



Looking at Africa with Lisbon Eyes

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LOOKING AT AFRICA WITH LISBON EYES

The 'wind of change' in the colonial press of Luanda

João Manuel Rocha 

Suddenly, in the summer of 1960, the map of Africa gained a new political outline, with the proclamation of nine independences. But the majority of Luanda's newspapers appeared not to see the 'wind of change' blowing through the continent. In its pages, the news of Africa would barely mention more than the crisis in one of its neighbours, the former Belgian Congo. The analysis of the news about the proclamation of independences leads us to formulate the hypothesis that the relative invisibility of the smooth transitions and the major emphasis given to turbulent situations in the continent contributed to value the Portuguese colonial model. Crossing the analysis with research made in archive, this article also contributes to the characterisation of the Angolan daily press on the eve of the Portuguese colonial war.

KEYWORDS Angola; colonial press; journalism; Portugal; Portuguese empire; Salazar

Introduction

Those who would get their information simply through the *Diário de Luanda* would have passed right by the independentist winds that in the summer of 1960 were blowing in the then-called French Africa. Only when five new States had already been proclaimed did the newspaper inform its readers, though in a mitigated way and through Lisbon, that something more was happening in Africa besides the political and military convulsion in the ex-Belgian Congo,¹ which all the press in Angola followed closely for months. It happened with a short news from Lusitânia,² a news agency that 'has as a goal to support the New State and its colonial ideology, aiming to help build, through a specific political communication, the Portuguese Empire'.³ Entitled 'Portugal recognised the new Central African Republic', that piece of news was published at the end of a column of an inside page of the 14th August edition.

In fact, the sovereignty of Dahomey, years later known as Benin, which occurred on the 1st August, was indirectly pre-announced on the previous day, the 31st July, in a brief news piece by the F.P. agency.⁴ It announced the composition of the French delegation sent from Paris for the ceremonies. But after that, for two weeks, nothing else was written about the wave of independences that was sweeping the French Equatorial and Occidental Africas. However, since the beginning of August, besides Dahomey, a number of countries had become independent, without the newspaper dedicating it a single line: Niger, on the 3rd; Upper Volta, later renamed Burkina Faso, on the 5th; Ivory Coast, on the 7th; Chad, on the 11th; Central African Republic, on the 13th; the Republic of Congo, on the 15th; Gabon, on the 17th; and Senegal, on the 20th.

Was it an isolated case the alienation of the *Diário de Luanda*, congener of the Lisbon's *Diário da Manhã*, and likewise property of the União Nacional, the single party of Oliveira Salazar's dictatorship known as *Estado Novo* (New State, in English)?⁵ Or did all four dailies published in the Angolan capital ignore 'the winds of change', six months before the beginning of the colonial war in Angola?⁶ Understanding how Portuguese colonial press published in Luanda covered the African independences of August 1960 is the purpose of this article.

In a context of constraints to journalism imposed by the dictatorial and colonial regime, namely censorship, one cannot expect to find satisfaction with the independence wave, considering that the Portuguese government denied having colonies and considered Portugal a pluri-continental country. However, the mapping of the journalistic attention given to the independences may reveal singularities in the editorial lines, thus contributing to a better characterisation of the existing dailies in Angola in the beginning of the 1960s.

At the time, the authoritarian regime kept the discourse of a supposed national vocation to possess and colonise territories and civilise populations, an axiom inscribed in the Colonial Act, a law intending to reinforce the thesis that colonies are Portuguese soil, conquered in the overseas expansion: 'It is of the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to possess and colonise overseas territories and to civilise indigenous populations there comprised'.⁷

After World War II, 'in order to survive politically, Salazar was forced to carry out reforms, to give an outward appearance that the regime was becoming a democracy'.⁸ His promise of free elections like in the 'free England' (*Diário de Notícias* and *O Século*, November 14, 1945) however, would be limited to short periods of 30 days before the vote, during which 'some freedom of expression was allowed, yet always with a threatening presence of censorship',⁹ which 'sought by all means at their disposal to force interpretations that would favour the government'.¹⁰

In 1951, in an attempt to prevent criticism and keeping the independentist winds away, the *Estado Novo* revoked the Colonial Act and operated a 'semantic decolonisation',¹¹ replacing the terms 'empire' by 'overseas' and 'colony' by 'overseas provinces'. On guard 'against the wind', based on an idea of a Portuguese colonial vocation and exceptionality, rooted even in elites and regime opponents,¹² the Lisbon government tried to resist, namely through a 'Portugalisation' of the colonial territories,¹³ and later, by taking up arms.

Methodological Paths

The newspapers which integrate the corpus were the August 1960 editions of the four dailies published in Luanda, that we characterise with bibliographic references, information gathered through the analysis of newspapers and research in colonial archives. Concerning the coverage of the African independences, though the period of a month may seem short for an analysis, we think the concentration of nine independence proclamations in less than three weeks provides a sample relevant to understanding the way the papers looked at the independentist wave in Africa. Of course, other samples could be chosen, but we thought that that concentration enables the identification of eventual patterns and characterisation of journalistic approaches of the independentist trend.

