5 Broadcasting Agency in the Portuguese Empire

Disrupting the Dominant Discourse through Media Tactics

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The interwar period saw the rise of radio as a central medium for the dissemination of news, entertainment, and propaganda. Due to its capacity to aggregate large audiences dispersed through different geographies, since its early days broadcasting was perceived as a powerful medium that could be used to influence the "hearts and minds" of those who listened. Unsurprisingly, it soon gained the attention of those holding political, economic, and even religious power. While dictatorships used it to keep hold of power and promote their ideological apparatuses within and beyond their immediate borders, in both authoritarian and democratic countries, radio was also employed to foster national identities. This allowed for the creation of a sense of nation among people who, despite living in the same country, under the same political rule, did not necessarily share the same lifestyle or the experience of having access to the same information.[1]

As has been widely discussed,[2] broadcasting's ability to reach even the most remote places via the airwaves led governments to initiate state or public broadcasting or, in cases such as the US, to incentivise private initiatives capable of reaching the populace. Broadcasting became part of the communication strategy of those in power, and in many countries it aimed to impact not only national citizens but also foreigners. The latter became the target of several broadcasters that resorted to shortwave transmitters to reach audiences located thousands of kilometres from the transmission point.

In the early 1930s, several stations were already broadcasting internationally, including the Dutch Philips Omroep Holland Indië (Philips Broadcasting Company Holland Indies, POHI), Radio Moscow, the BBC, and the German shortwave station at Zeesen. POHI and the BBC offered programming specifically targeted at their colonial territories, at a time during which broadcasting was foreseen as a particularly powerful tool to allow for a permanent connection between the European colonial powers and their overseas territories.[3] Even though no audience studies were available at the time for shortwave broadcasting, inside the stations there was a

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clear perception that their mission was relevant and that many were listening overseas. Besides this perception based on their desire to be performing a very important job, most of the time those producing the programmes had no clue whatsoever about who and in which contexts people were actually picking up the transmissions.[4]

Despite all the limitations, in the interwar period broadcasting became a relevant technology for colonialism. The idea that radio allowed the centre of the Empire to speak continuously to the peripheries entered the imaginary of colonialism. Imperial broadcasters targeted the white expats living in Africa, Asia, or the West Indies, thus disregarding the native populations that did not speak European languages. Far from being perceived as a weakness that had to be addressed, the fact that broadcasts ignored the majority of the population needs to be understood as a continuation of the segregation that existed in the colonies between the white expats and the native populations.[5] The daily schedules were designed to keep the expats living overseas in contact with the motherland. Therefore, programming was mostly composed of popular music, domestic news, and major national events, including national festivities, speeches in parliament, and other celebratory rituals designed to foster the idea of nationhood. National ritual events gained a particular relevance in the imperial context, as they were believed to play a role in keeping nationalism alive overseas.

Just as maps are instrumental in creating the perception that a specific space is unified,[6] the same can be said about broadcasting, which can be used to serve the same purpose. Maps illustrating the coverage of imperial broadcasters were widely disseminated in the interwar period, intended to demonstrate how the metropolis and the colonial territories were kept in continuous contact via shortwave transmissions. As a space dominated by the state, imperial broadcasting was used to manipulate the power relationships within the Empire, thus functioning as a locus of power. Resorting to De Certeau's distinction between strategy and tactics, radio can be perceived as a strategy under the control of those who held the political power in the colonial context. It was used to ensure that no changes would be implemented in the uneven power relations that marked colonial societies.

While previous research on imperial broadcasting has mostly focused on shortwave transmissions as a strategy developed and used by those in power to prolong the *status quo*,[7] in this chapter I will instead focus on tactics. Our goal is to discuss how radio was used on the ground by those who, despite not being part of the official power structures, used their entrepreneurial and creative skills to establish and operate broadcasting stations that gave visibility to lifestyles and political ideas different from those that were promoted on the transmissions aired by the European imperial stations. In particular, the chapter presents the case of broadcasting in the

Portuguese Empire between the 1940s and the 1960s. Its main goal is to understand to what extent the peculiarities of the radio ecosystem set up in the territories under Portuguese rule in Africa allowed agents deprived of official political agency to tactically use radio in order to play an active role in shaping the soundscape in the African colonial territories. During this period pro-independence movements also started to make tactical use of radio for the dissemination of their political agendas which, as will be revealed, impacted the colonial broadcasting strategies, creating an entangled connection between strategies and tactics.

