good thing: he has been able to shock China into making long-desired changes, and, one hopes, made the relationship with North Korea a little less fraught. But his willingness to harm allies almost carelessly, to treat their interests as unimportant, has damaged future relationships, including this one. I am hardly arguing that the American drive for its own interests is new under Trump. But the publicly arrogant manner in which it has been done is new. Within all of this, Britain has not been spared. I can only hope that the relationships of the two countries in the various institutions above will survive, but this will depend on the Americans rather more than on the British.

Kathleen Burk
University College London

KATHLEEN BURK, born in California and educated at Berkeley and Oxford, is the Professor Emerita of Modern and Contemporary History at UCL. Author of a number of books, including *Britain, America and the Sinews of War 1914-1918* (1985), *Troublemaker: The Life and History of A.J.P. Taylor* (2000), *Old World, New World: The Story of Britain and America* (2007), and *The Lion and the Eagle: The Interaction of the British and American Empires 1783-1972* (2018), she also writes and lectures on wine.



AFTER WORLD WAR II, STATES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC ENACTED COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL BENEFITS TO PROTECT WORKING PEOPLE AND CONSTRAIN CAPITALISM. A widely shared consensus specifically linked social welfare to democratic citizenship, upholding greater equality as the glue that held nations together. Though the "two Wests," Europe and the United States, differ in crucial respects, they share a common history of social rights, democratic participation, and welfare capitalism. But in a new age of global inequality, welfare-state retrenchment, and economic austerity, can capitalism and democracy still coexist?

In this book, leading historians and social scientists rethink the history of social democracy and the welfare state in the United States and Europe in light of the global transformations of the economic order. Separately and together, they ask how changes in the distribution of wealth reshape the meaning of citizenship in a post-welfare-state era. They explore how the harsh effects of austerity and inequality influence democratic participation. In individual essays as well as interviews with Ira Katznelson and Frances Fox Piven, contributors from both sides of the Atlantic explore the fortunes of the welfare state. They discuss distinct national and international settings, speaking to both local particularities and transnational and transatlantic exchanges. Covering a range of topics—the lives of migrant workers, gender and the family in the design of welfare policies, the fate of the European Union, and the prospects of social movements—Democracy and the Welfare State is essential reading on what remains of twentieth-century social democracy amid the onslaught of neoliberalism and right-wing populism and where this legacy may yet lead us.

WE CONGRATULATE HALLE FOUNDATION TRAVEL GRANT RECIPIENTS FOR CONTINUING TO ADVANCE THE STUDY OF GERMAN-ATLANTIC RELATIONS:

JEAN-MICHEL TURCOTTE, CHAIR OF WAR STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF POTSDAM, GERMANY (2019)

“A COMPLEX DIPLOMATIC ISSUE: HANDLING THE GERMAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN THE TRANSATLANTIC WORLD DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR”

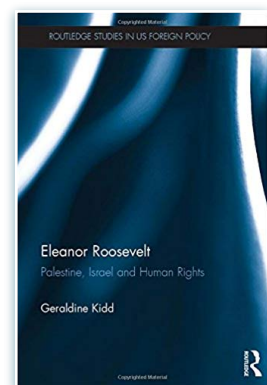
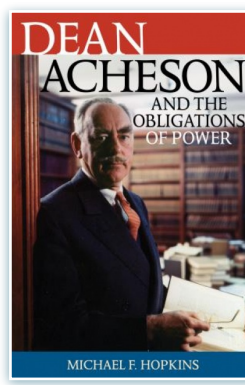
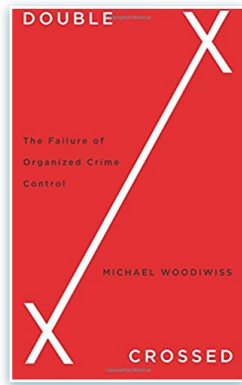
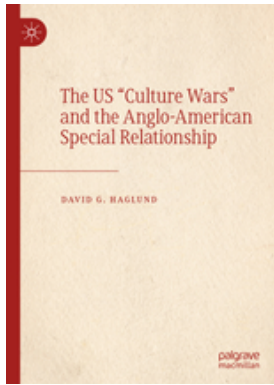
JULIA LANGE, HAMBURG UNIVERSITY, GERMANY (2019)

“TROUBLING MEMORIES? GERMAN-AMERICAN MUSEUMS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TWO WORLD WARS”

MICHELLE THOMPSON, ALBERT-LUDWIGS-UNIVERSITÄT, FREIBURG, GERMANY (2019)

“EMPLOYING GERMAN ‘INDIAN’ NARRATIVES WITH TRANSATLANTIC OCCURRENCES FROM EARLY COLONIZATION AND THE ROMANTIC ERA”





**MANAGING SCANDAL IN THE WHITE HOUSE
OCTOBER 24-25, 2019
MISSISSIPPI STATE UNIVERSITY**

FROM THE XYZ AFFAIR TO RUSSIAN MEDDLING IN 2016, scandals have persistently haunted American presidents. Almost every administration has faced public scrutiny for decisions taken or not taken, for cover-ups or spin, and personal or government transgressions. Scandals not only tarnish reputations of presidents seeking re-election, many also have a long legacy in historical consciousness. Ulysses S. Grant is still dogged by the Whiskey Ring, Warren G. Harding by Teapot Dome, Richard Nixon by Watergate, Ronald Reagan by Iran-Contra, and Bill Clinton by Monica Lewinski, to name but a few.

The Department of History at Mississippi State University, in conjunction with the Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library and Museum at the Mitchell Memorial Library and the Presidential History Network, will host a two-day symposium, October 24-25, 2019, to analyse the history and memory of American presidential scandals.

The symposium will begin with a keynote address by **BRUCE J. SCHULMAN, WILLIAM E. HUNTINGTON PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY.**

For further information, contact: Richard V. Damms by email or at: (+1) 601-484-0167

INTERSECTING GLOBAL ATLANTICS FROM LISBON TO MACAO:

THE LUSOPHONE WORLD, THE ANGLOSPHERE, AND ASIA

I **RECENTLY COMPLETED** the stimulating if sometimes demanding assignment of chairing the committee responsible for determining the award of the Transatlantic Studies Association/ Cambridge University Press Book Prize for 2017 titles. Thanks to the wonders of modern internet technology, I was able to do so from the former Portuguese colony of Macao, now a Special Administration Region of the People’s Republic of China, communicating almost instantaneously with other members of a committee many thousands of miles distant, scattered across the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Canada as we eventually reached a decision.

In 2016, when I last undertook this task, I was working and living in Hong Kong, which for over one hundred fifty years, since the British seized Hong Kong island in 1841, had been part of an English-speaking imperial network encompassing the North Atlantic. In the second half of the twentieth century, Hong Kong had become a venue for economic and cultural competition between rising US and declining British international power and influence. By the 1970s, American investment had surpassed the British stake in the territory; its residents included many more American than British citizens; and local Chinese increasingly chose to pursue university studies in the United States rather than Britain or other Commonwealth countries. From the 1970s onward, moreover, Chinese business elites based in Hong Kong would take the lead in developing commercial ties of all kinds between the United States and China, midwifing what would soon become possibly the world’s most significant economic and geopolitical relationship.