The phase selected, a few months after McMillan's speech that 'gained enormous notoriety and tormented the powers that continued to resist the aspirations of the black

majority',¹⁴ and a few months before the beginning of the war in Angola, in 1961, is relevant because it's the peak of the 17 independences of 1960, in itself a year in which the independentist movement peaked, reason why it became known as the Year of Africa.

Methodologically, we chose an approach inspired by the Content Analysis and the Critical Discourse Analysis, used as cooperative tools to 'read' the journalistic coverage. The Content Analysis is a technique suitable for the intended purposes because it allows to identify the presence or absence of data or characteristics in journalistic records, making it possible to go beyond the surface of the manifest content and permitting valid and replicable inferences for the context in which they were produced.¹⁵ The Critical Discourse Analysis is an important tool to identify, in the structures of the discourse, how ideologies—sociologically understood as a set of beliefs or values—can be 'transmitted, normalised or legitimised'.¹⁶

In practical terms, we started the analysis of the coverage with an exploratory reading of all the news concerning the independence proclamations—a dimension of the analysis also important to gather information about the newspapers and for the definition of the subsequent methodical steps. In that preliminary approach, 36 articles about eight countries were identified—Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Chad, Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo, Gabon—namely about their declarations of independence and related developments, like the admission to the United Nations. About the split of the Mali Federation and subsequent proclamation of independence by the Senegal, 58 pieces of news were published.¹⁷

Admitting that the major interest in the crisis of the Mali Federation is explained by the conflictual nature of the situation, an unwritten news-value since early journalistic times,¹⁸ we decided to focus on the news about the other eight independences, trying to characterise that coverage. This way, we think we could better understand how independences were covered when a negative factor is not present.

The exploratory approach allowed us to create a table of categories/dimensions to systematise the information collected in the content analysis about the coverage of those eight independences. After this procedure, based on a description that does not set any initial hypothesis, but which also permits to go beyond the manifested content, the sample was analysed in the perspective of the critical discourse, bearing in mind the authoritarian and colonial conditions of 1960s Portugal.

A desirable dimension of the investigation would be the confrontation of the results of the analysis with the proofs of censorship, but the lack of that kind of archival information in that period hampered that demarche. However, the research made in colonial archives was fruitful as it gave us relevant information on how the colonial authorities saw the Angolan dailies. That's why, in face of the investigation results about the coverage, we decided to deepen the research about a newspaper that appears as a special case: the *ABC-Diário de Angola*.

When researching we were aware that what was published was not only the result of editorial choices. Under the *Estado Novo*, the journalistic work was conditioned by different forms of coercion, dependent on directives from the political power and controlled by a censorship apparatus which had a 'central place in the process of colonial domination'.¹⁹ Much like the remaining press of the colonies and the European metropolis, a constant gaze of censorship hovered over the Angolan dailies, which carried out a determination

of Salazar since the beginning of his governance: 'The newspaper is the spiritual food of the people and must be inspected like all foods'.²⁰

In Luanda, the prior censorship was exercised by a committee nominated by and dependent on the General Governor,²¹ in turn designated by the central government, to which he reported, and from which new instructions came from when deemed necessary. The censorship was therefore dependent on Lisbon. The local committee was composed by 'suitable people, who give the greatest guarantee of defence of the existing political and social order',²² whose job was to evaluate press proofs and decide if they could be published, prohibited or changed to be publishable. If newspapers did not comply to instructions, they were susceptible penalties from fines to ban.

That contextual dimension is omnipresent—This edition was certified by censorship', was stamped in front pages of every edition. But the effects of censorship aren't only those resulting from the intervention of censors to cut or to alter the news prior to the printing process, in order to turn the edition acceptable to the regime. They are also those caused by self-censorship, motivated by the conviction that a certain issue would be suppressed. The result is an 'amputation', as written by a metropolitan journalist of that time, mentioning 'themes that are not even treated, problems that are not even addressed, people that aren't discussed, news you do not touch'.²³

The Luanda Dailies ...

The most important daily of the colony was *A Província de Angola*, the first daily of 'Portuguese Africa', founded in 1923 and marking the beginning of professional journalism in Angola.²⁴ Morning paper, broadsheet, combining private and business capital, with an institutional profile, it was associated with a 'semi-liberal colonial sector' with autonomist positions when possible, driven by the idea that those who lived in Angola 'were the ones entitled to rule'.²⁵ At that time, it published articles from the influent North American columnists Walter Lippmann²⁶ and Drew Pearson. For more than half a century it had a huge importance in the territory, becoming a 'real school for press men'.²⁷ *A Província* was published until 1975. That year, the year of Angola's independence, gave rise to the *Jornal de Angola*, which became the government's newspaper in the following decades.

