

War and Propaganda In the XXth Century



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and
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Introduction

The Twentieth century was fertile in experiences on the power of propaganda in war context. From the First World War to the Spanish Civil War, the Second World War, the Portuguese Colonial War, the Cold War, the war in Bosnia and the Gulf war, there were several occasions where propaganda stood itself as one of the combat arms.

The First World War was the first conflict where the States realized the importance of propaganda as an instrument of war, with unprecedented power. It then becomes clear the importance and potential of graphic communication. From then on, propaganda started to be seen as an essential tool, capable to connect the battlefield and the home front, a galvanizing instrument capable of making the populations accept the “inevitability” of war and the sacrifices that occurred from there.

From now on propaganda appeared as a representation, often with pictorial expression of the national identity in combat, extolling the virtues of national armies and making evil representations of the enemy, presenting him in a dehumanized form and instigating hatred between civilians and the military, while eliminating the notion of guilt or responsibility of government leaders. Analyzed through the eyes of propaganda, wars always emerged as an inevitable consequence of civilizational clashes: we fight for an ideal, we struggle for a common interest.

As the importance of home front grew in contemporary conflicts propaganda became more and more sophisticated. Ministries were created to think and manage propaganda, huge sums of capital were invested, and all mass media, developed in the late nineteenth hundreds and in the first decades of the twentieth century, were used by the States: press, radio, television and film.

Propaganda represented the sacrifice of soldiers in war and praised the power of the country. It has been around these images that all over the world entire populations were mobilized on the expectation of victory. Through the static image of printed posters or the newspaper news projected in cinemas all over the globe, governments sought to promote a patriotic spirit, encouraging the effort of individual sacrifice by sending a clear set of messages that directly appealed to the voluntary enlistment in the armies, messages that explained the importance of rationing essential goods, of the intensification of food production or the purchase of war bonds, exacerbating feelings, arousing emotions and projecting an image divided between the notion of superiority and the idea of fear of the opponent.

From press, in the First World War, to radio in the World War II, to television and cinema from the 1950s onwards, to the “real live” coverage of the Gulf War, propaganda proved to be a weapon as deadly as those managed by soldiers in the battlefield. That’s why it is essential to analyze and discuss the topic of War and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century.

The conference, organized by the IHC and CEIS20, of the University of Coimbra, was part of the Centennial Program of the Great War, organized by the IHC, and the International Centennial Program coordinated by the Imperial War Museum in London. It was held in Lisbon on the 11-12th November 2013 and included papers delivered by invited speakers and presentations submitted through a call for papers.

90 papers were presented during two days of intensive work. The presentations were organized in the following sixteen thematic sessions:

- First World War, Propaganda and the neutrals
- Propaganda, exile and emigration
- Propaganda and Empire
- Propaganda war relief and the dehumanization of the enemy
- First World War: National experiences
- Propaganda, Science and Cultural Diplomacy
- Spanish Civil War
- Press and Propaganda
- Second World War I
- Propaganda, History and Education

- Second World War II
- Art, Image and Propaganda
- The Cold War
- Visual Propaganda
- The Portuguese Colonial War
- Propaganda in the age of digital technology

This e-book includes a long and more detailed version of the abstracts of the papers presented in each of these sections.

The organizing committee would like to publicly thank Cristina Luísa Sizifredo for the e-book's design and organization.

To the authors, who accepted our challenge and immediately sent their papers to be included in this digital publication, we would like to express our sincere gratitude. This e-book is theirs.

Lisbon, November 2013

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Frist World War, Propaganda and the Neutrals

Under Propaganda Fire: Spain and the Great War

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In the field of propaganda, it is in the neutral countries where the direct confrontation between the two sides takes place, and where each side must advertise itself in order to tip undecided minds in its favor. In this sense, during the First World War the propaganda deployed in Spain by the belligerents was something more than just a paper war, but one where words were supplemented by images supplied by the new technical resources of the day. Employing different approaches, pragmatic propagandists, as well as opportunistic and even (frustrated) idealistic ones, used all the means to hand; moreover, assisted by their respective diplomatic services, journalists, politicians, intellectuals and professional publicists also participated in this story. This was also a struggle marked by a clash of different principles and material interests, also quite diverse, supported in this case by vast amounts of money that crisscrossed the face of Spain to purchase opinion, especially that expressed in the press, for immediate reward. We shall here address the issue from the perspective of Spain's international relations and foreign policy during the First World War and aim to produce some new insights based on the analysis not only of the factors governing propaganda in Spain during the war, but also of the objectives, models and instruments of this propaganda. In this sense, we shall consider propaganda as an integral aspect of the foreign policy of the belligerents. Finally, we shall present some conclusions yielded by this approach.

Determining factors:

Among the factors that constrained propaganda in Spain during World War I we can mention at least three: the international position of Spain, internal conflict and the barriers to information in the press during the war. Let us look at the elements that determine these three factors. The first one, the international position of Spain, is determined by its geography, its trade relations as well as by security issues and the progress of the war. Thus, unlike Switzerland, Holland or even the Nordic countries, which were subject to direct pressure by both sides during the conflict, Spain's proximity to the countries that constituted one of the two sides situated it in a field of influence which was less balanced and much better disposed towards the Entente. In connection to its geographical position, the second element determining Spain's international stance is its commercial relations: its economic and financial ties as well as its dependence on trade exchanges of all kinds with the Entente. And the third is the issue of security and the progress of the war: Spanish dependence, for defense questions, on the Entente, which could also bring about the main dangers to Spain's security. Spain's placement in the defensive structure of the Entente had been confirmed in the Cartagena Agreement of 1907, according to which Spain, Great Britain, and France committed themselves to maintain the *status quo* of their territories in the Atlantic and Mediterranean and to consult one another whenever this was under threat¹. Moreover, Madrid had been party with Paris to the Treaty of 1912 concerning Morocco, which had turned the two countries into partners—albeit unequal ones—in a sensitive territory for colonial policies, particularly for the Spanish.

The second factor governing propaganda in Spain was the conflict within the country, marked by a situation that predated the war but that was further exacerbated by it. The situation prior to the war involved a political confrontation between those groups that supported the Restoration regime and those who hoped to reform it or to drive it into crisis, aggravated by a lack of social and economic development, and complicated by regionalist forces. In this situation the war exacerbated the economic imbalance and the social differences, which were now manifestly intertwined with the regionalist problem. There was no reduction in political conflict throughout the war, which drew in ever more Spaniards who did not strictly belong to the social, political and intellectual elites².

¹ Cf. Enrique Rosas Ledezma, "Las Declaraciones de Cartagena (1907): significación en la política exterior de España y repercusiones internacionales", Cuadernos de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea, n° 2 (1981): 213-29; and Rosario de la Torre del Río, "Los acuerdos anglo-hispano-franceses de 1907: una larga negociación en la estela del 98", Cuadernos de la Escuela Diplomática, Segunda Época, n° 1 (1988): 81-104. On the subsequent development of Spain's international outreach, see Javier Ponce Marrero, "La política exterior española de 1907 a 1920: entre el regeneracionismo de intenciones y la neutralidad condicionada", Historia Contemporánea, n° 34 (2007): 93-115.

² Francisco J. Romero Salvadó, Spain 1914-1918. Between War and Revolution (London: Routledge, 1999); and by the same author The Foundations of Civil War. Revolution, Social Conflict and Reaction in Liberal Spain, 1916-1923

The third factor determining propaganda were the barriers to information that the Spanish press had to work around. On one hand, these barriers were related to the material conditions of information set by Spain's economic problems resulting from the war, and secondly, to the ways of handling such information in terms of the origins of sources, the restrictions placed on the freedom of the press, and the pressures from an environment polarized into two camps. As far as the economic issues were concerned, the main problem was the increase in the price of newsprint, which forced the State to intervene and regulate prices. While the press managed at first to address the growth of costs and prevented a rise in retail prices for a few years, difficulties in obtaining supplies from countries at war also affected the printing machinery used by those newspapers employing advanced technologies that were largely dependent on foreign suppliers. Among the material difficulties, we should include a reduction in advertising following the regular publication from 1916 onwards, of blacklists of people and firms in countries other than those of the enemy, with whom all individuals and companies on the Allied side were prohibited from maintaining commercial relations because of their enemy nationality or their association with the enemy. Many advertisers were therefore refused for fear of reprisals that might result in the inclusion of the newspapers on such lists. The newspapers would thus lose all advertisers linked to the Allies, who, by the way, had a strong presence in the largely Entente-dependent Spanish commerce³.

Regarding the handling of information, the first obvious barrier was the flow of information, which although not negligible, it was filtered by the French agency Havas, via the Spanish agency of Fabra⁴. The ways around the partisan approach of Fabra involved sending correspondents abroad and—with the opening of the German radiotelegraph agency Transocean, which sent information from its Nauen station from 1915—using radio to source news from Germany. At the same time there were national restrictions on the freedom of the press, which had been put into the legislation for the preservation of neutrality promulgated by the Spanish Government since the beginning of the war. Accompanying this declaration of official neutrality on August 4, 1914 a provision was approved by which the press was to observe neutrality: this promised legal prosecution for insults made in the press or at public meetings against foreign sovereigns or similar dignitaries. Later, on March 29, 1917, faced with the threat of a possible general strike, a royal decree authorized censorship of the press—this time in relation also to the press' assessments of the warring countries and of Spain's stance—which granted a discretionary power to civilian governors, who nevertheless, not always exercise it in this way. Prior censorship was maintained intermittently down till the autumn of 1917, but was re-applied by the law for the repression of espionage of July 7, 1918 to guarantee Spanish neutrality⁵. The rule was applied to anyone on Spanish territory who collected information for a foreign power or its agents that was harmful to other powers, and—in light of the difficult situation caused by the submarine war—it banned the publication, dispatch, transmission and circulation of news concerning the movements of merchant vessels. It thus increased censorship even from the very centers of telephone and telegraph communications, becoming in this way in a very useful and effective tool for the government that complemented previous censorship of newspapers, and even substituted for it when such censorship was not being enforced, since in practice, the censorship of communications had been in effect since August 1914⁶.

There was a final barrier to information that was conditional on propaganda, and which in this case both reinforce it and came to be reinforced by it. This was the pressure of a public opinion, which became ever more polarized into two camps the longer the war lasted and the greater its impact on Spain grew, for virtually all newspapers belonged to one camp or the other. The messianic character of the war, the first total war, can help us to understand the stances taken in a neutral country, but it was the very intense activity of the belligerents in Spain what gradually reinforced this trend. This took the form of propaganda for war and acquired great importance by managing to attract the media into one's camp and to use it to defend one's own interests. In this context bribery was commonly practiced to obtain the support of a newspaper, as print was the main tool employed to produce a more favorable image of one group and a negative image of the other. In this sense, the adscription to one group or the other implied the acceptance

(London: Routledge, 2008): 1-147.

³ Cf. "A proclamation prohibiting trading with certain persons, or bodies of persons, of enemy nationality or enemy associations", *The London Gazette*, 29 February 1916, 2211; and Listas negras referentes a España publicadas por los Gobiernos de Francia e Inglaterra (Barcelona: Librería Española, 1916), 1-16.

⁴ María Antonia Paz Rebollo, *El colonialismo informativo de la agencia Havas en España (1870-1949)*, Doctoral thesis (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1988).

⁵ *Gaceta*, 8 July 1918, 81.

⁶ José Antonio del Valle, "La censura gubernativa de prensa en España (1914-1931)", *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, nueva época, n° 21 (1981): 73-126; and Javier Ponce Marrero, *Canarias en la Gran Guerra, 1914-1918: estrategia y diplomacia. Un estudio sobre la política exterior de España (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 2006)*, 251-2.

of the attack of its opponents, and on the other hand, the inevitable coloring of editorial policy, news items and advertisements⁷.

Aims, models and instruments of propaganda:

In studying the aims, models and instruments of propaganda, we will be considering propaganda as part of the foreign policy of the belligerents. Because if in neutral countries they deployed diplomatic activities that aimed to win them over or to keep in place policies as favorable as possible to their interests, the pursuit of this aim was also aided by the use of propaganda. Therefore, it is in the neutral countries where the diplomatic efforts of the warring parties came face to face, and where propaganda became a war of propaganda aiming to sway undecided minds in their own favor. This was especially the case after the short war turned into a long one, since in the first months of the war due to the expectation of a German victory alike that of 1871—which many people took for granted—propaganda had not been fully employed. In the case of Spain, this war of propaganda was purely national in the sense that it responded to its internal conflicts and that it was seen by the two sides into which Spanish opinion was already divided as an extension of their own internal struggles. German sympathizers were recruited from defenders of the traditional order, the aristocracy, Church groups and the military, while advocates of political reform, Liberals, Leftists and Republicans, anti-clerical groups and most intellectuals felt closer to the Allies⁸. They all believed that the outcome of the war would have a universalizing character, since the victory of one side would also lead to the strengthening of the position of their supporters in Spain⁹. And all this despite the obvious differences between the values asserted in Spain and those defended by the warring nations themselves. Let's consider two examples: strictly speaking, those who defended the existing political system and traditional religion in Spain could hardly have seen the German Empire as representing their views, with its resemblance to a federation and with a non-Catholic as its Emperor; the other side, the defenders of republicanism could not have been comfortable supporting the British monarchy or the even more authoritarian regime of the Tsar. There are many more such contradictions that show us clearly that the war between the pro- and anti-factions in Spain, having weak convictions in the international sphere, drew on its internal conflicts¹⁰. This also explains why Spain remained neutral throughout the conflict, and why the Government of Dato proclaimed this from the start of the war.

We should also take into account the fact that the disastrous war of 1898 against the United States as well as the military attrition in Morocco fuelled in wide sectors of Spanish society the attitude that modern large-scale warfare should be prevented at all costs. On the other hand, involvement in such a war would place an unbearable strain on the army, on a rigged political system, on a backward economy and a fragile social peace, which could threaten the survival of the monarchy itself. With the exception of those who wanted to bring about its downfall and cause regime change or, at later dates, even the sort of revolutionary process which was to take place in Russia, the rest of the political groups assumed that Spain was too weak to participate in the war. Moreover, a majority in Spanish society—illiterate for the most part—remained indifferent, without fully understanding what was at stake in the war nor the ideological struggle that some people saw it to be. Thus, despite commitments to and the proximity of the Entente, there was a weak consensus—even if it ultimately was a consensus—for non-intervention. This consensus—one of few—did not prevent such neutrality, which tried to be strict on a diplomatic level, from becoming tinged with shades and standpoints as it moved to a press permeated by internal political conflicts. In fact, for the educated elite, the war was soon perceived as an ideological war, the outcome of which would leave its mark on the future of all of humanity, so that it could not but affect the situation in Spain and its internal struggle. Let us now look at how such Spanish context saw the unfolding of propaganda of the diverse belligerents.

⁷ José Javier Sánchez Aranda, "Las dificultades de informar en tiempos de guerra. La prensa española durante la I Guerra Mundial", *Comunicación y Sociedad* VI, nº 1-2 (1993): 173-87 (versión online en <http://dspace.si.unav.es/dspace/handle/10171/8104>).

⁸ For the internationalism of Spanish intellectuals and their relation to the press of the period see Paul Aubert, "La propagande étrangère en Espagne pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale", in *Espanoles y franceses en la primera mitad del siglo XX* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986), 363-80.

⁹ See also the classic work of Gerald H. Meaker, "A Civil War of Words: The Ideological Impact of the First World War on Spain, 1914 - 1918", in *Neutral Europe between War and Revolution 1917-23*, ed. Hans A. Schmitt (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988), 1-65.

¹⁰ The war between opponents and defenders of the belligerent parties was extensively documented by Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *Francófilos y germanófilos. Los españoles en la guerra europea* (Barcelona: Dopesa, 1973).

German propaganda:

If we consider propaganda as part of the foreign policy of the belligerents, that of Germany had as its objectives the maintenance of Spain's neutrality. Being aware of Spain's dependence on the Entente in all respects, the most Berlin could hope for was that Spain be kept out of the conflict. Indeed, it was quite impossible that Madrid would accept any offers made by Berlin to enter the war against England and France, as it would suffer immediate military retaliation¹¹. Spanish neutrality would allow Germany to ensure entry to the Western Mediterranean, as well as to guarantee it neutral shelters in the territories and waters of Spain, which were of great strategic importance because of Spain's position between two continents and two seas. Finally, as the war drew on and Allied pressure on Spain intensified, the more specific and ambitious objective of German propaganda was to prevent any excessive leaning of Spanish neutrality towards the Allies.

In carrying out this objective, however, Berlin never ceased to use the bait of offers and promised Spain economic aid and political support in the post-war period to free Madrid from the guiding hand of the Entente. Germany also cautiously encouraged Alfonso XIII to continue his efforts as a mediator in the conflict, in order to reassure Spanish hopes for a strengthening of its international position and, incidentally, to prevent Spanish sympathies from moving towards the Entente. Moreover, the *Auswärtiges Amt* used vague promises to nourish the idea that Spanish collaboration would be rewarded with the annexation of territories and countries that Spanish irredentism saw as a goal of its foreign policy. To sovereignty over the Straits of Gibraltar was added by the most naive ones, among them Alfonso XIII, the annexation of Tangiers, a free hand in Morocco and a tempting mandate over Portugal, which under the form of an union or close association was to become a permanent goal of foreign policy¹².

The model adopted by German propaganda was an opportunistic one, the heir to *Weltpolitik* and to the thrust of German policy in pre-war years¹³. Thus, despite Spain's poor relations with Germany in comparison to those with Great Britain and especially with France, Berlin knew very well how to exploit the conflicts that rose out of the close relationship between Spain and the Entente. At the beginning of the war, German presence in Spanish society comprised a large colony consisting largely of business people, and later during the war, officers and men of the many interned German ships. Added to this was the prestige enjoyed by German culture, science, learning centers and universities among Spain's educated elites, many of who had been trained in these institutions. The tools used for propaganda included the press, the cinema and displays of German military power¹⁴. As far as the press was concerned, we should first say that it had been carefully prepared even before the war, and large sums of money had been invested in it¹⁵. The movies entrusted to publicize the major advances in German industrial and military technology. In connection to this, the military spectacle generated by the visit of the German submarine *U-35* to the port of Cartagena in 1916, with a personal message from Wilhelm II to Alfonso XIII, was certainly, and above all, a spectacular act of German propaganda, a masterstroke to impress on Spanish public opinion the power of the German military. Therefore, while it has been shown that German propaganda during the First World War was not especially well organized and coordinated, particularly in the neutral countries, Germany's propaganda activities in Spain were very intense and effective from the start of the conflict¹⁶.

Allied propaganda:

The various Allies deployed in Spain propaganda with different objectives, models and instruments. French propaganda aimed involvement of neutral Spain in its favor, obtaining specifically a defensive and supplier rearguard, with the participation of (Catalan) volunteers. The model was a logical (historical) model, continuation of the traditional relation between France and Spain, based on dependence, so in Spain

¹¹ Telegram from Ratibor to the Auswärtiges Amt, 6 October 1914, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts, Berlin (hereafter PAAA), *Spanien 61, Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Deutschland*, R 11998.

¹² Hipólito de la Torre Gómez, *Antagonismo y fractura peninsular. España-Portugal, 1910-1919* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1983).

¹³ We have made an analysis of German propaganda as an integral part of Berlin's foreign policy in Spain in Javier Ponce, "Propaganda and politics: Germany and Spanish opinion in World War I", in *World War I and Propaganda*, ed. Troy Paddock (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming, 2014), approx. 294-323.

¹⁴ Cf. Jens Albes, "La propaganda cinematográfica de los alemanes en España durante la Primera Guerra Mundial", *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez XXXI*, n° 3 (1995): 77-8; and by the same author *Worte wie Waffen. Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1996).

¹⁵ Luis Álvarez Gutiérrez, "Intentos alemanes para contrarrestar la influencia francesa sobre la opinión pública española en los años precedentes a la Primera Guerra Mundial", in *Españoles y franceses en la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986), 1-21.

¹⁶ Ron M. Carden, *German policy toward neutral Spain, 1914-1918* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987), 55-91.

the pro-Allied proclivities were above all Francophile sentiments. The instruments used by French propaganda were basically three. Firstly, the press (the liberal-republican link): Spanish publications of liberal and Republican orientation were logically Francophile. Secondly, the cinematography (the verification of the majority Francophile sentiments): because it is easy to verify that of the movies in favor of the Allies that were screened in Spain, the vast majority was French. And finally, we can also mention the French cultural influence, exercised through the schools, lyceums and other institutions in Spain.

In the case of British propaganda, its goal was the collaboration of the benevolent neutrality of Spain, to guarantee the use of Spanish waters and infrastructures, serving British naval hegemony, and also the security of the Strait, with center in Gibraltar and more sensitive ends in the Canary Islands and the Balearics. To counter the German effort, it was a pragmatic model, trying to overcome the contradictions represented by the British political monarchical system opposite to the liberal-republican one with which the Spanish pro-Allied opinion was identified for the most part, not to mention the international permanent obstacle that for a cordial relation meant Gibraltar. To all this was related the coldness of Spanish intellectuals with regard to Great Britain, with the exception of Galdós. The instruments for this British propaganda were several. First, the press, in which those contradictions were very clear, due to the logical bad conscience of the British Embassy in Madrid to support pro-Allied newspapers that encouraged in 1917 the anti-dynastic and republican movement, but that finally received financial support from the British propagandists¹⁷. Secondly, the cinematography, which allowed the overcoming of the contradictions because of the content, far from the Spanish scene, since it referred to the contenders themselves.

Finally, the U.S. propaganda had as aim the collaboration of Spain in the North American war effort, to which was associated the possibility of a major pressure of the Entente on Spain. The model, different from the rest of the Allies, responded to the Wilsonian reformulation of the Manifest Destiny¹⁸. It was, therefore, a (frustrated) idealistic model, that sought to expand American democratic values to the rest of the world. This different model also used different instruments, among which the cinematography (that represents very well the idealism) was, unlike other belligerents, the main instrument for the American propagandists. Several movies, not related to the war, had to reflect the virtues of the American society and convince, in this way, of the kindness of the principles that the United States represented. The second instrument used by the American propagandists was the press, that shows the frustration of this idealism, because if we know that Marion, the cinematographic businessman in charge of the propaganda in Spain, had been instructed by Wilson to detach himself from the methods of other Allies, particularly regarding the bribes, everything seems to indicate that finally it became necessary to resort to some type of economic compensation.

Some conclusions:

In order to assess the achievements of propaganda with respect to Spain's neutrality, it will be still necessary to analyze the actual room for maneuver open to Madrid's foreign policy, which such propaganda wished to influence. As far as this question is concerned, it is evident that the wriggle room left to Spanish neutrality was tiny, this due to internal weaknesses, imbalances and divisions, and to the threats to the survival of the regime which involvement in the war would pose. And this is the key to the evolution of Spain's neutrality, despite the propaganda and the pressure exerted. In this way, even though the fall in April 1917 of Romanones—when he attempted to bring Spain closer to the Entente—depended on the involvement of the German Embassy and German propaganda, it had much more to do with the refusal of the King and the rest of his government to break the neutrality. Not even in August 1918, with Germany already defeated and Spanish-German relations extremely strained over the submarine question, would Spain take the decision to break off relations with Berlin, given the absence of national and international ties to face the abyss of war. If we bear in mind the tiny margin for movement open to Spain, or to be more precise her impotence, we can judge use of war propaganda in Spain as both a relative success and failure. The enthusiastic involvement of so many Spaniards in this propaganda war, on one side or the other, had more to do with internal conflicts that saw the war as an extension of these internal struggles. For more than four years, the defenders and opponents of the political status quo had numerous new propaganda resources at their disposal in the midst of an escalation of words, which magnified the social and political unrest.

¹⁷ Enrique Montero, "Luis Araquistain y la propaganda aliada durante la Primera Guerra Mundial", *Estudios de Historia Social*, nº 24-5 (1983): 245-66.

¹⁸ Cf. Gregg Wolper, "Wilsonian Public Diplomacy: The Committee on Public Information in Spain", *Diplomatic History*, nº 17 (1993): 17-34; and José Antonio Montero Jiménez, "Imágenes, ideología y propaganda. La labor del Comité de Información Pública de los Estados Unidos en España (1917-1918)", *Hispania*, vol. 68, nº 228 (2008): 211-34.

To conclude, we can add that the extraordinary build up of propaganda services also had much to do with the messianic character of a total war, which meant no stinting of resources, least of all for propaganda purposes, which, far beyond the aims of war diplomacy, were greatly overtaken by Spain's own internal dynamics. In this sense, belligerents's frenetic activity drove a propaganda war which had a major impact on Spain's internal struggle, and which amounted to a civil confrontation of words, ideas and principles, concealed beneath political inclinations; a confrontation present in the war and precursor of the final crisis of Spain's political system.

***Por la patria y por la verdad* – Germany's effort to maintain Spanish neutrality during the First World War**

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Introduction

During the First World War Spain quickly became a battleground for both warring sides. With little regard for the country's neutrality, the Central Powers as well as the Entente bribed newspaper editors and journalists, bought control over entire publications, fed newspapers with their articles and distributed their own publications all over Spain. Although Spain maintained its neutrality throughout the conflict, the ideological rift between the supporters of the Entente and of the Central Powers deepened existing divisions in Spanish society and caused great instability in Spanish domestic politics. Germany cleverly manipulated both sides of Spanish society during the First World War, without pressuring the Spanish government into actively joining the war on the side of the Central Powers but ensuring that Spain would not join the cause of the Entente either.

By outlining the German propaganda effort in Spain, this paper will argue that German propaganda during the First World War can indeed be seen as a success. How the network in Spain was built up with the help of a rapidly mobilized German community will be detailed and the various official and private propaganda institution will be explained. A brief overview is given of the main themes German propagandists employed in their propaganda in Spain, as well as mentioning some of the most prominent Spanish journalists and newspapers collaborating with the German administration. The heated debate between Spain's supporters of the Allies and the Central Powers, often used to the advantage of German propagandists, also expressed itself in a series of manifestos which will be given some attention. Political propaganda employed by the German embassy at Madrid culminated in the campaign against prime minister Count Romanones which further highlights the success of German propaganda during the First World War.

Spain at the outbreak of World War I

At the outbreak of the First World War the Spanish constitutional monarchy was in crisis. Internal tensions and factional infighting that plagued Spain from the end of the nineteenth century would become even greater during the war and bring the country close to a revolution. Dissatisfaction with the ruling elite had begun to increase after Spain's disastrous defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898 which not only resulted in the loss of the country's last overseas colonies, but also made the decline of the former European power painfully obvious to all Spaniards. Spain had lost its former glory and status; now, a minor player in Europe, it had been surpassed by more developed and modern nations like Britain, France and Germany. While demands for reform were growing stronger, the ruling elite – which had established a thinly disguised oligarchy based on a system of electoral fraud, patronage and bribery – tried to maintain the status quo. As the reform movement gathered momentum and groups previously excluded from power demanded to have their say in domestic politics, a stable running of the country became increasingly difficult. In Spain, the European conflict played out as a confrontation of the *Germanofilos*, supporters of Germany and the Central Powers, and the *Francofilos*, supporters of the Allies. These camps embodied a clash of ideals: the preservation of traditional values and a hierarchical society versus modernization and a liberal government.

Controversies between these two groups offered both belligerents ammunition for propaganda and allowed them to maintain their interests in Spain. Although not a major player in the conflict, Spain's geographical position was of great strategic importance since it allowed control over the sea routes to the western Mediterranean as well as the eastern Atlantic. The Spanish coastline offered an ideal refuge for submarines. The country was also able to provide a wide variety of foodstuffs and military supplies vital for the war effort of the belligerents.¹⁹ Those advantages turned Spain into a potential ally hotly contested by Germany and the Entente powers, with both camps always fearing Spain would join the war on the side of their enemy.

¹⁹ Ron M. Carden, *German policy toward neutral Spain, 1914 – 1918* (New York, London, 1987), pp 2–3.

German propaganda during the First World War – a failure?

An examination of the German propaganda effort in Spain refutes the theory Germany's unsuccessful propaganda campaign was to blame for the loss of the war²⁰ – a popular argument most famously brought forward by General Ludendorff and Adolf Hitler. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler described Germany's propaganda effort during the First World War as worse than insignificant, insisting the German system of information completely failed. Hitler asserted that the propaganda effort carried out was useless and to some extent harmful to Germany's cause.²¹ Ludendorff also insisted that Germany was unable to respond to the overwhelming power of enemy propaganda.²² German propaganda abroad, according to Ludendorff, was only implemented and carried out with great difficulty achieving very little results.²³ Especially in neutral countries, German propaganda activity completely failed to make an impact as Ludendorff assessed. In his memoirs he wrote: "The way to the soul of the neutrals was barred to us. We did not know how to open it."²⁴ Ludendorff's and Hitler's assessment, however, can be refuted – at least in relation to German propaganda in Spain – by the following contemporary analysis of a Spanish novelist:

"From the first day of the war the Germans have been campaigning in Spain. From the first they realized the tremendous value and power of publicity ... They went after public opinion and kept after it with the same precision and the same constancy with which they have pursued the rest of their war program. They have spent millions of dollars, bought entire control of newspapers and magazines." He concluded "The Allies have not conducted a campaign in my country at any time."²⁵

Mobilizing the German community in Spain and setting up a propaganda network

German propaganda during the First World War benefited from Spain's fraught domestic situation as well as strong pro-German sentiments in Spanish society. The network that was set up on the Iberian Peninsula was largely facilitated by a small but very active German community who helped to influence Spanish public opinion via the press. With the outbreak of the war the Auswärtige Amt made concerted efforts to gain Spain's favor and ensure the country's neutrality. The embassy at Madrid, led by ambassador Prince Maximilian von Ratibor und Corvey, became the headquarters for all German propaganda activity. Ratibor himself never tired in his pursuit of courting Spanish public opinion and defending the German cause. Within the first weeks of the war he arranged for pro-German articles to be placed in the Spanish press since German news and publications only reached the country at the end of August 1914.²⁶

Attempts by the German government and private residents to influence Spanish public opinion had already been made prior to World War I, albeit on a very modest scale. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Spanish press was mainly supplied by the French news agency *Havas* and its Spanish subsidiary, *Fabra*. Reports or news from Germany rarely made it into Spanish publications. Alexander Bruns, director of the Berlitz language school in Madrid, identified this as a problem and though his attempts to establish an office of the German news agency *Wolffsche Telegraphenbureau* in Madrid in 1906 failed, Bruns managed to place German news in Spanish newspapers.²⁷ By 1908 he had gained support from the Spanish government regarding an improved news exchange between both countries.²⁸

Besides Bruns, another active German propagandist was August Hofer, the manager of a printing business in Barcelona, who had lived in Spain since 1906. Hofer also blamed the lack of a direct news exchange between both countries for the negative portrayal of Germany in the Spanish press and argued French ideas were being forced onto Spaniards.²⁹ From 1910 onwards he supplied Spanish papers with German news, with

²⁰ Peter Grupp, 'Voraussetzungen und Praxis deutscher amtlicher Kulturpropaganda in den neutralen Staaten während des Ersten Weltkrieges', in W. Michalka (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg, Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse* (München, 1994), pp 799–824.

²¹ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (London, 1972), p. 106.

²² Erich Ludendorff, *Concise Ludendorff memoirs, 1914–1918* (London, 1933), p. 14, p. 168.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp 174–5.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁵ *The New York Times*, 18.3.1917.

²⁶ Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin [hereafter PA] R11862, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 1, Presse, Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 12 October 1914.

²⁷ PA, R11866, Spanien No. 46 geheim, Bd. 1, Subventionierung spanischer Zeitungen, Radowitz at Embassy Madrid to Reichskanzler von Bülow, 20.6.1906.

²⁸ PA, R11867, Spanien No. 46 geheim, Bd. 2, Subventionierung spanischer Zeitungen, Oberndorff at Embassy Madrid to Reichskanzler von Bülow, 5.12.1908.

²⁹ PA, R11868, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 3, Subventionierung spanischer Zeitungen, Report A. Hofer regarding suggestions for the organisation of a Spanish-German news service for the press, 5.3.1912.

little success, however.³⁰ It can be said that beside official diplomatic efforts, the German community in Spain played an important role in fostering German Spanish relations during the conflict. Thanks to the work of private propagandists such as Hofer and Bruns before 1914, Germany was able to quickly establish a network that would help to ensure Spanish neutrality benevolent to Germany and the Central Powers.

The German embassy at Madrid was grateful for the work done by privateers and was heavily reliant on their contacts in Spain. In November 1914 the ambassador was able to report to the Auswärtige Amt on the early successes of German propaganda which, as he pointed out, were only achieved with the help of the German communities in Barcelona and Madrid.³¹ Amongst those private propagandists was Carl Coppel, owner of a watch factory in Madrid, who published regular information leaflets under the title *Por la patria y por la verdad* which reported on the course of the war.³² The British Foreign Office also attributed the success of German propaganda to the "army of agents" recruited from German residents in Spain.³³ With the outbreak of the war members of the German colony initiated campaigns to spread pro-German news in Spain in an attempt to win over Spanish public opinion by influencing the press.³⁴ Pro-allied publications were targeted with German propaganda in the hope that editors might prefer printing German news instead of writing their own articles.³⁵ German publications were also sent to influential Spanish personalities. For example, at the opening of the Cortes in November 1914, the German embassy sent out official documents relating to the outbreak of the war to all senators and deputies.³⁶

Official and private propaganda institutions

In the early stages of the war the German propaganda initiative was far from coherent and private initiatives worked alongside and often in competition to official German propaganda institutions. The central bureau for German propaganda abroad during the First World War was the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst (Zfa) [Central administration for services abroad] which operated under the supervision of the Auswärtige Amt that in addition maintained its own news department also responsible for propaganda abroad. The Zfa produced and distributed propaganda material such as pamphlets, posters, newspapers, magazines and books. It also had a department for photographs, illustrations and films. The propaganda of the Zfa mainly targeted neutral countries like Switzerland, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and the United States but also included to some extent propaganda in Spain.³⁷

A private news service especially dedicated to Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries was founded in Frankfurt am Main in August 1914. The service, which was managed by personalities from industry, banking, press and the diplomatic world, hoped to curb the influence of *Reuters* and *Havas* and supplied material to private news services in Spain as well as the embassy and the consulates.³⁸ Other official German propaganda institutions were the German military, which was in charge of censorship. In Spain the main German propagandists were the embassy at Madrid as well as the various German consulates which collaborated with the Auswärtige Amt and other private propaganda operations.

Amongst those private services was August Hofer's Deutscher Nachrichtendienst für Spanien [German news service for Spain]. Founded in August 1914, it was to emerge as one of the most important German news services operating in the country.³⁹ Thanks to access to a radio transmitter, Hofer was able to receive telegrams from Germany which he would translate and then print and distribute to Spanish newspapers as well as sending them to South and Central America.⁴⁰ He also published a daily newspaper called *Correspondencia Alemana*, the weekly illustrated paper *La Neutralidad* and *Germania*, which appeared on a fortnightly basis.

³⁰ August Hofer, *Deutschtum in Spanien* (Barcelona, 1918), p. 71.

³¹ PA, R11868, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 3, Subventionierung spanischer Zeitungen, Ratibor to Auswärtiges Amt, 5.11.1914.

³² Ibid., Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 6.11.1914

³³ National Archives, Kew [hereafter NA] CAB/24/31, Image ref. 0040, Cabinet Papers, Intelligence Bureau, Department of Information 1917, Weekly report on Spain XIII, 7.11.1917.

³⁴ PA, R11868, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 3, Subventionierung spanischer Zeitungen, Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 6.11.1914.

³⁵ PA, R11862, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 1, Presse, Wilhelm Rautzenberg to Nachrichtendienst Frankfurt/Main, 9.11.1914.

³⁶ Ibid., Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 6.11.1914.

³⁷ Jens Albes, *Worte wie Waffen – Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen, 1996), pp 91–2.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 101.

³⁹ August Hofer, *Deutschtum in Spanien* (Barcelona, 1918), p. 8.

⁴⁰ PA, R11862, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 1, Presse, Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 12.10.1914.

Beside his active role in press propaganda, Hofer was also involved in promoting German culture in Spain. In order to combat the negative, militaristic image employed by the Allies, German propagandists were conscious of the need to highlight Germany's cultural achievements. Although German officials did not take cultural propaganda too seriously, they nevertheless hoped to make a positive impression on neutrals by stressing the country's success in the areas of culture and science. Themes of cultural propaganda ranged from town planning, industry, religion, philosophy, to literature and theater.⁴¹ Hofer, for example, organized lectures on new technological developments, Germany's social policies and talks about German music which were accompanied by piano recitals.

While Hofer was operating from Barcelona, in Madrid the vice director of the German electricity company AEG, Wilhelm Rautzenberg, was also running a news service. Other subsidiaries of AEG in Spain carried out similar propaganda work in collaboration with the head office in Madrid.⁴² In contrast to Hofer's service, which was specialised in the fast transmission of German news, Rautzenberg's service translated longer articles from German publications and tried to place them in Spanish newspapers.⁴³ AEG had been a well established company in Spain prior to 1914 and therefore, its propaganda service was able to build on existing business connection and mainly focused on newspapers in which the company placed advertisements.⁴⁴

The propaganda activities of the German community in Spain were also noted by outside observers. *The Times* reported in November 1915 of an ant-like industry organized with the involvement of all German residents.⁴⁵ Another article published in *The Times*, in February 1916, described them as "a veritable army in discipline and cohesion. There is not an idle man among them Every German is a natural tout and canvasser for his country ...".⁴⁶ It is difficult to give a precise figure of how many Germans lived in Spain during the period of the First World War since residents were not obliged to register with the embassy or consulates. British estimates saw the German community between 50.000 and 80.000 strong.⁴⁷ According to German statistics these estimates seemed to have been exaggerated. Before the war there were approximately 7–8.000 Germans residing in Spain. During the war those were joined by refugees from Cameroon and Portugal bringing the total number of German residents to around 10.000 to 30.000.⁴⁸ Although the British and French communities in Spain were far larger than the German, the Allies failed to capitalize on this advantage and did not mobilize their communities from the start of the war leaving the field to Germany and the Central Powers.⁴⁹ This could be explained by the economic advantage the Allies held in Spain which was often used to pressure the Spanish government in cooperating with the demands of the Entente. Britain in particular depended on Spanish supplies of iron ore and pyrites. In return, Spain urgently needed coal and cotton as well as other supplies which could only be obtained from the Allies.⁵⁰

Main themes of German propaganda

Themes of German propaganda mainly focused on fostering the idea of a defensive war, justifications for the violation of Belgian neutrality and reasons for the continuation of unrestricted submarine warfare. Other

⁴¹ Peter Grupp, 'Voraussetzungen und Praxis deutscher amtlicher Kulturpropaganda in den neutralen Staaten während des Ersten Weltkrieges', in W. Michalka (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg, Wirkung, Wahrnehmung, Analyse* (München, 1994), pp 799–824.

⁴² PA, R11868, Spanien No. 46, Bd. 3, Subventionierung spanischer Zeitungen, 1912–14, Ratibor to Auswärtige Amt, 6.11.1914.

⁴³ Jens Albes, *Worte wie Waffen – Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen, 1996), p. 152.

⁴⁴ Ron M Carden, *German policy toward neutral Spain, 1914 – 1918* (New York, London, 1987), pp 73–4.

⁴⁵ *The Times*, 23.11.1915.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.2.1916.

⁴⁷ *The Times*, 12.9.1916. NA, FO371/2760, Foreign Office, Spain & Portugal (War) 1916, Secret report Spain, 22.1.1916.

⁴⁸ Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde [hereafter BA] R901/30168 Die Überwachung der Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach Spanien 1908–20, German consulate Madrid to Auswärtige Amt, 6.2.1920. BA, R1001/3977, Internierung der Kamerundeutschen in Spanien, Ratibor to Auswärtige Amt, 7.2.1916. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Krieg 1914/5966, *Por la patria y por la verdad* (No 1) 16.3.1915. Dirk Zeiseler, *Spanien im Kalkül der britischen Kriegspolitik 1914 – 1918. Die politische, wirtschaftliche und propagandistische Bedeutung eines neutralen Landes für Großbritannien im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Vienna, 2002), p. 111. Jens Albes, *Worte wie Waffen – Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen, 1996), p. 174.

⁴⁹ Dirk Zeiseler, *Spanien im Kalkül der britischen Kriegspolitik 1914 – 1918. Die politische, wirtschaftliche und propagandistische Bedeutung eines neutralen Landes für Großbritannien im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Vienna, 2002), p. 111.

⁵⁰ NA, CAB/24/7, Image ref. 0064, Cabinet Papers, War Cabinet, Memorandum by the Minister of Munitions, 14.3.1917. Also see, NA, CAB/24/35, Image ref. 0073, Cabinet Papers, Intelligence Bureau, Department of Information 1917, Weekly report on Spain XV, 13.12.1917.

popular topics frequently highlighted in pro-German articles were the export of contraband to the Allies and the use of Spanish ship space for England and France. German propaganda in Spain also appealed to the country's colonial ambitions in Morocco, Gibraltar and Portugal, which in the past had been subject to negotiations with the Allies and often led to Spain drawing the shorter straw.⁵¹

The German media campaign successfully presented the Central Powers as defenders of traditional, Catholic values and supporters of the Spanish monarchy and ruling order. By portraying the Allies as followers of left wing republican and anarchist groups,⁵² German propagandists ensured Spain would enforce its policy of strict neutrality and not join the war on the side of the Entente. Since joining Germany in the war was not a possibility, the *Germanofilos* showed their support for the Central Power's by defending strict neutrality. Their support was hidden behind declarations of patriotism and rejection of any outside interference into Spanish affairs. Left-wing publications on the other hand argued a departure from neutrality would negatively impact on the working classes.⁵³

Spaniards collaborating with the German administration

The propaganda network the Germans had built up in Spain depended on the collaboration of Spanish journalists and newspaper editors as well as businessmen, politicians and diplomats. Some of those collaborations were achieved with bribery. Since many Spanish newspapers were struggling financially due to rising prices in paper, financial contributions by German diplomats and private propagandists offered a welcome relief during times of economic hardship. Further pressure was put on newspaper editors when German businesses stopped buying advertisement space in pro-Allied newspapers, ensuring a loss of circulation amongst these publications.⁵⁴ Many Spanish editors and journalists, however, were more than willing to make a contribution to the German war effort in the hope this would be to the advantage of Spain. The main Madrid papers controlled by the German embassy were *La Tribuna*, *Correo Español*, *ABC* and several smaller publications. Pro-allied newspapers such as *El Imparcial*, *El Herald*, *Vanguardia*, the republican papers *Diluvio* and *España Nueva* were also to some extent influenced by German diplomats.⁵⁵ Although the collaboration with *Diluvio* was not seen as very successful, the embassy maintained its financial support in order to avoid the paper being taken over by the Allies.⁵⁶

Spanish journalists and writers who collaborated with the German administration, such as Ricardo Leon for example, not only received financial rewards but were also facilitated in trips to Germany and the Western front. Leon was lavished with attention by German officials during his stay in Germany. He was able to visit different social and industrial facilities and was also introduced to German politicians. In return, it was hoped that the positive reception he received would lead to a favorable portrayal of Germany in the Spanish press.⁵⁷ The *Vanguardia* correspondent Enrique Domínguez Rodiño, reporting from Bremen, was also a frequent collaborator of the German administration and received financial support from the Auswärtige Amt.⁵⁸ Javier Bueno, who prior to the war had been the longtime editor of the anarchist paper *El Radical* and a confidante of Radical Republican leader Alejandro Lerroux,⁵⁹ changed his political direction during the war and started writing pro-German propaganda for *La Tribuna* and other Spanish publications.⁶⁰

War of the manifestos

The conflict between Spain's *Germanofilos* and *Francofilos* during the First World War led to a series of manifestos which showed support for either of the belligerents and also often attacked the opposing Spanish camp. The frenzied discussions carried on in these publications were aptly described as the war of the manifestos.⁶¹ One of the most important ones, *Manifiesto de los intelectuales españoles*, appeared in *Iberia* on

⁵¹ NA, FO371/2470, Foreign Office, Spain & Portugal (War) 1915, Hardinge to Grey, 3.1.1915.

⁵² Francisco Romero Salvadó, *Spain 1914 – 1918. Between war and revolution* (London, 1999), pp 10; 17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵⁴ *The Times*, 26.2.1916.

⁵⁵ PA, R123013, Beeinflussung der spanischen Presse 1915–17, Jagow to Grünau, 15.9.1916; Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 10.6.1916.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Ratibor to Bethmann Hollweg, 21.7.1915; Jagow to Grünau, 15.9.1916.

⁵⁷ PA, R123009, Spanien 2, Bd. 1, Die Presse in Madrid, Unsigned report, given to Freiherr v. Mumm for review, 10.7.1916.

⁵⁸ PA, R123007, Spanien 1, Bd. 1, Die Presse in Spanien (außer in Madrid), Report Welzceck Auswärtiges Amt, 5.6.1917.

⁵⁹ *El Mentidero*, 26.9.1914.

⁶⁰ *El País*, 4.10.1914.

⁶¹ Manuel Alzamora Menéndez, *La Generación del 14. Una aventura intelectual* (Madrid, 2006), p. 277.

10 July 1915 and was written in support of the Allies.⁶² It was attributed to writer Ramón Pérez de Ayala and expressed solidarity with the Allied cause - the only cause that also represented the interests and ambitions of the Spanish nation.⁶³ As a response a pro-German manifesto followed, penned by Literature Nobel prize laureate and well known Spanish playwright Jacinto Benavente. It was published in *La Tribuna* on 18 December 1915 under the title *Amistad Alemana-Española*. Besides expressing admiration for the German state and German culture, it also claimed that German and Spanish interests were harmonious while at the same time affirming Spanish neutrality.⁶⁴ In the manifesto Benavente pointed out that French militarism was far worse than German while stressing that France and Britain had never been friends of Spain, citing their failure to come to Spain's aid in the Spanish-American War. Therefore, Spanish neutrality should not be viewed as betrayal or disloyalty to anybody. The playwright also expressed the wish for peace and for Spain to be independent from any outside influence.⁶⁵ Amongst the 16.000 signatories of the pro-German manifesto were intellectuals, scholars and religious figures.⁶⁶ The manifesto was reproduced by August Hofer's news service which distributed 30.000 copies of it in 1916.⁶⁷ The text was also reprinted in the German press as *ABC* was able to report.⁶⁸ It appears, that many manifestos came about independently and were only subsequently used for propaganda purposes by the belligerents.

The year 1915 also saw the publication of the *Manifiesto de los amigos de la unidad moral de Europa*, authored by Eugenio d'Ors, it advocated for European unity. In April 1915 Catalan artists, writers, intellectuals, politicians and industrialists published a manifesto in *España* declaring their solidarity with their neighbour France.⁶⁹ To highlight the anniversary of the destruction of the University of Louvain a number of Spanish lawyers, law professors and journalists produced a Catholic manifesto also published in *España* on 23.9.1915.⁷⁰ At a later stage of the war, on 18 January 1917, the manifesto of the *Liga Anti-Germanofila* appeared in *España*.⁷¹ The *Liga Anti-Germanofila* especially attacked those who claimed to defend neutrality. Signed by leading intellectuals such as Miguel de Unamuno, Manuel Azaña, Luis Araquistáin and Melquíades Álvarez, the manifesto accused the *Germanofilos* of hiding behind the concept of neutrality which simply served to mask their devotion to Germany and their hate for the Allied countries.⁷² The *Liga* was founded in the hope to clear up persisting opinions that Germanophilism meant neutrality while being pro-Allied stood for interventionism. Germanophilism was viewed by the *Liga* as false, as anti-neutrality. The type of neutrality defended by the *Germanofilos*, according to the manifesto of the *Liga*, would have enabled Germany to continue taking advantage of Spain by violating international law. Stating that they were not anti-German but in opposition to the German state which to them represented the negation of small nations in its foreign policies, the negation of democracy and the civic spirit in general, the *Liga Anti-Germanofila* vowed to fight Spain's internal enemies.⁷³

Political propaganda

Alongside a very active press propaganda campaign, German diplomats used their political contacts to assert their influence on Spanish politics. They resorted to election bribery, a common feature of Spanish politics at the time, in order to ensure a balance between *Francofilos* and *Germanofilos* in the Spanish government. Similarly to the German propaganda effort, no costs were spared to influence neutral Spain. Until the end of the war, German expenditure for propaganda in Spain far surpassed that of the Allies.⁷⁴ At the

⁶² Paloma Ortiz-de-Urbina, 'La Primera Guerra Mundial y sus consecuencias: la imagen de Alemania en España a partir de 1914', in *Revista de Filología Alemana*, Vol. 15 (2007), pp 193–206.

⁶³ Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *Francofilos y Germanofilos. Los Españoles en la guerra Europea* (Madrid, 1973), pp 24–5.

⁶⁴ Paloma Ortiz-de-Urbina, 'La Primera Guerra Mundial y sus consecuencias: la imagen de Alemania en España a partir de 1914', in *Revista de Filología Alemana*, Vol. 15 (2007), pp 193–206.

⁶⁵ Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *Francofilos y Germanofilos. Los Españoles en la guerra Europea* (Madrid, 1973), pp 340–3.

⁶⁶ PA, R123007, Spanien 1, Bd. 1, Die Presse in Spanien (außer in Madrid), Report Horstmann, given for review to Freiherr v. Mumm, 8.4.1916.

⁶⁷ August Hofer, *Deutschum in Spanien* (Barcelona, 1918), p. 25.

⁶⁸ *ABC*, 30.12.1915.

⁶⁹ Manuel Alzamora Menéndez, *La Generación del 14. Una aventura intelectual* (Madrid, 2006), pp 277; 279. D'Ors manifesto was published on 5.2.1915 in *España*.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁷¹ Paloma Ortiz-de-Urbina, 'La Primera Guerra Mundial y sus consecuencias: la imagen de Alemania en España a partir de 1914', in *Revista de Filología Alemana*, Vol. 15 (2007), pp 193 – 206.

⁷² Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *Francofilos y Germanofilos. Los Españoles en la guerra Europea* (Madrid, 1973), p. 25.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp 355–6.

⁷⁴ Jens Albes, *Worte wie Waffen – Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen, 1996), p. 376.

beginning of 1917 the British overall investment in propaganda in Spain was approximately 24,000 pesetas. In 1916 the German embassy had paid 35,000 pesetas per month to *El Dia* alone.⁷⁵ In June 1915 state secretary von Jagow confirmed to ambassador Ratibor that any amount of money would be at his disposal to win over leading Spanish politicians.⁷⁶ As already could be seen, rather than forcing Spain to side with the Central Powers, Germany was cleverly portrayed as a champion of Spanish neutrality, fostering an anti-interventionist mood in Spain and therefore avoiding the country defecting to the side of the Allies. While trying to advance neutrality amongst the working class movement in particular, the German diplomats also exacerbated divisions within Republicans and Socialists.⁷⁷

To limit British influence in Spain political propaganda using events such as the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland was employed. The *Imparcial* printed an article entitled *A tribute to green Erin* pointing out the close ties between Ireland and Spain calling for sympathy for the defeated Irish.⁷⁸ Concerned by the negative press against Britain, the Foreign Office tried to stop proposed services in Barcelona which were to take place in honour of the Irish revolutionaries killed in the rebellion.⁷⁹ Anti-British activity initiated by the German embassy, however, did not stop at propaganda but also targeted British diplomats deployed to Spain. When news of a possible recall of British ambassador Sir Arthur Hardinge reached Ratibor, the German ambassador tried to keep his British colleague in office since he deemed him harmless. According to Ratibor, Hardinge had failed to gain sympathies in political and society circles and even managed to look ridiculous at times. The German ambassador spread rumours about Hardinge's recall in the Spanish press stating that pro-German circles are pleased about the development. Ratibor hoped his tactics of reverse psychology would prompt the British to keep Hardinge in Spain.⁸⁰ Hardinge indeed remained in the country until the end of the First World War and was only replaced in 1919.

The campaign against Count Romanones

The 'highlight' of German meddling in Spanish domestic affairs, however, could be the events that led to the resignation of Count Romanones' in April 1917.⁸¹ While the German contribution to the prime minister's fall should not be overstated, it is necessary to point out how a feverishly organised campaign by ambassador Ratibor helped to turn public opinion against Romanones and increased his isolation even within his own party, the Liberals. The Count, who favoured intervention, had made his pro-allied stance clear from the outset of the war. He was unable though to break off relations with Germany and the Central Powers, but instead tried to curb German activities in Spain which angered ambassador Ratibor. Romanones also faced an increasingly pro-German public opinion and felt that towards the middle of the war support for the Allies in Spain was waning.⁸² German diplomatic correspondence gives the impression of a personal vendetta carried out by the ambassador who abandoned all rules of diplomacy in his pursuit of Romanones' downfall. In his memoirs Count Romanones remarked that Germany showed a tenacity unlike any other country in its attempts to drag Spain into the war. His adversary Ratibor, according to Romanones, carried out the instructions of his government with more zeal than discretion.⁸³ The *Äuswärtige Amt* was also of the opinion Ratibor's methods to remove Romanones were too dangerous and could have compromised the position of their diplomats on the Iberian peninsula.⁸⁴

At the beginning of September 1916 Ratibor requested permission to do everything necessary to dispose of the pro-allied prime minister,⁸⁵ causing a discussion amongst diplomats in Berlin and the OHL about how to proceed in the matter. General Ludendorff demanded that Ratibor be authorized to find a way of removing Romanones without putting pressure on the Spanish king.⁸⁶ The *Auswärtige Amt* had to give way to requests

⁷⁵ Francisco Romero Salvadó, *Spain 1914 – 1918. Between war and revolution* (London, 1999), pp 68–9.

⁷⁶ PA, R123013, Beeinflussung der spanischen Presse 1915–17, v. Jagow to Ratibor 2.6.1915.

⁷⁷ PA, R21239, Weltkrieg Nr. 11q Geheim Bd. 1 – Unternehmungen und Aufwiegelungen gegen unsere Feinde in Spanien, Ratibor to *Äuswärtige Amt* 18.6.1915.

⁷⁸ NA, FO371/2758, Foreign Office, Spain & Portugal (War) 1916, Hardinge to Grey, Confidential report May 1916, 6.5.1916.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Hardinge to Grey, 7.6.1916.

⁸⁰ PA, R11984, Spanien No. 59, Bd. 4, Das diplomatische Korps in Madrid 1913–20, Ratibor to *Auswärtige Amt*, 18.7.1918.

⁸¹ NA, CAB/24/146, Image ref. 0013, Cabinet Papers, Appreciation of the attached western and general report, No. 13, 26.4.1917.

⁸² Conde de Romanones, *Notas de una vida* (Madrid, 1999), p. 383.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 385.

⁸⁴ PA, R12013, Spanien 61 secr. – Die Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und Deutschland 1916, signed Jagow 15.9.1916.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Ratibor to *Äuswärtige Amt* 9.9.1916.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Legationsrat Grünau to *Äuswärtige Amt* 15.9.1916.

from the military supreme command and prompted Ratibor into action. The German military leadership gained substantial power during the war which allowed them to have a decisive say in political matters. The military's interference in diplomatic relations with Spain highlights how political considerations were subjugated to military demands despite the risk of turning a hitherto friendly, neutral state against Germany. In November 1916 the ambassador was able to confirm his plan to remove Romanones, consisting of supporting the neutrality campaign, instituting press propaganda and influencing Alfonso XIII, was in place.⁸⁷

The press campaign launched against the prime minister used his success as a businessman to portray him as a greedy war profiteer claiming he was involved in contraband trade. According to Romanones' critics, the interest he held in the Spanish mining industry was not compatible with his duties as prime minister and represented a threat to the country's neutrality.⁸⁸ *La Nación* printed several articles defaming the prime minister. In a particularly strongly worded article from May 1917 titled "The true enemy" the publication called for a destruction of "all the germs of influence of the Count Romanones in Spanish politics" and stated "The whole nation knows this man [Romanones] is her enemy therefore they keep attacking his intrigues, his declarations and his obvious intentions."⁸⁹ Romanones later described the press campaign directed against him as something no other politician has had to suffer before. "Germany not only torpedoed our merchant navy but also torpedoed me with great eagerness.", the Count resumed.⁹⁰

Romanones tried to curb the campaign by enforcing censorship and prohibiting the publication of some newspaper editions. Though effective, the *Äuswärtige Amt* expressed concern over Ratibor's methods and urged him to keep up the appearance of a civil relationship with the prime minister, who had complained about his constant interference in Spanish politics.⁹¹ Count Romanones' position was becoming increasingly precarious and eventually he was forced to resign in April 1917.

Conclusion

German influence on Spanish public opinion ensured a heated debate over neutrality which further widened the gap between *Germanofilos* and *Francofilos*. Contemporaries even described the conflict as a civil war of spirits which did great harm to Spain.⁹² Widespread German propaganda activity in the face of great allied economic advantage as well as much larger British and French communities in Spain, is further proof for the effectiveness of German propaganda during the First World War. The effort organized by German private propagandists and diplomats refutes the claim of Allied superiority in the struggle for neutral opinion.⁹³ In Spain the German administration with the help of private residents staged an efficient and determined assault on public opinion.

Undoubtedly the Allies had hoped their advantageous position in Spain would render an intensive campaign unnecessary. The country's dependence on British coal was frequently used as a bargaining tool not only to receive vital goods and resources in return but also to put pressure on Spain to align herself with the Allies and curb German influence. Various Spanish governments during the war, however, did not diverge from a policy of strict neutrality and avoided an open declaration of sympathy for one of the warring parties. This can also be attributed to the efforts of portraying Germany and the Central Powers as champions of Spanish neutrality and to a clever manipulation of the ideological differences within Spanish society. Although Allied economic supremacy ensured Spain would not join the Central Powers either, the lack of effective Allied propaganda countering German efforts meant that insufficient measures were taken to convince the conservative Germanophile elements of Spanish society of the merits of democracy and liberal ideas. As Spain's civil war of words continued, German diplomats aggravated the conflict between the different oppositional movements and the ruling regime even further.

⁸⁷ PA, R11950, *Spanische Staatsmänner 1913–17*, Ratibor to *Äuswärtige Amt* 4.11.1916.

⁸⁸ Jens Albes, *Worte wie Waffen – Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen, 1996), pp 283–4.

⁸⁹ *La Nación*, 10.5.1917.

⁹⁰ Conde de Romanones, *Notas de una vida* (Madrid, 1999), pp 393–4.

⁹¹ Jens Albes, *Worte wie Waffen – Die deutsche Propaganda in Spanien während des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Essen, 1996), p. 285.

⁹² Fernando Diaz-Plaja, *Francofilos y Germanofilos. Los Españoles en la guerra Europea* (Madrid, 1973), p. 14.

⁹³ Cate Haste, *Keep the home fires burning: propaganda in the First World War* (London, 1977) Haste argues German propaganda to neutrals was in general less efficient than British. Germany failed to seize initiative not only in counteracting allied propaganda to neutrals about German war guilt but also in exploiting in simplest terms, using simple images, those events which could denigrate the enemy. p. 39. Troy R.E. Paddock (ed), *A call to arms: propaganda, public opinion, and newspapers in the Great War* (Westport & London, 2004) Paddock argues that the Entente powers had the upper hand in the propaganda battle for neutral powers and that Germans did not overcome the disadvantage of admitting to having violated Belgium neutrality. p. 204.

British Propaganda Dilemma over Neutrals during the Great War: More Business than Usual?

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In the first year of the conflict, the Foreign Office was keen to promote and extend, "as a matter of patriotism", a retaliatory campaign against companies and individuals who acted in opposition to national interest in neutral countries. Indeed, the enhancement of that policy was strongly held by merchant communities, who saw an opportunity to take an advantage of their identity as Britons abroad. This aspect allows to explore broadly not only the challenges issued to the "war of words" waged in neutral merchant states but also to see, in a new light, the warfare in peripheral theatres. We propose, then, an approach to one of the most compromising points for the running of the British propaganda machine during the First World War: national ambitions and moves towards neutrals.

British Winning Strategies and War Aims

In spite of latest remarkable contributions, the neutrality still remains an understudied topic by comparison to those related to belligerent societies, which have traditionally been the focus of the international scholarship from diverse military, political, economic, social and cultural views. Thus, a hundred years later, the diversity of "neutrals and neutralities" in the First World War strikingly continues to offer, in many ways, an open field to do research and put into perspective. Particularly the study of the propaganda is fruitful to test, within the scope of war schemes and targets, the expectations of warring sides about neutral states. Marc Frey's works already gave the primary emphasis on the importance gained by the northern neutrals (Holland and Scandinavian countries) to the belligerent war economies and eventual plans for peace. German *Mitteuropa* and British maritime blockade were two main issues in political and diplomatic correspondence during the conflict.⁹⁴

However, both sides were not on equal terms to fight on that vital ground. Due to her overwhelming merchant fleet and financial resources, Great Britain took the lead of the economic warfare in the autumn of 1914. Even in such an early stage, neutrals became not as much an essential source for military supplies and rear consumption as an integral part of the strategy for a potentially "Greater Britain". From then on, the postwar configuration, if we put the controversy of the "short-war illusion" to one side, was crucial to British statecraft and decision makers' mentalities. In such a view, the economics had a deep impact on initial queries relative to neutral press. Incidentally, it would challenge the alleged British intentions of entering the war to safeguard the integrity of neutral and small nations.

On those bases, in the following introductory pages, we will briefly put the propaganda outline in the context of three issues converging at the British national appeal launched in August 1914: naval hegemony, commercial retaliation and their effects on neutral rights discourse. These three main points were against the backdrop of the arguments to legitimize the mobilization of the British community, depending always on either neutral or belligerent interests at play.

So, these are necessary preliminaries to deal with:

1. The prewar planning in the Committee of Imperial Defense (CID) and the concept of warfare consequently entailed upon since 1904. Clearly then, the discussions showed the antagonism between departments which would eventually have been engaged in war as well as inner dissensions of their own, particularly within the Admiralty. A prime significant example was the dilemma over how to tackle naval

* Research Project: "El Mediterráneo en las relaciones internacionales de España durante la Primera Guerra Mundial" (HAR.2010-16680) EEHAR CSIC-Rome.

⁹⁴ See FREY, M.: "The Neutrals and World War One", *Defense Studies*, 3 (2000), pp.1-39; SOUTOU, G.H.: *L'or et le sang. Les buts de guerre économiques de la Première Guerre Mondiale*, Paris, Fayard, 1989; for a more recent approach on the Dutch case-study, it may be consulted: KRUIZINGA, S: "NOT Neutrality. The Dutch Government, the Netherlands Oversea Trust Company, and the Entente blockade of Germany, 1914-1918", Johan den Hertog and Samuël Kruizinga (eds.), *Caught in the Middle: Neutrals, Neutrality, and the First World War*, Amsterdam University Press, 2011, pp. 85-104.

coercion against Germany. There were two main positions on whether naval constraints should merely be restricted to a close-coastal blockade or not. Against the conventional blockade policy the more aggressive idea of warfare arose, within the scope of what has been called "Fisher naval revolution" or unlimited use of economic retaliation. In other words, sea trade routes should be tampered with preventing all neutral commerce from Germany. That proactive policy was based on the belief that Britain's opponents, being aware of their weaker battle fleets, would primarily target British trade. According to Lambert's works, maximalist economic warfare was "no longer a component of naval strategy but rather had become the foundation of national grand strategy".⁹⁵ Nonetheless, Lambert's interpretations have been discussed by other naval historians.⁹⁶ The terms of this scholarly debate exceed our concrete research purpose. But what appears more appealing here is the inclusion of the neutral issue in prewar high-level planning. In 1912, the formation of the so-called "Committee Desart" demonstrated that the neutral concern essentially had to do with discussions on "Trade with the Enemy" and retaliatory measures in wartime. In this sense, attention should be drawn to the updated sights put forward by naval history which, borrowing recent Seligmann's words, has evolved from "an old-fashioned, largely technical and thoroughly unimaginative narrative-based sub-genre" into a renewed field offering "new interpretations of historical events with a maritime dimension".⁹⁷ British propaganda activities during the First World War were definitely affected by both maritime and economic dimensions.

2. Foreign Office guidelines on an issue as sensitive as neutral rights, in conjunction with British merchant lobbies in neutral markets in 1914-1915. The neutral issue was a controversial cornerstone of the alleged "British Grand Strategy" well until into 1916. Overall, the more self-motivated civilian mobilization did not only make a difference to Home Front and Front Line, it also affected another front: the "Neutral Front".⁹⁸ The early mobilization of British merchant residents in neutral countries, fuelled by a deep feeling of national community under siege, was embodied to a great extent in the Chambers of Commerce created after the start of the conflict and, in an advanced stage, in the Federation of British Industries. Commercial organizations intended to run propaganda quite independently of home needs. Their initiatives would dispute the consistency of the London political discourse.⁹⁹ For instance, Dehne has depicted this reality in South America.¹⁰⁰ Britons would have been let down by home authorities' negligent attitude towards German business circles in Brazil, Argentina or Uruguay.¹⁰¹ At that moment, the Foreign Office official position was that Great Britain could under any circumstances afford to undermine their claim that she had entered war in defense of neutral nationalities. That principle was diplomatically vital as Harcourt and Grey posed in relation to Dutch neutrality.¹⁰²

Paradoxically from Hoffmann's thesis, re-elaborated later in imperialist terms by Kennedy and his followers in the 80s, the idea of economics was put through the definite "realities behind diplomacy" resulting in the conflict.¹⁰³ However, the supposed British decline in 1914 has been argued to a greater or lesser degree by scholars. From an iconoclastic view, Ferguson for instance challenged the idea that the history of Europe between 1870 and 1914 might be seen as a history of Anglo-German rivalry.¹⁰⁴ Contrarily, the city financial strength as true muscle of international trade, the hegemony over naval merchant routs, shipping and freight insurances, coal victualling or cable communications, made Great Britain have a clear advantage over her rivals. So the flaws in the old-fashioned model of relationship between economics and international policy demand further knowledge on the role of the Foreign Office, either it restrained from most aggressive plans

⁹⁵ LAMBERT, N. A.: "British Naval Policy, 1913-1914: Financial Limitation and Strategic Revolution", *The Journal of Modern History*, vol.67 n°3 (1995), pp.595-626; *Planning Armageddon. British Economic Warfare and the First World War*. Harvard University Press, 2012

⁹⁶ Cfr. BELL, C.M. "Sir John Fisher's Naval Revolution Reconsidered: Winston Churchill and the Admiralty, 1911-1914", *War in History*, 18, 3 (2011), pp. 333-356.; SELIGMANN, M.: "The Renaissance of Pre-First World War Naval history", *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 36:3 (2013), pp. 454-479.

⁹⁷ SELIGMANN, M. (2013), p.454.

⁹⁸ Regarding new perspectives on civilian engagement "from below", see JONES, H.: "As the centenary approaches: the regeneration of First World War historiography", *The Historical Journal*, 56:3 (2013), pp. 857-878.

⁹⁹ These aspects related to the mobilization of British commercial intelligence abroad are to be developed within my current postdoctoral research on British national strategies in the Mediterranean.

¹⁰⁰ DEHNE, P.: "From Business as Usual" to a More Global War the British Decision to Attack Germans in South America during the First World War", en *Journal of British Studies* 44 July (2005), p.521; *On the Far Western Front: Britain's First World War in South America*, New York, Manchester University Press, 2009.

¹⁰¹ DEHNE, P. (2005), p.521. Other vision on these issues may be taken from MCDERTMOTT, J.: "A Needless Sacrifice": British Businessmen and Business As Usual in the First World War", *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 21, 2, (1989), pp.263-282.

¹⁰² LAMBERT, N. (2012), p.206.

¹⁰³ HOFFMAN, R.J.: *Great Britain and the German Trade Rivalry 1875-1914*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933, pp.28-72; KENNEDY, P.: *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, New York, Vintage Books, 1989.

¹⁰⁴ FERGUSON, N.: *The pity of war 1914-1918*. London, Penguin Books, 1999, pp.34-36.

towards neutrals or it challenged the orthodox "business as usual" prevalence.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, political claims on "tardy trading with the enemy" legislation might be confronted with the different domestic lobbies seeking to influence legislators on that particular issue.¹⁰⁶

Nevertheless, in the present state of research, there are works that already address attention to the existing balance of power between British residents in neutral countries and the politicians and bureaucrats at home. They especially deal with peripheral contexts under British political and economic hegemony, such as South American nations, Spain or Portugal.¹⁰⁷ On those particular backgrounds, the running of the supposed Grand National war strategy might be put to the test, just to establish its quality, performance and shared aims between central and peripheral communities. Overall, various "types of patriotism" would have been in operation.¹⁰⁸

3. Neutrals in the Grand National strategy. Actually, this is the point that brings up the main issues to be dealt with in the following pages. What did that supposed national strategy consist in neutrals? What about their incentives? What were the overlaps and major obstacles for the propaganda achievements on that field? To dig into these themes, we should start with the way in which frames of mind about German harassment were initially shaped. The necessity of articulating unfolded aggressive self-defense policies turns to be in the focus, in combination with the extent in which new standards proved to be adaptable to each neutral context.

To that aim, attention will be paid to three significant stages: (1.) the previous months to the war, from February to June 1914; (2) the very beginning of the conflict, October 1914; and, finally, to assess propaganda handicaps (3) between July 1917 and March 1918.

Waging "War of Words": Is it All about Business?

"MERCHANT PESSIMISMS" FORGES NATIONAL THREATS

In September 1914 a compilation of the "Dispatches from his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin respecting an official German organization for influencing the press of other countries" was presented to both houses of British Parliament. It was a collection of confidential reports issued between February and June 1914 by the former ambassador at Berlin, William E. Goshen, dealing with an alleged German project for a powerful secret association, so-called "Association for World-Commerce", to the aim of promoting industrial prestige and the spread of political influence.¹⁰⁹ By then, the cabinet was to clarify the steps to be made to fight German propaganda. At the same time, the Neutral Press Committee was created under the Home Office sphere.¹¹⁰

But, paradoxically, the pre-war German plans appeared to be not so much an aggressive proposal as a defensive one. Their promoters declared that they intended to fight the "dark forces" operating by means of hostile propaganda against German progress in world markets. So, their "Association for World-Commerce" was to remedy that "evil with persistent pro-German propaganda in the countries most *being* complained of".¹¹¹ Funding for the project was to be provided by a particular group of companies, while their technical agents would be responsible for advising entrepreneurs in foreign markets. Particularly, Goshen pointed to the launch of the German American Economic Society, the German Argentine Association and the German Canadian Society.

Nonetheless, despite the secrecy in which the bidding was conducted, the design of the strategy caused great controversy. Internal dissensions soon appeared between the Central Association of German Industrials and its main rival, the Federation of Industrials, to the point that by March 1914 several important members had resigned their seats.¹¹² Late in spring, it was claimed that lines of work, regarding the German reputation

¹⁰⁵ All discussions and political debates can be followed in OFFER, A.: *The First World War. An Agrarian Interpretation*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1989, pp. 244-266, FRENCH, D.: *British Economic and Strategic Planning 1905-1915*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1982, pp.51-73.

¹⁰⁶ Against the legal discussions on retaliatory measures in neutral countries in 1915-1916, see what J.G. Butcher (MP) wrote in "Tardy legislation", *The Times*, 14 jan. 1916, p.3. See also MCDERMOTT, J.: "Trading with the enemy: British business and law during the First World War", *Canadian Journal of History*, (1997), pp.201-220.

¹⁰⁷ GARCIA SANZ, C.: *La Primera Guerra Mundial en el Estrecho de Gibraltar: Economía, Política y Relaciones Internacionales*, Madrid, CSIC, 2011; "British Blacklists in Spain during the First World War", *War in History* (2013 in publishing process); PIRES, A.P.: "Entre Atlantique et Méditerranée", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* [on line], 80, (2010); DEHNE, P.: (2009).

¹⁰⁸ Monger analyses their rhetoric in the domestic sphere, MONGER, D.: *Patriotism and Propaganda in First World War Britain: the National War Aims Committee and civilian morale*, Liverpool, University Press, 2012.

¹⁰⁹ The National Archives (TNA), FO 170/827.

¹¹⁰ See SANDERS, M.L.: "Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War", *The Historical Journal*, 18, 1 (1975), pp. 119-146; TAYLOR, P.M.: "The Foreign Office and British Propaganda during the First World War", *The Historical Journal*, 23,4 (1980), pp. 875-898.

¹¹¹ TNA, FO 170/827.

¹¹² Ibid.

abroad, had "been transferred to another more delicate and more or less secret organization".¹¹³ So, British concerns were raised about not only the official encouragement "commanding enormous revenue for the purposes of a pro-German newspaper propaganda" but also the under covered nature of that budding organization. In other words, propaganda was then linked with the incoming process of intelligence-gathering activities in the dawn of the foundation of the secret services. Commercial intelligence was indeed the starting point of a subterranean "war of words".

From February 1914 onwards, some meetings would have been held by the head of the Press Bureau of the German Foreign Office, Dr. Hamann, with members of leading holdings in attendance, namely the North German Lloyd, the Hamburg-America Company, the Deutsche Bank, Siemens, Krupp...etc.¹¹⁴ Eventually, that secret organization would also have entered into agreement with the Agence Havas, which in future would only publish German news coming from Wolff Telegraphen Bureau. Besides, Wolff would receive that news exclusively from the propaganda organization to be founded. Similar arrangements would be intended with Reuter wherever it kept the primacy as a news agency.¹¹⁵

However, that British confidential information might be brought into question. Reports might be considered less accurate than had intended to be presented in September 1914. Although the *Deutsche Export Review* had published in June further stuff on a syndicate for supplying news and spread "the knowledge of the true state of German industry and of Germany's cultural achievements", it was also remarked that the syndicate used the organization already in existence.¹¹⁶ Moreover, those dispatches informed of an alleged private company with such a "conveniently vague purpose" as promoting the German industrial prestige. It seems that there was as much of conjecture in German formulations as in British perceptions of them:¹¹⁷

Whether the evil exist or not -the money will be spent on secret service to popularize Germany abroad. It does not seem to have occurred to the promoters of the scheme that they are preparing the ground for a vast system of international blackmail- hardly a proper way to reach the desire end.

But apart whether accurate or not was thinking on an inimical blackmail system, what appears more interesting are the countries where the alleged system was to be implemented in. These were chiefly the South American states and those of the Far East, where Great Britain, once the war broke out, first left behind the "business as usual" by approval of trading with the enemy exceptional laws covering British monopolist practices.¹¹⁸ In those peripheral and quasi colonial theatres, the conflict had no sooner flared up than international law and neutral rights blurred. So in the end, British counter-measures sought to be modeled on German ones. There was by far a pattern to repeat in the mobilization of national merchant communities abroad.¹¹⁹

On the eve of the First World War, growing merchant insecurities, whether being unfounded or not, were thus reversely reflected in the German and the British. How would this affect propaganda course?

THE MOMENT OF TRUTH

In the autumn of 1914 the propaganda system, despite being started without any clear conception, was in operation in neutral countries. At this initial stage, our object is to measure the position being occupied by the commercial issue in procedures. The memorandum by Max Müller on leading neutral countries press, addressed in October to the Foreign Office, can enable us to follow some useful examples.

Consistently with British pre-war naval and economic planning, Scandinavian and northern European neutrals, bordering on the enemy, were soon spotlighted. Closed attention was firstly paid to Sweden because of the apparently pro-German bulk of opinion, in particular in the conservative and military sides. Despite the intensity of German campaigns and the "natural" hostile feeling aroused with the inclusion of iron ore in the British contraband list, Müller's document stressed on the counteracting measure that a bilateral commercial agreement might offer (what indeed would not be as easy as thought then). Strikingly, it was also suggested that in business questions, Swedes were neutral.¹²⁰ In that sense, Müller put across some views regarding

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ 25/06/1915 *Trading with the Enemy (China, Siam, Persia, and Morocco) Proclamation*, 1915. See also, DEJUNG, C.; ZANGGER, A.: "British Wartime Protectionism and Swiss Trading Companies in Asia during the First World War", *Past and Present*, 207 (2010), pp. 181-183.

¹¹⁹ On the plagiarism of German patterns, see for instance MCDERMOTT, J.: (1989), p.266.

¹²⁰ TNA, FO 170/827. Max Müller, 31oct.1914. Other views may be found in CONSETT M. W.W.P: *The triumph of unarmed forces (1914-1918)*, London: William and Norgate, 1923, pp.80-92; MCKERCHER B.J. C.; NIELSON K.: "The triumph of unarmed forces": Sweden and the Allied Blockade of Germany 1914-1917", *Journal of Strategic*

Swedish position, mainly coming from an electric firm in Norway. More examples of Scandinavian press claims on neutrality were given (most of them indirectly through correspondents in Sweden).

Generally, neutrality was perceived as a political state of military and economic dependency on belligerents, which would limit the freedom of neutral speech and press. The Danish example was very clear. Although the public opinion in Denmark would definitely be anti-German, the strong commercial connections between the two countries "would restrain the Danes from any two uncompromising expression of their feelings in this respect".¹²¹ However, exceptions were made. The Norwegian "spirit of independence" would not hesitate to express conveniently its opinions freely and favorably for the Allies, raising objections "to be spoon-fed with readymade opinions either from one side or the other" and particularly by Wolff Bureau and Björnson agencies.¹²² But the *Morgenbladet* had also published a leading article against the press campaign being conducted from both sides to wage their particular "war about the war". Moreover, it was pointed out how the Norwegian *Journal of Commerce and Navigation* of the 29th September had taken "a strong exception to the action of the British Government in declaring iron ore contraband of war".¹²³ Concerning Holland, as in other neutral countries, the newspapers would have been "deluged with German papers, pamphlets, and circular letters" while "there was a great feeling of irritation at the measures taken by Great Britain to check any trade through Holland with Germany".¹²⁴ German propaganda was taking advantage of British restrictions on neutral trade. That was also the case in the United States where commercial and maritime blockade matters caused main political controversies. Later, it would be suggested that propaganda work should be closely in touch with the Ministry of Blockade.

Regarding British retaliatory measures, Swiss arguments were singled out by Müller. Some newspapers stressed on the inconvenience of expressing anti-British feeling because of the negative effects on the export trade of Switzerland after the war, "as it must not be forgotten that the British Empire provided one of the best markets" for Swiss production.¹²⁵ The Swiss economy was indeed very dependent on the British naval restraints in the Mediterranean. Since August 1914, the Gibraltar flotilla stopped and examined almost all ships which left America bound for Italy and Switzerland, monitoring and putting pressure on the Portuguese and Spanish international transit trade.¹²⁶

Moreover, the campaigns promoted by German consulates and the Deutsche Lloyd Company in Italy were noticed.¹²⁷ In October 28th the British Consul at Venetia put German attacks down on paper. He asked "whether any steps had been taken to combat the German methods" at the same time he pointed out that it was foreign to British nature to imitate German course of action.¹²⁸ Precisely, British merchant views on Italian public opinion were a distinguished source of political information.

So at the beginning of the "war about the war" in neutral countries, the commercial issue became quite noticeable while political and economic arguments were mixed together, having an effect on British self-representations of being a neutral defender. The Danish press, for instance, discussed rumors about British Government's plans to violate their neutrality, remarking the contradictions of those alleged plans coming from a nation "that has actually gone to war to protect the neutrality of another small country".¹²⁹ All in all, interferences in domestic affairs of neutrals tended to imply violating international law, as it was very apparent in British actions towards sea trade. In spite of evidences, the memorandum concluded expressing in positive terms and evading most controversial aspects derived from commercial and maritime interferences affecting neutrals. But, unfortunately for the British propaganda scheme, it would not be possible to evade those aspects for ever.

THE THORN OF DOUBLE STANDARDS (1917-1918)

In July 1917 the work on neutral press was considered to be unsatisfactory. Several reports pointed to the neglect of the special psychology and prejudices of the countries to which the propaganda was being sent.¹³⁰ A carefully inspection of what had been done until then hardly revealed any such accurate propaganda. The extracts used to be "constructed on somewhat mechanical lines". Once again, attention would be paid to

Studies, 7:2 (1984), pp.178-199.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ GARCIA SANZ, C.: "Armagedón en el Mediterráneo (1914-1915). Del wishful thinking a la política de la fuerza.", *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* sup. III 2012, (2013 in publishing process).

¹²⁷ TNA, FO 170/827.

¹²⁸ Ibid. Consulate at Venice 28 oct. 1914.

¹²⁹ Ibid. memorandum Max Müller.

¹³⁰ TNA, INF 4/10 11 jul. 1917.

commercial affairs in every country. The Department of Information, hosted by the Foreign Office, made a plea for a "business section". Although some breakthroughs came from Sweden, much of the stuff appeared "to have no distinctive aim or value".¹³¹ The same was said about Holland and Spain, where propaganda had shown a lack of "intimate knowledge" of domestic affairs. According to the information provided in the memorandum, many complaints had arrived from Spain about half-measures and conflicting actions. So, broadly speaking, the propaganda scheme inside neutrals was not going entirely to plan even in the last months of the war.

In March 1918, a wide range of severe structural weaknesses were highlighted; notwithstanding, two key issues were the scant British share in foreign publishing markets and the neutral ignorance of the British political system and values.¹³² At that time, it was intended to give more facilities to special correspondents to bear testimony to the British "ideals of political liberty and justice". But, overall, commercial propaganda remained a noticeable issue. It should clearly be improved in countries like Switzerland, where propaganda had mainly been confined to the subsidizing of the *Swiss Export Review*, "largely instrumental in giving [Britons] a hold over the 'Zürcher Post'".¹³³ Moreover, in regard to advertising, keeping British "peace aims to the fore and take into account after war commercial enterprise" was considered a requirement for all operations, "by whatever means".¹³⁴

But paradoxically, British enterprise had vigorously been engaged in propaganda aims since the onset of war. The point was the inconsistency between the expressed attitudes and the actual behavior through dominant positions in neutral markets. Particularly, the use of the dreaded blacklist entailed important revenues but also disadvantages for the national sake.

The blacklist was a register of natural and legal persons, with whom nationals were prohibited by their government from contractual union. The extension of British blacklisting affecting neutral companies offered powerful political counterarguments in the propaganda field, so the issue became a thorn in advertising the British cause 1917 onwards. The British followed a double standard policy. Supposedly, they were pursuing in neutral countries the same monopolist policies they denounced in the Germans. War turned into a stage to do more business than usual, capturing markets at the expense of non-inimical interests.

This was for example a case for the legitimacy of the Allied cause in Spain, where it was common to hear talk of the British "blacklist business".¹³⁵ But German agents found a particularly fertile field to win over public opinion in South America, especially in Argentina where the veto system might have worked harshly. Dehne showed how British Chambers of Commerce played there a key role with a "more constructive form of participation in the war effort" promoting an aggressive "anti German" commercial policy.¹³⁶ The Foreign Office would also have tilted an ear to the merchant patriots who wished to foster national trade in the South American republics.¹³⁷

But the intended patriotic policy against the enemy trade did not always run for the benefit of the British reputation. A memorandum brought to the Foreign Office put it plainly:¹³⁸

The gravest mistake in policy has been the introduction and method of operating the Black List in Argentina. The Policy of our Government at this time should surely be one of expediency and I say emphatically that the operation of the black list in the Argentine attacks the sovereignty of that people, alienates the commercial community, damages British prestige and British commercial interests, and has failed entirely in its avowed objects -to cripple and kill German trade.

On those terms, the Black List would have failed to erode German commercial houses because of the use of "cloaks". While vetoes were damaging neutral pro-British companies "to almost an exaggerated point", pro-German interests went easily ahead. This was the case of the company Salaberry and Bertheche. As long as Salaberry was the Argentinean Minister of Finance, it would be impossible to put the firm on the Black List.¹³⁹

The memorandum also stressed on the kind of communications that blacklisted firms received from the British commercial attaché:¹⁴⁰

of a such nature which would lead one to believe that one was living in a country under the jurisdiction of England instead of being a neutral country under an independent Government.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² INF 4/6 On neutral press March 1918.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ GARCÍA SANZ, C. "British blacklists...(2013).

¹³⁶ DEHNE (2010), pp.528.

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.529.

¹³⁸ TNA, INF 4/6.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

Deep concern was specially raised on how vetoes ruined British prestige while "best friends which England has ever possessed out there" were being lost. Moreover, Argentines in high positions would be losing their sympathy for England "on account of their utter disgust of [British] methods" and their inconsistencies.¹⁴¹ It was argued that no amount of propaganda might wipe out the damage.

In the end, a radical revision of merchant policy was unsuccessfully recommended. The author of the report probably was observing not only a state of things in common to neutral countries; also he was upholding some local and partisan interests considered to be adversely (or rather unfairly) affected by the application of blacklisting.

However, the point here is to highlight the extent in which British policies applied to neutrals were difficult to reconcile with the chosen rhetoric of respect for neutral rights. The influence of some lobbies in the Foreign Office, in conjunction with commercial engagement "from bellow", turned war into a stage to do more business than usual capturing neutral markets (and not only at the expense of the enemy). That questionable way of thinking brought undesirable effects for the propaganda work. All in all, it would not be easy to correct some miscalculations or flaws in the British mobilization in neutrals due to the primacy of the partisan views on trade rivalry. The national trenches of commercial warfare were dug, under misconceived incentives, before the real war had broken out. Commercial warfare might primarily be considered a state of mind crashing into the enemy one.

So the "war of words" or the "war about the war" was no such a simple task as it was thought in 1914. There was also a neutral counterpart willing to send a feedback. So, in this aspect as in many others, the Great War represented a great testing ground for all belligerent and neutral strategies.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

The Influence of Russian Official Propaganda upon Neutral Countries During the First World War

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Introduction

The British Encyclopedia defines political propaganda as a systematic manipulation of people's convictions by spreading verbal or nonverbal images. Though samples of propaganda could be found even in the code of laws compiled on the order of the Babylonian tsar Hammurabi, and the term itself, as it is well known, dates back to the famous Catholic organization "Congregatio de propaganda fide" created by the Pope Gregory XV in 1622, it was the First World War when the belligerents used political propaganda on an unprecedented scale.

It is difficult to maintain that this theme slips attention of modern historians. At present we have a number of published studies by both European and North-American academic scholars who dwell upon such topics as organization, methods of implementation and consequences of propaganda's influence upon the public opinion in Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary and the USA.¹⁴² However, Russian effort in this field during the Great War is much less known not only to modern public at large but even to professional historians.¹⁴³

Taking into consideration the deficit of room in a conference paper for a comprehensive analysis of the problem in question, I have chosen a topic which deserves a particular study – the Russian official propaganda upon neutral countries. What were its aims? What methods did the imperial government apply to influence the European public opinion, especially in the non-warring states? Was Russian propaganda effective or not? And, finally, how can we appreciate Russia's contribution to the Entente effort to defeat the Quadruple Alliance in the sphere of propaganda? Obviously, the examination of all these questions enables us to reconstruct some key episodes of the psychological war as an important integral element of the first global clash of great powers in the twentieth century.

Russian Propaganda Machine: Establishment, Aims, and Procedures

Above all, it should be stated that although the tsarist government did not make any special preparations for a psychological war before 1914, a special Press Department was established in the Russian Foreign Ministry as early as in 1902. Its staff supplied the higher leadership of the empire with monthly reviews of foreign periodicals. After the First World War had broken out, the Department of Press was obliged to inform Sergei Dmitrievich Sazonov, who headed the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in the beginning of war hostilities, and the members of the Council of Ministers about all current events, particularly, those regarding situation at the

¹⁴² See, e.g. Koszyk K. *Deutsche Pressepolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1968; Lasswell H. *Propaganda Technique in World War I*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971; Sanders M., Taylor P. *British Propaganda during the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 1982; Buitenhuis P. *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987; Mesinger G. *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992; Winter J. Propaganda and the Mobilization of Consent, in Hew Strachan (ed.) *The Illustrated History of the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. P. 216-226; Roshwald A., Stites R. (eds) *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Cornwall M. *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*. London: Macmillan, 2000; Horne J. 'Propagande' et 'vérité' dans la Grande Guerre', in Prochasson C., Rasmussen A. (eds). *Vrai et faux dans la Grande Guerre*. Paris: Editions la Découverte, 2004. P. 76-95; Paddock T. *A Call to Arms. Propaganda, Public Opinion and Newspapers in the Great War*. London – Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004; etc.

¹⁴³ In fact, there are only two published studies covering some aspects of the subject in question: Jahn H. *Patriotic Culture in Russia during World War I*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995; Astashov A.B. *Propaganda na Russkom fronte v gody Pervoi mirovoi voyny* (Astashov A.B. *Propaganda on the Russian Front in the First World War*). Moscow: Spetskniga, 2012.

fronts. By the mid 1916 the staff of the Press Department had been increased up to twelve officials engaged in reviewing newspapers and magazines which were published in sixteen languages.¹⁴⁴

Apart from the Press Department, the world war gave prominence to another state body – the Main Directorate for Press at the Ministry of Interior. It was set up in 1865 and continued to monitor Russian mass media, using censorship as a principal method of blocking any objectionable piece of information as well as a brain-washing method applied to control public opinion, especially in the periods of internal disorder like it was in the course of 1905 revolution or external troubles similar to how it happened in the summer of 1914.¹⁴⁵

Doubtlessly, one could not expect the Foreign Ministry Press Department or even less the Ministry of Interior Main Directorate for Press to conduct propaganda in the war period, because the activities of that kind lay far beyond their functions. Therefore the Head of the Russian Supreme Headquarters (in Russian – Stavka) General Nikolai Nikolaevich Yanushkevich suggested in August 1914 to confer the Interdepartmental Committee on the measures to counteract dissemination of mendacious rumors about Russia and its army. The meeting was attended by high-ranking officials from the principal ministries – Foreign, War, Navy, of Interior and Finances along with the head of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency (PTA) – one of the major in Europe before WWI. Among other issues on the agenda, the participants lively debated the problem of recruiting staff of foreign periodicals (correspondents, journalists), especially in neutral countries, for the needs of the Russian political propaganda. They agreed to subsidize such periodicals so that they would assume a friendly position towards Russia. Oddly enough, but any qualms of improper recruitment of self-interested correspondents were not taken into consideration by the members of the Committee, who projected the main propagandist effort to be applied to mass media in Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, the Hague, Bern, Bucharest, Rome and Washington. On 14 (27) August 1914 the tsarist Council of Ministers approved the decisions taken by the members of the Interdepartmental Committee and adopted some drastic measures to implement “truthful and favorable pieces of news about Russia and its army” into the public opinion of the neutral states.¹⁴⁶

It is essential therefore to indicate Russia’s aims in directing propaganda upon neutrals. Firstly, the tsarist government strove to prevent such countries as Bulgaria, Romania and Sweden from siding with the Central Powers. The second goal correlated with the first one – to entice new allies, meaning the same countries – Italy, Romania, Greece, and as a distant perspective – the USA. Thirdly, Russia was doing its best to block the purveyance of supplies for German and Austrian armies in the non-warring states along with their shipping of strategic raw materials to Russia’s opponents. The next task was to inform the neutrals about success at the fronts achieved by the allies and by the tsarist armies most of all. It should have gone hand in hand with the disclosure of falsifications about alleged military achievements of the Central Powers. Lastly, it was important to draw attention of all the Europeans to war crimes committed by German and Austrian advancing troops and occupation administration towards civilians in the front zone, including destruction of cultural heritage – historic monuments, public libraries, churches and cathedrals on the territory of Belgium, Northern France Serbia and western provinces of the Russian Empire.

The Russian Foreign Ministry’s activities in the sphere of political propaganda were arranged according to the following procedure: after reviewing confidential reports by Russian diplomatic emissaries in neutral countries, experts in Petrograd would compile telegrams rebutting enemy’s allegations and send them through the PTA to the European capitals, Washington and Tokyo. If a nugget of information was of top significance, its content was examined and approved by the Foreign Minister himself or at least by his deputies. In particular cases, political telegrams needed the Council of Ministers’ agreement. The addressees of these telegrams were Russian diplomatic missions and state or private telegraph agencies, such as: Reuter (London), Havas (Paris), Ritzau (Copenhagen), Associated Press (Washington), Kukusai (Tokyo), etc. Interestingly, Reuter became the closest partner of the PTA during WWI, albeit, on the other hand, the two agencies rivaled in Denmark or Netherlands.¹⁴⁷

It should be noted that apart from diplomats Russian military used the PTA’s facilities too. Thus, Stavka and the Main Directorate of the General Staff (MDGS) – the central coordinating organ of the War Ministry in intelligence and strategic planning – used to dispatch their official messages to Russian military attaches accredited at the supreme headquarters of the Entente powers and at the capitals of neutral states.

However, there existed another channel of political propaganda – the so called Balkan Telegraph Agency (BTA), which was set up in Romania by the Russian Ministry of Finance as a private company. The principal task of the BTA was to closely cooperate with French and Dutch mass media in order to propagate news to Paris and Amsterdam through the Balkans. Although the Foreign Ministry’s bureaucrats did not have much

¹⁴⁴ Mikhailovskii G.N. *Zapiski. Iz istorii rossiiskogo vneshnepoliticheskogo vedomstva. 1914-1920. (Notes. From the history of Russian Foreign Ministry. 1914-1920).* Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya, 1993. Bk. 1. P. 43-44.

¹⁴⁵ Horne J. ‘Public Opinion and Politics’ in Horne J. (ed.) *A Companion to World War I.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. P. 281.

¹⁴⁶ Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii (AVPRI) (Archive of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire). Fond (F.) 134. Opis (Op.) (Inventory) 473. Delo (D.) (File) 52. Lists (Ll.) 104-106, 40.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. F. 134. Op. 473. D. 52. Ll. 23, 27, 29, 40, 44, 88; F. 323. Op. 617. D. 65. L. 44; F. 134. Op. 473. D. 60. Ll. 9, 15.

delight in communicating to the BTA, they frequently used its network of correspondents, especially in 1914-1915. Yet the entry of Bulgaria, Romania and Greece in the First World War, on one side, and the defeat of Serbia and Montenegro, on the other, had substantially limited the scope of the BTA's activities by the beginning of 1917.¹⁴⁸

Reorganization of the Russian Propaganda Bureaus in the Course of War

After a few months of war, it became clear to the leadership of the Russian Empire that the organization of propaganda upon neutrals required a kind of restructuring. In fact, a lot of military experts regarded it to be primarily passive and cautious, instead of turning into aggressive and effective weapons of psychological war. They criticized both the Foreign Ministry's officials and the PTA staffers for the deficit of initiative and imagination. The majority of experts were of the opinion that the news about Russian war effort lacked arguments and rapidity, while the Polish, Jewish or Ukrainian problems were glossed over by tsarist authorities. Judging by the contest of propaganda messages, their authors attempted to draw the reader's attention to the inexhaustibility of mineral resources, human potential and financial assets of the Romanovs' Empire, which was doomed to gain victory over all external enemies because Russia's economic and military supremacy would only increase in the course of WWI.¹⁴⁹

However, the state of affairs in the field of propaganda could not satisfy both Stavka and the General Staff of the Russian army. The letter addressed to Sazonov by General Aleksandr Petrovich Vernander, the Assistant of the War Minister, reflected the critical reaction by the military circles to the conduct of political propaganda in Europe. On 31 January (12 February) 1915 Vernander proposed to the Foreign Minister not to confine the propaganda effort in neutral countries with the exposure of false rumors and other Russophobe pieces of information concerning the most painful problems, such as failures of the active army on the front or the increasing dissatisfaction expressed by various social strata with regard to the political crisis in the empire. Vernander called upon Sazonov to diversify the content of telegraph messages by more positive information about Russia in order to make elites and ordinary people in non-belligerent states less hostile towards the autocratic Russian state. The Assistant of the War Minister pointed out to the significance of a bilateral rapprochement between Russia and Sweden, Denmark or Netherlands through the establishment of societies of friendship, chambers of commerce and joint ventures. Finally, he insisted on close collaboration between the MDGS and the Foreign Ministry in the sphere of propaganda, including their combined allocations on relevant projects.¹⁵⁰

In the letter of response, Sazonov expressed his content to reinforce Russian influence upon public opinion in neutral countries, but offered to the General Staff a kind of limited cooperation in the exchange of intelligence between two departments, yet under the supreme control exercised by the Foreign Ministry. Evidently, the initiative of this kind could meet the interests neither of Stavka nor of the MDGS, as it demonstrated a prolonged interdepartmental correspondence. In fact, the mentioned bureaucratic frictions seriously hampered reorganization of the structures responsible for Russian political propaganda abroad.¹⁵¹

Nevertheless, to counteract German propaganda through central Swiss newspapers, the Russian emissaries set up a special information bureau "Die Neue Korrespondenz" and a news agency called "Radio" in the end of 1915. Their activities were sponsored jointly by France, Britain, Italy and Russia. At the Entente conferences in Chantilly near Paris, which were held in the course of 1915, the allies decided to wage a propagandist campaign on a mass scale so that it could disclaim news published in German and Austrian periodicals and to supply leading newspapers in Switzerland and other neutral countries with pro-Entente pieces of information with the assistance of the said bureau and agency.¹⁵²

While criticizing the methods used by the Russian Foreign Ministry in the psychological war against adversaries and finding no sympathy with diplomatic officials, Stavka and the MDGS, in particular, were bound to set up their own organizations of propaganda. Originally, this function was relied on the General-Quartermaster Section of the MDGS, which disseminated their press-releases through the PTA channels to European countries. However, in August 1915 Stavka founded its own information agency under the name of "Nord-Züd" with its branches in Stockholm, Copenhagen and Bucharest. Significantly, the agency staff was engaged not only in carrying out political propaganda but in collecting intelligence as well. Soon the branches of the "Nord-Züd" progressed in Switzerland and Netherlands during WWI. Based not only on military intelligence and news circulating in open mass media, the "Nord-Züd" bulletins were cabled to the branches

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. F. 134. Op. 473. D. 82. Ll. 99, 102, 105; F. 140. Op. 477. D. 807. Ll. 1-2.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. F. 134. Op. 473. D. 52. Ll. 108-109.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid. Ll. 4-5.

¹⁵¹ Florinskii M.F. *Krizis gosudarstvennogo upravleniya v Rossii v gody Pervoi mirovoi voiny (The Crisis of State Governance in Russia in the Years of WWI)*. Leningrad: Nauka, 1978. P. 168.

¹⁵² AVPRI. F. 134. Op. 473. D. 52. Ll. 176-179, 180-190, 141; D. 82. L. 55.

abroad for further transfer of information to editorial boards of newspapers and magazines in neutral countries. Apart from making news on current events, Stavka and the MDGS edited and propagated in such states a number of agitation pamphlets stigmatizing the military policy of the Central Powers.¹⁵³

Early in 1916, the same MDGS again endeavored to smooth conflicts between the Russian military and diplomatic service. The high-ranking military experts submitted a report to the tsar and the Council of Ministers drawing their attention to the increased effectiveness of German propaganda. They suggested to adopt a comprehensive program of agitation aimed at countries with a neutral status, e.g. publication of photo albums, production of documentaries reflecting daily routine on the front-line and in the rear of active troops, carrying out radio broadcasting on heroic deeds by Russian combatants and exposing cruelties committed by enemy soldiers on the occupied territories. After the report was discussed at the very top of the state bureaucracy, another Special Committee including representatives from both the War and Foreign Ministries was set up to primarily focus its activities upon neutrals.¹⁵⁴

Many contemporaries commented on the intensification of Russian propaganda effort in Europe during 1916. It may be explained by the Foreign Ministry Press Department's reorganization similarly to how it had been done in France and Britain. Besides, the department's new administration sought to use the allies' experience in fixing contacts with newspapers of different political orientation, interviewing top military commanders and statesmen, not excluding the deputies of the Duma, and disclaiming mendacious rumors spreading about neutral countries by the opponents. The establishment of a new independent publishing house should also be taken into consideration, which was obliged to wage propaganda on the territory of neutral states through the recruitment of famous academic scholars, writers, journalists, etc. Its composition would consist of three chief departments – that of foreign policy, economic and cultural.¹⁵⁵

Yet in reality, only the departments of photo and film production, information work with Russian and foreign press and advertisement were founded. In addition, the Foreign Ministry constantly expanded the networks of correspondents in neutral countries while increasing financial subsidies to central and local papers. Their activities were of the most success in Denmark, Netherlands and Switzerland. According to modern calculations, the total expenses of the Russian Foreign Ministry on the conduct of political propaganda during WWI aggregated 1,000 000 roubles, that was equal to 500, 000 US dollars or 100, 000 British pounds.¹⁵⁶

But the lack of interdepartmental cooperation still hindered the Russian propaganda effort in Europe, especially after the War Ministry representatives had ceased to attend regular conferences of the above mentioned Special Committee since May 1916. Instead, they initiated publication of the propagandist leaflets which were dispatched to Russian official military agents in neutral countries. In addition, they set to produce documentaries, competing in this way with the members of the so-called Skobelev Committee for the Wounded, the public organization which monopolized this field of propaganda activities long before the war. The broadcasting of news through army radio stations, in spite of their low capacity, became another trend in the propaganda campaign by the military administration.

The progress of the “Nord-Züd” agency seemed to be most impressive, taking into account the reshuffle it underwent in June 1916 when Stavka transferred the control to the MDGS. The fact was that a new method of work with information was invented: the agency staffers got in touch with small private press bureaus abroad, recruited local journalists and did not hesitate to publish their materials even in left-wing periodicals, e.g. those in the social-democratic spectrum of political parties. According to the statistics, the “Nord- Züd” managed to publish ca 2750 lines in Danish papers during a fortnight in July 1916. Simultaneously, it succeeded to place their bulletins of news nearly in all central periodicals of Sweden, varying from conservative to socialistic, even in those funded by the Central Powers. The apogee was reached in Romania and Switzerland by the mid-1916. Suffice it to say that by March 1917 the “Nord-Züd” provided telegraph information to 14 principal Romanian periodicals and 30 Swiss newspapers.¹⁵⁷

Effect of the 1917 February Revolution in Russia on Political Propaganda

After the democratic revolution broke out in Russia in February (March) 1917, the General Staff determined to further aggrandize the activities of the “Nord-Züd”, e.g. on the territory of the USA, where it was to get in contact with such world-known news-makers as the “Associated Press” (AP) and the “United Press International” (UPI). In summer 1917 the Russian representatives negotiated with the prominent transnational company “Western Union” on the matter of utilizing its telegraph stations for propaganda as well

¹⁵³ Alekseev M. *Voennaia razvedka Rossii. Pervaia mirovaia voina (The Military Intelligence of Russia. The First World War)*. Moscow: Izdatelskii dom “Russkaia razvedka”, 2001. Book 3. Part 1. P. 140-141.

¹⁵⁴ See: *Astashov A.B. Propaganda na Russkom fronte*. P. 51-52.

¹⁵⁵ AVPRI. F. 140. Op. 477. D. 804. L. 39-40; F. 323. Op. 617. D. 65. Ll. 2-3, 5-6, 26-30.

¹⁵⁶ *Astashov A.B. Propaganda na Russkom fronte*. P. 55-56.

¹⁵⁷ *Rossiskii gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv (RGVIA) (Russian State Military Archive)*. F. 2000. Op. 1. D. 8169. Ll. 1-4, 6-7; D. 6443. L. 33, 122, 318-321, 356-357.

as on the publication of news bulletins in some Japanese and Chinese periodicals.¹⁵⁸ At the same time, the Russian Foreign Ministry began to set up press bureaus at the diplomatic missions in Paris, London, Rome, Washington, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Christiania, and Bern. The Committee of Allied Press Contributors was also established in Petrograd in the fall 1917 to better coordinate propaganda work done by the Entente powers in neutral countries.¹⁵⁹

Any further stimulation of propaganda activities on the Russian side ceased because of the Bolshevik coup in October (November) 1917. The new government headed by Vladimir Lenin sought to redirect the general propaganda campaign from disclaiming the policy carried on by Germany and Austria-Hungary, which signed the peace treaty with Soviet Russia in Brest-Litovsk on 3 March 1918, to stigmatizing Russia's former allies – Britain, France, the USA and Japan. Under these circumstances, the activities of the Foreign Ministry Press Department and the agencies controlled by the General Staff came to an end while the PTA was restructured into the Russian Telegraph Agency (known as the Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union since 1925). Its main task became the propaganda of world revolution among workers in the West and colonial people in the East.

Conclusion

One can draw to the conclusion that, despite the lack of experience and coordination with the allies, interdepartmental conflicts, insufficient financing and some other problems, the Russian government was faced with in the beginning of WWI, it managed to establish various propaganda bodies either in the structure of the Foreign Ministry or under the auspices of the Supreme Headquarters (Stavka) and the General Staff. The year of 1916 marked a culmination of Russia's effort to carry on propaganda in neutral countries through various structures which subsidized foreign journalists and set up private news agencies sponsored also by the Entente powers.

The archival documents reveal that Russian propagandists were most active in the Scandinavian states, Switzerland and Netherlands. The branches of such agencies as the PTA or "Nord-Züd" did well even in the USA, though most successfully only through 1917.

This study makes it clear that the real problem was mentality of Russian ruling elites, rather conservative in understanding the significance of propaganda influence upon neutral countries. However, the effectiveness of propaganda activities carried on by the allied powers, not excluding Russia, might be proved by the fact that Italy, Romania and Greece finally sided with the Entente, while Sweden, Denmark and Netherlands remained neutral through WWI. The contribution of those experts, including Russian civil officials and military officers, engaged in propaganda activities of the Entente powers to this aim seems substantial, though underestimated by modern scholars.

Besides, the abundance of methods approbated by administrators of propaganda campaigns in the long run of the First World War laid the foundations for one of the Soviet brain-washing machine – one of the most powerful and effective in the twentieth century.

¹⁵⁸ AVPRI. F. 140. Op. 477. D. 821. Ll. 104, 115.

¹⁵⁹ RGVIA. F. 2000. Op. 1. D. 6437. L. 240.

Propaganda, Exile and Emigration

Polish immigrants in southern Brazil and the impact of World War II: reflections of local memory

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Summary

The Second World War was the most significant conflict of the twentieth century, either by the degree of military technology or by the unprecedented mobilization that were undertaken the people, assuming as true example of total war . The conflict went out of the trenches and moved up so fast and spread to various fields (economic , diplomatic , political , social , cultural), making the home front one of the most important scene of war . In this new kind of war the support and loyalty of the population became decisive in the development of the conflict, thereby giving a key role to the advertising. Thus, the war came to readers, listeners and viewers who were transformed into soldiers without weapons, essential pieces in war industries and the maintenance of morale.

Poland was the scene of the beginning, middle and end of the conflict during World War II. This situation has decimated a significant portion of the population, leading another part to a mass escape, transforming the country from a multiple battlefronts, where the belligerents sought through advertising to get the sympathy and support of the Polish population to their causes.

This work will focus on the analysis of journalistic texts announced on International Affairs called the Journal Daily News (1925-1945). The focus of the research will be directed to the message and the imagery of the texts, without forgetting the balance quantity. Efforts will be made to show how advertising was used to criticize the opponents, while the values defended were known . The uplift of the machines of war and strife in their respective military conquests also had their spaces in the newspaper, at least while the conflict is found deadlocked. It also will be shown, how news involving the European journals reflected in the national press and consequently were received by Polish Immigrant Centers in South of Brazil

Keywords: Polish immigrants; World War II ; Advertising

Initial Considerations

Trying to present explanatory reasons that justify the displacement of thousands of people from one continent to another does not require an immediate and simple answer. The implication is even greater when it presents as central authors these Polish immigrants. The displacement of thousands of Polish people in the interwar period (1918-1945) was an encouragement to men and women that run away from unemployment, hunger and violence war mongering that was present in the daily lives of Europeans. The first Polish people to arrive in Brazil was in 1875.

This article seeks to analyze the impact of the news and facts about World War II in the Centers of Polish Immigration in Southern Brazil. As you know, in the nineteenth century, like other European countries, Poland was in serious economic, political and social crisis which forced thousands of individuals travel to the New World . Also, in this paper, we seek to identify the impact of World War II through the state press in collective living spaces.

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The text is divided into 3 parts: Polish Immigration in Brazil and movements between the wars, the country (Brazil) of the immigrants in World War II and the War Press .

1. Polish Immigration in Brazil and movements between the wars

The reasons of Polish Immigration were several and deep. In the nineteenth century, like other European countries, Poland was in serious economic, political and social crisis, which forced thousands of individuals travel to the New World. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Poland was considered a powerful nation, politically organized and with considerable economic development.

This positive Polish scene was due to the export of tar, cereals, wood and sawdust to Western Europe, particularly the Netherlands, England and northern Germany, a fact that increased the income of the nobility, as well as the cities.

In the political sphere, this was a period of vigor and absence of external threats. The few wars were only found on the northern border of Poland and Lithuania. However, we observed the growing interest of Prussia and Russia to the Polish nation. The correlation of forces was not favorable to Poland.

The growth of the Polish nation awoke the attention of his neighbors: Austria, Prussia and Russia, which triggered a series of invasions, fragmenting the political and economic stability. This led many Poles to leave the country in search of worthy and free life.

The Poland of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had characteristics antagonistic to those of their larger neighbors: Prussia and Russia. While these countries centered power, the Polish nation knew the weakening of central power. The Polish army was constituted mainly of peasant militias maintained and controlled by the nobility, which was used by the central government in defensive wars. (WACHOVICZ, 1974 . 83).

The overall situation was ripe to change. However, the nobility did not allow the reduction of their power, nullifying attempts to change the Diet (House). Diet - Sejm - was governed by anachronistic laws who referred the country to a political disorganization.

The liberum veto was presented as a defense of the liberties of minorities. He gave the right to every Member of the Sejm to annul a parliamentary decision. Generally, the veto was exercised for the benefit of the nobility. In voting concerning tax bill, the veto prevented the tax should be extended to nobles. The veto power precluded the Polish parliament to legislate based on the power of majority. Any group annulled the parliamentary work; no matter how important was the decision. (POLSKA AGENCJA INFORMACYNA, 1991, p. 4).

Among the main reasons for the migratory movement, it can be mentioned the excess of labor in the villages and towns, the high population growth, lack of land for new generations, the absence of agrarian legislation, the rural exodus to the industrial centers due to rural mechanization, political and religious persecution. Undoubtedly, the major reason for immigration was the possibility to immigrate to a country where they could become a landowner. (WENCZENOVICZ, 2002, Chapter I)

There was also the action of propagandists and recruiters immigrants who were known as "recruiting agents". These people spread through various regions of Poland, for the purpose to stimulate people to emigrate. Spread articles, booklets, brochures and press released about the exceptional conditions offered by Brazil.

In Poland, as noted, such agents found favorable field work due to the numerous economic and political problems - three shares territorial and social lived by the Polish population of the time. The Kingdom of Poland and Galicia were the regions that most felt the effect of the action of recruiting agents. (Urban, 2004, p. 24)

In Poland it was almost impossible to become a landowner. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the political and economic power was in the hands of the nobility. The small and middle bourgeoisie progressed with difficulty, while the high bourgeoisie linked to the high nobility, quickened his step, without questioning the current structure. "The Polish peasants, under the rule Prussian or in other fields, lived in a very hierarchical social system. In a village social classes were distinct and their mobility very hierarchical." (WACHOVICZ, 1974, p. 86). Obligated to farm the land, the peasant ceded much of his work as income.

In this context that blocked social mobility since the subaltern segments, the peasant was seen and known as a simple arm strength, generating of work. His aloofness to almost everything that was located outside their village and surroundings – okolica, supported by the aristocracy and the clergy, humpered him to fight for imposing the division of land and agrarian laws.

Living as a community semi-feudal the Polish had few opportunities to belong to social institutions. The municipality and the parish were his world. His participation in the social institutions was very limited. Restrictive government measures meant that their participation in municipal administration were as a passive spectator. (WACHOVICH, 1974:86)

Also the small owner found himself in big trouble. "In the economic area, the situation of Poles became even more excruciating. Property and territorial taxes were so heavy that the owners couldn't afford it and because of this they were forced to sell their small properties." (Stawinski 1976: 15). For decades of years the Polish economy had its foundations in agriculture, with emphasis on some basic products such as potatoes, rye and wheat. The Posmânia and Vorpommern were good examples: They were essentially agricultural regions, with a number of fledgling industries.

The agrarian character of Poland and the lack of land explain the fact that the vast majority of Poles who left for Brazil to be peasant. "The peasant, greedy for land, which drew their sustenance comes to look for it where it exists in abundance, in America. This is the great aspiration of those who choose Brazil as their new habitat. Ninety percent of those who came to this country are farmers." (WACHOVICZ 1974: 27)

Two major periods characterized the Polish migration to Brazil between 1890 and World War I, appointed by the historiography of "Brazilian Fever". The first was from 1890 until 1897, when the Brazilian government provided free transportation for immigrants through contracts with shipping companies, and the second began in 1906.