When analysing the tactical usage of broadcasting, I will adopt De Certeau's definition according to which tactics have no space of their own and thus are kept vigilant and "make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers".[8] This seems to have been the case for several agents in the Portuguese Empire that used all the "cracks" opened by the colonial regime to promote their own agendas, as well as the possibilities given by foreign governments that shared the anti-colonial agenda.

The research is based on documentary research conducted in archives located in Lisbon and Maputo, namely the Oliveira Salazar Archive held at the Portuguese National Archives, the Archive of Radio Mozambique, and the Historical Archive of Mozambique. Oral interviews with former radio producer António Fonseca and former radio announcer Matânia Odete Dabula are also used as sources. Both worked for the major radio broadcaster set up in the Portuguese Empire and their testimonies contribute to problematising how those who played an active role in the production of radio perceived their role as cultural and political actors who acted to defend and/or disrupt the colonial power structures.

Broadcasting to the Portuguese Empire

After the Great War, Portugal remained as one of the European countries that controlled colonial territories but, contrary to other imperial nations, it was not an early adopter of shortwave broadcasting. While the Netherlands initiated overseas transmissions to its colonies in 1927, followed by France and Belgium in 1931[9] and Britain in 1932, with the creation of the BBC Empire Service,[10] in Portugal the first shortwave service entered into operation in December 1934. It was, however, a limited service operated by a private station – *Rádio Clube Português* – that aimed mostly to increase its domestic notoriety by showcasing its capacity to broadcast overseas. *Rádio Clube Português* was owned by the Botelho Moniz family, which had close ties to Salazar's nationalistic dictatorship known as the Estado Novo (New State), which had been officially instated with the approval of the country's new constitution in 1933. For Salazar,

Portugal's mission in the world was tied to its Empire and there could be no discussion whatsoever about the country losing its overseas possessions, even if this would mean Portugal's international isolation.

While the New State was a fascist-like regime, it was nevertheless marked by several peculiar characteristics that distanced itself from Italian fascism, one of the most important being the lack of investment in radio as a medium used to persuade the masses.[11] This can be explained by the dictator's reserved personality, which led him to avoid regular contact with the crowds.[12] Because Salazar did not use radio to speak regularly to the populace and was not interested in establishing a mass movement to support the regime,[13] investments in radio remained low throughout the 1930s and 1940s,[14] which also led to a late start for the state broadcaster's Imperial Service. Even so, the fact that a private station with few resources had initiated broadcasts to the Empire raised concerns among senior officials at the state broadcaster, *Emissora Nacional*, whose chairman argued that an Imperial Service was urgently required, to demonstrate "that the Metropolis gives the same affection and the same attention to all the Portuguese, no matter whether they live here [on the mainland] or far away".[15] *Emissora Nacional* then adopted the creation of a service targeted overseas as one of its main goals, believing that this would assume a strategic role in the context of Portuguese colonialism.[16]

To implement such a strategy, the state broadcaster assembled a small shortwave transmitter that broadcast for the first time in December 1936. The New State was then in possession of a broadcasting infrastructure that – at least on paper – allowed its voice to reach the expats living in the most remote geographies of the Empire. For those working for the official station in Lisbon, imperial broadcasts were of strategic value as they allowed for the creation of an emotional bond between the nation and those living overseas, thus enabling Portugal to secure its own symbolic power over the colonial territories.

While it was true that the Imperial Service was, from the outset, the voice of Salazar's regime and thus conveyed a world view in accordance with the dictatorship's ideology, one needs to also consider that transmissions to the colonial territories faced several difficulties, including the low power of the transmitters and the lack of knowledge of the types of programming that appealed to those living overseas. While some of these problems were shared with broadcasters operated by other European imperial nations,[17] in the Portuguese case the shortcomings of the official station opened the way for the emergence of a wide variety of private stations that were set up in the colonies by the white expats who, instead of following a strategic plan designed by the government, decided to take the development of broadcasting into their own hands. Radio was then used tactically by those who, despite having a privileged status in the colonial

society, were considered second-class citizens by the Lisbon authorities, depriving them of access to top positions in the colonial public administration, which were always occupied by Portuguese who were sent from Lisbon to rule over the colonies.[18] For the white elite living in Africa, including those who immigrated there and those who were born overseas, radio became a tactical weapon used to promote their own achievements and lifestyle, echoing local identities and values that, despite not challenging the regime in power, were different from those that were echoed on the broadcasts from Lisbon.

