Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media

Media and the Portuguese Empire

Edited by

José Luís Garcia, Chandrika Kaul, Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos

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Cover image: © Z1 Collection/Alamy Stock Photo. Photographer Mário Novais (1899–1967) captures a scene from the workshop where sculptor Leopoldo de Almeida (1898–1975) and his team finish the statue of Prince Henry, the Navigator, which was placed at the top of the Padrão dos Descobrimentos, the memorial designed by architect José Cottinelli Telmo (1897–1948) for the Portuguese World Exhibition of 1940. A more enduring copy of this memorial—the original one was made from wood—can still be appreciated in its original location by the river Tagus, in Praça do Império, the Lisbon *lieu de mémoire*.

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José Luís Garcia, Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos dedicate this book to Hermínio Martins, to whom they owe so much
Chandrika Kaul dedicates this book, with love, to her mother, Minoti Chakravarty-Kaul

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Lisbon

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organised by the Centre for Media History in Aberystwyth in 2012. I am humbled and delighted that the conceptual approach and ideas addressed in my book on *Media and the British Empire* have been taken forward so enthusiastically to explore the Portuguese imperial world.

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St Andrews

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The Portuguese Empire: An Introduction

José Luís Garcia, Chandrika Kaul, Filipa Subtil and Alexandra Santos

Modern empires and communication have influenced each other in complex ways. This mutual influence forms the theoretical and empirical background to this book, which is dedicated to the Portuguese empire, the first of the European empires to be established and the last to be dismantled. Positioned in this way as the backbone of this book, communication is something more important than a mere historical source. This work argues that communication processes constitute culture, and that culture constitutes, rather than merely reflects, society. Communication, which here means above all the

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printed press, radio, iconography and literature, is seen as a factor in the process whereby human communities create, maintain and change the culture of the social and political world in which they live. More than content, records or even historically based archives, communication processes are, to borrow from James W. Carey, 'representations of reality' and 'representations for reality'.[1] They are multiple maps which represent that which is not present, and which produce acts when the real stimulus to them may also not be present. This is why Harold A. Innis was able to reflect on empires and their means of communication in order to explore and investigate the media as actors having a specific influence on history.[2]

The subject matter of the essays which make up the book is basically confined to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a period during which modern media systems became entwined with society. It is not a work of synthesis. Rather, it brings together studies from different academic fields having in common the fact that they uncover interpretations of the Portuguese imperial experience which incorporate the media as actors or agents in cultural, political and social struggles. In order to understand this cross-fertilisation of Portuguese empire and media in the modern era, it is necessary to situate it in the dynamics of its own time. But it is also necessary to know its origins, an essential requisite for understanding both the importance of the imperial configuration in the Portuguese imaginary and its culture and politics, and how widely dispersed it was in geographical terms. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese empire extended from the enclave of Macau on the coast of China to the Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde, Bijagós and S. Tomé and Príncipe, and included the island of Timor, next to the Molucca, and a series of enclaves on the Indian coast, as well as fortresses and significant portions of coastal territory in East and West Africa and their respective hinterlands, covering lands which today are part of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. While it should not be forgotten that the word 'empire' has its own history, which is important for historiography, and its own conceptual definition, the primary purpose of this introduction is to describe the contexts of the modern Portuguese imperial dynamic. It therefore examines the circumstances, events, episodes and processes which marked both the so-called Discoveries and the Portuguese expansion into the seas of Asia and into Brazil and Africa,[3] until its collapse in 1974 in the wake of the 'carnation revolution'. Recent English-language summary works enable us to avoid analysing this topic in greater depth and providing exhaustive bibliographical references, which would be an impossible task given the huge volume of historiography produced on this topic.[4] The effort made in this book to conduct historical observation on the basis of

connections, communications and the relationship between information and power, in line with social scientific approaches to historiography, relies on a theoretical foundation which is open to new concepts and issues but retains critical capability and analytical rigour regarding the Portuguese imperial past.

A Portuguese Empire in the Seas of Asia

While other European countries—France, Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Belgium, Spain—had empires, it is important to note that the Portuguese empire provided continuity with an earlier 'seaborne empire', the origins of which go back to the Renaissance.[5] Historians see the military expedition to Ceuta in 1415, which led to the seizure and occupation of that North African town, as the starting point of that series of initiatives which together would lead, long-term, to Portugal becoming an established maritime power with military and commercial capability in vast areas of the globe.[6] Efforts to understand how a small and relatively weak body politic achieved this focus on a variety of motives, both internal and external, in which ideological, economic, military, social and religious components were all involved.[7] The drive to expansion, first made manifest in the military conquest of various cities in the kingdom of Fez, led over the course of the fifteenth century to the discovery, settlement and economic exploitation of several Atlantic islands (the archipelagos of Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde, S. Tomé and Príncipe, the islands of Fernando Pó and St Helena), as well as to the founding of trading posts along the African coast, in the regions of Senegambia, the Gulf of Guinea and the Congo.[8]

The arrivals of Portuguese navigators in India in 1498, under the command of Vasco da Gama, and in Brazil in 1500, under Pedro Álvares Cabral, were also major events. This dual undertaking was the result of the ongoing commitment, over nearly a century, first of Prince Henry ('the Navigator'), and later of Kings Afonso V and D. João II, to pushing the *caravelas*—ships suited to navigating the oceans—ever further south, in the hope of finding the passage from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.[9] It was a coherent plan, over almost a century, to reach India. The complexity of these voyages of exploration demanded the surveying and mapping of the African coast and the South Atlantic, in search of islands which might provide the logistical support which the ships required, and it is this which led them to the coast of Brazil.[10] Taking advantage of its control of the South Atlantic, the Portuguese crown also

became a military and commercial power in the Indian Ocean, thanks to its superior naval and armaments capabilities and aggressive policy. In the sixteenth century, the Estado da Índia (Portuguese State of India), with Goa as its capital, was a great naval power in the seas of Asia, occupying key cities like Malacca, a centre for trading between India, China and the spice trade of the Molucca Islands; Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, which controlled the main spice route to Europe; and Macau, which would become the major trading post with China and Japan.[11]

For Portugal, the discovery of the sea route to India, rounding the African continent, was the start of a century of encounters, exchanges, battles, defeats, diplomacy, conquests, conversions, shipwrecks, sacrifices, betrayals and trade which is held in the collective memory as a Golden Age, amply lauded by chroniclers and poets, the greatest exponent of which is Luís Vaz de Camões in his epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads). Information on these events began to circulate immediately, in the form of written accounts, despite a significant amount of the knowledge obtained through the voyages of discovery, like letters, maps and guides, not having been published, because its circulation was restricted and often secret.[12] While the number of printed information pamphlets and maps in other European countries was growing and multiplying, in Portugal manuscript documents were essential for the dissemination of news on the discoveries, on account of the restrictions imposed by the organised censorship dominated by the Catholic Church.[13] Thanks to the spread of typography, which helped to disseminate written culture, at the same time as the Portuguese ships were reaching India and the South American coast, the typographical centres of Venice, Cologne, Basel and Lisbon were catering to public curiosity about the lands discovered by the voyages. They contributed to world knowledge by recovering classics such as Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Sacrobosco's *Tractatus de Sphaera*, Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* and Pomponius Mela's *Chorographia*.[14]

In the mid-sixteenth century, at the same time as the Portuguese crown was expanding eastwards, it did not neglect its possessions in the West, and even started a shift of its activities from the markets of Morocco and the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic.[15] This change in direction in terms of economic sustainability and geopolitical positioning became irreversible after the British, and the Dutch of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Company—VOC), reached the seas of Asia *en masse* at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Portugal having become the enemy of the VOC as a result of the

merging of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns.[16] The loss of most of the strongholds which controlled the vast trading network of the State of India ended the seafaring hegemony which the Portuguese crown had held onto for almost a century. From the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Dutch took on the mantle of hegemonic sea power in the seas of Asia, even though a few territories remained under Portuguese control until the twentieth century, namely Diu, Daman and Goa (until 1960), East Timor (until 1975) and Macau (until 1999).[17] These were particles which have correctly been given the suggestive name 'the confetti of the Empire'.[18]

A Portuguese Empire in the Atlantic

At the same time as Portugal's maritime hegemony in the Indian Ocean was in decline, the Portuguese crown was also losing its hegemony in the South Atlantic, on account of competition from the French, the Dutch and the British, but this did not prevent it from strengthening its occupation of territory on both sides of that ocean. Representative examples of the re-centring of the Portuguese empire in the Atlantic were the foundation of two cities which coincidentally were given the same name: São Paulo de Piratininga, founded by Portuguese in inland Brazil (1554) and São Paulo d'Assumpção (S. Paulo de Loanda), at the mouth of the Kwanza river in Angola (1576). The former became the main base from which expeditions known as the *bandeiras* (flags) started out—to explore and take the inland regions of Brazil from the indigenous peoples. The second, Luanda, while not being the first Portuguese incursion on the southern African coast—the kingdom of the Congo, at the mouth of the river with the same name, was the target of early diplomatic moves in the area, as well as of the first efforts at missionary activity and attempts at enculturation—quickly became the main Portuguese possession on the west coast and a fundamental part of the Brazilian economy itself.

In the seventeenth century Portugal consolidated, in Brazil above all, a new imperial dynamic which it had tried out in the Atlantic islands, based on territorial occupation, establishing settlements, extensive and intensive cultivation of products much sought after in the European and world markets, like sugar and tobacco, and the exploitation of slave labour. While less appealing to the nobility than the State of India, because it was less favourable to feats of arms and had fewer prestigious military posts, the economic exploitation model based on the plantation

encouraged a stream of merchants, military men and adventurers to move to Brazil, where the sugar plantations and mills prospered, especially in the coastal regions of Bahia and Pernambuco, and brought other crops and industries in their wake.[19] Parallel moves towards commercial penetration of the African wilderness, extending out from Luanda and Benguela in particular, supported both this coastal exploitation and the conquest of the Brazilian interior, because it was from the so-called *pumbos* and *feiras*—trading posts for dealing with the inland kingdoms—that men, women and children were taken to the coast to be enslaved and traded, their labour sustaining the growth of the Brazilian colonies. The interdependence of the two Atlantic coasts led to talk of Luanda being 'the hinterland of Bahia'.[20]

The discovery, from 1680 onwards, of gold and diamonds far from the coast, in the region which came to be known as Minas Gerais, and later in Goiás and Mato Grosso, increased the movement of settlers into the interior of the South American continent and led to the founding of settlements far beyond the longitudinal line known as the Tordesillas meridian. The discovery of large gold reserves profoundly affected the development of Brazil, the capital of which was moved in 1763 from São Salvador da Bahia, in the centre of the sugar-producing region, to Rio de Janeiro, a port further south which controlled trade with the gold-producing region.[21] It also had a decisive effect on Portugal which, after a decade of economic stagnation, embarked on a new gold cycle (after the gold of Mina and Monomotapa) which would last for the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century, with its consequent wastage in ostentation and disinvestment from industry. And it also changed the configuration of empire, which was becoming ever more Luso-Brazilian, at the same time as the links between its different parts were becoming stronger, whether through the metropolitan press, the travels of the top royal officials and families, or through a trading economy which mostly bypassed Lisbon.[22] The Portuguese monarchy controlled widely dispersed territories connected by ships which transported people, messages and commodities. Some historical approaches, like that of Sanjay Subrahmanyam, have labelled the dynamics of these inter-imperial connections 'a networked empire'.[23] It is no doubt essential to give due importance to the connections and movement of people, objects and information, and to the organisational logic of communications, and the idea of the network is attractive for this purpose. But other power and control dynamics of the monarchy need

to be kept in view above all, operating as they did in more hierarchically organised form. Nor should the role of violence be overlooked, against those who might be called 'the radically excluded from history'—in particular, the peoples that were enslaved and traded.

While the Portuguese empire was consolidating in the Atlantic, in the East the State of India was attempting to rebuild as a political and economic unit. At times, this meant defending its positions at high cost. At other times, it meant forging alliances with local potentates like the Maratha, the Mughal empire, the Sultanate of Oman or the British of the East India Company, which had its headquarters in Bombay from 1678 onwards, after the city had been ceded by the Portuguese crown as the dowry of the *Infanta* Catherine of Bragança for her marriage to Charles II of England. With loss of control of the ocean routes, here too came a preference for territorial occupation. The Portuguese were no longer like crabs, unable to move away from the tideline, as Brazil's pioneering historian, the Franciscan Father Vicente of Salvador, had described them in 1627.[24] The territoriality model prevailed throughout the empire, an example of this trend being the colonisation of the valley of the Zambezi, in Mozambique, through the system of *prazos* (long-term leases) granted by the Portuguese crown.[25]

The Dismemberment of the Empire Under the French Invasions

Relations between the diverse and remote territories which made up the Portuguese imperial mesh, and between that network and the mother country, necessarily underwent change as a result of the transfer of King D. João VI, the royal family and the whole Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1808, as a result of the invasion of Portugal by French troops following the refusal to take part in the continental blockade of Britain decreed by Napoleon.[26] The manifold consequences of Brazil becoming the seat of the monarchy and court society moving to Rio de Janeiro included the development of the Brazilian press[27] and the growth of an independence movement. Within a few years Brazil would demand independence, which was proclaimed in 1822.[28]

In Europe, the three invasions of Portugal over the short period of four years constituted a period of extreme violence, with some 300,000 Portuguese being killed, representing 6–9% of the population, as a direct or indirect result of the actions of the Napoleonic troops. In the absence

of the king and his court, the Portuguese drove out the French and the English who, under the command of Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, had helped to fight them. The turbulence resulting from the invasions and the Portuguese reaction to the invaders was reflected in Portuguese journalism, with various dailies being founded and their readership expanding. At the same time, constitutional liberalism, which accelerated the bumpy process of building a modern state in Portugal, was gaining ground in the country.[29]

In 1820, against a backdrop of events favourable to liberal ideas in France, Spain and Italy, discontent with the continuing presence of the British army, and the king's removal to Brazil, a wing of the army made a *pronunciamento* which was the first move in the long process of championing liberalism. This military revolt heralded a new and durable state of affairs in modern Portuguese history, in which the military were to play an important part in bringing about various changes of regime and other more minor interventions. This phase, marked by the politicisation of the army, and its reverse, the militarisation of politics, would last over a century and a half, at least until November 1975, a key date in the consolidation of democratic parliamentary government in Portugal, or even until the end of General Ramalho Eanes' second term as President of the Republic under parliamentary democracy, in 1986. This prolonged trend towards military intervention in politics, which at certain times produced one military coup after another, was not characteristic of only Portugal in Europe, as the cases of Greece and Spain demonstrate.

As in other southern European countries, the establishment of the liberal constitutional state, its institutions, and the economy as the basis of state power, and the beginning of a more open and pluralistic age in terms of communication and culture, characteristic of what certain political scientists call the 'first wave' of democratisation,[30] came up against the power of the absolutist state, the aristocracy and the Church. Nevertheless, and despite the internal upheavals which shook the liberal regime, the right to vote was extended and, for the first time in Portugal, press freedom was enshrined in the liberal constitution of 1822, thus enabling an opinion press to develop. From that time on, political authority was increasingly faced with the 'immense pressure'—Alexis de Tocqueville's words—of currents of opinion, which it had either to rely on or get around, or manipulate by means of censorship or propaganda. The dynamics of opinion became a significant element in the political struggle in Portugal, particularly in the country's two principal cities

of Lisbon and Oporto, under the influence of a press which, from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, effectively became an industry.[31] Distancing itself from the prior literary and political roots of journalism, the Portuguese press would follow a pattern of media development characteristic of southern Europe, in which can be observed organisational problems in maintaining the status of media as autonomous entities. They showed a strong propensity to become ideological and political vehicles, were based on a weak market for newspapers, and remained highly dependent on the state, the parties and the Church.[32]

A Portuguese Empire in Africa

The liberal movement which started in Portugal in 1820 and its institutions faced great difficulties and reversals. The stability of the regime and the Portuguese imperial system were profoundly shaken by the independence of Brazil, which meant the end of the Luso-Brazilian empire and an enormous loss for Portugal.[33] The blow to external trade which followed aggravated the state's financial crisis and generated a climate of instability which encouraged the growth of speculation in connection with the public debt. Portuguese emigration and investment were heavily concentrated in Brazil, and the taxes imposed on its exports were a major source of income for the treasury. Much of the trade with the imperial territories in Africa and the Indian Ocean depended not only on Brazilian products, but also on Brazilian traders themselves—who, moreover, retained their already established trading networks, particularly in Angola, where they continued to buy slaves, despite British pressure to abolish that trade.[34] On the other hand, or perhaps as a consequence, the liberal regime was disrupted by absolutist forces, and the struggle between these two movements led to a civil war which lasted from 1828 to 1834. It was in this broad context that the drive to development of the press expanded from the mother country to other parts of the Portuguese empire.

In a climate of violence following the French invasions, struggling with serious internal disputes, an impoverished Portugal responded to the loss of Brazil and the resulting internal problems by reviving its imperial plans. On the African continent, it maintained control of the archipelagos of S. Tomé and Cape Verde, of the Angolan territories between Luanda and Benguela, and of lands along the lower Kwanza and Zambezi rivers, as well as enclaves around Cacheu, Lourenço Marques,

Quelimane and Ilha de Moçambique—genuine 'trading posts in enemy territory'[35]—and had empirical knowledge of the hinterland which could be reached from those places. It was not a great deal, but it served as the basis on which the Portuguese empire was re-imagined. The empire's centre of gravity, which had shifted from Africa and Asia to America before 1600, came back to Africa in the 1820s.[36]

It was under these circumstances, in the midst of a full-blown political, economic and social crisis, that from 1821 onwards proposals and reports began to circulate suggesting the creation of a 'new Brazil' in Angola, the best known of these produced by the Visconde de Sá da Bandeira. In 1836 he argued for the end of the slave trade and the channelling of the African workforce into development of the local economy, including cultivation of colonial species and starting up industry. The local elites vetoed these plans, because they were heavily dependent on the profits of the slave trade. Portugal also lacked the economic and military capability to carry them out, and it was necessary to wait until the 1870s for development measures to be implemented.[37] It was also only in the final two decades of the nineteenth century that cartographers consolidated their empirical knowledge of territories under Portuguese influence. Exploration of the African interior, sponsored by the Sociedade de Geographia (Geographical Society), generated a wave of enthusiasm in Portugal. A good example of this was the public reaction to the voyage of the explorers Capelo and Ivens, recounted in the bestseller *De Angola à Contra-Costa* (From Angola to the Opposite Coast), which was published in 1886 and reprinted many times.[38] While sustaining the imperial mystique, such books sought to counter the harsh criticisms levelled at Portuguese colonialism by the international press. These criticisms were now reaching Portugal by train and telegraph, and being reproduced in the national press.[39] Lisbon had had a direct rail link to Europe through Spain since 1865, an international land telegraph service via Badajoz in Spain from 1857 and, from 1870, a submarine link to Falmouth in England, as part of a framework of dependency on Great Britain and other powers for establishing an effective communications network with, and within, the empire.[40]

It was also towards the end of the nineteenth century that Portugal embarked on the systematic military conquest of its African territories, following agreements with the United Kingdom and Germany on frontier demarcation, and this continued until 1920.[41] Settlements were established in the subjugated territories, agricultural products, mainly

coffee, cotton and cocoa, were grown for export, and the first steps were taken towards legal and administrative assimilation, based on the logic of the centralised modern state. This is a key historical turning point in the internationalisation and transnationalisation of imperial and colonial issues, and it produced a new normative framework for 'imperial civilization'.[42] War, the state and economic exploitation formed a durable triad in maintaining the supremacy of a power which openly assumed the role of coloniser, both in territorial and economic terms and in forms of social classification which laid claim to universality. In the empire, the African inhabitants became directly involved in the political and economic changes associated with modernisation, the industrial revolution and the scientific and technological awakening which had begun in Europe. This situation redefined political, moral and racial-ethnic categories, producing realignments which generated conflicts, reported on and sometimes even encouraged by the colonial press.[43]

Despite the development measures, the African territories continued to play only a minor role in the overall economic context of empire, their significance in the collective imagination being far greater. Portugal, with its role in European expansion, was undoubtedly part of the cult of imperial patriotism which took hold in the nations of Europe, this expansion being regarded as the alpha and omega of world history.[44] As in other countries, rather than leading to universal citizenship, liberal and democratic expectations came together in belligerent nationalisms, which manifested in the exercise of power and influence in far-away overseas lands (and in proxy confrontations with other imperial powers), before their eruption into violence in Europe itself in 1914.

The above outline explains the ideas and plans which emerged in Portugal in the third quarter of the nineteenth century regarding the African territories. It is revealing that Portugal's symbolic and political aspirations at that time were expressed in a map which projected on paper a dream of Portuguese dominion over lands running from the Angolan coast to the coast of Mozambique on the Indian Ocean.[45] This Rose-Coloured Map, which was published in the press, fixed in the Portuguese collective imagination the idea that Portugal effectively controlled a vast land area. When this claim was disregarded at the Conference of Berlin in 1884–1885, Portuguese public opinion, in a long-running vein of hypersensitivity to imperial failures,[46] saw in the frontiers marked out for Angola and Mozambique a theft of what it felt to be its legitimate aspirations.

The African Empire Under the First Republic and the *Estado Novo*

At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, the last years of the Portuguese monarchy were dominated by budget deficits, intense popular dissatisfaction, governmental instability, nationalist frenzies, republican insurrections and military confrontations in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, a scenario which was generally accompanied by repressive measures against the press.[47] On 5 October 1910 a revolt by the navy and part of the army overthrew the Portuguese monarchy, whose eight centuries of existence had made it one of the oldest in Europe and whose history had been an integral part of the story of the nation and the state, bringing into being the first European republic to be established in the twentieth century. In the first two decades of the new century, Portugal was a poorly diversified and underdeveloped economy, with most of the population working in agriculture and living outside the towns and cities, 61% of them illiterate. These characteristics give a good idea of the reasons for the climate of perpetual conflict which endured during the first liberal republic, as reflected especially in the periodic press both in the mother country and the overseas territories. Even though there was press censorship, and despite the high degree of illiteracy, new periodicals flourished at this time and the press became the prime battleground for the political struggle, given that long periods without political freedom had stifled the development of organised political parties.[48]

In the troubled aftermath of World War I, in which Portugal took part, the republican government was able neither to overcome its economic and financial problems, nor to deal with the turmoil of social and political conflict. On 28 May 1926, only 16 years after it had been established, the liberal republic was overthrown and the parliamentary system with its institutions disappeared, once again as a result of a military revolt conducted by a section of the army, whose officer corps had never been truly loyal to the First Republic. A six-year period of military dictatorship followed, part of the same wave of authoritarianism which emerged after the Great War in Europe, culminating in the creation of the so-called *Estado Novo* (New State), under which the authoritarian form of government, organic nationalism, corporatism and traditional values governed all aspects of political, economic, social and cultural life. This regime lasted from 1932 to 1974, first under the leadership of António de Oliveira Salazar and

later Marcello Caetano. It may be regarded, using the criteria adopted in a recent work by Michael Mann, as a corporatist dictatorship inspired by fascist organisation and ideology, although not having the characteristics of a 'movement', nor of 'paramilitarism' from 'below'.[49] Police violence, based more on an 'optimal terror coefficient'[50] than on maximum terror, prior censorship of the press—the durability of which was surpassed in Europe only by the Soviet Union—, and an apparatus of enculturation and socialisation involving information management which ranged from imperial propaganda to mobilisation for the colonial war, were the key tools used to maintain the dominance of the *Estado Novo*.

In the African overseas possessions, where organised popular military resistance was finally overcome, the Salazar regime took up the imperial plans of the republicans, who had themselves closely followed those of the monarchy. At the heart of the Portuguese nationalism adopted by Salazar—the heir to the 'imagined community' emerging from the British Ultimatum crisis of 1890—was the notion that the Portuguese nation could not be thought of separately from the imperial epic and its colonial patrimony. This idea was 'cultivated'—to use the concept developed by the sociologist George Gerbner—by means as varied as the education system, the press, architecture, landscaping, statues, place names, cinema and radio, both at home and in the colonies.[51] Any moves to question Portugal's imperial vocation were fiercely resisted, to the point that Portugal became the last imperial redoubt in Europe.

The End of the Imperial Cycle

The 'winds of change' which had been blowing against European colonial dominion since the end of the 1950s were sufficiently strong to overcome the old imperial powers, sometimes even in colonies where there had been no armed conflict. This drive behind the decolonisation of most European empires can be seen as part of a broader process of re-democratisation of many European countries. This was a process which, although modern, saw the establishment of communist and other dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia and Africa, one which political science has interpreted as a 'second wave' of democratisation in modern history.[52] Despite the strong popular movements fighting to restore democratic government in Portugal, and notwithstanding the negotiating efforts of independence movements in the Portuguese overseas possessions, this wave of democratisation failed in Portugal.

The Salazar regime held onto power, even falsifying electoral results in 1958 and having the political police murder the main opponent of the regime, the pro-American general Humberto Delgado. The Salazar government also opposed any form of negotiation with nationalist movements in the colonies and remained impervious to international pressure for full decolonisation, having decided, in time with the Cold War, to unleash a colonial war in 1961. This was an *annus horribilis* for the regime, starting with the outbreak of war in Angola and ending with the loss of its territorial possessions in India, but one which also enabled it to achieve ideological recovery based on reactionary nationalism in a context of imperialist war.

In Angola, on 4 February 1961, against a backdrop of a brutally suppressed cotton workers' revolt in the Cassange region, there took place the so-called Luanda uprising, a series of attacks by Angolan activists on prisons, police stations and a local radio station, which subsequently led to retaliation by enraged whites who attacked the black neighbourhoods of the city. The censors sought by all means at their disposal to force the national and international media into an interpretation of these events which would favour the government. However, they were unable to prevent these acts of retaliation, which presaged the war, from destroying the *Estado Novo*'s attempted representations of racial harmony in its overseas domains.[53] While the regime prepared for war, in April of the same year the Minister of Defence in the Salazar government, General Botelho Moniz, with the knowledge of the US embassy, attempted an ultimately unsuccessful coup to depose Salazar and shift the government's colonial policy to a more malleable and an internationally more acceptable position. It was following these events that Salazar announced the beginning of the war and the sending of troops to Angola *en masse*. On 18 December 1961, the Indian Union began a military assault which destroyed any opposition by the Portuguese security contingent in Portuguese India. The Indian occupation led to reprimands and remarks against Nehru in the Western press and to expressions of displeasure in the UN Security Council, but within a short time the issue had disappeared off the international agenda. The war in the African territories spread to Guinea-Bissau in 1963 and to Mozambique in 1964.

The end-result of independence in the Portuguese colonial possessions, whether or not there had been guerrilla movements or organisations and whatever negotiations might or might not have taken place, seemed the most plausible outcome when one takes into account the

comparative end-of-empire contexts in other European countries' African colonies (before the colonial war which the *Estado Novo* decided to launch on various fronts). Portugal's titanic war effort to keep the African colonies—it is estimated that some 800,000 men were mobilised for Africa—included having to face the guerrilla movements and their 'prolonged wars', to use the Mao Ze Dong quote which inspired the guerrillas. The recently deceased Oxford scholar, Hermínio Martins, put forward the notion of 'unwinnable war' to describe the conflict with various liberation movements in the three territories of the African continent. Such a conflict is unwinnable in strictly military terms, because in the type of war in question—and in this observation Martins draws on Carl Schmitt—'third elements' count for more than the military capability on each side. Those third elements range from the complex of geopolitical factors associated with the distribution of power on a world scale during the Cold War, to world public opinion as presented by the international media and international organisations.[54]

Finding itself in a situation of self-imposed isolation in the diplomatic, political and moral fields, and worn down by the colonial war, after 13 years Portugal underwent another change of regime on 25 April 1974, in a triumphant coup headed by 'the usual suspects'—a wing of the military which overthrew the *Estado Novo* in under 24 hours. Backed by some key army leaders, rebel officers who wanted to end an overseas war in which the armed forces had been involved for over a decade became convinced it was necessary not only to bring about a change within the regime, but to make a complete break with it—a unique situation of radical regime change in Europe. The so-called 'carnation revolution' signalled a political and institutional break with the past which led, despite the upheavals of 1974–1975, to the establishment of a government based on the free election of political leaders, universal suffrage, the right to stand for elected office, freedom of expression and association, and the availability of alternative sources of information. These characteristics, which Robert Dahl defined as the characteristics of modern democracies, were accompanied by profound economic and social changes, by new forms of cultural life, and by accelerated change in mentalities and values.[55]

The revolution of 25 April 1974 brought the cycle of empire to an end. It was not just a milestone in modern Portuguese history, but also brought in a new pattern in the country's history. The drive for democracy in Portugal in 1974, followed by Greece (1975) and Spain (1977),

started what became known as the third wave of democratisation, which later saw the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Decolonisation in Portugal's former colonial possessions, which with other empires had occurred as part of the second wave of democratisation, was the factor which propelled the third wave and was finally achieved through it, thus bringing together political democratisation and decolonisation, a process which seemingly gave concrete form to the 'theory of uneven and combined development' formulated by Trotsky.

The end of the imperial endeavour came very quickly: a year and a half after the 25 April 1974 revolution all the African colonies had attained independence, and over half a million Portuguese had returned to the 'mother country'. Just as the Salazar regime had always regarded the colonial empire as one inseparable entity, so the governments emerging after the carnation revolution also ended up treating that legacy as a whole, albeit to give it up without any serious attempt at consulting the inhabitants of those territories or any international partners. The independence of Guinea-Bissau was recognised on 10 September 1974, of Mozambique on 25 June 1975, of the Cape Verde islands on 5 July 1975, of the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe on 12 July 1975 and of Angola on 11 November 1975. East Timor proclaimed unilateral independence on 28 November 1975,[56] and was immediately annexed by Indonesia, until a referendum carried out under UN protection in 1999 facilitated independence, which took effect in 2002. Finally, Macau, which had been an overseas territory under Portuguese administration since 1557, passed over to Chinese jurisdiction in 1999 as a special administrative region.

It is estimated that 8831 Portuguese soldiers were killed during the colonial war, and to this number must be added those white and black civilians who died—1000 Portuguese and some 100,000 Africans. Estimates of the numbers of wounded and those who were permanently maimed physically or psychologically point to over 30,000 among the Portuguese alone. The number of refugees should also be considered. In the Angolan case, they already numbered over 200,000 in 1962.

After centuries of amalgamating nation and empire, during which it saw itself as a world-historical actor, Portugal finally had before it a post-imperial destiny. But this destiny still awaits its realisation in those domains where it most deeply affected the non-European peoples—in other words, in their life in society and their identities. Portugal, like the other European imperial powers, still needs to grasp the importance, in

the sequence of political decolonisation, to decolonise history—that is to say, its effective forms of 'bio-power' and, in this connection, Europe itself and much of what it regards as the modern world.

Notes

1. J.W. Carey, 'A Cultural Approach to Communication', in *Communication as Culture. Essays on Media and Society* (New York & London: Routledge, 2009 [1989]), p. 23.
2. H.A. Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1970 [1950]).
3. Cortesão provides a genealogy of the term 'to discover', distinguishing it from 'to find', but over time these terms have increasingly acquired multiple meanings. See J. Cortesão, *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Lisbon: Arcádia, 1960–1962).
4. Among the English-language works, the following stand out: A.R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); F. Bethencourt and D.R. Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); M. Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400–1668* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415–1808* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); B.W. Diffie, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1580* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). A bibliography which seeks to be comprehensive, containing critical reviews of thousands of books, can be found in R. Pélissier: *Africana. Bibliographies sur l'Afrique Luso-Hispanophone (1800–1980)* (Orgeval: Éditions Pélissier, 1981); *Du Sahara à Timor. 700 Livres Analysés (1980–1990) sur l'Afrique et l'Insulinde ex-Ibériques* (Orgeval: Éditions Pélissier, 1991); *Angola. Guinées. Mozambique. Sahara. Timor,* etc. *Une Bibliographie Internationale Critique (1990–2005)* (Orgeval: Éditions Pélissier, 2006).
5. This is the term coined by C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969).
6. Most reference works point to the taking of Ceuta as having started the Portuguese expansion. By way of example, see F.C. Rodrigues (ed.), *Dicionário da Expansão Portuguesa (1415–1600)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2016). On the Ceuta expedition, see M.H. Coelho, *D. João I, o de Boa Memória* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2008).
7. Among the works on the subject, the following stand out: V.M. Godinho, *A Expansão Quatrocentista Portuguesa* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 2008); L.F. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Carnaxide: Difel, 1994); A.H.O. Marques,

A Expansão Quatrocentista, Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa, ed. by J. Serrão and A.H.O. Marques (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998).

8. On the conquests in Northern Africa, see A.D. Farinha, 'Norte de África', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa: A Formação do Império (1415–1600)*, pp. 118–136. On the colonisation of the Atlantic islands, see A.T. Matos (coord.), *A Colonização Atlântica, Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, ed. by J. Serrão and A.H.O. Marques (Lisbon: Estampa, 2005); C. Riley, 'Ilhas Atlânticas e Costa Africana' in F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa: A Formação do Império (1415–1600)*, pp. 137–162.
9. On Prince Henry, see P.E. Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': a life* (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001). On D. Afonso V, see J.P.O. Costa, *Mare Nostrum. Em Busca de Honra e Riqueza* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2013). On D. João II, see L.A. da Fonseca, *D. João II* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2007). On Vasco da Gama, see S. Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). There is a vast bibliography on the discovery of Brazil. In the more recent literature, among others, see J. Couto and M. Guedes, *Descobrimento do Brasil* (Lisbon: CNCD, 1998).
10. On nautical science, see F.C. Domingues, 'Science and Technology in Portuguese Navigation', in F. Bethencourt and D.R. Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, pp. 460–478; L. de Albuquerque, *Curso de História da Náutica* (Coimbra: Almedina, 1972). On cartography, see A. Cortesão, *Contribution of the Portuguese to Scientific Navigation and Cartography* (Coimbra: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1974).
11. On the Portuguese State of India (Estado da Índia), see S. Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (London and New York: Longman, 1993). On Goa, see A.B. Xavier, *A Invenção de Goa. Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008). On Malacca, see P.J.S. Pinto, *Portugueses e Malaios: Malacca e os Sultanatos de Johor e Achém, 1575–1619* (Lisbon: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1997). On Ormuz, see D. Couto and R.M. Loureiro, *Ormuz, 1507 e 1622. Conquista e Perda* (Lisbon: Tribuna da História, 2007). On Macau, see C.R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963). On the Portuguese arrival in Japan, see O. Lidin, *Tanegashima. The Arrival of Europe in Japan* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2002); J.P.O. Costa, *A Descoberta da Civilização Japonesa pelos Portugueses* (Lisbon/Macao: IHAM/Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1995).

12. It was only in the mid-sixteenth century that the press in Portugal started to provide information on the discoveries more consistently, including the chronicles of India and missionaries' letters. These letters reached Portugal relatively late compared to other cities in Europe, where the Iberian voyages of discovery attracted wide interest from a diverse audience. It is to be noted that the well-known documents on the lands of Brazil sighted by Pedro Álvares Cabral's expedition in 1500, *As Cartas de Pero Vaz de Caminha e de Mestre João* (The Letters of Pero Vaz de Caminha and Master John), would only see publication in the nineteenth century. See J.M. Lisboa, 'Imprensa', in F.C. Rodrigues (ed.), *Dicionário da Expansão Portuguesa (1415–1600)*, pp. 548–553. On the dissemination of the Portuguese discoveries, see A. Andrade, *Mundos Novos do Mundo* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1972); I.C. Henriques and A. Margarido, *Plantas e Conhecimento do Mundo nos Séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon: Alfa, 1989); W.G. Randles, *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
13. On the history of censorship in Portugal, see J.L. Garcia, 'Sobre a censura em Portugal', in J.L. Garcia (ed.), *Estudos sobre os Jornalistas Portugueses: Metamorfoses e Encruzilhadas no Limiar do Século XXI* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2009), pp. 47–61. On the history of ecclesiastical censorship in Portugal, see J. Tengarrinha, *História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1989 [1965]), pp. 99–116.
14. On the dissemination of written culture, see A. Briggs and P. Burke, *A Social History of the Media* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009); D.R. Curto, *História Política da Cultura Escrita* (Lisbon: Verbo, 2015) and *Cultura Escrita, Séculos XV a XVIII* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2007).
15. Until the sixteenth century, wealth acquisition had been based mainly on the transport and sale of high-value commodities (gold, ivory, spices, silk, silver, copper, porcelain, lacquers, gemstones, exotic animals, horses) and sustained by maritime hegemony. After that, it was also sought in the production of goods in occupied territories. See F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa: Do Índico ao Atlântico (1570–1697)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998); H. Johnson and M.B.N. da Silva (coord.), *O Império Luso-Brasileiro, 1500–1620, Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, ed. by J. Serrão and A.H.O. Marques (Lisbon: Estampa, 1992).
16. Due to the rules of dynastic succession, following the death of the young King D. Sebastião the Portuguese crown was taken on successively by Kings Philip II, III and IV of Spain, until *a coup d'état* in 1640 proclaimed the Duke of Bragança King of Portugal, starting a

new Portuguese dynasty. See F.B. Alvarez, *Portugal no Tempo dos Filipes* (Lisbon: Cosmos, 2000).

17. The losses which Portugal suffered over the course of the seventeenth century show how vast was the network of trade controlled by the State of India: Ternate (1605), Malacca (1641) and the trade networks of Southeast Asia came under the control of the Dutch East India Company, which also took the strongholds in Sri Lanka (Colombo, Manar and Jafanapatan, between 1638 and 1658), on the Canara coast (Barcelor (Basrur), Onore and Mangalore, between 1652 and 1654), and the Malabar coast (Quilon, Cranganor, Cochim and Cannanore, between 1658 and 1663); the lucrative trade with Japan (1640) was also lost to the Dutch; Ormuz was taken by the Persians (1622) and Muscat by the Sultanate of Oman (1650). See J.P.O. Costa and V.L.G. Rodrigues (eds.), *O Estado da Índia e os Desafios Europeus* (Lisbon: CHAM-CEPCEP, 2010).
18. The term was coined by J.-C. Guillebaud, *Les Confettis de l'Empire* (Paris: Seuil, 1976), and is also used by R. Aldrich, 'Introduction: Imperial Overview' in R. Aldrich (ed.), *The Age of Empires* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), p. 20.
19. There is an extensive bibliography on the formation of Brazil. Main reference works are J.C. de Abreu, *Capítulos de História Colonial 1500–1800* (Rio de Janeiro: Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu, 1928 [1907]); C. Prado Jr., *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1994 [1942]); S.B. de Holanda, *Visão do Paraíso: Os Motivos Edênicos no Descobrimento e Colonização do Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 2000 [1968]); P.Calmon, *História do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1959). More recently, L.F. de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul. Séculos XVI e XVII* (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia das Letras, 2000); L. Bethel (ed.), *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). On the conflict with 'brasilic' peoples, see P. Puntoni, *A Guerra dos Bárbaros: Povos Indígenas e a Colonização do Sertão Nordeste do Brasil, 1650–1720* (São Paulo: Fapesp-Editora Ucitec-EDUSP, 2002). On Angola, see J.C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730–1830* (London: James Currey, 1988); D.L. Wheeler and R. Pélissier, *Angola* (London: Pall Mall, 1971); R. Delgado, *História de Angola* (Luanda: Banco de Angola, 1948).
20. Until the mid-sixteenth century, the main destinations for slaves from Senegambia, Benin and the Congo were Mina, Cape Verde, S. Tomé, Madeira and Portugal. From then onwards they were transported to the Americas. On the slave trade, see V.M. Godinho, Os *Descobrimentos e*

a Economia Mundial, vol. 4, pp. 151–206; I.C. Henriques, *A Herança Africana em Portugal* (Lisbon: CTT, 2009).

21. On the gold economic cycle in Brazil, see C.R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1700. Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); L.F. Costa, M.M. Rocha and R. Martins, *O Ouro do Brasil* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2013); M.B.N. da Silva, *D. João V* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2006); F. Mauro, *O Império Luso-Brasileiro, 1620–1750, Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, dir. J. Serrão and A.H.O. Marques (Lisbon: Estampa, 1991).
22. On the flow of governing imperial elites, see D.R. Curto, 'A cultura imperial e colonial portuguesa', in F. Bethencourt and D.R. Curto (eds.), *A Expansão Marítima Portuguesa, 1400–1800* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2010), pp. 327–370; N.G. Monteiro, 'A circulação das elites no império dos Bragança (1640–1808)', *Tempo*, 14: 27 (2009): 65–81. On the economic importance of Brazil to the Empire, see L.F. Alencastro, 'The economic network of Portugal's Atlantic World', in F. Bethencourt and D.R. Curto (eds.), *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*, pp. 109–137; A.J.R. Russell-Wood, 'A dinâmica da presença brasileira no Índico e no Oriente. Séculos XVI–XIX', *Topoi*, 2: 3 (2001): 9–40.
23. See interview with Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ' O império português era um império em rede', *Expresso—A Revista*, 27 August 2016, pp. 50–58.
24. On Portuguese India (Estado da Índia) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see J. Fragoso, M.F.B. Bicalho, M.F.S. Gouvêa (eds.), *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos. A Dinâmica Imperial Portuguesa, Séculos XVI–XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001); A.T. de Matos, 'Poder e finanças no Estado Português da Índia', in J.P.O. Costa and V.L.G. Rodrigues (eds.), *O Estado da Índia e os Desafios Europeus*, pp. 187–214; R. Seshan, *Trade and Politics on the Coromandel Coast. Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Delhi: Primus Books, 2012).
25. On Mozambique, see E. Rodrigues, *Portugueses e Africanos nos Rios de Sena. Os Prazos da Coroa em Moçambique nos Séculos XVII e XVIII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 2013); A.C. Roque, *Terras de Sofala: Persistência e Mudança. Contribuições para a História Sul-Oriental de África nos Séculos XVI–XVIII* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian-FCT, 2012); M. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst & Co, 1995).
26. The earliest invasions took place on 19 November 1807 and 1808 under the command of Marshal Junot; the second wave took place in 1809, under the command of Marshal Soult and the third wave in 1810–1811, under Marshal Massena.

27. Brazil's increasing commercial and political importance in the Atlantic had not been reflected in its periodic press, which was non-existent. This situation was due to restrictions on industry which prevented the setting up of printing businesses, and to increasing and strict controls placed by the colonial government on the circulation and discussion of political ideas. The authorities were increasingly vigilant in relation to the independence and republican aspirations which were gaining ground in Brazil following the independence of North America and Haiti and the French Revolution. Over the course of the eighteenth century, several attempts at setting up printing presses were impeded by the colonial government. It was only with the arrival of the Portuguese court in Brazil that the colony began to have what was called the royal press. Even so, all the press and printing materials were subject to prior inspection by the royal censors, to such an extent that it was among political exiles in London that the first properly Brazilian newspaper emerged, O *Correio Brasiliense* or *Armazém Literário*. The historical literature regards this as a Brazilian newspaper by virtue of the nationality of its founder, Hipólito José da Costa, and the fact that it covered almost exclusively the affairs of that country. On the introduction of the press to Brazil, see J. Tengarrinha, *Nova História da Imprensa Portuguesa das Origens a 1865* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2013), pp. 305–313.
28. On the Portuguese court in Brazil, see G.B. Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: the Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); I. Martins and M. Motta (eds.), *A Corte no Brasil* (Niterói: UFF, 2010); J. Couto (ed.), *Rio de Janeiro, Capital do Império Português (1808–1821)* (Parede: Tribuna da História, 2010); K. Schultz, 'Perfeita civilização: a transferência da corte, a escravidão e o desejo de metropolizar a capital colonial. Rio de Janeiro 1808–1820', *Tempo*, 12: 24 (2008): 5–27; M.F.B. Bicalho, *A Cidade e o Império: o Rio de Janeiro no Século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003).
29. It is true that journalism as an information *medium* and the first specialised periodicals had emerged earlier in Portugal—the first periodical permitted to be published and circulated, *A Gazeta*, was published in November 1641—but they were limited by censorship, first by the Church and, from 1768, by the state. See J. Tengarrinha, *Imprensa e Opinião Pública em Portugal* (Coimbra: MinervaCoimbra, 2006), p. 123. As far as the founding of new journals is concerned, the *Diário Lisbonense* was published for the first time on 1 May 1809; the *Gazeta de Lisboa* went from being published three times a week to daily; and there were also *O Mensageiro*, *Novo Diário de Lisboa* and *Jornal de Lisboa*. Note that these publications were printed under the so-called royal press system—in

other words, they were subject to the king's authorisation. On the French invasions, see A.C.B. de Araújo, 'As invasões francesas e a afirmação das ideias liberais', in J. Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, vol. V (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), pp. 17–44.

30. For an update on the theory of 'waves of democratization', see C.W. Haerpfer, P. Bernhagen, R.F. Inglehart and C. Wezel, *Democratization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). These writers place the first wave of democratisation in the period between the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, highlighting the dynamics of parliamentarianism in the United Kingdom and during the American Revolution.
31. The exponents of the new industrial press were the *Diário de Notícias*, founded in 1864 by Eduardo Coelho, and *O Século*, founded in 1870 by Sebastião Magalhães Lima and João Almeida Pinto. On the Portuguese press in this period, see J. Tengarrinha, *História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa*, pp. 213–230.
32. D.C. Hallin and P. Mancini, *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
33. On Brazilian independence and the Portuguese empire, see J.M. Pedreira and N.G. Monteiro (coord.), *O Colapso do Império e a Revolução Liberal 1808–1834* (Lisbon: Fundação Mapfre/Objectiva, 2013); A. Slemian, *Vida Política em Tempo de Crise: Rio de Janeiro (1808–1824)* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2006); J.D. Rodrigues (coord.), *O Atlântico Revolucionário: Circulação de Ideias e de Elites no Final do Antigo Regime* (Ponta Delgada: CHAM, 2012); V. Alexandre, 'Um momento crucial do subdesenvolvimento português. Efeitos económicos da perda do império brasileiro', *Ler História*, 7 (1986): 3–46.
34. On the slave trade, see V. Alexandre *Velho Brasil, Novas Áfricas—Portugal e o Império (1808–1975)* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2000); J.P. Marques, *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); G. Clarence-Smith, *Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola 1840–1926* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).
35. The term comes from the geographer Orlando Ribeiro. See O. Ribeiro, *A Colonização de Angola e o seu Fracasso* (Lisbon: INCM, 1981).
36. J. Dias, 'Portugal: Empire-building in the old world and the new', in R. Aldrich (ed.), *The Age of Empires* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), pp. 68–91.
37. On the African empire, see V. Alexandre, *Velho Brasil, Novas Áfricas—Portugal e o Império (1808–1975)*; V. Alexandre and J. Dias (coord.), *O Império Africano 1825–1890, Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa,* ed. by J. Serrão and A.H.O. Marques (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998);

W.G. Clarence-Smith, *O Terceiro Império Português 1825–1975* (Lisbon: Teorema, 1990).

38. Following the example of Capelo and Ivens, other geographical expeditions were publicised in book form, such as the voyage of Augusto Henrique Dias de Carvalho to the kingdom of Muatiânvua, in 1884–1888. See H. Capello and R. Ivens, *De Benguela às Terras de Iaca* (Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1996 [1881]); H.A.D. de Carvalho, *O Jagado de Cassange na Província de Angola* (Lisbon: Typographia de Cristovão Augusto Rodrigues, 1898). On the exploration of African lands, see B. Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos. Caravanas de Carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental (entre 1850 e 1890)* (Lisbon: Caminho, 2005); M.E.M. Santos, *Viagens de Exploração Terrestres dos Portugueses em África* (Lisbon: IICT, 1988).
39. On how British newspaper articles on the colonies in Livingstone's time were received in Portugal, see D. Wheeler, 'O factor missionário em Angola e Moçambique: padrões de conflito entre 1850 e 1975—uma perspectiva preliminar', in M.V. Cabral, J.L. Garcia & H.M. Jerónimo (eds.), *Razão, Tempo e Tecnologia. Estudos em Homenagem a Hermínio Martins* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006), pp. 229–249.
40. On the communications infrastructure in Portugal at the end of the nineteenth century, see M.F. Rollo, *História das Telecomunicações. Da Direcção Geral dos Telégrafos do Reino à Portugal Telecom* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2009).
41. On the military conquest of the African territories, see R. Pélissier, *Les Guerres Drises. Résistance et révoltes en Angola (1845–1941)* (Orgeval: Éditions Pélissier, 1977); *História da Guiné. Portugueses e Africanos na Senegâmbia (1841–1936)* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1989); *História de Moçambique. Formação e Oposição* (Lisbon, Estampa, 1984); *As Campanhas Coloniais de Portugal 1844–1941* (Lisbon: Estampa, 2004).
42. On the idea and the course of 'imperial internationalism' and 'internationalist imperialism', see in the Portuguese literature M.B. Jerónimo, 'Uma sociedade de impérios: a imaginação política imperial e o internacionalismo do entre-guerras', in M.B. Jerónimo and J.P. Monteiro (eds.), *Os Passados do Presente: Internacionalismo, Imperialismo e a Construção do Mundo Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Almedina, 2015), pp. 235–270. In the English-language literature of the period in question, see M.H. Geyer and J. Paulmann (eds.), *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); E. Rosenberg (ed.), *A World Connecting, 1870–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).
43. On controversies in the Angolan colonial press and its contradictions, see J.R. Dias, 'Uma questão de identidade: respostas intelectuais às

transformações económicas no seio da elite crioula da Angola portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930', *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 1 (1984), pp. 61–93. For the Mozambique press, see J.M. Pennvenne, 'João dos Santos Albasini (1876–1922): The contradictions of politics and identity in colonial Mozambique', *Journal of African History*, 37: 03 (1996): 419–464.

44. On the idea of the nation, nationalism and the mother country, and how they applied in Portugal, see F. Catroga, in particular *Ensaio Respublicano* (Lisbon: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, 2011); *Nação, Mito e Rito* (Fortaleza: Edições NUDOC/ Museu do Ceará, 2005); *A Geografia dos Afectos Pátrios* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2013).
45. Like Great Britain, Portugal projected its imperial ambitions on a *mappa mundi*, colouring in rose the areas it believed it controlled.
46. An example of this tendency can be found in the reaction to the losses of territory and trading links in the seventeenth century. Greater significance was attached to those losses than to the territorial gains which Portugal made at that time in Brazil and in Africa. For some writers, the feeling of decline was also present in the mid-sixteenth century, when Portugal abandoned various Moroccan forts (Safim, Azamor, Arzila and Alcácer Seguer). Public opinion saw this as a serious crisis. The feeling of decline which set in at that time, reflected in newspaper articles which looked back on the earlier period of the founding of the State of India as a golden age (*As Décadas da Ásia* by João de Barros and *A História da Conquista da Índia* by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda), endured in the collective memory and in the literature, overshadowing the real expansion of territory and trade in those years. See J.P.O. e Costa, 'O Império marítimo' in *História da Expansão e do Império Português'*, pp. 132, 141–145, 198–199.
47. On the final years of the constitutional monarchy, see F. Rosas, 'A crise do Liberalismo e as origens do "autoritarismo moderno" e do Estado Novo em Portugal', in *Penélope. Fazer e Desfazer História,* 2 (1989): 98–114; R. Ramos, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2009); F. Bonifácio, *A Monarquia Constitucional 1807–1910* (Alfragide: Texto, 2010); J.M. Sárdica, *Twentieth Century Portugal: A Historical Overview* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2008).
48. It is estimated that in 1900 a newspaper was published in Portugal for every 6000 inhabitants (in the USA the figure was one in 7000, in Switzerland one in 8000 and in Sweden one in 23,000). The new liberal republic approved a new press law, even though various measures and practices hindered its full implementation. These were justified on the grounds of threats from those regarded as enemies of the system, such as monarchists, the anarchist workers' movement and burgeoning

independence movements in the colonies, and later by the context of the First World War. Various systems of prior censorship were imposed from 1912 to 1919, and even when it was abolished there were frequent arrests and harassment of the more critical newspapers. In this connection, see J.A.S. Alves, *Ideologia e Política na Imprensa do Exílio.'O Português' (1814–1826)* (Lisbon: INIC, 1992). On the press as a forum for the political struggle during the First Republic, see J.L. Barros, *O Jornalismo Político Republicano Radical. O Mundo (1900–1907)* (Tese de Doutoramento em História Contemporânea Institucional e Política de Portugal (Lisbon: FCSH-UNL, 2014).

49. See M. Mann, *Fascists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). There is ample comparative literature on European fascist regimes and debates on this subject. For an approach to this topic, in addition to the work of M. Mann already mentioned, see J.J. Linz & A. Stepan (eds.*), The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); J.J. Linz, *Fascism*, Breakdown of Democracy, Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes: Coincidences (Mimio, 1986); R. Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Pinter, 1991). For the definition of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* regime, see H. Martins, *Classe, Status e Poder* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1998); M. Lucena, *A Evolução do Sistema Corporativo Português* (Lisbon: Perspectiva & Realidades, 2 vols, 1976 [1971]); F. Rosas, *O Estado Novo (1926–1974)*, in J. Mattoso, *História de Portugal* (vol. 7) (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994); A.C. Pinto, *Salazar's Dictatorship and European Fascism. Problems of Interpretation* (New York: SSM-Columbia University Press, 1995).
50. H. Martins, *Classe Status e Poder*, pp. 42–45.
51. See special file on 'Império Português e Comunicações', F.Subtil, C. Kaul, J. Garcia, A. Santos (eds.), *Revista Brasileira de História da Mídia*, 5: 1 (2016).
52. See C.W. Haerpfer, P. Bernhagen, R.F. Inglehart and C. Wezel, *Democratization*.
53. For a summary of the colonial conflict and subsequent decolonisation, see P.A. de Oliveira, 'Uma descolonização fora de horas (1961–1975)', in *História da Expansão e do Império Português* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2015), pp. 510–545; M.B. Jerónimo and A.C. Pinto 'The ends of the empire: chronologies, historiographies, and trajectories', in M.B. Jerónimo and A.C. Pinto (eds.), *The Ends of European Colonial Empires: Cases and Comparisons* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 1–11; F. Rosas, M. Machaqueiro and P.A. De Oliveira (eds.), *O Adeus ao Império: 40 Anos de Descolonização Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2015).
54. H. Martins, *Reflections on Regime Change in Twentieth Century Portugal. Cross-Temporal Comparisons* (awaiting publication).

55. R. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
56. On the colonisation of Timor, see R. Roque, 'The unruly island: colonialism's predicament in late nineteenth-century East-Timor', *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*, 17/18 (2010): 303–330; L.F. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* and 'East Timor: A historical singularity', *Human and Social Values*, vol. 3 (3), pp. 13–43; R. Pélissier, *Timor en Guerre. Le Crocodile et les Portugais (1847–1913)* (Orgeval: Éditions Pélissier, 1996).

Media and the Portuguese and British Empires: Themes in Comparative Perspective

Chandrika Kaul

There is general consensus that Portugal and the Portuguese are intrinsic to understanding the history of modern western expansion, colonisation and the processes of contemporary globalisation. They are 'better known in the world at large for their role in the process of western global discovery and expansion, than for their contribution to the internal history of Europe'.[1] The Portuguese

> set rolling endless global interactions, both benign and malign. They brought firearms and bread to Japan and astrolabes and green beans to China, African slaves to the Americas, tea to England, pepper to the New World, Chinese silk and Indian medicine to the whole of Europe and an elephant to the Pope. For the first time peoples from opposite ends of the planet could view one another – subjects for description and wonder.[2]

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Individual pioneers have received considerable attention and none more so than Vasco da Gama. Sanjay Subramanyam has written eloquently about his career and 'legend', and Roger Crowley claims that he helped create the 'first global empire': 'The Vasco da Gama era of history set in motion five hundred years of western expansion and the forces of globalisation that now shape the world.'[3] Alfred Caldecott concluded that 'the historian of colonization will always have a warm regard for the gallant little pioneer nation—the land of Prince Henry, of Diaz, of da Gama, of Magellan, and of D'Albuquerque'.[4]

It is also widely acknowledged that the development of globalisation and modernity is linked to international flows of information. In economic terms, O'Rourke and Williamson have demonstrated how 'the similarities between the globalizing world economy after World War II and before World War I are far more striking than the differences'.[5] Harold Innis has made a strong case for Western civilisation, including empires, being 'profoundly influenced' by communication.[6] The media were fundamental to Marshall McLuhan's 'information superhighway' and, far more recently, Arjun Appadurai has coined the term *mediascape* to explain the local impact of globalisation in what he refers to as the Global Now. Mediascapes are produced by a range of mass 'mediatic' systems and products like films and the press, which disseminate information at a global level.[7]

It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that, given this unrivalled pedigree in expansion and globalisation, there does not yet exist a strongly defined historiographical tradition in Portugal linking her communication media with her imperial possessions. In this book, an attempt has been made to address this lacuna, focusing on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a period that Gervase Clarence-Smith has called the 'third Portuguese empire'.[8] Media forms discussed in this book include newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, books, photography, radio and even the internet. Political, socioeconomic and cultural perspectives are utilised to consider metropolitan, peripheral and transnational issues. This chapter is a preliminary attempt to survey select media themes raised by contributors to the volume, within a comparative framework encompassing the British imperial experience.

Media Developments in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The long nineteenth century was the period *par excellence* in terms of technological developments in communication (and transportation) and the birth of modern media and associated institutions. Britain was well

placed to benefit from the expansion of telegraphs, submarine cables, news agencies, cameras, telephones and cinema by the end of the nineteenth century, and wireless, radio and early experimentation with television by Baird in the inter-war years of the twentieth. This concentration of innovation prior to the outbreak of the Second World War was truly staggering. It also impacted on the long-established traditions of the newspaper press, which was revolutionised with respect to content and appearance—the so-called New Journalism—as well as in terms of distribution.

Though perhaps not quite matching the scale of the British experience, within Portugal too the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comprised an era of seminal political, socioeconomic and cultural change that, in turn, impacted on the development of its media. These two processes were symbiotic and dramatically witnessed in the growth of the press and printed publications, an industry that was most sensitive to shifts in political control. The abolition of censorship on books and publications in 1821 inaugurated an era of significant growth. De Oliveira Marques has gone so far as to claim that by the *fin de siècle*, Portugal had 'a very honorable ranking among nations in both the absolute and the proportionate number of newspapers of all kinds'.[9] (There were simultaneous developments in transportation, including roads and railways both within Portugal and linking her to mainland Europe, and in the early twentieth century Portuguese innovators led the world in civil aviation.) Overall, the print media dominates the narrative in this volume with reference to Portugal as well as in her *As Conquistas* (The Conquests), though in the latter territories, apart from Goa and Macao, the development of printing was more sporadic in the nineteenth century. Yet, even within Goa, for example, it was not until 1900 that we witness the appearance of the first daily in Portuguese, titled *O Heraldo*.

Telegraphs connected Portugal to Spain in 1857 and by 1864 there were more than 2000 km of lines, a number that had quadrupled by the outbreak of the First World War. Submarine telegraph cables linked Portugal to the Azores in the 1850s and by 1870 to England, followed by Brazil and Cape Verde by 1872. Lisbon had telephones by 1882 and wireless in the early 1900s.[10] From the late 1920s, the foreign-owned Companhia Portuguesa Radio Marconi was established in Lisbon with links to her colonies. In 1957 the government launched the Rádio e Televisão Portuguesa. Yet, the decades after 1926 were also marked by authoritarianism which was reflected in the stagnation and reversal in the

fortunes of the print and media industries. For instance, by 1926 there were as many as 500 periodicals in Portugal, rising to 702 by 1933, but then declining to 497 in 1944.[11] The *Estado Novo* (New State) finally ended in 1974.

Themes

Language and Print

In recent years, the re-imagination of empire as a cultural project has been taken up by a number of disciplinary fields. 'No analysis of reality,' posits the literary critic Gauri Visvanathan, 'can ever be devoid of ideological content as long as it is encoded in language.'[12] And language is intrinsic to the experience of print. In the case of the British in India, the outcome of the Orientalist versus Anglicist debates during the 1830s determined that thereafter English would be the official medium of education and employment in British India. Visvanathan has explored the 'structures of cultural domination inherent in the language of educational discourse' within India and the 'masks of conquest' revealed therein.[13] Though the discipline of English in India was 'rooted in strategies of socio-political control', the British curriculum 'is not reducible simply to an expression of cultural power; rather, it served to confer power as well as to fortify British rule against real or imagined threats from a rebellious subject population'.[14] This chimes with my own research into the study of the Anglo-Indian press wherein I caution against too reductive an approach.[15] Portuguese, as the dominant language of the imperial nation, was similarly imbued with real and symbolic power, manifested through the media in different contexts and with varying impacts. Further, as in the case of Britain and her widespread empire, newspapers, periodicals and printed matter in Portuguese were exported overseas as well as developing peripheral roots. Yet, colonial indigenous languages also competed with English and Portuguese in developing the media landscape of empire.

The Indian subcontinent provides a good case study to examine such developments in parallel. Sandra Lobo's discussion of literary cultures and public opinion in Portuguese Goa (Chap. 4) indicates how persecution and ideological control via the press were marked features. In Goa, Daman and Diu, a rigorous political censorship was exercised by the local governors in liaison with Lisbon, the press simultaneously

being used for official ends, beginning in 1821 with the *Gazeta de Goa*, compiled by Portuguese military personnel based in Goa. Unlike British India where there was never an imperial monopoly, official control in Goa was manifested in the 'practical monopoly of printing' exercised by the Imprensa Nacional (National Printing Office). Portugal maintained a strict legal control over all printing (and even over the appointment of editors) in its colonies, and copies of each publication had to be sent to the public library in Oporto, as noted by Hohlfeldt (Chap. 3). Thus, much more than in British India, the press was utilised directly to further the interests of the governing class and the concept of 'a free press' was largely absent in both principle and practice in the Portuguese colonies during most of the nineteenth century.

In addition, as Boxer has pointed out, the Portuguese empire was 'essentially a thalassocracy … a seaborne empire cast in a military and ecclesiastical mould'.[16] Thus the role of Catholic elites was markedly noticeable in the Portuguese colonial press, especially in the so-called Old Conquests like Goa, where they dominated the Portuguese language press. As the nineteenth century unfolded, the indigenous language press provided competition, particularly in the New Conquests, but, significantly, these papers were run by Hindu elites. Even within Goa, the vernacular publications were associated with Hindu control and, as Lobo notes, it was only outside Goa that we witness 'native Catholic subaltern castes' participating in these ventures. Konkani and Marathi became important in the growing print networks and the public sphere of western India and these were 'essentially Hindu' (Chap. 4). Further, there developed, though largely in Bombay, bilingual and trilingual newspapers. These language presses often also allowed a circumvention of the ideological control of the colonial state due to the paucity of translators. Interestingly, the migration of Catholic elites to British India occasionally resulted in English-Portuguese language papers, thus conjoining the two languages of imperial power.

Despite the printing press having been brought across by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, it was only under the impetus of the British that the modern form of the newspaper was established in India. The first newspaper in English was *Hickey's Gazette* (1780), and the first Indian printer and publisher set up business in Calcutta in 1807. Most of these Indian publications tended to be short-lived with small circulations, but by the early twentieth century a thriving journalism culture was widespread in the subcontinent. To cite two examples: in the

province of Bengal, in 1863, there were 20 vernacular newspapers consisting of one bilingual English/Urdu, three Persian, one Hindi and 15 Bengali papers. These increased to 40 in 1873, 50 in 1881, 55 in 1901 and 70 in 1903–1904. Interestingly, in 1903–1904, Indians also owned 22 English-language newspapers and four Anglo-vernacular papers.[17] The *Imperial Gazetteer* claimed that the 'native newspaper press has now, in its own way, become a power in the country'.[18] The changing character of this press from being largely social and cultural in outlook to seeing 'increasing prominence given to political and administrative questions, a reckless, exaggerated, and occasionally disloyal tone, and a colloquial, ungrammatical, and anglicized style' was a cause for official concern. In the province of Punjab, in 1903, newspapers owned by Indians included 31 published in English, 1 in English/Urdu, 164 in Urdu, 6 in Hindi and 7 in Gurumukhi. 'The leading papers are more or less actively political, their columns being devoted mainly to criticism of Government measures and policy.'[19]

Thus, as I have argued in *Reporting the Raj*, the growth of an appreciably modern culture of free speech and argument via the press—the Habermasian public sphere—as it developed in India, had undeniably colonial roots. By 1905 nearly 1400 newspapers and periodicals were being published in British India.[20] Given the size of the population, the impact of this press in terms of readership was relatively circumscribed due to high rates of illiteracy and poverty as well as limited in geographical dispersion (more urban than rural). Yet, it is also important to acknowledge the continuing importance of orality extending the reach of the printed word in both colonial contexts, ensuring that impact cannot be determined solely by reference to circulation.

Further, the dominance of overtly religious imperatives was more noticeable in the Portuguese case, whereas, in British India, it was race that served as the dividing frontier. Though there did exist a missionary press in India—indeed, the early development of printing owed a significant debt to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore—it was a racial, rather than a religious divide that dominated the approach of the Raj. This was encapsulated in the Conservative Viceroy Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act (1878), which specifically discriminated against the non-English-language press. From 1863, the Raj also arranged for provinces to translate and summarise the content of their vernacular newspapers, copies of which were sent to London. Though Lytton's Act was repealed by his Liberal successor, Lord Ripon, the British continued to combine

legislation and administrative fiats in their attempts to regulate the press in India throughout their rule.[21]

Nevertheless, it is imperative to underline that such legislation was directed as much against their own countrymen, as it was against Indian critics. Indeed, the first British journalist to be deported from India was James Silk Buckingham in 1823, because of his criticism of the East India Company and corrupt officials. To a significant degree, the struggle for a free press in India during the nineteenth century was waged not by Indians but by British journalists upholding the liberal and Whig doctrines of the freedom of the press and free speech. An example was the radical Robert Knight, who edited the major Anglo-Indian newspaper, *The Times of India* (Bombay), and founded the *Statesman* in Calcutta.[22] Overall, the Anglo-Indian press, though largely conservative and imperial in outlook, nevertheless maintained a degree of editorial independence, in contrast to the Portuguese language press in her Indian colonies.

Turning to the British World (dominions/white settler colonies) and to the wider Portuguese empire, it was, unsurprisingly, English and Portuguese languages that dominated the imperial media landscape. These served to create common colonial and transnational identities that were articulated and furthered through the development of newspaper cultures in both empires. Potter claims that, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa were increasingly drawn together by 'an imperial press system'. The South African war and the First World War are crucial bookends to these developments and the state played an important interventionist role, helping to ensure that these newspapers were tied into the larger political system. 'The resultant flow of news through imperial channels helped make real a sense of Britishness in the Dominions, cementing an imperial loyalty that coexisted and interacted with many local identities.'[23] Peter Putnis has demonstrated how Australians responded swiftly to telegraphic and media communication about the British conflict in the Sudan in 1885, mobilising a contingent of 750 men just three weeks after receiving news of the death of General Gordon. This was the first time an Australian government had sent troops overseas to fight in an imperial war and Putnis argues that the event was 'driven more by emotion than strategy … Its very lack of necessity made it an extreme expression of loyalty to Britain ….'[24] The Portuguese language press in Brazil is a good example of similar developments in

South America, while Isadora Fonseca (Chap. 8) has contended that the Portuguese press in several African colonies also acted as 'a crucial instrument for the state in the consolidation' of her empire. Yet, somewhat in contrast to the British, the Portuguese state was also directly involved in colonial publishing from the start, with the first official gazettes in Africa making an appearance in Cape Verde during 1842. As Fonseca attests, these 'fostered the colonial programme, endorsed metropolitan strategies and lent unconditional support to local governments'.[25]

Development of Colonial Journalism and Press Networks

Despite the strong sentiments tying these colonies to the metropolitan centre, the outlook and concerns of both the English press in Britain's empire and dominions and the colonial Portuguese-speaking press increasingly came to be dominated by local/peripheral matters, which helped to create, over time, distinctive public spheres overseas.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a significant aspect of the British political system was her adherence to the liberal conception of the freedom of the press and associated civic freedoms such as the right to education, to collective action, to the freedom of speech and to the rule of law. Such perspectives had variable effects on her dominions. MacKenzie delineates the nature and impact of print in the creation of a public sphere and forms of cultural imperialism through the exceptionally active role of the Scottish *émigrés* within South Africa, from 1772 to 1914.[26] Ross Harvey has demonstrated how in the case of country newspapers in New Zealand such as the *Inangahua Times*, the paper 'remained determinedly a local newspaper', despite subscriptions to foreign news, with little evidence of interacting with a wider imperial press system.[27] Denis Cryle has argued how antipodean press dissatisfaction with cable and news arrangements resulted in a renegotiation of the Reuters monopoly during 1886–1887.[28]

Fonseca's analysis of the general context of press developments within Portuguese colonies in Africa has clear parallels with India, as discussed above. As with several English newspapers under the East India Company and later the crown, the first independent newspapers in Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, 'reflected European elites' disagreements with local governments and with Lisbon over its African policies'.[29]

In Mozambique, this led to the founding of the first anti-government newspaper in 1881. Over time, we witness the creation of a pro-Lisbon, pro-colonial-project press versus a colonial press backing local government policies. Further, the eventual role of African elites in appropriating the press as a space for socioeconomic and political struggles is paralleled by the actions of Indian elites, including those who were involved with nationalist politics in British India. In both contexts, indigenous journalism served multiple oppositional ends. In the Portuguese empire, radical journalism was particularly marked in the late nineteenth century in Cape Verde and Angola. In the early twentieth century, Cape Verde was joined by Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe as principal sites of militant journalism. In contrast, there was no activist journalism in Guinea because there was no African press and native elites were comparatively weak. In British India, the principal presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and, later, Punjab and Madras witnessed the concentration of both Indian and Anglo-Indian journalistic activity. In terms of ownership, in both cases we find the economic and intellectual elites dominating the industry, with circulation amongst the colonial/indigenous populations limited by high levels of illiteracy and the price of newspapers. However, there were differences: in the case of Portugal's African colonies, we can see a shifting pattern of political affiliations in the colonial press vis-à-vis Lisbon. For instance, the press had been a main tool of republican propaganda from the late nineteenth century and Fonseca argues that this explains why African and European elites in the colonies welcomed the First Republic in 1910. In the subcontinent, throughout the Raj years (1858–1947), the Indian press was unequivocally nationalist, anti-colonial and overtly politicised. Overall, however, in both empires, the relationship between political activism and journalism was a marked feature of the colonial press and one that strengthened as the twentieth century progressed. But whilst in India, for example, this process culminated in independence in 1947, in colonial Portugal such forces were stymied by the 'authoritarian practices' of the *Estado Novo* from the early 1920s, a topic we turn to in the next section.

Empire, Propaganda and Censorship

The 'new imperial history' with its 'cultural turn' has reinvigorated academic study of the British empire from the late twentieth century. There is widespread agreement with Nicholas Dirks' contention that 'colonialism was itself a cultural project of control'.[30] However, the extent of

the diffusion and importance of imperial propaganda in metropolitan Britain remains a subject for debate. Amongst the pioneers in this field is John MacKenzie, who has sought to demonstrate how closely empire impacted on popular culture from the late nineteenth century and into the post-Second World War phase of decolonisation. He has argued that an 'ideological cluster' composed of a devotion to militarism and the cult of royalty as well as racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism was propagated by a range of institutions in the British public domain from the late nineteenth century.[31] This position has many followers—for instance, Catherine Hall, who has analysed how the culture of Britain was 'permeated with empire', using the concept of culture to mean 'a set of *practices*'.[32] Taking a somewhat middle ground are those like Andrew Thompson who accept that the empire was an important part of British domestic history, but question the extent and depth of its popularity.[33] At the sceptical extreme, we have the claims of historians like Bernard Porter who argue that empire barely impinged on the lives of most Britons, especially during the first half of the nineteenth century.[34]

I believe a focus on the media, broadly defined, provides substantive evidence of the consistent and continuing impact of empire on British popular culture and propaganda. New imperial historians—for instance, those writing in the Studies in Imperialism series (MUP)—have approached the media from different disciplinary—and, indeed, interdisciplinary—perspectives, and utilised a variety of sources traditionally undervalued or ignored, including popular newspapers, periodicals, photography, advertisements, juvenile literature, art, cinema, radio, music and the theatre.[35] Their research throws fresh light upon the processes whereby journalists and the media were embedded in societies, in the political process and in the formation of public opinion within Britain and throughout her global empire. Such developments were particularly striking in the late nineteenth century when new forms of popular journalism—collectively termed the New Journalism—combined with an aggressive imperial policy. Jingoism, a term used widely in the wake of the British public response to her African adventures in the North (Egypt, Sudan) as well as in South Africa, characterised much British press coverage. Prime Minister Gladstone was compelled to send General Gordan to the Sudan, due, in part, to the pressure of public opinion spearheaded by sections of the British press, including Lord Esher's use of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.[36] During Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee

celebrations, Gladstone railed against 'the spirit of Jingoism under the name of Imperialism'.[37]

As I have argued in *Reporting the Raj* and in *Communications Media and the Imperial Experience*, there developed a 'politics-press nexus' in Britain with consequent influence brought to bear on imperial policy and on the official mind. The media, especially the press, acted as a conduit of empire news, as a platform for debate, and as trendsetters in imperial public opinion.[38] A vivid illustration of this is provided by the Ilbert Bill crisis of 1883, whereby issues of racial discrimination and the rule of law within India were brought to the forefront of metropolitan consciousness. The year-long controversy provides incontrovertible proof of the role of the British national press in aiding and abetting the successful Anglo-Indian agitation in India, against a statutory amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure intended to nullify the distinction between Indian and European District magistrates and Sessions judges. The press succeeded in extending and redefining the sphere of public debate and the mechanics of popular pressure to more directly influence the initiatives of the Raj.[39]

To take another example, in late-nineteenth-century Britain, monarchy and empire were brought within a common frame of reference largely as an act of state and given a conceptual framework by the Conservative Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli. 'The empire enhanced the prestige and authority of Monarchy, as exemplified in the 1887 and 1897 Jubilees, while at the same time the symbolism of Monarchy strengthened the empire, validating its hierarchies and providing a visible embodiment for an otherwise diffuse and fragmented entity.'[40] The public staging of imperial events with the monarchy at the centre became an important aspect of this strategy, and their wider impact resulted largely from the publicity given to the associated ceremonial and splendour. With substantial input from journalists—print and later broadcast—writers, painters, cine-film and newsreel makers, photographers, dramatists and musicians, the British monarchy became endowed with a distinctive image. Such coalescence was often tacitly supported by the state, but it also reflected the fact that royalty soon became a successful product to be marketed, exhibited and sold to the masses. David Cannadine has persuasively demonstrated how royal tours to the colonies and dominions were widely and exuberantly reported, and I have examined the sojourns of successive Princes of Wales to India in 1876–1877 and 1921–1922.[41]

The spectacular first Imperial Assemblage in Delhi where Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in 1877, formed the apogee of her son's first tour of the subcontinent. Edward, later Edward VII, visited several Indian princely states where he indulged his passion for hunting, thereby providing 'a rich palette from which to construct an ebullient image of not just a masculine and vigorous monarchy, but by association a confident and strong empire'.[42] Imperial propaganda was in vivid display again during the Delhi Durbar of 1911, when for the first time a reigning monarch, George V, travelled overseas with Queen Mary to be crowned in person (following his official coronation in Westminster Abbey). A veritable media phalanx was in attendance and the resultant reportage overseas, including in Britain, Australia, France, Germany and the USA, produced a lasting transnational impact on the viewing and reading publics.[43]

Yet the impact of the media was also a product of the personalities who made and staffed the various outlets. Journalists were opinionated men of forceful character and they, as much as generals, civil servants and businessmen, made the empire what it was. James Startt has discussed the extensive coverage accorded to dominion issues in the Edwardian quality press by its 'journalists for empire'.[44] In addition, there were special correspondents and proprietors—the press magnates—who controlled the commercial press and who sought a mass readership through more populist presentation of news. These were men such as Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, the founder of the *Daily Mail* (1896), the first mass circulating halfpenny popular daily in Britain, who spearheaded a major investment in coverage of empire *via* the numerous London and provincial titles he amassed before his death in 1922. Within two years, the *Mail* was selling 800,000 copies. Northcliffe was a firm imperialist and viewed empire in Kiplingesque fashion as the White Man's Burden, a sphere of duty and sacrifice. Imperial enthusiasm was evident in Harmsworth's sojourns to British colonies undertaken during his world tours, including two visits to India. On his first trip in 1897, he even acted as a roving reporter, publishing a series of six articles entitled 'Hard Truths from India' in the *Mail*.[45] Empire was also profitable, as witnessed in the rising circulation of papers that espoused a strong pro-empire line, *e.g.* in times of conflict like the Boer Wars. Interestingly, in the early twentieth century, Harmsworth also acquired the iconic quality daily, *The Times*, whose prestige in foreign and imperial news was unsurpassed. To him, 'it would be a glittering prize'.[46] Thus, he was

in a position to reach both ends of the social spectrum at their breakfast tables: the lower-middle and working classes as well as the elites in Whitehall and Westminster. Whilst it is impossible to conclusively attribute the popularity of empire primarily to newspaper reporting, it is undoubtedly the case that the press and imperial journalists played a seminal role in making such issues a critical ingredient of public debate during these decades.