The first groups of Poles headed to Parana and Rio Grande do Sul. São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo also received Poles, who were scattered by the urban centers and the coffee farms. From 1897 to 1906, fell sharply the number of Polish immigrants, immigrants arrived just isolated, usually drawn by friends and relatives residing in Brazil.

It is noted that the second period begins around 1906, when Brazil, needing cheap and large labor for the construction of roads, railways, notably São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, it goes back to its former policy of providing free passage to those who wished to immigrate.

You can point in the history of Polish immigration a periodization of the detailed steps of the migration process. This is divided into seven periods: 1° - until 1869 - beginning of mass emigration; 2°) 1869/90 - the first phase of mass emigration; 3°) 1890/1914 - Brazilian stage of fever; 4°) 1914/1918 / 20 - fall of emigration caused by World War I and national events; 5°) 1918/1939 - emigration directed actions related to the Polish state; 6°) 1939/1945 - step refugees of war; 7°) 1945 - contemporary stage. "(Smolana 1996: 23).

2. Brazil of Immigrants in World War II

Since the beginning of World War II, the ideology of the "Estado Novo", established by Getúlio Vargas, pointed to a probable alignment between Brazil and the countries of the Pact of Steel - Germany and Italy. In 1937 Vargas had installed a dictatorship in the country, based on a centralizing and authoritarian constitution, which kept many points in common with the fascist dictatorships. The declaration of Vargas himself commenting on the invasion of Poland by Nazi army, on September 1st, 1939, showed some sympathy for Nazism to provide for a better future:

"We marched for a future different from all that we have known in economic, political and social organization. Passed the era of liberalism improvident demagoguery of sterile, futile of personalities and sowers of disorder."
(VARGAS : 1939-1943 Tomo. I)

Repression: this was the political order in Brazil at the time of World War II. The New State decreed on November 10th, 1937, closed the Congress, imposed press censorship, arrested political and trade union leaders and placed intervening in state government. With a populist style, Vargas set up a consistent schedule personal propaganda to create the Department of Press and Propaganda (DIP), clearly inspired by the Nazi propaganda machine designed by Joseph Goebbels. The Time of Brazil introduced in Brazilian radios and ironically called by intellectuality "Foreign Alone", showed the government actions, hiding political repression practiced against a not organized society of that time. Vargas created the minimum wage and established the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT), among other social benefits, which led him to be called "father of the poor" by the low-income population. (FAUST, 2006, Chapter IV)

In 1940, one year after the outbreak in Europe, the war has not threatened directly Brazil. The Nazi ideology, however, fascinated men who operated the New State to the extent that Francisco Campos, the author of the 1937 Constitution, even proposed to the German embassy in Brazil conducting a "anticomintern exposure", with which he intended to demonstrate the failure of the communist political model. (Cytrynowicz : 2000 . Chapter I)

Later, the police chief Filinto Muller sent Brazilian police for a "stage" in the Gestapo. Goés Monteiro, head of the Army Staff, went further. Participated in maneuvers of the German army and threatened to break with England when the British seized the ship Siqueira Campos, that brought to Brazil the weapons bought from the Germans.

There are differing interpretations of the posture Vargas front the outbreak of World War II. The traditional view sees the president as a skilled politician, who postponed as much as he could to formalize a position on the conflict, where it could gain from the economic point of view, from both sides. The great dream of the President was the industrialization of Brazil and he intended to obtain external resources. In 1940 the Minister Souza Costa published a Five Year Plan, which provided for the retrofitting of the railways, the building of the Paulo Afonso hydroelectric, the installation of an aircraft industry and the construction of Steelworks in Volta Redonda. (COGGIOLA : 2002 . Chapter III)

Another view considers the position of Vargas front war as an expression of a contradiction in that the country depended more strongly the U.S. economy and at the same time has a structure similar to the policy of the Axis countries. The favorable position in Germany could jeopardize the country's economic development since the Nazis, despite advancing in Europe, in South America were of secondary interest. On the contrary, the defense of the U.S. interests could compromise the internal politics of Vargas.

However, the U.S. pressures were intense, it had the support of other Latin American countries and used different mechanisms from that which was considered the most efficient - the release of funds for construction the Volta Redonda hydroelectric - to a new relationship model, called "policy of good vicinity" by President F. Roosevelt U.S. Intellectual Brazilians visited the U.S. and even General Goés Monteiro showed their appreciation for the structure of the country.

3. Press the War

On September 1st, 1939, Poland was invaded by the Nazis. The operation, also called Operation Fall Weiss, began in the early hours of the morning when a German battleship opened fire on the Polish garrisons. A few hours later, Nazi troops advanced through Polish territory by the North and the South. The justification for the invasion was a response to a Polish attack made to a German radio station. However, it was later proved that it was just a pretext for invasion. Against the Germans attacks, France, UK, Canada, New Zealand and Australia declared war on the Nazis on the 3rd of September. On September 17th, the Soviet Union declared war on Poland and it also invaded the country by the East. The Second World War then began to take shape. (Cytrynowicz : 2000 . Chap II)

The German army, the Wehrmacht, used their best units to invade Poland . Using the tactics of Blitzkrieg, the Germans attacked with 630,000 soldiers from the North and over 886 000 soldiers for the South. The 559 infantry battalions that Germany had, quickly broke the defense lines of the Polish and began the siege of the capital on September 10th. To make matters worse, the Soviets attacked with over 800,000 soldiers. (Ferraz : 2010 . P. 39th)

Poland had 376 infantry battalions and about 950,000 soldiers. The Poles could spread the forces over the border with Germany and retreat to the Vistula River to establish a defensive line or mount the defense directly in the line of the river. The Polish general Rydz - Smigly chose to start with the borders, but the army was not able to stop the efforts of the Nazi invasion, as well as the Soviets. (POLSKA AGENCY INFORMACYNA. Poland, 1991.)

Polish cities were quickly surrounded and the territory was completely dominated on October 6th, 1939, causing leakage of rulers for England. For Germans, the operation was training where they could correct errors for greater war to come. The German army was reformulated and techniques Blitzkrieg became even better.

About the beginning of the war news were published in various media: newspaper, broadsheet, radio and television. The twentieth century was rich in experiences about the power of advertising in the context of war. Since the World War I, the Spanish Civil War, the World War II, the Cold War, the Bosnian War and the Gulf War, there were many occasions when advertising has emerged as one of the combat arms . (Ferraz, 2005 , Chapter II).

The World War I (1914-1918) was the context in which the states first realized the importance of advertising as a tool of war. It became evident the role, the importance and potential of graphic communication. The propaganda came to be regarded as an essential tool, able to make a link between the battlefield and the home front, instrument of persuasion and predisposition of people to accept the 'inevitability' of war and the sacrifices that stemmed from there.

The advertisement appeared as a representation, often with pictorial expression of national identity in combat, extolling the virtues of national armies and "diabolizando" the enemy, representing him so dehumanized, instigating hatred between civilians and military, while eliminating the notion of guilt or liability on the part of government leaders. In the eyes of propaganda, wars have always arisen as an inevitable consequence of civilizational clashes, legitimized in the eyes of the collective: it is fought for an ideal, fight for an interest.

As the front was growing in importance in contemporary conflicts, the control of public opinion through propaganda has become more sophisticated. Ministries were created to think and manage advertising, invested hefty sums up and took advantage of all means of mass communication developed between the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century placing them at the service of the States: press, radio, television and film.

The advertisement represented the sacrifice of soldiers in war and praised the power of the countries. All over the world was around these images that mobilized entire populations around the achievement of victory. Through the static image of the printed posters or movement of newspapers, current affairs projected in cinemas scattered all over the globe, governments sought to promote patriotic spirit , encouraging the efforts of individual sacrifice by sending a set of clear messages and direct that appealed to voluntary enlistment in the armed forces, the rationing of essential goods, the intensification of production or purchase of bonds or war, exacerbating feelings, arousing emotions and projecting an image split between the notion of superiority and the idea of fear by the opponent.

Since the Press, in World War I, the radio, in World War II, television, film and advertising, especially from the 50s, advertising can be proved as deadly as the weapons handled by the soldiers at war.

The font used for the study was the newspaper called Daily News. The option to use the newspaper Diário de Notícias was due to availability and to be a journal of significant movement in areas where concentrated Polish immigrants. We used copies of the years 1925-1945 and in them, specifically the news that focused on the question of war in Europe and around the world.

The Daily News incorporated the Associated Newspapers of Assis Chateaubriand - the largest media conglomerate in Brazil, in the decades of 50 and 60 - which circulated from 1925 until December 30th, 1979. This newspaper and "Correio do Povo" were the most significant newspapers in Porto Alegre and vied for market leadership in the whole state of Rio Grande do Sul. The main difference between them was in the editorial: The "Correio" was characterized by economic strength and a sober and conservative editorial line, while the "Diário" - almost always in financial trouble - to counteract the power of mail - obtained wide acceptance owing to their agility in movement and concern to present notes on the economic, political and social Europe. As an example can be cited the coverage made during periods of world conflicts, because there was in the periodic news about the situation of most countries involved in the conflict. It is also noted a visible difference between the two newspapers in terms of graphics and editorial.

There were several news about the theme. Since the movement of troops on European soil until the flight of Polish citizens of the great world conflicts. Among the news announced a great diversity was centered on Polish soil. Poland, provide space for major disputes, was highlighted in each new edition of the print and broadcast media.

Poland refused the proposal: the last 23 hours of the official radio Warsaw issued a government statement rejecting the German formula (September 1st, 1939) ;

Poland and the five bastions of the Polish resistance: Colonel Ulrich , General Gluchowski , Kasprvrycki General , Colonel General Beck and Skladkowski (September 3rd, 1939) ;

Poland with the blessing of God will march to final victory ((September 4th, 1939). (Diário de Notícias: Porto Alegre, 1939)

Even though the news involving the conflict in Europe were merely informative, and some even copied from other newspapers columnists through the 'International', can be observed that the preoccupation with the war was not diminished. Below two news start and end of World War II which reported the situation of Poland in the conflict:

The errors of Polonia

The susceptible pride, stubbornness patriotic, the exaggerated fear to seem submissive of the German impositions has made the men of the Polish government to practice grave errors. Remember, to this purpose , the facts.

In the spring of this year, in the government of the Reich, Poland proposed a general systematization of the mutual relations. Berlin demanded the return of Danzig in Germany as "a free city", and the granting of a road and a railway line enjoying the rights of extra-territoriality, drawn through the famous "corridor". In exchange, Reich offered to Poland the broadest protection of their economic rights, a free port of any size, consider the declaration of final borders between Germany and Poland, and a non-aggression pact.

They were proposed that, in all fairness, could be defined as equal and moderate. However, the Polish government men sinned first, considering them as a subpoena, as an imposition, and committed the first fatal error, of not accept them, even as a basis for discussion. Perhaps, on the day immediately or in the following weeks, they had committed the notion of levity, but it was too late to deal with Germany on that basis and that state of souls.

Subsequently these episodes, Hitler gave his speech of April 24th in response to the message of Roosevelt.

In that speech the fuhrer announced the refusal of Poland to accept the German proposals, describing such denial in such terms that did understand his deep heartache consequence of Polish attitude.

Likewise, he said verbatim "If the Polish government, however, can interest the stipulation of a new regulation on contractual relations with Germany I'm ready to join."

It was a new opening to unequivocal offer of negotiations. And once again the men of Polish government, interpret it as an imposition, as a bully and committed the second fatal error: to drop it.. Again, maybe the day after, or the week after, they had a sense of levity committed, but also here it was too late to grab the wheel fleeting occasion...

Today Hitler speaks no more, no more calls and nothing else offers. There is, however, and is certainly always validates the solemn declaration that he set out in that speech of April 24th: "I feel the deepest horror of war and my horror is even greater for any agitation in favor of a war. Besides, would not know for what reason should I make a war."

This solemn declaration provides always a basis for dealing with Hitler on a plane of absolute candor, recognizing soon preliminarily to everything else, the total rights of Germany over Danzig.

Oh, may the men of Polish government to silence stubborn pride and love susceptible own! Otherwise, tomorrow, as usual, they inside their rough country will feel the severity of the mistake, on this occasion, however, will be too late to be hopeless... Giovanni Ansaldo (Director of " Telografo " Livorno) - Official Daily News (03/09/1939)

Unfortunately no solution for the Polish case.

SAN FRANCISCO, 9 (From Salisbury Harison, diplomatic correspondent of the United Press) – Molotov returned today airway to Moscow and he was the last hope of being resolved, in San Francisco by the debates of the great powers, the Polish problem. Also left the ambassadors Averil Harriman and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, representatives of the United States and England, and the Commission of Moscow that with Molotov, was assigned to understand up on the reorganization of the Polish government, as decided at Yalta.

Harriman Clark Kerr when arrive in Moscow, it is presumed, they will consult on the Polish question. Before leaving, they met Stettinius and Eden. Others who also travelled were General Alphonse Juin, Chief of the French and Rene Plevin, French Minister of Finance and National Economy, who were called to Paris for consultations on the termination of the German resistance, and the new responsibilities of France in the administration of territories that has to occupy. The French Foreign Minister, Mr. Didault, stayed in San Francisco.

Before their departure, the foreign commissar of the Soviet Union, Mr. Molotov, in a speech on the radio, paid tribute to UN soldiers who gave their lives to bring the war to its victorious end. Then Molotov said:

“We will continue forward towards a lasting peace. The Day of Victory over Germany of Hitler arrived. On this day all our thoughts are directed to the heroism of the weapons that have achieved the victory over the enemy. On the day of the German attack on the Soviet Union, our government declared : " Our cause is just . The enemy will be defeated. The victory will be ours. The victory over German fascism is of tremendous historical importance. We won this glorious victory under the leadership of the great Stalin”.

Diario de Noticias (05/10/1945). Journal Brazil

3.1 Poles in southern Brazil and the impact of World War II

As already pointed out in this article the reasons for coming thousands of men and women from Poland to Brazil were diverse and deep. Most of these immigrants had little or no schooling which will track the movements distanced in economic, political and social after leaving the country of origin.

Those who left the country because of the war had any more reason to try to find news and information about the conflict. Many have friends and family involved in war activities; however the way to receive the news of the war outside Europe contained a mixture of elation and sadness. You can identify this characteristic of detachment from national and international news by the Polish immigrants also when analyzing the content of a report written by Tadeusz Skowronski - Polish diplomat - who took office in 1938. This describes the condition of the Polish- Brazilian, danger was distant (Poland) and also distant on Brazilian soil on their nationalist policies triggered by Vargas. (Report Tadeusz Skowronski, 1938)

In Brazil the Polish immigrant was not of concern to the government considering that the Poles considered themselves enemies of the Germans and Russians in their own homeland, and this behavior would give the posture of neutrality in and outside Poland.

Consistent analyzed the primary source - Daily News Newspaper - it can be seen in the concern also alert to the 'exiles', term used in the news that were intended audiences of immigrants in the weekly publication from October 1939 to January 1946 . These notes brought the movement of troops on European soil, types of weapons and strategies used by the two great powers - Germany and Russia.

Final Thoughts

This article has attempted to show that, far from ethnicity and historiographical victims of history, Polish immigrants in Brazil were firmly integrated in national policies and often softened phase warmongering experienced by his country of origin. The first waves of immigrants were much more concerned in populate and colonize their lands that to be concerned about the two world wars.

The waves that entered in Brazil in the interwar period were subject minimally to receive news of the war. Through the letters, newspapers and information they received news by the pastor not always real and current. During World War II, the few Polish immigrants who remained in the urban area reported several strategies to face the New State and the intimidation and xenophobic nationalist regime of Getúlio Vargas, and made it with little or no resistance.

It is known that the years from 1937 to 1945 were years of change and identity sedimentation of a community that fails to consider immigrant and "foreign" to affirm themselves as Polish- Brazilian, with distinct ideological and practical. This scenario was all the time recorded in the media spoken and printed especially Diário de Notícias, used as main sour of research in this paper.

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Propaganda and Empire

Propaganda in a Contested Space: British Efforts in Nigeria during the Last Decades of Colonial Rule

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With a growing number of Nigerians participating in formal schooling and mass education programs from the Second World War onwards, control of the means of literacy and book provision became an urgent matter to the government of the British-ruled colony. Policy-makers and administrators viewed literacy as a gateway to access and influence Nigerian attitudes towards Britain and, more generally, so-called Western economic and political ideals. Propaganda, therefore, became a key tool to foster support amongst Nigerians for their imperial rulers. This paper examines the British colonial government's efforts to devise a propaganda policy for southern Nigeria and to discover the most effective means of distributing the resultant literature to readers in the waning days of colonial rule. Looking first at the reading rooms built throughout Nigeria in the 1940s and then at attempts to develop more covert methods for the distribution of British propaganda and other literature, I show that providing Nigerians with access to particular reading material became a matter of state security for the British administration in the last two decades of colonial rule.

The outbreak of the Second World War and the British enlistment of African soldiers generated an increasing amount of interest in Nigeria about events happening in Europe and the other theaters of war. The colonial government responded by opening an Information Center in Lagos in 1942. Harold Cooper was sent from London's Central Office of Information to run a propaganda program in the colony, the first time an administrative position was dedicated to such a cause.¹⁶⁰ The following year, a War Information Office was established and staffed by Nigerian publicity officers, including the journalists Anthony Enahoro and Cyprian Ekwensi, who were hired to write propaganda pieces.¹⁶¹ The colonial government began opening propaganda reading rooms around Nigeria soon after. Initially, most rooms served only to house periodicals and bulletins put out by the War Information Office and the Public Relations Office [PRO] in London, a government bureau charged with circulating information throughout the colonies. One Information Officer wrote that these reading rooms were available to all people "who are profoundly interested in the progress of the war and desire enlightenment and education."¹⁶² Unlike later British Council and United States Information Service libraries, these wartime reading rooms were supposed to serve a mass reading public and not only the educated elite.

British officials were anxious to make to their own propaganda material accessible to eager readers, who otherwise relied on the local press for news of the war. A British administrator was quoted in the minutes of the Ife Native Authority Advisory Council as saying,

he considered it most important that a Reading Room should be established where literature could be made available for those whose intellectual food was all too frequently limited only to the Daily Press. Reading played a most important part in the widening of mental outlook.¹⁶³

The reading rooms were also intended to support continuing education for the dramatically increasing numbers of primary- and secondary-school graduates and to provide resources for new adult literates who were participating in mass education schemes of the 1940s and 1950s. They also hoped that the reading room program would serve as the nucleus for the permanent libraries that the United States-based Carnegie Corporation was looking to sponsor in Nigeria.¹⁶⁴

Propaganda reading rooms were categorized as A, B or C class, based on the size of the town and perceived demand for a room, and funded accordingly. The central government granted funds for furniture and reading material and Native Administrations paid for the spaces and staff. Reading room managing committees were

¹⁶⁰ Olutayo Otubanjo, Olusanmi Amujo, and T.C. Melewar, "150 Years of Modern Public Relations Practices in Nigeria," August 2009, 13, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1372704>.

¹⁶¹ Ehahoro became an important political figure and an outspoken advocate for Nigerian independence. Ekwensi authored *People of the City* and other well-known books; he also served as first director of the Federal Ministry of Information.

¹⁶² D.C. Fletcher, Letter to Secretary, Western Province, Ibadan, April 3, 1941, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, Vol. II, NAI.

¹⁶³ "Extract from Minutes of a Special Meeting of the NA Advisory Council, Ife," May 21, 1945, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, Vol. II, NAI. Quote from Acting Chief Commissioner T. Hoskyns-Abraham.

¹⁶⁴ D.C. Fletcher, April 3, 1941.

made up of Nigerian community leaders, but a British officer always had veto power over their decisions. The reading rooms were often housed in temporary structures or shared space with post offices, courtrooms or government rest houses. They usually consisted of a few shelves for books and periodicals and benches that served as display surface and seating for patrons. Books were often kept locked up, although readers could check them out, sometimes for a small fee. Propaganda posters and maps hung on the walls. Larger reading rooms had separate reading and recreation spaces. One British Council librarian praised the reading rooms as “places where people could go for quiet reading.”¹⁶⁵ Foreign literature workers emphasized the need for a quiet place to read, in stark contrast to the noise and activity of Nigeria communal space. Reading was a skill to be practiced indoors and in silence. The rooms might include a space for meetings and programs, but the act of reading was imagined to be solitary. In fact, reading room sponsors were heavily invested in the idea of readers practicing “personal choice and individual responsibility” through their usage of the space.¹⁶⁶

Attendants of the Ibadan and Ilesha reading rooms, both located in southwestern Nigeria, described the popularity of war-related material such as *War in Pictures*, a magazine published by the Ministry of Information in London and issued in a Yoruba language version.¹⁶⁷ Information officers and prominent town citizens also procured general interest books or donated from their own libraries to the rooms. Wartime reading room committees further outfitted the spaces with battery-powered radios, because they recognized the need to combine their advocacy of literacy with the use of technology in order to reach and interest greater numbers of people. The committees welcomed the mobile film units traveling throughout the colony during the war for the same reason.¹⁶⁸

In the decade following the Second World War, the reading room program was validated as a larger collaborative project of the central colonial government, local administrations and outside funding agencies. Galvanized by the public’s favorable response to PRO publications and the additional propaganda reading rooms that were opened in Nigeria during the war, officials expanded the project as more money became available to fund social projects in the post-war period. London’s Central Office of Information retained a domestic function after the war, and information services passed to agencies within the colonies. A Public Relations Office was opened in Lagos and then in other cities.¹⁶⁹ The colonial government tasked these offices with rallying support for Britain as Nigeria moved towards independence, especially after the adoption of the 1946 Richards Constitution.

Reading rooms, as extensions of the PRO, were first and foremost intended to connect Nigerian readers to Britain through literature and other forms of media. They did this by housing British-published books and books that espoused general British values, rather than offering what administrators considered to be inflammatory literature. A 1944 letter from the Ife-Ilesha Division District Officer to the Resident in Oyo preserves a rare catalog of books actually present in a reading room during this period. The District Officer reported that adventure and detective novels, history books and “particularly books about the Empire” were popular among the patrons of the Ilesha Reading Room.¹⁷⁰ In his estimation, they were not as interested in reading poetry, essays and other “Belles lettres” literature. In a 1944 letter to the British Council representative in Lagos, the Oyo Reading Room Committee requested mostly books relating to Africa and colonial politics. Committee Secretary J.O. Alabi wrote that they wanted a copy of Malcolm Hailey’s *An African Survey* and Diedrich Westermann’s *The African Today and Tomorrow*, among other scholarship.¹⁷¹ They asked for only three works of fiction: Shakespeare’s *Collected Works*, *Paradise Lost* and *Robinson Crusoe*. Two years later, an Oyo Division District Officer, in reference to the reading rooms at Oyo and Iseyin, said patrons frequently consulted books for new readers and textbooks on English composition and Commercial Correspondence.¹⁷² The Nigerian readers who frequented the reading rooms seemed to have valued the availability of textbooks and other instructional material above all else. In 1948, a British tutor “found that Nigerian students were often well acquainted with the standard text-book material on History Economics and Co. to an extent which English adults normally are not.”¹⁷³

¹⁶⁵ Ethel Fegan, “A Library System in Nigeria” (Africa Committee Precipis, April 28, 1942), 1, Section IV, Part 26, Reel 532, CMS.

¹⁶⁶ Patrick Harries, *Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa*, 1st ed. (Ohio University Press, 2007), 187, 190. See Robert Darnton, “History of Reading,” in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 157–186.

¹⁶⁷ Information Officer, Lagos, Letter to Oyo Resident, April 22, 1943, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, Vol. II, NAI.

¹⁶⁸ The Colonial Film Unit was established in 1939 to produce propaganda films to rally African support for the Second World War. See Tom Rice, “From the Inside: The Colonial Film Unit and the Beginning of the End,” in *Film and the End of Empire*, ed. Lee Grieveson and Colin McCabe (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 135.

¹⁶⁹ Otubanjo, Amujo, and Melewar, “150 Years of Modern Public Relations Practices in Nigeria,” 16.

¹⁷⁰ DO, Ife-Ilesha Division, Letter to Resident, Oyo Province, August 30, 1944, 132, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, Vol. II, NAI.

¹⁷¹ J.O. Alabi, Letter to F.N.L. Williams, June 19, 1944, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, Vol. II, NAI.

¹⁷² Oyo Division DO, Letter to Oyo Province Resident, September 5, 1946, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, vol. III, NAI.

¹⁷³ Nigeria Union of Teachers File No. 182, University of Oxford, Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies, Reports for the

It is not clear how effective the reading rooms were as spaces for the dissemination of cultural propaganda for colonial rule. Nevertheless, between 1944 and 1952, the British colonial government sponsored the establishment of reading rooms in all regions of Nigeria. It sought to protect its privileged position in Nigeria by making British literature and Western-oriented textbooks available to a large population, in the hope that such accessibility would ensure the fealty of Nigerian readers to their departing colonial rulers. African educators, government staff and chiefs also advocated for these reading rooms, as both a concession to the demands of constituents and a stopgap measure to provide books for the ever-increasing number of students.

In the decade before Nigeria's independence from Great Britain, the colonial power busily laid the groundwork for maintaining a strategic presence in the country. As the Cold War intensified in the 1950s, the protection of a nation's economic and political interests in the world became a matter of national security.¹⁷⁴ Literature was identified as an avenue to inundate the wider Nigerian public with a pro-British message that would benefit British businesses, education services and government policies, even after the colonial period hastened to an end. This effort was an intensification of work begun by the government in the propaganda reading rooms of the Second World War. Before the 1950s, Britain's main concern lay with nationalist agitation and therefore their propaganda countered that so-called enemy, which existed most visibly in the local press.¹⁷⁵ Public Relations Officers were instructed to continually tour their areas and personally distribute government-approved literature. An Oyo regional officer declared, "the very fact that this action was taken would do much to counteract the anti-gov't press which is, I am convinced, read largely because no other source of information or political comment exists."¹⁷⁶ Such an attitude downplayed the agency of Nigerian readers in choosing locally produced literature. It also reflected British notions about Nigerian readers, who the colonial rulers believed to be uncritical consumers of literature.

Until the mid-1950s, the British government regarded its African colonial territory as "firmly in the Western orbit by virtue of its colonial and post-colonial ties to metropolitan Europe."¹⁷⁷ However, increasingly vocal proponents of non-alignment and Nigeria's looming independence gave Britain reason to be concerned with the influence the Soviet Union and the United States might have within the new country. Those two leading powers of the Cold War developed propaganda programs targeting West Africa in the late 1950s, indicating that they also saw the region as a new battleground in their evolving conflict. In response, C.G. Eastwood, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, posited "the best defence [sic] against hostile political penetration by the printed word is *to form the reading habits of the newly literate* and direct them towards British sources while we are still in a position to bring influence directly to bear on the situation."¹⁷⁸ British government officials and other proponents of literacy education and publishing in Africa aspired to move beyond the provision of literature and actually shape the *ways* that Nigerians thought and read. With little time to prepare for the transition to independence, the colonial government wanted to set systems in place that would feed inexpensive and/or subsidized reading material through commercial publishers to the Nigerian market. The colonial government also looked to set up and fortify public libraries in order to have an influence on reading materials for the more educated citizens of the new Nigeria.

The development and distribution of literature was a key global political strategy in the post-war era for Great Britain. Books and pamphlets, along with other types of media, were meant to promote British political and social norms even as the nation's direct global political power waned. In a brief for the Minister of State, the cabinet of the Committee on Oversea Information Services (COIS) argued "our journals and books carry British ideas and prestige abroad and are worth a great deal more to us than the value of the foreign exchange they earn as exports."¹⁷⁹ As communist doctrine gained currency among the African coastal elite, these British administrators, as well as missionaries, expanded their concern about the moral dangers of literature to include the political danger of certain books to African readers. The colonial government began subsidizing book and paper imports and encouraging propaganda production to counteract such supposedly pernicious influences,

period 1 October 1947-31 July 1948. Quoted in Michael Omolewa, "Adult Readers in Nigerian Libraries," *Nigerian Libraries* 10, no. 1 (1974): 34.

¹⁷⁴ Fred Marte, *Political Cycles in International Relations: The Cold War and Africa, 1945-1990* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 56.

¹⁷⁵ Colonial administrators had also observed the popularity of local newspapers, like Nnamdi Azikiwe's *West African Pilot* and *Eastern Nigerian Guardian*, which could easily be read aloud in order to share a nationalist viewpoint on colonial rule with a mass audience of non-readers. John E. Flint, "'Managing Nationalism': The Colonial Office and Nnamdi Azikiwe, 1932-43," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 27, no. 2 (May 1999): 146.

¹⁷⁶ Private memo, September 15, 1946, Oyo Prof 1: 3140, Vol. III, NAI.

¹⁷⁷ Marte, *The Cold War and Africa*, 49.

¹⁷⁸ C.G. Eastwood, Secret and Personal Memo to James Robertson, January 16, 1959, CO 1027/215, NAUK. Emphasis mine.

¹⁷⁹ Cabinet of Committee on Oversea Information Services, "Government Assistance for Commercially Published Books, Periodicals and Similar Material," secret brief, April 12, 1957, 1, BT 258/279, NAUK.

whereas in the past they had mostly left literature provision to private entities such as the Christian missions. This strategy was heavily utilized in Nigeria, especially as the Cold War escalated in the mid-1950s.

During this period, the Nigerian government's relationship with the USSR was characterized by mistrust and skepticism, since Britain had in fact "succeeded in imprinting this concern [alleged communist infiltration] in the minds of those local leaders who were to carry the country into the postcolonial era."¹⁸⁰ Within the Action Group, the ruling party of the Western Region from 1952, leaders Obafemi Awolowo and Samuel Akintola both opposed any Soviet assistance.¹⁸¹ The Soviet Union was equally critical of the Western Region, describing the Action Group as "feudal marionette princes of Yorubaland committed to monarchical institutions" who only represented "the upper strata of the bourgeoisie in the Western Region and the Yoruba feudalists."¹⁸² Nevertheless, after Josef Stalin's death, the USSR had developed a policy of cultivating positive diplomatic relationships with African governments, seeing their professed neutrality as an invitation to Soviet assistance.¹⁸³ In order to counteract what they viewed as the monarchical tendencies of the African educated elite political leadership, the Soviet government increased their propaganda efforts in the region.

The COIS brief elaborates on the importance of providing government financial support for the British publishing industry's exports to critical markets: "Despite our general distaste for any forms of State subsidy to commercial activities oversea, we suggest that this is a case which may have to be carefully considered in the light of other countries' practice."¹⁸⁴ The British government was aware that both the Soviet Union and the United States had programs to support literature distribution in markets where they were trying to consolidate their influence. The United States Information Agency had first assigned an Information Service officer to Lagos in 1951 and opened United States Information Service centers (as the USIA overseas branches were known) in Ibadan, Kano and Enugu during that decade. The USIA service in Nigeria far outstripped that elsewhere in Africa. It operated libraries and produced and placed print, radio and film media in local markets. The United States was more overt than Great Britain in its censoring of the book collections placed in its libraries. The influence of U.S. government policy on the services of USIS made the libraries and information centers a target of foreign protests.¹⁸⁵ In Nigeria, it seems that the conflict was between foreign powers and not with the Nigerian public. The Soviet Union, which dedicated most literature propaganda resources to librarian training, Great Britain and the United States, which both focused their money on model libraries and library technology, worried about how each of the others was using book provision and library/librarian training to exert their influence.

Beginning in 1951, Britain's Foreign Office explored the possibility of a propaganda campaign to counter Soviet Communist influence in West Africa. The perception that communism was increasingly attractive to West Africans worried officials. In Nigeria, they cited the "tone" of Nigerian newspapers as evidence for their concern, blaming newspaper editors for publicizing communist ideology. One such newspaper editor was described as "a potential Communist since he feels that the world's goods are not properly distributed."¹⁸⁶ The Foreign Office counter-communism strategy covertly supplied the West African book market with literature that promoted British policies and social practices; they would do this by distributing the literature 'under plain cover' to individuals – initially religious leaders, and later booksellers. These individuals were to serve as the middlemen between the government and the wider reading public. Colonial governors from Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast and Nigeria sent literature distribution lists, which included missionaries, pastors, politicians and journalists, to the Secretary of State in London. The governor of Sierra Leone, however, hesitated to participate, stating that anti-communist literature would only arouse interest in an ideology that had otherwise attracted little attention in the colony. His reluctance suggests that 'the Communist threat' was more imagined than real.¹⁸⁷

British colonial officials were confident that it would take some time after their political handover to a Nigerian government for communism to have any real impact there and in other colonial possessions; even so,

¹⁸⁰ Maxim Matusevich, *No Easy Row for a Russian Hoe: Ideology and Pragmatism in Nigerian-Soviet Relations, 1960-1991* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc., 2003), 57.

¹⁸¹ Eventually, Awolowo came around to argue for support from the Soviet Bloc as a response to his antagonism towards the policies of Akintola.

¹⁸² V. Rybakov, "Nigeria Na Poroge Nezavisimosti," *Mirovaya Ekonomika I Mezhdunarodnye Otnoshenia* 2 (1960): 85; quoted in Matusevich, *No Easy Row for a Russian Hoe*, 61.

¹⁸³ Sergey Mazov, *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956-1964* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2010), 13.

¹⁸⁴ Cabinet of Committee on Oversea Information Services, "Government Assistance for Commercially Published Books, Periodicals and Similar Material."

¹⁸⁵ Pamela Spence Richards, "Cold War Librarianship: Soviet and American Library Activities in Support of National Foreign Policy, 1946-1991," *Libraries and Culture* 36, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 200.

¹⁸⁶ "Extracted from Eastern Region Regpin, No. 4, 20 December 1952-14 January 1953," n.d., CO 537/7783, NAUK.

¹⁸⁷ Soviet Booklets, the USSR's English-language propaganda distributor, shared quarters with the Soviet Consulate at #3 Rosary Gardens, London.

they were anxious to fortify a pro-British contingent in the country. Up until the moment of their departure from Nigeria, these officials were devising ways to ensure that pro-British literature filled library and bookshop shelves. While the literature they introduced into Nigeria in the 1950s and 1960s seems to have addressed a threat that existed mostly in their minds, it shaped how and what Nigerians were reading during that period.

A 1957 report by the British Council Executive Committee stated that Soviet publications in English and local languages were appearing for low prices in markets in South East Asia and Nigeria, “with very dangerous possibilities.”¹⁸⁸ Both the British and Soviet governments considered these places effective targets for their propaganda. The Nigerian government had already committed to a proactive response to Soviet overtures to Africans within the colony. However, their first plan – to send pro-British literature to individuals – was scrapped when officials in the British West Africa colonies raised the concern that the propaganda campaign would no longer be covert when boxes of books arrived anonymously on the people’s doorsteps. Nigerian officials, however, liked the scheme and willingly submitted lists of booksellers who could be used to disseminate such literature. There seems to have been a number of sellers who would accept any saleable material.

Officials at the Nigerian Secretariat in Lagos felt that there were enough booksellers that they did not have to rely on people outside of the trade to carry out the program. The list sent to London divided sellers into “respectable agents” and “tainted agents” who “dabbled in Communist literature but are probably ready to take booklets from any source, provided they can see a profit in it.”¹⁸⁹ The former included forty-two bookshops, twenty-seven in Lagos and the Western Province. Eight of the ten latter shops were located in Lagos. Using these contacts, the Ministry of Defense and External Affairs initiated the program in 1952, providing “counter-material” such as *This is Soviet Russia*, *South-East Asia and Its Future* and *Why Communism Must Fail* to the booksellers.¹⁹⁰ The first pamphlet is a particularly interesting attempt at anti-Soviet propaganda, consisting of a series of primary source documents that illustrate communist views on religion, which were meant to appall African readers. Publishers of additional government-approved material began sending literature directly to booksellers in Nigeria by July of the same year.

C.Y. Carstairs, the Director of Information Services in the Colonial Office, expressed concern that the “purely ‘anti’ stuff” being sent from publishers to booksellers in Nigeria “might do more harm than good.”¹⁹¹ He believed that ninety percent of the propaganda literature should promote British political and social practices, while ten percent was dedicated to denigrating communism, but his philosophy was at odds with the strategy of the Foreign Office, which focused almost exclusively on distributing anti-communist propaganda from 1951 onwards.¹⁹² Despite his conflict with the Foreign Office, in 1952 Carstairs arranged for Stephen Watts, a former MI5 officer and editor of the Foreign Office Information Research Department’s ‘Background Books’ series, to tour West Africa – including Nigeria – under the pretense of investigating the potential book market for Batchworth Press.¹⁹³ In reality, Watts was to visit booksellers and assess who might be willing to knowingly disseminate anti-communist and pro-British literature for the government.¹⁹⁴ Carstairs agreed to the secretive mission because he was frustrated that the Colonial Office did not have more control over the content of literature appearing in Nigerian bookshops, in spite of Britain’s privileged position in the country. Watts’ Background books were blatantly anti-communist, but they were also cheap and widely available. Carstairs, in line with the Foreign Office, thought that they would be an effective means of promoting Western values because they could be circulated through local shops, rather than obviously handed out by the government. Based on Carstairs’ concern with finding a more unobtrusive way of getting propaganda into Nigerian hands, it seems that the Nigerian reading public had given the Colonial Office reason to think that they did not simply accept the message of British propaganda at face value.

That same year, the Nigerian Co-operative Supply Association received a Colonial Development and Welfare (CD&W) grant of £4,200 to improve literature distribution throughout the colony. Colonial officials hoped that private industry would eventually take an interest in providing books for African markets that promoted British ideals, but they realized that they would have to fund the growth of distribution networks in

¹⁸⁸ The British Council Executive Committee, *British and American Books and Periodicals Overseas*, confidential report, 1957, 1, BT 258/279, NAUK.

¹⁸⁹ M.J. Bennion, top secret memo to C.Y. Carstairs, February 23, 1951, CO 537/7783, NAUK.

¹⁹⁰ A.C. Rennill, secret memo to C.Y. Carstairs, March 28, 1952, CO 537/7783, NAUK.

¹⁹¹ C.Y. Carstairs, “Anti-Communist Propaganda,” memo to J.S. Dudding (Secretariat, Lagos), August 11, 1952, 2, CO 537/7783, NAUK.

¹⁹² Andrew Defty, *Britain, America and Anti-Communist Propaganda, 1945-53: The Information Research Department* (London: Routledge, 2004), 171.

¹⁹³ C.Y. Carstairs, top secret memo to J.S. Dudding, December 22, 1952, CO 537/7783, NAUK. Batchworth Press, followed by Phoenix House and Bodley Head, published nearly 100 titles in the series between the late 1940s and 1970. See Defty, *Britain, America and Anti-Communist Propaganda*, 165.

¹⁹⁴ C.Y. Carstairs, secret memo to M.F. Wentworth, December 22, 1952, CO 537/7783, NAUK.

the interim. W.H. Ingrams, the Secretary of State's Adviser on Overseas Information, had toured Nigeria in 1951 and determined "one of the reasons why undesirable (including subversive) literature found a ready public was because the distribution of good books was so inadequate."¹⁹⁵ The terms of the grant stated that all book purchases, therefore, had to be approved by the Nigerian Education Department, which served as a gatekeeper of sorts.¹⁹⁶ As evidenced by Ingrams' report, the parameters for literature deemed appropriate for African consumption were narrow, excluding a body of work that extended far beyond the subversive communist literature so feared by the colonial government.

In order to distribute suitable books over the widest area and combat the infiltration of non-approved literature, it was decided that the CD&W grant would be used to fund the expansion of an experimental book van project already being run by the Co-operative Supply Association in Western Nigeria. The specially outfitted van traveled between villages and towns of the southwest, displaying books, stationary, games and art material for sale. Officials planned to use the CD&W grant to add a second van and a permanent bookstall and then conduct an efficacy study, in the hope of expanding their enterprise to other parts of the colony. The first book van had not been turning a profit and they anticipated that the additional sources of revenue would allow the project to eventually become self-supporting; all profits from books sales were to be used for promotion of the project. In a memo collating the responses of the regional PROs to the proposal to open a bookstall, however, their feedback was universally negative. "The unanimous opinion is that street bookstalls would not pay in this country," wrote Ibadan PRO G.W.P. Thorn. "There is not yet sufficient demand for books. Existing reading-rooms are not well patronised and the small bookshops, which do exist in the towns, barely pay their way."¹⁹⁷ Their response trivializes the existence of those reading rooms and bookshops in every town and village. It also highlights the contradictory messages that Nigerian readers received from workers in literature development and book distribution, that Nigerians were not really reading *and* that they were reading the wrong material.

Officials invested the CD&W grant in an experimental project that was supposed to help develop strategies for book distribution specific to the geography and desires of the Nigerian reading public. A profitable program would be self-perpetuating and could be relied on to make pro-British literature available to readers after the political handover of the colony. However, initial feedback from the Co-operative Supply Association showed that stationary and other non-book materials were the project's main source of revenue, making officials wary of opening further bookselling venues. In the decade prior to Nigerian independence, the British government was finding that the lack of a book distribution network made it difficult to depend as heavily as they would have liked on literature as a source of influence. It should also be noted that the failure of the Co-Operative Supply Association to sell many books could be ascribed, in part, to their subject matter. A 1964 brief from Britain's Overseas Information Office Book Export Committee stated, "Experience has shown that it is very seldom that a book can be found which both projects Britain and sells well."¹⁹⁸

The British government had long relied on its position as the administrative power in Nigeria to eclipse the influence of the other countries that were trying to generate a positive relationship with Nigerians through the use of propaganda. This paper has attempted to trace the efforts of the colonial government – as minimal as they were at times – to develop a concomitant propaganda policy for southern Nigeria in the final decades of colonial rule. The Low-Priced Books Scheme, the most successful British program in terms of length and number of British-published books distributed to Nigerian readers, was in fact instituted long after colonial rule had come to an end. It had begun in 1959/60 in India and Pakistan. The English Language Book Society (ELBS), a partnership between the government's Book Development Council and the British Publishers Association, expanded its program of providing low-priced books to African nations, including Nigeria, in 1965 "to maintain British influence in countries in which English is the language of communication and where it is threatened by the supply of foreign government-aided books."¹⁹⁹ The British government was well aware of Soviet, Chinese and American efforts to provide subsidized books in the English language to areas of British influence. A policy document for the Low-Priced Books Scheme described its target markets as "in the early stages of political evolution, in need of and responsive to the influence of maturer countries, but sensitive about the way in which it is exerted."²⁰⁰ Although the original program was intended to distribute general literature and textbooks promoting British achievements and practices, the ELBS eventually focused its resources on providing tertiary-level textbooks. A report by the Central Office of Information (COI) reasoned

¹⁹⁵ *Nigeria: Improvement of Literature Distribution*, Colonial Office report, July 9, 1952, CO 859/6/1, NAUK.

¹⁹⁶ Extract from note of discussion with Treasury Department, July 24, 1952, CO 859/6/1, NAUK.

¹⁹⁷ G.W.P. Thorn, memo, n.d., CO 859/6/1, NAUK.

¹⁹⁸ "Brief for Meeting of Book Export Committee Due to Be Held on 10 September, 1964," n.d., FO 953/2200, NAUK.

¹⁹⁹ "Low-Priced Books Scheme," report, March 31, 1965, 1, CO 1027/643, NAUK.

²⁰⁰ Book Exports Committee, "Advisory Committee on the Selection of Low-Priced Books for Overseas' Background Note," n.d., INF 12/1449, NAUK.

that customers in target countries read only for education and examination purposes and not for pleasure, which would have necessitated subsidies for general literature.²⁰¹

The British Council in Nigeria assisted the COI in determining the books to be included in the Low-Priced Books Scheme, which typically made them available in participating markets for about one-third of the normal price. The COI report reveals the frustration felt by government officials regarding their lack of control in the book markets of territories that had so recently belonged to them. While administrators acknowledged that the scheme would undercut the sale of other British books in these markets, they countered that “it is better that one or some British books shall be available at a competitive price than none at all.”²⁰² And in response to the point that the scheme would create expectations for artificially low-priced books in all areas of literature, the report simply stated that the British government was not the only entity flooding the market with subsidized books. In light of the propaganda being distributed by other world powers in Nigeria and recognizing their diminished capacity to have an influence in the newly independent country, British officials called the subsidy program, like the reading rooms and propaganda distribution efforts that had preceded it, “an indispensable weapon in the battle” to make sure that Africans were reading British books.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Central Office of Information, report, March 15, 1965, 3, CO 1027/643, NAUK. The report also emphasized the importance of subsidizing tertiary textbooks and not books for the primary and secondary school levels, in a pointed effort to influence the educated elite members of target countries.

²⁰² “Low-Priced Books Scheme,” 4.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 6. The British government continued to fund the Educational Low Priced Book Scheme until 1995, with Nigeria being a major recipient.

Propaganda War relief and the dehumanation of the enemy

Construction of the Image of the Partisan in the Italian Social Republic 1943-45

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1. The Necessity of Constructing an Image of the Enemy

After the signing of the armistice with the Allies – announced on 8 September 1943 – Italy found itself split in two: in the centre and north there were the occupying Germans; in the south, the Allied troops who were slowing pushing up the peninsula. Alongside the Germans was Mussolini, who, after having been freed on 23 September 1943, went about setting up the Italian Social Republic (I.S.R.), a new Fascist state. In southern Italy the Southern Kingdom was created, with Victor Emanuel III and Pietro Badoglio at its head. In northern Italy, finally, an armed resistance movement sprang up to oppose the German occupation and the newly created Fascist government. So it was that in Italy, between 1943 and 1945, in addition to the war between regular armies (German and Allied), a civil war was also being fought²⁰⁴.

One of the main weapons of Republican Fascism in this civil war was propaganda. Not all Italians were aware what it meant to face an armed resistance movement. The I.S.R., therefore, found itself on the one hand having to construct a representation of the Partisan as an extremely negative element that was to be “inserted” in Italians’ minds to justify the ongoing struggle. On the other, Mussolini had to extrapolate from military thought all those ideals of gallant, loyal warfare which Fascism had propagandized for twenty years.

This was a one-sided representation that had a very specific purpose: to provide a unified image of the Partisans by demonizing all those that might be their human characteristics. It was a necessary process because only in this way would the I.S.R. succeed in isolating the figure of the Partisan in Italians’ minds, thus succeeding in denationalizing all his connotations and consolidating the representation of an individual who was alien to Italian culture, driven only by the “bloody creed” of Communist ideology and “Jewish-Allied” propaganda.

A key role in this process was played by the Ministry of Popular Culture, which, starting in the winter of 1943, resumed working at full speed to churn out material responding to the new political and military necessities: the war against the Allies; the anti-Jewish campaign; building up an Army; the anti-Partisan struggle; the opposition between the I.S.R. and the Badoglio Government²⁰⁵. The Ministry was entrusted to Fernando Mezzasoma, a 36-year-old Roman, former secretary of the National Fascist Party and a member of the Party’s intransigent wing²⁰⁶. The post of Chief of Cabinet of the Minister of Culture was assigned to Giorgio Almirante: this journalist was responsible for overseeing posters, flyers and promotional publications in general²⁰⁷. Through these men and their subordinates, Fascist propaganda regained control of its principal tools of “battle”: posters, postcards and newspapers.

2. Posters

The I.S.R. fought an authentic “war on walls”. Its posters were disseminated to influence the internal front, becoming a true tool of battle. The themes touched upon can be summarized as follows:

1. Betrayal by the monarch and Badoglio;
2. Loyalty to and confidence in the Germans;
3. Patriotic mobilization and enrolment in Fascist formations;
4. The Risorgimento roots of the I.S.R.;
5. The enemy’s cruelty and disloyalty;
6. Militarization of work;

²⁰⁴ C. Pavone, *Una guerra civile. Saggio storico sulla moralità della resistenza*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1991.

²⁰⁵ M. Franzinelli, *RSI. La Repubblica del Duce 1943-1945. Una storia illustrata*, Milano, Mondadori, 2007.

²⁰⁶ G. Magi, *Fernando Mezzasoma. Gerarca dimenticato*, Ancona, Iuculano, 2007.

²⁰⁷ G. Almirante, *Autobiografia di un fucilatore*, Milano, Il Borghese, 1973

7. Female presence²⁰⁸.

The posters regarding the insurgency, the Partisan's image and the fight against the Resistance were included in the category of the "enemy's cruelty and disloyalty". Through one of Fascism's top illustrators, Gino Boccassile, the "partisans" or "bandits" or "rebels" were depicted as highwaymen, as people devoted to robbery and burning down villages. An activity that, as represented by the same artist, could only be punished with death by means of the Fascists' iron fist.

The three best-known wall posters during the I.S.R. were centred on the theme of the fight against the Partisans and the civil war. The first was entitled "Fratricide!"; a second, bearing the slogan "To every traitor, to every saboteur", depicted a firing squad carrying out a death sentence (a warning for all members of the Resistance as to what would happen to them if they were captured); and a third was entitled "Bandits and Rebels, here is your end!", in which an iron fist crushed a group of Partisans while, in the background, a village was going up in flames²⁰⁹.

3. The Press

3.1. Language

To understand the Italian Social Republic's representation of the Partisan one must first consider the lexical forms that the newspapers of that period used to identify those who took part in the Resistance. It was a work of recognition that, already for the Fascist chroniclers, was difficult because «giving the status of combatants, even if sold out to the enemy, even if mercenaries, is honouring them too much» and using the «most scorching words would hardly be sufficient to describe them: our language doesn't contain terms foul and filthy enough to describe them»²¹⁰.

As the war events proceeded and the Partisans' actions grew more numerous, however, the Fascists were forced to come up with terms that identified these individuals. Definitions like "rebel", "patriot", "bandit", "straggler" and "partisan" began to be used. Following the killing of the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, "outlaw" and "terrorist" came into use as well.

Each term provided a different perspective on how Republican Fascism perceived the enemy. "Rebel", for example, identified the political choice made by those who, following the 8th of September, decided to engage in armed struggle against Fascism and the Germans.

You were born of the treason, of the dung strewn on the honour of the Homeland by the hands of the pettifoggers, whether in uniform or not, but all supported by the slaving, anachronistic, oh-so-tolerant monarchy, by spontaneous germination, oh rebel²¹¹.

In particular, the I.S.R.'s propaganda identified with the term "rebel" the ideological link with the Southern Kingdom, i.e., with those who had signed the armistice with the Allies.

You, after months of primitive life, after days of sterile, sad exile, after having recognized that your flesh is not in service to your idea but serves only to cover, even if only with tatters, the derision of those responsible for so much degeneration, after it has been imposed on you, to be able to replenish the ranks, to march alongside apolitical marauders, authentic jail birds, who fight simply for the survival of their ugly bandits outlawed by society. You, therefore, who were once a brother, don't you see that the Homeland has arisen again, that the Dead, whom together we saw fall in battle, have put themselves at the head of the ranks of the nascent republic to restore honour and life to Italy?²¹²

The term "bandit", instead, was used by the I.S.R. in more than one way: on one hand, to indicate the membership of a person in a Partisan band, and on the other, to describe their "illegal" and "criminal" action.

In the eyes of the Fascists, the chief "renegades" were precisely the "bandits", because through their actions, funded by the Allies, they led to the "death" of the homeland and to the realization of the Anglo-American political project but, even more so, to the Soviet one.

²⁰⁸ M. Franzinelli, *RSI. La Repubblica del Duce 1943-1945*, cit., p. 34.

²⁰⁹ Ivi, p. 175.

²¹⁰ *Due nostri operai uccisi dai banditi*, in «La Repubblica fascista», 14 August 1944.

²¹¹ D. Leccisi, «*Tu, ribelle*», in «La voce repubblicana», 18 May 1944.

²¹² Ibid.

All these actions are not part of an honest, open struggle, but are authentic methods of bandits without a homeland and devoid of any sentiment, who only obey, because they are in their pay, the headquarters in Moscow, London and Washington which impart orders in this sense²¹³.

Another term often present in Fascist propaganda, also for references to history, was that of “patriot”. Identifying the enemy as a “patriot” meant recognizing the type of struggle engaged in: a patriotic war. The use that the propaganda of the Italian Social Republic made of it, however, was in a negative sense, aimed at underscoring the differences between the two opposing formations.

We do not hold these adversaries in honour: we do not recognize their claim to being partisans, much less patriots. They are not soldiers of any ideology, not even the most subversive or absurd one: they are criminals, bandits, jail birds many times over, those who torture and stab, shoot their revolvers into the faces and bodies of their victims until they are unrecognizable, stone them like enraged Jews stoned the first Christian martyrs²¹⁴.

The I.S.R. put the term “partisan” on the same level. This category included those who «more properly [...] declared themselves Communists, under Slavic influence and at the orders of Moscow and the Italian Communist Party [...]»²¹⁵. The word “partisan” began to constitute a problem for Fascist propaganda when it was linked with the term “Garibaldian”. Once again the Risorgimento question re-emerged powerfully. The I.S.R. responded by distancing itself from those who defined themselves as “Garibaldians” since, as was pointed out in newspaper columns, «today’s Garibaldians instead constitute, with few exceptions, the cream of the riff-raff, for cowardice, arrogance and dishonesty; men who demand everything from the Homeland but offer it nothing in return, and would like to see it dismembered and at the enemy’s mercy²¹⁶. The anti-Partisan propaganda was aimed at convincing the Italians that, if Garibaldi had been alive during the Social Republic, he would have sided with Republican Fascism, participating in the struggle against the Resistance movements.

From these passages everyone can deduce that if he were to rise up from his final resting place on Caprera, the great leader of the Risorgimento would take up “the ancient, terrible fasces” alongside Mussolini, Duce of Republican Italy, with complete disregard for the aforesaid bandits and their sympathizers.

Two other terms were central for the process of dehumanizing the Partisans carried out by the press: “outlaw” and “terrorist”. In the first case, “outlaw” identified those who had chosen to hide out in the mountains, evidencing their legal personality. A status that appeared undeserved because of the actions they carried out.

It is the sign of a destruction of moral values, so that human life loses its meaning every day, and extinguishing it through violence becomes a game²¹⁷.

More important was the use of the term “terrorist”. It was exploited by the propaganda of the Social Republic, on one hand, to provide an explanation for the violence of the Partisans, and on the other to complete the process of their denationalization. According to the Fascists, the figure of the “terrorist” did not belong to Italian culture, as it was characteristic of the Communist and Slavic world. A vision, therefore, in which racial elements and political components converged.

For some time now the agents bought with London’s sterling and Moscow’s roubles have embraced assassination of the Slavic, Balkan type. The cut-throats use bicycles to sneak up on their victims from behind and then quickly disappear²¹⁸.

The propaganda added the terms “cut-throat” and “saboteur” to that of terrorist. Both found legitimation in the types of actions carried out. “Cut-throat”, for example, referred to those who engaged in the activities of the resistance cells of the Patriotic Action Group (GAP) in urban centres. “Saboteur” was instead used to indicate those who carried out terrorist activity aimed at causing damage to infrastructure.

²¹³ *Altri gravi sabotaggi compiuti dai sovversivi*, in «La repubblica fascista», 16 July 1944.

²¹⁴ *Combattere i malfattori*, in «La fiamma repubblicana», 9 April 1944.

²¹⁵ E. Pezzato, *Rapporto sul ribellismo*, in «La Repubblica Fascista», 2 August 1944.

²¹⁶ *Garibaldi e Garibaldini*, in «L’artiglio», 21 April 1944.

²¹⁷ *Sangue*, in «La repubblica fascista», 18 November 1944.

²¹⁸ *Al terrore sarà risposto con moltiplicato terrore*, in «La riscossa», 3 February 1944.

3.2. The “Human” Representation of the Partisan

But for the propaganda of the Italian Social Republic, who made up the ranks of the Partisans? Who constituted the “human” component of the Resistance?

Initially, the Fascists identified the Partisans as «disbanded soldiers, prisoners of war who had escaped from concentration camps, political and common criminals freed from prison»²¹⁹. As the weeks passed, the I.S.R. created some identifying categories:

- stragglers;
- escapees from concentration camps;
- escapees from prison;
- common criminals;
- anti-Fascists;
- draft dodgers and deserters;
- political commissars.

Without the shadow of a doubt, the most interesting types are represented by the concentration camp escapees, common criminals, anti-Fascists and political commissars.

In the case of the former concentration camp detainees, the Fascist propaganda associated these persons with the image of the Slav. The ex-prisoners captured during the campaign in the Balkans and in the ensuing years of occupation were accused of taking part in armed struggle.

The common criminal, instead, constituted the backbone of the Resistance formations, both for their numerical presence and for the operational component. According to the I.S.R., it was among these that «the squad commanders and the great majority of the members of the Patriotic Action Groups were recruited»²²⁰.

Let us be clear: they were assassinated by common criminals who disguise themselves with the red star, just like sinister-looking characters used to hide behind the black neckerchief of the ruffian²²¹.

The last two “human” categories identified by the I.S.R.’s propaganda are those of the anti-Fascists and the political commissars. Enzo Pezzato, editor of *La Repubblica fascista*, described the anti-Fascists as «groups of people with disparate ideas and programmes, united only by their shared struggle against us: soldiers who believe themselves bound by oath, leaders of old political tendencies, youths led astray by clever propaganda, thinkers and party men, malcontents and failures, sell-outs to the enemy». A type of individuals who, according to the propaganda, constituted a marginal component because the majority were either members of the local National Liberation Committees or had found refuge in neutral countries. Anyone who had chosen to carry out activity in the bands was considered an active anti-Fascist.

Finally, there was the figure of the political commissar. In the imagery of the I.S.R., the political commissar was the enemy par excellence because he propagated Bolshevik values.

They have arrived from enemy headquarters. They are usually foreigners (aside from a few renegades) and have either a military rank or the clear role of political commissar.

The I.S.R.’s reporters considered the political commissar the person who held the “power” in the Partisan band and the person principally responsible for the mounting civil war in Italy. Indeed, if initially “banditry” was to be considered «above all a sad lack of moral character», with the political commissar it had «become a tool for political and military struggle; a tool in the hands of foreigners and rigorously circumscribed for the purposes desired by these foreigners»²²².

3.3. Political Representation

In order to understand the construction of the image of the Partisan it is necessary to analyze its political and ideological component as well. Initially, the I.S.R. did not have clear ideas about the political composition of the Resistance movement.

²¹⁹ E. Pezzato, *Rapporto sul ribellismo*, in «La repubblica fascista», cit.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ *Combattere i malfattori*, in «La fiamma repubblicana», 27 March 1944.

²²² Ibid.

They have a single incentive for their action, the fear to go to the front. They only care about performing their professional activity as well as possible and with the most guarantees²²³.

As the months went by, though, the propaganda identified political and ideological elements according to which it was possible to distinguish three types of Partisans:

- the “Badogliano”;
- the “Independent”;
- the “Communist”.

The “Badogliano” was the individual who, par excellence, had appropriated the title of “patriot”. Those who declared themselves *Badogliani* had chosen to continue to honour the oath sworn to the King and to Badoglio, the two highest figures who, according to the Fascists, had betrayed Italy and led to civil war. The “Badogliano” was considered responsible for horrendous crimes, in particular against the civilian population. This image served to provide a justification for the harshening of the military tactics employed by the I.S.R..

The second politico-ideological figure of the Resistance identified by the I.S.R. was the “Independent”. These were people who, in the Fascists’ view, had made the choice of resistance more «out of necessity to obtain aid of a financial nature or even only moral support» than to fight Nazi-Fascism²²⁴.

For Fascist propaganda the image and the idea of the “Communist” was central, however. The maximum expression of demonization and denationalization of the enemy was reached precisely in the construction of the image of the “Communist”.

First and foremost, the “Communist” was considered to bear the main responsibility for the civil war in Italy.

The land of Saint Francis and Saint Benedict is red with generous blood: in various points of Pistoia province, armed criminals, apparently in the pay of Communism and the enemy, have brought death to the homes of two very worthy priests, who, alongside love for God, had elevated the equally sacred cult of the Homeland.

This is a crime without a name committed by the enemies of God and of the Homeland, negators of every principle of good²²⁵.

According to the I.S.R.’s propaganda, the “Communist” was under the direct orders of Stalin and this could only lead to a Sovietization of Italy²²⁶. As Umberto Scaroni, an officer in the Republican National Guard, wrote, the “Communist” fought for «world Communism, including the Yugoslavian Communism on our eastern borders» and operated «without respect for international law, but rather following the canons of revolutionary warfare long theorized in Moscow [...]»²²⁷. In the post-war period, the representation and the identification of the Partisan as a “Communist” became further entrenched among the die-hard veterans of Salò, in particular due to a series of publications by the Neo-Fascist historian Giorgio Pisanò²²⁸.

The propaganda was thus aimed at making the “Communist” appear to the population as one who could live only in a climate of hatred and terror, as an individual whose ideology was founded on ruthlessness, as a person used to finding himself at ease in the turmoil of civil war. For Republican Fascism they were “beasts with red neckerchiefs” who exploited war like a gigantic rite of celebration of the fiendish instincts unleashed by ideological hatred.

Naturally, the political representation focused on the “Badogliano”, the “Independent” and the “Communist” had the purpose of convincing the Italian people that the resistance movement was anything but a homogeneous organism, especially from the standpoint of political thought.

As a result they are disorganized, lawless, chaotic groups that manage to prevail here and there through criminality and terror. They don’t have a shared goal, nor are they driven by the same ideas. All the shades and colour gradations of the political rainbow are present among the ranks of these paladins of a cowardly, capitulatory Italy at the mercy of the foreigner’s lash. Everything divides them, therefore, political convictions and aspirations, and if anything unites them it is nothing but the fear of being forced to fight for Italy and a murky anti-Fascist acrimony that for them is more important than anything else and above all the Homeland²²⁹.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ E. Pezzato, *Rapporto sul ribellismo-gli uomini*, in «La repubblica fascista», 3 August 1944.

²²⁵ *Due sacerdoti vittime del bieco odio comunista*, in «Crociata italiana», 6 March 1944.

²²⁶ E. Pezzato, *Rapporto sul ribellismo-gli uomini*, in «La repubblica fascista», cit.

²²⁷ U. Scaroni, *Soldato dell’onore*, Trieste, Nuovo Fronte, 1999, pp. 49-50.

²²⁸ G. Pisanò, *Sangue chiama sangue. Storie della guerra civile*, Milano, Lo Scarabeo, 2005, p. 17; Ibid., *Storia della guerra civile 1943-45*, Milano, FPE, 1965-1966.

²²⁹ *I “banditi” disperati per la mancanza di un comando*, in «La Riscossa», 3 August 1944.

According to the Fascists, the sole political belief that animated the Partisans was killing. No idea has guided the arms, no ideal principle; not even a desire for vendetta or the mirage of booty. Only a sadistic, perverted need to kill, the pleasure of destruction, a taste for blood and wickedness²³⁰.

For the propaganda of the I.S.R., their ideology was subordinate to “violence” and “thirst for blood”. The ideological components that should have justified rebellion and attracted consensus became only confused, contradictory formulae used as a pretext to pursue their actions of insurgency and banditry.

3.4. “Usages and Customs” of the Partisan

It now seems clear that the I.S.R.’s propaganda was focused on providing an image of a Partisan movement made up of «a hodgepodge of diverse people, united only by the cement of enemy propaganda and by a shared moral disorientation». This end was pursued also by identifying the “usages and customs” of the Partisans. Diminishing, isolating and deriding the Resistance fighters was a fundamental step for achieving their complete denationalization.

There isn’t a boy who is permitted to go off to urinate who doesn’t arm himself swaggeringly and put on his fiercest look. There isn’t a commander of five men who doesn’t have some pompous title, one of those that requires a serious mnemonic effort to remember. There isn’t a rebel worth his salt who doesn’t feel the need to give himself as bizarre and strange a hair-style as possible.

These images, which could give rise to mirth, were fundamental for showing the Italians that the Resistance was comprised of individuals who could not be considered Italians, not even in their “usages and customs”. Embarrassing descriptions emerge, for example, in which the Partisans are compared to American Indians:

And finally, I would point out that it still fills me today with hilarity when I recall certain hair-dos worthy of the redskins: a cropped red feather stuck in the eagle of a Party official’s cap; the cap of the SS worn backwards and with the visor painted red; tricolour Muslim-style turbans, and so forth²³¹.

The Fascist propaganda also examined the *noms de guerre* adopted, arriving at the conclusion that they were the result of pillaging Italian history and geography without restraint.

Reading from the information reports the list of the names that the various bands have attributed to themselves seems like going through the list of teams taking part in the kiddies’ league contained in the pages of a sport newspaper.

The image that was supposed to emerge, therefore, was that of an individual who could not be considered a combatant because it was the Fascist who incarnated the “true” Italian, also in “usages and customs”. For the I.S.R., the Partisan was something extraneous to Italian civil society.

3.5. The Representation of Partisan Violence

The last element used by I.S.R. propaganda to construct the image of the Partisan was the theme of the violence committed by the Resistance. The Fascist representation gave this technique a strong political valence, identifying it as a tool of “Communist” struggle. This representation was developed on the basis of a few very distinct types: the violence of ambushes; the violence of assassins; the violence of robberies; violence against the dead and women.

Starting with the violence of the ambush, it emerges that, for the Fascists, this form of combat was a tool used by “cowardly” individuals, who raised «a bloody banner that does not know the glory of combat but the sadism of assassination, that does not wave in the sun like our flames but sows hatred in the darkness»²³². The ambush, moreover, did not distinguish between military and civilian objectives. Precisely this fact was used by the propaganda to reinforce the image of a “cowardly” individual motivated by “deep hatred” and an “innate sense of cruelty”.

²³⁰ *Due nostri operai uccisi dai partigiani*, in «La Repubblica fascista», 14 August 1944.

²³¹ E. Pezzato, *Rapporto sul ribellismo-l’organizzazione*, in «La Repubblica fascista», 5 August 1944.

²³² L’Alfiere, *Legionari: Giorgio Baroni, Romolo Barbieri, Emilio Leonardini, Bruno Geminiani*, in «L’assalto», cit.

And yet near San Piero in Bagno, a lorry that was transporting a group of these sufferers was stopped and assaulted by an array of “rebels” who, indifferent to begging and supplication, robbed the unfortunates of every possession, then abandoning them to their sad fate.

This, apparently, is part of the plans of liberty and justice that the admirable “rebels” are implementing while eagerly awaiting what is supposed to be the supreme liberty of the Russians, British and Americans²³³.

More space was devoted to the technique of assassination because it was able to make a greater impression on the popular imagination. Assassination was considered by the Fascists something alien to Italian culture but strongly rooted in Slavic and Communist societies. The killings demonstrated that these individuals were unwilling to suspend their criminal activity in the face of anything and for this reason were not to be considered Italians. Their Italian citizenship was only acknowledged in a negative sense, as the “worst”, “Badoglio” and “Levantine” expression of the nation. Thus, through the image constructed by the Social Republic’s propaganda, this clash took on all the characteristics of a conflict between “barbarism” and “civilization”, between the “civilized” Rome and the “barbarian” wave that was fast approaching from the east²³⁴.

Also the violence that the Partisans committed on the bodies of the dead were the confirmation, according to the Fascist chroniclers, of the adversary’s profound “bloodthirstiness” and “savage” nature.

They have often abused the dead; either out of the desire to steal, which has driven them to shatter jaws in order to pull out gold teeth and to cut off fingers to remove rings, or even just out of that sadistic pleasure that has led them to disfigure the corpses of those who had fallen fighting against them, and in particular by kicking them in the face.

Lastly, the I.S.R.’s propaganda took robbery and violence against women into consideration. Robbery was denounced as an act aimed at extending the conflict to the civilian population.

One could write a treatise per day on the Partisans’ robberies. What is necessary to note is only that they do no damage to the Fascists, unless indirectly and in small part, and to the Germans not at all. They only harm and starve the population.

Not pursuing any military objective, therefore, robbery was viewed as a criminal activity because it allowed people to enrich themselves, to supply clandestine dealings and the black market. Naturally, the I.S.R.’s attention to this type of offence was useful for the process of expelling the Partisan from the Italian cultural and social fabric.

Some have managed to set aside in this manner a sizeable nest-egg, which, despite being Communists, they have no intention of sharing with their less able or less fortunate comrades²³⁵.

On the topic of violence against women, the Fascist propagandists drew up a representation aimed at sensitizing public opinion, among both the military and civilians. They wanted to demonstrate that in case of victory, the Partisans would have brought with them a type of “values” that also included violence against women. A violence that, from the perspective of the I.S.R., could not be justified in any way.

Brought to the camp they are raped and abused by the entire band: 65 men. Then the poor creatures are sent to a concentration camp as hostages. All three of them pregnant²³⁶.

4. Conclusions

Summarizing what has been stated above:

1. According to the Fascists, the phenomenon of the Partisan was the fruit of the moral decay resulting from the armistice and of a form of corruption in which the nation’s authentic values were dissolved.
2. The Partisan bands were nothing other than a composite, variegated collection of individuals who engaged in criminal activity.

²³³ *Le nobili imprese dei “ribelli”*, in «Il Popolo di Romagna», 3 August 1944.

²³⁴ F. Germinario, *L'altra memoria. L'estrema destra, Salò e la resistenza*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1999, pp. 94-106.

²³⁵ E. Pezzato, *Rapporto sul ribellismo-l'azione*, in «La Repubblica fascista», 9 August 1944.

²³⁶ *Un fuori-legge confessa i nefandi crimini compiuti*, in «La Repubblica fascista», 20 December 1944.

3. The Garibaldian myth on which some bands based their existence disintegrated in the face of the lack of cohesion and discipline of the bands themselves.
4. The Partisans pursued objectives imposed by the Allies.
5. The Resistance acted in a way that was deleterious to the population, contaminating it morally, starving it with requisitions and destruction, exposing it to the danger of reprisals.

So an extremely complex image of the Partisans emerges, a clear demonstration of how diligently Fascist propaganda worked to demonstrate that the Resistance was the “sick” part of the nation. Although this representation had the purpose of demonization and denationalization, the means and the effort deployed to achieve this goal are a clear demonstration of how preoccupied the Social Republic was by the progress of the Partisan movement and of its taking root in the civilian population. As a result, in addition to with the armed forces, Mussolini decided to fight it also with the weapon of propaganda. A war, however, that, besides being lost on the actual field of battle, was also lost from the propagandistic standpoint.

Annex



Image 1. “Bandits and Rebels, here is your end!”. Poster.



Image 2. “To every traitor, to every saboteur”. Poster



Image 3. "Fratricide!". Poster.



Image 4. "The Paschal lamb of the godless", in «La Voce Repubblicana», 6 April 1944.



Image 5. "Report on the rebellion", in «La Repubblica Fascista», 3 August 1944.



Image 6. "The Treacherous murder of Eugenio Facchini. The crimes of the homeless", in «Voce di Romagna», 30 January 1944.

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USING MEDICINE TO “WIN HEARTS AND MINDS”—MEDICAL CIVILIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, PROPAGANDA & PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS IN THE US MILITARY

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Despite the fact that the Army Medical Department (AMEDD) mission is to “conserve the fighting strength,” military physicians do provide care to civilian populations.²³⁷ Historically this has included both domestic and foreign civilian populations during times of peace and conflict. It began as protective public health policy and later shifted towards direct patient care. The original iteration of these programs involved both formal and informal medical care of civilians by the US military only when ground forces were in that area and needed to “pacify” local residents as part of larger strategic operations. Later, the training and strategic value of these programs were recognized, and they were expanded to peace time, short-term training missions. Currently, the U.S. military is conducting Medical Civic Action Programs (MEDCAPs) around the world. In fact, the Southern Regional Command (SOUTHCOM) has over seventy MEDCAPs that are performed on an annual basis.²³⁸ During the Vietnam War, military medical personnel saw and treated over 40 million local civilians.²³⁹

This paper examines the use of medicine as a tool of propaganda used by the US military. The clear strategic intent is apparent in the doctrine that shaped these programs, the reports and narratives of participants and the primary source documents. The general purpose of these missions has been to use medicine to “win the hearts and minds” of civilian foreign populations, fostering positive international perceptions of the US, its government and military, while simultaneously expanding the American sphere of influence. This paper will provide a historico-ethical analysis of these programs, specifically focusing on the MEDCAPs of the Vietnam War. Medical civilian assistance programs were formalized under the name Medical Civic Action Programs or MEDCAPs during the Vietnam War with the explicit purpose of accomplishing strategic military goals, as outlined by Psychological Operations (PSYOP). PSYOP have been understood as influencing the behaviour of foreign audiences in order to support the national objectives and strategies of the U.S. government. This is accomplished using information and specific missions that influence the emotions, motives, reasoning, and behaviour of target audiences. MEDCAPs were understood to be a key component of psychological warfare operations. This belief continues today. Military command believes that these operations are indispensable because they allow for the use of an important “non-lethal weapon.”

The US Army has provided such medical care to civilians both formally and informally under many names throughout its history.²⁴⁰ The term “medical civilian assistance program” will be used throughout this paper as an umbrella term to cover all programs and missions during which uniformed personnel provided medical care to civilian populations as part of their military duties. This paper will focus on the Vietnam War as it represents both the point in military history when MEDCAPs and other medical civilian assistance programs were formalized under this name and when it is possible to see medicine increasingly used as a strategic military tool or often-termed “non-lethal weapon.”

²³⁷ The mission of the Army Medical Department has changed slightly throughout history as their mission has formally expanded to include the care of dependents and veterans. That being said, “to conserve the fighting strength” or alternatively “to maintain the fighting strength” are a simplified version of their historically and contemporarily expanded mission still widely recognized and understood throughout the Army Medical Department: Montgomery Hinkson, “Medical Support in Military Operations Other Than War,” (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2001).

²³⁸ Robert Franklin Malsby III, “Into Which End Does the Thermometer Go? Application of Military Medicine in Counterinsurgency: Does Direct Patient Care by American Service Members Work?” (U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2008).

²³⁹ *Ibid*, 5.

²⁴⁰ These programs include: Humanitarian Assistance (HA); an umbrella term that often has a health component. Humanitarian and civic assistance (HCA), civic action (CA), combined action program (CAP), humanitarian civic action (HCA), military civic action (MCA), medical civic action program (MEDCAP), medical readiness training exercise (MEDRETE), joint military medical exercise (MEDFLAG), military provincial health assistance program (MILPHAP), and medical operation in low intensity conflict (MEDOLIC).

The Vietnam War (background)

The Vietnam War involved unconventional warfare, which involved an insurgency or guerilla force. Unlike the World Wars, Vietnam did not comprise of a front-line in the classic sense, fought for and slowly progressed or retreated. As Robert Wilensky states, "the real battle [in Vietnam] was for the heart and minds of the civilians."²⁴¹ Both sides of the conflict were fighting amongst the civilian population and needed their support, a population that lacked access to any western medical care but was in desperate need of it. These facts highlight the usefulness of civilian medical assistance programs to military goals. The military could use their medical resources to fill a gap in the host nation's infrastructure and address a desperate basic need in the civilian population. In fact, the Special Forces considered medical care to be their "most valuable anti-guerilla asset."²⁴² Thus, the Vietnam War created conditions under which the strategic goals of these programs would come to dominate or be emphasized because of their military value.

Civilians were intimately intertwined in virtually all aspects of the war, leaving them severely affected by its violence. The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army went to considerable lengths to increase the toll of civilians dead and wounded.²⁴³ In fact, during the Tet offensive, over 7,500 civilians in 102 communities were killed.²⁴⁴ At the same time 16,211 were wounded, 95,000 houses were destroyed with over one million residents left homeless.²⁴⁵ Estimates for these losses place property damages at over \$173,663,000, with the majority of damage taking place in civilian residential areas.²⁴⁶ When the second wave of attacks centred on Saigon, another 433 civilians were killed in that city alone while over 6,600 were wounded. Another 18,250 homes were destroyed, and nearly 125,000 persons left homeless.²⁴⁷ Civilian casualties continued in the subsequent campaigns against Saigon as another 515 civilians were killed, almost 4,500 wounded and 176,000 left homeless.²⁴⁸ The Vietnamese medical system could not handle this burden. Thus, the United States and forty-two other nations contributed medical care to civilians.²⁴⁹ The United States military contributed an enormous amount of money and manpower to the medical care of civilians throughout the Vietnam War. Although this was not the first time that the United States military provided medical care to foreign civilians, Vietnam represented the largest scale of such endeavors to date. It was because of the type of war in Vietnam that we see medical civilian assistance programs become formalized and so widely used. Thus, many medical civilian assistance programs were formalized by the US military during this period: these include the medical civic action program (MEDCAP), the military provincial health assistance program (MILPHAP) and the civilian war casualty program (CWCP).

Their strategic value was also recognized during the Vietnam war as these programs could employ medical treatment projects garnering immediate impact and achievement of specific goals. Civilian Vietnamese populations living in the rural provinces had virtually no access to Western medical care. In fact, prior to American military involvement estimates place the number of Vietnamese physicians at around only 900.²⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the majority of the western trained Vietnamese physicians were in the Army and not available to civilian population, meaning a patient to physician ratio of 1/93,000.²⁵¹ Thus, the US military could use its resources to bring western medicine to this population, winning hearts and minds, fostering positive relationships, expanding their sphere of influence and even using medical treatment and personnel to gather intelligence. The use of medicine as a strategic tool came to dominate the policies and strategies of American medical efforts in Vietnam.²⁵² Since civilians were so intimately intertwined in the war, and this population lacked medical care, yet was suffering from both rampant disease and the effects of war violence, medicine was recognized as an important tool in the "pacification" program of the Vietnamese civilians.

²⁴¹ Robert J. Wilensky, *Military Medicine to Win Hearts and Minds: Aid to Civilians in the Vietnam War*. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2004, 8.

²⁴² Ibid, 33.

²⁴³ M. T. Hazzard, "There Are No Non-Combatants in This Stange War," *Viet-nam Bulletin*, 4.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 4.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, 4.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, 4.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 4.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, 6.

²⁴⁹ Ibid, 4.

²⁵⁰ David Gilbert and Jerome Greenberg, "Vietnam: Preventive Medicine Orientation," *Military Medicine* 132(1967), 776.

²⁵¹ Ibid, 776.

²⁵² E.A. Vastyan, "Warriors in White: Some Questions About the Nature and Mission of Military Medicine," *Tex Rep Biol Med*. 32, no. 1 (1974), 333.

At this point, it is vital to understand what is meant by the term "pacification" within the US military. According to Tran Tho, an author published by the US Army Center of Military History, "Pacification is the military, political, economic, and social process of establishing or reestablishing local government responsive to and involving the participation of the people."²⁵³ Thus, since the Vietnamese lacked access to established western medicine, the US military saw an opportunity to use medicine to reestablish a U.S.-friendly local government (GVN). American military resources were employed to win the Vietnamese civilian population over to their side. They had identified a void that they could fill, a way to use medicine as a weapon in their war for the people and win the hearts and minds. They would pacify the people with the western gift of modern medicine. Unfortunately, this marriage of military and medicine would mean the subversion of medical goals so that strategic goals could be emphasized.

Medical civic action program (medcap)

Many historians and commentators have acknowledged the medical civic action program as the best known of the medical civilian assistance programs in Vietnam. In fact, the MEDCAP was so well known that it made its way into the pop-culture consciousness of America. In a scene in the famous film *Apocalypse Now*, Kurtz discusses his own experiences participating in this program.²⁵⁴ Kurtz was a highly decorated member of the Army Special Forces, who became a renegade and gained a reputation as a feared man. Interestingly his recollection is one of horror and discontent, presenting an exceptionally dark tale of Viet Cong retaliation to villagers welcoming MEDCAP teams.²⁵⁵ Although the story presented in this film cannot be verified by historical data, this excerpt is useful in showing the widespread recognition and knowledge of medical civic action programs outside of the military. In part, MEDCAPs were widely known because they were often used as public relations campaigns and photo opportunities for the United States military. Photographs of soldiers caring for sick children were always welcome in hometown newspapers, and unit newsletters. Many in military command recognized this as one of the many strategic benefits to these programs.²⁵⁶

The American Embassy in Saigon and the US Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (USMACV) developed the Medical Civic Action Program jointly. It has been described in general terms as a "sick call at US military dispensaries... [sometimes involving] major surgical operations requiring extensive hospitalizations."²⁵⁷ In January 1963, MEDCAP became an operational program under the Department of the Army.²⁵⁸ Initially, MEDCAPs were the domain of US military advisory teams and Special Forces personnel; however, the program was soon expanded to include regular American military units. Initially, MEDCAP teams traveled to selected hamlets and villages alongside members of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) where they would establish temporary clinics.

In 1965, the buildup of American forces meant the U.S. could expand the use of MEDCAPs.²⁵⁹ This expansion led to a division in the MEDCAP between MEDCAP I and MEDCAP II. MEDCAP I (the original) involved American military personnel working closely with Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) physicians and medics. In this original iteration, Americans played only a supervisory and advisory role. However MEDCAP II involved the direct participation of American military medical professionals in patient care, with little or no involvement from the ARVN. MEDCAP II grew to be a large and expansive program. In fact, during the first three months of 1968 approximately 188,441 civilians/month received outpatient

²⁵³ Tran Dinh Tho, *Pacification*, Indochina Monographs (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1980), v.

²⁵⁴ Francis Ford Coppola, "Apocalypse Now," (USA 1979).

²⁵⁵ Ibid. Excerpt: "I remember when I was with Special Forces--it seems a thousand centuries ago--we went into a camp to inoculate it. The children. We left the camp after we had inoculated the children for polio, and this old man came running after us, and he was crying. He couldn't see. We went there, and they [VC] had come and hacked off every inoculated arm. There they were in a pile--a pile of little arms." It is important to note that in my research I have no record of this severe a retaliation to MEDCAPs by Viet Cong.

²⁵⁶ William Foulke, "Macv Army "A" Photo Team Films Medcaps," (The Vietnam Archive, 2004); Tay Ninh, "Medcap and Civic Action a Welcome Break from War," *Tropic Lightning News* 1968.

²⁵⁷ "Command History: Volume II 1967," ed. United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam, Promulgation of the USMACV 1967 Command History (Saigon, Vietnam: Military History Branch, 1968), 695.

²⁵⁸ Spurgeon Neel, *Vietnam Studies Medical Support of the U.S. Army in Vietnam 1965-1970*. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1991, 164.

²⁵⁹ Neel, *Vietnam Studies Medical Support of the U.S. Army in Vietnam 1965-1970*, 165.

treatment from MEDCAP personnel.²⁶⁰ By 1970, MEDCAP II personnel had been treating 150,000 to 225,000 outpatients per month.²⁶¹

Medcap: programmatic intent/ goals

The general purpose of both iterations of the MEDCAP was the establishment and maintenance of a "spirit of mutual respect and cooperation," while achieving the two-fold main official objectives: (1) "to create a favorable image of the Vietnamese Army and central Vietnamese Government in the eyes of the people and (2) the improvement of hamlet echelon medical care for the civilian populace."²⁶² The aims of creating a favorable image of the Vietnamese Army/Government, and the US government "winning the hearts and minds" of the people are understood to fall under the purview of psychological operations (known under the acronym PSYOP). According to Army doctrine, the use of military psychological operations are in practice "Restricted to the political and military goals of the nation that uses it."²⁶³

MEDCAPs were understood to be a key component of psychological warfare operations. This belief continues today. Military command believes that these operations are indispensable because they allow the application "of power without necessarily having to shoot bullets."²⁶⁴ At this point, it is critical to understand the term "psychological warfare." The mission of Psychological Operations or PSYOP have been understood as influencing

"the behavior of foreign target audiences (TAs) to support U.S. national objectives... PSYOP accomplish this by conveying selected information and/or advising on actions that influence the emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior of foreign audiences. Behavioral change is at the root of the PSYOP mission."²⁶⁵

Importantly, another key programmatic goal was to improve cooperation and increase mutual respect between the military and the civilian population of Vietnam and the United States.²⁶⁶ MEDCAP II emphasized this third strategic goal, fostering positive perceptions of the American military and American government amongst the Vietnamese civilian population and increasing the American sphere of influence.²⁶⁷ Other official goals included gathering intelligence, and securing areas by eliminating the enemy from the vicinity.²⁶⁸ These goals were both formally written and practically recognized and employed by commanders and units. They have also been recognized and written about by authors, commentators and historians of this program.²⁶⁹

The prioritization of strategic aims over medical goals is perhaps most apparent in a military communication held at the Vietnam archives at Texas Tech University. This communication describes a corpsman's recommendations to maximize psychological warfare efforts. It states, "Since we have two areas in which MEDCAPs are conducted, bring plenty of placebos such as vitamins, etc. to make them think they are getting something."²⁷⁰ The statement "to make them think they are getting something"²⁷¹ highlights an essential

²⁶⁰ Ibid, 165.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 165.

²⁶² Gilbert, " Vietnam: Preventive Medicine Orientation."

²⁶³ "Field Manual 33-5: Psychological Operations Techniques and Procedures," ed. Department of the Army (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1966), 4.

²⁶⁴ Colonel Andy Birdy, Commander, 1st Brigade Combat Team, 10th Mountain Division, during Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY in Haiti cited in "Fm3-05.30 (Mcrp 3-40.6) Psychological Operations," ed. Department of the Army (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 2005), 1-1.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 1-2.

²⁶⁶ Neel, *Vietnam Studies Medical Support of the U.S. Army in Vietnam 1965-1970*, 165.

²⁶⁷ David G. Eisner, "Medical Civic Action Programs (Medcap)," (Military Assistance Command, Vietnam), 27.

²⁶⁸ Julian J. Ewell and Ira A. Hunt Jr., *Sharpening the Combat Edge: The Use of Analysis to Reinforce Military Judgement*, Vietnam Studies (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1974), 158.

²⁶⁹ Wilensky, *Military Medicine to Win Hearts and Minds: Aid to Civilians in the Vietnam War*; Malsby III, "Into Which End Does the Thermometer Go? Application of Military Medicine in Counterinsurgency: Does Direct Patient Care by American Service Members Work?"

²⁷⁰ Thomas Klefhammer, "From: Officer in Charge, Seal Team One Det Golf November Platoon, To : Officer in Charge, Relieving Platoon, Via: Execwive Officer, Seal Team One, Subj: Dong Tam Seal Detachment; Relief Of," ed. Department of Defense (1971).

component of the Vietnam MEDCAP that led to much physician discontent: intentional dishonesty and the prioritization of strategic goals to the detriment of medical aims. Vietnamese civilians were led to believe that they were receiving medical care when they were not. Physicians were used for psychological warfare operations while the medical care they were providing was restricted. In this way, these programs were not, in fact medical, but rather as one physician described them "medical show-business."²⁷² The intent was often not to improve health or eliminate disease but rather purely strategic aims of psychological warfare: winning hearts and minds, expanding the American and GVN sphere of influence and gathering intelligence.

Strategic intent is also made clear in the selection of hamlets where MEDCAP teams were sent. The selection process was not based on medical need or necessity but rather strategic or military goals. MEDCAP teams were sent to those hamlets identified as "key hamlets" by the Governments of Vietnam and the United States.²⁷³ This designation was based on their economic, social and political importance to the provinces in which they were located.²⁷⁴ MEDCAP teams would use medicine to win over the civilian population, and tactical teams were used to eliminate the enemy in the vicinity, hopefully with the help of intelligence gathered from MEDCAP patients.²⁷⁵

PROPAGANDA

The clear strategic intent was also apparent in the information provided to the civilian patients. During MEDCAP operations medication was not dispensed in regular bottles, rather it was dispensed in special envelopes specifically designed by the psychological operation battalion. These envelopes listed not only specific directions for taking the prescribed medication, as well as warning labels, it also included messages meant to win the civilian population over to the side of the Government of Vietnam and the United States. One such envelope was inscribed with the following text: "The Viet Cong kill the people and steal their rice while the GVN looks after the people and provides medicine for them."²⁷⁶ Another medication envelope included the text; "The Government of Vietnam is looking after the people's health by providing them medical care. The Vietnamese and American Navy Medical teams are constantly striving to help the people."²⁷⁷ The importance of these documents cannot be dismissed as a single unit reports handing out over two million leaflets over the course of their deployment.²⁷⁸

Loudspeaker announcements, gifts and t-shirts that promoted similar messages, specifically crafted by psychological warfare operations units complemented these pamphlets and medication envelopes.²⁷⁹ All of these propaganda efforts happened in conjunction with MEDCAP operations. Other information pamphlets were handed out to civilians within the Vietnamese hamlets as part of the psychological warfare operations. One such pamphlet was used to explain the presence of the MEDCAP team to the Vietnamese civilian population, and makes the strategic goal clearly apparent. The document is translated as,

"A medical team has been sent to your village to help you. Come with your family and friends if you are sick or injured. The medical team will help you get well. The Medical team was sent here by the government of South Vietnam because the Republic of Vietnam wants to help your family get rid of sickness and pain. The Medical team must be protected. The Viet Cong want to destroy the medical team because the Viet Cong do not want the government of South Vietnam to help the people. The Soldiers of the ARVN 9th Division are here to protect the medical team so the medical team can help you. Please help us to protect the medical team. Please tell the soldiers where the Viet Cong hide themselves, their weapons and their food."²⁸⁰

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Wilensky, *Military Medicine to Win Hearts and Minds: Aid to Civilians in the Vietnam War*, 92.

²⁷³ Julian J. Ewell, and Ira A. Hunt Jr. *Sharpening the Combat Edge: The Use of Analysis to Reinforce Military Judgement*, Vietnam Studies. Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1974.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, 158.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ "Medcap Medicine Envelopes," ed. Department of the Army (San Francisco, CA: 10th Psychological Operations Battalion, 1968).

²⁷⁷ "Gvn Provides Medical Care," ed. Department of the Army (10th Psychological Operations Battalion, 1968). (SEE APPENDIX A for both original and translated document).

²⁷⁸ ———, *Sharpening the Combat Edge: The Use of Analysis to Reinforce Military Judgement*.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ "Explanation of Us Presence and Medcaps," ed. Department of the Army (San Francisco, CA: 10th Psychological Operations Battalion, 1968).

This explanation highlights several strategic goals of the MEDCAP and poses serious ethical dilemmas. The document clearly explains the MEDCAP team as there to benefit the people of Vietnam and aligns their work with the host government, thereby accomplishing their goal of promoting positive conceptions of the GVN and the US government. Problematically, this document emphasizes the idea that medical care and the treatment of disease are a priority, when we know that it was often secondary to the overall mission regarding psychological warfare. This seems to use the goodwill surrounding medical care and practice for strategic ends. The document also informs the civilian population of the need to protect the MEDCAP and requests intelligence from the patients as a means of protecting the medical team and ensuring medical care for the village. The collection of intelligence was a widely recognized benefit of MEDCAP and often a prioritized goal, which physicians found problematic as we saw earlier.

INTELLIGENCE GATHERING

Many operational reports note using MEDCAPs as a means of gathering intelligence.²⁸¹ Commanders recognized the special relationship of the provider and patient, and the willingness of those receiving medical care to share information. Medicine was a good way to build trust with locals who desperately wanted western medicine and placed trust in medical personnel. MEDCAPs were also occasionally used to gather intelligence regarding missing persons.²⁸²

One author, writing an analysis of his command in Vietnam, described emphasizing psychological operations and intelligence activities in his medical program due to their wide acceptance within the civilian population.²⁸³ According to this author, these programs sought to gain intelligence regarding the infrastructure of the Viet Cong, the current status of security and pacification, as well as to establish rapport with local leaders and officials while gauging the improvement of the American and GVN image. He states, "the Integrated Civic Action Programs paid off with impressive results; some of our most meaningful intelligence was gained in this way."²⁸⁴

Interestingly, later studies would show that little valuable intelligence was actually gathered from MEDCAPs.²⁸⁵ Dr. Robert Wilensky examines the topic of intelligence in his analyses of Vietnam MEDCAPs, concluding that these programs did not contribute any information that was pertinent or affective to decision making at the operational level.²⁸⁶ Although there are numerous anecdotal accounts of intelligence gathering at the unit level, there are no higher-level intelligence reports indicating information gathered through assistance programs.²⁸⁷ As Wilensky concludes, operational-level intelligence data was not gathered or it was not recorded and thus under utilized. Either way, the benefits of intelligence gathering as a goal of MEDCAPs are difficult to evaluate.

Records regarding intelligence gathering are not the only data making the success of MEDCAPs difficult to evaluate. Although during the Vietnam War many considered MEDCAP to be a success, later analysis has been highly critical due to the nature of the data and record keeping. In fact, the overall success of medical outcomes of MEDCAPs can be difficult to analyze due to the nature of the records that were kept. Records for these programs evolved, or rather devolved into a quota system, listing basic statistics and numbers. Commentators have speculated that this is due to the fact that medical civic action was "one of the most popular and easily publicized [programs]."²⁸⁸ Thus, the demand by headquarters for numbers to publicize led to the system of recording simply the number of patients seen, or immunized. There was also a significant amount of competition amongst Colonels to put up big numbers for civic action, which some speculate led numbers to be rounded up.²⁸⁹ Unfortunately, this means that there is little narrative or qualitative information included in after action reports (AARs) and other official documentation and that even the quantitative data cannot always be trusted.

²⁸¹ "Operational Report of Lessons Learned, Headquarters 1st Brigade, 1st Infantry Division for Period Ending 1 Feb 68-30 Apr 68, Rcs Csfor-65 (Ri)," ed. Department of the Army (San Francisco, CA: 1st Brigade 1st Infantry Division, 1968); "Pacification Program at Work: Security Comes to Hamlet," (Vietnam Council on Foreign Relations).

²⁸² Jerry DeBruin, "A Message of Action to Representatives of the United States Government Relative to the Case of Eugene Henry DeBruin," ed. U.S. Senate Select Committee (Toledo, OH: 1992).

²⁸³ Ewell, *Sharpening the Combat Edge: The Use of Analysis to Reinforce Military Judgement*.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 174.

²⁸⁵ Wilensky, *Military Medicine to Win Hearts and Minds: Aid to Civilians in the Vietnam War*, 121.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 119-121.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 120.

²⁸⁸ Donald J. Stilles, "Critical Subjective Outline of Problems Encountered in G5/S5 Field in a Tactical Division in Vietnam," ed. Department of Defense (Fort Bragg, NC: United States Army Combat Developments Command Special Operations Agency, 1969), 5.

²⁸⁹ "92nd Congressional Record ", (Washington, DC: 1971).

CONCLUSION

The use of medicine as a tool of strategy and propaganda poses many moral and ethical dilemmas. These activities proved morally problematic for the military physician who was left to balance his competing twin roles of both physician and soldier.²⁹⁰ This prioritization of military or strategic goals displaced medical goals to be a secondary byproduct of the intelligence, propaganda or PSYOP mission. There is much evidence for program participants that this emphasis on strategy negatively affected both the doctor-patient relationship and the patient's care. One military physician felt that prioritizing intelligence gathering harmed the trust that patients had in the health care team, and believed that this cast a shadow over the entire MEDCAP operation. The prioritization of strategic goals was problematic because his experience proved "when you are using medical activity" to gather "information that reduces your trust of the population that you are taking care of... a lot of people didn't even want to bother with you... [the intelligence gatherers] make it very difficult for you to have any credibility at all"²⁹¹

Interestingly, while outsiders have condemned it and participants have expressed dissatisfaction, many military writers have called for greater use of medicine as a 'non-lethal weapon.' They see its potential use in strategic planning.²⁹² This call is being reignited in the contemporary discourse. Security policy has shifted towards stability operations that often prioritize medical operations such as this. Stability operations, including Humanitarian and civic assistance has become an important part of the military mission. National policy has emphasized and prioritized these types of missions within the American armed forces. According to Department of Defense (DOD) Instruction 3000.05 Military stability operations (MSOs) are a "core U.S. military mission," that "shall be given priority comparable to combat operations..."²⁹³ After the Cold War, American global dominance has left the nation with increased international responsibility.²⁹⁴ The United States had abandoned its isolationist approach and taken an active role in the development and stabilization of nations around the globe. This policy seems to recognize that global role, while making use of new non-violent techniques in the US military toolbox. Now stability operations are as important to national security policy as combat operations as the US recognizes the strategic importance of stability and the value of civic action of military operations other than war (MOOTW). These types of missions and operations include a wide variety of programs, focusing on civic action. Health and medical care have been recognized as a powerful tool for diplomacy and strategy to bring safety, security and stability to populations and nations that lack medical infrastructure and health care.²⁹⁵ In light of this, it is crucial to examine the history of medical civilian assistance programs. AMEDD has been used and deployed as a strategic tool in programs similar to medical civilian assistance programs throughout Army history.²⁹⁶ MEDCAPs and other medical civilian assistance programs are still taking place around the world. Close analysis of past programs can guide institutional knowledge and better current and future versions of this program.

²⁹⁰ A moral issue in military medicine known as "the problem of dual-loyalty." See: Sheena M. Eagan Chamberlin, "The Moral Landscape of Military Medicine: Describing the Problem of Dual Loyalty." *Texas Philosophical*, Issue 3. [<http://texasphilosophical.com/2013/07/01/issue-three/>]

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² David E. Womack, "Medical Engagement as National Security Tool a Prescription for Joint Doctrine," (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 1999); John F. Taylor, "Health Care as an Instrument of Foreign Policy (a Proposed Expanded Role for the Army Medical Department)," (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 1984); William Vanderwagen, "Health Diplomacy: Winning Hearts and Minds through the Use of Health Interventions," *Military Medicine* 171, no. 10 [supplement] (2006); James W. Hendley, *Health Services as an Instrument of United States Foreign Policy toward Lesser Developed Nations* (Boeie, IA: University of Iowa, 1973); William C. Johnson, "Medical Civic Action Programs, U.S. Foreign Policy Tool," (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 1999); John J. Bahm, *Military Assistance: A Tool of National Security and American Diplomacy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1967).

²⁹³ Stanley, "Number 6000.16 Military Health Support for Stability Operations."

²⁹⁴ Lancaster, "Redesigning Foreign Aid."

²⁹⁵ VADM Richard H. Carmona MD, MPH 10 November 2004 (Carmona cited in Mary V. Krueger, "Medical Diplomacy in the United States Army: A Concept Whose Time Has Come" (General Staff College, 2008).

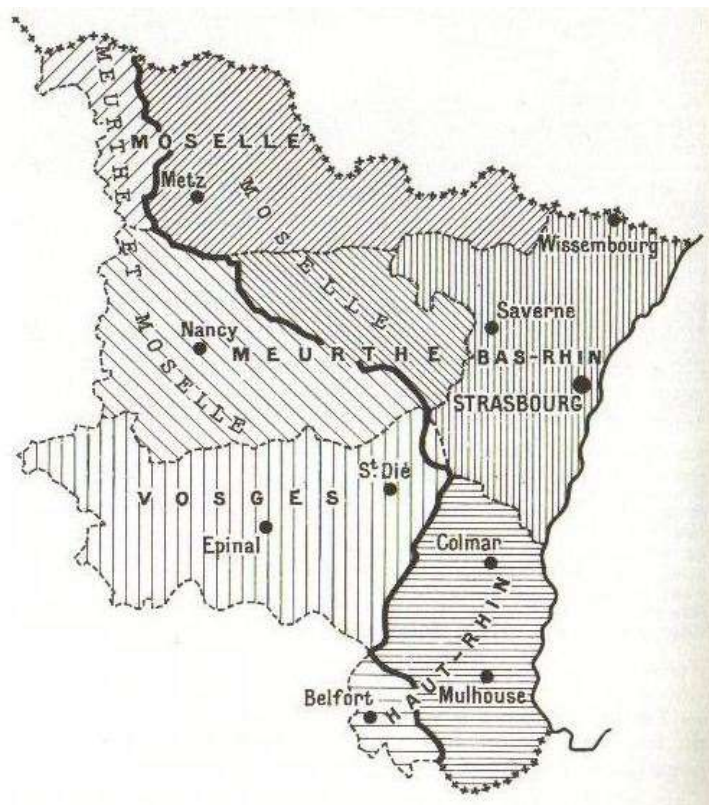
Frist World War: National Experiences

Au Pays de la Marseillaise. French propaganda and the question of Alsace-Lorraine during First World War

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Introduction

Studying the French experience of “psychological warfare” about Alsace and Lorraine invites one to look into the origins of a conflict opposing France and Germany for an extended period of time ranging from 1870 to 1945. From that second date onwards, Alsace-Lorraine ceases to be the cause of a territorial quarrel. Though they had been French since the 17th century, the departments of Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin and the northern part of Lorraine were annexed to the German Empire by the Treaty of Frankfurt, which ended the French-German war of 1870-1871. This annexing of territories led to a deep fracture between republican France and imperial Germany. In the decades that separate the French humiliation of 1871 from First World War, this situation is regarded as painful in nationalist circles. Alsace and Lorraine remains also still dear to French hearts, “*Faithful Alsace from which the moan of the vanquished rises*”, as Jules Ferry puts it²⁹⁷.



Map of Alsace-Lorraine after 1870. Source : Beaugency, Lycée Villon.

Alsace-Lorraine was at that time well present in French national and symbolic representations. How was it typically represented? First, the Alsatian landscape, an unchanging, idealised vision of it, in which you can see a pretty village with its half-timbered houses; the large headdress of young Alsatian women was another well known symbol, going as far as influencing Parisian dress-fashion.

297 François Roth, *Alsace-Lorraine, histoire d'un pays perdu. De 1870 à nos jours*, Nancy, Place Stanislas Éditions, 200 p.



« Chez moi », drawing by Hubert Clerget, in Charles Grad, *A travers l'Alsace et la Lorraine*, Paris, Hachette, 1884.



Jean-Jacques Henner, *L'Alsace. Elle attend*, oil on canvas. Source: Paris, Musée Jean-Jacques Henner.

Alsace and Lorraine were also part of the French urban world; in most French cities, you could pick out “Alsace-Lorraine” streets or “Strasbourg” avenues and boulevards²⁹⁸. French newspapers also used to deal with this subject, most of the time from a nationally and politically prejudiced standpoint. Last but not least, it appeared in school handbooks (Lavis) as well as in publications for young people (*Le Tour de France par deux enfants*), where it was featured as a French lost paradise. Amongst these widespread clichés was the theme of the annexed populations' unwavering faithfulness to France. In 1914, these mental representations were nevertheless not strong enough any longer to make people wish for a revenge; fifty years of peace had largely dulled the resentment against Germany.

And what was the situation on the other side of the Vosges Mountains? In Alsace as well as in Lorraine, except for a few politicians, the vast majority of the population do accept the *faits accomplis*, preferring the preservation of peace to an armed conflict about the future of the region. The annexation to the German Empire resulted in industrial prosperity, integration into a dynamic economic area and social progress. In the political field, the protest movement from the first decades had turned into a demand for autonomy, partially satisfied by the German government (a constitution and a regional parliament called *Landtag* were granted in 1911, but the local authorities were still appointed by Germany)²⁹⁹.



Strasbourg: the cathedral, governors' palace and parliament buildings, postcard 90 x 140 cm, [v. 1914]. Source: Strasbourg, National and University library.

In the field of arts, if the adoption of German culture -as wanted and hoped for in Berlin- is failing, an original Alsatian personality is taking shape, centred on the notion of double culture (*Doppelkultur*). The majority of people remain aware of a common heritage with France, keeping in mind the democratic benefits of the French Revolution and the epic dimensions of Napoleonic Wars. Tensions between Alsatian and German people even appear as of 1913, due to the attitude of the Prussian soldiers garrisoned in Alsace (the Saverne affair).

As the First World War breaks out during the summer of 1914, the question of Alsace-Lorraine takes another turn. Quoting Marc Bloch, a historian: “During the first days of battle in 1914, the image of Alsace-Lorraine suddenly raised up from the discrete shadow where, a few days before, it was still hidden.”³⁰⁰ Very early in the conflict the French government become concretely concerned with Alsace-Lorraine, since the offensive of summer 1914 allows the French armies to occupy the southern part of Alsace. The authorities nevertheless will wait until the fourth year of war before a specific propaganda policy for Alsace-Lorraine is actually implemented.

298 Laurence Turetti, *Quand la France pleurait l'Alsace-Lorraine, 1870-1914, les provinces perdues aux sources du patriotisme républicain*, Strasbourg, La Nuée bleue, 2008, 210 p.

299 Jean-Marie Mayeur, *Autonomie et politique en Alsace. La constitution de 1911*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1970, p. 188.

300 Marc Bloch, *L'étrange défaite*, éd. Franc-Tireur, 1946, p. 155.

I. Focusing public attention on the “lost provinces” : from observation to action

a. French reflections on war propaganda

The creation of a specific office in charge of propaganda about Alsace-Lorraine is best understood in the broader context of the “psychological warfare” engaged in by French institutions. The first organism of this kind is initiated by Philippe Berthelot, the Cabinet director of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and is called “*Maison de la Presse*” (*the Press House*); it is created in 1915. At that time, the French propaganda concerning the war is very limited: it is unquestionable that Great-Britain or Germany have attached more importance to it.

The coming to power of Georges Clemenceau, with Stephen Pichon as the Minister of Foreign Affairs (16th November 1917) allows the creation of a new agency, which is called *General office for Information and Propaganda* (*Commissariat général de l’Information et à la Propagande*), with Antony Klobukowski at its head³⁰¹. This reorganization has to be ascribed to the personal interest that Clemenceau and his circle of acquaintances have for propaganda, in which they see a great war instrument. For General Mordacq, the director of the military Cabinet of Clemenceau, “*the whole war has shown the strength of propaganda as a means of action, against the enemy as well as on the interior front.*” At the end of 1917, the budget of this general office, principally formed by secret funds from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Quai d’Orsay), reaches an amount of 25 million francs (in comparison with the amount of one million in 1914).

b. Countering German propositions for Alsace-Lorraine

This renewed interest for Alsace-Lorraine from the summer of 1917 and onwards is closely related to the own reflections of the German government about the future statutes of Alsace-Lorraine. As soon as the war begins, some German circles try to take advantage of the conflict to sort out the question of the Alsatian-Lorrain situation. The imperial government first follows the wishes of the Great Headquarter (*Oberheeresleitung*) and the Prussian ministry, aiming to incorporate Alsace-Lorraine to Prussia; but they have to face Bavaria’s and Saxony’s opposition to any Prussian expansion without compensation to the other German confederate states. In the summer of 1917, the war is still going on and Alsace-Lorraine appears as one of the main obstacles to conclude peace. More than ever, a solution to this question has to be found³⁰². Erzberger, a representative from the Christian-Democracy (*Zentrum*) proposes the idea of a Grand Duchy and some Catholics suggest placing a member of the Wittelsbach family on the throne of Alsace-Lorraine! Finally, no decisions are made. In a context of German initiatives, the French government want to promote the idea of a French Alsace-Lorraine in case of a victory of the “horizon blue” troops.

The French government consider they have strong arguments for this; a Conference of Alsace-Lorraine, involving Alsatian politicians, artists and French high-ranking civil servants, have indeed been active since 1915 in order to conceive an administrative program for the after-war in Alsace-Lorraine, should the French troops win. The definition of a specific propaganda for Alsace-Lorraine is thus to be understood in a broader political context, and is meant as a reminder that the French government doesn’t forget the return of the “lost provinces”, and beyond them, the question of “eastern marches”.

c. A strategic report

The first alert concerning the global ignorance about Alsace-Lorraine is given to the Ministry of War by a military report whose author remains unknown. This report underlines that:

“During the conquest of Alsace, the ignorance as well as the haughtiness of our officers and soldiers toward Alsatian-Lorrain people have been the cause of unfortunate incidents, which proved harmful to military operations as well as to the relations between Alsatians and the troops”³⁰³.

Three years after the war declaration, one is forced to recognize that Alsace is totally unknown in France: people only have a romantic image of it, far away from the reality. The first contacts with the population during the campaign of Alsace have been difficult and have led to frictions. In southern Alsace, French soldiers have been facing Alsatians who barely spoke French, and sometimes got a poor welcome. The relations

301 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 106. Decree of May the 30th 1918 creating the “Commissariat général de la propagande.”

302 François Roth, *La Lorraine annexée (1870-1918)*, Nancy, 1976, 765 p.

303 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 92. Report about the organization of propaganda in Alsace-Lorraine.

between Alsatian refugees and the French population have also often been bad, mainly because of the Alsatians' language and regional accent.

This same report defines an agenda for the propaganda that should be carried out about the question of Alsace-Lorraine, in order to promote the idea of it being returned to France, and to convince the civil population of how just a cause it is for which the "Poilus" (French soldiers) are fighting.

II. The "Bureau spécial d'études d'Alsace-Lorraine" and its action

a. A specific propaganda agency

In this context a specific agency, specialized in the propaganda about Alsace-Lorraine, comes into being; it is called "Bureau spécial d'études d'Alsace-Lorraine". From the start, the particulars of this agency are surrounded by the utmost secrecy, and the name of the Bureau itself should not reveal the aim and the military origin of its activity. The agency is characterized by a double purpose: it constitutes an organ of information, in charge of a mission of documentation about Alsace-Lorraine, "*well-informed about what is said, done and published on this question in France as well as abroad*"³⁰⁴, in order to document the Minister of War and his offices; it is also an organ of propaganda, in charge of conceiving and spreading a doctrine about the question of Alsace-Lorraine. This agency gives instructions, information and impulse to personalities or structures already organized outside of it. This method has the advantage of "*using existing resources and means, for the benefit of the propaganda done by the agency*"³⁰⁵.

At the beginning, the agency's staff is composed of officers and civil or military personalities whose origin is Alsatian or Lorrain and who have volunteered to join the French army. The "Bureau" is reorganized for the first time in January 1918, and gets integrated to the civil Cabinet of the Ministry of War³⁰⁶.

At first, this "Bureau spécial d'études" is limited in scope to the French territory, even if its aim is also to reach the soldiers of the Allied Forces. The "Bureau d'études" is aware of Germany's headstart over France concerning propaganda about Alsace-Lorraine and they feel they have to strike back. A specific campaign of propaganda is also planned for the neutrals, and particularly Switzerland. The aims set by the "Bureau d'études" come down to the following: "*To convince the opponents, to warm up lukewarm people, to better inform people who think they know, but in fact don't. To arouse and maintain everybody's interest for the Cause*"³⁰⁷.

b. Pamphlets, films and dolls: an overview of actions that were undertaken

Actions concerning the press. – At that time, the main source of propaganda lays in newspapers; informing journalists and key personalities, with whom one is in relation, constitutes the most important part of a propagandist's job. At first, the press service of the "Bureau d'études" collaborates with the "Maison de la Presse", supplying this national organ with books, pamphlets and brochures for its international sections. It aims to make the French press able to respond to articles published in German or Austrian newspapers, and particularly in the *Strassburger Post*. This Press service can base its analyses on German newspapers, obtained from the French embassy in Berne or from the intelligence service established in Réchésy near Belfort and headed by doctor Pierre Bucher. From spring 1918 onwards, the press service sends its articles directly to newspapers; about thirty articles concerning Alsace-Lorraine are published the same month in different national or local papers. In addition to those, some articles are sent to the French military mission in Russia, to the French embassy in London or to the headquarters of the North-African troops³⁰⁸.

Pamphlets and brochures. – The publishing services have to coordinate the publishing of pamphlets and other documents intended to reach the general public. The principal brochures written by the "Bureau d'études" are entitled *French Alsace according to History, Love and Right* (*L'Alsace française suivant l'histoire, l'amour et le droit*), meant mostly to be read by the troops, *Away From the Eagle's talons* (*Hors des serres de l'Aigle*), which takes the example of two Alsatians voluntarily enlisted in the French army, and *In the Land of the Marseillaise* (*Au Pays de la Marseillaise*)³⁰⁹. Several notes, brochures and maps dealing with

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁰⁵ *Minutes of the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine*, 25th session, October the 1st 1917.

³⁰⁶ Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 92. The Prime Minister to General Bourgeois, December the 25th 1917.

³⁰⁷ *Ibidem*. New organisation of the "Bureau d'études d'Alsace-Lorraine", December the 28th 1917.

³⁰⁸ Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 338. Office of press, cinemas and theatres. July 1917 – January 1st 1918.

³⁰⁹ The French national anthem was sung for the first time in the dinner rooms of Frédéric de Dietrich, the mayor of Strasbourg, in 1792.

different topics in relation with Alsace-Lorraine are published, and systematically translated into English in order to be handed out to the British and American troops³¹⁰.



Pamphlet entitled *French Alsace according to History, Love and Right*. Source : Departmental Archives of Belfort Territory.



Albert de Dietrich, *Au pays de la Marseillaise*, Paris, La Renaissance contemporaine, [s.d.], 10 p. Source: Strasbourg, Strasbourg, National and University library.

³¹⁰ Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 105. Maps and notes about Alsace-Lorraine and its neighbourhood, February the 2nd 1917.