While the shortcomings of the Imperial Service operated by the state broadcaster *Emissora Nacional* led to its strategic value being limited, with the Portuguese expats reporting no frequent habits of tuning into the broadcasts from Lisbon[19] except to listen to football commentaries on Sundays,[20] the tactical usage of the radio clubs established overseas by the local white elites was quite visible (audible), namely in Angola and Mozambique, the two largest colonies under Portuguese rule. All evidence points to many tuning into these broadcasters for news and entertainment.

As will be detailed in the following section, as early as the 1930s, several stations established in Africa created a significant listenership and became important cultural centres for the expats living in the colonies. The success of such stations as opposed to the limited reach of the state broadcaster from Lisbon led the dictatorship to alter its policy on broadcasting to the Empire in the early 1950s, coinciding with a change in the overall colonial policy that was sketched to deal with the pressures for decolonisation that had been placed at the forefront of the international agenda in the aftermath of the Second World War. The major change in the colonial policy was the revocation of the Colonial Act which, since 1930, had regulated relations between the Portuguese administration, the white settlers, and the indigenous populations. With the revocation of such legislation, Portugal would no longer be presented as a country with an Empire. The word "colonies" was instead replaced by the expression "overseas provinces" and Portugal was then officially presented as a multiracial, multicultural, and pluricontinental nation.[21] While the state broadcaster echoed this new strategy set forward by Salazar, the regime was forced to acknowledge the limited reach of its shortwave transmissions. This led the state to make significant investments in the Imperial Service which, despite being claimed for more than a decade by the senior management of the *Emissora Nacional*, had until then been rejected by the dictator.[22]

The most significant investment made in accordance with the new broadcasting strategy was the establishment of the Overseas Broadcasting Centre, inaugurated in March 1954[23] at a time during which Portugal was facing increased pressure from the Indian Union to relinquish control of its

territories in the Indian subcontinent. The Overseas Broadcasting Centre was equipped with a series of powerful transmitters and antennas that were supposed to ensure more effective coverage of the Empire. Even though these did not prevent the state broadcaster from facing severe difficulties in competing with the stations set up in the colonies that gave voice to alternative voices, the Portuguese authorities were then in possession of a powerful broadcasting infrastructure that it recognised as a central tool to avoid the dismantlement of its imperial project overseas. In the meantime, the regime also made a strategic investment in the establishment of the *Emissora Oficial de Angola* (Official Broadcaster of Angola), which began its experimental broadcasts in 1951, with regular transmissions starting two years later.[24] Until then the New State had only established one state broadcaster in Guinea-Bissau, *Emissora da Guiné Portuguesa* (Broadcaster of Portuguese Guinea), which had been inaugurated back in 1946, and that aimed to allow the colony to have access to broadcasting as, unlike in the other colonies, no private station had emerged in this territory.[25]

Strategic and Tactical Broadcasting in the Portuguese Empire

Parallel to the Imperial Service that transmitted from Lisbon to the Empire, broadcasting flourished in the colonies, not by the hand of the state but instead as projects set up by the white settlers living in some of the main colonial cities. In other words, radio broadcasting in the Portuguese Empire was developed not strategically but mostly tactically, used by the local elites to affirm themselves as a locus of power. This tactical use of radio by the white elites does not fit De Certeau's definition of tactics as the "art of the weak".[26] On the contrary, the Portuguese expats and the white population born in Africa were far from being in a weak position within the colonial society. However, I will argue that this usage of radio should be considered tactical, as it represents a clear example of how those who did not control the political structures look for opportunities opened by those in power to improve their own status. In this case, the white settlers took advantage of the late start of the state broadcaster's Imperial Service and its shortcomings, as well as the fact that the Lisbon authorities had no strategic plan to set up broadcasting stations in the overseas territories.

The lack of initiative by the central government opened an opportunity for the economic elites to develop their own broadcasting projects, namely in Angola and Mozambique, the two major Portuguese possessions. The stations were set up as radio clubs and the dues paid by their members were a significant source of revenue, along with advertising, events – such as parties, dances, and fetes – and some occasional subsidies from the local authorities.[27] Those who engaged in setting up and managing the radio clubs took pride in demonstrating their capacity to create stations that, far

from being mere promoters of the New State, also echoed the lifestyle of those living overseas, capable of competing with the official broadcasters (*Emissora Nacional* but also the *Emissora Oficial de Angola*) on both the technological and programming fronts.