Moving to Macao, which like many others in Hong Kong I had occasionally visited for relaxation but did not know well, prompted me to compare the two territories, whose history has since 1841 been intertwined, and also the two trans-Atlantic networks with which each was linked. Macao stresses its ties to Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries. Since its return to China in 1999 it has been cultivated as the natural intermediary between China and the Portuguese-speaking world, a concatenation that currently includes Portugal itself, East Timor, Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, and Sao Tome and Principe, as well as Equatorial Guinea, though the



This book explores the forces that impelled China, the world’s largest socialist state, to make massive changes in its domestic and international stance during the long 1970s. Fourteen distinguished scholars investigate the special, perhaps crucial part that the territory of Hong Kong played in encouraging and midwifing China’s relationship with the non-Communist world. In the Long 1970s China moved dramatically and decisively toward much closer relations with the non-Communist world, and also embarked on major economic reforms, designed to win it great power status by the early twenty-first centuries. The volume addresses the long-term implications of China’s choices for the outcome of the Cold War and in steering the global international outlook toward free-market capitalism. Decisions made in the 1970s are key to understanding the nature and policies of the Chinese state today and the worldview of current Chinese leaders.



latter was never a Portuguese colony. City University of Macau, the dynamic and forward-looking young university that I joined in January 2017, has an Institute of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, that focuses upon the past and present of this grouping and its significance as a global transnational concept.

MACAO'S HISTORIC PAST

Macao had a far more venerable history than Hong Kong as a key locus for contacts between China, Southeast Asia, and the Western world. In Asia and the Americas alike, the Portuguese empire preceded British colonial ventures, dating back to the early years of the sixteenth century. For several centuries, Portugal dominated the South Atlantic slave trade, trafficking hundreds of thousands of African captives to the Caribbean islands and Latin America, while connecting these

territories with India, Japan, China, and Southeast Asia. In partnership or rivalry with Spain, its Iberian neighbour, Portugal established a global maritime network extending beyond the Atlantic into Asia. The Portuguese established redoubts in Goa, present-day East Timor, and Macao. The Portuguese first came to Macao, a peninsula on the western side of the Pearl River in southeastern China, in 1512. Leased from the Chinese Ming empire as a trading post from 1557 onward, the enclave became the base for Portugal's commercial and religious dealings not just with China, but also with Japan and across Southeast Asia. In 1851 Portugal seized the adjacent empty island of Taipa, followed in 1864 by the neighbouring island of Coloane. In 1887, under the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of Peking, China granted Portugal permanent occupation rights in all these territories, which could not be transferred to any other power without Chinese consent. Macao remained under Portuguese administration until December 20, 1999, when the People's Republic of China resumed control of the territory, which became a semi-autonomous Special Administrative Region of China.

Throughout most of its history, Macao was a locale where two major maritime-based international systems encountered and sometimes competed and clashed with each other. Macao itself was an integral part of Portuguese trading and religious networks in Asia and beyond, a gateway for commercial and intellectual exchanges within the Lusophone system. It coexisted with a second global complex, established over a century later, that of what would become the English-speaking world, connecting the nations of Northern and Western Europe (especially Great Britain) and the colonies they established in



North America in a triangular trade in slaves with Africa, and a commercial and imperial system that ultimately encompassed much of Asia. Until 1841, Macao served as the vital node where these two systems intersected not just with each other but with China, the portal and gateway for external transactions with the Q'ing empire, as well as a significant interface between China and other parts of Asia.

By the eighteenth century, Macao also served as a platform for merchants of other nationalities who sought to trade with China, including a substantial British contingent. Until 1841, when the British seized the territory of Hong Kong, 37 miles away on the eastern side of the Pearl River estuary, and five Chinese ports were opened to Western commerce, Macao was integral to the Canton trading system, providing important back-up services and facilities. A substantial wall separated the peninsula from China, allowing the Chinese authorities to confine potentially destabilising Western foreigners within its bounds. The British East India Company established a major office in Macao, as did other leading European and North American businessmen and firms engaged in trade with China. In the late eighteenth century, the British government occasionally contemplated taking Macao from Portugal, a move that British East India Company officers would have welcomed, but Portugal showed itself adept in manoeuvring among contending parties and resisting external British pressure. Since wives and families were not permitted to accompany foreign merchants to the factories in Canton (Guangzhou), 90 miles further up the Pearl River, where commercial transactions took place, those who preferred not to be separated for years at a time often came out to Macao, a relatively easy commute, and stayed there. In 1838 the Treaty of Wangxia, the first international agreement ever negotiated between the United States and China, was signed on a stone table in a major Macao temple.

MACAO AND HONG KONG: 1841 TO WORLD WAR II

The years following the British establishment of Hong Kong saw Macao playing a continuing and often underestimated role as an interface where the interlinked Anglosphere system of the British imperial network (later Commonwealth) and the United States continued to encounter the Portuguese-speaking world. The inescapable presence of the neighbouring British colony of Hong Kong facilitated such exchanges; indeed, Macao's post-1841 history cannot be understood outside the context of its larger British neighbour, which possessed a deep water port that offered harbour facilities not available in Macao, meaning the Portuguese enclave was largely eclipsed as a commercial centre. Increasingly, it functioned as an adjunct to Hong Kong, a vacation and entertainment centre offering respite from the pressures of life in what soon became a much larger city. In 1846, the British government closed its consulate in Macao. But from then until today, the story of the two enclaves remained closely intertwined, with many prominent Macao figures also maintaining a base or foothold in Hong Kong, which was home to a significant Macanese community, most of whom were of mixed Portuguese and Asian descent.

Around 1850, the gambling industry was legalised, and soon became one of Macao's greatest sources of revenue, with the government receiving a portion of the proceeds. The Roman Catholic church was an influential force within the territory, especially in terms of providing what were effectively social welfare services for abandoned children, the elderly, and others in need. For most of the nineteenth century, Macao and Hong Kong were both embarkation centres for the exportation of Chinese labourers, who sought to make their fortunes elsewhere in the world. Perhaps predictably, those taking ship from Hong Kong tended to be directed to the British Empire and the Anglophone world, including South Africa, Canada, the United States, Australia, and British Malaya and Singapore. Chinese left Macao for the Caribbean and Latin America, notably Peru, as well as most of island Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, where the territory's economic and cultural links dated back centuries.