Other literary forms followed a similar trend. According to Andrew Griffiths, there was a clear correlation between New Journalism, new imperialism and empire fiction in the late nineteenth century that generated 'a distinctive discourse in which a style of reportage influenced by, and influencing, popular fiction sustained, and was sustained by, an active and expansionary phase of imperialism'.[47] One striking aspect of the public display and mass engagement with empire that straddled the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the public exhibition. At the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace, London, in 1851, Jeffrey Auerbach notes how 'empire occupied only a relatively small place'. Nevertheless, the imperial exhibits, including the Indian Court with the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond, were given 'a prime location'.[48] It was over the course of the following decades that empire 'rose to prominence' at successive exhibitions, such as at the suggestively titled Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886.[49] In addition to the changing techniques, larger scale and greater variety of such displays, including of colonial subjects, Auerbach contends that there was a 'continuous process of contestations and negotiation' wherein organisers and the public 'struggled to articulate and refine the relationship' between Britain and her empire.[50] By the twentieth century, these exhibitions also came to be focused upon entertainment becoming 'spectacles, bridging high and popular culture'.[51]

Asa Briggs, the renowned historian of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), has described how by the inter-war years of the twentieth century, wireless became 'the country's main story-teller'.[52] Under the BBC, broadcasting was conceived as a public service and granted a monopoly license from the government to fulfil these obligations. The BBC as a public corporation was to have wide economic and sociocultural consequences, 'serving a great audience and levelling time and place'.[53] Under the guidance of its first Governor General, Sir John Reith, the BBC was keenly attuned to its imperial role. This interest was manifested in diverse forms, most apparent in programming content for both home and imperial audiences (e.g. an empire service was

established in 1932). Reith also took a direct and continuing interest in the establishment of broadcasting systems in the empire and dominions, modelled on British lines. He helped produce the blueprint for a broadcasting service in South Africa as well as in the subcontinent in the early 1930s; the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, went so far as to invite Reith to run the Indian service. In the event, one of Reith's protégés at the BBC, Lionel Fielden, became the first Controller of Indian broadcasting. As I have discussed elsewhere, the Indian broadcasting service, which was rechristened All India Radio (AIR) in 1936, was conceptually and practically the brainchild of the BBC.[54] During the Second World War, the BBC diversified its content and appeal to serve the Allied and international coalition as well as the British global possessions, whilst simultaneously raising morale and conducting propaganda on the home front.[55]

It is plausible to contend that one of the clearest demarcations between the British and Portuguese empires was at the level of official involvement and utilisation of censorship and propaganda, due to the diametrically opposed political and ideological systems underpinning the two states, brought dramatically to the forefront after the establishment of the *Estado Novo*. This thesis would suggest that the overwhelming imperial media propaganda in Britain and overseas was unofficial—the British press and the BBC were, for the most part, imbued with an imperial patriotism—and that government censorship was exercised only during moments of national crisis. Whilst this was undoubtedly true, it tells only part of the story. It is pertinent to also consider how the empire was the one sphere where it was considered palatable to have government-sponsored publicity and for British officials to dabble directly in the black arts of propaganda. Several examples discussed in the sections above testify to this fact. We can also look, for instance, to the First World War, the crucible within which British official involvement with institutional publicity and public relations was born, a fact dramatically symbolised by the cutting of the German transatlantic undersea cables soon after the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, and, by press barons like Lords Northcliffe, Rothermere, Riddell and Beaverbrook joining government information and publicity departments.[56] Imperial war propaganda was an integral element of the British offensive, as empire was critical in waging and winning the conflict. The Reuters international news agency, though a private company, nevertheless became, in effect, a de facto arm of the state and, through acts of omission and commission, served the British propaganda cause. Thus, for example, Reuters routinely

fabricated telegrams assuring loyal war support from India.[57] In turn, German attempts at counter-propaganda were also targeted at Britain's imperial populations (in both world wars): for instance, the Germans issued a coin showing Northcliffe with a quill pen, over a caption claiming that he was the master of lies. German and Axis radio broadcasts to India during the Second World War were aimed at debunking the democratic and liberal nature of British rule and thus, by implication, their moral superiority over subject populations.

Specific themes raised by the contributors to this volume also reveal threads of commonality between media and state responses in both imperial projects. Thus, we have Paulo Fernandes' discussion of the impact of the British 'ultimatum' of 11 January 1890, when British and Portuguese imperial rivalries in the scramble for territorial sovereignty in the interior of the African continent were escalated by the jingoist Portuguese press, instigating a hysterical nationalist public response (Chap. 5). The relentless coverage by the Portuguese press created an 'anti-British surge' which was paralleled by British newspapers promoting 'a strong campaign against the Portuguese alleged "rights"'. Fernandes argues that this 'uproar' in public opinion was 'an intermediate step' in the construction of the 'modern Portuguese colonial project'. Another instance of a common conceptual approach was with respect to the politics of display practised by both imperial powers and is revealed by international exhibitions staged within the mother country. The underlying rationale—ideological and practical—for such exhibitions was similar in both imperial contexts where they were intended to display power, encourage trade, and create cultural connectivities. The British case has been discussed above. The Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940 (during the Second World War in which Portugal claimed neutrality) was driven by the dictates of the *Estado Novo* to conjoin and promote both national and imperial identity, according to Joana Ramalho (Chap. 11). Also, as in Britain, the educational imperative was combined with entertainment. However, Ramalho contends that though the Portuguese World Exhibition 'inherited some of the traits of the great exhibitions held previously in the West, it assumed an ideological perspective which was contrary to the ideals of industrialisation, liberalism and democracy'.[58] The promotion of this narrative was 'intended to maintain and consolidate the dictatorial regime' both at home and abroad.

After the Second World War, with increasing international pressure for Portugal to respond to rising demands for independence from within her

colonies, the *Estado Novo* reinvested in media imagery and popular rhetoric to enforce its political, ideological and cultural messages. The terms 'empire' and 'colony' were increasingly replaced by the more ambiguous 'overseas territories'. Claudia Castelo in Chap. 12 explains how this approach reflected a specific conceptualisation of Luso-Tropicalism (based on Gilberto Freyre's theorisation regarding the special abilities of the Portuguese to adapt to life in the tropics), witnessed in the regime's 'media offensive' and in the activities of the GNP during the 1950s and 1960s. These included 'a narrative of Portuguese exceptionalism' which was reproduced by the media, 'internalised' by the masses and reflected in foreign, education and media policies. Print, photography, broadcasting, music and sport were amongst the popular cultural forms that were successfully exploited for propaganda along with systematic censorship. (Salazarist censorship in the colonies is analysed by Daniel Melo in Chap. 9.) Castelo argues that this reflected political and social imperatives aimed at 'solidifying support for Portugal among the colonised peoples and reducing support for pro-independence movements'. Such initiatives also sought to 'educate' colonists in the values of racial tolerance and human rights.[59] José Carvalheiro argues along similar lines, focusing on a micro study of the iconic footballer Eusébio who was brought across from Mozambique to play for clubs in Lisbon at the age of 18 (Chap. 15). Eusebio's life story and sporting triumphs were exploited in the media to further the *Estado Novo*'s reconceptualisation of Portugal as a 'multi-continental nation' through a denial of racist practices, and an emphasis on the establishment of 'racial harmony' via a 'discourse of assimilation'.[60]

Decolonisation, Nationalism and the Media

Portuguese attempts at disentanglement from her overseas possessions gathered momentum after the collapse of the dictatorship in 1974 and continued till the end of the twentieth century when Macau was finally handed over to China in 1999 as a special administrative region. This took place only two years after Hong Kong was returned to China by Britain after the lapse of the 99-year lease agreement. Scrutiny of the media engagement during the endgame of empires in the second half of the twentieth century can thus provide us with valuable insights into the response of both governments, the ideological justifications for empire perpetuated by the state (discussed in the section above with reference to

Portugal), and the growth of public opinion and anti-colonial sentiments within the metropolis, peripheries and transnationally.

Painting with broad brushstrokes, the British response to decolonisation, including the 'transfer of power' in India in 1947 and the 'winds of change' in Africa during the 1950s and 1960s, was to portray these developments as an evolution of the liberal tenets upon which its claim to empire was founded. Though the door to independence had been pushed open to a substantive degree by forces outside their control, the British were nevertheless determined to portray their departure as a triumphant farewell rather than an ignominious scuttle.

The ball of decolonisation was set rolling by the loss of her 'Jewel in the Crown'. Despite the fact that the subcontinent was partitioned with the creation of the two states of India and Pakistan, accompanied by horrific levels of violence, the British needed to project independence as a celebration and reinforce an image of a sagacious and benevolent ruler transferring power to an imperial possession that had come of age under her tutelage. In 1947 official media orchestration was undertaken on an unprecedented scale under the direction of the charismatic last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten. British national press, newsreels and the BBC were all seminal in creating the first draft of the history of decolonisation and served to imprint images and attribute significance to the process. Mountbatten helped provide the blueprint that served as the choreographic template for successive moments marking colonial independence from the British in the decades that followed.[61] This thesis finds support in A.J. Stockwell's analysis of the British 'imperial recessional from 1947–1997', which followed an almost standardised format of 'flag ceremonies, military tattoos, firework spectacles and state banquets'.[62] Focussing on Malayan independence in 1957, a decade after India, Stockwell describes how 'regular reference was made to procedures adopted' in Ceylon, Ghana and Burma as the departing British 'endeavoured to strike a balance between the bland and the brilliant, and orchestrate a withdrawal that would both reflect and reinforce the fundamental strength of the independence arrangements, or at least disguise their fragility'.[63]

Turning to the metropolis, we witness the functioning of an active imperial public opinion. As elaborated in previous sections, newspapers debated empire in a free and unfettered manner and the BBC took pride in its self-confessed role of linking the diverse global possessions through invisible wireless bonds. There were also prominent 'critics of

empire', in Bernard Porter's phrase, and many pressure groups utilised the media to voice their concerns or offer support to anti-colonial causes. The liberal *Manchester Guardian*, under its legendary editor-proprietor C.P. Scott, was a staunch advocate of increasing self-government for Indians. Writing in 1926 to Rabindranath Tagore, the famous poet and nationalist, Scott noted: 'I turn for my remedies to publicity & to a more instructed opinion. That is why I want … assistance … and have repeatedly sent the ablest men I could find to study the Indian problem on the spot.'[64] The British government was often attacked over its mishandling of imperial issues. A prominent example was in the aftermath of the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre on 13 April 1919, in Amritsar, northern India, which was the largest massacre of civilians during peace time in the history of the British empire. The labour *Daily Herald* was horrified at the 'slaughter' of 'our Indian brethren' and, along with many liberal and conservative papers, was also appalled at the summary punishments that followed the killings and the cover-up that led to eight months of virtual news blackout from India between April and December.[65] *The Nation* proclaimed: 'We shall show ourselves as a nation unfit to rule if we pass this thing over lightly … The British Empire would not survive many Amritsar massacres.'[66] On the other hand, there was popular support for the Raj and General Dyer who ordered the massacre, from conservative dailies like the *Morning Post*, whose editor H.A. Gwynne, ably supported by others like Leopold Maxse and St Loe Strachey, 'succeeded in taking discussion of Indian issues beyond the limited and more manageable world of the political elite and into the unpredictable and emotive realm of prejudice and popular feeling'.[67]

However, the context and scale of such opposition and debate were markedly different in Portugal, where the *Estado Novo* rigorously suppressed dissent and utilised both censorship and propaganda in a systematic fashion to reframe its imperial status and legitimacy, as discussed in the previous section. It is within this context that José Luís Garcia's analysis (Chap. 7) of one such critical voice is especially insightful, though it is significant to note that his focus is on the years 1919–1922 before the onset of the *Estado Novo*. Mario Domingues was an African-Portuguese journalist and a mulatto, and Garcia claims he was the first in Portugal to make a spirited public argument via the press in support of independence for African colonies and against slavery and racism. Domingues was influenced by international developments in the USA and the work of campaigners like DuBois for the African-American cause. Instructively,

it is only at the end of the century that we witness a major upsurge in anti-colonial sentiment in the metropolis largely driven by the media in response to the crisis in East Timor (Chap. 18). Ribeiro and Costa discuss the role of the press and other media including the internet, in creating 'a social consciousness through agenda setting' during 1999. This, they claim, led to a 'cathartic process' and to a 'reconfiguration of a collective identity' within Portugal, now conceived as a 'democratic, post-colonial, European and modern country'.[68] The movement to free East Timor from Indonesian control was 'the most intense and spontaneous form of public action' witnessed in Portugal since 1974, and in the 'total mobilisation' of society, the role of the media was 'undeniable'.[69] Ironically, some of the media comment also reflected an adherence to forms of Luso-Tropicalism, and painted a romantic image of Portuguese colonialism, emphasising shared cultural ties based on the Portuguese language and Catholic faith practised by the East Timorese.

Nations and nationalism are complex historical categories that continue to engender debate. For the purposes of our discussion, nationalism is taken to represent both a concept and a movement that was a construct of nineteenth-century European developments that impacted, over time, upon their imperial possessions, coalescing with indigenous rhetoric and sensibilities to produce the unique forms of modern anti-colonial national movements that we witness in both British and Portuguese colonies. Modern communications have been instrumental in the process of creating national identities which, in turn, have formed the bedrock for the growth of nationalism. The subjugated territories in both the British and Portuguese empires provided fertile ground for the development of what Benedict Anderson has termed Print Nationalism, helping to create imagined national communities.[70] We have touched upon the growth of an oppositional press in the Indian subcontinent in earlier sections. Fonseca suggests that the liberal traditions of the constitutional monarchy and later the Republic 'fostered the emergence of an independent press' in Portuguese Africa prior to the onset of the *Estado Novo*. Clarence-Smith has noted how in various African colonies, the 'settler bourgeoisie's attempts to influence politics in Lisbon increasingly moved out of the sphere of formal electoral politics and into lobbying and commercial association'.[71] Overall, the media in all their multifarious dimensions played an important role in furthering such endeavours.

Over the twentieth century the British could, at one level, view the vigorous press culture in India with justifiable pride. At its best, the

Indian press represented the successful development of a libertarian ideal which stood in stark contrast to the fascist dictatorships in Europe. However, at worst, the attempt to inculcate freedom of the press with one hand while with the other imposing an oppressive regime inevitably created a Janus-faced relationship between the Raj and the Indian media. Using Joseph Nye's categorisations, I have argued elsewhere that the British response to nationalism combined the 'hard power' of military command, punitive legislation and imprisonment with the 'soft power' of propaganda and news management.[72]

As the nineteenth century progressed, with improved media systems and transportation within India, the increasing flow of information between regions, and English providing the common language of dialogue, there grew up among the educated middle class an imagined national community with the notion of 'India' itself transformed from a romantic ideal to a potential reality.[73] Mahatma Gandhi, a prolific editor himself, claimed that his political strategies of *satyagraha* (truth or soul force) and non-cooperation against the Raj would not have been possible without the newspaper press. In addition to courting the Indian masses, the media-savvy nationalist politicians—many of whom were also journalists—appealed to world opinion and attempted to engage with audiences in Britain and the USA during the 1930s and 1940s.[74]

Within the substantial imperial possessions of Portugal in the continent of Africa, we witness several similar trends. Angola, Portuguese Guinea (Guinea-Bissau) and Mozambique witnessed fierce armed struggles during the 1960s. Teresa Martinho paints a vivid picture of the revolutionary Amílcar Cabral, who was an eminent African political theorist and leader of the armed struggle in Guinea-Bissau, the first country to achieve independence (Chap. 16). Cabral's own writings and speeches, combined with his party's extensive propaganda conducted largely through the media, paid handsome dividends. The outlets included a party newspaper, an independent radio station, an international bulletin, a youth bulletin and some limited use of film. Their messages combined an exposé of Portuguese exploitation with a positive assessment of indigenous identity and strength. Nationalists also cultivated international opinion and utilised radio stations like Radio Conakry, Radio Peking, Radio Prague and Radio Ghana, a focus which was also reflected in Cabral's own high international profile. Interestingly, experience of media manipulation under the nationalist umbrella gained by leaders like

Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho also helped them later in the revolutionary struggles in Portugal during 1974 which overthrew Salazar.

Focusing on Angola, Cristina Portella Ribeiro demonstrates how in the years from 1880 to 1910, when the Republic was proclaimed in Portugal, Luanda became a veritable hub of press publications with the foundation of sixteen newspapers, all of which opposed the monarchy (Chap. 6). These papers were established by Portuguese as well as mixed or black Africans. This pro-republican press was not necessarily united on all issues and we witness in their debates and struggles the nascent origins of a pro-independence print sphere. Santos and Subtil also focus on Angola but on the role of literature in the later political struggle during the 1950s to 1980s (Chap. 17). They contend, for example, that the reworking of the historical narrative in the *Historia de Angola* was aimed at asserting Angolan autonomy and justifying the foundations for a legitimate nation state based on Marxist-Leninist political ideology.

Briefly, in conclusion, I hope it is evident from this chapter that the field of media and empire has a long and rich hinterland in both the British and Portuguese contexts. This essay has barely scratched the surface of such histories, but its purpose will have been served if it goes a little way towards stimulating further research into imperial, transnational and comparative themes.

Notes

1. A.R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire, From Beginnings to 1807*, vol. 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 333.
2. A.R. Disney, *History of Portugal*, p. 364. See also M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
3. S. Subramanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); R. Crowley, *Conquerors: How Portugal Seized the Indian Ocean and Forged the First Global Empire* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015), prologue.
4. A. Caldecott, *English Colonization and Empire* (London: J. Murray, 1901), p. 18.
5. K.H. O'Rourke and J.G. Williamson, *Globalization and History* (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 2000 edn.), p. 29.
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An Overview of the Colonial Media in the Context of the Portuguese Empire

Antonio Hohlfeldt

This text explores the synergies and tensions between the press of the metropolis and the press that would emerge in the former Portuguese colonies. The aim is to understand some key processes related to the formation and development of the Portuguese empire, considering its connections with other nations.

Resulting from the emergence of printing in the fifteenth century, the spread of the media followed the so-called Portuguese expansion and the process of colonial domination. However, by the time the Portuguese press became popular, the country was already experiencing the decline of its first maritime empire, centred in the Indian Ocean, following Portugal's annexation by the Spanish crown (1580–1640). It was in the process of regaining Portugal's political independence that the informative press was structured. The first newspaper published was the *Mercúrio Português*, followed by the *Mercúrio da Europa* (1689) and the *Gazeta* (of which only two issues are known, from August and October 1704). But the first journalistic publication in Portugal appeared only in 1715. The *Gazeta de Lisboa* was edited by

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António de Lemos, who also printed books. The publication was suspended and its editor was arrested by the Marquis of Pombal.[1]

During the reign of Mary I, from 1778 on, the newspaper reappeared with the same title, the *Gazeta de Lisboa*, this time as the official newspaper of the government of Portugal, with a daily distribution of about 1500 copies.[2] In 1808, following the invasion of Portugal by Napoleonic troops, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* began to be published by the French.[3] Its original publisher, Friar José Tiburcio da Rocha, fled to Brazil with the royal family and became the editor of *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*.[4] This newspaper, launched on 10 September 1808 as a weekly, soon became bi-weekly.

The permanence of the French troops in the Portuguese territory led many to flee the country, resulting in a *press of exile*. Newspapers were published in Portuguese by Portuguese editors living abroad, mostly in England. This is the case with *Correio Brasiliense*, by Hipólito José da Costa (from 1808 to 1822). Costa was an intellectual born in Brazil of Portuguese parents, in the province of São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul. Later, he studied in Cisplatin Province (today Uruguay) and graduated in law in Coimbra (Portugal), becoming ambassador of Portugal in the United States. Returning to Portugal, Costa was arrested by the Inquisition, accused of being a freemason. After three years in prison, he escaped to London where he started publishing the *Correio Braziliense*.[5]

After the Liberal Revolution of 1820, and especially with the first Constitution of Portugal in 1822, there was an explosion of newspapers in the country. At the same time, other publications emerged in the colonies, such as the *Gazeta de Goa* in Portuguese India (1821) and the *Abelha da China* in Macau (1822). In Brazil, after its independence in 1822, the press spread remarkably.

From Prohibition to Obligation

Two topics deserve special attention in the media history of the Portuguese empire. Firstly, for more than a century, the Portuguese court prohibited the existence of printing presses in the colonies; this was different from what was practised by the Spanish authorities who, since the first half of the sixteenth century, had allowed the Jesuits to install printing presses in Mexico City and Lima. Portugal prosecuted and condemned anyone, even administrative authorities, who possessed such equipment. All printing equipment was destroyed. An exception to this scenario was Goa, perhaps because of its peculiar condition, in that Goa had a very complex and

multiple linguistic writing system. Several of the first books published in Goa were written in native languages rather than in Portuguese.[6]

The second topic concerns the radical behavioural change implemented by the Portuguese government in 1836, when it ordered the colonial administrations to produce local official bulletins, following the model of *Gazeta de Lisboa*. Liberal winds were blowing in the country, but the new policy was probably encouraged by the chain of events which took place after the invasion of Portugal by France in 1808.[7] The displacement of the royal family to Brazil and its return in 1821 led to the independence of the former colony one year later. However, Brazil remained somehow linked to Portugal through a member of the Portuguese royal family, Dom Pedro I in Brazil (also known as Dom Pedro IV, in Portugal). Such liberalisation promoted the printing of newspapers in the Portuguese Atlantic islands: in Madeira, *A Flor do Oceano* (1834–1840); and in the Azores archipelago, the *Sentinela Constitucional nos Açores* (March–August 1835).[8]

At the same time, multiple publications appeared in the Portuguese colonies: in Portuguese India, *Gazeta de Goa* (1821), *Chronica Constitutional de Goa* (1835), and the *Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia* (1837); in Macao, the *Boletim do Goberno de Macau, Timor e Solor* (1838); in Cape Verde (Cidade da Praia) in 1842; in Mozambique, the *Boletim Official* (1854); in São Tomé and Príncipe in 1857; and in Guinea in 1880. The interdiction of the press was finally broken and a new era began for all the colonies, which were allowed, even compelled, to publish official bulletins. For this purpose, printing presses, as well as the offices to run them, were established in each colony. The agencies that published the bulletins were soon required to print other materials, such as newspapers, and more often than not engaged with official Portuguese policies.

Such a dynamic paved the way for an independent press able to produce its own publications. It could properly be called a *colonial Portuguese-speaking press*, once it had developed itself in the context of the Portuguese imperial power and used the Portuguese language. The colonial press encompassed all the production carried out in all Portuguese colonies. It was produced by both the people born in the colonies and the Portuguese located in those territories—including Brazil. This press is considered colonial not for its ideology of colonialism or colonisation, but because it occurred within the context of colonisation. It became a spatial, sociocultural and political reference. To the notion of colonial press should be added the designation 'Portuguese-speaking', because such a press translates into Portuguese the original

point of view of the natives, or of those adapted to or identified with the colony. This denomination does not cover the Creole press of the islands of Cape Verde, nor that in the different native languages of Angola, Mozambique and Goa.

In addition to newspapers written in native languages which were common in Goa and Mozambique,[9] there also circulated in the Portuguese colonies, at different times, newspapers written in English, thanks to the geographic and economic relations. These cases demonstrate both that native languages were cherished, and the need to present Portugal's version of the events that directly interested those communities and involved their neighbours. This was most noticeable during the First World War, especially after Portugal took an active part in the conflict.

In fact, the colonisation issue was a concern not only in Portugal, but also in other European nations such as England, France, Germany and Belgium. The stir generated by these liberal winds (including the abolition of slavery) led to the rise of newspapers in Portugal. Publications such as *O Investigador* (Lisbon 1837) and *O Industrial* (Lisbon 1837) provided information about the commercial movement and the agricultural and industrial potential of the colonies. Brazil was part of the news, even though the former colony had already become independent.[10]

Production, Distribution and Censorship of the Printed Press

The printed press—books and newspapers—was the only media to reach the colonies during the nineteenth century. The individual stories could be distinguished, but they had common aspects which stood out, with multiple relationships between them.

Portuguese legislation required that copies of each publication were sent directly to the public library in Oporto. It enabled the preservation, organisation and study of such journals, which circulated especially in the nineteenth century. Close observation of these newspapers shows that editors used to send the first editions to a certain number of people—probably those who were literate, such as civil servants, soldiers, merchants and landlords. Subscribers of other periodicals also received such attention, as they might be interested in another newspaper. This initiative was accompanied by notices printed in the publication, requesting the immediate return of the copies by those who did not wish to become subscribers. The subscriptions were charged after the

editions had already been sent out, which led many companies to bankruptcy. Therefore, some pages in these publications appealed to the readers to have their signatures cleared as soon as possible.

Newspapers also used to announce the launch of new publications, even when they were rivals. They circulated between the colonies and reached the metropolis, and vice versa. This resulted in an intense exchange. Mainly, colonial newspapers transcribed articles from Portuguese newspapers, especially the political articles. Yet, the opposite could also happen: a metropolitan newspaper might quote or transcribe a colonial newspaper, which would immediately place it ahead of the others.

In these elements, the formation of a specific field of journalism could be recognised, beyond the layman in general. Rival newspapers used to read and criticise one another's publications contents. This was a kind of promotion for the publications. The newspaper could not be considered important if it did not cause controversy or was not provoked.

Portugal tried to keep tight control over these publications. During the republican period (1910–1926), the editors were required to have a university degree, even if it was unrelated to journalism. Doctors, lawyers, engineers and pharmacists were commonly found among them—especially the latter, because they could more easily obtain their academic qualifications in Goa.[11]

The colonial newspapers were generally considered to be republican (in opposition to the monarchy) or opposition (after 1910). The main target of the newspapers' criticism was not the authorities of Lisbon, but local authorities, especially those responsible for the so-called *majestic companies*: the ones hired by the government to provide services and develop the commercial exploitation of certain areas. This happened with banks, post offices, ports, electrical, water and sewage services, etc.[12] Later, they brought huge problems during the First World War. Such companies practically constituted a government within the Portuguese government.

Due to the difficulties of paper availability, the size of the periodicals and the quality of the paper were constantly changing, which later resulted in conservation problems. They easily tore and deteriorated, even when carefully preserved, as a consequence of chemical elements in the paper or print. In general, they were weekly publications of four pages, one of which was reserved for paid advertising. But there were also newspapers with eight pages, as well as publications with only a

sheet during hard times. Belonging to party leaders, many arose in election periods and then disappeared. Others were edited by the owners of a printing company, which produced different newspapers or, occasionally, books.

The history of the colonial Portuguese-speaking press is also the history of constant censorship by the authorities, or, in other words, the constant struggle for freedom of expression. The censorship could be practised by a local subordinate authority (including the majestic companies) reporting to the colonial administration based in Lisbon, due to international events (such as World War I) or for ideological political reasons, such as Salazar's *Estado Novo* (New State). In this case, it is interesting to observe that the censorship took longer to reach the colonial newspapers than the metropolitan ones. And when it took place, a newspaper received a stamp 'endorsed by the censorship', without which it could not be distributed.

Many of the issues raised here were not unique to the colonial press. They also characterise the Western media of the nineteenth century, in general. But there were particular consequences. For example, as the Brazilian colony became independent well before the others, its press acted as a reference point for African and Asian publications. The Brazilian writers were also published in newspapers from Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique. Despite the censorship and persecution, it must be recognised that the existence of the press in these colonies helped the circulation of new ideas and the spread of independence ideal.

To understand this process, it is essential to bear in mind the conditions of production and circulation of newspapers, from the second half of the nineteenth century until the emergence of radio and its dissemination throughout the 1920s.

All the paper came from the metropolis by ship, spending several weeks at sea. It is possible to imagine the conditions in which the paper reached its destination. Once it had landed, it would only be partly used by newspapers and it could vary significantly from the standard tabloid dimensions. In addition, the paper used in newspapers could also be quite different; sometimes, it had the characteristics of what we call newsprint in our time, but at other times it was an extremely thin sheet that would eventually become impossible to read.

In general, the newspapers did not indicate the number of issues distributed—there is an exception in *O Emancipador*, in all variants of its title[13]—but they were likely to be only a few hundred copies, which

could be inferred from the high percentage of illiteracy of the colonies.[14] There were also many instances of bankruptcy of publications due to non-payments. And considering that the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* in its early years of circulation did not exceed a thousand subscribers, it must be concluded that the potential influence of a publication on public opinion happened via two non-exclusive processes: (a) the reading by the elites, which reproduced such ideas; (b) the reading aloud by a literate reader for the illiterate public, especially political parties during election periods, or during the scandals that invariably broke out in those societies. Therefore, we find news on electoral lists or daily reports, such as the announcement of a recently divorced citizen, warning that he was no longer responsible for his ex-wife's expenses.

In the newspapers' editorial pages,[15] there are some records of the difficulties in publishing and distributing in these distant lands. For instance, an office boy, when crossing the street, might drop the page that had already been completed. Then the newspaper would have to be recomposed letter by letter, and its circulation would be delayed. Or the only two typographers went out to enjoy the carnival parties and did not return to work; or, due to partisan political disagreements, the post and/or the trains were delayed, or missing copies had to be delivered to a reader living in the countryside, etc. Not to mention the quarrels or lawsuits brought by the authorities against those responsible for the publications; if convicted (and they almost always were), publishers could be fined, imprisoned or sent to other territories. A common practice registered in the newspaper pages was the transfer of the director and/or publisher to another territory, preventing the continuation of the newspaper.

There are situations of direct or indirect censorship, before and after the First Republic, which simply sound comical in the present day. For example, the newspaper *O Emancipador*, which circulated between 1919 and 1937, belonged to a labour union. When its editor was transferred to another territory, the newspaper was distributed with a change of name every week for nearly a year: the law required an editor or a director to have a university degree but also allowed the publication of a single issue without this requirement having to be fulfilled. In this way the publishers edited the same newspaper weekly under different names such as *O Emancipado, A Voz do Emancipador*, *O Emancipador do Operariado, O Emancipador dos Grevistas* and so on.[16]

Another example is the story of *Eco do Nyassa*, which circulated between 1919 and 1923, in the territory of Niassa, northeast of

Mozambique. It was administered by the Nyasa Company, of English origin. In this case, the company did not like the newspaper directed by Francisco Leite Pereira, which criticised it. Therefore, the editor never received authorisation for printing and distributing the newspaper, although it had been circulating for almost four years. Despite many attempts, the newspaper was never authorised. However, its director was constantly being sued and convicted, and the judiciary itself published their notices in the newspaper.

It is also important to remember the significance of the press for the emergence, dissemination and nationalisation of literatures, as happened to Mozambique's literature:

> Any attempt to trace [its] path … without shedding some light on the pages of the press which fed and consecrated the literature is making a profound historical mistake from the outset.[17]

Also, in the case of Angola's literature, it is worth noting that the newspaper *A Civilização da África Portuguesa* (1866) was the first space dedicated to the literary creation of that colony. This newspaper existed for only three years, directed by António Urbano Monteiro de Castro and Alfredo Castro Mantua. Its editors ended up being arrested, but it paved the way for the local literature: this publication was followed, in 1878, by the first newspaper with a title in a native language, *O Mukuarimi* (1878). In English, it means 'The Talkative'. Another Portuguese citizen, Alfredo Trony, with a Bachelor's degree in Law from Coimbra University, published the story series *Nga Muturi* in Lisbon. It was rediscovered and published in book form in Portugal almost a century later. In Luanda, Trony founded *O Jornal de Loanda*, which he directed until his death in 1904. Gradually, a nativist consciousness was being configured with the rise of newspapers like *O Brado Africano* and the native *Muen' xi* (1889). A whole first generation of writers, both prose writers and poets, went through the pages of periodicals until a second generation emerged, in the first years of the twentieth century. From then on, they were followed by several important names, such as Luandino Vieira.[18]

'Due to the situation involving an ancient connection between West Asia and Islam in the Indian Ocean, [Mozambique] appeared somewhat eccentric to this Atlantic constellation, before the Portuguese presence.'[19] Nevertheless, the Mozambican press also enabled the emergence

of writers, including João Albasini, for example. The editor of *O Brado Africano* brought out his book of poems *O Livro da Dor* (The Book of Pain) in 1924, shortly before his death. His only book preceded other writers, such as the pioneer José Craveirinha, who would become a remarkable reference of his country's literature.[20]

Cape Verde presented a different situation: the archipelago had no human inhabitants until the arrival of white Portuguese settlers and their black slaves in the fifteenth century. This mix became a culture and a nationality expressed in Creole. The written literary creation was strongly and positively influenced by the wealth of this oral literature, since the so-called generation of *Claridade—Revista de Arte e Letras* (1936). This twentieth-century movement was anticipated a year earlier by the poet Jorge Barbosa, who edited the collection called *Arquipélago*.[21] The magazine met the strategic and cultural function of rediscovering an identity: perhaps what Benedict Anderson would call an *imagined community*.[22]

Therefore, the close relations between journalism and literature are reaffirmed, a relationship which has existed in the West since at least the Romantic period: journalism allowed the writers to survive and, at the same time, disclosed their work to the public.

Telegraph, Cinema and Radio

From the late nineteenth century, the informative press shared space with other media that arose in Europe and soon reached the colonies. This was the case with the telegraph, but also with cinema and, from the 1920s, radio. The telegraph increased the speed of the arrival of information from the metropolis, but the newspapers that could afford it were few. Neither could most of the colonial administrations have this technology. It was restricted to some international companies that became information sources for the newspapers that, in turn, relayed the news to their readers. Rollo's research on the development of telecommunications in Portugal reveals the state's dependence on Great Britain and other countries to establish an effective network both intra- and inter-empire.[23]

In the case of cinema, the newspapers began to anticipate the release of films, especially in provincial capitals such as Luanda and Lourenço Marques (today Maputo). Once the press attained new achievements, such as the printing of images, the cinemas began to publish *réclames* (advertisements) of their attractions in the newspapers. As early as the

1940s, magazines specialising in the Seventh Art were available. Cinema was first introduced in Angola as the *magic lantern*, by missionary priests, in the first years of the twentieth century[24]; in Bissau and in Cape Verde, it appeared in 1929[25]; in Mozambique, it took place around 1910, according to the newspapers of the time, not only in the capital Lourenço Marques. The schedule of film screenings was available weekly. The main movie theatres were the Varietà, Gil Vicente (also a theatre) and Scala:

> The Italians installed in Lourenço Marques, Pietro Bufa Buccelato, contractor, and Angelo Brussoni, dealer, inaugurated the Varietà room on Araújo St., on 16 July 1910 … The skating rink was modified with a room built for film screenings on the first floor. Turning it into a theatre was another step … In 1913, Manuel Augusto Rodrigues opened his new theatre in Lourenço Marques. The Portuguese townspeople asked him to find a suitable name for the room. As a good Portuguese patriot, Rodrigues chose the name Gil Vicente.[26]

The Varietà was a movie theatre with 1083 seats, while Gil Vicente had 872 seats—more than adequate numbers for the period.

The radio's introduction was almost a question of maintaining the independence and autonomy of the Portuguese-speaking colonies. In the case of Mozambique, people used to listen to the opinions that were in disaccordance of the Portuguese government. These stations broadcasted from the Transvaal (today in the Republic of South Africa) in the English language. In 1933, the Grémio dos Radiófilos was founded, which would later become the Rádio Clube de Moçambiques. After independence, the station programming was completely redesigned, but the Rádio Clube de Moçambique remained the main national broadcaster, speaking in several native languages and covering most of the national territory.[27]

In Angola, the pioneer was probably the Rádio Clube de Angola (1938).[28] In Cape Verde, the introduction of radio broadcasting occurred later, in 1945, by the Rádio Clube de Cabo Verde; a year earlier, the broadcasts of Guinea's station were inaugurated; in São Tomé, the radio began in 1925, due to the installation of a submarine cable, operating since 1886. However, only in 1949 did the Rádio Clube São Tomé emerge. The radio development in many of these territories was related to the Second World War.[29]

The radio ended up assisting the press in its information role, often becoming their primary source. It was also promoted by the same press: there were specialised publications, such as the *Rádio Club* (1935) and the *Q.R.V.—Boletim da Liga dos Radioemissores de Moçambique* (1938), etc.[30] The reality of Mozambique can be generalised to that of the other former colonies. They demonstrate the strategic role that the radio played during the independence wars in the 1970s, which happened for all those revolutionary groups that operated in Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea and Angola.

The spread of the printed press in the Portuguese-speaking colonies ensured, more than any other *medium*, a certain linguistic unity in these territories. Although the penetration of the Portuguese language in Africa did not occur to the same extent or effectiveness as in Brazil, it is still important to emphasise that it became the official language of the former colonies (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, Timor, and São Tomé and Príncipe) once they gained independence. Moreover, taking into account that language and the media are vehicles of culture, it must be considered that independentist nationalisms owe something to the development of the colonial press.

Notes

1. After the Lisbon earthquake (1755), King Dom José I indicated that Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo would be his Secretary of the Kingdom, awarding him the titles of Earl of Oeiras (1759) and Marquis of Pombal (1769). He is considered one of the enlightened despots of Europe at that time.
2. On the newspaper *Gazeta de Lisboa,* see J. Tengarrinha, *Nova História da Imprensa Portuguesa: Das Origens a 1865* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2013), p. 83.
3. There were newspapers for and against the French invasion. It is important to take into account that Portugal and Spain suffered the Inquisition, which was extremely repressive in these countries. Therefore, it is not surprising that, for some liberal intellectuals, French rule was less oppressive than the ecclesiastical and monarchical control.
4. A.N. Laranjeira, 'Arquebiografia do Pioneiro da Imprensa no Brasil: Nas Pegadas de Frei Tibúrcio', *Revista FAMECOS: Mídia, Cultura e Tecnologia*, 18: 3 (2011): 765–781.
5. A. Hohlfeldt, 'Correio Braziliense e Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro: Comparações e Influências', *Estudos em Jornalismo e Mídia,* 5: 2 (2008); 11–26; C. Rizzini, *O Livro, o Jornal e a Tipografia no Brasil, 1500–1822* (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo, 1988).

6. On the subject, see J.A.I. Gracias, *A Imprensa em Goa nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII: Apontamentos Histórico-Bibliographicos* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1880); A.M. da Cunha, *A Evolução do Jornalismo na Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923); J. Rangel, *A Imprensa em Goa* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1957); A.M. Lopes, *Imprensa de Goa* (Lisbon: Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971).
7. This is the interpretation of J. Tengarrinha, in a quick reference to the 'awakening of the African issue', who shows that the Minister Sá da Bandeira, when Secretary of State for Navy and Overseas, became involved in editing monthly the *Memorial Ultramarino e Marítimo*, from March 1836. This was a pioneering publication on the colonies' issues, with extensive and comprehensive articles about those distant lands. It was distributed among the main political and administrative authorities, between civilian and military officials, both on the continent and overseas. See J. Tengarrinha, *Nova História da ImprensaPortuguesa: Das Origens a 1865*, p. 502; see also A. Hohlfeldt, 'Correio Braziliense e Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro: Comparações e Influências', *Estudos em Jornalismo e Mídia*.
8. Note that the *Sentinela da Liberdade n'…* newspapers were spread across several colonies, beyond Brazil and Portugal. This series of publications was begun under the direction of Cipriano Barata, a liberal Brazilian physician born in 1762 and who died in 1838, a graduate of Coimbra University. The first newspaper was *O Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarida de Pernambuco* (April 1823). As an elected member of the Constituent Assembly, he refused to participate in it, saying it was threatened by the troops of Dom Pedro I. He was arrested, but nevertheless edited the *Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita de Pernambuco Atacada e Presa na Fortaleza do Brum por Ordem da Força Armada e Reunida* (1824). He was transferred to the Fortress of Santa Cruz da Barra, in Rio de Janeiro, where he continued editing newspapers. Afterwards, he was transferred to other prisons before being released in 1830. Back in Pernambuco, he immediately published *A Sentinela da Liberdade na Guarita do Quartel-General de Pirajá*. The *Sentinela da Liberdade* had multiple titles, according to the situations faced by Barata. On this subject, see N.W. Sodré, *A História da Imprensa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966); H. Vianna, *Contribuição à História da Imprensa Brasileira. 1812–1869* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1945).
9. Among the several studies on the rise of nativist press in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century in Mozambique, see A. Rocha, *Associativismo e Nativismo em Moçambique: Contribuição para o Estudo das Origens do Nacionalismo Moçambicano (1900–1940)* (Maputo: Promedia, 2002).

10. J. Tengarrinha, *Nova História da Imprensa Portuguesa: Das Origens a 1865*, p. 542.
11. The editors or directors were mostly civil servants, administrative or military, largely opposed to the monarchical system. After the establishment of the First Republic, they were aligned with the opposition parties at the national or local level. See I. Rocha, *A Imprensa de Moçambique: História e Catálogo (1854–1975)* (Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 2000), p. 131.
12. On this subject, see G. Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825–1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
13. Mozambican publication belonging to a trade union.
14. J.J. Gonçalves, in his numerous works about the information in the former colonies, talks about the issues of multilingualism, illiteracy and the lack of purchasing power on the part of most of the natives and inhabitants of these territories, when analysing the reduced scope of the colonial journals. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Angola: Alguns Subsídios para o seu Estudo* (Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Política Ultramarina, 1964); J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Moçambique: Contribuição para o seu Estudo* (Lisbon: Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 1965), *A Informação na Guiné, em Cabo Verde e em São Tomé e Príncipe* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1966), *A Informação nas Províncias do Oriente. Elementos para o seu Estudo* (Lisbon: Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, 1966); J. de C. Lobo, *Jornalismo de Angola—Subsídios para a sua História* (Luanda: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, 1964).
15. In this institutional space, almost always in the first four pages, the publication explains their practices and routines.
16. I. Rocha, *A Imprensa de Moçambique: História e Catálogo*, p. 125; A. Hohlfeldt, 'Comunicação e Cidadania: O Caso Exemplar de *O Emancipador*, de Moçambique', *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo*, 14: 5 (2008): 13–32.
17. F. Noa, 'Da Literatura e da Imprensa em Moçambique', in F. Ribeiro and A. Sopa (eds.), *140 Anos de Imprensa em Moçambique: Estudos e Relatos* (Maputo: AMOLP, 1996), pp. 237–241.
18. T. Macedo and R. Chaves, *Literaturas de Língua Portuguesa. Marcos e Marcas. Angola* (São Paulo: Arte & Ciência, 2007).
19. L. Apa, A. Barbeitos and M.A. Dáskalos, *Poesia Africana de Língua Portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro: Lacerda, 2003), p. 17.
20. T. Macedo and V. Marquêa, *Literaturas de Língua Portuguesa. Marcos e Marcas. Moçambique* (São Paulo: Arte & Ciência, 2007).
21. M.A. Santilli, *Literaturas de Língua Portuguesa. Marcos e Marcas. Cabo Verde* (São Paulo: Arte & Ciência, 2007).
22. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

23. See M.F. Rollo, *História das Telecomunicações. Da Direcção Geral dos Telégrafos do Reino à Portugal Telecom* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2009).
24. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Angola: Alguns Subsídios para o seu Estudo*, p. 74.
25. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação na Guiné, em Cabo Verde e em São Tomé e Príncipe*, p. 113.
26. G. Convents, *Os Moçambicanos perante o Cinema e o Audiovisual. Uma História Político-Cultural do Moçambique Colonial até à Republica de Moçambique (1896–2010)* (Maputo: Afrika Film Festival, 2011), pp. 54–55.
27. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Moçambique: Contribuição para o seu Estudo*, p. 110.
28. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Angola: Alguns Subsídios para o seu Estudo*, p. 77.
29. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação na Guiné, em Cabo Verde e em São Tomé e Príncipe*, pp. 116 and 187.
30. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Moçambique: Contribuição para o seu Estudo*, pp. 125–126.

The Languages of the Goan Periodical Press, 1820–1933

Sandra Ataíde Lobo

This article considers how diverse written languages coexisted in Goan society since the nineteenth century, promoting differentiated literary cultures in this Portuguese domain in India and introducing the issue of languages into the creation of a public sphere. Consideration will be given to how the options of local actors enabled or impeded the building of dialogues with power and counter-power discourses, and how these options were linked to the management of local and colonial relations. These options will be broadly placed in dialogue with the construction of Goan contemporary

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This text relies primarily on my doctoral research. See Sandra Ataíde Lobo, *O Desassossego Goês: Cultura e Política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonial* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013).

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thought, different moments of political and cultural affirmation and with changing Goan worldviews. The process was marked by the parallel Goan physical and intellectual movements towards the Portuguese metropolis and the Indian subcontinent. The geographical dispersion of the Goan press is amongst the most interesting consequences of these movements, strongly related to increasing Goan migration for economic, political or academic reasons. Being constitutive of the profile of the Goan press, this dispersion was decisive in configuring the ideas and information that it circulated, and in creating particular networks, as well as in shaping, pluralising and expanding the reach of the different public opinions it targeted.

I use the concept of literary cultures to refer to cultures of written communication and reading, which, after the Enlightenment, had their fundamental tools in education and the press. In this broad sense, I define them as intellectual constellations sustained by the world of writing, simultaneously open and exclusive, encompassing the construction and expression, dissemination and reception, criticism and debate of knowledge, beliefs, memories, feelings, ideals, concerns and creativity. Furthermore, they include the fundamental activity of approaching reality through analysis, consecration, protest and projects to transform it, by which they actively contribute to constituting it. As open and exclusive constellations, the forms of interaction with internal and external intellectual sources and the profile of those sources are important to grasp in concrete societies and specific eras. In colonial societies, the functional hierarchy of the languages tended to conform to the hierarchy of colonial relations and to reproduce, or even help to set up, internal tensions. When approaching the language issues in configuring the literary cultures of these societies, due attention must be paid to attitudes of protection, indifference, persecution or ideological control of native languages by the colonial states. Equally relevant are the relations established by the colonised with the language of power, their militancy regarding native languages, and the way they played with the palette of languages to develop strategies of cultural and political resistance. No less important is the role of bilingualism in the promotion of cultural and political interchanges, reflected in the lexicon and semantics, in text themes and typologies. Finally, a more difficult field in the evaluation of the social outpouring of literary cultures may be opened by the approach of its interactions with oral cultures.[1]

During the period under consideration (1821–1930), the press in Goa was predominantly run in the Portuguese language and dominated by native Catholic elites (Brahmin and Chardo castes) and *Luso-descendentes*,[2] who sought to establish themselves as spokespersons of local public

opinion. These elites cherished the idea of there being a Goan public sphere which contributed to the national public sphere, an interaction made possible by the common language that linked the elites of the different spaces of the empire. In this community of language, all members supposedly shared the same intellectual references, irrespective of their particular interests, feelings of belonging or opinions. Furthermore, they also shared potential publics and the ability and willingness to discuss with different interlocutors, whether these were local, metropolitan or from other colonial spaces. When addressing local or central authorities, these would be labelled as national or colonial, according to circumstance.

This hegemonic pattern was disturbed, from the late nineteenth century onwards, by the growing presence of the vernacular press, mostly bilingual, published by the Hindu elites in Goa and native Catholic subaltern castes outside Goa. Finally, a bilingual press in the English/Portuguese languages arrived in the wake of the increasing migration of the Catholic elites to British-ruled India and their investment in both these languages of power. My focus will be on the periodical press produced by the native elites in the Portuguese and Portuguese/Marathi languages.

The Catholic Press and the Creation of the Goan Public Sphere

The pioneering role of native Catholic elites in building a local public sphere is closely linked with their vanguard role in asserting the liberal political order. This ideological involvement was nurtured by their traditional fight against discrimination vis-à-vis European Portuguese and the *Luso-descendentes*. At the intellectual level, the knowledge of Portuguese and other European languages and experiences of travelling in Europe and the Americas had allowed this intelligence to monitor the *Zeitgeist* that seized these continents in the eighteenth century, and to discuss political ideas without translation or filtering by the colonial power. Even more than in the American case, this meant bridging the discussion of colonialism with that of the liberal project, bearing in mind local interests.

The Portuguese citizenship rights enjoyed by the Catholic natives after the revolution of 1820 allowed the election of two Catholic Brahmins to the *Cortes* (national parliament) convened to establish a liberal constitution. This constitution, in fact, soon fell with the counter-revolution of 1823. Bernardo Peres da Silva, one of the natives elected in 1822, published a small book which was nevertheless significant both for the political ideas expressed and for being the first Goan political book ever published.

Also significant is the fact that it was printed in the recently independent Brazil during its author's exile in that country. It came to light during the Portuguese civil war that erupted after King D. Pedro IV (I of Brazil) granted a constitutional charter to Portugal, in 1826. In this text, written in 1832 to defend the cause of the charter, Peres da Silva associates anti-colonialism and liberalism, asserting that all liberal Portuguese citizens, united by a transcontinental moral link, needed to commit to these principles.[3] Regarding the local future, he directly connected the development of liberal citizenship and the dissemination of education. Though never speaking about the issue of language itself, his programme points to the central political and cultural role he reserved for proficiency in Portuguese—namely, to ensure native ability to produce spokespersons and guides of public opinion, acting at the different levels of political representation and in the press.

Peres da Silva was well aware that the press was dependent on the government's will for its existence.[4] However, he also knew, and history proved he was right, that its output and local significance depended on the profile of local literacy. Native publishing activity had been scarce since the first printing presses landed in the territory in the mid-sixteenth century. By contrast, native publishing grew consistently from the third decade of the nineteenth century, exploding in that century's second half, as a direct result of the investment made in Portuguese formal education and of the establishment of politics as a public experience. It was the dominant Catholic castes that particularly had the opportunity and social interest to invest in education, following their reading of the social and political opportunities opened by the liberal regime, as Peres da Silva had first pointed out. Consequently, it was mainly they who undertook such investments. At first the process primarily involved the males, but only a few decades later it was extended to the women of these groups. The longing for proficiency in Portuguese led to the introduction of the language in the private domain, with several householders attempting to ban, quite unsuccessfully, the use of Konkani indoors. This project involved females and offered a new public visibility to women.[5] It had profound consequences, in enabling the social and professional achievement of these groups inside and outside Goa. In this case, a convergence of interests occurred between the imperial policy of upholding the Portuguese language and these elites' acknowledgement of the importance of mastering the national language in the pursuit of non-discrimination. The dawn of native Catholic periodicals is firmly linked to this process.

With the liberal regime, printing was reintroduced into the territory in 1821, at the beginning mainly to publish an official political journal,

the *Gazeta de Goa*, written by metropolitan Portuguese military staff stationed in Goa. The local government decided to suspend this journal in 1826, which led to an interruption of nine years of press activity in the territory. More significant from the native standpoint was the appearance of the first Goan native newspaper, the *Mensageiro Bombaiense* (1831–1832), in Bombay, some 600 km north of Goa. As in the case of Peres da Silva publishing in Brazil in 1832, this newspaper was initiated by a liberal exile, the Brahmin António Filipe Rodrigues.[6] Both cases confirm that geographical dispersion and political intervention marked Goan printing activity after its rebirth in the nineteenth century.

According to Henry Scholberg, the *Mensageiro Bombaiense* may also have been the first Goan bilingual newspaper, in Portuguese and Konkani.[7] If this is confirmed, though not mentioned by any former historian of the Goan press, such a phenomenon would be before its time. In fact, it was only late in the century that Goans started to publish bilingual or trilingual newspapers, mainly in Bombay, with Konkani as one of the languages. Otherwise, the Catholic elites used the dominant colonial languages, either Portuguese or English or both.

Thus, António Filipe Rodrigues's newspaper is important for other reasons—namely, for being the first native Indian periodical in Bombay.[8] It anticipated by a year the city's first Hindu-run newspaper, the bilingual English/Marathi *Bombay Durpan*, started in 1832 by Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar. Furthermore, the *Mensageiro Bombaiense* did not share the cooperative attitude towards British rule of the first Indian newspapers, which were mainly published with an educative goal.[9] Rodrigues, who later collaborated with Peres da Silva, had exclusively political aims, both anti-colonial and liberal.

Soon afterwards, Peres da Silva was at the centre of a conflict which had a long-lasting impact on Goan political and press history. In 1834, with the Portuguese civil war ending, the Regent D. Pedro de Bragança took the decision, which was without precedent, of naming the Goan politician to administer Portuguese India, with the title of Prefect. Arriving in Goa in January 1835, he was shortly afterwards, however, overthrown by a movement of Portuguese metropolitans and *Luso-descendentes* officers unwilling to be ruled by a native. Being forced into exile in February, Peres da Silva moved his government in July to Daman, the Governor of which had condemned the rebellion. Consequently, two cabinets claimed the legitimate rule of Portuguese India until 1837, when the appointment of a European Governor

General ended the situation. The rebels were discharged and Peres da Silva returned to Lisbon as an elected deputy. This closure, which disrupted the levelling path projected by the Regent, does not diminish the significance of the singular situation of a native government legitimately condemning metropolitan fellow citizens for their rebellion.

During the conflict, on 13 June 1835 the rebels established a printing press to publish the political newspaper *Chronica Constitucional*, the motto of which evidenced their intention of affirming themselves as the representatives of 'Portugality' in India.[10] This initiative was continued by the Imprensa Nacional (National Printing Office) and the *Boletim do Governo*, established on 7 December 1837 after the arrival of the new Governor General in India. Given this continuity, it anticipated the decree of 7 December 1836 which ordered the creation of official presses and bulletins for overseas governments. Governmental printing presses and bulletins, born to publicise the acts of authority and relevant legislation, introduced the apparatus of liberal governance in these regions, in which transparent public action and the publication of laws were considered essential. Simultaneously, it established an official political and cultural discourse in such spaces.

The native reaction again challenges the expected rhythms of entry of the actors on the modern colonial stage: colonial power introducing liberal discourse and planning native conformity, reserving a key role for the press. Such action was expected to be followed, after a noticeable gap, by native intellectuals calling upon these instruments, at first primarily to pay tribute to the colonial civilising mission.[11] The Goan subversion of this sequence would be unthinkable without its past, embodying a centuries-old dialectic of conformity and non-conformity to Portuguese rule. Not only had access to modern European critical and political thought occurred despite state policy, more focused on controlling its spread than on its instrumentalisation; but also these elites were well aware of the importance of the printing press to assert their positions.

On 18 June 1835, less than a week after the rebels' initiative, the supporters of Peres da Silva circulated in Goa a handwritten journal, *Constitucional de Goa*. On 18 July, the already printed *O Portuguez em Damão* followed Peres da Silva's arrival in Daman. On 6 August, the group started publishing the *O Investigador Portuguez em Bombaim* in Bombay, soon to be followed by several journals and leaflets. Significantly, the *Chronica Constitucional* attacked the *O Investigador* far more than the newspapers published in Daman, which highlights

the political importance both groups attached to the construction of public opinion in Bombay. Moreover, despite the slow circulation of information which persisted until the opening of the Suez Canal and of telegraphic communication, there was an 'immediate' intervention near metropolitan public opinion. In July 1835, a son of the Prefect warned metropolitan public opinion about the Indian situation in the *O Nacional*, a radical Lisbon newspaper.[12] This 'speedy' intervention reflected the desire to use the fastest channels to appeal for metropolitan intervention. The actual political instability experienced there justified the slow reaction by the central power.

After this period, the hierarchy of colonial relations survived in clear disjunction with the equalitarian tradition of Portuguese constitutionalism, which granted equal civil and political rights to overseas citizens, being for that reason subjected to persistent pressure from Goan native elites. The capacity of these elites to use the instruments enabling citizenship intervention in a liberal context allowed them to often succeed in undermining such hierarchies. For decades, official control of the press in Goa was carried out through the practical monopoly of printing by the Imprensa Nacional, while the Goan opposition press continued to grow in Bombay. The situation could become cumbersome to the point where some governors sought to buy the goodwill of journalists based in Bombay through subscriptions to the newspapers. Albeit in an eccentric manner, through printing activity in Bombay, the native Catholic elites forced the establishment of a local public sphere with a national impact, through its echo in metropolitan journals and in parliament. This territorial shift in political contestation persisted in moments of rupture. Even in normal times, the political dialogues between Goa, Bombay and Lisbon survived, being marked, from the 1860s, by the expansion of the conflicts amongst the native Catholic elites to Bombay and Lisbon. Soon after, they would count with the entrance of the 'lower' castes on the stage of journalism in the Indian metropolis, thus constructing new critical discourses of the Goan social reality.[13]

Between India and Portugal: The Affirmation of Catholic Elites

Significantly, the introduction of a private printing press in Goa was due to the work of another Catholic Brahmin deputy, Bernardo Francisco da Costa. In 1859 he founded in Margão a printing press and a weekly,

O Ultramar (1859–1941). Margão was the capital of the province of Salcete in the Old Conquests—that is, the first territories conquered by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. The three provinces that formed the Old Conquests were Salcete, Bardês and Ilhas (Islands), the last being where the capital of the Portuguese State of India was situated, first the city of Goa and since the nineteenth century Nova Goa (Pangim). They became known as such after the incorporation of the surrounding territories in the eighteenth century, known as the New Conquests. While the Old Conquests were mainly formed by native Catholic populations, the New Conquests, benefiting from more tolerant religious politics, were mainly inhabited by the Hindu population.

After the Bernardo Francisco da Costa initiative, the native Catholic press and journalism exploded in Goa, creating a fresh impetus for the affirmation of politics as public debate. Particularly in the early years, the printing press of the *O Ultramar* competed with the official Imprensa Nacional, by publishing works of a varying nature, journals and magazines. In this environment, a whole generation of local politicians, writers and academics emerged. Several presses followed, also driven by the publication of periodicals.

By the turn of the century, the local market justified the appearance of the first purely commercial printers, publishers and bookshops. The year 1900 saw the birth of the first daily published in the Portuguese colonies, *O Heraldo*, which still exists in the English language. Until 1933, at least 196 political and cultural titles were started in Goa in addition to those run by the government, associations and ecclesiastical hierarchy. Most were published in Portuguese, in the Old Conquests and by Catholic initiative. Many of these projects were economically unviable in a territory of about half a million inhabitants with literacy rates that in 1931 still rounded up to 20%, half of this relating to the Portuguese language.[14] This productivity was justified by the alliance of the intellectual capital of these elites with the role played by the press in individual and collective visibility. Reflecting an awareness of its importance, youngsters increasingly contributed to these periodicals, often after having submitted essays to handwritten family and school magazines.

Costa's project was first replicated by the newspaper and printers *A Índia Portugueza* (1861–1958). Shortly afterwards, the leaders of the two newspapers carried out the most important native political cleavage in the nineteenth century, which introduced the theme of caste conflicts into the centre of local political debate focused on the social competition

between the Brahmin and Chardo elites. The central role performed by the newspapers in the constitution and affirmation of these parties would justify their being known respectively as the Partido Ultramarino (Overseas Party) and the Partido Indiano (Indian Party). Most political newspapers that followed aligned with one of these parties, or with Luso-descendent political forces, the latter frequently compelled to form circumstantial alliances with native parties. If politically and ideologically the fractures between the two main native parties involved more than the issue of caste, this issue was crucial in introducing a provincial dimension to local politics, simultaneously distinct from and in dialogue with the agenda of colonial relations. The outlook encouraged the questioning of political citizenship in a colonial context and of the appropriate strategies to affirm native interests. Specifically, it allowed alliances and tension between the European and local parties, the representatives of the state and native politicians. Especially during elections, the local press exacerbated tensions and addressed the nature of colonial relations, entangling, within a complex game of compromises and cleavages, colonisers and colonised, European and overseas citizens. Between these moments, more substantive views arose from discussions about local identity, colonial models and the forms of state organisation, rights and liberties, all of these seen as problems of being and becoming Goan. Equally addressed were the problems raised by the concepts of equality and difference in a colonial context, embracing their political, cultural and social dimensions.

By the turn of the century, the local press was operating alongside the emergence of a more diverse party spectrum. Influenced by the new perspectives about the mission of the press and the role of journalists, the style of newspapers changed and a new generation of journalists took responsibility for encouraging civil society to take change into its own hands—by promoting associations, holding conferences, staging protests, etc. This new attitude was also deeply marked by local readings of British rule in India and emerging Indian nationalism, to which the Goan experience was no stranger. The deflating of expectations created by the Portuguese liberal project promoted a reflection about the respective responsibilities of the colonising and colonised elites in the process. The advent of the First Republic was therefore seen with hope. The decentralist, autonomist and federalist views present in the Portuguese republican programmes and speeches before the revolution served as an impetus for a new lease of life, becoming central in local debates after the 1910 revolution.

Along the way, the Catholic movement reaching towards Portuguese Europe was favoured by the presence of Goan representatives in Lisbon and the growing presence of these elites in its political and cultural dynamics, due to academic migration and subsequent professional practice there. Goan politicians and intellectuals participated in a systematic manner in metropolitan political, cultural, scientific and colonial periodicals, as editors or directors, or even initiated new projects. Citation and transcontinental cross-pollination became frequent.

If through this presence the bonds of cohesion and the occasions of tension between the colonised and the colonisers were strengthened, so was the power of these elites to intervene in the centre of power; it was also through this presence that young Catholic academics, as a body, began to take a position in the 1920s in favour of Indian nationalism.[15] As a consequence, a new dialogue was established between Catholics and Hindus, Lisbon and Goa, envisaging a common movement to press for far-reaching reforms in colonial policy and promote nationalist sentiments in Goa. In the metropolitan intellectual circles and press, these young people campaigned to change views about India and the nationalist fight, in opposition to the considerable influence of the British media in the Portuguese press. Building on dialogue with other academic centres, in India and Europe, this action formed part of the transnational anti-colonial movement, important for the renewal of contemporary democratic thinking. The most active members continued their militancy by opposing the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship and exerting pressure for Goan self-determination.

The Hindu Community and its Language Policy

Compared with the early Catholic activism, Goan Hindus entered the public stage relatively late. However, it was this community that first forced the issue of language policy and introduced the vernacular press in Goa, leading to a disjunction in the local public sphere.

Regarding the language policy, the colonial state attributed a central role to Portuguese, as the *lingua franca* of the empire, in the strengthening of national cohesion, the promotion of social opportunities and the effective use of civil and political rights and duties. Regardless of the theoretical considerations arising from the ambiguities generated by the issues of nationality and citizenship in the colonial context, the argument notably collided with the inability of the state to ensure an outpouring of Portuguese language,

which called for universal education. In fact, universal education was a national and democratic project defended both by the liberals and the republicans, but the structural lack of resources and self-absorption of the national elites contributed to the continued postponement of that purpose in Portugal and its colonies. Locally, the limits of state action were partially clogged by the Catholic Church and the native Catholic and Hindu elites, with effects on the intellectual and ideological training of their respective communities.

Dominated by an overwhelming Hindu majority with strong links to the frontier Bombay Presidency (subsequently to become Maharashtra) and fragile relations with the Portuguese domain, it was the New Conquests that first justified a debate regarding the policy for languages. Local pressure, particularly from the Old Conquests, for the state to assert its presence in these areas led to the late consideration of an educational policy. By 1842, an exiguous public network of primary schools teaching in Portuguese was created. But if in the Old Conquests the Catholic profile of public education drove the Hindu population away, in the New Conquests, free from such constraints by the religiously neutral profile of education in consequence of the guarantees granted by the state, the predominance of clerics as teachers in these schools during the first decades led the community leaders to boycott them. The wish to reject deeper connections with the ruler may have played its part in this boycott, by denying adherence to the transformative proposals conveyed by the Portuguese language and *curriculum*.

The creation of a Marathi class in 1843 in Nova Goa could indicate a new will of the state to address the New Conquests' reality. But to do so in the Old Conquests, and that too sparingly, rather suggests the practical aim of training a body of translators for the purposes of governance, whilst continuing to deny any educational role to the vernacular languages. This attitude diverged substantially from government policy in the neighbouring British empire, where the promotion of some vernacular languages served a double goal of getting the native population to conform to colonial rule and of asserting the intellectual hierarchy between the local and British cultures. Education in the native languages was carried out particularly at the primary level, while English dominated the higher levels. Universities, with *curricula* in English,[16] and above all the Orientalist institutions, worked on the linguistic formation of these vernacular languages, encouraging the native students to cultivate them.[17] Literary bilingualism was considered essential to a class destined to serve the social spreading of the colonial agenda.[18] In addition, there

was a consistent investment in publishing laws in such languages and in recognising them within the judicial and administrative machinery, which led to early efforts to impose the knowledge of some vernacular languages in the *curricula* designed for colonial civil servants.[19] The symbolic distance between colonisers and the colonised was served by the intellectual hierarchy of languages. Politically, the hegemony of English was reinforced by its use as a *lingua franca* among the elites of the subcontinent and between colonisers and the colonised.

The selection of Marathi as a literary vernacular of the Bombay Presidency had a direct impact in the Goan Hindu community. As for the Portuguese state, the first sign of interest in the language was followed by clearer ones. In 1853, the Imprensa Nacional purchased a Devanagari typeface, which allowed the publication of legal provisions and judicial decisions in Marathi, when they were considered important to be acknowledged by the Hindu population.[20] The new partial bilingualism of power was henceforward expressed in the bilingual frontispiece of the *Boletim Oficial*, but nevertheless remained sporadic. Even though Portuguese citizenship rights were granted to the overseas populations, irrespective of their religion since the constitutional charter of 1826, the Portuguese power never translated the constitutions into the vernacular languages. Only after the revolution of 1910 did the Hindu bilingual newspaper *Prabhat* address the gap by publishing, from November 1911, a Marathi version of the new republican constitution.

Surprisingly, during the constitutional monarchy, when literacy became a condition of the right to vote, Marathi was recognised along with Portuguese. Moreover, in the New Conquests, where literacy was mainly in Marathi, bilingual censuses, voting lists and other related texts were set in place in the electoral practices. This policy eventually saw a retreat. In 1889, the *Boletim Oficial* dropped its bilingual frontispiece and became even more selective in its politics of translation. During the First Republic, the effective political rights of the Hindu population became even more affected by the language policy, when in 1913 a new electoral law restricted the right to vote for the national parliament to those who were literate in Portuguese. Consequently, Marathi also disappeared from the electoral apparatus. This shift reflected the growing role of the Portuguese language in the colonial nationalist ideology in its effort to nationalise the overseas populations, as a barrier against the appetites of other colonial empires. During the First Republic, it worked as a counterpoint

to loosening the alliance between Church and state in the construction of a common identity.

The policy of education accompanied this process. In 1871, primary schools in the New Conquests were converted into mixed educational establishments (Portuguese and Marathi) with a view to providing schoolchildren with bilingual education. This decision suggests above all a pragmatic attempt to overcome local resistance to public education, an approach that still failed to reverse Hindu attitudes, as was recognised in 1911 by the first Governor General of the Republic, Couceiro da Costa. Even so, the Governor insisted on the expansion of Portuguese teaching, against the Hindu clamour for primary education in Marathi. The politician based his choice on the importance of Portuguese in the performance of civic duties and the promotion of national unity, while acknowledging the economic and religious importance of Marathi for the community. Implicitly, he suggested that the spread of literacy in Marathi should continue to be an effort paid for by the community, as it concerned its private interests. The controversy was prolonged, being complicated by the language debate between Hindus and Catholics.

The Bilingualism of the Hindu Press

Goan Hindus built up their position under the impact of British colonialism in India, and reflected on their place in local modernity. By 1890, their press was expressing concerns about the lack of interest of the community in instruction, referring to the need to cultivate, alongside Marathi and Sanskrit, 'the language of Camões' to know the laws, defend one's own interests and intervene in the local public space. Harvesting inspiration from the Catholic example and especially from the emerging Indian nationalism, by the 1880s their leaders had launched a movement aiming at the 'progress' of the community.

In the course of a couple of decades, this community created a remarkable network of schools, libraries, and cultural and political associations. This activity intensified after 1910 as a result of the expectations generated by republican laicism. Hindu students increasingly attended public lyceums, which favoured conviviality among communities. Even Hindu private schools, despite teaching mainly in Marathi, introduced Portuguese in several cases and paid attention to the official curricula, to prepare students for public examinations.

Important considerations played a role in the Hindu insistence on the promotion of Marathi literacy and on restricting the knowledge of Portuguese to the elites, putting the neighbouring model in the service of its own agenda. Marathi already had a significant literary culture and allowed for the rapid spread of native education, with the neighbouring territory providing the necessary *curricula* and experts. Additionally, it strengthened the cultural and political ties with the neighbouring territory, offering an intellectual framework that rooted the sense of a common Hindu identity. Increasingly, this sense was reinforced by the idea, substantially elaborated by nationalists that claimed the Maratha legacy, that the Hindu community represented true Indianness, with a civilisation comparable with but spiritually superior to Western civilisation.

Marathi literacy and the Marathi press enabled the emergence of a public sphere that was essentially Hindu, regional and transcolonial. It is certain that the Goan Marathi press was at least read and commented on by the intelligentsia of the British Indian neighbouring territory that would later become the state of Maharashtra—namely, the group gathered around Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The bilingual press, while retaining its capability in the local language, opened itself to a variety of Portuguese interlocutors and spaces, participating at the different levels in which the public sphere could be conceived within the empire. Finally, the Marathi and bilingual periodical press facilitated the circumvention of the ideological control by the colonial state, as the latter was unable to scrutinise it for lack of a body of translators capable of doing so. It is significant that the Portuguese colonial school never integrated Marathi into its *curriculum*, later choosing Konkani to enable a rudimentary oral contact with the population. Some vigilance was exercised by the British authorities who, whenever necessary, pushed the Portuguese to ban titles or pursue politicians who circulated between territories. This happened with the monthly *Satsang*, published in Goa by Indian nationalists.[21] The Portuguese dictatorship, born in 1926, which was more attentive but not more prepared, solved the problem by repressing the private vernacular press.

The Hindu stands were particularly moderated, in the early years of the First Republic, by the hope for a new role in the local context. Additionally, there were some expectations of an autonomous political process, within the Portuguese empire, towards a federal solution. The subsequent disillusion hastened the movement towards Indian nationalism, thus showing the strong influence of the Hindu branch led by

Bal Gangandhar Tilak. At the turn of the 1920s, this positioning had political expression and soon found itself in a tense dialogue with the catholic republican left in Goa and with the earlier mentioned students stationed in the Portuguese metropolis. The bilingual periodicals published by the Hindu elites constituted an important feature of the movement, as a place to create programmatic and key discourses and as a space to discuss ideas. Some of these bilingual periodicals had contributors who were Catholics, or of Catholic background.

Going back to the beginnings of Hindu press activity, the first periodical aimed at the community was the Marathi newspaper *Dexâssudhârânetxo* (Friend of Progress of the Fatherland), started in 1872. Confirming a continued cultural and political association with the *Luso-descendentes*, a topic that is still waiting to be researched, this newspaper was sponsored by the Luso-descendent 2nd Baron of Combarjua. Edited by Atmarama Purxotomo Suctoncar, its second series (1877–1878) was bilingual, with the Portuguese section produced by one of Combarjua's sons-in-law.

From the 1880s, the Hindu initiative was regularly felt, starting with the *Jornal das Novas Conquistas* (1882–1886) of Govinda Bascora Parxencar, which was also the first published in the New Conquests. Until the end of the century, this press maintained a bilingual pattern and tended to be located in the Old Conquests. The Portuguese sections were usually handled by Catholics until the beginning of the twentieth century, when more Hindu writers handled the Portuguese language as a result of the movement mentioned above. That was also the time when the first regular monolingual Marathi periodicals appeared. Altogether, by 1933, around 35 periodicals in Marathi or both languages had been published, evenly distributed between these types.

There was the unique case of a magazine with separate editions in Portuguese (*Luz do Oriente*, Ponda, 1907–1920) and Marathi (*Prachi Prabha*, c. 1909–c. 1915). With a republican affiliation, this was the most lasting native magazine in this period, being written by both Hindus and Catholics. It was instrumental in bridging the gap between these communities, in regard to their experiences of Portuguese colonialism and views about Goan identity. It also played a significant role in the inclusion of the New Conquests and of the Hindu community in the wider Goan cultural dynamics. The only newspaper written entirely in Portuguese and produced as a Hindu initiative was *Pracasha* (1928–1937), which was soon afterwards being run by an exponent of

Goan republicanism, the Chardo intellectual Luís de Menezes Bragança. The most lasting Hindu newspaper, fundamental in accompanying the community's political evolution, was the bilingual *Bharat* (1912–1949), published by Hegdó Dessai until his death. This was perhaps the periodical that had the most lawsuits in the history of the Goan press. It ended up, for a short period during the *Estado Novo*, being printed in Bombay and smuggled into Goa, as had happened a hundred years before to the periodicals connected with Peres da Silva.

Conclusion

The diverse languages of the Goan press suggest the need for a multilingual approach to its intellectual history. Rochelle Pinto has already drawn attention to the matter and proposed some conclusions.[22] However, further research is needed in terms of time, spaces, themes, profiles of periodicals and of their writers. The diverse languages of monolingual periodicals mirror the plurality of publics and cultural traditions of the social intellectual history of Goans, as well as the constituent scattering of their experience. Bilingual periodicals took up this diversity and dispersion, simultaneously suggesting the possibility of building bridges and the persistent need for demarcation. The latter, in fact, may hold the greater dialogical and comparative power, key to evaluating the circulation of sources and dominant ideas, as well as to approaching the processes of construction of difference in the various local literary cultures.

Notes

1. See Sandra Ataíde Lobo, 'Línguas, Culturas Literárias e Culturas Políticas na Modernidade Goesa', Via *Atlântica*, 30 (December 2016): 45–63.
2. Portuguese descendants, equivalent to the Anglo-Indian community in British India.
3. B. Peres da Silva, *Diálogo entre um Doutor em Filosofia e um Português da Índia na Cidade de Lisboa sobre a Constituição Política do Reino de Portugal, suas Vantagens, e Meios de Mantê-la* (Rio de Janeiro: Tip. Nacional, 1832).
4. Printing was prohibited in the territory between 1754 and 1821.
5. For the British India case, see S. Chandra, 'Mimicry, Masculinity, and the Mystique of Indian English: Western India, 1870–1900', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 68: 1 (February 2009): 199–225.

6. F.D.N.T., *Refutação Analytica de hum Manifesto, Assignado pelo Intruso Governador de Goa* (Bombaim: s.n., 1834), p. 22.
7. H. Scholberg, 'Journalism in Portuguese India 1821–1961', in *Conferência Internacional Vasco da Gama e a Índia* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), vol. III, pp. 173–183.
8. A.M. da Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa* (s.l., Instituto Cultural de Macau: Fundação Oriente, 1997), vol. II, p. 165; T. Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers in Bombay* (Pangim: Goa 1556 & Broadway Publishing House, 2012), pp. 144–145.
9. V. Naregal, 'Colonial Bilinguism and Hierarchies of Language and Power: Making a Vernacular Sphere in Western India', *Economical and Political Weekly*, 34: 49 (4 December 1999): 3446–3456.
10. 'Thuswise, in Fine, the Portingalls do Chastise their Vile, Malicious, Treacherous Enemies'. L.V. de Camões, *Os Lusiadas* (*The Lusiads*), translated by R.F. Burton (London: Bernard Quaritc, 1880), Canto I, verse 92.
11. U. Kapalgam, 'Colonial Governmentality and the Public Sphere in India', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 15: 1 (March 2002): 35–58.
12. *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, vol. II: 28 (11 July 1836).
13. R. Pinto, *Between Empires. Print and Politics in Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007).
14. *Censo da População do Estado da Índia em 26 de Fevereiro de 1931. Volume I. Relatório—Quadros Sinópticos e Especiais—Gráficos* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1935).
15. S. Ataíde Lobo, 'The Return to Indianness: Goan Nationalism in the 1920s', in S. Abreu and R.C. Heredia (eds.), *Goa 2011: Reviewing and Recovering Fifty Years* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2014).
16. At the University of Bombay, established in 1857, the study of Marathi was banned in the late 1860s. See M. Ranganathan, 'Govind Narayan: A Preliminary Bio-Bibliography', in *Govind Narayan's Mumbai: An Urban Biography from 1863*, ed. and trans. by Murali Ranganathan, foreword by Gyan Prakash (India: Anthem Press, 2012), p. 9.
17. V. Naregal, 'Vernacular Culture and Political Formation in Western India', in A. Gupta and S. Chakravorty (eds.), *Print Areas: Book History in India* (Delhi: Permanent Black and Department of English, Jadavpur University, 2004), pp. 139–168.
18. *Govind Narayan's Mumbai: An Urban Biography from 1863.*
19. F. Mir, 'Imperial Policy, Provincial Practices: Colonial Language Policy in Nineteenth-Century India', *Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 43: 4 (2006): 395–427.
20. R. Pinto, *Between Empires. Print and Politics in Goa*, p. 99.

21. A.M. da Cunha, 'A Evolução do Jornalismo na Índia Portuguesa', in *A Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), vol. II, pp. 501–594.
22. R. Pinto, *Between Empires. Print and Politics in Goa*.

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The Press and Portuguese-British Relations at the Time of the British 'Ultimatum'

Paulo Jorge Fernandes

11 January 1890

This chapter sets out to demonstrate how the British 'Ultimatum' of 11 January 1890 and the uproar it provoked in public opinion acted as an intermediate step, important though not conclusive, for the construction of the modern Portuguese colonial project.[1] This thesis leads us to a narrower scope of questioning. Can the 'colonial question' and the rise of a new ideology expressed in the radical nationalism arising from it be a consequence of the constantly cited 'Ultimatum', as if coming from a void, or are they prior events? What was the role of newspapers in the arising and strengthening of such ideas? In what ways did the periodicals contribute to the increase of popular uproar observed in the country's main cities? The answer to these questions allows us to better understand the importance of the 'Ultimatum' in the Portuguese liberal monarchy crisis and the role of the press in the definition of events.

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When, on 11 January 1890, a small Portuguese military column, 'a study expedition', as *O Século* newspaper called it on 25 February, under the leadership of Major Serpa Pinto, received an order to leave the Makololos territory (in Upper Zambezi—an area that partially includes the current region of Malawi), the parties involved were far from imagining the implications that the withdrawal of the military contingent would provoke back in Europe and in the area. Even further from their thoughts was the idea of how such events might be understood in the future.