Radio clubs had a much better coverage of their regions of influence than the Lisbon state broadcaster, which throughout the years always struggled with the lack of powerful transmitters that would allow it to build a solid presence in the different colonial territories. In the late 1930s listeners in Africa would write to Lisbon complaining that it was much easier for them to tune in to stations such as the BBC, the German RRG, and Radio Moscow than to *Emissora Nacional*.[28] The complaints would continue in the following decade, by which time many radio clubs had already been established in the overseas territories.

While the official broadcasters functioned as the voice of the colonial power, the private stations did not challenge the regime – nor would they be allowed to do so due to the regime's control and repression apparatuses – but they did give visibility to a different imaginary about what it meant to live in Africa. For this, the radio clubs regularly aired cultural events with a hybrid nature, including musical programmes in which both Portuguese and African songs would be played.[29] This mixture was particularly audible in music request programmes, which were one of the highlights of the programming schedule in many of the stations set up in Africa.[30]

The first radio clubs to have emerged in the Portuguese Empire in Africa were *Rádio Clube do Sul* (Radio Clube of the South), installed in Benguela (south of Angola) in the early 1930s before later transferring to the nearby city of Lobito,[31] and *Rádio Clube de Moçambique* (Radio Clube of Mozambique, RCM), established in Lourenço Marques (the colony's capital, today Maputo).[32] Both initiated regular broadcasts several years before *Emissora Nacional* began both its domestic and imperial transmissions, which speaks to the entrepreneurial vision of the expats living overseas.

While the first radio clubs founded in Angola acquired significant local influence in the different cities in which they were located, RCM became the dominant station in the whole colony of Mozambique and soon evolved to become the most powerful station in the Portuguese Empire and on the African continent.[33] This was made possible due to the decision to launch an English-speaking commercial channel for South Africa that broadcast mostly Anglo-Saxon pop music targeted at the young demographics. The English programme, which also started offering news bulletins in Afrikaans in 1947, became known as LM Radio (LM was short for Lourenço Marques) and was particularly appreciated for the music mix it played on the air, disrupting the domestic monopoly of the South African Radio Corporation which, until the introduction of its first commercial service in 1950,[34] presented more highbrow programming when

compared to the programmes being aired from Mozambique. LM Radio's success in the South African market led it to sign profitable advertising contracts with several local businesses, as well as with multinationals operating in the country.[35] This allowed the station to expand its coverage of Mozambique and even to invest in powerful transmitters used to broadcast to Angola and to mainland Portugal. In 1939, when a new 10 kW transmitter entered into operation, the station management proudly announced that its signal now reached the metropolis.[36]

While LM Radio offered mostly music programming, RCM's channel A (broadcast in Portuguese) offered a wide variety of programmes. This included recorded and live music, the latter performed at the station's studios and in cultural clubs and theatres in Lourenço Marques. Talks on social and economic matters, children's programming and news bulletins were also part of the programming schedule.[37] While most segments were designed to cater to the taste of the listeners, which was considered indispensable to please and attract the advertisers, the news bulletins were mostly composed of the official agenda of the colonial authorities, the Head of State, and the Head of the government.[38] So, while most programmes had a hybrid nature, promoting Portuguese language and culture, but also echoing local identities and the lifestyle of the colonial elites, the news bulletins were perceived as performing a strategic function and thus spoke the voice of the political regime. It did not take long for the colonial authorities to recognise the important role performed by the RCM in promoting what was described as the economic, social, and cultural development of Mozambique. Thus, as soon as 1937 the Governor General made RCM the sole beneficiary of the radio licence that was introduced that year and was to be paid by all those owning radio receivers in the colony,[39] thus creating an entanglement between private and state interests.

The function performed by radio clubs in Angola did not differ substantially from that of the RCM in Mozambique. The major difference was that, instead of one major radio club, in Angola there were dozens of small/medium size broadcasters, the majority of which were established in the 1930s and 1940s. Later on, in the early 1950s two stations with a different ownership structure would also emerge – Radio Diamang, property of the Companhia dos Diamantes de Angola, and Radio Ecclesia, established by the Catholic Church.[40] These, however, did not change the radio ecosystem, which was mostly marked by the experimental environment that existed in most radio clubs.