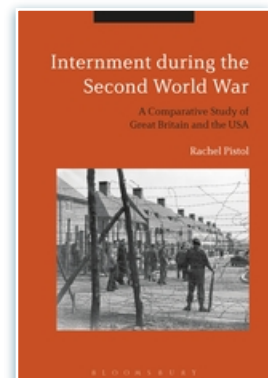
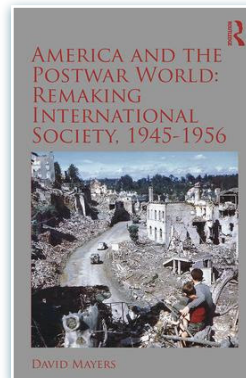
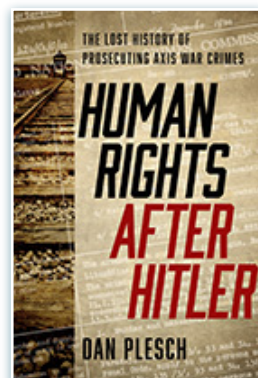
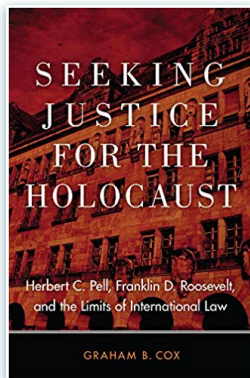
Macao also won some notoriety as a centre for smuggling narcotics, guns, gold, and other commodities, and for trafficking in women and girls.

Many of these patterns continued relatively unchanged throughout the Portuguese revolution of 1910, which replaced the monarchy with a republic, and the 1926 military coup in Portugal that ultimately brought the establishment in 1933 of the Estado Novo, António de Oliveira Salazar, an authoritarian regime that focused upon maintaining order and stability, eventually joining the US-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Macao, just because it was something of a sleepy backwater offering relatively few distractions, became the favoured locale for Chinese language training for young British diplomats and colonial administrators, many of whom, such as Sir Alexander Grantham, governor of Hong Kong from 1947 to 1957, looked back fondly on their lengthy stays.

Yet Macao was hardly an oasis of unbroken tranquility. On the international scene, the years from 1850 to 1999 and beyond were an often turbulent period of war, revolution, and conflicts with global implications that also affected Macao. In China, it brought the Taiping Rebellion, the Boxer Rebellion, the 1911 Revolution, the May Fourth movement, Chiang Kai-shek's consolidation of power, the Manchurian crisis, war with Japan, and the Chinese civil war, that eventually ended in the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, with its own sometimes stormy history. In 1974 a second revolution brought democratic government to Portugal, which subsequently joined the European Union, while granting independence to its remaining African colonies. Globally, the later nineteenth and early twentieth century brought international efforts to tackle global issues including trafficking in people, the narcotics trade, and the proliferation of armaments, campaigns initially pursued on an ad hoc basis but later through international forums such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. This period also saw intensifying great power competition in both Europe and Asia, with two destabilising world wars followed by the Cold War, which became hot in Asia during the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam Wars (1945-1975).

All these events had major implications for Macao. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it provided a refuge for Chinese revolutionaries who sought to overthrow the Qing government, most notably Sun Yat-sen, whose first wife and family lived in Macao for many years, until her death in 1952. Other Asian insurgent movements also found foreign-run Macao (like Hong Kong) something of a haven. The Vietnamese Communist Party, founded by Ho Chi Minh in exile in Hong Kong in February 1930, held its first party congress in Macao in March 1935, attended by thirteen delegates. The British in Hong Kong tried to coordinate their policies, especially dealings with China, with those of the Portuguese in Macao, fearing that problems between the Macao and Chinese authorities might easily spill over to Hong Kong. As early as the 1930s, Macao was also a focus for Anglo-American imperial economic competition, with the US government overriding British objections and pushing the claims of Pan American Airways for landing rights in Macao.

With international tensions mounting in both Europe and Asia during the 1930s, Macao was unable to remain aloof. As hostilities between Japan and China steadily intensified during the 1930s, with the two countries openly at war from 1937, Portugal signalled its intention of remaining neutral in this conflict. Refugees from China began flooding into the city, and some young people from Macao organised resistance groups that went and fought for China in Guangdong province. The 1927 population of 157,175 rose to 245,194 by 1939, reaching 321,269 in 1940 and almost 500,000 in early 1942, following a major influx from Hong Kong, which Japanese forces captured and occupied Hong Kong in December 1941. By late 1944, as over 80,000 refugees poured into Macao in three weeks in response to air raids on Hong Kong and Guangzhou in September and October 1944, Macao's population was around 600,000. Providing even basic shelter and subsistence for these



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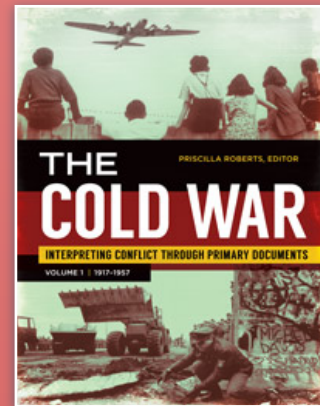
extra mouths represented a major challenge to the authorities, given that Japanese ships blockaded Macao and food had to be obtained from Guangdong.

Japan ostensibly respected Macao's neutrality and chose not to occupy the enclave formally, though Governor Gabriel Teixeira was forced to accept the presence and defer to the demands of Japanese 'advisers,' based in a consulate established in October 1940 that included a substantial military mission and secret police contingent. Confidential understandings on Macao reached between Portuguese and Japanese officials effectively compromised Macao's neutrality, while leaving it formally a Portuguese territory. The British government had re-established a formal Macao consulate in 1940, as opposed to relying on the services of a local honorary consul, as occurred in the 1930s. John Pownall Reeves, who was appointed British vice-consul in Macao in June 1941, winning promotion to full consul in March 1945, headed what would soon become—following the Japanese decision to launch outright war against Britain and other Western colonial powers across their imperial possessions in Southeast Asia—the only surviving operational British diplomatic mission for well over a thousand miles in all directions. The vice-consul administered substantial sterling funds, remittances dispatched by the Foreign Office to support British refugees in Macao, and also looked after the interests of United States citizens in Macao, processing funds sent by the State Department or by the families of Chinese Americans.

The poet W. H. Auden, who visited both Hong Kong and Macao in late 1938, commemorated each place in verse. Of Hong Kong, whose "leading characters are wise and witty, / Their suits well-tailored, and they wear them well," he wrote: "Here in the East our bankers have erected / A worthy temple to the Comic Muse." They continued to play their "comic role" even as "off-stage, a war / Thuds like the slamming of a distant door". Macao, by contrast, he found "A weed from Catholic Europe" and "A Portugal-cum-China oddity" where churches, gambling, and brothels coexisted comfortably. Convinced that "A town of such indulgence need not fear / Those mortal sins by which the strong are killed / And limbs and governments are torn to pieces," Auden proclaimed that "nothing serious can happen here." Yet for those whose lives literally depended upon what happened in the tiny colony, during the wartime years, it was serious. Shabby, down-at-heel Macao, for so long the poor relation to neighbouring wealthy Hong Kong, showed great humanity and generosity in taking in many whom war had reduced to often desperate straits and making their survival possible, even if this meant the Portuguese authorities permitting backdoor and perhaps less than honourable deals to obtain vital food from Japanese-occupied China. To those living in occupied Hong Kong, its Guia lighthouse, still shining from the one enclave for thousands of miles that had escaped full-scale war, became a beacon of hope for the future.