The matter had been going on from the end of October of the preceding year, when the 'British South African Company', belonging to Cecil Rhodes, the famous 'Chartered', became a legal entity and received royal powers from Queen Victoria over Mashonaland and Matabeleland, in the Southern Africa plateau, between Angola and Mozambique, in a region over which the Portuguese authorities were now claiming sovereignty. The government in Lisbon answered this trampling over their alleged rights with another excessive measure, creating at the beginning of November the administrative district of Zumbo, in Middle Zambezi, as well as the general stewardship of indigenous affairs in Gaza, which partially covered the disputed territories. This set the theme for an escalation of events concerning British and Portuguese interests in the interior of the African continent. The subsequent weeks would see the exchange of diplomatic notes between both countries, discussing the legitimacy of Portuguese advances in the territory. Objections from the London government were rising by mid-December, after the massacres provoked by João de Azevedo Coutinho's troops in the Makololo territory, which was supposedly under British protection.[2] It was recommended that national forces should not repeat this feat in the lands of the Matabele and the Mashona, between the rivers Zambezi and Limpopo. The Portuguese press would cover all this at a frenetic pace, encouraging the emergence of a nationalist, anti-British surge, which found in public opinion a breeding ground for its development. In parallel, British newspapers promoted a strong campaign against the alleged Portuguese 'rights'.[3]

The truth is that the men under Serpa Pinto's orders did not retreat and, on 11 January, the British envoy in Lisbon, George Petre, orally communicated an 'ultimatum' from Lord Salisbury to Henrique Barros Gomes, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to Frederico Ressano Garcia, the Navy and Overseas Minister. It was imperative that the Portuguese forces retreat from those lands, not far from Lake Niassa (Nyasa), or else the British government would take vigorous action with uncertain results. Barros Gomes then asked the diplomat to give him this message in writing, so that he could conveniently convey the situation to the executive

members led by José Luciano de Castro. Petre was willing to write the following manuscript memorandum, which would be struck through and not even amended before it was handed over to the Lisbon government:

> Her Majesty's Government cannot accept as satisfactory or sufficient the assurances given by the Portuguese Government as they interpret them. Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Mozambique has telegraphed, on the authority of Major Serpa Pinto himself, that the expedition was still occupying the Chire; and that Katunga, besides other places in the territory of the Makololos, were to be fortified and would receive garrisons.
>
> What Her Majesty's Government requires, and must insist upon, is the following: telegraphic instruction to be sent to the Governor of Mozambique at once that all and any Portuguese military forces, which are actually on the Chire or in the territory of the Makololo, or in the Mashona territory, are to be withdrawn. The Government considers that without this the assurances given by the Portuguese Government are altogether illusory.
>
> Mr. Petre is compelled by his instructions to leave Lisbon at once, with the members of his Legation, unless a satisfactory answer to the foregoing intimation is received by him in the course of this evening, and Her Majesty's ship 'Enchantress' is now at Vigo waiting for his orders.[4]

These few lines would appear to hold the key to modern Portuguese colonialism and to open a new chapter in Portugal's history. When news spread, in the words of the famous writer Eça de Queiroz, a 'wave of indignation' crossed the country and was felt even in the 'most obscure villages'.[5] At Largo do Chiado, in Lisbon, at the centre of the cultural and political life of the city, Luís de Camões' statue, one of the most important national cultural symbols, was covered in black drapes as a sign of mourning, and one could read on it the following inscription: 'These drapes covering the homeland's soul are under the protection and care of the people, the academic youth, the army and the Portuguese armada. Whoever pulls them off or orders them to be pulled off is the worst of cowards and has sold out to England!' This event was followed by popular demonstrations, sometimes violent, not only in Lisbon but also in other regions of the country against the 'English colony' and British interests. The day 'equalled centuries' in the words of Basílio Teles, a future member of the Portuguese Partido Republicano (Republican Party) directorate. The nation was finally awaking from 'sleep or from its indifference' and decided 'in a huge exertion of will to

start a *new life*'. The composer Alfredo Keil, of German extraction, was inspired by these events to write an anthem, *A Portuguesa*, the lyrics of which were to be the responsibility of Lopes de Mendonça. The anthem was later adopted as the national anthem by the republican regime, the aggressive stanza 'against the British we shall march' being modified to 'against the cannons we shall march' in order not to offend allied sensitivities. In a fit of patriotic fervour, some personalities returned their British decorations but, to the dismay of the writer Eça de Queirós and of others who thought like him, after a few weeks the protest movement vanished without any apparently significant results 'in our administrative and economic life'. Nevertheless, the 'tumultuous manifestations' that had occurred made 'Portugal in 1890 politically different from Portugal in 1889'.[6]

The 'ultimatum' episode produced immediate consequences. Besides the political elite having abandoned the Mapa Côr-de-Rosa (Rose-coloured Map) project—the Portuguese ambition to form a vast province between Angola and Mozambique under Portuguese sovereignty—the British diplomatic pressure led to the resignation of the Partido Progressista (Progressive Party) government of José Luciano de Castro (a party of 'advanced' monarchical inspiration) on the following day. The ministry immediately yielded, ordering Serpa Pinto's men to retreat from the place where the conflict was taking place, understanding that, if they did not obey, opposition would manifest itself through the occupation of Quelimane and Lourenço Marques (Mozambique), as well as of São Vicente's island (Cape Verde). On 12 January, around two o'clock in the morning, Barros Gomes presented himself at the British legation in Lisbon, bearing a note in which the Portuguese position was stated.[7] After the Partido Progressista, a government of the Partido Regenerador (Regenerator Party) would follow (a party of conservative monarchical inspiration).[8]

On the streets, few people understood the motives for giving in. Preserving Portuguese rights in Africa, although these were 'uncultivated territories', unknown to most people, had become a political priority, but the wave of anti-British uproar that spread over the country produced other consequences. The republicans were the ones who profited politically from the protest, taking advantage of the situation to hold the monarchical parties and the young king, acclaimed on 28 December, responsible for the offence received.[9] In fact, the 'ultimatum', the extent of which would be greatly enhanced by the press, did not bring the 'colonial question' to the

centre of the political debate in Portugal, for the reason that the question was already there.

Press and Ideology

The first major colonial issue to emerge into the public sphere, occurred in the last days of 1878 in reaction to the 'Paiva de Andrade concession', by which the Regenerator Party government handed over the exploitation of a territory in Zambezia to a private entity controlled by foreign capitalist interests.[10] This transaction, seen as an outrageous loss of Portuguese sovereignty, was reported in parliament, in the newspapers and at street meetings convoked in the pages of the press, and it was considered unacceptable to the national character of a more radical faction searching to assert itself in the Progressive Party, which was at that time the party in opposition.[11]

If you read the decree, it is easy to understand the extremist positions. The 'Paiva de Andrade concession' to 'the companies he will create' included the exploitation of the gold mines (already discovered or yet to be discovered), wastelands and forests (about 100,000 hectares), 'belonging' to the state in Tete region, in Zambezia, for a period of 20 years. In short, the government was preparing to hand over immense wealth to foreigners on a plate, which was totally unacceptable to the exacerbated patriotic sentiments of the most extremist opposition. They would provoke public agitation through their newspapers, by publishing manifestos and convening meetings all over the country, leading thousands of people to rise in protest in the streets of the main cities. This would take protest to the interior of the kingdom.[12]

In 1879, the colonial question remained at the top of the Portuguese political agenda with equal fervour. Throughout the year, continual angry reactions to the Treaties of Lourenço Marques and Mormugão (India) were seen in parliament, in the newspapers and on the streets. These treaties with Great Britain had both been signed by another Regenerator government, to the radical progressive faction's despair. Once again, according to several accounts produced by the press of that time, thousands of people all over the country gathered in progressive and republican meetings to protest against these two fresh examples of alleged handing over of Portuguese sovereignty to the British in Mozambique and India. In both situations, what was at stake was the building of railway infrastructures, crucial to the development of

the territories, but the opposition used the opportunity to put the theme of overseas colonies back on the front page. Magalhães Lima, director of the republican newspaper *O Século*, admitted that this daily owed its existence to the campaign being waged against the Treaty of Lourenço Marques. The editorial office received 'lots and lots of protests', which became a motive for organising rallies and popular demonstrations. Thus, 'newspapers emerged as if by magic; something new and strange began to be seen, since that time, in the political life of the country'.[13] Even *The Times* newspaper interpreted the Treaty of Lourenço Marques as a yielding on the part of the Lisbon government.[14]

As a result, the empire began to occupy a crucial place in the political debate in Portugal, with the press having played a major role in the public dissemination of this discussion—a case of what is now called agenda-setting. The topic was never off the agenda nor was it abandoned in the public sphere (in parliament, in the newspapers and on the streets), showing how central the colonial question was. The subsequent controversies would develop around the signing and ratification of the Treaty of Zaire (1883–1884). According to this agreement, the British acknowledged Portuguese sovereignty over the territories of the river Zaire along its two shores, spreading to the frontiers of the new state of Congo, against the facilitating of trade and navigation. With this agreement, Portugal lost sovereignty rights in the north of Zambezia, under the pretext of fighting the slave trade. To the Progressive Party, the Treaty of Zaire would allegedly be more damaging to national interests than the Treaty of Lourenço Marques itself, since it gave unparalleled commercial benefits to Belgium, England and France, while Portugal's sovereignty was reduced to an almost nominal expression. A French newspaper even wrote that some clauses from the Treaty had been submitted for King Leopold II's approval. Since the press was constantly publicising these facts, national indignation grew.

At the beginning of 1885, when news from the capital of Germany began to arrive, stating that the acknowledgement of Portuguese sovereignty over the left shore of the river Zaire had been lost and the national diplomatic position in regard to African politics discussed at the Conference of Berlin had been defeated, national public opinion would once more be called upon by newspapers in order to speak against another Regenerator Party cabinet.[15]

All these episodes that had been going on since 1878, opposing supporters of the Regenerator, Progressive and Republican parties, showed

how impossible it was to reach a consensus concerning colonial politics. In all situations, the scenario for government was the same. The Regenerator Party, the ruling party at the time (1878–1879 and 1881–1886) undertook to promote an approach to Great Britain as a way of ensuring the defence of Portuguese historical rights in Africa and Asia and the development of the territories with a minimum expenditure of the state budget. In the opposition, progressives and republicans accused their opponents of yielding the national sovereignty overseas to private entities and foreigners. They managed to bring thousands of people out onto the streets to show how radical nationalism of a colonial nature could be used as a political weapon on the domestic front.

The 'Ultimatum' in the Press

The popular protests that took place during the 'ultimatum' were not a new, nor an unexpected phenomenon.[16] In the following years the strenghtening of this extremist ideology would occur, which uncompromisingly advocated Portuguese sovereignty overseas, opposing everything and everyone who was suspected of favouring its alienation. The umbilical link between home and colonies was born around this time. Some characteristics began to be valued or added to this type of nationalism in the years immediately following it, such as its fiercely anti-British nature and the belief that any military effort to promote this national project was legitimate.[17]

As might be expected, newspapers attached to the government reacted soberly to the first reports. Under the headline 'The Anglo-Portuguese conflict', the newspaper *Novidades*, belonging to the former Progressive Party Minister Emídio Navarro, recommended a cautious analysis of the facts in its reporting of the events, because 'it would be more than madness to think about resisting' the British. The periodical explained that the ministry did not agree with the terms of the diplomatic note, but had to yield to its terms. Protests to protect Portugal's rights were made, but it was impossible to resist the offence. 'No angry demonstrations, nor bursts of outrage! Let us show that we are together in the offence and the pillage as we did during the diplomatic campaign. Towards brute force, let us oppose a cold, peaceful reflection,' Navarro wrote.[18] In the days that followed, the newspaper retained the same note of tranquillity, making people forget the colonial radicalism of earlier

times displayed by its director. Regarding 'popular demonstrations', the newspaper asked that discipline and caution should be kept, since

> asking not to hold useless, outraged and disorderly demonstrations, doesn't mean we forget the offence, nor does it mean we aren't diligently working as of today to remedy its consequences and to avenge the outrage. On the contrary, we must never forget it. While the heated riots are soon over and forgotten.[19]

The reality in Lisbon was all but peaceful. English citizens were attacked on the streets, stones were thrown at the consulate and even the wise Luciano Cordeiro, Chairman of the Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa (Lisbon Geographical Society), went to one of the windows of the organisation to make a passionate and applauded speech in defence of Serpa Pinto, giving rise to cries of 'hurrah' for the explorer, for Portugal and its independence.[20] Taking advantage of the idea of boycotting British merchandise, the newspaper *Novidades* in a text under the headline 'Do not Forget' also began advocating the adoption of protective measures in economic matters, which was something that met the progressive political programme.[21] The appeal to the 'Union of the parties' under the argument that 'patriotism is no one's privilege. A resistance and reparatory movement, such as the one that is beginning in our country, can only be fruitful with the support and cooperation of everyone', now sounded a false note, owing to the changes in the political situation.[22]

The reaction of the newspaper *Diário Popular* would not be very different. In the beginning, it only confirmed the existence of a 'serious offence', which the Portuguese government had opposed as best it could, mainly through diplomatic channels, 'thus assuring our honour is saved, because we resisted as much as little people can resist big people'. In an operation of damage control, the newspaper also reported that 'we retreat in the presence of a force that doesn't listen to arguments, and we chose the lesser of two evils', suggesting the country should calmly await the continuation of negotiations about the African affair.[23] The anti-British popular demonstrations were mentioned in such a way as to minimise their impact and dimension. Never resisting controversy, the progressive Mariano de Carvalho's periodical chose to comment on the opinions that had been published by other newspapers such as the regenerator *Gazeta de Portugal* or the republican *Debates*, accused of collusion and of spreading false facts at a time when the government 'was sacrificing itself for

the public welfare'.[24] What were the real motives behind British actions?—the newspaper asked. The 'ultimatum' could be explained by the British interest in taking control of the strategic ports in the territories under Portuguese rule. Such was the case with Lourenço Marques, Quelimane and São Vicente. On the other hand, 'England is very weak in Africa from the moment she gets away from the sea,' the columnist said, thus evoking the British military setbacks during the wars against the Boers, the Zulus and in Sudan, 'while we, the Portuguese people, by contrast, are able with very small forces to control huge territories in Africa, stay in there and recently were even able to expand our territory' because the Portuguese are not 'oppressors, nor pirates, nor gangsters', in an operation of legitimisation of Portuguese colonialism.

The opposition headlines displayed a very different reaction. The Regenerator Party, through the voice of its official body, *A Gazeta de Portugal*, after confirmation of the acceptance of the 'ultimatum' by the Progressive Party Government started to arouse public opinion against the ministry, declaring that 'traitors and cowards have their punishment in this world', encouraging people on the streets to take justice into their own hands. The oppositional publication initially fostered a certain optimism by writing 'the hope of a direct agreement between the two governments, without having to resort to arbitration seems to be confirmed',[25] but in the 'Supplement of no. 657' and in the face of the evolution of events, its language changed and took an especially violent turn. The government's answer was considered 'the greatest humiliation and the most degrading shame a nation has ever been subjected to or has accepted in human memory. The government, which represents Portugal, has by its own hands erased the country from the group of European powers.'

Expressions such as 'shame', 'disaster', 'bewilderment', and 'disgrace' were used in the text that also protested against the 'brute force' used by the police to repress the demonstrations that had taken place in Lisbon.[26] In the days that followed, the hostile and provocative style used in the texts continued.

To the well-known man of letters Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, attached to the Regenerator Party, writing in his newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, the diagnosis did not appear very different, for 'the cynicism of strength and the cynicism of cowardice currently represent the first article of the International Code', dividing his criticism between the British position and the Portuguese government. Showing it did not lack memory, the

newspaper remembered the objectionable position of the Progressives in colonial matters, since 'ah! They would pay a heavy price for the embarrassments we suffered, not many years ago, which brought us to this abyss of infamy.'[27]

The newspaper *A Revolução de Setembro*, close to Barjona de Freitas, a former regenerator who did not agree with the official line of thought of the Party and who became a leader of the Esquerda Dinástica (Dynastic Left), the most liberal faction of the Regenerator Party, referred to the situation with pessimism, since 'the year of 1890 doesn't start under good auspices for the country'. Concerning the sensitive 'African conflict with England', it expressed the hope 'that common sense and loyal patriotism may inspire the government to do what is best for the homeland's interests, in the current environment; that no vanities nor partisan ambitions, nor childish whims may cloud its mind'. The writer acknowledged that 'the situation is serious. The conflict with England has become complicated. Unfortunately, our fears were not groundless.'[28] In the days that followed, the paper increased its criticisms, reverting to violent language. About the movements taking place over the national subscription to promote national rearmament, it was rationally considered that 'we must not cherish utopias. There is no subscription that will allow for a fleet and the fortification of Lisbon', suggesting as the only solution for this situation that the country should contract a loan of 30 million Portuguese Escudos or half of this value at an interest rate of 5% for that purpose. 'Such a loan would probably ruin us or, on the other hand, it could allow the construction of a fleet composed by 89 ships, such as battleships, cruisers and torpedo-boats. Could this also permit the defence of Lisbon and the fortification of some strategic points in Africa as well as increase the army's weaponry?'[29] The question remained unanswered.

The republican press also reacted immediately and in dramatic fashion. On 12 January, the newspaper *O Século* opened its front page with the piercing headline 'Lisbon bombarded?', emphasising the recourse to force as the main argument of the British in what was referred to as the African affair under discussion at the moment.[30] Pursuing the nationalist feeling, the headline 'IN THE NAME OF THE HOMELAND', in large print, appealed to the courage and determination of the Portuguese people, raising Major Serpa Pinto to the status of a national hero.[31] Simultaneously, it suggested the boycott of English brands. The newspaper also took the opportunity to depict the popular demonstrations that

were taking place in the capital city. These demonstrations of patriotism would also be directed towards the press, for 'in front of the *Correio da Noite* [newspaper] a demonstration hostile to the government took place, and it was repeated in front of the *Repórter*, and with increased violence in front of the *Novidades*, with cries of death to Emídio Navarro, and to the traitor progressives, as well as cries of down with the chalet! Long live the Republic.'[32]

The well-known republican activist Latino Coelho also published an article with the headline 'IN THE NAME OF THE HOMELAND! D. CARLOS I', calling upon the king to abandon his position, encouraging Portuguese people to condemn Lord Salisbury's actions and suggesting a lack of competence on the part of the monarchical regime to keep ruling the country.

The reports published in the *Diário de Notícias*, a newspaper not politically committed to any party, depicted the 'ultimatum' very differently. On 12 January it only reported the 'serious rumours' that had been circulating about the matter, without openly commenting on the already known information. By the next day, the situation had changed and the periodical announced the 'Anglo-Portuguese conflict', advocating the position that the dispute could be explained through the nature of British economic interests. The 'popular demonstrations' were also referred to, though in far more moderate and less heated language. On 14 January, a summary of the events was presented, but the editorial line maintained the same restraint of language and a purely informative style.[33]

The cartoon press, very popular at that time thanks to the talent of artists such as Rafael Bordalo Pinheiro, was also not indifferent to the colonial question. At around the same time, the newspaper *Pontos nos ii* filled the pages of its weekly edition with texts and drawings based on this theme. In the face of 'English prepotency', the newspaper undertook the duty of defending the national interests, summoning the good Lusitanian people to the cause, leaving no one out, taking inspiration from the words of the poet Lopes de Mendonça:

> Very well! Stand up now, Portuguese People … If you love your bloodless homeland and you love liberty. Forget the fierce hostility between factions. Noblemen or plebeian, honest monarchists, loyal democrats, fervent socialists, in a burst of love, of titanic rage, together fight the British vileness.[34]

On 9 January, a drawing alluded to the question of the sharing of Africa, suggesting that the British press was reacting to the matter according to the interests of the chartered companies and obliterating the Portuguese positions. The collusion between Salisbury and Cecil Rhodes seemed obvious. The Portuguese king himself was depicted as responsible for the handing over of the colonies to his aunt Victoria, who described the Portuguese people as 'a breed of monkeys', an image spread by the cartoon newspaper *Moonshine*.[35] While England 'puts her monstrous paw on our chest', Serpa Pinto's figure is drawn as the 'only real personification of the national spirit'.

Beyond Lisbon, reactions were also registered. In Coimbra, the city where the only university of the country was located, the newspaper *O Ultimatum* was born. This was published by António José de Almeida, a 24-year-old student who would later become President of the Republic. Among the co-writers of this title was Afonso Costa, a sophomore student of law, who would become one of the main figures of the First Republic, by then proeminent for his violent prose against the regime.

In Oporto, the *Jornal de Notícias*, a regenerator-leaning newspaper, took a highly critical stand against the government and stood out as one of the mouthpieces of the northern population's outrage. Its pages described the 'humiliation of the homeland', presented as 'the most extraordinary vexations a European nation has endured', and the progressives were accused of discrediting Serpa Pinto and granting all the 'humiliating explanations and justifications demanded by England'. The periodical furthermore pointed out that 'a crowd of people go through Chiado, crying hurrahs for Serpa Pinto. People are being arrested.' Attention should be drawn to the fact that the 12 January edition, with more than 12,500 copies, quickly sold out during the morning, though the newspaper did not change its daily print run.[36] As should be expected, the publication welcomed the downfall of the ministry and its replacement by a new executive with a regenerator character.[37] The newspaper did not hold back from revealing that in other northern towns, such as Viana do Castelo, a 'deep indignation against the vile and insolent way England, that fake ally, intended to outrage us spread. The dissatisfaction deriving from the way the *five patriots* [in italics in the original] and the members of the Council of State wished to humiliate us in the face of the British threats' was also great, and a clear allusion to the progressive yielding was made.[38]

For its part, the newspaper *O Commercio do Porto*, close to the progressive orbit, showed a much greater restraint in its judgements about the Lisbon events. Reporting the dispute 'Between Portugal and England', the periodical started by highlighting that the issue could also be a duel between the British press and the continental newspapers concerning British interests in Africa.[39] Not giving it the same prominence as the Lisbon press, this newspaper preferred to analyse the conflict with England and the expedition of Chire together with the situation in Brazil, where in November a military coup had established a republic.[40]

The international press echoed similar reactions to the event. In Rome, the *Diritto* condemned the 'act of violence' from England towards a weak power. In Africa, those same British had not demonstrated such courage to oppose the German 'real usurpation', that is, the position of the British government had proved 'arrogant towards the weak and shy towards the strong'. Likewise, all French newspapers condemned the abuse of force by the British. The *Jornal dos Debates* agreed that Portugal could not resist the 'ultimatum' because that would give the British an excuse to occupy the mouth of the Zambezi and Lourenço Marques bay, remembering the dispute between the two countries over this region, only recently resolved in favour of Portugal through the arbitration of French President Mac-Mahon. Along the same lines, the *Siècle* appealed to the respect for international rights, accusing the British of overtly breaking what had been established at the Conference of Berlin. In Madrid, the ministerial publication *Ibéria* depicted the behaviour of the Portuguese government as 'consistent and honourable', relating that Barros Gomes had done everything to avoid conflict and that Portugal had only yielded through force. The British conduct was depicted as a setback in the spreading of Christianity in Africa and in the improvement of the European Public Law, Lord Salisbury having acted only so as to justify himself before 'his court of public opinion'. The newspaper *Imparcial* justified the 'passionate Portuguese surges', since the country had been hurt in its dignity. The British had achieved their goals, 'but in the face of the civilized world not all the water of the Zambezi will be enough to wash the stain of such a victory'. This popular publication followed the events for a few days, reporting, through the telegrams sent by their correspondent in Lisbon, the misfortunes being visited on the 'poor Portuguese'.[41] According to the Havas agency, the *Epoca* was still optimistic regarding a 'friendly mediation of colonial and maritime

powers' of the conflict in the sense of defending the motives and rights claimed by Portugal.

The British newspapers reacted differently. The *Standard* commemorated Salisbury's triumph, hoping this fact would give more political strength to the cabinet at a domestic level. *The Times* newspaper did not show so much satisfaction, finding Portuguese assurances insufficient. It wanted action. If Portugal did not obey, it advocated recourse to the navy, accusing the Lisbon government of having failed to comply with courtesy and international moral laws. The newspaper understood the 'agitation' on the streets of Lisbon and Oporto, but hoped precautions would be taken to control them, because:

> if serious disturbances burst out, they could have disastrous consequences for Portugal; the English action in Africa would necessarily go through a profound change, in the event of tangible evidence that the Portuguese government was incapable of controlling the turbulent elements in the metropolis as well as in the colonies.

The *Daily News* on the other hand showed satisfaction at the fact that the British executive did not have to 'use corrective measures in relation to Portugal', urging Lord Salisbury to present practical proposals concerning the partition of the disputed territories.[42] Only the *Star* manifested a different opinion, criticising the dubious conduct of the cabinet. It considered it 'a shame that England should abuse its strength to impose on a former ally, especially because in the German affair in Zanzibar, Lord Salisbury's government had been totally crushed'.[43]

In Portugal, over the course of time, the patriotic flame started to diminish on the streets, though the matter had never disappeared from newspaper pages. In the middle of March, the weekly paper *A Illustração Portugueza, Revista Literária e Artística* criticised the excesses that had occurred in the preceding weeks, considering them 'ridiculous bragging and bravado'. We would be 'poor, but wise, that was our motto. Nor could we be anything else', it published in a tone of resignation. It considered that 'blindness of wounded pride didn't allow the protest to be proudly, wisely and honourably formulated, without excessive boldness always damaging weak people who, first and foremost, must be aware of their own weakness'.[44] The problem was that:

> instead of seeking support in strong alliances, that would scare away the bold explorer, we were satisfied with the fine words of the French and

> Spanish press, as if simple words were not soon forgotten, and we thought we were invincible, and we believed we were giants, when we were nothing but pygmies,

concluding that 'we deserved what perfidious England had done to us, and we still deserve much more'. As a diagnosis of the national patriotism it was said that 'it is proper to the southern temperament and character to speak a lot, but when action is required, nothing is done'. Instead of supporting the government and giving it strength to answer the problems, the mob preferred to take to the streets and insult the ministers.[45] Until that moment the sum gathered through the 'big' public subscription had reached a ridiculous value,

> which means Portuguese patriotism, so much bragged about in anti-ministerial gazettes and so much bragged about on the streets, is quoted at an inferior price than the compassion inspired by a fire in a theatre or the sinking of a liner. A sad patriotism this is, which two months after having been raised due to a serious outrage, shows up to the world with the ridiculous offering of 50 thousand Portuguese silver coins, given to Portugal, so that it could arm itself against foreign aggression. A really sad revelation of our civic love, not even enough to buy a single bodyguard, even less to defend the integrity of a territory.[46]

A fit of this colonialist nationalism occurred once again when Serpa Pinto and his comrades returned to Lisbon at the end of April 1890. The reception given at the capital would be grand and admirably described by *Occidente*, another illustrated magazine not politically committed to any party. On 19 May, the Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa would stage a very crowded banquet in the auditorium of Teatro de São Carlos (São Carlos Opera Theatre) in honour of the explorers Serpa Pinto, Victor Cordon, António Maria Cardoso and Paiva de Andrade, though the latter did not attend as he was ill. It should be noted that, under the pretext of illness or work, no minister attended the event, as if they wanted to have no part in the demonstration. The magazine would publish photos of the new national heroes and illustrative drawings of both events in a kind of visual chronicle expressing colonial nationalism.[47]

The ideology of colonial nationalism would endure. In the years that followed, Portuguese society would be faced with the survival of the phenomenon on different occasions, the press retaining the main role in disseminating the events and the popular mobilisation. New episodes of

this colonialist nationalism, for example, brought thousands of people onto the streets of the country's main cities to celebrate the return of the soldiers of the Mozambique campaign (1896); to observe the landing and arrest of Gungunhana (1896); to comment on the triumphal tour of the country by Mouzinho de Albuquerque, the army officer responsible for the capture of the Vatuas king (1897–1898); or to mourn the suicide of the same Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1902).[48]

Conclusion

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the destiny of overseas colonies was intrinsically attached to the homeland destiny. More than ever, the empire unquestionably became an integral part of the nation. Because of the overseas colonies affair, the kingdom saw the birth of a new ideology, a radical nationalism of a colonialist nature that, due to the number of people it brought onto the streets, would become the first mass demonstration in modern Portugal, even preceding the development of the republican movement. This last would spread more over the territory mainly in the first decades of the new century. The colonial imagery would become the union pole of Portuguese nationalism.

The government and public opinion looked at the overseas territories, most especially in Africa, as a national priority, which would end up by conditioning the whole conception of the colonial strategy over the coming years. The turn to Africa, which had begun as an answer to the inauguration of the governmental policy of concessions to private entities (1878); to the admittance of an official approach to Great Britain (1879); to the results of the Conference of Berlin (1884–1885); to the British 'ultimatum' (1890); and to the protests over the partition (1890–1891), was not a direct answer to an exterior stimulus. It was not provoked only by the pressure exerted by the main European countries who questioned the national ability to own and administer vast territories far away from home. The change in external context and the beginning of the 'scramble for Africa', though crucial to understand Portugal's entry in an 'empire-building' process at the end of the nineteenth century, are just one part of an equation which has turned out to be more complex.

To these conditions one other can be added. The change in the overseas colonies paradigm can also be explained as a domestic reaction to

the radical nationalist demonstrations of a colonial and anti-British nature, visible since 1878. The incidents in Chiado caused by the 'ultimatum' only served to legitimise the way Portugal chose to build the empire. However, at its root, the emergence of this radical nationalism was not due so much to the republicans, who took great advantage of it in the following years, as to the actions of an extremist wing of the Progressive Party, which chose the theme of the alienation of colonial sovereignty, especially in Mozambique, as a weapon for discussing accession to power. From a social perspective, the main characteristic of this movement came from its transversality. Students and intellectuals, soldiers and common people, shopkeepers and workmen all took to the streets during these years to express their dissatisfaction in the face of British offences. The extreme politicisation of the journalistic world and the fact that the governing elite was committed to the most important journals help to explain the central role the periodicals had in drawing public awareness towards the colonial question. The 'ultimatum', which was originally a diplomatic affair, became an issue of national dimensions, thanks to the magnifying lens of the press.

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Republicanism and Nationalism in Angola in the Late Nineteenth Century

Maria Cristina Portella Ribeiro

An Atlantic slave-trade platform in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Luanda became the administrative, political and military centre of the Portuguese presence in the South Coast of West Africa from the nineteenth century. The holds of the ships that used to dock there brought not only the musty odour from the slaves, the English textiles or the Portuguese wine; they also brought the books and newspapers that would help to shape the local inhabitants' way of thinking. In 1851, around 9000 black Africans and 2400 people of mixed race lived in the city.[1] The white people in that year were estimated to be 830,[2] but this figure oscillated, because few stayed in the colony after amassing a fortune, afraid of catching some of the endemic diseases that systematically decimated the population.[3]

As the capital of Angola, Luanda had the largest concentration of newspapers of that region since 1845, when the *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Província de Angola* was published for the first time. Between 1880 and 1910, the year of the proclamation of the First

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Republic in Portugal, 16 newspapers were founded in Luanda that opposed the monarchy and supported republican ideas.[4] Four of them belonged to the Portuguese, and all the others were property of mixed-race or black Africans, called 'sons of the country'.

The expression 'sons of the country' was interpreted by historiography as part of the colonial vocabulary to identify mixed-race people that somehow shared the Portuguese culture—language, education, clothing, political and intellectual interests—as opposed to *gentios*, the black population that maintained their political and cultural independence from Portuguese rule.[5] A different interpretation of 'sons of the country' was given by themselves in the newspapers in which they participated, being essentially an opposition to white Portuguese, that is, to the mother country's representatives, the 'sons of Portugal'.[6] The expression 'sons of the country' and others used with the same meaning—'sons of the colonies', 'sons of Angola', 'sons of this land', 'sons of this province', 'sons of the people', or even, in some cases, 'indigenous'[7]—were used to name the mixed-race and black people born in Angola, meaning born in the urban area and the surrounding regions somehow considered subordinated to the Portuguese colonial administration.[8]

The level of education and wealth of these people was not relevant to include or exclude them from that category; neither was the fact of being or not being landowners, traders, civil servants or farmers. We will use 'national'[9] as meaning 'sons of the country' here because it was used by the protagonists of Luanda's republican press.

'The Control of History'

It was 'easier to bump into an honorary commander of … anything than to see who was able to write two lines of prose'.[10] With those words, the 'son of the country' and journalist Pedro da Paixão Franco summarised in *História de uma Traição* (Story of a Betrayal) the dramatic situation, from an educational point of view, of Luanda's inhabitants in the late nineteenth century. Knowing how to read and write, as he said in the same passage, was 'a more privileged title than that of a baron, viscount or count'.

In 1864, there were only thirty-one state schools in the territories controlled by the Portuguese in Angola, six of them being in the district of Luanda. In the capital, the main school of primary instruction had between 100 and 200 pupils from 1840 to 1880, with a black and

mixed-race majority and a minority of whites, sons of exiles. Secondary education only became a reality in 1919.

Although only a minority of the urban elite—even fewer in the countryside—could write, this did not stop them from being obsessed with owning a press to amplify the effectiveness of their points of view. One of the first individuals to think about this matter was Joaquim António de Carvalho e Menezes, a mixed-race and almost white 'son of the country', a deputy for Angola in the General Court of Lisbon, who almost lost his life in 1842 when supposedly attempting to introduce into Angola a printing press he owned.[11]

The Portuguese trader Arcenio Pompilio Pompeu de Carpo, who was exiled to Angola in 1824, was also enthusiastic about providing an instrument of struggle in the interests of the Angolan elite. We now know that in 1849 he made an offer of a printing press, paper and ink to the government of the province, arguing that 'Angola was forgetting the most imperious necessity either of a spiritual nature or of a material interest—the periodical press'.[12] The only newspaper being published at that time was the *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Província de Angola*, and it did not fulfil the demands of the trader.

Years later, in 1856, the existence of a press less tied to the government (both in the mother country and in the overseas colonies) was made possible, but only to a very specific sector, the rich provincial elite. The editor in charge of an overseas newspaper could only be a citizen eligible as a deputy to the courts, which meant that he had to possess, among other attributes, 'an annual income of 80 thousand "réis" [the Portuguese currency at that time], gained from real estate, commerce, capital, industry or employment'.[13]

On 17 May 1866, a legal charter issued by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical and Judicial Affairs made access to the press far more democratic. Its article number 1 abolished restrictions imposed by the prevailing legislation, though it provided for the crime of abuse in the expression of thought for which the penal code established penalties ranging from three months to one year of imprisonment plus a fine. It was now possible for the Luanda elite to present their points of view, scarcely if ever revealed by the official press, and to dispute with the colonial power for the 'control over writing'—in fact, 'the control of history', as proposed by Isabel Castro Henriques.[14]

The Pioneers

The first people to carry out this task were the Portuguese António Monteiro de Castro and Julio Alfredo Cortês Mântua, both 'provisional lawyers',[15] Francisco António Pinheiro Bayão, a captain of the Portuguese army, and the Brazilian engineer Francisco Pereira Dutra,[16] in the weekly political and news publication *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*,[17] the first edition of which appeared on 6 December 1866. The newspaper considered Angola 'as Portuguese' as the 'province of Europe where we were born, and our feelings of love for them are equally sincere',[18] but its position of open opposition to slavery sealed its fate. Its founders were arrested and condemned for the crime of abuse of freedom of the press.[19]

Almost all the first Luanda newspapers were founded and run by the Portuguese and were very critical of the colonial administration, specifically about what they considered to be the authoritarianism of the Governor General. They advocated a liberal agenda for fighting the slave trade and internal slavery, for investment in education, commerce and modernisation of the colony and supported the project of Angola's colonisation. Their owners and main partners, some of them 'sons of the country', were persecuted by the local government and many of them eventually lost their jobs in the colonial administration or spent some time in jail.

The Republican Press of the 'Sons of the Country'

Republican ideas played an important role in the creation of Luanda's intellectual elite. Alfredo Margarido observes that, with the republican propaganda, 'Angolans acquired a new consciousness of their situation, attacking the social conditions created by the Portuguese government'[20] and that 'the ideal of freedom and fraternity proclaimed by republicans is accepted by intellectual Angolans as a basis for adhering to this propaganda, while it seems to favour a racial understanding by enabling the creation of legal instruments that would make this utopia of equality a reality'.[21]

The first newspaper to have a 'son of the country' as one of its founders, together with Portuguese captain Francisco Bayão, was *O Cruzeiro do Sul* (1873–1878), considered by Douglas L. Wheeler to be the first anti-status-quo and pro-republican newspaper in Angola.[22] Its owner and

editor, the mixed-race Lino Maria de Sousa Araújo, did not please the Governor General, whom he accused of despotism. Because of this, he was dismissed from his job in the custom house and prosecuted for abuse of freedom of the press in 1876.[23]

But the first newspaper to be entirely written, run and managed by Africans was *O Echo de Angola* (1881–1882). Its owner and editor was mixed-race Innocencio Mattoso da Câmara, from a traditional family in the city, and 'sons of the country' upset the authorities a great deal with their writings in this newspaper. As a result of his articles, the journalist and republican 'son of the country' João da Ressurreição Arantes Braga was condemned to 40 days in prison for instigating an uprising.[24] The punishment did not stop him; on the contrary, it encouraged him to start his own newspaper, *O Pharol do Povo* (1883–1885), which defined itself as 'truly African' and with a political orientation shown in its subtitle—'the republican newspaper'. The Governor General, Francisco Joaquim Ferreira do Amaral, was not at all pleased with the new periodical, saying that:

> In the name of the most advanced principles, it preached and preaches racial hatred, making hateful distinctions between Europeans and Africans and believing that it has the duty to spread, luckily without success, the strangest principles of rejection concerning the primitive nationality of the citizens of this province, advising them to rebel against the flag of those who gave their lives to the writers themselves, criticising without any criterion and grammar those who were their parents.[25]

The year before the foundation of *O Pharol do Povo*, another newspaper in favour of republicanism began to be published in Luanda, *O Futuro d'Angola* (1882–1894), run by mixed-race Arcenio de Carpo, son of the above-mentioned trader Arcenio Pompilio Pompeu de Carpo. In this newspaper, José de Fontes Pereira, a mixed-race lawyer and one of the main references of opposition journalism in Luanda, would publish articles favourable to Angolan independence. Articles supporting the same ideals would also be published by another republican newspaper, *O Arauto Africano* (1889–1890), owned by mixed-race Carlos da Silva. Another republican newspaper, *O Desastre* (1889–1893), was published during that period by another 'son of the country', Mamede Sant'Ana e Palma.

O Pharol do Povo

O Pharol do Povo published some of the most radical pieces in support of the independence of Angola and peoples in the interior and denouncing slave labour disguised by laws such as the decree of 21 November 1878 and its regulation of the contracts of workers and settlers in the provinces of Portuguese Africa.

O Pharol do Povo was a militant newspaper for republicanism, interpreted by its owner, Arantes Braga, as favourable to revolution and freedom, and in which one could read in almost every issue articles or transcriptions from republican Portuguese newspapers, such as the *Estandarte Republicano*, criticising the monarchy and its governments, both in the mother country and in Angola.

As early as its fifth issue, under the enigmatic title 'Bremond', *O Pharol do Povo* presented an actual pamphlet advocating Angolan independence. It called itself 'Folha Republicana' and it was not slow to state its purpose:

> We shall fight with true courage, the ardour of our beliefs, the fire of our enthusiasm and most of all for the love of liberty – so that this people, this nation, this great world of Angola, may join the ranks of civilised nations and be known for its achievements, great commerce, agriculture and industry – for a life of its own … African people unite, unite. Fight to live, to impart life to this country – this will always be our motto.[26]

The following issue presented a very systematic argument about the inevitability of the independence of the province. With the title 'Angola in the face of a century's ideal', the unsigned article, probably written by Arantes Braga, starts by saying that international law recognises that emancipation is the destiny of all colonies, as soon as they have the strength to become independent. But there is another circumstance when colonies may become independent: when the mother country has no resources to dominate them or to offer them the advantages of civilisation, as will be the case with Portugal. 'Never has heroism been so hot in our veins as today, when we are digging our own grave! For this reason, we should reject that damned mother that has been treating us as a stepmother would'.[27]

Another article signed by Arantes Braga contains unequivocal support for the Dembos uprising in 1872, described by Braga as a 'war of

emancipation'.[28] According to Fernando Gamboa, the people's upheaval in that region was caused by the collection of tithes by the Portuguese authorities since 1832 and by the arrival of settlers from Brazil for coffee and cotton cultivation in 1862. The rebellion eventually spread to the entire region between the Dande and Bengo rivers, reaching even Ambaca and Duque de Bragança (today Kalandula), and as a result the Portuguese authorities were expelled and the collection of tithes and other taxes, such as those for crossing rivers or on fishing, was abolished in the entire province. Until 1907, all white traders or traders wearing shoes were forbidden to cross the lands of the Dembos region.[29]

The newspaper had a long list of correspondents in the interior of the province, in places like Barra do Dante, Barra do Bengo, Ambriz, Zenza do Golungo, Massangano, Alto Dande, Benguela Velha and Novo Redondo.[30] This connection with the hinterland, but also with Luanda's plebeians, could be seen most vividly in the 'Publications by request' and 'Letters' sections, which published texts and letters sent by 'sons of the country' denouncing arbitrary acts by the authorities, turning *O Pharol do Povo* into a kind of mouthpiece for the oppressed.

O Futuro d'Angola

On 4 March 1882, the first issue of *O Futuro d'Angola*, owned by Arcenio de Carpo, was published. This was a republican newspaper, opposed to provincial governments, a supporter of the creation of educational institutions equivalent to those in the mother country and a fierce opponent of the denial of administrative posts to 'sons of the country' in favour of the Portuguese. It defended the interests of traders from the capital and the hinterland, who were harmed by rife corruption in Luanda's custom house and by competition with trade in Congo, where all the indigenous people in the hinterland used to go because goods were cheaper there. It advocated the extinction of the differential rights benefitting the import of Portuguese goods, which made it impossible to compete with Congo's trading market and foreign industry. It denounced racial discrimination and stood against what it considered Portugal's disastrous management of the colonies.[31]

In an article entitled 'The parliament, the government and slavery', José de Fontes Pereira denounced the sending of servants to São

Tomé.[32] In another article, Arcenio de Carpo accused the hinterland chiefs of carrying out all kinds of harassment of the people:

> Some administrators exploit blacks shamelessly. Sometimes they abuse the free man to make him work with no pay and increase their wealth. Other times, with the excuse of calling them vagrants, they get them arrested and deported, without a previous condemnation, which can only be ordered by a judicial court; or finally, under the pretext of recruitment, which in this country is made by force, these poor creatures are arrested and tortured, paying large amounts of money, so those authorities fill their pockets, which is a shame to our government.[33]

Besides the farms in São Tomé and Príncipe, the destination of many Africans hunted in the hinterland of Angola was to become part of the colonial troops in other Portuguese provinces, a practice condemned for its violence against those peoples and for causing a shortage of agricultural labour.

Angolan independence would also be one of the hottest topics in the newspaper. In 1890, Arcenio de Carpo, in his editorial 'Bitter truths', written under the impact of the British Ultimatum and the 'loss of our colonies', expressed outrage over the persecution of the republicans in the mother country and concluded that 'under this sad condition the best will be to abandon the colonies and let them be emancipated'.[34]

It is possible to detect in the pages of *O Futuro d'Angola* how at least one sector of the elite of the 'sons of the country' looked at the hinterland peoples, considered uncultured and uncivilised. In many cases, they aligned themselves with the Portuguese in the war against those living far away but were very cautious with those living near. Concerning the War of Bié, for example, undertaken by Governor General Guilherme Augusto de Brito Capelo in 1890,[35] the newspaper considered reinforcements for the Portuguese army to be necessary.[36] The same war-like attitude was adopted in the war against the 'biafares' from Jabadá, in Guinea.

But when the matter was to reduce the power of 'sobas', the situation was altogether different. 'The opinion issued about reducing the power of "sobas" or "régulos" (chieftains with lower status) is nothing more than an opinion, because the reality of a measure like this would be sufficient to write the second volume of São Domingos' history. The hinterland peoples from the province are not as rude as they appear, and an

example is the great power of the Dembos, which has followed a republican regime since independence was proclaimed 10 years ago.[37]

Arauto Africano

The *Arauto Africano* belonged to the 'son of the country' Carlos da Silva, but the name associated with the newspaper was José de Fontes Pereira, in one episode that signalled the fracture between one intellectual sector of the 'sons of the country' and Portugal and was even a watershed in the heart of republicanism. This was the famous article by that journalist when the British Ultimatum was announced, entitled 'Colonial Party', in which he describes the Portuguese state as a 'bandits' cave' and appeals to the British to deal directly with the inhabitants, and not with the Portuguese:

> It is no wonder that foreigners, knowledgeable of all this, seek to take over Portuguese lands still kept in the state of nature, and take advantage of them to cultivate them and to civilise the aboriginal peoples, making them useful citizens to themselves and to the rest of humanity. On our part, we would advise those foreigners not to waste time in Europe discussing what is more convenient to them in Africa; it would be enough for them to approach the inhabitants, as natural owners of their lands, and make all kinds of trading treaties and mutual protection with them, because it is proved that one can expect nothing from Portugal except tricks and the iron of slavery, the only elements Portugal has to better brutalise and subjugate the indigenous![38]

The fury unleashed by this article forced the *Arauto Africano* to change its name to *O Polícia Africano*, so that its editor-in-chief could continue his journalistic work. José de Fontes Pereira was sued by the government, lost his job and probably never wrote again after this incident.[39] He died soon afterwards, supposedly due to 'journalistic nostalgia', according to the 'son of the country' and poet Joaquim Dias Cordeiro da Matta.[40]

O Desastre

After being a correspondent for *O Pharol do Povo* in Barra do Dante, mixed-race Mamede de Sant'Ana e Palma tried a more audacious

venture when he decided to start his own newspaper, suggestively called *O Desastre*. His alleged independence of character could then be proven, as he resigned willingly from the Junta de Fazenda (equivalent to the local treasury department), maybe to avoid the connection with the provincial government affecting his editorial freedom.[41]

In the first issue of *O Desastre*, Mamede begins by clarifying his 'political faith':

> We are pro-republicans because it is the political party which our convictions, our reasoning and our natural logic compel us to affiliate with, despite the alleged uncertainty of its triumph; and if one day we will suffer for it, we will live happily clinging to the cross of misery, until some charitable souls will give us alms.[42]

In that same article, he put forward the newspaper's programme, which comprised extinction of racial hatred, investment in education, improvements in the province's counties, civilising missions in all counties, the building of churches and houses for schools, courts and public administration, low taxes and high expenditure of public funds, protection of commerce, agriculture and industry. To conclude the programme, the newspaper also claimed 'equality of rights and duties, having in mind the Latin proverb: "nos quoque gens sumus" [we too are a people]'.

The Portuguese Republican Press in Angola

Republicanism did not express itself identically in the Luanda press. Some issues divided republican newspapers. One was the racial question, which was interpreted differently according to whether the owner was a 'son of the country' or a Portuguese. A 'son of the country' would defend racial equality, while a Portuguese, openly or in a subtle way and depending on the newspaper, would defend theses legitimating white supremacy. A further issue not consensual between the 'sons of the country' and Portuguese republicans was Angolan independence. As we have already seen, the newspapers owned by the 'sons of the country' used to publish articles favourable towards independence, while those controlled by the Portuguese censored it and regarded it as a potential danger to the Portuguese colonising action.

The opinions expressed in the republican newspapers run by Portuguese about the racial question reflected the various subtleties of

the same colonial ideological mould which pointed out the physical differences—especially the colour of the skin—and the cultural ones as an indication of inferiority or superiority of peoples. White Europeans were at the top of the human pyramid, and black Africans at the bottom. 'The Enlightenment and the development of modern science led to the first theories about the ranking of human beings'.[43] These theories provided the scientific and philosophical basis on which to justify the imperialistic colonisation in Africa, Asia and America as a humanistic project that aimed to civilise their peoples.[44]

The Portuguese supporters of republicanism in Angola were involved with the colonial project, and absorbed and spread these convenient theories about the human hierarchy. The same apparently did not happen to at least part of the republicanism of 'the sons of the country'. Although they considered European culture superior to that of African peoples and defended the necessity to 'civilise' the latter, they rejected any link between cultural and racial inferiority. The fact that they were blacks or of mixed race themselves, however distant they were from African culture, was a conditioning factor of that rejection. They could try to reject the culture of their ancestors but they were not able or did not want to deny their African origin.

In a long article published in *A Verdade* (1882–1888), the owner, the Portuguese Alfredo Mântua, concluded that the difference between the two races was in 'the bigger or smaller facial angle opening, the bigger or smaller amount of encephalic mass, the bigger or smaller cranium, the volume of the brain circumvolutions', showing that 'the black race is really inferior to the white one'.[45]

In 1893 another republican newspaper, *A Província* (1893–1894), reintroduced the debate about race to Luanda's press, with several articles unashamedly revealing what they thought of and wanted from Africans: 'the black is not poor, in reality he is lazy by nature and education'; 'it is said that blacks are poor, that they cannot be compelled to be subordinated to the demands of the refined European civilisation! It is as if we wanted them to study the fine arts or the sciences! No, no sir! We want blacks to work'.[46] *A Província* was not an ordinary kind of newspaper. Some of the most important republicans used to write there, such as João Chagas, a future prime minister of the First Republic, who published there 'Diário de um Condenado Politico' (Diary of a Political Convict) and the newspaper column 'Cintilações' (Scintillations). Its founder was

the Portuguese Lieutenant Manuel Maria Coelho (1857–1943), during his period in exile in Luanda, who would become Governor General of Angola (1911–1912). He founded *A Província* during Luanda's decadent period, after the failed attempt of a military coup on 31 January 1891, in Oporto, in which he was one of the leaders.

Among the republican newspapers run by the Portuguese, *A Defeza de Angola* (1903–1907) presented the most consistent colonial project. Its editor-in-chief was the journalist José de Macedo, appointed by Sebastião de Magalhães Lima—a leader of the Portuguese Partido Republicano (Republican Party) and soon to be grand-master of the masonic Grande Oriente Lusitano (Great Lusitania Orient)—at the request of the Portuguese Club in Luanda.[47] José de Macedo and his newspaper were in favour of the administrative and financial autonomy of Angola and against the heavy taxes levied by the mother country, which were supposedly responsible for destroying the provincial industry, commerce and agriculture.

Autonomy would have the additional advantage—quite useful, according to the notes of this Portuguese republican—of being able to promote a 'friendly conciliation of interests', a kind of agreement among the colony's inhabitants. 'Because it is important that it be known, that it be said quite loudly: in Angola there is a separatist current, though not very powerful, but anyway latent'.[48]

Conclusion

Republican ideas[49] received a particular welcome in Luanda. They simultaneously expressed the Africans' political, economic and cultural connection to Portugal and their passport for building a nationalist thinking. Their ambiguity and vast internal differentiation cannot hide the fact that the call for independence was recorded with greater or lesser intensity by the republican press, pamphlets or small books by the 'sons of the country', such as the *Voz de Angola Clamando no Deserto*,[50] until the beginning of the new century. The constancy of that call indicates a considerable current of opinion in favour of the independence of the territories which then comprised Angola, comprising the areas around Luanda and Benguela. This current of opinion was formed by 'sons of the country' led by republican supporters. The reasons for that call are made abundantly explicit in these newspapers and may be summarised by the dissatisfaction caused by their growing marginalisation in the economic, social and political life of Angola.

While reading these 'sons of the country' republican newspapers, we can identify the attempt to create an Angolan national identity. In one letter sent to *O Futuro d'Angola*, João Ignácio de Pinho defended the need to teach Kimbundu in a polemic with his colleague José de Fontes Pereira: 'The knowledge of the language of a people is like a picture in which, with time, one can paint some main traces of that people's way of living, with their rituals, habits, practices and customs, dogmas, popular superstitions, religious beliefs, philosophy, legislation, history, etc'.[51] In this letter he also clarifies who are the Angolans, not restricting them to the capitals of the colonial district:

> The Angolan people are not only the sons and daughters of Luanda, they are also Angolans born in Ambaca, Capele, Cacullo-Cacabaça, Cacullo-Cabu, Gonguembo, Bumba-Aquimbundo, Gola-Guimbe, Lucala-Luassamba and in Ginga, whose people are the ones who accompanied the Queen of Angola Ginga-Bande when she was expelled from here by the Portuguese, as the tradition says; and, though they are not civilised, they still keep not only the roots of the words of our language, but also our nation's history, that they call 'dilunda'.[52]

This 'son of the country' claims the African language should therefore be studied not to facilitate communication between the coloniser and the 'savages', as was commonly held, but as a way to discover and protect Angolan culture. Angolans, on the other hand, would be not only the sons and daughters of Luanda, but also those who were not civilised but spoke Kimbundu and kept alive the history of the 'nation'.[53]

The importance of that republican press belonging to the 'sons of the country' and the fear it brought, including among Portuguese republicans, can be demonstrated by two indicators. The first was the repression against it and its journalists by legislation approved for that purpose by the mother country since the mid-1890s. A decree on 26 November 1896 included any type of printed material as liable to commit the crime of abuse of freedom of the press.[54] The few newspapers which resisted it, such as the *Propaganda Colonial*, a title invented by Arcenio de Carpo to replace the *Futuro d'Angola*, were seized.[55] Two years later, a new decree, on 11 August 1898, made the situation of the press in Angola more difficult by determining that trials relating to crimes of abuse of freedom of the press should be speeded up so that 'criminals' were not left unpunished.[56] The repression of the press showed that the colonial

government was not willing to tolerate criticism from the 'sons of the country' of its acts, and it is no coincidence that it did this a few years before beginning the most violent period of occupation of the province. The result—designed and obtained—was the almost total silencing of anti-colonial journalism. The second indicator was the fact that republicans appointed two Portuguese to run their new newspapers in Luanda (*A Defeza de Angola* and *Voz de Angola*), founded before 1910, and did not entrust that task to the 'sons of the country', until then in charge of most newspapers which in the 1880s and 1890s had fought the monarchy. Monarchist and republican supporters had in common the defence of an essentially similar colonial project and they could not allow, when the project was starting to gain coherence, the permanence of an independent journalism which challenged it all the time, kept fraternal relations with the hinterland and the 'sobas' and supported, even in a contradictory way, Angolan independence.

Notes

1. This number represents half of the total of mixed-raced people living in the cities of Luanda and Benguela and their respective hinterlands. See J.R. Dias, 'Uma Questão de Identidade: Respostas Intelectuais às Transformações Económicas no Seio da Elite Crioula da Angola Portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930', *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 1 (January/June 1984), p. 65.
2. F.A.A. Mourão, 'Configurações dos Núcleos Humanos de Luanda do Século XVI ao Século XX', in *Actas do Seminário Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), p. 119.
3. J.R. Dias, 'Angola', in J. Dias and V. Alexandre (eds.), *O Império Africano 1825–1890* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1998), p. 349.
4. J. de C. Lopo, *Jornalismo de Angola. Subsídios para a sua História* (Luanda: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, 1964), pp. 56–58.
5. J.R. Dias, 'Uma Questão de Identidade: Respostas Intelectuais às Transformações Económicas no Seio da Elite Crioula da Angola Portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930', pp. 61–66.
6. *O Desastre*, 17, 7 May 1893.
7. Ibid.; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 1, 4 March 1882: *O Futuro d'Angola*, 6, 8 April 1882; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 9, 29 April 1882; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 13, 1 June 1882; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 15, 26 June 1882; *O Futuro d'Angola* 34, 5 June 1886; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 142, 26 January 1890; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 149, 6 July 1890; *O Futuro d'Angola*, 206, 14 June 1894; *O Pharol do Povo*, 6, 17 March 1883; *O Pharol do Povo*, 112, 28 March 1885.

8. In the newspapers run by the 'sons of the country', the Africans who lived outside the area considered to be under Portuguese jurisdiction were not called 'sons of the country', but 'Africans' or 'gentiles'. This way, they used to claim and dispute the area considered Portuguese as their own territory, 'national', from the Angolan 'sons of the country'.
9. A working hypothesis to understand the 'nationalism' of the 'sons of the country' can be found in B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London/New York: Verso, 2006, pp. 4–7), who defines it as an 'imagined political community', or in E. Renan *apud* A.D. Smith, 'Nationalism and the Historians', in G. Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation* (London: Verso, 1996, p. 178), who interprets it as a 'great solidarity'.
10. P. da P. Franco, *História de uma Traição* (Oporto: Livraria Moreira, 1911), p. 118 *apud* C. Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira: O Homem e a sua Época* (Luanda: União dos Escritores Angolanos, 1990), p. 117.
11. M.A.F. de Oliveira, *A Formação da Literatura Angolana (1851–1950)* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisbon, 1985), p. 24.
12. I.C. Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1997), p. 528.
13. *Diário do Governo*, 98, 24 April 1838, Constituição, Ch. V, Art. 72.
14. I.C. Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX,* pp. 83–85.
15. Lawyers without academic training in the law.
16. J. de C. Lopo, *Dois Brasileiros na Capital de Angola* (Luanda: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, 1962), p. 11.
17. The *Almanak Statistico da Província d'Angola e suas Dependencias* was published earlier, in 1852, possibly as only one edition; and *Aurora*, in 1856, exclusively about literature and recreational purpose, whose founders belonged to the general government. Cited in J. de C. Lopo, *Jornalismo de Angola. Subsídios para a sua História,* pp. 19–20.
18. *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, 1, 6 December 1866, quoted in J.M. Guimarães, *A Difusão do Nativismo em África: Cabo Verde e Angola* (Lisbon: África Debate, 2006), p. 372.
19. J. de C. Lopo, *Dois Brasileiros na Capital de Angola,* p. 13.
20. A. Margarido, *Estudos sobre Literaturas das Nações Africanas de Língua Portuguesa* (Lisbon: A Regra do Jogo, 1980), pp. 332–333.
21. Ibid.
22. D.L. Wheeler, 'Origins of African Nationalism in Angola: Assimilado Protest Writings, 1859–1929', in R.H. Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil: Comparative Studies* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), p. 72.

23. J.M. Guimarães, *A Difusão do Nativismo em África: Cabo Verde e Angola*, p. 280.
24. J. Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Proto-Nationalism, 1870–1920* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), p. 172.
25. *Angolana. Documentação sobre Angola* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos; Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1968), pp. 678–681.
26. 'Bremond', *O Pharol do Povo*, 5, 10 March 1883, p. 1; the following issue would explain that, due to a typographical error, the signature was printed instead of the title; the correct title should have been 'Portugal and Angola fighting', and it should have been signed 'Bremond'.
27. 'Angola perante a Idêa do Seculo', *O Pharol do Povo*, 6, 17 March 1883, p. 1.
28. J. da R.A. Braga, 'O Credo do sr. Pedro Felix, Conhecido por Pe Felix Aniquilado pelo sr. Vieira de Castro', *O Pharol do Povo*, 10, 14 April 1883, p. 1.
29. F. Gamboa, 'A Guerra Luso-Dêmbica, através de um Periódico Oitocentista Angolense (1872–1885)', in *Actas do Seminário Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), pp. 88–89.
30. *O Pharol do Povo*, 12, 28 April 1883, p. 1.
31. 'Ao Ex.mo Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar', *O Futuro d'Angola*, 31, 15 May 1886, p. 1.
32. J. de F. Pereira, 'O Parlamento, o Governo e a Escravatura', *O Futuro d'Angola*, 16, 6 July 1882, pp. 1–2.
33. 'Governador Geral d'Angola', *O Futuro d'Angola*, 29, 30 April 1886, p. 1.
34. 'Verdades Amargas', *O Futuro d'Angola*, 147, 26 May 1890, p. 1.
35. Supposedly with the purpose of penetrating the plateau of the Ovimbundos and occupying the rubber redistribution centres, to open the way to the 'rose-coloured map'. See R. Pélissier, *História das Campanhas de Angola: Resistência e Revoltas (1845–1941)* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1986), p. 215.
36. 'A Guerra Luzo-Africo', *O Futuro d'Angola*, 149, 6 July 1890, p. 1.
37. 'Boletim para o Reino', *O Futuro d'Angola*, 3, 18 March 1882, p. 1.
38. J.F. de Pereira, 'Partido Colonial', *Arauto Africano*, 34, 20 January 1890, p. 1.
39. D.L. Wheeler, 'Origins of African Nationalism in Angola: Assimilado Protest Writings, 1859–1929', p. 76.
40. J.D.C. da Matta, 'À Memória de José de Fontes Pereira', in *Novo Almanach de Lembranças Luso Brasileiro* (Lisbon: Livraria António Maria Pereira, 1894), p. 419, cited in Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Proto-Nationalism, 1870–1920*, p. 129.

41. J.M. Guimarães, *A Difusão do Nativismo em África: Cabo Verde e Angola*, p. 280.
42. M. de S. e Palma, 'A Nossa Fé Política', *O Desastre*, 1, 30 September 1889, p. 1.
43. R. Cabecinhas, 'Racismo e Xenofobia. A Actualidade de uma Velha Questão', *Comunicación e Cidadanía*, 6 (2008), p. 165.
44. M.B. Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: A 'Missão Civilizadora' do Colonialismo Português* (*c. 1870–1930)* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2010).
45. A. Mântua, 'A Inveja', *A Verdade*, 54, 13 August 1888, p. 1.
46. *A Província*, 8, *apud Voz de Angola Clamando no Deserto* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1984 [1901]), pp. 148–152.
47. J. de C. Lopo, *Jornalismo de Angola. Subsídios para a sua História*, p. 55.
48. J. de Macedo, *Autonomia de Angola* (Lisbon: Litografia Tejo, 1988 [1910]), p. 83.
49. The expression 'republican ideas' refers to several currents of thought opposing the monarchy and supporting a republic in Portugal, even before the creation of the Portuguese Republican Party (PRP), in 1876, considered by many historians as a 'political fiction', in that it reunited a myriad political sensibilities. See M.A. Samara, 'O Republicanismo', in F. Rosas and M.F. Rollo (eds.), *História da Primeira República Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2010), pp. 62–64.
50. *Voz d'Angola Clamando no Deserto. Offerecida aos Amigos da Verdade pelos Naturaes* was a booklet of texts by Luandan 'sons of the country' intellectuals to protest against a racist article published in the *Gazeta de Loanda*, 4, 26 March 1901.
51. *O Futuro d'Angola*, 30, 8 May 1886, pp. 3–4. About the initiatives taken by the 'sons of the country' to preserve the Kimbundu language, see J.D.C. da Matta, *Ensaio de Diccionário Kimbúndu-Portuguez* (Lisbon: Casa Editora António Maria Pereira, 1893).
52. Ibid.
53. On the debate about the origin of Angolan nationalism, see E. Bonavena, 'As Origens do Nacionalismo Africano (Leitura Crítica de Mário Pinto de Andrade)', in *Mário Pinto de Andrade. Um Intelectual na Política* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2000), pp. 181–195.
54. *Diário do Governo*, 271, 28 November 1896.
55. J. Corrado, *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Proto-Nationalism, 1870–1920*, pp. 178–179.
56. *Collecção de Decretos Promulgados pelo Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1899), pp. 260–261.

The First Stirrings of Anti-Colonial Discourse in the Portuguese Press

José Luís Garcia

Mário Domingues, an Afro-Portuguese journalist and a mulatto, just turned 23, who was also taking his first steps as a writer, wrote the following words in an article 'O Ideal da Independência' (The Ideal of Independence) published on 5 July 1922, in the daily *A Batalha*:

> No one has yet the courage to come out into the open, in the clear light of day, subjecting himself to all the dangers that the proclamation of the truth may bring about, to say clearly that separatism has established itself firmly in the heart and mind of the negro, who is enslaved and vexed by an iniquitous colonisation. Well, let us state it ourselves, let us say it out loud!
>
> Only an ideal of independence can effectively stand up to the infamies perpetrated by white despotism in Africa.
>
> Liberty is not given, it is conquered. Let the negroes conquer it!

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> Do negroes have the right to independence or don't they? They do. How to achieve it? By fighting. So let that struggle be full of courage, boldness, unity! Courage and boldness to assert its ideals; unity and solidarity in its protests and its demands.

These were the first words in imperial Portugal to make an argument in favour of independence for Africa, in a coherent, public form, in a large-circulation publication. The article is part of a vast legacy of writings reflecting political and moral opposition to the colonialism of the third largest empire at the time and putting forward anticipatory arguments in favour of African independence as the first colonial struggles were starting. Keeping in touch with news reaching Portugal on negro movements in the USA and the work of figures like W.E. Burghardt Du Bois and others, Domingues emerged, particularly during the 1920s, as a journalist and publicist who was tireless and fierce in denouncing the racial violence of Portuguese colonialism and in dismantling the ideological and cultural forms of Portuguese and Western imperial domination. In addition to the significant role in public life which he fulfilled between the ages of 20 and 33, the body of his journalism, literary writing and essays, from this and later periods, is a source of rare and valuable knowledge on concrete events which relate not only to colonial policy and the specific countenance of Portuguese colonialism, but also to the African cause and negro identity.

Domingues was born in Africa, on the island of Príncipe, on 3 July 1899, in a *roça*[1] called Infante D. Henrique, owned by a Portugal-based company. He was the son of a white Portuguese working in this *roça* and a negro woman, who had been transported from Angola to work in conditions of near-slavery. He arrived in Lisbon at the age of 18 months, to be brought up by his paternal grandparents in a middle-class environment and get a better education. He had no further contact with his mother, believing her dead for many years, because of false information given to him by the only relatives he knew. He grew up in Lisbon, in a family setting which he praised on numerous occasions, and completed the commerce course in the former French school, starting his working life as an assistant book-keeper and French and English correspondent. Very early on, he was attracted by literature, the arts and journalism, and wrote his first newspaper article at 19, regularly publishing stories and articles in *A Batalha*. This was the start of a career of almost two decades in the daily and weekly press, one which until the mid-1920s involved, in this anarchist daily, a clear social and political militancy, evident in the series of articles he published on Portuguese colonisation in Africa. He

also wrote articles, stories and reportage for other publications (including journals), many of them bearing on topics and themes which echoed his concerns and his status as a negro. In the many articles he wrote and in the various publishing ventures he organised or became involved in, he revealed an extraordinary capacity for bringing the problems of colonised communities into the mainstream of intellectual and political discourse, with a commitment which provided a voice for the visions, values and behaviours of other sectors of the so-called subaltern classes.

A multi-faceted character in his work, and living through dramatic times, he stands out from the political history of Africans in Portugal in the twentieth century by reason of his intellectual work, which preceded the generation that arrived in Lisbon in the following decades and became the founders of the independence movements in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde, with which his son—the painter António Pimentel Domingues, one of the founders of the Lisbon Surrealist Group—had significant contact. Domingues died in 1977, which means he saw the fall of the dictatorship and the turbulent end of empire as a result of the 'carnation revolution' of 1974, brought on by the attrition of the colonial war which had begun in 1961. For the whole of his life, therefore, the colonial question remained a key issue in Portuguese politics.

Since Domingues' work is vast and multi-faceted, this article discusses a group of writings published between 1919 and 1922 in *A Batalha*. These writings reveal three positions: a systematic and reasoned opposition to dissembled forms of slavery, which persisted under the euphemistic label of forced labour, in the former African colonies; the denunciation of the racist ideology which governed colonisation and permeated Portuguese society and institutions; and an early concern with the importance of African independence.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, Lisbon was one of the European capitals with the largest African populations (which had been significant since the fifteenth century[2]) and its monarchy, overthrown in 1910, had given way to the first European liberal republic proclaimed in the twentieth century. The wave of working-class rebellions in Europe was shaking up the backward Portuguese economy, and the Portuguese empire, dependent on a small power, was becoming increasingly vulnerable, in the 1920s in particular, as a result of pressure from the League of Nations and the very indeterminacy of the colonial project. Portuguese nationalist ideology, which was shared by many different tendencies, was based on a vision of the colonial mission as the nation's historic vocation and destiny, with preservation of the empire being regarded as the essential condition for the country's security and independence.[3]

The Opposition to Portuguese Colonialism and the Defence of the Rights of African Negroes

On 9 September 1919 Domingues published an article entitled 'Colonização' (Colonisation) in *A Batalha*, and thereby began in the Lisbon daily his political and moral opposition to colonialism. This was the first of his political and critical articles to reach a public audience. Domingues was encouraged to set out on his task by the bravery of negroes' riots for their rights in the USA. He began by mentioning these events to express regret at Europe's lack of interest in the demands which 'are coming across the Atlantic' and which 'are giving the Americans things to do'. He wrote on the North American negro population:

> Former slaves, released at a time when scientific development was taking enormous strides, negroes educated themselves, saw how iniquitous American society was for them, understood what their rights were – equal to those of whites, and, as long as they do not achieve those rights, the riots will not cease and blood will continue to run in the streets.

He saw a 'tremendous analogy' between 'the struggle of blacks deprived of their rights against the whites who deny those rights to them, and the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie which has cheated them'. He floated a rationale for European lack of interest in the racial conflicts in the USA: 'speaking of blacks and whites involves speaking of colonisation, and colonisation, even today cannot be translated as anything other than one word—a crime'.

Evoking the condition of the negro population of the USA, he criticised the process of colonisation and the way the so-called Western civilising mission treated negroes: 'In the name of bringing civilisation to primitive peoples, governments of a civilised country take them the guns which kill and the trade which cheats them. If this is colonisation, then it is undoubtedly a crime.' Having attacked the violence of colonialism in general, Domingues then turned his attention to Portuguese colonisation. His purpose was to start a revision of official history, his tone was ironic, and the style vigorous, incisive and characteristic of partisan press. He wrote of the effects of 500 years of the Portuguese presence in Africa, and of their 'highly commendable deeds': instead of teaching Africans to read, they gave them alcohol and disease, and transformed them into 'civilised rags'.

For the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe,[4] he berated the transport of tens of thousands of Africans from other lands—recall that his own mother suffered this fate—to become forced labourers on the *fazendas* (plantations) (they grew the cocoa exported to European chocolate factories), the corporal punishment, the exploitation, the pursuit (of runaways), and the illiteracy, but not before warning of the inevitability of the facts coming to light: 'The truth has been suppressed and withheld; but the truth will come out, no matter who tells it, it will see the light of day.' The situation in those islands led him to accuse the colonisers (of being 'thieves, vulgar criminals on the loose') before concluding the article with a question which reiterated his initial enquiry: 'Did I not say that to speak of blacks and whites implied speaking of colonisation and that colonisation means crime?'.

'Colonisation' shows us some of the features and elements which typically characterise the form and content of Domingues' writing and political journalism. There is a constant critique of colonisation, the reference to slavery and forced labour, to violence, the stress on the affinities between the negroes' and the workers' struggles, the awareness of the press' role in publicising these facts, his civic commitment but also his alignment with a particular view of history.

Until the end of 1919, Domingues wrote narrative tales and stories and did some art criticism (he was an indefatigable supporter of modernist trends), but he did not revisit colonisation and the African condition. And so it continued for almost the whole of 1920. But *A Batalha* nevertheless carried on reporting on the situation in the African colonies in several small articles, in particular in one entitled 'Não há Escravatura' (There is no slavery), published on 26 December. It is unsigned, but the style of the writing and the subject matter lead us to believe that this anonymous article is by Domingues.

The article's leitmotiv was a denial, by the Governor of São Tomé to the Ministry for the colonies, that there was slavery on that island. This refutation brought from our author a vehement attack on the system of servitude and 'the inhuman way in which negroes were treated in São Tomé'. The article also revealed attempts to bribe into silence those who undertook 'campaigns against slavery', a slavery which had already been abolished, but only in theory and in law. In fact, the Portuguese authorities had developed a model of labour recruitment and imposed a universal system of native labour which, despite its legal framework, perpetuated slavers' practices in the Portuguese colonies.[5]

In this article, São Tomé was portrayed as the most prosperous of Portugal's colonial possessions, a place to which numerous illiterates went from metropolitan Portugal and then returned 'with thick gold chains cluttered with trinkets', a condition which once again provoked a satirical comment: 'Of course there is no slavery. The illiterates miraculously became rich, and the beatings are mere incidents …' The comparison between the former slavery and the system of subjugation which succeeded it is as follows: 'Formerly, not many years ago, when the plantation owner wanted labour to work the land for him—he bought it. He ordered the number of men he needed, usually from Angola, and paid a certain amount for them. That is buying people, that is slavery.' The British campaign against slavery in São Tomé was described thus: 'The British spread the rumour that slavery was being practised in São Tomé, and that Portuguese cocoa was therefore *slave cocoa*—not for humanitarian reasons, but because São Tomé cocoa was competing against them.'

It should be noted that the abolitionist political tendency in Britain had been gaining ground since roughly the last decade and a half of the eighteenth century, reflecting a situation which combined a greater volume of British slave-trading and arguments in favour of its universal suppression. There were nonetheless several who were opposed to the banning of the slave trade, fearing that various nations, in particular Portugal, would rapidly move to take advantage of the withdrawal of English slavers from the coasts of Africa. Hence the systematic pressure exerted by British abolitionists, as João Pedro Marques observes in a summary of this process, on other colonial governments to outlaw the practice of slavery, availing themselves of moral pressure on the so-called barbarous nations by exploiting feelings of humiliation and indignation.[6] The Portuguese authorities, however, persisted in their denials of accusations that they were protecting and inciting slavery and the slave trade, accusations they regarded as shameful, leading them to reiterate, by contrast, the civilising virtues of Portuguese colonialism. The so-called slave cocoa of São Tomé and Príncipe did in fact become an important issue in international accusations against Portugal for the way it was using 'native' labour, and a typical example of the type of response developed by the Portuguese authorities using the rhetoric of the 'civilising mission' of Portuguese colonialism.[7]

In the same article, Domingues wrote that the plantation owners of São Tomé were indignant at the accusations of the British and that Portuguese 'hearts began beating patriotically'. The word 'slavery' was

replaced by another, 'more sentimental one, which did not alter the facts, but distorted them in the eyes of those who were far away': 'rescue' was thus the new word adopted to describe the slave trade. The journalist rebelled at this play on words, which was an attempt to hide the fact of servitude, given that his purpose was to reveal, behind this juggling with the vocabulary, 'whether man is given the consideration which man deserves; if the work of the tireless worker is recognised and justly rewarded'. What he did here was therefore to set out a concern with the effectiveness of the human condition as equal and universal. Starting from the assumption that 'neither is the São Tomé *serviçal*[8] treated considerately, nor is he properly paid for his work', the author argued, in stubborn opposition to the preachings of the São Tomé governor, that 'this, as far as we are concerned, is slavery', a sentence which served as the headline for the article.

The article goes on to dismantle the fallacy behind the contractual mechanisms which benefited the planter-contractor to the detriment of the *serviçal*, inasmuch as the contract term, set at four years, often ended without the workers, the negroes, who were here described as 'illiterate, naïve and ignorant', being aware of the fact. While on the one hand the negro, worn out by the miseries of expatriation, was at the mercy of the planter's power, he was on the other hand taken in by the planter's gifts of brandy and cloth, which the negroes used to cover themselves, and this put them in a position of alienation vis-à-vis the boss, who nonetheless exploited them. Thus a system of abuse and victimisation of the negro was perpetuated. When, in different circumstances, the negro demanded his repatriation at the end of his contract, 'his contract, by we know not what magic arts, happens to be renewed'. And some *curadores*,[9] appointed to look after negro interests, ended up collaborating in these abuses, corrupted as they were by the planters' hand-outs. The remainder, who did not cooperate in such villainous practices, were a nuisance and, consequently, 'traders and planters find ways of getting rid of them'.

The negro's status as subaltern is a constant throughout the article, which stresses how hard the work was performed in an inhospitable climate, in which the negro, who was systematically undernourished, toiled 'from six in the morning to six in the afternoon', to save a mere three *escudos* per month. There was clearly massive exploitation of native labour while, in contrast, Europeans populated and worked in restricted areas where the particular climate allowed it. Having described the

adverse living and working conditions to which negroes were systematically subjected, the author asked the governor of São Tomé, who had categorically rejected the existence of slavery, to 'tell us by what name we should call *that* which is going on in São Tomé'.

The international debate on native labour in the colonial possessions is the main topic of several unsigned articles in *A Batalha*.[10] But during this time Domingues' by-line reappeared in two articles devoted to the problems of differences, which today we call ethnic differences and which at the time were covered by the notion of 'race': 'Cousas de estarrecer. "O formoso Jardim"' (Of terrifying things. "The beautiful garden"), dated 29 March 1921, 'A questão de raças' (The question of races), dated 4 May 1921.

The first article was an ironic riposte to an other one in the newspaper *Pátria*, in which Lisbon was described using the metaphor of a 'beautiful garden', in which thrived 'nettles bristling with thorns'—the negroes, who 'are born at the roadside and take advantage of the gardener's carelessness to invade the flowerbeds'. Domingues adopted the symbolic language of the *Pátria* writer to question his assumptions of racial discrimination. What was at stake in the differences between the flowers was 'racial difference'. The city of Lisbon was indeed a 'garden full of flowers', but not all its flora was made up of 'beautiful flowers', it also contained weeds, 'an unpleasant stain, an ugly smudge in the middle of this brightly colourful and sweet-smelling garden'. Just as weeds were not naturally part of that garden, neither were the negroes naturally citizens of Lisbon. Domingues highlighted the tensions between universal principles and statements of a hierarchical order of humanity based on racial, ethnic and cultural criteria; he deconstructed the vocabulary riddled with racist assumptions on the differences between the races or the value of different cultures. As a negro, he wrote:

> I do not have the ability to be a flower; this is the same as saying that I do not have the psychic aptitude to be a man. The consideration which I have enjoyed has been a favour done to me by other flowers, it is due to the 'kindness' and 'gentleness' of civilised men. When I expressed pride in being a person, I offended the whites, those who are genuinely people.