Aligned with the regime's colonial project, *O Comércio*, also matinal and broadsheet, associated with the Associação Comercial de Luanda (Luanda's trade association), began publishing in 1933, succeeding the *Comércio de Angola*. In the beginning of the 1960s its head newsroom was Artur Ferreira da Costa, enthusiastic supporter of the dictatorship, who in Lisbon led the newsroom of the *Diário da Manhã*. In 1961, owing to his reports on the beginning of the war, his voice would become familiar on the state radio, Emissora Nacional, and the beginning of his interventions, famous: 'From here Luanda, Ferreira da Costa speaking'.

Formally official was the *Diário de Luanda*, which in 1936 succeeded the *Última Hora*. This afternoon newspaper with a tabloid format had a political engagement in favour of Salazar's government.²⁸ 'It was faithful to the regime and the governments of Angola, disseminating the colonial program and its guidelines'.²⁹

The latest of Luanda's titles was the *ABC-Diário de Angola*. Created in 1958, controlled by the company Indústrias ABC S.A.R.L., it was an afternoon daily then published in *berliner*

format, which around the time of its release made its stocks available to the public. The newspaper's strongman was Manuel Machado Saldanha, 'an old and honoured democrat'.³⁰ *ABC* is seen as a paper with an 'anti-Salazar character'³¹ and was 'widely read by the black population of Luanda'.³² Acácio Barradas, a journalist who led the newsroom, recalled that 'the typography that came to print the *ABC* was the same that made the posters of Humberto Delgado [who ran against the dictatorship's candidate in the 1958 Portuguese presidential election] in Angola. The *ABC* immediately became very connected with the opposition'.³³ 'Not truly being of the opposition, it was an independent journal, as much as possible. And in Luanda, it was the only one that did not follow along with the hosannas to the regime'.³⁴

... the *ABC's* Specificity

The *ABC* was the only daily that did not publish telegrams from Lusitânia agency about the meetings Salazar held in Lisbon—hollow news, redacted in an almost invariable way, sort of an *a posteriori* agenda in which only the interlocutors were mentioned, but not the result nor the motive of the meeting. Other examples found in the newspapers *corpus* reinforce the Saldanha's newspaper specificity. For instance, writing about a military parade of colonial troops in Luanda, which occurred on the 15th August, anniversary of end of the Dutch occupation in the seventeenth century,³⁵ the *ABC* just wrote, in a sober way, that Luanda was celebrating that anniversary. This can be seen as a stance taken in contrast with the vocabulary formulas of ideological adhesion used by the other papers: the ceremony was 'imponent' for the *Diário de Luanda*, 'exciting' according to the *A Província* and 'very bright' in the words of the *O Comércio*.³⁶

The editorial line of the *ABC* caused concerns to the GNP (Gabinete de Negócios Políticos), political department of the Ministry of the Overseas, in Lisbon, which would increase with the beginning of the colonial war in 1961. In January 1962, the director of the department asked PIDE, the political police of the regime,³⁷ for information about the newspaper that he feared could be a 'dangerous fifth column'.³⁸

The suspicions would remain, as confirmed by another report, from February 1964:

Kept on tuning using the same tuning fork: nativism (it never lost an opportunity to say Portugal, in opposition, for instance, to *Metropolis*)³⁹ with reference to facts or stories through which it pretends to embarrass our overseas politics. Testimonies of a racist nature, not even for being mere accidents in the general behavior of the population, are pointed out as much as possible; referring, whenever possible to the low level of life as well as to the absence of efforts for literacy, simultaneously highlighting the value of the expenditures with the military⁴⁰; the oppression and the exploitation perpetrated against the black [people] are invoked in a mischievous and rarely talented way.⁴¹

The fact that the newspaper had 'an intelligent editorial direction' led the department to suggest the newspapers' censorship should be 'trusted to a person with preparation and special skills'⁴²—a recommendation repeated several times in different years.⁴³

According to PIDE, the tolerance with the *ABC* is justified by the censorship apparatus with the argument that it was the 'only "liberal" newspaper that was not appropriate to

prejudice, on the contrary, it should be maintained, to internationally justify the [supposed existence of] the freedom of the Portuguese press'.⁴⁴

Having that utility for the regime, considering its specificity in the panorama of the daily press, one should not forget that *ABC* emerged from the colonial society and, in consequence, its thematic editorial options were, as we'll see, similar to the other Luanda's newspapers. Yet with relevant and meaningful political nuances that we identified in the case of Saldanha's paper.