Like neutral Portugal's capital of Lisbon, during the war the small territory was a hotbed of espionage activities of all kinds, providing a base from which underground Chinese resistance groups, some affiliated with Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Kuomintang (Guomindang, KMT) government, others with the communists, as well as their allies in the British Army Aid Group, could launch operations and where escapees from Japanese prison camps often sought at least temporary sanctuary. French, American, German, and Soviet agents also made sporadic appearances. Their freedom of action was limited by Japan's significant degree of military control over the small territory, with the Japanese military effectively running maritime policing and communications. In August 1943, a Japanese flotilla seized a British-owned steamer, the *Sian*, that was moored in Macao's harbour, killing 20 guards and police during the operation, which involved a major shoot-out, and ignoring British protests. Assassinations were frequent, with that of the Japanese consul Fukui Yasumitsu in February 1945 prompting a serious crisis in Japanese-Portuguese relations, when Macao only narrowly avoided a formal takeover by Japan. Rival newspapers were published in Macao, presenting British and Japanese as well as Portuguese and Chinese viewpoints, though at Japan's behest the British-backed Hongkong News was closed in late January 1945.

As the only neutral port in South China after December 1941, Macao even experienced a transitory period of prosperity, with the war proving profitable for at least some businessmen. The territory was a centre for wartime trade in guns, gold, tungsten, and other valuable metals, some legitimate, much organised by exceptionally resourceful smuggling networks. At least some of these operations depended upon tacit or explicit Japanese cooperation, with Japanese officials bartering badly needed food in exchange for aviation gasoline, tungsten, hard currency, and also for a range of supplies provided by the Portuguese government. In January 1945, revelations that Macao intended to sell aviation fuel to Japan prompted a surprise raid on the Naval Aviation Centre's hangar by American aircraft based on the USS *Enterprise*, which destroyed the offending merchandise and killed two soldiers and several civilians. Despite Portuguese protests, several further American air raids on the inner harbor and Coloane island followed between February and June 1945. Eventually, in 1950 the U.S. government paid over \$20 million in compensation for these incidents to the government of Portugal, possibly as a sweetener to persuade it to make no more concessions than necessary to the new communist government in mainland China.



This detailed two-volume set tells the story of the Cold War, the dominant international event of the second half of the 20th century, through a diverse selection of primary source documents.

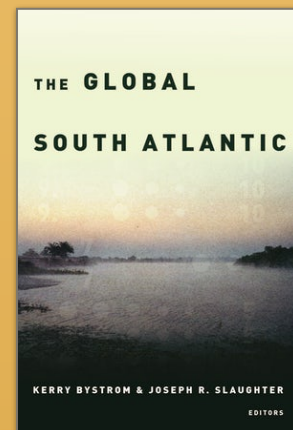
One of the most extensive to date, this set of primary source documents studies the Cold War comprehensively from its beginning, with the emergence of the world's first communist government in Russia in late 1917, to its end, in 1991. All of the key events, including the Berlin Blockade, the Korean War, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Vietnam War, and the nuclear arms race, are discussed in detail. The primary sources provide insight into the thinking of all participants, drawing on Western, Soviet, Asian, and Latin American perspectives.

In *The Cold War: Interpreting Conflict through Primary Documents* primary documents are organized chronologically, allowing readers to appreciate the ramifications of the Cold War within a clear time frame. Extensive interpretive commentary provides in-depth background and context for each document. This work is an indispensable reference for all readers seeking to become deeply knowledgeable about the Cold War.

COLD WAR MACAO, 1945-1974

Macao's wartime experiences of working with and manoeuvring around larger powers that were prepared to tolerate the enclave's existence seem in retrospect to have been something of a rehearsal for the strategies it would follow during the rapidly developing Cold War. Almost as soon as victory over Japan was declared, an ever intensifying civil war began between Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Kuomintang government and the forces of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) headed by Mao Zedong. Agents from both sides were active in Macao, with the Nationalists from 1945 onward agitating locally and in international diplomatic forums for its retrocession to China in the near future. Nationalist soldiers made armed incursions through the border gate on September 16, 1945, and again in late October, on the pretext of seeking to detain Japanese prisoners of war and Chinese wartime collaborators. The governor, instead, ordered that the Nationalist officers should themselves be confined to a local hotel. The Portuguese authorities sought to minimise KMT activities and influence in local Macao labor and political groups, dissolving the Hong Mun organisation founded by Sun Yat-sen, China's foremost revolutionary founder, who had family ties to Macao, where his first wife still lived. In response to assertive Nationalist demands that Portugal initiate negotiations to restore Macao to Chinese rule, Teófilo Duarte, Portugal's Minister of Colonies, proclaimed in April 1947 that Portugal would never renounce control of Macao. As Sino-Portuguese hostilities escalated, with ever more heated verbal battles continuing for several months, in late August 1947 Sun Yat Sen's eldest son, Sun Fo, visited Macao, to be received by the governor and local officials. After celebrating his father's past residence in the city, he affirmed the Chinese government's acceptance of Macao's unique status, effusively praising the special relationship between Portugal and China and defusing the tensions between the two nations. The Chinese Communists, meanwhile, made overtures to both Macao and Hong Kong, suggesting that should they win control of China, they would leave these territories under Portuguese and British administration.

Macao had won valuable time, as it recovered from the ravages of war and reoriented its economy, in which gold trading and smuggling became increasingly prominent, not least because Portugal was not a signatory to the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement establishing an international currency regime, which prohibited imports of gold for private use. As the



Not only were more African slaves transported to South America than to North, but overlapping imperialisms and shared resistance to them have linked Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean for over five centuries. Yet despite the rise in transatlantic, oceanic, hemispheric, and regional studies, and even the growing interest in South-South connections, the South Atlantic has not yet emerged as a site that captures the attention it deserves.

The Global South Atlantic traces literary exchanges and interlaced networks of communication and investment—financial, political, socio-cultural, libidinal—across and around the southern ocean. Bringing together scholars working in a range of languages, from Spanish to Arabic, the book shows the range of ways people, governments, political movements, social imaginaries, cultural artefacts, goods, and markets cross the South Atlantic, or sometimes fail to cross.

As a region made up of multiple intersecting regions, and as a vision made up of complementary and competing visions, the South Atlantic can only be understood comparatively. Exploring the Atlantic as an effect of structures of power and knowledge that issue from the Global South as much as from Europe and North America, The Global South Atlantic helps to rebalance global literary studies by making visible a multi-textured South Atlantic system that is neither singular nor stable.