Domingues said he had finally understood that he enjoyed the prerogatives of European civilisation—working night and day, commanding white soldiers to maltreat negroes in Africa, condemning whites to exile in the African continent and stepping out with a white female companion

without 'anyone maltreating him'—thanks to the 'infinite kindness of the Portuguese rulers'. This was despite the fact they knew beforehand that 'there was a fundamental difference between blacks and whites, an abyss which cannot be crossed': the 'blacks' were 'absolutely unfit to grasp the moral content of (European) civilisation'. Portugal thus deserved to be thanked by the 'black', that 'animal who in the hierarchy of mammals is not quite a man'. That 'tiny being' must be grateful to Portugal, 'a civilised nation [which makes] laws which correct these life's imperfections. Now I see that I, not being a person, have enjoyed all the pleasures it is given to people to enjoy.' Now he knew he was unable to absorb the 'moral content of civilisation', was not deserving of 'so much consideration', of being 'incapable of acting as a human being', Domingues laid down a challenge—or did he swear?—to act henceforth like a nettle: 'I will torment the representatives of civilisation with my sharp thorns. I will forever be an ugly stain spoiling the beautiful setting of this perfumed garden.' Domingues thus reveals an extraordinary anticipatory ability to question a form of power which operated both in the familiar notion of 'colonialism' as political and economic dominion—and in terms of identity and sociability, which leads to the concept of 'coloniality'.[11]

Increasingly, in public opinion in Portugal, Domingues' articles were becoming barbs directed at the rhetoric of the 'civilising mission' of Portuguese colonialism. In 'The Question of Races', he mentioned the bloody events which had taken place when public servants and workers had gone on strike the previous month in São Tomé. In this article, Domingues argued that ethnic questions were part of the social question and that 'once the latter has been solved, the others will also be resolved'. Domingues' thought was permeated with the viewpoint of anarchism, which saw in the working class the engine of destruction of the state and of the capitalist economic system. He was not yet claiming independence for Africa. The friends of the negro workers were not to be found among 'capitalist negroes' whose only intent was to replace the 'dominion of European capitalism with the dominion of negro capitalism'. From an anarchist ideological perspective, he argued that the abolition of capital would lead to the elimination of inequalities of all sorts. The working class, allied to negro organisations, would ensure the success of race demands. 'Only the workers of all colours and all races, closely united, are able to destroy the common enemy—the black, yellow, white or red

bourgeoisie.' The 'questions of race' would be resolved as part of the 'struggles of the workers of the world against the whole world's bourgeoisie'.

Against the backdrop of the repercussions of the Spanish defeat at the battle of Annual[12] at the hands of African fighters in the Rif region, Domingues published in the weekly *Imprensa Livre* a set of articles 'A Traição dos Negros' (The Betrayal of the Negroes) (28 July 1921), 'La Eterna Traición' (The Eternal Betrayal) (11 August 1921), 'O Perigo Negro' (The Black Danger) (16 August 1921) in which he invented the fictional character of a patriot and lover of the 'republic, of authority, and of order', the 'fat' and 'flabby' Anastacio, 'an enthusiastic Francophile', who embodied the prototype of the Portuguese racist and represented the way in which the 'civilising mission' had become a permanent justification, able to grant legitimacy to Portuguese colonisation in Africa, which should be seen, using the words of Jerónimo, as 'the elixir and surety for the moralisation of colonial contexts'.[13] For Anastacio, the negro represented evil. The negro was the archetype of base values, in this particular case betrayal, which dictated the misfortune of the Spanish nation.

In 'The Betrayal of the Negroes', Domingues encountered Anastacio in the Lisbon café Brasileira do Chiado, and it was the defeat of the Spanish in Morocco which motivated the discussion on which that article was based. Domingues wrote that Anastacio, 'like the good Portuguese he likes to think he is', nourished a particular hatred for Spain. However, when he had to choose between Spain and Morocco, he demonstrated his manifest preference for the former. First, because he did not know Morocco, being aware only that 'its inhabitants are negroes and dress all in white'. Spain, on the other hand, was a country with 'beautiful brunettes, cheerful tunes which make us want to dance and admirable bullfights where arrogant swordsmen kill bulls, like D. Afonso Henriques [the first Portuguese king] killed Moors'. Being in favour of bullfights where the bull is killed in the arena and of everything which was remotely similar to his own country, Anastacio thus wished for the triumph of Spain over Morocco.

Irritated by the insistence with which he was being reminded of the 'true defeat' of the Spanish in Morocco, the figure of Anastacio justified it on the grounds that the Spanish troops were facing unfavourable conditions, given that they were few in number, tired, and suffering in the arid terrain and climate, all of which worked in favour of the 'numerous and determined' enemy. But the Spanish defeat, Anastacio explained, had been basically due

to the betrayal by the negro troops (a reference to the role and the revolt of Abd el-Krim, a former public official with the Spanish administration in the Office of Native Affairs in Melilla) who 'were cowards, they betrayed the valiant General Silvestre, a hero, an incomparable war commander!' Domingues reacted to this accusation of negro disloyalty, saying that 'the negroes were doing their duty going to fight on the side of their countrymen, defending their race and their land. Yes, there was treason while they were fighting their own countrymen and defending a foreign nation.' At this assertion, Anastacio responded by turning his back with an air of superior contempt.

In 'The Eternal Betrayal', we once again find the figure of Anastacio and the same reference to the Annual disaster. Anastacio's character was unyielding in his belief that the defeat of the Spanish was essentially due to betrayal by the negroes, backing this opinion up with a reference to the newspaper *El Sol*, which had published in prominent lettering: 'La Eterna Traicion del Moro' (The Eternal Betrayal of the Moor). In response to which Domingues once again reminded him that the negroes, in fighting the Spanish, were not betraying Spain, but rather were looking after their own land. But Anastacio, unbending, replied that 'if it hadn't been for the Moors, Spain would long ago have conquered Morocco'.

The Anastacio drawn by Domingues is a figure whose ethnic absolutism looms stridently large. Anastacio's thought processes are governed by the duality of black/white, civilised/uncivilised, and he sets up a genuine racial hierarchy which places the negro at the top of the races which are dangerous, threatening and a genuine 'rabble worse than the Russians', as appears in the third article in this series, 'The Black Danger'. Here, Anastacio emerges as a clear and unequivocal defender of the doctrine of the superiority of the white race and the corresponding right to supremacy, as well as the resulting duty to civilise the negroes, 'an inferior and uncivilised race': 'They forget, those ungrateful people, that it was we, the whites, who brought them civilisation and well-being. Where would the blacks be if we, particularly the Portuguese, had not taken over Africa and made it prosper?' Through the character of Anastacio, Domingues highlighted the rhetoric of 'benevolence' underlying an imperial domination based on racial and cultural hierarchy. And Anastacio goes on, saying that 'the negroes are holding their little hands out. A scoundrel of a Negro Moses is running Monrovia, and spreading subversive propaganda against the whites, to whom Africa owes so much.'

It is worth noting that Domingues drew an Anastacio who was unaware of the negritude of his supposed interlocutor, Domingues himself, describing him as 'a good fellow and a friend of his friend', characteristics which *a priori* he denies to the negro in general. Anastacio refuses to regard Domingues as a true black, since the black would be a savage, while Domingues was 'educated'. To regard Domingues as a black would in the final analysis be wrong, because he only looked like a black. This typical attitude of denial, found here in Anastacio, was given an interpretation by Frantz Fanon, who suggested that an ideology which ignores colour may actually provide support to the racism it apparently denies. In his celebrated 1952 book, *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (Black Skin, White Masks), a work today regarded as a classic of psychological thought and decolonisation, in the human sciences and in the literature on the African diaspora, Fanon implies that indifference regarding colour may invisibly highlight and promote one specific colour: white.[14] What is perceptible here is a form of denial and narcissism, in the sense that the figure of Anastacio, in theory, prefers to see himself as not being racist, even though in practice he acts like one.

Faced with Domingues' enigmatic silence, Anastacio retreats, tentatively granting that there had been some abuse by whites, and acknowledging some ill-treatment of negroes, but they were precisely the ones, according to him, who were 'the most dangerous, the ones who do not want to submit'. Even so, believing as he does in the civilising mission governing the deeds of the Portuguese empire, he adds 'that doesn't give the negroes the right to rebel against the whites, who only want to civilise them'. To counter this type of opinion, Domingues used a rhetorical device based on demonstrating proof (which is characteristic of polemical political writing): 'in five centuries of Portuguese dominion in Africa they were unable to teach the people to read'. On the contrary, 'the whites have protected themselves by the practice of slavery, trading in negroes, murder, introducing alcohol, and brutalising the blacks'.

Reporting on the Activity of the Partido Nacional Africano (African National Party)

Over the course of 1921, *A Batalha* continued to cover the colonial question and the condition of negroes in the African colonies, although using other journalists in unsigned articles. This is evidence of a

consistent editorial policy—to which Mário Domingues had contributed and would contribute in the future—as shown in the newspaper's coverage of the activity of the Partido Nacional Africano (PNA) and the Pan-African Congress.

In March 1921 the newspaper announced the birth of the Partido Nacional Africano, 'whose membership was drawn from those born in the Portuguese colonies on the African continent' and whose objectives were 'the transformation of the existing unitary national state into a federalist and decentralised one, so that a true pact for the harmonisation of rights and interests may be established between all the national races'.[15] And on 1 October the newspaper started publishing a series of articles analysing the PNA and the second Pan-African Congress, which had taken place a month before in London, Paris and Brussels. The articles ran until 14 October, and the first, entitled 'For the Emancipation of the Negro Race', contains W.E. Burghardt Du Bois' arguments for 'fraternal relations between black and white workers' and against certain African leaders who put their personal interests above the common interests of their race, thus serving 'the capitalists better than the workers'.

The anarchist daily aligned itself with the Du Bois faction and opposed the dominant line under the Senegalese M. Blaise Diagne, whom it accused of being 'the servant of capitalism, as represented by the governments of the colonising powers'. An article on the final meeting in Paris summarises the two sides: on the one hand were Diagne and other 'Europeanised negroes', among them members of the African League headquartered in Lisbon, who believed that 'the black race cannot progress by itself' and 'fatally requires the crutch of legal protection and the humiliating supervision of the ruling governments'.[16] On the other side was the rejection of any form of collaboration with those powers. From this time onwards, *A Batalha* began to address fundamental political issues, such as defining the objectives of the movement for the emancipation of the black race and the future of the Portuguese colonies within the framework of that emancipation.

Between 15 February and 22 April 1922, *A Batalha* published the series entitled 'No Império de Norton de Matos' (In the Empire of Norton de Matos). This was a sequence of various sets of unsigned articles, which denounced the 'revolting barbarities' committed in Angola during the mandate of high commissioner Norton de Matos. The terrible situation of workers was the theme most often addressed by the newspaper, but in 'A Burla dos Contractos' (The Contracts Swindle)[17]

the author diverted his attention to the colonial question when he stated that 'in that land all that's left now is Jesuitism, big military men and murderers', but that in truth it 'belongs to its natives; the civilising deeds of those who go there boils down to stealing, perverting and killing, always backed up by armed force, under the shade of patriotism'. This critique of the effects of the civilising mission of Portuguese colonisation continued in 'The New Sodoma'.[18] This portrayed 'blacks covered in rags, going barefoot, almost naked', eating 'what they can give the body', vegetating in poverty, while 'the old and new rich breathe the good life'. The cost of living was high for the natives, but there were some 'who had rings and precious stones on all their fingers … any sergeant or corporal, sporting his drunkenness, with a sword or with a pistol'.

Mário Domingues and the Ideal of Independence

A series of 30 articles signed by Domingues entitled 'For a History of Portuguese Colonisation' brought a new and more objective approach to the colonial question. This series was a comprehensive apparatus for questioning the colonialist ideology, and it ended with the assumption of the 'beautiful ideal of African independence'.

The first article, published on 30 June 1922, sets the tone. It started out from an article by Cristiano Lima (a well-known anarchist journalist) recounting an episode he had witnessed in a stand at the Mayer Fair in Lisbon: the story of a poor white man painted black, made into a target by whites who amused themselves by throwing balls of sawdust at him. Domingues then took the phrase from the sign above the stand, 'The black man resists all Portuguese', and turned it into the main theme of these articles. His aim was none other than to tell 'the story of that poor devil who lives hand to mouth, like a vegetable, in our beautiful colonies … of that admirable black man who has resisted … all the Portuguese'.

Domingues denounced the rapes and random deaths of negroes and condemned the racism inherent in the decree which made it impossible for negro public servants to be promoted. The 'tax on native huts' was also the object of violent criticism, levied as it was on the number of beds, children under 12 and domestic animals. The article in question had the appropriate title 'Even Cats Pay Tax'. Nor did he spare the big corporations, like the Companhia do Niassa (The Nyassa Company), 'stronger and richer than the Portuguese state', with its private police

force. These he accused of making slaves out of the negroes and herding them into the mines of the Transvaal. He also reported on the protests and resulting repression, in particular the closing down of the Liga Angolana (Angolan League) and of the *O Angolense* newspaper, and the imprisonment of ten negroes who had protested against the collection of taxes, which had led to an attack on their villages by colonial troops.

Domingues' words were also aimed at the ideology behind republican colonial legislation. One article recounted the unpunished rape of negro women and provoked a reaction from the daily *O Mundo*, which argued that such an event 'can't have caused much suffering to the negro, the savage', who had no 'notion of personal dignity'. The same newspaper highlighted the 'humanity' of Portuguese colonial legislation, believing it to be 'the best in the world'. Domingues responded in the pages of *A Batalha*: 'the negro's moral insensitivity to the crime cannot whitewash that crime' and 'the crimes we have been identifying must be the fruit of our ever so human colonial legislation'.

He also analysed the 'civilising mission of the Portuguese'. He wrote that 'you can't civilise anyone with a whip in one hand, a bottle of brandy in the other. And that's how it's been, it's with alcohol and with violence that the Portuguese, with a few, rare exceptions, have sought to make of the negro a model of virtue.' Governor Carvalho Araújo was one of those exceptions, as shown by his report on the district of Inhambane. As soon as it was published, it was censored by the republican government, but Domingues was able to gain access to the full version of the document and rejected the idea that the negro had no propensity to work. On the contrary, the negro 'is docile and a hard worker' and his vaunted 'repugnance for work' could be explained by other factors: farmers who made the natives drunk, the miserable pay and the system of forced labour sent to the Transvaal.

In the article entitled 'The Ideal of Independence', quoted in the beginning of this chapter, Domingues played down the value of patriotism and opposed it with advocacy of the spirit of separatism, which the 'enslaved negro, vexed by an iniquitous exploitation' had already interiorised. And if this spirit was not apparent before, it was because the white Portuguese 'have been afraid to harm the motherland by revelations … and the negroes, for their part, were afraid of their own aspirations'. Only an ideal of independence would serve to face up to the 'outrages of white despotism in Africa'. And how could negroes attain that ideal? By starting their fight. Domingues ended with a prophecy: 'it may be that

there are only ten, fifteen, twenty years left until Portugal runs the risk of having no more colonies to exploit, of being without blacks to tyrannise'.

The emancipation of the negroes was thus asserted in the struggle for independence. It was more effective in the fight against white despotism, and 'unity in race consciousness' could help mobilise negroes for that fight. Domingues dispelled any strictly nationalist spirit or temptation: 'In the face of European imperialism, there are no Portuguese, British or German blacks, there are men who want to be free.'

Regarding the revolts in the Transvaal and the Belgian Congo, it was his opinion that

> they are the precursors of a huge revolution which will take down the power of not just one country, but of all the colonial powers … the movement for the emancipation of Africa is tending to spread, and is coming closer to the ideal of a continental confederation.

This was the vision of Domingues: an anarchist utopia arising from the great world revolution giving way to a society without borders, the 'harmonious whole of a humanity freed from all oppression'.

The question of racial emancipation became the struggle for independence, which 'soar[ed] above the petty interests of the oppressor motherlands' and would put an end to the tyranny of the colonisers, emerging not in the formation of new countries, but within a new 'African Confederation'.

In the final article of the series 'For a History of Portuguese Colonisation', dated 25 July 1922, Domingues argued for the use of bodies already established for the defence of the negro race and suggested a series of demands to make negroes aware of and mobilise them for the fight. He believed that they should not wait 'for the tyrant to cease his tyranny, out of a sudden compassion'; instead, they should 'channel, organise and coordinate all their disparate energies into the path of emancipation'.

For Domingues, action was the best form of education, and

> negroes should … demand an immediate ban on alcohol, on corporal punishment, and on the hut tax; exemption from military service; absolute freedom of labour and the press; a broad amnesty for all those imprisoned on grounds of race or for political and social reasons; equal pay for black

> and white … The struggle for these partial demands will prepare hearts and minds for even stronger action … The Portuguese negro must also be part of that colossal movement … whose aim is the independence of Africa.

Domingues was always aware that the struggle for negro independence was also the struggle of the exploited, but his target here was somewhat different: it was the very system of colonial domination.

Conclusion

The motivations and actions of Domingues must be placed in the broader context, starting at the end of the nineteenth century, of the whole question of the colonial empire. The idea of an empire made up of overseas territories, which was a conditioning factor in the final phase of the monarchy, the First Republic, and the Salazarist dictatorship of the *Estado Novo* (New State), and had strong roots in the country's history, tended to be seen by large sectors of the ruling elites and the intelligentsia as being entwined with the possible destinies and the narrative identity of the nation itself. The ideological foundation of Portuguese nationalism, particularly in the period from the mid-1880s to the end of the liberal Republic (28 May 1926), rested on the idea that the empire was the mission, the vocation and the historic destiny of the nation; however small and weak that nation might be, as it clearly was in those days, it could only become great or even remain independent if it continued to be an empire.

Domingues' analyses run counter to the historic discourse of hegemony over a colonial world impregnated with the imperial myth, and to the prevailing assumptions, concepts and status of African and negro peoples at stake after the Conference of Berlin. He denounced the attitude of denial of anti-negro racism which was dominant in the Portuguese-speaking, Hispanic and Francophone Latin world, but which permeated the whole of modern European history. His writings and analyses, which derive from a particular view of the world and are part of a conscious tendency, together with others which emerged in the media , show us that there was continual discussion of the colonial question in public opinion at that time, as well as a questioning of the colonialist ideology and the practices of Portuguese colonialism, in particular on the subject of the persistence of forms of slavery. Moreover, Domingues

stood out for his capacity for indignation at political and economic colonialism and for his commitment to an aim which today is called identitarian, existential and social decoloniality. This chapter has sought to contribute to ensuring that historiography pays due attention to voices and movements which have been forgotten or neglected. The young mulatto Domingues took the floor in his time, and was heard: indeed, during that time he was perhaps the most influential of the dissident portuguese voices.

Notes

1. This is the name given to the cocoa and coffee plantations in São Tomé and Príncipe.
2. In this connection see J.R. Tinhorão, *Os Negros em Portugal* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1999); and I.C. Henriques, *A Herança Africana em Portugal* (Lisbon: CTT Correios de Portugal, 2008).
3. For a consideration of this issue see V. Alexandre, *Os Sentidos do Império. Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 1993); V. Alexandre, 'Ideologia, Economia e Política: A Questão Colonial na Implantação do Estado Novo', *Análise Social*, XXVIII, 123–124 (1993): 1117–1136, amongst other works. On this issue see also H. Martins, *Classe, Status e Poder—Ensaios sobre o Portugal Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006).
4. For a general social background on São Tomé and Príncipe, see I.C. Henriques, *São Tomé e Príncipe: A Invenção de uma Sociedade* (Lisbon: Veja, 2000).
5. Portuguese abolitionism is extensively dealt with in J.P. Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio: O Portugal de Oitocentos e a Abolição do Tráfico de Escravos* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1999). For the political and civil status of the people of Portugal's overseas empire, see the study by C.N. Silva, *Constitucionalismo e Império: A Cidadania no Ultramar Português* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2008).
6. J.P. Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio: O Portugal de Oitocentos e a Abolição do Tráfico de Escravos.*
7. In this connection, see Curto's observations: D.R. Curto, 'Prefácio—Políticas Coloniais e Novas Formas de Escravatura', in M.B. Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: A 'Missão Civilizadora' do Colonialismo Português (c. 1870–1930)* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2010), pp. 9–40. And the study by M.B. Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: A 'Missão Civilizadora' do Colonialismo Português (c. 1870–1930)*.

8. Forced labourer on the island plantations.
9. Foremen.
10. 'A Situação em S. Tomé' (The Situation in S. Tomé), 4 April 1921; 'Questões de África' (Questions of Africa), 5 April 1921; 'Em São Tomé' (In São Tomé), 16 April 1921; 'Os Acontecimentos de São Tomé' (The Events in São Tomé), 17 April 1921; 'Por Angola' (For Angola), 19 April 1921; 'A Fome em Cabo Verde' (Hunger in Cape Verde), 21 April 1921; 'Eis a Civilização …' (That's Civilisation …), 30 April 1921.
11. See A. Quijano, 'Colonialidad y Modernidad/Racionalidad', *Perú Indígena*, 13: 29 (1991): 11–29. See also A. Quijano and I. Wallerstein, 'Americanity as a Concept, or the Americas in the Modern World System', *International Journal of Social Sciences*, 134 (1992): 549–557.
12. The battle of Annual, also known as the Annual disaster, was a battle fought between 22 July and 9 August 1921 in Spanish Morocco between the Spanish army in Africa and fighters from the Rif region. It was a major military defeat for the Spanish army, with 20,000 Spanish casualties. This defeat, which the Spanish nearly always call the Annual disaster, was felt to be a catastrophe in Spain. It brought about a serious political crisis and had repercussions in the redefinition of Spanish colonial policy towards the Rif. This crisis was one of many which undermined the monarchy over the course of the next decade and led to the emergence of the Second Spanish Republic.
13. M.B. Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: A 'Missão Civilizadora' do Colonialismo Português (c. 1870–1930)*, p. 56.
14. In this connection, see the interpretation of Fanon's thought by L.R. Gordon, *An Introduction to African Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 13–14; and *What Fanon Said: A Philosophical Introduction to his Life and Thought* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015).
15. To this end, it argued for 'economic, political and administrative independence for the colonies and the redrafting of the laws which currently govern the political and civil rights of the natives in order to provide for maximum freedom'. *A Batalha*, 5 April 1921.
16. *A Batalha*, 11 October 1921.
17. *A Batalha*, 17 February 1922.
18. *A Batalha*, 18 February 1922.

The Press and Empire in Portuguese Africa, 1842–1926

Isadora de Ataíde Fonseca

The press was a critical instrument for the state in the consolidation of the Portuguese colonial empire in late-nineteenth and twentieth-century Africa. European elites in Africa also made the press a central space in which to voice their criticisms and disagreements regarding the policies of the metropole and to put forth their claims regarding local political reforms, economic policies and financial resources to develop the territories. Furthermore, as military campaigns advanced to ensure the occupation of African territories, the press became important for African elites too as a means of resistance against the colonial project and imperial policies.

The goal of this chapter is to discuss the relations between the press and empire in Portuguese Africa in the light of the different sociopolitical dynamics of Portuguese colonialism. To this end, the roles performed by journalism[1] and the main features of the press system[2] are identified through the following dimensions: market structure; professionalism; political parallelism, in other words the expression of the opinions and tendencies of social and political groups by the media system;[3] and state intervention. The chronological boundaries of this study are 1842, the

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year the *Boletim Oficial* first appeared, and 1926, the year that marks the end of the liberal period in Portugal and its colonies. The liberal regimes of the constitutional monarchy and the First Republic fostered the emergence of an independent press in Portuguese Africa and its consolidation as a platform of political debate in the context of the Portuguese empire, hence the choice to analyse both of them in this chapter. A multidisciplinary approach[4] is adopted, and the analysis draws on contributions from the fields of history, sociology and political science. Furthermore, political, economic and social dimensions are taken into consideration to shed light on the specific context of the evolution of the press in these territories. The empirical research relies on primary and secondary sources and a process-tracing[5] strategy of analysis is used. Since our aim is to give a broad overview of the press in Portuguese Africa, the chapter does not include a detailed description of each case, but presents the main features of the press and journalism in the five African colonies.

The African Colonial Empire

A number of events such as the liberal revolution of the 1820s, the independence of Brazil in 1822, the economic crisis and the internal strife that marred the country until 1852, forced Portugal to rethink its colonial policies and imperialist aims. In this context, the African colonies were perceived by many as redemption for the Portuguese empire.[6] At the economic level, the replacement of the slave trade by 'lawful trade' was slow, and African territories only started generating revenues in the late nineteenth century. Imperial economic policies, based on African production and forced labour, favoured the metropolitan bourgeoisie to the detriment of the emerging colonial bourgeoisie. Mercantilism, dominated by a protectionist and authoritarian proto-capitalism, was the economic model of Portuguese colonialism in the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.[7] In Portuguese Africa, the authorities adopted a dual approach towards their subjects, and Africans were denied citizenship rights.[8] The division between natives and non-natives aimed to ensure the full use of the territories' resources and was translated into all dimensions of economic, social and political life.[9] Africans resisted the colonial project in different ways from the beginning, and thus hindered the effectiveness of colonial policies. The development of urban centres was slow, as was the implementation of public services. When the latter came into existence, however, they were aimed at elites.

The Emergence of the Press under the Constitutional Monarchy

Portugal started publishing official gazettes in its African territories in a particular social and political context. Cape Verde was the first to have an official gazette, in 1842,[10] and it was shortly followed by Angola in 1845,[11] by Mozambique in 1854,[12] by São Tomé and Príncipe in 1857 and finally by Guinea in 1880. Official gazettes played the same role in all five colonies: they fostered the colonial programme, endorsed metropolitan strategies and lent unconditional support to local governments. The specific colonial context of each territory explains the different timings of official gazette printing, but elements such as proximity to Lisbon, degree of occupation of the territory, administrative and institutional context of government, level of economic development and human and financial resources in each colony were particularly relevant.

After the official gazettes appeared, the emergence of an unofficial press took between 12 (in São Tomé and Príncipe) and 35 years (in Cape Verde). In Cape Verde,[13] Angola,[14] Mozambique[15] and São Tomé and Príncipe this process was linked to the presence of Portuguese colonial elites, similarly to other European colonies in Africa.[16] This process was influenced by the growing role of the press and the public sphere in liberal Portugal as a platform for dispute and negotiation among political forces.[17] The constitutional monarchy failed to bring about an independent press in Guinea primarily because of the weakness of local elites and the fact that they considered occupation of the territory to be their priority,[18] which undermined debates among the political forces as well as between the latter and local and metropolitan authorities.

In Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, the first independent newspapers reflected the European elites' disagreements with local governments and with Lisbon over their African policies. In Mozambique, for instance, land grants given to private investors led to the founding of the first anti-government newspaper, *O Africano, Instrucção—Religião—Moralidade* (1881). This weekly exposed corruption in Lisbon and criticised the local government's inability to develop the colony.[19] In response to the criticism in these papers towards official strategies rather than the project itself, newspapers supporting local governments and the metropole were created. Here, again, Mozambique is a case in point, since private companies entrusted with ruling part of the territory

(the Mozambique and Nyassa Companies) created newspapers aimed at lending ideological support to their economic activities and backing Portuguese and local official policies.

According to Arendt, colonial imperialism helps awaken a national conscience and the desire for sovereignty, which becomes an obstacle to empire building.[20] The spread of Western civilisation had a dual character, in that, as the coloniser spread its social forms, behaviours and institutions, he also helped to reduce the differences between the social forces, argues Elias.[21] And for Anderson,[22] the situation of native elites combined with liberal ideas, new printing technologies and the development of capitalism were key to the emergence of an 'imagined community', an essential step in the process of modernisation. From this perspective, since the late 1870s, African elites in Cape Verde[23] and Angola[24] appropriated the press as a space for claim-making and political struggles. With these goals in mind, this type of press advanced the interests of African elites and the rights of African populations, denied by colonial governments. It also opposed the colonial project—for instance, by calling for the end of forced labour and the autonomy and independence of colonial territories. In Angola, the first newspaper created by African elites, *O Cruzeiro do Sul* (1873–1878), attacked the Governor General and metropolitan policies for Angola, denounced forced labour migration to São Tomé and Príncipe and the continuing enslavement practices, criticised the lack of schools and social services, and advanced the rights of Africans and the interests of African elites.[25]

Through its scrutiny of public and private affairs, journalism played a monitoring role in Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique. This role was reflected in the reporting of abuses committed by the authorities, the news about local and central governments, and the mediation of relations between official authorities and society. Disseminating economic and international news, promoting cultural and entertainment topics and publishing readers' letters and opinion pieces, which expressed specific social ideas and trends, are also indicative of the monitoring role of journalism. For instance, in Cape Verde, *Imprensa* (1880–1881) accused the local authorities of abusing their powers, denounced cases of corruption within the civil service, addressed local problems and criticised Lisbon's policies.

Journalism also played a collaborative role in this period, especially through papers that supported official local and metropolitan policies. Collaboration was prominent under the constitutional monarchy, insofar

as papers supporting local authorities, mainly owned by European elites, were created to respond to criticism coming from opposition newspapers. In Angola, *O Commércio de Loanda* (1867–1870) had an agenda clearly aimed at protecting the Angolan authorities against the criticism voiced by *A Civilisação da África Portuguesa* (1866–1869).[26]

The republican propaganda and the African criticism in the press during the monarchic regime constitutes a case of radical journalism, the main goals of which are to support groups that oppose the establishment and to fight for an alternative social order.[27] Newspapers in Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique linked to European and African elites played a radical journalistic role. In Mozambique, for instance, through Freemasonry, which supported republicanism, European elites had published pro-republican papers like *O Português* (1902) that criticised the wrongdoing of local governments. In this period, radical journalism was, however, more apparent in Cape Verde and Angola, where local African newspapers argued for the independence of the territories and the rights of Africans in a context of colonial duality, thus reflecting the resistance to the Portuguese colonial project in Africa. In Angola, *O Pharol do Povo* (1883–1885) supported both a republican regime and Angolan independence.[28] The newspaper supported republican candidates in elections, denounced cases of corruption in the government as well as the military campaigns against African populations in the hinterland, and supported the interests of African elites but also the rights of 'natives'.

In all these colonial territories, newspapers were owned by landowners, businessmen, traders, public officials, politicians and liberal professionals. The main rift in terms of newspaper ownership was between European and African elites, but there were different, and often contested, interests in both segments. The press developed in urban centres, but there was a certain degree of regionalisation, which reflected the occupation of the territory and its economic development. Newspaper circulation was mostly restricted to elites because of the high illiteracy rates and the price of newspapers, unattainable for most of the population. The ownership, target audience and circulation, as well as the prevalence of political content, point to the political profile of the press under the constitutional monarchy in Portuguese colonies in Africa.

Liberal professionals, public officials, politicians, traders and intellectuals developed the main journalistic activities, thus reflecting the ownership of newspapers. In most papers, and in all five colonies, owners acted as journalists, although they did not work exclusively in this sector and

did not depend on journalism to survive. Journalism was associated with the beliefs and ideas of those who practised it. It was a field of political action, in which journalists conveyed their views as a way to intervene in the public sphere. In this context, the concepts of autonomy and instrumentalisation of journalists[29] are inadequate, since the journalistic activity was associated with political activism.

The roles played by journalism and its relationship with social forces, the content disseminated by journalism according to the trends of social groups (and its stance during elections), the ownership of papers, journalistic activities linked to political activism, and the role played by governments in the press all point to a strong political parallelism during the constitutional monarchy. In other words, the press voiced the ideas and the claims of different social groups, as each sociopolitical field had its own newspaper and expressed its own beliefs and views.

In short, under the constitutional monarchy, Portugal turned to the African continent in the hope of surviving as an empire in the nineteenth century, and to this end it spread its political system and institutions. In this context, the press and journalism in Africa started out as institutions implemented by the colonial regime to help strengthen the Portuguese empire. State intervention in the press was particularly strong in this period. The state not only issued laws according to its political interests, but it also owned and subsidised the private press. The official press, through the *Boletim Oficial*, played a collaborative role by promoting and supporting the colonial project throughout the period. Local governments also encouraged the creation of newspapers in order to win support for their policies, by allowing them to be printed at *Imprensa Nacional* (the national printing office). Local governments, however, also persecuted the journalists and papers that disagreed with their policies. Harassment of the press included the arrest of journalists, threats and acts of violence against professionals, fines and suspensions of the papers and the closing down of printing and editorial offices, all of which happened in Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique.

Radical Journalism in the First Republic

The press had been the main tool of republican propaganda in the African colonies since the 1870s, and it gathered force from the 1890s, a fact that explains why African and European elites in the colonies welcomed the First Republic in 1910 as a triumph. African elites had

hoped the new regime would promote their social and economic mobility, include them in administrative matters and work towards equality between Africans and Europeans, as well as foster the improvement in the living conditions of the African population. European elites believed that the republican governments would promote further decentralisation and self-government in the colonies, their greater participation in official matters, complete occupation of the territories and economic development. The consolidation of the press as the main forum for public debate and as a platform for political dispute between different social forces, as well as the fact that the press reflected the dualities of the colonial project, are the three leading features that stand out in the press system in Portuguese Africa during the First Republic.

The press was a true reflection of African territories during the First Republic, as it followed the main events of the period and voiced the goals and struggles of the different social forces. Specifically in the political field, the leading subjects in the press were political and financial autonomy, decentralisation, parliamentary and city council elections, Governor General nominations, high commissioner nominations and their official programmes, as well as Lisbon's colonial policies. In the economic field, the topics that appeared include the colonial budget, loans for settlers, the role of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU) (Overseas National Bank), private investment (Portuguese and foreign), policies to foster the agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors, the cost of living and monetary problems. Native labour was also an important topic in the press: while European settlers called for help in the recruitment process, African groups condemned forced labour and the abuses committed against the 'native' population. Under the heading of infrastructures, communications and transport, the urbanisation of towns—with a focus on energy and sanitation—and public services like health and education were particularly relevant topics. Social mobilisation was also on the agenda, including 'native' rebellions and their suppression by governmental forces, strikes in the civil service and among traders, and the activities of social and political organisations. The news and topics covered by the press in all these African colonies were similar, even if content and opinions had a local focus and distinctive features.

Journalism also played a collaborative role during the First Republic, with several newspapers supporting the colonial project and local governments even while they were often critical of metropolitan policies. As seen earlier, collaboration in this field has been associated with the

dynamics between the media, government and the social and economic interests of leading groups, like the colonial bourgeoisie in Angola, foreign capital in Mozambique, and landowners in São Tomé and Príncipe. The three newspapers of this period—*Ecos da Guiné* (1920), *A Voz da Guiné* (1922) and *Pró-Guiné* (1924)—played a collaborative role in Guinea by supporting the local and metropolitan administrations.

The press continued to play a monitoring journalistic role during the First Republic. In Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe the press monitored the performance of the local government, and denounced bribery allegations in the administration as well as the preferential treatment given to private companies. The press also acted as a watchdog of the private sector by monitoring, for instance, coal concessions in Cape Verde, the actions of the BNU in Angola as well as of chartered companies in Mozambique, and the benefits given to large landowners in São Tomé and Príncipe. The monitoring role can also be seen in this period in the news on public policies—whereby the press acts as a mediator between institutions and citizens—on infrastructural problems, especially on the lack of adequate public services in urban and rural areas, and on the political participation claims made by different social groups.

As for the radical journalistic role, in this period it was particularly visible in Cape Verde,[30] Mozambique,[31] and São Tomé and Príncipe. African newspapers were particularly vocal in their calls for structural changes in 'native' policies and for the economic and sociopolitical inclusion of Africans. Calls for the independence of the African colonies, for the end of colonialism and/or its reform and the 'liberation' of African peoples, as well as pan-African[32] and socialist[33] ideals, were also disseminated by this press and are symbols of the radicalisation of journalism. For instance, in São Tomé and Príncipe, the newspapers *Folha de Annuncios* (1911), *A Verdade* (1912), *A Liberdade* (1919–1923) and *O Combate* (1925),[34] all linked to African elites, are representative of the radical role. In Angola, radical journalism was rather weak in this period because African journalism was itself particularly weak as a result of the persecution native groups faced from the government. Some groups actually fell under the pressure of official persecution.[35] Similarly, in Guinea, radical journalism did not exist because there was no African press, as native elites were rather weak and the Guinean League had been suspended by the administration.[36]

In all these African territories, different social and political forces owned the newspapers: political parties (*A Voz de Cabo Verde*, 1915–1919, was owned by the Portuguese Republican Party); African organisations (A Associação Africana de Lourenço Marques (African Association of Lourenço Marques) owned *A Voz Africana*, 1918–1926); employers' and workers' associations (in São Tomé and Príncipe *A Defesa*, 1915–1916, was owned by a trader and leader of the traders' association); civil servants (in Guinea public officials owned *Ecos da Guiné*, 1920); and economic groups (*A Província de Angola* was owned by a private consortium).[37] The readership of these papers was still limited to local elites but there was an expansion in circulation (in São Tomé and Príncipe *A Defesa* printed 400 copies, while in Angola A *Província de Angola* printed up to 2500) as a result of the increase in the settler population and of literacy among Africans educated in missions,[38] as well as the process of urbanisation. The press continued to have a political and non-commercial profile, as seen in the contents of the papers. The process of regionalisation of the press also continued, as papers appeared in different islands of Cape Verde and in the urban centres of Angola and Mozambique. While most papers were short-lived due to financial difficulties and repression by local governments, this period also witnessed the emergence of papers that would live through the *Estado Novo* (New State) regime, both in Angola (*Jornal de Benguela*) and Mozambique (*Notícias*).

During the First Republic, the press thus strengthened its role as a key forum of public debate in Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe. Although lagging behind other Portuguese colonies in Africa, an independent press also emerged in Guinea. It failed, however, to consolidate as most papers were short-lived and lacked different editorial guidelines. Local elites were, as mentioned previously, rather weak, and faced interference from the government, which did not allow criticism or dissent.

The relationship between journalism and political activism not only continued during the First Republic, but was actually strengthened, as participants in journalistic activities continued to advocate the causes of the groups to which they belonged: 'natives' promoted African interests, party leaders supported their governments, landowners fought for their economic interests, and civil servants and workers called for improvements in their working conditions. Journalism continued not to be an economic activity and, in most cases, it was not practised exclusively and

did not generate an income. At the same time, however, in Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique a few journalists worked on different newspapers, which points to the beginning of professionalisation,[39] also a consequence of the consolidation of the press. Since journalists worked in newspapers linked to the social forces they belonged to, and since they advanced their interests, criteria such as 'fairness' or 'neutrality' do not apply in this scenario. Finally, in this period, the professionalisation of journalists was in its infancy: even though in Portugal the Portuguese Press Association was formed in 1897, in the African colonies newspapers' and journalists' organisations continued not to exist.

The contents and the diversity of editorial guidelines, the ownership of the newspapers, the links between journalism and political activism, and the coexistence of newspapers supporting or attacking governments and supporting or criticising the colonial project are evidence of a strong political parallelism between the press and social forces in Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe. All these elements allow us to make two more observations about the press during the First Republic. Firstly, the press and journalism became the central stage for political struggles between different social forces in Portuguese Africa. The main social sectors, with specific economic and political interests, created papers to influence governments and society and to gather support for their political agenda. At the same time, papers fostered disputes with opposition groups, which had their own newspapers. Multiple interests and groups were in opposition to one another: economic and political interests against or in support of governments; employees and civil servants against employers and governments; governments against several groups; settlers against Africans; and Africans against settlers, governments and the colonial project itself. Because of these features and struggles, a second observation can be made: the press both reflected and opposed the ambiguities of the colonial project, as in the case of radical journalism in the African press in Cape Verde, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe. In Angola, the colonial authorities firmly suppressed this resistance and criticism and undermined the performance of journalism. Guinea is an exception at this level, because with only one newspaper there was no representation of the different social forces through journalism. In terms of political parallelism, in Guinea it was one-sided, as the press always supported the government and the colonial project.[40]

State intervention in the press sector remained strong during the First Republic. Local governments continued to use the official gazettes to advance their interests, continued to finance newspapers and to influence journalistic content through a network of relationships involving newspapers, the government and the private sector. Censorship was instituted in Portugal in 1916 during World War I, and the law that extended it to the colonies in July 1917 granted governors the power to adapt it to the realities of the colonies. Local authorities abused censorship to repress the newspapers that criticised them, but also persecuted journalists and civil organisations by using their suspension powers to close down papers and organisations. For instance, in Angola, *O Angolense* was suspended in 1922, in São Tomé and Príncipe *O Combate* was suspended in 1925, and in Mozambique newspapers aligned with different political tendencies were also targeted by censorship.

Conclusion

Under the constitutional monarchy, the press in Portuguese Africa had the following features: (1) journalism performed roles typical of liberal regimes—namely, monitoring and criticising government policies and discussing matters of public interest; (2) the press did not become a means of mass circulation and remained a political and non-commercial institution, with a restricted audience and owned by elites with political and economic interests; (3) journalism moved towards political parallelism with the press representing the ideas and views of political actors; (4) the processes of professionalisation and professionalism were incipient and the performance of journalists was linked to their political action; and (5) the state and the government maintained a policy of strong intervention in the press.

During the First Republic, the relationship between the press and empire had the following features: the press consolidated as a central forum for public debate; it became a platform for political debate between different social forces; and it also reflected and opposed the dualities of the colonial project. Journalism played radical, monitoring and collaborative roles typical of liberal regimes, in which social groups and institutions are free to act and interact in a critical way in the public sphere. The press system presented the following characteristics: (1) the press continued to have a political profile; (2) newspaper ownership was

still limited to political forces; (3) journalism was associated with political activism, and professionalism was in its beginnings; (4) parallelism between the press and the political forces was strengthened; and (5) state intervention over the press remained strong.

The inability of the First Republic to develop a coherent colonial policy was a decisive factor behind the coup of 28 May 1926,[41] which imposed a military regime in Portugal, soon followed by an authoritarian regime, the *Estado Novo*, which lasted until 1974. Central control over the press in Portuguese Africa increased from 1926. Even though until the mid-1930s journalism played a moderate monitoring role, from then on the press was forced to support the colonial project and its policies and to back local governments and the authoritarian regime. Although Mozambique and Angola continued to have several newspapers, they were all pro-government. The efforts at building an independent and critical press were soon silenced by the authoritarian practices of the *Estado Novo*. Between 1926 and 1974, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and Guinea had only one newspaper each, and all three of them supported local governments and the regime. With independence in 1974–1975, the emerging nations adopted socialist-inspired one-party regimes, and these exercised a strong control over the press: journalism was strongly engaged in the construction of the nation-state, socialism and the 'new man'. In the early 1990s, the Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOP) began a path towards multi-party regimes that allowed the press to burgeon. With democratic transitions, the press once again returned to some of the features it had in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—namely, monitoring and collaborative roles, a political and elite-oriented profile, embryonic professionalism and professionalisation, a strong political parallelism and strong state intervention.

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Imperial Taboos: Salazarist Censorship in the Portuguese Colonies

Daniel Melo

Censorship in colonial Portugal was carried out under a dictatorship that conceived it as a structural element of the regime. As such, its use and dissemination were widespread. Moreover, as this was one of the longest dictatorships of all time, lasting some 48 years (1926–1974), it was able to perfect and accentuate the role of the censor within the colonial organisation, awarding it a central place in the process of colonial domination.

The state apparatus was constantly being upgraded so that no form of media might escape the vigilance of the official censor: there was censorship not only of inconvenient newspapers or those that overstepped the mark, but also of books, as well as of cultural performance industries and other forms of communication. Censorship also enjoyed full territorial coverage in the

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colonies, an aspect that has been neglected by the literature, largely because of the *vox populi* and consideration of censorship from a quantitative perspective.

The present chapter seeks to contribute to the literature through an approach centred on the thesis of the efficient and calculating use of censorship by the state as a rational way to ensure the best cost-benefit relationship. Thus, I propose a problematised synthesis of censorship in the Portuguese empire under the Salazar dictatorship, looking at it from two important angles: (1) origins, content, and political and sociocultural impact; (2) articulation with other instruments: propaganda, police repression, business penalisation, bribery and so on. The aim is to attempt to provide a more complex portrait of the Portuguese public sphere in an imperial and dictatorial context.

Genealogy is crucial for understanding the legitimacies and cultural mix that make censorship viable, for understanding the degree of social encrustation and of how it seeks to find inspiration in and to prolong exceptional situations: situations of war as well as defence of the social and political 'order' and territorial integrity within the context of colonial empires.

A search of censorship's ancestry enables us to understand its persistence in the history of Portugal, one of the first nations, through the Inquisition, to link religious and royal censorship together (as it did from 1536 to 1821). Religious and political censorship in Portugal was connected to the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of forbidden publications drawn up by the Vatican in 1660 and in force up until 1966. Censorship was officially abolished by the liberals in 1822 but returned in the reign of King Dom Miguel I (1828–1834). Despite the formal condemnation of censorship under contemporary liberalism, from time to time it was resorted to in order to neutralise political dissent, making it potentially generic within the framework of military censorship in violent or warlike contexts, such as major political conflicts, military uprisings and popular insurrections. Military censorship emerged with the First World War and sought to ban all types of information (above all in the press) which could be interpreted as a threat to national order or integrity. This only ceased in 1919.

The Portuguese colonies displayed a certain specificity in relation to the 'metropole': censorship and repression of political dissent were frequently justified as ways to neutralise threats to the social and political 'order' and to territorial integrity, an argument that in the metropole was only adopted in exceptional situations of military confrontation with

foreign powers. This singularity is evident, for example, in the context of the emergence of nativism and autonomist solutions in Angola at the end of the nineteenth century, in the post-First World War period up to 1930,[1] and in the context of the search for emancipation in, and by, the press in colonial Mozambique in the same periods.[2] These censorial outbreaks would be repeated intermittently, including under the First Republic.[3]

There were other types of censorship which also had a major impact on society and on the way of thinking. From the very beginning, there was economic censorship, especially influential with regard to newspapers and exercised by the owners and managers of these on the pretext that it was to ensure the survival of the business. Then there was self-censorship, largely determined by the previous type, carried out by journalists and other newspaper collaborators. This was also very much in evidence for writers and other intellectuals and artists. In this case, though, it related more to official censorship and to censorship by publishers, programmers and the like.[4] Finally, there was social, moral and ideological censorship which was enforced on a national level in particular by certain segments of civil society, such as specialists linked to the Catholic Church or those dealing primarily with books or reading, such as librarians and teachers. However, moral censorship also had international connections as in the case of the international treaties on the censorship of obscenity which Portugal had signed and was therefore bound to observe.[5]

The present chapter assumes an inclusive conception of censorship, based on the suppression of free speech by the legal action of the state, by market forces or by the dominant discourses, as B. Müller and H. Freshwater claim.[6] Censorship is not limited to institutions and their activities, despite the importance of these, but is also produced by a series of discourses, practices and apparatuses that are constantly mutating. Adopting the perspective proposed by Annette Kuhn ('an ongoing process embodying complex and often contradictory relations of power'[7]), we are no longer able to view censorship as something imposed without negotiation and compromise. As a consequence of this and other factors, governmental censorship frequently assumed an arbitrary nature, with this arbitrariness being used in favour of the main power in a dictatorial context. In effect, the strong hierarchisation of official censorship and its relation to heavy jail sentences and repression put pressure on both the censor and the censored to act zealously. Consequently, the strength or weakness of censorship (official

or otherwise) necessarily goes beyond a mere quantitative appreciation. In addition to this, the Salazarist dictatorship was so impregnable both institutionally and ideologically that it could condition, mould and integrate other types of censorship into its own censorial practice.

The Systematic, Wide-Ranging and Efficient Nature of 'Prior Censorship'

Official censorship under the Salazarist dictatorship was both specific and wide-ranging in nature, focusing on two types of censorship: 'prior censorship', which corresponded to 'pre-publication censorship, or licensing' (that is, 'the control of material before it is published') and repressive censorship or 'post-publication censorship' ('which means curbing the dissemination and reception of material after it has been published').[8] Official censorship covered all of Portugal's territory and all communal media (such as the press, books, other printed matter, telegraphy, telephony, cinema and telex) as well as shows, musicals, theatre performances and so on.

It was carried out through an institutional structure which underwent various name changes, ranging from the Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Censura à Imprensa (Directorate-General of Press Censorship Services) (DGSCI, 1928–1933) to the Comissão Central de Exame Prévio (Central Committee for Prior Examination) (CCEP, 1972–1974). These services were assisted by other key institutions belonging to the regime[9] and mechanisms such as propaganda (by these institutions and the press, telephony, television and state or regime-friendly news agencies) and indoctrination (mostly through schools). Their efficiency was made more effective by the dissimulated nature of pre-publication censorship, even down to the level of eliminating material traces of it—the space in the censored press proof could not be left blank in newspapers, contrary to what happened in the First Republic—and also by the action of specialised organs linked to the central censorship services and of sectorial organisms as well as by the self-censorship mentioned above that was greatly encouraged by the regime's censors.[10] Given this context, official censorship, enshrined in the 1933 constitution, succeeded in profoundly conditioning all forms of intellectual manifestation[11] as well as manifestations of a cultural, sociocultural and political nature.

In the case of censorship in the colonies, the most important competent authority was the central censorship service (DGSCI–CCEP). This department had committees and delegations scattered throughout

the main administrative divisions in metropolitan Portugal,[12] whilst in the empire the structure was more complex: censorship committees (and reading councils and delegations in the district provinces in the case of Angola and Mozambique) reported to the Governor General of each colony, who in his turn reported directly to the Ministério do Interior (MI) (Ministry of the Interior), which in its turn reported to the Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos do Ministério do Ultramar (GNP) (Bureau of Political Affairs of the Overseas Ministry), with the latter being responsible for making a general appraisal of censorship, distributing information (for example, lists of banned books and magazines) and sending new instructions out to all the colonies.[13] The colonial structure was therefore dependent on the central government, and in fact censorship committees were set up by senior administrative staff from the metropolitan censorship office, all of whom were military officers transferred to the colonies for this very purpose.[14]

This structure was helped by the *intendentes* (district administrators) and district governors and by the Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações (Centralisation and Coordination of Information Services), set up at the start of the colonial war in Angola and Mozambique. In 1966, the political police requested and were granted direct access to press proofs with the cuts that had been made by the censorship services in Angola.[15] In the 1960s, the Comissão de Literatura e Espectáculos para Menores de Angola (Committee for Literature and Entertainment for Minors in Angola) was also set up. This came under the Ministério do Ultramar (Overseas Ministry) and was made up of school inspectors, a representative of the Public Prosecutor's Office and a delegate from the Catholic hierarchy.

It should be noted that all these institutions had authority in the area of repressive censorship as well but preference was given to pre-publication censorship, especially that carried out by the censorship services, and to the control and instrumentalisation of journalists, intermediate-level heads of section and foreign media correspondents. Even some ministers were involved in this.[16]

Returning to 'prior censorship', the detailed analysis undertaken in a recent monograph on press proofs with cuts (partial and integral) from periodicals published in Angola and Mozambique between December 1962 and July 1972 proves the regularity and extent of pre-publication censorship.[17] It was the more influential and non-conformist newspapers and magazines that suffered cuts most frequently. Among these was the Angolan newspaper *Jornal de Benguela*, founded in 1912, which

had autonomist leanings. It was a favourite target of the central power, at least in the period 1926–1928.[18] Among the most persecuted non-conformist papers in Angola were the daily evening newspaper *ABC*, founded by the opposition politician Machado Saldanha, followed by its former supplement *A Tribuna dos Musseques* in the 1960s; the regional newspaper *O Intransigente*, whose head office was in Benguela and which focused on political affairs; and the pro-independence newspaper *Jornal de Angola*, linked to the Associação dos Naturais de Angola (ANANGOLA) (Association of Native-born Angolans).[19] Heading the list of the most persecuted influential periodicals in Angola was the twice-weekly, then daily, *A Província de Angola*, founded in 1923 and with a print run of 45,000 copies a day in its final phase.[20] This was followed by the generalist magazine *Notícia* which published around 50,000 weekly copies and was estimated to have 200,000 readers, and the magazine *Prisma*, founded in 1967, which was linked to the progressive Catholics and whose main shareholder was the businessman Mota Veiga.[21]

A huge number of subjects were censored, notably: racism, social and racial integration, nativism, decentralisation and self-determination, freedom of expression and elections, democracy and communism, pacifism and war, the unequal taxes, port charges, exchange rates and conditions for intra-colonial competition and/or for competition between colonies and the metropole, the contribution of private initiatives to the growth of the colonies and the unfair advantages given to the *companhias majestáticas* (chartered companies), subversive or marginal customs and cultural activities (particularly sexuality), social issues and education, the cost of living, and public policies.[22]

This focus on pre-publication censorship enables us to demonstrate how censorship was a priority for the dictatorship and its empire as well as how it played a structuring role. Hardly had the military dictatorship been instituted in Portugal in 1926 than one of the first key measures taken was to implement pre-publication censorship for the whole of the Portuguese press, including that in the colonial territories.[23] In 1937 this was extended to include foreign periodicals circulating in the colonies which dealt with affairs 'the disclosure of which would not be permitted in Portuguese publications' (Decree-Law 27495, of 27 January, Chap. II, art. 22). In this way, the censors could now control all periodicals that might be in circulation in Portuguese territory. To close the news circuit, the censorship of telexes of the international news agencies (AFP, Reuters, and so on) was centralised in Lisbon.[24]

Monitoring as a Preventive Weapon and a Means to Control Information

The efficiency of this official censorship is further demonstrated by its ability to discriminate between the media to decide what should be watched and targeted. Thus censorship services (and others) were concerned early on with gathering information to build up a profile of the existing press, distinguishing between loyal, neutral and disaffected publications. The first systematic register of newspapers came from the censorship circular of 9 January 1932 which established three types: 'Supports the status quo', 'Hostile to the status quo' and 'Indifferent'.[25] This type of register would be expanded in other documents—such as in the 1933, 1934 and 1945 reports of the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (SPN) (Secretariat of National Propaganda), in a speech given by Salazar in 1958 and in a report from 1968—and served to penalise disaffected newspapers financially by taking official publicity away from them.[26] In the 1945 report, most of the metropolitan press were considered 'neutral' (or 'independent') but almost 40% tended to support the regime (with 'publications that might defend the *Estado Novo* (New State)' predominating). This gives a good idea of the regime's ability to tame the Portuguese press.

With regard to the monitoring and politico-ideological classification of the press, the colonial press found itself categorised in a similar way, with lists drawn up in reports that distinguished between the press that was critical of the regime (or making criticisms that were at times related more to mismanagement by the colonial administration or to abuses within society), the neutral press (most of the daily papers produced in Angola given their essentially commercial profile) and the press loyal to the regime (although they too were reprimanded when opportune), as set out in the 1964 GNP document.[27]

The Systematic, Wide-Ranging and Efficient Nature of 'Repressive Censorship'

Censorship and monitoring were further complemented by a very diverse range of penalties for newspapers that published material either without official authorisation or, having obtained authorisation, that should not have been published in that particular way. These penalties ranged from simple suspension of the publication for a stipulated period of time to it

being purely and simply banned, from the withdrawal of official publicity to fines, expropriation of printing presses and civil and criminal court cases.[28]

This censorship-penalty relationship occurred frequently, especially for those newspapers that risked publishing 'sensitive' content more often. And it applied as much to the metropolitan press as to the press in the colonies. The monographs dedicated to the press during the dictatorship period show how such newspapers were particularly harassed with regard to news about the colonial war. This led to frequent cuts.[29]

As for the press in the colonies, there is documentary evidence that the leading publications were censored. It seems that the first peak of the link between pre- and post-publication censorship and penalties appeared back in 1926–1928. This can be proved by the selective attack on the press in the Mozambique colony's capital and by the general destabilising implications of the 'João Belo Law', which sought to restrict editorial hostility through conditioning the profile of editors-in-chief.[30] This measure also affected Angola and Portuguese India.[31] The impact of these actions was aggravated in 1928 due to a controversial economic measure that was taken[32] and the subsequent growing outcry in the press against this caused further selective repression by the regime, but this time only in Angola.[33]

New peaks occurred between 1932–1933 and in 1937, as proved by fresh selective attacks on the Mozambican press[34] and by the justification given in a special diploma drawn up in 1937 to 'endow the governments of the colonies with more efficient means to prevent abuses which have of late manifested themselves in some newspapers' (Decree 27495, preamble). At the end of the 1930s, the long arm of censorship enabled the censors to extend their reach even further by reprimanding the press for not publishing what should have been published: one case in point is that of the suspension ordered by the Minister for the Colonies of the Mozambican newspapers *O Emancipador* and *O Comércio da Beira* in July 1937 for not having mentioned the bomb attack on Salazar.[35]

The following decade, during and after the Second World War, the regime once again resorted to banning and suspending publication of periodicals in Cape Verde,[36] Angola,[37] Mozambique,[38] and Portuguese India.[39] In Angola, there is even a record of an attack on the most influential Catholic publication and of the deportation of the person in charge.[40]

For the 1950s I found reference to only two cases of repression—one against a cultural periodical in Cape Verde and the other against the Catholic press in Macau.[41] One of the target groups, *inter alia*, that was most hit were certain sectors of the Catholic Church who were more closely identified with spreading the evangelical message and who consequently disagreed with colonial subjugation, the number one taboo topic. It was not by chance that a section of the clergy was so targeted, despite the institutional and doctrinal nexus between the Catholic leadership and the regime: the Church, as an institution, was one of the entities that had a long tradition of involvement in the press and this resulted in their being well established and with a strong economic and business capability. In addition, they were firmly committed to proselytising in the empire through the printed word as a reaction to the fierce competition from evangelical currents. This persecution spread to all the colonies without exception.[42]

A new and more intense peak was recorded in the 1960s at the time of the outbreak of the colonial war: examples here are the censors' ban on photographs of dead people, the criticism of Portuguese soldiers and references to negotiations for the return of Macau to China.[43] In 1960, retaliation spread to another colony, Guinea (Guinea-Bissau today), through the political police's suspension of the publication of the local paper *Arauto* for containing an article that was politically harmful to colonial policy.[44] As for the other colonies, Mozambique and Angola were understandably the hardest hit, with the more influential and non-conformist periodicals being particularly harassed as sanctioning them was deemed to be more effective and served as an example for all. The shutting down of the newspapers *Diário de Moçambique* and *Voz Africana* in 1971 showed a new attitude in the Marcelo Caetano period, one in which private agents were co-opted and economic censorship became tougher.[45]

This evolution corresponds to the different contexts that were critical for the dictatorship which, according to Pimenta, were: the introduction of the military dictatorship in Angola, taking into account the political protests of the *colonos* (settlers); the Second World War and the immediate postwar period; and the last two years of the 1950s.[46] For the colonial structure in general, I would add to the above the start of the institutionalisation of the *Estado Novo*, whose plan to find a political framework for media activity and lay down conditions for it was so

strongly contested in Mozambique. The colonial war context is more controversial since there was a radicalisation of the regime at the same time as political, social and journalistic protests and/or criticism spread. Implicit in all the opposition and criticism, though, was one key issue: the lack of political, administrative, economic and/or financial autonomy for the colonies.

For a better understanding of this evolution, it is important to also mention the impact of certain other events, such as the heavy persecution and repression of Angolan nativist activists, associations and press in 1922, and later of only activists in 1925 and 1928–1930 (thus stretching back to the First Republic and then extending into the military dictatorship). This caused a vacuum and served as a powerful example to intimidate potential transgressors in the public space.[47]

Conclusion

Sufficient information has been provided to deal directly with a current commonplace in the case of Portugal: that censorship in the colonies was far less rigorous than in the metropole. Formulated like this, such an appreciation is erroneous and reductive of the reality. In fact, consideration of this issue must take into account right from the start the *economics of censorship*—that is, the choice made by the regime to make efficient use of available censorial mechanisms according to the concrete realities that presented themselves.[48] The better articulated this was with other instruments such as propaganda, mass indoctrination, the bribery and control of specialists, political repression and justice, the more efficient it became. The sophisticated and measured distribution of political violence has been theorised by Martins as bringing the 'optimal coefficient of terror' and is essentially characterised by efficiency of the *dissuasion effect* with the least political and social cost—something all dictatorial regimes sought to achieve—and with a greater or lesser degree of extreme brutality associated with it.[49]

Official censorship did not only impact on political opinion and political freedom. This is a question it is important to consider further, since even today it is commonly believed that official censorship affected only the press, and within the press only news of a political nature or the more 'daring' newspapers.

This common view was intensely interiorised by the Angolan *colonos* themselves, including journalists with regard to the censorship of books.

For instance, some journalists were not even aware of the activity of a specialised committee for repressive censorship on books, the Conselho de Leitura (Reading Council).[50] Indeed, this very fact shows that the official intention was to camouflage censorship activity as far as possible, with this being one of the main reasons for the ongoing relativisation of political censorship and why it was forgotten.

Censorship had a range of diverse impacts: on the one hand, it moulded and reduced the public sphere[51] while, on the other, it diminished the critical, reflective and creative potential of authors and individuals in general.

Notes

1. E.g. M.E. Rodrigues, *A Representação Social do Branco na Imprensa Angolana dos Anos 30*, Master's thesis (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1994); M. Bittencourt, 'A Resposta dos "Crioulos Luandenses" ao Intensificar do Processo Colonial em Finais do Século XIX', in M.E.M. Santos (ed.), *África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (1885–1930)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2000), pp. 655–671.
2. E.g. J. Capela, 'A Imprensa de Moçambique até à Independência', in F. Ribeiro and A. Sopa (eds.), *140 Anos de Imprensa em Moçambique* (Maputo: Associação Moçambicana de Língua Portuguesa, 1996), pp. 11–27; V. Zamparoni, *Entre Narros & Mulungos*, PhD thesis (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1998), pp. 210–215 and *passim*. The military revolt that broke out in this colony in 1895 would be the cause of another revolt in Portuguese India, which refused to enlist local troops, with serious repercussions: state of siege, suspension of guarantees and suppression of the periodical press until September 1897. S. Lobo, *O Desassossego Goês*, PhD thesis (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013), p. 72.
3. S. Lobo, *O Desassossego Goês*, pp. 198, 225, 230–231, 366, 425–426, 478–480, 490–491 and 500.
4. One symptom of this is the presence of many pseudonyms and pseudo-translations in Portuguese publishing of the time; see T. Seruya, *Estudos de Tradução em Portugal* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Editora, 2007), pp. 200–229.
5. The case of the Agreement for the Suppression of the Circulation of Obscene Publications (Paris, 4 May 1910) and the International Treaty for the Suppression of the Circulation of and the Traffic in Obscene Publications (Geneva, 12 September 1923). These agreements, though,

were given different local interpretations depending on the national cultural environment. D. Heath, 'Obscenity, Censorship, and Modernity', in S. Eliot, J. Ron (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Oxford and New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), p. 512.

6. B. Müller, *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age* (Amsterdam and New York: Editions Rodopi, 2004), pp. 160 and 225–227, respectively.
7. A. Kuhn *apud* H. Freshwater 'Towards a Redefinition of Censorship', in B. Müller, *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*, p. 227.
8. B. Müller, *Censorship & Cultural Regulation in the Modern Age*, p. 4.
9. The Armed Forces, the police, civil, provincial and state governors, and militias, with the political police and the Secretariat of National Propaganda/National Information Secretariat (SPN/SNI) to the fore in terms of regular contact. J.C. Gomes, *Os Militares e a Censura* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006), pp. 92–93.
10. See C. de Azevedo, *Mutiladas e Proibidas* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1997), pp. 29–30; A.F. Fiuza, 'Censura en España, Brasil y Portugal: Esa Cámara de Torturar Palabras y Sonidos durante las Dictaduras en las Décadas de 1960 y 1970', *Espéculo*, 30 (2005), n.p.
11. C. de Azevedo, *Mutiladas e Proibidas*, p. 66.
12. It had at its disposition local structures (such as the administrators of *concelhos* (counties) in those *concelhos* without a censorship committee, *apud* Circular of the MI of October 1926, up until 1928, or the military garrisons, as from 26 December 1928), and district and intermediary structures (committees from the north, centre and south zones of continental metropolitan Portugal as from 1933). J.C. Gomes, *Os Militares e a Censura*, pp. 179–180.
13. J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2011), pp. 92 and 103. The MI ceased to be the intermediary as from the end of 1963.
14. See J.C. Gomes, *Os Militares e a Censura*, pp. 119, 149 and 151.
15. J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 92–98 and 148–149.
16. Although editors-in-chief and correspondents were the most preferred, the practice of allocating retainers to mere journalists, especially by ministries, was common: C. Baptista, *Apogeu, Morte e Ressurreição da Política nos Jornais Portugueses* (s.l.: Escrit'orio, 2012), pp. 101, 111–112 and 151.
17. See J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 96–386.
18. F.T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2008), pp. 145–151.
19. J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 87, 89, 91 and 96–386.
20. J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 86 and 96–386.

21. J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 90, 259 and 96–386; S.M.M. Torres, *Guerra Colonial na Revista Notícia*, Master's thesis (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2012).
22. J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 185, 187, 192, 273, 307, 313 and 323. For public policies, any mention of the shortcomings of the agricultural policy for villages and colonial settlements was especially closely monitored.
23. See Decree 11839, of 5 July, article 10 and Decree 12271, of 3 September.
24. C. Príncipe, *Os Segredos da Censura* (2nd edition, Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1979), p. 15.
25. L.A.C. Dias, '"Por Força da Força …". A Fascização da Censura entre o Advento da Ditadura Militar e a Construção do Estado Novo', in A.P. Pita, J.L. Garcia, L.A.C. Dias and P. Granjo, *4 Olhares sobre a Cultura* (Barreiro: Cooperativa Cultural Popular Barreirense, 2006), p. 57.
26. O. César, *O Agir Jornalístico face à Economia de Censura*, PhD thesis (Lisbon: Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2012,), vol. 1, Chap. 3, pp. 19–20 and Chap. 4, pp. 5–6 and 10; Portugal. PCM. Comissão do Livro Negro sobre o Regime Fascista, *A Política de Informação no Regime Fascista* (s.l.: Comissão do Livro Negro sobre o Regime Fascista, 1980), vol. II, pp. 56–75 and 114–115.
27. See J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 104–105.
28. See list in O. César, *O Agir Jornalístico face à Economia de Censura*, pp. 118–120.
29. E.g. E.M.S. Alves, *Jornal do Fundão*, Master's thesis (Covilhã: Universidade da Beira Interior, 2009); J.P. Castanheira, *O que a Censura Cortou* (Lisbon: Expresso, 2009); S.M. da C. Pires, *A Imprensa Periódica Missionária no Período do Estado Novo (1926–1974)*, Master's thesis (Lisbon: Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2010); O. César, *O Agir Jornalístico face à Economia de Censura*. An emblematic example of this is the case of the Wiriamu massacre, when indigenous Mozambicans were slaughtered by Portuguese troops, about which the Portuguese public only received government disinformation as the specific news item was cut in *Expresso* (J.P. Castanheira, *O que a Censura Cortou*, pp. 210–211). Another example is the case of the literary prize awarded to the writer and anti-colonial combatant Luandino Vieira, when the *Jornal do Fundão* was the only newspaper to flout the ban on publishing the news item. This led to the paper being suspended for six months and after that it was subjected to far more rigorous censorship by the central services (M.S. Alves, *Jornal do Fundão*, pp. 80–85).
30. One important pioneering case was that of the seizure of the first and only edition of the newspaper *Imprensa de Lourenço Marques*, published on 16 October 1926 by the Lourenço Marques press (who also published

the *Lourenço Marques Guardian* and *Notícias*), as a reaction to the new press law of 3 September (Decree 12271, published in Mozambique on 2 October) which 'drastically restricted the individuals who were legally qualified for the post of publisher and editor'—A. Sopa, 'Alguns Aspectos do Regime de Censura Prévia em Moçambique', in F. Ribeiro and A. Sopa (eds.), *140 Anos de Imprensa em Moçambique* (Maputo: Associação Moçambicana de Língua Portuguesa, 1996), p. 91. This seizure was combined with the expulsion from the colony of Américo Chaves de Almeida (editor of the newspaper *Acção Nacional* and publisher of the single edition) and Manuel de Sousa Calvet de Magalhães (editor of *Agulhas e Alfinetes*, expelled for being the author of the article that was deemed offensive to the Minister for the Colonies), by Implementing Order of 23 October passed by the acting Governor General Artur Ivens Ferraz de Freitas: I. Rocha, *Catálogo dos Periódicos e Principais Seriados de Moçambique* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1985), pp. 19–20; V. Zamparoni, *Entre Narros & Mulungos*. In the wake of the government's offensive against the colonial press, the Mozambican weekly *Imparcial* (1922–1933) was also suspended the same year and its editor deported (I. Rocha, *Catálogo dos Periódicos e Principais Seriados de Moçambique*, p. 20), while Manuel de Mesquita was removed as editor of the Angolan periodical *Jornal de Benguela* in October 1926 due to the impositions of the new press law, thus softening the attacks made by this paper against the new centralist colonial policy: F.T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, p. 145. It is estimated that the number of periodicals suspended and/or shut down could have been as high as 55, more than 50% of the existing press (the difference between the 97 published in 1926 and the 42 published in 1927; *apud* I. Rocha, *Catálogo dos Periódicos e Principais Seriados de Moçambique*, p. 19). In spite of the harsh repression, the press in the Mozambican capital continued to actively struggle to retain its autonomy. This led to cyclical repressive offensives by the dictatorship. At the end of the 1920s, publication of the Mozambican newspapers *Jornal do Comércio* and *O Direito* was suspended and the papers *Acção Nacional*, *Agulhas e Alfinetes*, *Luz* and *Sol* were shut down, owing to the conditions imposed by the same press law.

31. In Portuguese India, dissent flowed freely between autonomy and Indian nationalism, with the relationship between the local governor and the press being particularly difficult. This was aggravated by the ease with which publications could circulate and be printed in British India and then in independent India, especially in Bombay. Also worth mentioning are: the suspension of the twice-weekly, pro-Hindu *Pracasha* in November 1929 by order of the government because of criticism of the dictatorship and the governor, João Craveiro Lopes, with its substitute,

the twice-weekly *Pradipa*, being banned immediately afterwards (in March 1930) and then being definitively shut down by Implementing Order 2946, on 22 June 1937; and the frequent bans placed on the newspaper *O Anglo-Lusitano* (1886–1955), the voice of the Goan community in that city, with one of the last bans dating from 1937 (S. Lobo, *O Desassossego Goês*, Appendix 2).

32. The conversion of the Angolan currency which caused financial losses for the colony's population.
33. The autonomist question continued to be taboo as the suspension of the Angolan newspaper *O Comércio de Angola* in July 1928 shows. This was retaliation by the acting Governor General Torres Garcia for criticisms made by the newspaper of the dictatorship's government in relation to the new colonial anti-autonomist policy (F.T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, p. 147).
34. In 1932 the bilingual, weekly Mozambican newspaper *O Brado Africano* was suspended after its circulation was forbidden in the colony of São Tomé for publishing an article by Salustiano da Graça do Espírito Santo that was considered offensive. He was later condemned in 1937 for abusing the freedom of the press: J.L.L. Garcia, *Ideologia e Propaganda Colonial no Estado Novo*, PhD thesis (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2011), p. 646; V. Zamparoni, *Entre Narros & Mulungos*, pp. 528–529. This newspaper reappeared under the title *Clamor Africano*. The following year, the heavy criticism made by the Minister for the Colonies of the authorisation granted for three articles to be published in *O Emancipador* and one in *O Brado Africano* (in October–November) led the Governor General of Mozambique to consolidate local censorship (*apud* Legislative Order of 29 January 1934; V. Zamparoni, *Entre Narros & Mulungos*, p. 527).
35. V. Zamparoni, *Entre Narros & Mulungos*, p. 529.
36. Another important aspect is that certain types of press suffered reprisals owing to their social interventionist profile and their criticism of the conformist attitude of the rest of the colonial press: an unusual case of retaliation was one where publication of the Cape Verdean magazine *Certeza* was banned after the third issue dated January 1945. Copies were seized from the printers immediately after they had been printed but only destroyed years later: J.N. de Oliveira, *A Imprensa Cabo-Verdiana (1820–1975)* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1998), p. 494; L.T. de Carvalho, *Rebeldia e Sensualidade no Suplemento Cultural*, Master's thesis (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003), p. 82; S. Neto, *Colónia Mártir, Colónia Modelo* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2009), p. 92. Although ephemeral, this magazine represented the rebellious spirit of a new generation of young intellectuals

(high school students), with neo-realist and Marxist affiliation, who took up the traditional theme of the colony's isolation, but treating it in an unprecedented way. They denounced the lack of work, the prostitution associated with this and the resignation shown towards colonial oppression, contrasting this to the hope found in the struggle for freedom. They also criticised the conformism and even subservience of the rest of the press and sought to overcome this and usher in an aesthetic revival (see *Certeza*, 2, July 1944, pp. 3–6).

37. I am referring to the suspension on 25 May 1947 of the newspaper *A Voz do Planalto* (based in Nova Lisboa/today Huambo), for publishing a chronicle ('Angola, A Gata Borralheira' (Angola, or Cinderella), by F.A.) that denounced the exploitation of the colony's resources by the metropole (without any return in terms of development); in other words, a regime of the 'colonial pact' type. This angered the colonialist population. A one-year suspension was imposed, a drastic measure in economic terms since only a major business or important organisation could survive being immobilised for such a long time (F.T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, pp. 139–140, 191–192). Another frequently suspended newspaper was *O Comércio*, linked to the Associação Comercial de Angola (Commercial Association of Angola) and the Freemasons, which swung between political autonomy and a 'Rhodesian-type independence', whilst being the spokesperson for the colonial bourgeoisie. Yet another regular occurrence was the imprisonment 'of young white men [in Angola] who stood out in cultural and journalistic circles for their criticism of the colonial regime' (J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, p. 88; F.T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, p. 266).
38. I am referring to the suppression of issue no. 17 (in 1948) of the Mozambican weekly newspaper *Agora* by the local governor, and to the suppression of the Mozambican daily newspaper *O Diário* on 13 May 1943 for publishing a news item that had not been submitted to the censorship services (I. Rocha, *Catálogo dos Periódicos e Principais Seriados de Moçambique*, pp. 29–30, 4).
39. The Implementing Order of June 1937 also suspended publication of the twice-weekly *O Ultramar*; and the suspension of the twice-weekly *O Oriente* (successor to *O Oriente d'África*) on 20 August 1948, ordered by the local governor for criticising both the government's performance and the local Catholic hierarchy (S. Lobo, *O Desassossego Goês*, Appendix 2).
40. In fact, the criticism of the local authorities was another sensitive issue: the main newspaper of the Catholic Church in Angola, *O Apostolado*, was suspended in 1941 (between 15 September and 25 October) for allegedly criticising and insulting the Governor General in chronicles signed by

prelates (and not subjected to pre-publication censorship because of the concordat with the Vatican). The editor was deported to Lisbon, despite his being the second most important figure among the Portuguese clergy. (This was the Vicar-General, Monsignor Alves da Cunha; cf. F.T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, pp. 174–175).

41. In Cape Verde, the generation of university students organised around the magazine *Suplemento Cultural* were also silenced when the second issue was banned in 1958. It claimed to be independentist, with the poetry of Ovídio Martins openly denouncing the colonial situation and the absence of democracy in the inaugural issue (S. Neto, *Colónia Mártir, Colónia Modelo*, p. 97). In Macau, the weekly *O Clarim* (1943–1965), a supplement of the magazine *Religião e Pátria* and the property of the diocese of Macau, was suspended by order of the governor of the province for almost one year from 26 May 1955 to 5 February 1956: S.M. da C. Pires, *A Imprensa Periódica Missionária no Período do Estado Novo* (*1926–1974*), p. 56.
42. In Mozambique, the local governor suspended the influential *Diário de Moçambique* (1950–1971) several times (1964, 1965 and 1968) in retaliation for the criticism of the Portuguese colonial system voiced by its mentor, Bishop Dom Sebastião Resende. On 15 February 1965, he also made cuts in a pastoral note defending the newspaper, which was linked to the diocese of Beira: S.M. da C. Pires, *A Imprensa Periódica Missionária no Período do Estado Novo (1926–1974)*, p. 54. Then in 1971 the newspapers *Diário de Moçambique* and *Voz Africana* were shut down by the new proprietor, Jorge Jardim, former governor and secret agent of the regime, a decision that served to silence once and for all these two troublesome newspapers (J. Capela, 'A Imprensa de Moçambique até à Independência', pp. 22–27). In East Timor, the Catholic newspaper *Seara*, property of the diocese of East Timor, was suspended in 1973: V. Paulino, 'A Imprensa Católica Seara e a Tradição Timorense: 1949–1970', in *Anais Electrónicos do XI Conlab* (Salvador-Bahia: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2011).
43. *Apud* testimony by Adam Lee, a reporter linked to a Chinese language newspaper published in Macau. C. B. de Oliveira, 'A Censura do Livro no Estado Novo—XIII', blog *Rochedo das Memórias*, (17 May 2009), n.p. Available at: http://cronicasdorochedo.blogspot.pt/2009/05/rochedo-das-memorias-110-censura-do.html.
44. The article is 'Carta Aberta ao Governador Geral de Angola' (Open Letter to the Governor General of Angola) by Ernesto Lara Filho, which was 'considered prejudicial for political reasons': quote from an official letter from the political police's sub-delegation in Bissau dated 12 March 1960. C.T. de Sousa, *Crónicas de Ernesto Lara (Filho)* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2010), p. 130.

45. For Angola, see the suspension of the Lobito newspaper *Sul* in February 1964 (by the Governor of Angola for one month) and of the magazine *Ribalta* in 1966. See J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, pp. 106 and 133.
46. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*, p. 141.
47. Cf. M.E. Rodrigues, *A Representação Social do Branco na Imprensa Angolana dos Anos 30*, pp. 35–43 and 60.
48. Here I have adapted the theorisation of the economics of terror developed by H. Martins, *Classe, Status e Poder e outros Ensaios sobre o Portugal Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1998), p. 45.
49. For the former concepts, see H. Martins, *Classe, Status e Poder e outros Ensaios sobre o Portugal Contemporâneo*, p. 45; for the latter, see J.L. Garcia, 'Sobre a Censura em Portugal', in J.L. Garcia (ed.), *Estudos sobre os Jornalistas Portugueses. Metamorfoses e Encruzilhadas no Limiar do Século XXI* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2009), p. 48.
50. This was confirmed by personal statements made to J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, p. 249.
51. Here I adopt the critical reformulation of Habermas' concept proposed in C. Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992).