Newspaper's editorial trends: The content analysis of the front pages of all the four dailies led us to conclude that, regardless of the singularities of each newspaper, the reports of Luanda's daily press can be grouped into three main thematic categories:

- (1) news concerning Angola, namely about actions and declarations of the local authorities; ceremonies; economic activity; developmental projects; and problems or activities of the colonial sectors; e.g. speech of the governor-general in the solemn inauguration in Luanda of the Vacation Courses of the University of Lisbon; information about the requests of coffee exportation; or problems in the supplying of water to the city of Lobito;
- (2) news of the metropolis, with detailed information about issues like the official opening of a playing field in a town in Algarve or that a man from the centre of Portugal completed 100 years—though the visit of the President of Brazil, Juscelino Kubitschek, to Portugal, stands out in that month;
- (3) foreign news, dominated by the crisis in the neighbouring former Belgian Congo, which deserves daily references and a frequent presence on the front pages⁴⁵; and by issues concerning United States and the Cold War: an incident involving an American pilot, Gary Powers, whose U2 plane was shot down over the Soviet Union; the American presidential race between Richard Nixon and John Kennedy; divergences between China and Soviet Union; and rumours of a possible replacement of Fidel Castro, sick with pneumonia, by his brother Raul.

Beyond news from Angola, metropolis and foreign news, two other categories should be added: sports, which despite its limited spotlight on the front pages occupies a generous space on the paper; and news reports of other colonies, namely, that month, Goa and Mozambique. At the same time that the dailies devoted great attention to activities and problems of the colonial sectors, there was an almost total absence of articles regarding problems of the native people or endogenous culture, although black people represented the overwhelming majority of the Angolan population.⁴⁶ Even enlarging the analysis to the full editions, at *O Comércio* and *Diário de Luanda*, no references of that kind were found. For the two other papers, such references are few and none of them takes on the form of a news report: two ethnographic texts signed by an anthropologist, at *A Província*⁴⁷; a memorialistic text and a chronic with popular expressions at *ABC*.⁴⁸

The aforementioned exceptions confirm the 'idea of the African cultural emptiness' dominant in the regime⁴⁹ and that the 'African population disappeared of the agenda and journalistic contents over the authoritarian period'.⁵⁰ At the same time, they support the idea that the *ABC-Diário de Angola* was a particular case.

A Telegraphic Coverage

The *lead* of the short news about Central African Republic published in the August 14th edition of *Diário de Luanda* mentioned above informed that from then on there was a new sovereign State. But the title was constructed with information coming from Lisbon—Portugal had recognised the independence. In the edition of the 17th, through a short news coming from Brazzaville, the readers were informed about the independence of the French Congo, on August 15th. But the other independences would only be mentioned for the first time on August 23rd, with information coming from the United Nations: ‘Today the Security Council meets once again to evaluate the request for admission of new members’, the title announces. In total, the newspaper dedicated six telegraphic news to the independences of that month⁵¹ (see Table 1).

In *O Comércio*, the attention given to the proclamation of new states was similar—seven short news, six of which with a single paragraph (see Table 2). On the 6th of August, resorting to Lusitânia, it reported ‘the independence of Upper Volta’. But about the already proclaimed nations, the daily only refers to it for the first time on 13th, in order to also report the recognition by the Lisbon government: ‘Portugal recognised five new African republics’, the newspaper informed. The first paragraph said the independence of Chad had been declared, and the same article also stated that ‘similar decisions’ had been taken towards Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast, thus reporting the independences that the paper had not yet mentioned.

The independence of the Central African Republic is published on the 15th, using almost the same words used by *Diário de Luanda* on the eve, since the source was the

TABLE 1
News about African independences in *Diário de Luanda*

Day	Title	Paragraphs	Protagonis	Source	Origin	Page
14/8	‘Portugal recognised the new Central African Republic’	2	Portuguese government	Lusitânia	Lisbon	5
17/8	‘Independence of the Congo (french)’	2	Fulbert Youlou [President of Congo]	F.P.	Brazzaville	4
17/8	<i>untitled short news about felicitations to the ex-French Congo</i>	1	Belgian King Baldwin	<i>n/d</i>	Brussels	5
23/8	‘The Security Council meets again today to assess the request for admission of new members’	4	Security Council	F.P.	United Nations	4
23/8	‘Central African Republic also requested admission’	1	Central African Republic	F.P.	United Nations	9
24/8	‘New United Nations members’	3	Security Council	F.P.	New York	5

TABLE 2
News about African independences in *O Comércio*

Day	Title	Paragraphs	Protagonist	Source	Origin	Page
6/8	'The Independence of Upper Volta'	1	Upper Volta	Lusitânia	Lisbon	8
13/8	'Portugal recognised 5 new African republics'	3	Chad	Lusitânia	Lisbon	3
13/8	'Independence of Chad'	1	Chad	Lusitânia	Fort- Lamy	8
15/8	'The Independence of Central African Republic'	1	Central African Republic	Lusitânia	Lisbon	16
18/8	'Abbot Youlou asks for the admission of his country to the United Nations'	1	Fulbert Youlou (President of R. Congo)	Lusitânia	United Nations	3
18/8	'Independence of Gabon'	1	Gabon	n/d	Libreville	8
24/8	'Two republics of Congo' [<i>recommend the admission of eight new African nations</i>]	1	Security Council	A.	New York	3

same: Lusitânia, that in its Style Book underlines the importance of 'attention and care' to be given to the 'sacred interests of the Homeland and of the good name and national dignity'.⁵² On the 18th, *O Comércio* informs that abbot Youlou, president of the Republic of Congo, requested his country's admission to the United Nations, following an independence that had not yet been referred.