Chinese Civil War continued, with the communists gradually gaining ground—one possible reason why the Nationalists, who were increasingly dependent on U.S. subsidies, may have moderated their original demands for the return of Macao and Hong Kong—Macao awaited the outcome with some apprehension. Communist troops captured the Nationalist capital of Nanjing in April 1949, whereupon Kuomintang forces retreated to Guangdong province, making Guangzhou their temporary capital, which they then abandoned in October 1949 for Chongqing in the southwest, China's wartime capital. Soon afterward, the Nationalists fled for the island of Taiwan, 100 miles off the Chinese mainland coast. Speaking in the northern capital of Beijing on October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the new People's Republic of China (PRC).

Following the Chinese Communist victory, in late 1949 the Portuguese government in Lisbon, alarmed by demonstrations in November by enthusiastic students and workers in Guangzhou demanding the return of Macao, reinforced the territory's garrison with an additional 6,000 troops. To the surprise of many, as Chinese Communist troops overran Guangdong province, they stopped short at the borders of both Macao and Hong Kong. Many outside observers expected this would represent only a temporary respite before a final communist takeover of both territories. In practice, almost half a century elapsed before each returned to Chinese rule. The PRC stated that, although it considered the 1887 Sino-Portuguese Treaty an "unequal treaty" and therefore invalid, for an indefinite period it would defer tackling the question of remedying this and would meanwhile continue to accept the status quo. The new communist regime recognised the practical advantages that accrued by allowing Macao as well as Hong Kong to function as locales for economically advantageous commercial transactions, bases for intelligence activities, and venues for informal diplomatic exchanges and encounters.

By late 1951, half of the military reinforcements dispatched to Macao two years earlier had been withdrawn. Yet in reality, the autonomy and independence of the Portuguese administration in Macao were from the onset rather severely circumscribed. It was generally recognised that Chinese military forces—like those of Japan in World War II—were quite capable of overrunning Macao in short order, and that the best the Portuguese authorities would be able to do would be to manage an evacuation, possibly with British and American help. Macao's dependence on China for food and by 1960 for water made it vulnerable to any closing of the borders. The Portuguese government of Macao effectively functioned on the sufferance of the PRC, with only limited room for manoeuvre and less leverage than the British enjoyed in Hong Kong.

Until 1974, Portugal's authoritarian and right-wing Estado Novo government withheld diplomatic recognition from the PRC, accepting the claim of Chiang Kai'shek's Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan that the KMT redoubt on the island was still the legitimate government of China. Portugal was also a founder member of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), the North American and West European military alliance and security pact established in 1949 under U.S. leadership to resist the further spread of communism and Soviet influence in Europe and beyond. Following the Communist takeover, a new wave of Chinese refugees poured into Macao, particularly from Shanghai and Guangdong province, many of whom were KMT supporters. Considerable scope existed for clashes in Macao between these sometimes fierce anti-communists and the equally dedicated CCP activists within the city's Chinese community.

Ideological solidarity with anti-communism could only go so far. In practice, Macao's Portuguese administration and the government in Lisbon employed prominent pro-Beijing wealthy Chinese



businessmen in the territory as intermediaries with the new mainland government. Foremost among these was Ho Yin, founder in 1942 of the Tai Fung Bank, whose wealth was largely based on his role in the lucrative gold trade, banned and restricted in Hong Kong but not in Macao. He also had major stakes in the territory's bus and taxi companies, cinemas, hotels, banking sector, and Chinese-language newspapers. From 1950 until his death in 1983, Ho was President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Ho enjoyed close connections with the new PRC government, visiting Beijing frequently to exchange views on Macao-related issues with Chairman Mao Zedong, Premier Zhou Enlai, and other top CCP leaders. Ho also helped to mediate disputes and even crises over Macao and prevent these from completely undermining the Sino-Portuguese relationship.



Where possible, Portugal sought to avoid direct confrontation with China. Portugal resisted US pressure to vote against the admission of the PRC to the United Nations, choosing instead to abstain on the issue, on the grounds that it did not wish to jeopardise its position in Macao. Only in 1971, after a personal appeal from President Richard Nixon and promises of special assistance, did Portugal choose to vote against the resolution to admit mainland China, at a point when this move was purely symbolic, since it was clear that trying to stall China's entrance any longer was futile.

During the Korean War, when communist North Korea invaded the non-communist South in June 1950, military allies of the United States were subjected to American pressure to contribute troops to the United Nations forces that came to South Korea's rescue, prompting intervention by PRC forces in late 1950 to save North Korea from defeat. Portugal declined to contribute any soldiers to this effort. Macao businessmen were soon heavily involved in efforts to break the Western embargo on trade with China in strategic materials that might assist its war effort, dealings that also contributed significantly to the tax revenues of Macao's government, which tacitly endorsed this commerce. Western powers then pressured the Portuguese government in Lisbon to join the sanctions regime and implement legislation imposing tough restrictions on future trade with China, which were published in January 1952. Immediately after a thirteen-day visit to Macao by Portugal's Overseas Minister, Sarmento Rodrigues, the first ever made to the territory by any Portuguese cabinet minister, throughout the last week of July 1952 violent clashes erupted between Chinese and Portuguese forces at the Macao border, leaving one Portuguese and two Chinese dead and almost 30 from both sides seriously injured. The Portuguese government issued urgent and ultimately successful appeals to the United States, Britain, and other allies for permission to relax the regulations. Following negotiations with Beijing by Ho Yin and others, Macao's Portuguese governor issued an apology for the violence and offered financial compensation for the Chinese dead and wounded.

In late 1952, Portugal requested that the NATO council grant Macao a special exemption from the Western sanctions regime. Portugal and China ultimately reached an agreement whereby the PRC would supply Macao with fresh vegetables, rice, and other necessary food in exchange for strategic materials that were otherwise embargoed. Even the United States government, which demanded the imposition of stringent restrictions on Hong Kong's trade with the PRC, recognised that Macao's economic dependence on the mainland was so great that serious efforts to shut down trade between the two would almost certainly prove counterproductive. As the special arrangement hung fire, further violent clashes occurred in early 1953 at the border and within Macao itself, where pro-Nationalist operatives and sympathisers engaged in street battles with Communist supporters and the Macao police, leading British diplomats to fear a PRC takeover might be imminent. Tensions eventually declined when the Macao authorities reached an understanding with the top KMT representative in

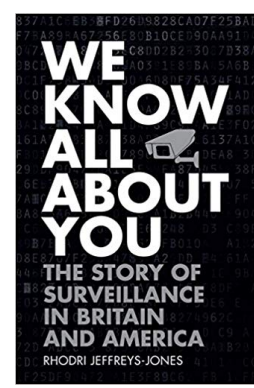
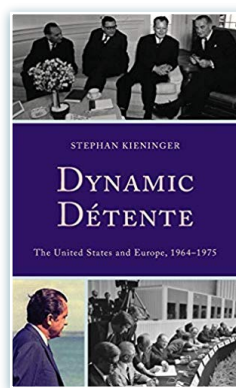
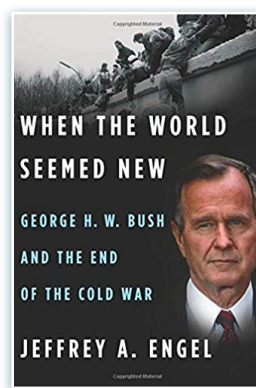
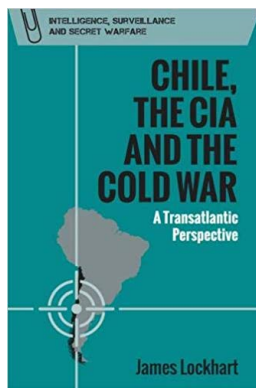
Macao, who agreed to rein in uncontrolled elements who might embarrass the Portuguese authorities, whom he asked in return to be less draconian in suppressing unrest among his followers.