From its creation in July 1917 to the end of the war, this office diffuses two million brochures, six million pamphlets, ten million postcards, while 600 articles are published. A specific campaign also targets scholars: more detailed books are sent to secondary school's headmasters, as well as to teachers of literacy, history and geography. Some pamphlets and brochures are also sent to doctors and dental surgeons, in order to reach as many civilians as possible. Also, the "Bureau d'études" is interested in hospitals, and particularly in military health units, in which there are many wounded soldiers.



Poster entitled "To hasten victory and make them return [to France], Suscribe !", 1918. Source: French National library, Gallica.

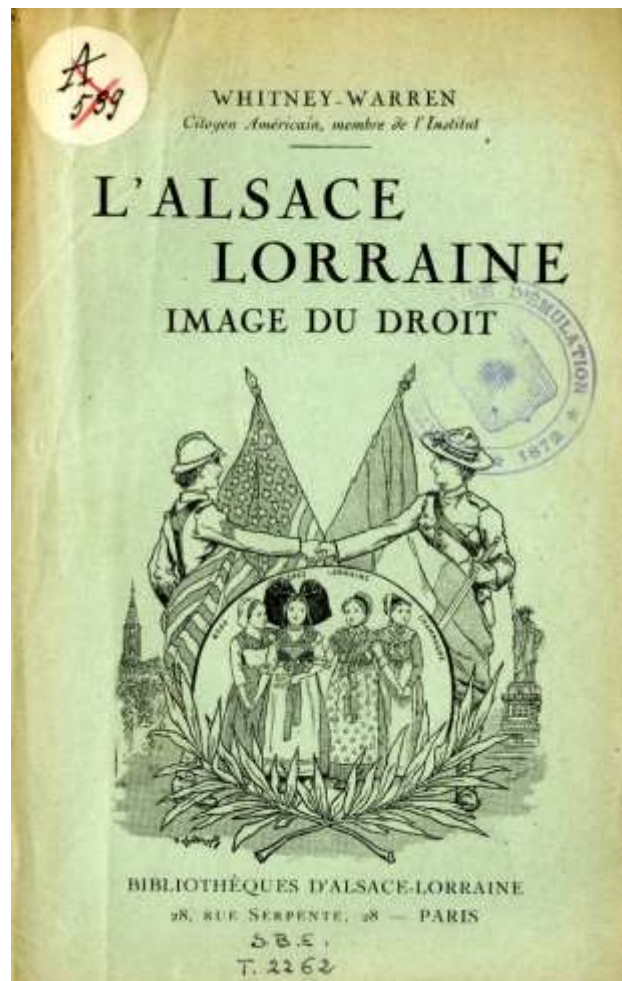
Lectures given in France and abroad. – The "Bureau d'études" organises lectures and gives subventions to different specialized societies like the *Erckmann-Chatrian society (Société Erckmann-Chatrian)* or the *Republican League of Alsace-Lorraine (Ligue républicaine d'Alsace-Lorraine)*. From June 1917 to September 1918, more than 500 lectures are given³¹¹. These lectures take place all over France, for instance the lectures in Normandy given by the *French league (Ligue française)* or those given in south-western France by Benjamin Valloton³¹².

This program of lectures is also directed to foreign countries. In the autumn of 1917, the society *The Effort of the Allies (L'Effort des Alliés)* organises lectures with lawyer Paul-Albert Helmer in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Dundee. Baron de Dietrich and Abbot Wetterlé tour extensively around England in order to reach workers through the *British Workmen League*. The *Patriotic league of Alsatian-Lorrains of London* carries out an intense campaign of diffusion, with theatrical performances and films, relying on active and efficient networks like clubs, Quaker communities and trade unions. The relations that have been established with the Alsatian-Lorrain societies located in England and in the United-States proves to be very

311 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 92. Note on propaganda, September the 20th 1918.

312 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 106. Bureau d'études d'Alsace-Lorraine. Summary of the propaganda realised in 1916 and 1917.

useful. In all Spanish-speaking countries, this propaganda is carried out by the society *América Latina*, which translates pamphlets and brochures into Spanish³¹³.



Brochure entitled *Alsace-Lorraine, A Question of Right*, lecture given by Whitney Warren in New-York the 14th march 1917. Source: Departmental Archives of Belfort Territory.

In 1917, one month after America's entry into the war, André Tardieu, a diplomat, is sent to Washington by President Raymond Poincaré in order to explain what the French war purposes are:

*"When I arrived in Washington, It immediately became clear to me that, despite the great affection for France, the Alsace-Lorraine issue was misunderstood by most people. To many Americans, Alsace was a German-speaking country, and that settled the argument"*³¹⁴.

André Tardieu organizes fifteen thousand lectures in English and presides over a great ceremony in New-York, to which a company of infantrymen takes part. Meanwhile, former mayor of Colmar Daniel Blumenthal reorganizes and unifies all the Alsatian-Lorrain associations of America³¹⁵.

Among the propagandists of the Alsatian-Lorrain cause, we can mention indefatigable Abbot Emile Wetterlé. This Francophile priest, a former member of the *Reichstag*, made the choice to go to Paris in order to serve the French government, participating in the debates of the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine. As far as war propaganda is concerned, Abbot Wetterlé multiplies the lectures, publishes a book about personal memories of his³¹⁶, as well as an Alsatian novel³¹⁷. Wetterlé denounces the hold of pangermanism on the annexed provinces

313 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 111. Propaganda agenda of the "Ligue patriotique des Alsaciens-Lorrains" in London.

314 André Tardieu, *La Paix*, Payot, 1921.

315 *Minutes of the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine*, 29th session, December the 24th 1917. Blumenthal gives a report about this trip to the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine.

316 Emile Wetterlé, *Les coulisses du Reichstag*, Paris, 1918, 240 p.

317 Emile Wetterlé, *Au service de l'ennemi*, 1917, 131 p.

and tackles the subject of a possible return of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the issues that this situation would raise. His analyses are careful and show great concern about avoiding a simplistic point of view, which would inevitably lead to mistakes on the day of reintegration. He nevertheless contributes to spread the image of Alsace-Lorraine as being a region ever faithful to the mother country, suffering under German yoke, where people have shown their patriotism through exodus or resistance to adopting German culture.



Source-gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Portrait of Abbot Wetterlé, member of the Reichstag, [press photography, Rol agency]. Source : French National library, Gallica.

Commercial propaganda. – It aims to spread articles of propaganda widely through trade. It first targets food-selling stores and groceries, whose products are able to penetrate in every home. One can also find images supplied by the “Bureau d’études” in chocolate packages, boxes of tea, coffee, rice or tapioca, or on stickers, stamps and advertisings wrapped on different sorts of products³¹⁸. This commercial propaganda also concerns bookshop and stationery goods (notepaper, exercise books for pupils, almanacs), toys (dolls, drawings of people to cut out designed by Hansi), cardboard items (all sorts of boxes for sweets or cakes), jewellery (crosses or thistles of Lorraine, coats of arms of Alsatian cities), and also fashion (accessories from the Alsatian traditional costume, headdresses reminiscent of the Alsatian ribbon with its big knot). The Parisian department store *Le Bon Marché* accepts to slip a propaganda item in every mail-ordered article, which amounts to about 250,000 items each month³¹⁹. Thousand of cotton dolls, called Hansel and Suzel, are also sold for Christmas³²⁰.

318 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 107. *Industrial and commercial propaganda.*

319 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 103. Bureau d’études d’Alsace-Lorraine. A note about the competition organised by the department store *Le Bon Marché*. These objects are often manufactured by wounded soldiers and manufacturing units of the Red Cross.

320 Archives nationales, Paris, , AJ³⁰ 107. A note about the dolls called Yerri and Suzel, 1918.



Advertising poster entitled *French women. Hurry up, that needy girl can get an Alsatian or a Lorrain doll this year*, Henry Royer, Departmental Archives of Belfort Territory, 11 Fi 11.24.

Military Propaganda. – Even though not considered essential at first, the diffusion of pamphlets by soldiers soon proves to be very efficient. In the second semester of 1918, three million postcards are sent to the military, as well as 300,000 brochures addressed to officers, who had to comment them to their troops. Preference is given to useful objects: calendars or postcards, which stand good chances to be kept in the soldiers' possessions³²¹. Popular books and propaganda brochures can be found in soldiers' association libraries. Lectures are also given on the front, in order to clarify the Alsace-Lorraine issue for French soldiers; and the “Bureau d'études” take good care not to overlook the American troops stationed in France.

Propaganda and cinema. – A specific section is also in charge of the propaganda by the film industry, with, among others, an historically inspired tragedy (*Fidélité*), a comedy (*Kattele's wedding, Le Mariage de Kattele*), a comical film in several episodes (*Alsatian Humour, L'Humour alsacien*). The same section also edits news flashes and short-feature films that are shown in theatres before the beginning of films³²². These propaganda films all have the same purpose: to make people love Alsace. The Vosgian valleys, under French administration offer ideal and bucolic scenery for all the films set in Alsace during the war.

321 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 106. A note about the propaganda to be done for the armies.

322 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 103. A note addressed to the “Bureau d'études d'Alsace-Lorraine”, April the 8th 1918.



Poster of the film *Alsace, a Great Patriotic Film*, by Gaston Leroux and L. Camille. Source: French National library, Gallica.

c. The “Bureau d’études d’Alsace-Lorraine” facing low morale

In the spring of 1917, France goes through a time of sustained low morale, touching the Parisian region, as well as a vast part of southern France, including the principal regions of war-related industrial production. The prefect’s reports all insist on the behaviour of working classes, mentioning several strikes or pondering about their significance, even if signs of defeatism don’t appear clearly³²³. So in the summer of 1917, the “Bureau d’études” launches a campaign to raise the morale of the population. Lecturers go all over the country, but more particularly to cities and departments where the influence of pacifism has to be fought. They come across great difficulties in industrial cities like Saint-Etienne or Lyon and can notice the indifference toward the Alsatian issue in regions far away from the borders or less concerned by the social consequences of war. They can also observe that Zimmerwald’s pacifist theses are gaining ground in the public opinion³²⁴. The lecturers nevertheless get a warm welcome in many French regions, attesting to the patriotism of rural and traditional regions like Savoy, Auvergne, Brittany or the eastern France. Patriotism and faith in victory remain vivid in the middle classes, among civil servants and representatives of the bourgeoisie, the main audience at conferences.

Logically, the “Bureau d’études” decides to start a specific action intended to workers and working classes’ militant structures. A report about Alsatian-Lorrain propaganda in far left environments recommends to intensify the cinematographic propaganda, and to lavishly hand out pamphlets especially conceived by

³²³ Jean-Louis Robert, « Lutttes ouvrières en France pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale », in *Cahiers d’histoire de l’Institut Maurice Thorez*, 1977.

³²⁴ *Ibidem*. A note on the minority party.

personalities approved by working classes. The “Bureau” has also planned to send agents, whose role is to establish contact with the general secretaries of trade unions and cooperatives, to industrial centers³²⁵.

III. “Get people to know Alsace-Lorraine better and love it”: The principal themes of propaganda

a. Which guidelines?

The guideline given to the “Bureau d’études” is clear: “*Get people to know Alsace-Lorraine better and love it*”, and so demonstrate that Alsace-Lorraine is still attached to its Motherland and underline the suffering endured by Alsatian-Lorrain people under German rule. But as was pointed out quite appropriately by Maurice Barrès, “*it is easier and better to get people to love Alsace-Lorraine than to get them to know it well*”³²⁶.

During its 28th session, the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine votes a report by Albert Helmer dealing with the main orientations to be given to the French propaganda about Alsace-Lorraine. This report positions this discussion on a juridical field, insisting on the fact that France desires to recover Alsace and Lorraine, not by will of conquest, but because 1871 Germany has flouted public rights. The Conference warns both the “Bureau d’études” and the agencies in charge of propaganda against the fact that official speeches on Alsace-Lorraine tend to drift away from this principle, promoting an excessively sentimental message. France has to redress an injustice, because France’s rights have been ridiculed as Germany has carried out a war conquest, and did so at the very moment when the right of peoples to self-determination was championed on a large scale.

The three main principles of the French propaganda should be: the concept of people’s liberty and their right to self-determination, proclaimed during the French Revolution; France’s national unification; the wish of the Alsatian-Lorrain people to be French. These conclusions lead the Conference to define a very clear policy about the possibility of a plebiscite; France shall tolerate no plebiscite in the reconquered provinces; allowing a plebiscite would be tantamount to ratifying the Treaty of Frankfurt, which was marred by violence³²⁷.

b. Eternal and faithful Alsace : an analysis of the arguments used

Now what is really being said? Studying the French propaganda material dealing with Alsace-Lorraine highlights the following themes. The juridical arguments expressed by the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine (people’s right to self-determination) appear in good place, linked with the themes of national unification, security regarding the borders and Paris, and last but not least, the wealth of the provinces to reconquer³²⁸. But the favourite argument still remains the faithfulness of Alsace that especially appears in brochures written by Alsatian and Lorrain people themselves during the war. In *The Question of Alsace-Lorraine (La Question d’Alsace-Lorraine)*³²⁹, Christian Pfister and Ernest Lavis, both teaching in the Sorbonne, demonstrate with historical arguments that Alsace and Lorraine have been French since the Gauls. If Alsace has become German, it’s because it was snatched away from France in 1871 “against her will”³³⁰. This theme has also been popularized by the patriotic song *Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et la Lorraine* (“*You won’t get Alsace and Lorraine*”) that says “*You may make the plain German, but our hearts you will never get*”. It appears one more time in a publication called “*How our brothers of Alsace and Lorraine have behaved since 1870*” (*Comment nos frères d’Alsace et de Lorraine ont agi depuis 1870*), published in Paris in 1918, that aims to demonstrate that all Alsatians have served the Motherland, “*Those who have remained*”, as well as “*Those who have left*”: the first ones by maintaining a French presence to face the German “immigrant” population, the other ones by demonstrating solemnly against the annexation.

325 *Ibidem*. A report about the propaganda carried out in far left circles, May the 2nd 1918.

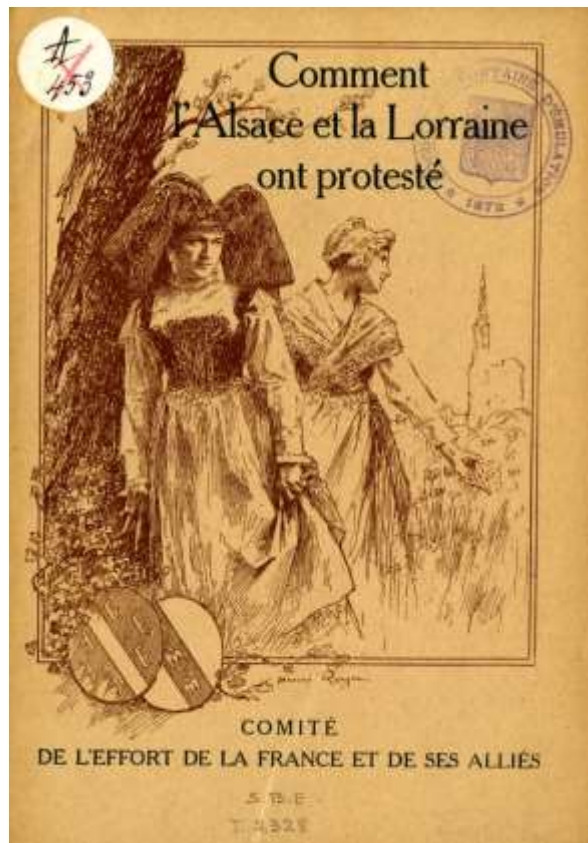
326 Minutes of the Conference of Alsace-Lorraine, 25th session, October the 1st 1917.

327 *Ibidem*, 28th session, December the 3rd 1917.

328 Archives nationales, Paris, AJ³⁰ 337. Activity programm of the “Bureau d’études d’Alsace-Lorraine” for the first trimester of 1918.

329 Christian Pfister and Ernest Lavis, *La question d’Alsace-Lorraine*. Illustrated by Hansi, Paris, A. Collin, 2nd éd., 1918.

330 This same expression “Despite ourselves” shall design, during World War II the Alsatians enroled unwillingly by nazis in the German army.



Brochure entitled *How Alsace and Lorraine protested*, by the “Comité de l'effort de la France et de ses alliés”, Paris, Impr. J. de Cussac, [1918], 19 p. Source: Departmental Archives of Belfort Territory.



A history of Faithfulness: solemn oaths, a painful ordeal, saucy heroism, ill. by Hansi and Zislin. Source : French National library, Gallica.

Particularly representative of this image of an eternal and faithful Alsace is the work of Jean-Jacques Waltz, a draughtsman better known by his pseudonym Hansi. His talent lies in his capacity to give a synthetic image of Alsace, but he does it with a renewed humoristic touch, intended to deliver a strongly hostile message against the German presence. Whether they be represented at the Gauls' time or in a contemporary context, German people are always caricatured as predators and intruders, stealing house-clocks, and they are associated with a ridiculous way of life. The usual message is “*Germans are brutal*”, but Hansi rather uses a satiric tone to point out that “*Germans are stupid*”. But like his fellows involved with the French government, Uncle Hansi’s message is only efficient in the short run; he too contributes to spread the image of “*an eternal, red-white-blue, and smiling Alsace*”³³¹.



German tourists in Paris, by Hansi, postcard 9 x 14 cm. Source: Departmental Archives of Haut-Rhin, 9 Fi 09.

The permanence of these themes probably lies in the French definition of citizenship, which supposes a voluntary adhesion to the National State, in opposition with the most recurrent themes of the German propaganda, which insist on the linguistic and cultural community between Alsace-Lorraine and Germany (the latter thereby achieving complete unification). And the French propaganda isn't interested either in the Alsatian political and cultural evolutions since 1871, or in the specific local character of the people, which are only understood as proofs of an anti-German behaviour.

Conclusion

In order to fight the sustained period of low-morale, discouragement that settles in after 3 years of murderous war and touches an ever-increasing part of the French population, and in order to respond to the doubts relative to the future of Alsace-Lorraine, the French Republic engages on a “psychological warfare” to

331 Georges Bischoff, « L'invention de l'Alsace », in *Saisons d'Alsace*, n° 119, 1993, p. 34-69.

claim Alsace-Lorraine back. In fact, Germany had shown the way for quite some time now. To back its claim, France supports the idea of a “victory of right” that alone can erase the 1870 humiliation, guarantee the future security of Europe and the respect of people’s rights to self-determination. The propaganda on Alsace-Lorraine is directed to everybody: to French citizens, who have to be cheered up; to neutrals, to convince them that France's cause is right, or at least that they should feel sympathetic to it; and even to the enemy, in order to weaken its strength, to provoke revolts or at least internal oppositions. One can conclude by stating that this propaganda has been quite efficient: the themes of the faithful Alsace waiting for its liberator, the images of Hansi or Jean-Jacques Henner are still clinging to Alsace as we picture it. But by spreading and popularizing these themes, the propaganda is only achieving a short-term victory: these “little lies” and pious images don’t contribute to increasing people's knowledge about the actual situation in Alsace-Lorraine. In November 1918, in the days following the Armistice, the French people would discover Alsace-Lorraine the way it really is, shaped as it has been by half a century of German presence.

Heroes wanted!

Propagandistic war efforts and their failure in Austria-Hungary during World War I

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The beginning of the First World War was a decisive change for the until then common imagination of war. New or modernized weaponry, with extremely augmented lethality, striking distance and accuracy, changed combat and by that the reality of warfare; the anonymous mass dying of men on the battlefields in the *Hölle der Materialschlachten*³³² (hell of battles of materiel), caused by an invisible enemy by the use of poison gas, machine gun-fire or artillery pieces that would deploy their deadly salvos kilometers beyond the frontline, were the consequences. First World War implied the “*Ende der Alltäglichkeit*”³³³ (end of everydayness) and trench warfare changed the ways combat was conducted. The soldiers in the trenches perceived the industrialized warfare as shock. The plain soldier at the frontline was challenged to come to terms with the changed reality of war, dominated by the industrialization and rationalization of killing, where the involved masses of humans and material were decisive. This modernization implied the loss of importance of individual action, which did away with centuries old and valid patterns of military behavior. Due to the situation at the front, the plain soldier was not able anymore to prove himself as individual fighter in a duel.³³⁴ The one on one melee as part of „*gentlemanly codes of warfare and killing*“³³⁵, always expression of disciplined and controlled male use of force and closely linked to the term “honor”, soon became obsolete in the age of mass armies. One had to come to terms with this new kind of warfare. The great powers had to find a way to cope with the many dead which this “Great War” caused and give some meaning to their perishing. This was a new challenge for all countries at war that afflicted the entire societies and integrated them into the war efforts. This way especially the “Great War” implied the necessity to develop and apply instruments to influence the own society in order to secure the conduct of warfare. Especially propaganda grew in importance during this first total war. Thereby it was of importance to adjust this propaganda not only to the necessities of warfare, but to the specific problems the individual states and their societies had to face during an industrialized war.

The presented article sheds light on the specific situation of Austria-Hungary within the described context and analyzes the structure and justification of the state propaganda. It furthermore scrutinizes the consequences and problems that resulted from the construction and the usage of “new” wartime heroes, exemplifying this phenomenon with aviation as a new means of warfare.

The following questions are to be answered: How and why was the image of war heroes constructed in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy during WWI? What role was intended for them in wartime society (especially in the context of an all-encompassing *national* war hero)? Who were the key players in all propagandistic efforts? And why did the Austro-Hungarian way fail?

Situation in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

In 1914 the situation, which the multi ethnic state encountered, was in a geostrategic and socio-political way problematic. The Danube-Monarchy was not only facing a war on multiple fronts but also had to cope with internal nationalistic tensions. It thereby had to be stated “[...] *that we are facing two wars, one to the exterior and one to the interior*”.³³⁶ But much more than that, Austria-Hungary was a hopelessly old-fashioned state and could not live up to the challenges an industrialized war would imply. One therefore had applied for

³³² JÜNGER Ernst, Feuer und Blut. Ein kleiner Ausschnitt aus einer großen Schlacht, Magdeburg 1925, p. 81.

³³³ HÜPPAUF Bernd, Fliegerhelden des Ersten Weltkriegs. Fotografie, Film und Künste im Dienste der Heldenbildung, in: Zeitschrift für Germanistik 3/2008, p. 575-595, here p. 575.

³³⁴ Regarding the meaning of the duel see FREVERT Ute, Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft, Munich 1991.

³³⁵ MORGAN Davis H.J., No more Heroes? Masculinities, Violence and the Civilising Process, in: JAMIESON Lynn/CORR Helen (ed.), State, Private Life and Political Change, Basingtoke 1990, p. 13-30, here p. 13.

³³⁶ Extract from a speech of the delegate Thaddäus Tertil from 1st of July 1917 in front of the Viennese Parliament. Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates im Jahr 1917, vol.1, Vienna 1917, p. 642, cited in HOLZER Anton, Das Lächeln der Henker. Der unbekannte Krieg gegen die Zivilbevölkerung 1914–1918, Darmstadt 2008, p. 9.

quite some time before the outbreak of the First World War a “*Politik der Eindämmung*”³³⁷ (containment policy), especially with regard to South-Eastern Europe. The internal frictions between the different nationalities caused the Imperial Council to be adjourned in March of 1914. When the system of alliances was triggered with the assassination of the Austrian successor to the throne, the global catastrophe – “*Weltenbrand*” – could not be stopped anymore. At the beginning the great powers expected a “short” war and were addressing it in the old-fashioned way as a mere “engagement” that would be finished swiftly. Nevertheless, within a short period of time the Danube-Monarchy had stumbled into a war on three fronts, which would have been lost without the help of the German ally and a well-functioning internal state system. Very soon one was confronted with elevated numbers of casualties: only within the time-span from August to December 1914 189.000 Austrian soldiers were killed, more than 490.000 wounded and 278.000 were declared missing in action or taken as prisoners of war on the Eastern front.³³⁸ With this bloodshed the majority of the professional officers and soldiers had been lost, so that one had to resort to the military reserve force, the “civilians in uniform”. For these some kind of incentive had to be created. Furthermore, war was afflicting society as a whole, with new restrictions, the revocation of civil rights, public surveillance and deprivation. To these challenges the state had to find publically effective answers, for “the own population has to be unified and morally strengthened in order to enhance its fighting power and stamina.”³³⁹ As decisive tools in order to reach these goals, the state controlled propagandistic presentation and interpretation of war as well as its exaggeration were applied.

Propaganda in the Danube-Monarchy

At the outbreak of war there did not exist a consistent or well-considered state propaganda in Austria-Hungary and was conducted by various different individual persons and institutions. When the fighting started, there started a flood of wartime poems, stories and publications, mostly originating from private initiatives. Only gradually the state took over the effort, partly using the already existing private endeavors. Within the army, two institutions were created, which had to deal with propaganda: the *Kriegspressequartier* (War-Press Quarter, KPQ) and the journalistic “literary group” in the War Archive of the Austrian State Archive. Both sustainably influenced and controlled the information system in Cisleithania during the First World War. It was up to them to decide which news, which events and connected to these, which informational content at which moment in time and to which extent could be published. They were the decisive creators of the various figures of heroes, stylized individual persons as “heroes” by deciding about whom special reports could be published and looked after the dissemination of the images they had created via the media.

The *Kriegspressequartier* (KPQ) was created in 1914 as a subunit of the Army’s Supreme Command (Armeeoberkommando, AOK) and directly responsible to the general staff. This unit was responsible for the entire military press service and was influencing the entire information system of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy by issuing official and unofficial reports, oral or written information to the press, public presentations, the publishing of various printed publications and the communication with all press offices. In its function as the chief or rather advisory censorship office of the Army in the various theatres of war, as well as of the *Kriegsüberwachungsamt* (Office for Wartime Surveillance)³⁴⁰ in Cisleithania and of the *Kriegsüberwachungskommission* (Commission for Wartime Surveillance) in Hungary, the KPQ was influencing the depicted/photographic coverage of the war.³⁴¹ The increase of importance of the KPQ during the First World War can be measured in numbers: whilst the KPQ consisted at the beginning of the war of only one department, the number of its departments had risen to 12 by 1918.³⁴² Already late in the fall 1914 its members amounted to 880 persons.³⁴³ This number can be attributed to the many artists, painters, illustrators, photographers, authors and journalists accredited to the KPQ in order to be able to practice their professions. For many of them the “duty with the quill” was a way to evade a front assignment.

The representatives of the KPQ on the one hand delivered reports from the frontlines to the various newspapers, detailed accounts that were coined with the predicate “reported from KPQ”, inter alia about

³³⁷ RAUCHENSTEINER Manfred, Österreich-Ungarn, in: HIRSCHFELD Gerhard, KRUMREICH Gerd, RENZ Irina (eds.), *Enzyklopädie Erster Weltkrieg*, Paderborn et.al. 2009, p. 64-86, here p. 64.

³³⁸ RAUCHENSTEINER, Österreich-Ungarn, p.68.

³³⁹ LASSWELL Harold D, *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, London 1927, cited in SAUERMANN p. 341.

³⁴⁰ See SCHEER Tamara, *Die Ringstraßenfront. Österreich-Ungarn, das Kriegsüberwachungsamt und der Ausnahmezustand während des Ersten Weltkrieges*, Vienna 2010.

³⁴¹ MAYER Klaus, *die Organisation des Kriegspressequartiers beim k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando im Ersten Weltkrieg*, phil.Diss, Vienna 1963, p.4 and following.

³⁴² MAYER, p. 48 and following.

³⁴³ BROUCEK Peter, *Das Kriegspressequartier und die literarischen Gruppen im Kriegsarchiv 1914–1918*, in: AMANN Klaus/LENGAUER Hubert (eds.), *Österreich und der Große Krieg 1914–1918. Die andere Seite der Geschichte*, Vienna 1989, p. 132-139, here p. 136.

violations of international law or atrocities committed by the enemies, and on the other hand reports about the morale along the frontlines, coined with “approved by the KPQ”.

The “Heeresbericht” (Army report) published by the Army was the basic source for the various articles written by the journalists. As these were not allowed to participate in the combat action, they had to rely on this scarce information. The mostly very brief pieces of information were enhanced with a lot of window dressing by the members of KPQ:

“There were true virtuosos in the field, who, with nothing but Hartleben’s travel guide through Galicia and a map, were able to vitalize their reports with the truest features of land and people. Enforced by a remarkable fantasy they translated the dry information of the booklet and the runes of the general staff’s map 1:100.000 to the most descriptive reality, described the character of the landscape, [...]”³⁴⁴

The second institution that was of importance in this context was the Army’s Archive in Vienna. Before the war the Archive had published scientific works in the field of military studies, but now the propagandistic duty for the fatherland became its utmost priority. The newly founded “literary group” was to influence the masses with its publications. It also had a “literary” pretension, which could be ascribed to the personal background of individual members of this group. With Maximilian von Hoen, until 1917 the commanding officer of the KPQ, a media and public relations specialist was assigned with the lead of this institution. As commander of the “literary group” Colonel Alois Veltzé was called upon, who was to take decisive influence on many of the wartime publications. During the course of the war Rudolf Hans Bartsch, Rainer Maria Rilke, Stefan Zweig, Franz Theodor Czokor, Alfred Polgar, Leopold Schöenthal, among others, were assigned to this group.

The longer the war lasted, the more rose the necessity to produce relevant and actual, propagandistic publications that would cover the various aspects of war and at the same time influence and mobilize the population. The members of the literary group delivered for example essays to the KPQ or “Streffleur’s Military Newspaper”, supported the monthly “Donauland” that was especially propagated in the neutral foreign countries by the State Department, or published articles in the various dailies.³⁴⁵ Max von Hoen described his function as follows:

“It is a flattering and grateful task to be the intellectual leader of the great mass and with a higher perception of the duties attached to this appointment to be able to act as a kind of teacher.”³⁴⁶

Most publications of the “literary group” aimed at “leading” the population and “guiding” it towards the right direction by conveying values as willingness to sacrifice, bravery, self-sacrifice and love to the fatherland, demonstrated with different examples. Still, many of the publication projects planned by this group could only be realized with delays or never came into existence, due to very different reasons. A circular decree issued by the War Ministry to the high commands of the front armies that asked for the sending in of accounts of combat actions to the press service and the raising of the “appropriate interest”,³⁴⁷ inspired also the “literary group” to pick up this idea. It chose different examples from the many applications for rewards that regularly arrived in the Army’s Archive, literarily enhanced these “heroic deeds” and forwarded the essays to the press service for further dissemination to the dailies. The result was two collective publications of these “heroic deeds” that were published under the title “Our Officers” and “Our Soldiers” or “Heroes of the Red Cross” in 1915.

With the secondary title “*Episoden aus den Kämpfen der österreichisch-ungarischen Armee im Weltkriege 1914/15*” (Episodes from the Battles of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the World War 1914/15) more than 200 applications for rewards were chosen, redacted and published in a feuilletonistic way under the aegis of Emil von Woinovich and Alois Veltzé, with the collaboration of Rudolf Hans Bartsch, Franz Karl Ginzkey, Viktor Hueber and Stefan Zweig, telling “*short, clear, pithy accounts of the combat act*”.³⁴⁸

These works were intended to show quite plainly to the Austro-Hungarian population the different situations in which the men from their midst, regardless of their descent, had proven their bravery in combat. Everybody was said to be able to become a hero, regardless of his descent: “*In these days, in which nearly everybody is soldier, immense things happened. The hearts of heroes flourished [...]*”³⁴⁹ every deed that

³⁴⁴STROBL Karl-Hans, Geschichten und Bilder aus dem österreichischen KPQ, p. 56 and following. Translation by the author.

³⁴⁵Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA)/Kriegsarchiv (KA), Hoen Chronik, 123/3 Ad.K.A. no. 177 dated 17/VI 1918.

³⁴⁶VON HOEN Max Ritter, Die Presse im Kriege, In: Donauland, 1.Halbjahrgang, March until August 1917, p. 29-31, here p. 29.

³⁴⁷ÖStA/KA, Hoen Chronik, p. 25.

³⁴⁸Unsere Offiziere, p.3.

³⁴⁹Ibidem, p.2.

exceeded the mere performance of duties would be rewarded and any application for reward “[...] reports from the loyalty, the willingness to sacrifice, the heroic sense of a faithful soldier [...]”.³⁵⁰

With the ongoing war also a suitable handling of the own casualties had to be found. In order to honor the fallen in June of 1915 there was produced the first of 160 projected volumes under the title “On the Field of Honor”. Already a month later the second volume could be published. It was planned to edit these volumes also in Polish, Czech, Romanian and Italian language – a project that was not realized due to the financial situation. A similar fate overtook the series “Austria-Hungary in Arms”, that was planned in ten volumes and rich in illustrations – only five volumes were to be realized. Also of the twelve planned volumes of the “Honor Book of all Decorated of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the World War” was published only in three volumes until 1918.

The propagandistic works composed by this group were intended to “lobby” for the Army in the home country and abroad. Still in May 1917 a circular regulation of the AOK was issued. Within this regulation it was ordered that “*press, photography, film and all other appropriate means of propaganda from now on only can aim at one goal: to serve the glory of the Army and the Navy [...]*”.³⁵¹

Special attention was paid in this respect to the so called “Heldenwerk” (Heroes’ Opus). This publication project was planned at an early stage as “*a honoring of the decorated heroes of the Austro-Hungarian Army*”.³⁵² For this means a board was created, to which belonged among others the War Minister Alexander von Krobatin. With this publication a monument for the heroes of the First World War was to be placed:

*“The heroic sons of Austria-Hungary, which distinguished themselves by extraordinary deeds for the glory and honor of our dear fatherland and are decorated for this with the highest recognition of the superior warlord by conferment of orders and decorations, are to be honored [highlighted, annotation of the author] by a literary monument for everlasting times.”*³⁵³

Originally a monumental opus should be published in 1914 – just as the title makes believe. After disagreements and a corruption affaire many members of the board stepped down, among others also Alexander Krobatin. By that the work on this project was strongly handicapped and even stalled for some time. Only after inspection and clarification of the events the works were continued, but the planned deadline of publication could not be met anymore and instead of the originally considered single publications finally four volumes of this “monumental opera” were published.

In each of the four volumes a lot of space was dedicated to the receivers of the various military decorations. Under the category of “heroes” soldiers were presented who were decorated with the different medals for their deeds. In alphabetic order the respective merits were presented that were decisive for the conferment of the medal. This was mostly followed by photographs of the decorated. The information for this category might have come from the numerous applications for reward that were sent to the Army’s Archive and also served as source basis for the “literary group”.³⁵⁴

The most prominent Austro-Hungarian authors and poets participated in this “renaissance of heroism” triggered by the First World War – nevertheless mostly with limited success. Especially striking was the fact, that both institutions within the Army were poorly coordinated and furthermore influenced and hindered by the lethargy and unwillingness of the political apparatus. By no means the kind of propaganda reflected the change in warfare, was not up to date and did not match to the social and political problems already existing during the prewar era. It therefore was surprisingly ineffective. This fact is underlined if taking into account the construction of war heroes and their use for propagandistic means. Due to the lack of own initiative, inexistent coordination and unresolvable differences one rather resorted to German heroic depictions than to Austro-Hungarian constructions.

Construction of heroes

The heroic designs were especially coined by the kind of warfare and were intended to fulfill certain tasks. They were always in the centre of the propagandistic efforts. Particularly the mechanization of war deeply changed the until then known image of war and had far reaching consequences on the form of warfare, society as a whole and naturally the soldiers in the trenches on the frontlines. Their mass dying on the “fatherland’s altar” was reinterpreted to the greatest duty to the fatherland and presented as heroic ideal of manhood. The much tried, known commonplace of “heroism”, which possessed for centuries a strong potential of motivation,

³⁵⁰ Ibidem, p.3.

³⁵¹ ÖStA/KA, Hoen Chronik, Beilage 49/I, Zirkularverordnung des AOK no. 21120, dated 29th May 1917.

³⁵² ÖStA/KA, Hoen Chronik, Heldenwerk, Beilage 67/1.

³⁵³ ÖStA/KA, Hoen Chronik, Heldenwerk, Beilage 67/1.

³⁵⁴ See Unsere Offiziere, unsere Soldaten.

now was connected with the “new” image of war and enhanced with new values and qualities, in order to offer new possibilities for identification and to get to terms with the reality of the “machine war”. Everyone could sacrifice his life for the state and become a hero. Heroism became generally accessible and also desirable: the survivors were decorated for their heroic deeds, the dead included into the public commemorative culture. The new heroes should inspire the youth with their willingness to sacrifice and their idealism to follow their example to sacrifice their lives for the common good and to die the “heroic death for the fatherland”. With the mass dying and the increasing worship of war heroes (“*sacrifice heroes*”), the necessity for something “special”, for a counterpart rose, for, the masses of dead could not be used in order to create the heroic myth around an individual. In addition, this development was a novelty for the Danube Monarchy. Due to its ethnic composition it previously was impossible to find a generally valid heroic figure. Therefore, it was mainly the Emperor who could be used in order to create a heroic myth for the entire state that would be accepted by all nationalities. Nevertheless, the Habsburg Monarchy was forced to react to these developments:

At the beginning of the war the various newspapers of the Monarchy publishes reports about the “heroic deeds” of the soldiers on the battlefields, there were created even special columns in some of the newspapers, as for example the *Militär-Zeitung* (Military-Newspaper). These columns related to the traditional armed services of the k.u.k. Monarchy and conveyed equally traditional heroic images that often overlapped with the image of the leader as a hero. The main focus of the regional newspapers lay upon reports about individual heroic deeds of the locally stationed military formations but at the same time contained as little military information as possible.³⁵⁵ Again, the KPQ controlled everything that was published. With the course of war the media coverage of these “heroic deeds” decreased significantly and became quite scars. The losses simply were too high. The already described publications of the “literary group” appeared during the early stages of war and finally were discontinued. From this resulted the problematic situation of an outright gap in the public representation und perception of war which had to be filled elsewhere.

Aviator heroes

One chance to fill this gap seemingly lay with aerial warfare and its protagonists, which had been born by industrialized warfare. They acted as a kind of alternative model to ground warfare. In the air, war appeared to be less menacing; atrocities remained attached to the battles on the ground. The new type of warrior, the aviator, seemed to regain the possibility for individual actions and decisions.

At the latest with the appearance of single seated airplanes in 1916, the aviator could be perceived as lone fighter, who, in contrast to the mass armies on the ground, had his fate in his own hands and also could convey this image in the public perception. He furthermore mastered the new technology and seemingly came along with the challenges of mechanized warfare. By that he combined new and old patterns of interpretation and beforehand accomplished unimaginable achievements. With aerial warfare a space had been created that offered on the first sight opportunities to prove manhood and where glory and honor were seemingly easy to be earned. The immediately visible individual achievements could be exploited in a crowd-pleasing manner. The fight in the air was depicted as an honorable duel between two equal enemies that chivalrously and fair confronted each other, until one emerged as victor. What the horse meant to the knight now meant the plane to the pilot and the machine gun replaced the sword. Just as the medieval knights also the flying protagonists were believed to follow certain values and rules of engagement. By that a link to something very remote in time was established, that never really existed in this way.³⁵⁶ It was a mere idealistic imagination of chivalry that was transferred into a time in which this concept was believed to be lost. Whilst “*for the individual soldier, war became a lengthy wait for certain execution within the confined space of pre-dug graves*”³⁵⁷, the pilot stood as “*individualist in the midst of mass dying*.”³⁵⁸ This war

*“with its incredible mass effects has something impersonal as no other before. We perfectly know that it bears all over the front heroes in numbers and size as hardly any other time in human history, only that the glory of the single one dissolves in the entirety, it is remarkable how few the names are that became loved in a popular, shining way during these two years. One exception are the combat pilots. Their most successful men are known to the public with names, are loved with names, all their deeds are closely followed and the public cheers them, when the number of their victories rises.”*³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ See for example *Militär-Zeitung*, 28th September 1914, p. 172; 20th January 1915, p. 2 et.at.

³⁵⁶ See BORST Arno, *Rittertum im Hochmittelalter. Idee und Wirklichkeit*, in: *SAECULUM. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte*, X/1959, vol. 1, Freiburg et.al. 1959, p. 213-231.

³⁵⁷ BARTOV Omar, *Man and the Mass. Reality and the heroic image of War*, in: *History&Memory*, 2/1989, p. 99-122, here p. 106.

³⁵⁸ MARSCHIK Matthias, *Heldenbilder. Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Aviatik*, Münster et.al. 2002, p. 88.

³⁵⁹ WEGENER Georg, *Hauptmann Boelcke*, in: *Der Wall von Eisen und Feuer*, vol. 2: *Champagne – Verdun – Somme*, Leipzig 1918, p.332.

Whilst these “aviator heroes” reached enormous popularity in the German Empire and the aerial warfare against the arch-enemy France had a nationalistic twist, this new dimension of war only played a secondary role in Austria-Hungary from the very beginning. Whilst there was only limited Air force activity on the Russian and also the Serbian fronts, this changed with the buildup of a new theatre of war against Italy. Still, the Air force was also then a marginal occurrence. It therefore does not surprise, that aerial warfare only played a secondary role in the coverage of the Austro-Hungarian media. This might have been due to the disesteem of the military use of aviation prior to the First World War. Then, aviation was coined as quite pacifistic in Austria-Hungary, the perception of its military value lagged way behind its civilian usage. Furthermore, aviation would never gain importance for *the* nation,³⁶⁰ a nation that never existed until 1918. This disesteem also continued into the First World War. Though there appeared some isolated reports on aerial battles in the media, they were described as of minor importance for the general warfare. The Air force was only acknowledged in its reconnaissance role. This attribution was further strengthened by the fact, that the KPQ did not install any reporters at the Air force who would have been able to give first-hand accounts. Single newspapers, as for example the “Kleine Zeitung”, had an own column for aerial warfare, but this was published on a very irregular basis or the focus was less set onto persons from the own Air force but much more onto events on the German Western Front. Often one could find reports about the victories of Richthofen, Boelcke or Immelmann in the Austro-Hungarian media, whilst the k.u.k. aviators mostly disappeared in anonymity. This public ignorance was also reflected by the self-awareness of the k.u.k. aviators: only this way it becomes understandable, that there hardly exist any memoirs of these aviators until present.³⁶¹ In contrast to the immense worship that built up around the German aviator heroes in the German Empire, the KPQ and other state institutions reacted too late to these developments and misunderstood the potential of aviation. Only from 1917 on reports about aerial victories or lists of downed enemy planes were published in the newspapers. By that, the most successful k.u.k. aviators, measured in aerial victories, were not known to the general public. Their followers were limited to the milieu from which they originated. Reports were mostly to be found in professional technical journals or aviation journals. Here, the most successful fighter pilot of the k.u.k. Monarchy, Godwin von Brumowski, and the most successful k.u.k. naval aviator Gottfried von Banfield found their followers. But also the German aviator heroes were used for comparison. Both Austro-Hungarian pilots were described as very dutiful, disciplined and of strong will and with their duty for the fatherland as the utmost impetus. Hereby one must not forget that both, just as their German comrades, were professionally trained warriors that had been socialized in a certain manner. Both were prepared to go all the way to the most extreme, the self-sacrifice – Brumowski survived four crashes on the front. Banfield, who was nearly hindered from further flying after a crash, had a nervous breakdown when he was informed about this diagnosis that meant that he would not be able to fulfill his duty and serve the fatherland anymore.³⁶² His “*numerous, almost rushed, heroic aviator’s deeds*”³⁶³ are put into the foreground especially in the reports of the Aeroclub. A recurring motive in the depiction of these aviator heroes is the fight out of an inferior position. The media does not conceal that the k.u.k. Air force was outnumbered on the Italian theatre of war, but used this fact propagandistically: just as David against Goliath also the Austro-Hungarian aviators are victorious in their fights. This presentation sharply differs from the one used for the German aviator heroes. Also within the description of the Austro-Hungarian aviator heroes, the motive of chivalry was not to be missed. The official “Heldenwerk” is one of the few state publications, in which Brumowski is mentioned. This contemporaneous publication put it this way:

*“[...]Captain Brumowsky [sic!], acclaimed and admired everywhere, accomplished performances equal to those of Immelmann, Bölke [sic!], and Richthofen. He was a champion of the air, his red fighter plane always cheered by his comrades-in-arms and feared by the enemy. No one would have attributed this ruthless combat performance to him, this monocle wearing, seemingly naïve, puerile character with blonde hair and blue eyes. Like a bird, his desires were flying – and the air in general –, noble and chivalrous in combat, he resembled a figure from the time of troubadours and jousts/tourneys.”*³⁶⁴

The reference to the German aviator heroes is an interesting feature of this statement. By crating this reference also part of the heroic glory gets transferred to Brumowski. This perception can be also observed with the Austro-Hungarian aviators themselves. Only this way one can understand that after a short stay at the

³⁶⁰ MARSCHIK, p. 124.

³⁶¹ There is only one attempt known to the author. The publication of the Monarchy’s most successful navy aviator Gottfried von Banfield was hindered by the course of war and turned down reasoning, that “*after this enormous turmoil [...] the book of a k.u.k. navy pilot hardly will meet any interest anymore [...].*” Deutsches Technikmuseum/Historisches Archiv, Manuskript Banfield, Ullstein Verlag an Dr. Emil Leimdörfer, 31st October 1918.

³⁶² Deutsches Technikmuseum/Historisches Archiv, Manuskript Banfield, p. 21.

³⁶³ Mitteilungen des k.k. Oesterreichischen Aëro-Clubs, Vienna, 1st October 1916, p. 129.

³⁶⁴ Heldenwerk, ed. zu Gunsten der Kriegsfürsorgezwecke des Kriegshilfsbüros des K.K. Ministerium des Innern, 1917.

German Western Front, close to the workshop of Richthofen's "Flying Circus", Brumowski had his plane painted red, just as Manfred von Richthofen's plane, and by that was trying to connect to the German aviator hero's myth.

Brumowski and Banfield both were "refused" one thing: to die the hero's death for the fatherland and by that be incorporated into the canon of sacrifice. Both survived the First World War.

"[...] With Brumowski [sic!] we have in Austria-Hungary our 'Ace of Aces', the born warrior, the born bird-man, who dominates his machine just as an eagle his wings and who's heart does not shake, when bullets of the enemies' machine guns perforate his wings.

*It is only astonishing, that the best of our best so far did not gain any popularity. What kind of national heroes are the German flyers Boelcke, Immelmann and Richthofen! It's the same with the French, British and the Italians, where successful fighter pilots are worshipped. Only with us it is possible, that a man gains 35 aerial victories without becoming a celebrated hero of his country. Oh yes, one knows Brumowsky [sic], one remembers his name, but the man in the street, the people, do not know anything about him. That is shameful and sad at the same time."*³⁶⁵

Exemplified with the aviators one can identify clearly the immobility of state propaganda that could not react to the new theatre of war in the airspace and put forward relevant measures only in the context of German developments.

Conclusion

The Austro-Hungarian propaganda apparatus was created very late and rudimentarily as an instrument to steer the public opinion in the Danube Monarchy. This is an expression of the lack of capability and opportunity of the multi ethnic state to answer to international developments, especially in the bellicose field. This circumstance was among the reasons for the breakup of the Habsburg Empire.

Regardless of overlapping personnel, no cooperation of the protagonists of the various institutions entrusted with propaganda can be identified. They worked in a parallel manner, uncoordinated and by that little effective. By that, a breakup of old-fashioned directives was rendered nearly impossible. The element of the creation of heroes is a clear proof for this, as changes in the international sphere in this respect never were met with appropriate measures. Especially the example of aviation gives a clear impression of the situation. By orienting along the German Empire – not only militarily – the propagandistic value and the multiple opportunities that the creation of own aviation heroes could have offered to the Habsburg Monarchy were ignored. The outdated military apparatus, sticking to old traditions or the disrespectful treatment of the own Air force, that never was imputed with any importance; surely are factors for the unsuccessful creation of heroes in Austria-Hungary. Whilst the German aviators were known to any child and by that were bearing an elevated potential for motivation in order to acquire military offspring, this chance was willingly thrown away in Austria-Hungary. It furthermore would have been very hard to implement due to the ethnic differences.

³⁶⁵ Allgemeine Automobil-Zeitung, 8th September 1918, no. 36, p. 32 and following. Translation by the author.

The First World War in Lisbon – The fights of everyday life

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This communication is the result of the research work within the framework of the master thesis in contemporary history with the same theme. The research sought to understand how the First World War was received by the city and district of Lisbon and what are the consequences felt by the population: how the life of a worker and a family has changed with the coming of the war. The main sources of research were based on correspondence received and dispatched from Lisbon Civil Government and the Ministry of the Interior, as well as any correspondence from the municipality of Lisbon. File service orders of the Guarda Nacional Republicana and the analysis of some newspapers as *A Capital* helped to complete the research.

In the early 20th century the District of Lisbon included also the now district of Setúbal, and was a major pole of attraction of migratory flows of people coming from the country to the city. The first world war came to a shakeup in the city and district of Lisbon which, like the rest of the country suffered the consequences of the war almost immediately. Fiduciary circulation requirement led to a brutal increase in inflation during the war intensifying the situation already lived with further increasing of prices. The number of crimes and offences committed between 1914 to 1919 through the analysis of records of captures of the Lisbon District File gives us the example of this, with a greater number of crimes happening in the years 1916 to 1918 (greater outbreak of thefts in 1916 and 1918 and most transgressions in 1917), maintaining however the prospect of increased crimes within the four years of war between the studied period.

The prisoners we found are mostly arrested for theft or trespass, being that in the year 1916, arose in the registers the category of "vagrancy" that would keep up with important values and who has become an increasingly common phenomenon practiced by children, youngsters and elderly people without jobs. With the substantial increase of beggars were created in Lisbon a few nursing homes (some had other functions as little hotels suffering a transformation after the beginning of the conflict) that offered the possibility of overnight stay, complete with clothes and food that however, were often crowded and with few possibilities to expand monetary or maintain open.

These values become also a mirror of the situation in which the country found itself and in this case the city of Lisbon. The insults the police, the law transgressions and thefts have become common practice in a period of economic crisis and entry into the war and where were at risk not only the supply of food, but also the very functioning of factories and services.

To the problems with theft, trespasses, desertions and insults joined the various letters and telegrams addressed to the Civil Governor of Lisbon and the Interior mostly with problems related to lack of food. The lack of flour was becoming fraught with bread, the main food of most families, becoming scarce, of worse quality and increasingly expensive. To the lack of bread joined the olive oil, meat, fish, milk, sugar, and potato. Requests for transit guides multiplied increasingly asking for the transport of coal, flour, olive oil among the several counties or asking for flour of the colonies.

The situation becomes desperate with some municipalities making multiple requests with a few days apart, the municipalities that have food for only a few days and who feared the rupture of stock. Barns were built a throughout the country, in several counties trying to find a solution to the pressing problem of the lack of food, as well as their maintenance and storage (fearing the black market and the problems of hoarding that grew exponentially with the periods of food shortage in stores).

Despite the construction of barns the lack of money and the means to keep them open and functioning makes them unsafe and requests for its refueling also multiply. In a telegram of July 31, 1918 received by the civilian Government of Lisbon is requested the opening of a credit to the Administrative Commission of the municipality of Cascais to the construction of the Municipal Barn. This situation is repeated in several other cases.

Sometimes even the municipalities have to address the Interior Ministry asking for flour. The impossibility of buying bread for themselves and for the family became a common situation. Hunger is the main reason of dissatisfaction and therefore more crowd trouble. Let's take as an example the letter sent by the administration of the municipality of Santiago do Cacém in July 30, 1917 the civilian Government of Lisbon where it is broadcast that a group of men and women armed with hammers and clubs if they drove to the Town Hall demanding a reduction in the price of flour. The administrator alarmed at the unrest and with few guards available managed a deal with producers for a few days, leaving the final decision in the price of flour for another week. The situation in July 1917 in Santiago do Cacém is not unique. In Alcácer do Sal in September

1915 the lack of bread in bakeries and flour shortages led to the County Administration to warn the civilian Government afraid of the crowd trouble that could arise for public order.

In these cases the action of the populations is direct: a large group of men and women of the city heading to town hall or even to the municipal barns asking for solutions: more flour, more bread or lower prices of food or materials. These claims may end with violent conflicts which may continue until their demands are at least taking into consideration. The manifestations of people are repeated when you give also the output of food (especially flour and olive oil) to other municipalities of the country.

The National Republican Guard is often called for aid to counties that have more problems of internal conflicts, however the answer of the guard is sometimes delayed, because as we saw by the case from the administrator of the municipality of Santiago de Cacém, the number of existing guards in their own localities is insufficient. As early as August 1914 was the information for all municipalities to inform the Ministry of the Interior police needs relations in the localities. This information sought to figure out which localities most in need of police backup. Of the 24 responses obtained 18 are positive asking for more agents. The reasons are in General by the danger of theft and black market, some municipalities also referred to the distance between parishes as a security problem. The most urgent cases arise in Almada, Seixal and Vila Franca de Xira due to proximity to the capital and factories, and a large part of the population of these counties are workers and may suffer with the closure of factories during the period of the conflict.

Policing becomes an obstacle difficult to overtake. The guard was already reduced number, condition that was aggravated with the military uprising to war. Even with the actual increase in the guard, the city in 1911 is more dangerous and with more habitants than had seen to date, and in 1914, 1664 guards for the whole city became ineffective. The situation does not improve within the country as we have seen in the case of Santiago do Cacém. Lisbon's own Civic Police sends the civil Governor a warning that there are 207 vacancies unfilled as Guard 2nd class in May 1915 without any way of being addressed, as demonstrated by the excerpt, ““though they seek by all means call individuals who are able to satisfy the necessary requirements to enlist as guards, little has achieved, due perhaps to the period of turmoil we're going through, not the most desirable, and mainly for being poorly paid.””

In March 1917 the Civic Police of Lisbon makes new appeal due to vacancies unfilled in the police asking for a decree that allows during the wartime requirements for entry into the war are more extensive with the required minimum height of 1m and 58cm. The civil security, even in matters of everyday life constituted a difficulty with lack of policing on the streets, municipal markets (which was sometimes conflicts between merchants and shoppers due to supply problems already enlightened). The employees of the Ministry of the interior sent a letter to the Minister requesting the provision of a pistol and the munitions for each employee as a means of precaution and personal security against burglary and existing dangers on the street.

The problems increase even more when the problems of food and supplies, gather the problems of partial or total closure of the factories, leading to unemployment of several workers. In Setúbal, Almada and Loures the month of August 1914 was quite troublesome. The specter of war and the start of restrictions of raw materials did terminate (even for short periods of time) some factories in the early days of the month to close or to diminish the production . The worker's response was immediate with manifestations and strikes. In Setubal and Almada the administrator warned that the workers are worried about food prices and insecurity of their jobs with the closure or reduction of work in factories. In Loures public order has been changed due to the short closure of the crockery factory in Portugal. The guard constituted only by two men had some difficulties to contain the protesters. The class of Longshoremen at the port of Lisbon sent a request in February 1, 1915 calling for the Civil Governor help for their workers, because with the beginning of the war the work has decreased and some workers with family can't be in full time, thus losing part of his salary.

In March 1916 the company Henry Bucknall & Sounds – Limited participated in the Civil Governor the remission of some staff at the factory due to the adverse effects of war on his Old Margueira Cork factory in Cacilhas. The Board had already diminished to 3 work days and sometimes called "contract work". However had to withdraw the measures due to strong protests by workers adding another day of work. Despite all the attempts the situation got worse with the stocks to accumulate in the factory. The solution passes through the total closure or a reduction of workers. The company warns in advance the Governor because problems are going to happen some problems of public order when the decision is made public.

In March 1916 the administrator of the municipality of Cascais is also asking job for several workers who were fired without any prior notice, being currently go through various difficulties. The lack of raw materials is one of the biggest concerns and reasons for the closure of factories as well as the lack of disposal of the products. The situation is aggravated by the conditions imposed by England on the export of coal, whose lack was also feeling. In March 1916 the rationing that English be asked Portugal current and consumption need of imported coal for England in continental Portugal, Cabo Verde Islands and Açores e Madeira in order to prevent accumulation of coal in foreign countries.

Also in 1916 in the month of February in Almada are requested more elements of the National Republican Guard as more factories shut down and the workers are appalled. In Barreiro, also in February 1916 the

situation is identical to asking if guards to guarantee public safety. As we have seen companies also respond to workers in order to compensate the strikes and conflicts, giving explanations about the current situation asking for understanding and calm, trying to finish the claims of their workers. The Portuguese Industrial Company however makes an appeal to their workers to finish with strikes by appealing to his patriotic vein, respect for their country and for the soldiers who are fighting for it in a distant country. The commercial and Industrial Association of Sines follows somewhat the same idea of Portuguese Industrial Company, sending a letter to the Government warning that Civil unrest have taken place in the village for workers who do not have their concern the homeland and the law but rather the complete disarray thus preventing the progress of the working classes and the factory itself.

Conclusion

“”These are the demonstrations of patriotism of all peoples. Is this the feeling that primarily defines its character. He's not even more alive even deeper than ours. Europe goes through its most formidable historical and painful crisis. For our part, we are convinced that no repercussion of tremendous struggle committed will produce between us; but, under any circumstances, should we proceed in order to reconcile the feelings that we have to friendly Nations and to our ally. “” in A Capital, August 3, 1914

The words edited by the newspaper on August 3 would unfortunately prove as erroneous. The war that had begun in the distant point of Europe would quickly turn into the greater confrontation seen to date and with unimaginable consequences. As already mentioned in the course of this work, the perception of the war effort within the society went on to involve a military, economic, political and social effort. We could not separate the war effort of any of these parameters.

The Portuguese economy, like that of all other countries, suffered a fall. The eternal external dependency and poor merchant dictated serious consequences in terms of supplies and caused chaos in the cities. The war that was in Flanders and in Africa was a monster far compared with the monster sense every day: the widespread hunger and the closure or reduction of work in factories that gave the daily life of the families a sense of constant insecurity. The strikes, clashes and letters to the Governor resorted to sending cereals, to decrease in prices and improving living conditions. The robberies in warehouses, shops, grocery stores are synonymous of the desperation felt by the populations.

The main cause of the scourge meaning by hunger revolved around the war, whose cause many were ignorant, and ineffective Governments that couldn't respond to felt needs. The waves of diseases that occurred between 1914 and 1918 increase the sense of insecurity for the population, particularly the pneumonic influenza. In the midst of all these consequences – almost directly related with the beginning of the conflict (with the exception perhaps of pneumonic influenza), the fight against the war became secondary. The fight against hunger and the work was essential even though the situation was desperate due to the same. However the war had begun without the consent or authorization of the population that just wanted to continue their normal lives.

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Life and Honour

the propaganda to the Portuguese involvement in the World War I, in Braga

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In Africa, the Portuguese and German armies fought for colonial territories since 1914, even though there was not an official war declaration between the two countries. As it is well-known, everything will change between the years of 1916 and 1917. Portugal will quit its neutral position and start to struggle at the English and allies side in the European soil. This happened in the great clash that was happening in the summer of 1914. The purpose of this lecture is to unveil some proposals such as meetings and conferences, evoking opinions and declarations that were conveyed in the press of Braga since 1916 onwards.

On the 10th March 1916, Portugal declares war against Germany, this to react to Germany's announcement in the previous day and as a consequence of several German ships' arrest in the Portuguese ports. The Portuguese involvement in the European war was then about to happen. While the signs of a dark and mournful life turned up, in Braga there were plenty of public opinions made not only individually, but also in groups or institutional, along with the open propaganda or the subtle press appealing to the patriotism and courage of knights. In fact, avoiding conflicts, due to the formation of a government Sacred Union, the majority of opinions and initiatives will shape themselves to support and involve the country in the war. Although there were some that were against or even without enthusiasm – probably because of their German sympathy and the possible loss of their rights -, they would call for a return.

Now, I present the facts and examples.

In a month the official involvement of Portugal in the war was considered by the newspaper *O Rebate*, which was the official paper of the democrats in Braga, on the 17th April 1916, writes the declaration of PRP [Portuguese Republican Party] justifying the Portuguese military involvement in the conflict around Europe since 1914. In that declaration it is said that our condition of English allies couldn't allow continuing with the endless impartiality. This situation didn't match with the juridical international terms, being Portugal forever dishonoured and losing the world's respect if it didn't accomplish the duty of loyalty imposed by England. In the same edition of 17th April in *O Rebate* a priest called Pires Lage, appeals to the soldiers' contribution in the name of their glorious homeland. He even quotes from the PRP declaration previously mentioned, the commitment they should have as English allies towards German's anger. Consequently, they should be together and honour the Portuguese history, which is plenty of heroes. He declares:

A vibrating shout rises from my chest to spread towards the world: We are Portuguese.
Being Portuguese is more than being born in Portugal; it is to reproduce the best examples that nobody has ever tried; it is to reply the outrage of others; Portuguese are heroes and great.

(...)

Portugal neither provokes nor withdraws

What reasons have set to Germany to start a war?

Nobody knows because they don't exist

Those who had reason were us to react to their outrage that took place in Africa.

(...)

We are English allies and never will we break the agreement trust; never will we fail the Portuguese reputation.

(...)

The inner fights were over and Portugal never splits; (...)

I am a priest, I'm portuguese. As a priest I identify myself in the clergy of France that once defeated abandons the cassock, takes the sword and believing in God and the Country dies as a winner.

I'm portuguese and as such I long for complete the tribute that duty and humanity laws require.

(...)

"If we are Insulted, we will react.

If we are pushed to the war we will only as winners."

Hurray Portugal.

Hurray the allies³⁶⁶.

At a really hard moment to the country, it was imperative to bring together the influence of the Church and of those who were related so that the government could benefit. At that time, while in the country the govern of the Sacred Union gathered the evolutionists and democrats, all contributes were positive, as it is said by Pires Lage³⁶⁷.

The sympathetic position of the church of Braga in harmony with prelates and other Catholic hierarchy is revealed in the Catholic press in Braga, even though they weren't defined by a favourable point of view to the English side. It is exposed in a publication by the *Acção Católica* (Catholic Action) on 25th March, 1916. Here we notice the sympathy towards the war announcement made by our country to Germany a fortnight before. As an "editorial column", Francisco Velozo, who was the director of this magazine, shows his support to the Portuguese decision to start the war due to the fact that something had to be done to preserve the colonies by the end of the clash. He also regretted that the Sacred Union member was not more representative of the nations policy throb. According to Velozo *the problem is that we are with England till the end or the death*³⁶⁸. In this issue of *Acção Católica* in the article "Porque" ["Because"] J. Faria de Machado considers the opportunity and inevitability of our entrance in the war. Faria Machado didn't seem too convinced of the benefit we could have with that. He thinks it wasn't the proper moment but the unavoidable English pressure.

Up to that instant, our country using an active neutral position provided weapons and food supplies to the English people. Machado also adds that our weapons and supplies were not what the English expected since our army was barely prepared. The English wanted more than anything else to guarantee the control of the ports and routes of Lagos, Madeira and Azores and the entrance of Portugal in the conflict could assure that. With these routes the English could keep the Strait of Gibraltar away from the German submarines and the control of the Atlantic routes which made possible the South America direction, according to Machado's words. It's hard time and the unit is essential, so Machado admits, but sooner he threatens saying that the leaders are to blame for the results that might be reached:

We are, at last, in a war. We don't want; it's no good to discuss the advantages or the disadvantages of our involvement. (...) All of us know we must be helped and it's a duty to save Portugal. With our faith, our devotion and blood we help our glorious country to overcome and succeed this dangerous crisis. After that, when the victory is celebrated, time will be enough to get revenge. Peace will be of inevitable justice... Meanwhile, hurray Portugal!³⁶⁹

In the early 1917, just the days before the first soldiers of CEP start the combat, *Gazeta de Braga*, the democrats' official newspaper in the city, warned the soldiers that they would go to the war *to find their death*, but it also advised that they had a huge mission, they would defend their Homeland and the Republic. The Homeland – Love! The Republic - Freedom!), provided them with confidence *as if they were defending their mothers, wives, sisters*³⁷⁰.

While the press in the town was analysing the Portuguese involvement in the war, according to the local Democratic Party structures, as it was already focused in the PRP leaflet, other reactions were seeking to ignite the patriotic sense among the soldiers persuading them, their families and people in general to grasp the combat. This influence emerged in public events like meetings and conferences.

³⁶⁶ Pires Lage (priest). Pro Patria (Pro Homeland). *O Rebate*. Braga. Nº 20 (1916/17/04), p.1 .

³⁶⁷ Later this "priest" Pires Lage abandoned his clergy role. In an article identified *O Negócio do Milho* [The Trade of Maize] the local newspaper in Braga, *A Cidade* [The City] issued on the 14th August 1919 (2nd edition, p.1), wrote *that he had been fired out of Caixa Geral de Depósitos* [a portuguese bank] *in Terras de Bouro where he had the position of council administrator*.

³⁶⁸ Cronica da Semana. *Acção Católica* [article "Week Chronicle" in the magazine *Catholic Action*]. Nº 143 (1916/03/23), pp.612-613. To add, it must be recorded that Francisco Velozo had already foreseen in august 1914 the inevitable entrance of Portugal in the clash, on the side of England. In the same *Ilustração Católica* [*Catholic Illustration*] on 15/08/1914 (edition nº 59) "Cronica da Semana" wrote: *While the European conflagration (destruction/devastation) increases every day, we must look around us. It seems that throughout the country there is a shadow of nightmare. Portugal slept for eighty years, as the shepherd of Anunzio's Tragedy and awakes for a life he doesn't recognize.(...) We lay ourselves, thus, in the English mat like Austria is in the back side of Germay , and Russia in comparing to France.(...)*

³⁶⁹ MACHADO, J. Faria de – Porque [Because]. *Catholic Illustration*. Braga. Year III, nº143 (1916/25/3), pp.612-614.

³⁷⁰ In this proselytism for the Portuguese interest in the war the *Gazeta de Braga* (year I, 1917/01/21, nº. 8, p. 1) exhorted the appeal to the Portuguese written by José Vale on 8th January in *O Mundo* [The World], the national newspaper of PRP.

On the 25th March 1916 – two weeks after the declaration of war to Germany - in Braga there is a meeting to support the Portuguese navy and army, to Brazil and even the ally countries in which there have been about three thousand people³⁷¹.

One week later, on the 2nd April, a meeting, appealing to the Portuguese participation in the war, took place in Avenida da Liberdade (in the main avenue of the town). This was supported by the North Patriotic Union. From the local Theatre balcony, speakers with a different political position would grant unity to the initiative: José Maria Oliveira, Dr. Santos Silva, the catholic Teixeira Andrade, Alberto Velloso d'Araújo, Mário de Vasconcellos, a medical fifth-grader, and the Mayor, Eurico Taxa, persuade the demonstrators to accept the Portuguese government's decision. Several favourable "hurrays" were listened in the meeting when Eurico Taxa read a telegram to be sent to the president of Portugal.



1) A meeting to support the involvement(participation)of Portugal in the World War I (promoted by the North Patriotic Union on the 2nd April 1916)

³⁷¹ A girandole of fire, three bands, the firemen and many other local personalities liven up the demonstration that passed by the Civil Government (where there were speeches of the Police Commissioner, Barroso Dias, Fernando Moreira and the priest Pires Lage) then passed by the headquarters (where once more Alberto Guimarães, Pedro Oliveira and Manuel Oliveira said their speeches). The demonstration goes straight up to Avenida Central [Central Avenue] and honours the Brazilian consul with the speeches of Abílio Mesquita and Simões d'Almeida, this one a local remarkable reference as a republican militant since the *Ultimatum* era.



2a



2b

2a/2b) The soldiers of Braga leaving to the War in April 1917 (train station of Braga) (Archive Aliança Photography)

It is also required to give the example of propaganda actions done in Braga such as the one organized on 2nd June 1917 by the local Portuguese Women Crusade³⁷², in which the minister Alexandre Braga evoked the external Portuguese policy, suggesting that *avoiding to get involved in that fight besides being a utopia, since nobody is neutral but the one who has the power to guarantee his own neutrality (impartiality), (...) it would be a such coward attitude that we would only deserve the humanities' disrespect and the loss of territorial integrity*. A. Braga also confessed that, as a demagogic attempt to seduce, *women of Minho who he got used to admire the Patriotic love and strength represented the county he would choose to live in Portugal*. He argued that if we were for Germany *we would be betraying England* which would have conditions *to punish us for the flock with her fierce enemy*³⁷³. In this conference Alexandre Braga's speech got a political affiliation and there were simultaneously other cultural and entertaining activities, like poetry, songs and a play.

As propaganda occurred, it was imperative to avoid the spread of demobilizing and dissuasive news among the public opinion. These were opposing to the war effort. In an order to the Civil Governments on 14th May 1917, The Ministry of Interior made clear that censorship could be done *in all or just part to the trained official stuff of the Civil Governments itself*³⁷⁴. In Braga, a claim was made to several retired soldiers to

³⁷² Maria Vitória d'Amorim Machado, the civil governor's wife, was the leader of Portuguese Women Cruzade in Braga and Laura Guimarães d'Oliveira (supposed to be the vice-governor's wife, Bento d'Oliveira) was the vice-leader.

³⁷³ Extracts of the article "Uma bela noite de arte. O sarau da Cruzada das Mulheres Portuguesas ..." [A beauty night of art. The soiree in the 'Portuguese Women Cruzade': A remarkable speech made by the respectable Minister of Justice, Dr. Alexandre Braga. A brilliant and great declaration of lively patriotism] in *Gazeta de Braga* no. 26 (10/06/1917), pp. 1 and 2, and the article Conferência do Sr. Dr. Alexandre Braga no Teatro Circo [Dr. Alexandre Braga's Conference in Theatro Circo], issued in *Gazeta de Braga* edition no. 27 (23/06/1917) pp.1 and 2. The speech excerpts here assigned to Alexandre Braga are based on the report of the responsibility of *Gazeta de Braga*, which may not reproduce the minister's exact words.

³⁷⁴ Archive of the district of Braga, *Civil Government General Correspondence*, Box 22 (1917-18).

perform the role of censors but this task wouldn't seem attractive. Some of them may have refused to do so because of the democratic ethic scruples. However, there was a feeling of sacrifice due to the war and that was also observed in the allied countries and this fact didn't convince the candidates since their work wouldn't be paid. This circumstance turns out to be difficult to recruit censors. It is in a sarcastic manner that *Gazeta de Braga* of 4th October 1917 regrets that situation:

There have been nominated several retired officials to censor the local press.

Some have held up for a period of time, but there were substitutions and these shied away arguing diseases, myopia and other excuses.

However, there were among them some who intended to take all paid possible posts. Everything is worth!

As the censor commission doesn't drip, - they don't want it.

Then!³⁷⁵

In various ways, as we could see, the encouragement to heroic dedication with one's life to the service of history and country, both in the press or in meetings and muffling the voice of disagreement, lifted the support to the war in Braga.

³⁷⁵ Censorship Commission, *Gazeta de Braga*, Braga. N0. 35 (04/10/1917), p.1.

Propaganda, Science and Cultural Diplomacy

Propaganda and cultural reconquest: The German scientific associations and the impact of the Great War on the sciences, Argentina, 1914-1930

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On August 28, 1921 from the neighborhood of Belgrano (Buenos Aires) Mr. H. Dillenius wrote to his son-in-law, Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, professor of anthropology at the universities of La Plata and Buenos Aires and, since 1897, head of the eponymous section of Museo de La Plata. He was furious. His anger was due to the name of the new ship of the German shipping company Hamburg Süd: "Cap Polonio", whose first trip to the Rio de la Plata was to begin a few months later. It was a very irritating name that "sounded like Poland, the country of the incendiaries and the land of high treason" (Podgorny, 2002). Lehmann-Nitsche reacted by sending an article to the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, a German newspaper of Buenos Aires: "Cap Polonio' nicht 'Cap Polen'" ("Cape Polonio, not Cape Poland"), where he explained that the steam ship was so named for Cape Polonio, in the eastern coast of the Republic of Uruguay. Hamburg Süd had a "Cap" series of ocean liners (Cap Trafalgar, Cap Finisterre, etc) by adopting this name, the company wanted to render tribute to one of the countries the ship was going to stop by.

Lehmann-Nitsche wondered why no one had thought of another cape of the Southern cone. The name sounded as "Poland", at least in German, and for that reason, the Germans in Argentina feared that it could be used by the French propaganda to mock at them. The lack of a good command of Spanish led to a political error: rather than choosing a neutral name, they picked one up that was inconvenient for Germany. Why did they not christen her as a Uruguayan national hero, such as Lavalleja or Artigas? Moreover, the Cap Polonio had been bought back by Hamburg Süd from the British in 1921, after her use as German auxiliary cruiser in the Great War and her confiscation by the Allies in 1919. Not only that, until 1923, with the use of the "Albert Ballin", the Cap Polonio was the largest ship in the German merchant navy and the most iconic of all. The name, in that sense, seemed highly inappropriate, even for the Germans living thousands of miles from the scenes of the aftermath of the war.

The Great War and its aftermath, indeed, would impact on Argentine scientific and educational institutions, an aspect that even today was not extensively treated by historiography (García and Podgorny, 2000). In this paper we summarize some of the conflicts related to the tensions between Argentine and German scientists, living in Argentina, and enrolled in German cultural propaganda.

In a context that was favorable to French culture and British interests, the "Deutsche Wissenschaftliche Verein" (Association of German Scientists) of Buenos Aires, through its publications, argued that the history of science and education in Argentina were inextricably linked to German culture. In this paper, we examine the reactions of Argentinian scientists, nucleated at the Sociedad Argentina de Ciencias Naturales, to the German cultural and political agenda in Argentina. We refer to the activities and initiatives promoted by German scientific societies during and after the Great War, when they attempted at the scientific and "cultural reconquest" of these territories. In particular, we refer to the role and networks of Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, who lived in Argentina between 1897 and 1930 and was involved in several conflicts within the University of La Plata. Lehmann-Nitsche was part also of German anti-republican movements, concerned about the consequences of the Treaty of Versailles and the destiny of the "Deutschum" (Podgorny, 2002).

This paper is based on the analysis of primary sources, Argentine newspapers, and scientific publications. It extensively uses Lehmann-Nitsche's personal archive (Leg. LN), kept at the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, SBB (Berlin). Lehmann-Nitsche was a collector of memorabilia of his Argentinean life: he compiled newspaper clippings, posters, and pamphlets. Together with his letters, these materials constitute an important source for examining the activities undertaken by German associations in Argentina, their networks, and how German and Argentinean scientists combined their own interests with patriotic loyalties.

The beginnings of the war

The impact of the European war on scientific disciplines was resounding worldwide not only because of the deaths and the disruption of academic exchanges, but also because the war generated new spaces of

cooperation between science and industry. This global dimension of the Great War, explains why it impacted on the daily scientific life of countries such as Argentina, thousands of miles away from the war main scenarios. Scientific exchanges and international conferences, scholarships, foreign teachers contracts were cancelled everywhere. The purchase in Europe of books, journals or laboratory supplies was disrupted (García, 2010). Some scholars quitted their academic and/or scientific positions for the battlefield³⁷⁶.

At the beginning of the Great War, following the policies of cultural modernization of Argentina, several educational institutions and state technical departments had been staffed with European and American professors. By 1914, there were German professors acting at the National Academy of Sciences of Córdoba, in La Plata Museum and the Institute of Physics of the National University of La Plata (founded in 1906), at the National Institute of Secondary Teachers created in 1904, in the Bacteriological Institute at the National Department of Hygiene and in the national and provincial geological services (Podgorny, 2001).

On the other hand, as part of Prussian Foreign Department's *Kulturpolitik*, since late in the nineteenth century, German professors teaching abroad had been engaged in the promotion of bringing together the German community leaving out of Europe (Pyenson, 1984, 1985a). Thus, the first association of German scientists in Buenos Aires was established in 1897 as the *Deutsche Akademische Vereinigung* (DAV). While all activities were conducted in German, for joining this association the membership criteria relied upon academic training and authorship of scientific works. Neither the language nor the nationality appeared as important to become a member. But once the war began, science and arts were transferred to the practices and realm of *Kulturpropaganda* (García and Podgorny, 2000) and these criteria were going to change.

One of the first incidents related to the War, occurred in 1914, when national socialist Senator Enrique del Valle Iberlucea, General Secretary of La Plata University, accompanied by a delegation from the Ateneo Popular, visited La Plata Museum³⁷⁷ (García and Podgorny, 2000). At the main entrance, the porter requested the visitors to check their canes: neither umbrellas nor canes were allowed within the halls. Del Valle Iberlucea refused, claiming that his position at the University was more than enough to back the safety of the exhibits. Lehmann-Nitsche, as "superior chief in charge of the guard" tried to intercede, obtaining as a response a series of insults: "You have no right to be here, insolent, here we are not among your Prussians, we are a republic. You are not an Argentine, you belong to the Kaiser, you are a German, or rather an animal"³⁷⁸. This situation ended up with a police report and a duel of honor that was not accepted by Del Valle Iberlucea. He replied in the socialist newspaper *La Vanguardia*³⁷⁹. *La Vanguardia* and *La Gazeta*, on the other hand, used this incident to accuse the extremely patriotic attitudes of the Germans³⁸⁰. Newspapers such as *La Unión* (Spanish version of the *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*³⁸¹), *La Sociedad* (publication of the Catholic La Plata Regional Center from the Argentine Social League), and the *Argentinisches Tageblatt* questioned Del Valle Iberlucea's reactions³⁸², describing him as a person "with little understanding of German nature"³⁸³ and criticizing this manifestation of anti-German feelings on the University campus. They claimed the universities should remain neutral. The authorities of the University of La Plata initiated a summary proceeding that soon was going to be forgotten, perhaps to counter balance the growing tensions among Argentine professors and scholars. Indeed, by 1915, some newspapers began to question the German sympathy of certain members of the government, who backed

³⁷⁶ For instance. German geologist Walter Schiller, who had arrived in Argentina in 1905 to direct the Mineralogy Section of La Plata Museum, came back to Germany to fight for his country between 1915 and 1919. Upon his return, he was incorporated as a professor and head of department of the Museum Institute. The Italian physiologist Mario Camis, hired in 1913 by the University of La Plata, returned to Europe to fight for Italy shortly after the launching of the physiology laboratory he had requested. (García, 2010) The Congress of Americanists was suspended during the war.

³⁷⁷ The Ateneo Popular, founded in 1910 by Del Valle Iberlucea and other socialists, included in its educational program for workers annual visits to scientific institutions in La Plata (Barrancos, 1995).

³⁷⁸ "Incidente Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche-Del Valle Iberlucea", *Bahía Blanca* 27/11/1914; *La Gazeta* 21/11/1914; *La Tarde* 21/11/1914; *La Unión* 23/11/1914. In Spanish, "alemán" (German) sounds –or can sound– as "animal."

³⁷⁹ Del Valle Iberlucea claimed it was just a pretext, an expression of hostility that characterized how German professors at La Plata related to him. According to Del Valle Iberlucea, this hostility started as a consequence of his lectures on German imperialism offered at the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of Buenos Aires, where he was professor for "Universal History", "Die führenden Kreise der hiesigen Sozialisten", *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, 19/11/1914.

³⁸⁰ They accused Lehmann-Nitsche of using the rules of the La Plata Museum for the sake of "German jingoism and imperialism," "Incidente Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche-Del Valle Iberlucea", *La Gazeta*, 19/11/1914; *La Vanguardia* 19/11/1914.

³⁸¹ This journal, funded by the German embassy, was founded to reply the Allies' propaganda (Hoffman 2009).

³⁸² "Sobre un incidente", *La Unión*, 20/11/1914; *La Sociedad*, 29/11/1914.

³⁸³ His attitude was seen as an example of the resources that appealed to the Socialist Party, "Die führenden Kreise der hiesigen Sozialisten", *Argentinisches Tageblatt* 19 y 21/11/1914.

German scholars³⁸⁴. At the same time, they questioned their research, especially those works devoted to Argentinean culture, as the folklore studies conducted by Lehmann-Nitsche³⁸⁵.

In a context where most Argentine intellectuals supported the Allies, German cultural propaganda was carried out by several media. One of them was the Society of German scientists, led by the educator Wilhelm Keiper, director of the National Institute of Secondary Teachers,³⁸⁶ an active promoter of *Kulturpropaganda* and the hiring of German scientists (Pyenson, 1985b). In 1915, as a result of the war and the new role of science, the society changed its name to become "Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein" (DWV). With this change, the "new" association inaugurated a period of intense activity. New statutes were given and the principles of affiliation changed: German scientists were now brought together not by academic life but by their mother tongue. To become an extraordinary member it was enough to demonstrate the command of the German language. Membership increased: while in 1914 the society had 150 members, late in 1915, there were more than 500. In 1925, the society offered free German language lessons for university students of natural sciences and began to publish a magazine about Argentinean culture and geography, the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zur Kultur-und Landeskunde Argentiniens*, directed by Dr. H. Koch and W. Keiper. Several companies and industries of German capital advertised on its pages, plenty of petitions to send money to Germany and obituaries of those who died on the front. Through its publications and conferences, the DVW argued that the history of science and education in Argentina was inexorably tied to German culture. As part of this policy of promotion of German culture, late in 1915 the society organized a German scientific expedition to Patagonia, presented as another German service to Argentina. The reports of this expedition, published in 1917, mentioned that they were inspected by British warships. It happened almost at the same time that the sinking of the Argentinean sailing ship *Monte Protegido* by a German submarine, an event that provoked demonstrations and the looting of Buenos Aires German Club.

Later, the sinking of other two Argentine ships would question the neutrality maintained by the government³⁸⁷, to such an extent that many Argentinean intellectuals requested to break diplomatic relations with Germany. On the other hand, the German ambassador in Buenos Aires was involved in a diplomatic affair: the American newspapers published his offensive opinions about the Argentine government (Weinmann, 1994). All this would aggravate the situation of German professors and experts living in Argentina. In 1916 the contracts of several German researchers were not renewed, such as those who worked for the geological and topographical service of the Province of Buenos Aires and in the National Institute of Secondary Teachers. (See Newton, 1977)

Similar situations occurred in other South American countries: in Brazil, Hermann von Ihering was dismissed from his position as director of the Museu Paulista (Lopes, 1997). In Chile, German folklorist and philologist Rudolf Lenz mentioned to Lehmann-Nitsche that "the situation, in general, is not favorable to us," conceding, however, that "the situation is not as bad as yours"³⁸⁸. Lenz was not so wrong. By 1916 *La Nación*, *La Prensa* and *La Razón*, three influential newspapers from Buenos Aires, reported a meeting held at the residence of Argentinean physician Carlos Madariaga "to render a sympathetic homage to the Allies," namely two albums, one for the Medicine Faculty of Paris, the second for the Central Library of the Catholic University of Louvain.³⁸⁹ This was irritating for Argentine Germans: as it is well known, in August 1914, German troops stationed in the Belgian village of Louvain. The city and its buildings—including the university and library—burned. As a result a great outcry grew in the international community. The Allied press went crazy, with British editorials proclaiming "Treason to Civilization" and insisting Germans had proved themselves descendants not of the great author Goethe but of the bloodthirsty Attila the Hun. These arguments were to be read everywhere, and were a beloved topic of the socialist party press. Also in Argentina.

³⁸⁴ "El "paleontólogo" (Dios libre y guarde) Leman Nietzsche, y sus fósiles, el Dr. Bosch y el Dr. Gómez", *Crónica* 15/1/1915.

³⁸⁵ The newspaper *Crónica* (15/01/1915) reviewed Lehmann-Nitsche's *Adivinanzas Rioplatenses* (1911), saying that it was "so hilarious as a stewpot with "Sauerkraut" and questioning the subsidy of 50,000 pesos of the National Government to the University of La Plata to publish a series to commemorate the national centennial, namely the "Biblioteca Centenaria," a collection of lengthy monographies on Argentine history, archaeology, and folklore prepared by the members of La Plata Museum. *Adivinanzas Rioplatenses* was one of the volumes published in this collection (García, 2010). Two years later, Lehmann-Nitsche's work was criticized by *La Pelea Nacional*, 27/10/1917, in this case, it attacked his *Santos Vega*, as the peak of the systematic destruction of "Argentine native traditions" (Ballester, 2013).

³⁸⁶ In 1904 the Argentine government hired several professors from Germany to create the National Institute of Secondary Teachers (Instituto Nacional del Profesorado Secundario), a national teacher-training school based on the model of Prussian pedagogical seminaries (Pyenson, 1985b). The institution was endowed with resources and laboratories; most of the German professors were paid in "pesos oro."

³⁸⁷ As a result, Brazil, Uruguay and Cuba broke with Germany and entered into the war.

³⁸⁸ Leg.LN, Rudolf Lenz to LN, 23/2/1915, Box N-0070 b 420.

³⁸⁹ "Tributo a los aliados. La iniciativa de los médicos argentinos", *La Nación*, 11/8/1916; *La Prensa*, 10/08/1916; *La Razón*, 10/8/1916.

The DWV considered Dr. Madariaga's initiative as an expression of hatred towards the members of the German local community, convening a special meeting to decide how to respond³⁹⁰. Finally, a manifesto was published in the German academic journals and Argentine newspapers, requesting the representatives of the German and Austrian government to send copies to the universities³⁹¹. Published in German and Spanish, the manifesto questioned the tone used by the intellectuals gathered in Madariaga's house, noting that they "put down the German people and science, with unsubstantiated and unreasonable affirmations, distorting historical facts"³⁹².

Until 1916, scientific societies and universities in Argentina remained institutionally neutral. But in 1917, following the events mentioned above, scholars' associations began to take on an active role. Not only German scientific societies, but also Argentines decided to change their names: "Physis", a society founded in 1911, in 1915 renamed itself as "Sociedad Argentina de Ciencias Naturales". The section "Chronicle" of its newsletter published the disasters of war related to science. The Society advocated for a neutral tone, trying to keep the intrinsic international character of science: the war threatened the lives of German, French and English people alike. It also lamented the consequences of the military conflict: "the war that fourteen months ago whips across Europe, making felt its effects in all kinds of activities. Sciences, requiring international collaboration, have been particularly affected"³⁹³. The Society also gave a prognosis of the outcomes of the war in the long and medium term: Observations of nature were suspended and unrecoverable data were going to be lost, as had already occurred in the field of astronomy, seismology, meteorology, fishery, and oceanographic studies. In international conferences met in the Americas, the absence of European participant was noticed. Other meetings were suspended. The war undermined the possibility of an international community, and the Physis society, through its activities of collegial friendship, tried to reduce these effects.

But in 1916, the tone changed: that year the Sociedad Argentina de Ciencias Naturales held its first national meeting. They analyzed the contents related to Argentine nature that had to be included in school education, as well as they encouraged the creation of national parks and regional museums. It was also discussed the need to train local professionals to solve the country's problems, the need of more job positions for Argentines, and the defense of national graduates (García and Podgorny, 2000; Podgorny, 1997). In his opening discourse, Ángel Gallardo (1918-9), Director of the National Museum of Natural History, greeted the creation of provincial scientific centers and the expansion of scholarship all along the country, celebrating the beginning of a new period of "scientific autonomy".

Contributors to the DWV interpreted this meeting in a different way. The 6th Volume of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Vereins* published a review that remarked the "leading role" of the German scientists in the consolidation of "Argentine" earth sciences and their fundamental role in other disciplines³⁹⁴. As a reply, a letter published in *Physis*, the journal of the Sociedad Argentina de Ciencias Naturales, proposed that a different balance has to be made to "correct misunderstandings that can become annoying, preventing the introduction of ideas of dominance of in our scientific democracy"³⁹⁵. This reaction of the Sociedad Argentina de Ciencias Naturales was related to the attempts to create an Argentinean scientific tradition. From this point of view, the German *Kulturpropaganda* became intolerable: the professionals of Argentine natural sciences wanted to be rooted in their own tradition and to celebrate their own Argentine fathers (García and Podgorny, 2000). In view of this reaction, the *Zeitschrift's* director minimized the opinions of his colleagues, inviting to exchange publications and news between the two societies. However, in 1917, the DWV ratified his position. For that reason the association of German scientists - despite being an Argentinean society - was started being called "a foreign society" and the academic relations between the Sociedad Argentina de Ciencias Naturales and the DWV were suspended³⁹⁶. This event closed a cycle of neutrality on the part of the institutions, which had hitherto adhered to the universal ethos of science. So while Lehmann-Nitsche's incident from 1914 was treated as a personal conflict between individuals, by 1917 the scientific associations were contending about the cradles of knowledge and the origins of Argentine science. The Great War undermined the dreams of peace and international friendship promoted by science and, although in the postwar period the academic relations were restored, the principle of loyalty to the homeland would remain still for a while.

³⁹⁰ Leg.LN, Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein to LN, 15/8/1916. The *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung* (12/8/1916) point out: "Here the quantity was greater than the quality" (Ballester, 2013).

³⁹¹ Leg.LN, Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Verein to LN, 21/08/1916; Richard Gans to RLN, 20/08/1916, Box N-0070 b 925.

³⁹² Leg.LN, Box N-0070 b 925

³⁹³ *Physis*, vol. 2, n° 9 (1915): 65.

³⁹⁴ "Der naturwissenschaftliche Kongress in Tucumán", *Zeitschrift des Deutsches Wissenschaftlichen Vereins zur Kultur- und Landeskunde Argentinens*, 1916, vol.6, p. 357-358.

³⁹⁵ "A propósito de un juicio sobre la Reunión de Tucumán", *Physis*, vol.III, 1917, p. 293-6.

³⁹⁶ "La reunión de Tucumán y la revista de una sociedad extranjera", *Physis*, vol. IV, 1918, p. 9.

The cultural reconquest

After the War, the relations of Argentina towards Germany, as Weinmann (1994) stated, were recovering normality. By 1920, the DWV restructured its magazine: adopting the name of the bird that reborn from its ashes, it was divided into two publications, one in German (*Phoenix*), the other in Spanish (*Fénix*). The first wanted “to familiarize the German public with the history and current situation of the countries of Latin America, while the issues published in Spanish wish to contribute to the dissemination of scholarly work made by the German science and its representatives living in different parts of the world”³⁹⁷. In this way, in August 1921, a meeting was organized in honor of the centenary of the National University of Buenos Aires. In *Fénix*, the service of some disciplines, such as geology, was commented. Shortly after the war, it reviewed the importance of new discoveries for the military.

On the other hand some intellectuals and German scientists living in Argentina actively participated in the anti-Republican movement of the country. The definition of “the German” was one of their biggest concerns, and as seen in the reaction to the “Cap Polonio”, enmity to the promoters of the treaty of Versailles was evident in each of their interventions. Lehmann-Nitsche, for example, participated in the following associations in favor of the Kaiser and Empire: “Deutscher Kriegerverein”, “Schwarz-Weiss-Rot” and “Deutschnationale Volkspartei”, under the roof of the *Deutsches Vereinhaus* (Podgorny, 2002). He also contributed by donations to “Andreas-Hofer-und Südmarkbund” and “Deutscher Offiziere Nationalverband”, whose constitution was notoriously opposed to the Weimar Republic and the “Jewish capital” (Podgorny, 2002).

These movements extolled warriors and patriotic courage (Elias, 1997) in the same way that Lehmann-Nitsche, at La Plata Museum, praised the heroism of the Native indigenous chiefs, who had defended their soil against the invaders. Lehmann-Nitsche also participated in the local group of the *Deutscher Volksbund für Argentinien* (DVA, founded in 1916) and attended meetings of the DWV to write “What Germany actually did during the war.”³⁹⁸ These associations were called on to supply the lack of bibliography, collections and instruments that German universities were suffering as a consequence of the war. The same happened in the United States, where the German anthropologist Franz Boas promoted an *Emergency Society for German and Austrian Science and Art*. Boas wrote to Lehmann-Nitsche in order to organize with “some of your South American friends” a commission to buy South American books to be sent to the libraries of the countries which most needed them³⁹⁹.

Lehmann-Nitsche also organized conferences for the DVA meetings, in response to the request of Keiper, who would publish *Der Bund*, the official publication for the resumption and expansion of German trade in Argentina.⁴⁰⁰ There many papers were published on the early presence of the Germans on the Rio de la Plata and its role in the history of the region⁴⁰¹. Such propaganda was part of DVA internal discussions. One of the first problems was the name of the group. According to Alemann, a member of this association and owner of the *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, it was to be called “Germanic Union”, emphasizing the language and culture. Keiper, meanwhile, argued that the Union should have a link with the German Empire and promoted the “German Union” (Hoffmann, 2009). In this sense Lehmann-Nitsche emphasized the importance of language when it comes to define, characterize and classify a race and urged German families abroad to transmit the spirit, the will, the feelings and German national character. (Ballester, 2013)

In the 1920s, Lehmann-Nitsche was involved in organizing the visits of the geographer Karl Theodor Sapper, the prehistorian Hugo Obermaier and Americanist Walter Lehmann, to promote among Argentines the true image of German research (Podgorny, 2002)⁴⁰². As part of the activities of the Argentine-Germanic Cultural Institution, founded in 1922, they lectured at the universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata, in the German institutes and at the private residence of Lehmann-Nitsche in La Plata. So the farewell speeches offered by him and his wife, described Obermaier as the “prototype of the legendary German scholar” with a systematic scientific education, a “true and noble character”, far from arrogance and particular ambitions⁴⁰³. Scientific progress was proposed as a mission, in which the German scholar “driven by the noblest sovereign impulse of curiosity, and their desire to enjoy the knowledge” crossed “the limits of the homeland, the

³⁹⁷ “Anuncio de la administración de la revista”, *Fénix*, Año I, 1921.

³⁹⁸ Leg.LN, Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Verein to LN, 18/08/1920.

³⁹⁹ Leg.LN, Deutschen Wissenschaftliche Verein to LN, 01/04/1920, Box N-0070 b 925; Franz Boas to LN, 28/01/1920 and 05/11/1920, Box N-0070 b 84.

⁴⁰⁰ This was an initiative of the Hamburg Regional section of the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (Bryce, 2008; Friedrich, 2008; Newton, 1977; Sauveur-Henn, 1995, 2010).

⁴⁰¹ “Die Protestversammlungen”, “Was können wir tun? Deutsch sind und Deutsch bleiben”, *Argentinisches Tageblatt*, 20/03/1919; *Deutsche La Plata Zeitung*, 22/08/1917, 20/05/1919; Leg.LN, Wilhelm Keiper to LN, 28/04/1917, Box N-0070 b 360.

⁴⁰² Leg.LN, Karl Theodor Sapper to LN, 30/11/1925, Box N-0070 b 608.

⁴⁰³ Leg.LN, Box N-0070 b 503.

contours of the continent, into the spiritual conquest of the world, the universe"⁴⁰⁴, namely the essence of the "Deutschtum".

It still remains as an open question how to evaluate the effect of these conferences and cultural activities. In 1930 Lehmann-Nitsche would retire and return to Berlin, where he died in 1938, without having left disciples in Argentina or in Germany. Shortly before quitting Argentina, Lehmann-Nitsche had tried to arrange the hiring of a young German zoologist at the School of Natural Sciences of the University of La Plata. The city of La Plata soon was wallpapered with posters, exhorting Argentine students to defend their future: "Graduates of the country: it is time to react!" (Podgorny, 1996) No Argentinean student was ready to leave an available work position for a foreigner. In that sense, it is certain that the work and actions of the Argentinean Society of Natural Sciences had awakened the need to close the labor market for the national graduates.

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⁴⁰⁴ Leg.LN, Box N-0070 b 803, Box N-0070 b 608, Box N-0070 b 503.

"The Intellectuals and propaganda against the Estado Novo"

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"Mutilated and prohibited, or simply tolerated" - this was the fate of the works developed through intellectual Portuguese over the period 1926-1974.

The scheme looked intellectuals as a social and political danger due to latent capacity can influence public opinion and subvert the values and purpose of their propaganda, and why the state with the help of New Censorship, exercised control, pressure and intimidation on intellectuals. The intellectual, even with these obstacles, there is a resistance and a growing opposition to the current regime in Portugal. Intellectuals in this period could not give free course to their creativity, nor claim the full force of his style, without this, the moment of thinking, creating or writing, that the fruit of their labor would necessarily be examined by men of Censorship of whose subjective and disputed assessment criteria depend on a lot of your future. The State indicated a new "official art" that hindered any other manifestations that you were outside. This contributed to a strong isolation of the national artistic and international information reaching up to the intellectuals was greatly reduced.

In the background, we find resistances intellectuals who lived cultural and ideologically outside the Salazar regime? Oppositions that were made? Came that means? Alignments that aesthetic? That ideological and political alignments? And as the regime responded to these strengths and these oppositions?

It was in 1933 that the system first drew the lines and general methods of creating the cultural policy of National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN), headed by António Ferro.

But that was based on this policy?

The "Politics of the Spirit" was based on three pillars. The first consisted in the use of culture as a means of propaganda, the cultural movements should be geared towards glorifying the regime and its leader. The second was an attempt to reconcile old traditions and old values with modernity that time, articulating a nationalist ideology of sailors, saints and knights with the modernist and futuristic ideas of Antonio Ferro and partners. Thirdly and lastly, taking into account the foregoing, the cultural program of the regime sought to establish a national culture and popular based on their roots and ideals of the regime.

According António Ferro,

«Revoltados (os artistas) revoltam-se ainda mais e caem, quase sempre, na loucura das formas, na telaenigma do pintor de Balzac, do «chef-d'oeuvre inconnu». Para evitar essa legítima revolta é que o Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional se julga no dever de não os abandonar, de seguir, atentamente, todos os seus movimentos. Este organismo do Estado (...) quer chamar a si, em nome da ordem e do equilíbrio, o modesto papel da irreverência oficial, isto é, quer representar a atenção carinhosa do Estado para com aqueles artista de quem ele próprio desconfia...»⁴⁰⁵

This speech is the response of iron, not precisely the opponents of the regime, but the opponents cultural style and he personifies the action he develops.

But,

«Salazar, referiu nas entrevistas que então concedeu a António Ferro três grandes argumentos para justificar a existência da Censura: a necessidade de se evitarem "ataques injustificados" à obra do Governo; o interesse em se "moralizar" a Imprensa, no âmbito dos "ataques pessoais e nas desmandas de linguagem"; e o objectivo de se manter o debate doutrinário, mesmo no terreno político, no campo da "doutrina pura, doutrina sem acinte, doutrina de boa fé, de intuítos superiores e reformadores", cortando-se pela raiz a "doutrina com aplicação imediata, a doutrina subversiva, demasiado habilidosa, claramente habilidosa.»⁴⁰⁶

The S.P.N. began to call themselves S.N.I. (National Secretariat of Information). Continued to organize exhibitions, but after 1946 many renowned painters fail to attend these shows and put themselves on the side of those who criticized the regime. Without the contribution of famous painters, exhibitions SNI lost interest and eventually become extinct in 1961.

⁴⁰⁵ PORTELA, Artur – *Salazarismo e artes plásticas*. Biblioteca Breve, vol. 68, Lisboa, 1987, p. 48.

⁴⁰⁶ AZEVEDO, Cândido de – *Mutiladas e Proibidas. Para uma história da censura literária em Portugal nos tempos do Estado Novo*. Lisboa: Caminho, 1997, p. 16.

Despite censorship continued to be intransigent, the end of the same policy gave Portugal a diversification of current ideas and expressions largest in the cultural field.

The '50s and '60s were marked by a calm tensions between what was left of the official cultural policy and the new aesthetic currents.

The cultural policy of the regime was conditioned in the 60s at the beginning of the Colonial War, the malaise domestic and international isolation. The New State abandoned once its cultural dimension, support the artists and their projects, adopting an attitude of mere censure against all creative activities.

It can be stated that,

«nem as alterações impulsionadas por Marcelo Caetano, no quadro político dito de “renovação na continuidade”, e designadamente a lei da Imprensa, que estabelecem os princípios fundamentais do regime jurídico da imprensa, nem o Estatuto da Imprensa, que extinguiu a Direcção dos Serviços de Censura mas, ao mesmo tempo, instituiu o regime de Exame Prévio, vieram, no essencial, alterar a situação anterior.»⁴⁰⁷

And also add that,

«dificuldades que os autores portugueses enfrentavam no período caetanista do “Estado Novo”, apesar da tão propaganda política de “liberalização” do mais adiante, que nunca se verificou uma alteração de fundo na censura durante o período “marcelista”, quer a nível dos critérios de actuação quer do espírito que a norteava.»⁴⁰⁸

In this political and cultural panorama we can see that

«os intelectuais portugueses tomam parte no combate pela democracia e por uma cultura nacional e progressista. Continuamente têm eles feito prova do seu descontentamento, contra o regime salazarista e a sua política reaccionária e de obscurantismo».⁴⁰⁹

Despite several studies, the intellectuals, the period from 1958 to 1974, have not yet been the subject of a specific study and assembly. However, we note that there are investigations, which led to some biographies of men who were considered intellectuals at the time and proved in several important moments in history for the political and cultural, and is in the context of Neo-Realism movement associated with either the component or the literary arts, and especially the history of anti-fascist resistance, which will draw a new configuration of the figure of the intellectual assigning, so the mission to raise awareness in the masses soak them. The Neo-realism helped to publicize the counter- cultural image of Portugal in relation to what was imposed by the Estado Novo.

The Neo -realism was considered as the only possible way of "fighting and resistance to Salazar," according to Joaquim Namorado. Remains in the decade after the fifty -themed a new social realism. The neo -realist fiction is considered a discovery of rural life, regional or otherwise, but viewed with eyes to which the picturesque interest mainly due to social conflicts accurate. Issues such as the Paradise childhood, frustration male individual or, in particular, female often serve as the basis for development tangential to neo-realism.

Currently, neorealism is devalued by its character pamphleteer and supporter. Fundia individual problems with the community. The works were ideological inscription and also overcoming polysemic. We can say, it was an art of social intervention where the cultural factor of political struggle against the dictatorship and the political system were patent. It was a form of counter cultural image of Portugal in relation to that imposed by the state also generated a new configuration of a new type of intellectual. Junction with the popular scholar.

In conclusion: more than an intellectual current, than a response to this or that artistic movement, and an expression of a political force, the neo-realist movement was an expression of solidarity, taking a position at the suffering aggravated by the Portuguese people.

However, not all men or women dealing with culture and cultural issues in the service of a regime and its governing bodies can be either yesterday or today, considered as 'organic intellectuals'. This is because the intellectual is not only a cultural and ideological interventionist, but is also someone who thinks and reflects on one's own culture. Thus, we can say that some cultural activists are mainly "political officials", or "political officials", or, so to speak, are mere "cultural workers". The culture only serves as a means to embody the ideology, characterized by further breeding character than the direction of production. It was to bring culture to the people, and to do so it was necessary to be willing to get off the pedestal in order to know better the people themselves and the masses themselves.

⁴⁰⁷ AZEVEDO, Cândido de – *Mutiladas e Proibidas. Para uma história da censura literária em Portugal nos tempos do Estado Novo*. Lisboa: Caminho, 1997, p. 13.

⁴⁰⁸ *Idem*, p. 22/23.

⁴⁰⁹ Arquivo PIDE/DGS, Processo n.º 2520-SC/CI(2), Carta de Álvaro Salema a Júlio Pomar, 28 de Fevereiro, 1966, fl.8.

The intellectual intervention has indelibly marked our century, and in particular the New State in the period 1958-1974, at a time when the urge to discover new worlds for Culture was in the imagination of various intellectuals, which after post-war and the experience was the Democratic Unity Movement (MUD), wanted to find new forms of civic and cultural intervention. These anxieties proliferated various gatherings in the city of Porto, in cafes, pastry shops or even in art galleries and emerge successively several institutions, which were remarkable for their intervention and values created, and that they had the intention to create a public space of intellectual activity politically tough: the Cineclube do Porto, Teatro Experimental do Porto (TEP), Árvore. Also highlighted the importance of the Association of Journalists and Men of Letters of Porto.

There was an active minority who did not conform, either from the beginning or when the personal circumstances or the next became unbearable, and also when reaching the age to think for himself, he had access to culture and information, this case students/scholars generally derived from the urban bourgeoisie.

The siege was pressed, the open contestation was increasingly risky, but authorities had no great illusions about the support that could count in the city, and even less when again deteriorated living conditions.

Despite the crackdown, the city of Porto remains uneasy: strikes in 1954, monitoring by the PIDE which led to arrests and trials, both critical spirits have watched as young people and students.

The unease grew Porto but their expression could not move from marginal. The Porto knew, with the candidacy of General Humberto Delgado, who was now the bastion of opposition.

But still necessary affirmation of a cultural specificity. The twentieth century new opened new avenues for cultural and artistic life of the city of Porto and was given unprecedented importance and complexity. This field had a certain typicality, leaking their ways of conceiving art and culture spread along the lines of the old heritage tripe eating.

You could say that Lisbon, Coimbra, Braga had always constituted the intellectual centers much more solid than the Porto. The mercantile bourgeoisie of Porto favored the more practical aspects of culture, preferring a valuation technique to theoretical speculation.

However, according to Luis Antonio Ramos de Oliveira, the Portuguese culture owes much to the humus Porto.

In the 50s, isolated pathways arise again. Although with more solid, culture Porto pursuant resumed being hard way of early century.

According to Luís António de Oliveira Ramos,

“o Porto, considerado individualista e rebelde à tutela, em compensação organizou uma rede multiforme de sociabilidade sobre a qual assentou grande parte do seu modo de actuar na vida colectiva. Foi antes de mais através de academias, clubes, tertúlias, associações, cooperativas, grupos informais ou devidamente estruturados que a Cidade Invicta desenvolveu uma maneira específica de se exprimir. A convivialidade reveste outras formas e não se pode concluir esta evocação do Porto sem parar mais uma vez num café, num tasco ou numa pastelaria, num desses lugares de encontro onde se alimenta como que em permanência a alma da Cidade Invicta.”

It further states that,

“Claro que não é novidade pois foi neles que se formou o Porto romântico e que se cristalizou a boémia literária do virar do século, mas o século XX perpetuou bem a tradição. Era no tasco e no café – conforme a hora, o bairro, a categoria social – que se preparava uma greve ou um panfleto, que se conspirava em prol da república e/ou ditadura ou contra ela. No tasco, mais discreto durante a ditadura apesar do batente imposto para a vigilância policial, podia-se aproveitar a outra extremidade do balcão ou da sala do fundo para desabafar com cuidado, transmitir notícias, organizar redes de ajuda. O café sempre foi o sítio privilegiado para ler o jornal, tecer negócios discretos, descansar as pernas num intervalo entre as compras, engraxar os sapatos, estudar isolado ou em grupo horas a fio, já que as escolas não ofereciam condições para o efeito, nem sobretudo a atmosfera de liberdade convivial de que sempre precisou a juventude.”⁴¹⁰

In the '60s and '70s, artists dared break the scholarship and cultural backwardness official political regime of the time, there was a complicity developed with independent cultural institutions that shaped the artistic life of the city who was then abandoned by the government initiatives, and met the representation of galleries, bookstores and other exhibition spaces. You need to live up to that time, and that means browse, search and show you what it was courage, boldness and experimentation within the microcontexts artistic. And yet, we can say that there is never an attitude localist, closed in on itself.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ RAMOS, Luís António de Oliveira, dir., - *História do Porto*. 3ª edição, Porto: Porto Editora, 1994, p. 629.

⁴¹¹ GONÇALVES, Cláudia e RAMOS, Maria - *Porto 60/70: os artistas e a cidade*. Porto: Fund. Serralves, 2001, p. 13.

In the second half of the twentieth century, cultural life is organized on the initiative of its artists and people, in order to manifest a clear independence against a regime and condemn a situation that the city and the country to a true desert in regard to institutional initiative.

Discover and present the cultural context of the city of Porto in the decades of 60/70 involves questioning the reasons for a specificity of situations it originated. The local history of the city reveals cultural factors that identify with the national situation.

The State indicated a new "official art" that hindered any other manifestations that you were outside. Conditioned an entire artistic situation severely limited by the lack of freedom, repression and uncensored. Strong isolation of the national artistic and international information greatly reduced.

In the city of Porto, this isolation is increased via the subordination of the city due to the centralized administrative, political, economic and cultural state that gave New Lisbon, while "capital of the empire", in fact a continuation centralism history that country has always expressed from its origins.

In Porto, no initiatives or institutional settings relief the cultural level. In this context the artists and intellectuals find themselves sent for a peripheral context, what will be reflected in many of their attitudes and leading to the emergence of alternative cultural spaces, independent of the official culture of the regime through projects of cultural citizenship.

The cultural initiative constitutes itself as the enjoyment of difficult. In the 40 exposures d' d'Os Independentes (1943), the appearance of the Cineclube (1945), the 50s are seen at the Porto rich in figures and protagonists in local and cultural activities: Fenianos, Ateneu, TEP (1953), SEM, adding the gatherings that happened regularly in the bookstore Lello in Primus, the Rialto, the Palladium and the Majestic as well as galleries gallery Alvarez, Divulgação, and several initiatives of the Escola de Belas-Artes. Also the magazines - a Serpente, Gazeta Literária, Lusíada, Bandarra, Revista do Norte, Notícias do Bloqueio... and even daily newspapers: Comércio do Porto, o Primeiro de Janeiro. In 60 years, the foundation of the Árvore (1963).

The resistance and opposition to the New State was found throughout the country and Porto no exception. In the public space of the city were the cafes that played a central role in defining this identity so special Porto. It was at the Rialto (1944), which Egito Gonçalves, for example, met with other members of the group who edited the News of the lock. Egito Gonçalves was one of the protagonists of the true cultural resistance, the period in which directed the TEP. Shortly thereafter, recurs with Árvore (1952-54), "reaped by PIDE in your room number" and, years later, still the "Plano (1965-68)", some of the literary magazines that helped, they too, to configure this Generation 50 that where subjected to strict surveillance PIDE, saw many writings banned by censorship.⁴¹² In the intellectual, cultural and literary magazines occupied a very important and Censorship was aware of its circulation, although very limited. Between publishers, stood out to Lello and Editorial Inova, Cruz Santos, which was a project of cultural resistance from the 60s and 70s and that made permanently forward to censorship, looking to publish titles that challenged the closure intellectual, aesthetic and political that sought to impose dictatorship.

At the end of the dictatorship in the last 60 years and the first 70, he was a new generation, open to contemporary creators, and that makes a very fruitful international career. The Associação de Jornalistas e Homens de Letras do Porto, born in 1882, however, in the 60s, launches A Gazeta Literária, which featured the most respected employees. In 1945, it founded the Film Society of Port would play a central role in the cultural formation of successive generations that did not conform to the restrictions of censorship. The attempt at a film authors, "reflecting the film society movement of the 50s, assists in this period the emergence of a new cinema copyright, breaking with the populist filmmaking in acute crisis."⁴¹³ The 50s were the dark years when it comes to Portuguese cinema coming to receive a certificate of intellectual immaturity. The film society movement was the only significant cultural event in the field of film release, 50 and 60, which embodied resistance to the regime. Despite the constant surveillance that were submitted, the movie clubs persisted in its dual task, ideological and aesthetic, to guide the public taste and spread the movies, because of the inertia of censorship or distributors, or had restricted movement still ignored in Portugal.

In 1948, there is the Teatro Universitário do Porto. In 1953, it creates the Teatro Experimental do Porto. A country subject to a censure particularly iron in the shows meant that crushed both political freedom as castrated artistic creativity, with a perverse obsession with every manifestation of what is considered to be immoral, TEP, as assessed Carlos Porto contributed decisively to bring the portuguese theater scene of what was experienced by Europe and the Americas.

With the 60, were noticeable changes that occurred in the city at the fine arts. After over a decade of changes in the Escola de Belas-Artes, a new generation of artists joined the artistic creativity ideological principles of democratic participation and dissemination of the arts to create another of the pioneering institutions that the Port was able to create under the dictatorship. The Árvore, "a cooperative artistic activities, was born in 1963, as part of that" - in the words of the institution - "great cultural renewal of the city of Porto,

⁴¹² LOFF, Manuel e FERREIRA, Sofia - *Insubmisso à tirania: a cidade durante a ditadura*. Matosinhos: Quidnovi, 2010.

⁴¹³ REIS, António, dir. - *Portugal contemporâneo*. Vol. 5. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1990.

battle of nearly two decades against desertification , immobility and aging existing structures and dissatisfaction dashed hopes that open with the end of World War II starkly revealed."

In conclusion, we have seen thus throughout the twentieth century, the structuring of the intellectuals as a social category, but gravitating to large social groups, but also witnessed a disruption which hit a more significant minority sectors of the intelligentsia, as students or writers and artists, sensitive to the problems of his time, leading to the involvement and active engagement in the affairs of the city.

‘Britain is not out of date’: Actividades de Propaganda Cultural Inglesa em Portugal entre 1939-1945.