Colonisation Through Broadcasting: Rádio Clube de Moçambique and the Promotion of Portuguese Colonial Policy, 1932–1964

Nelson Ribeiro

With a long-lasting empire and a political regime that had the mission of colonisation at the centre of its ideology, it would be reasonable to expect that, during the 1930s, Portugal would have been one of the countries that most invested in shortwave broadcasting to its colonial territories. This, however, was not the case. On the contrary, when compared to other European colonial nations, Portugal was clearly the one that invested least in transborder transmissions, due to Salazar's vision that the future of his regime was mostly dependent on the elites and not on the masses. This led him to despise all media that were intended to reach large segments of the population.[1]

This lack of investment from the state was compensated for by the proliferation of private stations in the African colonies, with the sole exception of Portuguese Guinea where broadcasting first emerged via the hand of the state that established an official broadcaster in 1946. The radio stations

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that appeared during the 1930s and 1940s in all the other territories were private initiatives that received the support of the colonial authorities. This was clearly the scenario in Angola and Mozambique, the two largest colonies that attracted thousands of Portuguese settlers. Even though in the 1950s the *Estado Novo* (New State) would revise its broadcasting policy in Angola with the establishment of the state-owned Emissora Oficial de Angola, the radio landscape in Mozambique remained totally controlled by private stations. This can be explained by the propaganda role performed by Rádio Clube de Moçambique (RCM) that led the Portuguese regime not to consider the need for creating an official station.

Since the early days of broadcasting in Africa, RCM achieved significant success in the colony and in neighbouring countries, namely South Africa, North and South Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Madagascar.[2] Contrary to all other broadcasters that emerged in Portuguese colonial territories in Africa, RCM, besides having a professional management, adopted a commercial strategy inspired by the American model of broadcasting.

Against this background, this chapter presents a contextual history of RCM from its emergence to the outbreak of the colonial war in Mozambique, demonstrating how the Portuguese dictatorship led by Salazar controlled and used the station to promote the regime's colonial policy. RCM had to deal with an editorial dilemma for most of its history, as will be detailed here. Perceived as a broadcaster with a public mission—that is, to promote colonialism and the Portuguese regime—it had a clear commercial nature which would lead it to develop programming formats that appealed to a large number of listeners and to attract investment from major advertisers.

The history presented here is based on document-research of official materials existing in the Oliveira Salazar Archive and in the Archive of the National Propaganda Secretariat. Publications edited by RCM will also be used as a source that will allow us to understand how the station promoted its own achievements as a leading means of communication in the Portuguese empire.

The Commercial Vocation of Rádio Clube de Moçambique

During 1932, when broadcasts from South Africa, the United States and several European countries reached Mozambique, a few dozen radio enthusiasts living in the capital Lourenço Marques (today

Maputo) established a Radio Guild (Grémio dos Radiófilos da Colónia de Moçambique) with the purpose of creating the colony's first radio station. The plan took form and the first transmissions occurred in February of the following year through a 30-watt transmitter that was assembled by members of the Guild. The official inauguration took place in March 1933 in the presence of the Governor General of the colony, demonstrating the local authorities' support for this project. Furthermore, when the Mozambican station initiated its regular broadcasts, the Lisbon state broadcaster, Emissora Nacional, had not yet started its experimental transmissions.

Established as a radio club, RCM obtained revenue from the fees paid by its members and from advertising, since commercials were aired from the beginning of transmissions and were perceived as indispensable to the station's survival. The idea of radio as a business, which was at the foundation of RCM, led Ernesto Barbosa[3] to consider that the setting up of the station was motivated by the desire to promote Portuguese music and culture but also by the interest in developing a new industry—that of radio receivers. Although there seems to be enough evidence to sustain this conclusion, one must also acknowledge that the exploitation of the advertising market was the main goal of RCM's founders. In fact, it was the station's commercial vocation that led it to assume characteristics that would differentiate it from the other broadcasting projects that emerged in the Portuguese empire and that clearly had a less ambitious nature.

The interest in transforming RCM into a profitable project led the first administration, presided over by Aniano Serra, to initiate, as early as April 1933, programmes in English along with the transmissions in Portuguese. This would lead, in 1936, to the creation of a second channel—'Programme B'—targeted mostly at South Africa and presented entirely in English.[4] RCM would then use two different transmitters: one for 'Programme A' (in Portuguese) and another for 'Programme B'. The latter also broadcast news bulletins in Afrikaans even before it became a bilingual channel in 1947.[5]

The mid-1930s marked what can be considered the professionalisation of the station that until the end of the decade would increase its staff and its contracts with musicians who were responsible for performing regular live music programmes. While the number of radio receivers was extremely small in Mozambique, attracting listeners from neighbouring countries was considered the only option that would allow the

station to survive in the long run. In fact, transmissions in English made a significant contribution to RCM's expansion since a significant percentage of the revenue came from advertising contracts that were signed with companies in South Africa, including General Electric that soon became one of station's biggest clients.[6]

During the early years, the broadcasts aired music, both classic and popular, talks, sports commentaries, soap operas and short stories.[7] A series of activities would also be organised to increase the station's popularity both in Mozambique and South Africa, such as live radio programmes, competitions for children[8] and the annual radio raffle which, besides functioning as a promotional stunt, also became an important source of revenue used to support RCM's expansion. The fact that it was a commercial station, when most broadcasters that reached Africa were state-operated, allowed RCM to develop new programming formats and to invest in events and in popular music. This explains its success not only in Mozambique and in other Portuguese African colonies but also in South Africa and other neighbouring countries.

RCM became, from the beginning of its transmissions in English, 'the primary format for popular music consumption in South Africa'[9] and received very good feedback from listeners there because it played a larger variety and a more enjoyable music mix than the South African Broadcasting Company.[10] The latter was a state-owned company created in 1927 which had been given the monopoly of broadcasting in the country. It would be replaced by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in 1936 which was also state-owned and that, from its inception, had to deal with the competition from the other side of the border. South Africa was clearly strategic for the Mozambican station, not only on account of its flourishing market but also because the number of radio sets available was greatly superior to that in any Portuguese territory in Africa. In order to attract listeners for its English broadcasts, in addition to the aforementioned initiatives and the careful music selection, tailored to what was perceived as the taste of those who listened, regular advertising of the broadcasts was published in South African newspapers and magazines, and ads were also projected in local cinemas.[11] According to a survey conducted in 1936 and commenting on the station's official magazine, *Rádio Moçambique*, 80% of South African radio listeners preferred the broadcasts from RCM over any other station.[12]

The revenue obtained from advertising on 'Programme B', along with a significant increase in the number of members of the radio club

to over one thousand in 1937, would enable the station to continue to invest in its programming both in Portuguese and English, to build a new headquarters—the 'Radio Palace'[13]—and to expand its coverage. By the end of the 1930s, RCM was not only the most developed station in the Portuguese territories (including Portugal itself) but was also one of the biggest stations on the African continent, operating on short and medium waves and reaching Southern and Central Africa, including Angola to which special broadcasts were dedicated, as well as several European countries.

Despite some difficulties that had to be faced during World War II, due to the significant drop that took place in advertising investments, the need to secure the South African market was always at the centre of RCM's concerns which led it to include programmes in Afrikaans in 1947 and also to increase the number of transmission hours of 'Programme B', which the following year would adopt the name of 'LM Radio' (short for Lourenço Marques Radio). These improvements in the programming of the English/Afrikaans service were a response to the SABC, which was then preparing for the launch of its own commercial station. Named Springbok Radio, the new channel was inaugurated in May 1950 and created contradictions within SABC that then became a public service broadcaster with a mixed model: while inspired by the British public service, it aired commercials like the American stations.[14]

Notwithstanding SABC's lack of tradition in the production of commercial broadcasts, the emergence of Springbok Radio had a strong impact on the listenership of RCM that would no longer be the most listened-to station in South Africa. A survey conducted in 1951 concluded that 33.2% of South African radio listeners (estimated to be 719,000) tuned daily into Springbok Radio while 24.3% listened to the transmissions from Lourenço Marques.[15] Well aware that this could be the beginning of the end of its golden age, RCM responded to these figures through stronger investments in transmissions to South Africa, which involved the hiring of new announcers for the English service ('Programme B') and the acquisition of a new 100 Kw transmitter that, after entering into operation, in August 1956, enabled better coverage of the neighbouring country.[16]

The competition between the two stations would be quite tough during the 1950s and 1960s. Even though RCM would no longer dominate the broadcasting landscape, the station's administration would always consider its presence in the South African market as strategic, on account

of the fact that it generated important commercial contracts. These were established both with local companies and with North American advertising agencies that were responsible for managing the advertising budgets of many international companies in South Africa. As an example of this, in March 1956, just a few months before the inauguration of its new 100 Kw transmitter, RCM 'announced the existence of a contract with … Pan American Broadcasting Company so that it would act as its representative in the United States of America'.[17]

Despite never regaining the success it had had before the emergence of Springbok Radio, throughout the 1950s and 1960s RCM's main revenue continued to come from advertisements aired on 'Programme B'. This led to continuous improvements being introduced in programming. In March 1964, it initiated daily 24-hour broadcasts which created the need for new English announcers to be hired. Two of the most well-known radio presenters in Africa, Clark McKay and Leslie Sullivan, would then join the station, becoming the most well-paid on the continent. A survey conducted in May the following year concluded that RCM was the most listened-to station by South Africans of between 16 and 25 years old, which represented an important target for advertising.[18] Therefore, 'Programme B' did indeed continue to generate sufficient money to enable significant investments to be made in broadcasts in Portuguese and native languages that, as will be detailed below, were designed to promote Portuguese nationalistic values, its authoritarian regime and also its colonial policy.

Relations with Colonial Authorities

With a clear commercial vocation, RCM was an exception in the broadcasting landscape of the Portuguese empire, since most stations that emerged in the colonies perceived themselves as non-profit projects aimed at serving their local communities (that is, the local white population). Besides RCM, only Rádio Comercial de Angola created in 1962 in Sá da Bandeira (today Lubango) assumed a clear commercial nature and its success was very limited. This made RCM a peculiar case in relation to popularity among listeners.

Clearly focused on the need to attract listeners and advertising, this did not mean that RCM was not also committed to the dissemination of the *Estado Novo*'s ideology. If any doubts were to exist on how the founders foresaw the role of the broadcaster, RCM's official statutes,

approved in 1932, clearly stated that its goals were: 'to cooperate with official organisms; promote the propaganda of broadcasting …; promote the development of national activities and of Portuguese propaganda abroad'.[19]

The relationship between the station management and the colonial authorities would always be one of cooperation during the period under analysis. Despite the fact that, in the beginning, colonial officials did not pay much attention to the project, soon all the major events promoted by RCM would be attended and some even presided over by members of the Governor General's office.[20] In 1937, the station was granted its first official subsidy and also in that year became the beneficiary of the radio licence introduced in the colony.[21] Other subsidies would follow, along with tax exemptions,[22] demonstrating the good relations then existing between Salazar's regime and RCM that, along with its commercial transmissions mostly targeted at South Africa, was very much involved in expanding its broadcasts in the Portuguese language in order to function as a means of propaganda for the *Estado Novo* and its colonial authorities. As written in the station's magazine, in publication since 1935, the success of RCM 'was only possible by the fortunate combination of the effort of the colonial population and the goodwill of the authorities'.[23]

On several occasions, the governors of Mozambique also expressed their support for the operations of RCM that filled the gap left by the absence of a state broadcaster in the territory. In a speech delivered in July 1939, Governor José Nunes de Oliveira called attention to the fact that radio was one of the few means of communication available to those who lived in the many rural areas:

> I am very satisfied to acknowledge once again, publicly, the benefits of the action of Rádio Clube de Moçambique. Thanks to their emissions, all settlers, however distant and isolated their place of residence, can maintain daily contact with the life of the nation and the colony, in all its manifestations. You need to know the life of the bush to be able to assess, in fair measure, the value of the service provided to the community.[24]

RCM's involvement in the promotion of the Portuguese regime was visible from its early years. As a station set up by the colonial elite in Lourenço Marques, it advertised the local authorities' achievements and in 1939 was highly involved in the promotion of one of the biggest propaganda events that took place that year in Mozambique: the visit of

the Portuguese President, General Óscar Carmona. Besides participating in several events that took place during the presidential stay in the colony, extensive coverage of the visit was provided and all the material was recorded and sent to Lisbon to be relayed by the state broadcaster Emissora Nacional.[25]

The desire to play a 'nationalistic' mission led RCM to assume, in 1939, the enterprise of acquiring a new 10 Kw shortwave transmitter that would be used to reach Portugal and to also improve the quality of the broadcasts to Angola. Having good reception conditions in the biggest Portuguese territory in Africa was important not only for propaganda purposes but also because it was an important market, becoming a considerable source of revenue during World War II when advertising spending dropped significantly in South Africa. The huge decrease that then took place in the revenue of 'Programme B' was slightly compensated for by the increase of income coming from Angola, specifically from the selling of the radio raffle.[26]

RCM was clearly a station with a double nature: commercial on the one hand, with an ideological mission on the other. The two natures were inseparable, not least because it was the revenue coming from the commercial programmes that allowed for the expansion of the transmissions in Portuguese. Financial support for the latter was also given by the local authorities: a support that was particularly crucial during the war years when RCM faced severe financial constraints. The drop in money coming in from advertising in South Africa created restrictions that were partially overcome thanks to subsidies from the colonial authorities of Lourenço Marques and Luanda that enabled RCM to continue its broadcasts not only to Mozambique and surrounding countries but also to Portugal, Brazil and North America through shortwave.[27]

The coverage of different regions of the Portuguese empire was substantially improved in 1954 following the acquisition of a new 100 Kw transmitter that was inaugurated by the Portuguese President, General Francisco Craveiro Lopes, and the Minister of the Colonies, Raúl Ventura. Very differently from the initial years during which it was clearly a project led by a few radio enthusiasts from Lourenço Marques, RCM had now acquired a strategic importance for the Lisbon regime that, besides giving financial aid, also restricted the emergence of other commercial stations in Mozambique.[28] For the *Estado Novo*, RCM became an important asset, as it was the only station that could compete with

those being established in several African territories controlled by the British and the French.

The schedule of 'Programme A' was mostly composed of live musical performances, Portuguese popular songs and lectures on the economic development of Mozambique, aiming to spread the idea that the colony had developed significantly during the five centuries of colonial domination. The programming was targeted exclusively at the white Portuguese settlers in the territory and totally ignored the native Mozambican population. Unlike the broadcasts in English and Afrikaans[29] that had a clear commercial nature, the transmissions in Portuguese were mostly perceived as public service even though they also carried advertising. However, while 'Programme B' was set up to air commercials, the transmissions to Mozambique had other objectives—namely, the dissemination of nationalistic values and of the Portuguese colonial mission that were both at the core of the *Estado Novo*'s identity. These broadcasts also helped to diminish the sense of isolation of those who lived in the rural areas, distant from the major towns, for whom Portuguese popular music was considered particularly important.

During the 1950s, a period during which independence movements emerged in several territories under Portuguese rule, including in Portuguese Guinea and Angola, RCM started to improve its coverage within Mozambique and to offer more diverse programming through the creation of regional transmission posts. The first three to begin operation were installed in the provinces of Niassa in 1953, Zambezia in 1958 and Cape Delgado in 1960. These three regions, located in the north of Mozambique and consequently distant from Lourenço Marques, were considered strategic targets, as colonial propaganda tended not to reach the rural areas distant from the capital, where people lived quite isolated lives and had very little contact with the ideas promoted by the *Estado Novo*. Other regional transmitters would be established throughout the 1960s and 1970s, aiming to increase the station's audience and 'to serve the government',[30] as stated in RCM's official history.

Broadcasting to the Indigenous

'Programme A' can be said to have functioned as a semi-official 'voice of Portuguese colonialism'. However, until the late 1950s, broadcasts only took place in the Portuguese language and therefore did not impact on

the majority of those living in Mozambique. This was consistent with the *Estado Novo*'s colonial policy that perceived local languages and culture as inferior to those of Europeans. Several laws that were passed during the dictatorship years were predicated on the assumption that indigenous people as individuals should be 'assimilated' into Portuguese culture. One of the last pieces of legislation to openly address this issue was the 'Statute of the Portuguese Indigenous People in the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique', which was passed in 1954. It established the criteria that indigenous people would have to fulfil to become citizens. For this they would have to master the Portuguese language, have a profession that would allow them to support their family and have a lifestyle in accordance with Portuguese law and habits.[31]

The apartheid that existed between the white population and the indigenous people was propagated on radio transmissions until the early 1950s, when a shift in Portuguese colonial policy occurred. It was in 1951, when the independence of many African territories was placed on the international agenda, that Salazar decided to revoke the Acto Colonial (Colonial Act) of 1930, replacing the word 'colonies' with the expression 'overseas provinces'. These were presented not as part of the empire but as an integral part of Portugal, which was then declared to be a pluricontinental, multirational and multicultural nation. Therefore, instead of a European country with an empire, the new policy described Portugal as a nation located in three different continents. It was also in this context that the regime adopted Gilberto Freyre's concept of Luso-Tropicalism, according to which the Portuguese were more human and adaptable to other cultures than were other colonial rulers.[32] Freyre's justification for this was the fact that Portugal had been inhabited by different peoples in pre-modern times and had had a colonial empire since the 1400s. The combination of these two historical factors were said to explain how the Portuguese could easily interact with different cultures and engage in miscegenation practices.[33]

This change in colonial policy was obviously an attempt to bypass the need to debate the path that might lead to the independence of the African possessions. Portugal did have to answer questions on this matter after becoming a member of the United Nations (UN). In July 1956, seven months after its formal admission to the UN, the Secretary-General enquired of Portugal about the territories under its administration that had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. In response, Portuguese diplomats reported that their country had no

territories in such conditions under its administration, since all the provinces were part of the Portuguese nation that spread from Europe to Asia.[34]

It was in this context that RCM initiated its programmes in local languages (referred to as dialects) targeted at the native population, with the initiative coming from the colonial authorities rather than from the station itself. The first transmissions took place in 1957 in the Ronga language through a transmitter that reached the south of Mozambique. After an initial experimental period, it was decided in March 1958 that these broadcasts should became permanent under the name Hora Nativa (Native Hour). The programme was set up by the colonial state through the Directorate General of Indigenous Affairs and was presented by local announcers who were trained by RCM staff. From the late 1950s, these announcers would merit the honour of appearing in the pages of the RCM's magazine, which was a way of demonstrating to the colonial settlers the 'civilising work' that was being carried on by broadcasting, able to transform the natives into competent radio announcers. On the other hand, recruiting native individuals to present programmes in local languages also functioned as a way of demonstrating to the native populations that Portugal was now interested in their language, culture and people.

Hora Nativa consisted of recorded musical performances by local groups and lectures that covered a variety of issues, ranging from health and hygiene to domestic and national economy, also giving attention to colonial history and the role of the Portuguese administration. In addition to the acquisition of a 5 Kw transmitter dedicated to these transmissions, a new production team was set up for the broadcasts in local languages[35] that were aired every Sunday from 9 to 10 a.m. and from 6 to 9 p.m.[36] It quickly became a strategic programme for the Portuguese colonial authorities that saw it as a way of indoctrinating the native populations and promoting the idea of Portugal as a multicultural and multirational nation. As a white listener wrote in a letter addressed to the newspaper *Notícias* published in Lourenço Marques, transmitting in local languages had finally made it possible for the indigenous to listen to broadcasts produced by Portuguese people which was said to be crucial to stop the penetration of international broadcasters into Mozambique:

> We are certain that not only the aborigines of this land, at whom the broadcast is especially intended, are grateful for that, but so too all

> Mozambicans of goodwill, without distinction of colour, are fully thankful to Rádio Clube de Moçambique for yet another giant step in the history of broadcasting in Mozambique because, in fact, it makes us proud that we can rub shoulders with other countries that have broadcasts in more than one language. Thus, our indigenous people stop listening to programmes of foreign origin, which might cause the risk of them losing their nationality.[37]

This was just one example of many letters of appreciation that would be published in several publications concerning the transmissions in the Ronga language, including some that were written by white settlers on behalf of the local population.[38] The programme would continue to be aired weekly until 1962 when it was replaced by Voz de Moçambique (Mozambique Voice), a new service created with the clear aim of helping to mitigate the perception of apartheid between the Portuguese citizens and the local population.[39] Even though Voz de Moçambique used the technical infrastructures of RCM, the responsibility for the content belonged to the colonial authorities, through a division of the Educational Cultural Action Services. It was put into operation at a time when Portugal was already engaged in the colonial war in Angola.

Following the creation of Voz de Moçambique, new languages were added to the broadcasts: Shangaan, Macua, Chuwabo and Macua-Meto. While transmissions in Ronga and Shangaan were targeted at the south of Mozambique, the other languages were spoken on the broadcasts produced by RCM's regional posts in the north of the territory.[40] Other languages were simply left out of this propaganda effort.[41] Despite the clear ideological line of these transmissions, Voz de Moçambique also had commercial goals, with programmes being regularly sponsored by 'several companies that intended to promote the selling of radio receivers, particularly among the Mozambican population resident in the area of Lourenço Marques'.[42]

Broadcasts in the African languages took place daily, except for Macua-Meto transmissions that were aired only twice a week. The programmes included entertaining and educational content presented in regular features such as 'Women's Programme', 'Our Fields and Our Animals', 'Health Talk' and 'Portuguese, My Language'. The aim was to 'give listeners unambiguous proof of being identified with multiple aspects of their lives, their problems and their usual aspirations'.[43] According to RCM officials, pleasing the listeners was not an easy task and therefore substantial airtime was occupied by music produced by

the indigenous populations, as this was considered a way of gaining the attention and affection of the 'less developed societies'.[44]

Voz de Moçambique made use of many recordings of indigenous folk music in Ronga and Shangaan that had been produced by RCM since the 1940s, after the music director and composer Belo Marques was brought from Lisbon to work in Lourenço Marques.[45] There he was involved in collecting and writing about what he defined as 'black folk music'.[46] The first recordings took place in 1943[47] and over the next two decades thousands of others would also take place in different regions of Mozambique that would later be aired on broadcasts targeted at the indigenous population, but also on 'Programme A' as an attempt to familiarise the white settlers with the culture and musical traditions of the locals.

Although there is no quantitative data on listenership, in 1963 the official magazine of RCM mentioned that the station received an average of 1700 letters each month from listeners who received the broadcasts in Ronga and Shangaan.[48] While listeners were perceived as individuals with primitive ways of life who needed to be educated, the producers also understood and engaged with the need to offer appealing content—specifically, music programs that gave visibility to local culture. This was indeed considered important, in order to prevent listeners tuning into other stations that broadcast in African languages, including the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which had initiated its 'African' service back in 1945, and Radio Bantu operated by the SABC.[49] Even though these broadcasters did not transmit in languages spoken in Mozambique, as an RCM listener noticed in the summer of 1958, 'many natives were in the habit of listening to foreign broadcasts of programs in Bantu languages … that although many did not understand the language spoken there, they tuned their appliances in because it was an "African language programme"'.[50]

While the colonial authorities counted on RCM's transmitters and its collaboration for the production of Voz de Moçambique, during the early 1960s the station would continue to invest in its programmes in Portuguese, English and Afrikaans, therefore not abandoning its commercial vocation. In relation to transmissions in Portuguese, in December 1962, anticipating the inauguration of SABC's broadcasts in Portuguese, RCM created 'Programme C': a new service that aired classical music and no commercials. It was inaugurated to increase the station's symbolic value among the colonial elites in the territory that did

not enjoy the commercial programming aired on 'Programme A' that from March 1964 would broadcast 24 hours per day.[51]

In the meantime, in March 1963 RCM had also inaugurated a special programme dedicated to the Portuguese military in the territory. The *Jornal das Forças Armadas* promoted what was described as the 'feats of the Portuguese heroes' against 'colonial terrorism' in the colonial war then taking place in Angola and Portuguese Guinea.[52] This programme, along with the transmissions of Voz de Moçambique, would become even more important for the Portuguese authorities after the outbreak of the pro-independence war in Mozambique in September 1964.

Conclusion

Private broadcasting was a widespread phenomenon in the Portuguese colonial territories in Africa, led by radio clubs set up by the white settlers. These stations emerged throughout the empire at a time when the *Estado Novo* dictatorship was showing a distinct lack of interest in investing in broadcasting in the African territories. Among the radio clubs that were established in the Portuguese empire, RCM was by far the most successful, on account of its commercial nature and ambition. From the early 1930s, the station from Lourenço Marques clearly stated its aim of becoming the biggest broadcaster in Africa, an aim it achieved during the first decade of its existence.

Inspired by the American model of commercial broadcasting, RCM—or LM Radio, as it would become known in South Africa—established broadcasting in English and Afrikaans to its neighbouring country as a high priority in order to overcome two difficulties that it encountered in Mozambique: small numbers of radio receivers and an undeveloped advertising market. Due to the revenue raised from advertising on 'Programme B', RCM could present impressive growth during the period under analysis, continuously expanding its transmission capacity, creating different services in different languages and targeting different segments of the public.

Although it was a private and commercial station, RCM also perceived itself as performing a public service which for the station officials meant engaging in the promotion of the *Estado Novo*'s ideology and its colonial policy. Maintaining good relations with the Portuguese authorities was not only mandatory for it to be given the conditions to continue its growth, but it was part of RCM's own nature since it had been

established by the Portuguese elite residing in the capital of the colony. Therefore, when the *Estado Novo* addressed broadcasting in the empire more seriously, the need to create a public station in Mozambique was considered unnecessary and instead the regime relied on RCM to promote Portuguese colonialism. Although the airing of programmes in African languages was an initiative of the colonial authorities, RCM also played a central role in this regard, providing both the transmitters and the expertise required for these broadcasts to take place. While Hora Nativa and Voz de Moçambique are two illustrations of the station's collaboration in the dissemination of Portuguese colonial ideals, it is also important not to underestimate the fact that, even before these transmissions were initiated in 1958, RCM was already playing an important role in the promotion of the *Estado Novo*'s ideology among the colonists living not only in Mozambique but also in Angola and in other African countries reached by the broadcasts from Lourenço Marques.

From its early days, revenues originating from advertising allowed RCM to invest in broadcasts that promoted Portuguese colonialism. This would become even more evident after the outbreak of the colonial war in the Portuguese colonies, when RCM would be involved in propaganda and counter-propaganda campaigns. Besides producing programmes that praised the Portuguese regime and its military conquests, frequent attacks were launched against the messages disseminated by the local independence movements and by other African stations that had taken on the mission of promoting anti-colonialism. Exactly how the station from Lourenço Marques put all its resources into defending the Portuguese presence in Africa is something that can only be understood through more in-depth research on the post-1964 period. However, it is certain that, when the colonial war broke out in Mozambique, RCM was the most powerful propaganda tool at the disposal of the Portuguese regime.

Notes

1. See N. Ribeiro, 'Broadcasting to the Portuguese Empire in Africa: Salazar's Singular Broadcasting Policy', *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 28: 6 (November 2014): 920–937.
2. *Rádio Moçambique*, December 1936, pp. 20–21; *Rádio Moçambique*, March 1937, pp. 6–7.
3. E.C.N.S. Barbosa, *A Radiodifusão em Moçambique: O Caso do Rádio Clube de Moçambique*, 1932–1974 (Maputo: Promédia, 2000).

4. The creation of an English channel followed the tradition of newspaper publication in English language in Mozambique that dates back to the nineteenth century. See P.J. Fernandes, '"A África Pertence aos Afrikanders": Imprensa e "Nacionalismo Afro-Europeu" em Moçambique nos Finais do Século XIX', in A. Nascimento and A. Rocha (eds.), *Em Torno dos Nacionalismos em África* (Maputo: Alcance Editores, 2013).
5. Ibid.
6. *Rádio Moçambique*, July 1936, p. 7.
7. M.H. Bramão, *Livro de Ouro do Mundo Português. Moçambique* (Lourenço Marques: s.n., 1970).
8. RCM, *História do Rádio Clube de Moçambique* (Lisboa: s.n., 1959).
9. C.A. Muller, 'American Musical Surrogacy: A View from Post-World War II South Africa', *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies*, 7: 3 (May 2007): 1–18.
10. C.N.S. Barbosa, 'A Radiodifusão em Moçambique'.
11. Ibid.
12. *Rádio Moçambique*, October 1936, p. 1.
13. Transmissions from the station's new facilities would start in September 1951, even though construction was still ongoing.
14. G. Hayman and R. Tomaselli, 'Ideology and Technology in the Growth of South African Broadcasting, 1924–1971', in R. Tomaselli, K. Tomaselli and J. Muller (eds.), *Broadcasting in South Africa* (London: Currey, 1989), pp. 23–83.
15. *Rádio Moçambique*, December 1951, pp. 2–3.
16. RCM, *História do Rádio Clube de Moçambique*.
17. C.N.S. Barbosa, 'A Radiodifusão em Moçambique', p. 69.
18. *Rádio Moçambique*, May 1965, p. 3.
19. Ordinance 1.723, *Boletim Oficial—Iª Série*, 23 July 1932.
20. RCM, *História do Rádio Clube de Moçambique*.
21. C.N.S. Barbosa, 'A Radiodifusão em Moçambique'.
22. Tax exemptions were given by Salazar for the importation of all the material bought for the new 10 Kw transmitter that would begin operation in 1939 (*Rádio Moçambique*, May 1939, p. 3).
23. *Rádio Moçambique*, June–July 1939, p. 10.
24. Speech pronounced by Governor José Nunes de Oliveira on 8 July 1939, in *Rádio Moçambique*, June–July 1939, p. 5.
25. *Rádio Moçambique*, August 1939, pp. 1–5.
26. C.N.S. Barbosa, 'A Radiodifusão em Moçambique'.
27. *Rádio Moçambique*, December 1939, p. 1.
28. Two other radio stations were established in Mozambique: *Aero Clube da Beira* (1940) and *Rádio Pax* (1954). Neither was a serious competitor since these were small stations that merely covered the Beira district. Fearing that *Aero Clube* would disrupt RCM's monopoly in radio

advertising, the station management tried on several occasions to control *Aero Clube* which in actual practice did take place in 1956 after an agreement was signed between the two.

29. In 1958, RCM also initiated a French service to the Belgian Congo (*Rádio Moçambique*, May 1958, p. 6).
30. RCM, *História do Rádio Clube de Moçambique*, p. 34.
31. Decree-Law 39666, Article 56, 20 May 1954.
32. See C. Castelo, '*O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo*': *O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 1998).
33. See G. Freyre, *Portuguese Integration in the Tropics* (Lisboa: Tipografia Silvas, 1961).
34. C. Castelo, '*O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo*'.
35. *Rádio Moçambique*, May 1958, p. 6.
36. *Rádio Moçambique*, July 1958, pp. 11–12.
37. Letter from a listener of *Rádio Clube de Moçambique* published in *Notícias*, *apud Rádio Moçambique*, July 1958, p. 14.
38. *Radio Moçambique*, June 1958, pp. 10–11.
39. J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Moçambique* (Lisbon: Companhia Nacional Editora, 1965).
40. *Rádio Moçambique*, May 1962, p. 24.
41. M. Power, 'Aqui Lourenço Marques! Radio Colonization and Cultural Identity in Colonial Mozambique, 1933–1974', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26: 4 (2000): 605–628.
42. C.N.S. Barbosa, 'A Radiodifusão em Moçambique', p. 30.
    The official statistics account for the existence of 38,478 radio receivers in Mozambique in 1962, though many thousands of transistors also existed that were acquired illegally in order not to pay the licence fee and therefore are not accounted for in the statistics. See J.J. Gonçalves, *A Informação em Moçambique*.
43. *Rádio Moçambique*, January 1963, p. 7.
44. *Rádio Moçambique*, April 1963, pp. 2–4.
45. C.N.S. Barbosa, 'A Radiodifusão em Moçambique'.
46. B. Marques, *Música Negra. Estudos do Folclore Tonga* (Lisbon: Agencia Geral das Colónias, 1953).
47. *Rádio Moçambique*, November 1943, p. 8.
48. *Rádio Moçambique*, July 1963, pp. 6–7.
49. M. Power, 'Aqui Lourenço Marques! Radio Colonization and Cultural Identity in Colonial Mozambique, 1933–1974'.
50. *Rádio Moçambique*, July 1958, pp. 11–14.
51. *Rádio Moçambique*, March 1964, p. 9.
52. *Rádio Moçambique*, March 1967, p. 8.

The *Mise-en-scène* of the Empire: The 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition

Joana Ramalho

The Exposição do Mundo Português (EMP) (Portuguese World Exhibition) was held in Lisbon in 1940 to celebrate both the foundation of the Portuguese nation in 1140 and the restoration of independence from Spain in 1640. The celebrations lasted throughout the year and covered the whole country, but their centrepiece was the Lisbon exhibition, which may be defined as the most relevant cultural manifestation of the dictatorial regime known as *Estado Novo* (New State). The event was conceived as an act of propaganda of the regime. In this chapter we explore the main logics and narratives incorporated in the EMP, analysing its importance in the construction and promotion of an image of the Portuguese nation and empire.

Although this cultural event may be considered the most prominent in the history of the dictatorial regime, the *Estado Novo* had already organised other major events, with similar celebratory and propagandistic objectives.[1] Portugal had participated in the Universal Exhibition in Paris (1937) and the International Exhibitions in New York and San Francisco (1939), and presented several smaller exhibitions, festivals and pageants

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that served as a propaganda mechanism towards the consolidation of a nationalist narrative. The experience acquired through these events was certainly critical in enabling the organising committee to be highly coherent in the structuring of the EMP, making it an iconic event.[2]

The EMP is an example of what we may call mega events, a category that includes initiatives such as the large industrial or universal exhibitions common in the nineteenth century in Europe and the Americas.[3] These initiatives should not be seen as one-off events, but as part of a broader context. The commemorative acts ought to be understood as moments of construction or confirmation of beliefs, legitimation of discourses or consolidation of power. They are moments of production and reproduction of narratives and ideologies.

Although the EMP inherited some of the traits of the great exhibitions held previously in the West, it assumed an ideological perspective which was contrary to the ideals of industrialisation, liberalism and democracy. The official discourse was that 'progress' would lead to instability, and that the national identity of the country should be based on its history and rurality. The EMP was both a product and a producer of the regime's representation of a historic and rural nation, scattered throughout the world. As Augusto de Castro, Commissioner General of the Exhibition, announced in his inaugural speech: it is the first time that 'a civilisation has been exposed in images and symbols'.[4]

The exhibition combined a clear propagandistic vocation, through the promotion of a national and imperial identity, with a component of leisure and education. It had an element of *mise-en-scène*, with the presentation of a historical narrative that promoted a specific image of the empire. The construction of the national identity was based on a historicist and nationalist discourse on the virtues of the civilising race that had a universal mission, and on the ethnographic representations of the metropolis (a term used to designate continental Portugal, and the Azores and Madeira archipelagos) and of the colonies overseas.

We will begin by introducing a brief description of the space in which the event took place, focusing on the monumental and exhibiting dynamics it enclosed. We will then direct our attention to the discursive dynamics supported by the narrative of the colonial vocation of the empire. Next, we will address the importance of the dissemination of that narrative and of the event itself through published works and the media. Finally, we will note that the propaganda was directed first to the 'great national family'[5] but also to the belligerent Europe from which the regime claimed neutrality.

Staging the Empire against a Historical Scenario

The event took place between June and December 1940, but its preparation began two years earlier. In 1938, the Portuguese dictator Salazar defined the objectives of the exhibition: to celebrate the 800 years of the Portuguese nation, 'a case rare or unique both in Europe and in the whole world', and to confirm 'in our own eyes and in the eyes of strangers that the Portuguese civilising nation has not ended but on the contrary continues its high mission in the world'.[6] The event was conceived as a means of praising and dignifying the present of the nation and the empire, through its glorious past, which it simultaneously reinforced and updated, while projecting the regime into the future. This was explicitly put forward by its Commissioner General: 'A displaying of the past, as a gallery of heroic images of the national foundation and existence … a statement of moral, political and creative forces of the present … an act of faith in the future.'[7]

The selection of the site where the exhibition was to be mounted reflected its ideological content, as it reaffirmed the discourse that praised the country's expansionist and imperialist project. The exhibition was held in the Belém district, in the western part of Lisbon, against the backdrop of the Mosteiro dos Jerónimos (Jerónimos Monastery), with the Torre de Belém (Belém Tower), in sight, two monuments long associated with the history of Portuguese maritime expansion. Belém was also the place whence vessels parted for voyages overseas at the time of the discoveries: the Tagus River as 'our universal road, historic way of our immortality'.[8] The organisation of the EMP in this scenario was one more element of what Peralta defines as the production of a 'complex of memory', the symbolic synthesis of the national identity, in which the figure of the colonial empire is a core component.[9]

Bounded on the north side by the monastery and on the south side by the river, the exhibition took up over 450,000 square metres. In order to make it possible, the entire area was renovated, with the demolition of numerous buildings, and the opening of the Praça do Império (Empire Square), one of the largest in Europe. Although the modernisation and monumentalisation of Lisbon as the capital of the empire was not a primary objective of the exhibition, it should not remain a negligible footnote. The renewal of the western part of the city, even if not part of a subsequent urbanisation plan, was consistent with the redevelopment of the city that Duarte Pacheco had been conceiving. In the view of the Minister of Public Works and Communications and Mayor of Lisbon,

there was a need to create a city that would convey an image of its role as capital of the empire.[10] Duarte Pacheco was largely responsible for the rearrangement of the Belém district, together with Continelli Telmo, Chief Architect, who conceived the modernist lines that defined the exhibition space. The latter was organised around the quadrangular shape of the Praça do Império, with a central lake and a luminous fountain: the Fonte Monumental. The building Portugueses no Mundo (Portuguese in the World), the Pavilhão de Honra e Lisboa (Pavillion of Honour and Lisbon), the Espelho de Água (Water Mirror) and the Padrão das Descobertas (Discoveries Memorial) were built on the square. As a symbolic element the exhibition also included the Nau Portugal, a replica of a Portuguese galleon from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The exhibition was divided into three main sections: historical, colonial and popular life.[11] The Historical Section consisted of six pavillions with evocative names: Pavilhão da Fundação (Pavillion of the Foundation), Formação e Conquista (Formation and Conquest), Pavilhão da Independência (Independence Pavillion), Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos (Discoveries Pavillion), Pavilhão da Colonização (Colonisation Pavillion) and the Pavilhão do Brasil (Pavillion of Brazil). The Jardim Colonial (Colonial Garden) hosted the Colonial Section, composed of thumbnail representations of colonial typologies, and pavilions with exhibits of the various colonies. The Centro Regional (Regional Centre) included the Pavilhão de Vida Popular (Pavillion of Popular Life) and replicas of Portuguese villages considered typical.[12]

Both in the architectural language of the pavilions and in the erected statues, the symbolic and glorifying properties that satisfied the nationalist propaganda were present. The architectural monumentality was associated with a modernist ideal and a fascist aesthetic, while simultaneously trying not to abdicate from a more traditional and conservative dimension. As Nuno Portas puts it: 'It was not enough to build functional boxes, it was necessary to wrap them in memory paper, and memory was called "rustic" (the roots of the people) and "joanino" (the roots of power, the juice of the empire) or, even better, the collage of both.'[13]

The selection of the site where the exhibition was to be held—Belém was the first and only option advanced by Salazar—, the organisation of the exhibition space, the names of the pavilions, the aesthetic choices in terms of architecture, statuary and ornamentation, all contributed to the cohesion of the event and to the objective of creating a mythologised memory of the nation and the empire.

The Colonial Vocation of the Nation on Display

The *Estado Novo* undertook a series of initiatives of colonial propaganda. The entities directly responsible for this 'marketing of the empire'[14] were the Gabinete Geral das Colónias (General Office of the Colonies) and the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (SPN) (Secretariat of National Propaganda). In the media, in cultural and artistic events, and in the education system, the image of the colonial empire was built around a carefully conceived historical narrative. The EMP was another initiative—a major one—that contributed to this politico-ideological agenda of the regime of Salazar, who claimed that the rebirth of the nation that had occurred with the dictatorship resulted from the centrality of the empire and its colonial vocation. More than an economic, political or administrative matter, Portuguese colonialism was embedded in the country's ontology.[15] In other words, the empire was a constitutive and defining part of the nation or, as Peralta puts it: 'the empire was, by genetic tendency, historical right and spiritual mission, an impregnable part of the nation'.[16]

During the 1930s and 1940s, there was a series of propagandistic events aimed at staging Portugal as a colonial and imperial nation, which included participation in international colonial exhibitions, which also exposed the aggressive and imperialist nationalisms of the European powers at the time. In Portugal, the first colonial exhibition took place in Oporto in 1934. It was held in the Palácio de Cristal (Crystal Palace), which was renamed as 'Palácio das Colónias' (Palace of the Colonies), and although it also had commercial purposes, its main focus was on the display of the national colonial vocation. The narrative of the religious conversion and the education of the colonised populations aimed, on the one hand, to educate the Portuguese public and, on the other, to exercise effective sovereignty over the colonies.[17] It served 'as a reminder that the colonies were Portugal's *raison d'être* as a nation, and that the period of the maritime discoveries was a source of national pride'.[18] The promotion of this narrative was intended to maintain and consolidate the dictatorial regime internally, but was also a part of its international options. This rhetoric also contributed to the international legitimacy of the colonial empire, striving to reiterate and project the image of an exceptional colonialism that proficiently and instinctively kept the various colonised territories under its political and cultural dependence. During the 1930s, that was a fundamental need of the regime, due to the impact of the economic crisis in Angola and the greed of other European colonial powers

over Portuguese possessions overseas. This is what led Salazar, as interim Minister for the Colonies, to outline a political, economic and ideological strategy for overseas territories. The Acto Colonial (Colonial Act) of 1930 was the most paradigmatic product of such a strategy, and incorporated two fundamental arguments: the historical legitimacy of Portugal to possess and colonise overseas territories and the organic and indivisible nature of the empire.[19]

After the success of the 1934 Exposição Colonial (Colonial Exhibition), the capital of the empire organised another event of colonial and patriotic exaltation: the Exposição Histórica da Ocupação (Historial Exhibition of the Occupation) in 1937. This followed a very different exhibition model, less visual and ethnographic, based fundamentally on a careful selection of books, documents, maps, models and objects. It targeted a more bourgeois public rather than the masses. The EMP gained from the experience acquired in the organisation of the events of 1934 and 1937, which, although important in their own right, can be seen as largely preparatory. Sánchez-Gómez stresses that the EMP fused the markedly popular characteristics of the first exhibition and the intellectualised and historical-documental ones of the latter.[20]

As Thomas Richards argues, any empire is always constituted through a symbolic possession because 'an empire is partly a fiction': 'The reach of any nation's empire always exceeds its final grasp. An empire is by definition and default a nation in overreach, one nation that has gone too far, a nation that has taken over too many countries too far away from home to control them effectively.'[21] The fiction of the Portuguese empire was based on the particularity of the nationalism and the civilising vocation of the Portuguese nation. The *Estado Novo* transformed the fusion between nationalism and colonialism that had been taking place since the late nineteenth century into the most durable dogma of its political existence.[22]

Salazar, in his speech to the First Congress of the União Nacional (National Union), stressed that

> amongst the dominant characteristics of our nationalism – characteristics that clearly distinguish it from all other nationalisms adopted by the authoritarian regimes in Europe – is the colonising aptitude of the Portuguese, a force which is not of recent growth but has been rooted in the soul of the nation for centuries.[23]

This long-continued existence of the colonial vocation related to its Christian civilising deeds. The *Estado Novo* would just be reinforcing the cause bequeathed by its ancestors, thus reaffirming its independence from other nations. It was within the framework of the celebrations of 1940 that Salazar summarised this same idea: 'Through centuries and generations we have always kept alive the same spirit and, in coexistence with the most perfect territorial identity and national identity in Europe, one of the greatest vocations of Christian universalism.'[24] The national identity's distinctiveness resulted from its antiquity as a nation and from the preservation of its 'national soul'. Running through these two aspects was the idea that Portugal was endowed with a vocation of Christian universalism, which impelled it to play a central role in humankind.

National history became a means of state propaganda, but it was a fabricated history that selected and magnified certain events, while omitting others. For example, slavery was an issue absent from the exhibition, as it had been from the one held in Oporto. The EMP was conceived as 'an anthology of the most remarkable and significant achievements' and was admittedly organised through 'carefully withdrawing what might be depressing, stressing only what could be used as optimistic confidence stimulus', that is, through the practice of 'a moral hygiene'.[25] As Ernest Renan emphasises, forgetfulness, and even historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation.[26] It is that process of selection, which explains why the presentation made of the national history in the EMP did not follow a chronological pattern, and was instead sustained through symbols and images. The selective and partial reading of history was based on the continuity of the best moments of the national past. The structuring of the Historical Section of the EMP in pavilions depicting the foundation of the nation, its independence, or the period of the Discoveries is proof of that.

The Historical Section was conceived as the centre of the event, showcasing the durability of the national soul, and updating the vision of a glorious imperial past. The statuary also contributed to such a purpose, the most paradigmatic example being the Discoveries Memorial: a sculpture 50 metres tall, reproducing a stylised caravel, which gathered national heroes linked to the discoveries (kings, navigators, warriors, artists, missionaries), and constituting a 'historical and patriotic symbol of the Portuguese people'.[27] This section showed the unity of the Portuguese people. Interestingly, it included the Pavilion of Brazil, the

only independent country invited to participate, which was not presented as external, but rather as a fraternal country: 'one of us'. The relationship between Brazil and Portugal—'brothers in a common love for independence'—was staged as an example of 'the Portuguese political genius' in all its glory, demonstrated by a separation 'unprecedented in history … not as a slave who regains freedom, but as a child who is emancipated upon reaching the appropriate age'.[28]

The Colonial Section was relatively peripheral but complemented the Historical Section. As previously in 1934, the 1940 exhibition presented thematic re-creations of 'native' villages and 'exotic' landscapes, including groups of individuals specially brought in from the colonies. More than to elucidate the specificity of what was exhibited, the educational role of these ethnographic demonstrations was to show the vastness and diversity of the territories and populations dominated by the empire. The notion of 'empire' was used to symbolically produce a sense of unity over what was irremediably diverse, and the way in which the ethnic, cultural and economic differences were presented annulled their identity. The different social and cultural realities of the overseas colonies were not objectively presented, but simply used to reinforce the subordination of the various peripheries to a superior cultural, economic and political centre. What stood out was the difference between 'us' and 'them'. While the Historical Section presented the 'us' that formed the Portuguese people and nation, the Colonial Section showcased 'them', the 'others' that made up the empire. The emphasis was put on an alleged colonialist aptitude of the Portuguese, who would hold a unique ability to deal with the natives, being infinitely tolerant and kind to those who were inferior, educating and elevating them through Portugal's Christian civilising mission. Thereby was resumed an idea already clear in the Acto Colonial of 1930, and still relatively widespread across Europe at the time: the superiority of the white European.[29]

The Catholic missions around the world were also represented, as a symbol of the spiritual union of peoples and of the fundamental role of Portuguese domination in the civilising process. The way in which the Catholic Church and the missions were presented transformed them into 'mere instruments for patriotic indoctrination at the hands of the State'.[30] Thus, the 1940 exhibition was not very different from the colonial exhibitions held in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that were manifestations of European imperialist policy, except in the way in which they didactically exposed the stature of some and the

underdevelopment of others. In Portugal, the issue of moral and religious superiority was more important, while other European countries stressed the forms of political organisation and their industrial and technological progress. Although two pavilions (the Telecommunications Pavilion and the Pavilion of Ports and Railways) showcased the technical advances of the regime, and a commercial and industrial neighbourhood was recreated, the general rhetoric of the EMP made evident the repudiation of progress and industrialisation by the *Estado Novo*.

Engraving the Memory on Paper

The informal notice in which Salazar presented the programme for the centenary celebrations states that the moment of commemoration would be conducive to the emergence of several publications. The convergence of attention surrounding the glorification of the country would lead private individuals, corporations and educational institutions to create scientific publications that would display the deeds of the Portuguese over their 800 years of existence. But this role would also have to be adopted by the state. The notice also highlights some of the issues to be historically and iconographically covered: the foundation of the nation and the restoration of independence, but also the Portuguese primitives, and the work performed by *Estado Novo*; from the point of view of national culture, the documentation of the land, landscapes and monuments of the country such as the typical Portuguese houses, and the national folklore, in its various manifestations.[31]

The fact that the head of state stressed the need for these publications is very relevant. They would serve the same propaganda purposes that we highlighted in relation to the EMP. On the one hand, through the advertisement of major historical events, they would strengthen the idea of the greatness of the empire. On the other, they would contribute to the creation of the national imaginary, grounded in the cultural traditions, folklore and typical elements of the Portuguese landscape. Finally, they would be in direct praise of the dictatorial regime.

Salazar also explicitly refers to the creation of a monumental illustrated catalogue of the EMP. As an ephemeral construction, the exhibition needed this testimony on paper to endure in time. The buildings were intended to be dismantled at the end of the exhibition,[32] and so documenting the event was crucial in order to maintain it in the collective memory: 'everything which … was made as a wonderful synthesis

of the 800 years of *Universal Portugal* will one day, once the cycle of celebrations has been closed, be reduced to nothing! … But its meaning cannot disappear, it shall not disappear.'[33] Five thousand copies of the official programme were printed in the format of an album. In addition to photographs, a guide and plan of the EMP, it included several speeches and an overview of the history of Portugal. In the introductory notice, the President of the Executive Committee of the Centenaries Júlio Dantas wrote that the objective was that the libraries, archives and museums in Portugal and abroad would 'perpetuate the memory of our national jubilee'.[34] As a result of cuts in expenditure because of the outbreak of World War II, the financial profit of the celebrations was lower than expected. And only in 1956, as part of the commemoration of 30 years of *Estado Novo*, was a 'sumptuous volume' on the EMP issued. However, as Margarida Acciaiuoli puts it, by then 'it was no longer the problem of memory fixation, but the question of the survival of a discourse on the fulfilling potential of the regime'.[35]

One of the major publications in the context of the centenary celebrations was the *Revista dos Centenários*, issued by the Propaganda Section of the National Committee of the Centenarians. Created in January 1939, it published 24 issues before the end of 1940. It was designed to be an information tool to make known to the country the evolution of the process and the initiatives undertaken as part of the celebrations: 'so that the nation feels this work, it is necessary that it follows it from the start'. In addition to publicising and giving media coverage to the EMP, the magazine operated as an archive of studies, plans, reports and surveys, etc. It also served to reproduce important documentation of historical monuments, art and literature associated with the historical moments being celebrated. Its aim was not only 'to clarify public opinion', but also 'to hear that same opinion in its highest expressions',[36] and so it had contributions from many personalities, including writers, artists, architects and journalists. Although the collaboration of people who were less attached to the regime provided the publication and the EMP itself with a less ideological closure, 'the general tone of the articles published was clearly nationalistic, which denotes an almost obsessive affirmation of the nation, its deeds and heroes and a constant concern for the exaltation of national values'.[37]

Other publications affiliated to the regime were utilised to document the EMP and to consolidate the discourse of legitimation of the national

identity and the empire. An example is *O Mundo Português. Revista de Cultura e Propaganda, Arte e Literatura Coloniais*, which since 1934 had been jointly published by the General Office of the Colonies and the SPN. The journal illustrated, as Neto puts it, the 'imperial mystique' central to the regime's discourse and politics.[38] It sought to remind the Portuguese of their historical civilising mission. As a propaganda tool for colonialism, the journal had already played an important role in promoting the Colonial Exhibition of 1934. During 1940, it devoted several pages to the centenary celebrations, having had a special issue dedicated to the 'cruise to the metropolis of old African settlers'[39] and another special double issue devoted to the EMP itself.

The latter unravels a hyperbolic narrative of exaltation of the Portuguese soul and race, full of metaphors and symbolic references to historical events and national heroes. It addresses the pioneering spirit of the discoveries, the universality of the geographical, cultural and religious expansion, the greatness of the immortal past but also the present resurgence of the glorious genius of Portugal of which the EMP is proof. The texts promote the different pavilions, emphasising the architectural harmony, the refined sculptures and the lessons of history, geography and economics presented by the exhibition.[40] The EMP aimed to remind the Portuguese and the world that Portugal was not a small country, because of its colonial empire and history: 'The Exhibition is the figuration of this infinite country, its majestic mock-up.' And its focus on the past does not diminish the praise that is made to the regime of Salazar and its ability to achieve. António Ferro (Director of the SPN, and Secretary of the National Committee and of the Executive Committee of the Centenaries) explicitly wrote that it was not worth using up too much space within the exhibition with propaganda for *Estado Novo* because the exhibition was propaganda in itself.[41]

In addition to the publications produced by the regime, it is worth mentioning the coverage of the EMP made by *Diário de Notícias* (DN). Founded in 1864, the DN was one of the first newspapers to practise a modern and informative journalism. In 1940 it was one of the main national morning newspapers and the one that most faithfully followed the ideological orientations of the regime. At the time, its director was Augusto de Castro, who was also Commissioner General of the Exhibition. On 1 January, the front page had a text by Alberto d'Oliveira entitled 'The golden year of Portugal', which praised Lusitanian

civilisation and the great undertaking that comprised the centenary celebrations in the global war context. On 3 January, a 'Lesson and incentive' was addressed directly to the Portuguese, recalling the historical events ('you discovered and dominated the world') and appealing to 'the certainty of the present' and 'the irreducible faith in the future'. Throughout the year, the people are asked for enthusiasm and understanding over the meaning of the EMP, which was not superfluous nor simply a recreational entertainment. The newspaper kept following and praising the progress of works, and included long texts and photographs to increase expectations about the celebrations. The EMP was described as 'an amazing set of grandeur and magnificence' and its pavilions as 'extremely beautiful'. With apotheotic descriptions of the festivities and romanticised narratives of the history of Portugal, the newspaper conveyed the ideology of the regime it supported.[42]

There were several newspapers, more or less close to the regime, which ostentatiously covered the celebrations and the EMP (with *Diário da Manhã*, the official newspaper of the União Nacional (National Union) party, being the most striking example).[43] Illustrated newspapers in which, especially in the 1930s and 1940s, we find a pedagogical intention to create bonds between the population of the metropolis and overseas territories increased the number of articles and pictures on the colonial empire in 1940.[44] For example, in June *O Século* (a reputable morning newspaper and DN's main competitor) published a commemorative issue of the double centenary, which included a supplement dedicated to the colonial empire: more than 400 pages, printed in colour and profusely illustrated with drawings, photographs, maps and facsimiles of historical documents. Journalists, writers and politicians wrote several texts that repeated the rhetoric that we have been exposing: the praise of great historical events, of the colonial and civilising vocation of the Portuguese, of the national rural tradition, and of the great works of *Estado Novo*.[45]

Building Pride and Strengthening the Nation

As a conclusion, we will briefly comment on the fact that the exhibition as an act of propaganda was directed simultaneously to the interior and the exterior of the empire. Although the primary and most important public was the population of the metropolis, the EMP also wanted to target foreign countries.[46] We have seen how it was an instrument of reaction to other European colonial powers. It intended to symbolically

strengthen the colonial rule, through the affirmation of the historical and spiritual rights of the Portuguese people to the empire, which ought to be regarded as a genetically different empire from others, due to its civilising and Christian spirit and its role in the fate of humankind.

Furthermore, it also served to take a stand regarding the climate of instability being experienced throughout Europe. The festive mood of the celebrations of the double centenary contrasted with the foreign political reality, portrayed by the Spanish Civil War that had ended in 1939, and the Second World War, which had just broken out. Portugal remained separate from these conflicts: 'At a time when the armies broke the boundaries of Europe, the regime personified by Salazar staged the grand spectacle of the Lusitanian nationality.'[47] The national peace—in the metropolis but also in overseas territories—as opposed to the European war, was a topic widely used by the regime to strengthen its legitimacy and to validate its actions. Several texts issued in the context of the celebrations alluded to the tragedy of war to invigorate the solidity and order of the Portuguese empire. The *Estado Novo* re-imagined Portugal as an oasis of peace, a problem-free country that should serve as an example to other nations at a time of crisis and war: 'In Portugal there is no shortage of food … our sleep is peaceful, we are not threatened by war, thanks to the Nation's government.' The EMP was 'a unique opportunity to increase and consolidate our prestige, demonstrating during war our peace, demonstrating that Portugal is the lighthouse of Europe, the secure rock in the roar of the storm'.[48]

That same discourse was directed to the Portuguese people: the nation kept its distance from the conflicts of foreign countries, on whom it did not depend, and whose values it did not aspire to. It established the 'orgulhosamente sós' (proudly alone) myth that would become central to the rhetoric of the regime's propaganda. The affirmation of the present and future place of Portugal in relation to Europe was founded on the stability of the national and imperial identity. This rhetoric sought the support and loyalty of the population to *Estado Novo*, which contrasted not only with the belligerent Europe but also with the instability of the previous political regime. One of the metaphors promoted to legitimise the new regime was that of the nation as a family: 'the Nation was the supreme unifying value of the community'. The exhibition encompassed a 'lesson', intending to educate visitors in order for them 'to know how to be Portuguese': what mattered was not only to make the tradition known to the people, but to make the Portuguese 'love the immortality of our

Race … feel its appeal and trust its voice, which rises from the past to teach us about the present'; what mattered was 'not only to catalogue glories [but] to share them and live them', 'not only to praise and admire [but] also to believe'.[49] The great deeds of the past were recovered to indoctrinate the Portuguese who should be able to trust their accomplishing and creative ability as a people, which is the same as to say to be loyal to the nation that would guide them along the path of greatness. But beyond the '(self-)confidence' that ought to be transmitted, the exhibition served to 'give to the people a tonic of happiness', an objective expressed in the official document that first presented the event.[50]

The issue of happiness relates to another one: the leisure and festive dimension of the EMP. Although we have considered it above all as an act of state propaganda, we must take note of this dimension, inasmuch as the very notion of festivity can be a way to facilitate the act of propaganda. Corkill and Almeida argue that, despite *Estado Novo*'s reputation for minimal mobilisation and for disdaining populism, festivity was a central component of its cultural policy, which in turn served a politico-ideological agenda.[51] While Salazar disliked mass events such as those staged by the German and Italian propaganda machines, he valued their educative capacity. So, *Estado Novo* borrowed selectively the leisure dynamic and the monumentality from those mass events and blended them with the exhibition formulae of the modern universal exhibitions.

As we have seen, the refusal of technological and industrial progress by Salazar distances the EMP from those events that, throughout Europe, celebrated and mystified capitalism. But the fact that it was conceived as a means of communication that showed the virtues of the host country and as a grand spectacle to entertain the masses brought it closer to the former. Thus, in the EMP, the combination of a dimension of leisure and education with the monumentalisation of the site served the propagandistic nature of the event, just as did the historical and ethnographic narratives produced. While entertaining the public, it loaded all the exhibitory devices with symbolism: the site itself, the architecture, the statuary, the ethnographic objects and representations, and so on. The coherence of those choices can be regarded as a sign of the exhibition being far more than a celebratory event, but an active instrument of state propaganda, carefully conceived and presented to fabricate an image of the nation and the empire that would reinforce the internal cohesion of the people and its loyalty to the *Estado Novo* regime, and the external solidity of Portuguese colonialism.

Notes

1. Among these were the Colonial National Congress (1930), the Exhibition held in conjunction with the First National Congress of the National Union (1931), the Portuguese Industrial Exhibition (1932), the Imperial National Congress (1933), the English Colonial Exhibition (1934), the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the 1926 National Revolution (1936), the First Economic Conference of the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1936), and the Congress of Portuguese Expansion in the World (1937).
2. See P. Nobre, *Belém e a Exposição do Mundo Português: Cidade, Urbanidade e Património Urbano*, Master's thesis in Urban Heritage (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010), pp. 6–7.
3. Since the late eighteenth century industrial and agricultural exhibitions had been hosted around Europe at a national level. During the nineteenth century, the industrial fairs and exhibitions gained particular importance, receiving exhibitors and visitors from numerous countries. Their objectives extended beyond economic ones, and encompassed political interests. They exhibited the power of the host country, functioning as instruments of marketing, leading to massive events, such as the Universal Exhibitions, the first major example of which was the London International Exhibition of 1851.
4. *Apud* J.C. Almeida, 'Memória e Identidade Nacional. As Comemorações Públicas, as Grandes Exposições e o Processo de (Re)Construção da Nação', in Centro de Estudos Sociais (ed.), *A Questão Social no Novo Milénio* (2004), p. 10. Available at http://www.ces.uc.pt/lab2004/pdfs/JoseCarlosAlmeida.pdf.
5. J.C. Almeida, *Celebrar Portugal: A Nação, as Comemorações Públicas e as Políticas de Identidade* (Lisbon: Piaget, 2005), p. 140.
6. A.O. Salazar, 'Independence of Portugal. Informal notice of the Presidency of the Council', 27 March, *Revista dos Centenários*, 1 (January 1939 [1938]), pp. 2–3.
7. A. Castro, *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua Finalidade Nacional* (Lisbon: Empresa Nacional da Publicidade, 1940), p. 18.
8. *Apud* P. Nobre, *Belém e a Exposição do Mundo Português: Cidade, Urbanidade e Património Urbano*, p. 8.
9. E. Peralta, 'A Composição de um Complexo de Memória Imperial: O Caso de Belém, Lisboa', in N. Domingos and E. Peralta (eds.), *Cidade e Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais e Reconfigurações Pós-Coloniais* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2013), p. 361.
10. There were several improvement works carried out in Lisbon between 1930 and 1940. Important buildings such as the Instituto Nacional de Estatística and the Instituto Superior Técnico corresponded to a new language close

to the fascist architecture that was being erected in other European countries. The Palace of Queluz and the São Carlos Theatre were recovered, and improvement works were done on the São Bento Palace and the Museum of Ancient Art, for example. The National Stadium, the maritime stations of Alcântara and Belém, and the airport were built. The full list of renovated and new buildings and infrastructure is even longer. In the 1938 document that presented the EMP, Salazar underlined the importance of carrying out a large number of works before the inauguration 'in order to assert our power to achieve' (A.O. Salazar, 'Independence of Portugal. Informal Notice of the Presidency of the Council', 27 March, *Revista dos Centenários*, 1 (January 1939 [1938]), pp. 4–5).

11. For a description of the location and organisation of the gates and pavilions, see M. Baptista, 'Arquitectura como Instrumento na Construção de uma Imagem do Estado Novo', Degree thesis in Architecture (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 2008), pp. 65–68. For an exhaustive description of all the exhibition's constitutive elements and of its construction process, see S. Silva, *A Exposição de Belém. Novos Elementos para a Construção de uma 'Memória'*, Master's thesis in Design (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2008), pp. 47–180.
12. This text will not explore the Section of Popular Life, but let us note that it consisted fundamentally of the celebration of folk art and culture as a medium of production of an image of the nation, based on tradition and rurality.
13. N. Portas, 'A Evolução da Arquitectura Moderna em Portugal, uma Interpretação', in B. Zevi, *História da Arquitectura Moderna* (Lisbon: Arcádia, 1973), vol. II, p. 719. The term "joanino" is more commonly used to designate the reign of King João II (1481–1495), during which, on the one hand, power was centralized in the figure of the monarch and, on the other, a more ambitious plan of maritime expansion was drawn up. From an architectural point of view, the term "joanino" refers mainly to the opulent baroque period of absolutist King João V (1706–1750).
14. P.F. Matos, *The Colours of the Empire: Racialized Representations during Portuguese Colonialism* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), p. 54.
15. P. Vieira, 'O Império como Fetiche no Estado Novo: Feitiço do Império e o Sortilégio Colonial', *Portuguese Cultural Studies*, 3 (2010): 126.
16. E. Peralta, 'A Composição de um Complexo de Memória Imperial: O Caso de Belém, Lisboa', in N. Domingos and E. Peralta (eds.), *Cidade e Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais e Reconfigurações Pós-Coloniais*, p. 381.
17. L. Marroni, 'Portugal Não é um País Pequeno. A Lição de Colonialismo na Exposição Colonial do Porto de 1934', *História*, IV: 3 (2013): 59–78.
18. P.F. Matos, *The Colours of the Empire: Racialized Representations during Portuguese Colonialism* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), pp. 177–178.

19. The importance of the Colonial Act (Decree-Law, 8 July 1930) was such that it would be incorporated into the 1933 Constitution.
20. L.A. Sánchez-Gómez, 'Imperial Faith and Catholic Missions in the Grand Exhibitions of the Estado Novo', *Análise Social*, XLIV: 193 (2009): 680–683.
21. T. Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London and New York: Verso, 1993), p. 1.
22. N. Monteiro and A.C. Pinto, 'Mitos Culturais e Identidade Nacional Portuguesa', in A.C. Pinto (ed.), *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Madrid: Sequitur, 2000), p. 241.
23. A.O. Salazar, *Discursos (1928–1934)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1935 [1934]), vol. I, p. 335.
24. A.O. Salazar, *Discursos e Notas Políticas (1938–1943)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1959 [1943]), vol. III, p. 257, *apud* L. Cunha, *A Nação nas Malhas da sua Identidade: O Estado Novo e a Construção da Identidade Nacional* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2001), p. 79.
25. H. Cidade, 'O Mundo Português', *O Mundo Português*, VII: 82–83 (October–November 1940): 421.
26. E. Renan, 'What is a Nation?', in H.K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 11.
27. M.O. Synek, 'O Padrão dos Descobrimentos—A Gesta Portuguesa Rasgando o Mar', *Lisboa—Revista Municipal*, 46, 2nd series, 13 (1985): 45.
28. J.C. Almeida, *Celebrar Portugal: A Nação, as Comemorações Públicas e as Políticas de Identidade*, pp. 140–141.
29. V. Alexandre, 'O Império Colonial', in A.C. Pinto (ed.), *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Madrid: Sequitur, 2000), p. 49.
30. L.A. Sánchez-Gómez, 'Imperial Faith and Catholic Missions in the Grand Exhibitions of the Estado Novo', p. 688.
31. A.O. Salazar, 'Independence of Portugal. Informal notice of the Presidency of the Council', 27 March, *Revista dos Centenários*, 1 (January 1939 [1938]), p. 6.
32. Most of the pavilions were demolished after the event. The lighthouse of the Pavilion of Land and Sea remained; the main body of the Section of Popular Life was remodelled to accommodate the Folk Art Museum (opened in 1948); the Discoveries Pavilion was adapted to receive the headquarters of the Lisbon Naval Association (1945). Several sculptural elements remained, in addition to the building of the water mirror (several times modified) and the luminous fountain (re-inaugurated in 1963). The major permanent features of the EMP were the Imperial Square itself and the Discoveries Memorial (rebuilt in 1960) (M. Fonseca, *O Espaço Público como Lugar de Permanências Múltiplas: Exposição do Mundo Português*, Master's thesis in Architecture (Lisbon: Universidade Lusíada de Lisboa, 2013), pp. 101–104).

33. M. da Silva, 'O "Espírito de Cruzada" na Exposição do Restelo', *O Mundo Português*, VII: 82–83, (October–November 1940): 449.
34. SPN, *Comemorações Centenárias. Programa Oficial 1940* (Lisbon: Oficina Gráfica, 1940).
35. M. Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo, 1934–1940* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1998), *apud* S. Silva, *A Exposição de Belém. Novos Elementos para a Construção de uma 'Memória'*, p. 32.
36. J. Dantas, 'A "Revista dos Centenários"', *Revista dos Centenários*, 1 (January 1939): 1–2.
37. H.B. da Costa, 'Ficha Histórica: Revista dos Centenários (1939–1940)' (Lisbon: Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa). Available at http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/FichasHistoricas/RevistadosCentenarios.pdf.
38. S. Neto, 'Representações Imperiais n'O Mundo Português', in L.R. Torgal and H. Paulo (eds.), *Estados Autoritários e Totalitários e suas Representações* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008), p. 119.
39. Within the programme of the celebrations, the General Office of the Colonies, with the support of *O Mundo Português*, organised a trip to mainland Portugal by a group of old settlers from Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, as it had done previously by sending students from the metropolis to the colonies and vice versa (See S. Neto, 'Representações Imperiais n'O Mundo Português', in L.R. Torgal and H. Paulo (eds.), *Estados Autoritários e Totalitários e suas Representações*, pp. 125–127). Issue 80 of the journal reinforced the idea that the empire, both geographic and cultural, extended beyond the metropolis. It recalled that, through the sea, the Portuguese brought 'to all corners of the world our civilising aptitude, captivating the most diverse people, approaching them through heart and affection' (A. Cunha, 'Cruzeiro dos Velhos Colonos', *O Mundo Português*, VII: 80, (August 1940): 337). It told us that the cruise 'completely reached a dual purpose of toughening the faith and the patriotic conviction: in the general feeling of the metropolitan population and in the impassioned and certainly surprised vision of these anonymous builders of sovereignty' (L. Teixeira, 'Em Louvor duma Notável Iniciativa', *O Mundo Português*, VII: 80 (August 1940): 342).
40. A. Castro, 'A Exposição do Mundo Português', *O Mundo Português*, VII: 82–83 (October–November 1940): 413–416.
41. A. Ferro, 'Portugal 1940', *O Mundo Português*, VII: 82–83 (October–November 1940): 418, 420.
42. Our analysis is based on the reading of all the news about the centenary celebrations that appeared in the newspaper during the year 1940.
43. Note that not all publications assumed the same laudatory approach. For example, the opposition newspaper *República* traditionally boycotted

coverage of state initiatives, giving greater prominence to international news and thus escaping censorship. Throughout the year 1940 it extensively monitored the World War, which occupied far more space in the newspaper than the news about the EMP. The latter appeared only from the month of June onwards (unlike the DN that since January had been following the preparation of the event) and the coverage was mainly descriptive, written in a sober and neutral style. The event was adjectivised more simply as 'important', 'notable' or 'appreciable', and the focus was given more to modern art and national folklore than to the historical narrative. References to the colonial empire are practically nil. (Our analysis is based on the reading of all the news about the centenary celebrations that appeared in the newspaper during the year 1940).

44. L.P. Martins, *Um Império de Papel. Imagens do Colonialismo Português na Imprensa Periódica Ilustrada (1875–1940)* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2012), pp. 149–150.
45. *O Século. Número Extraordinário Comemorativo do Duplo Centenário da Fundação e Restauração de Portugal* and *A Expansão de Portuguesa no Mundo. Suplemento Dedicado ao Império Colonial Português e às Comemorações, nas Províncias Ultramarinas, dos Centenários da Fundação e da Restauração de Portugal* (Lisbon: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, June 1940).
46. Since the nineteenth century one of the objectives of these mega events had been the attraction of tourists to the host city. However, in the case of the EMP, targeting foreign tourists was explicitly referred to as something not to be expected or desired, and the relation to other European countries was mainly to be done through the propagandistic images and discourses that would reach them (A.O. Salazar, *Discursos e Notas Políticas (1938–1943)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1959 [1943]), vol. III, p. 46). Naturally, any expectations of attracting foreign visitors, especially from Europe, had been diminished by the international conjuncture. That is explicitly said in some documents and discourses: 'the event of Belém, converted by the tempest of the world war from "Portuguese World Exhibition" for foreigners to "Portuguese World Exhibition" for nationals' (H. Cidade, 'O Mundo Português', *O Mundo Português*, p. 421).
47. J.R. do Ó, 'Modernidade e Tradição: Algumas Reflexões em Torno da Exposição do Mundo Português', in AAVV, *O Estado Novo: Das Origens ao Fim da Autarcia: 1926–1959* (Lisbon: Fragmentos, 1987), vol. II, p. 183.
48. A. Ferro, 'Faltam Quatro Meses', *Diário de Notícias* (8 February 1940), p. 1.
49. A. de Castro (1940), *apud* J.C. Almeida, 'Memória e Identidade Nacional. As Comemorações Públicas, as Grandes Exposições e o Processo de (Re)Construção da Nação' in Centro de Estudos Sociais (ed.), *A Questão Social no Novo Milénio*, p. 9.

50. A.O. Salazar, 'Independence of Portugal. Informal Notice of the Presidency of the Council', 27 March, *Revista dos Centenários*, 1 (January 1939 [1938]), p. 2.
51. D. Corkill and J.C. Almeida, 'Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 44: 3 (2009): 381–382.

The Luso-Tropicalist Message of the Late Portuguese Empire

Cláudia Castelo

Empire was a core element of Portuguese nationalism from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and would pervade the nationalist ideology of the *Estado Novo* (New State), the dictatorial regime that ruled in Portugal from 1933 until 1974. However, the *Estado Novo*'s relationship with media coverage of colonial issues, in general, and with anti-colonial contestation and African liberation struggles, in particular, remains largely unexplored. Historiography on the Portuguese empire has thus far not produced a broad analysis of the media's role in the Portuguese government's ideological, political, diplomatic and counter-insurgency strategy during the era of decolonisation.

This chapter seeks to contribute to the study of the Portuguese media's entanglements with the colonial empire and, concretely, to discuss the use of Luso-Tropicalism in the regime's media offensive, which

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was aimed at maintaining Portuguese national territorial integrity from metropolitan Portugal to East Timor. In this chapter's first section, I introduce Luso-Tropicalism, and discuss the context in which the *Estado Novo* employed it in media coverage of the colonies. The chapter's second part discusses an aspect of this problem that has remained largely invisible: the elaboration by the Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos do Ministério do Ultramar (GNP) (Bureau of Political Affairs of the Overseas Ministry) of a narrative of Portuguese exceptionalism that was clearly indebted to Luso-Tropicalism, and which was reproduced by the media and internalised by the Portuguese people. In sum, this chapter reflects on the production, reproduction and naturalisation of ideas concerning the 'Portuguese way of being in the world'.[1] It is an outgrowth of earlier research on the reception of Luso-Tropicalism in Portugal,[2] and further draws on more recent, unpublished original research into the GNP's archive, regarding that entity's crucial role in conditioning the Portuguese media's portrayal of overseas issues.

Luso-Tropicalism in Portugal

A sociological 'quasi-theory' that invited controversy and criticism *ab initio*, Luso-Tropicalism was developed by the Brazilian social scientist Gilberto Freyre (Recife, 1900–1987) over two decades, beginning with the publication of his best-known work *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (1933), translated into English as *The Masters and the Slaves* (1946).[3] Broadly speaking, Luso-Tropicalism argued that the Portuguese possessed a special ability for adapting to life in the tropics. This tropical vocation was not the product of political or economic self-interest, but rather resulted from a creative empathy that, for Freyre, was innate to the Portuguese people. According to Freyre, the intrinsic plasticity of the Portuguese resulted from their hybrid ethnic origins, their location between Europe and Africa, and their history of contact with Muslims and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula during the first centuries of Portuguese nationhood. Luso-Tropicalism manifested itself principally in miscegenation and cultural interpenetration.

During the 1930s and 1940s, the Portuguese *Estado Novo* either implicitly or openly rejected Gilberto Freyre's thoughts on Portugal's relationship to the tropics. As Valentim Alexandre writes, 'this was a period in which the empire and the values of the Race (that is, the so-called Portuguese race) were affirmed'.[4] Indeed, these values were imposed upon peoples whom the Portuguese thought to be inferior. The importance

attributed by Freyre to biological and cultural miscegenation, and to the Arab and African contributions to the genesis of the Portuguese people and the societies created through Portuguese colonisation, clashed with the Portuguese colonial ideology of the period, which retained a strong element of social Darwinism. It was only after the Second World War, which paved the way for African decolonisation, that the Salazar regime came to look more favourably upon these ideas. The constitutional revision of 1951, which replaced the terms 'empire' and 'colonies' with 'overseas' and 'overseas provinces', reflected the regime's attempt to defend itself from anti-colonialist attacks by purging the constitution of the Portuguese Republic of any reference to the existence of non-autonomous territories under Portuguese control. Shortly thereafter, Freyre would begin a journey through the 'Portuguese and formerly Portuguese lands of Africa, Asia, and the Atlantic', at the invitation of the Portuguese government. It was during this tour that Freyre formally used the term 'Luso-Tropicalism' to translate his set of ideas about the special character of Portuguese colonisation.[5] This apparently scientific theory (grounded in historical study and analysis of the present), which was produced by an internationally respected social scientist, was seen by the *Estado Novo* as capable of legitimising continued Portuguese sovereignty over its overseas possessions.