As during World War II, Macao remained an important venue for espionage, with U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) officials receiving reports from informants based in the territory on developments there and in the Chinese mainland, especially the south. The CIA also monitored the gold trade and other commerce between Macao and China. Their files included a list of addresses in Macao that housed pro-PRC individuals and organisations. Portuguese deference to mainland sensibilities continued. Cultural exchanges were accepted, with a group of mainland dancers who performed in Macao in 1956 permitted to monopolise a local hotel, protected by guards toting machine guns. Later that year, when Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai met in Beijing with Governor Sir Alexander Grantham of Hong Kong, Zhou asked him to convey a message to his Portuguese counterpart in Macao, Joaquim Marques Esparteiro, that the PRC would consider inappropriate any ostentatious celebrations of four hundred years of Portuguese rule over the territory. Plans for lavish ceremonies to mark the quadri-centennial were subsequently abandoned, with sheets of commemorative postage stamps that had already been printed withdrawn.

Following the Sino-Soviet split, from the early 1960s onward, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and other Russian officials repeatedly taunted the Chinese communists for prioritising commercial advantage and economic gains over ideological consistency, and acquiescing in continued Portuguese rule over Macao and British control of Hong Kong. Such fraternal criticism had no impact upon Chinese policies, which remained fundamentally unchanged then and later. In 1961, nonetheless, when Indian military forces defeated the Portuguese garrison and annexed the province of Goa, an enclave that had been under Portuguese rule for 450 years, the Lisbon government feared this action might impel China to follow suit in Macao. It did not. Instead, in the early 1960s over 100,000 refugees from China poured into the city, seeking relief from the devastating famine the disastrous economic policies of the Great Leap Forward had precipitated within China.

In early December 1966, as the Cultural Revolution raged in mainland China, left-wing demonstrators in Macao protesting against the government's handling of a proposed communist school invaded the grounds of Government House, sacked the Municipal Council building, and destroyed statues and monuments symbolising Portuguese control. In the following days, as riots continued, Portuguese military forces attempted to restore order and eight Portuguese soldiers were killed. Chinese officials from Guangdong province backed demands by the rioters for the replacement of various Portuguese political and military officials, and Chinese warships patrolled the waters around Macao, in part to reinforce these messages but also to block radicalised Cultural Revolution Red Guard elements from attacking Macao directly. The conservative Portuguese government in Lisbon, heavily committed to military suppression of insurgencies against Portuguese rule in its African territories, was initially less ready than Governor José Manuel de Sousa e Nobre de Carvalho to make concessions to the protesters. The Portuguese considered evacuating Macao, and by mid-January 1967 several hundred Portuguese residents had already fled the territory for Hong Kong. The US government made contingency plans to evacuate American citizens, while otherwise abandoning Macao to its fate.

Eventually, on January 29, 1967, the crisis was resolved. Governor Nobre de Carvalho issued a formal apology, dismissed several top Portuguese officials, abandoned the use of force, and provided financial compensation for the families of those left dead or wounded. Anti-PRC operations within Macao by the Republic of China on Taiwan were drastically curtailed. Kuomintang activities were forbidden in Macao, with existing organisations closed down, and the Macao government handed over to the Guangdong authorities several Kuomintang agents then serving prison sentences for arms offences in Macao. As both the Portuguese and the British and Americans in neighbouring



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Hong Kong noted, PRC officials clearly still preferred to leave Macao under Portuguese administration, finding this advantageous in various practical respects, but from then onward the governor's freedom of action, especially in the area of policing and security, was severely restricted. British and American diplomats believed that one reason for this outcome was that mainland Chinese leaders feared that any takeover of Macao would prompt a loss of confidence in Britain's ability to continue ruling Hong Kong, a territory where at this point the PRC government wished to maintain the status quo.

When riots erupted in Hong Kong in May 1967, leftists immediately targeted the British consulate in Macao. Since 1961, the British had operated a permit regime, screening all individuals who wished to enter Hong Kong from Macao and denying access to any applicants—whether pro-PRC or pro-ROC in outlook—whom they suspected might engage in subversive activities. From May 12, 1967, Norman Ions, the British Consul, and Vice-Consul John Kemble endured several days of protests by mobs of leftist Chinese, who painted Maoist slogans on the consulate and their residences and kept up a continuous barrage of noisy demonstrations and chants in public areas of the Consulate, attacking British policies in Hong Kong. British requests notwithstanding, the Portuguese authorities could offer only sympathy, taking no concrete action to help. On the evening of May 13, eleven out of fourteen local staff at the Consulate left for Hong Kong. Ions and Kemble remained en poste, as deputation after deputation relentlessly demanded the opportunity to submit complaints, protests, and petitions assailing British actions. After spending eight hours standing outside on May 24, Ions refused to bow or kneel to images of PRC Chairman Mao Zedong or repeat communist slogans, but finally requested permission from London to close the Consulate and leave, to pre-empt any further escalation of the situation. Ions and Kemble decamped by ferry the following morning. Their departure marked the effective closure of the British Consulate in Macao, which never reopened. During the 1967 riots, the British authorities in Hong Kong were determined not to cede similar control to PRC representatives in their own territory, believing that a total evacuation and withdrawal from Hong Kong would be preferable.

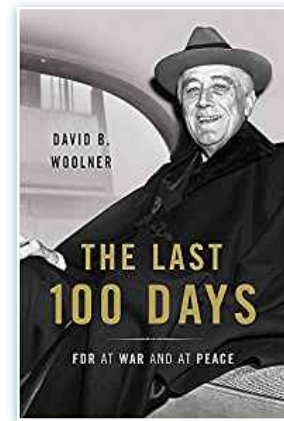
THE 1974 PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION AND THE MACAO HANDOVER

In 1972, shortly after the PRC took over China's seat in that organisation, the United Nations removed Macao and Hong Kong from its official list of Non-Self-Governing Territories that were entitled to seek independence. This omission, undertaken at China's request, implied that both would ultimately be reunited with the PRC. Two years later, a left-leaning military revolt overthrew the authoritarian regime that had held power in Portugal since 1933, but had proved incapable of suppressing lengthy and expensive anti-colonial insurgencies in its African possessions. The new government soon decided to

divest itself of all Portugal's remaining imperial territories. In 1974, the Portuguese military garrison was withdrawn from Macao. An initial Portuguese offer in 1975 to return Macao to China was refused; with PRC officials focused upon the impending power struggle expected to follow the looming death of Mao Zedong, they had no energy to spare for such distractions. In 1976 Portugal nonetheless recategorised Macao as a "Chinese territory under Portuguese administration" which was to be permitted substantially greater autonomy in running its own affairs. Three years later, with the pragmatic Deng Xiaoping largely in control in China, where he was introducing policies of economic reform and opening up, Portugal and China agreed to treat Macao as "a Chinese territory [temporarily] under Portuguese administration."