The *A Província de Angola* gave little more attention to the independences than *Diário de Luanda* and *O Comércio*—nine short pieces (see Table 3). However, as opposed to what happened with those newspapers, some were published in the front page, although with very small headlines. A significant part of the news was about the recognition of the independences by Portugal and about the process of admission to the United Nations. In the first of the brief reports about Portuguese recognition, on the 13th, previous diplomatic initiatives that the paper had not yet mentioned are summarised. Most of the news came from Lusitânia.

More attentive was the *ABC-Diário de Angola*, that registered all independences, in some cases announced by anticipation, and signalled the process of accession to the United Nations. However, the majority of the 14 news pieces published by this newspaper are only one paragraph long, with one exception (see Table 4). Besides the systematic coverage, this paper published, on the 29th, a map about a 'new' Africa (see Figure 1). Under the title 'A map of the current Africa', it brought attention to the 'unsettling speed at which the physiognomy of the African continent changes'. Reprinted from the Lisbon daily *O Século*, paged to all the five columns, the map takes most of the front page, and is accompanied by a small text of context and a list, which extends to the last page, of the African territories and the indication of its juridical status, including the 'Portuguese provinces'.

TABLE 3
News about African independences in A Província de Angola

Day	Title	Paragraphs	Protagonist	Source	Origin	Page
2/8	'Dahomey is independent within the french community'	2	Dahomey	Lusitânia	Porto-Novo	1
6/8	'Upper Volta is independent'	2	Upper Volta	Lusitânia	Uagudugu	8
13/8	'The portuguese government recognised the independence of the new republics of Chad, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast'	3	Chad	Lusitânia	Lisbon	1-2
15/8	'Portugal recognised the new Central African Republic'	1	Central African Republic	Lusitânia	Lisbon	8
18/8	'Youlou asked Mr. "H" the admission of (ex-french) Congo to the U.N.'	1	Abbot Youlou (President of R. Congo)	Lusitânia	New York	1
18/8	'Gabon is also already independent'	1	Gabon	Lusitânia	Libreville	1
18/8	'Admission to the UN'	1	Upper Volta Níger, Ivory Coast and Dahomey	A.	New York	8
24/8	'The UN solves the admission of seven new African republics'	1	United Nations	A.	United Nations	8
25/8	'The admission of new members to the UN'	2	Security Council	A.	New York	1

Results from the Analysis

The first eight African independences proclaimed in Africa on August of 1960 were nearly ignored by the daily press of Luanda. In several cases, readers that relied mostly on *Diário de Luanda* only knew something was happening days later and by indirect means. Indirect because, except for the *ABC*, the news informed, in some cases, more about the complementary or side aspects of the proclamation of independence rather than the proclamation itself: the recognition by the Portuguese government, the admission process of the new countries into the United Nations. Indirect also because a significant portion of the news originates from Lisbon, New York or Paris. In the *O Comércio* and the *A Província de Angola* most of the news was redacted in Lisbon, by Lusitânia.

It was a limited coverage made up of short news, most of them a single paragraph long, reproducing telegrams from agencies. In the *O Comércio* and *A Província de Angola* most of the news were written by Lusitânia.⁵³ The sources of the news regarding the

TABLE 4
News about African independences in ABC-Diário de Angola

Day	Title	Paragraphs	Protagonist	Source	Origin	Page
2/8	'Dahomey/ Emancipation'	1	Republic of Dahomey	A.	Cotonou	8
3/8	'Niger/ Emancipation'	1	Republic of Niger	A.	Niamey	8
5/8	'Upper Volta/ Emancipation'	1	Republic of Upper Volta	A.	Uagadugu	8
6/8	'Ivory Coast proclaims independence tomorrow'	1	Republic of Ivory Coast	A.	Abidjan	8
8/8	'France/New autonomous republics'	2	Chad, Central African Republic and Congo	A.	Paris	8
11/8	'Chad/ Emancipation'	1	Republic of Chad	A.	Fort-Lamy	8
12/8	'Chad asked for admission to the UN'	1	Republic of Chad	A.	Fort-Lamy	8
13/8	'Portugal recognised the independence of the french- african republics'	1	Portuguese government	Lusitânia	Lisbon	8
14/8	'Republic of Congo/ Emancipation'	1	Republic of Congo	A.	Brazzaville	8
14/8	'Portugal/ Recognition of Central African Republic'	1	Portuguese government	Lusitânia	Lisbon	8
15/8	'France/Congo independent'	1	Republic of Congo	A.	Brazzaville	8
17/8	<i>Short untitled piece mentioning the independence of Gabon</i>	1	Gabon	n/d	n/d	8
18/8	'UN/Requests for admission'	1	Republics of the French-African Community who became independent	n/d.	Paris	8
25/8	'Chad/Political dismay?' [<i>informs that the prime minister dismissed his deputy</i>]	1	Prime minister of Chad	A.	Fort-Lamy	8

independences are not identified in any instance, although they are implicit—the governments of the new States, the Portuguese government, the United Nations, the French government. In most situations the news protagonists were the new African States or their