The broadcasting landscape in Angola, featuring over 15 stations located in different cities, can be explained by the fact that, unlike in Mozambique, there was a significant presence of white settlers in many different provinces and districts, which led the local elites to take pride in establishing their own radio clubs. Furthermore, because these stations had no access

to foreign revenue, they had no ambition to cover the entire territory of Angola and thus operated with a different mindset to that of RCM. One of the major stations was *Rádio Clube de Angola* (Radio Club of Angola, RCA), founded in the capital – Luanda – in 1937.[41] The local authorities, faced with the fact that they had no access to broadcasting, soon entrusted RCA with transmitting the official news bulletins and programmes that were produced by the Governor's office,[42] who recognised the need to use the audio medium to promote its own agenda. This also signalled the political elite's dependence on the initiatives of civil society to reinforce its own power and how it resorted to tactical initiatives for strategic purposes.

This entangled relation between different players and layers of power was made possible due to the lack of a clear distinction between private initiatives and the state itself in the context of the Portuguese Empire. To start, setting up a radio club was dependent on authorisation from the political authorities. In most cases, the colonial regime did not create many obstacles to such projects, because the stations with the most powerful transmitters were established by the local elites, whose businesses and economic power depended on the continuation of the colonial system. In other words, even though the local elites did not have the same status as those who ruled the colonial administration, and to some extent had a different understanding of what it meant to live overseas, while they used radio to increase their symbolic status, they also remained conscious that their own position in the colonial setting was dependent on the continuation of the existing political system. For this reason, the establishment of private radio clubs did not constitute a threat to Salazar's regime which, on the contrary, saw the stations as an opportunity to showcase the technological development being achieved by the territories under Portuguese rule. This meant that, even though these stations were established with a tactical mission, they ended up also serving the strategies of the political structures. The constituency that these stations did not serve was the entire Black population, which made up the vast majority of those living in all the territories under Portuguese rule in Africa. It was only in the late 1950s that certain stations would start airing some programmes targeted at the native populations when some radio producers – who rented airtime on the radio clubs – understood they could make more money if they sold advertising to local businesses interested in targeting those who spoke African languages rather than Portuguese.

Broadcasts in African Languages: Serving and Undermining the Colonial Power

The first regular programme to be aired in an African language in the Portuguese Empire was *Hora Nativa* [Native Hour], which debuted on RCM

in March 1958.[43] Broadcast in Ronga (one of the most widely spoken languages in the south of Mozambique), it was presented by Samuel Dabula, a professor and one of the founders of the *Centro Associativo dos Negros* (Black Associative Centre) in Lourenço Marques.[44] Dabula was one of the first Black announcers to ever speak on the radio in Portuguese Africa and was put in charge of making both entertainment and news available to the native population in southern Mozambique. Because *Hora Nativa* was a commercial endeavour, the programme aired mostly music and light entertainment. However, Portuguese courses were also broadcast, along with drama and children's programming.[45] In order words, even though its main mission was to entertain the listeners, allowing RCM to expand its commercial success by reaching a new segment of listeners, it also served the Portuguese government's strategy for the Empire. Nevertheless, it did not prevent the programme from being given a tactical usage by the Black producers and announcers, who were given some freedom to select the music and other content that was played on the air. Dabula, for example, oversaw the selection of musical groups to perform on the programme.[46]

Despite promoting the benefits of colonialism, *Hora Nativa* was the "first radio manifestation of Mozambican identity, which was particularly noticeable in the musical broadcasts"[47] and those who worked on the programme understood they had been given the opportunity to access a tool that could be used to promote African cultures, thus disrupting the homogeneity that had marked the airwaves in Mozambique until the late 1950s. On some occasions, the announcers were even able to include messages that were not controlled by the station management, as their knowledge of Mozambican languages was very deficient.[48] The programme would come to an end after the outbreak of the war of independence in Mozambique in 1962. The Portuguese regime then decided to make strategic use of broadcasting in local languages. A new radio channel was created – *Voz de Moçambique* (Voice of Mozambique) – which became the successor to *Hora Nativa* but had a different goal. Although it was broadcast from RCM studios, *Voz de Moçambique* was no longer a commercial operation, instead coming under the control of the Psychological Action Service of the Portuguese Army.