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Sumário:

O presente artigo centra a discussão nas actividades de propaganda cultural desenvolvida pelo Reino Unido em Portugal, durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial. A inauguração do British Council em Lisboa em 1938 tornou possível para o Reino Unido intensificar e dimensionar a imagem do país como uma nação moderna, dinâmica, na vanguarda do comércio, da indústria e da cultura, ao contrário da imagem que a Propaganda do Eixo pretendia difundir sobre o Reino Unido. Assim, o artigo aborda as actividades culturais desenvolvidas pelo British Council, nomeadamente as exposições e filmes exibidos e as personalidades convidadas. O objectivo é discutir as leituras a que essas actividades se prestavam, as escolhas e as suas publicitações serviam os interesses de ambos os países, nomeadamente do governo britânico e do governo português. No caso do governo português, salienta-se que este vivia a sua primeira década de afirmação de um regime com um ideário definido e com uma posição oficial de neutralidade política durante a Segunda Guerra.

Palavras-Chave: British Council; Propaganda; Cultura; Posição.

Abstract:

This paper discusses the British activities of cultural propaganda in Portugal during the II World War. When the British Council was set up in Lisbon in 1938, the UK was able to promote the image of a modern, dynamic nation, the cutting edge of trade, industry and culture, unlike the image of the UK promoted by the Axis propaganda. Therefore, this paper focuses on the cultural initiatives promoted by the British Council in the pursuit of establishing whether they served the interests of both countries, particularly the interests of the British and the Portuguese governments. As far as the Portuguese government is concerned, the Estado Novo was going through its first decade, having set its ideological framework and made political neutrality as its official stance during the II World War.

Quando o British Council foi oficialmente inaugurado em Lisboa, no dia 23 de Novembro de 1938, os convidados e representantes oficiais provinham particularmente das esferas diplomáticas, políticas e culturais de Portugal e do Reino Unido. Destacavam-se Júlio Dantas, presidente da Academia de Ciências, Carneiro Pacheco, Ministro da Educação, os presidentes da Junta Nacional de Educação e do Instituto de Alta Cultura, o Embaixador britânico, Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, presidente do British Council, membros do corpo diplomático, académicos e individualidades das sociedades portuguesa e britânica. A cerimónia de abertura realizou-se na Academia de Ciências, em Lisboa e foi seguida da inauguração de uma exposição com cerca de 1.433 livros ingleses, aberta ao público durante 15 dias, finda o qual os livros foram distribuídos por escolas portuguesas.

Lord Lloyd, ao despedir-se de George West, o recém-nomeado director do British Council em Lisboa, tentou motivar a equipa, apelando para tentar colocar alemães contra italianos, pois queria os alemães fora de Portugal no Natal. Um dos objectivos principais para abrir o British Council em Lisboa era contrabalançar as actividades de propaganda alemã num país em o interesse por questões inglesas era pouco significativo. Desta forma, a realização de actividades que focassem a nação inglesa seria mais bem sucedida se essas fossem reforçadas por encontros bilaterais e por elogios públicos sobre a nação portuguesa. Em 1938, por ocasião da inauguração do British Council, Lloyd of Dolobran teve encontros oficiais com Salazar e com o Presidente Carmona. No seu regresso a Londres, os seus comentários elogiosos sobre Portugal foram advertidamente ouvidos e lidos por fontes diplomáticas portuguesas. Afinal, conforme citado pelo *The Daily Telegraph*, o British Council “are doing their best to demonstrate ... that Britain is not out of date and finished, but

accomplishing great things in trade, engineering, art, music and literature”.⁴¹⁴ Por outro lado, Lloyd mencionou igualmente o orgulho justificado de Portugal na sua história e império colonial, não obstante a sua sensibilidade a qualquer discussão sobre essa matéria, referindo-se às figuras políticas extraordinárias, particularmente Salazar, um governante “moderado, poderoso e progressista”, cujo regime era plenamente apoiado pelo povo português.⁴¹⁵

Podem-se distinguir três tipos de iniciativas de propaganda cultural. Por um lado, o ensino e promoção da língua inglesa; por outro lado, iniciativas que envolveram personalidades ou grupos artísticos e que representaram a nação culturalmente avançada; finalmente, os convites a personalidades com currículo relevante em áreas culturais, com assumidas posições políticas ou iniciativas que combinaram a política e a cultura.

Em 1939, o British Council cooperava com a recém-criada Sociedade Anglo-Portuguesa, fundada para responder à necessidade de reforço das relações bilaterais entre Portugal e o Reino Unido. Esta Sociedade funcionava nas instalações do British Council, na Travessa André Valente, 13, em Lisboa. Cooperavam no propósito comum de mostrar a nação britânica como uma nação moderna, progressista e com forte apego às suas raízes e tradições históricas. Ser-se associado do British Council implicava ser-se igualmente membro da Sociedade Anglo-Portuguesa, facto que reforçava a cooperação entre ambas as instituições. Por outro lado, o British Council cooperava igualmente com o Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional na distribuição de folhetos desta instituição.

Desde o primeiro momento que o British Council se distinguiu pelo propósito do ensino e promoção da língua inglesa. Essa foi uma das suas primeiras preocupações, em particular num país em que as ligações históricas entre Portugal e o Reino Unido se traduziam fundamentalmente num discurso retórico oportunamente utilizado consoante as circunstâncias, mas em que o ensino e o interesse pela língua inglesa não eram proporcionalmente relevantes. Após a inauguração do British Council, planeou-se o início das aulas para o ano civil seguinte. Estavam organizadas em seis níveis, dirigidas para cidadãos portugueses, brasileiros, ingleses e americanos com idades superiores a 17 anos. Cada nível estava dividido em três períodos de oito semanas cada. Eram três aulas semanais de uma hora cada. Em Coimbra, o ensino da língua inglesa era bem sucedido, malgrado as circunstâncias não serem particularmente propícias. A turma de primeiro ano de língua inglesa tinha cerca de 30 alunos, enquanto que a de segundo ano tinha cerca de dezasseis alunos e a de terceiro ano tinha cerca de oito alunos. Esta discrepância de número era explicada pelo facto de a estrutura dos curso universitário em Humanidades favorecer o ensino da língua alemã em detrimento da língua inglesa.⁴¹⁶ Assim, considerou-se que a promoção deveria abranger igualmente as escolas secundárias a nível nacional, onde os alunos poderiam escolher a língua inglesa.

A promoção da língua inglesa baseava-se numa lógica de atribuição de prémios. O programa inicial do British Council destinado a Portugal estava orçamentado £ 5.838 libras e incluía uma variedade de prémios em livros. Realizar-se-ia um concurso de redação nas escolas secundárias onde o Inglês era ensinado. Cada prémio, escolhido a partir de uma selecção de livros sugeridos pelo British Council, tinha o valor médio de 10 xelins. Seriam oferecidas visitas de estudo de duas semanas a Inglaterra às quatro melhores meninas e aos quatro melhores meninos. Finalmente, os planos contemplavam igualmente a atribuição de duas bolsas para dois funcionários dos serviços coloniais estudarem cursos de Administração Colonial no Reino Unido. O Instituto para a Alta Cultura comprometia-se a pagar metade do custo de £300 por aluno. Esta era uma forma de reforçar as relações bilaterais. Aliás, o IAC ocupava-se igualmente da atribuição de duas bolsas de pós-graduações de cerca de £250 cada, tarefa inicialmente atribuída à Embaixada, mas que, no fundo, patenteava a colaboração existente entre o British Council e o IAC. A Sociedade Anglo-Portuguesa instituiu um prémio para o melhor estudante de inglês da Universidade de Lisboa. As bolsas de estudos pós-graduados estavam abertas a candidatos de ambos os sexos, preferencialmente com idades inferiores a trinta anos e solteiro. A primeira mulher que recebeu a bolsa para estudar Inglês na Universidade de Bristol foi Fernanda Amélia Monteiro da Gama Ochôa (licenciada em Filologia Germânica pela Universidade de Lisboa em 1938).

Para além de Lisboa e Coimbra, houve igualmente a preocupação de iniciar a promoção do ensino da língua no Porto, onde a comunidade britânica residente era significativa. Aliás, esta comunidade sugeriu, através de um memorando enviado para o British Council que seriam bem-vindas aulas gratuitas à noite para empregados, dactilógrafas e logistas, uma sala de leitura, convite a personalidades distintas e visitas de estudos para premiar os alunos mais brilhantes. Estas seriam formas de incentivar e despertar o interesse pela língua inglesa.⁴¹⁷ Outras sugestões, que demonstravam um comprometimento com o Estado Novo, incluíam o desconto sobre a tarifa das aulas, atribuído a quem era membro da Mocidade Portuguesa e da Liga de Ex-

⁴¹⁴ *The Daily Telegraph*, 4 Dezembro 1939.

⁴¹⁵ *The Observer*, 5 Dezembro 1939.

⁴¹⁶ Alison Roberts (2007) *A Small but Crucial Push: British Council, 70 Years with Portugal*. Lisbon: British Council, p. 59.

⁴¹⁷ *O Instituto Britânico em Portugal* (Lisboa: Instituto Britânico, 1940).

Combatentes. É de salientar que a inauguração de um Instituto Britânico no Porto foi mais tarde, em 1943, em plena II Guerra, o que dava conta da importância crescente de Portugal nos planos de desenvolvimento do British Council.

Para concluir, o número de membros do British Council subiu de 1.086 em 1939/1940 para 1.753 em 1941/1942. Contudo, este número desceu significativamente em 1942 para 1.034. No final da II Guerra, o número de membros cifrava-se em 786. Em 1942, o British Council era já reconhecido em Portugal como o Centro autorizado para cursos e exames de proficiência em língua inglesa de Cambridge.

O British Council organizou diversos eventos que promoviam o Reino Unido como uma nação culturalmente dinâmica, e simultaneamente progressista e consciente da importância da tradição histórica. Em 1942, a biblioteca do Instituto possuía cerca de 6.000 livros sobre os costumes e mentalidade britânica e sobre as relações anglo-britânicas. A escritora britânica Rose Macaulay (1881-1958), passou cerca de dois meses em Lisboa, em 1943, a fazer pesquisa na biblioteca do British Council para o seu livro *They Went to Portugal* (1946) que focava a comunidade britânica residente em Portugal.

Paralelamente, e como forma de patentear um certo modo de vida inglês, era servido chá apenas para membros do Instituto entre as quatro e as seis horas. A publicação mensal *Britain Today*, distribuída em 40 países, disponibilizava as versões escritas em língua inglesa e francesa em Portugal. Os assuntos variavam e iam desde o planeamento urbanístico de cidades até a actividades de lazer. O primeiro número em português, traduzido como *Grã-Bretanha Hoje*, foi publicado no dia 2 de Fevereiro de 1940. Era particularmente dirigido para leitores portugueses, incluindo matéria sobre a Aliança escrita por Edgar Prestage, a Royal Air Force e sobre religião na Grã Bretanha. É de realçar que, até final da Guerra, os números seguintes eram essencialmente traduções do original para português do Brasil.

Foram organizadas exposições de variados filmes realizados para o British Council para serem vistos por audiências não britânicas, tais como *British Harvest*, *Island People* (1941), *London* (1942), *Lowland Village* (1942), *Country Town* (1943), entre outros sobre lazer, o exército, as cidades e o campo inglês, a arquitectura, indústria, comércio, Serviços Públicos, desporto e sobre a história da língua inglesa.⁴¹⁸ O objectivo era promover a nação britânica, cujo modo de vida parecia relativamente imune às provações da Guerra, realçando o acesso generalizado dos cidadãos britânicos aos cuidados de saúde, condições laborais, liberdade de expressão. A Guerra nunca era mencionada e a imagem da nação tornava-se intemporal. Por outro lado, os filmes eram geralmente coloridos e comentados em português. Esta particularidade era eficaz no que diz respeito à promoção da imagem da nação britânica, especialmente num país em que a taxa de alfabetização era ainda muito baixa. Os tópicos também não colidiam com os interesses do Governo português, uma vez que este igualmente se ocupava de promover uma imagem da nação portuguesa, renascida a partir de 1933, consciente da sua importância histórica, com fortes ligações ao valor da terra, povoada de gentes saudáveis e imune aos efeitos de uma Guerra em que oficialmente não tomava parte.

Em 1939, o Professor Charles K. Webster (1886-1961), da Universidade de Londres, fez uma palestra sobre "Princípios e Métodos de Política Externa Britânica durante os Séculos XIX e XX" e outra sobre Portugal e Inglaterra durante a primeira metade do século 20, na Faculdade de Letras; Phillip Guedalla (1889-1944), membro do conselho inicial do British Council, discursou na Sociedade de Geografia sobre "Wellington e Portugal"; George West, Hon. Neil Hogg e de Winton falaram sobre "Shakespeare e Henrique V a propósito de *Rivals* (Sheridan), *Man and Superman* (Shaw) e *Henry V* (Shakespeare)", levados a cena pela companhia Old Vic de Londres (em que participaram os actores Anthony Quayle e Alec Guinness) no Teatro Nacional Almeida Garrett. Esta companhia encontrava-se numa tournée de três meses pelo sul da Europa e Egipto, patrocinada pelo British Council. Lisboa era a primeira paragem. O Presidente Carmona e do Ministro da Educação assistiram ao terceiro espectáculo e a presença destas personalidades foi realçada pelo Diário de Lisboa como 'uma manifestação de interesse pelo teatro, infelizmente, tão negligenciado pelos nossos poderes públicos'. O mesmo diário referiu igualmente que, pelo menos, o segundo espectáculo tinha sido essencialmente visto pelo público britânico.⁴¹⁹ Diversas personalidades convidadas trabalhavam ou já tinham trabalhado nos meios diplomáticos britânicos (por exemplo, Webster, Guedalla ou Hogg), facto que facilitava não só o convite como a deslocação e apresentação a diversas audiências. Eram individualidades com experiência que ia para além daquela meramente artística ou académica.

A apresentação de espectáculos, conferências e literatura britânica foi acolhida favoravelmente por parte do meio artístico português que viu nestas iniciativas uma forma de enriquecimento do panorama artístico português, essencialmente alimentado pelos modelos franceses que dispunham de fraca ou quase nula competição.⁴²⁰

É de salientar que o Premio Camões (20.000\$00), o galardão bianual mais importante atribuído pelo Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional a um autor estrangeiro que escrevesse sobre Portugal foi atribuído por

⁴¹⁸ <http://film.britishcouncil.org/british-council-film-collection>. [Acedido em Outubro 2013].

⁴¹⁹ *Diário da Manhã*, 1939.

⁴²⁰ *idem*.

duas vezes a dois autores ingleses. Em 1939, foi oferecido a John Gibbons por *I Gathered no Moss*; e em 1943 a Elaine Sanceau com o seu *Portugal in the Quest of Prester John*.

As palestras organizadas focavam algumas vezes temas com potenciais implicações políticas, mas que, à luz de um tácito não comprometimento abertamente político, era tratados sob o ponto de vista histórico e académico. Contudo, eram eventos que facilitavam a promoção das ideias e ideais dos Aliados. Em 1940, o SPN pagou à Sociedade para trazer o historiador britânico Sir E. Denison Ross (1871-1940) para duas palestras em Lisboa e Porto sobre as viagens portuguesas na Abissínia. Este tópico tinha fortes repercussões políticas dado o curso das circunstâncias estratégico-políticas. Sir Ross era Director do British Information Bureau para o Extremo Oriente, com um conhecimento linguístico profundo em línguas orientais. Conforme Sir Stephen Gaselee, antigo Embaixador do Reino Unido em Portugal e Conselheiro Diplomático no Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, afirmou: “The last thing we want to do is to create the impression that we think we have lost of things to teach to the Portuguese but that they have nothing worth while to offer us in return”.⁴²¹ No início de 1940, O British Council patrocinou igualmente a viagem de Lord Harlech, antigo Ministro para as Colónias, que, acompanhado por George West, deu uma série de palestras destinadas a lisongear as posições colonialistas inglesas. Oportunamente, confidenciou a jornalistas portuguesas que o colonialismo português era ‘exemplar’ em muitos aspectos e que os impérios britânico e português estavam intimamente ligados por interesses comuns.⁴²²

Por ocasião da inauguração da Exposição do Mundo Português, a 23 de Junho de 1940, o Duque de Kent veio em representação da coroa britânica. Além de encontros com o Cardeal Cerejeira, o Duque de Kent entregou a Salazar as insignias de Cavaleiro da Grande Cruz da Ordem de São Miguel e São Jorge. O Presidente Marechal Carmona também não foi esquecido, tendo recebido uma fotografia assinado do Rei britânico.

O Duque visitou igualmente o British Council em Lisboa, tendo sido recebido por um coro de alunas que cantaram o *God Save the Queen*, antes de conversar com os professores. Integrado no plano geral das Comemorações dos Centenários, realizaram-se uma série de congressos sobre História Portuguesa a que genericamente se chamaram Congresso do Mundo Português, que decorreu entre Julho e Novembro, em Lisboa, Porto e Coimbra e que contou com a presença de cerca de 121 historiadores estrangeiros: sete vinham do Reino Unido. Relativamente à Exposição do Mundo Português, a mesma mereceu cobertura por parte da imprensa inglesa. Enquanto que o *The Times* referiu a relevância psicológica deste evento para os Portugueses, o *Anglo-Portuguese News* publicava uma edição especial sobre as colónias portuguesas.

Em 1939, o *Anglo-Portuguese News* era propriedade do Major CR Wakeham, correspondente para o *The Times*. Era essencialmente um jornal escrito em língua inglesa, dirigido apenas para a comunidade inglesa residente em Portugal. A tiragem não ultrapassava os mil exemplares e mantinha-se bastante distante da vida portuguesa. A partir de 1939, o British Council viu nesta publicação uma oportunidade para reforçar a propaganda. Assim, reforçando o valor do subsídio dado desde 1938, esta publicação que, entretanto passou a ser propriedade da empresa que detinha o *Jornal do Comércio*, melhorou a qualidade do papel utilizado e o número de páginas aumentou, sendo metade escrita em inglês e metade em português. Em 1943, a tiragem ascendia os 2.300 exemplares. Embora o subsídio tivesse aumentado significativamente, a questão fundamental é que o jornal era publicado, não obstante eventuais prejuízos, porque este reforçava a promoção da ideia de liberdade de imprensa britânica.

Decorrido um ano sobre a Exposição do Mundo Português e como prova do fortalecimento das relações bilaterais, Salazar recebeu, em cerimónia própria na Sala do Senado da Universidade de Coimbra, o Doutoramento Honoris Causa em Leis atribuída pela Universidade de Oxford, a 19 de Abril de 1941. Thomas Higham, William Entwistle e John Weaver estiveram presentes em representação da Universidade britânica, tendo Higham tecido o elogio latino de Salazar.

Conclusões

Em 1939, o *The Glasgow Herald Newspaper* publicou um artigo intitulado “Britain in Portugal”, referindo-se ao estabelecimento do British Council em Portugal. Em 1943, o *The Anglo-Portuguese News* publicou “The Work of the British Council in Portugal”.⁴²³ Pelo meio desenrolava-se uma Guerra Mundial,

⁴²¹ Roberts, p.52.

⁴²² David Corkill. “The Double Centenary Commemorations of 1940 in the Context of Anglo-Portuguese Relations” in Os Descobrimentos Portugueses no Mundo de Língua Inglesa 1880-1972, ed. Teresa Pinto Coelho (Lisboa, Colibri, 2005), p. 162.

⁴²³ *The Glasgow Herald Newspaper*, “Britain in Portugal”, 1939; *The Anglo-Portuguese News*, “The Work of the British Council in Portugal” 1943.

com implicações políticas, sociais, económicas e culturais. Deste modo, comparar os dois artigos é uma tarefa interessante, comparando objectivos propostos e publicitados e resultados alcançados e publicitados.

Em 1939, o artigo não deixava dúvidas que a abertura e planeamento de actividades do British Council seguia uma rivalidade (“keen rivalry”) amigável, no sentido em que os Institutos alemão e italiano, presentes no território nacional há mais tempo, gozavam de apoio do Governo português. As actividades desencadeavam-se: a um pianista italiano, sucedia-se uma palestra de um historiador inglês e depois de uma palestra proferida por um cientista alemão, apresentava-se um coro inglês. A missão era, antes de mais, realçar a percepção da nação britânica como uma nação de valores, de um certo modo de viver e pensar. Neste propósito havia terreno a desbravar, “on which there can be no turning back, but only advance. Its fruition will still demand a two-way traffic, a Methuen Treaty of the mind”. É interessante o facto de a ênfase ser colocada na necessidade de mudança da maneira de pensar, na contribuição da mudança de espírito. Partindo uma vez mais de alianças e tratados históricos, o problema era reinventá-los. Sendo que a política cultural do Estado Novo era a Política de Espírito, as duas linguagens enunciadas combinavam, parecendo que uma ia ao encontro da necessidade da outra.

Em 1943, o trabalho do British Council estava dividido por Lisboa, Coimbra e Porto e incluía o ensino da língua inglesa, a promoção de livros, música, filmes, exposições de arte, publicações regulares de anuários, revistas médicas e o convite a vários especialistas. Se o trabalho desenvolvido pelo British Council não serviu para aproximar particularmente a comunidade britânica residente em Portugal dos portugueses, este trabalho serviu o propósito de ambos os governos. Os números estatísticos de alunos e bolseiros e a abertura do novo Centro no Porto em 1943 demonstram o crescente interesse pela língua inglesa, numa altura de Guerra. Além do mais, sob o ponto de vista político português, a cooperação existente entre o British Council e as instituições governamentais reforçavam a posição oficial de neutralidade que era preciso publicitar, ao mesmo tempo que se asseguravam outras formas de cooperação com as outras potências beligerantes. Sob o ponto de vista cultural, o mais importante para a análise deste artigo, é de realçar que a cooperação cultural permitiu difundir uma certa imagem de diversidade multicultural. O reino Unido surgia como uma nação que auxiliava Portugal a suprir necessidades sociais e culturais, como por exemplo, na formação de funcionários em determinadas áreas do saber. Para o público português, esta colaboração permitiu abrir horizontes e perspectivas novas, em particular num ambiente em que a informação era fortemente controlada. Não obstante este facto, a designação “grande público” não implica necessariamente sempre o grande público devido a significativas taxas de analfabetismo. Contudo, as trocas culturais resultam inevitavelmente num enriquecimento do panorama cultural.

Culture and propaganda in World War II: Fascist Italy and the Balkans

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1 . Origins and development of the Italian propaganda abroad

Propaganda as a means to strengthen the political influence of a country abroad has been used extensively during the 20th century by all the major powers, including of course the dictatorships, which refined it in order to cement the home consensus. At the end of WWI, with the birth of new nations heirs of the disappeared Central Powers and of the Russian Empire, a competition among the great European powers winners of the war started, in order to gain a hegemonic role in Central and Eastern Europe.

Even before the war, since the last years of the 19th century, the Italian government had activated a series of cultural institutions abroad, especially in areas considered strategic for the affirmation of the Italian political and economic influence. Hence, the first Italian schools abroad were created, both in North Africa and in the Balkans, as well as the Dante Alighieri Society, founded in Rome in 1889 and aiming at spreading the Italian culture abroad. During WWI, the structure of the Italian propaganda machine had been properly tried and tested in an anti-Habsburg perspective, and the rhetoric of the war for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been used with both hands, especially in the final phase of the conflict. But it was the Fascist regime to develop a more complex and extensive network of propaganda abroad, particularly in the 1930s, under inspiration of the achievements made in this field by Nazi Germany, with which a real race started, in order to earn the favor of the composite galaxy of Central and Eastern Europe's extreme right wing. In effect, during the interwar period, all the European powers continued to look at this area, considered crucial for the geo-political balance of the continent: from the economic point of view, these countries were of strategic importance as suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials, and this is why Nazi Germany had launched since the mid-1930s a winning strategy of economic and financial penetration, aspiring to create a large economic area under German control from the Baltic to the Black Sea⁴²⁴.

In March 1933 the Third Reich created the Ministry of Popular Education and Propaganda, which unified the organization of culture and propaganda into a single administrative structure⁴²⁵. Following this example, Mussolini decided to provide his press office with an autonomous section specifically devoted to propaganda, gradually transforming it into an undersecretary for press and propaganda and, from June 1935, into the Ministry of Press and Propaganda, headed by his talented son-in-law Galeazzo Ciano⁴²⁶. Within this ministry, which in 1937 changed its name once again in Ministry of Popular Culture, a General Directorate for Propaganda operated, with the specific task of organizing the Fascist propaganda abroad⁴²⁷.

2 . The Italian propaganda in the face of war

It was therefore with this political and cultural propaganda apparatus that the Fascist regime appeared at the beginning of the 1940s on the theater of war, taking care, even during the conflict, of the systematic organization of propaganda activities abroad. With the entry of Italy into WWII, on the 10th of June 1940, the General Directorate for Propaganda of the Ministry of Popular Culture was reshaped, with a partition

⁴²⁴ See S. Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale. Diplomazia culturale e propaganda 1918-1943*, introduction by M. Palla, FrancoAngeli, Milano, 2005.

⁴²⁵ E. Collotti, *Nazismo e società tedesca (1933-1945)*, Loescher, Torino, 1982, pp. 198-209.

⁴²⁶ G. Melis (ed.), *L'amministrazione centrale dall'Unità alla Repubblica. Le strutture e i dirigenti*, v. 4, P. Ferrara - M. Giannetto (eds), *Il Ministero della cultura popolare. Il Ministero delle poste e telegrafi*, il Mulino, Bologna, 1992, pp. 25-29; Ph.V. Cannistraro, "Burocrazia e politica culturale nello stato fascista: il Ministero della cultura popolare", *Storia contemporanea*, 1 (1970), n. 2, pp. 273-298; Id., *La fabbrica del consenso. Fascismo e mass media*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 1975, pp. 101-107.

⁴²⁷ B. Garzarelli, "Fascismo e propaganda all'estero: le origini della Direzione generale per la propaganda (1933-1934)", *Studi storici*, 43 (2002), n. 2, p. 477.

according to the competencies into four major geographical areas, one of them specifically dedicated to the Danubian and Balkan countries⁴²⁸. From archival documents, it appears that the Italian propaganda activity was concentrated in the areas considered strategical for Italy, especially the Balkans, aiming at the “setting off of the military effort of Italy” and at the “dissemination of the principles, the legal system and the achievements of the Regime, documenting the wonderful results in every field and fighting the subtle and insidious Communist propaganda”⁴²⁹. It was the invasion of Yugoslavia in April 1941 and the subsequent division of the kingdom between Italy, Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria, to transform the Italian propaganda activity into an element of primary importance in the flanking of the occupation policy. Italy proceeded to the annexation of a part of Slovenia, called the “province of Ljubljana”, and of the central part of Dalmatia, created a governorate of Montenegro, under Italian occupation, and unified Kosovo to Albania, in turn part of the Italian empire. Croatia became a nominally independent kingdom, entrusted to a member of the House of Savoy, Aimone of Aosta, who assumed the evocative name of Tomislav II, in fact never setting his foot in the country, controlled by the Ustaša militias of Ante Pavelić, which implemented a real ethnic cleansing of Serbs and Jews.

Since the beginning, the Italian propaganda effort was focused on the province of Ljubljana, attempting a “pacification” and “cultural assimilation” of the Slovenes. Governmental guidelines emphasized the need to present the human face of Fascist Italy, and to highlight the difference between the violent and racist German policies and Italian paternalism. Italy, once again, was posing as a worthy heir of the Roman Empire, which aimed at the integration of the annexed peoples with the intent to civilize them, not through repression, but through the Latin *humanitas*⁴³⁰. Galeazzo Ciano, appointed minister of Foreign Affairs in 1936 by Mussolini, explained that the Italian policy towards Slovenes and Croats, “Catholic Slavs”, would have to be inclusive and not exclusive, so as to be more acceptable. According to Ciano, “our liberal treatment, compared with the German inhuman one”, would attract the sympathies of the Croats and Slovenes, as opposed to the German-controlled part of Slovenia, where “the darkest abuses” were recorded⁴³¹. The goal was to gradually make the Slovenes Fascist and Italian, taking more time, and using more flexible methods than the Germans. The idea was to compensate, through a more benevolent attitude towards the Slavs, the Italian subalternity in the Balkans, particularly after the Greek offensive, when the Italian army had to be rescued by the Wehrmacht. In effect, also in Slovenia the tracing of the border line had been decided by Hitler: according to the diary of general Cavallero – chief of staff of the Italian army –, Mussolini himself had stated that “after the break-up of Yugoslavia we found in our arms half of a province and, we must add, the poorest half”, pointing out: “the Germans have communicated us a border: we could not but take note”⁴³².

On the 18th of April 1941, the day immediately following the Yugoslav capitulation in the face of Axis forces, a course of action on the side of cultural propaganda to be developed between Slovenians and Croats was prepared, pivoting on the common Catholic and “Latin” matrix of Italian, Slovenian and Croatian cultures. Under this program, the propaganda in Slovenia and Croatia would have firstly to “prove the existence during the time of real currents of sympathy and mutual understanding” between Italy and these countries, pointing out, through publications especially distributed by the Italian cultural institutions, “as the Slovenian and Croatian literatures and cultures – since Humanism - have found their origin and basis essentially in Italian literature and culture”. On the historical side, then, the Italian propaganda organs would have to exalt “the common destiny for whole centuries between Slovenia, Croatia and the Veneto slaves of the same imperialist policy of Austria, the commonality of religion that completely separated these populations from the Orthodox world where the other Slav peoples lived, and finally the commonality of ideals [... between] Italy, Croatia and Slovenia during the 19th century”, considering as examples historical phases such as the Napoleonic Wars, the Risorgimento and personalities such as Giuseppe Mazzini⁴³³.

⁴²⁸ Report on the technical-administrative activity carried out by the General Directorate for Propaganda during the financial period 1940-41, signed by the general director Koch, Rome, 14th February 1941, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome (Acs), Ministero della Cultura Popolare (Mcp), Gabinetto (Gab.), b. 95, f. *Gabinetto. Relazioni sull'attività della Dir. Gen. della Propaganda*, sf. 2, *Relazioni sull'attività svolta dalla Dir. Gen. della Propaganda negli anni 1940-41*.

⁴²⁹ Memorandum on the activity carried out by the General Directorate for Propaganda during the year 1941-42, Acs, Mcp, Gab., b. 95, f. *Gabinetto. Relazioni sull'attività della Dir. Gen. della Propaganda*, sf. 3, *Relazioni sull'attività svolta dalla Dir. Gen. della Propaganda negli anni 1941-42*.

⁴³⁰ F. Casella, *L'immagine fascista dell'impero: quale ruolo all'Adriatico?*, in E. Di Nolfo – R.H. Rainero – B. Vigezzi (eds), *L'Italia e la politica di potenza in Europa (1938-40)*, Marzorati, Milano, 1986, pp. 193-194.

⁴³¹ T. Sala, *Occupazione militare e amministrazione civile nella «provincia» di Lubiana (1941-1943)*, in E. Collotti – T. Sala – G. Vaccarino, *L'Italia nell'Europa danubiana durante la seconda guerra mondiale*, Insml, Milano, n.d. [1967?], pp. 76-78.

⁴³² U. Cavallero, *Comando supremo. Diario 1940-43 del Capo di S.M.G.*, Cappelli Editore, Bologna, 1948, pp. 297-298.

⁴³³ De Feo to Koch, Rome, 18th April 1941, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 150 bis, f. *Programmi di propaganda in Croazia e a Lubiana*.

These guidelines were based on a dichotomous view of Eastern Europe, where a kind of clash of civilizations was read between “Western” peoples, heirs of the civilizing influence of the Latin and Catholic Rome, and “Eastern” peoples, linked to the chaotic and barbaric Asiatic world. Within this interpretative framework, therefore, the recommendation was to highlight the contrast between Catholic and “Latin” Slovenians and Croatians on the one hand, and Orthodox “Byzantine” Serbs on the other. In a note of the General Directorate for Propaganda we read that “Croatia has always been the exponent of Western civilization to the south-eastern Europe in contrast to the Serbian world that has always represented, in that region, the restless and unstable Balkan Slavism”; that Belgrade had historically exercised a “negative influence”, because, “attracting the Croatian civilization in the orbit of Balkan Slavism [had] pushed it away from the West”; that, ultimately, “Italy, in the period of Serbian prevalence, [had] close relations with the Croatian nation - country of European civilization - and [had] worked for its independence”⁴³⁴.

Cornerstones of Italian propaganda among Slovenes and Croats were the cultural institutes of Ljubljana and Zagreb. In the intentions of the representative of the Ministry of Popular Culture at the High Commissioner of the Province of Ljubljana, the Institute of Culture of that city would have to play an “intense language and hence national propaganda”, since the province, “despite its annexation to Italy, [would be] for a long time an autonomous cultural and linguistic entity, that only by means of an intelligent and active propaganda [could be], if not absorbed, at least culturally framed within the state”⁴³⁵.

For its work, the Institute of Culture of Ljubljana could avail itself of the cooperation of many scholars and academics, particularly Slavists, ready to make available their knowledge and their network of personal relationships in order to “Italianize” the Slovenes. In return, the Fascist regime did not fail to gratify their valuable work with promotions and prestigious positions. Francesco Semi, full professor of Latin letters at the Teachers’ Training School of Venice considered for example appropriate to advise the minister of Popular Culture Alessandro Pavolini, as a “connoisseur of the Slovenian cultural problems”, a “plan for the cultural organization, based on historically appreciable bases, of the Slovenia annexed to the Kingdom of Italy”. The Venetian professor suggested to prepare a plan shaped on a “cultural paternalism” towards the Slovenes, which was to be based both on the shared Roman Catholic roots and the “natural” civilizing mission historically accomplished by Italy towards that geographical area. Despite the diversity that exists between Italians and Slovenes on the linguistic level, the fact remained that the Slovenian civilization had “character and tendencies through and through stretched towards Rome”⁴³⁶. Distinguished Italian Slavists and academics were actively involved in organizations such as the “Commission for the revision of the books to be used in the schools of the Province of Ljubljana”, activated by order of the High Commissioner in August 1941 and headed by Giovanni Maver, one of the founders of Slavic studies in Italy⁴³⁷. According to Elio Migliorini, one of the leaders of the new discipline of geopolitics, the annexation of the Province of Ljubljana was the logical consequence of a geographical reality in which the Slovene lands naturally tended to gravitate towards Italy, to which they were tied “by multiple bonds”. As for the Savoy and the Switzerland’s Grisons, in effect, even in the case of Slovenia “there [was] beyond the watershed an area that gravitat[ed] towards Italy rather than towards the neighboring regions”⁴³⁸.

The High Commissioner for the province of Ljubljana, in accordance with the directives issued by the government, initially implemented a moderate and “paternalistic” policy. Although devoided of Italian nationality, the Slovenes were to enjoy the rights that the regime granted Italians, in order to persuade them that the Italian “civilization” was still better than both the old feudalism of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the more recent regime of oppression exercised by the Serbs by means of the Yugoslav state. Particular attention was paid to the field of culture and education, from school to university, carefully selecting the Slovenian teaching staff, who, formed in large part at the times of the former Empire, watched the Italians with hostility. In November 1941, the command of the 11th Army Corps denounced that Slovene teachers, “fervent propagandists”, used the old pre-occupation textbooks as an instrument of anti-Italian propaganda, inviting to examine them more carefully. In September 1942, General Mario Robotti, commander of the 11th Army Corps, stated flatly that “our enemy is constituted by the intelligentsia of Ljubljana”. The Italian occupiers could, however, be supported by a minority group of Slovenian intellectuals of the capital, most of them openly Fascist and collaborationist, belonging to the traditionalist and anti-communist clerical right⁴³⁹.

⁴³⁴ Note by Koch for the minister of Popular Culture, Rome, 13th May 1941, *ibid*.

⁴³⁵ Note by Umberto Nani for the principal private secretary of the minister of Popular Culture, Ljubljana, 9th June 1941, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 147, f. *Istituto di cultura italiana a Lubiana*, 1941.

⁴³⁶ Semi to the minister of Popular Culture, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 150 bis, f. *Propaganda in Croazia*.

⁴³⁷ Decree signed by the High Commissioner Emilio Grazioli, Ljubljana, 8th August 1941, Archivio Giovanni Maver, Rome, f. 3a.

⁴³⁸ E. Migliorini, *La Provincia di Lubiana*, Roma, 1943, pp. 5-8.

⁴³⁹ M. Cuzzi, *L'occupazione italiana della Slovenia (1941-1943)*, SME – Ufficio Storico, Roma, 1998, pp. 48-50, 67, 73-74; T. Ferenc, *La provincia ‘italiana’ di Lubiana. Documenti 1941-1942*, Ifsml, Udine, 1994, pp. 78-79.

3. From assimilation to repression

The failure of the attempts of denationalization and Italianisation and the inadequacy of the Italian propaganda apparatus, along with the intensification of the armed partisan resistance against the Italian troops, marked a change of strategy. General Robotti identified in the attack of the Axis forces on the Soviet Union in June 1941 (the "Operation Barbarossa") a watershed in the revival of the communist Slovenian clandestine movement, which joined the internationalist solidarity with Soviet Russia, pan-Slav feelings and Slovenian anti-Italian and anti-German nationalism⁴⁴⁰. With the so-called "Spring Plan", the Italian army began to develop an offensive line towards all forms of resistance, deporting tens of thousands of Slovenes in concentration camps established for that purpose; in addition, between January and February 1942 the entire city of Ljubljana was fenced with barbed wire and the movements of Slovenes were prohibited, with a strict application of the martial law⁴⁴¹. Meeting in July 1942 the Italian military leaders, Mussolini had clearly explained what was to be the line to follow for the future:

I think it's better to pass from a nice to a strong manner rather than being forced backwards. [...] I do not fear words. I am convinced that the terror of the partisans must be answered with iron and fire. The cliché that depicts Italians as sentimental unable to be tough when needed must stop. This tradition of grace and excessive tenderness should be ended.

As for the University of Ljubljana, in addition, Mussolini considered it simply an anti-Italian "hotbed", finally contemplating the possibility of a "transfer of masses of population"⁴⁴². Communicating to the Ministry of the Interior its "program of activities", the High Commissioner for the province of Ljubljana Grazioli had suggested the beginning of a "'very tough' course of conduct in respect of the Slovenes, until tangible and proven manifestations of repentance, and a very hard course even after". The university students were particularly affected, considered by then lost in favor of the anti-Fascist resistance: the number of registered students was reduced to less than a third, taxes were doubled, to discourage new enrollments, and "almost all the students" had been interned. In essence, the university would have to "scrape out a living", "looking forward to definitely resolving the issue, once achieved the victory, when it will be possible to determine which 'Italian function' it will be able to conduct in the Balkans"⁴⁴³.

In Croatia, the Italian propaganda had to face a difficult situation: nominally placed under Italian influence, but in fact controlled by the Ustaša, Croatia was gradually included in the German sphere of influence. On the Italian side, an intense propaganda was activated, based on the known patterns leveraging on the common cultural and religious roots, especially through the Italian Cultural Institute in Zagreb, which during 1941 had opened new sections in the major cities of the "Independent State of Croatia" as Karlovac, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Osijek and Dubrovnik⁴⁴⁴. The director of the Institute of Zagreb, after the partition of Yugoslavia, took immediately care to ask the General Directorate for Propaganda of the Ministry of Popular Culture for publications to be distributed in that country "on the achievements of the Regime and on the Fascist state's organization"⁴⁴⁵. In September 1941 an Italian delegation appointed by the minister for Popular Culture Pavolini along with some representatives of the German Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Propaganda discussed in Berlin to agree on a common policy in regard to the propaganda in Croatia, with the intention to arrive at "a position of perfect equality with the Germans"⁴⁴⁶.

In fact in Croatia from the beginning a competition between Italy and Germany took place for the affirmation of their own areas of influence, with the belief, on the Italian side, that an objective inferiority in terms of economic penetration and military power, could be overcome through an effective work of cultural propaganda. This in turn would have to be based on the idea that "the tendency of the Croats to approach the Italian literature considered as an alive and active expression of our country's spiritual values" had always

⁴⁴⁰ Report by the Command of the 11th Army Corps on the situation in the province of Ljubljana, 8th March 1942, in T. Ferenc, *La provincia 'italiana' di Lubiana*, cit., pp. 340-343. See also T. Sala, *Occupazione militare e amministrazione civile*, cit., p. 85.

⁴⁴¹ D. Conti, *L'occupazione italiana dei Balcani. Crimini di guerra e mito della "brava gente" (1940-1943)*, Odradek, Roma, 2008, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁴² U. Cavallero, *Comando supremo*, cit., pp. 298-299.

⁴⁴³ Report by the H.C. Grazioli on the program of activity in the province of Ljubljana, 24th August 1942, in T. Ferenc, *La provincia 'italiana' di Lubiana*, cit., pp. 498-502.

⁴⁴⁴ Casertano to the Ministry of Popular Culture, Zagreb, 5th November 1941, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 148, f. *Istituto Cultura Zagabria*.

⁴⁴⁵ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Popular Culture, Rome, 29th May 1941, *ibid*.

⁴⁴⁶ De Feo to the General Directorate for Propaganda, Rome, 27th August 1941, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 150 bis, f. *Centro librario di Zagabria Praška 2*.

been present in the “cultural aspirations of the Croatian people”, even when “the political relations between Italy and the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia appeared difficult”⁴⁴⁷.

Croatia constituted in German plans a key factor for the establishment of a *Donauraum*, that is a political, economic and cultural area, dominated by Nazi Germany, projected towards the southeast and connected with a *Mitteleuropa* hegemonized by the Third Reich. Even the German propaganda, similarly to the Italian one, was based primarily on dichotomous schemes, in which the Croatian “civilization” was opposed to the Serbian “barbarism”. However, for obvious reasons, the Germans were not so much interested in specific elements of Croatian culture and religion – as already mentioned, Latinity and Catholicism were factors of simobolical proximity to Rome, the capital of the Fascist empire - but to a generic role of defense of Western civilization that the Croatian people was supposed to have played over the centuries in the Balkan world. In this framework, the Croatian “diversity”, within the wider category of south-eastern Slavs, was attributed to an alleged racial superiority: as Hiler himself had stated, “the Croats are very concerned not to be considered Slavs” and “the fact that they speak a Slavic language would be just an accident”⁴⁴⁸.

4. Failure of Italian power policy in the Balkans

The Italian occupation policy in Croatia on the other hand had generated frictions with the interests of Ustaša nationalism: in August 1941 the military occupation of the demilitarized zone of Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnian Krajina, Lika and Kordun had fueled a pre-existing anti-Italian feeling. At the same time, the Italian occupation authorities showed themselves frequently deaf to the messages that the propaganda was trying to convey with respect to the spiritual commonality between Italians and Croats, relocating the latter in the vague and disqualifying category of “Slav” peoples. According to the prefect of Rijeka Temistocle Testa, the Croatian people “every day [was] increasingly proving to be what it [had] always been, that is an inferior race which should be treated as such and not as an equal”⁴⁴⁹. To complicate matters, there were the relationships that the Italian authorities entertained simultaneously with the Croatian Ustaša and the Serb Chetniks, both virulently anticommunist, but in turn hostile to each other. Moreover, as the Italian troops engaged in the Balkans were diverted towards North Africa to face the Allied advance near the end of 1942, the occupying forces of the royal army had to rely increasingly on the Chetniks, as the Croats tended rather towards the Germans, openly adverse to the Chetnik bands. In July 1943, a document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the Serbs, “as Serbs and not as Yugoslavs, tend to the Danube, not to the Adriatic, and so it is much more convenient for us to cultivate the Serbs and keep alive the contrast between them and the Croats, because as long as they are divided and enemies we will always have a Danube mass to counterbalance and prevent the ambitions and the threat of the Croatian Adriatic mass”⁴⁵⁰.

In Montenegro, the Italians managed to keep some control of the territory, at the price of continuous clashes with the partisans. According to the Commissioner’s civil governorship, a program of propaganda was necessary in order to conquer to the Italian cause at least a part of the local educated class. It was therefore to flank a more overtly political propaganda with “a slow, methodical and cautious action” of spreading Italian “cultural” books and magazines⁴⁵¹. The main initiative in the field of Italian cultural propaganda in Montenegro was launched in coincidence with the flare of partisan warfare in the spring of 1943, led by Tito. In April of that year in effect the publication of *Durmitor*, a monthly magazine of culture, began. Its name referred to the “highest mountain of this country [...], chosen as the symbol of the activity of the spirit”, which, among other things, was also the area where the partisans had shifted their operations centre⁴⁵². The aim of the magazine, published in the Serbian language, except a few articles in Italian, would be to approach the intellectual elite of that Balkan country: “although with ultimately political purposes” the magazine was meant “to avoid even in the frontispiece any even distant allusion of purely political kind”, to prove “that our main purpose is the interchange between the Italian and the Montenegrin cultures”⁴⁵³.

⁴⁴⁷ Report by Benedetti on the development of book propaganda in Croatia, Zagreb, 7th November 1941, *ibid*.

⁴⁴⁸ A. Hitler, *Conversazioni segrete ordinate e annotate da Martin Bormann*, Napoli, 1954, p. 103.

⁴⁴⁹ Cit. in T. Sala, *Fascisti e nazisti nell'Europa sudorientale. Il caso croato (1941-1943)*, in E. Collotti – T. Sala, *Le potenze dell'Asse e la Jugoslavia. Saggi e documenti 1941/1943*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1974, p. 69.

⁴⁵⁰ Cit. in D. Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo. Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940-1943)*, preface by P. Burrin, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino, 2003, p. 385. See also *ivi*, pp. 372-386.

⁴⁵¹ Rulli to the Ministry of Popular Culture, Cetinje, 6th December 1941, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 151, f. *Pubblicazioni Cettigne*, 1941-42.

⁴⁵² See J. Pirjevec, *Il giorno di San Vito. Jugoslavia 1918-1992. Storia di una tragedia*, Nuova Eri, Torino, 1993, p. 177.

⁴⁵³ Note for the general director (draft), Rome, 23rd January 1943, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 151, f. *Propaganda italiana nel Montenegro*, 1941-42; “Presentazione” by the direction, *Durmitor*, April 1943, pp. 1-2, *ibid*.

Also in Bosnia, which was part of Greater Croatia, a similar initiative was inaugurated, with the publication of a new bilingual edition of the already existing weekly *Rinascita (Preporod)*⁴⁵⁴. As reported by the Italian consul in Sarajevo, the magazine would have to serve “the spread not only of our language and literature”, but also “the Italian cultural, social and political principles” which had to “face at this time the fierce competition of their German confreres”⁴⁵⁵.

In Greece, Bulgaria and Albania, the Italian propaganda was marked by a lack of organicity and collided with a shortage of funds, difficulties of organization, subordination to the Nazi ally/rival or massive illiteracy of the population. In these countries, however, cultural initiatives were initiated, from courses of Italian to magazine publishing: in particular, the bilingual magazine *Albania* was published in the homonym country since 1940 - the year after the Italian occupation -, which the minister Pavolini qualified of “great interest”, being “more necessary than ever to illustrate and make widely known the many problems related to the union” of the two countries⁴⁵⁶. The progressive weakening of the Italian positions in the Balkans during 1943, due to both intensification of partisan warfare, and to the transfer of men on other fronts, and finally to the strengthening of the German political and military control over the whole region, would lead to the consequent rapid disappearance of the entire propaganda network built by Fascist Italy before and during the war in those countries. The general of Carabinieri Giuseppe Pièche, sent by the high command and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the task of information and coordination of the anti-communist action in the Balkans, had traced in May 1943 a gloomy but true picture of the relations of power between Italians and Germans in the Balkans:

The Germans control by now Zagreb and the most important centres not occupied by the partisans. Army, police, post, telegraph, telephones, railways, public order, everything is now controlled by the Germans who act as if they were in their own home without even consulting, in most cases, the Croatian or the Italian authorities⁴⁵⁷.

In effect, the occupation policy of Fascist Italy in the Balkans was from the beginning subject to the one imposed by the Nazi ally/rival, and was able at most to try to carve out, until it had been possible, some spaces of autonomy. In turn, the Italian propaganda system was destined to develop in these confined spaces, crumbling then immediately as soon as the Italian military control failed. As for the effect that the Italian propaganda really had on the local populations, the existing documentation makes it impossible to give definite answers, but it seems likely the hypothesis that it could actually reach limited social groups. Numerous factors, first among them – as already mentioned - high rate of illiteracy, indifference or outright hostility towards both Italians and Fascists, prevented a massive penetration and a successful reception of the Italian propaganda. This could be welcomed in the form of cultural propaganda only in the pro-Italian or openly pro-Fascist milieus, which went increasingly thinner as the instability of Italian positions worsened, and German hegemony vice versa prevailed. Attempting to play the card of the Italian diversity compared to the Germans turned out in the long run not credible, after that – facing the mounting offensive of resistance - the Italian occupation authorities implemented repressive policies that do not vary much from Nazis’ ones⁴⁵⁸. The myth of the superiority of the two thousand years Roman civilization, as well as that of the “good Italian”, widely used by the propaganda, actually proved to be nothing more than ideal constructions, although the dynamics of repression were caused more by the Italian weakness in the face of the hostility of the occupied populations than by the overconfidence in a racial supremacy prevailing in the German army⁴⁵⁹.

⁴⁵⁴ In English: Rebirth.

⁴⁵⁵ Paolo Alberto Rossi to the Italian Legation in Zagreb, Sarajevo, 27th April 1943, Acs, Mcp, Dgp, b. 147, f. *Propaganda italiana a Serajevo*, 1941-42.

⁴⁵⁶ Benini to Pavolini, Rome, 12th January 1940; Pavolini to Benini, Rome, 27th January 1940, Acs, Mcp, Gab., b. 109, f. *Rivista “Albania” fgv*

⁴⁵⁷ Cit. in T. Sala, *Fascisti e nazisti*, cit., p. 75.

⁴⁵⁸ D. Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo*, cit., p. 493.

⁴⁵⁹ E. Collotti, *Sulla politica di repressione italiana nei Balcani*, in L. Paggi (ed.), *La memoria del nazismo nell’Europa di oggi*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1997, pp. 181-208.

Spanish Civil War

Photojournalism and propaganda in the Spanish Civil War

An overview

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1. Photojournalism rises

Since the beginning of the era that man created images to show and describe war. Since ancient times, war was a theme that penetrated his experience and interest, which became an inseparable factor from his culture. Already in the prehistoric time, men painted scenes of combat with other tribes with rudimentary tools as their weapons. The phenomenon of collective persuasion is therefore inherent to all human societies.

After the arrival of photography, the war was never the same again. With the emergence of newspapers with printed images, the reader was driven into "a closer world, more real, but sometimes more cruel."⁴⁶⁰ Public opinion was no longer monopolized by the written word⁴⁶¹. From here onwards, war and photography started to be two inseparable elements. The picture was regarded as a proof", or "witness" deeply attached to the notion of truth, that gave it the credibility as a "mirror of reality", which turned it into a powerful propaganda weapon. Early on, political power was interested in exploiting the photography's potential as a vehicle for propaganda. At a time when most people were illiterate, the picture quickly took a central role, given the easy perception of the message to spread, as if photography would be journalism's "bible of the poor". It was in this period that the world of the media started developing and press registered a boom in its expansion towards a public who was interested in the event happening around them, wanting to assist as if they were part of the plot.

2. A difficult cohabitation

Europe was in this period in deep convulsions. After the 20s, marked by a good understanding between the two Iberian states, from 1931 onwards the relations between Portugal and the Second Spanish Republic started to become incompatible, taking into account the root divisions that opposed the two countries. Europe became an arena for political ideologies that propagandized a "New Man". These antagonisms led to several upheavals in a space too small for the coexistence of such great contrasts. The Iberian Peninsula was a reflection of that reality.

In February 1936, after the Popular Front's victory in the Spanish elections, Salazar saw the survival of the "Estado Novo" at risk, which he powered by himself. Avoiding Madrid's interference in its internal affairs, something that already happened before, Salazar bet all in supporting a coup perpetrated by right-wing Spanish forces. On the 18th of July, started the rebellion in the country's main military quarters. The plan was to activate a military revolt that would extend through the whole country, failed in the major cities, starting the belligerence.

The conflict was treated as an internal matter because the Spanish government's fate depended on its development. Salazar supported the nationalist cause and gave some facilities that were essential in the early days of the war, thus contributing to the strengthening of the fascist hordes. He instructed the former Trade minister, Sebastião Ramirez, to oversee the operations in support of the uprising and took concrete steps to facilitate the maximum transit of war material from the Portuguese capital to the nationalist zone. The Portuguese government also provided part of the fuel for the air bridge operation to transport the Moroccan troops to the peninsula, besides making an intermediary between U.S. suppliers and the military rebels.

The Portuguese dictator gave also diplomatic cover to the revolutionary movement in the Western democracies in order to prevent the bailing the democratically elected government, and also undertakes a propaganda campaign in the Portuguese media. It is in this context that, along with writing, photography played a central role in the field of informative wars

⁴⁶⁰ Sousa, Jorge Pedro, *Uma História Crítica do Fotojornalismo Ocidental*. Chapecó; Florianópolis: Argos, Letras Contemporâneas, 2004, p. 40.

⁴⁶¹ Idem.

3. Camera goes to war

We are in the fervor of the '30s, considered the golden age of foreign correspondents. There wasn't other war in the last century that has provoked such intense emotion and flagrante partiality and commitment. The Spanish cause went beyond its borders and was seen and felt by many to be the cause of all people. It was named the "Holy War" and "crusade" or, on the other hand, as "the defense of freedom" or "the proletarian paradise". Those who went there, knew they would fight for ideals. They were combating, writing and taking pictures with the same passion and commitment of those who give their best, sometimes life itself for a traditionalist Spain, or by whom attempted to stop the advance of fascism and wanted to save a more just and equalitarian model of society. It is not a surprise that a national war, which actually had a wide international significance regarding the delicate situation of the time, awakened the attention of the international press. It is more than valid to emphasize Hugh Thomas's statement, that "since the end of July 1936, and for two and a half years, it was common to find in the south of the Pyrenees the world's greatest journalists."

The technical and socio-cultural development of war photography was produced in the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁶² In fact, in this new media world, information and propaganda are two fields that will interweave continuously. The ambition is not limited to inform about the facts, but also invests in inculcation in the public minds. The photographer gradually noted the significance and amplitude of his work. He started to know that there was a mass of readers who longed for the publication of his pictures. Some images that will excite them and make them feel as if they were present in the scenes printed on the pages they read. Hence this is the first war to be extensively photographed and will also serve as a testing laboratory not only in the military but also in the journalistic area for the looming World War II.

It is here that the "visual communication of events"⁴⁶³ was born. Furio Colombo notes that this conflict opens a "new and never before experienced relationship with the tragedy"⁴⁶⁴, a relationship which emphasizes the emotional component, measured by feelings of participation, passion or compassion, under a sense of unity between the author and the event. It is based, in turn, on the notion of a technical standpoint (which also includes the aesthetic vision), a concept that unites also the author and his equipment and is expressed through the framing, the contrast and the selection of "decisive moment" and a "good" occasion⁴⁶⁵. Furthermore, the author notes that "the beauty and perfection of picture framing correspond to the horror, the pain, terror and death"⁴⁶⁶, thus inaugurating the so-called "era of mass visual communication"⁴⁶⁷, which he classifies as "a powerful new field of interest, emotion, anger and exaltation."⁴⁶⁸

Therefore, the war turns something visible. The event is experienced twice in two separate universes, the precise moment that captures the events and when they are communicated to the readers. "From this moment onwards, the world lives and suffers, waits, enjoys, fights and dies in public. Now, the word "public" indicates a bleak and fascinating right to see everything, amazing as it is."⁴⁶⁹

The reality will be experienced emotionally or passionately at different angles by those participating in the war effort or by those using it as informative propagandistic purpose. It starts to be necessary to distinguish between the photographic reportage of war, between the photographic informative value and, on the other hand, the ideological propaganda argument.

Each photographer chose a point of view, which, led to the adoption of self-censorship as a result of commitment to the cause and consequent attitude towards the world, making their "touch of copyright". This commitment has shaped the photojournalistic production of the war, implying, for example, the failure to omit atrocities committed through the field in which they were engaged. The old aesthetic professional vision gives the place to an ethical participative and solidary vision, announcing the birth of a new era of photographic communication marked by excitement, elation and militancy of the photographer.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶² Santiago, Miguel Angel, *Fotoperiodismo y Guerra Civil*, congreso La República y la Guerra Civil. Setenta años después, 2006, p. 4.

⁴⁶³ Colombo, Furio, *Bienal de Venecia. Fotografía y Información de Guerra. España, 1936-1939*. Barcelona, Colección Punto y Línea, 1977.

⁴⁶⁴ Idem.

⁴⁶⁵ Idem.

⁴⁶⁶ Idem

⁴⁶⁷ Idem

⁴⁶⁸ Idem

⁴⁶⁹ Idem

⁴⁷⁰ Mondéjar, Publio López, *Historia de la Fotografía en España*. Barcelona, Lunwerg Editores, 2003.

In the extreme circumstances of war "the artist loses its personal and subjective character to be converted into something collective, supportive and objective."⁴⁷¹ Publio Lopez Mondejar points out that "the photographer is the artist of disciplinary freedom, a freedom subject to objective requirements, higher than their individual will. Its function is to serve the common cause, the collective task of defeating the enemy, as previous phase to the new situation of social justice and freedom that is pursued."⁴⁷² Based on these assumptions, the artist, by being aware of the conjuncture that surrounds him, detaches himself from its asocial and individualistic position to operate in the service of large political propagandistic organizations responsible for broadcasting images. The imperative was not only to inform, but to win the war. Information and propaganda started to be mixed.

On both sides of the barricades, the newspapers played a central role in the war effort. Their front pages where pamphlets, in spite of most of its contents, as well as the arrangement pursued the purpose, through its aesthetics and efficiency, of launching agitation propaganda. Soon, they would adopt the formula of the political posters. In Spain, the first pages as *La Vanguardia* or *ABC Madrid*⁴⁷³, with a photography filling the front page together with a short title with impact and an explanatory background, are classic examples of posters. These two newspapers were competing in 1936 in illustrative presentation and stood out through the spectacularity of their pictures of the conflict. In Portugal, newspapers like *Diário de Notícias*, *O Século*, *Diário de Lisboa*, and others, invested in the image as a vehicle of propaganda that suited the regime. Following these assumptions, the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN), under the command of António Ferro, prepared and programmed the Portuguese journalists work during the war. It was urgent to give international credibility to "alzamiento" at the same time as they alerted for the eventual triumph of international Communism and the resulting access of Bolsheviks into Western Europe. For internal political propaganda, the already moribund ghost "Spanish danger". It was praised the "Franco crusades", while the "Marxist barbarism" was demonized.

Over three dozen Portuguese reporters were in Spain at that time, particularly in the period between the unfolding of the uprising, in July 1936, until December of that year, when the positions in Madrid war front stabilized and it was understood that the victory wasn't yet in the hands of the nationalists. Among them there were photographers like Deniz Salgado, Afonso Pereira de Carvalho, Salazar Dinis, Teodoro Medel de Aquino, Firmino Marques da Costa, Ferreira da Cunha, and when the journalists, themselves, also used the camera, seeking to sustain their words by captured images.

Faced with the help of the Portuguese government, the rebel fraction corresponded with all the support in order to facilitate the work of Portuguese information professionals. Luis Bolín, responsible for foreign journalists in the fascist territory, was quite permissive, helping them numerous times, both in free access to the territory as well with the logistics of insuring the press coverage of the conflict.

The August 8, Felix Correia, *Diário de Lisboa*'s correspondent, was the first journalist to interview General Franco, getting a world scoop. It is notorious that the Portuguese press got help, observing the completely different treatment Bolin gave to the other foreign press. Correspondents like Edmund Taylor, head of the European Delegation of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Bertrand de Jouvenal from *Paris Soir*, Webb Miller from *United Press*, Arthur Koestler and Dennis Weaver, both from *News Chronicle* were among those who were imprisoned and threatened with execution by Franco's press directors strict prescriptions, becoming famous among journalists abroad by saying "You journalists, deserve something worse than the shooting. "

4.The in Republican Spanish press

The Spanish Republican press facilitated more the work of foreign correspondents. They needed to show the world that they have been victims of lawlessness hoping to have the support of other democratic states in addition to collecting for itself the sympathy of public opinion to their cause. Anyhow, it was a conflict caused by an attempted coup that failed and degenerated into a spiral of violence throughout a country that was the target of the most flagrant violations of international law.

The two newspapers in the Republican field that focused the most on images, the *ABC* of Madrid and *La Vanguardia*, Barcelona, presented in the initial period of the war a very distant reality shown by the Portuguese press, as was the case of the *Diário de Lisboa* and *O Século*. Photography, despite being seen as an irrefutable proof of reality, will in fact be a powerful way to show an angle that does not always reflect the veracity of the facts.

⁴⁷¹ Excerto de um folheto intitulado "Función social del cartel publicitário", published em 1937.

⁴⁷² Mondéjar, 2003.

⁴⁷³ In civil war, there were two *ABC* editions, one under controlo f the republicans, in Madrid, and other with the insurgentes, in Sevilha.

4.1 . The reliability of peace and order

The photojournalistic coverage of ABC took his first steps on July 28. On the first page, with the title "The struggle in the Guadarrama mountains"⁴⁷⁴, is published a picture by of Alfonso Sánchez Portela showing the "guerrilla troops advancing in the slopes of the Alto de León"⁴⁷⁵, with a dozen soldiers to invest quickly against the enemy positions. It will be the first of a series of images whose content is substantiated in the reliability of the attack and continued advance of government forces. The fourth page is occupied by two pictures of the progress of loyal troops. In one, attributed to photographer Alfonso, a group of soldiers, "Guardia de Assalto" and Popular Front militia display the captured guns from the nationalists in front of Somosierra⁴⁷⁶. This photography ends in a rather strong symbolism. It is a clear collusion of forces between the various groups ranging composing the popular army, in a spirit of solidarity and unity towards a common cause, the return of Spain to the regime democratically elected by the people. This joining of forces will be, according to Republican propaganda, the key to military success against insurgents, and that union will be critical to the strength.

The July 24, *La Vanguardia* publishes the first moments of war that broke out in the Catalan capital through the eyes of Sagarra⁴⁷⁷. The images define the people as the main character of the events. There are elements of the Popular Front united with the police forces throughout the streets of the city, after defeating the enemy or actively participating in the fight, after taking the positions of the rebels in Catalunya Square or responding to the first wounded. The pictures show shows the conquered key points as well as the seized material. The military sector is also present, so that, to spread, like the Madrid daily, the idea of dialogue and concertation between the people and the army.

The allure of successful operations is a call for general mobilization. The national goal is channeled into the war effort and each one will have the time to give its input. Peasants, workers and other citizens are led to join the Republican ranks, thus giving the example for those who are still undecided. Under the title "Towards a new Spain", a peasant, symbol of rural workers, came to Madrid to fight with his brothers the enemies of the republican regime.⁴⁷⁸ Alfonso capted the worker with a hammer and sickle showing the communist symbol, representing the alliance between the workers proletariat and the peasants, calling for a new union, now to face the common enemy. It's important to highlight the example of ABC's own reporters taking up arms, replacing some times the pen by the sword.

Military operations are resumed to "enemy's cleaning"⁴⁷⁹ and "beat one of the last strongholds on the fronts"⁴⁸⁰ to a faceless enemy only known to be on the progress of Republican troops. That progress was permanent, "victorious"⁴⁸¹ or "triumphant"⁴⁸², causing the stampede of the nationalist forces, thanks often to artillery support, which "contributes to an effective way to remove the traitors."⁴⁸³ The good performance of forces prevents the recording of casualties in their ranks. Piortiz photographed nurses who "remained idle during the day."⁴⁸⁴

The political class is present in the fight. Several ministers visited the frontlines, and were warmly greeted by combatants without feeling the different hierarchy. Largo Caballero, Minister of State, appears in a photo that became iconic, along with a group of militiamen, effusive with his presence in the Alto do León.⁴⁸⁵ Durruti, leader of the anarchist movement, gives the example on the frontline, with a shotgun in hand with his comrades beside the column with his name.⁴⁸⁶

During the initial period of war, there was a conveyed idea, based on minimizing the gravity of the situation, showing it with a set of images which suggest calm, serenity and order in the Republican territory. It shows peace reigning in the capital and in the surrounds. Madrid continues to be a city that does not abdicate his vivacious spirit and the crops in the fields grow mostly in normality.

⁴⁷⁴ ABC, 28/07/1936, see annex 1.

⁴⁷⁵ ABC, 28/07/1936.

⁴⁷⁶ ABC, 28/07/1936

⁴⁷⁷ La Vanguardia, 24/07/1936, see annexs 3 e 4.

⁴⁷⁸ ABC, 30/07/1936.

⁴⁷⁹ ABC, 30/07/1936.

⁴⁸⁰ ABC, 31/07/1936.

⁴⁸¹ ABC, 31/07/1936.

⁴⁸² ABC, 01/08/1936.

⁴⁸³ ABC, 01/08/1936.

⁴⁸⁴ ABC, 01/08/1936. See annex 5.

⁴⁸⁵ La Vanguardia, 31/07/1936. See annex 6

⁴⁸⁶ La Vanguardia, 29/07/1936.

4.2. In Defense of Culture

Since elections, the Republican discourse appealed and recognized the importance of the defense and enhancement of Culture since the election, praising his struggle for obtaining values such as Freedom, Justice and Equality. With the outbreak of war, one of the strengths of their propaganda or counter-advertising against the accused of promoting the barbaric destruction of historical, cultural and artistic heritage, focused on self-reference while preserving agent, or even rescue of cultural heritage. In order to reflect responsibility, maturity of the democratic order and statesmanship, although the government confiscated wealthy families palaces of the National Front, soon the priority given to the preservation of property and its fillings from revolutionaries rambling fury, as succeeded with some churches around the country.

5. The commitment of the Portuguese correspondents

The war printed a very fast pace and Portuguese readers and spanish living near the border, yearned for news and pictures of the conflict. The best photo coverage was given by *Diário de Lisboa*. The August 28, publishes a full-page article with "images of pain and glory of the bloody struggle that rages in the neighboring country."⁴⁸⁷ Also the same page of the edition of the penultimate day of the month is entirely occupied by photographs of the Civil War⁴⁸⁸. There is in this edition a photo of a military column that runs to the front of Zaragoza "amid the acclamations of the crowd,"⁴⁸⁹ thus indicating the support of the insurgents already had. The September 18, highlights a sequence of images with various aspects of the fighting fronts, from the bombing of Talavera de la Reina to S. Sebastian, passed by the damage inflicted by the Nationalist aviation in Malaga, as well as the movement in the north, the Basque Country and Andalusia. Was thus shown the national scene.

5.1 Religious war and Marxist barbarism

Since the beginning of the war, there was the concern to justify the coup in order to give credibility to the insurrectionary movement that would, ideally, seize power and, therefore be, legitimized by governments and public opinion not only internally but especially wide internationally. One of the fronts of attack of the information wars in support of Francos cause focused on discredit of the democratically elected government by the people, and by the creation of the need for an urgent response to change the course of that choice, which was considered wrong. Republican institutions are shown to be unable to maintain public order and the required levels of security and stability necessary for the normal functioning of a nation. There is an association between chaos and entities linked to the government, labeled from the beginning of the conflict as impotent, or even conniving instigator of the chaos. The feeling of insecurity is pervasive, leading the reader in the imperative urgency of a radical change of the control of a country without a leash.

One of the flags of nationalist propaganda, copied to exhaustion by the Portuguese press, was to pass the idea that Western Christianity was in danger to before the Bolshevik Satanism. And, if in this sense, the images of the destruction of temples and religious symbols correspond to the materialization of this fear, it was based on a reading taken a little less than incontestable under which arrived in Spain an atheist boost coming from Moscow and Marxists are, by their nature, enemies of the Christian faith. As the latter tend to be incompatible with the field of sacred, feel imbued with the task of annihilating. Churches, symbol of the Christian presence and affirmation, are usually the target of his advances, gesture soon becomes associate an act of desperation, anticipatory of defeat, to the extent that translate a final and ultimate act of revenge, typical of those having to flee from the enemy, does not without first annihilating some of their most intimate symbols, those of a religious nature.

The images of the first destroyed churches were published in the first days of war, when the photos were broadcast of what's left of many⁴⁹⁰, of the state that was the chapel of the Virgen Macarena, "both the devotion of the Andalusian"⁴⁹¹ and "looks bleak"⁴⁹² of the church of San Roque. Here are references to a

⁴⁸⁷ *Diário de Lisboa*, 28/08/1936, see annex 7.

⁴⁸⁸ *Diário de Lisboa*, 28/08/1936.

⁴⁸⁹ *Diário de Lisboa*, 28/08/1936.

⁴⁹⁰ *O Século*, 30/07/1936.

⁴⁹¹ *O Século*, 12/08/1936. See annex 8.

similar fate in the Somosierra⁴⁹³, Niebla (Andalusia)⁴⁹⁴, Santa Marina, Seville⁴⁹⁵ and Torrejon⁴⁹⁶. Not even the convent of San Francisco, in Betanzos, near Corunna, who was considered a national monument, escaped to the "fire launched by the Communists."⁴⁹⁷

In parallel, they are also looking forward their disdain for heritage of the Church, as an image denote surgically chosen for publication that shows a baby Jesus that Marxists put as a police flagman at the crossing of two roads⁴⁹⁸.

The picture with high emotional impact is reflected by the publication of an image of a pain family, living moments of anguish, a feeling that is present in the mother's expression. The subtitle wanted to take dividends from the visual power of the illustration, describing it as a moment captured after the liberation of the eldest son by nationalist forces, and after the father had been shot the day before by the communists. This strong dramatic component picture was monetized to finalize the legend, to assert itself, that "it is always like that everywhere"⁴⁹⁹, noting that only in that locality "the communists killed 110 people!"⁵⁰⁰.

Regarding this troubled conjuncture, as outlined in the portraits by the fascists, the national army emerged as the necessary strength, liberating the heavy yoke to whom Spanish people were submitted. The campaign of demonization of the marxists, shows them with the desire of destruction, written down in their genetic code, being an activity inherent to their politics. The message is clear: the Red Terror is installed in Spain. The "Marxist hordes" are accused of perpetrating the worst atrocities exceeding morally acceptable limits. Images, moreover, would try to prove so.

5.2. Badajoz, censorship of a massacre

The August 15 1936, the national troops conquer Badajoz. The biggest photographic report would be published in the next day in *O Século*. On the first page, outstands the photo of "Marxist prisoners in the camps by the rebellious troops."⁵⁰¹ The commander of the operational forces, Coronel Yague, appears in this edition, read a copy of the newspaper itself, a clear gesture of complicity with the portuguese media.

Are mentioned the reactions of the population to the troops entered the city through the harnessing of white flags in the windows, but there are no inhabitants. The soldiers of the *Tercio* give a serene pose, with military equipment captured. There is calm and tranquility in a city that lived an antagonistic episode that is tried to be presented. While foreign newspapers were aware of the horrors that occurred in the city, the portuguese press omit it. Mário Neves, *Diário de Lisboa* journalist, would have his work entirely censored. Ferreira da Cunha, *Diário de Notícias*'s photographer, also self censored his work, excusing himself from capture the abandoned bodies in the city, wich were photographed by other reporters, choosing to show the border post, the bullring and the refugees in Elvas.

At a time of multiple efforts to build trust in the rebel movement in public opinion, they tried to hide the scale of the massacre after the taking of the city, by devaluation of the pictures of fighters killed in combat and other later shot, getting voted to silence the file. At the end of the section for the Badajoz conquest in *O Século*, some file contains photographs that contain militiamen killed, some of them we can assume that have been victims of capital punishment right there at that moment. In one of them, is more than a dozen corpses in a courtyard, indicating the atrocities committed by the victorious army⁵⁰².

The horrors perpetrated by nationalist forces in Badajoz were silenced. The pictures give an idea of a clean war, where order reigns and the enemy surrenders, believing in the benevolence and mercy of Franco's supporters, creating an illusory perception of reality to the newspapers reader.

⁴⁹² *Diário de Lisboa*, 12/08/1936.

⁴⁹³ *Diário de Lisboa*, 16/08/1936.

⁴⁹⁴ *Diário de Lisboa*, 21/08/1936.

⁴⁹⁵ *Diário de Lisboa*, 25/08/1936.

⁴⁹⁶ *O Século*, 12/11/1936.

⁴⁹⁷ *O Século*, 12/08/1936.

⁴⁹⁸ *Diário de Lisboa*, 25/09/1936.

⁴⁹⁹ *O Século*, 21/09/1936. See annex 9.

⁵⁰⁰ *O Século*, 21/09/1936.

⁵⁰¹ *O Século*, 16/08/1936, see annex 10.

⁵⁰² *O Século*'s photographic archives, cote SEC/AG/01-041/1067K, SEC/AG/01-041/1068K, SEC/AG/01- 041/1069K, SEC/AG/01-041/1070K. Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo. See annex 11.

6. Road to the victory, in Madrid

With the approach of the nationalist forces, in late October 1936, the Republican press accepted the inevitability to give notice that the enemy would soon be at the gates of the capital and that the agenda would be to resist. Therefore it was essential to create an environment between Madrid's population, of willingness to sacrifice. There was an immediate need to boost the morale of the troops and the population and to prepare them for the approaching painful struggle. Among multiple calls to resistance, "No pasarán!", *ABC* publishes first pages with photo montages of an amazing spectacularity.⁵⁰³

The Government of Burgos, certain of the victory of his troops en route to the capital, easy access to the front until the moment when, after the failed attempt to take Madrid in November 1936, the positions of the belligerents stabilize. It marks the return home of most of the reporters. Deniz Salgado, "Photographer of kings and king of photographers" as it was dubbed by the newspaper for which he worked, was the best portuguese professional image in the civil war⁵⁰⁴. He, and Firmino da Costa Marques, the *Diário de Notícias* photographer, were publicly honored on 29th November by their photojournalistic coverage of the war, a clear evidence as not only journalists, but also the portuguese photojournalists would be recognized by its war effort in the cause of Franco.

The period in which the propaganda was more active in both sides slow down from here. However, other episodes of relief would be targeted by the info wars, like Alcazar of Toledo, the bombing of Guernica that the Portuguese press attributes to the "reds", the advances and setbacks in the battles of Guadalajara, Jarama and Terruel. In late January 1939 falls Barcelona, and *La Vanguardia* passes into nationalists hands. The March 28th, Madrid succumbs as the republican *ABC*. In these editions, in tune with the Portuguese newspapers, get on the first page of the 29th the photo of Franco, the winner. The war ended.

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⁵⁰³ *ABC*, 16/11/1936, 17/11/1936, 18/11/1936, 20/11/1936 e 23/11/1936. See annexs 12 and 13.

⁵⁰⁴ *Diário de Lisboa* 29/10/1936 3 23/11/1936. See annexs 14 and 15.

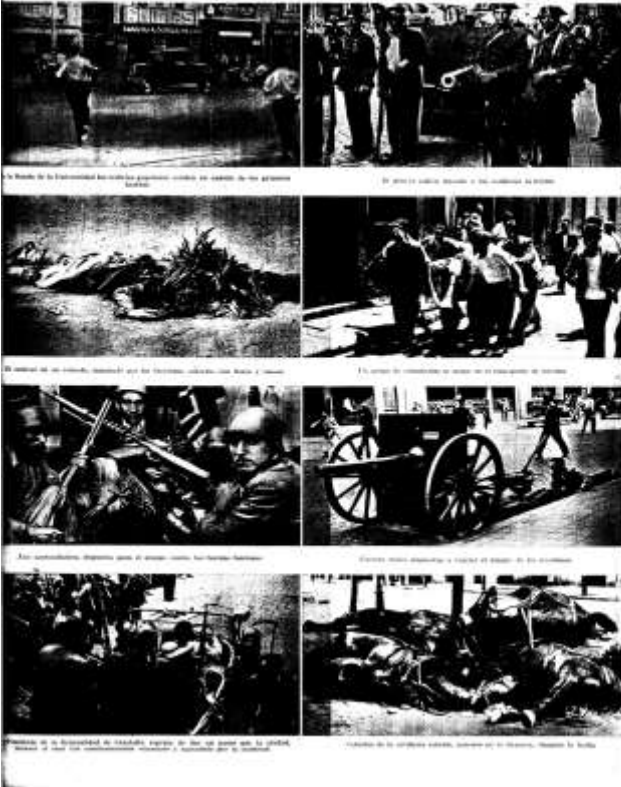
Annexs

Annex 1 and 2



Annexs 3 and 4

militar en Barcelona



Gráficos de la rebelión



Annexs 5 and 6



EL SEÑOR LARGO CABALLERO EN EL ALTO DEL LEÓN



Annexs 7 and 8



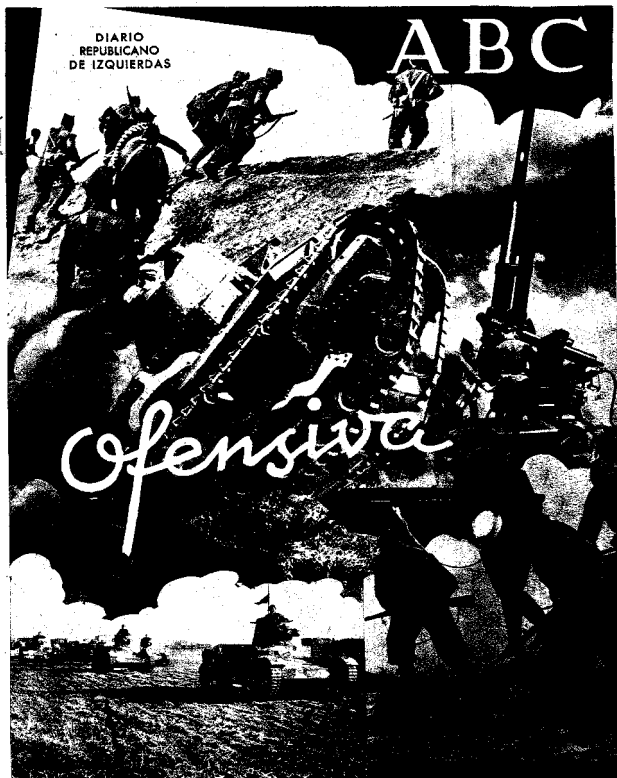
Annexs 9 and 10



Annex 11



Annexs
12 and 13





Press and Propaganda

The illustrated *paper bullets* in World War I

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From the title «The illustrated *paper bullets* in World War I » I will address, as briefly as is required the main publications of war propaganda in the Portuguese language from 1914 to 1918.

This is a time when, in fact, two wars unfolded: one of armies and civilians smitten by the battles and the other of offices. A war cabinet which is, as in 1914, writes the Austrian journalist and writer Karl Kraus, «as deadly as the grenades».

«[...] A war of war cabinet and sovereigns, propagandists and idealists, full of ambitions and ideals and political authorities, which determine the future of empires, nations and peoples, in such forceful ways as [the armies] in the field battle» (Gilbert, 2007:13). This says Martin Gilbert. In a simpler form: a war of paper bullets, since it is fought through the press.

Let's see: The governments of the war, both the Allies, as in the central empires, learn to use the media to their advantage, transform newspaper organs of information on objects of propaganda, limiting free speech through censorship and controlling published content through propaganda, producing texts and images themselves, distributed through the offices created under the Ministries of War or news agencies of each state.

Thus, returning to the place of utopia, the liberal idea that all citizens can communicate their thoughts in the press, or by any other means, without reliance on censorship. In this period of the war, the state regulates, with the force of law, the exercise of this right, by limiting the freedom of expression through censorship and punishing newspapers and journalists by alleged or actual abuse.

This is how the press will play, during the war and worldwide, an active role in the building up of public opinion. Portugal is no exception to this rule, but, between us, the press assumes greater importance from the commissioning of the war cabinet created by Norton de Matos under the Ministry of War. This cabinet has two areas: the military-technical one and propaganda. The area of propaganda, which is of interest here, together with the work of the Photographic Service of the CEP, ensures disclosure by the press of the message that the government aims to convey to the Portuguese.

It's called war propaganda, implemented in order to secure the support of public opinion to the Allied cause in the war, which has, in Portugal, as in other countries within the conflict, a powerful asset: the illustrated press. As Portugal, despite being a small country and having come to war only in 1917, also has its illustrated periodicals, highlighting the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, newspaper supplement of *O Século* newspaper, which as is well known, account with photos of Joshua Benoliel; and *Portugal na Guerra*, illustrated quarterly magazine, created in 1917, and directed from Paris by Augusto Pina; and even *O Espelho*, that, though not being Portuguese, is produced in Portuguese, in London, and for Portugal and Brazil. Among us there were also therefore, readers for the illustrated press which, during the war, became the most sought after by all.

The *Ilustração Portuguesa* is known, has been studied , so I have decided to study the magazine *Portugal na Guerra* and the newspaper *O Espelho*.

Portugal na Guerra , illustrated magazine of war propaganda

The *Portugal na Guerra* began to be published on June 1, 1917, in Paris , under the direction of Augusto Pina. Its tabloid format, is printed on newsprint, simultaneously in English and French, and is distributed in France, Portugal and Brazil, with the aim of documenting the war effort of Portugal and maintaining high national spirit. These were lofty goals which did not have time to bear fruit, as, after the first seven numbers, the magazine *Portugal na Guerra* was suspended by Sidónio Pais, in December 1917.

But while it is broadcast irregularly , although it bore in the header the intention of being fortnightly, had the work of journalists , writers and well-known artists, such as Mayer Garção and Alfredo Mesquita , as well as photos of Arnaldo Garcez - the CEP photographer that photographing the war in Flanders, or the war that the Portuguese ministry of war wanted to show, half a year of war in the trenches of Flanders, portraits of personalities allied friends of Portugal, presidents, kings , prime-ministers and chief ministers of the allied countries, diplomats and republican governors' visits to France.

I think that the magazine *Portugal na Guerra* makes probably more for the image of Portugal to the allies than three years of diplomatic negotiations.

***O Espelho*, illustrated newspaper of war propaganda**

O Espelho, whose number one is published in September 1914, in London, is one of the illustrated newspapers of war propaganda produced under the War Propaganda Bureau, directly under the War Office. *O Espelho*, like other titles, mirrors the historic The Illustrated London News in order to promote the cause of the allies and blame the central empires - the enemy - in Portugal and Brazil.

However, as a consequence of being published in Portuguese there were those who have considered it a Portuguese newspaper. And yet, as during the war, it assumes itself like a newspaper in Brazil, there are also those who have considered it Brazilian. Moreover, it is for this reason that the registration of *O Espelho* at the British Library Newspapers, in London, indicates the Brazilian origin of the newspaper.

But, after consulting the full collection *O Espelho* and having analyzed the editorial published in the end of the war, and having observed the evolution of the newspaper after the war, I confirmed the English origin of the *O Espelho*, as well as its place of yield, in other words, the Section of Portugal and South America in the War Propaganda Bureau, in London.

O Espelh fully complies with the mechanics of British propaganda strategy. That is, it omits the English origin and indicates the origin in the country which it wants to persuade and convince about the cause of the Allies. This is intended to secure the support of Portuguese speakers in Portugal and in Brazil, to the cause of the Allies, presenting it as a national cause against a common enemy. This is how the British lead neutral countries to war. It is the strategy they use in Brazil and, more intensely, in the U.S., whose entry into the armed conflict turns out to be decisive for the Allied victory in this war.

Conclusion

Therefore, war propaganda manipulates the audience of newspapers and magazines, persuading them and convincing them of the benefits of their countries' participation in the war. And as propaganda based on use of the image, the illustrated press is a prime means of persuasion, no wonder the states in confrontation produce newspapers and magazines of propaganda, simulating its origin in certain countries. It is this way on the two sides of the war, but it is in England that this expedient is mostly used. Indeed, it is in England that the war propaganda is further developed during the World War I.

In Portugal, although the press is not as powerful as the British, French, German or American press, and despite the propaganda machine assembled by Norton de Matos not being as evolved or having as numerous means as the propaganda of the major belligerent states, the truth is that the press, in general, and the illustrated press, in particular, is, during World War I, a powerful weapon, either in the battle that rages between interventionists and anti-interventionists or in the act of persuading and convincing the Portuguese public of the allied cause in the war.

Now, how do you persuade and convince the public or even family members of soldiers who leave for the battlefields of Flanders, sometimes returning mutilated, lifeless, or simply do not return? Creating a heroic image of war. Selecting images that help maintain the motivation of the troops on the battlefield and create a public opinion favorable to the interventionists' ideas and entirely blame the enemy, without showing how the war is bloody, so as not to arise these feelings among anti-interventionist people.

It is, therefore, that, despite all we know that war rips off wombs, mutilates, destroys, kills, this war is not what we see when we look from a distance through reports, chronicles, photos, engravings, drawings... published in media, especially in illustrated newspapers and magazines of war propaganda. It is this embellished reality on the pages of newspapers and magazines that gives authenticity to a statement during World War I, in 1917, by U.S. Senator Hiram Warren Johnson which is as follows: «The first casualty when war comes is truth».

The cruel campaign of pro-German press against Romanones's Government in 1915-1917

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Spain had known the propaganda's power at the end of nineteenth century when the American journalist, and owner of a Press Trust, William Randolph Hearst, through media manipulation, broke the Spanish-American war, to achieve benefits for his commercial and political interests. In 1914, when war broke in Europe, Spain remained outside, but the spectre of the war intervention was real during Romanones's Government (1915-1917). "The Good Press" under Germany control, launched a campaign of harassment and vilification against Romanones.

Introduction

Spain was neutral during I World War, but the Spanish society was fractured between Anglophiles and Germanophiles, the supporters of the war participation and the neutral. Even the Royal family was divided. The Queen Victoria Eugenia de Battenberg, Queen's Victoria granddaughter, was in favour of the Allies, meanwhile the Queen Mother Maria Cristina of Habsburgo, Kaiser's niece, was remained in favour of the Central Empires. The fracture was increasing during the first two years of conflict. When European war was broke, the Spanish Prime Minister was the Galician politician, from Conservative Party, Eduardo Dato. He was able to maintain the Spanish neutrality by applying of what technically it was a cover dictatorship; not calling the Parliament and governing by decree. Dato's Government failed at the end of 1915 and the King Alfonso XIII immediately appointed Romanones, from Liberal Party, as a new Prime Minister on December 9.

The Prime Minister Romanones

Romanones remained at power until 19 April 1917, a long period crucial to understanding the crisis of the Restoration and the subsequent settlement and where the war and the impact on civilians Spanish are noted so very special. On 16 March 1916, the King signed a decree dissolving the Parliament. The Liberal Party leadership was dispersed and Romanones thought it would be within reach of his hand. Romanones nominated Santiago Alba, the bastion of the Castilian agrarian interests and the most important *cacique* (local ruler) of Valladolid, as a Government Minister. One of the objectives of Romanones was finish with the Catalan *Lliga Regionalista* led by Francesc Cambó, and Romanones had believed than Santiago Alba was the key to obtain his purpose. Alba, with the same aim, formed an electoral coalition "El Pacto de la Castellana" with liberals, republicans, and federals, for April 9 voting. It was a literal war declaration for Catalan nationalists.⁵⁰⁵ Romanones also promised to end the crisis by stimulating the economy in order to meet shortages, rising prices, inflation and unemployment by creating high expectations among the population. Obviously he could not fulfil his promise. In contrast, during 1916 and especially in 1917, changes in the economy because of the war were so fast and furious that it was impossible to take them, causing the deepest crisis was still without a vision possible output. The changes were not only economic, the social and ideological were especially crucial to start the beginning of the end of the political *canovist* system.⁵⁰⁶

We can distinguish two types of policies in Romanones's Government: internal and external. About the first one there are three determinant agents, workers, bourgeoisie, and Army. The Germany submarine attacks towards to merchant Spanish vessels was determinant in Romanones's international policy, and will be the key for the difficult decision to maintain the Spanish neutrality. Both policies can't be separated because the actions of one affect the other immediately. Romanones not only interested in the internal matter but also for the international. Never until then had been so ready to go to war. Romanones continued preaching neutrality, but their personal preferences to intervene on the side of the Allies were increasingly.

⁵⁰⁵ Enric UCÉLAY-DA CAL, *El imperialismo catalán. Prat de la Riba, Cambó, D'Ors y la conquista moral de España*. Barcelona: Edhasa, 203, pp. 725-726.

⁵⁰⁶ In reference of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, six terms Spanish Prime Minister between 1874-1897. He was a principal author of the Spanish Constitution of 1876.

Internal Policy

The working class was whom more suffered the difficult than the European war situation comported. It was a paradox, but labour troubles were decreasing during the war. These years are not so conflictive; in any case the conflicts will come after 1918 with the fall on demand and the excess of manpower in factories.⁵⁰⁷ The most important riots during the conflagration were about livelihoods crises, not by the labour unrest. Factory workers had seen their wages increased due to the increase of production and the substantial profits. Meanwhile the situation of agrarian workers was the opposite. Most of them migrate to cities thanks of the labour demand, good salaries and living conditions. Some products increase their exportation and helps to develop industrial sectors, but it was not the same for the agrarian goods.

The dynamic commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was looked down by Restoration policy rules, which basically were nothing more than a coalition between the Crown, the Army and the financial oligarchies and landlords of Andalusia and the centre of the Peninsula. The war became an opportunity for an unexpected economic prosperity and quick industrialisation. The great beneficiary was the Catalan bourgeoisie than who took advantage on profits of the business war. His economic power was increasing and the same time was trusting on obtaining his autonomy from Spain. The Catalan textile factories were working without stop to provide goods, first to countries involved in war, and then to markets forgotten by belligerent countries. The major problem was the difficult to export and the difficult to get raw material. Alfonso Sala, Deputy for Terrassa (one of the more important wool textile industry cities in Spain) did a lot of actions to get profit for his town, increasing the entry of raw material, improving the commercial transport and getting important orders from the belligerent countries. In 1916, through a French parliamentaries, Sala had the job of supplying clothes and blankets for French Army. The order was distributed among all textile factories in Terrassa.⁵⁰⁸

The textile industry was not the only one to profit from the situation. There are also other Catalan industrial sectors were favoured by the lack of foreign imports. Without having competition, could work to supply the domestic market, being a potent stimulus for the production. In these industries we find the real service companies such as electrical, engineering, or metallurgy. The same phenomenon was seen in other industrial areas, as was the case of steel and shipping companies in the Basque Country and Santander or Asturias mining industry. The conflicts were among the most advanced industries and modern capitalism than demanded dynamic with agrarian sectors in Castile and Andalusia, two different views of the industrial and capital world. The shift system was a hindrance party, in which the chiefs and the clientele had a primary role and nothing could be changed, neither in the political nor the economic.⁵⁰⁹

It was precisely this bourgeoisie, which put the Government between the devil and the deep blue sea. Romanones's leadership was in danger despite being the Prime Minister. The strong man of the match was Alba who had the desire to replace Romanones and become party leader and his successor in the government. But Alba's ambitions clashed head-on with Cambó, who wanted the destruction of the parties turn in order to modernize the country and consolidate the hegemony of Catalan capitalism in Spain. Cambó was a stumbling block for Alba, but the Catalan politician came out stronger after the April elections, with sufficient support and confidence to undertake an offensive against the ruling oligarchies in Madrid.⁵¹⁰

The political skills of Cambó, before and after the elections, went thrown directly into a great adventure, the moral conquest of Spain. Looking elections *La Lliga* had published the manifesto for "Catalonia and Great Spain".⁵¹¹ At the opening up of new Parliament, Cambó presented an amendment to Crown Message. In his memoirs said that there were expectations and "meant that all attention was concentrated on the action we should take in the political debate".⁵¹² Cambó landed in Madrid with all the artillery to take the project forward. Alba held the portfolio of Finance after the election. He presented a program for 10 years, claiming to reduce the deficit that meant keeping the campaign in Morocco introducing a new tax in order to collect the benefits of trade and industry. The benefits of agriculture were left unscathed. This was an outrage because the landed oligarchy did not look affected. Cambó formed a coalition of economic groups, becoming the leader of the industrial interests.⁵¹³

Refuted one by one the points presented in the Alba's program, Cambó dominate the situation very soon. The duel that kept both political session of the Parliament highlighted the conflict of interest between the old

⁵⁰⁷ Eduardo CALLEJA GONZÁLEZ, *La razón de la fuerza. Orden público, subversión y violencia política en la España de la Restauración (1875-1917)*, Madrid, CSIC, 1998, p. 476.

⁵⁰⁸ Xavier MARCET (dir.), *Terrassa segle XX, 1867-1993*, Terrassa, Diario de Terrassa, 1993-1994, p. 107.

⁵⁰⁹ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ, *España 1914-1918*. Barcelona, Crítica, 2002, pp. 50-53.

⁵¹⁰ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ, *España ...*, p. 53.

⁵¹¹ Enric UCÉLAY-DA CAL, *El imperialismo ...*, p. 726.

⁵¹² Francesc CAMBÓ, *Memòries (1876-1936)*, 2a. ed., Barcelona, Editorial Alpha, 1981, vol. I, p. 235.

⁵¹³ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ, *España ...*, p. 57.

agrarian oligarchy and the modern industrial bourgeoisie. Cambó was a great speaker. The suspicions aroused the political ascent of Alba shining among Parliament's members, this situation played for Cambó. Romanones saw as his leadership within the party endangered for the benefit of Alba. Romanones seeing Alba defending fiercely his project said:

Glad of the energy and skill with which the regional minority annulled his efforts and was lowering his claims and prestige.⁵¹⁴

Basically, he knew if Alba could approved the project, he will became the man who have saved the economy and finances of the country, leaving Romanones in the second term and would be forced to give way to the party leadership.⁵¹⁵

The Army also suffered the consequences of war. In late 1916 officials Infantry from Barcelona began to organize in a *Juntas de Defensa*. The Infantry there was more discomfort felt discriminated against compared to other Army Corps. The evolution of the policy had accentuated the split in the organization of the State. On one side the King and his armies and the other the Government and other political institutions. The King was the backbone that gave primacy to the Army, which was gaining weight in the preservation of the social and political order while representing a guarantee of the unity of the State. The impact of the war helped to accelerate the disintegration of the *canovist* system.⁵¹⁶

International Policy

Germany launched an underwater campaign to torpedo vessels. Spain, despite its neutrality, also severely affected. The torpedoes at Allied ships had been criticized, especially when the German submarine U-20 sank the *Lusitania*, a luxury liner killed on 7 May 1915 off the coast of Ireland, causing great international condemnation. It was a passenger ship journey to New York. Among the 1,200 dead, the American engineer Frederick Stark Pearson, founder of the Barcelona Traction, Light & Power, "La Canadenca". In 1916 some German submarines got some supplies in Spanish waters by the Majorcan Juan March's small boat, but without touching port. On June 21, the submarine U-35, based in Pula, Istria, and commanded by Vice Admiral Lothar von Arnould de la Pirie, arrived in Cartagena. This submarine was suspected of being responsible for several attacks on Allied convoys that sailed the Mediterranean.⁵¹⁷ The official version was carrying a letter for the King, was twenty-four hours in port and set sail.⁵¹⁸ The newspapers, depending on the trend, condemned the facts or treated like a heroic feat, such as *El Correo Español*

In Cartagena was to be. There, where the Roman effort, representing civilization and culture for centuries, today represents the German effort.⁵¹⁹

From here, the German submarines attacks were increasingly common.

Romanones's domestic policy, with important issues such as the need for military reform, or the crisis of livelihood, was eclipsed by the Government foreign policy. Spanish neutrality was in danger, especially during 1916 to the extent that Spain was in the doorway of the war. Then, the word "neutrality" tantamount to patriotism, to Spanishness, and was in the basic roots of the Germanophile vocabulary. Romanones could not disguise the practice of international politics increasingly favourable to the Allies, though officially the country had not changed its policy towards intervention. On 9 March 1916, Germany declared war on Portugal. It was important to put something in the Iberian Peninsula in the crosshairs of both the Central Powers and the Allies. Romanones was no active intervention in the conflict, but instead, it was for "benevolent neutrality" with the Allies, particularly France and Britain. So Romanones had to have a display of his diplomatic trustworthy and sheltered from the press, the public opinion and especially the control of Parliament. To achieve its objective, Romanones named the Canary Fernando León y Castillo, Marquis of the Muni, in front of the Spanish legation in Paris. The diplomat had an impossible mission: to change the international status of Tangier in favour for the Spanish sovereignty. Tangier was a key element in the control of the Mediterranean and for the pacification of the Spanish protectorate of Morocco.⁵²⁰ Obviously France was unwilling to yield to the Spanish claims, and

⁵¹⁴ Francesc CAMBÓ, *Op. cit.* vol. I, p. 248.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁵¹⁶ Carolyn P. BOYD, *La política pretoriana en el reinado de Alfonso XIII*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1990.

⁵¹⁷ The submarine U-35 commanded by Lothar von Arnould de la Pirie, from November 1915 until May 1918, sank 189 merchant ships.

⁵¹⁸ According to the Hague Convention, it could be 24 hours.

⁵¹⁹ CIRICI VENTALLÓ, "Aurora de rendición", *El Correo Español*, 22 de juny de 1916.

⁵²⁰ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ. *España ...*, p. 74.

Great Britain was no also excited by the idea. Alfonso XIII recognized that Poincare had asked that Tangier should be in Spanish zone, however when asked to monarch about Portuguese colonies, he replied:

I exposed to the Emperor of Germany my refusal to cooperate in their projects on the Portuguese colonies.⁵²¹

Romanones sought public support for its foreign policy. Antonio Maura was still the most respected right wing politician in the country and his opinion was very valuable. On September 4, Maura met the King and Romanones to work together in a speech that Maura had to pronounce in Berlanga:

Mr Maura's speech fell like a bomb, and the passions been unleashed such as had never been known before. Especially among Germanophiles, they say, nothing less than Maura and Lerroux will walk hand-in-hand.⁵²²

In contrast to the Maura's approach to Romanones caused indifference, or was not very well received in diplomatic circles, because it was interpreted as blackmail to the Allied powers of Spain.⁵²³

Press campaign against Romanones

The Central Powers were not so passive in his response. From September it launched a campaign of harassment and vilification against Romanones. The Germans exercised considerable control of the Spanish media coming from the right. It was the time than Spain was closer to entering in European War. The international policy was decisive for his Government, the continuous attacks of German submarines to the Spanish merchant vessels, which caused great economic losers and prevented adequate supplies for the population, will also have very soon its repercussions in the internal policy. Because of the war, the changes in the economy were so fast and furious than it was impossible to take them. The economic changes, and lack of staples, were the cause of the deep crisis. Spain was still without the vision of a possible solution, but his public opinion was divided in supporters and opponents of the intervention were initiating his particular war in the press. The price of the paper was increasing; its high cost had made impossible the maintenance of certain publications. This it was the opportunity of Germany than begun to buy as much periodicals as he could to take under his control maintaining public opinion favourable to their cause. From the monarchic *ABC*, through the carlist *El Correo Español*, the catholic *El Debate*, but even of the anarchist CNT *Solidaridad Obrera*, or the republican left-wing *Nueva España*, among others, received large sums of money from Germans, and they were held by Germanophiles or they were directly owned by Germans. In 1916, Germany spent 500,000 pesetas in the handling and control of the Spanish press. At the end of the war Germans and Austrians controlled more than 500 periodical titles in Spain.⁵²⁴ The press had already started their offensive in September 1916 and was "amplified" it in December while the Germans increased the surveillance and spying. Romanones was the target of Teutonic fury, accused of smuggling day after another, speculation and incompatibility of office with private business. The apocalyptic visions of some newspapers inside the German orbit were devastating.

We can find an example of what Romero Salvadó said in the Carlist journalist Domingo Cirici. Cirici in *El Correo Catalan*, and since 1916 also in the Catholic newspaper *El Debate*, had always been faithful to his cause, but within the courtesy parameters and without losing the humour sense that made him popular. When war begun, he wrote a fiction: *The secret of Lord Kitchener. European war fantasy*, where he make fun about Allies, specially the British.⁵²⁵ The book was a bestseller, becoming two editions of 18,000 copies between the two, and translated into German and Swedish.⁵²⁶

On 12 December the Central Powers proposed the peace with conditions. This proposal was not accepted. The Spanish society was totally polarized and tensions between Romanones and Germanophiles were high voltage. The press had already started their offensive in September was "amplified" while the Germans increased the surveillance and spying. Germany had an extensive network of spies. The submarine attacks

⁵²¹“Mi reinado”, *ABC*, 27 de febrer de 1966, p. 10

⁵²² *El Liberal*, 17 de setembre 1916, URL: [http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Liberal.%20El%20\(Madrid.%201879\)/1916/191609/19160917/19160917_00000.pdf?#search=%22antonio%20Maura%22](http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Liberal.%20El%20(Madrid.%201879)/1916/191609/19160917/19160917_00000.pdf?#search=%22antonio%20Maura%22) [consult 20th. August 2011].

⁵²³ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ. *España*, p. 77.

⁵²⁴ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ. *España*, pp. 79-80.

⁵²⁵ Domingo CIRICI VENTALLÓ, *El secreto de Lord Kitchener. Fantasía sobre la guerra europea*. Madrid: El Correo Español, 1914.

⁵²⁶ Domingo CIRICI VENTALLÓ, *Kitcheners Geheimnis*. Barcelona und Leipzig, 1915; I també es va traduir al suec, Domingo CIRICI VENTALLÓ, *Kitcheners hemlighet. En fantasi om världskriget*. Stockholm: Fröléen, 1915.

were intensified since January, firing torpedoes that any vessel, allied or neutral, it goes to a harbour ally. The incident led the United States to break diplomatic relations with Germany. Romanones would have done the same as the U.S. government, if public opinion had not been so divided.⁵²⁷ Romanones was regarded as the main enemy in Spain by Germany. He was the target of Teutonic fury, accused of smuggling day after another, speculation and incompatibility of office with private business. The apocalyptic visions of some newspapers were devastating. For example, an article signed by Julio Perez published in *La Nación* on 26 January, entitled:

Is it lawful for a company be interested in contraband of war and play at the same time president of the board of a neutral country?⁵²⁸

The situation had reached a point of no return. Romanones made a proposal to the Entente, via Paris, to join the war in exchange for compensation. The idea excited the Foreign Office, but still, seriously appreciated the advantage of Spain's entry would bring at the Allies.⁵²⁹ In the secret memo from the Office of Foreign War Office, the report is headlined with the following statement:

So far as the Foreign Office are concerned the entrance of Spain into the war on the side of the Allies could certainly not be regarded as an unmingled blessing.⁵³⁰

But nonetheless, it could be beneficial: Spain was a Catholic country and this could mean the acceptance of the position of the Allies by other Catholic countries, especially in Latin America, Germany had a good share of the Spanish market, its demise could be used for British business expansion, and as had happened with Portugal, Spain might seize German ships anchored in Spanish ports.

In return, Spain demanded compensation for his intervention, in fact there were three: Tangier, Gibraltar and "free hand in Portugal". The Foreign Office said, respect Tangiers, it was against their interests annoy France, and even if he agreed to the change of status, something unlikely. Accepting the proposal would threaten France, as Spain had no ability to control or develop Tangier, Gibraltar was a sacred issue by the British. Spain offered Ceuta in exchange for Gibraltar. The mountains surrounded Ceuta belonging to the international zone of Tangier, this could lead to problems with France, problems than Britain wanted to avoid. The exchange of places poses no benefit to Britain, Spain had aspirations of Portugal, according to the Foreign Office, it would possibly than Spain did not wanted to annex Portugal, but maintain a state of superiority in the country. This went against British interests, as was Portugal's oldest Ally, on the other hand the ups and downs of the Portuguese Republican politics had become a headache for England, and was unwilling than complication them with the Spanish intervention. Also, another problem was added, Spain had not explicit need a loan or special financial conditions to go to war. It happened with the other Allies, and Spain did not seem to be the exception that proves the rule. None of the Spanish proposals were of Great Britain's interest. The bottom line of the report was that the Foreign Office was more concerned that Spain will continue to be neutral.⁵³¹

Throughout 1916 the Chief of British Military Legation at Madrid, Jocelyn Grant, had contacts with officers and artillery members of Estado Mayor. Do not know if it was the same person that March 25, 1917 had a conversation with General Primo de Rivera in Cadiz. The document does not specify the pile name of the general, but probably was Miguel Primo de Rivera, because was appointed military governor of Cadiz since 1915. The Foreign Office secret report refers to this conversation. Primo de Rivera was willing to give up Ceuta and even Tangier to give in exchange for the recovery of Gibraltar to Spain. Spain was not Africa, however, does Gibraltar was Spanish territory. According to Primo, The Catholic Queen Isabella had pronounced the following sentence:

We must occupy the lands of the Mediterranean without losing Gibraltar.⁵³²

The memorandum was accompanied with a series of reports. Including a joint note of the General Staff of the War Admiralty on the value of Spain as an Ally. It is a complete inventory of the state of the Army, the number of his troops, weapons, ships, ammunition ... The conclusions are hard and said than Spain had an army obsolete, comparable to Romania. However, he had two advantages over Romania, which borders the

⁵²⁷ Francisco J. ROMERO SALVADÓ. *España ...*, pp. 87-90.

⁵²⁸ Julio PÉREZ, "¿Es lícito hallarse interesado en una empresa de contrabando de guerra y desempeñar al mismo tiempo la presidencia de un consejo de un país neutral?" *La Nación*, 26 de gener 1917, URL: [http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Nación.%20La%20\(Madrid.%201916\)/1917/191701/19170126/19170126_00000.pdf](http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Nación.%20La%20(Madrid.%201916)/1917/191701/19170126/19170126_00000.pdf) [consult 20th August 2011].

⁵²⁹ CAB 23/2 WC. 91, 8th. March 1917

⁵³⁰ CAB 24/7 GT.198, March 1917.

⁵³¹ CAB 24/7 GT. 198, March 1917.

⁵³² CAB 24/10 GT. 401, 25th. March 1917.

threshold were not any enemy country, and it was good in case to have to instruct the troops to go fight in France, because it would displace them, and the other was that it had direct access to land in France and would not require ships to cash transfers. Spain could have 200,000 men from military service, over 140,000 more between 22 and 34 year old. The Army had 300,000 active over 180,000 men in reserve. Guns were inadequate and out-dated, with the aggravating circumstance that Spain did not have the technical capacity to manufacture the necessary weapons, ships were old, had 30 years, but could be useful and can be availed of for merchant vessels in an attempt to avoid the attacks of German submarines, is to shield.

The advantage was that Spain had the largest number of men available, at least he could have 500,000 men in that an instruction should be minimal. It would be troops standing to reinforce the trenches in France. It also had other advantages as naval ports, Balearic and Canary Islands.⁵³³ With Spanish participation, Great Britain would get control of the Strait of Gibraltar, then neutral, the Moroccan coast, and Spanish and Portuguese troops could go to France by land, always cheaper than the alternative of moving by boat and because of the attacks of the German submarine had become a dangerous practice. In favour of the intervention was also necessary to consider the mineral wealth of Spain. But in contrast, there were also disadvantages: the submarines could increase attacks. While Spain remained neutral, the Germans could not attack the ships that sailed its waters, if it entered the war itself. Should protect ports to test submarine networks, and the coast of Spain was very extensive. Spain had good things that might take, but it should not spend too much time before it could see the benefits. In summary disadvantages were greater than benefits.⁵³⁴

There are more reports of the Foreign Office also evaluates potential profits for England hypothetical participation of Spain in the side of the Allies. For example, in case of appropriation, as had been done in Portugal a year earlier, calculated the tonnage of ships Germans and Austrians were in Spanish ports. The Foreign Office also wrote a detailed report on the mineral resources, pyrite, copper, iron ... and their industries. These stood in the city of Bilbao, as the main producer of steel and steel plate that was exported to France, Barcelona and textile producer, and the production of small arms.⁵³⁵

While the Foreign Office diplomacy and assessed whether or not the entry of Spain into the war, the United States added to the Allies in April. That changed things, and the Foreign Office before the entry of the Americans decided to study better the proposed participation of Spain. On April 6, the Foreign Office decided that given the three interim reports, the issue of exchange of Gibraltar for Ceuta had to be studied, in reference to iron and other minerals Spanish property was not worth talking about it more given the difficulties with transport.⁵³⁶ Romanones wanted to make public the abandonment the Spanish neutrality, but before he met with Mr. Vaughan, British ambassador in Madrid. Romanones was convinced it was time to stop being neutral, which had the support of the King, even though it had been difficult for the pro-German influence around was great. He added that if Britain did not accept his proposal was ready to resign. Vaughan also reported to Romanones that he had met with the French ambassador to ask the support of the media and influence in public opinion by step that Spain would give, the decision was very thoughtful, and postponed opposition from members of his own Cabinet, but it was already solve. Vaughan was supposed than Romanones did not have the population support, and all depended on the attitude of the Army. Everything seemed to suspect that the military felt more sympathy for the Germans. The British ambassador asked the Foreign Office if Britain wished to encourage the abandonment the Spanish neutrality or not. In any case, asked a common position between the French and British embassies and instructions for urgent actions.⁵³⁷

The press campaign against Romanones was devastating. His active participation with the Allies did not have the success he expected. The entry of the United States in the fight was an offense. Some leading articles in *La Correspondencia Militar*, put in evidence that the military were not willing to fight on the same side than had humbled Spain in 1898.⁵³⁸ It was a paradox, but the press in favour of the intervention harmed Romanones's interests because socialists, with Pablo Iglesias ahead, were campaigning for the abandonment of

⁵³³ Francisco Javier PONCE MARRERO, *Canarias en la Gran Guerra, 1914-1918: estrategia y diplomacia. Un estudio sobre la política exterior de España*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 2006.

⁵³⁴ CAB 24/7 GT. 161, 14th. March 1917

⁵³⁵ CAB 24/7 GT. 164, 15th March 1917

⁵³⁶ CAB 23/2 WC. 115, 6th. April 1917

⁵³⁷ CAB 24/10 GT.432, telegrams from Mr. Vaughan to Mr. Balfour, Secretary of State of FO on 11 and 12 April 1917.

⁵³⁸ "La actual situación de España. Notas del momento", *La Correspondencia Militar*, 13 d'abril de 1917, URL: http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Correspondencia%20militar.%20La/1917/191704/19170413/19170413_12040.pdf [consult 21 August 2011]; "La situación actual de España. Ejército y neutralidad", *La Correspondencia Militar*, 14th April 1917, URL: http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Correspondencia%20militar.%20La/1917/191704/19170414/19170414_12041.pdf [consult 21 August 2011].

neutrality. However, the news arriving from Russia were troubling and political elites blamed on the Allies. The campaign of attacks by German submarines was a leech on the Spanish economy and reaching the highest point when the *San Fulgencio*, carrying a cargo of coal was torpedoed and sinking.

Regarding domestic politics, Alba lost the battle. The failure of his project, and especially the campaign against Romanones putting the blame on him and who make responsible for the turmoil that existed in Morocco, so unfair as Cambo, he had left the government in a precarious position on 9th January 1917 when Romanones put his resignation to the King.⁵³⁹ He renewed trust in him, but the parliamentary collapse and closing of the Parliament on February 26, the government made impossible. The King commissioned García Prieto the formation of a new government. Romanones resigned on April 19 1917. On day 21 the Madrid's newspaper *La Acción*, published a cartoon, in colour, which saw the count of Romanones pierced by a sword, which was read in the hand wielding the "press" and "neutral" on the blade.⁵⁴⁰ This will put an end to the cruel campaign of pro-German press with the aim of overthrowing Romanones.

⁵³⁹ Francesc CAMBÓ, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 249.

⁵⁴⁰ "Neutralidades que matan", *La Acción*, 21 d'abril de 1917, URL: http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/datos1/numeros/internet/Madrid/Correspondencia%20militar.%20La/1917/191704/19170414/19170414_12041.pdf [consult 21 August 2011].