In 1955 Portugal was accepted as a member of the United Nations. Facing international pressure to grant self-determination to its colonies, from the mid-1950s onwards the Portuguese government carried out a systematic campaign to place Luso-Tropicalism in the service of Portuguese foreign policy.[6] Simultaneously, Luso-Tropicalism entered into the Portuguese academic and research fields, through the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos (ISEU) (Higher Institute for Overseas Studies), which prepared candidates for colonial administration, and the Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais (CEPS) (Centre for Political and Social Studies) of the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar (JIU) (Council for Overseas Research).[7]

With the outbreak of war in Angola in 1961 and the appointment of Adriano Moreira, an ISEU-affiliated academic and the director of CEPS, as Overseas Minister, various reforms were promulgated. Chief among these was the revocation of the Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique (Statute of Portuguese Natives of the Provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique) and, hence, the end of forced labour in the colonies. The rhetoric utilised by the regime to justify the abolition of the Native Statute accorded with

Luso-Tropicalist ideas: Portugal's actions beginning with the period of maritime expansion had been guided by a belief in the 'equality of all human beings and [in] human dignity, regardless of colour, race or civilisation', and by 'respect for foreign cultures'.[8] At the same time, a great deal of emphasis was placed on the need to create multiracial societies in Portugal's overseas territories, which would be achieved by a redoubled effort to bring metropolitan Portuguese to Africa. The preamble of the decree that created the Juntas Provinciais de Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique (Angolan and Mozambican Settlement Boards), which Adriano Moreira sent to Gilberto Freyre,[9] makes its argument in strongly Luso-Tropicalist terms: it contends that issues associated with the overseas territories' settlement

> concern not just the economic and social valorisation of lands and peoples, but also the elevation of these people and their integration with foreign ethnic elements in the context of a common homeland, understood as a harmonious, multiracial community of the sort that we have historically sought to create.[10]

Regardless of the models of settlement to be undertaken:

> they will all be grounded in the goal of fulfilling the ecumenical vocation of the Portuguese people, manifested concretely in fully integrated and stable multiracial communities … Portugal's crucial role in forming new tropical civilizations of singular vitality finds its most complete and eloquent example in Brazil.[11]

The preamble affirms that peace, harmony and freedom for Africans are dependent on the consolidation 'of multiracial communities that, in the modern age, only peninsular peoples have proved capable of bringing into being, perhaps because they themselves are the fruit of the confluence and harmonious fusion of diverse cultures and ethnicities'.[12]

Against the backdrop of the wars of liberation in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, the Portuguese colonial government and armed forces developed political and social initiatives aimed at solidifying support for Portugal among the colonised peoples and reducing support for pro-independence movements. Further, these initiatives sought to 'educate' colonists in the values of racial tolerance and human rights. Among the broad objectives of the campaigns undertaken by Acção

Psicossocial (Psycho-social Action) we find the promotion of understanding between different 'races' and religions, 'in line with the principles of humanity, justice, and respect for traditional values, and constantly affirming the idea of Luso-Tropicalism, which distinguishes us from other nations'.[13] In this spirit, numerous events were organised, including social hours, dances, film screenings, athletic activities and, in particular, football matches.[14]

As part of the *Estado Novo*'s effort to maintain support and win over international opinion to its cause, Salazar granted a series of interviews to the foreign press, in which he utilised arguments grounded in Luso-Tropicalism to justify Portugal's continued presence in Africa. Drawing on Freyre's ideas, Salazar claimed in the 4 May 1962 issue of the New York-based *Life* magazine:

> We, the Portuguese do not know how to live in the world in a different style, even because it was in a multi-racial type of society that we constituted ourselves as a Nation eight centuries ago, at the end of various invasions proceeding from the East, North and South, that is, from Africa itself. Hence perhaps it is that we have been left with a natural inclination – which we cite with all the greater ease inasmuch as it is certain that it has been recognized by noteworthy foreign sociologists – for contacts with other peoples. These contacts have never involved the slightest idea of superiority or racial discrimination.[15]

In an interview with the weekly *U.S. News and World Report*, also based in New York, which was published on 9 June 1962, Salazar was questioned about the differences between Portugal's colonial policies and those of other colonial powers. Salazar once again drew on Luso-Tropicalist maxims about the differentiating features of Portuguese colonisation: 'We are fundamentally distinct from the [other colonial powers], because we have always sought to unite with the peoples with whom we establish relations, not only through political and economic ties, but essentially through a form of cultural and human exchange in which we give them a bit of our soul and we absorb what they have to give to us'.[16] Explicit or veiled comparison with other colonial powers was an ideological tool used by colonial actors, in a context of European competition over the best colonisation policies and practices.[17] In the Portuguese case, the *Estado Novo* also mobilised the politics of comparison to argue for a kind of moral superiority for its colonialism during a period in which decolonisation was already under way.

Though Salazar was no proponent of miscegenation—quite the contrary—in an interview with the Canadian Southam group of newspapers, published in December 1962, he stated that the fusion of the Portuguese with the 'discovered peoples' had resulted in the creation of multiracial societies in Brazil, Goa and Cape Verde, and that these examples of Portugal's creative capacity would be repeated in Angola and Mozambique.[18]

Internally, the regime sought to inculcate in the Portuguese public the idea of a benign Portuguese colonisation. Propaganda—in the form of official discourse and in the various publications of the Agência Geral do Ultramar (General Overseas Agency)—tirelessly worked toward this goal. The regime felt an urgent need to align thought with action, especially regarding prospective settlers and agents of colonial power who would be active in the field.

Salazar's successor, Marcelo Caetano, explained to the Portuguese public in his 'Conversas em Família' (Family Conversations), which were broadcast on Rádio Televisão Portuguesa (RTP), why Portugal continued to defend its overseas territories. While in the past he had argued that the Portuguese were civilising backward African peoples through labour, during his time as President of the Council of Ministers (1968–1974), he did not hesitate to draw on a nationalistic form of Luso-Tropicalism. On 5 March 1974, just a few weeks prior to the 25 April coup which would overthrow the Portuguese dictatorship and initiate decolonisation and the democratising process, he affirmed that Portugal's role in Angola and Mozambique, territories in which 'races come together, cultures blend, relationships are strengthened, and common efforts are undertaken', represented a positive contribution toward the progress of humanity and civilisation.[19]

The Overseas Territories in the State-Controlled Media

During the post-World War II and Cold War periods, and in light of the advance of anti-colonialism, the democratic governments of other imperial powers produced media content aimed at helping them retain control over their colonies, and legitimising their continued presence there. Carruthers demonstrates that, faced with a consensus in British public opinion that colonial empires were anachronistic, and with criticism from the USA, successive British governments felt compelled to justify their political and military strategies in Palestine, Malaysia, Kenya and Cyprus to both domestic and international audiences. They did so by generating various types of news content and propaganda.[20]

Given the dictatorial character of the Portuguese regime, it is not surprising that the *Estado Novo* utilised control, censorship and manipulation of information in its management of media content directed toward metropolitan Portuguese and colonial audiences. The goal of winning over public opinion was viewed as central to the battle for survival and to the goal of maintaining the integrity of the 'multiracial and multi-continental Portuguese nation'.

The GNP was created at the end of 1959 with a broad fact-finding and analytical remit over both domestic and external policies relating to the colonies.[21] In practice, the GNP did not conduct investigations but rather analysed information it received from a variety of sources (namely the colonial governments, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the CEPS and other research centres of the JIU), disseminated 'treated' information, operated as an agent of colonial administration, and worked to mould domestic and international opinion. Since the majority of GNP inspectors had been former students of ISEU and collaborating members of CEPS, it is not surprising that the GNP was influenced by CEPS' research agenda and conclusions. In fact, CEPS researchers and the knowledge they produced were deliberately placed at the service of the GNP.[22]

Journalism actively contributes to the production, reproduction and naturalisation of shared ideas of reality.[23] In line with this precept, GNP officials participated in the Lisbon and Oporto daily press, writing news items, articles and commentaries, whose indoctrinating intent was, to varying degrees, obvious. Further, the GNP generated textual and photographic content that it made available to the press and maintained close contact with the representatives of the newspapers.[24] Editors were forced to include GNP collaboration and materials.

As Orlando César has very effectively demonstrated, propaganda and censorship were part of the same process of conditioning and coercion of the spirit and of cognitive self-determination.

> The entire apparatus operated so that censorship would generate political meaning … Relations were maintained between the coercive apparatus and the media, in terms of both the exclusion and inclusion of certain themes and facts. That is, the censors did not limit themselves to cutting, withholding or destroying information. In addition, they shaped information by making 'suggestions' to the editors of publications.[25]

In July 1960, the GNP issued a set of guiding norms for the internal use of the Directorate for Press Censorship. According to this document, 'the first idea to keep in mind in censoring texts (news items and other forms of information, reports, articles, and commentaries) should be … the intrinsic unity of all the Portuguese territories, regardless of the continents in which they are located'.[26] Therefore, language that clearly or implicitly distinguished between the metropolis and the overseas provinces was to be avoided. For example, 'metropolitan and overseas Portugal' or 'Portugal's European and Non-European provinces' were to be used instead of 'Portugal and its overseas territories' or 'Portugal and its overseas provinces'. References to the overseas provinces as separate from the national whole were also to be suppressed. Instead of writing of 'Congo's relations with Angola' or 'South Africa's relations with Mozambique', it was dictated that the Congo or South Africa's relations with Portugal, in its province of Angola or Mozambique, were to be referenced.[27] Further, Portugal's status as an independent state in Africa, Asia and Oceania, and not merely in Europe (it was mandated that Portugal be listed among Asian and African nations or states), was to be acknowledged; besides Spain, Portugal's neighbours included China, Indonesia, Mali, the Republic of Guinea, Tanganyika and the Second Republic of the Congo.[28]

Another point to be kept in mind, according to the GNP's instructions for press censorship, was the importance to Portuguese colonisation of miscegenation and the 'formation of the "Portuguese man" … with all of its implications and consequences in terms of non-discrimination and perfect racial harmony'. Consequently, no racial distinctions of any kind were to be mentioned. In the same way, though 'Catholicism is the religion of the majority of the civilised Portuguese population and is a powerful feature of our civilisational mission', Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism were not to be attacked or described in offensive terms, for doing so would 'offend many of our compatriots'.[29] Finally, in its instructions for press censorship, the GNP observed that certain aspects of Portugal's overseas activities like education, assimilation and forced labour—which were preferred targets of international criticism—should be treated with special sensitivity.[30]

Through the censor cuts that GNP received periodically from Angola, one realises that its guidelines were being followed in the colony. Some examples from the mid-1960s and early 1970s[31]: the *ABC* (a newspaper from Luanda) was not allowed to publish an article about the first black

citizen being nominated president of a city council in the Portuguese overseas (Nampula, Mozambique) because that information contradicted the idea that Portugal was a multiracial democracy; the magazine *Notícia* had to replace the word 'Metropolis' with 'nation'; the Catholic newspaper *O Apostolado* had to replace 'natives' with 'residents'; in two job advertisements published in the newspaper *A Província de Angola*, asking for an 'European or mestiza maid' and an 'African dressmaker apprentice', the adjectives had to be removed; in *A Província de Angola* a commentary to a football match was cut because the journalist considered the team from Mozambique a 'foreign team'; in the same newspaper, in an article about the support of the Netherlands for the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the expression 'people of Angola' was replaced by 'people of Portugal'.[32] There is, however, evidence that the Censorship Commission in Angola was successfully suppressing all the words and expressions that distinguished the Angolan population in terms of race, and co-producing with the local periodicals the idea of a Portuguese national entirety from Minho to Timor.[33]

The GNP was particularly aware of the importance of photographs, which it distributed to newspapers and especially illustrated magazines, as propaganda tools in defending Portugal's overseas presence, and as a means of counteracting the negative propaganda produced by the anti-colonial movement. Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha, senior GNP inspector, suggested in an internal document that images of Portugal's presence in Africa should be compiled and made available to journalists. These images would help international opinion see (and believe in) 'our determination to remain in Africa, because we are an African country'.[34] The GNP's guidelines are apparent in the images that appeared in illustrated magazines, depicting the multiracial society promoted by the regime. This was especially the case in the visual treatment of forms of popular culture, like football, the RTP Festival of Song, and the Miss Portugal contest, and their respective icons: Eusébio, Eduardo Nascimento and Riquita. Photojournalism during this period was a central mechanism for defining Portuguese identity and a means of making visible and consumable the singularity of the Portuguese world. This shared media space left material traces, both written and visual, of Portugal's alleged exceptionalism in various publications.[35]

In a secret report on 'Information and formation of internal public opinion regarding overseas issues', Óscar Soares Barata, lecturer at ISEU and a GNP inspector, declared:

> It is vital that we explain to the great mass of the metropolitan population the meaning of the Overseas territories for the life of the Nation, and that we inform the national and international publics about the moral and political bases of our overseas policy, and about the true nature and potential of the territories for the conservation of which we are asking [the Portuguese people] to sacrifice so much in human and material terms.[36]

He suggested that brochures would be an effective means to communicate with individuals who had received mid- and higher-level education. For the broader public, images—specifically, photographs or explanatory graphics—should be used in place of words. He added that cinema, radio, travelling exhibitions, posters, newspaper articles and lectures should all be utilised to reach the public. In terms of content, these communications vehicles should emphasise 'the true meaning of Portuguese pluralism'.

The Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão (EN) was utilised throughout the colonial conflict to promote a Luso-Tropical set of ideas that would be shared by all the Portuguese community. Taking advantage of the state broadcaster's ability to reach listeners from all social classes and regions of the country, as well as its leadership in terms of listener numbers, the regime used EN as a political tool of persuasion, and for building a consensus in metropolitan public opinion that favoured defending Portuguese national integrity.[37]

The GNP developed a daily programme, named 'Comentários' (Commentaries), to be broadcast by EN, that would address overseas issues, and that would be comprised specifically of 'responses to the accusations, errors and rumours spread by the international press and radio networks regarding our position'.[38] This programme, which was first broadcast in February 1960, addressed topics of national interest that were specifically related to Portugal's non-European territories, for example: India's attack on Goa, 'terrorism' in Angola, the UN's anti-colonialism, communist (specifically, Soviet and Chinese) influence in Africa, the conditions of the independent African and Asian countries, ministerial visits to the overseas provinces, positions taken by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, the settlement of the overseas provinces, and Angola's economic development.[39] Portugal was invariably portrayed as an ethnically and culturally diverse nation from its foundation, and a nation spread geographically over various continents. Words like universalism, multiracialism, pluralism and ecumenism were

frequently used to describe the 'Portuguese way of being and acting in the world'. Gilberto Freyre and his ideas were constantly referred to in the programme. In a commentary on the Luso-Brazilian community, it was proclaimed that:

> What truly defines Portugal and what sets us apart from the other Nations of the World is that which we might term a sense of mission – that is, a tendency to spread far and wide the idea of life that Portugal incarnates. This does not amount to a desire for an economic or territorial Empire, or even for political dominion. Rather, it is an irresistible vocation to transmit to others the Truth that one possesses …
>
> Portugal is only whole when it is global –this is when it truly begins its physical life. Portugal will only achieve its true status in the World when it transcends the national plane – its apogee will be reached when the Luso-Brazilian Community comes to fruition, with the maturity of Luso-Tropicalism. We are moving toward this goal, and it is this goal we are labouring to achieve.[40]

In practice, the programme, which was highly propagandistic, was designed to be a form of 'pedagogy' to teach the metropolitan Portuguese about their identity (as a people), their mission in the world, and how they should behave. Under the pretext of commenting on a colloquium then taking place in Lisbon, EN broadcast the following:

> it is essential … that we understand what it means to be Portuguese and how the Portuguese condition manifests itself in terms of political and social conditions and in terms of human geography. Until now, because the idea was never really in doubt, and the entire Portuguese people has felt the presence in its soul, even unconsciously, of the elements that ground this condition, there has not been an impulse to investigate these elements systematically and to lend this basis [of feeling] the form of a structured body [of ideas].
>
> The aggression we suffered in Angola violently brought to the attention of the Portuguese people the need for this investigation and elaboration, not merely as an intellectual exercise, but as a practice and conscious basis for action. In terms of the sizeable output produced on this topic – and we cannot fail to mention Gilberto Freyre's studies and Francisco Cunha Leão's impassioned book on 'The Portuguese Enigma' – it is worth calling attention to the colloquium organised by a group of young writers and

> thinkers, which will take place today in Lisbon, on the theme 'What is the Portuguese Ideal?'[41]

In an attempt to definitively counteract charges of racism and discrimination that had been levelled at Portugal, as well as persistent feelings of racial superiority among Portuguese white settlers, another commentary went so far as to affirm that the Portuguese were not, in point of fact, white:

> This is just it, dear listeners! We are, without a shadow of doubt, above all a *European-African* people. The descendants of these African captives – this practice was common the World over and particularly in traditional African societies – fused with the Portuguese people, and the genes and hereditary factors obtained in this way persist in the so-called metropolitans to whom a senseless geographic criterion denies rights and affinities with regard to Africa.
>
> Those listening can be certain that among the Portuguese, there are no 'whites' in the sense of a distinct ethnicity [emphasis in original].[42]

This commentary is a paradigmatic illustration of the intentions behind the GNP's daily radio programme: to naturalise among EN's listeners the idea of Portuguese support for racial tolerance.

Cristina Ferreira argues that EN, similarly to the accommodating radio stations controlled by the state, had only 'a diffuse sort of power over the masses'. It was 'modestly manipulative and discreetly persuasive' in terms of its treatment of the colonial war. Following an initial period in which public opinion genuinely supported the defence of the colonies, 'the EN failed in its role of guaranteeing popular support'. By 25 April, the Portuguese no longer, in their hearts, supported the imperial project.[43] But can we say that the state radio broadcaster failed in ideological terms, given that the image of the Portuguese, their history and place in the world, which it projected and helped to enshrine, remained influential after decolonisation (with the exception of the brief revolutionary interregnum)?

Postcolonial Persistence of Luso-Tropicalism

The articulation of a 'Luso-Tropicalist vulgate'[44] that would legitimise Portugal's presence in Africa was not only a propaganda objective of the *Estado Novo*, but was also a goal of the regime's censorship apparatus. The Portuguese entities involved in censorship, far from limiting themselves to

censoring information, were also involved in its production and presentation. Thanks to the work of the GNP, Luso-Tropicalism guided the activity of the censors charged with reviewing news stories about the overseas provinces, released via print and radio broadcasts during the 1960s and up to 1974. As an aside, there is empirical evidence to suggest that the GNP was involved in censoring academic publications that dealt with the colonies, and that it managed and monitored foreign researchers and journalists who were visiting the overseas colonies for the purpose of completing fieldwork or for other ends.[45] This amounted to a strategy of creating academic counter-information about 'Portuguese Africa'.[46]

The GNP has failed to merit even a mention in studies on the political, ideological and repressive state *apparatus*.[47] However, as I have demonstrated, beginning in the early 1960s, the GNP was among the most important institutions of this apparatus, and skilfully combined censorship and propaganda in the interests of inculcating in the public the myth of Portuguese exceptionalism and winning public support for the defence of the empire.

The fact that the *Estado Novo*'s censorship actively promoted a Luso-Tropicalist agenda is also a new finding, and merits careful, more complete study. As yet, no one has examined the archive of the Directorate for Press Censorship in order to determine how censors received the GNP's instructions, how they carried them out, or whether there were tensions, disputes or negotiations between the two entities. Examination of the press—another source that merits systematic exploration—can also reveal how the GNP's instructions and suggestions were received.[48]

By way of conclusion, we can state that, during the period of Portuguese late colonialism, the Portuguese media, conditioned by the political and ideological apparatus of the *Estado Novo*, acted as a key agent by which Luso-Tropicalism was naturalised by the public. This would have long-term repercussions, as is revealed in studies by social psychologists on the (post)colonial persistence of a narrative of Portuguese exceptionalism in the tropics.[49]

Notes

1. Adriano Moreira introduced this concept into the Portuguese academy in the 1950s. See J.P. Neto, 'Adriano Moreira—O Professor e o Amigo', in AAVV, *Estudos em Homenagem ao Professor Adriano Moreira* (Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas da Universidade de Lisboa, 1995), vol. 1, p. 124.

2. C. Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo': O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa, 1933–1961* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 1998).
3. C. Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo': O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa, 1933–1961*, p. 41; P. Burke and M.L. Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics* (Oxfordshire: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 188–189. Luso-Tropicalism was criticised by the leaders of liberation movements such as Mário Pinto de Andrade and Amílcar Cabral, as well as by the historian Charles Boxer, the anthropologist Marvin Harris and the sociologist Roger Bastide, among other scholars and intellectuals.
4. V. Alexandre, *Origens do Colonialismo Português Moderno* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979), p. 7.
5. G. Freyre, *Um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguesas: Introdução a uma Possível Luso-Tropicologia, Acompanhada de Conferências e Discursos Proferidos em Portugal em Terras Lusitanas e Ex-Lusitanas da Ásia, da África e do Atlântico* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1953).
6. C. Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo': O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa, 1933–1961*, pp. 96–101.
7. C. Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo': O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa, 1933–1961*, pp. 101–107.
8. Ministério do Ultramar, *A Legislação de 6 de Setembro de 1961* (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional de Moçambique, 1961), p. 5.
9. Adriano Moreira wrote a letter to his 'most excellent friend' Gilberto Freyre, dated Lisbon, 7 September 1961, sending him a copy of the *Diário do Governo* and calling his attention to page 1129, where Freyre was mentioned. Correspondence from Portugal, Arquivo Documental Gilberto Freyre, Fundação Gilberto, Recife (Brazil). On that page it was stated that 'Long before Gilberto Freyre analysed Luso-Tropicalism in its various manifestations throughout the tropical world, others, including geographers, historians and sociologists, had identified it, and during modern times schools of thought other than that associated with the eminent Brazilian sociologist have highlighted its importance'.
10. Decree 43895, dated 6 September 1961, published in the *Diário do Governo*, 1st series, no. 207, 6 September 1961, p. 1128.
11. Decree 43895, p. 1129.
12. Decree 43895, p. 1130.
13. Instructions issued by *Acção Psicossocial* (1970–1971), Conselho Provincial de Acção Psicológica de Moçambique, AHD/MU/GNP/061, box 1, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Historical and Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hereafter AHD), Lisbon, Portugal.

14. A recent study on the relationship between football and Portuguese late colonialism concludes: 'By analysing references to the sport in the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, one clearly notes a use of football in Portuguese colonial policy, especially from the 1950s onward. This is closely related to Portugal's difficult internal and international situation at that time. The representations of football found in the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* were clearly marked by Luso-Tropicalism, which was in vogue at the time, and reinforced the need for imperial unity, union and identity'. V.A. Melo, and M. Bittencourt, 'O Esporte na Política Colonial Portuguesa: O Boletim Geral do Ultramar', *Tempo*, 19: 34 (2013): 69–80.
15. A.O. Salazar, *Portuguese Problems in Africa: Complete Version of the Interview Granted by the Portuguese Prime Minister to 'Life': The Only Version Approved for Publication* (Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional de Informação, 1962), p. 6.
16. A.O. Salazar, *Entrevistas: 1960–1966* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1967), p. 125.
17. E. Saada, 'Nation and Empire in the French Context', in G. Steinmetz (ed.), *Sociology and Empire: The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), p. 323.
18. A.O. Salazar, *Entrevistas: 1960–1966*, p. 156.
19. M. Caetano, *apud* G.J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: Myth and Reality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. 25.
20. S.L. Carruthers, *Winning Hearts and Minds: British Governments, the Media, and the Colonial Counter-Insurgency, 1944–1960* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995).
21. Decree-Law 42671, 23 November 1959, published on the same day in the *Diário do Governo,* 1st series, 270, pp. 1806–1807. Adriano Moreira claims to have drawn up this proposal, at the request of the Minister for the Overseas Territories, Lopes Alves, and declares that the GNP may have been 'the first political planning board established within a ministry' in Portugal. A. Moreira, *A Espuma do Tempo: Memórias do Tempo de Vésperas* (Coimbra: Almedina, 2009), pp. 173–174. Yet an analysis of the GNP's archive reveals that the GNP essentially managed information.
22. Research into propaganda and information policies was particularly useful to the GNP. On this topic, it is worth recalling that José Júlio Gonçalves, who received a scholarship from CEPS to attend the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and who was later secretary of CEPS and assistant professor at ISEU/ISCSPU, published *Política de Informação: Ensaios* (The Politics of Information: Essays) and *Sociologia da Informação* (The Sociology of Information), in the CEPS' collection

'Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais' (Studies in the Political and Social Sciences), in 1963.

23. M. Ekström, 'Epistemologies of TV Journalism. A Theoretical Framework', *Journalism*, 3: 3 (2002): 268.
24. GNP Internal Document no. 65, E.F. da Costa, 'Primeiro Escalão da Acção a Desenvolver no Sector da Informação e Opinião Pública' (First Actions to be Undertaken in the Sector of Information and Public Opinion), 6 July 1960, folios 5–7, AHD/MU/GNP/158, box 1, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.
25. O.C. Gonçalves, *O Agir Jornalístico face à Economia da Censura: O Caso do Notícias da Amadora*, PhD thesis (Lisbon, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2012), pp. 111 and 131.
26. GNP Internal Document no. 72, E. da C. Freitas, 'Projecto de Normas de Carácter Permanente para Uso Interno da Direcção dos Serviços de Censura com Relação ao Ultramar' (Guiding Norms for Internal Use by the Directorate for Press Censorship, with Regard to Overseas Territories), July 1960, folio 1, AHD/MU/GNP/158, box 1, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.
27. GNP Internal Document no. 72, folio 2.
28. GNP Internal Document no. 72, folio 3.
29. GNP Internal Document no. 72, folio 4.
30. GNP Internal Document no. 72, folio 5.
31. *Apud* J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia: A Censura na Metrópole e em Angola* (Lisbon: Almedina, 2011), pp. 109, 124–125 and 361–362.
32. *Apud* J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia: A Censura na Metrópole e em Angola*, p. 151.
33. *Apud* J.F. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia: A Censura na Metrópole e em Angola*, p. 128.
34. GNP Internal Document no. 106-A, August 23, 1960, folios 2–3, AHD/MU/GNP/158, box 1, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.
35. M. Cardão, *Fado Tropical: O Luso-Tropicalismo na Cultura de Massas (1960–1974)* PhD dissertation (ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2012), p. 44.
36. GNP Secret Report no. 360, 11 April 1962, AHD/MU/GNP/060, box 1, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.
37. C. Ferreira, *Os Media na Guerra Colonial. A Manipulação da Emissora Nacional como Altifalante do Regime* (Coimbra: Minerva, 2012).
38. GNP Internal Document no. 65, E.F. da Costa, 'Primeiro Escalão da Acção a Desenvolver no Sector da Informação e Opinião Pública' (First Actions to be Undertaken in the Section for Information and Public Opinion), 6 July 1960, folio 9, AHD/MU/GNP/158, box 1, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.

39. I am grateful to Nelson Ribeiro for referring me to the publication *Rádio Nacional*, which confirms that the 'commentaries' were aired every day of the week except for Thursdays and Sundays, during the 9 p.m. news slot.
40. GNP Commentary no. 263, E.F. da Costa, 'Caminhos de Grandeza' (Paths Toward Greatness), 5 September 1961, AHD, MU/GNP/161, box 1, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.
41. GNP Commentary no. 201, E.F. da Costa, 'Fundamentação do Portuguesismo' (Bases of Portuguese-ness), 21 June 1961, AHU/MU/GNP/161, box 1, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Portugal.
42. GNP Commentary no. 183, C.M.A. da Silva, 'A Verdadeira Sociedade Plurirracial: Nós, Portugueses, Não Somos "Brancos"' (The True Multiracial Society: We Portuguese Are Not 'White'), 5 August 1964, AHD/MU/GNP/161, box 4, AHD, Lisbon, Portugal.
43. C. Ferreira, *Os Media na Guerra Colonial. A Manipulação da Emissora Nacional como Altifalante do Regime*, pp. 221–222.
44. Y. Léonard, 'Salazarisme et Lusotropicalisme: Histoire d'une Appropriation', *Lusotopie* (1997), p. 223.
45. The GNP evaluated manuscripts for publication. In order to be publishable, manuscripts had to meet patriotic criteria and contribute positively to the propaganda campaign in favour of Portugal's actions in its colonies. See GNP Report no. 494, written by Ó.S. Barata, 17 September 1962, on the journalist S. Pinto's book *Angola, Pedaço Lindo de Portugal* (Angola, a Pretty Piece of Portugal), AHD/MU/GNP/135, box 37, AHD, Lisbon (Portugal).
46. For instance, 'Projecto David' (the David Project), a response orchestrated by the GNP with the assistance of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to J. Duffy's book *Portuguese Africa* (1959). D.R. Curto, 'The Debate on Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire and Charles R. Boxer's Position', *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 11: 1 (2013). Available at http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue21/pdf/v11n1a01.pdf.
47. C. de Azevedo, *A Censura de Salazar e Marcelo Caetano* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1999), p. 56, *apud* C. Ferreira, *Os Media na Guerra Colonial. A Manipulação da Emissora Nacional como Altifalante do Regime*, pp. 95–96.
48. To cite one example, O.C. Gonçalves mentions a note written in the margins of the piece 'Aumentaram os Preços de Gasolina em Angola e Moçambique' (Gasoline Prices Rise in Angola and Mozambique), in which the author is advised of the need to replace 'Portugal' with 'Metropolitan Portugal'. The author's allusion to Portugal implied that Angola and Mozambique were distinct entities, as opposed to

integral parts of one national unity. In the same way, when the newspaper *Notícias da Amadora* referred to Guinea-Bissau, the term was invariably replaced by the censors with 'the Portuguese overseas province of Guinea'. O.C. Gonçalves, *O Agir Jornalístico face à Economia da Censura: O Caso do Notícias da Amadora*, p. 239.

49. J. Vala, R. Brito and D. Lopes, *Expressões dos Racismos em Portugal: Perspectivas Psicossociológicas* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 1999); J.P. Valentim, 'Representações Sociais do Luso-Tropicalismo e Olhares Cruzados entre Portugueses e Africanos', in M.J. Simões (ed.), *Imagotipos Literários: Processos de (Des)Configuração na Imagologia Literária* (Coimbra: Centro de Literatura Portuguesa, 2011), pp. 55–75.

Reporting 4 February 1961 in Angola: The Beginning of the End of the Portuguese Empire

Tânia Alves

At dawn on 4 February 1961, raids on several Luanda prisons holding Angolan nationalists marked the beginning of the colonial armed insurrection against Portuguese rule in Angola that would in time lead to the fall of the Portuguese empire in Africa. These raids made the headlines in Portuguese newspapers on the same day as the news about the surrender of the Santa Maria, the cruise liner which, a month earlier, had been hijacked somewhere in the Caribbean by the so-called Iberian Revolutionary Liberation Directory (DRIL). The commando unit planned to take the vessel to Angola and to trigger from there a huge anti-colonial coup to overthrow the dictatorial regimes of Salazar, in Portugal, and General Franco, in Spain. In the aftermath of this episode, and against the background of the downfall of modern colonial empires, the raids on the Luanda prisons attracted even greater coverage in the world press.

The fact that these raids occurred right in the heart of the capital city of Angola, at the centre of the densest white bastion of Angola and against

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coercive institutions which symbolised Portuguese colonialism, combined with the arrival of international press correspondents in Luanda to cover the possible landing of the Santa Maria, prevented the Portuguese authorities from keeping the raids hidden from the press. The *Estado Novo* (New State)[1] controlled press coverage, above all through censorship of the media, coupled with strong repression by its political police. Now, however, Angolan nationalist revolts broke out in the presence of journalists from various countries, which made them known to world public opinion, despite official Portuguese vigilance. This threatened to discredit the imperial rhetoric of Salazar's regime, which still presented Portuguese colonies in Africa—called 'overseas provinces' since the amending of the constitution in 1951—as an intrinsic and indisputable part of the Portuguese nation. The raids sparked a war that would set African liberation movements against the Portuguese armed forces for thirteen years on three major fronts: first in Angola (1961), and then in Portuguese Guinea (1963) and Mozambique (1964).

This chapter provides a critical discourse analysis of the way four main Lisbon dailies reported the outbreak of the colonial war in Angola. It stems from the perspective of the centrality of the media for outlining the history of this process. The printed press was a platform on which a significant part of the political struggle within Portugal and between the country and its Atlantic allies took place.

In the first part of this chapter, we look at the statement issued by the Governor General of Angola, a key piece for understanding how official institutions immediately sought to frame the public perception of these raids. In the second section, we consider the discursive representations of Angolan nationalists; our goal is to survey how the Portuguese regime constructed the image of an external enemy and distorted the meaning of this anti-colonial action. And how, as part of this strategy, the regime used the press to convince Western powers that the containment of these raids was linked to the fight against communism. Finally, we consider the reaction of Salazar's government to what was being published in the international press. We will refer to some news items which enable us to perceive how, as tensions deepened in Angola, the control wielded over foreign correspondents in Luanda became increasingly tight and how the *Estado Novo* strove to embed the international press narrative in its own propaganda discourse.

In the course of this analysis, we look at how British and French newspapers, reporting within the framework of democracies and in the context of an ongoing process of decolonisation, narrated this beginning of the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire and the determination

of Salazar to preserve its African territories. With this comparative approach, we will be able to uncover information and meanings which the censored Lisbon press did not reveal, and to capture some of the disinformation, distortions and lies fabricated by the political apparatus of the *Estado Novo*.

The Official Reaction to the Nationalist Attacks

With the *Estado Novo*'s censorship fully in effect,[2] the *Diário de Lisboa*, a daily newspaper renowned for its critical attitude to the regime, reported on 4 February, right in the centre of its front page, how 'Three armed groups last night attempted to release prisoners in Luanda'. The article reproduced the statement issued by the Governor General of Angola and disseminated by the Secretariado Nacional de Informação (SNI) (National Information Secretariat), the body entrusted with the regime's national and international propaganda. The same statement also emerged that day on the front page of another Lisbon daily, *República*, a publication deeply opposed to Salazar's government. The announcement of the raids on jails in Luanda then made the front pages of the morning editions of *O Século*[3] and *Diário de Notícias*,[4] closer to the regime,[5] on the following day. On account of its importance and its brevity, we reproduce that statement here:

> In the past few days the Governor General of Angola has received information from abroad reporting that preparations were under way to disturb the public order in Angola. This information conveyed how there was a planned uprising organised both externally and internally and coinciding with the assault on the Santa Maria cruise liner. In effect, last night three groups of armed individuals attempted to storm the Casa de Reclusão Militar [Military Barracks], the headquarters of the Companhia Móvel da Polícia de Segurança Pública [Rapid Reaction Force of the Public Security Police] and the Cadeias Civis de Luanda [Luanda Prisons], with casualties occurring both in the garrisons of these establishments and among their attackers, whose number, while low, will be published as soon as it is known. The goal, which was not fulfilled, was reportedly to release prisoners. Most of those responsible are already under arrest, and order has already been re-established.

The statement provides details of the information that would prevail over subsequent days in the published discourse of the Portuguese press.

The Lisbon newspapers reported how the authors of the 4 February attack had partnered with the Iberian Directory that had hijacked the Santa Maria. A special connection is made to the mentor and leader of this operation, Henrique Galvão, an officer who had formerly held leading posts in the *Estado Novo*, in particular as district governor in Angola, before becoming a dissident anti-Salazar rebel. Indeed, the raids in Luanda had been defined in *O Século* as the 'Second Act',[6] thus establishing a direct correlation between the two events, which is far from being accurate. Several interviews, among which we can highlight the testimony of Holden Roberto,[7] the leader of the União das Populações de Angola (UPA) (Union of the Peoples of Angola), which would soon merge with the Partido Democrático de Angola (PDA) (Democratic Party of Angola) to form the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) , reveal how unlikely it was that the DRIL and nationalists in Angola would reach an agreement, largely because Henrique Galvão and other members of the team opposed Angolan independence. Yet Lisbon newspapers referred to the participants in the raid as the 'local support' of the 'international agents' who had boarded the Santa Maria and taken advantage of the presence of international journalists in Luanda.

With the goal of controlling public opinion, defined as 'the key element of the policy and administration of the country' in the 1933 Constitution, official statements such as this one had to be published, and the threat of suspension hung over any outlets that did not comply with these compulsory publication requirements. Upon reaching the presidency of the Council of Ministers in 1932, Salazar sought to consolidate a power machine with institutional, political and ideological configurations, which in turn would consolidate his plans for national regeneration, based on a strong *Estado Novo*. Among the main pillars of the *Estado Novo* and of Salazar's authority, we find an apparatus of violence, either physical or symbolic, and the control over information and culture. In the 1960s, corresponding to what the historian José Tengarrinha sees as the third phase[8] in the relationship of *Estado Novo* and media information, the regime strengthened control by the secret police and tightened censorship of the press. The *Estado Novo* would be dominated by the care it took to block any information which might be unfavourable to it, at a time when its increasing difficulties in handling internal and external threats were becoming apparent.

Nevertheless, there were some attempts by journalists to circumvent censorship: the fact that *Diário de Lisboa* had placed its first report on the raids right in the centre of its front page is indicative of how this

newspaper sought, within the interstices of censorship, to draw the attention of its readers to a serious agitation in Portuguese Africa. Likewise, the *República* tried to keep its distance from the narrative Lisbon newspapers were being forced to spread, publishing its articles on these events under the vague headline 'In Angola'.

The Representation of the Nationalists and the Denial of the First Act of War

The turn of the decade, from the 1950s to the 1960s, is a critical period in the history of the *Estado Novo*. Between 1958 and 1961, the Portuguese political situation witnessed a multiplication, diversification and radicalisation of internal opposition movements,[9] comprised mainly of Progressive Catholicism, pro-European sectors and mid-level officers of the armed forces. A great movement attempting to dissolve the Salazar regime was spearheaded by Humberto Delgado—a military man who had previously served in high-level posts in the Portuguese army—during the 1958 presidential elections, when he was defeated through an electoral fraud. The *Estado Novo*'s lowest point occurred in 1961, often labelled as Salazar's *annus horribilis*. 1961, which began with the hijacking of the Santa Maria and continued with the assaults on Luanda prisons, seemed to announce 'the beginning of the end' of the *Estado Novo* and its colonial empire. The external situation was then marked by the independence wave of African-Asian countries, and a rising international pressure to decolonise, fostered to a great extent by the Kennedy administration's anti-colonial stance and the strategic orientation of the Soviet Union. Two important pillars of the *Estado Novo*, the image of a strong nationalist state and its imperialist project, both celebrated in the two founding documents of the regime—the Colonial Act of 1930 and the 1933 Constitution—were profoundly shaken in these years of crisis.

Furthermore, Portugal was also undergoing significant economic, social and cultural changes, with urban development, greater outsourcing, expanded schooling and Europeanisation of the population, as well as in the increasing diversity of media (TV, new magazines) and the emergence of new newspaper projects and a new generation of journalists.[10] The *Estado Novo* struggled to keep all these under the type of repressive control that had prevailed for decades. It therefore sought to instrumentalise the press to keep public opinion solidly behind the colonial project and to foster a sense of national pride in the supposedly

great value of its colonial work. It turned the printed press into its main machine for propaganda to reify the image of Portugal as somehow naturally imperial and to represent the Portuguese presence in Africa as totally unrivalled and built upon an uncontested will.

This strategy involved emphasising an expression of surprise towards the raids, systematically represented as an unprecedented event. This led to the elision of other incidents of insurrection that had taken place earlier, such as the uprising of Cotonang workers in Baixa do Cassange,[11] which had been silenced in the Portuguese press. The Lisbon papers were directed to define raids as banditry, while their instigators were portrayed as an armed band of *díscolos* (insubordinate), *bandoleiros* (bandits) and *malfeitores* (evildoers). Although some news published by the international press suggests that the great majority of those who attacked the Luanda prisons were Angolans,[12] in the Portuguese press we invariably find the presumption that they were 'international agents' allied with Henrique Galvão or coming from the Congo, but who had nothing to do with Portuguese Africa: 'The members of the groups that assaulted the prisons of Luanda were mostly foreigners', stated *Diário de Lisboa* on the front page of its 5 February edition; 'Many of the assailants arrested, including some Europeans, are foreigners and do not even speak Portuguese', said *Diário de Notícias* on 6 February. On the following day, 'No! It was not the African population of Luanda …', the *Diário de Notícias* again insisted.

The Portuguese press made frequent references to the supposed state of intoxication, from both alcohol and drugs, of the alleged 'bandits'. *O Século* wrote of their state of inebriation 'from wine and, above all, from *liamba* (cannabis), the gentle plant that, when smoked in certain amounts, takes the smoker into genuine bouts of fury'.[13] Below is yet another relevant excerpt from a description of the raid's participants published in the Lisbon newspapers:

> Many of the individuals who participated in the raids that took place on the dawn of Saturday had themselves been convinced by witch doctors that, having acquired an amulet for the modest price of thirty escudos, they would be invulnerable to bullets as long as they did not reveal their secret to absolutely anyone. Thus, the survivors would always believe that the dead were precisely those who had not engaged in buying an amulet. It is no less interesting to observe how the agitators, in order to implement their subversive plans, even had the witch doctors casting spells.[14]

For the purpose of preserving the regime and its colonial empire, Lisbon newspapers were led to nurture the idea that the raids on Luanda prisons were not some prefiguration of a restructuring of the Portuguese colonial world, but rather the result of a momentary spasm of hallucination, and also evidence of the ambition of an expansionist Soviet policy.[15] In the meantime, Salazar's regime presented itself as a crucial anti-communist partner[16] and projected its empire as a line of defence of Western civilisation in Africa.

The Portuguese press was used to dissipate any supposition of Angolan nationalist intent against the Portuguese empire. Inextricably bound to the inflamed nationalism of the *Estado Novo* and immersed in the colonial mythology that conceived a certain idea of Portugal—that of a small nation endowed with grandeur thanks to its incorporation of overseas territories[17]—, the censored Portuguese press was instructed to camouflage the Angolan origins of the strike and to deny the anti-colonial motivation for the assaults on Luanda prisons. At stake was the obsession with maintaining the Portuguese colonial empire.

The emphasis placed on the supposedly extraordinary nature of these raids also converged with the discourse of a peaceful Angolan territory where absolute calm and unity would prevail, contrary to so many other regions where independence struggles were going on. In the preceding weeks, the coverage of the secession of the Congolese province of Katanga, declared by Moise Tshombe following the proclamation of the new Republic of Congo (Léopoldville), set the stage that would enable the *Estado Novo,* through the press, to describe the assaults in Luanda as a replica of the instability experienced in the neighbouring territory. In attributing the driving force and responsibility for the events in Angola to the emerging independence in Congo, the Lisbon dailies were driven to spread the message of the Portuguese nation as the target of a conspiracy meant to discredit its overseas policy.

Not only the events in Katanga and the Congo (Léopoldville), but also the Franco-Algerian war and the crisis breaking in Laos, were reported in a similar way to single out the situation in Angola. Whilst the former scenarios were described as characteristic of war, poverty and uncertainty, the scene put forward by the Lisbon papers disseminated a fictitious account of Angola, apparently existing in harmony and tranquillity, in an attempt to convince the readers that the calmness of the overseas territories would give way to disorder and chaos if the colonial regime were to come to an end. The censored discourse of the Portuguese press sought to show a reality untouched by conflict and thus spread ad nauseam the

image of a city centre filled with pedestrians, with café terraces reporting normal levels of business, with packed cinemas, and people wandering along the main streets of Luanda, with a Carnival ball actually in progress. This was all apparently taking place in Luanda as if nothing had happened.[18]

Much was left unsaid in the Portuguese press. It failed to make any reference to the identity of the political prisoners the raids were attempting to release. The Portuguese press contained no reference whatsoever to the wave of arrests that had taken place shortly before the prison raids, between March 1959 and June 1960, and which is crucial for any proper understanding of 4 February 1961. These arrests were at the root of what became known as the 'Trial of the 50', which deprived emergent nationalist movements[19] such as Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola[20] (MPLA) (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) of their main nationalist political leaders. One of these was Agostinho Neto, an Angolan doctor and member of a group of 'assimilated' students in the Portuguese capital, arrested on 8 June 1960; another was Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a priest who in 1948 had founded the Centro de Estudos Africanos (Centre for African Studies) in Lisbon alongside Agostinho Neto and Amílcar Cabral—the future leader of the Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo-Verde (PAIGC) independence movement in Guiné[21]—, detained on 25 June 1960.

Censorship and the Expulsion of Correspondents from Luanda

In the British press,[22] the first reports of the raids in Angola came on 5 February in weekly Sunday newspapers such as *The Sunday Times*, the *Sunday Telegraph*, the *Sunday Herald* and *The Observer*. The French newspapers *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* also covered the raids in their 5/6 February editions. These short articles were based upon information sent out by the SNI coupled with data from the Portuguese news agencies Lusitânia and Agência Nacional de Informação (ANI), both closely tied to Salazar's regime. However, while the Governor General of Angola's statement played down the relevance of the raids and insisted that peace and safety prevailed in Angola following the arrest of those responsible for the attempted assault on Luanda's jails, some British and French papers framed the raids with different words, far more belligerent in

tone: Peter Clifton signed off his piece 'Angola attack fails' and made it onto the front page of *The Sunday Times*; the French *Le Monde*[23] labelled the raids a 'revolt': 'Des bandes d'africains armés se seraient révoltées en Angola' (Groups of armed Africans reportedly revolted in Angola); and the report on this day from *The Observer*[24] was already forecasting an 'imminent war' in Angola. The article, based on a letter written by an African protestant pastor in Angola and addressed to João Cabral, London spokesman for the MPLA and the editor of the *Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin*, contradicted the Portuguese rhetoric about the absence of any racial tensions. It emphasised the threats made by settlers in Angola that 'all the blacks disloyal to Portugal, who do not ally with the whites, will be decimated'. The previous week, *The Observer* published over an entire page the suppressed report by Henrique Galvão, drafted and presented to the National Parliament in 1947, in which he denounced corruption and the system of forced labour in the Portuguese colonies, comparing the situation with slavery.[25]

Further events would take place on the day of the funeral of the police agents[26] killed in the first attacks, along with a renewed attempt to storm the prisons carried out on 11 February. This series of events in Luanda was extensively reported throughout the month of February, often published on the front pages of some prestigious newspapers.

The Guardian had displayed a highly unfavourable position regarding Salazar's regime and its colonial system. Its correspondent in Luanda, George Clay, wrote the report 'Attempt to storm gaol. Fighting Flares up in Angola' on 7 February, in which he attributed the cause of the disturbances at the cemetery, in the wake of the first raids, to racial hatred and to arbitrary violence of whites against blacks. On the same day, Daniel McGeachie, the *Daily Express* correspondent, related in the report 'Taxi! Then the bullets came at me. Portuguese beat up Africans' how he was injured during the funeral of the police agents, and provided a story that contradicted the Portuguese narrative of total harmony between whites and blacks in Angola. Furthermore, *The Guardian* mentioned the restrictive atmosphere conditioning information flows imposed by the *Estado Novo* by supplying an advisory note right at the beginning of its article detailing how the correspondent had telephoned his report to Johannesburg in order to escape the censorship of Luanda and Lisbon. Beyond the raids themselves, *The Guardian* gave notice of the statement by three leaders of the opposition to Salazar—Mário de Azevedo Gomes, Acácio Gouveia and Eduardo de Figueiredo—criticising the 'imperialist

policy of the colonial administration' and demanding the 'restitution of fundamental liberties'.[27]

Following a more conservative editorial line, the *Daily Telegraph* exhibited an overall sympathy for Salazar's regime. Reports from its correspondent Martin Moore were broadly aligned with the official Portuguese rhetoric, corroborating the version that the raids had been masterminded from 'the other side of the border' and justifying the absence of any mention of the colour of the attackers in the statement diffused by SNI by the notion that there were no colour-based distinctions in the Portuguese 'overseas provinces'.[28] In addition to Martin Moore's pieces, several editorials published over the course of February about colonialism, as well as the chronicles 'Way of the World' by Peter Simple, pseudonym of the satirical writer and journalist Michael Wharton,[29] show how the *Daily Telegraph* maintained a complacent attitude towards the Salazar regime, echoing its imperial rhetoric and despising the independence dynamic then spreading across the African continent.

The *Estado Novo* monitored the news published in the international press through its diplomatic network. Its embassies would send telegrams to the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in Lisbon containing summaries and very often full translations of the printed news. One such telegram, sent around this time by the Embassy of Portugal in London to the Ministério do Ultramar (Overseas Ministry) reveals that the journalists Daniel McGearchie and George Clay were already on the regime's radar. The telegram clearly conveyed some dissatisfaction over the coverage of both correspondents in Luanda, with their articles being characterised as essentially of a 'sensationalist character'.[30] The *Estado Novo* tried to control the impression Portuguese readers might gain from what was being written abroad, thus blocking the expression of any dissonant thinking. Foreign newspapers which diverged from the official Portuguese version of events were explicitly identified by the regime as part of the conspiracy against Portugal and as seeking to poison public opinion about the situation prevailing in its African colonies. Others were simply banished into a 'spiral of silence'.[31] Conversely, the Lisbon dailies quoted extensively the articles and editorials published in papers such as the *Daily Telegraph* which were in line with Lisbon's own printed press version of events in Angola.

To the extent that tensions rose in Angola, and with foreign journalists present in Luanda reporting on events based upon eyewitness accounts in the field, the Salazar regime took measures to exert more control

over what was written about Luanda. The obsession of *Estado Novo* with the preservation of its empire at any cost drove the regime to refine its repressive and propaganda strategies. The international press began to carry accounts of how the Portuguese had confiscated or destroyed photographic footage[32] being sent from Luanda to the respective newspapers' offices, cut off telephones, censored messages and blocked access to journalists wishing to report on the clashes. A South African journalist, Charles Brown, was also reportedly injured in a shooting. After that, accounts in both the Portuguese and the international press[33] surfaced on the expulsion from Luanda of four journalists who had tried to obtain information about their injured South African colleague: Daniel McGeachie, of the *Daily Express*; E.R. Christie, of London's ITN television station; George Clay, of *The Guardian* and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC); and Ray Wilson. The Portuguese press printed a convoluted version of this expulsion, conveying the idea that the these correspondents in Luanda had behaved 'like dupes'. But as we have already seen, by looking at the coverage by British papers, two of the journalists expelled, Daniel McGeachie and George Clay, had already stood out for their reports on events in Luanda in a way that clearly differed from the official Portuguese versions. Despite the expulsion of these journalists, Martin Moore was allowed to remain in Luanda.

Contradicting the mirage of serene calm disseminated by the Lisbon dailies, the international press on 8/9 February began stressing the dispatch of military forces from Portugal to Angola.[34] In the Portuguese press, however, there was no mention of the sending of any troops to Luanda. Research undertaken in archives has found proof of censorship by showing that the newspaper *O Século* had drafted an article on this issue, 'Paratrooper squadron 1 deployed overseas', on 8 February, which ended up falling under the censor's pen. Soon after, the Lisbon newspapers published a series of long articles signed by journalists who had been sent to Luanda: Domingos Mascarenhas, sent by *O Século*; João Falcato, by *Diário de Notícias*; and Fernando Soromenho, by *Diário de Lisboa*. In their reports, we read once again of the presumed calm in Luanda and of the absence of segregation or domination of the African peoples under Portuguese rule, designed to lend credibility to the official thesis of the non-divisibility of the colonies and metropolitan Portugal, then strengthening the notion of Portuguese society as pluricontinental and multiracial. The reports of the Portuguese special envoys came illustrated with photographs, capturing an ambience of apparent conviviality between

Portuguese and African inhabitants and portraying the Portuguese colonial territories as places immune to the adjoining anti-colonial hubbub.

Conclusion

The events of 4 February 1961 heralded the declaration of a war which for 13 years would be waged between the Portuguese army and African liberation movements. But even before engaging its military apparatus, the *Estado Novo* reacted by putting into action and intensifying the propaganda instruments characteristic of war situations in the twentieth century, as demonstrated by the pioneering works in communication studies with the coming of the great World Wars and the European dictatorships.[35] Despite the Salazar regime's inability to stem the news flow about the raids, it still managed to build a major narrative with all the fictional reworkings of this event. Under the hand of the censor, Lisbon newspapers turned their back on any precedents to the raids and distorted their meaning by suppressing their political nature and the desire of African people for independence. Studies of media thematisation and agenda-setting[36] have shown that the selective activity and valuations attributed by the printed press are decisive not only for framing any problematic issue in public communication but also for shaping the conception and the specific type and content of social knowledge. The scope of knowledge provided by Portuguese news reports thus combines the bias inherent in any media communication with the act of censorship, which itself is guided by the objectives of omission, falsehood and reframing.

Salazar used the press as a means of nurturing the imaginary of empire and to gain support for the preservation of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. As Hermínio Martins stresses out, he thereby managed to 'convert an event that on all accounts had everything to weaken him, into an opportunity to re-launch the entire imperialist ideology … and the total subordination of the colonial project, perceived as somehow "superior"'.[37] Yet, as pointed out by Pélissier,[38] the events of 4 February 1961 had far more significant long-term consequences than a short-term analysis might suggest. The raids were a sharp setback for the Portuguese empire. The constellation of news emerging not only in the Portuguese press, but also in British and French newspapers, reporting how three armed groups had attacked prisons in Luanda and revealing racial divisions that Salazar's regime stubbornly denied meant from the outset

a victory for the African nationalist resistance against the *Estado Novo*: the movement had now made its way onto the media agenda. This set of news items is the tangible sign of a daring and spectacular event that Salazar was not able to suppress and which would signal the advent of war in the African colonial territories.

Notes

1. The *Estado Novo* was the Portuguese anti-liberal, anti-democratic and anti-communist regime in power between 1933 and 1974, backed by the Catholic Church's social doctrine, strong state corporatism and a nationalist economic programme.
2. For an in-depth examination of conditions under censorship in Salazar's regime, see A.A. Carvalho, *A Censura e as Leis de Imprensa* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1973); C. Príncipe, *Os Segredos da Censura* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1994 [1979]); C. Azevedo, *A Censura de Salazar e Marcelo Caetano* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1999); J.C. Gomes, *Os Militares e a Censura: A Censura à Imprensa na Ditadura Militar e Estado Novo (1926–1945)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006); J.L. Garcia, 'Sobre a Censura em Portugal', in J.L. Garcia (ed.), *Estudos sobre os Jornalistas Portugueses—Metamorfoses e Encruzilhadas no Limiar do Século XXI* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2009), pp. 47–61; F. Rosas, *Salazar e o Poder* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2012).
3. 'As yesterday dawned, three assaults—two on prisons and the other on a police station—with the apparent intention of freeing prisons were vigorously repelled by force', *O Século*, 5 February 1961.
4. 'Armed groups yesterday in Luanda attempted to storm the military barracks, the PSP headquarters and the official broadcaster', *Diário de Notícias*, 5 February 1961.
5. For an understanding of the political and ideological stance of newspapers in Portugal in this period, see M.M. Lemos, *Jornais Diários Portugueses do Século XX: Um Dicionário* (Coimbra: Ariadne and CEIC20, 2006); J.F. Silveira, *A Construção do Sistema Informativo em Portugal no Século XX—O Sistema de Media Português e a Transição do Autoritarismo para a Democracia* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri and Instituto Politécnico de Lisboa, 2011).
6. *O Século*, 5 February 1961.
7. This interview is part of the documentary series of RTP (Portuguese Radio and Television) directed by Joaquim Furtado, 'A Guerra' (The War). See episode 1: 'Angola, Dias de Morte' (Angola, Days of Death) (2007).

8. J. Tengarrinha identifies three phases in the relationship of political power and media from the time of the military *pronunciamento* of 28 May 1926 to the fall of the *Estado Novo* on 25 April 1974. In the first phase, the regime's main focus was on sifting information, but without any fixed and well-defined criteria. The Lisbon rebellion of 26 August 1931 was the catalyst for the start of a new phase, which lasted until the beginning of the 1950s, in which the regime's main concern was to create a favourable image for itself in public opinion. This was the phase of manufacturing consent by establishing the so-called 'policy of the spirit', as devised by the writer António Ferro, and establishing the regime's intellectual credentials. Finally, from the 1950s to 1974, the main concern of Estado Novo would be to avoid any unfavourable information. J. Tengarrinha, *Imprensa e Opinião Pública em Portugal* (Coimbra: MinervaCoimbra, 2006).
9. On internal opposition to the *Estado Novo*, see L.H.A. Manta, *A Frente Popular Antifascista em Portugal* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 1976); D.L. Raby, *A Resistência Anti-Fascista em Portugal (1941–1974)* (Lisbon; Salamandra, 1990); F. Rosas, 'A Segunda Crise do Regime: O Terramoto Delgadista (1958–1962)', in J. Mattoso and F. Rosas (eds.), *História de Portugal—O Estado Novo (1926–1974)* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1993), vol. VII, pp. 523–539; F. Rosas, 'O País, o Regime e a Oposição nas Vésperas das Eleições de 1958', in A. Reis (ed.), *Portugal Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Publicações Alfa, 1990), vol. V, pp. 15–20; C. Mortágua, *Andanças para a Liberdade* (Lisbon: Esfera do Caos, 2000); A. Rodrigues, C. Borga and M. Cardoso, *O Movimento dos Capitães e o 25 de Abril* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2001).
10. F. Correia and C. Baptista, *Jornalistas—do Ofício à Profissão. Mudanças no Jornalismo Português* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 2007).
11. In January 1961, cotton pickers in Baixa do Cassange refused to harvest the cotton for the Cotonang company in protest against low salaries and the compulsory cultivation of products imposed by the colonial administration. This was followed by violent repression that led to the deaths of hundreds of workers and forced many others to flee to the Congo. D.R. Curto and B.P. Cruz, 'Terror e Saberes Coloniais: Notas acerca dos Incidentes na Baixa de Cassange, Janeiro e Fevereiro de 1961', in M.B. Jerónimo (ed.), *O Império Colonial em Questão (Sécs. XIX–XXX), Poderes, Saberes e Instituições* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2012).
12. 'Natives Storm Angola Jails', *Sunday Herald*, 5 February 1961.
13. *O Século*, 7 February 1961.
14. *Diário de Lisboa*, 7 February 1961; *O Século*, 8 February 1961; *Diário de Notícias*, 8 February 1961.
15. 'The Sinister Hand of Moscow Guides Misled Portuguese for its Work of Agitation in Africa', *O Século*, 7 February 1961; 'Russian Vessels Spotted

off the Coast of Angola', *Diário de Notícias*, 9 February 1961; 'We Have Identified the Existence of an International Organisation of International Marxist Orientation—Which Takes the Greatest of Care to Proclaim itself not Anti-Communist—and which is at the Root of Events in Luanda', *Diário de Notícias*, 24 February 1961.

16. T.D. Faria, 'O Comunismo: Um Anátema Estado-Novista', *Revista de História das Ideias*, 17 (1995), pp. 229–261.
17. The symbolic value of the Portuguese colonial empire, beyond its economic significance, is underlined and discussed by, amongst several authors we could mention here, R.J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa: 1815–1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1966); Y. Léonard, 'Salazar, ou le Portugal Éternel', *Histoire—Portugal, L'Empire Oublié*, 63 (2014), pp. 60–65; Y. Léonard, 'O Império Colonial Salazarista', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), vol. V, pp 10–30; V. Alexandre, 'The Colonial Empire', in A.C. Pinto (ed.), *Contemporary Portugal* (New York: Boulder, 2003), pp. 63–84; M.R. Sanches (ed.), *Portugal Não é um País Pequeno: Contar o 'Império' na Pós-Colonialidade* (Lisbon: Livros Cotovia, 2006).
18. 'The Indigenous Neighbourhoods of Luanda were Yesterday Visited by the Governor-General of Angola who Verified the Climate of Complete Tranquillity Prevailing there', *Diário de Lisboa*, 6 February 1961; 'There is Absolute Calm in Luanda in which Police Action Involves only Inspections on the Periphery of the City', *O Século*, 13 February 1961; 'Calm Reigns in Luanda', *Diário de Lisboa*, 15 February 1961; 'Luanda is Quiet and, like the Capital, so is Every Corner of Angola', *Diário de Lisboa*, 19 February 1961; 'Angola 1961, First Impressions from Luanda: City Calm and Tranquil', *O Século*, 20 February 1961.
19. D. Wheeler and R. Pélissier, *História de Angola* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2009).
20. The question over the founding of the MPLA proves controversial. According to Carlos Pacheco (1997, 2000), the version prevailing among various members of the movement that the MPLA was founded in 1956 consists more of a propaganda strategy to give the movement a greater stamp of national authenticity in its rivalry with the FNLA. C. Pacheco, *MPLA—Um Nascimento Polémico* (Lisbon: Veja, 1997), *Repensar Angola* (Lisbon: Veja, 2000). About this subject, see also L. Lara, *Documentos e Comentários para a História do MPLA (Até Fevereiro de 1961)* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2000).
21. In this connection, see the chapter by Teresa Duarte Martinho in this volume.

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Photography and Propaganda in the Fall of the Portuguese Empire: Volkmar Wentzel's Assignments for *National Geographic* Magazine

Afonso Ramos

Though still allotted the smallest share of critical and historiographical attention, no colonial empire wagered more to hold its overseas possessions than did Portugal. This singularly violent endgame was sustained by a twofold gambit: the longest colonial armed struggles in Africa and the fiercest efforts to claim the exceptionalism of that continued presence on the battlefields of ideology, media, culture and diplomacy. But if both fronts were taken to unprecedented lengths, structural imbalances in the levels of attention among the current scholarship have largely disconnected the war itself from the war of representation, precluding us from coming to grips with how each fed off the other to perpetuate an imperial contest for so long. In fact, the pendulum in assessing this downfall has

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swung so far in one direction that, forty years after decolonisation, we are still at a loss for critical tools to unravel that ultimate paradox of 'Portugal, and her strange ability to continue a fight that all other European colonial powers had to give up', as Hannah Arendt then put it.[1]

This unsettled past, which is yet to be fully engaged with by cultural, historical and political discourse, has necessarily lingered on as a conflictual terrain where the strongest efforts are still made to control the narratives of 'truth'. And if the traumatic silence once hovering over these events recently gave way to a flood of emotionally charged memoirs or photo-albums, these selective recalls immersed in imperial nostalgia hardly ever admit to any intercourse between the received glossy depictions of late colonial life and the violent bloodshed that sustained it, as if they were mutually exclusive. Shaped by censorship and propaganda, this troubling partition of memories still governs our understanding of those events, and must be reckoned with if any headway is to be made into the longest of all colonial endgames. To fight this historical gridlock, I contend one must challenge such compartmentalisation of experiences and read them as mutually inflecting, by rehashing the rival narratives about the 'truth' in an interdisciplinary bid, and framing this contest against the global background from which it is often severed.

Shocked by the first anti-colonial insurgencies in Angola in March 1961, the Portuguese empire struck back, reasserting its presence in Africa as the other European powers pulled back. With the world spotlight drawing attention and censure to this civilising mission, it could no longer rely on the systematic cover-ups and censorship that had hitherto blanketed the colonies in a 'kingdom of silence', coercively making them the most unknown areas of Africa to the outside world.[2] The twin struggle against the most durable colonial empire in Africa and the longest-ruling dictator in Western Europe had just gone international. Salazar resented this 'foreign aggression', claiming: 'If the great powers become convinced that the Portuguese are the only ones who, by their way of being, culture and language, will be able to remain, it will be possible to overcome this difficult phase.'[3] With the last empire in Africa at stake, the ante was upped. Along with the unprecedented economic reforms and skyrocketing military budget to quell all resistance on the ground, it was urgent to win over public opinion and extol that Portuguese way of life abroad at all costs. But this large-scale myth-making enterprise, designed to drum up support for colonial interests worldwide and build intellectual firewalls against critics through media and culture, has drawn considerably less attention.

The success of this colonial facelift crucially hinged on 'foreign observers'. After nearly all international journalists were deported from Angola

in February 1961, upon sending out disapproving stories deemed 'biased' by a regime which controlled all information flow from this colony, the official priority after the war began in March was to close the entire country to all external observers. Foreign reporters could not obtain visas, United Nations (UN) commissions were denied entry, and most missionaries were expelled on trumped-up charges. But cordoning off Angola from external eyes no longer sufficed as a strategy. Silence had been broken. If, at home, the dictatorship controlled the media and jailed opposition, outside the borders, it now had to engineer counter-moves to deflect global condemnation. This meant applying a tighter stranglehold on representation for image-enhancing purposes.

This chapter explores an instance of those far-reaching international efforts to manage colonial visibility through the entanglement of media and culture. In order to examine the drastic attempts then mobilised to fix a single and exclusive truth about colonial life by intervening in the global press system, I will focus on *National Geographic*'s coverage of Portuguese Africa in the 1960s. These stories, I argue, afford a unique insight into how the 'regimes of truth' that still surround the longest-lasting colonial endgame were produced, maintained and contested, and the centrality played by visual representation in that ideological struggle.[4]

National Geographic Magazine

The thick fog of myths and rumours, denials and lies that shielded Angola during the colonial war made its coverage a nightmare for foreign journalists, and left lasting reverberations in the country. As René Pelissier memorably put it in 1971, 'Truth is at a premium in contemporary as well as historical Portuguese Africa.'[5] Indeed, after the colonial regime attempted an all-out media blackout on Angola as soon as the armed struggle begun in March 1961, scores of conflicting and unreliable accounts found their way to the international press, since none of them could be independently verified. This was precisely when, in October 1961, at the height of the propaganda war that ensued, media outlets across the USA—which, under John F. Kennedy, censored Portuguese colonialism at the UN—received a letter from the Portuguese embassy in Washington D.C. entitled 'Truth about Angola'; it enclosed the reprint of an article. *Afro-American* (1961) reproduced this letter:

> So much biased material has been printed about Portugal and its overseas provinces in recent months that I would like to call the AFRO's attention

> to the September issue of the National Geographic Magazine. This copy includes an excellent article entitled, 'Angola, Unknown Africa', by Volkmar Wentzel. Mr. Wentzel describes the multi-racial society that exists in Angola, and points out the absence of racial tension. This report is in sharp contrast to anti-Portuguese propaganda … I believe you will find this article interesting, non-political and factual.
> B. TEIEXIRA [*sic*] Press Attaché, Portuguese Embassy.[6]

How does a popular cultural icon like *National Geographic* (NG), one of the more dominant mainstream outlets in the world, come to be deployed as a prime propaganda weapon against US foreign policy (not, as often critiqued, in support of it), garnering sympathy for the hard-line stance of an increasingly infamous dictatorship? Could it really lend ideological support for imperial permanence in the face of a full-scale European retreat from colonial enterprise and general condemnation at the UN? What was it about NG's coverage that held so high a truth-value? And under which conditions was this reprint made and sent out?

Despite the minor role usually ascribed to culture wars in this end-game, this spectacular display straddling art, science and entertainment speaks volumes about the powerful role of late colonial visual culture in shaping popular perception. In the heyday of the illustrated magazines (prime exemplars of imperialist visual culture, according to Roland Barthes [1972]), NG held a crucial position in the mediascape, with a unique academic legitimacy as 'America's lens on the world'.

NG's commercial success and reputation as a neutral source were largely credited to editor Gilbert Grosvenor's choice to make photography its mainstay. This 'pioneering use of photographs,' Volkmar Wentzel wrote, 'can be likened to Henry Ford's pioneering use of mass-production of the automobile. Both have had far-reaching effects within this century.'[7] Yet the status of these pictures as value-free windows to the world, along with the apolitical humanism which they intended to bolster, has come under attack since the 1960s. A lengthy scholarship has turned a critical gaze on the magazine's formative years, revealing faked images, institutionalised racism and concealment of political issues behind aesthetically pleasing images. It uncovered, in fact, that for decades NG had openly promoted colonial arrangements in the English, Belgian and French contexts. The original claim to a pseudo-scientific neutrality of its illustrations then became evidence of a tutored gaze complicit in propping up the pretend humanism of colonialism,

subsuming violent social realities beneath the alluring veneer of aesthetic virtue. One of the undisputed masters of this genre, who fought the hardest to preserve this visual archive and even wrote about it as a historian, as instanced above, was a German-born American photographer, Volkmar Kurt Wentzel (1915–2006), who worked for nearly fifty years at NG and left some of its most iconic pictures.

Volkmar Wentzel

The rare visual account of late Portuguese Africa by Volkmar Wentzel as a writer-photographer on Angola (1961)[8] and Mozambique (1964)[9] for NG offers a privileged conduit to approach that divisive endgame for the remaining colonial empire, as the two stories coincided with the outbreak of war in each country. In addition to being hailed by Portuguese colonial rule as the 'truth about Angola' at a time of fanatical attempts to control the narrative of history, the reportages are made all the more relevant by the paucity of visual documents by foreigners, and by the fact that they generated two art exhibitions at US cultural powerhouses, both of which have gone altogether unnoticed thus far. The authoritative sway of Wentzel's stories was also thrown into relief by the fact that official US institutions singled them out as essential reference material on Portuguese Africa until the late 1970s.[10]

Wentzel's visual legacy spans an acclaimed 48-year-long career at NG, well-known for recording the 'dying light of the empires', a loaded metaphor behind his images of 'a world radically changing before his lens, from European colonies in Asia and Africa'.[11] In a late interview, he reminisced about his life's work: 'Two countries come especially to mind, Angola and Mozambique.'[12] Considering the former empires so notably documented by Wentzel, this is a conspicuous choice, for the Portuguese colonial context is never mentioned in the vast scholarship on NG's imperial ideology, even as their entanglement seems to feature prominently.

Wentzel's coverage of Portuguese Africa for NG occurred over the course of its greatest rise in subscribers (from 2 to 5.6 million between 1957 and 1967), as Gilbert Grosvenor handed the editorship to his older son, Melville Bell. Until then, Portugal rarely featured in NG—although a story from 1938, by W. Robert Moore, announced that since Salazar came to power 'new life has stirred in this historic nation', since he had rehabilitated it in ways 'scarcely less spectacular' than the

Discoveries.[13] But the focus of attention was to change dramatically in the postwar era. As Salazar refused to either decolonise or democratise, stories such as Clement E. Conger's tellingly titled 'Portugal is Different' (November 1948) surfaced. The article would be greatly praised by the regime (along with his *Portugal is Fantastic!*, hailed as the first colour film on the country). In fact, the propaganda body often resorted to it internationally, using it as the example of a 'truthful account' of Portugal to counteract *Time* magazine's critical story on Salazar, in which the country was described as a failed dictatorship mired in poverty, illiteracy and repression. In response to this media disaster, Salazar banned *Time* for six years, expelled the author of the text, Pietro Saporiti, from Portugal, and ordered the political police to confiscate all issues on sale and even those found in private houses.[14] But the pivotal figure in the shift of attention to Portugal was Alan Villiers, after he pitched a story on Portuguese codfishers to his personal friend, Melville Bell Grosvenor, which yielded a film and an article for NG. 'I Sailed with Portugal's Captains Courageous' (May 1952) was a short version of the successful book he launched in 1951. Though fully planned with Grosvenor, Villiers' bestseller is dedicated to one of Salazar's strongmen, Pedro Theotónio Pereira, the Portuguese ambassador in the USA, who had invited him to do this story and arranged the trip. And if, in private, Villiers complained of being dragged off by officials in Portugal to look at the rehousing projects of the fascist regime instead of ships, he gladly welcomed the exploitation of his stories by the dictatorship's propaganda body, Secretariado Nacional de Informação (SNI) (National Information Secretariat). SNI awarded him the lavish $20,000 Camões Prize (1951) destined for foreign authors promoting Portugal abroad, and Salazar made him a Commander of the Ordem Militar de Sant'Iago da Espada (Order of St James of the Sword) (1951). The unprecedented honours may not have come entirely as a shock. Villiers' closest friend, F.C.C. Egerton (who is thanked profusely in the book) had already been commissioned by SNI to write a laudatory biography of Salazar to influence British public opinion and was then effectively working as a propagandist for the Portuguese empire.[15]

This may shed light into why, although usually opinionated, Villiers' accounts of the trip to Portugal were fully purged of criticism. They glorified the fishermen with postcard-like photographs and a film (the premiere of which was held at SNI's headquarters and was attended by Salazar himself) smoothing over the living conditions: a saccharine

portrait that left out all the 'hair-raising stories of life in Salazar's Portugal' the sailors had told him about political imprisonments, torture and poverty.[16] Endorsing Portugal's official image abroad, Villiers would be invited back on more government-sponsored trips to keep up the sympathetic coverage for NG (and also for *Reader's Digest*), with articles like 'Golden Beaches of Portugal' (1954) and 'Prince Henry, the Explorer Who Stayed Home' (1960), in which he pitted the glorious dawn of the first global empire led by Portugal against the current decolonisation in Africa as the passing of an enlightened age.

The changing global landscape to which Villiers pointed would further solidify NG's position as a neutral source of pure geographical information worldwide. But in the same year, Gilbert Grosvenor wrote to his son, NG's editor Melville Bell, to condemn a story project about the 'winds of history' in Africa. He even managed to alter its contents and remove the words 'apartheid' and 'colonizers' from the printed version. '*The white man*', he argued, '*with missionaries, engineers, schools, awakened Africa* and now the white man is being driven out by the men he educated and Africa will soon become again the Dark Continent. I am proud of being a white man' [emphasis in original].[17] Such was the institutional context under which Volkmar Wentzel brought these little-known parts of Africa under Portuguese control into visibility—'his lens', as NG claimed, 'gave the readers last glimpses of Portugal's overseas empire'.[18] Once again, involvement with Portugal began in Washington, in 1959, after he was assigned to cover the unveiling of the largest elephant ever captured in history by José Feniková, a Hungarian multi-millionaire industrialist.

This heroic tale of hunting in Angola,[19] to which the stuffed elephant still bears witness as the enduring symbol of the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, would provide the storyline for Wentzel's story. After accepting the hunter's invitation to visit his 1000-acre ranch in Sá da Bandeira (Lubango), Wentzel resorted to the old travelogue style also later used in Mozambique, where he retraces the routes of Vasco da Gama and David Livingstone. Both these stories reproduce the often critiqued tropes of the magazine's coverage of Africa: they rely heavily on an interaction with colonial elites, both subscribe to the view of Africans as part of nature and outside of time, and are permeated by ideas about bringing civilisation to primitive people. But how did these long-standing politics of representation, already contested then in regard to other

colonial contexts, collide against the grievances of the liberation movements in Portuguese Africa?

Wentzel's story about Angola, published two years after the trip, appears in the midst of the dramatic events of 1961, with an 'Editor's Note' appended:

> Angola, one of the largest territories in Africa still under European control, has been constantly in the news. Stories of unrest, insurrection, and bloodshed have been many. Volkmar Wentzel … less than two years ago traveled the length and breadth of Angola, even to its remotest wilderness areas. His journey could not be made today.[20]

The pictures offer a counterpoint to the confessed topicality that pervades the text, evincing the eerie 'all's well in the colony' style which customarily underlies visions of late empires. While that disclaimer offered an alibi for ignorance about the eruption of violence about to tip over, the story in Mozambique (1964), on the other hand, also weeks before armed struggle began there, left out that war raged in Angola and Guinea against Portuguese rule. However, Wentzel's awareness of these violent events seems to put particular spins on both stories. As colonisers were no longer welcome in Africa, a surge of interest rushed to the last bastion of white rule, Portuguese Africa, as undiscovered land unspoiled by history: the 'Unknown Africa'. Colonial enterprise was thus continually exalted in both these stories, as well as the success of the *colonatos* in Cela and Limpopo, the largely failed efforts to bring white settlers to expropriated lands after World War II.

Excluding from the visual frame any urban blacks or the shantytowns where the majority lived, most images glorified tribal and folkish aspects, the focal point of the art exhibits they generated. Shunning a photojournalist tradition of black and white, which then kept delivering grim images of violent events in Africa, these scenes appear in unnaturally bright and exotic colours that cut them from the flow of world affairs. At a time when some urged support for the civilising whites by arguing that black majorities were incapable of self-rule, this de-historicising gesture bore clear political edges, as noted by the *New York Times*' review of one of the shows: 'The skill of the imaginative photographer, combined with the reporter's ability to communicate what he has seen and appreciated, distinguish this exhibit from the conventional display of merely travel pictures.'[21] Surely, it is no accident that hitherto little-known Portuguese

Africa was suddenly placed on display in two major exhibitions, precisely in the time and place their continued existence underwent its most heated international dispute ever. In New York, the Museum of Primitive Arts (1962) showcased 'Native Angola: A Pictorial Survey', followed later in Washington DC (1964) by 'African Folkways in Angola and Mozambique' at the National Museum of Natural History's Foyer Gallery, under the auspices of the Museum of Primitive Arts and the National Geographic Society.

Even if the awakening of curiosity and empathy about these colonies might have been politically invigorating, Wentzel's stylised presentation of highly limited themes encapsulated key problems in the image economy of late Portuguese colonialism, whose wartime exposure to public eyes was to a great extent mediated by three modes of neo-ethnographic imagery—travel tourism, hunting safaris and scientific missions—no longer possible in other parts of Africa. These romanticised images erase all antagonism, thereby stressing the antinomy between the peaceful Angola prior to the war and the foreign insurgents that sought to put an end to this race-free bliss—'an island of tranquillity', Wentzel calls it, evocative of the dictatorship's denial of war in the colonies by telling foreign reporters they were 'an oasis of peace'. The material force of ideology pulses through this coverage in ways that should be probed more thoroughly, since they should not be dismissed as pure propaganda, and yet cannot be read without reference to it. If, formally, Wentzel just appears to cling to the magazine's long-held Pollyanna style, on a closer inspection those carefully considered representational choices clash head-on with the critiques then being levelled by the international community against Portugal. And these were the fracturing points that a short-lived governmental reform hastily sought to amend after the first insurrections in Angola, in precisely the same month that NG's article came out, as the Portuguese embassy letter to media outlets duly stressed.

The three most explosive issues were: illiteracy; the racial discrimination between 'civilised' (2%) and 'non-civilised' (98%) in the access to jobs, education, health and suffrage; and the widespread reliance on forced labour, due to the lack of an industrial society. None of these issues elicited any comment from the author, who spent almost a year roaming the country before the reforms. In fact, the images which do not show tribal rituals patently contradict all of these charges, placing the focus on multiracial cooperation, employment and education, and on industrial development. Though briefly commenting on Africans

as 'ward of the state', it overshadowed the appalling extent of forced labour, and the mandatory crops and corporal punishments that were a part of it, as denounced by a host of foreign journalists in the 1950s. Wentzel's pictures of nameless subjects toiling for colonial firms instead adhere to the idea of labour as an integral process to being 'civilised', uncritically portraying children as mere 'workers'. These images contrast violently with the work of Ricardo Rangel in Mozambique, for instance, one of the most prominent photographers in southern Africa, who was then beginning to mobilise that *medium* to fight back against the hegemonic, celebratory imperial discourse, yielding haunting images such as the belatedly iconic one of a black child shepherd who was branded on the forehead by his colonial employer as punishment for losing a cow. This emergence of an oppositional aesthetics was not only an indictment of the violence of social relations in late colonial life, but a riposte to an increasingly stringent political effort to draw a veil over them—Rangel's visual accounts were often banned from publication, and even destroyed by the political police (PIDE[22]).