Broadcasts in African languages then became part of the psychological war that was taking place parallel to the military operations on the ground. The tactical use that was given to *Hora Nativa* by some of the producers and announcers was much more difficult due to tighter control from the regime, which took over the transmissions that thus became part of their strategy to prolong colonialism.

In Angola, broadcasts in African languages assumed an even more obvious tactical dimension, as they were initiated by radio producers who aimed to promote the culture of the indigenous populations. The

first non-Portuguese programme was aired on *Rádio Clube do Huambo* (Radio Club of Huambo) and was produced by Sebastião Coelho, a second-generation white settler born in Angola. His aim was twofold: to increase his business as a radio producer and to give visibility to African culture, namely music, theatre, and other oral traditions. To achieve these goals, in 1960 Coelho launched a two-hour programme *Cruzeiro do Sul* (Southern Cruise) entirely broadcast in Umbundu, the most widely spoken language in the south and centre of Angola, and for which he was granted authorisation from the governor of the local district.[49] The programme was presented by two Black announcers who Coelho himself had trained: Judite Luvumba and José Castro. The programme gave voice to indigenous traditions and music, which led it to be considered the first expression of Angolanness on the radio.[50] It acquired special importance after the outbreak of the war of independence in 1961, when the Portuguese regime started to repress more severely all those who would dare to dissent from the official policies.

Known for his broadcasting activities and for recording Angolan popular music produced in the *musseques* (the suburban neighbourhoods on the outskirts of the capital), Coelho was also involved in facilitating some gatherings of members of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which led to his arrest by the political police in May 1963.[51] After his release later that year, he was forced to leave his hometown and live in the capital Luanda, where he established a radio production company – Estúdios do Norte (North Studios) – that became responsible for programmes aired on different stations. The most notorious was *Café da Noite* (Night Coffee), broadcast on Radio Ecclesia and sent by tape for rebroadcast to other stations located in different regions of Angola. Although it offered a mix of Portuguese and African music, it aired Angolan songs in its daily broadcasts, which made it quite an exclusive programme in the Angolan context of the time.[52] In 1964, Coelho also launched *Tondoya Mukina o Kizomba* (There is a Party in Our House), broadcast on *Rádio Clube de Angola*, and voiced in Kimbundu and Portuguese. Unlike *Café da Noite*, this new programme only aired music produced in Angola in a clear attempt to use radio to promote the culture and the sounds of a nation that was fighting for independence.

The Portuguese authorities soon realised that broadcasts in local languages were being tactically used by those who supported independence and thus sketched a plan to take over transmissions in Angolan languages. However, in contrast to Mozambique, there was no station with the technical infrastructure needed to broadcast to the entire colony. No radio club had a network of transmitters capable of reaching all the provinces, and nor did the *Emissora Oficial de Angola*. Inaugurated in 1953, its shortwave transmitters supposedly covered the entire territory of Angola,

but in actual practice the quality of the radio signal was not always acceptable, which led the state broadcaster in Lisbon to send a team to Angola to assess the quality of reception. The report found the existing radio system deficient, and unable to provide effective coverage of the territory.[53] This may help to explain why an official station dedicated to transmissions in Angolan languages only entered into operation in 1968, six years later than in Mozambique. The creation of *Voz de Angola* (Voice of Angola) was, nevertheless, perceived as a strategic move by the colonial power, aimed at limiting the influence of the independence movements. Although the technical support was guaranteed by the *Emissora Oficial de Angola*, in order to increase its credibility among the Black population, *Voz de Angola* presented itself as independent from the colonial administration. In fact, it was under the direct control of the General Staff of the Army in Angola and the political police. It broadcast mostly in Umbundu and Kimbundu, and along with music and other features designed to appeal to the native population, it publicised the initiatives of the colonial government, which was said to be working for the development of Angola while the independence movements were presented as acting in their own interest with the sole aim of controlling the territory's natural resources.

While the Portuguese authorities took over broadcasting in African languages in the two major colonies, the major independence movements also made a tactical move regarding radio. Deprived of access to radio infrastructure that remained under the control of the colonial regime or the white elites, independence movements took advantage of the transborder nature of radio signals and started producing programmes abroad that were transmitted via shortwave. The Republic of Congo offered airtime on Radio Brazzaville to the MPLA, which in 1964 initiated the regular transmission of *Angola Combatente* (Angolan Fighter, AC for short). AC was "the bailiwick of party intellectuals"[54] and soon became a central tactical tool used by the MPLA to undermine the colonial regime. Programming consisted mostly of talks and news on the anti-colonial movement and the war of independence, which was largely absent from all the media controlled by the Portuguese, except for the official notices issued by the military[55] that portrayed the war as a fight against the "terrorists" that were said to be undermining peace, order, and development.