Second World War

Unmasking the Legion Condor: The Creation of Nazi Germany's First War Heroes

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On May 31st, 1939 the German media announced, through a torrent of articles, pictures, newsreel footage and radio broadcasts, the triumphal return to Germany of the military contingent sent covertly by Adolf Hitler to aid General Francisco Franco's Nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War: the Legion Condor. The German legionnaires, tanned by the Spanish sun, sporting colourful new military decorations and wearing the khaki uniforms of Franco's Nationalist forces, were treated as stars in a week of receptions, parades and speeches which one legionnaire described as "overwhelming."⁵⁴¹ From May 31st until June 6th, after which the Legion was disbanded and its members sent back into the regular military, the German media featured numerous images of legionnaires signing autographs, receiving honours, or marching in parades in which they were, as one newspaper put it, "showered with flowers, cigarettes and refreshments."⁵⁴² This notoriety, and indeed the week of festivities as a whole, though, vast and choreographed as it was even considering the frequency of military-themed celebrations in early 1939, has not traditionally been a moment of particular consequence to scholars of Nazi propaganda. When it is mentioned, this event and its accompanying propaganda have been largely folded into wider works documenting the Legion Condor's history as a unit, such as by Stephanie Schüler-Springorum; German media reportage on the Spanish Civil War by historians including Peter Monteath, Joachim-Schmitt Sasse and Conrad Kent; or else the rise in military themed propaganda leading up to the Second World War, most notably by Jutta Sywottek.⁵⁴³

More surprising, though, is that despite the honours, praise and pageantry which celebrated the victory and achievements of the "*Spanienkämpfer*," as the legionnaires were known, these men have never been studied in any significant way as part of Nazi Germany's hero culture. More specifically, the idealistic war hero figure created in this propaganda has not, to date, been included in the evolutionary narrative of such figures in German propaganda of the Nazi period established by scholars including René Schilling and Sabine Behrenbeck.⁵⁴⁴ To these historians, among the few to have studied this evolution in any depth, National Socialism did not, in fact, create any new war heroes; rather, and particularly after the commencement of the Second World War, Nazi propagandists recycled those of previous periods of German history, most notably the First World War.⁵⁴⁵ According to this argument, since the Legion Condor does not appear in either authors'

⁵⁴¹ Gen. Wolfram von Richthofen. „Freiwillige vor!“, *Völkischer Beobachter (VB)* Nr. 157 (6 June, 1939); „Gespräche mit Angehörigen der Legion Condor, in DRA, C 8397. quoted in Stephanie Schüler-Springorum. *Krieg und Fliegen. Die Legion Condor im Spanisch Bürgerkrieg*. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010), 215-216; see also *Die Wehrmacht*. Nr. 12 (7 June 1939); *Die Kriegsmarine*. Nr. 12 (5 June, 1939). *Der Adler*. Nr. 8. (1 June, 1939).

⁵⁴² „Legion Condor fährt nach Döberitz“ *Frankfurter Zeitung (FZ)* Nr. 275-276. (2 June, 1939).; Cover. *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung (BIZ)*, Nr. 22 (1, June, 1939). see also Ingo Möbius, *In the Skies over Europe. The Memoirs of Luftwaffe Fighter Pilot Guenther Scholz, from the Legion Condor to the Defense of the Reich*. Translated by David. Johnston. (Atglen, PA.: Schiffer Publishing Ltd., 2011), 41.

⁵⁴³ Schüler-Springorum. *Krieg und Fliegen*; Peter Monteath *Writing the Good Fight. Political Commitment in the International Literature of the Spanish Civil War*. (London: Greenwood, 1994); Joachim Schmitt-Sasse „...Madrid has fallen!“ The Spanish Civil War in the *Völkischer Beobachter* and Other Third Reich Media” in *German and International Perspectives on the Spanish Civil War: The Aesthetics of Partisanship*. Louis Costa, et al. (Columbia, USA: Camden House, 1992); Conrad Kent, “What the Condor Legion Saw: Propaganda Images of the Spanish Civil War.” in *The Lion and the Eagle. Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations over the Centuries*. Eds. Conrad Kent, Cameron M.K. Hewitt, et al.. (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000); Jutta Sywottek, *Mobilmachung für den totalen Krieg. Die propagandistische Vorbereitung der deutschen Bevölkerung auf den Zweiten Weltkrieg*. (Westdeutscher Verlag Opladen, 1976). See also *Erinnern und Erzählen: Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg in der deutschen und spanischen Literatur und in den Bildmedien*, Ettina Bannasch and Christianne Holm, Eds. (Tübingen, 2005).

⁵⁴⁴ René Schilling, *Kriegshelden: Deutungsmuster heroischer Männlichkeit in Deutschland 1813-1945*. (München: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002); Sabine Behrenbeck *Der Kult um die toten Helden. Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten, und Symbole 1923 bis 1945*. (Neuberg: SH-Verlag, 1996).

⁵⁴⁵ René Schilling, „Die ‚Helden der Wehrmacht‘ Konstruktion und Rezeption“ in *Die Wehrmacht: Mythos und Realität*. Ed. Rolf-Dieter Müller et al. (Munich: Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes, 1999), 572, also 556-558.; Schilling, *Kriegshelden*, 319-20. Behrenbeck, *toten Helden*, 67, 49-452.; See also Jay W. Baird, *To Die for Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon*. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 202-203.

work and since the unit's most significant and celebrated contingent had been its aviators, the ideal warrior represented in the *Spanienkämpfer*-propaganda would simply be a re-visitation and resurrection of the great air aces of the First World War. The latter, in other words, were the *true* war heroes of National Socialist Germany, who on this occasion were merely dressed in the khaki uniform of Nationalist Spain, emphasizing the same, traditional, virtues of the German warrior hero. This paper will argue, conversely, that the *Spanienkämpfer* hero figure represented a distinct break with the hero culture hitherto existent in Nazi Germany, and that the return of the Legion Condor in May-June 1939, *before* the beginning of the Second World War, was thus a moment of significance in the development of the German war hero in propaganda.

On the surface, at least, it is understandable how this event could be seen as an unremarkable example of the traditional retrospective interpretation of war hero development, and consequently why it has received so little scholarly attention. More than one scholar, for example, in documenting the Legion Condor propaganda campaign has noted the presence of "classic military" themes and motifs in the representations of the legionnaires which harkened back to earlier hero literature and images.⁵⁴⁶ Moreover, upon inspection the Legion Condor propaganda is indeed permeated with references to, and comparisons with, the legendary air aces of the First World War, most notably Manfred von Richthofen (the famous "Red Baron"), Oswald Boelcke and Max Immelmann. In his official greeting to the Legion in Hamburg on May 31st, for example, Hermann Göring, commander of the Luftwaffe (Air Force) and himself a famous air ace, noted that "the spirit of Richthofen, Boelcke and Immelmann lives once more [in the Luftwaffe], as it did in the glorious aerial fight of the World War."⁵⁴⁷ Likewise, authors of subsequent memoirs and testimonial volumes from the war such as Wulf Bley and Hermann von Kohl frequently compared the fighting in Spain with that of "France between Arras and Douai in 1915."⁵⁴⁸

To conclude, however, that the *Spanienkämpfer* hero figure built up and heralded by the press following the Legion Condor's return was simply a revisited Red Baron or Boelcke is to neglect its novelty and to mistake those previous heroes' contribution to its alteration of the heroic ideal. To begin, and to be clear, the men of the Legion Condor were hardly Nazism's first or only heroes. Indeed, as René Schilling has noted, the Third Reich was a "renaissance of national heroism."⁵⁴⁹ As Jay W. Baird and Sabine Behrenbeck have both capably documented, the party had constructed a mythology of heroes around which a significant portion of Nazi pageantry, memorialisation and ideology was centered. These "heroes" were the martyrs of the Nazi movement, those who had died in the failed 1923 Munich *Putsch* or during the party's bid for electoral success in the early 1930s.⁵⁵⁰ While the Nazis framed their sacrifice as having been in the service of the movement, in its "war" against enemies characterized as essentially non-German, i.e. chaotic parliamentary democracy, Jewry, and Bolshevism, it was inescapable that their heroic character had been fundamentally domestic: as political heroes fighting not in the military or in a formal clash of arms, but as members of the party and its affiliate organizations.⁵⁵¹ As a result, and because, importantly, Nazism lacked any equivalent *military* heroes in its own day upon which to rebuild the new German Wehrmacht (Armed Forces) and fighting spirit, as documented by René Schilling, Nazi propagandists reached outside of their own movement for this aspect of its hero cannon.⁵⁵² Without military war heroes of its own, that is to say an idealized military figure whose heroism had been garnered fighting for, and against the enemies of, the movement, propagandists turned to the heroes of Germany's past to serve in this role as an ersatz war hero; embodying the virtues and character which the party wished for its soldiers to emulate and venerate.⁵⁵³ As such, as of May 30th 1939, the Nazi hero-cult was thus composed of two separate war "hero-types": the political hero of the movement, and the military war hero of the past. The fundamental characteristic of both of these types being their ultimate sacrifice for the fatherland, has led scholars including Jay W. Baird to note that the Nazi hero-cult "was tied more to death than to life, more to destruction than to victory."⁵⁵⁴ The following day, with the return of the Legion Condor, propagandists were able to unmask a new, *living*, war hero in whom the various heroic attributes of both previous hero-types could combine to form a true "National Socialist war hero."

⁵⁴⁶ See Kent, "What the Legion Condor Saw", 325., Schüler-Springorum, *Krieg und Fliegen*, 244 and Monteath, *the Good Fight*, 34.

⁵⁴⁷ "Stiftung eines Spanienordens durch den Führer" VB. Nr. 152 (1 June, 1939).

⁵⁴⁸ Hermann von Kohl *Deutsche Flieger über Spanien*. (Reutlingen: Englin & Laiblin, 1939), 29.; Wulf Bley Ed. *Das Buch der Spanienflieger. Die Feuertaufe der neuen deutschen Luftwaffe*. (Leipzig: Hafe & Koehler Verlag, 1939), preface.

⁵⁴⁹ Schilling, *Kriegshelden*, 318.

⁵⁵⁰ See Baird, *Pantheon*, Ch. 1-8 and Behrenbeck, *toten Helden*, Ch.2.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid; see also Schilling, *Kriegshelden*, 313-320. See as an example: 30 January, 1939. Max Domarus, *The Complete Hitler: A Digital Reference to his Speeches and Proclamations 1932-1945*. (Wauconda: Bolchazy-Carducci, 2007), 1438.

⁵⁵² Schilling, *Helden der Wehrmacht*, 551.

⁵⁵³ Behrenbeck, *toten Helden*, 449. Schilling, *Kriegshelden*, 25-30.; Baird, *Pantheon*, Ch.1 and 8.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid, xi.

From the moment the ships ferrying them home came into sight, it was clear that the regime wished the German legionnaires to be portrayed as wholly National Socialist in character and identity. The following week of festivities which occurred in Hamburg, Döberitz (the Legion's nominal base) and Berlin, would be a Nazi celebration *par excellence*: seas of swastika banners, forests of arms raised in the *Hitlergruß* (Nazi salute), and the customary martial pomp of Nazi pageantry. Likewise, the controlled media of the press, film, and radio were all called into service to emphasize the National Socialist nature of the returning *Spanienkämpfer*. The pages of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Nazi party's main printed mouthpiece, for example, and likewise other newspapers including the *Frankfurter Zeitung* or *Freiburger Zeitung* as well as magazines published by the military's various branches like *Der Adler* and *Die Wehrmacht*, all hailed the Legion Condor as the embodiment of the new German Wehrmacht, as the "soldiers of the Führer."⁵⁵⁵ The many speeches delivered during the week reinforced this theme with words almost dripping with sycophancy. In Hamburg on May 31st, for example, after a welcome delivered by Hermann Göring "in the name of the Führer," the Legion's last commanding officer, Freiherr Wolfram von Richthofen proclaimed that the Legion would gladly step back into the firing line if they could "only look into the eyes of the Führer."⁵⁵⁶ Hitler himself would cement this personal link in his speech during the festivities in Berlin on June 6th, calling the legionnaires "the brave executors of my mission."⁵⁵⁷ In short, as the *Frankfurter Zeitung* proclaimed, "at a stroke, the name of the Legion Condor [had] become a byword for the German soldier."⁵⁵⁸ The homecoming of the Legion had served for propagandists as an opportunity not only to personify Germany's redeemed military might, but the character of this new military: one built upon National Socialist foundations and personal loyalty to the Führer.

In addition, the figure of the *Spanienkämpfer* also served as a vehicle by which to characterize the Spanish Civil War along the lines desired by party ideologues and propagandists. As Peter Monteath and Jutta Sywottek have argued, that conflict represented the climax of Nazi anti-Bolshevik invective in the 1930s.⁵⁵⁹ Specifically, as outlined by party ideologue Alfred Rosenberg at a conference of regional propaganda leaders on April 24th, 1939, post-war propaganda had to emphasize the leading nature of Germany in a new Europe threatened by the menace of Bolshevism, and that consequently propagandists "must distinguish between questions that only concern the German people, and those that involve the rest of the world."⁵⁶⁰ An analysis of the propaganda devoted to the Legion Condor, as Germany's official (though hitherto covert) contribution to the Spanish Civil War, shows that this theme of international ideological struggle, rather than the domestic fight which had occupied the party's early martyrs during the 1920s and early 30s, was communicated through the medium of the legionnaires and their experience.

From his earliest public references which hinted at their existence, Hitler had endeavoured to connect the German legionnaires to the rescue of the civilized world from "Bolshevism's annihilation of European culture."⁵⁶¹ Indeed, internal records from relevant propaganda agencies reveal that this theme had been deliberately planned well in advance to be a central propaganda component of the welcoming festivities and propaganda campaign for the Legion, with writers and veterans being instructed that the role of the legionnaires in Spain had to be framed in light of that country's historic liberation from Bolshevik barbarity.⁵⁶² In subsequent propaganda, the message was correspondingly clear that the legionnaires had fought "for the goals of their Führer in foreign lands," against, as one article put it, "cruelty, organized brutality and fanatical destructive anger."⁵⁶³ The campaign's perhaps most illuminative example of this theme came in the form of a documentary film by the famous director Karl Ritter entitled *Im Kampf Gegen den Weltfeind. Deutsche*

⁵⁵⁵ "Am Vormast die rot-goldene Flagge emitt dem Eisernen Kreuz", *VB*, Nr. 151 (31 May, 1939) and "Die Begrüßung der 'Legion Condor' durch den Generalfeldmarschall", *Ibid*, Nr. 152 (1 June, 1939); V. Stackelberg, "Kampf für Europa. Deutsche an Spanien Fronten", *Freiburger Zeitung*. (*FZ*) (31 May, 1939).; Im Geiste von Langemarck" *Der Adler* Nr. 9, (13 June, 1939)., 34.; "Die Legion Condor vor dem Führer" *FZ*, Nr. 284-285. (7 June, 1939).

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid* (*FZ*)

⁵⁵⁷ "Adolf Hitler: 'Ihr seid nun zurückgekehrt als die tapferen Vollstrecker meines Auftrags'" *VB*. Nr. 158, (7 June, 1939), Emphasis added.; Speech, 6 June 1939, in Domarus, *Complete Hitler*, 1635.

⁵⁵⁸ "Die Legion Condor vor dem Führer" (7 June, 1939).

⁵⁵⁹ Monteath, *Good Fight*, 25. See also, Sywottek, *totalen Krieg*, 176.

⁵⁶⁰ "Lehrgang der Gau- und Kreispropagandaleiter der NSDAP.," *Unser Wille und Weg*, Nr.9 (1939), 124-139.

⁵⁶¹ April 28, 1939. Reichstag Speech. Domarus, *Complete Hitler*, in *Ibid*, 1580-1581; See also, Speech 30 January, 1939. in *Ibid*, 1451.

⁵⁶² See Letter to several Legion Condor Officers about writing Testimonial articles. 24 March, 1939. OKW 491, T-77 935. German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, VA. No.19 Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command (Part IV). (The National Archives. Washington, D.C: 1960) (hereafter OKW Docs).

⁵⁶³ "Parole Heimat" *Der Adler*. Nr. 8, (1 June, 1939), 33, "Sie kämpfen für eine Idee", *ibid*, 40; See also Stabsfeldwebel L. Siegmund "Abgeschossen". *Der Adler*, Nr. 9 (13 June, 1939), 10. And Hugo Sperrle "Wir kämpfen für Spanien" *Die Wehrmacht* Nr. 12, (7 June, 1939).

Freiwilligen in Spanien (In Combat Against the Enemy of the World: German Volunteers in Spain).⁵⁶⁴ More than simply a recurrence of a well-worn premise of Nazi ideology, then, the legionnaires' attachment to this theme represents a new phase in hero propaganda. The new idealized hero brought the Nazi fight against the *Weltfeind* onto the international stage, something the martyrs of the movement had not done, nor the heroes of the Great War, since according to well known party dogma it was the agents of the *Weltfeind* which had "stabbed Germany the back" at home and not at the front. This new military hero embodied by the *Spanienkämpfer* both represented, as the "executors" of Hitler's will, the fruit of Germany's political "uprising" against Bolshevism, and its future role as a nation which could, and would, aid in effecting the same "uprising" in other nations.⁵⁶⁵

Moreover, the heroic *Spanienkämpfer* also introduced another new attribute into the person of the Nazi war hero: that of the comrade in arms to Germany's fascist allies. Although anti-Bolshevism had been a central element within German propaganda all throughout the Spanish Civil War, the conclusion of the "Pact of Steel" with Benito Mussolini's fascist Italy, in May 1939, introduced the need, as Hitler would himself say, for a "practical demonstration of *weltanschaulich* solidarity."⁵⁶⁶ While the notion of "Kamaradschaft" (camaraderie), had always served as a central component of Nazism's hero-figure as they appeared in propaganda, a fact well documented by historians of German hero culture, this international *Waffenbrüderschaft* (brotherhood in arms) had not hitherto been a component in the propaganda of either the party's or the First World War's principle heroes. The records of the Wehrmacht Propaganda Department (WPr.) reveal that this cooperative element was just as central to the fore planning of the Legion Condor festivities as its anti-Bolshevik message.⁵⁶⁷ Accordingly, Hitler's speeches, as well as subsequent propaganda testimonials, articles and films like *In Kampf gegen den Weltfeind*, all noted and highlighted the legionnaire's kinship in spirit and action with his Spanish and Italian comrades, all of whom stood "shoulder to shoulder" against the Bolshevik tide.⁵⁶⁸ The cover of *Der Adler's* special edition on June 13th best captures this sentiment, depicting in vibrant colour German, Spanish and Italian soldiers, all dressed in the khaki uniforms of Franco's nationalists, marching together in perfect step with their respective national flags held aloft in solidarity.⁵⁶⁹ Spanish and Italian dignitaries, likewise, could be seen at all the week's major events in Hamburg, Döberitz and Berlin, a fact well publicized by the press.⁵⁷⁰ In short, this infusion of an international element into the character and celebration of the *Spanienkämpfer* both served a political purpose and aided in the creation of a Nazi soldier-hero which could better reflect Germany's new leading role in Europe's now seemingly increasing fascist community.

How propagandists reconciled this new internationalist Nazi hero with those which had come before, namely First World War heroes like von Richthofen and Boelke, was the last, and perhaps most significant, aspect of the Legion Condor propaganda which demonstrates its importance to the development of the war hero ideal in Nazi propaganda. First, the legionnaire did not erase the benefit for propagandists of glorifying historical German heroes. The arrival of a new, more propagandistically viable war hero figure, however, meant that the figurative torch could be passed to the next generation, signifying National Socialism's redemption of Germany's victorious military heritage. In an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, prolific propaganda writer Karl Georg von Stackelberg wrote that while attending the festivities in Hamburg, he had spoken with an old, grizzled veteran of the former conflict who "stretched out the arms of the resurrected, strong and faithful Germany to the *Spanienkämpfer*. Coming home in 1918, the man said, warriors like himself had been

"beaten and mocked for our dedication and our willingness to sacrifice. Now our sons are coming home (...) [and] given the reception and honour which I and millions of my comrades hoped for in vain."⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁴ *Im Kampf gegen den Weltfeind. Deutsche Freiwillige in Spanien*. Directed by Karl Ritter (1939; Berlin: Universum Film AG).

⁵⁶⁵ Erlebnisberichte von Hauptman Kornatzky. Undated. OKW 491. T-77 935., 8, 13. (OKW docs.)

⁵⁶⁶ Domarus, *Complete Hitler*, 1634.

⁵⁶⁷ Von Wedel (Chief WPr) to Hptm. Boethe, Panzertruppeschule. 2 March, 1939. OKW 491, T-77 935 (OKW Docs.).

⁵⁶⁸ See. Domarus, *Complete Hitler*, 1451.; "Zusammenbruch der Malaga-Front", author unknown, 1;3; "Erinnerungen und Erlebnisse an Spaniens nationale Erhebung 1936-1937, Hauptm. Kornatzky, 6-8, 13, 16-18., OKW 491, T-77 935 (OKW Docs.); Alfred Lent, *Wir Kämpfen für Spanien. Erlebnisse eines deutschen Freiwilligen in Spanischen Bürgerkrieg*. (Berlin: Gerhard Stalling, 1939), 88-89; *In Kampf gegen den Weltfeind* (1939).

⁵⁶⁹ Cover. *Der Adler*, No.9. Sonderheft. (13 June, 1939).

⁵⁷⁰ "Die Legion Condor vor dem Führer" *FZ*.; "Ehrenempfang in der Reichkanzlei" *VB* Nr. 157 (6 June, 1939); Domarus, *The Complete Hitler*, 1636.

⁵⁷¹ K.G von Stackelberg "Die Legion kehrt Heim". *VB*, Nr. 151 (31 May, 1939).

From this article, and others like it in the *Beobachter* and other media, emerges a message that the victory of the legionnaires, and their triumphal return, not only served to reverse “the sad ending of 1918,” but to usher in a new chapter in German military history.⁵⁷² This sentiment was perhaps best captured by contemporary Wilfred von Oven, who wrote:

“[t]he Germans, who as the losers of 1914-1918 had been treated for so long as pariahs, wanted something of which to be proud again. They could be now. And we were their object.”⁵⁷³

As Stephanie Schüler-Springorum has characterized, the victory of the Legion Condor in Spain was, in effect, the first “German victory of the century,” and consequently propagandists choreographed its homecoming to represent a mix of the traditional pageantry of Germany’s returning heroes, with that of National Socialism.⁵⁷⁴ Legionnaires including Hermann von Kohl, for example, wrote later of the Legion’s much publicized march along Berlin’s traditional triumphal route: through the historic Brandenburg Gate and along the city’s main east-west axis. “[F]or the first time in sixty-eight years,” he wrote, “victory-crowned German troops are marching through this traditional victory portal of the Reich.”⁵⁷⁵

This conspicuous connection of Germany’s past with its new future, rather than just a means by which to resurrect the ghosts of the Great War, as René Schilling’s interpretation would suggest, served to fulfill the unfinished heroism of those previous heroes; accomplishing what they had failed to do, and receiving the thanks they deserved.⁵⁷⁶ As living, victorious, embodiments of Nazi ideology and government policy, the legionnaires had not destroyed the war heroes of the last generation, but rather taken away the necessity for their existence as part of a bifurcated hero-cult and destroyed the precondition of death for inclusion in Nazism’s idealized hero canon. In short, the *Spanienkämpfer* represented the soldier-hero Nazism had craved but had hitherto been unable to claim: a idealized hero figure who exemplified both life and victory for National Socialism. As such, the orchestrated and much publicized meeting which took place on the dock in Hamburg on May 31st 1939 between the old fighter-ace and party leader Hermann Göring and the Legion’s last commanding officer Wolfram von Richthofen, signified the passing of one era of war hero propaganda, personified by the former, to a new one, personified by the latter.⁵⁷⁷

The only problem with this new hero-type was that it embodied Nazi ideology of the 1930s too well. As Max Domarus has pointed out, though anti-Bolshevism had been the focal point of Spanish Civil War propaganda in Germany, Hitler’s final address to the homecoming legionnaires in Berlin on June 6th, which marked the conclusion of the week’s festivities, marked his first public shift in priority away from attacks on Bolshevism and towards the “international plutocracies,” which had “fanned the flame of revolution there.”⁵⁷⁸ This process began even before the Legion Condor campaign had begun in earnest, the German press being instructed on May 31st, for example, to withhold any further attacks directed at the U.S.S.R..⁵⁷⁹ Guidelines issued to propagandists in August, moreover, ordered the media to stress the new Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact, to use the word “Russian” rather than “Soviet Union,” as well as to avoid “any discussion of worldview matters.”⁵⁸⁰ As a result, and furthermore with the commencement of hostilities against the Western powers in September, propaganda materials about the Legion like Karl Ritter’s feature film-successor to *Im Kampf gegen den Weltfeind*, were shelved as the propagandistic benefit and viability of the new anti-Bolshevik hero-type embodied by the Legion declined.⁵⁸¹ During the summer of 1939, as memoirs and literature about the Legion Condor continued to be published in Germany, and which continued to emphasize the *Spanienkämpfer*’s fight against the “reds,” popular media began to increase their content devoted to First World War heroes such as the Red Baron and Oswald Boelcke, who had fought against Germany’s now

⁵⁷² See, for example, Am Vormast die rot-goldene Flagge emit dem Eisernen Kreuz” (31 May, 1939).

⁵⁷³ Wilfred von Oven *Hitler und der Spanische Bürgerkrieg. Mission und Schicksal der Legion Condor*. (Tübingen: Grabert-Verlag, 1978), 516.

⁵⁷⁴ Schüler-Springorum, *Krieg und Fliegen*, 241.

⁵⁷⁵ von Oven, *Spanische Bürgerkrieg*, 511-512.; Von Kohl, *Fliegen über Spanien*, 111.; “Das Symbole des Einzuges in Berlin: Der Marsch durch das Brandenburger Tor” (Photo-Caption). *Der Adler*, Nr.9 (13 June, 1939), 4.; „Die Parade des Spanienkämpfer“ *VB*, Nr.158 (7 June, 1939); “Die Legion Condor vor dem Führer” *FZ*, Nr. 284-285. (7 June, 1939).

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ See “Generalfeldmarshall Göring überbringt die ersten Grüße“ *VB*. Nr.151. (31 May, 1939)

⁵⁷⁸ Speech of 6 June, 1939. Domarus, *Complete Hitler*, 1633-1635.

⁵⁷⁹ 1678. ZSg. 101/13/36/Nr. 513., 31 May, 1939. *NS-Presseanweisungen der Vorkriegszeit*. Edition und Dokumentation. Bd. 7/II: 1939. Quellentexte Mai bis August. Brb. Karen Peter. (München:K.G. Saur, 2001), 521.

⁵⁸⁰ „Das Hauptthema: Erneuerung der deutsch-russischen Freundschaft,“ *Zeitschriften-Dienst*, Nr. 17 (26 August, 1939), 5-6.

⁵⁸¹ *Legion Condor*. Directed by Karl Ritter. (Berlin: Universum Film AG); See Schüler-Springorum, *Krieg und Fliegen*, 218.

renewed chief-enemies, as seen in magazines like *Der Adler* and *Die Wehrmacht*.⁵⁸² This is not to say, however, that the Legion Condor's anti-Bolshevik crusader model of hero propaganda was simply forgotten; rather it was simply pigeonholed for future use.

That future use came with the official renewal of German-Soviet hostility in June 1941, with the German invasion of the latter. Once again, propagandists had use of heroic figures which emphasized Germany's role as the conqueror of Bolshevism and liberator of the people. As German forces began their invasion, for example, German magazine editors were instructed in their weekly newsletter from the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (RMVP) to formulate their articles along the lines of "the anti-Bolshevist magazine material that we used up until 1939, contrasting the Soviet system with the new Germany." Likewise, "just as the Germans have gotten rid of exploiters in their own country, they will be sure that social justice prevails in the former Soviet Union."⁵⁸³ A redoubling of propaganda efforts following Joseph Goebbels's call for "total war" in February 1943 and the Wehrmacht's disastrous defeat at Stalingrad, saw the renewal of the same fear propaganda of Bolshevik incursion into Europe as that which had defined the legionnaire's mission in the Spanish Civil War.⁵⁸⁴ Guidelines for a new anti-Bolshevik propaganda campaign issued by the Propaganda Ministry Main Office on the 20th of February 1943 instructed the German media to stress that Germany was fighting "a defensive war for the life and freedom of the German people, and ultimately for the other peoples of Europe as well."⁵⁸⁵ Though the German legionnaire of 1939 was not resurrected in this propaganda campaign, his mission in Spain as a European saviour figure was used as a case study in later guidelines for anti-Bolshevik propaganda, both regarding the latter's barbarity and, more importantly, its vincibility.⁵⁸⁶

In conclusion, though its actual duration in the direct spotlight of the National Socialist propaganda machine was relatively brief, the triumphal return of the Legion Condor to Germany in May-June 1939, is of significance in that it served to create a new hero-type in the heroic culture of Nazi Germany. Up to that point, propagandists had been forced to create and foster a dualistic-hero cannon which was divided according to propagandistic need: comprised of the political martyrs of the movement and the fallen heroes of Prusso-German past, mainly of the First World War. With its homecoming, the *Spanienkämpfer* hero-figure erased the need for this duality in the Nazi hero-cult, fulfilling both roles and thereby beginning a new era in German propaganda. The legionnaire both reflected and fulfilled the virtues and heroic sacrifice represented by the heroes of the first war, as well as the ideological purity and motivation embodied by the domestic political heroes of the movement. More importantly, though, this figure brought National Socialism's fight against Bolshevism onto the international stage alongside his fascist brothers of Spain and Italy, thereby also representing Germany's new role as a senior partner in Europe's seemingly growing network of fascist and far-right nations. Lastly, the heroic model developed by propagandists in 1939 to personify these themes would later be resurrected, once German and Soviet hostility was renewed. As such, the figure of the *Spanienkämpfer* challenges the traditional interpretation of German war hero development: that of simply pouring new wine into old wineskins. Instead, the Legion Condor's return and popularization demonstrates a significant point of discontinuance before the Second World War, in which Nazi Germany created its own, distinctly Nazi hero-type. Simply put, the Legion Condor represented the Third Reich's first, true, war heroes.

⁵⁸² E.g. von Kohl, *Deutsche Flieger*; Lent, *Wir Kämpfen*, Bley, *Buch der Spanienflieger*; Hannes Trautloft, *Als Jagdflieger in Spanien. Aus dem Tagebuch eines deutschen Legionärs* (Berlin: Albert Rauck, 1939); See also *Der Adler* Nr. 12. (25 July, 1939); *Die Wehrmacht*. Nr. 14 (5 July, 1939), Nr. 16 (2 August, 1939), Nr. 17 (27 August, 1939).

⁵⁸³ "Anregungen und Richtlinien für die Zeitschriftenarbeit gegen die Sowjet-Union," *Zeitschriften-Dienst*, Nr. 113 (27 June, 1941), 3-4.

⁵⁸⁴ Baird, *Pantheon*, 208-210.

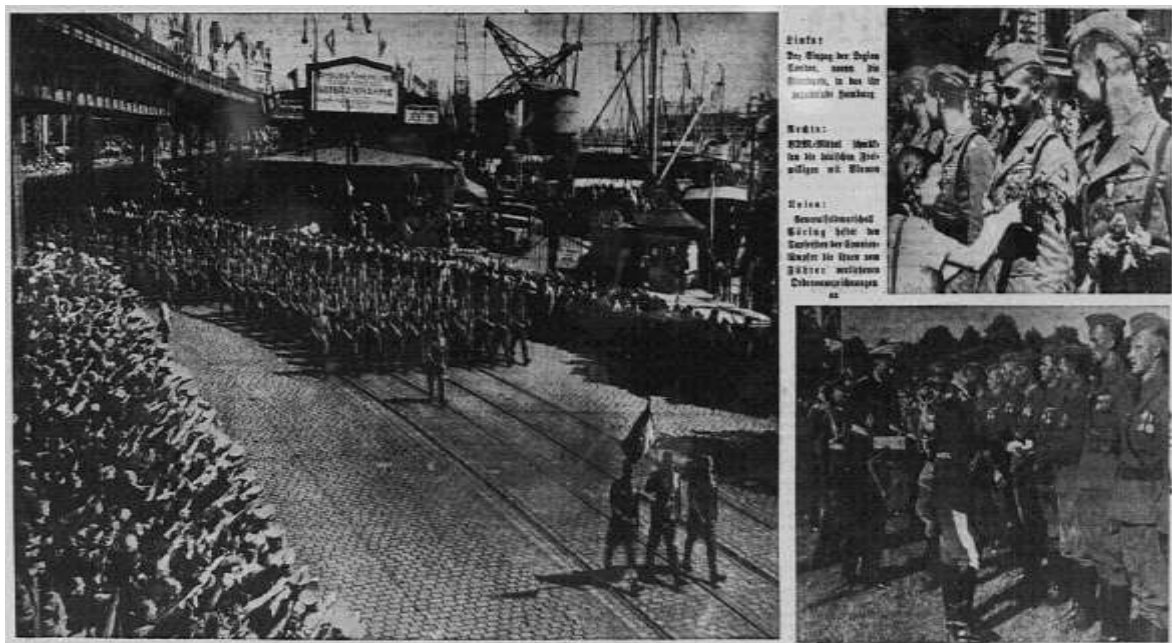
⁵⁸⁵ "Anweisung für antibolschewistische Propaganda-Aktion," Propaganda *Hauptamt*, 20 February 1943. BA - NSD 12/74, accessed via the Calvin College German Propaganda Archive (CCGPA), (<http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/bolshevist.htm>)

⁵⁸⁶ *Bolschewisierung: was heißt das in Wirklichkeit?* (Berlin: Nibelungen Verlag, 1943) CCGPA. (<http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/bolshevism 1943.html>).

Images



Cover, *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. Nr. 22 (1, June, 1939)



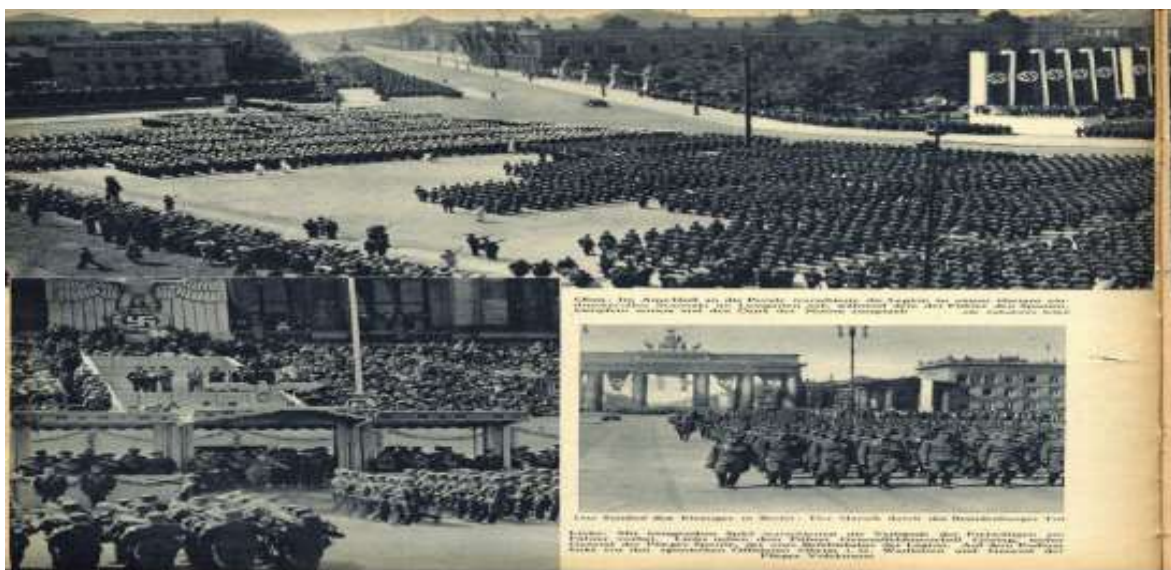
Images of the legionnaires in Hamburg, 31 May 1939. *Völkischer Beobachter* Nr. 151 (31 May, 1939).



The front page of the *Völkischer Beobachter* on May 31st. *Völkischer Beobachter* Nr. 151 (31 May, 1939).



Cover, *Der Adler*. Sonderheft. Nr. 9, (13 June, 1939)



The festivities in Berlin on June 6th, 1939. Note the association of the Legion with the Brandenburg Gate and the historic *Unter den Linden* in these photographs. *Der Adler*, Sonderheft. Nr. 9, (13 June, 1939).

DEMOGRAPHIC LOSSES IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: HOW DID THE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA SHAPE POLITICS AND SOCIETY?

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Background

Researching demographic losses of the former Yugoslavia in the Second World War has remained one of the most controversial topics in the modern history of the Balkans. There are a myriad of problems to take into consideration, including political ones.

Primarily, the number of victims has been manipulated since 1942 when the Communist propaganda exaggerated the number, trying to motivate larger number of people to join their forces and to demonize the enemy. The starting point was the existence of the labour camp Jasenovac in the Independent State of Croatia, founded in the summer of 1941, and where, according to the Communist brochure published in late 1942, 300,000 prisoners were murdered by the end of that year.⁵⁸⁷ The Communist Party of Yugoslavia had no access to the camp and its documentation, and the estimation of the victims' number was based purely on witnesses' testimonials.

Manipulating the number of Jasenovac victims continued after the end of the Second World War and it served as the most important part of exaggerating the number of the war victims in general. On 26th of May 1945 the Communist leader Josip Broz Tito suggested that 1,685,000 people were killed during the Second World War in Yugoslavia⁵⁸⁸. However, it is not clear how he could possibly know that as a fact since there was no population census held after 1931 and the last battle of the Second World War in Yugoslavia took place on 27th or 28th May 1945 in the Bosnian town of Odžak⁵⁸⁹. Nevertheless, Tito again expressed his views on the war losses in July 1945 when, while he was delivering his speech in Bela Crkva, he stated that "during the four years we have lost one million and seven hundred thousand of our citizens".⁵⁹⁰

However, Tito's statement needed scientific confirmation, but the prominent demographer and Professor Dolfe Vogelink and his assistant Alojz Debevec refused this assignment since population census was not held and instead, they decided to pass it on to Vladeta Vučković, at that time a math student who was working at the Bureau of Statistics in Belgrade. He was given two weeks to calculate the total figure of all victims with the instruction that the number "must be impressive, but scientifically-statistically based".⁵⁹¹ Furthermore, as Vučković emphasised,

"either out of ignorance or in order to deceive, the people of the regime turned demographic losses into actual victims, which were according to all scientifically funded investigations something more than a million."⁵⁹²

What is more, that number of one million people was supposed to include also those killed by the Communist forces.⁵⁹³ Nevertheless, the number of over 1,700,000 war victims was presented by the Yugoslav representative Edvard Kardelj at the Paris Peace Conference in 1946 and it remained the official one till the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.

⁵⁸⁷ Jovan Mirković, Jasenovački logor u memoarskim zapisima objavljenima do 1950. godine, *Dijalog povjesničara – istoričara*, Knjiga 7, FNSt, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 509-525. *Jasenovački logor - Iskazi zatočenika koji su pobjegli iz logora*, Propagandni otdjel Narodno-oslobodilačkog vijeća Jugoslavije, 1942.

⁵⁸⁸ Barry M. Lituchy, *Jasenovac and the Holocaust in Yugoslavia*, Jasenovac Research Institute, New York, 2006, p.3.

⁵⁸⁹ Stipo Pilić, Blanka Matković, [Bitka za Odžak: Rat je završio dvadeset dana kasnije](#), *Bosna Franciscana*, Franciscan theology, Sarajevo, No.37 (2012), pp. 109-138.

⁵⁹⁰ Josip Broz Tito, *Govori i članci*, Naprijed, Zagreb, 1959, Vol.I, pp. 362-3.

⁵⁹¹ Vladeta Vučković, *The Burial of a Myth, Naša Reč*, N. Harrow, Middlesex, No. 368 (1985).

⁵⁹² Ibid.

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

However, based on the number of Yugoslav war victims of one million, provided by the USA government in 1954⁵⁹⁴, Germany refused to pay reparations for 1,700,000 alleged victims. Therefore, the Yugoslav authorities were forced to conduct a new research in order to provide more accurate data. The list of victims was finally completed in 1964, but the result was “disappointing” since the total number was indeed approximately one million, including 597,323 victims of the so-called “fascist terror”. According to the same list, approximately 60,000 people died or were killed in the Croatian camps Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška, where, as the Yugoslav authorities claimed, at least 700,000 people were murdered.

Table 1: War losses in Yugoslavia (1941-1945), according to the research in 1964⁵⁹⁵

Republic / Region	Lost lives	Victims according to nationality	Lost lives
Croatia	194,749	Serbs	346,740
Bosnia and Herzegovina	177,045	Croatians	83,257
Serbia, proper	97,728	Jews	45,000
Vojvodina	41,370	Slovenes	42,027
Slovenia	40,791	Muslims	32,300
Macedonia	19,076	Montenegro's	16,276
Montenegro	16,903	Macedonians	6,724
Kosovo	7,927	Albanians	3,241
Unknown	1,744	Others	4,526
Yugoslavia	597,323	Unknown	16,202

The first, but unofficial excavations in the Jasenovac area were conducted by the municipal committee of former members of Yugoslav Army from Bosanska Dubica in 1961 on the location called Gradina, near Jasenovac. They found three mass graves and identified 17 human skulls in one of them, but failed to specify the exact number of bones found in the other two. However, based on this finding, they enumerated 120 other undiscovered graves and concluded that number of victims in Gradina only should be 350,800.⁵⁹⁶

Official forensic investigations, conducted in 1964 in Jasenovac, were supposed to prove huge numbers of Jasenovac victims, and Yugoslav war victims in general, but were interrupted since, after investigating 130 locations, only seven mass graves which held a total of 284 victim remains had been found. However, it is important to emphasise that the report, signed by Dr Alojz Šercelj, stated that

“a large amount of objects shows that the victims were brought directly to the bridge where the executions took place and they were not previously being held in the camp. On this he is particularly keen to indicate the presence of knives, rings, coins, etc.”⁵⁹⁷

Therefore, the remains found did not belong to the prisoners from Jasenovac, but probably refugees, possibly Croatians who, in fear for their lives, fled the country in May 1945, but were surrendered to the Yugoslav Army by the Allies. The available data and the testimonials encouraged the on-going debate among Croatian historians that this camp continued to exist after the end of the Second World War and it could be a place where communist executions of Croatian POWs took place in 1945 and later. Documents found in the State Archive in Sisak and used for the first time in the forthcoming article *Post-war POWs camp Jasenovac*⁵⁹⁸, prove beyond any doubt that this camp was indeed operational between 1945 and 1948.

The research results in 1964 were shocking and the list was declared top secret. It remained unknown to the public until 1989 when it was mentioned for the first time in the magazine *Danas*. The authors of the published article emphasised that,

“the first phase of compiling the list was done in October and November 1964 together with the preliminary collection of data at the republic level. A real panic occurred when this data was put together in the federal commission in Belgrade. The witnesses of those happenings claim that the reactions basically

⁵⁹⁴ Paul Mayers, Arthur Campbell, *The Population of Yugoslavia*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C., 1954, p.23.

⁵⁹⁵ Vladimir Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga*, Globus, Zagreb, 1992, p. 35.

⁵⁹⁶ Željko Krušelj, Kako je Živanović 284 kostura pretvorio u 700.000 žrtava, *Vjesnik*, Zagreb, 23 April 2005.

⁵⁹⁷ HR HDA 1241. Republički odbor Saveza udruženja boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog rata Hrvatske, kut.174, Izvještaj antropologa.

⁵⁹⁸ Stipo Pilić, Blanka Matković, *Poslijeratni zarobljenički logor Jasenovac*, due to be published in Radovi, Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts in Zadar, Croatia, No. 55, December 2013.

came down to the following phrase: 'Impossible!' The lists therefore were returned to the republic commissions and from there to the local level. Here and there minor corrections took place, but the general picture could not be changed. It was considered that the error in the compilation of data occurred due to the migration of the population and perishing of whole families and smaller villages in the mountainous regions. This could count for 25 to 30 per cent. It was the opinion that the listing was mistaken mostly on individual nationalities, primarily Serbs, Croats and Muslims. On the other hand, Slovenes, Macedonians, and even Montenegrins data was very much correct".⁵⁹⁹

The first population census after the end of war was held in 1948 and, according to the results, the Yugoslav population had increased two million compared to the census conducted in 1931. Since there was no census in 1941 or 1945, the results of demographic research, including those published by Bogoljub Kočović (1985) and Vladimir Žerjavić (1989), were inconclusive and incomplete. Moreover, there were several problems related to the census conducted in 1931 that made further research even more difficult. Inhabitants were grouped by their first language and religion instead of nationality, and republican borders were different from those established after the Second World War.

Kočović and Žerjavić both concluded that the number of war victims was approximately one million, as Vladeta Vučković and the USA government estimated. Also, they suggested that approximately 80,000 people were killed in Jasenovac.⁶⁰⁰ However, the major flaw in their research was the fact that it was purely estimation and they did not conduct in-depth research in the archives. Therefore, the results failed to reveal more information about the composition of victims or circumstances of death. Kočović emphasised that

"many [Serbs] in their anti-Croatianism search for spiritual food for their viewpoints. There is a deeply-rooted opinion, I would say a myth, that at least one million, if not more, Serbs were killed [...], that the Serbs were practically the only ones who suffered real losses".⁶⁰¹

Previous research and its gaps

Without comprehensive research, which is crucial for unmasking Communist manipulations and propaganda, it is not possible to determine the number of war and post-war victims in former Yugoslavia as well as the extent of war and post-war crimes or to identify the perpetrators and organizers of these crimes. Although that was not possible until 1990 along with democratic changes in Central and Eastern Europe, today the major obstacle presents unavailability of the documents kept in unknown locations, private collections and in the Military Archive in Belgrade, Serbia, where thousands of the documents of the Yugoslav Army have been held. However, the majority of archival documents in Croatia and Slovenia are available to researchers despite the fact they are often unsorted or heavily damaged, and they provide a solid ground for a further research and more reliable research results.

Between 1944 and 1964 three Yugoslav commissions produced lists of war victims. Upon the AVNOJ's⁶⁰² decision from November of 1943, The State Commission for Determination of Crimes Committed by Occupiers and their Collaborators was formed, but it was selective and it focused only on investigating the crimes committed by the opposite side. The first official victims' list was prepared in 1946 by the Commission for War Damage. An unofficial research was also conducted by SUBNOR⁶⁰³ in 1950 and it resulted with 159,193 war victims in Croatia. However, the collected data relied mostly on testimonials only, particularly those given by the victims' relatives.

The third commission was the one which conducted the research in 1964. According to available documents in the Croatian archives, created by these commissions, it is obvious that the researchers did not include archival documents or even provided the list of source(s) for each victim. Therefore, that serious error undermines reliability of these data and opens more space for further manipulation. Although they are an absolutely necessary and valuable part of researching demographic losses in former Yugoslavia in the Second World War, they should be used with caution compared to other sources.

Although the Yugoslav authorities prepared several official victims lists in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, many other unofficial lists were prepared by other organizations, controlled by the Communist regime,

⁵⁹⁹ Željko Krušelj, Đuro Zagorac, *Sporna knjiga mrtvih. Aktualne kontroverze u istraživanju broja poginulih i umrlih Jugoslavena naprosto tjeraju na analizu zbivanja oko popisa iz 1964. godine*, *Danas*, No. 405, Zagreb, 21 November 1989.

⁶⁰⁰ For further reading, see Bogoljub Kočović, *Sahrana jednog mita. Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji*, Otkrovenje, Beograd, 2005, and Vladimir Žerjavić, *Opsesije i megalomanije oko Jasenovca i Bleiburga*.

⁶⁰¹ Anto Knežević, *An Analysis of Serbian Propaganda*, Zagreb, 1992, available at <http://www.hic.hr/books/analysis/part-03.htm>

⁶⁰² Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia.

⁶⁰³ Association of the Second World War veterans, former members of the Yugoslav Army.

particularly by the Yugoslav secret police UDB-a and its' forerunner OZN-a. My previous research in the state archives in Split and Sisak demonstrated that the local authorities also prepared additional lists of the missing, dead and living "enemies" for every village and town in the late 1940s. Even though the lists are incomplete, they demonstrate without a doubt that the Yugoslav government knew the approximate number of all war victims. Moreover, the sources indicate, that occasionally victims of communist repressions were presented to the public as victims killed by the German, Italian or Croatian Army. Lists of living "enemies", including entire families, were also produced. These people were deprived of their political and civil rights, and often their property was confiscated or later nationalised.

Several parts of the counties of Splitsko-dalmatinska and Dubrovačko-neretvanska in Croatia, are quite unique examples since they are the only areas in Croatia identified so far where Yugoslav National Police⁶⁰⁴ conducted separate research in the late 1940s. The members of the police prepared a report for every village and town in that area which included a historical overview between the First World War and the end of the Second World War with the lists of the Communists, members of the Croatian Army and others. The original documents have been kept in the State Archive in Split and they seem to be complete. It is possible that similar research was conducted in other areas of Croatia and Yugoslavia, but the documents have not been discovered yet. Therefore, these documents that have been neglected by the previous researchers represent an extremely rare source which should be thoroughly analysed and compared to other available archival collections.

On 8 October 1991, the same day that the Croatian parliament cut all remaining ties with Yugoslavia, the Commission for the Identification of War and Post-War Victims was founded. The law defined war victims as people killed between 6 April 1941 and 9 May 1945. Post-war victims were those killed after that date.⁶⁰⁵ The Commission began its work on 11 February 1992 and submitted the report in October 1999 stating that it had collected 88,800 testimonials, recorded the names of 153,700 victims in Croatia, 99,228 in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 8,487 in other republics. The commission identified approximately 700 mass graves in Croatia, including 106 in the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County, as well as 90 mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina and 200 in Slovenia.⁶⁰⁶ The Commission did not have the time to finish its work as its activities were terminated from 28 May 2002. However, the Commission adopted the same methodology as previous commissions and, as a result, the flaws were identical. Once again archival collections, especially those in regional archives and museums, were ignored.

Earlier that year, the Croatian Institute of History asked the Croatian Ministry of Science and Technology to fund a research project on "Croatian human losses in the Second World War and the post-war period", with the aim of calculating the real demographic losses of the Second World War in Croatia. At the same time, another project on "The Victims of the Second World War, post-war period and the Homeland war", (also funded by the Ministry of Science), was organised at the Institute 'Ivo Pilar' and led by Josip Kolanović, the Director of the Croatian State Archives. Although in both cases research was conducted by professional historians, the results, that are supposed to be published on web site <http://zrtve.com.hr/>, are still unknown to the public and, therefore, it is impossible to evaluate them critically.

In conclusion, the majority of the victim lists prepared so far were based on testimonials, which is why the results were not only unreliable, but also sometimes contradictory to other sources which again leads to new manipulations and on-going disputes in the Croatian society.

Researching the town of dugopolje

The research project "The Victims of Dugopolje", conducted in 2010 and 2011 by Dr Josip Dukić, professor at the University of Split, and myself, was the first in depth research carried out on a particular village, town or region in Croatia which included all available sources, including archival documents.⁶⁰⁷ The book was published in June 2011 under the title "Dugopoljski žrtvoslov" and it resulted with the complete list of war and post-war victims. Moreover, identifying all the victims by their names and other personal data, stating the time, place and circumstances of their death as well as comparing all sources and including one or more footnotes for each victim, meant that all collected data can be verified by future researchers or the public

⁶⁰⁴ Croatian: Narodna milicija (NM).

⁶⁰⁵ The full text of this law is available at http://cadial.hidra.hr/searchdoc.php?query=Zakon+o+radu+&searchText=on&searchTitle=on&filteracttype=all&filterchapter=all&filterfields=all&resultlimitnum=10&resultdetails=basic&lang=hr&action=search&showeurovoc=on&filterdesc=196&id_doc=G4XtKKfp4z66zW2jLo5dCQ%3D%3D

⁶⁰⁶ *Report on the Work of the Commission for the Identification of War and Post-War Victims*, Croatian State Parliament, Class: 023/03/99-03/20, Number: 63-99-968, Zagreb, 15 October 1999.

⁶⁰⁷ Blanka Matković, Josip Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, Općina Dugopolje, Dugopolje, 2011.

and cannot be manipulated. Therefore, a thorough research of a specific area proved that micro-analysis is the best way of establishing the correct number of war and post-war victims beyond any doubt.

This approach has already shown its benefits particularly in the case of Jasenovac. According to the latest data of the Memorial Site Jasenovac (March 2013), 83,145 people lost their lives in that camp.⁶⁰⁸ The experts

“have used hundreds of sources (books, documents, photographs, and statements given by relatives and friends of the Jasenovac victims, field research and photographs of monuments to the victims of Fascist terrorism), of which 169 are mentioned in abbreviation in the List’ and they ‘have made critical comparisons of data for each individual and thus compiled a list of the men, women and children who died in Jasenovac Concentration Camp’”.⁶⁰⁹

One of the inhabitants from Dugopolje, mentioned on the Memorial Site Jasenovac list, is Cvijeta Sladojević, a woman allegedly born in Dugopolje in 1902. However, after reviewing all the documents related to that town, no record of her was found. Moreover, among the victims or people who lived in Dugopolje at that time, there were no people with that surname. Among Dugopolje victims only two women whose first name was Cvijeta were found. The first one was Cvijeta Balić, born in 1880, who was murdered by the Italian army and the Chetniks in October 1942.⁶¹⁰ The other one was Cvijeta Vukasović, born in 1881, who died of hunger in the spring of 1943.⁶¹¹ It is possible that the data provided by the Memorial Site Jasenovac, which in this case is based on the research conducted in 1964, is inaccurate, and that this person was not actually from Dugopolje at all.

The second example is even more extreme. Andrija Rogošić, born in 1918, a man who was allegedly killed in Jasenovac in 1945, was, according to the document signed by a Yugoslav court official in 1957, actually arrested by Germans in Zagreb in 1943 and his fate remains unknown.⁶¹² Therefore, it is incomprehensible that the Memorial Site Jasenovac failed to check the information published almost two years before the updated list appeared on the website, despite the fact that the experts stated that they “have used hundreds of sources” and “have made critical comparisons of data for each individual”.

The claim that Andrija Rogošić was murdered in Jasenovac is based on the research “Projekt Dotrščina” conducted by the Croatian Archives between 1980 and 1985.⁶¹³ The aim of the research was to identify the victims who lived in the area of Zagreb by their names and surnames. According to the former director of the Croatian State Archives, all relevant archival material from the Croatian Archives was analysed, as well as material stored in other institutions in Zagreb and Belgrade, and data published in the media at that time.⁶¹⁴ However, although the researchers analysed over 7,000 boxes of archival material, again they completely ignored archival material in the regional archives and museums, including the State Archive in Split where the document from 1957 was found.

Researching the Dugopolje case resulted in more unexpected outcomes. Despite the Yugoslav official number of 207 war victims, among whom 132 were civilians, in the small town of only approximately 2500 inhabitants, not a single paper or a book was published about that place between 1945 and 2011. The fact that personal details, such as year of birth or year of death, were inaccurately stated in the case of 96 people proves that the list prepared by the Yugoslav authorities was superficial and it probably relied on testimonials of surviving member of their families or comrades.⁶¹⁵ Also, one of the ‘civilian victims’ was not a war victim at all. According to the documents of the hospital in Split, a 90-year old male died there of skull injury even

⁶⁰⁸ <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6711>

⁶⁰⁹ <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6711>

⁶¹⁰ Blanka Matković, Josip Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, Općina Dugopolje, Dugopolje, 2011, pp. 46-47. MUS, Matica umrlih, r. br. 9/42. HR HDA 1944. Komisija za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. HR HDA 306. Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača Hrvatske, Z-2974, 14.4., Popis žrtava lišenih života – Dugopolje, kotar Solin, okrug Srednja Dalmacija. HR DAST 36. Okružna komisija za ispitivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača srednje Dalmacije Split (1944.-1947.), kut. 23, Kotar Solin, Historijat događaja za vrijeme okupacije; kut. 34, Kotar Solin, Općinska komisija Klis, Selo Dugopolje, sig. 160. Zdravko Dizdar, Mihael Sobolevski, *Prešućivani četnički zločini u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini 1941.-1945.*, Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, 1999, pp. 359-362.

⁶¹¹ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 116-117. Petar Malbaša, *Komunistički zločini protiv pravde i čovječnosti – Ubijanje Hrvata*, bez godine i mjesta izdanja, p. 142.

⁶¹² HR DAST 553. Narodni odbor općine Solin, svež. 28, br. 2164/57, S-32/57. Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 102-103.

⁶¹³ HR HDA. Projekt Dotrščina, ZM103/12-Z-2902.

⁶¹⁴ Josip Kolanović, Holocaust in Croatia – Documentation and research perspectives, *Arhivski vjesnik*, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb, No. 39 (1996), pp. 157-174.

⁶¹⁵ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, p. 151.

though in the official Yugoslav documents his name was listed as a person killed by German grenade.⁶¹⁶ Another “civilian victim” was actually a member of the Croatian Army captured and killed by the communists in the winter of 1944/1945.⁶¹⁷ Two people who were listed as the members of the Yugoslav army in the official list were actually civilians killed by the Italian and the German army.⁶¹⁸ On the other hand, three “civilian victims” were actually killed as members of the Yugoslav Army.⁶¹⁹

However, the most striking detail was the fact that the authors managed to upgrade the existing list with the names of seventeen members of the Communist forces and 51 civilians whose names were not included in the official list published in former Yugoslavia. Only one of the members of the Yugoslav army who was killed was a former Croatian soldier, who was later forcibly mobilised⁶²⁰, while among another sixteen there were several prominent Communists and the information surrounding the circumstances of their deaths was already published in Yugoslav books. Therefore, it remains unknown why these people were excluded from the official Yugoslav list of war victims. Among civilians, not included in the official list, were those who died of hunger or in bombings, but also those who were killed by the members of the Italian, German or Croatian Army. It is unknown why the names of these people were forgotten for so many years even though the information regarding their deaths was available to the Yugoslav authorities.

After upgrading the list in 2011, it consisted of a total of 445 names, including 131 people murdered by the communists. Among them there were approximately 30 civilians, counting three women and two Catholic priests, both murdered in 1942. The majority of these people (96) were killed in 1944 and 1945, while at least 30 people were actually murdered after the end of the Second World War (between 7th May 1945 and 1948).⁶²¹ 164 people were killed by other armies who operated in the same area between 1941 and 1945 (Germans, Italians, Chetniks and the Croatian Army). This number includes the victims of the two worst atrocities committed in Dugopolje by Italians and Chetniks in October 1942 (34 victims), and Germans in September 1943 (40 victims), and represents almost half of all inhabitants killed by other military units.

Given the fact that 219 inhabitants of Dugopolje lost their lives in 1944 and 1945 all together, which represents 49.2 % of all war and post-war victims in that town, the number of those murdered by the communist at the same time - almost half - is even more striking. At the same time, the case of Dugopolje proves that research of demographic losses in Croatia should especially focus on the last two years of the Second World War when the number of victims was the greatest, but due to a very chaotic situation it was even easier to manipulate victims' names and numbers.

Manipulating the number of war victims' number after the disintegration of Yugoslavia

Finally, an inaccurate number of the Yugoslav victims killed during the Second World War was used as one of the tools of Serbian propaganda during the Croatian War of Independence (1990-1995) when according to a Croatian demographer Dražen Živić over 22,000 people were killed⁶²².

⁶¹⁶ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 74-75, 150. HR DAST 264. Civilna bolnica Split, Upisnik bolesnika 1944., knj. 26, br. 2358 i svež. 89, Povijest bolesti srpanj-kolovoz 1944. HR HDA 1944, Komisija (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. HR HDA 306, Zemaljska komisija, Z-2974, 14.4., Popis žrtava lišenih života – Dugopolje, kotar Solin, okrug Srednja Dalmacija.

⁶¹⁷ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 68-69. ŽAD, Stanje duša, knj. 1. HR HDA 1944, Komisija (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. Malbaša, *Komunistički zločini protiv pravde i čovječnosti – Ubijanje Hrvata*, p. 116.

⁶¹⁸ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 56-57, 116-117. MUS, Matica umrlih, r. br. 53/43. HR HDA 1944. Komisija (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. HR HDA 306. Zemaljska komisija, Z-2974, 14.4., Popis žrtava lišenih života – Dugopolje, kotar Solin, okrug Srednja Dalmacija. HR DAST 553. Narodni odbor Općine Solin, svež. 3, br. 29707/52, S-179/52. HR DAST 36. Okružna komisija, kut. 34. ŽAD, Stanje duša, knj. 1. HR HDA 491. Opće upravno povjereništvo NDH kod II. armate talijanske vojske Višeg zapovjedništva talijanskih oružanih snaga 'Slovenija-Dalmacija' – Rijeka/Sušak (1941.-1943.), kut. 28, br. 12608. HR HDA 1944. Komisija (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. Drago Gizdić, *Dalmacija 1942. Prilozi historiji Narodnooslobodilačke borbe*, Izdavačko odjeljenje Glavnog odbora Saveza boraca Hrvatske, Zagreb, 1959, pp. 526-527.

⁶¹⁹ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 54-55, 60-63. HR HDA 1944. Komisija (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. HR DAST 553. Narodni odbor Općine Solin, svež. 3, br. 29710/52, S-182/52; br. 1391/58, S-13/58. HR DAST 36. Okružna komisija, k. 34. ŽAD, Stanje duša, knj. 1. MUS, Matica umrlih, r. br. 81/43; r. br. 82/43. HR HDA 306. Zemaljska komisija, Z-2974, 14.4., Popis žrtava lišenih života – Dugopolje, kotar Solin, okrug Srednja Dalmacija. Malbaša, *Komunistički zločini protiv pravde i čovječnosti – Ubijanje Hrvata*, p. 108.

⁶²⁰ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, pp. 62-63. MUS, Matica umrlih, r. br. 22/44. HR HDA 1944, Komisija (1991.-2002.), kut. 228. Krešimir Kužić, Povijest Dugopolja i njegovih sela, *Dugopolje - Zbornik radova Općine Dugopolje*, sv.1, Općina Dugopolje, Zagreb - Dugopolje, 2001, p. 223. ŽAD, Stanje duša, knj. 1.

⁶²¹ Matković, Dukić, *Dugopoljski žrtvoslov*, p. 140.

⁶²² *Utjecaj srbijanske agresije na stanovništvo Hrvatske*, Index, 11 December 2003. Available at

The topic drew lots of attention in the late 1980s not only because of the previously mentioned article published in the magazine *Danas*, but also because of the book “Wilderness of Historical reality” published by the Croatian historian and first president Franjo Tuđman. The author, among other topics, also analysed the creation of the Jasenovac myth which served as a foundation of the thesis of the genocidal nature of Croats, and he demonstrated how the number of victims of Jasenovac increased “slowly, but surely”. According to Anto Knežević, the author of the book “An Analysis of Serbian Propaganda” published in 1992,

“it is significant that the polemics about Tuđman’s book coincided at the time when Croatia was seeking international recognition of its independence”

in the early 1990s, approximately at the same time when an article ‘Minority Serbs in Croatia Fear New Genocide: Yugoslavia: Re-emergence of checkerboard shield associated with fascists of World War II adds to anxiety in troubled republic’, written by Carol J. Williams, was published in Los Angeles Times.⁶²³ Knežević emphasised that

“the attacks are an expression of those international forces which strove to postpone the international recognition of Croatia. These attacks have been carried out by non-historians”

and concluded that

“Tuđman systematically and with thorough documentation demolishes the myth of the collective guilt of any people, and of the Croats in particular. Making use of scholarly facts, he questions almost every foundation of the anti-Croatian propaganda that has gone on for many years. These are the main reasons for the attacks on Wilderness.”⁶²⁴

The number of war victims, especially those who died in Jasenovac, has continued to serve as an important part of anti-Croatian propaganda after the end of the war in 1995. Serbian web site www.krajinaforce.com commented on the opening of a new memorial in Jasenovac in 2006 stating that “massive Croatian Holocaust Revision” was “encouraged” and that director of the Simon Wiesenthal Center’s Israel office, Efraim Zuroff,

“seemed to accept the scandalous reduction of a number of the people murdered in Jasenovac death camp complex, leaving an overall impression that Croatia is making steps in the right direction after all”.⁶²⁵

The same year Jasenovac Research Institute (JRI), based in New York, published the book “Jasenovac and the Holocaust in Yugoslavia” edited by Barry M. Lituchy. A year earlier the same organisation established the monument for the victims of Jasenovac in New York’s Holocaust Memorial Park which suggested that “hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma” were killed on that location during the Second World War’. On JRI’s website, Lituchy claims that “estimates of the total numbers of men, women and children killed range from 300,000 to 700,000” but “despite the scale of the crimes committed there, most of the world has never heard of Jasenovac”.⁶²⁶ Furthermore, JRI representatives emphasise that in October 1991

“during the withdrawal the Croatian Army placed explosives to blow up the bridge on the Sava River which connected the two parts of the Memorial Park; they also blew up the graves, destroyed the Museum artefacts and stole the Museum equipment”,

and, “due to the courage and enthusiasm of individuals who worked at the Memorial Park, some historical materials and objects were saved”.⁶²⁷ However, according to the Memorial Site Jasenovac information,

“the building of the Memorial Museum was prepared for evacuation, but before its contents could be moved to an area outside the war zone, Jasenovac and the Memorial Site were occupied on 8 October 1991. The museum inventory was transferred to Bosanska Dubica and from there, to Banja Luka. Until May 1995, Jasenovac Memorial Site was inaccessible to museum staff and conservationists. In a report by an observation mission of the European Community published in May 1994, an inspection of the condition of cultural monuments and museums in the occupied part of the Republic of Croatia revealed

<http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/utjecaj-srbijanske-agresije-na-stanovnistvo-hrvatske-/175515.aspx>

⁶²³ Available at http://articles.latimes.com/1991-03-12/news/mn-192_1_world-war-ii.

⁶²⁴ Anto Knežević, *An Analysis of Serbian Propaganda*, <http://www.hic.hr/books/analysis/part-02.htm>

⁶²⁵ Croatian Holocaust Denial Encouraged by Shameful Silence, http://www.krajinaforce.com/dokumenti/jasenovac_revision.html

⁶²⁶ Jasenovac Research Institute, *What was Jasenovac*, <http://www.jasenovac.org/whatwasjasenovac.php>

⁶²⁷ Jasenovac Research Institute, *What was Jasenovac*, <http://www.jasenovac.org/whatwasjasenovac.php>

that the Memorial Museum was completely empty and that there was no information on the whereabouts of the Jasenovac Memorial Museum inventory, but that the memorial area and memorial itself had not been damaged...

Representatives of the Republic of Croatia's Ministry of Culture's State Administration for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage visited Jasenovac Memorial Site on May 17 1995 and confirmed that the entire museum inventory was missing and that the buildings of the Memorial Museum and Memorial Site had been devastated.⁶²⁸

The political manipulation and the flaws in previous research have obviously had a tremendous impact, even on the generations born after the end of the Second World War. Today, due to the reluctance to deal with the Communist past and, incomplete de-communisation of Croatian society, this topic in Croatia is still a matter not only of political and scholarly debates, but also of everyday life. Moreover, questioning total demographic losses and investigating communist crimes, which represents a crucial part of any serious research of the Communist post-war propaganda as well, is often seen as "historical revisionism", particularly by the former Croatian president Stjepan Mesić who compared it with "celebrating Fascism" and emphasised it might actually prevent Croatia from joining the EU.⁶²⁹ Mesić ignored that in 2011 the Croatian Parliament itself had adopted the European Day of Remembrance of Victims of All Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes, commemorated on 23 August. Since this day also refers to victims of communist crimes, therefore, they should also be investigated impartially and objectively.

⁶²⁸ <http://www.jusp-jasenovac.hr/Default.aspx?sid=6478>

⁶²⁹ Stjepan Mesić, 'S rastućom zabrinutošću pratim drugu ofenzivu povijesnog revizionizma', *SEEBiz*, 15 October 2011, available at <http://www.seebiz.eu/stjepan-mesic-s-rastucom-zabrinutoscu-pratim-drugu-ofenzivu-povijesnog-revizionizma/ar-15671/>. *Predsjedništvo SABA RH – Argumentima protiv povijesnog revizionizma*, Savez antifašističkih boraca i antifašista RH, Zagreb, 7 November 2012, available at http://www.sabh.hr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54:predsjednitvo-saba-rh-argumentima-protiv-povijesnog-revizionizma-&catid=5:novosti&Itemid=14.

Propaganda, History and Education

Propaganda and Historiography

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Introduction

Historiography studies men along time. History tries to understand comprehensively the evolution of men along time. For studious men, history has, as a main tool, several forms of sources. Not all of these sources have to be in writing form: images, as well, can be used as sources for studying history. But, even those, are somewhat dependent of a writing narrative. As Fernando Pessoa, one of the most important thinkers of twentieth century, has said, what we see is a narrative elaborated in the brain (Fernando Pessoa, 2006: 56). So indeed, all history sources are dependent of the writing narrative that is elaborated in the historian brains.

This introduction is important because we are dealing with the influence of politic vision and ideological propaganda in the contemporary historiography understanding of First Portuguese Republic belligerency in World War One. What we will try to point out is the influence of the political and propagandistic discourse of war mongers and anti-war activists in the historiography comprehensively understanding of First Portuguese Republic belligerency in World War One.

So, this conference will deal with historiographic discourses (arguments) on First Portuguese Republic belligerency in World War One. The first discourse accepts the main arguments of belligerents' republicans for participating in First World War. The other discourse refuses the belligerent view with the opposition epochal arguments to the Portuguese interventionism. They, indeed, follow the political and ideological debate that started with the Great War, in 1914. And this happens because the main guidelines of political and ideologically contemporary debate are an heritage of Portuguese political and ideological thinking that can trace its origins to the Liberal Revolution of 1820 and cross the ideological political dispute of the First Portuguese Republic.

This text will be organized in three chapters. The first will present the historiography that battled for the radical republican belligerent perspective. The second will deal with the historiography that interpret the intervention as an error motivated by political party interests. The third chapter will relate the propaganda battle of "guerristas" (war mongers) and "antiguerristas" (anti-belligerents proponents) with the contemporary history and will try to insert both debates in a ampler ideological debate that cross the history of Portugal since the Liberal Revolution.

1) The Belligerent Perspective

Intervention in World War One was an imposed necessity related with the modernization of Portuguese society and economic infrastructure. This is the main argument of the Portuguese favourable belligerent's historiographical perspective. The Republic was a modernization project of democratization and citizenship socialization of the Portuguese "Ancien Régime" that Constitutional Monarchy has perpetuated against the real ideals of 1820 Liberal Revolution.

Intervention in World War One would robust the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and would integrate the Portuguese Republic sovereignty in the international system. A solid relation with Great-Britain and a closer relationship with France would assure the independence of Portugal and the preservation of its colonial patrimony and would allow the resolution of its internal dilemmas, mainly, the political, cultural and economic modernization, in its own terms, of the Portuguese Republic.

As the historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho has said, speaking by the pen of one of the main ideological proponents of belligerency, João Chagas, Portuguese Ambassador in France between 1912 and 1917, on one side, were the "liberal ideas", on the other side, were the "reactionaries' ideas", against "all programs of human emancipation", on one side were the Teutonic Empires, on the other, liberal France and Great-Britain, "the democratic Europe" against the "feudal and apostolic Europe", forcing Portugal to intervene, in the name of modernization, in the European war, as a basis for its own politic and social modernization (Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 2004: 107-108).

In the same vein, Luís Alves Fraga says that the main aim of the belligerency republican politics was to transform Portugal from one internationally peripheral nation to a central one, from a nation that was subject of foreign interests to another that was an actor of himself in international terms, in parity with the European

Great Powers (Luís Alves Fraga, 2010: 18-22). The democratic republican belligerency politics were, in his historian view, a national emancipation politic, the vector that imposed to Portugal the active intervention in the main theatre of World War one, France.

Both historians optics echoes the intense words of João Chagas, expressed in his diary, at the announcement of the declaration of war, in Paris, in 1914:

“This moment give to it (Portugal) the unique opportunity of acquiring personality. (...). Portugal has to assume, without tergiversation’s, the role of England’s ally, giving the little that can be given, but giving it, and don’t waiting that she demands it or takes it by her own hands. (...). For the first time in the history of ours oldest alliance, we would give something, and don’t ask for her support” (João Chagas,s/d, I: 132).

João Chagas said it, in a more polite way, in one propaganda book released in 1915, with an appeal to Portugal intervention in World War One: in that book, João Chagas battle for belligerency in the name of democratic ideals embodied by the Entente, against the “feudal and apostolic” Europe, represented by the Central Powers. Given the Anglo-Alliance, Portugal has, necessarily, to break relations with Germany and Austria and became, accordingly with is own history, a belligerent on the side of the Entente (João Chagas, 1915, 11 e 14).

Later, with the effective belligerency, the same arguments will be put to use by other republican intellectuals, in a propagandistic effort to strength the moral of the population and its support to the war (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2000: 93-94).

This was the ideological basic arguments for the republican belligerency activists and this is the basic interpretation argument for understanding comprehensively the politics of belligerency from part of the contemporary Portuguese Historiography. They, indeed, only replicate older ideological republican arguments.

2) The Anti-Belligerent Perspective

Republican revolution was a tragedy for Portuguese twentieth century, in political, social and economic terms, annihilating the possibility of a democratic development based on the political evolution of the Constitutional Monarchy (Rui Ramos, 2004: 27-28). It is in this framework that modern historiography must understand comprehensively the Portuguese belligerency on World War One. The belligerency was a party politics aimed at preserving the dominance of the “Partido Republicano Português” (Portuguese Republican Party) own political power. It was, not a national intervention in the World War, but a belligerency moved by egoistic party interests, with the goal of imprisoning Great-Britain and the oldest alliance in the defence of the Portuguese radical republican sieged regime.

Given to the tense relation, political and diplomatic, between Great-Britain and republican Portugal, with several diplomatic clashes in Africa and about several aspects of internal Portuguese politics, the republican governments have adopted an international posture much more British friendly with the aim of assuring her support in case of necessity. It was a clearly “bandwagoning” movement. The war intensified this movement and the international political posture of the Portuguese Republican Party and his allies. Intervening in the War was central to robust the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, and in the process, to assure, for the republicans and the Portuguese Republic, a closer and friendly relationship with the old ally: in a good definition, the historian Rui Ramos defines this international politics as “aggressive gluing” to Great Britain (Rui Ramos, 2008: 79-94).

But the war for the Portuguese Republican Party was also a strategy to robust the siege republican regime in Portugal. A “national war” in support of the old ally was what was needed to assure the cohesion of the Portuguese people around the republican regime. Belligerency was synonymous of regime stabilization (Vasco Pulido Valente, 1997: 81-87). So, belligerency policy would serve the Portuguese Republican Party, not the nation as a whole, indeed, the nation as a whole was thrown to a war that meant nothing to them. It was a self-interest political goal that forced belligerency. The pro-Britain posture and the national war were instruments of regime stabilization and of internal political dominance by the Portuguese Republican Political Party.

As an echo, the words of one of the most important Portuguese writers of the twentieth century, Aquilino Ribeiro, written against the ideas of João Chagas, expresses this sentiment:

“Declare war, throwing thousands of poor devils to hell, sucked the nation exhausting fertility, what is that if there are three grails to conquest: glorify the name of Portugal, shove the leopard sovereignty, and pay our tribute to civilization.” (Aquilino Ribeiro, s/d: 68).

It was, in the end, self interest, which was, indeed, treason to republican ideals, not national interest, what moved the Portuguese Republican Party to belligerency in World War One. This is what Rocha Martins, a conservative republican journalist and historian said in those days:

“Indeed, the party (Portuguese Republican Party) has thrown himself, in heart and mind, in the belligerent camp (...) in the way of solidification the Republic, and for others, of fortified the army organization (...) intending the consolidation of the Republic, if its flag flied on the side of the allies (...).” (Rocha Martins, s/d: 103-104).

3) Propagandistic Discourse and Historiography Debate

Understanding comprehensively the historiography paradigm on the Portuguese belligerency in World War One cannot be read as a simple matter of different historical interpretations based on different reading of the sources, or as a historiographic debate around the Portuguese participation in the First World War in itself. This is not a mere historiography question or interpellation, if such thing exists.

The Portuguese historiographical debate and the different historiography paradigms on Portugal belligerency in World War One are rooted on the historical perspective that each historian have of the First Portuguese Republic and, more relevant, in what it signifies for the history of Portugal, as a whole. And beyond that, and above all that, is the contemporary ideological vision that today influences the historical reading of Portugal intervention in World War One. Indeed, the debate of 1914-1916 about the belligerency continues today, in historiography, in a direct ideological link between politicians and intellectuals of the First Portuguese Republic and contemporary historians and other literates.

Beyond the ample and solid historiography apparatus that all these historians evidence and their unequivocal capacity of produce very good historical narrative lays an ideological perspective that gets a good deal of arguments from the propaganda ideological machinery of both political and ideological sides of the Portuguese First Republic.

Both historiography paradigms are based on the same facts, the “aggressive gluing” of First Portuguese Republic governments to the alliance with Great Britain and the sieged situation of the regime, with a strong conservative opposition to its existence and a profound divided republican camp, as a basis for explaining the politics of actively intervention of part of the republican spectrum in the Great War by Portugal. Indeed, both historiography paradigms also accepted the idea that the belligerency was viewed by the radical republicans as the solution for the Republic dilemmas, internal and external.

The difference lays in the perspective on how these facts are interpreted.

On one side, the belligerency was the solution for stabilizing a modern political, social and economically regime and assuring an effective modernization of Portugal, according with the evolution of industrialized Europe. This was the real meaning of the Revolution of October 1910 and this was what was searched with the intervention of Portugal in World War One. The Republic was the embodiment of modern Portugal, and if it was necessary to confront all the old country and the majority of it, to change it, so what? Modernity was the best justification to impose to an archaic country the violence of transformation, internally and externally, going to the Great War.

On the other side, the radical republican belligerency was also imposed by the necessity to stabilize the menaced regime, internally and externally, and to assure the predominance and the hegemony of the radical republican Portuguese Republican Party in power and his ideologically view of radical transformation of Portugal, of course, not only in behalf of the Portugueses, but also in behalf of themselves. The Republic was the embodiment of a revolutionary archaic regime, dreaming with the French eighteen century revolution, like the “Jacobins” (as conservative republican,⁶³⁰ monarchic or catholic opposition, also cognomen the members of the Portuguese Republican Party and other radical republicans), forcing a “republican radical dictatorship”, that in the name of modernization were imposing its absolute power to Portugal (Vasco Pulido Valente, 1997: 35-38; Rui Ramos, 2004: 28-29). And, in some aspects this was true; given the ability of the Portuguese Republican Party in manipulate the electoral census mechanism in behalf of wining always the elections (only once did this not happen). Intervention in World War One was one of the strategies to assure the perdurability of the radical republican regime.

It is the way in which we look the facts that produce the difference of interpretation. And this is ideological and circumscribed by the way as we looked to the October 1910 revolution and what it signifies in the contemporary history of Portugal.

Republican radicalism was a cut in the evolution of the liberal regime, institutionalized in the second half or the nineteen century, and explains the incapacity of Portugal’s adaption to the democratic evolution of western Europe along the twentieth century, and represent the basis for the long duration of the “Estado Novo” dictatorship regime, that sequentially produced a III Republic with a clear leftist spirit’s constitutionally

⁶³⁰ See, for example, the utilization of the Jacobin word in the correspondence of M. Teixeira Gomes, (s/d): 47, 117.

program, that today is reflected in the difficulties of our capitalist modernization (an example of this view could be extracted from Rui Ramos, 2004).

The October 1910 revolution was made by a political vanguard searching to transform an archaic political, social and economically, and cultural country in a effective European modern nation, that was stopped by the fierce resistance of the conservative Portuguese world in a long fighting against modernity that was prolonged by the “Estado Novo” dictatorship. The III Republic (indeed, as many put it, the II Republic, as the “Estado Novo” was an interregnum) reopen the prospects of modernization, with the participation of the citizens, a true social, economical, cultural and politically modernity, similar to what would happen in Europe since the beginning of the twentieth century.

These are the views that explain why the World War One debate between belligerents and anti-belligerents proponents is still open. More than a debate on the reasons of Portuguese belligerency is a discussion on the identity of contemporary Portugal and on the ways for its future. Like Antonio Elorza said about “July 36” in Spain, that is “demasiado cerca”, “too close”, the First Portuguese Republic, indeed, is also “too close” to contemporary times to be read without the passion that moves the man politically: the First Portuguese Republic is not something of the past, instead, it deals with the present history of the III Republic (or II Republic) and its immediate future.

Conclusion

Intervention in World War One was an imposed necessity related with the modernization of Portuguese society and economic infrastructure. This is the main argument of the Portuguese favourable belligerent historiographical’s perspective. The Republic was a modernization project of democratization and citizenship socialization of the Portuguese “Ancien Régime” that Constitutional Monarchy has perpetuated against the real ideals of 1820 Liberal Revolution.

The belligerency was a party politics aimed to preserve the dominance of the “Partido Republicano Português” (Portuguese Republican Party) own political power. It was, not a national intervention in the World War, but a belligerency moved by egoistic party interests, with the goal of imprisonment Great-Britain and the oldest alliance in the defence of the Portuguese radical republican siege regime.

The difference between these two perspectives results from dissident interpretations about the facts involved. For one side, the belligerency was the solution for stabilize a modern political, social and economically regime and assured an effective modernization of Portugal, accordingly with the evolution of industrialized Europe. This was the really meaning of the Revolution of October 1910 and this was what was searching with the intervention of Portugal in World War one.

For the another side, the radical republican belligerency was also imposed by the necessity to stabilize the threatened regime, internally and externally, and to assure the predominance and the hegemony of the radical republican Portuguese Republican Party in power and his ideologically view of radical transformation of Portugal, of course, not only in behalf of the Portuguese’s, but also in behalf of themselves.

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The cartography as propaganda weapon and the instrumentalization of the German School of Geopolitics (1933-1945)

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Introduction

This paper will demonstrate that both the cartography and the German School of Geopolitics became respectively a propaganda weapon and an instrument in the service of the Third *Reich*. Although, the (suggestive) cartography was used by Adolf Hitler's government, it was one of its less known means. There was never the preoccupation for creating a central institution to cartographic propaganda. But this did not avoid the utilization of maps making use of the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, the publication of the German School of Geopolitics, and of *Völkisch* groups, inclusively without any kind of attention and rigor in the choice of theories and/or terminology.

1.The appearance of the suggestive maps in the sequence of the Treaty of Versailles (1919)

The dissatisfaction with the impositions of the Treaty of Versailles, in whose negotiations Germany was not authorized to participate, was a general sensation of the German society, capable of join all the German-speaking people (Murphy 1997, 46). The majority of Germans defended that the territories of the Sudetenland, Austria, Memel, Alsace-Lorraine and parts of Poland, which were lost as a result of the territorial impositions of this Treaty, belong to the German national territory.

Developing a *Großdeutschland* [Great Germany] with the unification of the all German-speaking people in one state, in the name of the self-determination, was the main goal of two groups at that period: *Völkisch*, considered by Herb (1997, 2) as “activists advocating the supremacy of Germans”⁶³¹, and the geographers (and, later, also the geopoliticians), such as Albrecht Penck that developed the notion of the German people and cultural soil, describing the German national identity in what respects to cultural landscape. A new Germany would retain the German Empire, Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia.

Both of them realized that the key to their revisionist aspirations was the maps, where they could clarify the image of the German self-determination with scientific respectability. Thus, the maps were in the service of this national cause, being a successful way of propaganda even during the Weimar Republic, and depending more of private initiatives and voluntary subordination than of the governmental activities.

1.1.Arnold Ziegfeld as the master of the suggestive cartography

Although the first demand for a greater involvement in cartographic propaganda came in the beginning of the 1920s with Joseph März, which defended maps as the most effective mean of propaganda (because they are easily remembered: few words were sufficient to convey the message), it was with Arnold Hillen Ziegfeld that the suggestive cartography was truly developed.

Ziegfeld was an early member of *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* [National Socialist German Worker's Party] (NSDAP), a founding member of the *Deutscher Klub*⁶³² in Berlin, and also affiliated with the *Deutscher Schutzbund*, where he established a specialized suggestive mapping office. In 1927, he had an article published in the periodical *Volk und Reich*, in which he argued that suggestive maps should be dissociated from the established cartography in general and proposed the creation of a new discipline, *Kartographik*.

For Ziegfeld was essential the development of the suggestive maps without any kind of restrictions imposed by scientific maps. Because both are ruled by different laws: on the one hand cartography is a science and a technique committed to the graphic representation of the surface of the earth with naturalism and truthfulness, on the other suggestive cartography is a political weapon and an educational instrument as result

⁶³¹ The first *Völkisch* groups appeared in the late of the nineteenth century: the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* and the *Alldeutscher Verband*.

⁶³² A *Völkisch* group.

of the combination between the acuteness of the phrased idea, the clarity of the corresponding image and the psychological effect produced.

But back to the beginning, Ziegfeld came to Berlin in 1923 for working at the Vowinckel Verlag, the publishing house of Kurt Vowinckel, which was responsible, together with Karl Haushofer (1869-1946), for the creation of the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* [Journal of Geopolitics] in 1924. Vowinckel was a professed National Socialist, being interested in the use of suggestive maps in its publications (mainly related with *Geopolitik* [Geopolitics]).

Nevertheless, in 1924, Vowinckel put in contact Ziegfeld and Karl von Loesch, the head of the *Deutscher Schutzbund*. Quickly, Ziegfeld became the director of this publishing house, establishing an office for the production of the suggestive maps. In 1928, economical constraints and personal differences led Ziegfeld to leave this work, but he continued the publication of his maps through *Edwin Runge Verlag*, his own publishing house, became freelance of at the same time of *Volk und Reich*, a journal published in cooperation with *Deutscher Schutzbund*. By 1930, he worked full-time at *Volk und Reich*, heading the suggestive cartography office that he had established there. Being a member of the editorial board of this publication, he was also involved in other firm's publications.

Indeed, Ziegfeld became famous as a master of suggestive mapping⁶³³. His maps were used by various institutions, such as the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*, *Vowinckel Verlag*, *Verlag Grenze und Ausland*, and *Wirtschaftspolitische Gesellschaft*.

In spite of that, Haushofer was considered the founder of suggestive cartography, and not Ziegfeld. But the only responsibility of Haushofer in the greater importance given to these maps was related with its use in his works of *Geopolitik*, as a way of illustrating its ideas.

1.1.1. The success of the suggestive cartography during the Weimar Republic

Since the end of 1920s to the beginning of 1930s, the suggestive cartography had a great success being promoted by private initiatives: in public lecture, in newspapers and in many books. The atlases devoted only to this cartography genre appeared in 1927 with Ziegfeld and Braun, and in 1929 with Schmidt and Haack. These maps were characterized by a simplistic design and a minimum of information visible: they were drawn in black and white, or with a few select colors (principally red), omitted legends and scale bars, chose dynamic symbols (using arrows for example) and bold shading. This allowed to produce very inexpensively and easily reproduced in different sizes and various contexts. They were more dynamic and persuasive.

Thus, the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* decided to replace its "scientific" atlas of the distribution of Germans in border regions and abroad by a collection of black-and-white suggestive maps of Friedrich Lange, an associate judge of a regional court, published as *Volksdeutsche Kartenskizzen*. It was a project started in 1928. In 1937, this atlas was in the fourth edition, being reproduced through the masses and used in education in order to demonstrate the position of the "German fatherland" and make the German youth understand the future tasks of the German people (Herb, 1997, 91). They were easily drawn in the blackboard and in notebooks, and memorized. This was also why they were included in the demand, of a proponent of *Geopolitik*, to introduce geopolitical knowledge in primary schools.

1.2. The birth of the German School of Geopolitics and its "relation" with this kind of maps

According to Karl Haushofer⁶³⁴, the mentor of the Geopolitics as science, it was the inability of the politicians and of the general public to understand the importance of geographical factors, which contributed to the way that World War I ended and, consequently, to the *Diktat* of Versailles. Maps were considered an instrument of the political education defended by geopoliticians, especially because they allow noting the relationship between the geographical and political factors (Herb, 1997, 77).

In 1922, in an article published in the journal *Grenzenboten*, Haushofer defended that maps should also become a tool of politics and, following the foreign examples (such as the British, the French and the Polish), the Germans needed to concentrate only on the essential issues in maps, abandoning the excessive

⁶³³ The increasing of the production and dissemination of Ziegfeld's suggestive maps was a result of his association with influential activists in the *Deutscher Schutzbund*, *Deutscher Klub*, and *Volk und Reich*, such as the case of Max Hildebert Boehm, Karl von Loesch, and Hermann Ullmann. His participation on book projects with Friedrich Heiss and Karl von Loesch put him into contact with geographers - such as Albrecht Haushofer (son of Karl Haushofer), Walter Geisler, Albrecht Penck, Waldemar Wucher, Robert Sieger and Fritz Jäger -, historians and researchers - such as Gustav Aubin, Erich Maschke, Manfred Laubert, and Martin Spahn.

⁶³⁴ Haushofer had liaisons with Völkisch groups. In 1923, for example, he became the Bavarian president of the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland*. Cfr. Michel Korinman, *Quand l'Allemagne pensait le monde* (Paris: Fayard), 290.

perfectionism and love of detail. It did not mean to do cartographic lies, unnecessary and unacceptable, but to select the facts and emphasize what was central, suppressing what was extraordinary or insignificant. This was how to make suggestive maps. In this sense, the German maps would be powerful instruments of education and conviction of the German people (Herb, 1997, 81).

The German School of Geopolitics, also known as the School of Munich, was founded in 1924 with the birth of the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, which oriented its preoccupations to the recovery of Germany and its consequent transformation into a great power (Correia, 2004, 143). Its theoretical corpus was based on the thoughts of Rudolf Kjellén (1864-1922), the creator of Geopolitics' concept, and Friedrich Ratzel (1844-1904). The publication, having as editor Kurt Vowinckel, was destined to masses and had a monthly edition. In what respects to the initial group of *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, it was constituted by Vowinckel, Haushofer, Erich Obst, Otto Maul, Hermann Lautensach and Fritz Hesse. However, the only names that always remained in the publication, until 1944, were Vowinckel and Haushofer (Silva, 2003, 2-9).

In essence, Haushofer popularized the suggestive maps by integrating them into *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, encouraging its use and development through the publication. As a result, it became the main forum for the discussion of the issues related to these maps in Weimar Republic and, therefore, they were mostly known as "geopolitical maps". Although *Völkisch* groups tried to use other terms such as "*volkspolitische Karte*", the association of the maps with Geopolitics proved to be more effective. It gave them "the aura of respectability by making them part of a quasi-scientific discipline". Thus, "*geopolitische Karte*" was to representations with a psychological effect, while "*volkspolitische Karte*" respected all maps which addressed political aspects of the German *Volk* independently of being persuasive or not (Herb 1997, 81-82).

2. The cartography as propaganda during the Third Reich

For Herb (1997, 151) the success of propaganda was a result of the combination of the themes of traditional German nationalism with the NSDAP ideological motifs. Before the control of the different forms of mass communications by the Propaganda Ministry, it was *Völkisch* that dominated the print media, film and radio.

So, when Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) came to power in 1933, there was a well-established network for the production of suggestive maps, centered in *Völkisch* groups that were responsible by the popularization of maps, using them in a variety of mass media.

2.1. From the inexistent cartographic propaganda institution with Arnold Ziegfeld...

On 3 April 1933, three weeks after the foundation of the Propaganda Ministry, Ziegfeld proposed, inclusively, the creation of a center for political cartography to this Ministry. The goal consisted in the standardization of regulation and in the providing of assistance for map production not only by various government authorities, but also to cooperate with private interest groups and press.

He also tried to get the support of the *Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht*, where he participated with a conference about the role of suggestive maps for propaganda and education, submitting a petition in 1934. After the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Ziegfeld voluntarily offered his services as a specialist in modern political cartography to the Propaganda Ministry.

At the end of 1939, he became a censor for maps, in the German press, in the Propaganda Ministry, being transferred in January 1940 to the foreign propaganda office of the Ministry, where he was responsible for the organization of a map service destined to the foreign press and involved in the production of the periodical *Signal*⁶³⁵.

Between 1940 and 1941, Ziegfeld was involved in a propaganda unit and from the autumn of 1941 to the summer of 1942 he participated in the direction of the propaganda against England. On 31 July 1942, he presented his resignation in order to devote himself to his publishing house.

In spite of the Ziegfeld's expertise offer of to the Propaganda Ministry, the Ministry did not centralized cartographic propaganda. Several suggestive cartographers made maps for NSDAP's publications, such as Karl Springenschmid (with a map series entitled "*Deutschland kämpft für Europa!*" ["German fights for Europe!"]) in 1937, Ziegfeld (with an oversized map supplement about the extension of German settlement and culture beyond the existing political boundaries) in 1938, Friedrich Lange and Karl Loesch (with some figures for the number of Germans in different regions, excluding the German-speaking Jews), in a sporadic collaboration, with the exception of Ziegfeld in the conditions above mentioned.

⁶³⁵ A magazine of the German *Wehrmacht* published from 1940 to 1945, destined to the exterior.

2.2.... To the *Volk und Reich* as instrument of German Foreign Propaganda with Friedrich Heiss

Only one institution established a close cooperation with Third Reich: the *Stiftung Volk und Reich*, which became famous still in the Weimar Republic with its journal *Volk und Reich* and its monographs series serving as “an inconspicuous medium for the dissemination of official propaganda” (Herb, 1997, 161).

In 1933, Friedrich Heiss, the director of *Volk und Reich*, suggested making this publication into an instrument of German foreign propaganda; and he was well succeeded because it would receive support from the Foreign Office and prepare the entire propagandistic literature for the attack on Poland, in cooperation with the press office of the German Foreign Office. This resulted in the publication of an issue, in August 1939, entitled *Krieg wegen Polen?* [War because of Poland?], in different languages (English, French, Polish and German), containing some black and white maps and one colored suggestive map, promising to be an introductory issue to the subject of Poland and escape from foreign censors. Additionally, the publication also prepared some maps for propaganda materials to be used by the German Library of Information in the USA, in order to possibly convince it to remain neutral.

After being succeeded in the establishment of a working relationship with the Foreign Office, Heiss also tried to exercise complete control over the activities of *Volk und Reich*. Thus, he dismissed Ziegfeld, on 12 August 1933, the responsible for the establishment of the suggestive cartography office and for the expansion of the activities of the foundation.

The case came to court and Ziegfeld complained in a letter written to the Foreign Office that Heiss tried to make his contributions to *Volk und Reich* insignificant from the beginning. This ended with a financial settlement and the promise that Ziegfeld's name would be mentioned if his maps were used in *Volk und Reich*. But what is fact is that the suggestive cartographic office was established and it was associated with *Volk und Reich* and not with Ziegfeld. In practice, when Ziegfeld's maps were used, his full name did not appear. The maps contained Ziegfeld's symbol, but he was never referred for being the creator of the suggestive cartography (and in this journal).

Beyond the close connections with the Foreign Office, *Volk und Reich* worked also with *Völkisch* and NSDAP, preparing suggestive maps for the Hitler Youth and for several exhibitions. Additionally, there were also two new institutes, which became involved in map propaganda: the *Publikationsstelle Berlin (Puste)* and the *Institute für Allgemeine Wehrlehre* at the University of Berlin. In what respects to the *Puste*, it worked in the production of suggestive maps as a result of its scientific expertise. On the initiative of Albert Brackmann, the director of the Prussian State Archives, it was founded in 1932 as a central information office for coordinating and controlling the German research on the East and responding to the Polish and Czech scientific propaganda. *Puste* was also affiliated with *Nord- und Ostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*. Both were closely associated with the Ministry of the Interior, having the same goal as the *Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*, which was to supply scientific material for political purposes, such as supporting with drafts for several historical maps to the 1938 party convention.

The *Institute für Allgemeine Wehrlehre* had as director Oskar Ritter von Niedermayer, a German geographer and a former employee of the *Reichswehrministerium*. Beyond being responsible for organizing production and finalizing maps, it had also the task of producing a book on the map exhibit of the 1938 party convention, destined to political education. But, to avoid the foreign criticism, Niedermayer asked all scientific collaborators, including the *Puste*, to reanalyze the maps of the exhibit and make sure that they only contained scientific material.

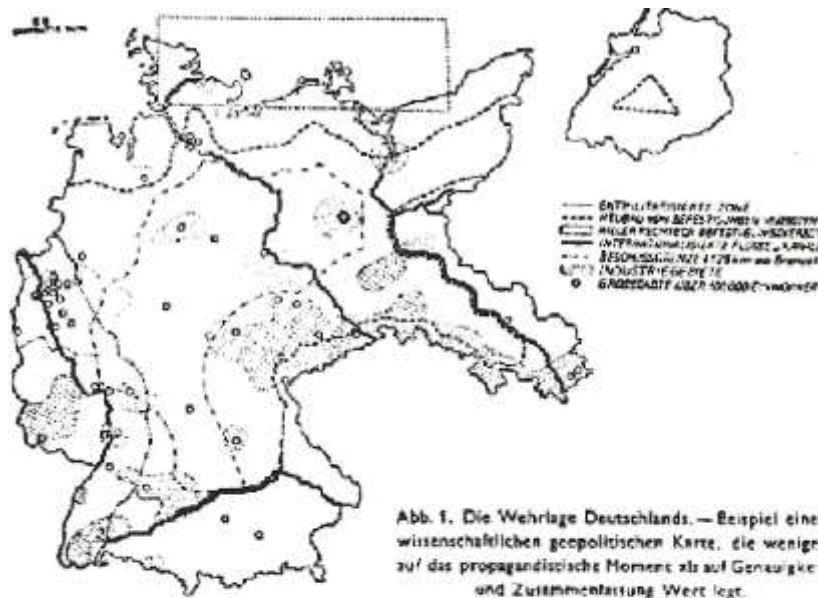
2.3. The instrumentalization of the German School of Geopolitics

In the period between 1933 and 1936 the German School of Geopolitics was used as an instrument of propaganda, being under the pressure of the Propaganda Ministry of Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) (Almeida 1990, 123). The Geopolitics, which since 1924 was assumed as a practice science and the geographic conscience of the state, served the designs of the NSDAP policies. The influence of Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946), in the development of the racist and Aryan doctrine of the Third Reich, had also consequences in the geopolitical thought of the School of Munich.

Since March 1934, Rudolf Hess (1894-1987) assigned three functions to *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Geopolitik*, according with the theory of *Blut und Boden* [blood and soil]: the constitution of a state science in what respects to the spatial policy; the German mass education in conformity with the principles of the National Socialism; and the collaboration with the Propaganda Ministry and, consequently, the work to the prestige of *Reich* in the exterior.

Thus, it was justified the necessity of association of the German School of Geopolitics with the technology in the 1930s, being frequently the use of the mass media, but principally the cartography would have an essential role in the dissemination and enforcement of the German Geopolitics to all population's layers.

For helping in the divulgation and diffusion of this became National Socialist Geopolitics, in 1934, Rupert von Schumacher, an Austrian, gave the first steps in the development of the theoretical principles in the design of suggestive maps⁶³⁶. He defended that the general public needed highly simplified maps to better understand them; for clarifying its argument he presented a comparison between a scientific map (of complex comprehension) and a popular map (easily comprehensible). The popular version did not have legends, but employed pictorial symbols to identify the main ideas.



Schumacher's comparison between a scientific (above) and a popular geopolitical map (under) (1934) (Herb 1997, 155)

The ideas of Schumacher were well received by other cartographers. However, its general impact was limited. He was a professed National Socialist and worked for some NSDAP organizations, but neither the government nor its party took up his theoretical principles. With exception to the review conducted, in 1938

⁶³⁶ Although, he never drew his own maps (he was a jurist), which were designed by two cartographers: Guido Gebhardt and G. Jedermann. Cfr. Guntram Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda 1918-1945*, (London: Routledge, 1997), 154.

and 1939, by the Ministry of Education to the primary school atlases, which resulted in a recommendation of following the catalog of suggestive symbols developed in 1935 by Schumacher; especially as a result of the misuse of arrows in the atlases.

In the case of the NSDAP publications, and with exception to the maps developed by the masters of suggestive cartography, the design was less sophisticated, violated many rules of suggestive cartography theory that seemed to be forgotten, such as the case of the Schumacher's ideas, and the terminology was unreflectively used (Herb 1997, 158).

2.3.1. The South Tyrol as a common subject of Hitler's prohibition: in Karl Haushofer's book (1939) and in a suggestive map (1938)

On 25 October 1936, it was signed a settlement between Germany and Italy, establishing a cooperation between both states in what respects to the Spanish question (the Spanish Civil War approached the two) e to the Danubian area. In November, in a speech in Milan, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) referred that the approach of the two states originated the creation of the axis Rome-Berlin, an axis of peace and collaboration with which all the European states could join.

Also during the year of 1937, many German rulers visited Italy; on 16 November 1937 Italy joined the anti-Comintern Pact concluded with Germany and Japan; and on 22 May 1939, Germany and Italy signed the Pact of Steel, from which it detaches the third article, stipulating that if one of the parts goes to war, the other should go immediately also to war, as ally and supporting in all the ways: in land, sea and air (Milza 2007, 194 and 215).

In this sense, in June 1939, Hitler prohibited the second edition of Haushofer's book *Grenzen in ihrer geographischen und politischen Bedeutung*, in which was discussed the question of the German people in the South Tyrol, a region that was attached in 1919 to Italy, the main ally of the Third *Reich*. Albrecht Haushofer, the son of Haushofer, referred in July of the same year that any opposition to the situation of the South Tyrol caused the anger of Hitler. This was the only region of Europe in which a border revision, according with the nationalities principles, would not be mentioned (Defarges 2003, 81; Korinman 1990, 294).

However, the problem was repeated, but with a suggestive map and, in April 1938, Hitler ordered the withdrawal and destruction of a map of German national territory and culture in the publication *Der Schulungsbrief*⁶³⁷. This map showed the German ethnic areas in South Tyrol, a territory of Italy, something that Hitler renounced after his meetings with Mussolini begun in 1936. But, at least one copy arrived in Switzerland and, as a consequence, with the goal of avoiding future episodes, the Propaganda Ministry issued a directive that was disseminated together with the *Deutsche Kartographische Gesellschaft*. It established that South Tyrol could not be represented as German on maps, neither its name could be mentioned in publications. Obviously, this problem had the opposition of *Völkisch* and caused confusion about what should constitute German territory given the absence of guidelines.

Thus, in the summer of 1938, different institutions took some initiatives to clarify this. For example, the *Puste* contacted the Ministry of the Interior and requested the confiscation of three ethnographic wall maps that were using in schools. The Education Ministry and the Propaganda Ministry accepted the request, agreed with it and ordered the elimination of these maps.

With the goal of establishing a preventative censorship process, it was organized meetings at the *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Vomi)* on the production of maps of the German national territory. And, consequently, a decree was agreed upon, stipulating that every map respecting the political aspects of the German nation had to be submitted to the *Vomi*.

In spite of that, the regulation process was never formally established. In October 1938, at the second meeting of the *Deutsche Kartographische Gesellschaft*, it was referred that there was neither unified approach to regulation nor cooperation among the government institutions. There was also a lack of guidelines. *Vomi*'s participants did know who could establish these rules, but they considered that Alfred Rosenberg could clarify this situation futurely. The fact is that cartographic regulation during the Third *Reich* was plenty of conflict, contradiction and confusion: "maps were used at home and abroad, for education, propaganda, and reference, by the party, the government and private interest groups" (Herb, 1997, 169).

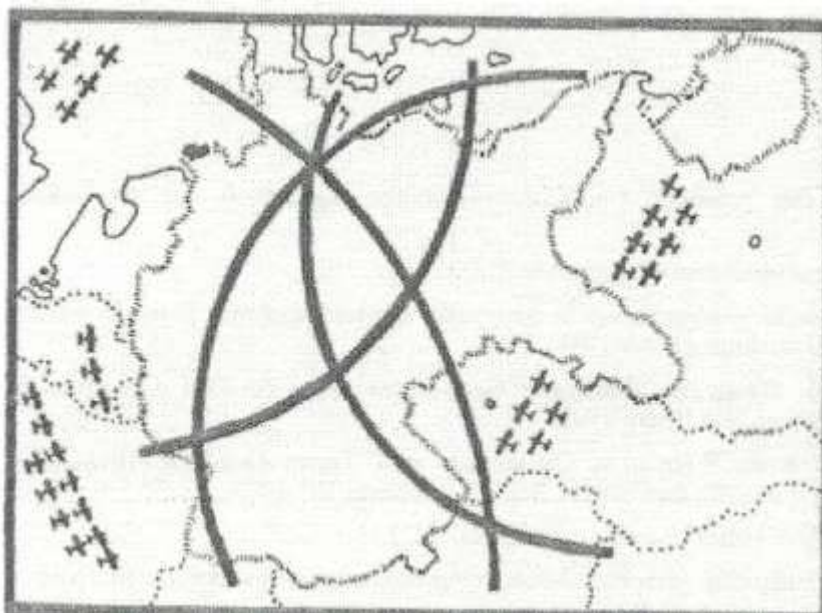
⁶³⁷ A publication of the NSDAP.

3. Maps as an element of war justification in World War II

If in the beginning maps had as main goal the demonstration of territorial losses and the expression of specific territorial demands, the later versions would be focused on the military threats to the German space and in the demand of public support for World War II. Therefore, with the war, the German military also produced films in which were employed cartographic sequences (“moving maps”, as considered by Hans Speier), in order to demonstrate the advances of the German armies, such as *Der Feldzug in Polen* [*The Campaign in Poland*] (1939) and *Sieg im Westen* [*Victory in West*] (1941). In spite of that, it has to be mentioned that these movies were made by professional film ateliers and no credit was given to suggestive cartographers (Herb, 1997, 176).

3.1. The voluntary submission of Geographers to the political needs of Third Reich...

Neither the government nor the NSDAP were interested in the creation of a central cartographic propaganda institution. They preferred to cooperate with the established cartographers and institutions of suggestive cartography and did not take an active role in the creation of a coordinated approach. It happened because when the NSDAP came to power, the geographers adopted racial terminology and concepts, following a voluntary submission to the political needs of the Third Reich. In this sense, previous suggestive cartographic activities continued with a renewed sense of pride in being German. However, this did not prevent the emergence of new forms of cartographic propaganda, involving emotive images and public displays (the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut* in Stuttgart attempted to become the main institution involving in the supply of materials for exhibitions and political education, especially after 1933). Frequently, the goal was to appeal to the primal instinct, suggest the necessity of struggling for survival: “Germany was in danger of being mutilated or killed by her enemies” (Herb, 1997, 173) and it had no choice but to counterattack as fast as possible.



A Schumacher's map (1934): Germany threatened all sides by countries neighbors' airplanes
(Silva 2003, 13)

During the war period, there was a decline in importance of the propaganda mapping in Germany, although it continued until the end of Third Reich. One of the main characteristics of propaganda (inclusively the one made through maps) was that it needed to be flexible to adjust to changing military conditions. With the loss at Stalingrad (1943), propaganda “returned” to the mythical and irrational elements of NSDAP doctrine, being difficult to represent it cartographically.

3.2. ... But the creation of a pre-publication censorship of maps by the Propaganda Ministry

In 1941, the publication of some maps with incorrect political boundaries led the Propaganda Ministry to create a mechanism for preventing future occurrences. So, since then, all the cartographic representations had

to be submitted to the Propaganda Ministry, but it did not mean that other institutions left to be involved with contradictory regulations. For example, between the Propaganda Ministry and the Ministry of Interior had different conceptions about the color that should be used to represent Germany.

In this sense, Herb (1997, 171) defended that the enforcement of a unified message in maps during the Third *Reich* seemed to be difficult (if not impossible), given the conflicts, the contradictions and the confusion existent between the various organizations involved in the production of suggestive maps.

In 1943, there were also problems after the official complaint presented by Hungary and Bulgaria, related with the map "*Der deutschen Osten*", published in the journal *Das Reich* of 11 July 1943, in which the German political boundaries were incorrect. Because of that, it was initiated a pre-publication censorship of maps in magazines and newspapers by the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Interior, the *Reichsamt für Landsaufnahme*, the Propaganda Ministry, the German High Command and the Ministry of the East. Thus, the publishers were advised to present its maps to the four institutions via messengers in order to expedite the process.

Another resolution of 26 August 1943, established that all maps with political, historical, and economic topics (related with the German Empire, the General government, and civil administrations areas) in publications had to be submitted to the Propaganda Ministry and the *Reichsamt für Landsaufnahme*. Maps related with areas abroad had to be submitted also to the Foreign Office and maps related with occupied territories in the East to the Ministry of the East.

3.3. After being a mechanism of war promotion...The extinction of the German School of Geopolitics

Between 1936 and 1945, the German School of Geopolitics was totally subjected to the policy of the Third *Reich*, becoming an instrument of the war effort. According with the settlement of 10 December 1936, Geopolitics started to be considered as a science of territorial and racial basis, essential to the development of people and states. Thus, Geopolitics was converted in the official political science of the Third *Reich*, having a political and a strategic orientation to the international scene.

In what respects to the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, and with the beginning of World War II, there was a decrease in the number of pages from year to year: from 562 pages in 1942, to 347 pages in 1943. To work more or less independent and provide reasons for Hitler's achievements became an insuperable difficulty.

Since 1942, and progressively, Haushofer's contributions decreased. The chronicles disappeared from the journal and his works were like a catalog of keywords, a heap of titles and names, and a serie of dates.

In 1943, the "literary" articles of Haushofer were related with the relations between Geopolitics and Religion, Geopolitics and Medicine, Geopolitics and Ethnology. It was also verified the merger of *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* with *Schule der Freiheit*, anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet, which allowed the publication of a larger volume, intended for a wider audience of readers.

Finally, on 2 September 1944, as director of *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, Haushofer received the order to cease its publication.

Conclusion

After the rise of Hitler to power in 1933, and with Germany in its hands, the Third *Reich* transformed everything into an instrument of its power⁶³⁸. Both suggestive cartography and the German School of Geopolitics adapted and were adapted to the principles of the new German government. They respected to the relations between space, power and the German-speaking people.

As Doods (2007, 115-116, 120-121) referred "at times of war and international discord", the interest in maps is greatest, principally when national survival is at stake and it is necessary to explain and justify the threats that are facing citizens. The geographers and cartographers were frequently employed by government to produce maps for the political leaders. Because of that "maps as images of political space are never neutral or transparent representations", especially at these times of war, international discord and in the presence of propaganda. Monmonier considered "A good propagandist knows how to shape opinion by manipulating maps", justifying the idea, which it is possible to lie with maps⁶³⁹; although, in a trial-and-error approach as the one followed by suggestive cartography (more developed in practice than in theory).

In the end, both suggestive cartography and the School of Munich were damned to the disappearance especially after the German loss of Stalingrad (1943), in the sequence of the failure of Operation Barbarossa

⁶³⁸ And when something (or someone) did not become an instrument of power, it was condemned in some way to the disappearance, prison or death.

⁶³⁹ Even in peacetime it is possible to lie with maps, suppressing "truth to help the user see what needs to be seen". Cfr. Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 25.

(1941). An operation with which Haushofer always disagreed, considering that Germany should be an ally with USSR that occupies the Heartland⁶⁴⁰ in the vision of Halford Mackinder (1861-1947). Following this, Germany would be a strong power in Europe and, perhaps, the course of the World War II had been another.

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⁶⁴⁰ A large landmass, which as result of its resources, position, and size, could lead to world domination.

Propaganda in education: History textbooks in the USSR, 1970-80

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One of the events that marked the end of the twentieth century was, without a doubt, the collapse of the socialist system and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. An inexorable consequence that we all witnessed was the abandonment of ideological principles, the rupture of the traditional system of references and their symbolic foundations, and the calling into question of common perceptions of the country's drive and historical memory. There was an unavoidable process of "rewriting the past"⁶⁴¹ in the Soviet historical narrative faced with revelations of new facts, and formerly blank pages were filled subjects forbidden until then.

Confronted with this "...disaggregation... of the usual forms of life and collective memory..." (Hösle e Nora, 2003), it would be normal to think that the images of events, national myths, leading historical figures and leaders registered in the memories of people born and trained in the Soviet Union were confirmed and this created tensions or even significant changes. In fact, the interpretation of the past in the post-Soviet period was always linked to criticism of the communist regime with a clear marginalization of all ideological aspects, including all the attendant political symbols and traditions. However, public opinion studies conducted in post-Soviet Russia (Gudkov, 2005; Levada, 2012) and inquiries among immigrants born and trained in the former Soviet Union and presently living in Portugal (Mirotshnik, 2012) show an amazing strength and persuasion of memory of the Patriotic War, a high persistence of its emotional impact and power of attraction of the unshakable belief in the absolute victory of the Soviet Union as part of the core identity of the people.

One can therefore safely consider that the phenomenon of war has been the target of a confabulation process, and that the deformation and mythologizing policies carried out by the Soviet government during its term and the persistence of this image in the memory of former Soviet citizens of different generations may be considered persuasive evidence of the success of propaganda produced by the communist regime. Soviet propaganda was a system that exerted an influence on the consciousness of the community, making use of strategic variables and techniques in many social areas such as literature, music, film, art, etc., which, paraphrasing Lotman, "... do not enter into any such mechanical details, but [function] as organs of an organism" (1996, p. 31). In this system the teaching, particularly the teaching of history, which has always been used as a political instrument, played a key role – serving as a link of continuity between generations of Soviet citizens to assimilate these beliefs, so that the convictions and their country's historical-cultural traditions be held as high national values. In this process, the officially authorized and socially valid knowledge contained in textbooks played a decisive role.