Woefully inattentive to the African perspective, masking a deep social division in which colour played a central role, Wentzel appears to abide by the colonial imperatives dictating and patrolling what could be seen, heard and thought. The radicalism of this totalising discourse in fixating the image of 'truth' is evidenced by Faria de Almeida's film *Catembe* (1964), shot in Mozambique during Wentzel's stay. As part of the official strategy to render the colonies more visible after the outbreak of war, this state-funded documentary showcased the daily social relations in a fishing village, without averting its gaze from the poverty, hardship and interracial relationships. Although never overtly critical, those visions crashed violently against the official stream of idyllic propaganda that invariably showed modern infrastructures built by white colonisers, and consigned the black population to folklore and ethnography. The contrast was so intolerable for the regime's strict policing of the visual field that it entered the *Guinness Book of World Records* (1987) as the most censored film in history, with 103 cuts in total. The censor advised the young director to avoid poverty and erase the impression that only black people worked, instructing him to provide images of 'racial coexistence' (although all footage with interracial couples was cut out) in scenes that ought to occur in 'schools, high schools, and sport activities'.[23]

It is telling that this prescription of visuality occurred during Wentzel's stay. It not only throws into relief the mounting colonial investment in the visual and the draconian pressures on representation,

but also the fact that Wentzel's account, unencumbered by censorship, toed the official line, spotlighting the multiracial schools even as the 1958 census declared a 99.6% illiteracy rate among Africans. No wonder the images fitted the wartime propaganda so well with their glitzy representation of history and politics:

> I had watched Africans and Portuguese working together in the fishing fleets, building together their own homes side by side, and playing together in basketball and soccer games … When I left Angola in January 1960, I hoped with all my heart that this kind of cooperation would continue.[24]

The Bigger Picture

The Cold War-era politics of attention doubtless accounts for the short-lived hyper-visibility of Portuguese Africa on the global scale, and its carefully scripted storylines and mediated imagery. But how might we assess NG's leap from a professed commitment to relay geographical facts without intrusive politics to its final propaganda use by a pariah colonial dictatorship? Important contextual clues may be gleaned from the story reprint sent to newspapers under the title 'Truth about Angola'. Unbeknownst to media outlets, they were prepared by a public relations (PR) firm, Selvage & Lee, where propagandist Bernardo Teixeira, Press Attaché of the Portuguese Embassy, also worked.

Following the lead of South Africa and Rhodesia, which retained the services of PR firms and used state funds to covertly entice foreign journalists to write positive stories about them, the Portuguese government likewise instigated a group of businesses in Angola and Mozambique to prospect the top PR firms in the USA under the cover of Portuguese overseas companies. Days after war broke out in Angola and the USA censored Portugal at the UN, a $500,000-a-year contract was awarded to Selvage & Lee on April 1961, after other agencies had refused to take on this lavishly paid job.[25] The campaign to sway public opinion had to create a favourable world opinion about the colonies and discredit nationalists—or, as it was phrased, to put African events in their 'true and proper perspective'. Articulating governmental and corporate power, the account manager, Kenneth Downs (made a Commander of the Order of Prince Henry in 1973 by Salazar's successor, Marcello Caetano), headed a team in close coordination with Portugal's official services of information (PIDE, CITA[26], SNI, etc.) and diplomatic delegations. At

the helm of these international operations were the Portuguese Foreign Minister Franco Nogueira and the above-mentioned Ambassador Pedro Theotónio Pereira.

If the revelation of this strategy of responding to African events in the 1960s with massive international campaigns of disinformation and covert propaganda led to major political scandals in Belgium and South Africa (forcing Prime Minister B.J. Vorster to resign) and remained a topic of constant investigation ever since, the Portuguese case was never disclosed or subjected to public scrutiny and has largely failed to attract academic notice.[27] In a sense, this indicates the success of this propaganda campaign, claimed by some to have produced a sea change in both official policies and public opinion.[28]

These unexamined efforts were far reaching, and included lobbying, high-level meetings and speech writing for US politicians, along with a fierce battle with the media to alter public perception. Deprived of the control over the media it had at home, the dictatorship entrusted Selvage & Lee with vetting all press visa requests to the colonies, screening publications, filtering news and obtaining improved media coverage. The payback did not take a long time. When US Assistant Secretary of State Mennen Williams visited Angola in 1961, a firm agent dealt with the press from NBC, Reuters, New York Times, Associated Press and US News and World Report:

> I set up my room in the Hotel Continental [in Luanda] as a sort of press headquarters where we all met to discuss any problems, plans for trips, arrangement of interviews, and the general philosophy of the story they were down there to report … having not before been allowed into Angola, a number of them had a chip on their shoulder against the Portuguese, and my first mission was to remove same. I believe the results show that this was successfully done, since not one prejudiced story was written during their stay and I believe every one of them left in a pro-Portuguese frame of mind.[29]

At a time when US news outlets were flooded with official data by Portuguese sources, *in loco* covert operations were set up in African colonies to foist a frame on the media, to dictate the terms of discourse and interpretation. This tack was pursued by giving trips to journalists, allowing them to see only what the regime laid out for inspection. One of the guided tours was covertly arranged for the Newspaper Editors

Association in 1963, with 35 newsmen expected to provide favourable news coverage upon their return. Most did. But one editor, Wayne Sellers, wrote back from Johannesburg:

> I have never seen such blatant brainwashing and we free loaded through all of it, including terribly expensive lunches, dinners, cocktail parties, et cetera. One of the American consulate staff told me at lunch yesterday there was a significant side we weren't seeing. We were taken on a tour of fancy schools, hospitals, and such. I am disturbed that many of our group seem to have fallen for it and I am more greatly disturbed that [they] did not explain Angola businessmen with axes to grind were paying for our visit there…What upsets me so much is that so many of our people who seemed to be so impressed overlook the fact that Angola and Portugal are just as much of a dictatorship as Spain or Russia.[30]

To further accommodate the instructions to focus on multiracialism and economic development, and exploit the equation of nationalism and communism, the firm placed pro-Portuguese stories in magazines like *Fortune*, and in African-American newspapers such as *Jet* or *Afro-American*. As a Selvage & Lee representative later testified before the US Senate, 'if it becomes known that we sponsored material of this kind on behalf of the Portuguese, the Portuguese multi-racial policy is a sham and a fraud'.[31] Any stories that challenged the fixed tenets of how the colonies should be represented, or that reported Portuguese atrocities (for example *Washington Post*, *Life*, *Harper's*, NBC), were immediately attacked and counteracted by a massive distribution of reprinted stories deemed unbiased by the power—that is, the 'truth'. The widest reprints serving this purpose were those of two giant media icons: *Reader's Digest* and *National Geographic*. The former included two stories. One by a retired general, Frank Howley, vice president of New York University, whose brief government-paid tour to Angola in May 1961 (later claimed to have been a 6-month stay[32]) 'coincided' with that of an old friend, Selvage & Lee's own account manager, Kenneth Downs. Howley's trip was fully undertaken in the company of Jackie Hallowell, a pro-Portuguese journalist on retainer from the PR agency that, in addition to all this, also ghost-wrote the general's article.[33] The other story is by Max Yergan, who went to Angola on a government-paid trip in March 1961 with George Schuyler: two high-profile black conservatives in an 'oddly timed scenic tour', choosing, as David Anthony put it, 'that precise

moment to put a pleasant face on an increasingly unpopular colonial apparatus, noted for its systematic suppression of human rights and reliance upon torture'.[34] Both accounts, authored by two of the first visitors to Angola when all foreign journalists were denied entry, were pivotal in the defence of Portuguese colonial rule, but not without criticism. Their claims were picked apart in a letter to the *New York Times* by Malcolm McVeigh, one of the hundreds of missionaries expelled from Angola: 'You may be sure that the Portuguese knew where General Howley was every minute of his month's stay!'[35] The *Digest* refused to publish any replies to the stories on Angola from anyone sympathetic to the nationalist cause.[36]

How come Volkmar Wentzel's name crops up among the first ranks of paid propagandists in this PR campaign, and alongside activists defaming the civil rights movement and bolstering colonialism in Africa? And why is it that NG was chosen, given the readily available state-funded material with solid political credentials? In a desperate crusade to win over international public opinion, there were few greater prizes than replacing 'America's lens on the world' with the ideological filters of the imperial dictatorship. Importantly, given the cosmetic makeover of the colonies, the privileged evidentiary power of photography became crucial to keep up appearances, eclipsing the allegations of clandestine nationalists unable to back them up visually, and screening out unflattering, divergent accounts whose pictures were pitilessly censored. Wentzel's naturalist icons of racial harmony and social consensus became a major asset, lulling us to believe that their denial of politics—that is, submission to ideology and mythology—constituted authoritative and truthful evidence of a non-partisan point of view.

When reports of turmoil broke months before the article on Angola came out in 1961, Wentzel's story turned into an effective rejoinder to critics. Claiming a unique pre-war insight into the little-known Portuguese Africa, it supplied a solid foundation on which to ground opinions about the subsequent revolts by lending credence to the official line. As Kenneth Downs stated, 'until the terror started in Angola, about 99 people in [the US] or more out of 100 did not know whether it was a country or a goat; and the libraries were very short of reference material on the area'.[37] This bind between past and present was wisely exploited by the propaganda machine that, while sending out these alluring icons of innocence to the media, also distributed millions of sensationalist pamphlets with graphic atrocity pictures of corpses mutilated by

liberation groups.[38] A visual strategy alternating images of a stomach-turning, black-provoked carnage with an eye-pleasing, white-led paradise lost, meticulously recreated in the present hell of war.

Wentzel's aestheticised rendition of the late imperial myths was not just the result of abusive distortion by propaganda. A number of pro-colonial pamphlets prepared by Selvage & Lee in fact counted upon his authority. In *The Communists and Angola*, for instance, his article was cited: 'Wentzel said that racial tension was absent'.[39] But in *Eyewitness Accounts from Portuguese Africa*, Wentzel volunteered his take on accusations of biased media coverage or conducted tours: 'People say Angola is a police State, but I'll be damned if it was when I was there. I was allowed to travel all over the country without restriction.'[40]

The claim that this magazine was exempt from politics even as the world spotlight fell on Portuguese Africa is further contradicted by a letter sent to the US President, John F. Kennedy, by the Australian journalist Shirley Duncan. This known advocate of colonial affairs had, in fact, been conspicuously employed as Wentzel's personal assistant on the trip to Mozambique, though this was never disclosed. Strikingly, in the published story, Duncan is only mentioned fleetingly as a reporter Wentzel ran into by chance as she hitched a ride alone from Beira. It also omits that some of the pictures she took on that trip were destined not just for NG but also for a Selvage & Lee propaganda booklet entitled *Mozambique* (1964). But Duncan's letter to JFK, widely reprinted across the media in Portugal, was all the more revelatory since it would be made known to the Portuguese public by Wentzel himself, who forwarded it to the colonial dictatorship's official bulletin:

> When Mr Wentzel and I arrived in Mozambique in March 1962, we were almost expecting to be escorted and followed everywhere, such is the impression one gets from stories in the foreign press. Instead, officers told us that we were free to go anywhere and see everything. They said: 'All we ask is that you tell the truth!' … For seven months of constant observation we found no sign of agitation or revolt, nor the much publicized Portuguese 'cruelty and oppression' … foreign pressures threaten to destroy the racial trust and harmony built for many years … Mr Wentzel travelled to Angola three years ago and found it completely peaceful. Later, he heard Holden Roberto speaking in Washington and was enraged with the amount of lies he told. From what I know, Eduardo Mondlane is the same kind. I think that the Portuguese deserve cooperation from the West, rather than hostility … I hope, President Kennedy, that this long letter

> will help you understand the true situation here … I have no vested interests in this, nor do I care about politics … All that I have just reported about Mozambique can be verified in our thousands of photographs and six thousand metres of film, now at National Geographic in Washington.[41]

Shedding light on the decision to visit another Portuguese colony after the story on Angola, both the film and photographs are thus posited in the service of a politics: opposition to US foreign policy and African nationalism. It is worth noting, moreover, the leading role ascribed by Duncan to the visual material, implying that its evidentiary power conferred a particular truth-value on the NG accounts, capable of trumping the verbal grievances of the nationalists (discarded as an 'amount of lies'). The civilising mission is therefore given an image makeover at its critical hour, erasing traces of racial division, disavowing signs of violence and rejecting any collusion between media and empire. But as a radio broadcast by the Overseas Ministry in Portugal trumpeted, once again highlighting the visual: 'We hope the White House in Washington sees the cited photographs and film … We are immensely grateful to the author of this letter and to Mr Wentzel, all of us, Portuguese people, for complying with our authorities' request that we gladly reiterate: "All we ask is that you tell the truth!"'[42]

Wentzel took to imparting this truth in illustrated lectures across the USA as 'a leading authority on Portuguese Africa',[43] speaking on 'Portuguese [*sic*] and Africans building up industries improving health and educational services'.[44] The high-status events were held, for instance, at the National Academy of Science (1963), Constitution Hall (1963), Denison University (1963), Medical College of South Carolina (1964), Cosmos Club (1965) and Washington College (1966). On 1 July 1964, Wentzel went to the Lisbon Geographic Society to screen his *A Film on Mozambique* for a mainly governmental audience. It was deemed of 'exceptional interest', in that it captured 'the most expressive images of the current realities in that territory' with 'utmost probity'.[45] Tellingly, he submitted the Mozambique article to this semi-official colonial institution to be considered for their Admiral Gago Coutinho Prize.

In addition to being sanctioned from above, Wentzel's stories would also be publicised by the regime, the colonial press, and firms bankrolling the PR campaign.[46] But the reception extended worldwide, driving home an unequivocal politics: Eschel Rhoodie, the chief apartheid propagandist who oversaw South Africa's global PR and lobbying operations,

urged the maintenance of white rule in southern Africa based on the success of the Portuguese colonial policy as evidenced by these stories.[47] In the USA, where these reprints were widely disseminated to segregationist groups, it was quoted at length by Billy James Hargis's Christian Crusade, who claimed to 'fully agree' with Wentzel in an anti-communist rant.[48]

Conclusion

A shift of tone in NG's coverage occurs with a story on mainland Portugal in 1965,[49] this time containing an ominous text by Howard La Fay, at odds with Wentzel's joyful pictures accompanying it. But as Portugal still manoeuvred through international isolation, vying to improve its image abroad and having trouble maintaining order within, this story was far from critical. As the last article to put a happy face on this fascist dictatorship, it merited the official António Ferro Prize for foreign reporters promoting the nation abroad (given to Howard La Fay with a special mention to Wentzel), which comprised $15,000 and a 10-day visit to Portugal as guests of the propaganda bureau. The decade-long coverage unfailingly rewarded by the regime had thus come to an end.

This signalled the last effort to bring Portuguese Africa into visibility, as the official US disapproval of this hard-line colonial stance gradually, and then finally, stilled after JKF's death, and the successful PR offensive came to an end in 1965. The date coincided with this last article. The country had to wait 15 years to elicit NG's attention again. The colonial dictatorship had managed to return to a powerfully enforced status of near-invisibility on the global radar, leading to exponential rises in foreign investment and military aid to Portuguese Africa. Among the top three politico-financial supporters of this late reassertion of colonial power would be West Germany's Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger (1966–1969), who also happened to be Wentzel's father-in-law. A former propagandist of the Nazi Party, Kiesinger, unlike prior chancellors unwilling to be associated with a dictatorship, became the first German dignitary to visit Portugal after World War II, upon Salazar's personal invitation to give him an honorary degree from Universidade de Coimbra (University of Coimbra) (1968). Expressing his admiration for Portuguese Africa, he turned West Germany into one of the key weapon providers of this colonial war.

Though interesting, as promised in the letter 'Truth in Angola', Wentzel's stories are neither factual nor non-political. They become,

therefore, essential to historicise the contingencies of 'truth' and to provide a conduit to think about the key role played by the visual in shaping, defining and exporting it. The spearhead of the propaganda campaign overseas, Franco Nogueira, clarified in 1968 what the status of 'truth' required, when he refused a visa to Angola to the US scholar Gerald Bender after the latter had refused to give him complete censorship rights over all written material. When Bender pledged to be objective in his studies, Nogueira merely retorted: 'To be objective is to be favorable to the Portuguese.'[50] This was, coincidently, the same minister who proposed to the Portuguese President on 31 January 1964 that high honorific orders be conferred on two foreign citizens for their valuable services to Portugal, NG's editor Melville Bell Grosvenor and Volkmar Wentzel, respectively as a Commander and Officer of the Ordem Militar de Cristo (Military Order of Christ), 'for his notable action in the journalistic field in favour of the defence of the Portuguese action in Africa'.[51] Four years after NG's story was distributed as the disinterested truth about the outbreak of war, on 20 April 1965, the Portuguese embassy in Washington held a special ceremony to bestow both medals in gratitude for the institutional support the magazine had lent to Portuguese Africa at its most critical juncture. It would be the final act in the consistently good relations between this media giant and the colonial dictatorship. Such conniving liaisons, damaging to all claims of factual or apolitical knowledge, has gone entirely unremarked hitherto—both by an international scholarship which systematically overlooks this colonial context, and by a national scholarship yet to probe the stakes and tentacular ramifications of imperial propaganda abroad. Wentzel's articles are of the utmost import, opening a window into the interlaced world of media, embassies, corporations, museums, governments and academia. They evidence how 'truth' is historically shaped, established and maintained through practices of power, revealing the regime's masterful ability to spin information and secure a lock on representation even beyond its borders.

A lot remains to be said on this visual repertoire, given its breadth, its negotiation of colonial ambiguities and its warm portraits of artists. In fact, Wentzel donated Angolan and Mozambican artefacts to the National Museum of Natural History and gave a Malangatana painting to the National Museum of African Art. But one must understand the agendas this repertoire served, dispel any illusions of non-partisanship and debunk its unchallenged claim to be an objective record of late Portuguese Africa. Many perils abound in this media spectacle, whose

packaging of these issues played a disfiguring role in the way this history has been told. In view of such colossal overseas efforts to police the parameters of representation, encroaching upon and entangled with the international media, this aestheticised past reminds us of the urgency in denaturalising the visual regimes and jingoistic rhetoric of empire, so that we can re-historicise and politicise the slanted archives we have inherited. Confronted with fundamental disagreements over the meaning of the past, and the impossibility of retrieving history today as a single and transparent truth, a more fine-grained and context-sensitive analysis is needed in order to account for the neglected relations among warfare, media and culture, which defined the course of events and still determine the conditions under which we look at them.

Notes

1. H. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harvest Books, 1965), p. xviii.
2. 'The Kingdom of Silence', *Harper's Magazine* (May 1961), pp. 29–32.
3. *Apud* F. Dacosta, *As Máscaras de Salazar* (Lisbon: Casa das Letras, 2010), p. 119.
4. M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon, 1980), p. 131.
5. D. Wheeler and R. Pélissier, *Angola* (London: Pall Mall; New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 159.
6. *The Afro-American*, 28 October 1961.
7. V.K. Wentzel, 'Gilbert Hovey Grosvenor, Father of Photojournalism', *Cosmos* (1998). Available at http://www.cosmosclub.org/journals/1998/wentzel.html.
8. V.K. Wentzel, 'Angola, Unknown Africa', *National Geographic Magazine* (September 1961): 346–383.
9. V.K. Wentzel, 'Mozambique: Land of the Good People', *National Geographic Magazine* (August 1964): 196–231.
10. See H.D. Guither and W.N. Thompson (1969), *Mission Overseas: A Handbook for U.S. Families in Developing Countries* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969); *Africa: Its Problems & Prospects: A Bibliographic Survey* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1962); *Area Handbook for Angola* (59th edition, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1967), vol. 550; *Countries of the World and Their Leaders* (Washington, DC: US Department of State, Office of Media Services, CIA and Gale Research Co., 1977).

11. T.Y. Canby, *From Botswana to the Bering Sea: My Thirty Years with National Geographic* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1998), p. 245.
12. Radio interview with Volkmar Wentzel, NPR/NGS Radio Expeditions (23 September 1999).
13. W. Robert Moore, 'Castles and Progress in Portugal', *National Geographic Magazine* (February 1938): 133.
14. *Proibição da Time no Regime Fascista* (Lisbon: Comissão do Livro Negro Sobre o Regime Fascista, 1982).
15. See F.C.C. Egerton, *Salazar: Rebuilder of Portugal* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1943); *Angola without Prejudice* (Lisbon: Agency-General of Oversea Territories, 1955); *Angola in Perspective: Endeavor and Achievement in Portuguese West Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957).
16. K. Lance, *Alan Villiers: Voyager of the Winds* (London: National Maritime Museum, 2009), p. 208. Original emphasis.
17. *Apud* T.Y. Rothenberg, *Presenting America's World: Strategies of Innocence in National Geographic Magazine, 1888–1945* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), p. 66.
18. *National Geographic Magazine* (September 1983): 278.
19. See J. Fenykovi, 'The Biggest Elephant Ever Killed By Man', *Sports Illustrated* (4 June 1956).
20. V.K. Wentzel, 'Angola, Unknown Africa', p. 346.
21. *New York Times*, 22 July 1962.
22. Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado [International and State Defence Police].
23. M.C. Piçarra, 'Portugal Olhado pelo Cinema como Centro Imaginário de um Império: Campo/Contracampo', *(OBS*) Observatorio*, 3: 3 (2009): 172.
24. V.K. Wentzel, 'Angola, Unknown Africa', p. 383.
25. This contract was signed by the knot of elite power with high financial stakes in the colonies. These included Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha, Salazar's secretary and an Overseas Ministry official, the bankers Manuel Queiroz Pereira and Manuel Espírito Santo, Commander Ernesto Vilhena, Diamang's chairman, and Alexandre Pinto Basto, CEO of Benguela Railway (which, after the dictatorship fell, employed the mastermind of this PR campaign, Franco Nogueira, as its chairman in London).
26. Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola [Angolan Centre for Information and Tourism].
27. The most important exception to this has been L.N. Rodrigues, *Salazar-Kennedy, A Crise de uma Aliança* (Lisboa: Casa das Letras, 2008).

28. S. Funada-Classen, *The Origins of War in Mozambique* (Eccleston Place: African Minds, 2012).
29. *Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (88th Congress, First Session) on Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 854.
30. Ibid., p. 883.
31. Ibid., p. 1169.
32. *Portugal Replies in the United Nations* (Lisbon: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1970), p. 234.
33. J. Hallowell's articles on Angola and Mozambique in 1961 were published in New Bedford's *The Standard Times*, and reprinted in a booklet by Selvage & Lee, under the title *Angola and Mozambique Today and Tomorrow*.
34. D. Anthony, *Max Yergan: Race Man, Internationalist, Cold Warrior* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), p. 216.
35. *New York Times*, 22 October 1961.
36. J. Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978), vol. 2.
37. *Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate (88th Congress, First Session) on Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States*, p. 849.
38. See A. Ramos, 'Angola 1961, o Horror das Imagens', in F.L. Vicente (ed.), *O Império da Visão: Fotografia no Contexto Colonial Português (1860–1960)* (Coimbra: Edições 70, Almedina, 2014), pp. 397–432.
39. *The Communists and Angola* (Boston: Portuguese-American Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1961), p. 10.
40. *Eyewitness Accounts from Portuguese Africa* (Washington, DC: Companhias Ultramarinas de Portugal, 1963), p. 17.
41. *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* (1964), vol. 40, p. 120.
42. 'Espero, Presidente Kennedy …', *Ideias e Factos*, Emissora Nacional (6 June 1963).
43. *Washington Elm*, 8 December 1966.
44. *The News and Courier*, 13 February 1964.
45. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 82: 7 (July 1964): 419.
46. See, respectively, *Boletim de Informação do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros* (1966), vol. 12, p. 20; *Diário de Moçambique*, 4 August 1964; *Publicações Culturais, Companha de Diamantes de Angola* (1963), vol. 66, p. 15.
47. E. Rhoodie, *The Third Africa* (New York: Twin Circle Publishing Company, 1968), p. 124.
48. *The Weekly Crusader* (Tulsa, Okl.: Christian Crusade, 1961), vol. 2, p. 93.

49. H. La Fay, 'Portugal at the Crossroads', *National Geographic Magazine* (October 1965): 453–501.
50. G. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), p. xxiv.
51. Process no. 2365-E, Arquivo da Chancelaria das Ordens Honoríficas Portuguesas, Lisbon, Portugal.

Rising Symbol for a Falling Empire: The African Footballer Eusébio

José Ricardo Carvalheiro

The historical circumstances of the Portuguese empire in Africa led the representation of racial differences presented to the public in Portugal to fluctuate greatly during the colonial period. The portrayal of racial differences was crucial to defining Portugal's imperial project and yet the importance of such differences was denied in public. This ambiguous status was part of the ideological strategy of the final years of the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship (1926–1974), but its roots lay in a longer narrative about Portugueseness[1] that was embedded in discourses about the country's relationship with Africa and Africans. This chapter focuses on the 1960s and is limited to the articulation of colonial war with sport and popular media. The text suggests that these aspects converged to produce a turning point in the national and colonial narrative that was embodied in the figure of the footballer Eusébio.

To discuss the figure of Eusébio, we first need to examine the field of the cultural industries—where sport and the media have become crucial elements—through the analysis of the weekly magazine *Flama*, a mixture of news and everyday content. Like every publication during the *Estado Novo*,

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Flama was subject to political censorship, but it also followed the trends that were emerging at the time in the media landscape: increasing transnational content connecting various sorts of shows/events (cinema, music, sport); self-reference within the media field; increasing personalisation in the methods used to present reality; and the growing prominence of images encouraged by television, but following antecedents in the sports press.[2] Due to its diversified contents, *Flama* is useful to observe how the media coverage of a particular moment in colonial history articulated with the projection of sporting figures. We aim to observe this by analysing the magazine's issues from 1961 and 1966.[3] In 1961, the colonial war—which put an end to the Portuguese empire and led to the collapse of the *Estado Novo* regime in 1974—started in Angola. At the same time, Eusébio emerged as a public figure, a historical coincidence that will be discussed. Looking at the year 1966 should enable us to comprehend further representations of the war, the evolution of colonial discourses and the growing media coverage of sporting figures from the colonies.

Colonialist Nationalism

Political regimes in Portugal shifted throughout the twentieth century, but all of them—the monarchy (until 1910), the First Republic (1910–1926) and the *Estado Novo* (1926–1974)—emphasised the colonial project as central to the nation. They all shared the 'myth of the sacred heritage',[4] according to which keeping the colonies was seen as a matter of honour linked to the country's historical achievements since the fifteenth century. The Portuguese state promoted ideas of the country's 'civilising mission', its 'colonial vocation' and the empire's exceptional nature compared to the overseas expansion of other European nations. In fact, some of these ideas were common to other imperial powers. What was crucial to the set of beliefs that composed the Portuguese ideology about the colonial empire was its focus on the symbolism that had been developed since the late nineteenth century[5]: a supposed 'gift for colonisation', not so much through economic and material aspects as through spiritual action. Each colonial project established its own set of beliefs, from racial superiority to historical rights, which served the interests of the colonising nation and provided ideological legitimacy for holding other territories and dominating indigenous peoples. Unable to exploit Africa in a capitalist way, Portugal invested in a discourse of

symbolism which prepared the ground for an ideology about interaction with natives and the Portuguese people's supposed skill in doing so.

If we accept the concept of nationalism as the creation of 'an ideological movement in order to reach and maintain the autonomy, unity and identity of a population',[6] we can understand the importance of the imperial project within Portuguese nationalist ideology: the possession of colonies was historically decisive for the country's resistance against Spain's aspirations for hegemony in the Iberian Peninsula. It was especially after the British 'ultimatum' in 1890, however, which humiliatingly broke Portugal's claim over the hinterland of southern Africa, that Portuguese nationalism began to be informed by 'a colonial matrix'.[7] Both the elite and working classes in the metropole engaged in a passionate anti-British discourse that included supposed contrasts in the empires' forms of colonisation.

The following decades increased 'the incorporation of the colonial ideology into the national ideology',[8] and the *Estado Novo* went a step further than previous regimes by deepening the fusion of nationalism and imperialism. The Acto Colonial (Colonial Act) of 1933 declared imperial heritage and national independence to be officially inseparable, stating that it was 'part of the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to accomplish its historical function of possessing and colonising overseas domains and to civilise indigenous populations'. This political orientation was paralleled in the metropole by cultural action related to colonial topics in education, exhibitions, magazines, literature, cinema, cartoons and radio programmes.[9] These actions would produce a popular view of a certain role played by the Portuguese in the world and would create new heroes within a true 'imperial mystique'. This was the case for the officer Mouzinho de Albuquerque, who defeated and imprisoned the Emperor of Gaza (Mozambique), known as Gungunhana, in 1895. He became 'the secular saint of the [*Estado Novo*] regime',[10] through the media, until the 1950s.

In the 1950s, however, the regime started to face international pressure to decolonise, and it shifted its official stance: the terms 'colony' and 'empire' were banned; Portugal was reconceptualised as a 'multi-continental nation'; the existence of racist practices was denied; and a supposedly natural tendency towards establishing racial harmony in the African 'provinces' was proclaimed.

There is a narrative about the Portuguese 'role' in the world which has been shown to have been adapted to historical periods and circumstances. The links between this narrative and discourses about Africans, which were also changing, form a crucial aspect of late imperial ideology.

In another text,[11] the author classified these discourses on Africa according to three types: discourse focusing on differences (expressing insurmountable racial essence and white supremacy); assimilation (believing in the ability of 'Portuguese civilisation' to culturally absorb African natives); and interaction (proclaiming an original 'gift' for miscegenation in the tropics). This last type of discourse became closely linked to the theory of Luso-Tropicalism, coined by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in the 1930s for colonial relations in Brazil. It was opportunistically adopted by the *Estado Novo* in the 1950s as a general axiom for what the regime called 'the Portuguese world'.

Thus, these different discourses and their related historical narratives shifted much faster than the reality of colonial relations in African territories. However, one aspect of this 'Portuguese world' was particularly important: while the whole system of racial relations, practices and norms took place in Africa, the representation of them—and only ever a representation—circulated intensely in the metropole. In fact, mass culture provided a fertile arena for the dissemination of the ideology of 'Portuguese exceptionalism' and translated the Luso-Tropicalism thesis into banal nationalism through everyday media messages.[12]

Sport and the Portrayal of Equality

Modern sport played a role as a disciplinary practice both in urbanisation in Europe and the expansion of European empires, but some of its forms were also quickly appropriated by people in non-institutionalised ways. Football entered Portuguese Africa right at the beginning of the twentieth century through port cities such as Lourenço Marques (the colonial name for Maputo, now Mozambique's capital city). The employees of British firms and Portuguese colonists formed clubs and promoted competitions, from which the natives of Mozambique were excluded. Since colonial sport maintained racial segregation, Africans began to organise their own football tournaments. This was the situation in the 1950s when a boy called Eusébio began to play for a team in his 'indigenous quarter' of Lourenço Marques.

However, the essentialist discourse focusing on racial differences had started to lose ground in favour of a discourse of assimilation. As political changes, such as the law of 'indigenous status', passed in 1954, promoted cultural proximity and a sense of Portuguese citizenship for a small number of natives, sport itself was going through a process of

transformation. Mozambican football teams held by colonists started recruiting talented young natives, and even clubs from Lisbon looked for players from the colonies, both white and black. Towards the end of the 1950s, when Eusébio joined Sporting of Lourenço Marques, the team was manifestly multiracial. The new dynamics of the sporting world fitted the Luso-Tropicalism discourse, which was used at the time as a political resource against international forces who contested the remaining colonial projects. Meanwhile, it also hid the fact that indigenous-based clubs were still unable to compete in the official football championship in Mozambique.

In fact, sport—particularly a team sport as accessible as football—is an excellent place for the representation of individual equality. Nevertheless, the incorporation of African players in clubs in the colonies or the metropole and what it symbolised (sometimes given as an example of social mobility that would otherwise not have been possible[13] or as a case of cultural creolisation[14]) did not solve the systematically subaltern position of the colonised; the harshness of race relations in Africa was not transformed through sport.[15] In any case, the sports press of the metropole developed Freyre's thesis (which he himself applied to football, arguing that national styles of playing were a result of cultural traits), viewing the accommodation of African players as 'giving birth to new identity combinations more in tune with the alleged Portuguese exceptionalism'.[16]

A Racialised Narrative

The Lisbon team Benfica hired Eusébio, and he arrived in the metropole in the last days of 1960 at the age of 18. In a review of the previous year, *Flama*'s first issue in 1961 highlighted, more than any other subject, 'the attacks that Portugal has undergone' within the United Nations, 'misjudging the true meaning that is represented for all of us … by our provinces all over the world'. The first issues of the magazine in 1961 show how the press followed a long-term colonial narrative about a beneficial and symbiotic presence in Africa, focusing on specific points: Portugal's need to preserve its historic rights; confrontation with the natives' savage habits; and the ongoing effort to civilise them.

It is in this context that the first guerrilla actions in the north of Angola, killing hundreds of farmers and workers in March 1961, became a turning point,[17] in the sense that it forced a new sequence to open up in the Portuguese colonial narrative.

The following news stories about the colonial war in *Flama* contained one noteworthy aspect: verbally and visually, the portrayal of social actors systematically distinguished between 'terrorists' and Angolan natives. This matched the regime's strategic goal of denying a collective dimension to the rebellion or any popular support for pro-independence organisations.

From the first report from Angola in 1961, *Flama*'s texts showed a constant concern to emphasise the lack of racial motivations for the conflict, but paradoxically this involved obsessive references to racial categories. For instance, by differentiating members ('whites' and 'coloureds'[18]) of a clearly defined social group ('the Portuguese'), a meaningful distinction was made within it.[19]

On the other hand, there was a set of images that ostensibly projected multiracial nationalism by matching 'coloured Portuguese' people with national symbols. In these images, Africans were represented as patriotic agents, the faces of a renewed imperialist concept in Portuguese nationalism. These visual representations were coherent with the ideological make-up of the regime at the time and its opportunism is evident, considering the colonial war and international political tensions. 'Indigenous' people from African colonies had never before been called 'Portuguese'.

The same press that used to employ racial labels very naturally to refer to figures like the jazz musician Louis Armstrong or the Brazilian footballer Péle (revealing the relevance of phenotypes for Portuguese society) suddenly started to make an effort in its discourse to deny any significance to 'race' within the Portuguese empire. After the war began, the previously common distinction between 'indigenous' and 'assimilated' people vanished from *Flama*'s pages. In its place, loyalty to the nation became the main subject used to evaluate Africans and place them within the narrative divide that had been opened up by the conflict. The magazine's discourse ended up classifying Africans into one of two groups, the loyal and the traitors.

A Metonym for Symbolic Loyalty

For five months, Eusébio was kept off the pitch while he waited for his certificate. He emerged as a media figure only at the start of the following football season, precisely when *Flama*'s narrative about the war was transmitting the idea that the war was coming to an end. In October

1961, within the racial frame that had been constructed over the six months of war, the magazine published a close-up of Eusébio on its first cover to use the photograph of an African, presenting him as an emerging celebrity. In the headline, Eusébio was defined as 'a man of simple soul', which could be read as a metonym for the Africans loyal to the nation.[20]

The Portuguese football team had just been defeated in a game said to be humiliating, but the young Mozambican player had been highlighted in the sports press as a notable exception among a group of men who had not honoured the national symbols. The message seemed to be that patriotism could also be taken on by Portuguese people from the 'overseas provinces' in the symbolic field of sport.

Flama's story on Eusébio, however, was not about football. Instead, it intended to discuss the man. It showed his flat in Lisbon, mentioned money and fashionable clothes, and depicted a young African man moving towards modernisation. The subtext was that good Africans allowed themselves to be assimilated by Portuguese culture, but they kept their simple souls. The cover photograph, taken from below and showing Eusébio looking into the distance, was the kind of image that offered an ideal for Portuguese people to gaze upon, rather than attempting to create an imagined relationship with him.[21]

Through sport and the media, audiences in the mainland—who did not know much about race relations in the colonies—received symbolic evidence of a multiracial empire-nation. In spite of the absence of ethnic diversity in the metropole, readers could also get further encouragement from popular culture to understand Portugueseness as inclusive, tolerant and adaptable in its relationships, so the figure of Eusébio and the ideal of patriotic loyalty he seemed to incorporate were spread.

A set of specific points supported the special media focus on Eusébio. Unlike the older (also Mozambican) Mário Coluna, who led the national team with a more collective and cerebral way of playing, Eusébio rose to the status of football star mainly thanks to his individual action on the pitch. His game fitted the stereotype of the African sportsman: physical strength, intuition, speed and spectacular agility, all quickly summed up by the nickname 'black panther'.

This was a time when broadcast television was slowly spreading throughout Portuguese society, after the state launched Rádiotelevisão Portuguesa in 1957. Collective gatherings at cafés and clubs were the most common ways of watching. Football matches offered particularly

exciting occasions for television reception in groups, and the striking images of Eusébio entered the scene in this context.

Flama itself pioneered the trend towards the growing importance of image in the press, and media personas and celebrity culture in Portugal. These emerging media trends embraced Eusébio as a suitable figure both on and off the football pitch. As a timid and lonely young man from humble beginnings, the Mozambican sportsman provided a success story based on merit and personal talent. His journey soon included marriage to a photogenic young lady from the Mozambican upper class, who opened the doors of her home to the press to reveal her personal habits to audiences and even publicly commented on rumours about the couple and their relationship.

The gradual spread of Eusébio's image around the world coincided with the speeding up of a process that increasingly made popular sport a spectacle and economy of its own, a trend in which the media played a crucial role.[22] This process was also helped by the focus on sport as a symbolic competition between nations, something that happened throughout the twentieth century (a clear example being the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin). It took on a new role, however, with the states' repositioning after the Second World War.[23]

It should also be noted that Portugal spent these decades as a country severely isolated from the international scene, a captive of its dictator's rural fantasy, unnoticed by the rest of the world and lacking any figures known abroad. The 1960s marked the beginning of a progressive return to global dynamics for Portugal: in the economy, as a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and receiver of foreign investment; in politics, as the colonial war put the country under an international focus; in the media, as the flow of cultural industries influenced the Portuguese press and broadcasting more and more. Sport as a spectacle was part of this movement, too: Portuguese football teams became better and better and won European competitions for the first time. Eusébio was the protagonist in this process.

Popular Culture and Multiracial Nationalism

The war did not end in 1961; instead, new fronts were added over the following years, and the symbolic value of the figure of Eusébio increased. Before the conflict that brutally reopened the colonial narrative and shook beliefs about the 'Portuguese world', Eusébio's patriotic

actions at symbolic level may be seen as 'correlated actions'.[24] They responded to a new dichotomy and helped solve it in a specific way—the way intended by the colonial regime—but also reflected commonly held beliefs about the multiracial world that the Portuguese had supposedly created.

Since the Portuguese nation had been symbolically rethought to incorporate Africans—but reframed along racial lines—any action by those seen as 'black' was destined to be read as an attitude towards Portugueseness.

Texts and images that represented the Africans' loyalty and multiracial nationalism in the context of colonial war paved the way for later images of black athletes to gain meaning within the same patriotic framework. And it is known how sport is able to function as an important factor in constructing nationalist ideologies on a daily, continuous and more or less discreet basis.[25]

What we can see in *Flama*'s issues throughout 1966 is an almost complete absence of news stories about the colonial war and, compared to 1961, they appear to have been replaced by the symbolic stage of international sports competitions as a place for nationalist references. For the first time, the national football team participated in the final games of the World Cup, in England, in a tournament that was already organised as a large-scale media-focused 'ceremony'. It was another moment that reflected Portugal's return to the international arena and it was also the symbolic peak of multiracial nationalism.

Even before the competition, Portuguese audiences saw Eusébio once again on *Flama*'s cover (now in colour) as a national celebrity. He represented the intertwining of two phenomena: the wide spread of sport as spectacle and the expanding field of cultural industries. Football clearly provided symbolic material that went far beyond the sports sections or the specialised press. Eusébio was among the actors taken by a media industry that aimed to widen audiences and that often targeted them by revealing the private sides of public figures. So, a full-page photograph showed the footballer inside his flat, standing beside his wife, embracing her, the couple staring into each other's eyes.[26]

Using that kind of image, audiences were invited to enter the homes, lives, thoughts and feelings of the figures who were subjected to personal media coverage. The title of the feature in *Flama* was 'Eusébio and Flora: We are happy',[27] and it was one of the very few texts from that period written by a woman journalist on the magazine.[28] It introduced a

female approach that promised to reach a transversal national audience, making Eusébio popular beyond the almost exclusively male domain that was football at the time in Portugal.

The female approach was apparent right at the beginning of the text: 'It was after the Benfica-Manchester match that rumours started to circulate saying that Eusébio and I were going to split up.' The story, although written by a journalist, was told from the wife's point of view, Eusébio's wife, and mostly used a first-person narrative.

The cover photograph once again offered 'an ideal': Eusébio was a family man in a middle-class flat. Such an image belongs to the set of 'narrative representations' whose visual grammar is supported by 'vectors' such as limbs or lines of sight that express interaction between characters,[29] in this specific case expressing the idea of a couple in harmony. Ethnic or cultural differences in relation to the national norm were totally left out of the text: what *Flama* presented to its readers was an entirely Portuguese couple, not even mentioning their past in an 'overseas province'. If this feature contained any racial or ethnic meanings, they would have come entirely from the audience itself and cultural interpretation that could have activated such a reading. On the eve of representing Portugal in the international sports arena, Eusébio appeared as assimilated by the nation, thus reflecting the irrelevance of racial differences when there was cultural assimilation and symbolic adherence to the metropolitan homeland.

The context in which the Portuguese national team, which had several Mozambican players, joined a world championship greatly covered in the media was one of oscillation between the insecure self-esteem of a small country and the aspiration to a heroic journey to befit its history.[30] A parallel would emerge between this symbolic battlefield and the former representations of the colonial policy and the war in Africa.

Apart from the military metaphors commonly used in sport (Eusébio named as a 'gunner'), we also find similarities between the visual portrayals of heroes and martyrs in war and in sport (photos of injured footballers are taken from similar angles and show body positions similar to those of wounded soldiers). Reporting on the return of the team to Portugal after the tournament, the magazine also produced a visual representation that resembled some of those published in 1961 on political issues—such as the photographic composition of a demonstration in favour of maintaining the Portuguese empire held in front of the United States' embassy at the beginning of the war. The visual focus on elements

that form multiracial nationalism can be seen in the political realm and in sport, in both cases by linking national symbols and racial markers in certain ways.

But the symbolic culmination of this colonial narrative can be found in the images that showed Eusébio crying after the team's defeat in the semi-final against England. In addition to television images, photographs of this episode were widely reproduced in the Portuguese press. In *Flama*, one picture in particular was unusually prominent: it was published three times in different issues, first as a full-page image on an inside page—the only photo to merit such treatment in all the issues of the magazine in 1961 and 1966.[31] The picture, still very well-known five decades later, shows the player drying his tears on the national shirt.[32]

Such a photograph can be qualified as a 'dynamic image'[33] because of 'vectors'. Vectors have a similar function to verbs in language and are visually performed by the limbs of the body (representing gestures and actions) or by lines of sight (representing interactions between the participants in the image). It is precisely when participants are connected by vectors that the actions performed on one another can be seen. The 'agent' is the one from whom the vector departs, and the 'object' the one towards whom the vector is directed. If this is the case, the image has a transitive structure.

The captions for *Flama*'s pictures simply say 'Eusébio cried' or 'Eusébio was driven to tears', but the visual grammar says more than that. These captions do not form transitive sentences, because the defeated footballer does not cry for something or someone, he is simply crying. On the other hand, the image depicts Eusébio as an agent whose object is his own shirt. Not any shirt, but the national shirt. In verbal terms, it could be translated as 'Eusébio dries his tears on a Portuguese shirt'.

Furthermore, in that photograph Eusébio is simultaneously agent and object. There is another limb (an arm belonging to a Portuguese person) which works as a vector, holding him and suggesting consolation and protection. We could therefore argue that the structure of this image is a circular transaction, in which Eusébio is at the same time agent and object of the action; the national shirt itself also becomes a sort of agent in this composition as its diagonal lines add another vector to offer comfort to the player. In words, it could be said that 'the Portuguese shirt dries Eusébio's tears'. There is a circular meaning: a patriot cries for his nation; the nation comforts its hero.

We can also include the concepts of connotation and myth, used by Roland Barthes[34] in his semiotic approach to popular culture. Besides the shirt's connotation of patriotism, the whole image could also reach the level of national myth. Contemporary myths, according to Barthes, circulate in fragments and their meanings come from a sense of narrative that works in the long term. The narrative of the Portuguese empire as a humanist interaction with distant people and different 'races' is condensed into that image to reinforce a myth about Portugueseness. It was this mythical meaning that influenced a Portuguese reporter's reply to a British journalist who said Eusébio should not even play for Portugal because he was Mozambican: the reporter said that Eusébio cried 'Portuguese tears'. As the Portuguese empire was slowly falling apart, its peculiar nationalism had found a true symbol in an African sportsman.

Meanwhile, issues of *Flama* from 1966 prove how the colonial war, in spite of its long duration, had been normalised in the media and was reduced to brief and occasional references to some military actions. While the conflict had been softened by the press, the long magazine reports from the 'overseas provinces', frequent in 1961, had vanished altogether. Equally notable was the absence of any reference to Africans by the racial label of *pretos*, the most familiar but depreciative name for 'blacks' which was common five years before in *Flama*'s texts.

In contrast to the erasure of racial labels when referring to Portuguese and imperial contexts, other texts from 1966 attributed great significance to the idea of 'race'—this happened, for instance, in articles about the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah.

Clearly, lexical transformations did not mean that phenotypes suddenly became irrelevant in the Portuguese empire and the metropole. Instead, the fact that racialisation had previously been used as a systematic framework for reading the empire made it possible to remove explicit references to 'race' without losing its meaning and importance. 'Race' had become an issue with an ambiguous meaning in Portuguese society; it was always noticed but scarcely mentioned, because it supposedly had no social or political meaning.

Conclusion

Thanks to a specific set of circumstances, Eusébio embodied a turning point in the narrative of Portugueseness. His image was an ideological tool for the colonialist regime, but it also represented some beliefs that

are deeply rooted among the Portuguese people. Portugal's return to the international scene and the emergence of new dynamics in the media of the 1960s (personalisation, spectacular images of the body, biographical revelations, exposure of private life) allowed for a new kind of hero in popular culture that was connected to the narrative of patriotic heroism.

What is important about *Flama* is that it brought together different issues such as entertainment and social problems, international politics and popular music, opera and sport. In doing so, the magazine participated in an emerging cultural industry in the Portuguese media that assigned the same symbolic dignity to different areas and popularised entertainment figures, giving them a status similar to political agents or the figures of high culture. By giving an African such relevance, it may also have helped represent a certain idea of Portugueseness in a continuous, everyday way[35]; it reinforced—at symbolic level, which was notable in the Portuguese empire—a community that was imagined as multiracial.

The narrative that incorporated Eusébio, like the adoption of the Luso-Tropicalist discourse by the regime, was not really about interaction between groups within the nation or the empire, but instead consisted of discourses about the Portuguese (from the mainland, of European origin), their qualities, their influence on others and their recognition by others. The young Mozambican player was integrated into a symbolic movement designed to prove Portugal's imperial vocation, a movement whose ideological nature went far deeper than the propaganda of Salazar's regime.

Eusébio died in Lisbon in January 2014, at the age of 71. All the Portuguese news media focused on the event, and several television channels spent many hours reporting live from the stadium where his body was being mourned and honoured, in one of those occasions where organisers and broadcasters cooperate in order to produce a media ceremony.[36] Later, they provided significant coverage of his funeral, and the TV cameras followed the hearse live as it passed through the streets of Lisbon and even joined the hundreds of people at the cemetery. The Portuguese government officially declared three days of national mourning. Dozens of opinion pieces, press articles and blog texts were devoted to Eusébio, a significant number of them discussing much more than football. In the weekly *Expresso*, the Portuguese newspaper with the largest circulation, a widely read columnist (born in 1979) named Eusébio 'our mixed-race idol' highlighting the fact that he was the son of a Portuguese man and a Mozambican woman, and defining him as 'a

super-Portuguese man … who carried centuries of history in his football shoes'.[37] Once again, five decades after his symbolic peak as a sportsman, Eusébio seemed to encapsulate a sort of nostalgia about the empire, not declared as power and the domination of other lands, but rather as an idea of a mixture of races and cultural tolerance. Eusébio himself became a long-term, powerful idea. He came to represent a core thought in the way Portugal wishes to see itself.

Notes

1. I use this term (by linguistic analogy with Englishness) to translate the concept of *Portugalidade*, which is usually used to discussed supposed Portuguese nature and traits.
2. R. Kumar, 'Da Bancada aos Sofás da Europa: Apontamentos sobre os Media e o Futebol no Século XX Português', in J. Neves and N. Domingos, *A Época do Futebol: O Jogo Visto pelas Ciências Sociais* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2004), pp. 231–262.
3. Firstly, all the issues of *Flama* from those two years were scanned. That allowed 178 texts (90 from 1961; 88 from 1966) to be selected, divided into three categories according to the conceptual foci of the research: (1) texts about the colonial war or policies connected to the colonies; (2) texts about sportspeople and international competitions; (3) texts about the media sector itself. Of this sample, a smaller number of texts included clear representations of the nation and the empire; their verbal and visual elements were analysed in more detail.
4. V. Alexandre, *Velho Brasil, Novas Africa: Portugal e o Império (1808–1975)* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2000).
5. Y. Léonard, 'A Ideia Colonial, Olhares Cruzados', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chauduri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), vol. 4, pp. 521–550.
6. A.D. Smith, *A Identidade Nacional* (Lisbon: Gradiva, 1997), p. 97.
7. N.S. Teixeira, 'Colónias e Colonização Portuguesa na Cena Internacional', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chauduri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), vol. 4, p. 503.
8. Y. Léonard, 'A Ideia Colonial, Olhares Cruzados', p. 537.
9. See P.F. Matos, *As Côres do Império: Representações Raciais no Império Colonial Português* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006). See also F. Rosas, 'O Estado Novo nos Anos 30', in J. Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal: O Estado Novo (1926–1974)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), vol. 7, pp. 243–299.
10. D.L. Wheeler, 'Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1855–1902) e a Política do Colonialismo', *Análise Social*, XVI: 61–62 (1980): 295.

11. J.R. Carvalheiro, 'Portugalidade e Diferença: Esboço para um Arquivo de Representações Raciais', in A. Barata, A.S. Pereira and J.R. Carvalheiro (eds.), *Representações da Portugalidade* (Lisbon: Caminho, 2011).
12. M. Cardão, *Fado Tropical: O Luso-Tropicalismo na Cultura de Massas (1960–1974)*, PhD thesis (Lisbon: ISCTE—Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2012).
13. R. Serrado, *História do Futebol Português: Das Origens ao 25 de Abril* (s.l.: Prime Books, 2010).
14. N. Domingos, 'Futebol e Colonialismo, Dominação, Apropriação: Sobre o Caso Moçambicano', *Análise Social*, XLI: 179 (2006): 397–416.
15. D. Booth, *The Race Game: Sport and Politics in South Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).
16. M. Cardão, *Fado Tropical: O Luso-Tropicalismo na Cultura de Massas (1960–1974)*, p. 109.
17. R. Barthes, *Image, Music, Text* (London: Fontana Press, 1977), p. 74.
18. Here I employ 'coloured' as a translation for *de cor*, which is a euphemism used by the Portuguese in the colonial context to designate 'black' people.
19. See T. Van Leeuwen, 'A Representação dos Actores Sociais', in E. Pedro (ed.), *Análise Crítica do Discurso* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997), pp. 169–222.
20. This cover image of Eusébio, taken by photographer Lobo Pimentel, was published in *Flama* 710, 3 October 1961.
21. G. Kress and T. Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (London: Routledge, 2006).
22. See D. Stead, 'Sport and the Media', in B. Houlihan (ed.), *Sport and Society* (London: Sage, 2003), pp. 184–200.
23. See R. Mandell, *Sport: A Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).
24. Actions that respond to a bifurcation in narrative and that help to solve it in a certain way. See R. Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*.
25. See J. Neves, 'As Chuteiras Não Têm Pátria: Futebol, Nacionalismo e Tempo', in J. Neves and N. Domingos (eds.), *A Época do Futebol: O Jogo Visto pelas Ciências Sociais* (Lisbon, Assírio & Alvim, 2004), pp. 55–102.
26. The photo, taken by Lobo Pimentel, was published as the cover image of *Flama* 953, 10 June 1966. The people shown on the magazine cover in the first half of 1966 included several film stars (Julie Andrews, Roger Moore, Sofia Loren) and a variety of figures from different sectors of mediatised popular culture (for example, the Portuguese singers Simone de Oliveira and Madalena Iglésias, but also bullfighters, such as the Spanish El Cordobés).
27. Title of the feature signed by journalist Maria Joana in inside pages 12–13, *Flama*, 953, 10 June 1966.

28. Women journalists were remarkably few before the transition to democracy in 1974. The female presence in newsrooms has been increasing ever since, but in 1987 it only added up to 19.8% of Portuguese journalists. See L. Garcia and J. Castro, 'Os Jornalistas Portugueses—Da Recomposição Social aos Processos de Legitimação Profissional', *Sociologia—Problemas e Práticas*, 13 (1993): 93–114.
29. G. Kress and T. Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*.
30. See J.N. Coelho, *Portugal, a Equipa de Todos Nós: Nacionalismo, Futebol e Media* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2001).
31. The photo was published three times in different issues of *Flama*, thus was exceptionally highlighted in the magazine. It was first published (issue number 961, 5 September 1966, p. 18) as a full-page image (and was the only photo in all of 1961 and 1966 to take up an entire inside page).
32. The picture can easily be found on the internet, for instance at https://1.bp.blogspot.com/_UHDuE1WzIdk/R3GEe14IENI/AAAAAAAABcs/0jCkeOcBkqk/s400/mundial66.jpg.
33. G. Kress and T. Van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*.
34. R. Barthes, *O Óbvio e o Obtuso* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 1982).
35. As proposed by M. Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).
36. See D. Dayan and E. Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994).
37. H. Raposo, 'Eusébio, o Nosso ADN Mulato' (Eusébio, our Mixed-Race DNA), *Expresso* (6 January 2014).

Amílcar Cabral, the PAIGC and the Media: The Struggle in Words, Sounds and Images

Teresa Duarte Martinho

Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973) stood out as leader of the armed struggle between the Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) and the Portuguese army, in a conflict which took place in the territory of Guinea between 1963 and 1974, until it achieved recognition as a sovereign state. The first stage in achieving that objective was realised in 1973, with the approval of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly. In the following year, with the demise of the *Estado Novo* (New State) and with Portugal already democratic, the former colonising power recognised the independence of the former Portuguese Guinea.[1] Of the 'overseas provinces'[2] in Africa—Angola, Guinea and Mozambique—which witnessed an armed struggle from the 1960s on, Guinea (Portuguese Guinea) was the first to achieve independence. Geography, history and party organisation were key factors in the success of the PAIGC. John Woollacott stresses the importance for Cabral's party of the three years' preparatory work carried out before the armed struggle itself began in 1963. In addition to investigating

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local conditions and winning over the ethnic groups most likely to support and sustain the PAIGC, the party engaged in political propaganda which, together with Cabral's writing, helped to 'forge an awareness greater than that of the officers in the other areas where there was also war'.[3]

Following a childhood and youth spent between Guinea and the islands of Cape Verde, Cabral lived in Lisbon under the *Estado Novo*, where he completed his studies and obtained a degree in Agronomy in 1950. At this time, he became involved in groups opposed to the regime, with his friends in the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (House of Students of the Empire) and the Centro de Estudos Africanos (Centre for African Studies). He had a very close association with Mário Pinto de Andrade, founder and first leader of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and Agostinho Neto (future first President of the Republic of Angola), among others. It was reading Léopold Sédar Senghor in particular which gave Cabral the awareness that the 're-Africanisation of minds' was a cause worth fighting for.[4] He worked as an agricultural engineer in Portugal, Guinea and Angola, and from the mid-1950s was intensively involved in the gestation and founding of the PAIGC. Between 1960 and 1973, when he was not in Guinea or in Conakry in the Republic of Guinea—which was the PAIGC's base for the various operations related to organising and maintaining the armed struggle—he travelled a great deal, all over the world, seeking support for his party's cause. As David Fistein underlines, being a 'fantastic diplomat', a striking trait of Cabral's character, 'is key to the success of any African leader, but it is twice as important for those leaders from the many small African states [such as Guinea-Bissau and the islands of Cape Verde] in the world system'.[5]

One of the PAIGC's strongest weapons was the creation of a system of mass media, which became one of the key elements in its struggle for independence. It is this system which this chapter seeks to analyse, covering the last 13 years of Cabral's life. Under the guidance of the Information, Culture and Propaganda department,[6] and with the constant and dedicated influence of the party's leader in editorial, publishing and broadcasting, the party produced the following: its official organ (*Libertação. Unidade e Luta*, from 1960); a radio station (Rádio Libertação, from 1967); an internationally disseminated bulletin (*PAIGC Actualités*, from 1969); and a youth bulletin (*Blufo,* from 1966). This last involved the younger members of the party, and was published by the Conakry Pilot School. The Secretary-General of the PAIGC also encouraged a group of Guineans to train in film-making, so that they would be able to capture moving images.

Libertação. Unidade e Luta: the First Official Organ of the PAIGC

Libertação. Unidade e Luta was launched in December 1960 at a time when the press in Guinea was in a rudimentary state as far as the professional practice of journalism was concerned, in terms not only of printing facilities but also of the conditions in which journalists had to work. In the newspapers which appeared and disappeared throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and were never more than weeklies, most of the news arrived ready-made from Portugal, giving greater prominence to Portuguese society than to Guinean history and current affairs. In a brochure published in London in 1960 by the Union of Democratic Control, entitled 'The Facts about Portugal's African Colonies', Cabral (using the pseudonym Abel Djassi) revealed a side of the Portuguese colonies less well-known to the press, describing the economic and social poverty and the lack of political and union rights. He also demolished the arguments of the Portuguese authorities in defence of the colonies, ranging from 'historic rights' to the 'civilizing mission', 'assimilation' and the 'multi-racial society'.[7]

The first issue of *Libertação. Unidade e Luta*, published three years before the armed struggle began in Guinea, outlined the aim of 'dealing with the main problems of the struggle, revolutionary awareness and developing watchfulness in relation to enemies, until the day of independence'.[8] Note that the title established an association between one of the PAIGC's aspirations, the liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde, with the party motto and slogan: unity and struggle. According to Luís Cabral, his half-brother and comrade-in-arms,[9] the first issue consisted of two typed sheets of A4 paper photocopied by Cabral himself. 'Poor and humble like us, but determined and courageous like the struggle of our peoples against Portuguese colonialism', in Cabral's words, *Libertação. Unidade e Luta* was a tool for training and informing party militants. That is why on occasion the journal contained footnotes asking those who could read to conduct group readings, so that everyone could keep up to date with the PAIGC's activities. The paper was published in Conakry, and its editors were Amílcar Cabral, Luís Cabral, Vasco Cabral and Dulce Almada Duarte. It was duplicated and came out monthly, with a circulation of about 500.[10] In the period covered here, it retained its homemade aspect, along with the option not to sign articles.

The 121 issues of *Libertação. Unidade e Luta* published between 1960 and 1972[11] are a valuable store of information for the history of

the liberation struggle in Guinea under Cabral's leadership. They also contribute significantly to our understanding of international political relations since the Second World War and the main institutional and individual players involved. The wealth of published articles in the official organ of the PAIGC can be split into three different categories.

The first category is a long step-by-step report of the armed struggle. It is made up of messages from Cabral, war communiqués, reports of visits to liberated territory, news of the number of fighters' deaths, and revelations of desertions among Portuguese soldiers. The second category, also in report form, demonstrates the particular role of the paper as the official organ of the party. It always carried news of Cabral's participation in international conferences and meetings, as well as his speeches and the interviews he gave to the foreign press and which, as a result, gave visibility to the situation in Guinea and Cape Verde. The aim of such articles was to report on how other countries were supporting the PAIGC cause, and how Cabral had achieved that support through his contacts, thus generating a feeling of collective pride and legitimacy and boosting the morale of militants taking part in the struggle.

The third category embodies the series of articles published in the PAIGC's official organ and which provide a vision of the ideological universe better known to the party, a circle of affinities. The visit of guerrilla and leader of the Cuban revolution, Che Guevara, to the Political Bureau of the PAIGC in Conakry in January 1965 was inevitably a news item. According to *Libertação. Unidade e Luta*, Che even delayed his departure from the Republic of Guinea so that he could meet Cabral.[12] The death of Frantz Fanon in December 1961 was also worthy of the party newspaper's attention. It evoked the author of *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and his life's trajectory, identifying him as a clear example of the fact that 'you do not have to belong to a particular people in order to feel and experience that people's problems and its struggle to realize its aspirations'.[13]

Rádio Libertação: The 'Mouth Cannon' of the PAIGC's Struggle

Even though the PAIGC could count on the support of various international radio stations—Radio Conakry, Radio Peking, Radio Prague, Radio Ghana and Radio Cairo[14]—having its own radio station increased the number of channels for disseminating information in Guinea and

Cape Verde. It also substantially reinforced the scope of the PAIGC's operation, by abolishing the colonial government's monopoly on information.[15] The creation of Rádio Libertação in the mid-1960s, albeit with experimental broadcasts, reflected the increasing importance which Cabral and his party attributed to the mass media in organising and taking the struggle to a successful conclusion. The way this project evolved reveals other aspects of the history of the PAIGC's struggle and of radio itself and how it works, in particular the following: the PAIGC's ability to attract and mobilise outside support; the combination of the voluntary dedication of party militants and members and the progressive improvements in the technical aspects and team membership of Rádio Libertação; the role of radio as a disseminator of information, a means of propaganda and an entertainment *medium*.

Amélia Araújo was one of the first and most important voices of Rádio Libertação, outstanding among the female voices, and for that reason her testimony is of particular significance. She and her husband, José Araújo, a future PAIGC leader, were among the approximately 100 African students who decided to leave Portugal in 1961. There were two main destinations: France, where the counterculture was already making itself felt; and their countries of origin, where they would take part in the struggles of the national liberation movements, then just beginning. After difficult journeys, Amélia and José joined the PAIGC and moved to Conakry. After working in the Conakry Pilot School and as a secretary for the party, she and another colleague were part of the early efforts to create Rádio Libertação in 1965.

They had available to them a small transmitter of Soviet origin, 'a not very powerful short and medium wave transmitter'—as she mentions in a rare interview granted in 1998[16]—and broadcast slogans in Portuguese and Creole, and music, mainly from Cape Verde, because they had no access to recorded music from Guinea. In order to strengthen the party's radio project, Cabral decided to send Amélia and four comrades to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), where they trained for nine months. They came back with another portable transmitter better suited to war situations. It was still not the best of transmitters, but it saw in the official launch of Rádio Libertação on 16 July 1967. Amélia recalls the broadcasts' effect in the following extract:

> Their impact was such among our fighters, and also among the enemy … there can be no doubt Rádio Libertação was a major turning point in

> the national liberation strategy. As Cabral used to say, Rádio Libertação's broadcasts were the mouth cannon of our struggle.[17]

Broadcasts were based on the *Libertação. Unidade e Luta* newspaper, using and recycling content which circulated among militants. They were in Portuguese, Creole and some of the ethnic languages of Guinea: Balanta, Beafada, Fula, Mandinga.[18] But because they did not have a studio, and with the increasing specialisation of radical militants, the technical conditions for Rádio Libertação were poor. The technical quality of the equipment would improve greatly in 1972, as is shown by Tor Sellström's study of Swedish support for national liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.[19] Following a request for support by Cabral, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) provided the party with a mobile radio station, mounted on Mercedes Benz trucks, as well as hundreds of radio transmitters spread throughout the liberated areas of Guinea.[20] Once set up, and following some training sessions, this radio station started regular broadcasting to Guinea and Cape Verde from various points in northern Guinea. Amélia Araújo also mentioned that Senegal and some European countries could tune into Rádio Libertação.

With a 'clear and firm-sounding' voice, as Luís Cabral recalls,[21] and as can still be heard today when listening to extracts from Rádio Libertação's programmes, Amélia Araújo hosted programmes like the 'Programa do Soldado Português' (the Portuguese Soldier's Programme) and 'Comunicados de Guerra' (War Communiqués), amongst other slots. The first of these programmes, broadcast in Portuguese, sought, in the presenter's words, 'to make soldiers aware of how absurd the war was and to mobilise them against the war they were waging without knowing why'. She said the broadcast led to some desertions, with some of the dissidents showing a willingness to be interviewed on Rádio Libertação. 'That gesture had a tremendous impact among the others who stayed behind. It demoralised them,' Amélia Araújo continues, it being possible to discern a sense of pride at the perception of how persuasive, suggestive and convincing her voice had been. In this connection, bearing in mind that the voice achieves its greatest power through radio transmission,[22] radio is highly suitable for attempts to mould the attitudes of people or groups by recourse to suggestion. And if 'speech is always tactical', as Roland Barthes says,[23] it is a particular feature of radio that it allows for

manipulating and better controlling the combined effects of the tone and volume of the voice.

The programme 'Comunicados de Guerra' provided daily announcements on the battles fought in various locations in the territory, and the victories and defeats of PAIGC and Portugal, which brought the different regions of Guinea together.[24] The announcer recalls the following device, designed to amplify and emphasise the success of the PAIGC struggle: she and two colleagues would read out the lists of Portuguese casualties, which the Portuguese newspapers also published. This had the effect that 'a list of 10 or 20 people sounded more like a list of 40'.[25]

Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho—one of the leaders of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA) (Armed Forces Movement), which conceived and led the revolution of 25 April 1974 that paved the way for democracy in Portugal—recalls that in Guinea, where he served in a military capacity in information services, press and public relations, both the colonial government and the PAIGC used the 'psychological manoeuvre' and distorted the facts.[26] For Cabral's party, that manoeuvring 'was well conducted by pamphlets and mainly by Radio Conakry and Rádio Libertação broadcasts', with news 'that the Portuguese troops were just about to lose the war in the three colonies, and extensive use of the propaganda techniques of distortion and falsehood'.[27] On the Portuguese side, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho mentions that in the Radio Broadcasting and Press Section, which he headed, 'all sorts of (dis)information was cooked up' and was subsequently carried on radio and in the press, 'permanently praising the person and achievements of the general [António Spínola, military governor of Guinea in 1968 and 1972]'.[28] And while the PAIGC, like other national liberation movements in Africa, attracted the attention and support of the journalist Basil Davidson, author of *The Liberation of Guiné* (1969),[29] Spínola and Portugal looked to another international figure to respond to him, by way of a counter-offensive. That was John Biggs-Davison, a British Conservative Member of Parliament who was close to the Salazar regime, and author of an article entitled *Portuguese Africa: Nailing a Lie* (1970).[30]

Amélia Araújo regarded Cabral as 'the most important person working' at the PAIGC's radio station, mainly because his editorials and other article he wrote and read on air, which 'unmasked the deceptive policy of the Portuguese colonialists'. He appeared frequently at the radio station

and, as an effective leader, encouraged the team to do better all the time, guiding each one's will according to his own assessment of their capabilities.[31]

In addition to broadcasting Cabral's speeches and talks, war communiqués and progress reports, the PAIGC anthem, interviews with soldiers, and the usual programmes, the Rádio Libertação studio fulfilled another role, as highlighted by Amélia Araújo. It made it possible to record the music of Guinea, capturing the music of most of the Guinean ethnic groups and disseminating it. Soldiers and residents of the liberated areas on their way to Conakry to fetch weapons and supplies took part in recordings of their music. Balanta, Fula, Mandinga and Mancanha music was subsequently broadcast to 'all corners of Guinea!' This demonstrates how Berthold Brecht's argument in the 1920s and 1930s—that radio should be able to receive and not just broadcast, moving away from official sources of supply and transforming listeners into the great suppliers of material[32]—was realised in one particular context.

PAIGC Actualités: Cape Verde, the War in Guinea and Cabral in an International Exhibition

Following on from the *Libertação. Unidade e Luta* and Rádio Libertação, the 'mouth cannon' of the PAIGC's struggle, Cabral's party needed an information *medium* broader in its scope, one which could bring wider international knowledge of the situation in Guinea and Cape Verde. The creation of *PAIGC Actualités*, launched in January 1969, was the solution, in the form of a fold-out leaflet, printed in French, on better quality paper than the newspaper for party militants and combining words and images with more elaborate graphics. In terms of content, *PAIGC Actualités* was an extension of the militants' newspaper, mainly focusing on the PAIGC's successes in the struggle it had been waging on the ground since 1963, on the one hand, and the many international contacts made by Cabral, well documented in photographs, as in an album, on the other. This diary of PAIGC life, shared on a monthly basis in a language which at the time had a strong presence in global culture, struck two main notes. The first was a triumphant narrative of the armed struggle, of the attention it was getting from the outside world and its leader's successful journeys around the world. The other was a denunciation of certain situations which showed Portugal as being more vulnerable and weak, rather than determined and strong.

Following the visit of a UN mission to the liberated areas of Guinea in April 1972, 'nothing was ever the same again'[33]: the process of recognising the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde accelerated from then on. The visit made headlines in the May 1972 issue of *PAIGC Actualités*, which featured a photograph of Cabral making a speech and another of young Guinean women listening seriously and attentively. On the inside pages of this issue there was extensive documentary coverage, in words and images, of the UN mission's contacts with the people, and a larger headline which boldly stated that the visit had been 'Lisbon's greatest political and military defeat in its colonial war'.

Photographs chosen for the covers of *PAIGC Actualités* helped to underline the contrast between an increasingly self-confident Guinea and Portugal, which was shown as being in an increasingly weak state. Three covers, all depicting women, provide a particularly good illustration of the contrast between these two states of mind. The October 1972 issue shows a young woman at the Alcântara dock in Lisbon, where soldiers embarked for the colonial war. The face is distorted in a long scream, and were it not for the long hair and a coloured scarf, it would be difficult to see it was a woman. Very different are the African women on the covers of *PAIGC Actualité*s for March 1970 and December 1971. The first shows Ernestina Silva, billed as one of the leaders of the PAIGC and of the struggle in northern Guinea: she is slim, with an easy laugh, and is casually holding, with equal aplomb, ammunition in one hand and a very small baby in the other. The other cover shows another young woman, with a strong and composed profile, almost like a statue. A woman with no name, who is merely a symbol, as explained in the caption: 'Our countrywoman today, like this *mandinga* girl, has rediscovered her dignity, and is more beautiful than ever.'[34]

The *Blufo* Bulletin and the PAIGC Pilot School

> The armed struggle is necessary to destroy the bad things – it is the burning of the stubble to clear the field. Having prepared the ground, the Party must plant new crops and take care of them so that they will produce good fruit in the future. Children are those new crops which will grow in those clean fields, worked and watered with the blood of our fighters.[35]

The words above are part of an article published in the second issue of *Blufo*, a publication of the PAIGC's Pilot School set up in 1965 in

the suburbs of Conakry. The apparent naturalness of the justification for war, offering spilt blood as the regenerator of the land, is an attempt to convince its readers of the need for it, and even that it is quite normal. Making a connection between plants and blood, in times of peace, distorting nature and its true nourishment, conveys a sense of terror, all the more intense because it appears in a publication aimed at children and young people. In times of war, as were then being experienced in Guinea, those words could be interpreted as a metaphor which was seen to be effective in the attempt to socialise through what was a fact of life. Like the other articles in *Blufo*, these words are not signed, and partake strongly of the vein of propaganda which, as J.M. Domenach wrote, draws on poetry for some of its effectiveness, like 'the seduction of rhythm, the prestige of the verb and even the violence of the images'.[36]

Blufo was launched under the aegis of Luís Cabral, as part of his responsibilities for the information and propaganda sectors within the PAIGC. The bulletin was published monthly, in small numbers, between January 1966 and December 1970.[37] It was the newspaper for the party's pioneers, 'tomorrow's militants', with news from the Pilot School and the party, alternating with stories of exemplary heroes, games, photographs of pioneers in class or at 'sporting festivals' in Conakry and at similar schools in the USSR and the German Democratic Republic. In a further demonstration of how the party's information machine was well-oiled, *Blufo* was also present on Rádio Libertação, which carried a programme with the same name, fronted by pupils from the PAIGC Pilot School.[38]

The Conakry Pilot School was established—once again under the guidance of Luís Cabral—following the PAIGC's First Party Congress held in Cassacá in inland Portuguese Guinea in 1964. Cabral decided that children in the surrounding areas were to be moved to the Republic of Guinea, where they would be welcomed into the Pilot School, whose aim was to train party cadres capable of ensuring that the country's independence would be consolidated in the future. As a student in Lisbon, Cabral had become more aware of the urgency of 're-Africanising minds'. Perceiving that the process was not automatic, he saw that it could be more fully realised the sooner he started training and moulding future African men and women. The school textbooks used in the Pilot School and Boarding Schools and distributed along the same lines in Guinea itself were devised by party cadres and supervised by Cabral. In a meeting to prepare these reading and maths books, it is said he remarked to his fellow workers: 'Why on earth are you afraid of mentioning the

party? When I was a student, it was God here, God there. Every page was God, Our Lord Jesus Christ … If I were writing the books, it would be PAIGC, PAIGC, PAIGC.'[39] This comment, like the Pilot School project itself and the drafting of school textbooks by the party, clearly makes evident the overlap of education and propaganda, which characteristically cuts across different ideological groupings, from Communists to National Socialists to Jesuits.[40]

Cabral and Film Records: The Lion, the Hunter and the Power of Narrative

> The rich history of our liberation struggle cannot be told by foreigners, however much they may care for us. As someone said, must the lion ask the hunter's permission to tell his story?[41]

One of the most persistent ideas in the writings and speeches of Cabral is the need to overcome illiteracy and to make progress in education, this being the basis for resistance to 'the whole harmful influence of the colonial culture' and the need to develop in the people of Guinea and Cape Verde 'a new idea which is that of *patriotism*, love for one's country' [author's italics].[42] In this connection the PAIGC leader sought to obtain the greatest possible support from countries like the USSR, Sweden, the German Democratic Republic and Cuba, which had explicitly shown solidarity with Guinea's struggle for independence. In the case of Cuba, close diplomatic and educational relations were established from the mid-1960s onwards.

Thus it was that in 1966 a group of pioneers from the Conakry Pilot School travelled to Cuba to complete their studies and learn how to record moving images. Havana, which was the home of the Cuban Institute of Cinematographic Art and Industry (ICAIC), set up in 1959 by Fidel Castro's government, combined the useful with the desirable. Cabral was well aware of the persuasive power of images in speech,[43] so it was important that the PAIGC be able to provide the world with a film version of the history of the armed struggle in Guinea different from that which was disseminated by the system of colonial propaganda. Hence the importance attached to labelling as 'comrades' rather than as 'foreigners' those who operated the machines and produced those records.

Sana Na N'Hada and Florentino Gomes, who became known in the film world as Flora Gomes, were among that group of young Guinean

people who were aiming to become documentary filmmakers. Flora recalls that they initially wanted to follow other career paths and were completely ignorant of how to operate film and photographic cameras. He highlights his colleague Sana, older than he, 'one of the best pupils and [who] today [2013] is one of the pillars of the film world in Guinea-Bissau', the 'excellent impression' he retained of Santiago Alvarez, according to them 'one of the masters of the Cuban documentary', and the visits to the ICAIC of Glauber Rocha, the Brazilian director, and of Chris Marker, the French director 'with a real gift for montage'.[44]

Sana Na N'Hada and Flora Gomes returned to Guinea at the beginning of the 1970s, started filming in liberated areas and building the memory of the country's history, of which a very important part is the PAIGC's declaration of the independence of Guinea in 1973 in Madina do Boé in southwest Guinea. Another significant chapter of this planned filmic record was the documentary which the two of them produced for Cabral's funeral ceremony in Bissau, and the filming of the festive commemorations of the recognition of Guinea-Bissau's independence. The symbolic power of these chapters in the PAIGC's liberation struggle, as recorded on film, lies in their having succeeded in demonstrating that the 'lion' (the decolonised land), and not the 'hunter' (the coloniser), is the one who has the power to tell his story. They represented the best possible end to the whole journey through learning and experience to final victory, regardless of the political and social events which occurred thereafter in Guinea-Bissau and the long period of lack of attention to this invaluable store of filmic records.[45]

Those who knew Cabral well attested to his qualities. A remarkable political leader, possessed of great diplomatic ability, highly intelligent, hardworking, and with a demanding mind.[46] The person and life of Cabral demonstrates, as this chapter has shown, a particular characteristic which has been observed in the psychology of great men: an intensity of lived experience and a sense of mission, which go beyond and exceed the individual life, and a resolute demandingness, in relation to those close to him, for unflinching commitment to the struggle which unites them.[47]

The creation of a mass media system—whose parts were *Libertação. Unidade e Luta* (the official organ of PAIGC), Rádio Libertação (PAIGC's radio broadcasting), *PAIGC Actualités* (an internationally disseminated bulletin) and *Blufo* (a youth bulletin)—proved to be one of the strongest weapons of Cabral's struggle and strategy. He could well

have written 'the struggle is not just a conversation, nor words, either written or spoken',[48] perhaps seeking in this way to hasten the time for action by his comrades and momentarily forgetting what Lenin wrote on the importance of the press for political ends and mobilisation of the masses: 'a newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser'.[49] Cabral's biography amply manifests his adherence to Lenin's view, both in his intensive diplomatic activity and exposure to the media and journalists, and in the organised way in which the PAIGC set up and used the party-controlled mass media (press and radio), to conduct 'psychological warfare'[50] by countering the enemy's propaganda. He himself wrote, 'We should be able to publicize our resistance in a big way … that too is a cultural act.'[51] As in all armed conflicts, a struggle was also taking place in the realm of discourse. Words—both written and spoken, and with or without images—had to be weapons; and would be all the more effective the further they reached.