Macao still remained very much part of a broader Portuguese network. In 1975, it hosted abortive Portuguese-sponsored negotiations with East Timorese representatives and Indonesian officials on the future of East Timor. After the brutal Indonesian military takeover of Portugal's only other remaining Asian possession, Macao became a destination for East Timorese refugees and independence activists, some of whom remained based in Macao while others moved elsewhere. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Macao also provided shelter and assistance for substantial numbers of Vietnamese—many of Chinese extraction—who fled by boat in the years following North Vietnam's victory and annexation of the non-communist south.

Meanwhile, businesses and individuals in Macao enjoyed increasing opportunities to participate in Chinese economic growth, as reforms began to take off. From the 1960s onward, Hong Kong manufacturers who sought to bypass quota restrictions on Hong Kong textiles moved substantial portions of their operations to Macao, which eventually brought the imposition of international quotas on Macao-made textile goods too. In 1980, the area of Zhuhai on the other side of China's border with Macao was designated as one of the PRC's five Special Economic Zones, where regulations were relaxed and investors enjoyed more favourable treatment, in the interests of promoting rapid and dynamic development. Following the conclusion in 1984 of a Sino-British agreement that the principle of "one country, two systems" would govern the return of Hong Kong in 1997 to Chinese rule, as a Special Administrative Region that would enjoy a high degree of autonomy in domestic affairs, in June 1986 the Chinese and Portuguese began negotiations on the future of Macao. The Sino-Portuguese Joint Declaration on Macao, signed in 1987,



A revealing portrait of the end of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's life and presidency, shedding new light on how he made his momentous final policy decisions.

The first hundred days of FDR's presidency are justly famous, often viewed as a period of political action without equal in American history. Yet as historian David B. Woolner reveals, the last hundred might very well surpass them in drama and consequence.

Drawing on new evidence, Woolner shows how FDR called on every ounce of his diminishing energy to pursue what mattered most to him: the establishment of the United Nations, the reinvigoration of the New Deal, and the possibility of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. We see a president shorn of the usual distractions of office, a man whose sense of personal responsibility for the American people bore heavily upon him. As Woolner argues, even in declining health FDR displayed remarkable political talent and foresight as he focused his energies on shaping the peace to come.

envisaged similar arrangements for Macao, which was allowed to maintain control of its own internal affairs, together with a separate currency, customs regime, immigration controls, and police force. The date of the handover was set for December 20, 1999.

In June 1989, the brutal military suppression by PRC authorities of protests in Beijing and elsewhere in China temporarily shook confidence in these arrangements. Around 150,000 people, one-third of Macao's population, joined in demonstrations condemning the actions of the mainland government. Some took advantage of provisions whereby a large proportion of the residents of Macao enjoyed Portuguese citizenship, which allowed them to move not just to Portugal, but to other member states of the European Union. The population of Macao fell from 448,000 in 1989 to 355,700 two years later. Paradoxically, the exodus may have rendered the city more malleable, since the departees were probably the cohort least sympathetic to the Beijing government. By 1998, the population had rebounded to 459,000, though a further 25,000 left in the year of the handover.

The transition proceeded relatively smoothly, with a spectacular ceremony on December 20, 1999, just before the new millennium. Edmund Ho Hau-wah, son of Ho Yin, became chief executive of Macao. From 2002, the gambling industry was diversified and opened to international casino operators, including American moguls who brought lavish versions of their Las Vegas establishments to the territory. By 2018, the tiny enclave was the most densely populated territory on earth. Although vast discrepancies of wealth existed, with Macao boasting the highest per capita income in the world by 2019, the Macao government offered generous social welfare provisions and subsidies that did much to damp down social and political discontent. Zhuhai grew rapidly and prospered, erecting eye-catching landmark buildings that rivalled the light shows of Macao's ostentatious towers, and business investment in and ties with enterprises in Guangdong and beyond expanded. In late 2018, a massive bridge connecting Hong Kong, Macao, and the neighbouring special economic zone of Zhuhai was opened. Building on its existing heritage and networks, Macao was encouraged to become the platform for Chinese dealings with the Portuguese-speaking world. As it had done throughout the Cold War, Macao showed considerable flexibility in pursuing its own needs while accommodating itself to the requirements and demands of more powerful neighbours, especially the Beijing government.

Macao was for centuries an extension of what the extremely stimulating recent volume edited by Kerry Bystrom and Joseph R. Slaughter terms *The Global South Atlantic* (2017), an originally imperial geopolitical and economic network that enabled transfers of people, goods, and ideas and thereby took on a specific collective identity. Yet belonging to the Portuguese-speaking world was not the only facet of the city's personality. The majority of its population has always been Chinese, and Macao's *raison d'être* was as an interface between China and the outside world, from the Ming period onward connecting China not just with maritime Asia but with interlinked transpacific and transatlantic networks. At times uncomfortably, Macao was also the site for dealings between China and the Anglo-American powers, with Great Britain occasionally perceiving its territory as a possible target for acquisition. Later, both Britain and the United States would attempt to influence Macao's policies toward China. And for most of the twentieth century, Macao was linked to assorted revolutionary, anti-imperial, and post-colonial networks within Asia and beyond.

Just how significant these differing but much interlinked historical pasts remain to Macao and its younger though far grander sibling Hong Kong is a moot question. Within Hong Kong, British and US influences and links of every sort remain strong, at both the economic, political, and cultural level, though the latter in particular are often unwelcome to the city's new Chinese overlords. In Macao, extensive ties and contacts with Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries are officially

encouraged, with the president of Portugal visiting a few weeks ago and receiving a warm welcome. High officials of other Portuguese-speaking countries are likewise regularly feted, their presence evidence of China's determination to participate in the economic development of Africa and Latin America.

Despite breakneck recent development, many venerable and extremely picturesque Portuguese-style buildings have survived, some seriously dilapidated, others elegantly spruced up. Traditional Lusitanian blue-and-white tiles and mosaics are standard vocabulary for decoration, not least on the campus of the former University of East Asia, founded in 1981 on the island of Taipa on what was then farmland producing pigs and chickens, and is now surrounded by massive tower blocks. City University of Macau took over the site in 2015, refurbishing it and establishing exchanges with major universities in Portugal, as well as China, Britain, Canada, the United States, Australia, and various EU states. The old city centre, beautifully renovated in preparation for the 1999 handover, has become a UNESCO World Heritage Site, complemented by an array of attractive museums, well maintained historic sites, and cultural centres. Wine, ham, cheeses, sardines, dried cod, and other delicacies from Portugal adorn most supermarket shelves, and many popular restaurants specialise in the country's excellent cuisine.