Given the previous statement, it is proposed in this paper to analyze key strategies and propaganda techniques involved in building the image of World War II in the USSR History Manual officially used in the years 1970-80, and to decode the messages conveyed in the textbook, their underlying and understood aspects and perspectives and the ideas that were promoted or rejected.

Framework for the analysis of history textbook

The memory of war, and especially of a victorious war, has always played an important role in the foundation and evolution of all nations. In a country like the Soviet Union, where political power has permanently had a prominent role in the world's opinion and on the chosen model of socioeconomic development, the interest in preserving the memory of the war was strongly related to the understanding of its ideological potential.. The image of the War was part of the War – it was a "battlefield" with a function that can be considered of high importance: projecting an image of themselves and others to serve as the basis for the construction of collective memory and national identity of several generations of Soviet citizens. So, working with the image of the war over the years of Soviet dominion has become one of the main directions of political propaganda in social institutions acting upon the entire population, particularly the younger generations.

⁶⁴¹ A very common process used by the Soviets is what Burke calls "syndrome Soviet Encyclopedia," referring to the fact that it has undergone revisions whenever the political course changed in the Soviet Union (Burke, 1992).

To provide theoretical elements for our reflection, we used the History Manual as a repository of meanings that must be decoded, and we have elected the theory of symbolic culture from Geertz (1973) which addresses the relationship between past and present under the perspective of attribution of meanings in the cultural process as it takes place over time. In this view, collective memory is seen as the memory formed by all kinds of "textual resources," in particular historical narratives, considered the cultural tools that promote collective remembering while their own properties develop this process. Wertsch (2002), one of the authors of this perspective, analyzing different historical narratives, has identified an abstract property and generalized forms that constitute the foundation, the standard, of various narratives. This pattern, which the author calls "Schematic Narrative Template," in accordance with a cultural framework, can be revealed to be a model to build primary plot lines for significant historical events, and thus end up being responsible for forming the collective memory and consequently by certain characteristics the collective identity of a population. Garagozov (2002), developing Wertsch's theory, adds that schematic narrative templates are used as the basis for historical narratives and are inserted into collective memory through the education system, mainly in history lessons and particularly when they attempt to be very faithful to history and to official discourse. So the mere facts of history configured according to the model of the narrative can gain in strength with increased effect and a regulator structuring of the students' perceptions about history and its events, about "us" and others, as well as about the current reality and future.

The central hypothesis of this work and the argumentation that supports it is identifiable in the text of the History Manual. Our aim was to adapt the facts of collective experience to a particular model that produces and reproduces a model of collective memory of war, supported by the implementation of various propaganda strategies and propaganda classic techniques as well as rules that are inherent, particularly the image of the enemy, myths, language and counterpropaganda, which will be further discussed and explained..

Method and sample textbook

This work is based on analysis of the text of the History Manual used in the Soviet Union, more specifically the role the textbook plays in portraying World War II. Our study was performed according to two approaches to textual analysis: the first focuses on the study of historical narrative, and the second deals with the interpretation of language.⁶⁴² The main goal of narrative analysis is to describe the main features of "Image of War" as produced by the History Manual and the assumptions which underlie it.

The research was guided by the following questions:

- How does it portray the war, what was the role of the Soviet Union and what kind of approach was used to create the "Image of War"?

- What are the fundamental ideas and messages conveyed in the Manual and how were the main battlefields portrayed?

- What strategies and techniques have been used to introduce these ideas and messages to students?

The language analysis was guided by the following question:

- What is the function of the words and expressions used by the authors in different situations and events described in the Manual?

For the purpose of this study a specific portion of the textbook was chosen which cover the historical period between 1939 and 1977, in other words, the years before, during and after the war, ending with the "golden years" of Soviet socialism. This book, because of the centralized nature of the education system of the Soviet Union, was widely used and its use was compulsory in its time, i.e. this History Manual was officially adopted and applied uniformly across the country.

Authors	Main Title	Publishing House	Total number of pages	Year of publication	Number of copies published
Furaev, V. (ed.)	Modern History, 10th year	M: Procveschenie	272	1978 9 ^a Ed.	2.700.000

Tab.1. Book under review

Considering the central theme which is examined in the present work, it is significant to note that the relationship between political propaganda and textbooks, which is established through the communication process of historical information, cannot be examined separately from the economic, social, political and cultural surroundings. In all political systems, textbooks depend on the particular circumstances in which they are produced and used. In the case of the Soviet Union, a totalitarian country, the issue of context becomes

⁶⁴² Inspired by Foster and Nicholls (2004).

even more pertinent. The selected Manual was edited during a period of moderate policy of the Soviet state, subsequently called the “stagnation,” with a predominant climate of deep political apathy that along with the removal of the glorious days of the war, leaving room for national heroism and the victorious spirit associated with the principal achievements – the October Revolution and victory in World War II. With the increased difficulties of every kind – economic, political, moral and so on – the government and the Communist Party sought a way out of the impasse in order to strengthen the work of political propaganda. A high emphasis was then placed on the need to form a new Soviet citizen, which resulted in the formulation by the XXVI Congress of the CPSU in 1976 of a program of “communist education” in which the main part was assigned to the schools and their ability to inculcate a Marxist-Leninist vision and an unshakable certitude in the ultimate victory of communism.

Analysis and Discussion

Although the Manual developed a traditional informative approach to World War II, explaining the reasons, describing the main forces involved, the role and interest of each one, and depicting the military conduct and its consequences. We will investigate what might be behind this packaging of historical facts, present it in a rigorous way, explain it, understand it, illustrate it and discuss what purposes, strategies and propaganda techniques underlie the narrative contained in the text.

At first glance the reader of the Manual is placed before the portrait of a classic conflict between two clearly distinct worlds, where the offender is well established, comes from overseas, beyond borders, and this enemy is perfectly known and identified. This circumstance reveals a symmetrical order, which allows the Manual authors to situate (therefore distinguish) the events and characters in two opposite poles – *we* (the good) and *others* (the evil).⁶⁴³

The objectives of each one are determined, their requirements are explicit; their identities are revealed and the outcome of military conflict is predictable, almost sure. From these assumptions the course of war events is presented, in our view, following a model of specific narrative that works as a sort of co-author who organizes in advance what students should understand, making clear or transparent what could pass unnoticed (Wertsch, 2002). We have called this model “War of the Soviet Union Against Foreign Enemies” and we introduce it to you, together with quotes from the Manual that support our assertions. The narrative model of the textbook consists of three stages:

1. The initial situation;
2. Enemies attack the USSR; War begins;
3. The USSR wins the war and saves the world.

1. Initial Situation

The book begins by presenting, as was the tradition in Soviet times, all regions of the world, but showing a very bleak picture of the pre-war period, focusing on a celebration of brute strength and lack of principles in the capitalist countries dominated by fascism:

“[...] The fascist countries aspired... to destroy... USSR, prepare and trigger a world war to assert their dominance in the world” (p. 3).

Through various ways of addressing the reader, the Manual authors use different strategies to identify the various characters about whom the text speaks. The text does not spare the adjectives when referring to the moral decay that had reached the fascist countries and their capitalist leaders – the images and pessimistic visions that incited a number of negative emotions and seemed to drive the world in that time to a very worrying situation. Among the negative emotions found in the book associated with that pre-war moment, the predominant feeling is a mixture of sadness and anger. We assume that this effect could be due to the nature of the event – a war and the use of violent methods, but we can find also underlying desires or/and feelings of justice and revenge:

“[...] The barbarians... fascist aggressors mistreated brutally civilians, they burned cities and have destroyed villages and they used poison gas...” (p. 7)

It was surprising to find that the Manual does not make a separation between peace time (natural and expected) and war, making instead a traditional distinction between three possible situations: peace, war and

⁶⁴³ This structure had certainly accustomed students to interpretations based on binary reasoning itself: truth *versus* falsehood, socialism *versus* capitalism.

post-war. The image the student gets is that the chance of a peace situation is drastically reduced, that opportunity is even eliminated and the feeling prevailing in the mind is a sense of constant threat. From the first pages in the Manual, the idea of the hostile environment and of being surrounded by enemies appear as constants of national existence and the central feature that always determines the uniqueness of the history of the USSR.⁶⁴⁴ However, these factors probably do not produce in readers any fear or insecurity because they think that the Soviet regime will not only defend "our interests," but also sustain "our hope":

1) The Soviet Union is a "fortress," driven by the principle of upholding world peace and by the concern for collective security, and able to take down enemies;

2) The enemies are identified, located and addressed in an armed conflict that is legitimate and morally fair.

The review of the book's narrative allows us to see that its subject is the Soviet Union, always present in the entire text, the supreme collective personage, persevering and progressing. It is quite evident that the purpose of the Manual's authors is to produce representations of a practically perfect society, free from contradictions and serious internal problems, endeavoring to convey the idea of how the USSR is peaceful and ready to selflessly help others and the weakest: "[...] Multilateral and disinterested aid... friendship... offered by the USSR [...]" (p. 68).

This idealization of the Soviet Union allows us to recognize, in its various manifestations, the structures of a "mythological machine"⁶⁴⁵ that produced many founding myths in the ideological and political fields and exerted a great influence on the formation of the core identity and consciousness of citizens of the Soviet Union (Günther, Hansgen, 2006). One of the Soviet citizen's dearest myths – created, nurtured and instilled throughout the permanence of the system – is the myth of the greatness of the nation. This greatness should be the main source of Soviet pride and justification for all the sacrifices they were required to perform by the Soviet Union if they wanted to preserve in the hierarchy of nations a suitable place for the country that prevailed in the Socialist Revolution and won World War II.

In first part the Manual text highlights one aspect of this other myth – the moral qualities of the Soviet Union. The idea here was not only to magnify the image of the USSR, an assisting brotherly country which provided excellent support to others, but also and mainly to serve as background cloth to start building the image of the enemy. The complex semantic enemy here establishes a functional connection with the social perception of "us," represented by the power and features of the man included in "us." In other words, this link highlights those social norms and values that underlie the establishment and management of the social system as a whole, indicated directly or indirectly, and featuring symbolic representations of the past and future, resources, partners and other elements of the framework of social reality. As Bauman writes:

"[...] The opposition between friends and enemies separates truth from falsehood, good from evil, beauty from ugliness.... right from wrong [...]. It makes the world readable and thus, instructive" (Bauman, 2007, p. 65).

It is recognized by the investigations of political propaganda among the participants of political struggle, that there is a necessity to have and create enemies (Girardet, 1987; Günter, 2006). The creation of the image of the enemy in the Manual has its own story that changes according to the events: at the beginning when it introduces the fascist enemy, he is an opponent that is the personification of extremely negative principles of an *enemy of the Soviet people*⁶⁴⁶ and of the entire world's progressive community, that he is a bad enemy endowed with characteristics opposite to human nature. In general, the text of the Manual shows a concern with language that matches the contextual characteristics in which it is applied, turning the narrative into a "war of symbols" (Tchskhotine, 1967). When it comes to the enemies and their doings, the language, which prioritizes the health climate, appears full of epithets such as "cruel," "barbaric," and "thugs."

The message which the Manual's authors communicate at the end of this first narrative part, is very explicit: the Soviet Union is the only country able to catch and destroy the enemy, because of its socialist nature. This approach not only brings the student to a War ending that is predictable but also pretends to establish a belief in the strength and power of the socialist model.

2. *Enemies attack the USSR, War begins*

In the very first Manual pages it states that the Soviet Union was attacked by a fascist enemy and forced to fight this total threat because:

⁶⁴⁴ These factors also always served as the foundation for a high production of armaments and as an explanation and justification of the economic backwardness in relation to the West, especially in the production of consumer goods.

⁶⁴⁵ The expression is from F. Jesi (1977).

⁶⁴⁶ According to Kolonitskii (2003), the first mentions of the term enemy of the people had emerged in 1917, during the October Revolution, as the expression itself dates back to the French Revolution.

“[...] The fascists sought the elimination of the Soviet state, the capture of its riches, the transformation of the Soviet people into slaves of the capitalist and landlord Germans” (p. 21).

From here, the book *History on examination* begins the narrative of a story about victory, bringing out another aspect of the myth of the greatness of the Soviet nation – its military power. The war of the USSR against fascism is presented as a series of victories that led to the inevitable loss of the fascist enemy in Europe and worldwide.⁶⁴⁷ Military defeats are described as “almost victories” or, only “forgotten.” It is relevant in this respect that the war report starts with the victory of the Red Army near Moscow in December 1941, omitting thereby the events of the first months of the war, during which the troops of the enemy reached Moscow. However, the Soviet Union appears in the book always sure and certain of the superiority of their political principles, their ethical and social organization and the attitudes that were propagated: “[...] [The USSR] convinced the world of the great strength and vitality of the socialist system” (p. 39).

In this section of the narrative, among the plentitude of personages comes a new group of “allies” consisting of the U.S. and Great Britain, with which the USSR signed an agreement for assistance. However, it is clear the effort to demonstrate that they never behaved like friends, and were just concerned with defending their own interests, wishing the end of communism in the USSR and its dependence of the West. The Allies are always heavily criticized in this part of the Manual, especially for their alleged lack of character and their true intentions:

“[...] Churchill ordered the British military commanders to collect German weapons, and, if necessary, redistribute them to the German soldiers to turn against USSR” (p. 35).

To give credibility to the facts and show students that it is a discourse of truth, the Manual authors resort to comparison of information provided by the Manual to that provided by the enemies or simply by “malicious” people. Using the classical rules of counter-propaganda (Domenach, 1975),⁹ for example, they respond with facts⁶⁴⁸ to insinuations from those who doubt that the USSR felt forced to sign the military agreement with the Allies. The story continues by stating that when Hitler started the war, the USSR faced the enemy counting on the cooperation of Western powers, though the sacrifices of the USSR were paid with ingratitude – sometimes constantly betrayed, sometimes failing in their role as allies and delaying the opening the second European front, and even when they were giving some help, their support had no decisive importance, and was an attempt to further deprive the Soviet Union of the legitimate fruits of victory. These ideas are mentioned in an evident way in the narrative of the Manual with a clear purpose to win the approval of the students and ensure that they get the message of the true winner of the War:

“[...] The supply of weapons and military supplies by allies of the Soviet Union were performed irregularly, with frequent interruptions, and in the first year of the war, had no practical significance to the Soviet Union”(p. 23);

“[...] The USSR strictly honored its alliance commitments. But the United States and Britain have gravely violated [them]” (p. 25).

To create the illusion of unanimity on this allies theme, so delicate but essential to the proclamation of the USSR as the only winner in the War (that will appear briefly in the pages of the book), illustrations were used that help create this impression in the minds of students.⁶⁴⁹ One of these is an illustration titled “Collecting signatures for a petition to the US government for the immediate opening of the second front.” It shows a group of workers, men and women, collecting signatures, with the backdrop of a poster “Open the western front NOW!” and this acts as a testimony to confirm the argument of the authors of the Manual. Apparently this is done in order to demonstrate the ubiquity of the supporters of the USSR – it explores the image to “get the message that we are there and we are stronger” (Domenach, 1975, p. 91) and that is accepted by readers.

In this part of the narrative begins to emerge another enemy of the Soviet Union: American imperialism. In the text of the Manual there is now an increase in the pace and intensity of the propaganda that aims to show the true intentions:

⁶⁴⁷ This manual reveals an appreciation strategy of the national role in the war, similar to the American history books: according to Foster, Nicholls (2004), in them the “battles and key events of World War II are portrayed under an American perspective; the central focus is given to the victories and achievements.” While “[...] the details of the British and Soviet contributions are limited” (p. 60).

⁶⁴⁸ The fact is what really happened; it has only a logical value – what is true.

⁶⁴⁹ According to Pingel (1999), the illustrations may be more persistent than the text itself.

“[...] If we see that Germany is winning we should help Russia and if Russia is winning, we should help Germany and so let them kill as many as possible” (Citing the future American President Truman, p. 22)⁶⁵⁰

“[...] The U.S.A. [...] sought to establish the undivided supremacy in the Pacific” (p. 4).

The authors of the textbook did not lose any opportunity to transmit negative messages about the United States, specifically related to the attack on the U.S. base at Pearl Harbor by the Imperial Japanese Navy. Some compassion is shown for the victims:

“[...] The Supreme Command of the U.S. armed forces was not prepared for the attack of the aggressor... This has been costly for the US armed fleet... The U.S. position was weakened in the Pacific” (p. 23).

Insistence on the unattractive role of Americans is not accidental; in order to assign them the blame for the Cold War, which determined the political climate in the world in the 1970s, when the History Manual under consideration was used in schools, it was confirmed this way, once again, with undoubted facts – the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

“[...] This inhumane act aimed at long-range policy goals: to intimidate all nations of the world and force them to bow their heads before the power of the United States. The U.S. imperialists hoped to establish their dominance in the world” (p. 38).

A meaning was assigned to this event by textbook authors, as was expected: the U.S. was showing its power and asserting its hegemony in the world at the end of the War.

3. The USSR won the War and saved the world

Although the operating history includes a section entitled “Victory of the Soviet people and other lovers of freedom over the fascist aggressors,” the emphasis is placed on the success of the Soviet Union and not on other people. The end of the war in Europe is presented in terms of the unstoppable advance of the Red Army beyond the borders of the USSR; this progress began in Stalingrad and would end only, of course, in Berlin. It is against this backdrop of...

“[...] Complete liberation of Soviet soil from Nazi invaders” (p. 32).

that is mentioned the opening of the Second Front of the allies when...

“[...] The Allied expeditionary force under the command of General Eisenhower landed in northern France and began moving eastward” (p. 32).

The last phase of the war is the subject of comprehensive coverage on the part of the Manual. Actions of the Red Army dominate the narrative: countries and cities of Europe being subdued by Soviet Union troops, sometimes with the support of their own populations, led by their respective communist parties and the liberation of Europe from fascists. However, that was not the only front where the army acted. The book's authors underlined the fact that the USSR entered into war with Japan, northeast of China and North Korea just after the rescue of Europe, fulfilling the commitments it had assumed with its allies. The idea is to show students the decisive role of Soviet troops on all fronts. These battles consequently pointed out its contribution to the final result of the War: “[...] The fate of the Japanese aggressors was not decided by explosions of nuclear bombs, but by the actions of the Soviet Armed Forces” (p. 38).

Thus, the end of World War II is described as a matter of Soviet responsibility. These descriptions are confirmed with numbers of losses of the enemy, which gives clear credibility and illustrates the merits of the Soviets in the War – one reason why the West had to thank them, and to be clear no doubt that the defeat of Nazi Germany was due to the victories of the Red Army:

“[...] The Soviet military during the war destroyed 507 German divisions and 100 divisions of its satellites. The Allies defeated no more than 176 divisions [...] Germany lost 10 million people [...] 49 divisions and 27 brigades of the army were defeated and captured” (p. 38).

⁶⁵⁰ Here's another example of using the rules of counterpropaganda - to ridicule the target, attributing to him words that make him look ridiculous (Domenach, 1975).

Victory in the World War is a logical interaction with the greatness myth of the Soviet nation and its ideological assumptions: the assertion of military strength and the ability to overcome the enemy demonstrated during the War are justified by the authors using the exceptionality of the first world socialist country, while reconfirming this exceptionality⁶⁵¹ with the deeds of the Soviet people during the war. It is quite evident that the history of the Soviet Union's victory over fascist Germany, as told and repeated in the Manual, affirms and embodies the myth of the great victory in World War II. According to Hosler, the young Soviet educated class adopts this spirit and gradually becomes committed to this brilliant myth (Hosler, 2005).

The central importance assigned to the great USSR victory in the war, in our view, was aimed at the realization of many ideas addressed to students: on one hand, an obvious and expected glorification of heroism and sacrifice of the Soviet people; on the other hand, the symbolism of victory was intended to offset the failures of the system, passing the message to the reader of how petty and insignificant were the difficulties really faced by the country in many areas, compared with the great victories in the recent past. It also seems pretty clear that the Soviet Union's victory described in the Manual is not intended to show only the defeat of the fascist enemy, but also to provide "arguments" to bring down the image of the West as a development model to be emulated and to prove the certainty of the predictions of Marxist theory which assumed the end of the capitalist world: "[...] The events [...] strongly confirm that capitalism is a society without future" (p. 177).

The model for the future was destined to be occupied by the great socialist experiment – the Soviet Union - which was invigorated by its victories in war. The promotion of the idea of the USSR as the model for the rest of the world has become one of the main messages of the Manual. The intention seems to have been to establish in the minds of students a picture of a model society in war and in the postwar period as well : "[...] The central people driving force ..." (p. 24).

However, the context of geopolitical change, with the elimination of the invading enemy and the establishing of peace, did not remove the external threat or a "siege mentality evoked in the text of the Manual."⁶⁵² The external danger is now identified in this book with the threat posed by the United States, "[...] The main economic, political and military strength of imperialism" (p. 124).

This changes the understanding of the enemy as well. If at the beginning of this book the enemy is understood as a community of people who are morally bad, the set of particularities of postwar American enemy – violence, betrayal, conspiracy – leads readers to believe in the existence of an "objective enemy" (Mamatova, 1990). The U.S. is identified as an objective danger to the Soviet state, regardless of the subjective intentions, plans and actions of the enemy. The idea of the American enemy here reaches its highest point; it is presented as a prerequisite of political consciousness and is stated as a condition for new forms of political consolidation of the progressive forces led by the USSR, as well as being included in the typical Cold War models.

Conclusion

Our analysis has found various evidence that the Soviet power made use of major instruments of propaganda. Despite the documentary appearance of War images, the text essentially distinguishes two groups of propagandist strategies: first, different techniques are aimed at raising the image of the USSR in every way, but particularly as the winner of World War II. The attitudes towards the world, its principles and values, the "real images" of military victories, open the prospect of a hero-liberator country. The second group of strategies is directed at students. The reader is opened to the possibility of acceding to that history and accepting it as only truth – his history. Both groups of strategies attempt to get the War history to resemble a narration of facts presented with objectivity and rigor so that the production of this knowledge could not be questioned by the student. Instead, proceeding in this way, it establishes an alignment (Cerri, 2002) of the readers with the historical events and characters, turning them all into "us," but also making it possible for them to join against the "other."

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⁶⁵¹ Because, "[...] exceptionality" warns Innerarity, "is more revealing than the normality"(Innerarity, 2009, p. 23).

⁶⁵² The external challenges have always been used by the historiography worldwide (Matos, 1988), also were customary in Soviet historiography (Sokolov, 2008).

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Propaganda, violência simbólica e controle social durante a Guerra Fria: a Ditadura Civil-Militar e a educação superior no Brasil (1964-1988)

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Esta reflexão trata de um modo de controle social aplicado sobre um segmento social específico em um duplo contexto de guerra. Mais especificamente, aborda a propaganda como modo de controle do campo da educação superior utilizado no Brasil entre 1964 e 1988. Nesse período, o país foi profundamente afetado pelo clima de polarização ideológica criado pela Guerra Fria, tornando-se um alvo preferencial das políticas exteriores estadunidenses para a América Latina. No plano interno, profundamente influenciado pela referida polarização no contexto internacional, o país viveu aquilo que o grupo no poder, com o intuito de criar uma aparência de democracia e legitimidade para aquele regime ditatorial, definia como “guerra interna”.

A pesquisa de doutorado que fundamenta esta comunicação trata de cinco diferentes modos de controle social: vigilância, punição, normatização, formação de intelectuais e, é claro, propaganda. Tais modos são analisados em suas ações sobre o campo da educação superior durante o regime ditatorial instaurado no Brasil em 1964.⁶⁵⁴ Como se trata de uma pesquisa em desenvolvimento, as considerações aqui apresentadas possuem, conseqüentemente, um cunho predominantemente exploratório.

1. A Ditadura Civil-Militar: “guerra interna” e Guerra Fria no Brasil

Como mencionado, o contexto da Guerra Fria implicou em um crescente intervencionismo estadunidense na América Latina, sobretudo após a Revolução Cubana. O Brasil, por suas dimensões continentais, constituiu uma das prioridades da política exterior estadunidense na região. Em função disso, os EUA financiaram, no início dos anos 1960, caríssimas campanhas de propaganda golpista contra o governo João Goulart, promovidas por grupos como o Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Sociais (IPES) e o Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática (IBAD) (Dreifuss, 2006). O medo de um Brasil socialista também levou-os a apoiar o movimento civil-militar responsável pelo golpe de Estado de abril de 1964. Navios de guerra estadunidenses estavam localizados na costa nordeste do Brasil, prontos para o ataque, caso houvesse resistência (Fico, 2008).

Com o sucesso do movimento golpista, foi instaurado no país um regime ditatorial que, liderado pelas Forças Armadas e com decisiva participação civil, vigorou até 1988. Embora o país já contasse com um presidente civil desde 1985, a mudança de regime político efetivou-se verdadeiramente em 1988, através da promulgação, em 5 de outubro daquele ano, da Constituição atual (Lemos, 2011).

À semelhança do que ocorreu em outros países latino-americanos nesse período, como Argentina, Uruguai e Chile, e possuindo também vários pontos em comum com os regimes salazarista e franquista, a chamada Ditadura Civil-Militar foi um regime de exceção, calcado em violência, arbítrio e medo.⁶⁵⁵ Desde o golpe de 1964, foi gradativamente sendo configurado no Brasil um *sistema de controle social* (Cohen; Scull, 1983) muito peculiar, cuja marca maior foi a ocultação das práticas violentas, nas quais baseava-se o regime, por meio de ações de propaganda que buscavam caracterizar o país como “democrático”, “forte”, “um país que vai pra frente”. O grupo no poder pautava-se pela ideia de que o país enfrentava uma “guerra interna” e seguia nesse sentido as diretrizes da Escola Superior de Guerra, núcleo ideológico do regime (EMFA/ESG/DE, 1975). O “inimigo interno” era definido através da difusa e convenientemente flexível noção de “subversão”, apoiada sobretudo em normas arbitrariamente impostas pelo próprio regime (como os chamados “atos institucionais”). Isso permitia um controle dinâmico da sociedade, que era constantemente vigiada: toda oposição não

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⁶⁵⁴ Projeto “O controle do campo da educação superior no Brasil da Ditadura Civil-Militar (1964-1988)”, CNPq/PUCRS, 2011-2015.

⁶⁵⁵ A historiografia sobre o regime de 1964 é notoriamente ampla. Como referência, algumas sínteses, com diferentes enfoques, podem ser conferidas em Alves (1985), Fico (2001), Mendonça & Fontes (1988) e Skidmore (2000).

consentida, ao constituir-se como tal, automaticamente passava a ser perseguida e punida de modo brutal; a par disso, buscando ocultar a *ilegitimidade de origem* (Aróstegui, 2012) daquele regime, tais violências eram apresentadas à sociedade como “combate à subversão”.

2. Propaganda, violência simbólica e controle social

É notória a polissemia das noções de propaganda e publicidade. No Brasil, muitas vezes os dois termos são usados de modo ambivalente. Daí o surgimento de expressões como “publicidade política” ou “propaganda comercial”. Contudo, nota-se uma tendência em associar publicidade a objetivos comerciais e propaganda a objetivos ideológicos, políticos ou religiosos. Para os fins desta pesquisa, em consonância com tal perspectiva, *propaganda* fará referência às estratégias comunicacionais implementadas por determinado emissor individual ou coletivo para a disseminação de um conjunto de ideias, de cunho predominantemente ideológico, político ou religioso, visando a um público-alvo específico ou difuso.⁶⁵⁶

A propaganda é um dos mais eficazes meios de *violência simbólica*, via de regra tanto mais eficaz quanto menos evidente. Embora em tempos de guerra certas formas de propaganda assumam-se claramente como tais (cartazes, panfletos etc.), há também formas de propaganda de guerra, como a chamada “guerra psicológica”, cuja eficácia reside sobretudo na capacidade de dissimular-se.⁶⁵⁷ De todo modo, *independentemente de assumir-se ou não como propaganda*, trata-se de uma forma de violência simbólica, ou seja, de impor determinados valores e ideias, recobrando com uma aparente e ilusória naturalidade o “puro arbítrio cultural”, como observa Mendonça (1996, p. 2). Daí que o caráter simbolicamente violento resida no *conteúdo*, não no meio.⁶⁵⁸

Desse modo, compreende-se porque a propaganda é concebida como um elemento essencial dos modernos sistemas de *controle social*, tanto em regimes democráticos quanto – e sobremaneira – em regimes de exceção.⁶⁵⁹ Outro conceito marcado por forte polissemia, a acepção de controle social aqui utilizada possui importantes paralelos com a ideia gramsciana de “relação de unidade-distinção” entre “coerção” e “consenso” (Gramsci, 2007, p. 39). Como observou Aróstegui (2012, p. 46), essa nova concepção dos processos de controle social, que confere igual importância aos mecanismos de coerção e de coesão social, tornou-se predominante após a Segunda Guerra Mundial, como tentativa de compreender as “*nuevas formas de barbarie aparecidas y culminadas en el propio conflicto*”. Segundo essa perspectiva, controle social compreende o conjunto dos processos que Gramsci denominava de “dominação” e de “direção”, através dos quais busca-se estabelecer ou preservar determinada ordem social, marcada pela “supremacia” de um determinado grupo. Processo no qual, como dito, a propaganda cumpre um papel fundamental.

3. A propaganda feita pelo regime

Quando se fala em propaganda durante a ditadura de 1964, normalmente pensa-se na AERP. A *Assessoria Especial de Relações Públicas*, de fato, teve um papel decisivo naquele contexto.⁶⁶⁰ Entretanto, optei por analisar aqui outro órgão de propaganda daquele regime, tão importante quanto a AERP: a *Agência Nacional*.

Em 1945, através do Decreto-Lei nº 7.582, de 25 de maio, foi extinto o Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda (DIP) e criado, em seu lugar, o Departamento Nacional de Informações (DNI), subordinado ao Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores. Um dos órgãos componentes do DNI era a Agência Nacional, à qual competia, conforme Art. 14 da citada norma, fazer a “distribuição de noticiário e serviço fotográfico, em caráter meramente informativo, à imprensa da Capital e dos Estados”. Embora o referido decreto-lei seja a primeira referência à Agência Nacional em textos normativos, observe-se que aquele trabalho já era realizado pelo menos desde 1934, no âmbito do Departamento de Propaganda e Difusão Cultural, criado naquele ano e substituído pelo DIP em dezembro de 1939.

A menção no decreto-lei ao “caráter meramente informativo” do material distribuído pela Agência Nacional indicava uma clara intenção de diferenciar-se do antigo DIP, principal órgão de propaganda e censura

⁶⁵⁶ Dentre a ampla bibliografia específica, ver Jowett & O'Donnell (1999), Sant'Anna (2001) e García Uceda (1995).

⁶⁵⁷ Sobre a chamada “guerra psicológica”, ver EMFA/ESG/DE (1975) e Caparelli (1986, p. 23-28).

⁶⁵⁸ De tal ponto de vista, supera-se a aparente incompatibilidade entre a crítica de Bourdieu (1992) ao caráter socialmente reprodutivista da escola e o evidente potencial emancipatório de tal instituição. Sobre o conceito de violência simbólica, ver, dentre outros, Bourdieu (2004; 2006).

⁶⁵⁹ Sobre os estudos de controle social e questões correlatas, ver Cohen & Scull (1983) e Garland (1993). Para uma discussão mais voltada para o caso do Brasil, ver Alvarez (2004).

⁶⁶⁰ Sobre a AERP, ver Fico (1997).

da ditadura do Estado Novo e, consequentemente, um dos mais visados alvos das críticas àquele regime no pós-1945.⁶⁶¹

O DNI foi extinto em 1946, mas a agência foi mantida, agora subordinada diretamente ao Ministério da Justiça, conforme definido pelo Decreto-Lei nº 9.788, de 06/09/1946. Tal norma estabelecia que a agência deveria ter “uma função meramente informativa das atividades nacionais em todos os setores” (Art. 3º), que seria de sua competência “ministrar ao público, aos particulares, às associações e à imprensa toda sorte de informações sobre assuntos de interesse da nação, ligados à sua vida econômica, industrial, agrícola, social, cultural e artística” (Art. 3º), ficando incumbida ainda “de manter o jornal cinematográfico de caráter noticioso e o boletim informativo radiofônico de irradiação para todo o país” (Art. 4º).

De modo análogo ao que aconteceu com os DOPS (Departamentos/Delegacias de Ordem Política e Social), em 1964 a Agência Nacional foi assimilada pelo novo regime, que a integrou no sistema de controle social que constituiu para sustentar-se. Logo após o golpe, a agência já tinha larga experiência na área, com hábitos e padrões de ação consolidados. Em 1979, a Agência Nacional passou a ser chamada Empresa Brasileira de Notícias, no âmbito do processo de dissimulação das atividades de controle social posto em prática naquele contexto de transição dirigida.

Analisarei três tipos diferentes de materiais de propaganda produzidos pela agência após 1964: (1) boletins diários enviados à imprensa; (2) textos do programa radiofônico *A Voz do Brasil*; (3) cinejornais e “filmetes institucionais”.

3.1. Boletins diários

Os “boletins diários” que a Agência Nacional distribuía à imprensa consistiam de grossos compêndios de informações, compilados pelo Serviço de Documentação da agência. A dimensão de cada boletim variava bastante, alguns apresentando pouco mais de trinta páginas e outros quase oitenta. Iniciava por uma lista de “fatos de interesse jornalístico” previstos para os dias seguintes: pronunciamentos de figuras de proa do regime, exposições, conferências, solenidades e outros eventos, juntamente com uma seleção de “fatos históricos”, efemérides como nascimento ou falecimento de ‘figuras ilustres’, batalhas etc., em geral relacionadas com os períodos colonial e imperial da história do Brasil. A seguir, encaminhava os “noticiários”, resumos das principais atividades realizadas na data pela Presidência da República, pelos ministérios civis e militares e, eventualmente, também por outros órgãos públicos, que podiam variar do Supremo Tribunal Federal à Rede Ferroviária Federal. Apresentava ainda “notícias culturais” (como lançamento de livros), “notícias do exterior” (como conferência da UNESCO sobre cursos de línguas), dentre outras.

A questão, contudo, não era a forma, mas sim o conteúdo veiculado. Vejamos um exemplo: em 16/06/1964, na seção “Notícias do IAPB”, a agência informava sobre a atuação de Wilson Ferreira como interventor no Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Bancários (IAPB).⁶⁶² É interessante observar que, embora de modo sutil, a agência referendava a intervenção ditatorial em órgãos como o IAPB: segundo o noticiário, o interventor teria “mais uma vez alertado para o difícil trabalho de reestruturação e reorganização do serviço, visando a volta definitiva do instituto às suas funções específicas, que é [sic] servir aos bancários” (Brasil/AN/SI, 1964). Ficava subentendido que o IAPB havia sido afastado de suas “funções específicas”, o que vinculava-se com um argumento que, embora falso, foi amplamente utilizado no pós-golpe para tentar justificar as ações violentas e antidemocráticas do novo regime. Trata-se da então recorrente afirmação de que a administração pública no Brasil estaria dominada por “esquerdistas” e “corruptos”, e que as ações da “Revolução” teriam o objetivo de devolver tais órgãos à “normalidade”.⁶⁶³

Outro importante aspecto da propaganda realizada pelos boletins diários à imprensa era a divulgação de notícias favoráveis ao regime, com o intuito de angariar apoios sociais para o mesmo e de justificar as políticas públicas adotadas. Em relação à educação superior, era muito comum a divulgação de notícias sobre investimentos na área. Assim, por exemplo, em 04/12/1969 a agência informava que a Universidade Federal de Viçosa/MG iria dispor, dentro de poucos meses, de uma biblioteca “líder na América Latina em assuntos de Agronomia e Veterinária”, conquista que seria alcançada através da “inclusão de tal iniciativa no financiamento do Programa MEC-BID [Banco Interamericano de Desenvolvimento]” (Brasil/AN/SI, 1969).⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ Sobre a propaganda durante o Estado Novo, ver Capelato (1999).

⁶⁶² Sobre o IAPB, ver Oliveira (1999).

⁶⁶³ Tratava-se de fato de um dos principais argumentos utilizados pelos golpistas em suas tentativas de autojustificação, como é possível verificar, por exemplo, no texto de abertura do primeiro ato institucional, de 9 de abril de 1964.

⁶⁶⁴ Sobre a atuação do BID e de órgãos análogos após 1964 no Brasil, ver Minto (2006, p. 94-98).

3.2. A Voz do Brasil

O rádio foi um dos principais veículos de propaganda da ditadura que vigorou no Brasil de 1937 a 1945 e que, à semelhança do regime salazarista, também denominou-se Estado Novo. *A Hora do Brasil* foi crucial nesse sentido. Pouco depois de eleito e buscando diferenciarse de Vargas (de quem havia sido importante colaborador durante o Estado Novo), o general Dutra determinou mudanças em *A Hora do Brasil*, inclusive no nome, que virou *A Voz do Brasil* (Perosa, 1995, p. 57). Daquele momento até hoje, o programa atravessou diversos regimes políticos. A partir de 1964, foi utilizado para propaganda do regime ditatorial, mesmo depois de 1970, quando a televisão já alcançava mais de 40% das residências urbanas (Skidmore, 2000, p. 222). Nas áreas rurais do país, onde o rádio continuou a ser, ao longo dos anos 1970 e 1980, o principal (e muitas vezes único) meio de comunicação disponível, a importância da propaganda radiofônica foi ainda maior.

Em *A Voz do Brasil* de 30/08/1966, informava-se que Moniz de Aragão, então ministro da Educação, iria visitar Goiânia no dia seguinte, a fim de “inaugurar diversas obras na Universidade Federal de Goiás” e de “receber o título de ‘Doutor Honoris Causa’ na Faculdade de Direito” (Brasil/AN, 1966b). Isso ilustra dois aspectos marcantes da propaganda feita por aquele regime:

(a) a divulgação de exemplos do “desenvolvimento” que o regime supostamente trouxera ao país, através da veiculação de imagens e informações sobre investimentos, obras etc. “Segurança” e “desenvolvimento” eram os dois pilares doutrinários daquela ditadura. Toda a retórica adotada após o golpe de 1964 na tentativa de criar uma aparência de legitimidade para aquele regime ilegítimo estava calcada nesses dois elementos, sendo fundamental entender o sentido que tinham naquele contexto. “Segurança” dizia respeito à eliminação não apenas de qualquer ideologia ou movimento contrário ao capitalismo, mas também de toda e qualquer forma de oposição àquele regime. “Desenvolvimento” fazia referência a uma forma específica de desenvolvimento capitalista, marcado por crescimento econômico nacional *dependente*, abertura irrestrita ao capital estrangeiro e vertiginosa concentração de renda (Fernandes, 1975, p. 26). A adoção de tal modelo de desenvolvimento, tão celebrado pelos organismos de propaganda naquele período, foi uma das principais causas dos altos índices de desigualdade social ainda hoje existentes no país.

(b) a divulgação de concessões de honrarias a figuras de proa do regime. Os títulos de *doutor Honoris Causa* foram bastante distribuídos naquela época. Vários presidentes e ministros foram assim homenageados por universidades de todo o país. Para a instituição de educação superior e seus dirigentes, poderiam concorrer como eventuais causas a busca por alguma simpatia de membros do governo com vistas a futuros benefícios, o alinhamento ideológico dos dirigentes universitários com o regime, dentre outros. Para o homenageado, havia um óbvio interesse no ganho simbólico que aquela distinção representava em alguns meios sociais. Para o regime, aquele reconhecimento artificial, forjado através de uma lógica viciada de prêmios e distinções onde o que contava era quase sempre o vínculo político e quase nunca o mérito acadêmico, era uma forma de fazer com que representantes do grupo no poder *parecessem* ter um reconhecimento efetivo por parte de determinados segmentos sociais. Em jogo estava, também nesses casos, a tentativa de construir uma aparência de legitimidade para um regime marcado pela ilegitimidade desde suas origens mais remotas, anteriores ao próprio golpe.

No programa de 01/10/1968, *A Voz do Brasil* noticiava a assinatura do projeto da Lei de Reforma Universitária, em reunião de Costa e Silva com as principais lideranças da ARENA (Aliança Renovadora Nacional).⁶⁶⁵ O programa radiofônico, dentre outros aspectos, destacou da seguinte maneira as declarações do senador Petrônio Portella, uma das principais figuras do partido:

O senador Petrônio Portella, a seguir, afirmou que ‘se alguém quiser encontrar a posição exata do Presidente da República diante dos problemas da mocidade, basta ir ao Palácio do Planalto, onde irá encontrá-lo lutando, estudando, trabalhando, abrindo campo, para que a juventude tenha um legado que não seja igual àquele que recebeu’. Finalizou dizendo que ‘o Presidente Costa e Silva deu provas concretas de que o diálogo que deseja manter é o da ação, o do trabalho e não o das promessas e dos acenos demagógicos’ (Brasil/AN, 1968).

Fica evidente a tentativa de diferenciar a reforma universitária que o regime ditatorial então estava implementando daquela que vinha propondo o governo Goulart no pré-golpe. O programa de rádio ajudava a disseminar, assim, uma de tantas versões do *mito da “Revolução Democrática”*: contra “promessas” e “acenos demagógicos”, lideranças ‘estudiosas’, ‘trabalhadoras’, preocupadas com os “problemas da mocidade”.

⁶⁶⁵ “Lei de Reforma Universitária” é o nome pelo qual ficou conhecida a Lei nº 5.540, de 28/11/1968, que reorganizou o campo da educação superior no Brasil de acordo com as diretrizes e interesses do regime ditatorial de 1964. Conferir, a título de exemplo, Cunha (2007). A ARENA era o partido governista, criado em fins de 1965 após a extinção de todos os partidos políticos decretada pelo Ato Institucional nº 2. A ARENA cumpria importante função na tentativa de estabelecer uma aparência democrática para a ditadura. Para mais detalhes, ver Alves (1989, p. 87-95).

3.3. Cinejornais e filmes institucionais

Os cinejornais eram noticiários produzidos para exibição no cinema antes da projeção dos filmes em cartaz. Ao longo de sua existência, a Agência Nacional produziu, no mínimo, 958 cinejornais (Brasil/MJ/AN, s/d). Em geral eram curtos, com pouco menos de dez minutos de duração.

Do *Cinejornal Atualidades*, o nº 47 foi o primeiro a ser veiculado após o golpe de 1964. Nele eram promovidos os valores do novo regime e exaltadas algumas figuras de proa do movimento golpista, sobretudo Castello Branco. Em um dos blocos, era noticiada a “posse dos novos ministros de Estado, constituindo-se assim o novo governo nascido da *Revolução de Abril*”. Sobravam elogios para o novo gabinete, “composto das figuras mais representativas dos meios técnicos, culturais e administrativos do país”. A “ordem inicial do chefe da Nação” a seus ministros era clara: “trabalhar intensamente na obra de *reconstrução nacional*”. Ao senador Milton Campos, que assumia a pasta da Justiça, caberia, segundo o cinejornal, “a tarefa de *recompor e fortalecer as instituições políticas e democráticas* do Brasil”. O mesmo cinejornal noticiava ainda, em outro bloco, a posse da nova direção da Agência Nacional, ocasião em que o *general* Otávio Alves Velho, que então assumia como diretor da agência, declarava “os seus propósitos de modernizar o órgão oficial de informações, tornando-o mais apto ainda para cumprir suas importantes atribuições nos setores da cultura, da difusão interna e externa” (Brasil/AN, 1964).

Já o *Cinejornal Informativo* nº 29, de 1966, tratou exclusivamente da ida de Castello Branco à Santa Maria, no Rio Grande do Sul, onde o ditador, dentre outras atividades, recebeu o título de Doutor Honoris Causa das mãos do Reitor José Mariano da Rocha e proferiu a aula inaugural da Universidade Federal daquela cidade. Posteriormente, com a presença do governador do estado e autoridades locais, foi feito um “imponente desfile militar em homenagem ao Presidente da República”, ocasião em que “a população de Santa Maria” teria vivido, segundo aquele cinejornal, “um dia alegre e festivo, exteriorizando seu júbilo nas manifestações de apreço e simpatia que tributa ao presidente Castello Branco” (Brasil/AN, 1966a). Lembremos aqui dos comentários anteriores, quando da análise de *A voz do Brasil*, a respeito da exaltação de figuras de proa do regime e da divulgação de solenidades e premiações, como as concessões de títulos de *Doutor Honoris Causa*.

Os “filmetes institucionais” eram ainda mais curtos que os cinejornais, com duração de um a dois minutos. Foram elaborados pela agência entre 1964 e 1979 para serem veiculados na televisão, embora uma parte deles tenha sido utilizada também em montagens para o cinema (Privatti, 2009). Adotavam um formato semelhante ao de comerciais publicitários televisivos, com hábil utilização de imagens e fundos musicais. Geralmente, orientando a interpretação do material audiovisual apresentado, concluíam com uma ou duas frases de impacto, pronunciadas por um narrador de voz grave e destacada.

Vários filmetes tratavam da já mencionada relação entre “segurança” e “desenvolvimento”. Em 1972, um deles destacava a importância da construção da ponte Rio-Niterói, que estava “sendo construída no atual governo, saltando os 13 quilômetros e 900 metros” da Baía da Guanabara e sendo “realizada dentro da mais alta técnica especializada” (Brasil/AN, 1972). Em 1976, outro tratava da importância da “segurança” para o “desenvolvimento nacional” e argumentava que o investimento do Brasil em gastos militares seria pequeno se comparado com outros países, inclusive porque, segundo a peça de propaganda, “o que se gasta com as Forças Armadas significa segurança e também ajuda no desenvolvimento nacional” (Brasil/AN, 1976b). Em um terceiro, de 1970, às linhas principais da bandeira nacional eram mescladas imagens associadas àquelas diretrizes ideológicas: produção de automóveis, militares marchando, cirurgiões, paraquedistas, grandes construções, navios de guerras etc. (Brasil/AN, 1970a). Um quarto filmete, também de 1970, adotava padrão semelhante de seleção de imagens e música de andamento acelerado (Brasil/AN, 1970b). Um fundo musical diferente, de andamento mais lento, acompanhava a frase final: “desenvolvimento e segurança: bem estar da coletividade”. Aquele contraste musical era fundamental, pois despertava a atenção do espectador, criando uma tensão que era musicalmente resolvida ao final do filmete, junto a imagens de casais sorridentes em pedalinhos, de crianças brincando ou da bandeira nacional. Som, imagem e narração final reforçavam-se mutuamente.

A música era, de fato, um elemento importante dos filmetes. O Hino Nacional e o Hino da Independência obviamente tinham espaço privilegiado, mas nada que se comparasse à canção “Marcas do que se foi”, de Roberto Pera e Flecha, na gravação da banda *Os Incríveis*: “Este ano / quero paz no meu coração / quem quiser ter um amigo / que me dê a mão. // O tempo passa / e com ele caminhamos todos juntos, sem parar / nossos passos pelo chão vão ficar. // Marcas do que se foi / sonhos que vamos ter / como todo dia nasce / novo em cada amanhecer”. Ao final, como de costume, fechavam os filmetes um dos bordões da agência, como “a paz se faz com quem ama o mesmo chão”.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶⁶ Exemplo: Brasil/AN (1976a). Fico (1997) analisa amplamente o papel central que o *otimismo* cumpria na propaganda do regime.

Alguns filmetes eram dedicados a temas bastante caros ao regime: unidade nacional, patriotismo, civismo etc.⁶⁶⁷ Outros tratavam de assuntos de caráter utilitário, como a importância de cuidar dos documentos pessoais e registrar os filhos⁶⁶⁸, ou de hábitos de higiene, neste caso geralmente através de um conhecido desenho animado com o personagem *Sujismundo* e outros da série, como Sujismundinho e Dr. Prevenildo.⁶⁶⁹ Se, por um lado, tais filmetes possuíam efetivamente um caráter informacional importante para a sociedade, também ajudavam a disfarçar o caráter propagandístico das outras peças, reforçando seu potencial para a violência simbólica.

Havia também uma série de filmetes dedicados especificamente à educação superior. Alguns faziam a propaganda do desenvolvimento nacional naquela área, nas linhas do que já foi comentado. Outros eram direcionados aos estudantes, e buscavam induzi-los à apatia política incentivando justamente sua mobilização. A estratégia era inteligente: tratava-se de mobilizá-los, sim, mas a padrões de comportamento favoráveis ao regime, fazendo da política um tabu. Buscavam, assim, convencer os estudantes da suposta importância de atividades como o Projeto Rondon, “uma experiência incrível”, segundo um dos filmetes. Os professores também eram convocados a participar. Em um dos filmetes, um professor participante do projeto afirmava: “acompanhar estes jovens nos campos avançados é uma tarefa gratificante”. E pedia: “eu faço um apelo aos colegas professores para que esclareçam aos universitários o significado deste projeto e a importância de participar” (Brasil/AN, 1976c).

Em outro filmete, com um animado samba de fundo, eram exibidas cenas de jovens universitários caminhando e conversando, animados e sorridentes. Depois, cena idêntica com adolescentes, e por fim com crianças pequenas, na faixa dos sete anos, todos com uniformes escolares. De fundo, ao final, ouvia-se a voz grave do narrador: “O Brasil tem mais de 50 milhões de jovens com menos de 20 anos. O Brasil conta com milhões de estudantes. *Acredita* neles. *E precisa* deles” (Brasil/AN, 1978a). Em outro filmete do mesmo ano, a ideia central era a mesma, resumida na frase final: “um país de jovens precisa contar com eles” (Brasil/AN, 1978b).

4. A propaganda feita para o regime

Além da propaganda feita *pelo* regime, havia aquela feita *para* o regime. Pra ser mais exato, tratava-se de *efeitos de propaganda* de certos discursos veiculados em meios de comunicação “de massas”⁶⁷⁰, como programas televisivos, jornais e revistas, assim como em meios circunscritos ao campo da educação superior, como panfletos e pequenos periódicos estudantis (que não serão analisados aqui por questões de espaço). Tais discursos apresentavam-se como a opinião de grupos específicos, supostamente apolíticos e sem vínculos com o regime, o que incrementava significativamente seu potencial para a violência simbólica.

Desse tipo de propaganda feita de modo *parcialmente espontâneo*⁶⁷¹ por grupos e empresas da sociedade civil *para* o regime, optei por buscar exemplos: (1) na grande imprensa; (2) em programas televisivos.

4.1. Grande imprensa

Algumas matérias do *Jornal do Brasil* (*JB*) contribuíram com essa forma de propaganda do regime, a qual, com raras e importantes exceções, foi realizada com frequência pela grande imprensa.⁶⁷² No emblemático editorial do *JB* de 01/04/1964, o apoio ao golpe era total. Jango, segundo o texto, teria dirigido-se “a

⁶⁶⁷ Exemplo: Brasil/AN (1977c).

⁶⁶⁸ Exemplo: Brasil/AN (1977b).

⁶⁶⁹ Exemplo: Brasil/AN (1977a).

⁶⁷⁰ Compartilho aqui das críticas propostas por John Thompson (1995, p. 287) em relação à noção de “comunicação de massas”.

⁶⁷¹ *Parcialmente* espontâneo porque o contexto impunha uma série de restrições e expectativas. Assim, a análise da colaboração com o regime por parte de certas empresas de comunicação deve levar em consideração não apenas eventuais congruências ideológicas, mas também as diferentes *estratégias de mercado* adotadas por tais empresas em um contexto político de exceção. Obviamente, essa ressalva não implica em considerar que tais empresas foram *coagidas* à colaboração, o que constituiria um erro crasso.

⁶⁷² O jornal *Última Hora* foi uma dessas raras exceções. Sua história é bastante conhecida: fundado em 1951 por Samuel Wainer, esteve desde o princípio fortemente vinculado com o trabalhismo. Após o golpe de 1964, sofreu sérios ataques por parte de partidários do novo regime, e Wainer teve seus direitos políticos cassados. Mesmo assim, o jornal conseguiu manter-se até 1971. Neste estudo, utilizo *Última Hora* como uma espécie de contraponto na análise da propaganda do regime realizada pela grande imprensa. Isso, obviamente, sem nunca deixar de ter em conta as diversas formas de pressão sofridas por aquele periódico após abril de 1964, da censura à autocensura. APESP/UH (s/d).

subalternos extremados, em reunião política, em linguagem e pregação *subversivas*, em tom degradante” e, por isso, teria perdido “o direito de ser chamado de Presidente da República”. Goulart não mais mereceria, assim, “a lealdade dos *verdadeiros brasileiros*”, que estariam “restabelecendo a *legalidade democrática*”, “expurgada do objetivo de *comunização do Brasil*”. Consideravam que “o reformismo do Sr. João Goulart”, ou seja, seu apelo às Reformas de Base, fosse “comunização disfarçada em reformismo” (Fora da lei, 1964).

Na mesma linha, em matéria de capa de 01/07/1968, o *JB* afirmava que diversos órgãos estudantis, como “as extintas UNE e UME” e vários diretórios acadêmicos, teriam realizado uma “reunião secreta” para organizar formas de pressionar o governo a “soltar os presos”, “acabar com a repressão policial e com a censura artística” e “reabrir o Restaurante do Calabouço”. Informava ainda da prisão de dezenas de estudantes em Porto Alegre, do apoio do padre d. Helder Câmara aos estudantes em Recife e que, em São Paulo, estudantes estariam planejando voltar às ruas para protestar “contra a prisão de seus colegas”, “dispostos a *prender policiais* para trocá-los pelos estudantes detidos” (MEC-USAID, 1968).

A revista *Veja*, criada em 1968 pelo grupo Abril, também deu sua contribuição à manutenção daquela ordem social, disseminando alguns dos principais valores do regime. No trecho seguinte, é possível ver como são mobilizadas as noções de *subversão*, *esquerdismo* e *guerra interna*, fundamentais para a desqualificação de qualquer forma de oposição ao regime:

Dois temas preferidos dos universitários *esquerdistas* cariocas - o Vietnã e as guerrilhas - estão sendo debatidos esta semana na Praia Vermelha, a poucos metros das faculdades da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Mas *desta vez* não há perigo de intervenção da DOPS: a reunião é na Escola de Comando do Estado-Maior do Exército, onde delegados de dezoito países participam da VIII Conferência dos Exércitos Americanos. Sobre o Vietnã fala o General William Westmoreland, 54 anos, ex-comandante das tropas dos Estados Unidos em Saigon. Sobre guerrilhas falará, por exemplo, o representante do Exército da Bolívia - que *combateu e matou Che Guevara*. A conferência de Westmoreland e o depoimento boliviano sobre guerrilhas são encarados apenas como “troca de experiências militares”. O tema central da Conferência será a *defesa* do continente e a contribuição dos exércitos para o *desenvolvimento nacional*. A tese do Brasil afirma que a *segurança* da América depende do *desenvolvimento econômico, político e social* de cada país. (...) Toda a teoria da Escola Superior de Guerra, do Brasil, baseou-se, nos últimos vinte anos, na hipótese de uma terceira guerra mundial. Os armamentos, dentro dessa teoria, supunham a guerra externa. Agora, os militares estão mais preocupados com eventuais *inimigos internos* (Os exércitos, 1968, grifos meus).

Nesse trecho, também são mobilizadas as noções de *segurança* e *desenvolvimento*, pilares ideológicos daquele regime, conforme comentado anteriormente.

Em outra passagem da mesma edição de *Veja*, a noção de *esquerdismo* é novamente mobilizada, desta vez para criticar estudantes cariocas que teriam se desentendido com um de seus professores, em um episódio que gerou na ocasião uma certa polêmica nos meios de comunicação (Novo terror, 1968, grifos meus).⁶⁷³ Em parte através das palavras do intelectual católico ultraconservador Gustavo Corção, *Veja* assumiu a defesa do professor e destilou crítica feroz aos estudantes “de esquerda” que estariam praticando “terrorismo cultural” na universidade. Alunos que, segundo a fala tomada de empréstimo de outro professor, seriam ‘indisciplinados’ e estariam deixando de assistir as aulas para “discutir política”, algo altamente “subversivo” naquele contexto. Conjuntamente, *Veja* fazia coro com outros veículos de comunicação, que acusavam a diretora daquele instituto de convivência com os “estudantes de esquerda”.

4.2. Programas televisivos

A televisão também cumpria função fundamental na disseminação dos principais valores do regime. Analisarei duas importantes redes televisivas da época: Tupi e Globo.

Na Tupi, duas das manchetes do *Edição Extra (EE)* de 06/04/1964 são emblemáticas da adesão do programa ao movimento golpista: “Considera-se certa a eleição [sic] do general Castello Branco para a Presidência da República” e “Maurício Loureiro Gama salienta, na sua crônica política de hoje: ‘depois de uma fortaleza vermelha, só mesmo um Castelo Branco: presidente ideal para passar a limpo o Brasil’” (TV Tupi, 1964a). Em 09/04/1964, o *EE* afirmava: “o famigerado ISEB, que era um *curso comunista de extensão universitária*, vai ser extinto, segundo informa o Diário da Noite (...)” (TV Tupi, 1964c).⁶⁷⁴ Em 07/08/1964, informava o noticiário da Tupi sobre a decisão de Castello “em prosseguir nas reformas, democraticamente e sem demagogias”, e que a “concentração de críticas contra o governo” seria parte “de um esquema de grupos

⁶⁷³ Sobre a polêmica, ver, a título de exemplo: Filosofia (1968).

⁶⁷⁴ Sobre o Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros, ver Toledo (1997).

interessados em que as principais reformas democráticas não sejam realizadas” (TV Tupi, 1964b). Já em 27/02/1969, na seção *Ponto final*, de Maurício Loureiro Gama, afirmava-se que os cinejornais iriam ser “obrigados a apresentar também assuntos de interesse educativo, nos termos do sábio, oportuníssimo decreto assinado pelo Presidente da República”, e louvava a iniciativa de impor aos meios de comunicação “mais espaço dedicado a elevar os níveis *moral, cívico e cultural do povo*” (TV Tupi, 1969).

A vaga e flexível noção de “povo” também serviu por diversas vezes à propaganda realizada pela Globo para o regime. Tomemos aqui um exemplo bastante representativo. Trata-se do programa *O Povo e o Presidente*, criado em 1982 na Rede Globo, em horário nobre (aos domingos, após o programa *Fantástico*), com a participação do então presidente, o general Figueiredo, convidado pessoalmente por Roberto Marinho. No programa nº 25, veiculado em 23/01/1983, o ditador era questionado por um suposto ouvinte quanto à pequena oferta de vagas para cursos como Engenharia ou Medicina no turno da noite, inviabilizando a participação de trabalhadores que desejassem aprofundar seus estudos. Figueiredo, contradizendo o suposto ouvinte, afirmou que existia no país “um número considerável de cursos de ensino superior em horários vespertinos ou noturnos”. Na área de Engenharia, segundo o general, já haveria “cerca de 40 cursos vespertinos e noturnos e a tendência verificada, nos últimos anos, é de uma ampliação na proporção de cursos oferecidos à tarde e à noite”, resultando em “um maior número de opções para aqueles que, além de trabalhar, desejam cursar estudos de nível superior” (Brasil/PR/GC/SID/CD, 1983, p. 38). O que não estava sendo dito é que a referida ampliação da oferta de cursos havia ocorrido majoritariamente através do crescimento da educação privada, o que, na prática, continuava a inviabilizar, para muitos trabalhadores, a frequência ao curso.⁶⁷⁵ A narrativa dinâmica da televisão, contudo, induz a maioria dos espectadores a uma interpretação pouco ou nada crítica do conteúdo veiculado. Fundamentalmente, o que deveria ficar daquela passagem do programa da rede Globo, para muitas pessoas, eram ideias do tipo “só não estuda quem não quer”. Cumulativamente, tais ideias acabam sendo assimiladas pelo senso comum e reproduzidas através de diversas formas, inclusive por meio de chavões e ditados como o referido, executando uma função de sedimentação ideológica da mais alta importância para a manutenção de uma determinada ordem social.

5. Funções de controle da propaganda sobre a educação superior

Finalmente, apresentarei algumas considerações de caráter exploratório a respeito daquelas que entendendo serem as principais funções de controle exercidas pela propaganda sobre a educação superior naquele contexto.

A primeira função que abordarei é a face mais visível da questão: a propaganda como instrumento de formação de consensos favoráveis. Em relação a esse aspecto, a propaganda atuava em duas frentes: no reforço de afinidades pré-existentes com o regime e na constituição de novas afinidades.

O termo “manipulação” parece-me adequado, mas penso que deva ser utilizado e interpretado com cuidado. De fato tratava-se de manipular, através de associações, ênfases e omissões. Muitas pessoas eram levadas, por certas ações de propaganda, a acreditar que aquela ditadura era uma democracia, que o golpe de Estado dado em 1964 (caracterizado como “revolução democrática”) salvara o país do “comunismo”, e assim por diante.

Tratava-se, portanto, de clara manipulação. Porém, é preciso cautela no uso desse termo. Em primeiro lugar, para que o poder do sistema de controle não seja superestimado. A propaganda era um forte instrumento de controle, mas também tinha suas limitações. Em segundo lugar, para que não sejam isentados de responsabilidade os muitos indivíduos e grupos que, mesmo conscientes das violências e abusos de toda ordem sobre os quais aquele regime fora constituído e se mantinha, ainda assim emprestaram seu apoio *ativo*, fato decisivo para o sucesso e longa duração daquela ditadura.

A questão obviamente é delicada. Aqui interessa apenas destacar que, como em casos análogos, a propaganda valia-se de certas ideias, arraigadas no senso comum, na ideologia dominante e em certos imaginários, para alcançar seus objetivos de controle social.

Outra importante função da propaganda era ajudar na disseminação da ideia de *subversão*, principal fundamento teórico daquele sistema de controle social. A veiculação dessa noção no rádio, na televisão, no cinema, em jornais e revistas constituía, assim, uma das mais importantes formas de propaganda do regime. Apoiava-se naquela ideia todo o amplo e permanente esforço no sentido da criação de uma aparência de legitimidade para aquele regime, marcado pela *ilegitimidade de origem* característica das ditaduras (Aróstegui, 2012). À noção de “subversão” recorria-se constantemente. O “subversivo” seria, assim, o “inimigo interno” contra o qual as “forças democráticas” do país lutavam, travando aquela sangrenta “guerra interna”.

Curiosa inversão, na qual intitulavam-se “democratas” os *subversivos* que haviam em 1964 ignorado a

⁶⁷⁵ Ver, a esse respeito, Minto (2006, p. 87-138; 180-181). Ele indica que, no período 1960-1980, enquanto o ensino superior público teve um aumento de 36,99% no número de instituições, no setor privado esse aumento correspondeu a 498,25%, e que, também naquele período, enquanto no setor público o número de matrículas aumentou 848,15%, no privado aumentou 2.043,66%.

Magna Carta vigente e deposto um presidente democraticamente eleito, ao mesmo tempo em que tentavam justificar, como suposta “luta contra a subversão”, as violências e arbítrios praticados pelo regime ditatorial por eles imposto à maior parte da sociedade brasileira.

Como acredito ter sido evidenciado ao longo deste texto, a *propaganda* cumpria um papel central nesse processo de *manipulação*, fundamental para a manutenção daquela ordem social injusta e fortemente excludente. As permanências daquele regime, claramente perceptíveis nos dias atuais em diversos âmbitos da sociedade brasileira, são indicativas da força daquele modo de controle social. Daí a importância dos estudos históricos sobre o tema, bem como da ampla divulgação de seus resultados em linguagem clara e acessível, para que as pessoas, na medida do possível, estejam preparadas para identificar estratégias sutis de controle, análogas àquelas aqui abordadas, e possam, assim, atuar de modo consciente e participativo na consolidação da democracia e na construção de uma sociedade mais justa.

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Juntas and Development

Education in the Resistance to the War and Propaganda during the XX Century

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From the maintenance of perpetual peace, of Kantian rationality, to the current “*smartpower*”, defended by the American administration, through the principle of subsidiarity within the European Union, it is imposed to the governance of the people, understood as a state’s administration or government, a diversification of forms and representations, contextualized in temporally and spatially complex studies. The strategic question represented by the evolution of public spending, in specific sectors such as Health and Education, rather than in Defense, tend to be understood as an evolutionary trend of the indicators of human development.⁶⁷⁶

In the educational context, contingencies do not allow that the analyses of public action be merely circumscribed to the observation of laws and of the social and economical structures, since the analysis of transformations is structured in a long duration, in culture and on mentalities.

*Observing the efforts of instruction through “...the society’s sensibility and accountability (...) and, (...) by the involvement of the local living forces. The governmentalisation of the process gave way to a heavy mesh of organs, hierarchically and administratively integrated – from parishes, involving municipalities, civilian governments, district boards, inspection, central government. The vision of instructional matters (...) has reinforced the organicity and has originated a solution open to external mediation, whose regulation was simultaneously a factor of order and evolution...”*⁶⁷⁷

This study aims to determine the level of intervention, in the domain of the shared competences of committees or Juntas.

In the eighteenth century, the archival records of the Three States Junta (1755), whose activity was extinguished by charter, in 1813, reveal assets, forms of collection, levy, and confiscation.

The various business of the Algarve (kingdom), whose customs authorities of Portimão, Lagos and Faro, rich in fishing, were registered in the letters of the governor e captain of the Algarve⁶⁷⁸.

The chronological section, corresponding to the period of the liberal fights, in which the army of D. Pedro IV was besieged in Oporto by the army of D. Miguel, shows the establishment of a governing junta, the Provisional Junta of Oporto (1828-1833), which gives an account of the insurgency regime being favorable to regional autonomy.

The information concerning the Provisional Government Juntas (1808)⁶⁷⁹ and the conferences of the Revision of the Bills Junta (1823-1824), from the first national liberalism, were recently inventoried⁶⁸⁰.

The minutes of the School Junta of Olhão, already analyzed, as well as the ones from the municipalities of Tavira and Faro, show formal structures, in the context of the provision of educational public policy.

Citing the report of the Faro district inspector, Francisco Augusto de Quintanilha e Mendonça, dated December 1st of 1890 :

“... the attention of our statesmen (...) has neglected (...) the truly important fulfillment of the desideratum of those who believe in the seed that instruction and public education can give to the nation, dedicated servers, freedom, conscious sectarians and not frenzied, to religion proselytes of

⁶⁷⁶ O Marquês de Olhão na Obra de Alberto Iria. Atas do Congresso Histórico OLHÃO, O ALGARVE & PORTUGAL no tempo das Invasões Francesas, 14-16 Nov.2008. Município de Olhão Edition.

⁶⁷⁷ This communication is part of the work developed by Unidade de Investigação e Desenvolvimento em Educação e Formação, scientific guidance of Professor Doutor Justino de Magalhães- Atlas – Repertório dos Municípios na Educação e na Cultura em Portugal (1820-1986), PTDC/CPE-PEC/116938/1010.

⁶⁷⁸ Torre do Tombo - Ministério do Reino maço 607- 1761-1761; maço 608 – 1762-1766 maço 609 – 1774-1775.

⁶⁷⁹ Torre do Tombo - Ministério do Reino – maço 593

⁶⁸⁰ Lisboa, 1999, coordination Maria do Carmo Jasmim Dias. Farinha Paulo Tremoceiro, Teresa Revés Jorge. Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios do Reino Ministério do Reino – Inventário. Publicação do Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo. Direcção de Serviços de Arquivística IANT/TT.

*living belief without fanaticism: because true religion cannot exist that faces ignorance as an indispensable mean to achieve the salvation of the soul (...). Finally, I shall mention that the most remarkable abuses committed by the administrative Corporations of this circumscription, arise from the almost total indifference to everything that is relevant to these matters of instruction...*⁶⁸¹

The School Juntas, obey to three separate periods, the first is situated towards the end of the nineteenth century (1881-1892), the following in the first half of the twentieth century (Decree n.º 5787 and 16024, 10th of May of 1919 and 13th of October of 1928).

In the thirties, the report of Faro's civil governor notes the problematic of Work, before the political situation and the doctrinal Propaganda. Centralized power, dissipated by the inauguration of Houses of the People and the institution of syndicates in nationalist activities, gives rise to the improvement of schools through local desires.

⁶⁸¹ Torre do Tombo. Handwritten report on deposit inscribed in the volume 379, do Ministério da Instrução Pública, Maço 3, Case 4.

Second World War

Tourism in Portugal at the beginning of the Second World War – an innocent oasis in Europe, or the achievements of disguised propaganda

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Whenever I refer to the subject of propaganda, I associate it to the political education of the Portuguese people. The main purposes of propaganda are the following: firstly to inform, and secondly to educate in political terms.

Salazar, 1943: 195

Introduction

This article discusses the importance of tourism-based representations as an effective vehicle of hidden propaganda for strengthening and validating the *Estado Novo* dictatorship in Portugal, particularly within the context of the outbreak of the Second World War. As more and more areas fell under the auspices of the official bureau of propaganda, it proves worthwhile to acknowledge how tourism narratives became relevant tools for disseminating the features of the new political regime. In fact, these seemed particularly effective devices for displaying the new “Nation” both to nationals and to foreign guests. The former group were to recognize the uniqueness and singularity of Portugal through the display of allegedly national icons, while the latter group was invited to recognize and advocate the neutrality confirmed by Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the ruling president, in September 1939.

Propaganda and the Portuguese Context

The *Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal* was established in the final years of the monarchy, in 1906, by a charter that stressed the need for a well organized system of national propaganda able to pursue the activities appropriate to promoting the country. This official document highlighted the patriotic drivers of propaganda and indicated ways in which these would serve to attract national and foreign guests to visit and get acquainted with Portugal. In keeping with this motivation, tourism was identified as one way to accomplish this goal, while the need for an inventory of monuments, the importance of creating more itineraries, the relevance and purpose of participating in exhibitions and fairs, alongside the importance of holding tourism conferences and studies were all mentioned (vd. *Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal*, s/d).

Nevertheless, the ideological context that followed the 1926 National Revolution, which ended the military dictatorship that had taken over after the declaration of the Republic in 1910, enabled the implementation of Salazar’s nationalist oriented political regime that demanded a far more formal and state-dependent sort of propagandistic strategies within the framework of its broadly dictatorial approach. As such, 1933, the year when several iconic moments legitimised the new political paradigm, including a new political constitution and the setting up of a new political police entity, also proved the occasion for launching the *Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional/SPN* (the Bureau for National Propaganda). Decree number 23:054, dated 25th September 1933, explained the need for this department, perceived as a humble Portuguese version of the ministries of propaganda already existing in other countries at the time and stated that such a bureau had to be effective enough to rally the Portuguese population around the moral creeds deemed to henceforth constitute the values of the “Nation”. This same decree highlighted an apparently urgent need to organize and monitor Portuguese internal and external propaganda, as was ongoing in other European regimes and correspondingly clarifying that the new secretariat would be divided up between national and international departments. Such a strategy represented a clear indication as to the importance attributed to foreign audiences within the scope of ideologically validating the *Estado Novo*, therewith providing an obvious clue as to the significance that would therefore be assigned to the tourism industry. The same decree furthermore informed how public festivities and national and international exhibitions would be organized and staged as acknowledged and valuable means of both education and propaganda.

Between 1933 and 1949 the national bureaus of propaganda in Portugal would be managed by António Ferro, the journalist and writer who had “interviewed” Salazar in 1932. Apparently only after strong insistence from Ferro did Salazar acknowledge the need for this new institution that ended up boosting the relationships bet

ween the politician and the population. Ferro became a vital figure in designing and promoting the new Portuguese “Nation” as was to a great extent involved in pretty much all of the events incorporating the newly hatched political paradigm, which also included his concern with the representations drafted for the purposes of tourism. He undertook intense and assertive initiatives that would end up shaping and impacting on different sectors of the *Estado Novo*. Popular culture, art and tourism were some of his favourite areas and he explored them widely throughout those sixteen years, in which Salazar trusted him to prepare and exhibit the authorized representations of the “Nation”, both to domestic and international publics.

Salazar on propaganda

In 1911, Salazar had already stated that the “motherland should be the root of life (...). We should go back to the traditional values, which are the basis of civilization: Nation, Family, Authority, Hierarchy and above all, God” (Trabulo, 2008: 27), thereby already announcing the foundations of the ideology that would come to shape the *Estado Novo* in later decades. In fact, these would be the core elements of the propagandistic narratives set out to describe and validate the new political regime. They made up the essence of the frequently reproduced narratives of the “Nation” imagined by Salazar and designed by Ferro, and especially at a time when Europe was plunged into severe conflict, i.e. in the latter half of the 1930s.

However, the five “interviews” Salazar gave to António Ferro in 1932 probably represent the first and one of the foremost assertive propagandistic devices of the *Estado Novo*. Their undeniable value results from the fact that those dialogues, whose official motivation was to introduce the new political leader to the “Nation”, stated Salazar’s opinions about the most important issues to be achieved through the still young political paradigm, such as the regime’s validity and his legitimacy for leading it.

In 1933, these five “interviews” were published in book format, with readers clarified of its purposes from the outset through the preface written by Salazar himself. The first thirty three pages of the book provided the scope for the politician to explain that those “interviews” should “correct wrong interpretations, improve the quality of the picture, replace incorrect notions of a man and his work” (Salazar, 2007 [1935]: ix). This preface would basically enable Salazar to call the attention of readers to what he considered the most important information provided by the book, guiding them down very obvious propagandistic paths and framing the reading of the actual “interviews”.

Out of the several subjects discussed by Salazar over the five “interviews”, he referred to one particular issue, which would be frequently recalled in by the representations of the “Nation” that simultaneously held both ideological and tourism purposes. In fact, *a propos* his alleged meanderings with Ferro, Salazar mentioned one of the narratives that would become more recurrently deployed as a means to portray the uniqueness of Portugal in his elaboration of the differences between the authentic and essential countryside versus the falsity and inaccuracy of the cities (vd. Salazar, 2007 [1935]: xx).

Propaganda was the main subject of several official discourses issued by Salazar. In particular, we may refer to the speech he delivered on the opening of first bureau for national propaganda, the SPN, on 26th October 1933. He took the occasion to clearly explain how the regime made sense of propaganda, illustrating his beliefs when mentioning the need to reveal the truth and help everyone in “looking beyond whatever can be seen from the window of their bedroom” (Salazar, 1961 [1935]: 263). “National Propaganda”, the speech delivered by Salazar on that occasion, was broadcast on the national radio station and published in the newspapers, with the opening of the bureau justified as a need for new political paths. Propaganda, he added, should not only be recognised as a tool beneficial to the good government of the “Nation” but should also specifically reflect the Portuguese reality (vd. Salazar, 1961 [1935]: 259-268). The ruler took the opportunity to comment on the need for the production of valid documents about the history of Portugal and its national monuments, while also announcing that the national borders and public life were open to everyone, while simultaneously stressing the kindness of traditional Portuguese hospitality (Salazar, 1961 [1935]: 265). In a formal meeting with the National Union, in February 1940, Salazar stated his belief that the sort of education provided by propaganda would allow the population to identify with all the developments undertaken by the new regime, thereby ending any feelings of ingratitude (vd. Salazar, 1943; 195-197).

Tourism as a vehicle of propaganda

Assessing how the propagandistic mechanisms were managed by the *Estado Novo* regime proves particularly interesting especially when considering how other countries were either at war or going through severe conflict, as happened for example with the beginning of the Spanish civil war in 1936 and the world conflict triggered in 1939. The serious political and social problems spreading throughout Europe in the late 1930s seem to have fostered new inspiration among those in charge of creating and promoting the core of the so called “new Na

tion". While on the one hand the Salazar regime feared that similar winds of controversy might damage the calm and peace they were frequently mentioning to refer to the new state of affairs in Portugal, on the other hand, those same problems happening just on the other side of the border somehow allowed Portuguese propaganda to emphasize a supposed national distinctiveness.

The "Nation" was officially portrayed as a unique geography, different to all other countries and, as António Ferro uttered, while battles were going on Portugal should implement the necessary infrastructures so as to prepare itself in such a way that the rest of the world would come to identify the country as the much longed for peaceful oasis amidst the tormented and devastated Europe (vd. Ferro, 1949: 62). Portugal should be identified by everyone as "the ideal model of tourism and becoming the nursing home for a suffering, tired and sick Europe" (Ferro, 1949: 54).

The possibility of linking tourism and propaganda had previously been lengthily discussed at several official meetings. The National Union, the only "non-political party" allowed in Portugal and whose purpose was to support *Estado Novo*, met for the first time in a congress held in 1934 and convened with the objective of paying tribute to the deeds accomplished by Salazar's regime. Considering the importance of the event, it is particularly relevant to acknowledge that some of the papers presented argued that tourism was a nationalist activity in the sense that it was the perfect arena to recall, exhibit and praise the traditional and authentic representations of the Portuguese "Nation" (Silva, 1935: 55, Torres, 1935: 93). Tourism was declared as a legitimate vehicle for evoking the material and moral assets of the "Nation" and to raise awareness over the past, present and future of Portugal (vd. Torres, 1935: 71). Only countries like Portugal that were not plunged in war would have the opportunity to develop their tourism industries, which should try as much as possible to captivate foreign visitors who would later be able to spread the word about the particularities of the *Estado Novo* (vd. Ferreira, 1935: 347). The delegates to this congress also agreed that Portugal could increase its tourism skills by paying attention to that then being done by Spain and Italy, for example (vd. Torres, 1935: 111).

Two years later, in 1936, another meeting took place in Lisbon with its major purpose being to give the floor to the professionals involved in the tourism business. The First National Congress of Tourism was widely covered by the media and officially supported by the regime, as would be expected. During the four-day gathering seventy nine delegates discussed specific destinations and plans for developing the industry, and praised the way Salazar was protecting the "Nation", thus allowing tourism to expand (Fonseca, 1936: 61, Guimarães, 1936: 46). In most speeches, tourism was presented as a vital mechanism for exhibiting the new "Nation" and as a mirror to the blossoming of Salazar's Portugal, a country that honoured its heroic past through displays in museums and monuments (vd. Guimarães, 1936: 48-49). The specific propaganda requested by tourism (vd. Santos, 1936: 1, Sousa, 1936: 4) and the labelling of Portugal as a shelter for Europe (Santos, 1936: 4) were recurrent subjects, as was the importance of perfectly welcoming and hosting foreign visitors (vd. Spratley, 1936: 5).

A 1939 decree stated that tourism would be a new competence of the SPN bureau for national propaganda. The reason for this was probably still some months away, the Portuguese World Exhibition, which would take place between June and December 1940 in Lisbon. However, ever since the opening of that bureau, António Ferro had always been very much involved in all sorts of tourism related activities, which he considered as the ideal stage for exhibiting popular culture as understood by the *Estado Novo*. The bureau director was an enthusiast of all sorts of activities involving foreign contacts and considered tourism as a field worthy of investment. Hence, this follower of Salazar's ideology maintained that "the international reputation of a nation results, in many aspects, from the way it organizes its tourism activity" (Ferro, 1949: 35).

The hidden propaganda in two different tourism representations: tourism for nationals and tourism for foreigners

As happened in ideological paradigms similar to that implemented by Salazar in Portugal throughout a significant proportion of the last century, popular culture would feed most of the representations of the "Nations", as it was officially believed that this group of society stood out as the most authentic core of an ancient country protected from evil by brave leaders, as supposedly was the case with the Portuguese council president. Therefore, the virtues of this segment of the population were very often extolled in narratives that exhibited it as a religious, loyal and hard-working people.

In 1938 the SPN published a set of seven posters, *A Lição de Salazar (Salazar's Lesson)* due to celebrate the tenth anniversary of Salazar's first serious involvement with Portuguese politics and exalt the benefits brought to the "Nation" by Salazar's dedicated input. *Deus, Pátria, Família (God, Motherland, Family)*, maybe the best known poster in this collection, is a clear reflection of the regime's preferences by featuring a spotless modest rural household, in which religious and national icons were also on display.



Image 1 - *Salazar's Lesson*, 1938

This would also be the pattern followed when coming up with tourism representations. The exhibitions and re-enactments of iconic moments and characters in a history deemed brave and heroic were designed to support the unique “Nation” concept and constituted another subject shared by authorized representations of Portugal, even when the goal was promoting the country’s tourism sector.

The sharing of these two main thematic areas would then be carefully negotiated by Ferro throughout his propaganda campaigns so that Salazar’s ideological purposes might be spread to both nationals and foreigners and the political goals achieved.

In the 1930s, Portugal was clearly divided into two different tourism destinations, which also corresponded to two obvious ways for conveying the propagandistic patterns of *Estado Novo* in a disguised, but effective fashion.

On the one hand, there was the national target. The authorized tourism stories due to be told this particular group suggested humble practices and insisted on representations of popular culture and of historical themes, thus reminding us of *Salazar's Lesson*. Actually, as illustrated by the following examples, rather similar images would be deployed a couple of years later in a document also prepared by Ferro’s SPN, *Cartilha da Hospedagem em Portuguesa* (Booklet of Portuguese Hospitality).



Image 2 – *Booklet of Portuguese Hospitality*, 1941

This booklet explained how Portuguese tourism authorities were to go about preparing the hosting infrastructures designed to accommodate national tourists outside urban areas. Augusto Pinto was the author of the written guidelines with Emério Nunes, the picture editor. The final result was an easy to understand and follow document that insisted on this type of lodging sticking to the trends of a supposedly authentic national simplicity and avoiding chic patterns unsuitable to the surrounding locations.

The plan to set up the *Pousadas* which represented an important facet to the whole entire 1940 Double Co

memorations of the “Nation” programme also referred to the need to retain a rural imagery. The *Pousadas* were lodging houses located outside the cities and thus instructed to obey non-urban trends in terms of both their decoration and their gastronomy. There is a general belief that the *Pousadas* somehow resulted from copying the Spanish *paradores*. However, they had already long since been proposed as a response to the need to provide a so-called traditionally Portuguese sort of accommodation for tourists travelling around the country on more modest means. We would here identify the following interesting coincidence: in the very same year that the Spanish civil war broke out, which drove fears in the Portuguese regime over its stability getting threatened by such close conflicts, also proved the date when the *Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho / FNAT* (National Foundation for Joy at Work) was established. This was a poorer and less ambitious version of similar organizations then existing in Italy and Germany, and whose main purpose was to enable the regimes to organize and structure the free time of workers. A 1936 decree implemented FNAT based on an officially announced need to care for the physical and psychological wellbeing of the poorest social classes, otherwise unable to afford proper leisure or education. For several decades FNAT would serve as another surreptitious but effective propagandistic tool for spreading new Portuguese values. Excursions and tours would be carefully prepared so the participants might have the opportunity to get acquainted with meaningful locations within the particular ideological frame of *Estado Novo*. Thus, visitors would preferably travel to iconic Guimarães (a symbol of the birth place of the Portuguese national identity), Alcobaça (intimately linked with the founding of the Portuguese monarchy and the place where Afonso Henriques was proclaimed King), or Batalha (a monastery built to commemorate the victory of the Portuguese over the Castilians at the Battle of Aljubarrota in 1385). Other favourite activities run by FNAT included visits to public exhibitions of popular culture artefacts or practices, which might consist of visiting a museum or attending a musical parade.

As mentioned above, these three examples of tourism-oriented representations mostly targeted the Portuguese tourism market and were designed to result in an effective strategy to spread, repeat and validate ideological lessons that would remind nationals of the characteristics that featured this old new “Nation”.

The international market was also a preferential target of the Portuguese propaganda through naive tourism stories, probably as a consequence of the statement of neutrality announced to the world by Salazar in September 1939 and due to the strategic and political interests prevailing. To attract foreign empathy to his political paradigm, Salazar authorized the creation of a completely different kind of tourism that not only nurtured but also boosted behavioural and social practices incomparable to those forced upon the national population. That micro tourism destination was labelled as *Costa do Sol* (Sunny Coast would be the international brand used) and comprised the coastal area between São Julião da Barra and Guincho, just outside Lisbon itself. Fausto de Figueiredo had identified that region several years earlier but only under Salazar’s regime did it become the international resort Figueiredo had dreamed of, particularly in the region that included São Pedro do Estoril, São João do Estoril and Santo António do Estoril.



Image 3 – Sunny Coast, 1930s

Instead of extolling and promoting humbleness and modest attitudes and practices, *Costa do Sol*’s imagery was luxurious and sophisticated so that the task of attracting foreign markets would be easier. Those travellers, fleeing from conflicts and wars, such as the Spanish civil war and the Second World War, would be hosted in an ambience that allowed them to carry on the social routines of the high societies they had been forced to leave behind. The schedule awaiting these travellers was busy and included parties, movies, parades and open-air a

activities. The accesses there had been improved tremendously so the poorest and most degraded areas located a little further from the coast would not be identified by those touring either onboard the comfortable Sud-Express train that travelled from Paris to Santo António do Estoril, or along a recently constructed coastal road which linked Lisbon to this *Costa do Sol*. The accommodation catering for these foreigners differed from the facilities dedicated to national tourists. In fact, palace hotels and similar chic lodging houses hosted not only these travellers, but also refugees and spies.

It seems clear that there was a very valid motivation for the *Estado Novo* regime to accept and authorize all the differences happening in *Costa do Sol*. This exception does suggest that allowing such diverse patterns of behaviour was probably a propagandistic strategy of *Estado Novo* and reflected its neutrality towards the conflicts then ongoing around the world. *Costa do Sol* was sought out by travellers and refugees from the most different national and social backgrounds, who arrived seeking the promised peace and tranquillity that distinguished the “Nation” sheltered from danger and riots by Salazar. Here, they were able to continue a social routine similar to that otherwise shattered by the war and witness the tolerance and neutrality promoted by the Portuguese regime. On the other hand, this different imagery would be observed from afar by nationals, who were thus taught to consider these as behaviours not suitable for adoption.

Conclusion

This article argues that the tourism narratives of the early years of the *Estado Novo*, i.e. during the Spanish civil war and the Second World War, were compounded by references similar to those put forward by the regime’s ideological propaganda. The lessons dedicated to Portuguese travellers would repeat the same iconic stories based on a popular culture deemed authentic and on the history of the “Nation”. This continuous echo of the same national representation left hardly any void space for wondering or creativity, which ended up forcing the population to accept the official validations created as a means of self-authorization by the regime and thereby imposing this belief in a coherent national unity.

However, in contrast, foreign visitors were allowed to pursue distinct practices and enjoy less regulated social routines thereby inviting them to believe in the much heralded tolerance and neutrality of Portugal.

Tourism is usually associated with the idea of relaxed ambiances, where light, unimportant activities are engaged in. As such, tourists easily accept what they observe and experience during their leisure time. Therefore, conveying propagandistic messages through tourism representations would seem a particularly cunning strategy for imposing ideologies in a very veiled way. People would easily accept these lessons without a great deal of questioning. Portuguese targets would acknowledge a father-like protector and understand the need to remain united against foreign dangers as well as the non-approved attitudes of peoples at war and without modest patterns of behaviour. Thus, the conflicts overhanging other nationalities worked as a natural boost for national cohesion.

In one of his speeches, Salazar stated that propaganda was a means of political education, whose purpose was to inform and to educate (vd. Salazar, 1943: 195). Tourism was the ideal arena to attain this objective. Within this framework, Salazar and Ferro proved easily able to negotiate just what to show and what to hide with censorship, a tremendous effective tool deployed by propaganda to play this game of hide and seek within an activity otherwise not especially linked with serious information. The already mentioned 1933 decree founding the SPN was very clear when it mentioned the urge to stop spreading any information that might result in the upsetting of ideas that would corrupt national unity or its defined interests. Tourism was, and still is, acknowledged as an activity exhibiting simple and natural realities and able to promote peace.

Curiously enough, in 1944, when the Bureau for National Propaganda changed its title, the word “propaganda” was replaced by the expression “information, popular culture and tourism”. With the long period of conflict drawing to a close, retaining “propaganda” in an official title would have represented some sort of embarrassment to the regime. Thus, the Portuguese solution became renaming the entity which continued with just the same sort of propagandistic activity as before. To achieve that purpose, “propaganda” was replaced by “information, popular culture and tourism”, i.e. the vehicles that had always been applied by the propaganda mechanisms of the *Estado Novo* regime. And tourism was certainly one of these, and especially where there were wars going on.

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Legislation

Decree nr. 23:054, 25th September 1933.

ON THE ESSENTIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WAR AND FASCISM. A LINGUISTIC AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF BLUE DIVISION'S *HOJA DE CAMPAÑA* (1941-1944)

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For years fascism attacked democracy by pointing its divisions and ineffectiveness out as the cause of the deep crisis suffered by the European societies. All over the continent fascist leaderships promised immediate and radical responses to overcome such a difficult moment, so people would have to leave the “empty talk” of past times by taking initiative with its bare hands. It was crucial to make it look the only possible way, for this reason propagandistic efforts tried to turn fascism into a dogma of faith which put down roots inside men’s internal drives, fears, apprehensions, social and cultural dynamics to be then codified and projected on reality.⁶⁸² In that sense, fascist movements carried out from its very birth a sublimation of action, placed as the key moral code of the movement, the paradigmatic expression of the fascist man, and the best way to feel the fascist experience itself.⁶⁸³ In spite of some mutual differences, fascisms –rose themselves up from war, violence, and trauma– and armies –with their complex cultures of war [*Weltanschauungskrieg*, in nazi terms]– come to terms in this respect throughout Europe, as we can see in the Spanish case during the Civil War or in the German one during the campaign of annexations and the World War itself. They both were infused by a similar culture and marked by an almost analogous perception of reality: the respect for military values, the fear to the revolutionary threat, the scorn of democracy, the nationalist spirit, or the longing for order and hierarchy were their common worries.⁶⁸⁴ At the same time, they both saw the other as the perfect partner to be more powerful and influential, to get acceptance and legitimacy, and to carry out their own designs.

Fascism found in war the way –if not the only, of course the best one– to get its two main projects: the forging of the national community [*Volksgemeinschaft*] by getting the necessary fascistization of society through that effort and the achievement of the New Order thanks to the warlike state of exception [*Ausnahmezustand*]. In an unprecedented way military and politics were fused together by fascism, they both encouraged each other. From the fascist point of view when soldiers made war they were making politics because they were providing the highest service to their community, and in this trance they were writing history by hand. It happened in such a way that they lived a fascist experience through the combat one, something inevitable because of the fascist atmosphere of mobilization where continuous fascists discourses identified the opponent as the enemy of Fascism, that is to say, European civilization. So, combatants were posed and considered by fascism at the vanguard of their national communities, they were the bearers of truth and justice, new Prometheus who went to save the civilization in an annihilation war. Obviously this mythical-poetic codification of the conflict and the soldier’s place in history made easier his task of death and destruction. To keep alive this understanding of reality was not an easy task, for this reason the Wehrmacht and the German Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda spared no effort to maintain and reinforce it. With “an endless stream of leaflets, brochures, speeches, radio talks, newspaper articles, and all other forms of propaganda directed at the troops throughout the war” they both tried to manage combatants’ perceptions fulfilling the role of spaces for the codification of their sentiments and appealing to cultural formulas familiar to them.⁶⁸⁵

The fact is that something changed at Germany’s invasion of the Soviet Union, in spite of the ideological terrain had been prepared long time ago. Talking about the war, fascist language had always been pompous,

⁶⁸² Klaus THEWELEIT: *Male Fantasies. Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2007 [1977], and *Male Fantasies. Volume 2 Male Bodies: Psychoanalyzing the White Terror*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1989 [1978].

⁶⁸³ In the end the very concept of “movement” [*Bewegung*, in German, or *movimiento*, in Spanish], used by fascists to refer to their own political organization, reflects the will of accomplishing permanent dynamism, mobilization, and action.

⁶⁸⁴ Ferran GALLEGÓ: *El evangelio fascista. La formación de la cultura política del franquismo (1930-1950)*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2014 [in press]; Javier RODRIGO: *Cruzada, Paz, Memoria: la Guerra Civil en sus relatos*, Granada, Comares, 2013, pp. 9-52, and Omer BARTOV: *Hitler’s Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 127-138.

⁶⁸⁵ BARTOV: *op. cit.*, p. 120.

but this time German fascism went for broke. As Hitler stated the very 22nd June: “At this moment a march is taking place that, for its extent, compares with the greatest the world has ever seen. I have decided again today to place the fate and future of the Reich and our people in the hands of our soldiers. May God aid us, especially in this fight”.⁶⁸⁶ In fact, some months ago he had pointed his generals out that this struggle was “one of ideologies and racial differences and will have to be conducted with unprecedented, unmerciful and unrelenting harshness”.⁶⁸⁷ At the same time as the war in the *Ostfront* was on it had to imply the conquest of the long-awaited *Lebensraum* and the construction of a German empire over there, so fascist leadership ordered and waited the cooperation of all German and Axis forces to get it.⁶⁸⁸ This results in increasingly demanding expectations: immediate execution of communist political commissars; cooperation in anti-partisan operations where the line between combatant and civilian was completely blurred; or collaboration in massive executions of Jewish populations.⁶⁸⁹ For this reason the fascist propagandistic machinery began to work in full performance to justify in the home front what was going on in Russia, and to give ideological and moral support to the soldiers, who would make politics through war and violence from now on.

Without a doubt one of the key propagandistic efforts was the “Europe’s Crusade against Bolshevism” [*Kreuzzug gegen den Bolschewismus*], a campaign which not only looked for enlistments in the fishing grounds of European fascism, but also the improvement of Germany’s image all over the continent –most of it occupied by German forces–, and the legitimization of its war. Anyhow they wanted to show themselves fighting on behalf of a common civilization, but nothing further from reality: it was a German war conducted to get the Germany’s supremacy over the continent. Last but not least, German propagandists wanted to bring Germans back a self-satisfied image about themselves by showing the sympathies and admiration of European peoples because of its consciousness, bravery, sacrifices, and leadership. For this reason the foreign volunteers fitted in the Wehrmacht and Waffen-SS occupied so many pages in very famous military magazines of this time as *Signal*, distributed through all Europe, where we can see from the recruitment processes to the combats and daily routine in the *Ostfront*.



We can see here the Spanish volunteers in *Signal*. A soldier with the Spanish uniform before leaving Spain bound for Germany (left) and another one reading the *Hoja de Campaña* in the *Ostfront* (right).⁶⁹⁰

Likewise the syncretic and generic way in which the European question and national-socialist Europeanism was posed by German propaganda enabled the confluence of numerous fascist individuals from all over Europe around “the Crusade against Bolshevism”, each one of them with their own perceptions and projects

⁶⁸⁶ Quoted by Alan CLARK: *Barbarossa. The Russian-German Conflict, 1941-1945*, New York, William Morrow, 1985 [1965], p. 44.

⁶⁸⁷ Quoted by Stephen G. FRITZ: *Frontsoldaten: the German Soldier in World War II*, Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 1997 [1995], p. 199.

⁶⁸⁸ Xosé Manoel NUÑEZ SEIXAS: *Imperios de muerte. La guerra germano-soviética 1941-1945*, Madrid, Alianza, 2007, pp. 40-54.

⁶⁸⁹ Before the beginning of German’s invasion the soldiers received a kind of memorandum called “Guidelines for the Conduct of the Troops in Russia” [*Richtlinien für das Verhalten der Truppe in Russland*], delivered by the Wehrmacht’s High Command (OKW), where the “Judeo-Boshevism” was pointed as the nemesis of German Volk and the ultimate cause why Germany is waging war”. Quoted by Jürgen FÖRSTER: “The Wehrmacht and the War of Extermination Against the Soviet Union”, in Michael MARRUS: *The Nazi Holocaust. Part 3 The “Final Solution”: The Implementation of Mas Murder*, Westpoint, Meckler Press, 1989, p. 500.

⁶⁹⁰ *Signal*, 16 (August, 1941) and 6 (March, 1942).

for the New Order. This synthetic and open way of doing and posing things was a distinguish feature of fascist political culture, and a key point for understanding its exits throughout the “European civil war”.⁶⁹¹

“From very different points of view each national or local fascism could imagine what was going to be its specific function inside the New Order, and they developed their own interpretations on the nazi-fascist Europeanism and its favourite geopolitical concepts, as *Lebensraum* or *great co-prosperity spaces*, adapting them to its own particular and immediate goals”.⁶⁹²

It was what made possible the involvement of 47,000 Spanish volunteers in the *Ostfront* along with thousands of French, Walloon, Flemish, Dutch, Croat or Nordic youngsters.⁶⁹³ The truth is that the German’s invasion of the Soviet Union raised a wave of excitement among the anti-communist European public opinion. In fact, many enthusiasts and supporters of the German cause, up to now contained by some national-socialist ideas, began to look at Hitler in a similar way that the one posed by German propaganda: a natural leader sanctified by God’s will who enjoyed a privileged relationship with history. We can see to what extent was similar the Spanish volunteers view on Hitler’s leading figure to the German one through the *Hoja de Campaña*:

“[...] the man who has known to build [*edificar*] with his political and strategic genius the so high and victorious fatherland of the Great Reich. [...] victorious conductor of the National-Socialist Army [...] the gigantic work and the stunning string of victories gotten in all directions under the leadership of the Great Führer.”⁶⁹⁴

Almost two years before we can observe the similar projection of Hitler’s image among the German troops through the most important circular issued by the Wehrmacht, *Mitteilungen für die Truppe*:

“His genius, in which the whole strength of Germandom is embodied with ancient powers [*mit Urgewalt verkörpert*], has animated the souls of 80,000,000 Germans, has filled them with strength and will, with the storm and stress [*Sturm und Drang*] of a renewed young people; and, himself the first soldier of Germany, he has entered the name of the German soldier into the book of immortality.”⁶⁹⁵

Therefore Hitler appears as “The Giver”, the “Homo Faber” in his greatest expression, that one who collaborates in the improvement of matter and the opening of a new time while at the same time secures perfection for himself.⁶⁹⁶ In some sense, as Hitler, fascist propagandistic efforts had the mission of forging a new man, that one able to sacrifice himself to his Führer and his people by giving him the chance to share in Hitler “genius” and “ancient powers”, and finally to feel the sublime and divine through the linguistic and discursive dramatization of history. From my point of view, what made possible the confluence among fascists from all over Europe beyond their obvious differences was a kind of shared combative Christianity and a liminal view of their time, and more precisely this war.⁶⁹⁷ More of them were looking for their own catharsis and the redemption of the world through purifying violence. These are some of the guiding principles and thematic focus that we find in the *Hoja de Campaña*, the Spanish Blue Division’s official organ, which was among these key spaces in the indoctrination and conduction of Germany’s –by extension Fascism’s– ideological war in the *Ostfront*. This kind of periodic publication is really common to all military units, even further if possible for collectives as the Spanish one fighting under a different military discipline in a war which was not open up by their country.⁶⁹⁸ In this case the publication turn into a kind of catalyst and encoder

⁶⁹¹ The concept has been taken from Enzo TRAVERSO: *A feu et à sang: De la guerre civile européenne 1914-1945*, Paris, Stock, 2007.

⁶⁹² See Xosé Manoel NÚÑEZ SEIXAS: “La ‘Cruzada europea contra el bolchevismo’: Mito y realidad”, *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 2012, vol. 34, pp. 41-42 (quote in p. 41).

⁶⁹³ Among the volunteers fighting in Russia, the Spanish contribution was by far the most important, leaving the Volksdeutsche from all the continent aside. See NÚÑEZ SEIXAS: op. cit., 2012, p. 41 and 44.

⁶⁹⁴ “En el cumpleaños de Adolfo Hitler”, *Hoja de Campaña*, 24 (April, 20th 1942), p. 1.

⁶⁹⁵ BARTOV: op. cit., p. 123.

⁶⁹⁶ I take the concepts from Lois LOWRY, *The Giver*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1993 and Mircea ELIADE: *The Forge and the Crucible: the Origins and Structures of Alchemy*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1978 [1956], p. 169.

⁶⁹⁷ We can see this combative Christianity in the texts of *La Joven Europa* [The Young Europe], a multinational magazine where came together fascist volunteers fighting in the *Ostfront* and intellectuals from all over Europe. It was published by the German *Akademische Kulturaustausch* and financed by the Ministry of Propaganda to give an active support to the idea of the European Crusade against Bolshevism. See David ALEGRE LORENZ: “«Voces como bayonetas». Un análisis de los textos españoles de ‘La Joven Europa’ como espacio para la codificación de la experiencia de combate, la identidad y la conciencia fascistas”, *El Argonauta español*, 10 (2013), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁹⁸ The Spanish volunteers were made up of the Wehrmacht as the 250. *Einheit spanischer Freiwilliger* (250th Division of

**LE COMBATTANT
EUROPEEN**

PARIS (14^e)
5, rue Lavoisier
BOULEVARD DES FILLES-DU-CALVAIRE
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BERLIN W 25
Unter den Eichen 10
1^{er} étage
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ORGANE BI-MENSUEL DES LEGIONNAIRES FRANÇAIS À L'ÉTRANGER

De Man

KAMPBLAD DER IN VLAANDEREN

Opstal en Beheer: Antwerpen, Quellinstraat, 32. — Prijs 1 fl. — 8 Blz. — Verspreide verkoop. — No. 53 — 25 Juli 1942.

 **Hoja de Campaña**
DIVISION ESPAÑOLA DE VOLUNTARIOS

We have to take into account that the *Hoja de Campaña* was never an independent organ, but was subjected to German funding and, hence, to Berlin political and military interests. In any way its beginning was really rudimentary, so much that it was one leaf [*Hoja de Campaña* means Campaign Leaf] written on both sides. The first twelve numbers limited themselves to copy and translate the German military circulars adding some little news about the very Blue Division and Spain.⁶⁹⁹ From this moment the periodical would grow and expand unstoppably turning itself into something essential and quotidian for the soldiers in the trenches, and many of them kept it with love during their stay in Russia or sent it home. According to Díaz de Villegas, Lieutenant-Colonel of Blue Division's General Staff, by 1943 the *Hoja de Campaña* had a print run of 18.000 copies, one per each volunteer.⁷⁰⁰ Besides, by March of the same year it included eight pages and deal with so different questions as the hot sports news from Spain, the newsletter and index of the divisional library, the Spanish cultural life, the everyday progresses made by the fascist regime at home, the editorial, and some opinion articles. At the same time, it had some sections opened to combatants' contributions where we find poetry; combat experiences or political reflections; a consolidated –and sometimes really clever– humour section; suggestions to improve hygiene and good shape in daily life, and effectiveness in combat; different competitions; German language lessons; photographic and journalist reports on different aspects about the Blue Division and its daily life in trenches; historical considerations on the Spanish history in an always palingenetic and teleological way; and, of course, the war news which lost its initial importance just as the *Hoja de Campaña* became established itself and things began to go badly for the Axis powers. It is not by chance that it coincided with the disaster of the VI Army and the Army Group South around Stalingrad.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ See Jorge M. REVERTE: “Noticias de la guerra”, in idem: *La División Azul. Rusia, 1941-1944*, Barcelona, RBA, 2011, pp. 217-223.

⁷⁰⁰ José DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS: *La División Azul en línea*, Barcelona, Editorial Acervo, 2003 [1963], p. 210.

⁷⁰¹ We can see that in the only number published at January, 1943, where the only reference as to what was happening in Stalingrad is: “According to the German High Command we can sum up the last news: fruitless red attacks in the South; the same activity in Stalingrad with grave enemy losses.” *Hoja de Campaña*, 55 (January, 1943), p. 5.

say, clear-cut and understandable. That is for example what we can see in an historical article, which ennobled the national past by connecting its main landmarks through teleology. It resulted directly in the “Spanish Crusade” or “Liberation War” [Spanish Civil war in fascist discourse] and the Blue Division, a liminal moment in the Spanish history where all the eternal essences of the national genius came together: “the dawn of resurrection”. So, the war was seen as school for males, the only place where the genuine national community could be forged under the purest Spanish *Geist*. There, men could participate in an authentic exercise of democracy to decide their common destiny by taking arms. To devote oneself life was the best vow for fascism. In this way, talking about the Spanish Civil the author pointed out: “Finally, the hard plebiscite of arms had been announced and there each chest [*cada pecho*] was a ballot box [*urna*] and each blood was a vote, long live Spain”.⁷⁰² Therefore, the fascist volunteer defended the need to go to war, because “‘The war has not ended’, said the Caudillo in the very moment of having Victory between his strong hands of soldier”.⁷⁰³ In this sense we can see how war is an essential need for fascism, and Spanish fascists needed it again to get over the social and political gap provoked by the civil war. By going to war fascism could keep and spread a total mobilization to forge the new Spain, and besides, by giving the Spaniards the same external enemy they would get the indivisible unity under the same spirit. For this reason, an editorial maintained:

“We want a broadest implication which spread itself over all the fronts where we have powerful historical reasons to defend! Any movement from us won’t be nothing but continuity [*continuidad*]; continuity in the struggle; continuity in the ideas and emphatic strengthening of being and winning. As long as there was an arrow, the bow will be stretched with the ambitious will of forging an Empire.”

Precisely, continuity was another axial idea in the *Hoja de Campaña*. From the Spanish fascist point of view their Civil War was fully in contact because of its causes, goals, and incentives to Germany’s one against Russia, all is part of “the great European battle against bolshevism”, “the enemy is the same which we brushed aside in Spain years before”. So this is not a German war but a European one, and the Spanish fascists ask for the continuity as a kind of paligenetic will to reconnect with the Spanish history and the path opened in 1936, as well as to deserve and take the right to be. In some way, this is about fascist “will to power” [*Wille zur macht*], because it needs war to make its *Weltanschauung* reality and to keep harmony. In the end it has to run away from itself to solve its contradictions, but during its necessary violent flight generates a bigger crisis. Consequently fascism cannot avoid war to fascitize community, to build the real national community [*unidad de destino*, in Spanish, or *Volkgemeinschaft*, in German]:

[...] the son who comes to relieve the father. This is continuity and not exhaustion. It would be rightful to grant the wishes from all the Spaniards. [...] Continuity is our historical march through all the lands standing by our missionary and warring national community [*unidad de destino*].⁷⁰⁴

We can see exactly this combative Christianity, so war was posed as the only possible way for authentic Spaniards. In fact it would explain what they were doing in Russia:

[...] the LOVE OF SPAIN [...] is THE ONLY WAY in which we can trust. [...] For love of Spain, only that way, we’ll achieve the so long-awaited, asked and recommended unity. Unity represents the rejection of little interests, partisan passions, old compromises, embarrassing ties coming from interest and convenience... [...] This goes farer, it goes to Spain where still remains mean-spirited people [*mezquinos*]. It goes to attract them to reason, because of the Fatherland [*patria*] which we yell from here not as trashy whiner orators [*oradorcetes chillones*], but as trustworthy daughters [*hijos cumplidores*] which follow their mission of love, this path which is the only possible one”.⁷⁰⁵

In this sense, Spanish volunteers claimed for a place in the New European Order, and they justified their presence in Russia through the need of recovering the respect for Spain all over Europe. This is about re-channelling national destiny: they were the heirs of the work pioneered by the Spanish people against bolshevism between 1936 and 1939, and the first ones –but not the last, they hoped– in taking up Spain’s projection over the continent again. The volunteers’ struggle in Russia only could be a new step to get “a greater Spain and a fairer Europe”, the motto of the *Hoja de Campaña* since its seventh number until the last

⁷⁰² On the ideas of participation and democracy in fascism see David ALEGRE LORENZ: “La idea de participación y democracia en el fascismo. Materiales para una visión comparada y maximalista”, *Col·loqui Identitats Feixistes. Feixistització i desfeixistització a Espanya*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2013. Available online: <http://www.academia.edu/3094279/La_idea_de_participacion_y_democracia_en_el_fascismo._Materiales_para_una_vision_comparada_y_maximalista>.

⁷⁰³ “4 recuerdos históricos” [4 historical memories], *Hoja de Campaña*, 12 (Februar, 4th 1942).

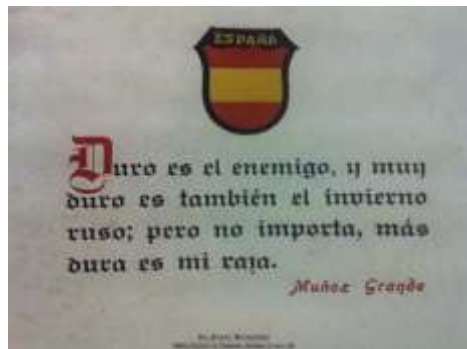
⁷⁰⁴ *Hoja de campaña*, 32 (June, 24th 1942).

⁷⁰⁵ “El único camino”, in *Hoja de campaña*, 45 (October, 14th 1942), p. 5.

one in March, 18th 1944, and we come back to see again how war was the only setting where fascism can reach its summit:

“From our sacrifices should remain –by its result– a never ending certainty. [...] the idea of fighting in these latitudes for Gibraltar, Oran and Morocco doubles our combative bravery [*coraje combativo*]. So Russia finish, the Strait [*el Estrecho*, it refers to the Strait of Gibraltar] will start...”⁷⁰⁶

Anyway, something interesting is the incessant and mutual contact between the Spanish volunteers in the *Ostfront* and their home front.⁷⁰⁷ This is really important because it contributed to make easier the adaptation of the Spaniards to such a harsh environment as the Russian one, really far away from their countries, getting nostalgia over by giving them a sense of community, showing the admiration and respect of their compatriots for their struggle, and defending their role as the vanguard of the New Order.⁷⁰⁸ At the same time, codified experiences coming from the Russian front contributed to reinforce fascist dynamics and politics in the home front and tried to make bearable the life of deprivations under the autarchy, so the Blue Division’s cause was spread in key moments through Spain as an example of sacrifice and application on behalf of the spirit. For example, in January, 15th 1942 the Propaganda Department of the Spanish fascist party printed and distributed a poster with a quote by Muñoz Grandes, the general of the Blue Division, in garages, factories, offices, institutions, professional training schools, and banks: «The enemy is hard, and the Russian winter is very hard too; but it doesn’t matter, my race [*raza*] is harder».⁷⁰⁹



The conditions and requirements of modern total war led to never-before-seen cultural, social and political changes, sometimes structural ones.⁷¹⁰ Propaganda had a lot to do with that, especially during the Second World War, and also with German war effort as one key resource in a coordinated mobilization. Precisely, in the *Hoja de Campaña* Blue Division’s soldiers found an horizontal meeting point where they could participate and feel themselves under the same conditions than their mates, giving room for a sense of belonging to a privileged front’s community or *Frontsgemeinschaft*. It was always a complicated task among the European volunteers, as we can see in the Spanish case where there were too many differences between the most radical fascist volunteers (the *falangistas*) and the professional military man, specially

⁷⁰⁶ “Por qué hemos venido... [Why have we come...],” *Hoja de Campaña*, 7 (December, 7th 1941), pp. 1-2.

⁷⁰⁷ We can talk about a real home front taking into account that Spain was in “state of war” [*estado de guerra*] until 1949, what can be seen beyond the legal regulation in the predominant fascist discourse and the permanent attempt to maintain mobilization.

⁷⁰⁸ For example, Díaz de Villegas noted the importance of the divisional post office, crucial on maintaining the troop’s moral in such a difficult context. «In effect, the soldier always awaited impatiently the arrival of letters from home and, at the same time, the receipt of the newspaper talking about the last news from his country and his town». So early 1943 they received monthly more than 500,000 letters and sent a similar number, just as 80-90,000 newspapers. In addition Blue Division got 5,000 copies of *Signal*, 2,000 of *Aspa*, 250 of *Aire*, *Marina y Aviación*, and 2,000 of *La Joven Europa*. DÍAZ DE VILLEGAS: op. cit., pp. 198-200 and 211. All that was crucial for the war effort.

⁷⁰⁹ Alfred PÉREZ-BASTARDAS: *Els cartells de “La Frase Quincenal”*. *Feixisme, totalitarisme, cabdillatge i autarquia en la propaganda de FET y de las JONS (1940-1951)*, Barcelona, Editorial Base, 2013, p. 143. I am sure we would find a lot of examples in a possible research focus on this question.

⁷¹⁰ Eric J. Leed give us some ideas about this question taking as case study the World War I. See *No Man’s Land. Combat & Identity in World War I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009 [1979], pp. 39-57, specially pp. 46-47. Klemperer asserted that during the World War II «*Du* [second personal singular in German] and *Sie* [formal second personal singular in German] were strangely muddled up» between the segregated German Jews «Some, especially those who had taken part in the World War I, used *Du* as they had previously done in the army; the others stuck firmly to *Sie*, as if they could thereby maintain their old position». VIKTOR KLEMPERER: *LTI. La lengua del Tercer Reich*, Barcelona, Minúscula, 2007 [1975], p. 265.

the sub-officers, besides the historical officers classism made things difficult too.⁷¹¹ Anyway the *Hoja de Campaña* contributed to soften –at least it tried to do so– differences turning itself into a key “transmission belt”, because it was the same for all the combatants, foot soldiers other, sub-officers, or officers. As it were, propaganda war would try to give “soldier males” an illusory sense of equality, because combat experience would transform them by giving a new conscience and identity [*Weltanschauung*]. Thus, we can observe it in the next excerpt:

“Among us, soldiers, all seems to be clear and diaphanous. Our gaze does look neither towards right, nor towards left, but looks directly at the enemy. We do not make things halfway, as usual, [...]. In front’s everyday life we have not made anything but distinguish between enemies and comrades. There is not place for halfway postures in our way of judging reality [...].