Notes

1. The PAIGC's founding, and its struggle, had antecedents in other anti-colonialist movements in Guinea and in Cape Verde, and Cabral was part of a group of founders of the party, which he led until he was assassinated, in January 1973, by PAIGC dissidents. In this connection see the detailed history of how the party was formed, and details of its subsequent evolution, in P. Chabal, *Amílcar Cabral: Revolutionary Leadership and People's War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); M. Dhada, *Warriors at Work* (Niwot: Colorado University Press, 1993); J.S. Sousa, *Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973). Vida e Morte de um Revolucionário Africano* (Lisbon: Nova Vega, 2011). PAIGC proclaimed the unilateral independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on 24 September 1973, with the approval of the UN General Assembly. Portugal recognised the declaration of independence of Portuguese Guinea after the revolution of 25 April 1974, in September of that year. Cape Verde, which did not see any armed struggle, became an independent state in July 1975. Although the PAIGC had always been in favour of preserving the union of Guinea and Cape Verde, the plan to unify the two countries lapsed in 1980. See J.M. Ferreira, *Portugal em Transe (1974–1985)*, vol. 8, in J. Mattoso (ed.), *História de Portugal*, (Lisbon: Estampa, 1994).
2. This was the administrative division created by the Portuguese *Estado Novo* to designate the Portuguese colonies.

3. J. Woollacott, 'A Luta pela Libertação Nacional na Guinea-Bissau e a Revolução em Portugal', *Análise Social*, XIX: 77–78–79 (1983): 1140.
4. M.P. Andrade and A. França, 'A Cultura na Problemática da Libertação Nacional e do Desenvolvimento, à Luz do Pensamento Político de Cabral', *Raízes*, 1 (1977): 3–4. See M.P. Andrade, *Uma Entrevista* (Lisbon: Edições João Sá da Costa, 1997).
5. D. Fistein, 'The Diplomatic Achievements of Amílcar Cabral: A Case Study of Effective Leadership in a Small African State', in B.G. Jallow (ed.), *Leadership in Colonial Africa. Disruption of Traditional Frameworks and Patterns* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 69–100.
6. The name underwent several minor changes. In 1960, the Political Bureau of the PAIGC included a department of Information, Culture and Propaganda, under Walter Barreto.
7. A. Djassi, 'The Facts about Portugal's African Colonies', Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=04342.001.006.
8. *Libertação. Unidade e Luta*, 1, December 1960, Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://casacomum.org/cc/visualizador?pasta=07177.001.
9. L. Cabral, *Crónica da Libertação* (Lisbon: O Jornal, 1984), p. 104.
10. See C. Lopes, *Para uma Leitura Sociológica da Guiné Bissau* (Lisbon and Bissau: Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas, 1988), p. 299.
11. The period of publications available, most of which can be accessed on the *Casa Comum* project website, while a few issues from 1972 can also be found at CIDAC—Centro de Intervenção para o Desenvolvimento Amílcar Cabral.
12. *Libertação. Unidade e Luta*, 50, January 1965, Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_44402.
13. *Libertação. Unidade e Luta*, 13, December 1961, Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_44386.
14. F.P. de Garcia, *Os Movimentos Independentistas, o Islão e o Poder Português (Guiné 1963–1974)*. Available at: http://www.triplov.com/miguel_garcia/guine/cap4_accao.htm.
15. J.S. Sousa, *Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973). Vida e Morte de um Revolucionário Africano*, p. 396.
16. A. Pereira, *O Meu Testemunho. Uma Luta, um Partido, Dois Países* (Lisbon: Editorial Notícias, 2003), pp. 330–344. The statements attributed to Amélia Araújo come from this source.
17. Ibid., p. 333.
18. According to the document 'Reunião sobre a Rádio do PAIGC', 21 June 1966, Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_41608.

19. T. Sellström, *A Suécia e as Lutas de Libertação Nacional em Angola, Moçambique e Guiné-Bissau* (Uppsala: Nordiska AfrikaInstitutet, 2008).
20. Ibid., p. 160.
21. L. Cabral, *Crónica da Libertação*, p. 301.
22. M.R.F. Nunes, *O Mito no Rádio: A Voz e os Signos de Renovação Periódica* (São Paulo: Annablume, 1993).
23. *The Grain of the Voice: Interviews 1962–1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 4.
24. C. Lopes, *Para uma Leitura Sociológica da Guiné Bissau*, p. 298.
25. As per radio interview. M. Sampaio, 'Rádio Libertação: "Fala o PAIGC"', *Deutsche Welle*, 22 September 2014. Available at: http://dw.de/p/1D34Z.
26. O.S. Carvalho, *Alvorada em Abril* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1977).
27. Ibid., pp. 93–94.
28. Ibid., p. 68. On the mobilising role of the media in war situations see also F. Subtil, 'As Guerras Mundiais e as Mutações na Teoria Social da Comunicação e dos Media', *Revista Famecos*, 22: 3 (2015): 15–40. Available at: http://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revista-famecos/article/view/19571/13237. On the way in which the British Raj combined military force and coercion, with modern methods of persuasion, publicity and media manipulation, see C. Kaul, *Communications, Media and the Imperial Experience. Britain and India in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
29. B. Davidson, *The Liberation of Guinea. Aspects of an African Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin African Library, 1969).
30. J. Davison, *Portuguese Guinea: Nailing a Lie* (London: Congo Africa Publications, 1970). Three years before this publication, Amândio César (1921–1987), a Portuguese journalist committed to the *Estado Novo*, wrote that 'on one side [Portugal] we build, we raise up, we work in the present for the future, and on the other [Cabral and the PAIGC] they make speeches, give interviews, talk a lot, make a lot of statements … but to no avail'. A. César, *Em 'Chão Papel' na Terra da Guiné* (Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1967), p. 149.
31. Despite the announcer's wishes, she was not allowed to speak to the microphones in Creole, on the grounds that she did not speak that language as well as her colleagues. See A. Pereira, *O Meu Testemunho. Uma Luta, um Partido, Dois Países*, pp. 330–344.
32. See B. Brecht, 'Teoria de la Radio (1927–1932)', in L. Bassets (ed.), *De las Ondas Rojas a las Rádios Libres* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1981), pp. 48–61.
33. J.S. Sousa, *Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973). Vida e Morte de um Revolucionário Africano*, p. 532.

34. *PAIGC Actualités*, 36, December 1971, Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_85357.
35. *Blufo—Órgão dos Pioneiros do PAIGC*, 2, February 1966, Casa Comum, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://hdl.handle.net/11002/fms_dc_44468.
36. J.M. Domenach, *La Propagande Politique* (Paris: PUF, 1950), p. 87.
37. *Blufo—Órgão dos Pioneiros do PAIGC*, Fundação Mário Soares. Available at: http://www.fmsoares.pt/iniciativas/ilustra_iniciativas/2003/000373.
38. As per interview with Amélia Araújo in a radio programme. M. Sampaio, 'Rádio Libertação: "Fala o PAIGC"', *Deutsche Welle*, 22 September 2014. Available at: http://dw.de/p/1D34Z.
39. A. Pereira, *O Meu Testemunho. Uma Luta, um Partido, Dois Países*, p. 493.
40. See O. Thomson, *Uma História da Propaganda* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1999), p. 18.
41. Interview with Flora Gomes, Guinean filmmaker. 'Entrevista: Flora Gomes, Quatro Décadas de Cinema', *Revista África 21*, 78 (September 2013). Also available at: http://www.gbissau.com/?p=7320.
42. A. Cabral, *PAIGC—Unidade e Luta* (Lisbon: Publicações Nova Aurora, 1974), p. 195.
43. P. Cunha, 'Guiné-Bissau: As Imagens Coloniais', in. J.L. Cruz and L. Mendonça (eds.), *Os Cinemas dos Países Lusófonos* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições LCV, 2013), pp. 33–48.
44. See Flora Gomes 2013 interview. 'Entrevista: Flora Gomes, Quatro Décadas de Cinema', *Revista África 21*, 78 (September 2013). Also available at: http://www.gbissau.com/?p=7320.
45. Flora Gomes mentions that 'Cabral thought there would be foreign journalists filming the proclamation of the state of Guinea-Bissau but he wanted Guineans themselves to film it' (available at: http://noticias.sapo.cv/lusa/artigo/15595171.html). See the ongoing project (to preserve and scan the material filed at the Instituto Nacional do Cinema e do Audiovisual da Guiné-Bissau (INCA)), involving Arsenal—the Institute of Film and Video Art in Berlin, visual artist Filipa César, and directors Flora Gomes and Sana Na N'Hada. Available at: http://www.arsenal-berlin.de/en/living-archive/projects/living-archive-archive-work-as-a-contenporary-artistic-and-curatorial-practice/individual-projects/filipa-cesar.html.
46. See the collection of interviews, conducted by Leopoldo Amado, of 33 men and women who lived or worked closely with Amílcar Cabral, in A. Pereira, *O Meu Testemunho. Uma Luta, um Partido, Dois Países*. See also D. Fistein, 'The Diplomatic Achievements of Amílcar Cabral: A Case Study of Effective Leadership in a Small African State'.

47. In a combination which Serge Moscovici calls 'the dual connection to tyranny', a 'psychological trait of great men'. See B. Paillard, 'Psychologie des Grands Hommes. Entretien de Bernard Paillard avec Serge Moscovici', *Communications*, 42 (1985): 173–185.
48. A. Cabral, *Princípios do Partido e a Prática Política* (s.l.: Departamento de Informação e Propaganda do Comité Central do PAIGC, 1983), vol. 3, p. 3.
49. V.I. Lenin, 'The "Plan" for an all-Russia Political Newspaper', in *What is to be Done*, pp. 98–114. Available at: https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1901/witbd/v.htm.
50. See O.S. Carvalho, *Alvorada em Abril*.
51. A. Cabral, *PAIGC—Unidade e Luta*, p. 208.

Literature Against the Empire: Narratives of the Nation in the Textbook *História de Angola* and in the Novel *Yaka*

Alexandra Santos and Filipa Subtil

Because nations and nationalism are to a great extent cultural and not just ideological phenomena, the literature which heralded the Angolan nation undoubtedly played a key role in spreading the idea of independence.[1] Literature laid the ground for and developed alongside the political and military action of the various nationalist organisations, in particular those which came together in the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola). It is not necessary to subscribe entirely to the theory that

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the various political movements involved in the formation and consolidation of nation states derived their cultural organisation from literature,[2] to acknowledge the effects of literary pronouncements on the founding discourses of Angolan national identity.

When considering the interaction between literature and demands for political autonomy, many writers have acknowledged the importance of poetry. Less attention has been given to other literary genres, in particular to the narratives we may call ethno-historical,[3] which we argue have been essential in counteracting the symbolic constructions which justified Portugal's colonisation of African territories. In order to create a new history of Angola, intellectuals associated with the MPLA—the party which took power in Luanda in November 1975, and then extended it over the whole country, retaining it to this day—developed counter-narratives to the images, icons and epics disseminated by the colonising power which were strongly embedded in Portuguese culture. What they proposed was a narrative of an endogenously generated nation, drawn up on the basis of a historiography related to the Angolan space and its peoples. One of the basic resources of this ethno-historical narrative was the textbook *História de Angola* (HA) (History of Angola),[4] written in the mid-1960s by a collective of nationalist intellectuals which included the future writer Pepetela. To the latter we owe another key element in the process of 'forging a national imaginary' for Angola,[5] the novel *Yaka* (Y),[6] which in certain respects carries forward the ideological design of the *História de Angola*. While this was not the first piece of Angolan literature in the field of historical fiction, this still very popular novel has been interpreted as one of the most significant attempts to endow the Angolan nation with its own epics, heroes and other charismatic elements which might sustain it in the imagination.

This chapter examines these two interrelated works, which allude to the memory of events that explain the origin of the Angolan nation, while at the same time suggesting moral values and models of behaviour. That is why we may assume that such discourses are dynamic symbolic forms (which lead to action) which provide the rationale and legitimacy for a framework of authority. The transfiguration operated by such narratives is imbued with particular emotive qualities, and special atmospheres of joy, anguish and exaltation, because the subject matter is designed to mobilise people and create a sense of community. We argue that both the *História de Angola* and *Yaka* partake of these emotive qualities, and that both played a significant role in the construction of narratives which provide the discursive foundations for Angolan national identity. Our aim is to identify those narratives and explore their possible meanings.

Literature and the Political Struggle in Angola

The importance of African literature in the struggle for independence is widely acknowledged, particularly for its role in reinforcing the idea of the nation. It has been observed that the emergence of national identities is 'closely connected to literature',[7] and that literature 'was one of the facets' of nationalism,[8] so much so that it was difficult to disentangle literature 'from writers' demands for national status'.[9] Along the same lines, it has also been argued that 'prior to national independence, literary independence is irreversible, not only because it heralds it, but also because it helps to build it'.[10] A good example of this intertwining of literature and the political struggle has been provided by the Centro de Estudos Africanos de Lisboa (Lisbon Centre for African Studies), a semi-informal discussion forum (meetings took place in the house of the poet Alda do Espírito Santo) which was active between 1951 and 1954. Members included the poets Francisco José Tenreiro (São Tomé and Príncipe) and Noémia de Sousa (Mozambique), as well as future leaders of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde) and the MPLA, like Amílcar Cabral, Mário Pinto de Andrade[11] and Agostinho Neto, himself a prolific poet.[12] This centre's particular significance has been recognised in connection with the formation in 1957 of the Movimento Anti-Colonialista (Anti-Colonialist Movement), which fought against Portuguese colonisation in the European press from Paris, Frankfurt and Berlin.[13]

In Angola, the connection between literature and the political struggle, which for some goes back to the nineteenth century,[14] became stronger from the end of the 1940s onwards, when an organised movement opposing colonialism developed with strong cultural overtones. Known as the Movimento dos Novos Intelectuais de Angola (Movement of the New Intellectuals of Angola), its most finished product was a literary review, *Mensagem*—two issues were published, in 1951 and 1952[15]—which had a small circulation but was of great symbolic significance. It published poems by António Jacinto, Viriato da Cruz and Mário António de Oliveira, who together with Ilídio Machado were at the same time founding the Communist Party of Angola and a number of other parties which would eventually come to be part of the MPLA.[16]

The work of these poets and political leaders was also published in two anthologies of *Poetas Angolanos* (Angolan Poets) in 1959 and 1962, by the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (House of Students of the Empire) in Lisbon,[17] which at that time disseminated anti-colonialist

ideology underground.[18] This highly politicised milieu appreciated literature which served the political struggle. Alfredo Margarido, author of the prefaces to these anthologies, demanded a critical and interventionist poetry in connection with the colonial situation. Recognition of certain works as 'national' was conditional on the degree to which they conveyed a sense of political commitment.[19]

Until the 1960s, poetry and the essay form had been the favoured *medium* for demanding independence and the affirmation of national identity—largely in order to get around censorship. The forced exile of many of those involved in the political struggle, whether in the various European capitals or in Algiers and other African cities, saw the flowering of other literary genres and a clearer statement of political aims. It should be noted that repression escalated during this time, with various independence party militants being arrested, culminating in 1960 with the trial which became known internationally as the 'Processo dos 50' (Trial of the Fifty). At the same time, the so-called liberation movements, the União das Populações de Angola (UPA) (Union of the Peoples of Angolan), the MPLA and later the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), demanded independence for the Angolan nation, through both the armed struggle and diplomatic initiatives at the United Nations (UN).[20]

The *História de Angola* undertaking should be seen in this context. The project's stance in defence of national autonomy was the same as that underlying the Angolan literary output of earlier decades, now rendered more explicit. Its aim was to assert Angolan autonomy in the field of cultural and educational production, by developing a historical-type narrative to justify the nation for which independence was being claimed. In addition, *História de Angola* is a good example of how the production and reproduction of national identity take place in the context of a global political culture which is favourable to the worship of the nation.

'The Deep Roots of Angolan Nationalism'—Constructing an Ancestral Narrative

The first edition of the textbook *História de Angola,* mimeographed in 1965, was published by the Centro de Estudos Angolanos (CEA) (Angolan Studies Centre). Based in Algiers, this centre was funded by Angolan exiles—some of whom were former members of the Frente de Unidade Angolana (Angolan Unity Front), a political organisation

sympathetic to the MPLA and subsidised by it since 1965[21]—with the aim of 'collecting, classifying and filing documentation' on Angola, and of editing and publishing educational and doctrinal materials. One of its projects was awarded a prize by UNESCO.[22] According to militant Adolfo Maria, the *História de Angola* was a collective endeavour: most of the work was done by Henrique Abranches, with some passages being written by Artur Pestana (Pepetela) and the doctrinal introduction by Adolfo Maria himself.[23] The textbook was extremely popular in Angola from the 1970s onwards, and was reprinted several times. Some academics also expressed interest in it, because they saw in this work of the CEA 'one of the pioneering efforts to locate in the African resistance the basis for revolutionising historical developments in the territories under Portuguese domination'.[24] The historian René Pélissier even contacted members of the CEA in Algiers personally,[25] while he was collecting material for his book *Angola*.[26]

One of the clearest features of the *História de Angola* is its doctrinal nature, made explicit in the first sentence: 'A revolutionary must know his country's history.'[27] For the young revolutionary, there are two purposes to this knowledge: 'the struggle for the liberation of the motherland and the liberation of the exploited' (HA: 5). The textbook thus associates the aim of self-determination with that of building a new society, reflecting Marxist-Leninist political ideology—it was Lenin who argued that nationalism, in the territories under colonial rule, was a necessary step in the fight against colonialism and therefore in the building of a socialist society. This political ideal is expressed in the long first chapter,[28] and in the subjection of the narrative to a rigid explanatory model based closely on the assumptions of a dialectic progression of history. Its main feature is the causal nexus it posits between so-called infra-structures and super-structures, with the narrative of events being preceded by lengthy descriptions of 'forces of production', 'property' regimes and the composition of 'classes and social groups',[29] with the underlying implication that these elements provide the explanations for political events.

The emphasis on popular action is equally indebted to currents of thought moulded by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This idea is present throughout the *História de Angola*, in which several references are made to the 'heroic struggle' carried on by the people (HA: 61) and their no less heroic resistance to the attempts of the Portuguese to dominate them (HA: 66). The people are further described as revolutionary: the

King of Congo is said to have drawn on the support of the Portuguese to 'help to contain' a 'revolutionary' people (HA: 50), but which at that time 'was not politicised, and did not know how to rebel in an organised fashion' (HA: 56). The contradiction between this ideal and the need to render certain historical figures heroic is resolved by making them objects of popular support. Thus, it is the support of the people which makes it possible to identify early national heroes, like the aristocrat Mpangu a Kitina, the heir to the Congo throne, regarded as 'the leader of that opposition' (to the Portuguese) and believed to have enjoyed the support of 'the majority of the people of the capital' (HA: 51), and Mbula Matadi, 'a Congolese Mani who wanted to expel the Portuguese', and enjoyed 'wide popular support' (HA: 56). Both men are presented as interpreters of the popular will and are therefore regarded as 'great revolutionaries' (HA: 57), like the kings of Ndongo, who gradually 'became the people's representatives. They fulfilled their historical role: they defended their people's freedom' (HA: 61–62), almost succeeding in eliminating 'the contradiction between the people and the kings or aristocrats' (HA: 62).

The first national heroes suggested by the *História de Angola* come from the Congo region. Subsequent heroes belong to the so-called 'Kuanza cycle' and the 'Kuago cycle'—references to the rivers which cross the centre of Angola—with particular emphasis on their ability to establish alliances and combine the efforts of different political units in the struggle against the Portuguese. The first of these heroes is Ngola Kiluanje, king of Ndongo, who is credited with the idea that 'it was necessary to bring together all the states of the region to fight united against the invaders' (HA: 63). Another heroic figure is the princess Jinga Mbandi, presented as a leader of various coalitions which pushed 'the Portuguese beyond Kambambe' (HA: 70), allying with the Dutch to establish with them a large anti-Portuguese 'front'—note the use of the jargon fashionable in textbooks of the revolutionary struggle, which postulate the need for unity among fighting groups.[30]

The King of Bailundo, Ekuikui II, is another figure highlighted by the *História de Angola*. Presented as a great organiser of the production of goods and trade, he is credited with the preparation of an 'army of the high plateau' (HA: 101) to contain the advance of the Portuguese on that rich and densely populated region of Southern Angola. From the same region comes the exemplary figure of Mutu-ya-Kevela, leader of a significant rebellion (HA: 102) which 'completely paralysed the recruitment of people' for forced labour (HA: 163).

Continuing its progression southwards, the textbook offers other heroes, such as chief Orlog (HA: 137), and prince Tchipalanca, who in the middle of the nineteenth century is said to have 'become aware of the miserable life of slaves and of the role of the Portuguese' (HA: 138), and to have started the resistance of the kingdom of Humbi. One of the last heroes is Mandume, King of Kuanhama, who allied with the Germans and defeated 'the Portuguese in a series of battles', a 'hero of the Angolan resistance to the colonial occupation who to this day is loved and venerated in the whole of Ambó' (HA: 148).

The *História de Angola* names hundreds of political leaders of dozens of kingdoms and social groups which inhabited the Angolan space over several centuries.[31] Their inclusion in the narrative creates the idea of an ancestral history of the 'great Angolan motherland' going far back in time (HA: 5). The link between these historical figures is armed opposition to the Portuguese, who are shown as the common enemy of the 'Angolan People' who 'from North to South, and East to West, have fought against colonialism since the sixteenth century' (HA: 41, 62). Note the importance attributed to violence as the creator of community, a notion we may associate with the ideas of various revolutionary theorists of the twentieth century, like Frantz Fanon[32] and Amílcar Cabral,[33] although it is also found in exponents of Western philosophical and sociological thought like Georg F. Hegel, Georg Simmel and Carl Schmitt. The nation was thus formed in warlike opposition to the 'colonialist invader' (HA: 171), and was to be found in embryonic form in the struggles 'for progress' and 'against foreign domination' (HA: 5), struggles which 'date from 1575, the year in which Ngola Kilunje fought the first battles against the Portuguese Novais' (HA: 171, see also 172).

Rather than highlighting the discrepancies between the *História de Angola* and known historical events, we are interested in tying it to the political and ideological context in which it was produced, because it provides clues which help us to understand its meaning. We would therefore draw attention to the way the theory of ancestral history suited the MPLA project. In claiming that 'this whole vast movement constituted the deep roots of Angolan Nationalism' (HA: 172), the *História de Angola* reflected the diplomatic interests of the anti-Portuguese nationalist movements, whose demands at the UN were based on the assumption that there was such a thing as the Angolan nation.

This narrative was also used to provide legitimacy for an MPLA which was having problems at the time, both in establishing itself in Angola and

in obtaining international recognition, on account of the opposition of Holden Roberto's UPA, which from 1962 became the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) (National Front for the Liberation of Angola). Roberto had the MPLA's leaders expelled from Léopoldville in 1963[34] and accused them at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) of forming a party of the privileged class, with no connection to the peasant masses—'All the *mestiços* [those of mixed race] who want to hold on to their privileges belong to the MPLA.'[35] To counter this accusation, the textbook builds an image of the MPLA as the culmination of a 'vast movement' of popular resistance, covering the whole territory that would form the República Popular de Angola (People's Republic of Angola)—since 1992 simply called República de Angola (Republic of Angola). In response to the suspicions that it was not sufficiently African, the book presents the MPLA as the inheritor of all the inhabitants who fought colonial dominion, and alleges that it is their most recent exponent and representative.

História de Angola can also be interpreted as a response to the Portuguese nationalist imaginary, centred on the affirmation of the antiquity of Portugal's control over a vast territory in Africa. It is worth examining this aspect in greater detail. It was in the context of the so-called scramble for Africa that the main European powers ratcheted up their plans for conquering and colonising Africa.[36] In this international context, the narrative trope that the Portuguese had been in Africa for 500 years gained traction in Portugal. Based on the contacts which Portuguese navigators and traders had made with the inhabitants of coastal parts of Africa since the fifteenth century, and on the establishment of trading posts as part of the Portuguese maritime empire, these relationships were equated to 'a presence' in the vast territory which stretches from the Western and Eastern coasts of Southern Africa. This myth of 'historic entitlement'—which continues to be passed down to younger generations—was combined with the construction of a Portuguese Golden Age in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and resources such as poetry, juvenile literature, novels, music, film, monuments, commemorative celebrations, statues, exhibitions and, above all, the educational system were used to make national heroes of certain figures associated with overseas navigation and conquest.[37] The idea of an imperial legacy became a key element in plans for national reconstruction.[38]

It is this narrative of the Portuguese empire which the *História de Angola* counters, by reinterpreting historical sources from the point of view of the resistance—to use the terminology of Chilcote's famous

book.[39] Against the cult of five hundred years of the Portuguese presence the textbook offers the narrative of a pluri-secular Angola, born out of opposition to the colonial advance. It is worth emphasising that some form of foundational narrative is essential to the creation and consolidation of a national identity, in that these are based on some kind of knowledge about the founding moment, which may take the form of legends which tell of events and personages whose significance does not depend on the veracity of their existence.[40] These narratives appeal to a multiplicity of representations of a varied and complex reality, deriving their strength from the emotional engagement of the psychological processes of identification, which are directed at building and consolidating feelings of identity. As Hobsbawm argues, 'belonging to a historic (or actual) state, present or past, can act directly upon the consciousness of the common people to produce something close to modern proto-nationalism', and this makes the nationalist movements' concern to manipulate historical memory understandable, so as to establish ties of collective identity between the peoples of today and ancient state forms—ties which Hobsbawm calls proto-national.[41] The *História de Angola* is one of the first attempts to create these proto-nationalist ties in narrative form or, to use a somewhat different terminology, to establish the *mythomoteur*[42] of Angolan national identity—an origin myth able to account for the existence of the community.

'One People, One Nation'—National Unity in the Novel *Yaka*

Following independence, several ethno-historical works on the Angolan space were published—for example, the novella *Nzinga Mbandi* by Manuel Pedro Pacavira (1975). It was Pepetela, however—an author in whose work many look for the substance of Angolan identity, seeing him as the 'father of Angolanity'[43]—who made the biggest contribution to Angolan ethno-history, with the publication of *Yaka*, which won the National Literature Prize in 1984. This novel develops a number of aspects already found in the textbook *História de Angola*: the significance of the people, seen as the source for the political delegation of power to the MPLA, the making of heroes out of certain leaders and groups associated with the armed resistance to Portuguese colonisation, the teleological vision of history, the creative role of violence, and the narrative construction of the ancestry of the Angolan nation.

The main character in the novel is the unheroic Alexandre Semedo, a descendant of Portuguese settlers whose life covers the period from the end of the nineteenth century to 1975. Through him, the novel fictionalises aspects of a society marked by the military campaigns which followed the Conference of Berlin, and which led to the establishing of direct Portuguese control along the Luanda-Ambaca line and the reinforcing of the Portuguese presence in Congo and the southern plateau.[44]

Alongside the aspects of military conquest and colonisation of the hinterland by the Portuguese, *Yaka* fictionalises the resistance of the African population, and this topic embodies the main purpose of the novel. One significant element in this narrative is the construction of an imaginary gallery of heroic characters, which includes several figures responsible for the armed resistance to the Portuguese military advance in the final decades of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, many of them already praised in the *História de Angola*: Mutu-ya-Kevela, who established and for a time led a coalition in the Bailundu region, who is presented as a moderate and unifier of the various kingdoms of the southern plateau (Y: 54, 61); the Cuamato warriors who in 1904 ambushed the Portuguese army in the Vau de Pembe, inflicting on it a heavy defeat (Y: 87); the farmers of the Seles, praised as models of persistence for their always latent insubordination (Y: 142, 151, 156–159); and finally the Cuvale nomads, victims of a colonial army determined to extinguish 'the last sparks of African independence in a colony where for years no people had raised their heads again',[45] who are portrayed as being exemplary resisters (Y: 322).

It should be noted that, as with the *História de Angola*, which mentions that the 'various different peoples' which inhabited the Angolan territory 'were at times even each other's enemies' (HA: 35), the novel *Yaka* does not hide the fact that the different groups in Angola are divided by economic, social and political antagonisms (Y: 46, 87–88, 144, 158). These animosities are overcome, in fictional terms, by the character of the statue Yaka, which lends its name to the novel and provides the link, not only between the different ethnic groups, but also between the past, present and future. The statue is said to be a creation of the Yaka people (Y: 35), who are shown at the beginning of the book as the matrix of an Angola proto-state which had evolved in 'earlier centuries' (Y: 13). By virtue of its origins, it incorporates the spirit of that warring group which had allegedly unified the Angolan territory at some time in the remote past, and thus becomes its voice. In a

series of symbolism-laden monologues (Y: 24–25, 94–96, 99, 164–166, 271–272), the statue reviews unconnected events, which take on the form of an epic narrative, and are transformed into a 'long journey'—perhaps a symbolic equivalent of the 'long march' of the Chinese communists—towards the nation foreshadowed by the Yaka conquests. It thus imbues the coalitions, regional revolts and repressions with a 'providential sense of destiny',[46] and sees in them the nation to be had in the future. As a corollary of this long journey to nationhood, the novel offers the guerrilla fighters of the MPLA, who emerge as the instruments for fulfilling a centuries-old destiny.

The *História de Angola* and *Yaka* both convey the idea that reconstitutions of the past are 'pregnant with the future', that is to say, the reconstituted past is somehow connected to future opportunities. This helps us to understand why the Angolan nationalist movements' demands for independence before the international institutions in the 1960s and 1970s also involved rewriting this territory's past—a past in which it had to be possible to foresee a future aligned with the idea of the Angolan nation. In the words of Bartolomeu Falcato, a character created by another Angolan writer, José Eduardo Agualusa, 'you can't change the future before first changing the past'.[47]

Reiterating our intention of interpreting the novel in its political and ideological context, we note that the narrative of *Yaka*, like the *História de Angola*, consistently defends the idea of the nation's ancestral history. The novel, however, emphasises the MPLA's association with that long history of resistance to Portuguese colonisation, an association which was disputed in the 1980s by Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, the nationalist movement which fought the MPLA from 1975 onwards, with support from the Republic of South Africa and later from the USA and Kenneth Kaunda's Zambia, and controlled vast areas in the centre and south of Angola. *Yaka* in a way responds to the UNITA leader's accusation that the MPLA was not African, by linking it to the various organised political groups that resisted the colonial onslaught in the whole of the Angolan territory, while at the same time disassociating it from the so-called Creole elites of the coastal regions.[48] The narrative built up around the guerrilla fighters and leaders of the MPLA can also be interpreted as an attempt to legitimise a seizure of power which took place during a period of civil war and was thus not validated by universal suffrage. The novel gets around this lack of democratic legitimacy by means of the statue, whose words show the MPLA as the only nationalist party which can

aspire to be the inheritor of the Yaka, giving concrete form to a destiny that had long been predicted and anticipated. Commenting on the total identification of the people with the MPLA, the Yaka statue says that 'the referendum had taken place, the elections had taken place, and those who were the ones had arrived' (Y: 323).

There are several commonalities between *Yaka* and the *História de Angola*, as we have outlined above. Another important common trait in both narratives is the idea of national unity, which is held to be unquestionable and, particularly in the *História de Angola*, presented in assertive form: 'Angola today is one country, although it has various ethnic groups', formed 'of a united people' (HA: 5). While the textbook contains explicit assertions of the unity of the Angolan nation—'The Angolan People today is One' (HA: 35)—in *Yaka* the idea is implicit in the statue's symbolic narrative: 'The settlers said there were many revolts. It wasn't like that at all, there was only one revolt. Like the *omokisi*, man-eating monsters, they were reborn every time someone cut off their head' (Y: 131). The novel's chapter titles too—the mouth, the eyes, the heart, the legs, the sex—each one devoted to an episode of the resistance to the advance of Portuguese dominion, in adopting the metaphor of the body for the nation under construction, are a reference to its fundamental unity. Neither the textbook nor the novel admit the possibility of alternative forms of political organisation which might grant greater relative autonomy to the various sociocultural groups in Angola, despite that possibility having been contemplated, as the MPLA's Programa Maior (Broader Manifesto), written in 1961, shows.[49] The model put forward at that time, while tentative, pointed to a federalist solution in which the various groups would be given the power to set up independent regions, which would then be coordinated with the 'Angolan nation'.[50] The narratives analysed here exclude this alternative and, in attaching negative connotations to partial collective identities, have contributed to the 'spiral of silence'[51] which stifles voices in Angola opposed to the government-imposed nation-state model.[52]

The narratives surrounding national unity, which look at the variety of social groups inhabiting Angolan space as a facet of the past which has become obsolete with the emergence of the Angolan nation, show the traces of African nationalism's prejudice against endogenous forms of political organisation.[53] They also reflect the influence of a certain modernising ideology which sees forms of ethnic identification, and their associated practices, as relics of an archaic past and therefore as problems which have

to be overcome.[54] Note that in both classical liberalism and the versions of revolutionary Marxism of Lenin, Mao Tse Tung and Ernesto Guevara, the nation is endowed with a charismatic or numinous quality, thus contributing to the consecration of the nation-state model as the standard for political organisation.

In connection with the pervasive nature of the nation-state model and the fact that it cuts across various ideologies, it is worth mentioning a 1970 interview which Agostinho Neto gave to the historian Basil Davidson. In it he stated the MPLA wanted to achieve a two-pronged revolution, against colonial domination and against traditional social organisation.[55] In line with the spirit of the times, the so-called right of peoples to self-determination, established by the UN in 1960, was intimately linked to observance of the frontiers inherited from the colonial era, even when these frontiers, as defined by those who sought dominion over Africa, failed to respect the territories' history. In the words of Duarte de Carvalho, there had been a clear 'adaptation of the concept of the nation to its political operationality, to the detriment of its sociological substance'.[56] This position was strengthened at the time the OAU was formed in 1963, when it was formally adopted by those African countries which had already achieved independence. Internationally, only projects based on borders inherited from colonial times were to be granted legitimacy to undertake the struggle for 'national' independence. As David Birmingham comments ironically, it is 'possible to argue that the key characteristic of the nationalism of any African country was the common desire to oppose the colonial power within colonial borders'.[57]

Conclusion

Our efforts in this paper have sought to reveal the underlying meaning of the fictions, images and symbols mobilised by the nationalist narratives in the *História de Angola* and *Yaka*. It is, however, necessary to understand that, as Ernst Cassirer argued in respect of myth-related subject matter, their true meaning defies the fundamental categories of thought, and their logic is incommensurable with all our conceptions of empirical or scientific truth.[58] The strength of these nationalist narratives derives in part from the fact they belong in a sphere that favours the emotive over the rational, understood as scientific rationality. This does not prevent these narratives from producing rationality, in that they encourage identity ties designed to sustain the community in the realm of the symbolic.

If we wish to understand how certain individuals, actions and nations become endowed with transcendence, then we must address the characteristic polarities of Western culture—reason and emotion, reason and faith and other similar oppositions, such as the sacred and the profane.[59]

While acknowledging that the narratives we have discussed here may produce meanings which defy both our interpretation and the hand of those who produced them, we must reiterate the fact that these narratives belong to a particular sociopolitical context, in this particular case one which specifically opposed Portuguese imperialism and argued for a nationalism infused with Marxist-Leninist influence. It is in this sense that we argue the *História de Angola* e *Yaka* can be understood as part of Robertson's concept of 'strategic essentialism', as a calculated attempt to construct a national identity from the manipulation of historical facts and the selective appropriation of traditions and collective memories of different social groups. This expectation of a unified national identity—strongly affected by a complex involvement with the globalisation that encouraged the building of nation states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—is institutionalised in literature and other art forms.[60] But not exclusively so, because the role of literature is not to build the nation state but rather to be an adjunct to and justify its imposition as it develops in many different institutional forms, from bureaucracy to border posts, the network of schools, the media, taxes, the army, the legal system, healthcare, etc. We may conclude, therefore, that literary representations of the nation have been incorporated into institutions which presuppose the existence of that nation and give it material form, but with no certainty as to how durable those institutions will be. The story (and the history) continues, and we do not know what the end will be.

Notes

1. This study does not cover the so-called white Angolan nationalist movements and parties, which are dealt with in F.T. Pimenta, *Angola. Os Brancos e a Independência* (Oporto, Edições Afrontamento, 2008).
2. P. Chabal, *Vozes Moçambicanas. Literatura e Nacionalidade* (Lisbon: Vega, 1994), p. 14.
3. A.D. Smith coined the term 'ethno-history' to differentiate between professional, institutionalised and more or less neutral history and the activity of consolidating, transmitting and reinterpreting memories and myths which serve to imagine a community's past and are used to update and

strengthen their identity. This is an activity which has been practised by a variety of peoples at various times in history, to the extent that it is possible 'to discern a recurrent pattern of formation of myths and memory, which is only in part a conscious artifice'. A.D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples. Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 171.

4. Centro de Estudos Angolanos, *História de Angola* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, s.d [1965]).
5. M. Moorman, 'Of Westerns, Women, and War: Re-Situating Angolan Cinema', *Research in African Literatures*, 32: 3 (2001): 111.
6. Pepetela, *Yaka* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996). References are to the Portuguese edition: Pepetela, *Yaka* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1998 [1984]).
7. A. Margarido, 'Littérature et Nationalité', *Politique Africaine*, 29 (1988): 58.
8. M.A. Oliveira, *Reler África* (Coimbra: Instituto de Antropologia da Universidade de Coimbra, 1990), p. 373.
9. J.C. Venâncio, *Literatura e Poder na África Lusófona* (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação e Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992), p. 61.
10. P. Laranjeira, *Ensaios Afro Literários* (s.l.: Novo Imbondeiro, 2001), p. 55.
11. M.P. de Andrade edited with Tenreiro, in 1953, the *Caderno de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa*. He was also editor of the *Antologia de Poesia Negra de Expressão Portuguesa* (1958) and the *Antologia Temática de Poesia Africana*, edited in Algiers at the end of the 1960s and published in 1975.
12. A. Neto, *Sagrada Esperança* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1979).
13. L. Lara, *Documentos e Comentários para a História do MPLA (Até Fev. 1961)* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 2000), pp. 73–78.
14. J.C. Venâncio, *Literatura e Poder na África Lusófona*, p. 16; Laranjeira, *Ensaios Afro Literários*, pp. 37–46.
15. M. Oliveira, *Reler África*, pp. 371–383.
16. These leaders founded a number of smaller parties in order to broaden the scope of their political action: the Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola (PLUAA—Party of the United Struggle of Angolan Africans), the Movimento de Independência de Angola (MIA—Angolan Independence Movement), the Movimento pela Independência Nacional de Angola (MINA—Angolan National Independence Movement) and the Comité Secreto da Independência (Secret Independence Committee). L. Lara, *Documentos e Comentários para a História do MPLA*, p. 64.
17. A. Freudenthal et al. (eds.), *Antologias de Poesia da Casa dos Estudantes do Império. 1951–1963* (s.l.: ACEI, 1994), vol. II.
18. P. Laranjeira, *Ensaios Afro Literários*, p. 125.

19. A. Margarido, 'Prefácio', in A. Freudenthal et al. (eds.), *Antologias de Poesia da Casa dos Estudantes do Império. 1951–1963*, pp. 79–103.
20. A.C. Pinto, 'A Guerra Colonial e o Fim do Império Português', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Temas & Debates, 2000), p. 56.
21. A. Torres, 'Preâmbulo', in S. Dáskalos, *Um Testemunho para a História de Angola. Do Huambo ao Huambo* (Lisbon: Vega, 2000), pp. 9–32; F.T. Pimenta, *Angola no Percurso de um Nacionalista: Conversas com Adolfo Maria* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 2006), p. 82.
22. F.T. Pimenta, *Angola no Percurso de um Nacionalista*, pp. 78–79.
23. Ibid., p. 78.
24. R. Chilcote, 'Protest and Resistance in Brazil and Portuguese Africa: A Synthesis and a Classification', in R. Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1972), p. 284.
25. F.T. Pimenta, *Angola no Percurso de um Nacionalista: Conversas com Adolfo Maria*, p. 79.
26. D.L. Wheeler and R. Pélissier, *Angola* (London: Pall Mall, 1971).
27. *História de Angola*, p. 5.
28. *História de Angola*, pp. 7–29.
29. *História de Angola*, pp. 43–46, 94–96, 129–131, 141–145, 149–151 and 154–155.
30. E.g. V.N. Giap, *Guerre du Peuple. Armée du Peuple* (Hanoï: Edition en langues étrangères, 1960).
31. We have adopted the terminology suggested by the historian I.C. Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no século XIX* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1997).
32. F. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Penguin, 1967 [1961]).
33. A. Cabral, *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches* (New York: Africa Information Service, 1973).
34. A.C. Pinto, 'A Guerra Colonial e o Fim do Império Português', p. 80; B. Davidson, *In the Eye of The Storm: Angola's People* (London: Longman, 1972), pp. 274–285.
35. See B. Davidson, *In The Eye Of The Storm: Angola's People*; C. Messiant, 'Angola, les Voies de L'Ethnisation et de la Décomposition I—De la Guerre à la Paix. 1975–1991: Le Conflit Armé, les Interventions Internationales et le Peuple Angolais', *Lusotopie*, 1: 1–2 (1994): 163.
36. V. Alexandre, *Velho Brasil Novas Áfricas. Portugal e o Império. 1808–1975* (Oporto: Afrontamento, 2000), p. 185.
37. F. Catroga, *Nação, Mito e Rito. Religião Civil e Comemoracionismo* (Fortaleza: Edições NUDOC-UFC and Museu do Ceará, 2005).

38. Y. Léonard, 'O Ultramar Português', in F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, pp. 11–12.
39. R. Chilcote (ed.), *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil.*
40. L. Kolakowski, *My Correct Views on Everything* (South Bend: St. Augustine's Press, 2005), p. 209.
41. E. Hobsbawm, *A Questão do Nacionalismo. Nações e Nacionalismo desde 1780* (Lisbon: Terramar, 1998 [1990]), pp. 47 and 69–70.
42. A.D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993 [1986]), pp. 24–25.
43. J.C. Venâncio, *Literatura e Poder na África Lusófona,* p. 95.
44. R. Pélissier, *História das Campanhas de Angola. Resistência e Revoltas em Angola. 1845–1941* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1986), 2 vols.
45. Ibid., p. 268.
46. B. Cauthen, 'Covenant and Continuity: Ethno-Symbolism and the Myth of Divine Election', *Nations and Nationalism*, 10: 1–2 (2004): 19.
47. J.E. Agualusa, *Barroco Tropical* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 2009), p. 56.
48. For an in-depth analysis of this issue, see A.D. Santos, *Nação, Guerra e Utopia em Pepetela*, PhD thesis (Lisbon: Lisbon University, 2011)
49. M.L.R. de Areia, 'A Diversidade Cultural e a Construção do Estado-Nação em Angola', in L.R. Torgal, F.T. Pimenta and J.S. Sousa (eds.), *Comunidades Imaginadas. Nação e Nacionalismos em África* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2008), p. 76.
50. Significantly, references to these nationalities appear in point two of the *Programa Maior*, entitled 'Unity of the Nation'. See paragraph 4, which states that 'regions in which national minorities live in dense groupings and are of an individualised nature may become autonomous', and paragraph 6, which outlines the relationship between the parts and the whole: 'In the interest of the whole Angolan nation, to foster and develop economic and social solidarity, as well as normal relations—economic, social and cultural—between all the autonomous regions and all the nationalities or ethnicities of Angola.' L. Lara, *Documentos e Comentários para a História do MPLA*, p. 701.
51. E. Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence. Public Opinion—our Social Skin* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993).
52. R.D. Carvalho, particularly *Actas da Maianga … Dizer das Guerras, em Angola …* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 2003).
53. B. Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden. Africa and the Curse of the Nation State* (Oxford: James Currey, 2007 [1992]).
54. For a deeper discussion on this topic, see A.D. Santos, 'War and Nation in Angola: Reading *Mayombe* from the Perspective of Memory Studies', *Portuguese Journal of Social Science*, 14: 1 (2015): 9–23.

55. B. Davidson, *In The Eye Of The Storm: Angola's People* (London: Longman, 1972).
56. R.D. Carvalho, *A Câmara, a Escrita e a Coisa Dita … Fitas, Textos e Palestras* (Lisbon: Cotovia, 2008), p. 162.
57. D. Birmingham, *The Decolonization of Africa* (London: UCL Press, 1995), p. 6.
58. E. Cassirer, *An Essay on Men* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972 [1944]), pp. 72–108.
59. S. Giner, *Carisma y Razón. La Estrutura Moral de la Sociedad Moderna* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2003).
60. R. Robertson, 'Nacionalismo e Identidade Nacional no Nosso Tempo', in M. Cabral, J. Garcia and H. Jerónimo (eds.), *Razão, Tempo e Tecnologia. Estudos em Homenagem a Hermínio Martins* (Lisbon: ICS, 2006), pp. 105–129.

East Timor and Portugal: The Ending of Empire in the Media

Rita Ribeiro and Joaquim Costa

East Timor: The Long Shadow of the Portuguese Empire

Despite approximately five centuries of Portuguese colonial presence in East Timor, the importance of the small island at the far edge of Asia was always more symbolic than actual in the Portuguese empire. It was more than two decades after decolonisation that Timor became particularly important to the Portuguese imagination in triggering a moment of national interpellation, which led to revisiting the country's imperial past and to a full assumption of responsibility for its postcolonial condition.

Following the ruthless Indonesian annexation of East Timor in 1975, Portuguese political forces and the media remained aware of the situation, especially from 1990 onward, and the case of East Timor was never completely obliterated from the public sphere. The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996, following the 'Santa Cruz massacre' (1991) and the arrest of *guerrilla* leader 'Xanana' Gusmão (1992), to Bishop Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta 'for their work towards a just and

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peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor' further contributed to keep Timor on the media agenda.

In the referendum promoted by the United Nations (UN) in August 1999, the vast majority of Timorese voted in favour of independence, anxious to put an end to Indonesia's occupation of the territory it had annexed in 1975, while it was still in the process of Portuguese decolonisation. The result of this popular consultation was not recognised by Indonesia, which unleashed a wave of persecution and violence against the Timorese people, threatening their democratic choice. Widely broadcast by the Western media, particularly in Europe, Australia and the United States of America, these events echoed insistently in Portugal, and this stimulated a movement of solidarity in favour of returning peace and freedom to East Timor.

Two main objectives underlie this text. Firstly, it is important to understand how the solidarity movement for East Timor was covered by the media, and what role the media played in shaping a consensual opinion on events and on the urgent need for political pressure to help deter the violence inflicted on the territory. To this end, we underscore the meanings articulated by the media regarding these events, and how they were crucial in the single voice raised in the ensuing social movement.

Secondly, we reflect on the postcolonial injunction that Timor represented for Portugal. In the protests that took place in September 1999, a cathartic process occurred, that not only symbolically closed the chapter of Portuguese colonial history, but also led to the reconfiguration of a collective identity. It is not our aim to describe the Timorese tragedy, but to analyse how it became a reason for reflexivity regarding Portugal's postcolonial condition and the country's redefinition in the contemporary world. Saying more about Portugal than Timor, the manifestations of support that multiplied throughout the country stirred up emotions that, while causing an adjustment to the identity of Portugal as a democratic, postcolonial, European and modern country, also absorbed the significance deeply associated with the collective memory of the empire and, in particular, the cultural heritage left behind by the presence of the Portuguese in what today is the Portuguese-speaking world.

The Media and the Power of Disclosure

After almost 25 years of occupation by Indonesia, the people of East Timor were called to the ballot to decide on their future as a country. Under the observance of the UN, a popular consultation was held with a view to putting an end to Indonesia's illegitimate annexation of the

territory. The referendum, held on 30 August 1999, confirmed the resolute decision of the Timorese to free themselves of Indonesian control: 78.5% voted in favour of independence. In Portugal, the referendum was widely and directly covered in the media. Television, the press and radio sent journalists to the country and they gave detailed reports about what was happening there prior to the Timorese going to the ballot box. An air of expectation was created regarding the outcome of the referendum and the way in which Indonesia would react to the results.

The media coverage was the result of the growing political importance that the referendum had assumed within the national and international context. However, media coverage was also motivated by another reason: the power to influence events when reporting them. The same global media which had ignored the genocide of around one third of the population throughout 25 years of Indonesian[1] occupation would be decisive in carrying the demand of international public opinion to halt the massacre of pro-independence Timorese in the wake of the referendum in 1999. The explanation for the dual approach of the Western media in denouncing the violation of human rights in East Timor lies essentially in their incapacity, in the context of the Cold War, to confront the interests of the Western powers and, by extension, their military and commercial allies.[2] It is a known fact that the USA, the United Kingdom and Australia were complicit in the invasion and in the bloodshed of the occupation that followed, and that the Western world, with the exception of Portugal, consistently paid little attention to the tragedy that was taking place.[3]

Studies on the media have long demonstrated the media's ability to instil the reality they produce. In contemporary societies, reality is media-reality, filtered and structured by the devices used by the mass media to shape it. In this, the media are central in forming, or deforming, a social consciousness through agenda setting, defining situations, opinion forming and selectively highlighting facts and meanings.[4] From this perspective, the presence of the media in Timor at the time of the referendum must be seen as more than responding to its function to provide information. In fact, even without any manifest intention, it must be said that it could operate as a dissuasive factor to the violence used by the Indonesian forces. States, even those for whom democracy is a hindrance, recognise the damage the media can do to them when it publishes attacks against human rights or democratic values. In the case of East Timor, intense media coverage of the violence also confronted the democratic countries with the political costs of inaction[5] and this led to certain countries repositioning their foreign policy in solving the conflict

in East Timor. For example, one analysis of the media effect in Australia is as follows:

> our analysis suggests the particular importance of the journalists on the ground, reporting the situation in unprecedented numbers from the region. Their reporting built a framework for protest amongst the Australian people, which in turn proved crucial in pressuring the Australian government to change its policy. The journalist 'as witness' was provider of compelling evidence to the public.[6]

Media Construction of Events in East Timor

When the first results of the referendum on self-determination for East Timor were published, they came with the images of violence that was devastating the territory which forced everyone, including journalists, to flee for shelter. In not accepting the decision expressed by the Timorese for an independent country, Indonesia, using military and police forces in the territory, unleashed systematic destruction, particularly in the capital, Dili. The dissuasive power of the media was no more than an illusion.

For at least two weeks, coverage of the situation was practically the only news in the Portuguese media. In the newspapers, East Timor was front-page news, often exclusively, throughout the whole of September 1999. More than 15 pages in the leading national newspapers were, in each edition, dedicated to news sent by envoys on the ground, along with editorials, articles, columns, interviews and illustrations on events in East Timor and on the mobilisation that, in Portugal, aimed to pressure for a political decision on international intervention to re-establish peace and provide humanitarian aid to the people.

In analysing journalistic coverage in two Portuguese newspapers—*Público* (daily) and *Expresso* (weekly)—throughout September 1999, we have identified five axes underlying the informative material produced by the leading press on the issue:

1. the violence carried out by Indonesian forces against the Timorese and the associated moral confrontation between those defending the democratic act of independence with their own lives, and those persisting in illegitimate and brutal occupation;
2. the emotional catalyst provoked by the tragedy that affected the Timorese people, including the most vulnerable (children, the elderly and women), who responded to their aggressors by taking refuge in the mountains, but without taking up arms;

3. the unanimous rejection in Portuguese society of Indonesian aggression, an attitude shared by the different political parties and by all social agents that participated in the movement for East Timor by taking action politically, through media coverage or in protests;
4. the spontaneous, large-scale mobilisation of the Portuguese who multiplied their demonstrations against the genocide taking place, and in their appeal for international intervention to bring peace to the territory;
5. the highlighting of the historical ties between Portugal and East Timor—namely, the Portuguese cultural heritage in the territory and the benevolent image that the Timorese seemed to hold of the former coloniser.

Although, strictly speaking, this analysis refers to the press, it can also be applied to other forms of the mass media, such as radio and television, which had dedicated broadcasts constantly, and sometimes exclusively, of events in East Timor, and to the movement in Portugal that appealed for freedom for the 'new' country. Furthermore, besides the intensity with which news about East Timor occupied the media, the perspective adopted in journalistic coverage was also unique in the way in which it suspended the ethical principles inherent in journalism. We refer, specifically, to the clear position adopted by both journalists and editors on the topic, which consented to neutrality, independence and unbiased opinions being usurped by positions imbued with questions of a moral, political and emotional nature.

Having described how the Portuguese media received events taking place after the referendum, it is important to understand what comprised the movement for solidarity with East Timor, and how the echo of the media's voice was expressed in this movement. The media did play a major role in mobilising the public in promoting some of the more symbolic initiatives that took place and, above all, in creating a feeling of legitimacy for the national movement for East Timor that left no room for dissension, and that aspired to no less than the success of the appeal for international intervention.

Within the context of expectation that had been created regarding the referendum, news on the results could be celebrated in neither East Timor nor Portugal because of the immediate reaction of extreme violence on the part of Indonesian and pro-Indonesian military forces. The global media then began to publish images and reports of loss of life,

destruction of buildings, the flight of the population to the mountains or their deportation to the western part of the island, and of Western people (including journalists) taking shelter in the installations of the UN Mission.

Within a few days the situation became dramatic but, contrary to other episodes of bloodshed during Indonesian occupation, this time the media were on the ground and, although restrained, they continued to report events. They could get hold of witnesses and give a voice and a face to the persecuted; they showed a suffering people, but a people serene in the conviction of their choice. In short, the media also dramatised the situation, making selections as to the protagonists and the focal points that led the eye and influenced the interpretation of the situation.

Public Mobilisation in Portugal: Protests with a Single Voice

The information that arrived on the massacres gave rise to a national uprising in Portugal in the first weeks of September 1999. This mobilisation was consolidated by many public events, varying in scale and content, but all sharing the following elements: objectives, organisation, strategies and means. Without going into a detailed description of the protest demonstrations, we will give a brief analysis of the solidarity movement for Timor, based on information produced in the media.

Firstly, it must be explained that the movement to free East Timor was the most intense and spontaneous form of public action witnessed in Portugal since the revolutionary period of 1974 that put an end to the Salazar dictatorship. The multiple and imaginative forms of protest were rooted in objectives and arguments of solid cohesion: support for the democratic decision of the Timorese to have an independent country; condemnation of the violence inflicted by Indonesia (consistent with the understanding in Portuguese society of the brutality that annexation had represented for almost 25 years), and the appeal to the international community to intervene to ensure the conditions were in place for the self-determination of the Timorese expressed in the referendum.

Pursuing such an ambitious objective was due both to a certain naivety on the part of the masses protesting, and to a bold strategy. One of the essential elements of this strategy was the focus on defending human rights as the pivotal argument for all collective action, conducted at a political level and in the streets. In this process, we frequently see

the impartiality of the international organisations queried. According to claims circulating at the time, these organisations chose to intervene in other situations of humanitarian crisis and where there was a suspicion of genocide, moved by political and economic interests. From this perspective, the lack of action by the international institutions and powers in this case revealed how democratic values and human rights were used as spurious pretexts for a policy that was scarcely transparent and biased by the interests of states' foreign policy.[7]

Despite the eminently spontaneous nature of the protests and appeals, the movement was consolidated and expanded when several institutions joined it and assumed the initiative for the more significant public events. Once again the media were present, in coordination with associations, unions and other institutions which conducted operations on the ground. A revealing example of the role of the media in configuring the public movement is the three-minute silence held at 3 p.m., 8 September, on the initiative of the unions União Geral de Trabalhadores (UGT) (General Union of Workers) and Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses (CGTP) (General Confederation of the Portuguese Workers),[8] and widely covered by radio, television and the press. At this hour, throughout the whole country, thousands (maybe millions) of people filled the streets, leaving their homes, schools and workplaces. Only the tolling of bells and the sound of sirens broke the silence that was held for the victims of East Timor. Many people wept at this time of public sorrow. Again it was the media that promoted the use of white clothing and white streamers on buildings, one of the most common symbols throughout the whole movement, embodying the appeal for peace.

Apart from successfully mobilising the masses, it is important to realise that collective action was guided by the clear strategy to give media coverage to the conflict in East Timor. If the objective was to get international decision-makers to adopt specific measures to put an end to the massacre by sending in an international peacekeeping force and humanitarian aid, these decision-makers had to be the main targets of protest action. Consequently, major demonstrations in Lisbon regularly took place close to the diplomatic representations of the UN and the member states of the UN Security Council, particularly the US embassy.

With the same objective in mind, a human chain was also organised, linking the embassies of the USA and France, passing by those of the UK, Russia, China and the headquarters of the UN. A demonstration also brought thousands of Portuguese to the doors of the Indonesian embassy in Spain. The constant gathering of hundreds or thousands of

people in strategic places who, in silence or using slogans, appealed for a decision to free the people of East Timor had, apart from an immediate effect on the diplomatic representatives, the makings of a media event that could be broadcast on a global scale. The same interpretation applies to the reception in Lisbon of the Bishop of Dili, Ximenes Belo, who, on his arrival and throughout his whole route, was accompanied by a human chain dressed in white that welcomed him with words of hope and encouragement for the struggle of the Timorese.

Also important was the success of campaigns sending faxes and emails to entities with international political responsibility, such as the UN and some of the most influential countries. The traffic was so intense that it blocked the recipients' addresses and forced internet service providers to increase the capacity of their servers. The pioneering spirit in the use of digital communication, making use of the internet in a campaign for human rights, associated with the enormous participation achieved in Portugal and other countries, made this one of the first online social movements.[9]

The national uprising went beyond the major demonstrations already described. In each city, in each town, demonstrations were encouraged to show support for the Timorese cause, from the major national companies that placed white banners on the façades of their buildings in Lisbon, to local community associations that organised small-scale protest events. Throughout the country, minutes of silence multiplied, as did vigils, fundraising, expressions of mourning, solidarity performances, fasting and hunger strikes, the boycotting of products from Indonesia and from the USA, among other creative forms of protest and appeal, undertaken on the initiative of all kinds of associations, unions, companies, football clubs, churches and members of the community. At this time, economic, social and cultural status, as well as ideological and political stances, were levelled out. Mobilisation for East Timor was an unstructured movement but it had only one voice, marked by the social[10] and political[11] spread of the social agents involved.

In all demonstrations, the meaning of the struggle remained consistent and unswerving: concern for the violation of human rights, the appeal to respect the democratically expressed self-determination of the Timorese, and the appeal for international intervention to bring the bloodshed to an end. The banners and slogans amplified these feelings, concentrated on the word 'Timor' and the colour white, displayed publicly in a kaleidoscope of chanting, slogans, posters, banners, flags and sheets of paper.

In the total mobilisation that swept through Portuguese society, the role of the media is undeniable, as the media exercised all its powers of seduction, attention seeking, obsessively occupying the public space and launching protests that permanently fed the media flow. Within this context, the media coverage of events was strategically set up as a means of making the public aware of the atrocities being committed in East Timor and, above all, as a catalyst for a collective action that aimed explicitly to change the situation by pressuring relevant international bodies.

The Portuguese experienced the warm days of September 1999 in a state of exception. Since the revolutionary period of 1974–1975, no other event had created such a unique and exceptional atmosphere in the country. More than total mobilisation around the question of East Timor, what was particularly new was the way in which the Portuguese experienced the massacres occurring on the distant island as an issue that was deeply theirs,[12] as if it were impossible to return to normality without the Timorese achieving peace, as if the mourning that turned clothing white was a moral imperative when confronted by the unspeakable suffering they were seeing in the images and reports arriving from East Timor.

There will have been few moments in the history of the country that so completely produced a feeling of belonging to a collective configuration. More than just a moment of civic participation, through these days the Portuguese lived the experience of national communion, a suspension of daily order and a collective effervescence that Turner[13] suggests in the concept of *communitas*.

East Timor and Portugal: The Persistence of Historical Ties

How can the total mobilisation of Portuguese society in defence of East Timor be interpreted? The extraordinary characteristics of the movement—its scale, intensity and the consensus with which it was experienced—lead us to query what motives shaped the emotions that sustained the Portuguese determination to join the Timorese cause, and why it came about in response to this particular situation of genocide, when other similar cases left them indifferent. Although we have examined the mobilising role of the media, another factor must be brought in: the historical relationship that links Portugal to East Timor, which began in the second decade of the sixteenth century, as a result of Portuguese

rule over territories in Asia that were part of its first empire. Throughout almost five centuries of Portuguese presence, and due to factors such as distance and the minor material appeal of the small island, colonisation amounted to little and was irregular. Historically, Timor-Leste is characterised by ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, and Portuguese cultural influence turned out to be a unifying element of the territory. In addition to Portuguese involvement, East Timor was also disputed by the Dutch and suffered a devastating invasion by the Japanese in World War II. For several centuries, the Portuguese presence in East Timor was restricted to trade and Catholic missions, with Portuguese administration becoming effective only by the end of the nineteenth century.[14]

Although Portuguese colonial intervention had been precarious, the fact that it appealed more to alliances with local chieftaincy than to forceful subordination led colonial relations to intersect with the mythological narratives of the native people. Elizabeth Traube[15] demonstrates how the Mambai, one of the ethnic groups of the island, incorporated the Portuguese in their origin myths as their 'young brothers' and how colonial rule had been legitimised within an intricate symbolic system. Entwined in the mythical kinship system, the Portuguese had not only gained more control of the territory but attained symbolic legitimacy for their dominion, even if often repression and disrespect from the rulers could damage these chosen ties. For the Portuguese, even after decolonisation, the deference and esteem they found among the Timorese nourished the idea of a special relationship with the people of East Timor and helped to corroborate the mystification of Portuguese colonialism as benign.

Throughout the centuries, Portuguese influence was manifest mainly in the fields of language and religion. In spreading Christianity, not only did Catholicism arrive (harmonised with the local beliefs of the people) but so did the Portuguese language, even if only spoken by educated local elites and coexisting with native languages and dialects. These cultural traces left by a coloniser became central to Timorese identity,[16] giving structure to a feeling of national unity that was immensely important in the period following the departure of the Portuguese, by way of providing the condition for Timorese nationalism.

The April 1974 revolution began the process of decolonisation in the Portuguese overseas territories. As in the other colonies, in East Timor, political and military structures were formed to defend and prepare for independence and, between 1974 and 1975, these were being organised

to take over power.[17] But the future of the Timorese depended less on the coloniser that had already turned its back, or on the actual desire for independence, than on the power glancing over the shoulder of the small island. Ruling by a dictatorship in which the Western powers were complicit, Indonesia did not tolerate the threat of a communist interest in East Timor and in December 1975, nine days after the Declaration of Independence of East Timor by Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente (FRETILIN) (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), it began its military invasion of the eastern part of the island.[18]

The annexation of the territory of East Timor, in flagrant violation of the process of decolonisation already under way, and with the use of large-scale violence, was met by timid reactions from the Western democracies, with little interest in confronting their political, military and commercial ally over an irrelevant territory of dubious political viability. This is why 25 years of genocide suffered by the Timorese people, and the total isolation to which the island was subjected, were strategically ignored by the international community as collateral damage of the Cold War.[19] The end of the Cold War brought about important changes for the Timorese people afflicted by violence and hunger. The territory became less isolated in the 1990s and information began to arrive regarding the dramatic situation in East Timor. This opening granted to the island did not, however, mean that the aggression abated.

In November 1991, journalists from the UK and the USA filmed the massacre of hundreds of young people in the Santa Cruz Cemetery, where they were holding a procession in memory of the loss of a resistance companion assassinated by the Indonesian forces. The media coverage of this event, with the added emotion of seeing the bloodshed, hearing the screams of the persecuted and the prayers of the supplicants, on the global media was one of the most important steps in breaking the mantle of silence that, for decades, had lain over the country, and in demonstrating, without any doubt whatsoever, the brutality of the occupying forces. It was the media coverage of the massacre that led to the international condemnation of Indonesia's practices, drew attention to the flagrant violation of human rights and to the legitimacy of armed resistance.[20]

Throughout the world, but most particularly in Portugal, the Santa Cruz massacre unleashed reactions of revulsion and an appeal to protect the Timorese people. With the aim of keeping the case on the political agenda and in the international media, a sea voyage was planned from

Lisbon to Dili in a ferry-boat carrying students of different nationalities, the objective being to lay a wreath of flowers in the Santa Cruz Cemetery. Despite the Indonesian military forces preventing the boat from entering the port of Dili, the mission was successful in its intention to focus attention and international scrutiny on Indonesian repression. To top off the spiral of hope that was rising, in 1996, Ramos-Horta, FRETILIN's representative to the UN, and D. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

In addition to the echo that the question of East Timor always found in Portuguese society, a brief reference to how the matter was dealt with politically and diplomatically is also important. Although recognising their inability to impose a solution, Portugal never ceased its enormous diplomatic investment in the case, even when it seemed impossible to prevent the integration of East Timor into neighbouring Indonesia. As Gomes recalls, 'our defence of the Timorese cause was seen, by most of our partners, as a quixotic attitude, bereft of political realism'.[21]

East Timor and the Redemption of Portuguese Imperialism

Two facts are undeniable: the course of history made the paths of Portugal and the small island of Timor cross one another for several centuries and, even after losing colonial control over East Timor, Portugal did not dissociate itself from the future of the island, disturbed at the humanitarian and political situation created by Indonesia's hostile annexation. However, these circumstances seem insufficient to explain the total mobilisation and the strong emotional pull for Portuguese society to join the solidarity movement in 1999. Within this context, we must query the meanings that underlie collective action and how, in the question of East Timor, national reflectiveness broke out regarding Portugal's imperial and colonial history.

The Portuguese resolved the hurried way in which the 500 years of Portuguese empire came to a close through silence and silencing, as they felt anxious to end an absurd colonial war and to free themselves of an empire out of pace with the times. Facing the needs and the ambitions of a modern country, the Portuguese committed the colonial question to the archives, even if they had to absorb around half a million people landing in Portugal from the ruins of the empire.[22] In other words,

the Portuguese strategically denied themselves any mourning for the loss of empire and, in all fields of social life, with the exception of the arts, avoided the question becoming public and demanding a process of collective reflection.

It was, therefore, the tragic events in East Timor that triggered a reconfiguration of identity that had been suspended since the democratic revolution. The question of East Timor converges with the image that the Portuguese wanted to recognise for themselves at the end of the twentieth century. What feelings were built up, in these troubled weeks, regarding the country and its imperial wake? How was this imperial chapter closed and how did the country enter its (definitive) postcolonial era?

The first interpretation of the political and social movement in defence of peace in East Timor is related to the fact that the Portuguese saw themselves as a former colonial power, fighting for the peaceful independence of the former colony to which they were sentimentally bound by linguistic, religious and cultural ties. In fact, it was clear that the movement was always sustained by recalling the historical and cultural ties between Portugal and East Timor that, clearly, were woven into the colonial context:

> In the centre of the city [Dili] traces of Portugal are well-known: the colonial style houses; … the church of St Paul; the administrator's house with two ancient Portuguese cannons; the old Municipal Market almost in ruins and the hospital where, on a plaque, it reads: 'Inaugurated in 1848 by the Governor Óscar Ruas and restored in 1960'.[23]

It is important to emphasise that, in the media coverage, there was no nostalgia for colonial rule in the political and economic sense, but rather the redemption of a Portuguese cultural heritage and a 'Portuguese way of being in the world'[24] imagined as being benevolently civilising and undertaken out of 'a fond identification with the tropical environment'.[25] A description in the *Público* newspaper clearly illustrates a visit made by journalists to a village in East Timor:

> 'Portugal is our land', a nonagenarian began by saying, kissing the hand of the embarrassed journalists … 'The Portuguese have to return. Timor is the land of the Portuguese' … Religiously, the boys and the old man laid out the cloth and exhibited a very ancient Portuguese flag, red and green … They were proud, silent, obviously happy … Being the relic it

> was, the symbol of the Portuguese Republic was folded up again and taken to a safe haven. Somewhere, in a shelter nearby, an old trunk or a well-hidden drawer holds this worshipped item, this strange and apparently useless secret, this bridge to the past – an idealised past that comes to merge with an imagined future.[26]

This emphasises the 'special' relationship between Portugal and the former colony, but also 'a fundamentally romantic idea of East Timor'[27] and of the period of colonisation. These visions reverberate with the ideological inclinations of Luso-Tropicalism, which, in the case of East Timor, will echo two symbols of Portuguese culture above all: the Catholic religion and the Portuguese language. Recall the opinion expressed by Durão Barroso:

> This is an historic day [the day on which the results of the referendum were made known] … But if this was possible it was due also to the presence of traces of Portugal in East Timor. The Indonesian occupier could not wipe out the traces of Portugal in East Timor. It was in Portuguese that the Timorese prayed in Santa Cruz [Cemetery], it was in Portuguese that they expressed their wish to be free and independent. Portugal was right in supporting the cause of East Timor and the people of Timor. We, in Portugal, are also to be congratulated for not having let go of the East Timor cause.[28]

In an article in the newspaper *Público*,[29] Miguel Vale de Almeida[30] denounces the 'disagreeable nationalist, neo-colonial and narcissistic undertones' summarised in a fascination with the fact that the Timorese 'prayed in Portuguese'. Marques[31] also shows the importance of the Portuguese language and the Christianity of the Timorese people as elements crucial to the process of keeping East Timor on the media agenda in Portugal. The preferential relationship of the Portuguese with East Timor, bearing a strong component of self-glorification, is clearly emphasised in the opinion of a reader of the newspaper *Público*:

> When I was thinking that something other than blood ran through the veins of the Portuguese … I became extremely proud to be Portuguese at this incredible solidarity I witnessed … Everyone realised that this struggle is ours … Because we are morally responsible for each life that has been taken. It is for us, the Portuguese, to do something.[32]

The argument was shared by public figures, from a wide range of ideological positions, who wrote or were interviewed for the national press: 'If Timor is not saved then there is no salvation for us' (José Saramago);[33] 'Portugal has an historical debt to Timor: mobilisation to address one of the most important issues of the close of the century, which is self-determination for East Timor' (Adriano Moreira).[34]

Although underscoring the historical and cultural ties of Portugal with its former colony, it is important to explain that the argument that gave body to the protests was always rooted in condemnation of the genocide suffered by the people of East Timor, and in the constant appeal that the democratic choice of independence should be respected in conditions of freedom and security. Let us look at an example that clarifies the argument centred on democratic values and human rights:

> What is truly at stake in Timor is a civilisation of freedom, justice, human dignity, solidarity and democracy, against attempts of genocide, barbaric and arbitrary practices, total violation of the most elementary human rights, oppression and lies (Bagão Félix).[35]

What do the many arguments in the public arena tell us? What meanings go along with the movement for solidarity with East Timor and how did they intersect with the way the Portuguese saw themselves at the close of the twentieth century? Is there any nostalgia for empire in them, or is it more a need to appease colonial offences?

Mobilisation for the independence of East Timor, the most remote colony in the Portuguese empire, is a confirmation of this quality of cultural hybridisation in which the Portuguese like to see themselves—an empire of cultural ties, legitimate, perhaps even desirable, in a postcolonial country.[36] At the same time, the Portuguese found then an opportunity for redemption, alleviating the blame for colonisation (and for decolonisation) through acts of limited real influence, but of extraordinary symbolic effect. It was this context of the exceptional and effervescent that led the Portuguese to believe they had liberated East Timor in 1999. In fact, and above all, they were liberating themselves as a people from the disgrace of colonialism and its late ending.

Although Portuguese colonial rule had ended in 1975, it was, in fact, the events in East Timor in 1999 that ultimately brought the Portuguese to their new place in the world. Postcolonial Portugal is also to be the

European, modern Portugal. In this sense, the main *corpus* of arguments, which strategically and imperiously occupies opinions circulating in the media, in the political field and in the streets, was associated with the irrefutable primacy of democracy and human rights. The approach to the colonial issues is made obliquely, always replacing the much-postponed critical analysis of the imperial past by blessing the emancipation of the former colony. The movement of solidarity for East Timor was, therefore, seen as a fair struggle, rooted in the values that make Portugal modern and European. And this also says something highly significant about the way in which the Portuguese saw themselves in the movement for East Timor: they saw themselves on the right side, after having been on the wrong side. Therefore, the mobilisation for East Timor was produced and reproduced by the media as a narrative of modernity, in which the cultural empire is not a blemish but the re-imagination of Portuguese heritage in the world.

Notes

1. D. Edwards and D. Cromwell, 'East Timor. The Practical Limits of Crusading Humanitarianism', in *Guardians of Power. The Myth of the Liberal Media* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), pp. 109–116.
2. Ibid.
3. E.S. Herman and N. Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent. The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002).
4. D. McQuail, 'Processes of Media Effects', in O. Boyd-Barret and Peter Braham, *Media, Knowledge and Power* (London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987).
5. R. Tapsell and J. Eidenfalk, 'Australian Reporting From East-Timor 1975–1999: Journalists as Agents of Change', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 59: 4 (2013): 576.
6. Ibid., p. 592.
7. See, e.g., a letter written to the press by a reader: 'How can the Timorese imagine and trust that the petty world of power and interests, of commercial and pragmatic relationships, would accept lessons in morals, pain, hope and dignity?' Letter to the Editor, *Público*, 10 September 1999, p. 4.
8. UGT and CGTP are the main trade unions in Portugal.
9. J.M. Pureza, 'Quem Salvou Timor Leste? Novas Referências para o Internacionalismo Solidário', in B.S. Santos (ed.), *Reconhecer para Libertar. Os Caminhos do Cosmopolitismo Multicultural* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 2004), pp. 397–426.
10. The journalistic description of the human chain formed in Lisbon on 8 September 1999 is an excellent illustration: 'nothing had ever been seen

like this in Portugal, since 1974. In Lisbon tens of thousands of people went hand-in-hand for Timor. "Yuppies", "hippies", residents of Zone J or the Quinta da Marinha private estate, politicians, students, TV stars, the old, the young, babies, Catholics, atheists, they were all there when the human chain went by … in a tremor of huge emotion.' *Público*, 9 September 1999, p. 6.

11. Political consensus regarding the Timor question dates from long before the events of September 1999. Portuguese diplomacy, particularly in the UN and the institutions of the European Union, was thoroughly consistent over the years in dealing with this dossier (J. Gomes, 'A Internacionalização da Questão de Timor-Leste', *Política Internacional*, 25 (2010)). Besides this, consensus became established in all political parties represented in parliament and not only the parties in government, as shown in the minutes of the Lisbon Inter-Parliamentary Conference for East Timor, held in 1995. Assembleia da República, *Conferência Interparlamentar de Lisboa por Timor-Leste* (Lisbon: Assembleia da República, 1998).
12. M.V. Almeida, 'O Epílogo do Império. Timor-Leste e a Catarse Pós-Colonial Portuguesa', in *Um Mar da Cor da Terra* (Oeiras: Celta Editora, 2000).
13. V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).
14. L.F. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon: Difel, 1994).
15. E. Traube, 'Mambai Perspectives on Colonialism and Decolonization', in P. Carey and G. Bentley, *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation* (London: Cassel/SSRC, 1995).
16. N. Mendes, *A 'Multidimensionalidade' da Construção Identitária em Timor-Leste: Nacionalismo, Estado e Identidade Nacional* (Lisbon: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, 2005).
17. We refer to FRETILIN and to União Democrática Timorense (UDT) (Timorese Democratic Union). See G. Gunn, *Historical Dictionary of East-Timor* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2011).
18. J. Gomes, 'A Internacionalização da Questão de Timor-Leste', pp. 67–89.
19. E.S. Herman and N. Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent. The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002).
20. R. Marques, *Timor-Leste: O Agendamento Mediático* (Oporto: Porto Editora, 2005); R. Tapsell and J. Eidenfalk, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, p. 592.
21. J. Gomes, 'A internacionalização da Questão de Timor-Leste', p. 75.
22. M.C. Ribeiro, 'Empire, Colonial Wars and Post-Colonialism in Portuguese Contemporary Imagination', *Portuguese Studies*, 17 (2002), pp. 132–214.

23. *Público*, 4 September 1999, p. 11.
24. C. Castelo, *'O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo'. O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933–1961)* (Oporto: Edições Afrontamento, 1998).
25. G. Freyre, *O Luso e o Trópico* (Lisbon: The Executive Committee for the Commemorations of the Fifth Centenary of the Death of Infante D. Henrique, 1961).
26. *Público*, 4 September 1999, p. 12.
27. M.P. Pires de Lima and N. Nunes, 'Movimentos Sociais por Timor', *Travessias—Revista de Ciências Sociais e Humanas em Língua Portuguesa*, 6–7 (2008): 165–89.
28. *Público*, 4 September 1999. José Manuel Durão Barroso was, at the time, the leader of the opposition as the president of the most important right-wing party. He was the President of the European Commission from 2004 to 2014.
29. *Público*, 13 September 1999, p. 16.
30. Miguel Vale de Almeida is a Portuguese anthropologist.
31. R. Marques, *Timor-Leste: O Agendamento Mediático.*
32. Letter to the Editor, *Público*, 9 September 1999, p. 12.
33. *Expresso*, 11 September 1999, p. 4. José Saramago was a Portuguese writer, awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1998. He was known for his communist political statements.
34. *Expresso*, 11 September 1999, p. 10. Adriano Moreira is a Portuguese politician who served as Minister of the Overseas Provinces during the dictatorship and was president of a conservative party in the 1980s.
35. *Público*, 11 September 1999, p. 14. António Bagão Félix is a Portuguese conservative politician.
36. M. Cahen, 'Portugal is in the Sky: Conceptual Considerations on Communities, Lusitanity, and Lusophony', in E. Morier-Genoud and M. Cahen, *Imperial Migrations. Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 297–315.

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