FIGURE 1
Front page of ABC, 29 August

leaders, in others the focus and the protagonist were the Lisbon government—which had recognised the new States—or the United Nations—that decided upon the requests to integrate the organisation. The newsworthiness derived from Portuguese recognition happened mostly in the *Diário de Luanda* and in the *O Comércio*, the newspapers most aligned with the colonial regime, as seen before.

The news' concision is a dimension that stands out in the analysis. The most extensive is a four-paragraph news report published in the *Diário de Luanda* on the 24th. Nonetheless, to conclude that in that specific case the newspaper made a greater editorial investment would be fallacious once the paragraphs are in fact just four short sentences each, and the length—much like the number of news—is an information with little heuristic interest.

Although almost always with a single paragraph (see Figure 2), only the ABC consistently reported on the emergence of the new states. Even still, it is distinguished from the remaining newspapers due to the frequency of coverage and by the fact that it provided the only moment of relevant visibility to the winds of change blowing in the continent: the



FIGURE 2
Piece of news of ABC about the Niger independence, 3 August

publication, on the first page, of the map of the new Africa. Apart from that moment of greater relevance, the concision of the published news in the overall array of newspapers gives it a limited visibility, even when published on the front or last page, which constitutes the ‘interface with the outside world’.⁵⁴ In the cases where the news were published in that space—always in the *A Província de Angola* and the *ABC*, sometimes in the *O Comércio*, never in the *Diário de Luanda*—their presence is faded by the little prominence it has on the page as a whole.

The discreet coverage of the independences ‘without history’ had, as counterpoint, a greater visibility given to the crisis in the Mali Federation, whose independence was proclaimed on the 20th of June. The subject deserved, as mentioned, a more extensive editorial investment, expressed by the publication of a greater number of news, 58, frequently more developed. In its first news about the case, on August 9th, the *A Província de Angola* dedicated seven paragraphs to ‘serious divergences [which] threaten the regime of the recent Mali Federation’ and the *O Comércio*, which in the next day informs that ‘Dis-sidencies rise up in the recent Federation of Mali, owing to matters that divide Sudanese and Senegalese leaders’, publishes on the first page, on the 27th, a small map displaying Mali ‘now dismembered into Senegal and Sudan’.

Only when the crisis is aggravated does the *Diário de Luanda* give attention to Mali Federation. It happens on the 20th of August, when it reproduces a report from the F.P, informing on the decision of the Legislative Assembly of Senegal to proclaim

independence and break up its connection with the former French Sudan. But, just like the three other newspapers, from then on it attentively accompanies the situation, apparently for considering that it may evolve into a conflicting scenario similar to the former Belgian Congo, as it lets through by the title of the news published in the August 27th edition: 'Reprise of the Congolese case?'. With a systematic coverage, the *ABC* points out the crucial moments of the process since the first news of 'divergencies in the Mali Federation', on the 9th August, until after the consummation of the 'divorce'.

Interpretations and Conclusions

In the journalistic coverage of the wave of independences of August 1960 by the Angolan dailies we found two tendencies: great visibility of the split of the Mali Federation, subject of more, and more developed reports; and a discreet, intermittent and telegraphic coverage of the non-turbulent independences, almost invisible, except in one *ABC* edition which gave it the main part of its front page.

Considering that 'the analysis of the 'unsaid' is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is truly expressed in a text',⁵⁵ that quantitative dimension is relevant: news flow about the Mali Federation crisis and the discreet coverage or absence of the smooth independence transitions, both differently favour the Portuguese dictatorial government position that it was too early for some African countries, namely Angola, to become independent. Resulting either from editorial decisions, internalisation of constraints or politics, the greater news visibility of crisis and conflict situations reinforces the 'virtues' of the Portuguese colonial model, which gives an ideological dimension to the journalistic coverage. In parallel, the poor visibility of the smooth independence serves an identical purpose, because 'politically there is only what is known to exist'.⁵⁶ The limited news visibility would then tend to be seen as the expression of a reduced importance of the independentist movement.