You, the Spanish people, are different to us in many senses. This differences disappeared there, where only prevailed the essential, there, where we stand shoulder to shoulder in front of the enemy, there, where German and Spanish names have remained engraved on the crosses erected in the common cemeteries of the Wolchow and the Ilmen lake”.⁷¹²

Here we can see again how in a fascist war the fascist experience happens through the combat one, where the “soldier male” can easily apprehend reality. He necessarily acts promptly and radically, so the combat experience takes place in a psychosomatic way converting itself in an impulsive act of faith. Sometimes it brought the “soldier males” to sacrifice his life, but in the shared death with their comrades would born *Frontsgemeinschaft*. At the same time, European tombs would mark out the new borders of civilization and “reterritorialize” the elusive and vast Russian territory.⁷¹³ The history which would give its meaning to the new European community was being forged there.



This was the front page in the *Hoja de Campaña* last number. The Christian cross, symbol of the European civilization, appears as the only landmark in the devastating Russian immensity, and the irrefutable proof of European fascism’s collective endeavour in Russia.⁷¹⁴

Not wonder, one crucial aspect in the *Hoja de Campaña* was its continuous attempt to build up a performative paradigm of “soldier male” to induce and reinforce among the volunteers some kind of identity and different behaviour patterns, something that happened since its first number. The periodical editorial department reclaimed and reviewed the volunteer’s great deeds by presenting as archetypes of fearlessness and bravery, revealing the path to glory, and making it accessible for all the combatants. So, “it

⁷¹¹ See Xosé Manoel NÚÑEZ SEIXAS: “An Approach to the Social Profile and Ideological Motivations of the Spanish Volunteers of the ‘Blue Division’, 1941-1944”, in S. LEVSEN and Ch. KRÜGER (eds.): *War Volunteering in Modern Times*, ABasingstoke, Palgrave, 2010, pp. 248-274.

⁷¹² “... Alemania está y estará siempre con vosotros... Carta a un camarada español herido” [Germany is and will be always with you... Letter to a wounded Spanish comrade], *Hoja de Campaña*, 32 (June, 24th 1942), p. 4.

⁷¹³ I take the concept from Gilles DELEUZE and Felix GUATTARI: *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2000 [1956].

⁷¹⁴ *Hoja de Campaña*, 106 (March, 18th 1944), p.1.

is all men's life what transforms itself, it is world's painful soul what is going sterilizing itself by letting us catch sight of its future shape. [...], it is going dissipating [...] the legends that now men, purified by war's fire, cannot believe".⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁵ Alvaro DE LA IGLESIA: "La leyenda partida" [The split legend], *Hoja de Campaña*, 13 (February, 4th 1942), p. 4.

What is to be defended? The emphasis shift of the propagandist message in German cities during the final stage of the Second World War

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The research of the Nazi perseverance during the final stage of the Second World War never fails to include an analysis of the regime's propagandist efforts to encourage both the home front and the military to persist to the bitter end. In recent years, this research saw an intensification and reached a broad audience as well-known historians, such as Stephen Fritz (*Endkampf*, 2004), Richard Bessel (*Germany 1945*, 2010) and Ian Kershaw (*The End*, 2011), contributed to the debate. They tended to focus on nation-wide propaganda, most notably spread through newspapers and news-reels, which stressed the message of perseverance (*durchhalten*) to be reached by an unshakable trust in the *Führer*, the promise of a collapse of the Allied alliance and the full-scale deployment of 'miracle weapons', to name but some.

Little attention, however, had been devoted to local propagandist initiatives to bolster the defence. This neglect is peculiar, especially considering the dissolving state of the *Reich*, which made the need for this kind of initiatives all the more necessary. By 1945, the war was no longer solely a struggle for existence of the *Reich* – as portrayed in the nation-wide propaganda – but rather a matter that affected one's direct environment, reaching the homes and families of the majority of the Germans in the course of that year. Although this message did not fail to find its way to nation-wide propaganda as well, its emphasis remained on fighting a common cause. However, with many German areas becoming increasingly isolated, it is hardly surprising that local bodies interchanged a considerable size of the nation-wide views in favour of a message that appealed more to a confined public originating from the district or town in question.

So far, the course of these local efforts – often hardly venturing beyond the boundaries of their own communities – has not been closer examined, and this paper therefore strives to bring to light what line local propagandists chose to strengthen the will to continue fighting. Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, will be used as a case study in this paper. Due to the cities' designation as fortress (*Festung*) in January 1945 and its subsequent siege by Soviet troops for over two months, its garrison and its civilian population experienced a wide variety of propaganda in order to bolster their fighting spirit. As this research mainly consists of previously unused archival material from the *Archiv Stadt Königsberg* in Duisburg, as well as reports from the *Militärarchiv* and the *Lastenausgleichsarchiv* (both part of the Bundesarchiv), it will contribute to our understanding of propagandist measures during the last months of the Second World War.

The difficulties of propaganda during the final stage of the war

For the Nazi propagandist, many of the challenges during the final stage of the war were tangible ones. With the front closing in on Germany, Allied radio stations started operating on a wave-length that could be received by more and more Germans, while the ongoing bombing and paper scarcity were severely hampering radio transmission and reception and the distribution of newspapers.⁷¹⁶ National radio could barely provide positive news, and could only sum up military defeats and news of *terror*-bombing; therefore, listeners had to do with the vocalised promise that Germany's enemies were suffering equally.⁷¹⁷ It was the task of

⁷¹⁶ Andrew Smith Serrano, *German propaganda in military decline 1943-1945*, (Edinburgh, The Pentland Press Limited, 1999), 218

⁷¹⁷ Hans Graf von Lehndorff, *Ostpreußisches Tagebuch. Aufzeichnungen eines Arztes aus den Jahren 1945–1947* (Munich, dtv, 1961), 51

propagandists to provide an explanation for the grave military situation, whilst instilling a will among the population to keep on fighting. Propagandists had to fight an uphill battle. Growing parts of the German audience lost trust in the sincerity of the articles and speeches, eroding the very fundamentals of the Nazi system. By early 1945, as propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels noted in his diary, 'neither the Führer in person nor the National Socialist concept nor the National Socialist movement are immune from criticism', a development referred to by the scholar Stephen Fritz as 'a wholesale rejection of the social-revolutionary promise at the heart of the Nazi idea.'⁷¹⁸

More so, many Germans were presented with a workable alternative, which above all appealed to the population living in the western part of the country: a Germany under new rule. For Nazi propagandists, relating to audiences that were already cautiously looking beyond the war and beyond National Socialism was near impossible. In the parts of west that were still in German hands, some newspapers even cautiously started referring to a post-war world, deliberately overlooking whether this was a world under Allied or Nazi rule.⁷¹⁹ Lastly, by the beginning of 1945 Germans could hardly be referred to as 'one people' anymore. When the first 'post-war newspaper' appeared in Aachen, on 25 January 1945, the last stage of war was yet to begin for Königsberg.⁷²⁰

From November 1944 onwards Goebbels' propaganda ministry chose an approach that pursued a 'poetic truth', which meant that the large blanks in the scanty information received by propagandist were to be filled by themselves, thus extrapolating to the point of mere guessing.⁷²¹ The infamous radio-speech of Goebbels, 'Hannibal ante portas!', which drew the historical parallel between Hannibal's advance as far as Rome, from where the Roman victories began that led to the eventual destruction of Carthage, was considered as shameless by some of the more critical listeners.⁷²² Recurrent, but also fairly ineffective, were the claims of a stiffened resistance and eagerly mobilizing communities. Since via informal channels audiences had some access to other information, which basically claimed the exact opposite, that smokescreen was easily pierced. The *Panzerfaust* (an anti-tank weapon) for example, was hailed in the *Deutsche Wochenschau* as a people's weapon, of which the usage was 'just as easy as it looks'.⁷²³ Nevertheless, on the walls in Königsberg could be read: 'Panzerfaust and Panzerschreck, Volkssturm-man, throw away that scrap!'⁷²⁴ Similarly, commentaries were added to the well-known slogans of the regime. Under 'Wheels role for victory', was added: 'Nazi-heads after the War.'⁷²⁵ Nevertheless, these kind of nation-wide slogans were still used on a large scale, and could be found on banners hanging throughout cities, or written on walls. They were perceived by growing parts of the population as empty slogans which lured them into fighting for a cause that they no longer considered theirs.⁷²⁶ Consequently, propagandists were forced to look at alternatives to embrace a nation-wide course, which was backfiring. Similarly, the 'poetic truth' yielded little result and appeared to be disregarded by the population on a large scale. Local propagandists appear to have grasped this and responded by shifting the emphasis in the message that they had to convey.

Losing faith in the Führer, gaining local heroes

By 1945, not only the faith in the party started to crumble, for the first time people started openly ventilating criticism towards Hitler as well.⁷²⁷ This was a tendency that could be found throughout Germany, and

⁷¹⁸ Stephen Fritz, *Endkampf : soldiers, civilians, and the death of the Third Reich* (Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 34- 35

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 35. "To careful readers, calls for resistance [were] aimed more at preserving the thousand-year-old imperial city of Bad Windsheim than fighting to the last against the external enemy."

⁷²⁰ Sven Reichardt, Malte Zierenberg, *Damals nach dem Krieg, Eine Geschichte Deutschlands 1945-1945* (Munich, Goldmann), 22

⁷²¹ Ernest Bramsted, *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925-1945* (Cresset Press, East Lasing, 1965), 328 - 9

⁷²² Von Lehnndorff, *Ostpreußisches Tagebuch*, 51

⁷²³ Die Deutsche Wochenschau "Die Deutsche Wochenschau vom 22.3.1945", Accessed October 6, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRgchuPwxFM>

⁷²⁴ Hans-Burkhard Sumowski, "Jetzt bin ich ganz allein auf die Welt", *Erinnerungen an eine Kindheit in Königsberg 1944-1947* (Munich, btb-Verlag, 2009), 66

⁷²⁵ Sumowski, "Jetzt bin ich ganz allein auf die Welt", 73

⁷²⁶ Jürgen Thorwald, *Die Ungeklärten Fälle* (Stuttgart, Steingrüben, 1950), 156

⁷²⁷ Ian Kershaw, *The End, Hitler's Germany, 1944-45* (London, Allen Lane 2011), 389

Königsberg was no exception. 'A tank is blocking the Pregel-bridge. The man is the top of it holding a flaming speech', a doctor recalled. 'And when something like "our beloved leader Adolf Hitler" penetrates my ears, I prefer to quickly disappear into a side street.'⁷²⁸ Hitler remained closely involved with the developments in Königsberg and throughout its two-month siege, as numerous reports of staff meetings show, he repeatedly highlighted the city's importance and assured that weapons and ammunition would arrive to the city.⁷²⁹ Nevertheless, his ongoing attention to the city was completely ignored by local propagandists. The last time that Hitler dominantly featured in the papers of Königsberg was on 31 January in the newly founded newspaper 'Die Festung Königsberg', the 'battle-paper for labourers, soldiers and men of the Volkssturm'. Large parts of his speech, commemorating the seizure of power in 1933 were published,⁷³⁰ but soon after that Hitler was 'replaced' by local characters.

These characters not only predated Nazism, but the unification of Germany as a whole. Goebbels' propaganda had been clinging to the idea of a '*Volksgemeinschaft*', a people's community, but as Germany had been united for only 70 years, there were in fact few national heroes.⁷³¹ Therefore, many of the role models that were chosen in 1945 to bolster the fighting spirit enjoyed only local popularity. In the first and only divisional newspaper of the 561st *Volksgrenadierdivision*, 'Die Sturmglocke', printed in 'Festung Königsberg', Hitler was not even mentioned once. On the other hand, to General Yorck, the Prussian hero of the wars of liberation of 1813, an entire article was devoted, including his picture and some quotes that were as appropriate in 1813 as they were in 1945. The impact of his (distilled) legacy is not to be underestimated, as in Königsberg military decisions were sometimes even judged through the eyes of Yorck, even when the resulting actions were contradictory to Hitler's view.⁷³² Another role model, by far the most famous son of the city, was the philosopher Immanuel Kant, whose legacy was reinterpreted to fit the propagandist aims of 1945. The Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung went so far as to state that 'Kant's notion of the duty is embedded in each and every German soldier and German worker, even if he has never read a single line of Kant.'⁷³³ Along similar lines, Professor Baumgarten, deacon of the philosophic faculty of the Königsberg's Albertina University broadcasted a message 'in the memory of Kant', condemning Churchill's post-war ideas and rallying people to fight.⁷³⁴

More tangible and contemporary local role models were used as well. The best-known in Königsberg was Ernst Tiburzy, one of the four *Volkssturm* members ever to receive the Knight's Cross, Germany's highest award for valour. During a Soviet attack on the city on 2 February, Tiburzy knocked out a tank with a Panzerfaust, although the Soviet advance towards the city continued. When one of his subordinates, a *Zugführer*, made efforts to retreat, Tiburzy shot him. Staying put despite being wounded, he knocked out four more tanks, after which the attack was called off. This limping man with one eye remaining, but still in action, was the epitome of a fight till the end; this was exactly the kind of tangible example propagandists were looking for.⁷³⁵ On 5 February, he was set as an example by the local authorities, first and foremost by *Kreisleiter* Ernst Wagner, the leader of the *Volkssturm* in Königsberg. Wagner devoted a large part of a speech to him, while in that same speech Hitler was mentioned only in a clause.⁷³⁶

The 'Volkssturm-man' in itself was another tool that was favoured by *Kreisleiter* Wagner. All necessary virtues could be allocated to him, in Königsberg the emphasis lay on steadfastness and courage. Addressing the different *Volkssturm* units, Wagner avoided speaking about Germany, but focused exclusively

⁷²⁸ Von Lehnndorff, *Ostpreußisches Tagebuch*, 31

⁷²⁹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Hitler's War Directives 1939-1945* (London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1964), pp. 159-163, 167-173, 202-213 See for example: Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv RH2-335, pp.137, 221, 223

⁷³⁰ Bundesarchiv Ost-Dokumentation 10/890 p176-177.

⁷³¹ Fritz, *Endkampf*, 63

⁷³² Archiv Stadt Königsberg [hereafter ASK.] 22091 - Militär: Divisional newspaper 561st VGD 'Die Sturmglocke', March 1945

Ruth Wagner, Hans-Ulrich Stamm, *Die Letzten Stunden daheim: Ostpreussens Schicksal in schwerer Zeit*, (Staats- und Wirtschaftspolitische Gesellschaft E.V., Köln, 1972), 97

⁷³³ Andreas Kossert, *Damals in Ostpreussen, Der Untergang einer deutschen Provinz* (München, Pantheon Verlag, 2008), 136

⁷³⁴ ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948: Aus der Rundfunksprache von Professor Baumgarten

⁷³⁵ Hans Kissel, *Der Deutsche Volkssturm 1944/1945 : Eine territoriale Miliz im Rahmen d. Landesverteidigung* (Berlin, Verlag E.S. Mittler, 1962), 63

⁷³⁶ Otto Lasch, *So fiel Königsberg* (Stuttgart, Motorbuch Verlag, 1977), 140

on the people of Königsberg. When he addressed Volkssturm units, his speeches were not stilted, and the times that he spoke of 'us' or 'we', he did not mean the German people, but rather the men in front of him.⁷³⁷ The army, which had the final responsibility in the city, hardly interfered with Wagner's efforts. More so, the fortress commander, General Otto Lasch, co-signed a number of proclamations, not only out of military necessity, but to give a paper more standing as well.⁷³⁸ Despite that Lasch was the most important man in the fortress, he was hardly used as an object of propaganda within the city. Although he came from East Prussia, his links with the city itself were marginal. Few people knew him prior to the siege, making him an unsuitable subject for local propaganda. Even after featuring prominently in *Der Deutsche Wochenschau*, side by side with Gauleiter Koch, his role within the local propaganda remained limited.⁷³⁹

Losing sight of the greater good

It is striking to see how little thought propagandists in Königsberg gave to the Reich, and all that it was supposed to encompass. No sustained attention was paid anymore to upholding morals and virtues that had been actively propagated in the years prior. Instead of focusing on greater ideas, people were asked to defend something considerably smaller: the bare existence of the city. This was in itself an all but an easy task. Königsberg was one of the many German cities that had suffered heavily from Allied bombardments, and although its ruins featured repeatedly in national propaganda, most of its inhabitants, having lived in the city for their entire lives, did not consider that praiseworthy at all, let alone worth defending. 'There was a dull atmosphere of the downfall of the world', the writer Rudolf Naujok recalled over a decade later. 'The feeling of walking through a mortuary was impossible to get rid of.'⁷⁴⁰ From that mindset, which was common in Königsberg, it was hard to instil a mood of steadfastness. As the conservation of the city was thus hardly an issue anymore, the approach that propagandists took from the very beginning was to emphasize that everyone in the city was in the same boat. The fact that the city was surrounded and constantly shelled from late January onwards was not explained as negative, but as a test that separated weaklings from the strong-hearted. On posters spread throughout the city, it could be read that: 'In the thunder of guns, the stout hearts prove themselves. There is no going back here.' The encirclement would give birth to an 'unconditional battle-community' which would be invincible. The conclusion of the posters linked the anticipated steadfast behaviour in Königsberg directly to the preservation of the rest of Germany. 'That's how we will do it. All of us together will hold Königsberg until the time that the Reich achieves victory over our mortal enemies.'⁷⁴¹ A similar message could be found on specially designed Volkssturm posters. In Königsberg, these posters featured two men holding arms, while the silhouette of Königsberg's castle could be seen in the background. Again, the focus lay on defending the city, rather than the Reich, despite the fact that the *Volkssturm* was on nation-wide effort. In a number of speeches and proclamations this two-staged approach was used: by rallying people for the defence of their 'Heimat', a concept that was almost tangible, they were contributing to the more indefinable 'Reich' as well.

With communication getting harder, bringing across this theme was entrusted to a relatively newly deployed medium, the so-called *Mundpropaganda*, or 'mouth-propaganda'. This type of propaganda had the purpose of spreading 'positive' rumours. In Königsberg a set of rumours was introduced in late February - early March. Again, no attention of these rumours was paid to the situation in the rest of Germany. By doing so, the population was left in the dark in respect to the gravity of the situation, for which there was indeed little encouraging to tell. Instead, the mouth-propaganda focused exclusively on matters that preoccupied the people in Königsberg. A post-war evaluation on the mood in the city, written by Walter Kemsies, an intelligence

⁷³⁷ ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948: Pamphlet 9 February 1945: Aufruf! Packt alle an! Lasch, *So fiel Königsberg*, 140

⁷³⁸ ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948: Pamphlet 9 February 1945: Aufruf! Packt alle an!; ASK 22034: Königsberg 1939-1945: Pamphlet: Hass unsere Pflicht, Rache unsere Tugend

⁷³⁹ Die Deutsche Wochenschau "Die Deutsche Wochenschau vom 22.3.1945", Accessed October 6, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRgchuPwxFM>

⁷⁴⁰ Rudolf Naujok, "Das Mädchen von Königsberg," *Ostpreussen-Warte*, June, 1958, 11; ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948, Professor Baumgarten,

Die Deutsche Wochenschau "Die Deutsche Wochenschau vom 22.3.1945", Accessed October 6, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xRgchuPwxFM>

⁷⁴¹ ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1939-1945, Undated pamphlet (late January): Haß unsere Pflicht, Rache unsere Tugend

officer that was present at the time, speaks about the introduction of a rumour telling that the Russian had been demoralised, having underestimated the strength of the garrison of Königsberg. Instead, the Russian troops in East Prussia gathered for an attack on the German troops surrounded in Courland grouping, further to the north, and therefore would have no troops left to attack Königsberg. Apparently, the fact that other parts of the German army were threatened was of no consideration for the propagandists, as long as the inhabitants of the city were eased. In other rumours, a similar pattern can be detected: all German military operations focused on Königsberg; encircled troops in Insterburg and Tilsit had linked up and were marching towards the city while some 500,000 men of the Wlassow Army had broken out from an area near Warsaw and were heading to Königsberg as well. Himmler was also gathering his Army, and approached the city via Danzig. On top of that, it was claimed that 500 Tiger tanks were already offloaded in the harbour of Pillau, and were shortly available to bolster the city's defence as well.⁷⁴² The reason to spread these rumours was to encourage the people in the city to stay calm,⁷⁴³ most likely as a counterweight to the shock of what had happened in Metgethen. (see below)

The use of atrocity propaganda and the role of the soldier

Perhaps the most wide-spread theme within the propaganda during the final stage of the war were the atrocities. A special role was reserved for soldiers, as the majority of the population considered their views to be sincere. With the decreasing availability of news through ordinary channels, the soldier became one of the easiest available sources of information for the population, something that had not gone unnoticed by propagandists. On a national level one of the most famous German soldiers, Generalmajor Otto Ernst Remer, had held a radio speech focusing on Bolshevik atrocities, a broadcast that was reviewed positively by the majority of the population.⁷⁴⁴ In Königsberg too, soldiers were among the main contributors of the propaganda that focused on Soviet atrocities. Many of the soldiers that arrived in the city had taken part in the recapture of Nemmersdorf in October 1944, the sight of the best-known Soviet atrocities thus far. They were actively involved in these propagandist efforts, and many of the articles concerning atrocities featured parts of soldiers' first hand reports.

Initially in Königsberg, the atrocity propaganda remained somewhat void and distant. When in the first week of the Soviet encirclement of Königsberg a pamphlet was circulated, encouraging its civilians people to 'hate and revenge' the Soviet atrocities, some civilians were offended by the tone of the message, even though many of the refugees that were flooding into the city had experienced the Soviet wrath at first hand.⁷⁴⁵ Nevertheless, in the earliest weeks of the siege, between 30 January and 20 February, relatively little attention was paid to the atrocities throughout the East Prussia.

That lack of coverage changed virtually overnight, after German troops had managed to recapture one of the suburbs of the city, Metgethen, on 20 February. Many soldiers, especially of the 1st division, saw mutilated and raped corpses there, and their accounts were passed to the city. The Sicherheitsdienst prepared a 'photo report of the murdered and desecrated Germans by the Bolsheviks in Metgethen.'⁷⁴⁶ From then on, the massacre was given full attention in the city and posters appeared with 'METGETHEN RACHE' (Metgethen revenge), which depicted a Soviet skeleton, clinching a knife between his teeth, holding a barely dressed and emaciated woman, which he obviously had killed. In this effort soldiers took the lead, something that was clearly monitored, as 'The grenadiers go past the corpses of the defiled and tortured women, and then go into battle.'⁷⁴⁷ What they saw did not fail to make an impact on the soldiers. 'It was worse than Nemmersdorf, the attack had to succeed!', a member of the 5th Panzer Division wrote down. 'What the advancing soldiers saw,

⁷⁴² ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948, *Walter Kemsies*, 9

ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948, Aufzeichnungen des Hauptschriftleiters der Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung Wegener über seine Erlebnisse in Königsberg Januar/März 1945, 3

⁷⁴³ Thorwald, *Die Ungeklärten Fälle*, 167

⁷⁴⁴ Smith Serrano, *German Propaganda in military decline*, 199, 312

⁷⁴⁵ Von Lehnendorff, *Ostpreußisches Tagebuch*, 31-32

⁷⁴⁶ Library of Congress, Bildbericht über von den Bolschewisten ermordete und geschandete Deutsche in Metgethen, accessed October 6, 2013, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005675708/>

⁷⁴⁷ Gunter Heysing, "Der Geist von Königsberg: Festung der Waffen und Herzen", *Berliner Morgenpost*, March 3, 1945

surpassed by far the propaganda up till now,' the evaluation of Walter Kemsies concluded. The population was not spared of gruesome details, but instead was presented with the situation in meticulous detail. Soldiers were writing 'revenge for Metgethen' on their vehicles, while banners with the same text were spread throughout the city.⁷⁴⁸

Only when atrocities were discovered within ten kilometres of the city centre did the topic become a widely embraced theme for local propagandists. It shows that propagandists did not randomly repeat the message of 'hate and revenge', as this could actually reduce its impact and credibility. Instead they only chose to act when an event occurred that could be featured by providing substantial evidence. The best known post-war account estimates the number of deaths found in Metgethen as high as 3,000, although no wartime source has remained with a number that comes even close to this.⁷⁴⁹ But even if the real number was lower, the shock that was caused as a result of it bolstered the fighting spirit in the entire region.⁷⁵⁰

Conclusion

So far, the propagandist efforts that rallied the German people to continue fighting in 1945 has merely been assessed on a nation-wide scale. Drawing conclusions from sources scattered throughout Germany can only lead to generalisations and does not allow a historian to look to the way propaganda influenced people on a more individual level. Focusing on one city, Königsberg, allows us to look at propagandists means and the impact of their message more carefully.

This paper has sought to discern the course of the local efforts within the line that was prescribed by Goebbels' ministry by using the city of Königsberg as a case study. Three developments distinguished themselves in the city. The Hitler-cult, which already started to show serious cracks, was interchanged for an emphasis on role-models, both historical and contemporary, originating from the area itself. This served the purpose that their legacies and actions were easier to relate to, making them more suitable for employment on a local scale. Secondly, the defence of the Reich as a whole was deemed unfit as a propagandist tool. Instead, what was being asked of people was considerably smaller and more straightforward: the mere defence of one's city. Rather than defending the greater good, the salvation of Germany, people were asked to work towards a tangible goal. The way mouth-propaganda was employed within that approach, showed that there was an unmistakable tendency of creating a tunnel vision, as the citizens in Königsberg were completely left in the dark about the developments in other parts of Germany. Lastly, the atrocity propaganda seemed to have been used more cautious than often assumed. Although the message itself remained irreducibly gruesome, in Königsberg much thought was given to its timing and presentation. Only when demonstrable acts of atrocity had occurred, which was the case in Metgethen, was the topic considered suitable for full scale use.

These developments suggest that local propagandists diverted from the line proposed by the propaganda ministry, and instead choose their own course, albeit still within the guidelines of the ministry. National propaganda was increasingly pushed to the background, and local concerns were given a higher priority. The obvious reason for this emphasis shift seems that by doing so, people were rallied to a cause they could more easily relate to. Therefore, this paper nuances the commonly held view of propaganda mainly as a means for the masses, but rather as a 'personalised' and versatile tool, capable of adapting to specific situations.

⁷⁴⁸ ASK 22034 - Königsberg 1945-1948: Walter Kemsies: *Stimmungsbilder aus Königsberg i. Pr. 1945 (Die Festungszeit der ostpr. Hauptstadt)*, 7-8; Anton Detlev von Plato, *Die Geschichte der 5. Panzerdivision : 1938 bis 1945* (Lüchow, Gemeinschaft d. Angehörigen d. Ehem. 5. Panzerdivision, 1978), 387; Thorwald, *Die Ungeklärten Fälle*, 156, 166; Michael Wieck, *Königsberg, Zeugnis vom Untergang einer Stadt* (Augsburg, Bechtermünz Verlag, 1998), 176

⁷⁴⁹ Bundesarchiv, Silke Spieler, *Vertreibung und Vertreibungsverbrechen, 1945–1948: Bericht des Bundesarchivs vom 28. Mai 1974, Archivalien und ausgewählte Erlebnisberichte* (Bonn, Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen, 1989), 146

⁷⁵⁰ Christian von Oppel, Hartmut Mathieu, *Im Rücken des Feindes: Erinnerungen von Edgar Burger 1925 – 1945* (Schwalbach, books on demand, 2004), 85-87

Art, Image and Propaganda

THE IMAGE AND THE WORD FOR FIGHTING IN FRANCE: FROM ORIGIN TO CATHARSIS

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1. Introduction

This paper will focus on the theme of propaganda regarding the phenomenon of the Great War. More specifically it will focus on the Portuguese belligerence and the way it was presented in three journals from the time of the First Republic. Those journals are the magazines *Ilustração Portuguesa*, *Portugal na Guerra* and *A Guerra*.

The main goals will be to identify and analyze the kind of effort that was undertaken by the national political power concerning three specific aspects: firstly, in spreading out the importance of the Portuguese participation in the war in Europe (*Ilustração Portuguesa*); secondly, in terms of propagating the ongoing effort of the Portuguese contingent already in France (*Portugal na Guerra*); and thirdly, regarding the post-war period, and the attempt to reach a catharsis of the physical and psychological traumas caused by taking part in the war (*A Guerra*).

The first part of the paper will refer to some ways of using propaganda as a political instrument within Europe; there will also be a brief account on the evolution of the Portuguese belligerence. The core will be the analysis of the three chosen journals to find some of the key ideas and concepts in terms of belligerence and of the mechanisms then used for disseminating it. The last part will refer to the ideas and aspects which are common to the three journals.

It is intended that this paper will contribute to a better understanding and knowledge of the way propaganda played its role at the time of the First Republic concerning the Portuguese participation in the Western front during the Great War.

2. Propaganda as an instrument

The means of propaganda used by the foreign press during the period of the Great War and that can be looked at as both an inspiration and an influence to Portugal came from France, Great Britain and Germany.

We will start by mentioning the case of propaganda in the French press after the year 1914, as that was the year of the *Bureau de Presse's* foundation, and the beginning of the interference of censorship and control in all journals and other means of propaganda at national and international level. The sudden appearance of a controlling and repressive mechanism such as the *Bureau de Presse* led to the publishing on most journals of all types of imaginary stories and, on the other hand, of texts impregnated with patriotism and nationalistic fervor which can be referred to as somewhat excessive and not necessarily positive for the maintenance of those journals.

Despite that close and constant control, the French press still went through much change and growth during the period of the Great War. Namely, there were journals which were then created with the unique objective of addressing the subject of war and the daily life in the battle front. There were two main advantages in those type of journals: firstly, they were an important means of keeping the general population informed about the conflict, and of confirming the support given to the Government and to the soldiers fighting at the front; secondly, this new, rising press became fundamental in terms of maintaining the high morale of the troops (Quintero, 1993: 220).

In Great Britain, commercial propaganda was already being used during the first years of the 20th century. It is, therefore, not surprising that during the course of the four years the conflict lasted the British propaganda had shown to be a lot more developed and effective than that of most European countries. However, this development and effectiveness might have been due to the fact that the public opinion was totally against the participation of Great Britain in the war. Also, and not of least importance, it may have had to do with the fact that the only European country where, by the time the war started, conscription did not exist at all (officially

instituted by the Law of Military Service on March 3, 1916) was Great Britain and the British Army consisted only of volunteers.

These two factors made it easy for the Government and for the Press controlling mechanisms - like the War Propaganda Bureau, whose main function was disseminating printed material in the neutral countries (Quintero, 1993: 221) – that, along with the previously numerous existing journals, magazines and political posters (Ventura, 2010: 521), there was the great need of getting support and incentive from the public opinion regarding the participation of Great Britain in the Great War.

“In terms of domestic – though not imperial – institutions, the British state in 1914 was perhaps the weakest in Europe. Concomitantly, no country boasted a civil society as strong and diverse. These contrasts gave to popular culture a critical role. It ensured that in wartime Britain propaganda from below would dominate the war of words and images. And it created a vocabulary of a simplicity and immediacy that made that propaganda effective.” (Winter, 1999: 330).

Hence, a new type of pro-war propaganda appeared in most of the press trying to reach as many supporters as possible in terms of public opinion. Its core business was the European conflict and everything that could **derive** from it. Some magazines were then created with the only purpose of disseminating those pro-war ideals in other countries and were written in the language spoken in each of those countries. Great Britain was, undoubtedly, the country which possessed the most powerful propaganda machine at the time of the Great War.

Despite that, Germany was most likely the country which had the best means of propaganda during the European conflict. It was mainly a type of counterpropaganda working as a call for German national awareness and based on two different organizations: a press department connected to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and a political section dependent of the Army Staff.

In the Imperial Staff there was a political section in charge of war news (*Deutsche Kriegsnachrichten*), whose task was to raise the morale of the troops and of the civil population. This type of work might have been of great influence to the public opinion, as amongst the contributors of the press one could find many writers and teachers who tried to explain, in a way that was accessible to everyone, the reasons why the allies should be considered responsible for the start of the war (Quintero, 1999: 212)

In 1917, the *Kriegspressamt* or Press of War public service was created. This service depended on the German military command and included the tasks of censorship, and control of all national and international news. At a private level, there was the *Wagner* cultural committee.

However, the structure failed internally. There was no coordination between the propaganda addressing the civil population and the propaganda addressing the troops and other countries. Each department carried out different politics regarding the use of propaganda. This was, probably, why of the 4,221 newspapers and magazines that existed in 1914, 900 disappeared during the following years of the conflict (Ventura, 2010: 522).

As for Portugal, in 1914, similarly to other European countries, in the main cities (Lisbon and Porto) there were several newspapers which were accessible to the general population, and on all those publications war was the central issue. The main reason was, certainly, the fact that the Great War worked as the stage where parties disputed their political divergences from the time of the establishment of the Republic, in 1910. Thus, “the history of the Republic since 1914 is the history of the Great War”⁷⁵¹ (Ramos, 1994).

In terms of what was being published in Portugal and what kind of format was being used, the Portuguese publications followed the pattern and the tendencies of their foreign peers: image was a means to the great end of getting the attention of the major number of people possible. Meaning that photography, drawing, sketches, illustration or caricature became very powerful ways of conveying political messages to the masses, even when censorship was an obstacle to overcome before publication.

3. Portugal – proliferant ground for propaganda

When the war started, the participation of Portugal became a nuclear issue nationwide. Despite the apparent national cohesion towards the subject, different approaches came out from within the Government itself regarding the actions to follow.

It was definitely a divisive issue and those supporting the war had to really commit themselves in order to surpass British resistance and proclaim the importance of national sovereignty and of Portugal itself in the Iberian Peninsula. It was seen as necessary as Spain’s ambiguous position could lead Great Britain to accept the military interference of Spain in Portugal. However, due to the reluctance of Great Britain in terms of Portugal’s participation in the conflict, it was difficult to politically maneuver the country towards the

⁷⁵¹ Free translation: “a história da República desde 1914 é a história da Grande Guerra”.

necessity of a Portuguese military engagement in Europe. Especially once the military were the first to acknowledge the complete lack of preparation and means of the Army to accomplish such great a task.

By the time Bernardino Machado was President, the nomination of Afonso Costa for Head of Government, in November 29, 1915, had one clear purpose: getting Portugal to participate in the war next to its traditional ally, Great Britain. The main worry was then to force the British to accept Portugal as their ally in the battlefield. Moreover, with the national-unity Government – the Sacred Union – supporting the participation of Portugal in the war, and despite the country's complete indifference and repulsion towards the idea of Portugal taking part in it, the Portuguese Government got totally committed to the mission of passing the idea of a jeopardized country in need of keeping its national unity above all things.

From the time Portugal entered the war, the Portuguese Government decided to send special envoys to the fronts. It was then possible to have access not only to the news referring to the events in the front, but also to the daily life of the Portuguese soldiers, namely through the eyes of some reputable authors who were themselves in the ditches together with the CEP.

We will now refer to the three publications which were chosen as examples of the use of means of propaganda of war in the Portuguese journals, before, during and after the Great War.

The magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa*

The magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa* was a weekly journal which was first published in November 9 1903 by the Republican newspaper *O Século*. It had two series: the first had 119 numbers published; the second was a large-scale series of 947 numbers ranging from 1906 to 1924. The director of the second series was Carlos Malheiro Dias, and amongst his contributors were the journalists Alfredo Mesquita and Julio Dantas. When the director emigrated to Brazil, the Direction of the magazine was then handed to J. J. da Silva Graça, a journalist and also the owner of *O Século*. Silva Graça directed the *Ilustração Portuguesa* until 1922.

As from 1906, the magazine reduced its size (28cmx18cm) but doubled its number of pages, of which only 50 percent were allotted to text. On its first three years, the *Ilustração Portuguesa* followed the French model of *L'Illustration*. The structure and design of the magazine which, at this point, were the result of the work of 50 people, resulted then in 24.400 copies “Impressive number bearing in mind the chronic difficulties of the sector”⁷⁵² (Costa, 2000).

Photography became the preferred technique for creating images, turning all drawings into mere adornments of pages and covers, or reproductions of whatever was not possible to photograph. In 1915, photography itself was taking up 70% of the entire magazine. Besides the professional photographers, many amateur photographers participated in the magazine with their works on picturesque Portuguese landscapes.



1-Front cover of *Ilustração Portuguesa* of 30th April 1917 portraying Portuguese soldiers waiting to depart towards France

Image, especially photography, was then looked at as a means of conveying the truth of all information and at the same time, was a sign of modern times, therefore becoming an essential component of most texts. Hence, the photographs of the Portuguese military in the war, played a great role in terms of bringing home the reality lived by those men.

⁷⁵² Free translation: “Número impressionante tendo em conta as crónicas dificuldades do sector.”

Two of the most important men working for *Ilustração Portuguesa* were J. Benoliel (photographer) and António Ferro (writer). Benoliel, published his works between 1906 and 1918 and was one of the photographers with more works published in the magazine. António Ferro, on the other hand, helped the magazine become more competitive abroad.

In spite of not being considered a magazine dedicated to political or social analysis or criticism, all the information on the *Ilustração Portuguesa* defended the position and opinions of the Government. Perhaps because that was the position of most writers, drawers and photographers, the magazine presented a type of propagandistic speech and image, which defended the forces of war and was extremely laudatory when referring to the Portuguese soldier.

As the international community became more committed to the issue of war in Europe, (more) information regarding political and military issues gained crescent visibility in the magazine. Mostly information on the attacks suffered by the Portuguese and by the Allied Forces.



2-Front cover of *Ilustração Portuguesa* of 22th February 1917 portraying a loving farewell.

From the moment of its landing in France, in 1917, the CEP experienced a number of casualties which helped to increase the conspiracy against the Democratic Government. Notwithstanding, the *Ilustração Portuguesa* displayed a type of speech showing solidarity towards the CEP and the participation of Portugal in the war. Benoliel was the author of the cover dated February 12 1917 and named it “a loving farewell” which shows one of the first boarding’s of the CEP to France. Though the magazine did not provide any information regarding the number of departing troops to France, the images of the battalions embarking in Vila Real, Porto, Braga, Mirandela or Régua, showed how extensive the Portuguese participation was and explained the spread of the so called *Festas da Flor*. These were a kind of festivity which raised funds all over the country in order to give them to the families of those who had died, were injured or made prisoners during the war. During the course of the four years of the conflict, and even during the Government of Sidónio Pais, the *Ilustração Portuguesa* always published important and real images of the Portuguese troops, both in the Western front and in the Colonies and kept those images apart from other general news on the conflict like the boarding of the troops, the Portuguese casualties, images of prisoners of war or even the return of the military contingent.

In short, the magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa* offered its readers the conflict through the strength of its photographs. At the same time it highlighted the importance of the Great War in terms of enhancing the country itself and the soldiers who were fighting in the front against German oppression and for freedom, therefore, also trying to legitimize the issue of colonialism.

Portugal na Guerra: revista quinzenal ilustrada

Portugal na Guerra was a seven-issue only magazine, published during the year 1917, between June and December. The journal presented itself as a magazine for and about the men of CEP who fought in the Great War. It was published in France and its director was Augusto Pina. In the opening pages it can be read that the magazine had the "literary collaboration of the most remarkable Portuguese and foreign writers, letters of the leading Captains of the world, and the artistic collaboration of remarkable Portuguese artists".



3-Page with pictures depicting daily working life in the front.

cooperation of individuals and institutions created in Brazil to help the Portuguese soldiers. On the third issue of the magazine, in a text titled "France and Portugal in civilization", the magazine disseminated the idea of Portugal as a French ally and at the same time it criticized the Germans, highlighting the ancient times of Portuguese derring-do.

Along with short texts dedicated to Portugal, there was always the concern, over the seven issues of the magazine, to convey some political and military Portuguese and foreign biographies to the readers. Those biographies would always come along with photos and texts praising the artists' character and any actions taken on behalf of their homeland.

There was another type of text found on the pages of *Portugal na Guerra* and also of highly propagandistic content - although at a first reading it might just seem a description of daily life in the trenches -, and those were the chronicles of daily campaign signed by Captain X. The man behind Captain X was the Portuguese writer André Brun, also a Captain in the front. André Brun also published some pages of his book *Migalhas da Guerra* in the magazine, with episodes from the life in the battlefield. Through Brun's texts, readers could sympathize with the setbacks experienced by soldiers, identify with them and above all, support them.

It is worth mentioning the third issue of *Portugal na Guerra*, where the usual column addressing the readers, explained why the magazine had been suspended for some time, more precisely two months, and that it was due to financial constraints. However, what was more important about this column was that the accolades from France, regarding the magazine, have, despite the constraints, greatly helped the coming back of *Portugal na Guerra*.

In addition to being a way to support the CEP and to promoting the participation of Portugal in the European conflict, the journal *Portugal na Guerra*, gradually became a way of promoting the Portuguese foreign policy, mainly in France. On some of its editions there were texts promoting the economic approach between Portugal and France. Thus, the magazine not only fostered the Portuguese external relations, but also valued the patriotic character internally.

The role played by photographs and illustrations, which have always maintained their brilliant quality, must also be emphasized. Concerning the Portuguese section in the exhibition of the Allied Armies in France it is mentioned in the magazine that:

Image occupied a large part of the magazine and much of its popularity was due to the photographs, illustration and even water-colours which *Portugal na Guerra* offered its readers. The photographers were Arnaldo Garcés, in France and Alfredo Lima, in Portugal.

The structure of the magazine remained almost the same over the first five editions. The number of pages was sixteen and the cover always kept the green background and portraits of presidents or monarchs of the Allied States involved in the European conflict. The first article was invariably a biography and praise of character and deeds of those portrayed in the cover.

José de Bragança, vice editor, signed the two following pages with texts of different kinds but that can be summarized in the expressions of patriotic fervour and acclaim of all those who shared and promoted the participation of Portugal in the European conflict. The first issue of the magazine announced the participation of the CEP in the war and paid tribute to such participation and to all the soldiers who took part in the conflict. The magazine *Portugal na Guerra* paid tribute to several associations, groups and even countries. It commended the Sacred Union, not as a union of parties, but as a national union; Regarding monetary aid it also praised the cooperation, of associations such as the Portuguese Women's Crusade (chaired by the wife of the President of the Republic), or the



4-Front Cover depicting President of the Portuguese Republic decorating a soldier with the Cross of War

"The Portuguese room was much admired because we see in it, and by the direct evidence of the photographs, always precise, what is our effort in the current war. Several newspapers in Paris mentioned our curious and very complete section with praise. Another triumph from our military effort".⁷⁵³

Regarding illustrations, a particular one by Augusto Pina must be highlighted. It was published in the first issue of the magazine, and it depicted a Portuguese flag-bearer. The cover of issue number three, with a three-colour illustration by Ferreira da Costa (enshrined artist in the *Salon de Paris*) is also worth mentioning, with the portrait of the Commander of the CEP, General Tamagnini.

As for the photographs, they showed the reality experienced at the battlefield and the everyday life of the CEP. Photographs also had the dual function of not only displaying the faces of the main leaders and politicians from the Allied countries involved in the conflict, but also of showing a more human side of those men. Especially photos of Norton de Matos or Tamagnini together with their men; or the numerous photos of Bernardino Machado's visit to France; or even the cover of issue number six, featuring the President of the Portuguese Republic decorating a soldier with the Cross of War.

Despite the few numbers published, *Portugal na Guerra* became, at that time, a reference in the international arena, not only in France but also in Brazil, having received a large number of positive reviews and incentives for its continuation.

"Many Parisians and departmental sheets have referred to our publication with praise. And from the principal members of the Portuguese colony in Paris we have also received very kind words of much appreciation. Our publication obtained great success in distant colonies, for among the newspapers that have mentioned our magazine it is worth mentioning a sheet of Tonkin! The Brazilian press refers to us several times and we have seen transcriptions of articles from our magazine in the most read daily newspapers in Rio, São Paulo, Inas and Pará"⁷⁵⁴

However, the last issue was published in December 1917, and there is no written record of the reasons why it happened.

The magazine *A Guerra*

A Guerra was the monthly magazine of the *Liga dos Combatentes da Grande Guerra* (LCGG) (League of the Combatants of the Great War) founded in 1923 and formalized by the Decree n.º 3888, of January 29, 1924. Before analyzing the magazine itself it is important to understand that the statutes of the LCGG referred the objectives of the league, stating, in paragraph 5 of article 2 the main goal "of the country's propaganda abroad, using for this purpose, mainly, the exchange with similar existing associations of different foreign countries"⁷⁵⁵; and in paragraph 2 of article 3 was "expressly forbidden for any associated

to express its political or religious
5-Front cover of one of p 7 "Muitas folhas de
few issues of "A Guerra" dedicated to the
British allies



⁷⁵³ Free translation: No. 6, p 14. "A sala portuguesa foi muito admirada, porque nélla vêmos, e pela directa prova photographica, sempre axacta, qual é o nosso esforço na actual guerra. Varios jornaes de Paris referiram-se com elogio à nossa curiosa e bem completa secção. Mais um triumpho do nosso esforço militar."

⁷⁵⁴ Free translation: No. 7, parisienses e departamentaes se teem referido à nossa publicação com elogio. E dos principaes membros da colonia portuguesa em paris temos igualmente recebido palavras carinhosas de muito apreço. A nossa publicação obteve mesmo um grande sucesso em colonias distantes, porque entre os jornaes que à nossa revista se teem referido destacamos uma folha do Tonkim! A imprensa brasileira cita-nos amiudadas vezes e temos visto transcripções d'artigos da nossa revista nos quotidianos mais lidos do Rio, de São Paulo, de Inas e do Pará"

⁷⁵⁵ Free translation: "de propaganda do país no estrangeiro, servindo-se para este fim, principalmente, do intercâmbio com as associações congéneres existentes dos diferentes países estrangeiros".

creed"⁷⁵⁶. When in January 1, 1926 the magazine *A Guerra* was published as an organ of the LCGG, these and other statutory purposes influenced its content. The magazine was published from January 1926 to December 1931, with an interregnum of three months and a total of 72 numbers.

The magazine lived up to the statutes of the league devoting most of its pages to matters relating to the problems of the combatants: several tributes to those who had fought for their country, often through poetry, photographs or other initiatives such as Iconography of war (article 3 and 5); debate for complaints and suggestions (No.3, p.18); and other reports on the initiatives of the League and the *Comissão dos Padrões da Grande Guerra*. The political non-partisan was always a concern in the pages of the magazine. In paragraph 5 under the title "Mutilated victory" the Direction was clear about the issue: "to undeceive the adventurers and reassure over-cautious people, we declare that the League will, under the new Direction, remain indifferent to the fights of the parties"⁷⁵⁷. After the revolution of May 28, 1926 and in the first edition after an interregnum of three months (no. 8, p. 2), the new Direction reaffirms that "according to our Statute, this magazine and the League it represents, will not have a political idea or a religious creed. It will respect all the combatants' opinions or ideas, because the title of combatant is synonym for patriot and Portuguese hallmark"⁷⁵⁸. However, that concern did not prevent the fact that a few numbers later, the director of *A Guerra*, Sousa Carrusca, decided, in support of the May 28 Movement "to replace the partisan politics by national politics which wants to save the dead homeland," concluding that, "here we are, General, ready to follow you, decided to take up the Posts that you refer, to well serve our country"⁷⁵⁹. And in December 1926 (No. 12, p. 1), the Board regretted "that the Statute of the League does not give us more freedom, to open our heart slowly and vent our soul in a shout of great sorrow for the terrible miseries that come dripping on our Homeland and our race!"⁷⁶⁰.

The great sense embodied in the magazine *A Guerra* was not so much about the political issues that led to the Portuguese participation in the Great War, or the preoccupation with a possibly jeopardized national sovereignty, or even about the role of Portugal in the Peninsula. What was truly conveyed by the pages of *A Guerra* was the feeling of abandonment experienced by all of those who had had to fight in the Flanders and in Africa against their will. A sense of abandonment that existed among the combatants leading to various calls for a fight against the indifference felt and shown by many of the former combatants and by most public opinion regarding war effort.



There was also a sense of loss of the entire "reconstruction" underway in Europe. For example in the first issue of the second year of publication, the Direction regrets "my Portugal of bitterness" referring to Portugal as a "Nation of the Earth stays behind, in this march in celebration, which wants to be stubbornly sad and shameful, a refusal which diminishes and weakens"⁷⁶¹. (n.13, p.1).

The effort made by the LCGG to change those feelings was enormous and it was visible on the pages of *A Guerra*, by the way it valued the Portuguese participation in the Great War. In fact, the magazine *A Guerra* can be considered as one of the vectors of the propaganda campaign of the Republic that according to Telo (2011, 152) started on early 1919 with a huge effort to present the Portuguese belligerence as a great deed, a

victory that proved the sagacity and strategic vision of the Republican leaders, or rather the Republican war-

6- Front cover of the last issue of "A Guerra" in December 1931

⁷⁵⁶ Free translation "expressamente vedado a qualquer associado o manifestar, dentro da mesma, o seu credo político ou religioso".

⁷⁵⁷ Free translation: "para desenganar os aventureiros e tranquilizar as pessoas timoratas, declaramos desde já que a Liga se manterá, sob a nova Direção, absolutamente estranha às lutas dos partidos".

⁷⁵⁸ Free translation: "nos termos do nosso Estatuto, não terá esta revista, e liga que representa, uma ideia política ou um credo religioso. Respeitará todas as opiniões ou ideias dos combatentes nela inscritos, porque título de combatente é sinónimo de patriota e apanágio de portugueses".

⁷⁵⁹ Free translation: "substituir a política partidária pela política nacional alimentando a grande aspiração de salvar a Pátria moribunda"; "aqui estamos, pois, meu general, prontos a segui-lo, decididos a ocupar os postos, que nos indicar, para bem servir a Pátria"

⁷⁶⁰ Free translation: "que o Estatuto da Liga nos não dê mais liberdade, para franca e lealmente abrir o nosso coração e desabafar a nossa alma num grito de grande tristeza, pelas lancinantes misérias que escorrendo vêm sobre a Pátria nossa e nossa Raça!"

⁷⁶¹ Free translation: "Nação da terra fica para traz, nesta marcha em festa, teimando em ser triste e oprobriosa, numa recusa que sangra e que desdoura, que diminui e enfraquece".

supporters.

A Guerra followed the same pattern of the previous two magazines in the sense that its pages were also chosen to convey the idea of the participation of Portugal in the Great War as something to celebrate and praise. Poetry, texts inflamed with patriotism, image and art, especially paintings and drawings were the tools used for that effect. The death of former combatants was often the *leitmotif* for a certain relief of the soul by remembering those heroes and their sacrifices.

In the magazine *A Guerra* the feeling of repulsion towards Portugal's oldest ally – Great Britain – was also recurrent. Throughout the several issues published, the absence of references to the British allies could not be more evident. In spite of the fact that Britain was the country that equipped, armed, trained and tactically supervised the Portuguese Army and, side by side, received the impact of the German offensive of April 1918. The exception made was a letter from Marshal Haig to the Portuguese Legion, in issues 23 and 25, November 1927, published during the visit of the British Fleet to the Tejo River and almost entirely bilingual; and issue 26, dedicated to Marshal Douglas Haig, at the time of his death. However, there were countless references of praise towards the French. One of the Officers of the *Brigada do Minho*, for example, wrote on April 1926, about his personal experience on 9 April 1918, that it had been "the great France, our spiritual mother, the motherland of our racial brothers ..." ⁷⁶²(No. 4, p.15).

A Guerra would end in December 1931 due to "several difficulties" but also "because we were ordered to stop" as the last editor, then director, Eduardo de Faria wrote ⁷⁶³.

4. Final remarks

The magazines *Ilustração Portuguesa*, *Portugal na Guerra* and *A Guerra* were different publications, from different periods, designed for different types of readers but still, they can be said to have had some things in common. Regarding the Portuguese participation in the Great War the techniques used by all of them to disseminate ideals, namely, for advertising for a cause, can be considered to have been mostly the same. These techniques included the use of image, poetry and prose inflamed to the exaltation of sacrifice and heroic deeds by the Portuguese. The official photos of the main Commanders alongside portraits of many combatants, regardless of rank, gave a personal and human character to the reasons why Portugal had to endure so much effort in terms of taking part in the European conflict.

The means of propaganda used by the three magazines were, in fact, efficiently used in terms of : disseminating the key idea of the need to safeguard the national sovereignty and the role of Portugal in the Iberian Peninsula; being a great help regarding the dissemination of the idea of the Allies accepting the national effort (France more than Britain, which supported and maintained that Portuguese effort) during the Portuguese participation in the war; and finally, in the postwar period, when conveying the idea of heroic effort and quality of the Portuguese participation in the Great War.

Similarly to most countries at war, the three Portuguese magazines *Ilustração Portuguesa*, *Portugal na Guerra* and *A Guerra* were a means of propaganda of key ideas that materialized the political options which would mark the European countries during the next few decades and which would also lead to a war of even more dramatic proportions, lined up with the exponential weight that propaganda would have.

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⁷⁶² Free translation: No 4, p.15 " a grande França, a nossa mãe espiritual, a Pátria dos nossos irmãos de raça...".

⁷⁶³ Free translation of "dificuldades várias"; "porque nos mandaram parar".

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Musical propaganda of the Great War

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Introduction

The French musical propaganda during the Great War has been the subject of publications by eminent colleagues Jane Fulcher⁷⁶⁴ in the U.S. and Esteban Buch⁷⁶⁵ in France. Their articles address the issue of the implementation of an embargo on German music in France at the beginning of the Great War before a musical propaganda whose influence extends to the international level during the entire conflict. These writings highlight the actions of politicians and heads of musical institutions of the time and the results of their businesses. However, even if the ideological goals of each other are complex and differ between preservation of musical heritage and affirmation of a nationalist cultural policy, the findings of the two musicologists lead to the same result which is positive. Propaganda bears fruit in raising funds for the benefit of injured while convincing other nations to join the cause of France in the conflict. However, these studies are limited to the music industry "scholar" of this period, whose relations with the political gente are narrow especially since the « Dreyfus affair »⁷⁶⁶. The following article proposes to explore the topic by observing more closely the impact of the dual phenomenon (embargo/propaganda) on the entire French population (civilians and mobilized) compared to other genres : military music, religious and popular.

The application of the embargo on German music and the organization of propaganda of French music.

A measure prohibiting the free movement of goods " embargo " is understandable because it is the setting of a stopcock. However how can we explain the same initiative about music, an intangible asset ? If the French political and musical authorities manage to exclude the German music from concert programs at the beginning of the conflict, how can they expel German music from French spirits ? Public lectures and articles in the press of great composers such as Camille Saint-Saëns and Vincent d'Indy put the German music in the dock. These actions explain, consider (its intrinsic elements : rhythms recalling the walk of military parades, invasive harmonies...) and even amalgamate the violence of some of the works of German repertoire at the vehemence of the enemy. Their arguments are likely to convince the intellectuals and the French bourgeoisie. The French lambda, however, does not attach much importance to this case and find the arguments that can feed its germanophobia in other priority reach. Denigrate the German music in the early twentieth century is a daunting task because Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner or Schuman had largely served the teaching of Western music. Not to mention their influence on the works of European composers. So it is the promotion of French music at the detriment of the German music that will establish the dual phenomenon : embargo/propaganda. At the front, the professional and amateur musicians mobilized do not ask the question : what sort of music should be played in priority ? Unlike what happens in Paris, french musician soldiers don't select the sheet music available to them at the front. And more for many of them, the masters remain masters in the eyes of amateurs and professionals. According to their testimony, Lucien Durosoir and Maurice Maréchal (both members of the « Quartet Mangin⁷⁶⁷ ») play at the front, quartets of Beethoven⁷⁶⁸, François Gervais⁷⁶⁹ plays sonatas of Schubert and Georges Duhamel (the future academician) learns to play the flute with the cantatas Bach. The researches of Stephan Patin show how musicians and composers not mobilized

⁷⁶⁴ Jane F. Fulcher, *Concert and political propaganda in France in the early twentieth century*, Translated by Marie-Pierre Gavian in *Annals, History, Social Sciences*. Indiana University, 55th year, N. 2, 2000. p. 389-413.

⁷⁶⁵ Esteban Buch, « Les Allemands et les Boches : la musique allemande à Paris pendant la Première Guerre mondiale », in *Le Mouvement Social*, 2004/3, p. 45-69.

⁷⁶⁶ Gaetano Manfredonia, *La chanson anarchiste en France des origines à 1914*, l'Harmattan, 1997.

⁷⁶⁷ "The Quartet Mangin" is the orchestra of the General Headquarters, the quartet created by General Mangin supporting initiatives concerts in front. Violinist Lucien Durosoir, violist André Caplet, cellist Maurice Maréchal Henri Lemoine and Henri Magne will turn piano quartet.

⁷⁶⁸ Durosoir Lucien (1878-1955) violinist, performer and composer Maurice Maréchal (1892-1964), a concert cellist, both friends and fellow composer André Caplet who lead during the war the famous quartet Mangin. *Deux musiciens dans la Grande Guerre*, Lucien Durosoir et Maurice Maréchal, Paris, Tallandier éditeur, 2005.

⁷⁶⁹ François Gervais (1885-1956), cello concertist, soloist of the Concerts Lamoureux, a friend of Maurice Maréchal.

can't fault their colleagues committed to the front who play German music⁷⁷⁰. It seems legitimate to all allow these brave soldiers who defend the homeland, some ethical or political exemptions. While in the civil, musicians and composers are struggling to reveal to the public any defects of German music and make every effort to prevent its spread on French soil, musicians mobilized do not feel concerned or by almost debate.

To better understand how the propaganda of French music will supplant aspired blockade on German music, we now observe the works composed in the civil and those created at the front. Thus we will be able to obtain a significant reflection of the importance of these occasional works in this propaganda. As a reminder, the declaration of war had led to an immediate closure of theaters and concert halls, which was lifted after the Battle of the Marne in November 1914. From this date are organized by the Parisian orchestras, charity concerts for the benefit of soldiers (in the civil and rural hospitals) as well as tours abroad to promote French music and invite other nations to join the French army in the conflict.

The circumstances works created in the civil

First, we can not ignore the musical compositions created by the composers or not mobilized musicians. They are interpreted far from the front to civilians and wounded soldiers. The proceeds are donated to the victims or sometimes participate in financing the war effort. However, participation in charity concerts and solidarity gives many composers the opportunity to play their music and the French school as a whole benefits from the exclusion of German music. "National mornings" founded by « l'Œuvre fraternelle des artistes », producing concerts in the great amphitheater of the Sorbonne, performed by the orchestra of the Conservatoire, where alternate poetry (patriotic readings Déroulède, Daudet, Hugo, Peguy between other) music (Franck, Magnard and Saint-Saëns for the first concert on November 29, 1914)⁷⁷¹. The national anthems of the Allies open and close events. The Sorbonne also welcomes companies Concerts Colonne-Lamoureux, the first sessions were devoted to Berlioz and Franck, the third to composers under arms or died for their country, including F. Schmitt and A. Magnard but also new features, including the work of Lili Boulanger, *Pour les funérailles d'un soldat* and the *Berceuse Héroïque* of Debussy⁷⁷². While the latter since the beginning of the war was not favorable to the fact that his music is performed in public until the fate of France was not decided, the composer created his first works of circumstances at the end of the year 1914⁷⁷³. Scores of the *Berceuse Héroïque* (1913) and *Pièce pour le vêtement du blessé* (1914, published in France in 1915 by Durand) are included alongside those of composers such as Massenet and other contemporary rallied to the cause⁷⁷⁴. The publication of these works is the first contribution to the war effort of the master. The war inspired him thereafter as other works, *Noël des enfants qui n'ont plus de maison* (December 1915) and *l'Ode à la France* (1916), a patriotic cantata with lyrics by Laloy. Finally in 1917, Debussy dedicated to the memory of Lieutenant Jacques Chariot, nephew of the publisher Durand, killed in action some time before the second piece of *En blanc et noir*, inspired Ballad against the enemies of France of Villon. Reflecting the work of Ravel *Le tombeau de Couperin*, this type of work that pays tribute to lost loved ones can maintain their memories but also a way to do the grief of those who mourn.

Meanwhile, the military music is no exception. The composers of military music perform musical works for the whole community, soldiers and civilians. In November 1915 at the Comédie française, is organized exceptional morning to the heroes of the air. In the program is written the first hearing of *La Victoire de la Marne*, which is a symphony of G. Balay (1871-1943). The work is performed by the music of the Republican Guard under the direction of the composer, orchestra which he is also the chef⁷⁷⁵. Alexandre Courtade (1872-1951) solo trumpet music of the Republican Guard consists *La fourragère du Poilu*, march for band trumpets and bugles, *Le Gourbi* which is a double step march requiring the same instrumental forces and *L'inconnu*, which is a funeral march⁷⁷⁶. The son of composer and editor Bajus Zephyr, Louis Bajus (1896-1940), created the *Gai retour*. Sometimes the marches that inspire composers (of classical music) as the most famous Saint-Saëns with his *Marche interalliée*, Alexandre Georges with *En route* and Jacques de la Presle (1888-1969) with *Chantez* (1916) and *Chantez* (1917).)⁷⁷⁷. *La Française, Chant héroïque de la Grande Guerre*, is a war

⁷⁷⁰ Stephan Patin, *La musique française et la Première Guerre mondiale, une contribution à l'étude des attitudes du corps musical dans la nation en guerre*, thesis in musicology under the direction of P. Guillot Paris Sorbonne, 1990.

⁷⁷¹ Esteban Buch, « Les Allemands et les Boches » op. cited, p. 52.

⁷⁷² S.-A. Leterrier « Culture de guerre et musique nationale. La musique française dans la Grande Guerre », in *Chefs-d'œuvre et circonstances*, (dir. P. Mercilloux), Departmental Archives of the Pas-de-Calais, Arras, 2000, p. 23.

⁷⁷³ See <http://www.archive.org/stream/kingalbertsbook> and <http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/03ChronologyTP.htm>

⁷⁷⁴ As Edward Elgar, Edward German et Pietro Mascagni. See <http://www.onyxclassic.com/pressrom/ONYX4028.pdf>

⁷⁷⁵ See <http://vads.ahds.ac.uk/large.php?uid=27536>

⁷⁷⁶ See <http://www.delabellepoqueauxanneesfolles.com/repertoire%20autre.htm>

⁷⁷⁷ See the page offered by Corisande Evesque page, granddaughter of Jean de la Presle on the site :

anthem composed in 1915 by Camille Saint-Saëns and the poet Miguel Zamacoïs at the request of the newspaper *Le Petit Parisien*⁷⁷⁸.

Forward against the treachery of bandits without honor, faith. Allies motto "justice and right."

The chorus of this *Française* clearly shows the position of the authors and on the published score is inscribed the words : animated walking motion. *À la France immortelle ! Credo !* of Alexandre Georges, in 1917, offers a masterful illustration of the combination of religious and patriotic faith. These works leave the impression that their authors take virtually weapons to get started. It is to kick out the enemy, obviously by a spiritual way. However when it comes to music that complain the victims of war, composers of liturgical music sometimes fall into a rather bland pathos as revealed by the title of a song by Alexandre Georges on a poem by Maurice Gauchez : *Une femme, petite chose pâle au fond du soir de Flandre*, whose sentimentality is touching⁷⁷⁹. We should also mention the song *Des fleurs et non des pleurs...* of Xavier Leroux on a poem by P. de Choudens published during the year 1917, the title of which is a weak pun somewhat discredits the authors⁷⁸⁰. Other less famous composers, such as Henri Augé (1888-1966), part of their repertoire of composers mark the passage of this war. This artist is one of those local musicians with multiple musical talents, composers limited but prolific reputation. In 1914, he composed his circumstances work at Le Touquet : *La chute du beffroi*. The lyrics of this song, dedicated to the victims of Arras, remember the fire and fall of belfry of Arras were sorely felt, with a comparable intensity that caused by fire in the cathedral of Reims⁷⁸¹. But the production of works of music can not escape the fact exaggerations as evidenced by a letter to Romain Rolland in which he refers to the "Kolossal" *Hymne des Alliés* of Paul Dupin, work for a period of fifty minutes that requires two thousand performers.

There are all in there : choirs, marching bands, " lightning, horrors, cheers ", sacred dances, carnivals, medley, choirs, organ, harmony, and finally *La Brabançonne*, harmonized by all the hymns of the Allies, plus four other sub- songs⁷⁸².

In 1918 after four years of a war that drags on, they are works that evoke the hope that composers strive to achieve because the general order word is that we must hold on... Finally instead, the approach of the armistice they are works prophetically announce the victory and the upcoming return of peace. The *Choral (Justorum animae in manu Dei sunt)* in 1918, of Jacques Ibert inspires contemplation and prayer, however, the final suggests a quick and successful end to the conflict. Guillaume Balay even anticipates the issuance of Alsace and Lorraine, scoring to his repertoire of the hymn *La victoire en chantant*⁷⁸³. This year Camille Saint-Saëns composed two works *Vers la victoire* (1918) on a poem by P. Fournier and *Hymne à la Paix*, a poem by J. L. Faure, for choir and orchestra. If the works of circumstances arising in the civil during the conflict, which reflect an aesthetic stagnation where merge musical genres and a thousand ways to express feelings, they allow us to follow with the music the chronology of the war. It is the same for works created at the front. It is important to note that after the emergence of the phenomenon of music at the front then its establishment, this art reports the news of the conflict.

The circumstances works created at the front

During this war, some occasional works are composed near the battle by professional of classical music, popular, religious and military. The composers are mobilized to the task and give account of facts or feelings experienced. All orders of music for orchestra (military or not) will punctuate the happy and unhappy events of the conflict. The officers asked the competent musicians to compose heroic marches or hymns for the regiments who have distinguished themselves, and the music of mourning and Masses for the dead soldiers.

<http://www.musimem.com/images/JDP.pdf>

⁷⁷⁸ See the article on the biography of Camille Saint-Saëns on the website : <http://www.musimem.com/saint-saens.htm>.

⁷⁷⁹ Moreover Debussy quickly regrets the popular success that his *Christmas children who have no home*. The simplicity of his opus afflicts and composer considers the composition like a sentimentality. See *Culture de guerre et musique nationale*, S.-A. Leterrier, op. cited, p. 65.

⁷⁸⁰ *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires*, 1917, N° 1793, p. 403- 404.

⁷⁸¹ *Culture de guerre et musique nationale*, S.-A. Leterrier, op. cited, p. 55.

⁷⁸² Choice of letters Romain Rolland to his mother, 1914-1916, Romain Rolland Notebook No. 20, (Letter of January 13, 1915) Albin Michel, 1971, p. 74.

⁷⁸³ See The press release by Benoît Saulin, assistant to the Musical Department of the Army Museum. The PDF document available online and accessible with a search engine with the entry : Army Museum-Corélia.

This is the first book of commissioned works. Meanwhile, musicians mobilized who resumed their interpreters activity at the front, gradually regain their creative inspiration. Composers and musicians then write spontaneous works on various topics. In this parallel directory, musical genres and content differ because recipients vary. It is difficult to date precisely the musical creations of composers at the front because there are many possible confusion between the time of completion of the work and that of its public execution. However, they emerge from the month of December 1914⁷⁸⁴. It only took a few months to composers mobilized to back to work. Their situation at the front inspires or not, they are in a position that motivates their creative work, for two main reasons. Following the events of the chronology of the war, these are near the first major casualties and the pain of those who mourn that inspire composers⁷⁸⁵. Then, when the French army raises its head and win its first battles, heroic marches are composed, that which consist in calling on the patriotism of the regiments. This period of history inspires a few composers who write in a martial style as *Les jeunes lauriers* of Reynaldo Hahn (1915), orchestrated by Leonce Chomel, the *Marche du 163ème régiment d'infanterie* of Florent Schmitt (1916), which is a dedication the regiment⁷⁸⁶ or *Le Cri de guerre de la 6e Division d'Infanterie*, composed by Jacques La Presle on a poem by René Dorin, who was given the first time the army June 30, 1915 by the 119 th Infantry Regiment, to Aix-Noulette (Pas-de-Calais)⁷⁸⁷. But when the « theater to the armies » is created in 1916, the types of compositions multiply and merge. Depending opportunities, composers must add to the two types of works mentioned above, others that may be some tunes, dances, songs, and even operettas. Finally, the type of compositions that generally conforms to the stage shows.

At the front, the career of composer Joseph Boulnois (choir director at the Opéra-Comique and organist of the great organ of Saint-Louis d'Antin) is one example among many that illustrates the existence led by the artist engaged in war as well as the influences affecting the works of the designer in this new environment. During the five years of war, the organist composer rather specializes in sacred music and now became sergeant nurse, compose at the front during the few moments of rest that the war wants to give him. Despite his situation, he managed to compose liturgical pieces, melodies, songs, suites for cello and piano but also humorous pieces such as his *Hymne à Bacchus* and his suite *Musette et Bidon*. During this period, he wrote the most important works of his career, he treats genres mingle over time. And life at the front does not inspire him as compositions of sacred music and as it appears in the directory, derision soldiery can coexist with more solemn works.

Two parameters lead composers mobilized to carry out these blends genres in their repertoire. The first is the need to meet the strong demand for creation. The second is that the composers of classical music, popular, religious or military, are close and that collaboration between specialists from different genres are brought to unite for a good cause. Thus the *Annales Politiques et Littéraires*⁷⁸⁸ publish during the year 1917 *Les gars d'Mangin (à nos chers camarades de la V^e division du groupement Mangin)*, the music of this hymn is André Caplet and words of Th. Botrel⁷⁸⁹. Nobody would have imagined such an association between the first Prix de Rome and the Breton popular singer. However, Caplet also collaborates with composers of military music. He composed in 1916 *Douaumont – Marche héroïque de la V^{ème} division*, which is orchestrated by Guillaume Balay. In 1918 the reverse happens. The *Hymne de la délivrance* of Guillaume Balay is orchestrated by André Caplet. And as revealed in the writings of L. Durosier collaborations between the master of the art music and musicians of the French army are conducted in a very natural way.

In both directories created at the back and the front the scholar, military and religious genres mingle. The expression of feelings too. Faith, patriotism and desire to win are the main themes. Obviously, the content of all these works is a constant reminder that France is a country that defends its artistic and intellectual values, bidding fights bravely against an enemy invasion is illegitimate. However generally for the creators of these works, the priority is given to the assertion of French identity and artistic rather than discredit the Germanic culture.

⁷⁸⁴ (...) "Fernand Halphen in Brény wrote on the front line, December 25, 1914 a *Christmas* for flute and organ of a recklessness that would mention the proximity of the fighting. "(...) See the press release of Benoît Saulin, op. cited.

⁷⁸⁵ See http://www.musicologie.org/Biographies/h/hahn_reynaldo.html et aussi le site : <http://andre-caplet.fr>

⁷⁸⁶ *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires* during the year 1915, N° 1686.

⁷⁸⁷ As the *Chanson Poilues* et une *Suite en sol* pour quatuor à cordes (1917). Cf. <http://www.musimem.com>.

⁷⁸⁸ The review consists of texts signed by prestigious names in the literary community, comments and chronicles written by Yvonne Sarcey. In 1907, Yvonne Sarcey founded the University of the Annals that the quality of his lectures, added much to the reputation of the Annals which in 1917 drew nearly two hundred thousand copies.

⁷⁸⁹ Jean-Baptiste-Théodore-Marie Botrel, popular singer, songwriter French (1868-1925). It will retain its patriotic songs during the Great War. *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires*, 1917, N°1758, p. 192.

The reclamation in the press of musical activities at the front

In the civil, the press tells and incenses the musical activities, that emerge in this war of position. It is full of praise for the musicians who beyond their role as fighters animate the troops with music during moments of rest granted by the war. Taking advantage of public affection for artists mobilized, columnists detail their qualities and emphasize the importance of their involvement in the conflict. They also recall the heroic deeds which musicians participated in historic battles and tend to remove from the minds of readers, the idea that artists do not have their place at the front. But the press did not just make an apology of the music and musicians, it wrongly publishes some staging of music it produces. Journalists exaggerate situations in which music played an epic role.

"Thus died a simple farmer, the bugle Louis Richer, number 10518, brought to the agenda as follows: As bugle-call in a position responsible for giving the warning "gas", performed its mission in an attack with a magnificent disregard for danger and rang until he fell exhausted reached by the gas".⁷⁹⁰

Then when the events described are not ones illustrated with photographs, the publications ask to professionals some drawing that recall the pathetic tables of Géricault (Fig. 1)

Fig. 1 : "The bugle Marcel Schmidt, who had lost his arm by a shell, took his instrument in his left hand and continues to sound the charge." (Drawing Damelans), *Le Pèlerin*, N°2015, novembre 1915, p. 8.

Moreover, in this purview, the sources are to be handled with some caution because the too categorical judgments are likely to distort the facts regarding the "sound" of that time. The photographic image that follows (Fig. 2) allows us to say that the vision of German music soldiers by the French press is a little impartial.

This photograph strongly suggests that the German soldiers musicians do not have a lot of imagination (see the horn replaced by a watering can) and they are ridiculous with their music at the front. However, it should be noted that at that time, German "brass" (the performers of brass wind instruments) are the best in Europe. The group of musicians in this situation is quite serious because it takes a great technique of embouchure for use a watering can as "horn" and maintain a matching tune to the rest of the orchestra.

⁷⁹⁰ *Les Annales Politiques et Littéraires*, N°1726, 1916, volume 2, p. 103.

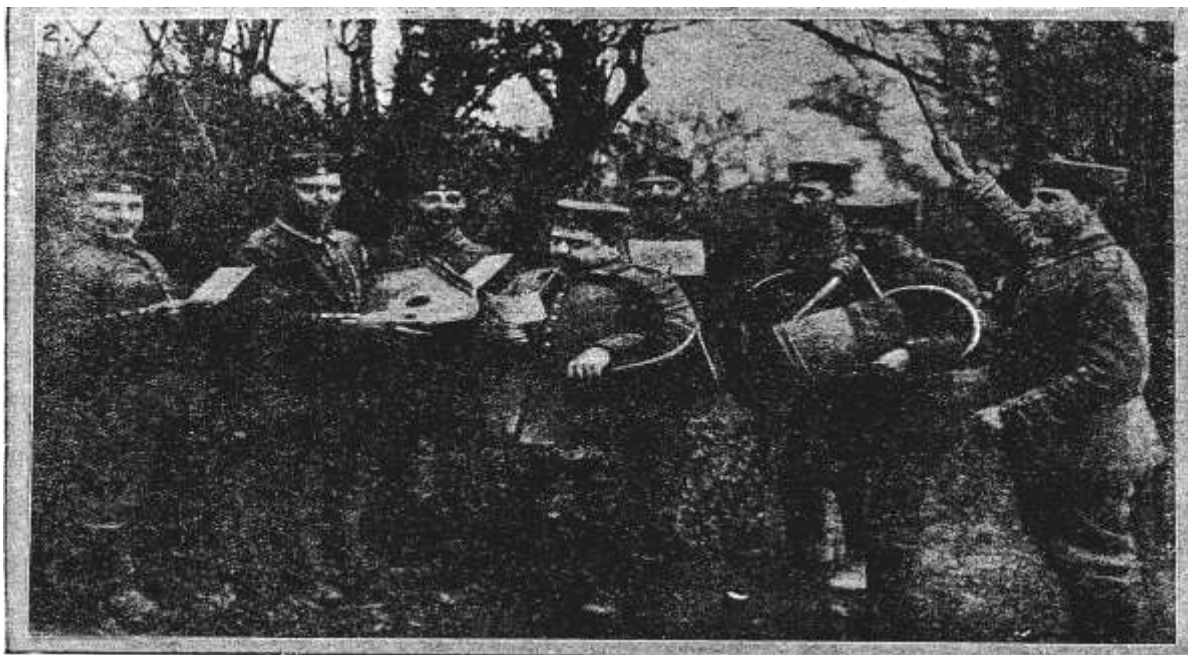


Fig. 2 : "The Germans have fun out of the reach of our guns." *Le Pèlerin*, N° 1997, p.12.

Unfortunately, from exaggeration to the fomented lie, there is only a short distance that journalists are quick to take. Through the war diary of F. Gervais, we found a trick without common measurement organized by the press. Indeed, the concertist evokes a concert organized with his friends outdoors, for the « Sainte Barbe » (at the beginning of December in the calendar). In his personal effects we found a photograph taken during the day. On the picture the cellist appears well with other fellow musicians (Fig. 3)⁷⁹¹. F. Gervais made it clear in his war diary the date and place of the concert by stating that for the opportunity, press photographers were present.



Fig. 3: Photograph of a group of musicians from the 313th Infantry Regiment. F. Gervais is located at the extreme right. Sainte Barbe 1915, personal photograph of F. Gervais appeared in *Le Miroir* Sunday, January 2, 1916.

⁷⁹¹ François Gervais, War Diary (1914-1919), transcribed for the PhD in musicology, Eric Sauda (2010) : François Gervais musician Front from 1914 to 1919. Affirmation of identity, social and artistic dir. Mr. Alten, University Paris Sorbonne (2010). The original text is preserved along with the photographic image of F. Gervais contained in his personal effects in the funds of the Historial de la Grande Guerre in Péronne (Somme 80), France.

Carefully poring Press published around the date of delivery, we finally found the photograph of our character, published in the weekly *Le Miroir* 2 January 1916 (Fig. 4). However, in his diary, F. Gervais noted that this day was quiet and precisely thanks to this respite, the band took advantage of this lull in fighting, for a very enjoyable musical moment. So the next day, the enemy giving them an extension to the truce, these musicians have returned to play in these places. But the press provides a deformation that fact.



Fig. 4 : *Le Miroir* 2 January 1916.

It offers two shots : the first representing the orchestra playing and the second placed just below shows the location where the musicians were playing, empty of its occupants. On the last shot, we can see white stains supposed to be artillery explosions. In fact after specialist advice, it turns out that this picture has been tampered with⁷⁹². The illusion is perfect and the caption says: *Artists played in front of their battery: they had to leave the floor to let the cannon talk.*

The staging photographic propagandists, are numerous during the First World War. For example, we should mention this photograph taken by members of the Red Cross for the weekly *Le Pelerin* (then taken up in *Lecture pour tous* N ° 2020) reveals an organized masquerade (Fig. 5). We can see from the photograph that follows a band of military music that simulates a repetition outdoors.

⁷⁹² In fact, the stains were performed during development of the picture blowing in some places with a straw on the developer product, according to Yazid Medmoun, official photographer of the Historial Peronne who is the author of numerous photographs contained in *Encyclopedia of the Great War 1914-1918*, edited by J. J. Becker and S. Audouin-Rouzeau, Bayard, 2004.



Fig. 5 : "Drums, Bugles, Music Head" *Lectures pour tous*, March 15, 1916.

The musicians are ridiculed because afflicted with gas masks, they can not under any circumstances play their instrument. Once again journalists are striving to make the reader believe that the music of the French army and the joviality of soldiers can resist weapons of their opponents and even gas⁷⁹³. But these small deceptions seem to have only one aim: to demonstrate the interest of patriotic music and its saving effect on French soldier morale. Yet civilians, press readers are greatly relieved to discover through articles and published photographs, that the soldiers who defend the nation hold good. Taking into account the interest of readers to the musical life close combat, journalists highlight the fact that during their time off, the French soldiers are creative, they compete imagination and are especially not idle or aimless soldiers.

Conclusion

The musical activities at the front by the French soldiers become the guarantor of maintaining the morale of the troops with the arrogant and chauvinistic demonstration of a form of resistance to the enemy. The general idea is to avoid, after invasion, to be culturally robbed by the enemy. So the propaganda of French music will send the same slogan to all civilians and mobilized French. Hammering the same message in this case music, spread the music and French invading spirits. It is to galvanize the patriotism of French at all costs and this will extend to the far borders. But the dual phenomenon embargo/propaganda is more the excessive promotion of French music that will create the blockade on the German music desired rather than the reverse.

However it is more second-tier players such as intellectuals, politicians or journalists who ostracize the German rather than the protagonists of the music business : French composers and musicians. The former want the blockade of German music in order to preserve the French culture footprint enemy while the second advantage of the situation to advance their own productions of "French manufacturing." Proof that music and musicians are not so handy as it seems.

⁷⁹³ The photographs of musicians took at the front and press reports between 1914 and 1918, are innumerable and, in all publications : daily, weekly, monthly, of all kinds: specialized press releases to all media for children ...

WOMEN IN SPANISH POSTER. ICONOGRAPHY OF AN ADVERTISEMENT REVOLUTION

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Today, every paper about contemporary arts or aesthetics should rest, particularly and beyond whatever is purely formal, on the causes for the further development of these works.

This means that it will always be necessary to appraise what explanations may help to understand, in the case we are dealing with, the thematic and representative evolution of female shape in Spanish poster related to the female universe. In other words, it should address the reasons that explain the set of advertising works both the billboards for the female and the billboards starring by herself, which were produced in three key moments in the history of Spain in the 1930s and 1940s: the Second Republic, the Civil War and the fascist dictatorship of Francisco Franco.

It is our goal to show the visual disparity of the image of women from a critical and accurate analysis of the different events that took place in Spain, and that have produced a radical change in the moral and aesthetic vision of the feminine. Following this strict timeline, we will show the consecutive antagonisms of this representation, on the social, political and symbolic sphere.

Several studies have associated, with the necessary reservations, the Spanish Republican poster with the Soviet Union posters. It is true that, in large measure, the leaders of the republican side are associated with the Soviet visual mechanisms, which has to do with the ideological equivalences between the social and political revolution in the USSR and what the Spanish Republic promised for after the war. The purely social character of both posters also encouraged the sharing of compositional formulas and text.

The fascist poster, for the time being, does not offer a link so directly related to their ideological European references and the military regime that was established in areas gained during the war did not use the poster as a first order mean of propaganda. This differentiates the so copious relation between ethics and aesthetics of other fascist or philo-fascist dictatorships. This demonstrates, by itself, the low importance that Franco and who headed the armed uprising granted to popular opinion.

The Francoist poster during the war was directed mainly to the elements of the basic necessities —food— and left on the sidelines any explicit reference to ideology beyond the topic “neither a house without fire, nor a Spaniard without bread”, coined by Franco himself. Moreover, the mass media (press and radio), were quickly controlled by the military uprising, which made the poster was considered unnecessary. All this serves, then, to understand the almost total absence of women-shape at the initial national-syndicalist ideology and subsequent national-Catholicism.

The issue of women, mainly theorized by feminism, come from occupations designated according to the gender. The woman, both in the Republic and in Dictatorship and also during the intermediate civil war, will remain —in that organization— responsibility for family stewardship and for the home, regardless of the degree of freedom that every time she come to achieved from her husband. Both the woman, liberal Republican or Catholic Francoist, are always responsible for ensuring the healthy development of the family.

This reality compels us always to distinguish between political theory and its practice, particularly regarding the ideology of the left, because the theory of women’s right —if there is such thing— wanted just maintaining the status quo.

On the other hand, in general, socialism and communism in Spain paid little attention to women’s issues at that time. Consequently, the advancement in the rights of females was scarce and usually its materialization was almost nil, given that froze on the way to their legislative drafting and, at best, were quickly buried by the new legislation of national-Catholic inspiration after the war.

Republic. Opening and kidnapping of female issue.

It has been considered that the proclamation of the Second Republic in Spain brought a strong advance for the consideration of women beyond their purely reproductive role, both in the physical (sexual reproduction) and in terms of the reproduction of the conditions that made possible the preservation of the status quo.

It is true that during the short Second Republic existed the climate and political will to end the social obstacles —not exclusively on feminine theme— that had accumulated during the reign of Alfonso XIII, but we should take into account that, after all, the changes were neither as radical as it was thought nor as deep as necessary.

The wording of the draft republican Constitution, held by Luis Jimenez Asúa, was preferably cautious to address the conflict between the sexes and was only due to the presence of congresswoman Clara Campoamor and their protests that the article has been corrected to look like this: “can not be the basis of legal privilege nature, affiliation, gender, social class, wealth, ...” [Article 25].

The political will existed, therefore, but it should take care in developing general normatives, which led to legislation touching the woman question, at best, in a purely lateral way through a multitude of legal changes that affected the family and, thereby, to the woman. In the end, the recognition of civil marriage, the suspension of the offense of adultery applied only to women, the right to the *parens patria* for women and the right to paternity investigation and recognition of natural children, were nothing that changes in the general state the dependency of women in relation to her husband. Moreover, the creation of mixed schools, the abolition of the so-called “domestic matters” in the educational curriculum since the Moyano Law of Education of 1857, or the incorporation of women in labor vacancies on merit and without regard to sex, as well as the theoretical assimilation in wages allowed women, where there were applied, reaching a level of social recognition that encouraged the end of sexual reification that had been submitted by the ideological regime of confessional right.

In any case, the policy of recognition of female issue was exercised by men, due to the absence of a feminist movement strongly implanted. Hence the legislative changes adopted by progressive parties that supported the Republic had a little social impact. The divorce law of 1932, for example, brought no sudden change of marital relations, as feared militant confessional. Before the contrary, sexist education which lasted until 1931 made that the women themselves had rejected massively use that right. Not only that, right parties positioned against immediately. The CEDA —confederation of Catholic parties— immediately included derogation of this law in its political program, and the Catholic Church, so majoritarian in the country and with a social presence far above any political party included in their sermons multitude of warnings against divorce in line with canonical Vatican law.

The same is true with the right to vote. Militated against him not only the clerical sector and right, as well as most of the left, even if for different reasons. For the right, the political woman could produce discord within the holy couple, for the left, the woman lacked independence from religious groups and women’s suffrage was tantamount to putting in immediate danger the advancement of the Republic in the separation of Church and State. But more importantly was the confrontation between the women themselves.

These examples allow us to conclude two main ideas. First, that the political effort specifically aimed at overcoming the subjugation of women just managed during the Second Republic, only was able to enact divorce and suffrage laws. Second, both these laws as those relating to the family which, laterally, had to do with the social role of women and intimate, in fact impacted only very superficially in everyday life of women. The result was that, in general, they continued submitted, in economic sphere, to the man’s wage and, in the occupational sphere, to home and children care.

Thus, is not strange that in Republican poster of the pre-war is almost impossible to crawl any occurrences of a new representation of women as her new legal status, as was said, had very little practical effect. Of the few cases that have existed is what we will deal further.

It is true that the new Republican legislation would allow sat, in the collective consciousness, the bases for educational independence of woman from the man — and when we talk about education we are not only

referring to regular education, as well as the set of social norms and customs that, changing slowly, appeared to normality for generations to come. Even so, the changes were certainly slow, and the graphic advertising kept up with society. It is: it kept, at the outset, the assumption of sexual segregation that only very slowly started the process of dilution in which today we women are immersed.

Specifically, around the first decade of the century, the occurrence of women in advertisements related to books or encyclopedias was reduced to allegory, as can be seen in messages that redounded traditional female occupations, with slogans like “Woman, the family doctor.” [Fig. 1] The trend continued in effect during the Republican time, although the modification of normative education. The fact that the law collected new considerations for the female did not mean that, from night to day, publicists returned to work to eliminate all sexist formulation of advertising.

During the biennium of the Azaña government (1936-39), teaching has become a serious political conflict. The claim to the secularize, as well as to unify schools divided by gender collided head-on with the ideas of right and clergy and radicalized both positions. Therein begins the production of posters commissioned by the Ministry of Public Instruction and the Federación Española de Trabajadores de la Educación [Spanish Federation of Teachers], such those produced for the campaign titled *War against illiteracy* [fig. 2]. Although in this example the messages do not make any explicit reference to female, the woman appears represented in various posters, exercising her new right to a unified education, without gender division. And that, by itself, constitute a clear breakthrough, even though its reduced range.

Another of the main scenarios, along with the educational, was labor issue. Statistics show that the incorporation of women to the Spanish labor markets was very late compared to the rest of the industrialized countries of Europe and America, under two premises: first, the difference in intellectual and professional preparation leveraged by traditional sexist education; second place, the inability of labor market to take, quantitatively, the massive entry of women in work outside the family dwelling.

In 1930, there were 6.5 million families in Spain. Women were responsible for domestic work in about 5 million. The female labor force was that year 24% of total assets, and in that percentage, 80% were widows or singles with no dependents. Still, in this 24% of salaried women, approximately two out of three had a temporary employment contract or were part of domestic service, while in the other third of the total, 82% were skilled workers in the textile sector.

Indeed, the moral imperative forced woman to procreation and limited, thus, its continuation in the labor market. Having reached this point, a single worker should retire to devote to the care of the family because they lacked laws which shelter maternity/paternity permissions.

On the other hand, advances in employment law during Republic time, cannot decreased social burden on women. The law of civil marriage and divorce law, both of 1932, just like the law of suffrage, the recognition of the right of association and syndication, the eight-hour workday, or the law of Sunday rest—which was not applied in domestic service sector, of course— had a minor impact on the labor conditions of women, which in practice retained its social role with some improvement very timely, as the establishment of a period of breastfeeding and other actions geared for minimal and precarious reconciliation of work and family life, with formulas such as might be seen in figure 3: “Mother, work happy! The Ministry of Education looks after your children.”

The absence of posters crying for improvements in social and laboral conditions of women demonstrates, first, the absence of powerful feminist organizations like existed in other European countries, where these improvements progressed at much more promising speeds. And second, that in general, the political parties of the left and the worker unions, not focused on the problem of women with any concrete propagandistic effort: their posters were directed to the entire population, without any positive discrimination.

At that time, the appearance of women in political laborist or labor themed poster—beyond their victimization as alleged “weaker sex”— will be in the company of man, at best. At rest, the woman will be deleted considering that the male body is representative of the whole social—especially when this set is the working class, consisting mainly of men.

The third major sphere of appearance of the woman in the poster is that of familiar thematic, where traditionally it had appeared as a caregiver. According to the customary role of women, is in the family where

she undergoes “voluntarily” through procreation. The modernization that the Republic leveraged in this sphere, especially with the advancement of the parties of the left and the fall of the center and right, provided new opportunities, but changes were not evident in the short span of eight years, the last three of which were of bitter civil war.

Women who come forward, because her age, to require provision of the necessary advances, had yet received an State instruction and a moral education directed by the clergy, and her profile was more inclined to this pre-subjugation than to the promise that the left, anarchism and trade unions represented in the prelude of the democratic state — a promise for now, hard concretion in the short term. There were many women who reacted and rebelled against the legal advances that promoted various governments about the status of women, reaching even to the point of contradicting the existence of the problem, on balance the problem of abandonment of children and the destruction of family balance as an argument.

On the other hand, if the opinion of the woman had been disregarded by the majority of political forces until the proclamation of the Republic in 1931, with the access to female suffrage (1932) there was no doubt of the need to organize politically this remnant population. That is when they start running new political devices, both the left and the right. Initially, the female membership presents a astounding quantum leap. In 1930 it stood at around 35,000 affiliated in Catholics unions, for only 18,000 affiliated in the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT). In 1936, under the slogan ‘equal work, equal pay’, the UGT brings together more than 100,000 women, and the number grows also in the anarchist union: the CNT.

On the right, after the disaster of the Patriotic Union, the association Aspiraciones reaches 5,000 affiliated and female union Acción Católica (Catholic Action) reaches 38,000 members to go through the territory of the state to continue with the work of Catholic indoctrination that had been swept of public instruction, and to spearhead protests against the secularization of the state. For this, they schools reject unified, schools; they created parallel high schools, they signed petitions, they collect funds for religious order, are they boycotted republican stores and widespread in the press the religious and anti-communist message.

Aid and trench vs. disappearance of woman

In reviewing the few instances of women as figure in posters during the Civil War (1936-1939), both in front and in the rear war, it appears immediately two divergent conceptions about their social role.

In defense of a national-syndicalist Spain, which reserves ideologically the same woman role that had been usual, and that is the one which also will play for the national-Catholicism, the woman breaks the short way they walked by the republican poster and takes its traditional position. Rather, in defense of a democratic Spain, the woman appears in two registers: as victim of the fascist invader or as active combatants along with the man. To the left, although these two records, we are talking about the same woman, like uniform concept, the protagonist in the front and in the resistance.

The war was responsible for the biggest transformation of the role of women these years. A transformation that was much deeper than that leveraged by the Popular Front (a coalition of the radical left) during its short term in government. Was the need for female support in the fight against the fascist military uprising which led the leftist political parties to recognize clearly the ability of women to participate and even to command a state department. The possibility of doing so had been already included in the Constitution, but until then no woman had held a ministerial office. The first, Federica Montseny (which came from anarchist CNT-FAI) held the ministry closer to the traditional role, the Health and Social Care department.

The emergence of the war, especially in the early stages, led to a general mobilization, not only of the army, as for numerous militias linked to political parties and trade unions. Some of these groupings have produced their own propaganda in the form of a poster, and there, they showed the first radical change in the role of women, which began appearing as a fighter in a variety of formulas that can be divided typologically in two large blocks. In one hand, an allegorized woman, the abstracted shape of the feminine that is the woman in front and highlights its new social contribution. On the other hand, a desecrated and not denoted woman that just appears next to side with the man [Fig. 4] and whose no exceptionality shows, really, the most radical change: one in which the woman is truly matched the man, the one in which gender does not determine the

role in the fight. So much so that in the communist poster, the female figure used formal post-Cubist visual resources to win some masculinization — but not as a requirement for gender, but as logical derivation of the war situation [Fig. 5].

But this new formulation of the women in the poster does not negate the weight of tradition. The woman, who also continues at the rear, keeps appearing in advertising posters of the time according to the traditional model, only contextually adapted to war: mothers suffering the uprising [Fig. 6-7] and women in the war, working in usual occupations, ie as nurses - never as a doctor [Fig. 8-9].

The radicalisation and unexpected duration of the war produced the major change, especially since 1937. After the first six months of war, where women had participated in militias because of the urgency, the republican authorities decided to re-organize the struggle and again divided forces on a sexual base: men forward, women to the rear. The female goal became cover needs production and supply, and extended its traditional role of assistance care to the wounded men at the front and to refugees. Several posters show this old paper, and also the authorities called for the woman to occupy the vacancies left by men due to male compulsory conscription [fig. 10-12].

The woman begins taking the place of man in the primary sector [Fig. 13], and immediately trade unions and left parties request their incorporation into the industrial sector [Fig. 14]. Consequently, the militarized image of woman disappears and is replaced by a new formulation: the “rear heroin”. Again, the female is transformed into allegory: is reified.

The second iconographic strand, the woman-victim, derives from the rigors of war in areas near the fighting, as well as the beginning of massive bombing by the Francoist army. The theme of this typology presents the woman as victim ideograms, through two formal options. In one hand, the woman appears in a form that calls the idealized feminine youth and innocence [Fig. 6]. In the other hand, appears as elderly or, at any rate, as a body decayed by war [Fig. 15]. Only one representation of women in the rear escapes that framework: the woman turned into a professional context that was already considered feminine: nursing [Fig. 8].

Faced with this explosion of female formulas political in the republican poster, the fascist side has much less presence. This is due to a simple but effective reality. The Francoist side controlled, from the beginning, the radio. The radio, like mechanism for illustration and indoctrination will not lose weight after the war. Otherwise, it will increase its strength in relation to visual media before the appearance of television as mass medium.

Women of Acción Católica, the right largest women’s organization supporting the uprising, had a very different role of Republican women during the war. Its functions never exceeded the traditional role: nurses and educators. After the war, all the women had to return, by law, to their traditional socio-laboral status, that then, with the far right in power, threw away all little social advances of the Republic relating to woman — and indeed , to the rest of the themes.

National-Catholicism. From sinful women to total decency

We said that the fascist regime throw the poster away as a mechanism to advertise and publicize the major changes after 1939 that had to convert Spain into one of the most socially backward countries of the West by prohibiting civil marriage, contraception and abortion, by the stimulation of childbearing and large families, by the sexual differentialism in labor and criminal law, and so on.

As a result, the production of poster works decreases and, in proportion, those in which the woman appears or explicitly refer to women almost disappear. Evidently, the typology in which Republic showed women access to non-traditional areas was simply swept and we can only crawl a few examples where the wife-shape appears linked to household products consumer.

Since 1941, the Sección Femenina —Francoist organization that controlled women lives under dictatorship— held weekly radio emissions in all provinces. After radio, they published magazines addressed to women, with three titles that stand out above others: ‘Consigna’, ‘Y’, ‘Medina’ or “Gran Hotel” which reproduce the radio model and, however, were reducing the number of copies due to the paper shortage [fig.

16].

At the workplace, the situation also changed. The *Fuero del Trabajo*, the basic labor law of the Franco dictatorship, establishes that the big achievement of the national-syndicalist State was the women liberation from the factories, in order to be in charge of “their” tasks: marriage, motherhood and care of spiritual values that inspire the regime [fig. 17-18]. Even those women who worked for the Social Service were not employed by the state, but free workers who sacrificed themselves for a ‘future greatness of this country’.

Education also regains its traditional situation. Mixed schools were abolished and recovered the significance of gender educational programs: men will be trained for technics and government; women for sacrifice, obedience, the care works at home and, eventually, for improve her artistic skills [Fig. 19]. Under order of the Female Section, in 1938 —still during the war— were created 20,000 female training schools, totalling nearly half a million students. In 1940, were created Schools of Housewives and a growing number of libraries for women disappearing works of intellectual content and containing only those of moral theme. That is because the woman should reproduce ideology, not knowledge [Fig. 20].

Woman returns to “her” previous goal: she is transformed into reproducer for children and for conservative ideology, theorized from its biological capacity for pregnancy. Hence her closure: the woman is removed of the economic and political life to look for a relaxed and conducive ambience for motherhood, her only own purpose.

Every female activity, both public or private, was organized by the Female Section, which becomes a sort of mother for mothers and gives them new purposes in his private plane: chastity and purity [Fig. 118] and diligence in the home governance. Evidently, it is not a government with decision capability, but only as quartermaster of the decisions the man may make, and for what she needs certain management qualities [Fig. 125-127]. Only later period ads will bet again by a representation of sensual woman who should, more by imperative male than by will of the Female Section model, be attractive to her husband [fig. 119-121].

Conclusions

Throughout this text we offered an overview in order to show, through the poster, the history of the women in the convulsed 1930s and 1940s in Spain.

Since early in the 1930s, wife-shape has passed through several fields, from the obligatory kitchen to claim their own rights, more or less recovered or promoted by the cooptation apparatus of political parties and unions of the time. We have seen the woman at the front and at rear, equally with the man or submitted in the most absurd and unavoidable way, and also in the form of those allegorized emptied figures that seem to govern, almost ubiquitous, the war poster works.

Such varied places, from the rests of 19th century realism inspired by a romantic spirit that still survived in the straggler south of Europe, to the harder abstractive edge, have shown the differences between the republican and the fascist poster. Moreover, they show that these differences went far beyond the purely quantitative. Even then, the amount may be enough eloquent to proved that after 1936 on both political and product poster, the presence of the female-shape falls steeply to almost disappear.

We should also make a final warning. The differences in current situation of women in relation to the 1940s and beyond does not prevent, in the field of gender equality, there is a long way to go, regardless of the ideology of each and every one of us.

Images



Fig.1 “Women, home doctor”. 1910.



Fig.2 “School for everyone”. 1937.

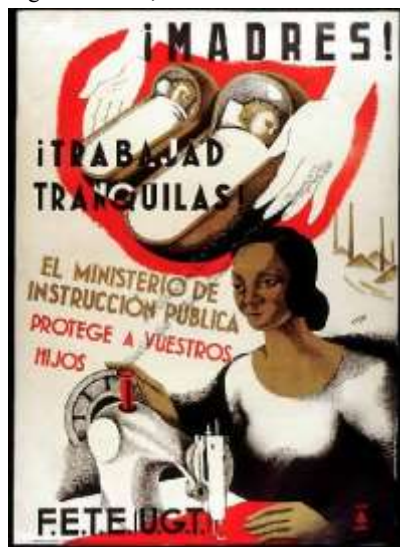


Fig 3. “Mother, work happy! The Ministry of Education looks after your children.”



Fig 4. “They will no pass over!”



Fig. 5. "Go on, freedom fighters!"



Fig. 6. "Rear comrades: more refuges will avoid new victims", 1938.



Fig. 7. "Murders!", 1938.



Fig. 8. "Respect nurses. She left her family to care you", 1938.



Fig. 9. "Wounded soldiers need aid"



Fig. 10 "Women can help to victory",



Fig. 11. "Womem, work by the comrades who fight", 1937.

1937.



Fig. 12. "Women wants win war, too. Let's help her". 1937.



Fig. 13 "Mobilisation! Peasant women, to harvest", 1938.



Fig. 14 "We demand industrial schools from government"



Fig. 15. Communist Party. 1938.



Fig. 16. "Read Gran Hotel. The best magazine", 1945.



Fig. 17: "Céréalose. Flour for cooking". 1945.



Fig. 18: "Children are tomorrow men, and Spain wants them healthy and strong". 1949.



Fig. 19: "Be yourself your home artist". 1950.



Fig. 20: "Mars 19, Seminary Day"

The creation of Verde Gaio, an Art of Propaganda during World War II

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The twentieth century was surely the Century of War and Propaganda but it was also the century in which the relationship between art and power was evidenced in a fixture, and dance was used by nations of the world as one of the most effective advertising vehicles. It was a force of political power which had a action of deliberate persuasion as a goal, with visual and verbal statements of intentionality studied by manipulating the genesis of nationalist political discourse that presented a body of ideas common to all totalitarian regimes.

The coming to Portugal on December 1, 1936 of Alexander Pavolini, intellectual of the Mussolini era at the invitation of SPN to deliver a conference whose theme was “Art and Fascism”, made his views on propaganda known, which Ferro also advocated. In his own words, “you need to create (...) the art of our time, fascist art (...) Art is the essential seal of History. Art and propaganda are two words that should always go together being that art is the mother of propaganda.”⁷⁹⁴

If art is a reflection of the time in which it is included, national art produced in decades of dictatorship, destroyed any previous sense. After the National Revolution of 1926, with the support of an elite - União Nacional⁷⁹⁵ - and the 1933 Constitution, elements were created that allowed Salazar to build a “legitimate” state before Europe. Unlike Hitler's Germany, who preferred to advertise their *autos-de-fé* (arts and culture) promoting fear and terror, Salazar's repression chose to quell resistance by employing an ethic of disguised obedience, which was discreetly shaping national mentality and this was reflected in artistic policies advocated by the regime. According José Rebelo's thoughts, “the regime absolutely needed art. It was art who exhibited, painted, carved, architected and visualized it. Salazar was present even in art that was not conscientiously Salazar's”.⁷⁹⁶ There is no doubt that Estado Novo felt the need for a visual discourse that illustrated its action based on “new aesthetics”, carried out in a “new world.” The particularities of national reality meant that the nationalism embodied by Salazar government represented a phenomenon of an historical nature identical to that of Europeans, of self-expression in a marriage between nationalist values of a conservative matrix and a certain moderate modernity. These two features, seemingly difficult to reconcile, made up the followed internal line and although they caused some cracks and nuances, it was through them that a political and ideological unity of Salazar's wishes was built.

For this purpose to come to good term, the univocal guidance of Estado Novo - like other fascist or fascistic Europe - sought to run a totalizing project of rehabilitation of spirits and is the line of action that can be extended to the route drawn by the heir to SPP⁷⁹⁷, SPN⁷⁹⁸, then called SNI⁷⁹⁹. It was a body which

⁷⁹⁴ Alexandre Pavolini, “Conferência”, p. 2, Espólio da família Ferro citado por Cidalisa Guerra, *Do fervor modernista ao desencanto do regime instituído. António Ferro ou Retrato de uma personalidade de luta*, FCSH, UNL, Lisboa, 2002, p. 163

⁷⁹⁵ Created in 30 July 1930.

⁷⁹⁶ José Rebelo, *Formas de legitimação do Poder no Salazarismo*, Livros e Leituras, Lisboa, 1998, p. 17

⁷⁹⁷ *Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal*, created in 1906.

⁷⁹⁸ *O Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* created in 1933.

⁷⁹⁹ *O Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo* created in 1944.

configured and articulated an entire political propaganda policy, *mise en scène* of Salazar's regime and unifying centre for the ideological discourse of dictatorship which promoted and legitimized it and within which they would redesign the country and an official and unison image.

Portugal in the early '30s was still a rural and conservative country with elites who supported with effective support the establishment of an authoritarian state which was bet on rediscovering Portuguese identity based on the idea that it was in the rural - closest to the primitive nature and not contaminated - that the true essence of the country was found.

The binomial Art and Power would be drawn over the 30 years, more specifically between the two World Wars and the advent of totalitarian states, which have devoted a new plastic and aesthetic vision based on strong nationalism. Within this context, the effectiveness of a realignment of political use of arts according to each of the policies pursued by European dictatorships, extended to dance, this being an active agent of political propaganda of each nation. USSR, Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal configured new guidelines that changed the course of art of Terpsichore in the Old Continent, influencing the world and allowing the creation of an image of strong ideological bias of cultural propaganda.

In light of these designs can the specifics of Estado Novo's cultural policies can be examined and which, based on strong nationalism, sought to consolidate the historical roots of the "new man" and was materialized by a myth of youth through a corporeality exercised by gymnastics, by sport and dance, like other European propaganda.

The nationalism of Estado Novo, founded in veneration of ancestral deeds by mythologized heroes of national history as well as the vernacular rural living, achieved a significance of great interest. A good part of their national unity was based on cultural richness of folk traditions. Built on four key assumptions - nation, territory, history and traditions - Portuguese nationalist discourse was set up as a means of bringing a Portuguese identity, indivisible and cohesive. In Eduardo Lourenço's, "not being possible to undo the past, even in a particularly uncritical view that had maintained Salazar's regime was natural that the past was revisited and reconsidered."⁸⁰⁰ This was because the government was interested in valuing past glories of an imperial nation that helped to those who could not read to do so. To this end, a new discourse was established based on scenic folk art and folklore that was worked on in two fronts: internal and external. These two complementary but distinct realities SPN / SNI made it a highly politicized body: the internal dimension sought to consolidate the ideals of the regime, guiding it to the cultural production of the country, the foreign dimension tried to find the support of international public opinion, for which a heavy propaganda campaign was imposed through participation in international events.

Portuguese nationalism was drawn through a popular culture of national and ethnographic roots where a cult of celebrations implanted with patriotic motives were of Estado Novo's *élans* to expand its hypnotic force. Through the promotion of folk art and exaltation of folklore, an image was created of a moderate country guided by "gentle manners" disclosed in a timely manner. Within this scope, a culture of elites was built which manipulated and led the masses, thus ensuring consensus, conformation, stability and durability of the dictatorship.

Within heterogeneous spaces created by several artists, folk art was consolidated in accurate records, in which parades played a pivotal role in the reinvention of new homeland. (Re) invented actions were then

⁸⁰⁰ Eduardo Lourenço, *O Labirinto da Saudade*, Gradiva, Lisboa, 2010, p. 12

permeated which helped educate the masses and show the values of a national and ruralistic popular culture: to Hitler's National Socialists parades, Salazar replied with processions and António Ferro, "its" popular marches (created 1932), which helped to colour the grim universe of impending darkness of Estado Novo.

SPN, an intermediary between state and nation, had the greatest influence on the construction of an image consonant with the dictatorship, developing a broad set of initiatives where art and popular culture were particularly highlighted. If the field of competence of SPN there was no reference to popular culture⁸⁰¹, the diploma proved itself sufficiently wide to be filled with content that its director saw fit. In fact, António Ferro bet on the definition of aesthetics that would restore the nation's identity, a formula which turned out to be followed by European dictatorships with wide success.

When the balance of *Catorze Anos de Política do espírito*⁸⁰², Ferro acknowledged the developed action: organization, promotion and participation in events, fortnights, conferences, concerts, art demonstrations, exhibitions and folklore ballets, concerts, press meetings, exhibitions and sections of cinema, Europe and America, in an activity that showed a huge accomplished mission and that the body had overcome his errand. Asserting itself as the cultural and artistic booster of an entire country, "Politics of the Spirit", carried out by Ferro, was the first attempt to create a national image markedly influenced by ideology, which has been largely achieved.

However, it is interesting to see that popular art disclosed by António Ferro, became more a "manufacture" than an investigation into the national popular character. The secretary of the SPN / SNI bet on a "recreation" of a folk art that would have been expected with the purposes of Salazar's regime and it is within this line of action that can understand its extensive activity in the promotion of Portuguese folk art.

Within the relation of folk art and folklore, initiatives were extensive and assertive : 1934 Colonial Exposition in Porto, the flag of the National Tourism Council presented each Portuguese region and local art; 1935 in Popular Art Fortnight in Geneva, by occasion of the UN General Assembly, António Ferro took an exhibition of folk art. In 1936, the Geneva exhibition was extended and shown in Lisbon on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the National Revolution, entitled Popular Art Exhibition, in 1937, the Portuguese pavilion at the Paris International Exhibition where one of the eight rooms of the Keil do Amaral pavilion was reserved to folk art, in 1938, the contest of "most Portuguese village of Portugal" "stimulates ruralist speech, helping to boost folk practice and a visual, scenic and choreographic country would exist : they are "still-life paintings"⁸⁰³; in 1939, at the World Exhibition in New York, Jorge Segurado's pavilion contained a section devoted to tourism and popular art and in the same year the S. Francisco Fair included allusions to the Portuguese Discoveries and popular art pavilion. In 1940, Regional Center and Villages of Portugal in the Portuguese World Exhibition as well as the creation of the Ballet Group "Verde Gaio", in 1942, the exhibition in Lisbon of materials collected in the contest of "most Portuguese village of Portugal" and in the following year, 1943, at the Madrid and Seville Exhibitions, in 1944 new Portuguese popular art show , in 1945 and 1946, SPN Regional costumes Exhibition and finally in 1948, the creation of the Museum of Popular Arts in Lisbon.

⁸⁰¹ Decreto-Lei N.º 23054 de 25 de Setembro de 1933, I Série, N.º 218, pp. 1675-1676

⁸⁰² *Catorze Anos de Política do Espírito*, Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Lisboa, 1948

⁸⁰³ Salwa Castelo-Branco e Jorge Freitas Branco, "Folclorização em Portugal: uma perspectiva", *Vozes do Povo, a Folclorização em Portugal*, Celta, Lisboa, 2003, p. 9

From the above list a mark of politics for culture promoted by António Ferro stands out: its outward orientation, with a concern to place propaganda at the service of creating a Portuguese image, which resulted in a growing number of foreign participations.

Once the formula was consecrated, all that the director of SPN had to do was to reproduce it. Such had been the successful cases in Geneva, Paris, New York, S. Francisco, Madrid and Seville. In fact, the process of national identity construction and affirmation of the nation through popular culture, found in the international arena, a core area for asserting its identity. This assertion becomes even clearer if we look at the various discourses and texts that accompanied such initiatives, replete with references to the homeland and in which folk art was presented as a direct emanation of the soul of the nation.

SPN / SNI, the main promoter of “Politics of the Spirit,” by providing folk art, gave the country the right identity, unifying regional diversity under one taste. This nationalization of tradition with an evident rural matrix, is seen as a (popular) history lesson that legitimizes an ideological reading, since modernity was only interesting “while its benefits could be used to foster continuity, improving of a previous reality, which was intended to be unchangeable because it was a reliable source of virtues”.⁸⁰⁴

The image of popular culture built by the Secretariat used ethnographic discourses that revealed rurality be the place where the true essence of the country. The official doctrine of Salazar’s regime exhorted early traditional values through the celebration of a past carefully reviewed and staged, that celebrated folklore, which went against everything that Antonio Ferro was seeing abroad. In the director's own words, “the art, literature and science constitute the grand facade of a nationality.”⁸⁰⁵ And it was with this kind of imperative that nationalism made Lusitanian Folklore its flag bearer. Thus, ethnographers, historians, artists and intellectuals from several universes, were made to give increasing importance to folk dancing since it was identified with an entire past urged for the resurrection of national glorification and exaltation.

The inflection on traditional dance and folklore is given by historiography itself, since dance was a privileged form of incarnation of sacred myths in every culture and was part of those magical rites presided over the foundation of indigenous communities. The movements themselves were symbolic and magical in nature and so dances also had a didactic function since, of reproducing values of the past, educated a whole new generation and it is in this context that the use of the cultural folklore device is integrated by government of the Portuguese Estado Novo.