Transmissions by liberation movements also took place from Congo-Léopoldville, after its independence from Belgium. Broadcasts from Léopoldville (today Kinshasa) were operated by the Union of the People of Angola (UPA)[56] – the predecessor of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) – urging the different ethnic groups to put aside their differences and join forces against the colonial regime. Transmissions took place in Portuguese, but also in Umbundu and Quicongo.[57]

In Mozambique, FRELIMO resorted to transmissions from Dar Es Salaam (Tanzania), where the liberation movement had been established in 1962.[58] It produced *Voz da FRELIMO* (Voice of FRELIMO), a programme designed to promote the idea that Mozambique as a free and independent nation was only a matter of time.[59] The programme would later also be broadcast from Lusaka (Republic of Zambia).

Overall, independence movements in both colonies made use of the opportunities given to them by new-born nations that had also fought colonialism, allowing them access to resources that domestically were under the strategic control of the colonial power. The quality of reception of the programmes produced by the independence movements was lower than the one offered by the stations operating in the two colonies, namely *Voz de Angola* and *Voz de Mozambique*, but represented an important tactical move to foster hope for regime change among the segments of the population that were politically active and that wished for national independence.

Conclusion

While De Certeau's theory makes a clear distinction between strategies and tactics and how these operate in different spheres that are separated by well-defined borders in the social realm, this chapter presents a less linear separation between the two. On the contrary, it demonstrates that in the context of broadcasting in the Portuguese colonies in Africa there was an entangled and complicated relationship between strategies and tactics, with different social and political agents resorting to radio to disseminate ideological messages.

Drawing a line between the strategic and tactical usage of radio broadcasting in the Portuguese Empire is especially difficult due to Salazar's broadcasting policy, which allowed the emergence of private stations managed by the white settlers. Despite their privileged status in the context of colonial societies, the white population living in Africa was deprived of access to the top colonial management positions, which led them to set up radio clubs that served both strategic and tactical goals. On one hand, these stations shared several strategic goals with the official broadcasters controlled by the Lisbon regime and were used as tools to promote the Portuguese language and culture, along with the regime's propaganda. However, the radio clubs set up in Angola and Mozambique also aimed to increase the social standing of the white settlers living in these territories, who did not feel represented on the imperial broadcasts by the Lisbon state broadcaster. This ultimately led the radio clubs to develop a hybrid nature: private but dependent on local colonial administrations, aligned with the strategies of the colonial political structures but, whenever possible, taking advantage of the "cracks" opened by the Lisbon regime in

broadcasting control to allow the lifestyle and the interests of the white population living in Africa to be heard on the radio.

The difficulties of clearly separating the strategic and tactical usage of broadcasting also extended to the transmissions operated by the liberation movements. Having to deal with the lack of access to broadcasting infrastructure within the colonies, they resorted to transmitters made available to them by neighbouring states. These allowed the MPLA, the UPA, and the FRELIMO to produce programmes that tactically countered Portuguese colonialism. Such programmes were broadcast via transmitters made available to the pro-independence movements by new-born states, which allowed their broadcasting infrastructure to be used by foreigners to counter colonialism and promote socialism. The programmes thus served the tactical needs of the liberation movements and the strategic interests of the foreign governments that sponsored them.

Besides illustrating the complexities of drawing a line between the usage of the same media for strategic and tactical purposes, the case of Portuguese radio during late colonialism clearly demonstrates the entangled connections between private and state media and between national and international broadcasting structures. This suggests that one needs to rethink and question how we use dichotomous categories to make sense of the role played by the media in different political and social contexts. Moreover, as the case of *Hora Nativa* and other African language programmes well illustrates, successful media projects started and operated by private initiatives can easily be taken over by those in power to ensure their alignment with the government's strategy. All the messiness and entanglements between private and public, national and international, discussed in this chapter seem far from unique. Instead, the interconnections between the different spheres are part of the everyday life of the media, in which strategies and tactics are frequently entangled.

Notes

1 Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting 1922–1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).
2 E.g., Simon J. Potter et al., *The Wireless World: Global Histories of International Radio Broadcasting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).
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