Also relevant in a perspective of discourse analysis is the fact that the information is filtered by Lisbon. In a significant number, the news reveals explicitly the government's position in face of a new African state—which is also relevant—and in many cases the news come from the Lusitânia agency, in fact a branch of the regime. Further studies about different moments and international issues, and also comparative analysis between what was published in the newspapers of the colonies and those from the metropolis, could test in a deeper way our conclusion that there is a Lisbon perspective in the information published in Angola. However, our position matches with the idea that 'highly centralised politics imposed cuts in the articles, news and reports on all items of international conjuncture that could put in cause the established model'⁵⁷—a colonial model present 'in every grounding option, determinant of the destiny of movements and regimes' of Contemporary Portugal,⁵⁸ rooted in a notion that Portugal 'could not be thought of separately' from its colonies.⁵⁹

Using media studies terminology, we consider the colonial tradition was a framing which is present, as seen above, in different newspapers options and contents—framing understood as a process of selection and salience of certain aspects of a perceived reality in order to promote a particular definition or interpretation of a problem,⁶⁰ as organisation of the discourse according to a point of view or perspective.⁶¹

Our hypothesis is that the journalistic practises internalised, naturalising—in the sense of adopting it, of making it ‘familiar’—the colonial doctrine. This is reinforced by the understanding that while journalistic practises appeared ‘as a set of neutral, routine practises’, they should, however, be perceived as an ‘ideological structure’ that favours the perspectives of the most powerful groups.⁶² In the same line it can be said that the mass media constitutes the core naturalisation processes of ideas and hegemonic projects.⁶³ If it happens in democratic societies, even more so when government is exercised authoritatively.

Even with nuances, the Luanda’s papers gave preponderance to the statements of the colony’s authorities, the ceremonies and the official initiatives, as well as to the economic dynamics and the interests of those that ensure the colonial structure. The relevance of the news from the metropolis and the underlying ideal of a pluri-continental country also contribute to naturalise the supposed Portuguese vocation to possess and colonise territories and civilise populations. This way, given the colonial framing and the assertion that the press was ‘relevant to the durability of the regime’, since it contributed to the ‘political and ideological framework of the colonial society’,⁶⁴ it is of no surprise that the winds of change had been minimal in the daily press of Luanda.

But, at the same time, the hues identified in the journalistic discourse, even if scarce, are relevant—as much as the absences of certain news—to characterise the way the ‘winds of change’ were reported, but also as a contribution to draw a picture of Luanda’s colonial press at the time. In this respect, complementarily to the scopus of this article, and in line with what has already been suggested,⁶⁵ we propose to look at the differences identified in the coverage as an evidence that there are more singularities in Angolan daily press than could be imagined under an authoritarian regime. To write, like the *ABC* did, or not to write about peaceful transitions to the independence, whether in brief or long reports, is not an innocuous option. Reporting that Salazar had a meeting with a minister or ignoring it, could also be seen as taking a stance of detachment relative to the regime.

The stifling political atmosphere and the censorship amputated the newspapers, but the content and discourse analysis about the independence wave of August 1961 indicates that some of it, at least in certain moments, have not given up and tried to cultivate a possible distance to the regime, like we confirm with the case of the *ABC* during the analysed period. This conclusion matches with the assertion that in the Portuguese press under *Estado Novo*, ‘overt criticism was not permitted, but hints and innuendo were possible and were used more and more in the 1960s’.⁶⁶ In Luanda, the *ABC-Diário de Angola*, the least aligned daily of the overseas province, played that game and was the most attentive to the winds of history. As a whole, in the other newspapers, the African independences of August 1960 in Africa were largely ignored and seen with the eyes of the Lisbon colonial government.

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Notes

1. The declaration of independence of the Belgian Congo, now Democratic of Congo, on June 30, 1960, was followed by a civil war and a temporary fragmentation of the country.
2. First portuguese agency. Founded by journalist Luís Lupi with the support of Marcelo Caetano, Colonies minister, which a quarter of a century later would succeed Salazar. Lusitânia operated between December 1944 and November 1974.
3. Baptista, "Como seiva em tronco forte," 376.
4. French News agency, now AFP (Agence France Press).
5. The authoritarian Estado Novo was established in 1933, succeeding the dictatorship. Salazar was the head of the regime since 1932 and previously had been minister.
6. The expression 'winds of change' was used in a speech about the dynamics in the colonial world that the then British prime minister, Harold McMillan, stated in February 1960 in the South African parliament, in Cape Town.
7. Excerpt of the Acto Colonial [Colonial Act], decree-law 22465, published on 11th April 1933.
8. Pimenta, "Nacionalismo, Oposição e Propaganda Política," 368.
9. Lemos, "A Propaganda Oposicionista contra," 389.
10. Garcia et al., "The Portuguese Empire: An Introduction," 13.
11. Jerónimo and Pinto, "Modernizing Empire?" 54.
12. The Communist Party would only defend the right to self-determination and independence of the colonies in 1957. Even after the beginning of the colonial war, in 1961, other opposition sectors would support the defence of the 'province' of Angola. Only later would the anti-colonial idea become common amongst anti-salazarists.
13. Alexandre, *Contra o Vento*, 432.
14. Oliveira, "Harold McMillan, os 'Ventos'," 26.
15. Bardin, *Análise de Conteúdo*, 40–41; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis*, 18.
16. Van Dijk, *Discurso, Notícia e Ideologia*, 114.
17. The Mali Federation was an ephemeral union between the Sudanese Republic and Senegal. It achieved independence on June 20, 1960, and was dissolved by Senegal's secession on August 20, 1960.
18. Identified in the scholar literature in the seminal work about newsworthiness by Galtung and Ruge (1965).
19. Melo, D., "Imperial Taboos: Salazarist Censorship," 161.
20. Ferro, *Entrevistas a Salazar*, 33.
21. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, 92.
22. Decree-law 27495, art. 66, number 1, published on 27th January 1937 and afterward regulated and applied to the legislation of the colony.
23. Rego, "A censura prévia administrativa," 167.
24. Lopo, *Jornalismo de Angola: subsídios*.