These enjoyable experiences, picturesque survivals, and alluring reminders of the past are decidedly more authentic than the lavish (albeit sanitised) recreations of life in Venice, Paris, London, or ancient Egypt offered by some of the more spectacular casinos in Macao. Without them, Macao would be a far less livable and pleasant city. Often lovingly preserved, its older buildings are tangible monuments to a long and complex past, one whose traces are very much still present in today's city. Arguably, they are also remembrances of an era that, even as we still seek to interpret and understand it, has been and gone. As the tectonic plates of the global system undergo ever more unpredictable shifts, one wonders which elements of these sometimes competing, sometimes complementary transnational networks will—as in the past—retain the vitality to endure and adapt to new changes and challenges.

May the 2020 meeting of the Transatlantic Studies Association in Lisbon prove a fruitful arena for further speculation on such matters!

Priscilla Roberts
City University of Macau

PRISCILLA ROBERTS is Associate Professor of Business and Co-Director of the Asia-Pacific Business Research Centre at City University of Macau. She has published extensively in twentieth-century international and diplomatic history. Her most recent book is *The Cold War: Interpreting Conflict Through Primary Documents* (2018). She is currently working on a study of Anglo-American Think Tanks and China Policy From the 1950s to the 1990s.

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Special Issue on 70th Anniversary of NATO

The JTS is pleased to announce the imminent publication of a special issue on NATO at 70.

Alan Dobson, Editor

TITLE: The Atlantic Alliance at 70: Insight and Evaluation

Guest editors:

Prof. John R. Deni (US Army War College) & Prof. Sten Rynning (University of Southern Denmark)

THE JOURNAL OF TRANSATLANTIC STUDIES is the official journal of the Transatlantic Studies Association. It is a multi- and inter-disciplinary publication embracing history, international relations and security studies, literature and culture, economic and business history, transnational connections, and environmental studies. Themed issues are published regularly, and have covered the impact of 9/11, the Anglo-American relationship, NATO's contemporary challenges, Canada and transatlantic relations, and US Secretaries of State.

Broadly speaking, the journal contains articles on relations between Europe and North, South, and Central America and the Caribbean. Editorial policy is suitably flexible about the inclusion of Africa. While the majority of articles will almost certainly be on North American relations with Europe, there is an editorial policy of including articles dealing with Spanish, or Portuguese or French speaking America (Dutch speaking America/ Caribbean will be dealt with on a case by case basis).

Most contributions are about post-1945 or contemporary affairs, but articles covering any period of transatlantic relations are welcome.

Editor: Professor Alan Dobson, Honorary Professor, Swansea University



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SERIES EDITORS: ALAN DOBSON, ROBERT HENDERSHOT, AND STEVE MARSH

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NOTED PUBLICATIONS

1) **OR ROSENBOIM**, *The Emergence of Globalism: Visions of World Order in Britain and the United States, 1939-1950* (Princeton University Press, 2017).

2) **MICHAEL PATRICK CULLINANE & SYLVIA ELLIS**, EDS, *Constructing Presidential Legacy*, in *New Perspectives on the American Presidency* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

JAMES COOPER, *The Politics of Diplomacy: US Presidents and the Northern Ireland Conflict, 1967-1998*, in *Edinburgh Studies in Anglo-American Relations* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

LUCA RATTI, *A Not-So-Special Relationship: The US, The UK and German Unification, 1945-1990*, in *Edinburgh Studies in Anglo-American Relations* (Edinburgh University Press, 2017).

KATHLEEN BURK, *The Lion & The Eagle: The Interaction of the British and American Empires, 1783-1972* (Bloomsbury, 2018).

3) **ALICE KESSLER-HARRIS & MAURIZIO VAUDAGNA**, eds. *Democracy and the Welfare State: The Two Wests in the Age of Austerity* (Columbia University Press, 2017).

4) **David Haglund**, *The US "Culture Wars" and the Anglo-American Special Relationship* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2019).

Michale Woodiwiss, *Double Crossed: The Failure of Organised Crime Control* (Pluto Press, 2017).

Michael F. Hopkins, *Dean Acheson and the Obligations of Power* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

Geraldine Kidd, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Palestine, Israel and Human Rights*, in *Routledge Studies in Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2017).

5) **Priscilla Roberts & Odd Arne Westad**, eds. *China, Hong Kong, and the Long 1970s: Global Perspectives*, in *Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

6) **GRAHAM B. COX**, *Seeking Justice for the Holocaust: Herbert C. Pell, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the Limits of International Law* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).

DAN PLESCH, *Human Rights After Hitler: The Lost History of Prosecuting Axis War Crimes* (Georgetown University Press, 2017).

DAVID MAYERS, *America and the Postwar World: Remaking International Society, 1945-1956*, in *Routledge Studies in Modern History* (Routledge, 2018).

RACHEL PISTOL, *Internment During the Second World War* (Bloomsbury, 2017).

7) **PRISCILLA ROBERTS**, ed. *The Cold War: Interpreting Conflict through Primary Documents* (ABC-CLIO, 2018).

8) **KERRY BYSTROM & JOSEPH R. SLAUGHTER**, eds. *The Global South Atlantic* (Fordham University Press, 2017).

9) **JAMES LOCKHART**, *Chile, the CIA and the Cold War: A Transatlantic Perspective (Intelligence, Surveillance and Secret Warfare)* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019).

JEFFREY A. ENGEL, *When the World Seemed New: George H. W. Bush and the End of the Cold War* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017).

STEPHAN KIENINGER, *Dynamic Détente: The United States and Europe, 1964-1975*, in *The Harvard Cold War Studies Series* (Lexington Books, 2016)

RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES, *We Know All About You: The Story of Surveillance in Britain and America* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

10) **David B. Woolner**, *The Last 100 Days* (Basic Books, 2017).

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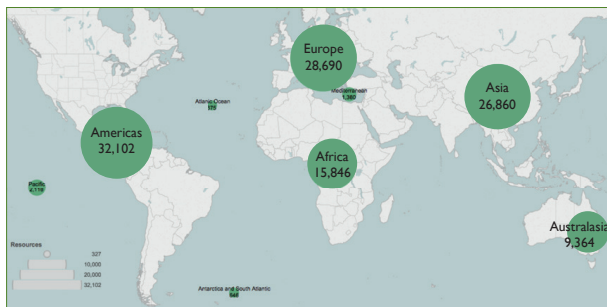
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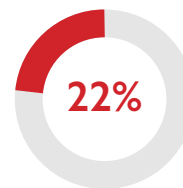


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University of North Georgia, Dahlonega campus
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