25. Adolfo Maria, journalist in the *ABC* in 1961 and 1962, personal interview in Lisbon, 15th November 2016.
26. Lippmann is the author, among other works in different areas, of *Public Opinion*, from 1922, in which he suggested, although it is not referred to as such, that the press has an agenda-setting function, concept formalised half a century after by Maxwell McCombs and Bernard Shaw.
27. Melo A., *História da Imprensa de Angola*, 143–5.
28. *Ibid.*, 161–3.
29. Fonseca, “A Imprensa e o Império na África,” 236.
30. Torres, “Preâmbulo,” 23.
31. Melo A., *História da Imprensa de Angola*, 173.
32. Adolfo Maria, personal interview.
33. Correia and Baptista, *Memórias Vivas do Jornalismo*, 52.
34. *Ibid.*, 56.
35. Anniversary of end of the Dutch occupation in the XVII century.
36. Considering that lexicon, a tool used in the Critical Discourse Analysis to identify the underlying ideology, these three newspapers all ‘normalise’, ‘naturalise’, the event.
37. Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado.
38. Secret letter [Ofício secreto] 77/15.009.900.023 (1)/ (77/15.009.900.001) (4), 6 January 1967, Diverse Reports—Angola, 1949–1962, MU/GM/GNP/135/Pt.37, Historical and Diplomatic Portuguese Archive.
39. Underlined in the document.
40. Reference to censure of the 24-12-1963 edition.
41. Memorandum [Apontamento] n. 415, Confidential. ‘Subject: Overseas Press—biweekly report’, unreadable signature, 15 February 1964, Censorship of the Press in Angola, 1959/JAN/09—1968/NOV/14, Y.7.5.. MU/GM/GNP/119/Pt.2., Historical and Diplomatic Portuguese Archive.
42. *Ibid.*
43. At the end of the decade, without Saldanha, the daily became controlled by the regime (Rocha, 2019).
44. Secret letter [Ofício secreto] n° 765-G.U., 6 February 1962, Diverse Reports—Angola. AHD, MU/GM/GNP/135/Pt.37, Historical and Diplomatic Portuguese Archive.
45. Although less common in the *Diário de Luanda*, which favours information regarding Angola, the metropolis and doctrinal opinion.
46. About 4.8 million people, according the 1960 census. Among the whole, only a little part was considered civilised: 280 thousand people, white, mixed race and black classified as integrated in Portuguese culture. A great number of whites are illiterate. By the mid-1950s, the number of Angolans living in conditions close to slavery would be around 300,000 (Birmingham 2015, 69).
47. One regarding ethnic confrontations in the ex-Belgian Congo, on the 5th of August, the other about the people of the region of Lundas. The latter, the only one about Angolan themes, in a special issue of the holiday of 15th of August.
48. ‘How I took part in the investiture of a traditional African chief’, memorialistic text published on the 2nd August; ‘About Cabinda, Emídio Filipe wrote: I bid farewell with you maamá

cabinda ...', a chronic which evidences the contrast between an Angola of the interior and that of the colonial city, published on August 20th.

49. Alexandre, "A África no imaginário político," 48.
50. Fonseca, *Imprensa e o Império, na África*, 238.
51. Seven if the edition of 31st July is considered.
52. Fonseca and Gomes, *Heróis Anónimos [2]. Jornalismo de Agência*, 68.
53. Mostly in the case of *ABC*, some news were attributed to A., an authorship that could not be identified. They are written in 'agency style'.
54. Mouillaud and Tétu, *Le journal quotidien*, 116.
55. Van Dijk, *Discurso, Notícia e Ideologia*, 66.
56. Salazar, *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, 196.
57. Pinto, *Segredos do Império da Ilusitânia*, 388.
58. Alexandre, "O Império Colonial," 39.
59. Garcia et al., "The Portuguese Empire: An Introduction," 13.
60. Entmann, "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured," 52.
61. Carvalho, "Media(ted) Discourse and Society," 169.
62. Hall, "Determination of News Photographs," 235.
63. Rebelo, "Sobre a dupla e paradoxal função dos media," 102.
64. Fonseca, "O *Intransigente*: a imprensa de Angola," 281.
65. Rocha, "Os jornais diários de Luanda".
66. Seaton and Pimlott, "Portuguese Media in Transition," 94.

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