However, the development of a memory based folk dance meant creating methods, description systems and ways to present a new type, which, according to Inge Baxmann, “became a form of specific knowledge, which revealed the particularities of the modern world in a nostalgic look on the body techniques of primitive peoples and folklore”.⁸⁰⁶ This aspect reflected the fascination, the reviving of traditional dances as an indirect consequence of the industrialization; of the accelerating life cycle it has caused, since this dynamism - defining a modern culture - led to a certain nostalgia about popular traditions, which in turn held Community fundamentals which lacked in the modern world then. And it is within this feature that Inge Baxmann reaffirms: “Folklore was considered an antidote to the uniformity of modern society, becoming an independent model within the bourgeois economic and cultural dynamic.”⁸⁰⁷ Indeed, folklore would constitute a privileged

⁸⁰⁴ Joana Damasceno, *Obra Cit.*, p. 47

⁸⁰⁵ António Ferro, 1933, citado no catálogo *Os Anos 40 na Arte Portuguesa*, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisboa, 1982

⁸⁰⁶ Inge Baxmann, “Le Corps, lieu de mémoire”, *Obra Cit.*, 2006, p. 45

⁸⁰⁷ Inge Baxmann, “Le fonds folklore des AID entre ethnologie de sauvetage et histoire des mentalités”, *Obra Cit.*, p. 131

means of propaganda, being assisted by regionalist movements that performed the will of the Secretariat and to which, being seemingly a distant fact, it is no alien: the explosion of exotic dances in Paris. These had contributed to strengthen a certain anthropological dance and there is no doubt that folk rediscovery was linked to the emergence of a certain taste for the exotic. Therefore, by valuing the different, exotic dances went back to the cultural heritage of each people and directed what was more genuine in it, ie, the ancestral tradition of folklore. Consequently, many traditional regional dances were revitalized and re-purposed in an attempt to fill the new desire for revival of the modern public.

Thus, and side by side with the “Politics of the Spirit,” “Politics of the Body” was created which guided SNI and streamlined, according to the regime's ideological aesthetics but with its foundations in the previous century. In fact, since the last decades of the nineteenth century aristocratic and bourgeois media promoted the organization of events where the rural world - inspiration source created by romance – had become a fashion. From the late '20s, initiatives of folk practice increased in number where, according to Salwa Castelo-Branco and Jorge Freitas Branco: “Folklore takes the form of a performative practice where a grammar is coded for the interpretation of the nation.”⁸⁰⁸ Indeed, the foundation of the republican period of folklore⁸⁰⁹ and its appropriation of popular culture allowed to use them for political power of Estado Novo. Soon in 1933, the year of SPN's creation, through Community Houses, the stereotypical folkloric was spreading, although it was only in the 1940s, that its consecration is structured with favourable circumstances brought about by the Great Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940 that the project designed years before by Antonio Ferro would be achieved: the creation of the first Portuguese company ballets, Verde Gaio.

Indeed, it was thanks to the will and impulse of António Ferro that the first Portuguese ballet company was created, founded precisely on the celebration of the closing of the Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World. A last “stroke“ of colour of national celebrations of the Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World - would close its doors on December 2 that year – Verde Gaio was intended to give folk art movement, revitalise folklore. Indeed, in its early years, the Portuguese Ballet Group strengthened their performances with the presentation of popular songs in which the actress Maria Paula took part playing songs inspired by regional folklore authored by Ruy Coelho (1889-1986) and Alexandre Rey Colaço.

What is important to outline in the context of this reflection is that in addition to Verde Gaio having built a path of relative national success, Verde Gaio became a privileged vehicle of propaganda abroad. In fact, initially Verde Gaio began by timidly stepping on national stages but it was not long before it left the modesty of Salazar's country to seek applause in concert halls abroad, first in Europe and then the world. The propaganda technique and the idea of building a nation helped legitimize the authoritarian regime while simultaneously promoting it abroad. Being the possible artistic embassy, Verde Gaio would step stages in Spain (1943), Paris (1949), Switzerland (1957), Brussels (1958), Brazil (1965), Africa (1966), Paris (1967), Madrid (1968) and Japan (1970) and Munich (1972).

If the first ballet company was a Portuguese initiative in agreement with the purposes of other European totalitarian states, who took responsibility for the arts upon themselves, and dance in particular, to force artists to promote their ideologies, in Portugal, the Portuguese “Ballets Russes” acted as a cultural embassy abroad,

⁸⁰⁸ Salwa Castelo-Branco e Jorge Freitas Branco, *Obra Cit.*, p. 6

⁸⁰⁹ See Humberto Ferrão, “Folclore e turismo. Limites estruturais e ideológicos: no Ribatejo e em Portugal”, *1º Congresso Internacional de Folclore*, INATEL, Lisboa, 1991, p. 1

within the known limits. Surrounding itself with a set of national artists, the Company established an à la longue project, which the vicissitudes of national cultural policy slowly extinguished four decades later.

Regarding the theme, viewers were able to enjoy different choreographic works that were projected on a high efficiency propagandistic scenic background, a clear instrument for ideological purposes. The variety of themes ranged from historical and patriotic themes and topics of regional inspiration. The analysis and significance of these ballets can not but deserve attention and perhaps it is even necessary to study some of them some more to understand the scope of their expression and consequences. With regards to parts of regional influence - folk ballets such as *Muro do Derrete* and *Ribatejo* (both 1940), *Dança da Menina Tonta* and *O Homem de Cravo na Boca* (both 1941) *Nazaré* (1948) and *Passatempo* (1941 to 1948).

O Muro do Derrete tells of a successful date that happens in an environment of a rural village and is inspired by an ancient hillbilly custom of when marriageable girls, sat on the wall of love waiting for the love competition of boys. The script highlights the Moorish ancestry and character of hillbilly folk and the unequivocal national action, the script still leading us to past events, D. Afonso Henriques and the formation of nationality, as well as popular tradition in reference to the Mercês Fair and wardrobe inspiration and regional folk that is presented according to a standardizing model without any individuality.

Ribatejo is an ode to the people of Ribatejo in a countryside atmosphere where costumes are presented in a naturalistic stylisation of the regional model.

The action of *O Homem de Cravo na Boca* stems in a village where a popular festival is presented that provides a romantic rendezvous between two youngsters and that unfolds within a demonstration of faith, under the blessing of the sacralised religious cult. The fireproof (enter the oven with it in his mouth taken from the Virgin and put a cake there) was a remedy for the illness of the village and has the nature of a rite of initiation, which is stimulated by the maiden in love.

Dança da Menina Tonta takes place in a village in Trás-os-Montes where a group of girls teases a silly girl that love will transform into the most beautiful girl. In the form of a popular declaration, this ballet portrays simple events of rural daily life, safeguarding the morality and character of a kind and sympathetic boy who pities the silly girl and falls for her, the narrative ending with a big party with people to offering gifts to the beloved. Portrays picturesque rural life and folklore, a traditionalist dimension that will highlight the action of good over evil.

Nazaré tells the story of fishermen, their loves and unrequited loves, under a background based on moral tragedy as punishment for those who dared to be unfaithful or fall into addiction. Valuing popular work and condemning idleness, *Nazaré* highlights masculine courage, greatness of sea life and devoted resignation in the face of fate. Throughout the choreography it becomes clear, such as in the Christian ideal, punishment and surrender mingle under a drama accentuated by dramatic movements of the Nazarene folk and regionalist model.

Passatempo was formed by a small series of short choreographies that intermingled programs of performances, presented no plot or large arrangements following a scenic structure of classical ballets divertissements and ballet-opera intermezzos of the eighteenth century. The characteristics of the eleven choreographies, premiered between 1941 and 1948, reveal however, common traits that justify being grouped under the same set. *Fado* and *A Dança dos Pastores da Beira e Os Noivos*, *A Chula do Douro*, *Dança de Trás-os-Montes* (all from 1941), *Noite de S. João* (1944), *Tarantela* (1946), *Farandole* (1947), *Três Danças e*

Quatro Danças (both 1948) follow a regional folk line stylized according to certain technical precepts inspired by classical dance, where costumes are presented under the conservative aegis regional costumes.

This theme hints to all the ideological influence that moved SPN / SNI not only in the demand for the realization of popular values , regional and rural customs whose existence contributed to the legitimating of the nationalist élan but shows the different concerns of choreographers who they came across throughout the 1940s. However, even in the internationalization observed during the stay of Italian Guglielmo Morresi and later Swedish Ivo Crámer (1921-2009 their choreography notes a concern of popular origin, as is the case of Farandole or Tarantella. Musical accompaniment itself would no longer be the responsibility of Portuguese composers to make way for scores of major classics like Rameau (1682-1764), Rossini (1792-1862) and Bizet (1838-1875). Of course the highlight is more pronounced in regional pieces created by Grace Francis as *Dança de Trás-os-Montes* or *Os Noivos*, all with music by Ruy Coelho, *O Fado* with Frederico de Freitas music score or *Dança dos Pastores da Beira* with music by António de Melo.

With regards to the works inspired by historical and patriotic themes, *A Lenda das Amendoeiras* and *Inês de Castro* (both 1940), *D. Sebastião* (1941), *Imagens da Terra e do Mar* (1943).

A Lenda das Amendoeiras recreates a popular legend that evokes Portugal's historical background has an account where a love story is told, unfolding in the Arabic kingdom of the Algarve's court, where a princess is unhappy missing the snow from her Scandinavia and then the king has almond trees planted which once blossoming gave his beloved the illusion of snow, thus curing her of her nostalgia. The action takes us to the time of the birth of the nation, evoking one of the main mythical representations of the history of Portugal.

Inês account the historical and legendary love of Pedro and Inês and its infeasibility by overlapping interests of the motherland. S. Alfonso VI has her killed and inconsolable, Pedro, crowned her after death, symbolically extending the loving union having his future graves built besides her grave. The two principles become incompatible - love and the nation, pleasure and duty, desire and reality, feeling and reason, bring out the legendary status of the fourteenth century, supported by a wardrobe, Medieval styled, which hides the body and movement and emphasizes the character of redemptive sacrifice and purity.

D. Sebastião, a ballet with a script by António Ferro based in "an historical matter of great national significance,"⁸¹⁰ recreates the mythical figure of the legendary episode of Alcácer Quibir, inspired by the poetic enthusiasm of Camões (1524-1580). The exaltation of historical past in its messianic aspect, that the figure of D. Sebastian (1554-1578) starred in, provides the "Desire One" with the utopianism of fighting death itself that will lead to tender sovereignty of another kingdom. The choreographic action is immersed in temporal metaphors where light reflects the different atmospheres that occur in the narrative sequence, which converge onto the final scene, where the translucent curtain transforms the image of a memory, a legend and a haze.

Imagens da Terra e do Mar presents itself as an allegory about the genesis of the nation: the Portuguese homeland is generated of the union between earth and sea that is symbol seminal of Portuguese Ballet. This script sets up a polarization of fatalism and ocean nostalgia that links the sea with exultant and fruitful joy, associated with land, being the homeland as a result of the forces of nature, corresponds to a divine plan. The scenic resort to a huge box where shelves represent the three regions of Portugal animated by their representatives, which increases a marking choreographic structure that evokes folk dances.

⁸¹⁰ José Blanc de Portugal "O Verde Gaio" in *A Acção* de 2.1.1943, p.3

After focusing on the nationalist repertoire of Portuguese Ballets it is worth mentioning that among the misconceptions and paradoxes of Verde Gaio, it was a beguiling ideological weapon, turning dance in doctrinal action tools, assimilating its popular forms. In forty years of uneven path, it was the metaphor of ideology of Estado Novo an unbearable lightness of dance, before the weight of the sustained power. All its mutations were but variants, fitting into standard civilizational matrix of European dictatorships. Still, the company set up from a constructed image as if it were an architecture and its interior as a discourse, an almost cinematic vision of the nation and displayed in frugal portions.

The Portuguese monuments in Mozambique as actors and sceneries for Estado Novo's colonial propaganda staging

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Introduction

In times of war, the clashes aren't only made with armament, but also with less lethal, although probably as effective, instruments such as propaganda that, in all its forms, it is, precisely, an attack and defence weapon used by nations as an instrument of persuasion and legitimization of their claims.

After the World War II and the end of the III Reich's occupation of almost half of Europe, the Portuguese Estado Novo (1934-1974), as a nationalist and imperialist dictatorship, saw itself confronted with the natural and non-surprising increase of independency claims by the colonized people of Africa and Asia territories. However, until 1961, the year of the beginning of the colonial war in Angola, the regime, instead of consistently resorting to any kind of military weapons, tried to, in a consciously and cleverly way, legitimize its status as a model colonizing nation by using the propaganda as a powerful tool.

In this context of imminent war or real war, the historical overseas monuments, proves of the antiquity and grandiosity of the Portuguese colonialism over the centuries, were used as fundamental pieces of a well engendered and applied propaganda machine. This was an obvious fact in Mozambique, which was, after Angola, the second most important Portuguese colony in Africa and, consequently, a territory rich in all kind of historical monuments, such as churches, chapels, forts or fortresses that evoked the antiquity and importance of the Portuguese occupation. Furthermore, as happened in India or Angola years before, the General-Government of Mozambique also created, in 1943, its Commission of Monuments and Historical Relics, whose mission was to safeguard all that architectonic, artistic and archaeological heritage.

Thus, with this study, we intend to understand in which ways the historical overseas monuments build by Portuguese settlers since the beginning of the national Discoveries in the 15th century, were used, during the World War II and the Colonial War, by the Estado Novo, as valuable pieces of the aforementioned propaganda machine.

I The Portuguese Monuments in Mozambique (1940's)

Until 1958, Portugal didn't have a central commission whose mission was to safeguard and disseminate the meaning and importance of the national monuments, build over the centuries, in the colonies such as Mozambique, Cape Verde Portuguese Guinea, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Portuguese India, Macau and Timor. Despite the absence of this central service orientated to the colonies and the existence of the General Directorate of Buildings and National Monuments whose mission was, exclusively, orientated to the Mainland Portugal, it's important to highlight that we can't talk about a scenery of total lack of a well orientated "heritage consciousness" regarding the Portuguese overseas architectonic heritage.

In fact, the Portuguese Government of India created, in 1895, the Permanent Commission of Archaeology, whose life was dedicated to the safeguard of: "what still exists from the Past's live, to choose what to keep in the archaeological museum (...) to classify and to list all the monuments that should be consider national, and to supervise its most accurate conservation"

[Visconde de Vila Nova d'Ourém, 1895, p.628]

In Angola, the Portuguese General-Government created, in 1922, the National Monuments Commission, because

"There are scattered all over this Province a few African Portugal's monuments connected to the epic achievements of the 16th and 17th centuries, that, because of the patriotic memories that they revive and because of the extraordinary historical meaning that they enclose, should deserve all the attention"

[Norton de Mattos, 1922, p.137]

Regarding Mozambique, the creation, in 1943, of a monuments commission took place slightly later than in Angola, but despite that it wasn't totally unexpected. After all, during the 19th century, individuals such as Manuel Ferreira Ribeiro (1839-1917) [Ferreira Ribeiro, 1882] or Joaquim José Lapa (1843-1896) [Lapa, 1893], warned the general public about the meaning and importance of those Portuguese monuments built in Mozambique, and were accompanied in this true heritage mission by a few, but nonetheless significant, works of conservation and restoration promoted during an Public Works expedition (1877) and by a few General Governors. Finally, in 1940, in a session of the Government Council, Manuel Simões Vaz (1889-?), founder of the *Notícias*, newspaper of Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and delegate of Gaza, warned about the importance of maintain the monuments that “still exist from the occupation of these lands by the Portuguese” [Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1940, p.103]. Moreover, during the same session, Simões Vaz proposed to create a commission or simply to appoint an individual, to “maintain the conservation of our historical monuments” [Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1940, p.103], this because the state of conservation of the majority of the Mozambique's monuments was quite disturbing.

Despite the fact the proposal of Simões Vaz was well received by the General-Governor, who even committed himself with the restoration of the Chibuto's Fort and, mostly, with the beginning of a programme concerning the restoration or conservation of the Mozambique's historical monuments, the Commission of Monuments and Historical Relics was, merely, created in 1943. From that point, that commission became responsible for the studies, classification, restoration and conservation of the colony's monuments and historical relics, but also for the dissemination of the acquired knowledge and for the cultural and touristic propaganda related to that Heritage [Bettencourt, 1943, pp.59-61].

However, considering the theme of this conference – War and Propaganda in the 20th century – it is important to understand the reasons why the Commission of Monuments and Historical Relics of Mozambique was created precisely in 1943, during the World War II. First, we have to take into account the fast growing “heritage consciousness” in Mainland Portugal, where the monuments were clearly understood and used as powerful instruments of propaganda of a nationalist and imperialist dictatorship, the *Estado Novo* (1933-1974). Thus, if the regime intended to establish a strong and undeniable connection between the Present and a glorious Past of magnificent achievements both in the mainland and in the overseas, it's only natural that the monuments built during those times, after a well thought and politically committed restoration, were presented as the major symbols of a great and ancient nation. Second, after years of well-known financial instability and lack of interest from the central Government, the General-Government of Mozambique established that would subtract some funds from the colony's budget to be applied in the safeguard of the architectonic and archaeological heritage. Furthermore, the heritage funds would also be reinforced by aids granted by the Mainland Government, autonomous State services, administrative corporations, donations, and revenues from the touristic valorisation of monuments or historical relics [Bettencourt, 1943, p.60]. Third, in 1943, the anticolonial discussion, even without the strength that would have after the end of the World War II, was already a reality, as the cases of Egypt (1922) or Ethiopia (1941) show. In this context and especially after 1945, the monuments of Mozambique, as we intend to demonstrate in the next chapter, were used as powerful instruments of colonial propaganda.

In fact, the use of the Mozambique's historical monuments as pieces of a gradual highly intricate propaganda machine, started, in the context of *Estado Novo*, in 1939. After all, that was the year of Óscar Carmona's (1869-1951) presidential tour to the colonies of Cape Verde, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique and Angola. In fact, if we look at the schedule of the presidential tour, we can easily identify the participation of the Mozambique's historical monuments as significant parts of this unequivocally nationalist and propagandist initiative. Actually, the beginning of the visit to the Island of Mozambique, “capital of the heroic times” [Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1939, p.429], started, on the 6th of August, with a reception from the inhabitants right in front of the Saint Paul's Palace, the former Governors residency, and with cannons blasts from the Saint Sebastian's Fortress. In the evening, a feast took place at the same 17th century Palace. Then, on 7th of August, after paying homage to the deceased of the First World War and before leaving the island, the President Carmona “slowly visited” [Boletim Geral das Colónias, 1939, p.434] the 16th century Fortress. Furthermore, during those couple of days of the presidential tour through the Island of Mozambique, some monuments were embellished with different kinds of propaganda elements, such as luminous sayings as “A bem da Nação” (“For the Nation's sake”) – placed on the former Saint Dominic's convent, then the court.



Pic.1 Island of Mozambique's Court, former Saint Dominic's convent, during the 1939's presidential tour.
Agência Geral das Colónias,

However, there's another event that deserves to be mentioned: the visit to the Historical, Cultural, Commercial and Agricultural Exhibition of Beira. This because, in this exhibition organized by the Mozambique Company, it was built an ephemeral, but still imposing, reproduction of one of the most meaningful historical monuments of that colony, the Saint Cajetan's Fortress. This event is particularly interesting because the Fortress, which was, along Quíloa, the first military construction built in the eastern Africa shore, thanks to Nature and Human incursions had already collapsed and disappeared from Sofala. Thus, attracted by the idea – and necessity – of justify and legitimize the Portuguese administration in Mozambique through the valorisation of the historical monuments that were contemporary with the earliest moments of the Portuguese Discoveries, and, of course, in the absence of the real Fortress, a “miracle of reproduction” [Companhia de Moçambique, 1939] took place not in the primary Sofala but in Beira.



Pic.2 The reproduction of Saint Cajetan's Fortress in Beira's exhibition during 1939.
Agência Geral das Colónias,

Now that we have seen the flourishing of a gradual stronger “heritage consciousness” in Mozambique during the years of the World War II, let’s devote a few moments to the after-war scenario and, specifically, to the utilization of the historical monuments as perfectly thought and rehearsed actors and sceneries produced and guided by the regime’s propaganda machine.

II The role of historical monuments during the conflict between Estado Novo and anti-imperialist forces (1950’s and 60’s)

Our most recent studies demonstrate that, just like in Mainland Portugal, the relation established between the overseas monuments and the Estado Novo’s policy was absolutely real. After all, we are faced with the fact – certainly associated with a specific understanding of the national monuments as powerful evidences of the legitimacy of the Portuguese colonialism, and with financial ability – that the dictatorship had replied to the anticolonialism claims with armament but also with a well thought diplomatic strategy. This approach, as we’ll demonstrate, involved a never seen program of valorisation of the overseas monuments. If not, take into account India’s and Cape Verde’s heritage examples.

When Manuel António Vassalo e Silva (1899-1985) was appointed General-Governor of the Portuguese India in 1958, one of his first actions was to put together a commission whose mission was to reintegrate the Old City of Goa in its historical, archaeological and monastic environment. This mission was presented as having a “highly patriotic intention” [Vassalo e Silva, 1960] that is easily understandable if we remember that, at the time, the Dadrá and Nagar Aveli case was on trial in Hague’s International Court, this because these two enclaves passed, in 1954, from the Portuguese rule to the Indian Union rule. Moreover, a few years later, in 1960, in a highly tense period of the Portugal/Indian Union dispute, Luís Benavente (1902-1993), the architect who was in charge of the centralization of the Portuguese overseas monuments safeguard, went to the Portuguese India in order to look into the conservation and restoration of the national architectonic heritage, but also into some urban planning related matters. However, just a couple of months later, Benavente’s mission was permanently interrupted by the invasion and occupation of Goa by the Indian Union in 18th and 19th of December 1961.



Pics.3 and 4 Portuguese troops attending a special mass in the Basilica of Bom Jesus, 1954.
Life Magazine.

Regarding Cape Verde, we can consider that the 60’s started, from a politic point of view, a new chapter in the history of the attention given by the Mainland Portugal to the colony of Cape Verde. This new attention was, clearly, a response to the international anticolonial pressure groups but also to the actions perpetrated by the Cape Verde nationalists groups, such as the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), and the Movement for the Liberation of Guinea and Cape Verde (MLGC). In fact, even without the level of oppression experienced in Angola or Guinea, the Portuguese dictatorship answered with strength and vigour to the PAIGC’s and MLGC’s claims, by intensifying the International and State Defence Police (PIDE) activities, and with the reinforcement of the propaganda campaigns on behalf of the symbolism of the

Portuguese monuments built in Cape Verde since the 15th century. This explains why the program regarding the conservation and restoration of Cape Verde's monuments started to be outlined in 1960, the same year of the independency of the borderer territory of Senegal, but also of Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Níger, Chade, Gabon, Congo, Ivory Coast, Togo, Benim and Central African Republic, following the establishment of the MLGC, in Dakar, by Amílcar Cabral (1924-1973).

Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the increase of the Estado Novo's heritage consciousness and, consequently, the use of the overseas monuments as powerful instruments of propaganda, was also due to the exponential growth of the international anticolonial contestation in the late 50's and early 60's. After all, 'heritagelly' speaking, 1958 was the year of the Decree 41:787, which defined the Ministry of Overseas General Directorate of Public Works and Communications as responsible for the inventory, classification, conservation and restoration of the overseas monuments [Rodrigues Ventura, 1958, p.757]. However, simultaneously but not coincidentally, the late 50's and 1960 was, also, the time during which were held the Bandung Conference (1955), the First Independent African States Conference (1958) or the African People Conference (1958), but, mostly, the time of the United Nation's Declaration on the Granting of Independence of Colonial Countries and Peoples (1960).

In Mozambique the situation was no different from India or Cape Verde, with the use of the monuments as propaganda instruments to follow the need of legitimize the Portuguese claims concerning the African and Asian possessions. Thus, let's devote a few moments to the role of Mozambique's historical monuments during those first moments of anticolonial contestation and colonial war.

In 1956, Francisco Higinio Craveiro Lopes (1894-1964) travelled to Mozambique within a new presidential tour, this being acclaimed, in times of anticolonial debate, as a "highly patriotic event, symbolizing the historical national unity" [Boletim Geral do Ultramar1, 1956, p.7], and then, during that excursion, the national monuments were, once again, used as convincing actors and attractive sceneries of a show whose purpose was to propagandize the legitimacy of the Portuguese colonialism. In fact, once in Island of Mozambique, the President Craveiro Lopes was welcomed by twenty one shots fired from the 17th century cannons existent in the Saint Sebastian's Fortress, and by the ringing of the bells from the Saint Paul's Church. Later, during the County President's speech, occurred a demonstration of the perfectly understanding of the monuments as powerful and convincing instruments of colonial propaganda, with the Saint Sebastian's Fortress being presented as "The Fortress that rises, proud and majestic, at the end of the island [and that] represents the impregnable bulwark of the Portuguese soul" [Boletim Geral do Ultramar2, 1956, p.463]. The meaning of the Island of Mozambique's monuments and their role during times of anticolonialism was later reinforced by the President Craveiro Lopes himself, who, concerning the loss of importance of the former capital city, said:

"However the stones of the old Fortress, the altars of the See, the rooms of Saint Paul's, the bones of our dead, the ancient ambience that surrounds all those sacred things remained to remember, to those who live, that in this place were made four centuries of Mozambique history"
[Boletim Geral do Ultramar2, 1956, p.463]

Later on that day, both the Fortress and the Saint Paul's Fortress were used as platforms for the staging of propaganda initiatives, such as the performance of Gil Vicente's plays and acclamations. The historical Saint Paul's Palace was, also, the chosen building to accommodate the President Craveiro Lopes during his stay in



Pic. 5 The presidential entourage during the visit to the Saint Sebastian's Fortress in 1956.
Agência Geral do Ultramar.

Island of Mozambique. Finally, on his last day in the island, the President and his entourage visited the Saint Sebastian's Fortress – where a ceremony with the honour guard was held –, prayed at the Our Lady of the Bulwark's chapel and revisited the Portuguese colonial Past by admiring the former Saint Dominic's convent, the Saint Francis of Xavier chapel and the Our Lady of Health's and Mercy's Churches.

In the 60's, the colonial war in Africa didn't slow down the Estado Novo's machine of propaganda or rocked the well-consolidated colonial ideology, but instead it encouraged the continuity of the previous actions regarding, among others, the presidential tours and visits to the already restored overseas monuments. In fact, in 1964, just a few months before The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) attack to the administrative post of Chai in Cabo Delgado, which marked the beginning of the armed struggle against the Portuguese rule, the regime held another presidential tour to Mozambique. During the visit of the President Américo Tomás (1894-1987), the Saint Sebastian's Fortress and Saint Paul's Palace performed, once again, important roles as actors and sceneries of a show which subliminal message was to highlight that, in times of independence claims:

“The biggest treason that a Portuguese could perpetrate against Portugal, would be to contribute to the Island of Mozambique, someday, ceased to be Portuguese. The many that died for Portugal, in this island, have the right to demand that the Portuguese of today and tomorrow, give their lives, as they gave theirs, to always preserve this island as Portuguese.”
[Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1965, p.375]



Pic. 6 President Américo Tomás waving from the balcony of Saint Paul's Palace after his arrival at Island of Mozambique in 1964.
Agência Geral do Ultramar.

As we've mentioned before, the Commission of Monuments and Historical Relics of Mozambique was created in 1943 and played its role in the inventory, classification, conservation, restoration, propaganda and disclosure of the acquired knowledge until the collapse of the Estado Novo. However, the activity of this commission was far from consistent, as we can identify two very different moments, with the one that went from 1963 to 1974 being the stronger and most memorable. In fact, after a few dynamic first years with works being developed, mainly, at the Quirimbas archipelago, the commission, due to the lack of human resources and funds, went through a less productive path. However in 1963, thanks to the integration of the architect Pedro Quirino da Fonseca, the commission was revitalized as the monuments benefited, once again, from the need of the dictatorship to assert the legitimacy of the Portuguese colonialism. After all, as we've mentioned,

the colonial war, after the outbreak in 1961 in Angola, was, in 1963, very close to burst also in Mozambique, with the FRELIMO being founded, in Dar es Saleem, on June 1962.

In fact, during his early years in Mozambique, the architect Pedro Quirino da Fonseca developed a well-thought program of heritage valorisation all over the colony but, especially, in the Island of Mozambique. The attraction of the monuments commission towards the island is easily understandable if we take into account its meaning in the history of the Portuguese colonisation in Mozambique, once it was the first capital city of the colony and, consequently, the place where the oldest and most noteworthy monuments are gathered. Thus, which other city would be a better evidence of the Portuguese colonial claims during a time of war against nationalist groups such as Frelimo?

Apparently, this was the line of thought of the monuments commission and of the General-Government of Mozambique, once, in 1969, a program of valorisation of the Island of Mozambique monuments was launched. After reading an Alexandre Lobato's books on the Island of Mozambique, "a true patriotic shrine" [Boletim Geral do Ultramar, 1959, p.156], the Governor Baltazar Rebello de Souza (1921-2002) became fascinated by the former city capital and, consequently, instructed the architect Quirino da Fonseca to do the program of valorisation of the Island of Mozambique monuments. Thus, during the development of a program whose implementation was urgent, the architect tried to reverse the adulterations that were made along the years, and, simultaneously, tried to return to the historical buildings their "architecture layout and within its correct places and styles" (Boletim Geral do Ultramar 525, p.156). According to the effective methodology and praxis, this means that the architect Quirino da Fonseca worked in order to reverse the alterations and additions that were made from the end of the 17th and 18th centuries, the "time during which the island of Mozambique reached its greatest splendour" [Diário Lourenço Marques, 1969, p.3]. This line of work could be easily explained by the already mention need to prove how magnificent the former capital city of the colony was and how strong the relation between that glorious Past and the Present was, but also, and this is particularly interesting in times of war, by the will to create a living museum that would be attractive to tourists.

Thus, on 23rd of November 1969, the Sacred Art Museum was inaugurated in the former Mercy Hospital, along with the works of restoration of the Saint Paul's Palace, Saint Paul's Chapel, Saint Sebastian's Fortress, Saint Anthony's Fort, House of the City Council, Gulamo's Mosque at Lumbo and other historical buildings at Mossuril, Cabaceira Grande and Cabaceira Pequena. Simultaneously, the armed struggle between Frelimo and the Portuguese Armed Forces kept on going mainly at Mueda in Cabo Delgado, with the death of Eduardo Mondlane (1920-1969), the first president of Frelimo, the presence of Samora Machel (1933-1986), president of Frelimo, during June and July 1970 at Cabo Delgado, and the 'Operação Nó Górdio' that aimed, with partial success, to eradicate the infiltration routes of the guerrilla from Tanzania to Mozambique, to destroy the enemies bases at Planalto dos Macondes and to assure freedom of action to the Portuguese troops.

Finally, in the end, something is certain: in 1969 the colonial war gave no hint of being near the end. However, the dispute between the nationalist movements, such as the Mozambique's Frelimo, and the Portuguese dictatorship, at the time, didn't have place only at the northwester plateaus with all sorts of armament and strategies assuming the leading roles. In fact, at the same time, the General Government of Mozambique was



Pic. 7 Commemorative plaque remembering the program of valorisation of the Island of Mozambique: "In 1969 the General Governor Baltazar Rebello de Souza ordain the execution of important works of conservation and restoration on the General Captains Palace, Saint Paul's Palace, Saint Sebastian's Fortress, Saint Anthony's Fort, Gulamo's Mosque, Town Hall and other buildings in the island, Mossuril and Cabaceiras. The city, grateful, therefore ordered to put this memory here."

Author's photography.

putting into practice a more diplomatic and peaceful strategy that took part of a well-thought propaganda strategy: the conservation, restoration and disclosure of the historical monuments, hundreds of years old, as proves of the Portuguese legitimacy in the disputed territory.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, we've witnessed the importance of Mozambique historical monuments as actors and sceneries in the context of the colonial propaganda promoted, between the 40's and the 70's, by Estado Novo. First and foremost, it's important to highlight that the true and consistent attention of the Estado Novo towards the monuments of Mozambique and other colonies, only occurred, effectively, upon the growth of the controversy around the colonialism, a tendency that arose as a direct consequence of the end of the World War II and the creation of the United Nations. The reason behind this shift is easily understandable if we take into account the ideology and praxis of the Portuguese dictatorship: the historical monuments were understood and valued as the most majestic proves of the Portuguese colonial empire. Therefore, in times of colonial claims, it was essential to restore the materialistic and symbolic looks of those magnificent representatives of former glorious times. However, the regime's methodology wasn't limited to the development of an inventory or works of conservation and restoration, once it was fundamental to propagandize this grandiosity of the Portuguese Empire and, mostly, this alleged and almost sacred relation between the Past and the Present that would assure the legitimacy of the Estado Novo claims regarding the overseas colonies.

Thus, we've witnessed the organization of presidential tours to Mozambique in 1939, 1956 or 1964. On this occasions, the propagandistic character of such events obviously nationalistic and imperialistic orientated, was reinforced by the well-thought inclusion of historical monuments in the programs outlined to be fulfilled by the Portuguese President and his entourage. In the end, the propagandized idea in times of colonial claims and/or war was simple: Mozambique, as the historical monuments from the Past and the presence of the head of the Portuguese State showed, was Portugal.

Alongside with this presidential tours organized by the central Government, we can't lack to highlight the role performed by the Commission of Monuments and Historical Relics of Mozambique in the disclosure of the Portuguese architectonic heritage and in the legitimation of the colonial tradition claimed by the dictatorship. After all, by taking into account the activity carried out by this monuments commission between 1943 and 1974, we've realized how committed this department was with both the monuments and nation's safeguard. First, we've realized that, since the beginning, the selection criteria for the monuments to be restored were permanently, and directly, influenced by the necessity to assert the "Portugality" of Mozambique. After all, we can identify an obvious preference for the territories that were, from a historical point of view, the most iconic, such as the island of Ibo, but, mostly, the Island of Mozambique, a region discovered, in 1498, by Vasco da Gama and the capital city of the colony until the end of the 19th century. Second, we've realized that the increase of the number and dimension of activities developed by the monuments commission during the 60's clearly followed the evolution of the colonial war, replying to the creation and enlargement of Frelimo with the intensification of the conservation and restoration works in the Island of Mozambique, the most eloquent symbol of the Portuguese occupation of that territory of Eastern Africa.

As a consequence, we can conclude that the Mozambique historical monuments (and other overseas monuments) were, in fact, used, along with more conventional weapons and military strategies outlined against independence movements such as Frelimo, as propaganda instruments of a highly stubbornly colonial dictatorship.

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Propaganda and sovereignty: New State and the exaltation of the Portuguese empire in late 1930's

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The Portuguese World Exhibition held in Lisbon in 1940 was the apogee of imperial mystification and the corollary of self-identity representations fabricated by Salazar's New State. Organised to commemorate the country's 800 years and the 300 years of its restoration of independence after six decades of Spanish rule, the exhibition was also a celebration of the regime and a symbolic statement to the world. As António Ferro, the secretary of National Propaganda put it, it was an

admirable opportunity to show, to enemies and friends, the eternal drawing of our frontier lines.⁸¹¹

With France already occupied by Nazi troops, Lisbon was transformed in a spy's nest and a shelter for thousands of Jews and refugees waiting for a visa to board towards America. Gleaming with its lights and festivities, the Portuguese capital offered a strange contrast to those who fled from Europe's dark cities devastated by combats and air raids.

Lisbon was then a "vivid and sad paradise," as Antoine de Saint-Exupéry said in his book *Letter to a Hostage*, recalling his brief stay and his visit to the exhibition. According to the French writer and aviator, Portugal seemed to ignore "the appetite of the beast" and "clung to her elusive happiness."⁸¹² Without human or material resources to resist any possible attempt to attack its European and overseas territories, Portugal could merely hope to succeed through diplomacy and propaganda. To a certain extent, only historical and moral arguments could withstand national integrity, and those arguments were persistently used both externally and internally.

Since the Colonial Act – a decree penned by Salazar himself⁸¹³ and issued in 1930 with constitutional effects –, Portuguese territories overseas were not only legally specified as part of the "Portuguese Colonial Empire" but also ontologically legitimated. As the text stated, it was of the "organic essence of the Portuguese Nation" to perform its "historical function" of possessing and colonising overseas territories and to "civilise" their indigenous populations⁸¹⁴.

As a keystone of the dictatorship policies regarding the colonies, this Act was aimed to other colonial powers' appetites, a recurrent issue in Portuguese agenda since the Scramble for Africa, the British Ultimatum trauma in 1890 and the partition agreements concerning Angola and Mozambique established between England and Germany in 1898 and 1912-13. For its colonies, Portugal fought the Great War to have a seat at the peace conference. However, the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations brought new obligations of economic development and a "civilising mission" to post-war colonialism, to which Portugal had to correspond. And for which the country was quite often put into question.

Besides the international responsibilities, a closer look at the Colonial Act preamble gives us crucial information about its purposes: to combat "certain international currents" with imperialistic intents which threatened the "traditional dogma" of colonial sovereignty, and to put in order the colonial administration, all for the sake of Portugal's "superior interests and destinies." To sum it up, the Colonial Act bound the colonies to Portugal's own future and independence. And based on the principle of "moral and political solidarity," it established the non-divisibility of all the territories that formed the "Portuguese Colonial Empire."⁸¹⁵

Needless to point out, after World War II Salazar had to adjust this discourse considering the geo-strategic map of the Cold War, the international pressures to democratise and decolonise, and the survival of the regime itself.⁸¹⁶ The Constitution of 1951 (which replaced the term *colonies* with the more integrative notion of

⁸¹¹António Ferro, "Carta Aberta aos Portugueses de 1940", in *Diário de Notícias* (17/6/1939).

⁸¹² Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Letter to a Hostage*, (transl. Jacqueline Gerst), London: Pushkin Press, 1999.

⁸¹³ In co-authorship with Armindo Monteiro, future minister of the Colonies. Note that the Colonial Act was prepared and issued when Salazar, in accumulation with the Ministry of Finance, was appointed interim minister of the Colonies (first time, from 21 January to 29 July 1930).

⁸¹⁴ *Decreto n.º 18.570*, 8/7/1930.

⁸¹⁵ *Idem*.

⁸¹⁶ Fernando Rosas, *História de Portugal – O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*, (dir. José Mattoso), vol. VII, Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994.

overseas provinces) and Lusotropicalism theory⁸¹⁷ were two pillars of that only apparent change, conducted more on a semantic level than in substance. Back in the 30's, the New State's nationalist propaganda enhanced the referred ontological matrix by intertwining history, religion and politics to affirm Portuguese sovereignty.

Stating the difference and staging the message

As already sustained by historians like Valentim Alexandre, it's possible to trace a continual discourse back from the early years of Constitutional Monarchy (right after the emancipation of Brazil) through the Republican period and the dictatorship, regarding African colonies as a priority of national policies and the key to Portuguese independence⁸¹⁸. It wasn't, therefore, a discourse created by the New State. What Salazar's regime shaped based on those premises was, in fact, a national image that fit its purposes, blurring the lines between nation and ideology.

Even before Salazar's rise to power as chief of Government, Portuguese representations in international and colonial exhibitions stressed out the role of the empire to the nation's unity. In accordance, the colonies were presented as part of the country and as such incorporated in the national pavilions, with architecture playing the function of integrating diversity. With variations that can be related to the political and economical goals of those image projections and the budgets assigned, that was the case for the three most important exhibitions during the early years of the Portuguese dictatorship.

To the historicist focus of the Ibero-American Exhibition of Seville, opened in 1929, Portugal replied with a sumptuous baroque pavilion inspired in the manor houses of the eighteenth century⁸¹⁹, to symbolise the nation's glorious past and its respect for the legacy of the Age of Discoveries preserved throughout centuries and regimes. Because the permanent part of the building was intended to later serve as a Portuguese consulate, it's not difficult to see the importance of leaving such a statement in Spain. The only exception to that centralised image was conceded to Macau, with a small pavilion resembling the pagoda of Barra, aimed to reinforce the propaganda of that territory and to fade international accusations related to opium traffic and maritime piracy.

A very different architectural solution was adopted in 1930 for Antwerp International and Colonial Exhibition, where Portugal transformed part of an exposition hall into a small and humble pavilion with Art Deco façades⁸²⁰, spending much less than in Seville. Nonetheless, the same message was delivered: the colonies were part of the nation and history legitimised Portuguese possessions. Considering the Congo frontier with Angola, such a claim in Belgium was clearly a reminder.

In 1931, for the Paris International Colonial Exhibition, lavishly staged in Vincennes, the political discourse did not differ but another kind of solution became necessary. The avenue that crossed the building site made it almost impossible to conceive a single pavilion, and therefore it was decided to separate the historical section from the colonies display of recent developments and products. However, architect Raul Lino, well known for his study and idealisation of the *Portuguese House*, solved the dissociation problem projecting four buildings with strong visual elements associated to metropolitan Portugal, combining references from the austere sobriety of its monasteries to the monumental architecture of the golden Age of Discoveries. The ensemble was distinctively provided with turrets, arches and tiles, and highlighted by a remake of a "manueline" portal, a stylised *padrão*⁸²¹ and a 35 meter-high tower crowned in its four faces with the Order of Christ's Cross, presented as the "revered symbol of Portugal's colonising work."⁸²² The association of Portuguese empire to Faith was centuries old but the providential myth had, by then, resurged with all the weight of an official thesis.

817 Coined by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, Lusotropicalism sustained that Portuguese colonisation couldn't be compared to other imperialisms, given the unique background of metropolitan Portugal, the Portuguese ability to adapt to tropical cultures, and the long tradition of miscegenation. The theory fitted the New State's purpose to present Portuguese empire as a multi-continental and multiracial nation and was officially adopted from the 50's on. Many historians and researchers (among them Charles Boxer, Cláudia Castelo and Miguel Vale de Almeida) already pointed out its frailties and failures.

818 Valentim Alexandre, "Portugal em África (1825-1974): uma perspectiva global", in *Penélope*, n.º 11, Maio 1993, pp.53-66. Valentim Alexandre, "A África no imaginário político português (séculos XIX-XX)", in *Penélope*, n.º 15, Junho 1995, pp.39-52.

819 Projected by architects Carlos and Guilherme Rebelo de Andrade and very similar to the Portuguese main pavilion at the Rio de Janeiro Exhibition of 1922, later reassembled according to original plans in Lisbon's Parque Eduardo VII to serve as exhibitions venue (nowadays known as Pavilhão Carlos Lopes).

820 Projected by Felix Horta, the author of Macau's Pavilion in Seville 1929.

821 Stone pillar carried by Portuguese fleets, to set up as mark of discovery.

822 *Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris (Section Portugaise) – Catalogue Officiel*, Commissariat Général du Portugal, 1931, pp. 11-33.

In a time when colonial powers built exotic pavilions at international fairs to seduce visitors with a “one-day journey around the world,”⁸²³ Portugal stuck to its roots and did not follow the trend. Moreover, the legacy of the past was always underlined to justify the present and pave the way for the future. In Vincennes, and for the first time since the beginning of the dictatorship with a considerable assertiveness, Portugal presented its colonialism as being original and centred on spiritual values, guaranteeing that the efficiency of its administration methods conquered the affection of native populations. Of course reality was quite different. Nevertheless, as a propaganda resource, this strategy was not only followed during the 30’s but also exacerbated by New State’s “imperial mystique” and staged according to the occasions.

Several internal controversies were motivated by the representations at Seville, Antwerp and Vincennes, but the political message was clear: Portuguese overseas territories were parts of the same state and, therefore, sovereignty was unquestionable. However, much had to be done to both sustain that message abroad and indoctrinate metropolitan and native populations.

Portuguese imperial propaganda was, obviously, in close relation to the fast changing context of that era, when the Great Depression hit economies worldwide and uncertainty dominated international politics. Sure, the above-mentioned exhibitions’ presence was scheduled some time in advance but they were representative of the Portuguese military dictatorship’s priorities regarding foreign affairs.

Only after those charm operations in Spain, Belgium and France did the regime decide to organise the first (and only) Portuguese Colonial Exhibition. Held in Porto in 1934, it was defined by Armindo Monteiro, then minister of the Colonies, as “the exercise of a sovereign faculty.”⁸²⁴ And that stood both for external as for domestic purposes, considering Hitler’s and Mussolini’s already declared expansionist aspirations, white separatist claims in Angola, internal oppositions challenging and fighting the regime, and the general indifference or ignorance of Portuguese people about colonial matters.

Being the first big exhibition prepared by Salazar’s New State, although its meagre budget, it was intended to be a nationalist “lesson” and to operate as a cohesion factor. Once again, faith, empire and sovereignty were the pillars of a staged discourse that transformed Palácio de Cristal into an Art Deco inspired Palace of the Colonies and the surrounding gardens into a miniature of Portuguese overseas – where natives specially brought for the event provided the “realistic” animation in “typical” indigenous villages and added the exotic flavour, thus maintaining the old tradition of *human zoos* for European amusement.

With its relics, documents, books, artefacts, products, decorations and monumental allegories, Porto’s Colonial Exhibition was in line with the previous international representations and was also⁸²⁵ directed by a colonialist: army captain Henrique Galvão, soon to be appointed director of National Radio (Emissora Nacional) and orchestrator of the Colonial Section and Imperial Pageant of the Portuguese World Exhibition in 1940, who would later become a regime dissident and lead the famous Santa Maria hijacking in 1961. Yet, at the heyday of the “imperial mystique”, Galvão was the man who organised the most powerful representation of Portuguese territories: the well-known map *Portugal is Not a Small Country*, simultaneously a didactic image and propaganda motto.

A new image for an old discourse

Despite the key role of written and spoken word for the Portuguese regime, in a time when many couldn’t read and only a few could afford to buy a radio set image had a core importance in propaganda. Cinema and exhibitions were then certainly the most effective media, and not surprisingly they were both used complementarily: propaganda documentaries were shown at exhibitions, and exhibitions were registered on film to be later presented in movie theatres. The broader the audience, the more disseminated political and ideological messages could be.

Of course the impact of moving images was an important counterpart to the visual statements of photography, painting and sculpture, and that combination was recurrent in propaganda exhibitions like the ones above mentioned. However, only after António Ferro was designated secretary of National Propaganda and put to action his “Policy of the Spirit” became the use of visual discourse a coherent praxis. Not by chance, the first Portuguese political propaganda film was produced for the Paris International Exhibition, in 1937, the first time Ferro shaped a national representation at a major exhibition abroad. This film, titled *A Revolução de Maio* and directed by António Lopes Ribeiro (who co-wrote the script with Ferro), mingled fiction and real footage to tell the story of a communist’s conversion to the cause of the New State. It was an idyllic projection

⁸²³ Main slogan of the Paris Colonial Exhibition of 1931.

⁸²⁴ Armindo Monteiro, preface to *Álbum Comemorativo da Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa*, Porto: Litografia Nacional, 1934, pp.8-10.

⁸²⁵ Army officer Silveira e Castro directed the Portuguese representations in Seville and Vincennes. The republican engineer and historian Armando Cortesão, by then in charge of colonial propaganda (at Agência Geral das Colónias) was responsible for the national representation in Antwerp.

of an idealised country, intended to soften the image of the dictatorship and to present Portugal as a stable player in a time when a global conflict was again on the horizon.

Being a right-wing dictatorship with close resemblances and relations to Hitler's and Mussolini's totalitarian regimes, the Portuguese New State couldn't, on the other hand, discard the vital importance of the old Anglo-Portuguese alliance. The risks were obvious. By then, the clash between left and right had already led to Spanish Civil War and Guernica. And the support given to the Spanish nationalist Falange could be tricky: Salazar knew that Iberism was still an aspiration for many republicans, as much as he knew that the Great Iberia unification was in Franco's plans.⁸²⁶ With internal oppositions closing their ranks, the Portuguese dictator hardened both discourse and action. Violence, political arrests and deportations multiplied, and censorship tightened, while official anti-communist propaganda urged people to "defend the nation" and the Portuguese "order".

Paris International Exhibition of 1937 offered the opportunity to stage abroad that proclaimed "order" of the New State, but evidently in a composed tone. Formulating a seductive discourse that articulated images and words, António Ferro introduced there, though, a modernist enunciation that could hardly satisfy the orthodoxy of the regime.⁸²⁷ On the outside, the national pavilion, projected by architect Keil do Amaral, combined modernist constructive elements with a bas-relief gallery of past heroes and strong visual symbols, such as the Portuguese coat of arms and the Order of Christ's Cross. Inside, only the present would have place under the tutelary figures of Salazar and President Carmona, represented by sculptures.

Large photomontage panels, slogans, diagrams, decorative paintings, all conveyed the message that the dictator's governance was a "contemporary work of art."⁸²⁸ For that, Ferro relied on the artistic skills of his regular collaborators, among others, the painters Bernardo Marques, Fred Kradolfer, Dordio Gomes, Emmerico Nunes, Jorge Barradas and António Soares; sculptors Rui Gameiro, Canto da Maia, Barata Feio and Francisco Franco, and photographers Mário Novais and Domingos Alvão. That up-to-date version of the *Lusitanian House* set an iconic reconfiguration of facts addressed to the masses and international political leaders. Colonies occupied one room of the building and the map *Portugal is not a small country* was emphasized with depurated aesthetics. Slogans like "we have a doctrine and we are a force" punctuated the circuit in pure ideological rhetoric. But reactions were favourable. While Germany, the USSR, Italy and Spain staged in Paris a symbolic ideological confrontation, Portugal managed somehow to promote itself as an example and to present Salazar as the Professor dictator, thus marking the distance towards other authoritarianisms.

Meanwhile, in Lisbon, the Historical Exposition of the Occupation tried to demonstrate that even in adverse periods Portugal had always been able to reinvigorate its overseas legacy and keep sovereignty on its territories.⁸²⁹ Organised by the Ministry of Colonies and set by an executive committee led by Júlio Cayola, this propaganda event relayed on documents and artworks to validate the premises of the Colonial Act, to which was dedicated an entire room. More than twenty artists collaborated in that visual narrative about the empire's genealogy, among them the modernist painters Fred Kradolfer (who conducted the works), Almada Negreiros, Mário Eloy, Sara Afonso and Estrela Faria; sculptors Hein Semke, Diogo de Macedo, Francisco Franco and Maximiliano Alves, and photographers Manuel San Payo, Mário Novais and António Duarte. From Discoveries navigators to the heroes of the nineteenth century African occupation, a continual lineage would lead, with no surprise, to Salazar and Carmona's regime.

On a political and propagandistic point of view, it should be underlined the parallel organisation of the first Congress on the History of Portuguese Expansion in the World, that gathered in Lisbon academics from several countries. On the aesthetic level, although Ferro had no direct interference in the Historical Exposition of the Occupation, its clear similarities to the national representation in Paris seem to demonstrate that there was, at least, an update of means, methods and techniques used by national propaganda when compared to the early 30's practices. In 1939 António Ferro was also responsible for the Portuguese pavilions at New York World's Fair and Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, in which the main target audience were Portuguese emigrants. As such, anachronism and emotional rhetoric shaped those visual discourses, though the national sovereignty issue operated, once again, as the connective tissue.

Surely one of the most visible proclamations of that concern was the large-scale statue titled *Soberania* (Sovereignty), created by chief-architect Cottinelli Telmo and by sculptor Leopoldo de Almeida (the same authors of Padrão dos Descobrimentos), to be displayed outside the Portuguese in the World Pavilion during Lisbon's 1940 celebrations. Given the reality of World War II and all the menaces pending on Portuguese metropolitan borders and overseas territories – official "neutrality" was, in fact, a fragile position continuously manoeuvred both with Allies and Axis powers –, that statue could only have a symbolic meaning.

⁸²⁶ Bernardo Futscher Pereira, *A Diplomacia de Salazar (1932-1949)*, Alfragide: Publicações Dom Quixote, 2012.

⁸²⁷ Margarida Acciaiuoli, *Exposições do Estado Novo 1934-1940*, Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1998.

⁸²⁸ *Idem*, p.61.

⁸²⁹ *Boletim Geral das Colónias*, vol.XVIII, n.º 150, Setembro 1937.

The Portuguese World Exhibition, as the general-director Augusto de Castro admitted, was a “city of illusions” erected to honor the dead and teach the living, as a testimony of “national consciousness.”⁸³⁰ With its historical, ethnographic and colonial sections, its decorated pavilions, its congresses, solemn acts, parades and entertainment activities, no wonder it looked unreal to the eyes of a foreign visitor like Saint-Exupéry:

Lacking an army, lacking guns, [Portugal] had raised against the armaments of the invader all her sentinels of stone: poets, explorers, conquerors. Instead of soldiers and guns, all the past of Portugal blocked the way. Who would dare to crush her in her inheritance of so great a past?⁸³¹

Even if sentinels were indeed made of metal, wood and plaster, the Portuguese World Exhibition left marks not only in the capital of the empire but also in the mythicised image that Portugal fabricated of itself. History took its course, the regime was overthrown three decades later and all those propaganda events became a part of the past, kept in books, films and old newspapers. Not without placing some navigators, princes and men of arts and sciences permanently anchored on the Tagus bank, on a limestone replica of their 1940’s modernist-style caravel.



Cover of the propaganda album *Portugal 1940* (Lisboa: SPN), with the statue *Soberania* at the Portuguese World Exhibition

⁸³⁰ Augusto de Castro, “Discurso inaugural da exposição em 23 de Junho de 1940”, in *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua Finalidade Nacional*, Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1940, pp.54-70.

⁸³¹ Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Letter to a Hostage*.

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O homem por detrás do mito Hoffmann, o fotógrafo oficial de Hitler

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Heinrich Hoffmann, fotógrafo oficial do regime Nazi e amigo pessoal de Adolf Hitler, teve um papel fundamental na construção do mito e da estilização da imagem do Führer, como líder forte e carismático. Hoffmann foi capaz de traduzir em fotografia os ideais do Social Nacionalismo, criando elementos estético-expressivos que corporizavam as estratégias propagandísticas de Josef Goebbels. Publicou vários livros com fotografias do Chanceler sendo um dos mais conhecidos “O Hitler que ninguém conhece: 100 fotografias da vida do Führer” (1933), um absoluto êxito de vendas: as 420.000 cópias impressas esgotaram. Na capa do livro, Heinrich Hoffmann, apresentava-se como “*O repórter fotográfico do Império do Partido Nacional Socialista dos Trabalhadores Alemães*”, título informal que ostentou durante toda a sua vida.

A fotografia sempre teve uma forte influência na vida das pessoas, estando presente nos meios de comunicação de massas, aportando informação e influenciando condutas e pensamentos. Walter Benjamin (1992) considerava a fotografia como um meio de reprodução verdadeiramente revolucionário, pois transformou a forma como vemos o mundo e como olhamos para o outro.

De acordo com Kossoy (1999), a imagem fotográfica sempre foi um poderoso instrumento para a veiculação de ideologias, a formação e a manipulação da opinião pública, em função da credibilidade das imagens, já que os seus conteúdos são aceites e assimilados como a expressão da verdade.

As fotografias de Hoffmann foram pensadas e utilizadas sob o prisma da estratégia de propaganda nazi e com um objetivo claro: engrandecer a imagem de Adolf Hitler, torná-lo um mito. Mas as produções fotográficas de Heinrich Hoffmann foram apenas uma peça de puzzle dentro do grande plano de propaganda ideado por Joseph Goebbels. O universo da propaganda incluía todos os meios de difusão: imprensa, rádio, filmes e produções para cinema, comícios políticos e eventos culturais, revistas, manuais escolares, arquitectura, uniformes, folhetos, livros, música, material comemorativo, etc. Segundo Lasswell (1927) a propaganda adoptava técnicas de persuasão tendo por objectivo fazer com que as massas seguissem o líder e estivessem dispostas a “*odiar o inimigo, amar sua pátria, e dedicar-se ao máximo ao esforço de guerra*”.

O homem detrás do mito

Henrich Hoffmann, mais do que fotógrafo, era confidente, amigo íntimo e o consultor de imagem de Adolf Hitler. A sua produção artística combinava técnicas de fotogenia, luz, enfoques, cenários, poses, roupas e expressões de forma a conseguir textos-imagem propagandísticos, carregados de simbolismos. Desenvolveu um trabalho notável de assessoria de imagem, as suas fotografias contribuíram de forma intencional para a criação do mito político, tentando por um lado humanizar a imagem do líder e por outro criar uma figura invencível.

Ao utilizar o termo mito político, referimo-nos aos conceitos e propostas teóricas e percepções sobre a dimensão da imagem e o mito de autores como Claude Lévi-Strauss, Mircea Eliade e Raoul Girardet. Um mito político não é apenas um fenómeno, uma pessoa, um partido ou uma ideia, mas sim a representação que se faz de determinados fenómenos, pessoas ou ideias, defende Girardet (1987) em *Mitos e “Mitologias Políticas”*. Para o semiólogo, a elaboração do mito acontece a partir da contínua repetição e reelaboração de uma imagem, da sequência de uma história contada, repetida e reelaborada que vai dando corpo e substância ao mito. Assim, o capital imagético (Bourdieu, 1989) de Hitler foi construído intencionalmente para a exposição contínua e a divulgação mediática.

A situação económica e social da Alemanha da época era tensa e o imaginário social estava receptivo ao consumo de mitos. A criação de mitos políticos é enfatizada em momentos da história em que há inquietações

políticas, lembra Girardet (1987).

Os mitos políticos das nossas sociedades contemporâneas não se diferenciam muito, sob esse aspecto, dos grandes mitos sagrados das sociedades tradicionais. A mesma e essencial fluidez os caracteriza, ao mesmo tempo que a imprecisão de seus respectivos contornos. Imbricam-se, interpenetram-se, perdem-se por vezes um no outro. Uma rede ao mesmo tempo sutil e poderosa de liames de complementaridade não cessa de manter entre eles passagens, transições e inferências. Girardet (1987:15)

As reportagens fotográficas de Hoffmann exaltavam os princípios ideológicos sob os quais estava fundado o Nacional-Socialismo: o autoritarismo e expansão militar próprios da herança prussiana; a tradição romântica alemã que se opunha ao racionalismo, ao liberalismo e à democracia; diversas doutrinas racistas que consideravam que os povos nórdicos, os arianos, não só eram fisicamente superiores às outras raças, como também o eram na sua cultura e moral.

Lasswell (1927) entende a propaganda como a gestão das atitudes colectivas, através da manipulação de símbolos e Hoffmann soube incorporar nas suas criações fotográficas estes princípios, nomeadamente o uso de símbolos e estereótipos.

Um dos trabalhos mais notáveis de Hoffmann é uma “box monográfica” publicada em 1941 que contém 12 revistas com fotografias de Hitler organizadas por temas: Hitler e os Jovens, Hitler na Montanha, Hitler na Polónia, Como Hitler construiu a grande Alemanha, Hitler em casa, etc. É um exemplo idóneo de cuidada comunicação política, a propaganda ao serviço do regime e que retrata em fotografia, o conceito de *Ein Volk, Ein Reich, ein Führer* (um povo, um império, um líder).

Com esta colecção pretendia mostrar as diferentes facetas do chanceler: o carismático político; o grande estratega de guerra; o homem sensível e amante dos animais; o coração terno que amava as crianças e a natureza. A colecção foi seleccionada e recebeu um Prémio de Honra por Richard Darré, na altura, ministro da Alimentação e Agricultura (1933-1942).

A fotografia segundo a perspectiva de Vilém Flusser (1998) é uma mediação entre o homem e o mundo e as imagens substituem eventos por cenas. Através desta colecção Hoffmann apresenta-nos uma narrativa mítica, do mundo do Terceiro Reich (1933-1945), a visão do líder e as suas diversas facetas, de herói a homem sensível. As cenas captadas em instantâneos de carácter aparentemente objetivo, porque o leitor alvo confia nas imagens como nos seus olhos, e ao decifrá-las fá-lo utilizando visões do mundo, neste caso, influenciadas pela propaganda. A objetividade aparente deriva apenas do significado que se imprime de forma automática sobre a superfície das imagens, mas, como elas também são simbólicas, precisam ser decifradas.

Ao analisar esta colecção encontramos símbolos relacionados com a igreja, mitos e tradições, apelando ao que de mais germânico existia na mente e alma dos alemães. Por exemplo, uma das imagens de Hitler a sair casualmente de uma Igreja com a cruz estrategicamente colocada em cima da sua cabeça, conferindo-lhe uma certa aura messiânica. A introdução nas fotografias de elementos simbólicos relacionados com a família, as crianças, ou os animais, apelavam ao sentimentalismo, ao instinto de protecção, o defender a pátria, alentando assim os homens a ir à guerra e lutar por uma vida melhor e pelo futuro dos seus filhos.

Ao introduzir estes símbolos e sugestões psicológicas nos seus textos-imagem, Hoffmann, estava a reproduzir uma das técnicas mais aclamadas da propaganda. Conforme Kimball Young citado por Rodero Antón (2000) na propaganda encontra-se o uso sistemático e deliberado, de símbolos, principalmente através da sugestão ou de técnicas psicológicas similares, com a intenção de alterar e controlar opiniões, ideias, valores e em última instância, incitar acções.

Em várias fotografias, observa-se a apurada estética, os cabelos rigorosamente penteados, os fatos impolutos, o olhar frio, cativante e enigmático do Führer. De acordo com Kossoy (1999) a fotogenia dramatiza ou valoriza esteticamente os cenários, modificando a aparência do retratado, alterando o realismo físico da natureza das coisas, omitindo ou introduzindo detalhes. As técnicas de fotogenia e estetismo presentes na obra de Hoffmann, engrandecem o líder, mitificam o homem e contribuem para o êxito da propaganda nazi.

O trabalho de Hoffmann não se limitava a pressionar o botão da câmara fotográfica, ou escolher os cenários ou cenas carregadas de simbolismos. Trabalhavam juntos as posturas e as coreografias dos discursos dos comícios políticos. Fechados no estúdio, Hitler gesticulava e Hoffmann tirava fotografias que serviriam depois para que o Führer escolhesse os ângulos e as poses mais dramáticas para seduzir as massas. Hitler sabia bem que os comícios viviam da emoção fervorosa da multidão e para estimular essa resposta tinha que oferecer discursos carregados de drama e sublinhados com poses vigorosas, energéticas, construindo a imagem de líder invencível. As poses estudadas minuciosamente, tinham o poder de criar no espectador, segundo Georges Sorel, “pela intuição, a massa de sentimentos capazes de incitar a luta política”.

Assim, as fotografias assinadas por Hoffmann têm a particularidade de constituir imagens-mito, no sentido proposto por Roland Barthes, onde o mito é uma linguagem a ser desvendada e um “sistema semiológico segundo”. De acordo com Barthes:

(...) no mito existem dois sistemas semiológicos, um deles deslocado em relação ao outro: um sistema linguístico, a língua (ou os modos de representação que lhe são assimilados), a que chamarei linguagem-objecto, porque é a linguagem de que o mito se serve para construir o seu próprio sistema; e o próprio mito, a que chamarei metalinguagem, porque é uma segunda língua, na qual se fala da primeira (1989:137).

Seguindo a linha de pensamento barthesiana, ao ler as fotografias de Hitler assinadas por Hoffmann, encontramos o rosto iluminado, o olhar enigmático e frio do Führer. Esse é o primeiro sistema semiológico, o significante do mito. O significado remeterá à autoridade vigente no seio do Terceiro Reich, a superioridade, o líder, o salvador da nação, o herói messiânico. A leitura mítica de hoje destas fotografias de Hoffmann é bastante diferente daquela que foi feita na sua época. O nosso sistema cultural e de entendimento do mundo, bem como a informação de que dispomos sobre os efeitos da ideologia nazi e do Holocausto condicionam a nossa descodificação. Lembrar que a consciência do povo alemão estava manipulada e portanto ao descodificar as fotografias do Führer, activavam-se todos os valores semeados pela propaganda. Aplica-se aqui a conceitualização de mito de Gerardet, ao explicar o mito político de Napoleão Bonaparte:

(...) todo o mito desse tipo ganha uma certa amplitude colectiva, ele tende a combinar vários sistemas de imagens ou de representações, a constituir-se em outras palavras, como uma espécie de encruzilhada do imaginário onde vêm cruzar-se e embaralhar-se as aspirações e as exigências mais diversas, por vezes mais contraditórias. Mais uma vez aqui a lenda napoleónica constitui aqui a mais significativa das referências. Conforme os momentos e conforme os meios, Napoleão encarnou ao mesmo tempo a ordem e a aventura, o messianismo revolucionário em marcha e o princípio da autoridade restaurado. (1987:72-73)

Em 1955, Heinrich Hoffmann, publicou um livro intitulado “Hitler, meu amigo” que incluía uma coleção de fotografias tiradas durante os ensaios para os discursos. Hitler tinha dado ordem para que as fotografias dos seus ensaios fossem destruídas, mas Hoffmann guardou-as e acabou por publicá-las no período pós-guerra. Se analisarmos esta particular coleção fotográfica, detectamos como a pose e a expressão corporal e facial são significativas na construção do mito político.

Também Kossoy (1999) defende que a pose, além de transmitir determinados significados, é um poderoso instrumento para a veiculação ideológica e formação de opinião pública. Hitler pretendia transmitir intencionalmente: carisma, radicalidade, respeito, emoção, esperança, confiança, medo. Estavam pois, a ser dados os primeiros passos da comunicação política moderna, adequando técnicas e procedimentos do líder para mesmerizar o seu público ou eleitorado potencial. (Figueiredo, 2000).

De acordo com Kubrusly (1986) as pessoas são capazes de interpretar e reconhecer o líder pela expressão do seu rosto, que fornece ademais informações sobre a disposição e o estado de espírito da pessoa. O autor afirma que o público é capaz de interpretar o significado de um olhar, de uma pose, de um braço levantado. Nas fotografias dos ensaios, a expressão dos olhos, lábios e posição dos braços e mãos do chanceler estão a ser ensaiadas, de forma a encontrar a fórmula mais persuasora, capaz de incendiar multidões.

As fotografias que Hoffmann tirara do Führer vendiam-se às dezenas de milhares; os bilhetes postais aos milhões. Hoffmann potenciou sabiamente o poder de atração do seu modelo através de poses heróicas e de uma iluminação eficaz, transformando o seu mentor no último e no maior dos Cavaleiros Teutónicos. Através da sua lente, no seu estúdio, Hoffmann criou o líder mítico há tanto esperado e destinado a conduzir a Alemanha a um futuro glorioso de 1000 anos. (Lambert, 2006: 23)

Hoffmann soube captar a magia hipnótica que destilava o líder (Speer, 1970) e que era reconhecida por todos os que o rodeavam, para divulgá-la ao povo alemão e ao mundo através da máquina propagandística de Goebbels, que controlava os meios de comunicação. Herbert Döring, o administrador do *Berghof* (Lambert, 2006) recorda o olhar penetrante do Führer: “*O seu olhar... podia realmente trespassarmos com o olhar*”.

O mito político, a imagem composta pelas fotografias de Hoffmann oferece como significado o que Girardet (1987:11) define como o processo de heroificação: “*o apelo ao chefe salvador, restaurador da ordem, ou conquistador de uma nova grandeza colectiva*”. Como defende Girardet (1987:13) o mito político é “*fabulação, deformação ou interpretação objectivamente recusável do real*” também como narrativa legendária, ele exerce uma “*função explicativa, fornecendo certo número de chaves para a compreensão do presente*” e se desdobra em “*papel de mobilização*”.

E se hoje, ao revermos as fotografias do Führer estas representam geralmente a encarnação da loucura humana, na época do Terceiro Reich (1933-1945) representavam exactamente o contrario para a sociedade alemã. “*(...) um mesmo mito é susceptível de oferecer múltiplas ressonâncias e não menos numerosas significações. Significações não apenas complementares, mas também frequentemente opostas.*” refere Raoul Girardet (1987:14).

De acordo com o artista e semiólogo alemão Rudolf Herz (1994), as imagens em especial as fotografias de Hitler, foram e ainda são, o epítome da sedução. Herz e Halfbrodt criaram um trabalho para o museu de

Munique em 1995, intitulado “Hoffmann e Hitler”. O objetivo da investigação era demonstrar a importância da estética para a criação do mito de Führer, fornecendo material para uma crítica empírica da teoria de manipulação da propaganda. A exibição deveria ter prosseguido de Munique para o Museu da História Alemã em Berlim, mas foi cancelada devido aos protestos do público. Os artistas queriam focar a estética das imagens de Hitler e analisar a forma como as poses, cenários, jogos de luz, contribuíram para a manipulação das massas. No entanto, a sociedade alemã encarou o projecto não como uma proposta artística, mas sim como um acontecimento politicamente incorrecto. Não obstante às objecções sociais e políticas, o carácter científico e a proposta crítica do projecto foram reconhecidos. Embora as fotografias fossem legendadas com um comentário crítico de ideologia anti-Nazi, não deixaram de ser alvo de múltiplas críticas, já que a exibição pública de imagens do Führer constitui até hoje um tabu social. Os artistas defendiam que estavam a ser alvo de críticas injustas e exageradas já que, desde há vários anos que as imagens e vídeos de Hitler apareciam de forma regular em documentários e filmes, na televisão, cinema e na imprensa, e nenhum desses suportes foram tão criticados. Este acontecimento e a reação da sociedade, demonstram segundo Rudolf Herz, que as fotografias do Führer assinadas por Hoffmann têm um poder de sedução e magnetismo superior a outros suportes mediáticos.

Uma breve Biografia

Quatro anos mais velho que Hitler, Heinrich Hoffmann nasceu em 1885 em Führ, perto de Nuremberga, entre pesadas máquinas fotográficas. Já o seu pai, Robert Hoffmann e o seu tio eram fotógrafos do príncipe regente Luitpold e do rei Ludwig III e moviam-se entre os mais altos círculos da sociedade real alemã.

O menino ganhou-lhe o gosto, aprendeu o ofício e cedo começou a sua carreira como fotógrafo. Inicialmente trabalhou como ajudante de fotógrafos itinerantes e mais tarde em dois ateliers de fotografia na cidade de Munique, capital da Baviera. Um dia, acaso do destino, fotografou um acidente com um cavalo e um peão e foi nesse momento que decidiu ser fotojornalista.

Hoffmann trabalhou com Hugo Thiele, fotógrafo da corte do Grão-Duque de Hesse, em Darmstadt, para Langbein em Heidelberg e com Theobald em Frankfurt. Depois mudou-se para Londres e publicou vários livros de arte, para além de desenvolver o seu trabalho como fotógrafo. Em 1908, abriu o seu primeiro estúdio no número 33 da *Schellingstrasse* também na cidade de Munique, mudando-se mais tarde para um estabelecimento maior, no número 50 da mesma rua.

O seu trabalho era altamente reconhecido e durante a Primeira Guerra Mundial, serviu como fotógrafo oficial do exército bávaro. Em 1919 publicou o primeiro livro de fotografia na Alemanha.

Também em 1919, (no mesmo ano que Hitler) filiou-se no Partido Nacional Socialista dos Trabalhadores Alemães - *Reichsbildberichterstatter der Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP). Foi numa sessão do partido, na cervejaria Baviera, que conheceu um jovem austríaco de seu nome Adolf Hitler.

De acordo com Joaquim Fest (1974:42), um dos biógrafos mais reconhecidos do Führer, Hitler filiou-se no NSDAP com o número 555, embora o partido tivesse uma dimensão muito menor do que o número possa demonstrar, já que para inflacionar o número de militantes, a numeração começava em 501. A amizade entre os dois cresceu, partilhavam ideologia e valores, amor pela arte e pela música tradicional alemã.

Hitler ainda pouco conhecido, começou a ser visita constante na casa de Hoffmann, situada no elegante subúrbio de *Bogenhausen*. Hitler era também estimado pela esposa do fotógrafo. A casa dos Hoffmann passou a ser o seu porto de abrigo, o “*um lugar onde podia descontraír, saborear bolos caseiros e falar sobre arte e música*” (Lambert, 2006:19).

Kurt Lüdecke no livro “I Knew Hitler” (2011) recorda que quando Hoffmann e Hitler, se conheceram, Hitler ainda recusava ser fotografado. Lüdecke, descreve que Hoffmann convenceu Hitler do poder da imagem para o êxito da propaganda política.

Quando em 1924, Hitler saiu da prisão de Landsberg e retomou as atividades políticas, Hoffmann tornou-se o seu fotógrafo pessoal. Identificou o potencial de Hitler como líder político e figura icónica, assegurando para si as funções de fotógrafo oficial “*quando o agitador do NSDAP mal parecia digno de registo*” (Lambert, 2006:20). Foi nessa altura que registou os direitos de propriedade e impressão da imagem do Führer e começou a fazer fortuna. Este passo estratégico, assegurou-lhe que pudesse cobrar uma comissão por cada fotografia publicada de Hitler e em apenas alguns anos, transformou-se em multimilionário. Em 1929, Hoffmann já tinha filiais em Berlim, Viena, Frankfurt, Paris e Haia. “*O hospedeiro e o parasita satisfaziam as necessidades mútuas. Cada um era inestimável para o outro.*” (Lambert, 2006:20)

A relação profissional e de amizade entre Hitler e Hoffmann foi crescendo com o passar dos anos. Segundo as memórias de Albert Speer (1970) “*Inside the Third Reich*”, Hitler frequentava assiduamente a casa dos

Hoffmann, onde apreciava a vida familiar, a boa comida caseira, o contacto com as crianças. Era também aí que se encontrava muitas vezes com os seus correligionários, Ernst Röhm e Bernhardt Stempfle, que tiveram uma influência muito importante na sua filosofia política.

Quando havia bom tempo, o café era servido no jardim dos Hoffmann, Rodeado pelos jardins das outras casas, não teria mais de 180 metros quadrados. Hitler tentava resistir ao bolo, mas acabava por aceitar, com muitos elogios a Frau Hoffmann, que lhe pusessem uma fatia no prato. Se o sol brilhasse, o Führer poderia inclusive tirar o casaco e estender-se na relva, em mangas de camisa. Com os Hoffmann, sentia-se em casa. (Speer, 1970:43)

Quando Hitler subiu ao cargo de Chanceler do Reich em Janeiro de 1933, a fortuna e a carreira de Hoffmann foram impulsionadas. Deslocava-se com frequência a Berlim, a Bona e um pouco por todo o lado para fotografar ao Führer. Curiosamente, foi no estúdio de fotografia de Hoffmann que Adolf Hitler conheceu a Eva Braun, aquela que terá sido a sua mais longa relação e com quem contraiu casamento no bunker, momentos antes de cometer suicídio. Eva Braun era ajudante de fotografia de Heinrich Hoffmann e tinha também uma paixão pela fotografia e pelo cinema.

Hoffmann era também amigo íntimo de Wilhelm Ohnesorge, que ocupou a posição de Ministro dos Correio durante o Terceiro Reich. Devido aos seus conhecimentos sobre royalties de publicação de livros e fotografias, Hoffmann ideou com Ohnesorge um sistema pelo qual Hitler recebia um royalty por cada vez que o seu perfil fosse impresso num selo.

A família Hoffmann, para além da estreita amizade com o Führer, movia-se nos mais altos círculos de influência nazi. A filha de Hoffmann, Henny, casou com o líder da Juventude Hitleriana, Baldur von Schirach. Em 1938, Hitler distinguiu Hoffmann com o título de “Professor” em respeito ao seu trabalho artístico e assessoria de imagem. Foi também Hoffmann que seleccionou as obras de arte que se exibiam nas exposições anuais no Haus der Deutschen Kunst em Munique. Em 1940, Hoffmann foi eleito para o Reichstag do distrito de Düsseldorf-Leste.

No final da 2ª Grande Guerra, em 1945, a série de fotografias e livros que Heinrich Hoffmann produziu e vendeu, tinha-o feito o mais rico e também o mais procurado dos fotógrafos do Terceiro Reich. Com 61 anos, foi julgado e condenado a quatro anos de prisão por participação nos lucros de guerra. A empresa editorial Max-Schirner-Verlag fundada por Hoffmann detinha os direitos de autor das fotografias e de todas as produções onde eram publicadas, desde selos oficiais, livros e postais, que se venderam aos milhares durante a década que Hitler esteve no poder. Fez uma verdadeira fortuna com a venda da propaganda Nazi. Em 1947 foi julgado no tribunal de Nuremberga e condenado a 10 anos de prisão, dos quais apenas cumpriu metade e foi-lhe confiscada quase toda a sua fortuna pessoal. Saiu em liberdade em 1950 e continuou a viver em Munique onde faleceu com 72 anos, a 16 de Dezembro de 1957.

A sua obra, inclui mais de dois milhões de fotografias de Hitler e grande parte esta guardada atualmente na *Die Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (Biblioteca Estatal de Munique). O arquivo fotográfico de Hoffmann contém material relacionado com o NSDAP durante a República de Weimar, o Terceiro Reich, a Segunda Guerra Mundial e os primeiros anos do pós guerra e está disponível para consulta online.

Considerações finais

Embora este artigo se tenha centrado na construção do mito e imagem política do Führer através das produções fotográficas de Heinrich Hoffmann, importa contextualizar que o seu trabalho, não deixou de ser uma pequena peça do grande puzzle que constituiu a máquina de propaganda do Terceiro Reich liderada por Joseph Goebbels. Através das diferentes estratégias promovidas pelo ministério de propaganda, a mensagem e a imagem manteve-se constantemente nos meios de comunicação impregnando o povo alemão com a visão do novo messias germânico, o libertador do povo alemão.

Sem a estratégia comunicativa e propagandística de Goebbels, Hitler nunca teria chegado ao poder. Goebbels que atuou como consultor de comunicação da campanha que ganhou as eleições e que conduziram Hitler ao cargo de Chanceler. Uma vez sentado no trono do poder, Hitler, confiou o Ministério Nacional para Esclarecimento do Povo e Propaganda ao “Herr Doctor Goebbels”, permitindo-lhe o controlo absoluto de todos os media e arte na Alemanha (Roberts, 1956:7).

No livro “State of Deception: The Power of Nazi Propaganda”, Bachrach (2009) documenta como entre 1920 e 1930, o partido Nazi utilizou posters, jornais, fotografias, rádio e o cinema para convencer milhões com a sua visão messiânica para uma nova Alemanha. A propaganda reforçava também o medo dos inimigos do Estado, os judeus, ciganos e outros grupos étnicos considerados inferiores e aos países que se opunham à ideologia nazi. As imagens promoveram a passividade social em relação ao sofrimento de vizinhos perseguidos ou enviados a campos de concentração, a aceitação de medidas iminentes contra os judeus, ciganos e outros grupos sociais e incitaram pessoas normais a realizar acções de violência.

A força galvanizadora do irracional era a sua arma secreta. O NSDAP estava próximo do cidadão comum e possuía uma capacidade inata de discernir e dar corpo aos anseios das massas, ainda que não formulados, tanto pessoais como patrióticos, recorrendo à organização de comícios gigantescos onde conseguiam hipnotizar os seus membros com a magia negra da oratória de Hitler. Primeiro os sonhos e as emoções; depois a razão, o cérebro, as estatísticas, os factos, a política. Ei-los nos filmes de Leni Riefenstahl ou em fotografias de propaganda (...) (Lambert, 2006: 95)

O objectivo do Ministério de Goebbels era garantir que os ideais preconizados pelo regime fossem transmitidos com sucesso através da arte, da música, do teatro, de filmes, livros, estações de rádio, materiais escolares e imprensa. Pretendiam criar uma lealdade política e uma consciência racial, preparar o povo para a guerra. A fotografia foi apenas um dos elementos comunicacionais utilizados pela máquina de propaganda. A rádio, o cinema, em especial as obras de Fritz Hippler e Leni Riefenstahl foram muito importantes na disseminação do anti-semitismo racial, da superioridade do poder militar alemão e da essência malévola de seus inimigos. A imprensa alemã, em particular, o tufão “*Der Stürmer*” publicavam caricaturas anti-semitas para descrever os judeus.

Sobre a propaganda, em 1924, Hitler escreveu no Mein Kampf, “*É uma arma terrível, se cai nas mãos de um especialista*”. (Hitler apud Bachrach *et al*, 2009)

Lasswell (1927) defendia que a propaganda obedecia a quatro princípios básicos: convocar o ódio contra o inimigo por meio de histórias de grande atrocidade; manter a amizade dos aliados; preservar a amizade e procurar a cooperação dos que se mantêm neutros; desmoralizar o inimigo. Segundo a análise de Jean-Marie Domenach (1950) em “A Propaganda Política”, a propaganda baseava as suas ações e estratégias de comunicação política em onze leis, das quais destacamos: a lei da simplicidade, de forma a que mensagem seja recebida e entendida sem esforço, sendo portanto importante o uso de símbolos e de slogans, e a fotografia um dos meios mais imediatos e mais simples para comunicar. Pretendia atacar os espíritos das massas pelo seu lado mais débil e inesperado utilizando uma forte carga emocional, instigando fobias comuns e tradicionais. Domenach ressalta ainda a lei da simpatia, as opiniões e os argumentos, não se combatem com a lógica mas sim com imagens que evocam sentimentos. Os veículos de propaganda incluíam assim todos os meios de informação que ajudassem na criação de uma aura de poder: eventos culturais, comícios políticos, grupos uniformizados, insígnia do partido.

Assim, se Hoffmann foi um grande contribuidor para a formação da imagem de Hitler, Goebbels foi o génio comunicador que conseguiu fazer chegar a ideologia nazi de forma efectiva a milhões de alemães. As fotografias de Hitler produzidas por Hoffmann tiveram um papel preponderante na construção e fortalecimento da imagem do líder. Não obstante das qualidades pessoais de Hitler, Hoffmann teve o talento de conseguir transmitir essa aura de magia e misticismo que embriagava multidões. O produto político “Hitler, o sedutor” presente nos narrativas míticas de Hoffmann foi o resultado do carisma e personalidade do líder, o trabalho estético de Hoffmann e efeito da propaganda do Nacional Socialismo ideada por Goebbels.

Imagens:

Fonte : Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München/Bildarchiv



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The Cold War

Resistinideg an inconvenient peace: Analyzing narratives of national identity by the Ukrainian Underground in Polish Galicia, 1945-47

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study the English language propaganda of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists – Ukrainian Insurgent Army (OUN-UPA) in Polish Galicia between 1945 and 1947. I will argue that the narratives propagated by the Ukrainian Underground associated with the OUN-UPA were carefully crafted to attain moral high ground over its opponents, crafting myths designed to attain legitimacy.

I will start by analysing the context of the Ukrainian resistance, before, during, and immediately after World War 2 (WW2). Then, I will asymmetrically compare the propaganda with current scholarship, focusing on how the agents are crafted in these narratives as being provided with intentions. Subsequently, I will analyse "discursive black holes"⁸³² - instances where episodes of history are taken as essential and without counter-point – by comparing the actions of the OUN-UPA as portrayed by the propaganda under analysis with what we know this group did. Not only was this selectivity in terms of episodes remembered and forgotten, but it is also apparent in terms of the use of language. Finally, I will focus on the three characteristics I find most prominent in these texts: victimhood, resentment and violence.

The sources analysed are articles from a collection published in Toronto: the *Litopys UPA*⁸³³. These are articles from underground periodicals that were published in Ukrainian resistance journals and then translated into English by the Ukrainian Underground in Polish Galicia, close to the frontier with the Ukrainian SSR, between 1946 and 1947, being then delivered to various western embassies in Warsaw, including the American Embassy. From there, they were taken to the USA and kept in the National Archives until they were discovered in 1982⁸³⁴. One can discern that there was a double audience: the Ukrainian people who read the publications in Ukrainian, and the Western Allies who were reading the English translations. Most of them were written by Iaroslav Starukh, the leader of the UPA beyond the Curzon Line⁸³⁵.

The OUN-UPA: A brief introduction

The OUN was created in 1929 by Yehven Konovalets, a veteran of WW1. It was mostly active in western Ukraine, which was the traditional birth-place of Ukrainian nationalism, in inter-war Poland⁸³⁶. With Poland's turn to nationalism in the 1930s, the OUN gathered support, especially among Galician youths. The OUN wanted an independent Ukraine, under the principle of self-determination, and they did not attempt to cooperate with the already uncooperative Polish government. They used terrorist tactics and subscribed to Dontsov's integral nationalism, an ideology that could be encompassed within the central-European turn to fascism during this period. In 1938, Konovalets was killed by a soviet agent and Andriy Mel'nyk, a moderate in line with the higher echelons of the movement, became the new leader⁸³⁷. The lower echelons, dominated by radical young members from Galicia, were not satisfied and in 1940 organized a secret conclave where they chose Stepan Bandera, a radical, to lead. Thus the OUN split into OUN-Mel'nyk (OUN-M) and OUN-Bandera (OUN-B)⁸³⁸.

⁸³² Patrick Finney, "On Memory, Identity and War", *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 6 (2002), p. 9.

⁸³³ Petro Potichnyj, ed., *Litopys UPA: English Language Publications of the Ukrainian Underground*, volume 17 (Toronto: Litopys UPA, 1988).

⁸³⁴ Potichnyj, *Litopys UPA*, p. 13.

⁸³⁵ Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera, ed., *Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground: 1943-1951* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies – University of Alberta, 1986), p. 404.

⁸³⁶ Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 127-129.

⁸³⁷ Wilson, *Ukrainians*, p. 131; Snyder, *Reconstruction*, pp. 163-164.

⁸³⁸ John Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 2nd ed, (Littleton: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1980), pp. 55-58.

With the Molotov-Ribbentrop treaty, in 1939, and the division of Poland, western Ukraine became part of the Soviet Union. This was the beginning of the process that turned this region into what Timothy Snyder came to call the "blood lands". Stalin deported and killed most of the *intelligentsia* of the region, narrowing the political spectrum and leaving the OUN as the only choice for those who wanted to resist⁸³⁹. Soon after, in 1941, the III Reich invaded the newly acquired soviet territories. This was the "second imposition of totalitarian practices in three years", and it would be a "formative"⁸⁴⁰ one for many Ukrainians: some had already been policemen during the first soviet period, and they would become policemen during the Nazi occupation. This seems to have been truer for the OUN-B⁸⁴¹. By the time of the German occupation, they expected a new Ukrainian independent State to be supported, but it soon became clear that it was not going to happen. The Germans foiled both attempts to create an independent Ukraine (one by OUN-M, another by OUN-B), arrested the members they could, which included both leaders, and deported them to concentration camps and/or killed them⁸⁴².

While the OUN-M continued to collaborate, forming what became known as the *SS-Galizien*⁸⁴³, the OUN-B officially started to resist the Germans. In the meantime, they had also been engaged in struggles against other partisan groups, but it would be in 1943, with Stalingrad and the OUN-B congress, that the physical conflict would intensify, with the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). This military organization was mostly composed of OUN-B partisans who were previously in the Nazi police squads, where they contributed to the Holocaust⁸⁴⁴. In that endeavour, these men learned how to perform successful acts of ethnic cleansing with logistic efficiency, which would prove fundamental for their actions in 1943 and 1944⁸⁴⁵. In these years, while fighting the Nazis with doubtful effort and efficacy⁸⁴⁶, they also fought the Soviet Partisans, the Red Army and the Polish Home Army (AK). In all likelihood, while collaboration with the Nazis was limited and some small independent partisan actions were taken, most efforts were directed at Polish civilians. A campaign of ethnic cleansing was unleashed against them in Galicia and Volhynia in order to reduce the Polish presence in these regions. The reasoning was that Poland wouldn't be able to claim these territories after the end of the war if they had no Polish people in them. This was made possible by their expertise in ethnic cleansing tactics gathered in the police and by their growing numbers. At this time, there was such a presence of the UPA in Galicia that they effectively controlled most of the rural territory in the region. Around the same time, the AK started a campaign of retribution with comparable cruelty against Ukrainian villages in both regions.⁸⁴⁷

Despite the integral nationalist ideology, 1943 was the year when the OUN-UPA claimed to shift towards democracy and away from authoritarianism, although nationalism remained a constant. It seems somewhat contradictory that, in the same congress, the movement decided for democracy and for Polish "eradication"⁸⁴⁸.

Finally, after attempting to stop the Red Army unsuccessfully, the OUN-UPA continued to oppose the Soviet occupation of western Ukraine after WW2, both behind and beyond the Curzon Line (in the People's Republic of Poland, where the Polish Army was led by Soviet commanders⁸⁴⁹). It is on this particular region that this paper focuses, in western Galicia, where the Polish Army started a campaign to send the Ukrainian and Lemko population to the Ukrainian SSR⁸⁵⁰. The UPA, mainly consisting of ex-members of the OUN-M faction who had joined in 1945, resisted this policy however they could. The violence of the Polish displacement was comparable to the violence the UPA had unleashed in the same region only 2 years before. These operations culminated in operation Vistula (1947), where the remaining population who refused to be resettled in the Ukrainian SSR was forcibly dispersed throughout the western margin of the Vistula. Disseminated through a vast amount of land, and without the possibility of resisting anymore, the OUN-UPA ceased acting beyond the Curzon Line, but would continue inside Soviet Ukraine until the mid-1950s, though mostly underground⁸⁵¹.

⁸³⁹ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 163-164.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁸⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-162.

⁸⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

⁸⁴³ David Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), pp. 183-193.

⁸⁴⁴ John-Paul Himka, , "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Police, and the Holocaust" (paper presented at the Seventh Annual Danyliw Research Seminar on Contemporary Ukraine, 20-22 October 2011).

⁸⁴⁵ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 162.

⁸⁴⁶ Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 116.

⁸⁴⁷ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 169.

⁸⁴⁸ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 174.

⁸⁴⁹ The representatives of the Ukrainian Population living beyond the Curzon Line, "New Lidice", in *Litopys UPA*, p. 18.

⁸⁵⁰ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 190-193.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-200.

A myth of good and evil

OUN-UPA propaganda was an important point of focus of the Ukrainian Underground. This was as true inside of the Ukrainian SSR as it was beyond the Curzon Line. Regardless of where the UPA was acting, their style of guerrilla warfare required the support of the population not only for logistical reasons, but also for new recruits and for legitimating their own existence. This was the reason why, after Operation Vistula, the UPA stopped acting in Poland⁸⁵². The attaining of popular support was, in large measure, due to propaganda through a moral explanation: the *good fight*:

"[... W]e are not afraid at all of an open discussion, polemic, critique, as well as political fight against anybody, for we are persuaded of doubtless *righteousness of our point of view*, and believe that any honest man being acquainted with it *must* agree with us, here." (my emphasis)⁸⁵³

The way to attain moral high ground was through the deconstruction and rebuilding of the characters involved in the recent conflicts. In large measure, this was through the equating of Soviet Bolshevism with German Nazism⁸⁵⁴. These were portrayed as oppressors, seeking a "total dictatorship" with "complete disregard for the individual". Their "centralist system" was provided with "police terror", "government propaganda", "glorifying the person of the dictator", "megalomania", "monopolistic parties", white washing of their past crimes, "militarism", "racism" and, above all, "imperialism"⁸⁵⁵. When comparing the two kinds of political systems, they state "that there are identical terrorist methods, identical systems and identical criminals - perpetrators of genocide"⁸⁵⁶. The thickness⁸⁵⁷ of such concepts as "terrorist", "criminals" or "perpetrators" is apparent: there is a strong negative connotation. These are obviously value-laden concepts that portray the object of study – Soviet Russia – as a moral *evil*⁸⁵⁸.

Moreover, those responsible are *intentionally* pursuing and concealing such policies. One of the articles produced in Polish Galicia tells us how the hunger of 1947, much like those of 1923 and 1932, was part of the nationalities policy⁸⁵⁹. It is described as "political dryness [*sic*]"⁸⁶⁰, and just as before, thick concepts abound, not only pertaining to the morality of the situation, but to the intention and personality behind it:

"[... T]he hunger, this the greatest mass murder of millions of men, is a *conscious*, plan, *organized action by the bolshevik Muscovy* which considers the famine as an instrument and weapon of her imperialist policy for *enslaving and exterminating* the other nations! [*sic*]" (my emphasis).⁸⁶¹

In fact, it is argued that there was no drought. The cereal that was supposed to feed the people was sent to foreign countries as propaganda⁸⁶². This action is made all the more heinous because of where it is perpetrated – where cereal was produced:

"Thus, they have cleaned out, sucked up everything, that to-day it is, indeed, dreadful to look at this the most fertile, the richest country in whole Europe, where now starve millions of people, where the men eat each other! [*sic*]"⁸⁶³

All of this because the Ukrainian people would not conform to Soviet oppression. This is a clear exposition of the dichotomy between civilization and barbarity that is recurrent in east-European propaganda throughout the century⁸⁶⁴. The attribution of agency to a partly fictionalized personality – the "Muskovite Bolsheviks" –

⁸⁵² Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 200.

⁸⁵³ Ukrainian Insurgents, "To Brotherly Czech and Slovak Nations", in *Litopys UPA*, p. 132.

⁸⁵⁴ Jaroslav Starukh, "The Spectre of Fascism", in *Political Thought*, pp. 143-167; This text is also in the *Litopys UPA*, but the translation is better in the aforementioned version.

⁸⁵⁵ Starukh, "The Spectre of Fascism", pp. 146-152.

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁸⁵⁷ Thick concepts are concepts that share descriptive content with a moral evaluation of virtues and vices; Simon Kirchin, ed., *Thick Concepts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁸⁵⁸ For illustration: "Stalin decided to finish [Hitler's] work of Ukrainian displacement that he began with Hitler together"; Representatives, "New Lidice", pp. 17.

⁸⁵⁹ Jaroslav Starukh, "New Famine Catastrophe in Ukraine", in *Litopys UPA*, p. 74.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

⁸⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁸⁶⁴ In Finney's argument, the template of good versus evil is WW2, not a larger conception of imperialism, but conceptually both cases are very much commensurable; Finney, "On Memory", pp. 1-2.

which is the sum of all evils against which the UPA fights – is also a common framework in propaganda⁸⁶⁵. It is an essentialization of the enemy which is attributed with a psychology. This psychology differs greatly from the one attributed by modern scholars, who often characterize these developments as rooted in miscommunications within the chain of command, not to mention as improvisation in an experiment quite different from anything tried before. The case of the nationalities policy is a clear example of this: it is seen by Martin and Suny as a case of pragmatism rather than intentional malicious punishment⁸⁶⁶.

Remembering and forgetting

The propaganda of the OUN-UPA in Polish Galicia did not only depend on how the issues were framed. It also depended on what episodes were propagated and which ones were forgotten. As we have already seen, the UPA remembered quite distinctly the episodes of starvation that had happened, along with those still happening. However, it cannot be said that these particular tokens of memory distributed regularly throughout the past. In fact, 1943 was remembered as the year of the beginning of the struggle, but very little of that struggle was talked about. This is what can be called a "discursive black hole": where the recent history is somewhat forgotten, but a more distant past is clearly recalled as myth, often even as myth of origin, in order to sustain present identity⁸⁶⁷.

A very clear case of the use of memory in UPA propaganda was the episode where the Polish Army "ruined" the village of Zavadka Morokhivska, in the Carpathians, in 1946. The article published denouncing it referred to how "the present Polish army under the command of soviet officers let unfettered an awful terrorism against the Ukrainian population"⁸⁶⁸, describing the gruesome deaths in detail, using the memories of those who survived. Cutting limbs, burning people alive, disembowelling, poking eyes, were some of the methods used, and were also confirmed by depositions of polish soldiers captured by the UPA, although most likely under duress⁸⁶⁹.

It is somewhat unremarkable that these methods were used, since, just as the UPA learned many of such methods during WW2, so did the Poles forming some of the ranks of the Polish Army after the war. What is remarkable is that these very same methods, portrayed in sources as the doing of animals and "sadists", were in fact popular during the UPA-led ethnic cleansing of Poles in Galicia and Volhynia. Indeed the narratives from Zavadka Morokhivska, aptly called new Lidice in reference to the Czech massacre of 1942, and that of Glebochyca, told by Snyder, where the UPA massacred Poles, are so similar they could be confused with each other⁸⁷⁰. One could speculate that those fighting in the Polish Galician UPA in 1946, being mostly former SS-Galizien members, were not involved in such atrocities, nor were they aware of them. They were, after all, not involved in the Holocaust⁸⁷¹. However, the ethnic cleansing was thorough and in the same regions. Much more likely is that they either thought that, as collaborators, the Poles deserved it, or that such accounts were exaggerated. While many historians nowadays consider the UPA a gruesome partisan army, it is much more likely that some members or supporters, being acquainted with such narratives, simply did not believe them entirely.

The following black hole represents another more ominous kind of black hole, which implies white-washing of history. I speak of the notion of a democratic, freedom-loving OUN-UPA. This is seen through the profuse usage of freedom, liberty, democracy, independence (suggesting peaceful coexistence for all peoples), throughout the sources. Despite the slogan "Freedom to Peoples, freedom to the individual"⁸⁷², the turn towards democracy in the 1943 OUN conference was merely a widening of the ideology. Individual liberties were stressed, but the ethnic cleansing of Poles was also approved⁸⁷³. Clearly, liberty and democracy applied only to ethnic Ukrainians, and not even to all of them, as would be proved by the OUN-UPA actions against any Ukrainian who would not support them⁸⁷⁴. Such terror practices were indeed the reason why they lost support later, especially what little support they had in the eastern regions of the Ukrainian SSR⁸⁷⁵. Integral

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.4

⁸⁶⁶ Terry Martin, Ronald Suny, "Introduction", in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 6.

⁸⁶⁷ Patrick Finney, "On Memory", p. 8.

⁸⁶⁸ Representatives, "New Lidice", p. 18.

⁸⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18-30.

⁸⁷⁰ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, pp. 170-172.

⁸⁷¹ Marples, *Heroes*, chapter 5, p. 27.

⁸⁷² Statiev, *Counterinsurgency*, p. 97.

⁸⁷³ Snyder, *Reconstruction*, p. 174.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁸⁷⁵ Statiev, *Counterinsurgency*, pp. 123-131.

nationalist methods and goals had not left the ideological framework of the resistance movement. Probably, democracy was emphasised in propaganda to seek help from the western allies, particularly the USA⁸⁷⁶. These texts were, after all, translated into English to reach them.

And yet, when speaking of the elections in the USSR, their lack of democratic value and lack of freedom of the individual and freedom of the general will to pursue its destiny, not to mention soviet coercion, are extremely emphasised:

"Whatever critique, in this system, even if sometimes allowed, is likewise only that official, that "organized" one – a part of propaganda delusion. [...] The population of the Ukraine having not any possibility in any way to manifest its will in elections, manifested it by the boycott of them. [...] During all that anti-electoral campaign were killed on battle-field in defence of free, independent will of Ukrainian people more than five thousand of U.P.A. officers and soldiers as well as leaders of Ukrainian evolutionary, free movement. [...] the Ukrainian people stood up unanimously for liberty of manifesting their own will. [sic]"⁸⁷⁷

This is also to be seen in a letter to the Czechs and Slovaks, published in 1947, again during the period of greatest violence of the OUN-UPA against Ukrainian peasants. The Bolsheviks were "the enemies of any national and human freedom"⁸⁷⁸. The UPA was "against any reaction, against any powers of reactionary imperialism, against slavery of nations and man"⁸⁷⁹. It is explicitly said that the UPA never collaborated with the Germans⁸⁸⁰. Even the killings in Volhynia were exclusively attributed to the Germans in 1943:

"Why, no one may contradict the fact that U.P.A. rose, organized itself and attained its great power just in the fight against the Germans! Ask your brethren, the Czech peasants from numerous Czech colonies in Volynia who saw our struggles, and they will tell you about the beginnings and growing of the U.P.A."⁸⁸¹

As we have already previously learned, this is not true. In Volhynia in 1943 and 1944, the efforts of the UPA were primarily directed towards clearing the Polish population so that no territorial claims could be made after the war⁸⁸². As we can see, this actually goes beyond selectivity into re-writing history. A great deal of forgetting is present in these accounts.

From memory into propaganda

The narratives that are constructed in this collection display three main characteristics which separate them from what would otherwise be another instance of chaotic, value-laden, experience-based memory. We have the *victimization* of the Ukrainian nation, narratives that are built on, and propose to develop, a background of *resentment* that is widely felt, and *violence*, not only because these narratives deal with violent events – a struggle – but because they *are* that struggle, aiming at the changing of hearts and minds, the rallying of the Ukrainian population, through the use of powerful, tragic prose.

Victimization

Episodes of pain abound in these texts, as does the rhetoric that comes with them. The aforementioned article on the ruin of Zavadka Morokhivska might be the most expressive, being based on personal accounts and emphasising the suffering of the Ukrainian and Lemko population of the Polish side of Galicia. Another good example is the displacement of the Bishop of Peremyshl:

"As part of this martyrology of Ukrainian people are unheard of, barbarian cruelties which is surpassing this share of Ukrainian population that remained in the borders of present Polish State, westerly Curzon line. [...] With that outrage act were broken once more all the human rights, were trampled all the religious and national holiness and human laws. The resembling violence, lawlessness and terrorism acts as another

⁸⁷⁶ Himka, "The organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Unwelcome elements of an Identity Project", *Ab Imperio*, 4 (2010), p. 92.

⁸⁷⁷ Iaroslav Starukh, "Elections in U.S.S.R.", in *Litopys UPA*, pp. 44, 45, 49, 50-52.

⁸⁷⁸ Ukrainian Insurgents, "To Brotherly Czech", p. 132.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

⁸⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁸⁸² Snyder, *Reconstruction*, pp. 167-168.

many times worse, are being perpetrated over the Ukrainian people, as well as over the other, by bloodthirsty Muscovite-bolshevist terrorism enslaved peoples, allwhere reaches its power. [*sic*]"⁸⁸³

"Martyrology" should read martyrdom, but it is a fortunate mistake in that *martyrology* highlights the logic of martyrs in discourse. It is the likelihood that this is not merely a naïve concept that makes it so identifiable with propaganda. Another instance that indicates the all-pervasiveness of martyrdom is the assertion that "[Ukrainians] know the best the lot of a slave"⁸⁸⁴. That this is in the text that introduces a nationalist resistance movement to another nation (Czechoslovakia) is quite revealing of its identity value.

This is further justified by the awareness of such rhetorical techniques evidenced in other texts from the Ukrainian SSR. Poltava, writing about the justification of the necessity of an Ukrainian national state, analyses in depth the myths that would allow the bourgeois to rally the masses throughout the 19th century. He further connects that sort of reasoning to the myth of the lack of German *lebensraum* as an abuse of the concept of the nation against its own interests⁸⁸⁵. This article, together with other articles from the same collection⁸⁸⁶, serves as proof that the OUN was not merely a group of bandits in the Ukraine, but a sophisticated resistance group with knowledge of and considerable dominion over the notion and techniques of propaganda.

Resentment

Resentment is usually the consequence of a history of victimhood. It can only develop without a counter-punctual reading of history⁸⁸⁷. In the Ukrainian-Polish/Russian case, there are plenty of reasons that can generate resentment provided that there is a selective use of history. Right after the Ukrainians tried twice to form an independent republic after WWI, the territory was divided by the Poles and the Russians. While this is not often explicitly stated, Poltava writes about it in his ideological paper about the Ukrainian nationality and the necessity of independence: "The concept of an independent Ukraine is also a response to the bitter historical experience of the Ukrainian people"⁸⁸⁸. The Nazis also profited from driving Poles and Ukrainians against each-other, which undoubtedly rehashed resentments from the interwar period. Finally, the resistance movements in the blood lands generally killed many more civilians than military targets. This was as true for the UPA as it was for the AK and for red partisans⁸⁸⁹, not to mention other units dressed as either Polish or Ukrainian precisely in order to incite to violence⁸⁹⁰.

But resentment has deeper roots in these texts. It is not simply that these texts are partial, using silences as well as outcries. They also aim at a narrower view of events. The systematic use of metonymy - the trope of language whereby a whole is summed up in an essential part - is overwhelming as a method of explanation in these texts. It is not just the characterization in terms of victims and perpetrators: elections are explained through a reduction to a "propaganda campaign"⁸⁹¹; hunger is reduced to political act⁸⁹²; communism is reduced to fascism⁸⁹³. If we add that explanation often rests on causal relations, we have an almost clear-cut example of tragic emplotment of the past⁸⁹⁴. Through such a prism, it becomes easier to understand how such explanations are more conducive to narrowed perspectives: after all, *either* hunger is political (and intentional) *or* it is accidental. By arguing it was not accidental, the propagandists are actually arguing for an intention to harm, and thus writing a tragedy - an account of inevitable conflict. Resentment can then be seen as a consequence of a "squinting" point of view - that a people is *either* victim *or* perpetrator. A certain brutality is inherent in these tragic plots.

⁸⁸³ The representatives of the Ukrainian Population living beyond the Curzon Line, "The Displacement of his excellency Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Ukrainian Catholic clergy of Peremyshl", in *Litopys UPA*, pp. 31, 36.

⁸⁸⁴ Ukrainian Insurgents, "To Brotherly Czech", p. 136.

⁸⁸⁵ P. Poltava, "The Concept of an Independent Ukraine and current political trends in the World", in *Political Thought*, pp. 182-188.

⁸⁸⁶ Potichnyj, *Political Thought*, pp. 119-225.

⁸⁸⁷ This can be clearly seen in the Polish case, where resentment towards other European nations is often accompanied with the exclusive focus on the victim's account of a country that was divided and occupied multiple times against its will; Marc Ferro, *Resentment in History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), pp. 74-76.

⁸⁸⁸ Poltava, "Independent Ukraine", p. 175.

⁸⁸⁹ Statiev, *Soviet Counterinsurgency*, p. 125.

⁸⁹⁰ Jeffrey Burds, "Agentura: Soviet Informants' Networks & the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-1948", *East European Politics and Societies*, 11:89 (1996), p. 96.

⁸⁹¹ Starukh, "Elections in U.S.S.R.", p. 44.

⁸⁹² *Idem*, "Famine".

⁸⁹³ *Idem*, "Spectre of Fascism".

⁸⁹⁴ Using Hayden White's theory of tropes and his notion of modes of emplotment; *vide* Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

Violence

The violence used in these texts is not simply in their describing violent affairs, but in portraying an unavoidable conflict. This can be seen, first of all, in the type of thick concepts that are used. They are not marginally negative or positive: they are tremendously powerful: "awful terrorism", "ruthless expelling of all Ukrainians", martyrdom, "Tens of years of heroic tradition [*sic*]", just to mention a few, both negative and positive⁸⁹⁵.

More importantly, these accounts turn suffering into *moral and political capital*, even when the suffering was partly caused by those publicizing it. Because these men struggle as they do, virtuously, they deserve self-determination. Because they are so heroic, they deserve to lead their nation. No doubt this influenced many to join their ranks, if the otherwise widespread brutality hadn't done so already, and as for those that didn't support their cause, they were traitors and were abused, often being killed⁸⁹⁶. This supports the notion that organized violence *is* narrative building and narrative building *becomes* organized violence. Tragedies are stories of conflict, and conflict isn't just told: it is lived.

These narratives, being as violent and powerful as they are, were an important part of the process of identity formation in the Ukraine, particularly in the west, where the UPA was most supported and active. Despite claims by authors such as Himka that the UPA was not *and is not* representative of the Ukrainian people⁸⁹⁷, it must be acknowledged that they had a profound effect that is still divisive decades after⁸⁹⁸. These are not merely descriptive texts, they are inscriptive, perhaps as much as the atrocities committed in this period.

Conclusion:

This paper shows how the propaganda of the OUN-UPA beyond the Curzon Line in the post-war period aimed at attaining a moral high ground that would justify their continuing the struggle against communism, towards independence. This was attained through the deconstruction and rebuilding of the participants in this conflict, making convenient characters in a myth of good *versus* evil. Essentialism and attribution of intentions were paramount in this exercise. Without them, tragedy would not be evident. This implied a great deal of selectivity in telling the story of this struggle, which resulted in a set of narratives based on the victimhood of the Ukrainian nation, supporting its resentment and acting as an agent of violence within an already violent environment.

This amounts to a radical form of "othering" with a teleology. The "us *versus* them" logic pervades the propaganda towards the continuation of a war under the guise of resistance to it. In order to do that, it was understood that a nation willing to fight for its existence was necessary, and the making of such a body implied the tearing apart of another: the Ukraine that would accept communism. Destruction was a form of building. Despite the rhetoric about the natural necessity that was the ethnic nation, neither memory nor identity were entirely regarded as natural facts.

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⁸⁹⁵ Potichnyj, *Litopys UPA*, pp. 18, 29, 31, 132-133.

⁸⁹⁶ Statiev, *Counterinsurgency*, pp. 130-131.

⁸⁹⁷ Himka, "Unwelcome Elements", pp. 90-91.

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The Atlantic Community: **NATO's First Documentaries (1949-1957)**

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Abstract

At the end of World War II, the new world order was conditioned by the creation of two opposing geopolitical and defence blocks that confronted each other in the so-called Cold War. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was created in 1949 in opposition to the Soviet sphere of influence in order to secure the defence of Western Europe in alliance with Canada and the United States of America.

At the beginning of this new war, which was often experienced in a non-explicit way, propaganda mechanisms served to construct the idea of the Atlantic Community founded on four main pillars: liberty, democracy, development and defence. Cinema and television were important media in spreading the message of Western military cohesion in association with the Marshall Plan, bringing new patterns and language codes for national development according to North America.

The Atlantic Community documentary series, produced for NATO during the 1950s, dedicates one episode to each country member of the Alliance. The series strongly reflects Western European reconstruction efforts under the Pax Americana rule, an attempt to amalgamate nations that sometimes had very different and antagonistic origins and historical trajectories.

Keywords

Atlantic Community, NATO, propaganda, documentary, Atlantic world.

1. Introduction

The nature of the globalized images capable of summarizing and explaining the world underwent significant changes during the second half of the twentieth century.⁸⁹⁹ With the end of the Second World War, Hollywood asserted its supreme position in international film production and distribution to Western countries as a result of a concerted policy reflecting North American hegemony over one of the two parts of the world divided by the Cold War. During the 1950s, the reputation of each country was forged by the US on all levels and in all cinematic genres and sub-genres. Whether historical or espionage, educational or entertainment films, or even large-scale Disney productions, many of these productions transmitted visions of the world – and certain countries in particular – that conformed to a North American perspective. Many of them were based on the system of film stars, who left off fighting the forces of the Axis (Trumpbour 2002: 78; Mateus 2010), in order to take up the fight in the postwar period against the Communist ideologies of the other side of the world (May 2000: 175). These images were the result of a long tradition of stereotypes, preconceived ideas that frequently depended on the ethnic background of the filmmakers, many of whom were immigrants or came from families that had emigrated (Fraser 1988). This process clearly began before the Second World War with the association Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) (Vasey 1997) and was closely linked with US foreign policy during the Cold War.

The present study is an analysis of this cinematic construction of the world, focusing on a series of documentaries produced in the 1950s by NATO. *The Atlantic Community* comprises 15 episodes, each of which is dedicated to one of the countries that formed part of the Alliance at the time. Having first reflected on the social and political context in which the series was created and produced, this study then attempts to

⁸⁹⁹ An initial version of this text was presented at the 3rd International History and Film Conference (III Congreso Internacional de Historia y Cine: modelos de interpretación para el cine histórico) in Santiago de Compostela from 3 to 5 November 2011 with the title “Liberty and Defence, Democracy and Development: Strategies for Political Affirmation in the Documentary Series *The Atlantic Community*” (NATO, 1950s). This project will be developed with the publication of 4 papers.

identify some of the main patterns employed in creating these documentaries, which are worthy of a comparative analysis.

2. Context and analysis criteria

In the years immediately following the Second World War, the new map of Europe was constructed based on a series of military and economic initiatives undertaken on each side of the two geopolitical blocks constituted by the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

This new world order based on a military and ideological definition of Atlanticism was founded on a succession of treaties, programmes and new institutions (Moreira 2001: 52-58). The formation of a trade and defence union in the countries occupied in part by the United States soon became a priority. Following the first treaty on mutual support between France and the United Kingdom (Dunkirk, 4 March 1947), the European Recovery Program was launched in Washington (Harvard, 5 July 1947). This programme was previously “offered”, according to US conditions, to all European countries but was eventually rejected by Molotov in the name of countries under the influence of the Soviet Union during the Paris talks of the summer of that year (Gilbert 2009: 937-938). The programme adopted the title of the Marshall Plan and was finally approved in Congress in Washington during the following year, based on the administration of a first lot of annual credits to be applied until 1952 (Droz, Rowley 1988: 192-193).

The dissemination of the Marshall Plan was founded on a solid production of more than 200 documentaries dedicated to informing the public on how the funds were used in various reconstruction and development projects, as well as providing scientific knowledge and general information.⁹⁰⁰ Of the series produced by the Marshall Plan Motion Picture Section in Paris (Selling 2011) we can highlight *The Marshall Plan at Work in...* (1950) with episodes each dedicated to one of the 13 countries where the Plan was to be implemented; *Changing the Face of Europe* (1951), comprising 6 episodes translated into 13 languages and distributed in 18 countries, and *Strength for the Free World* (1952), made up of 24 episodes targeted at North American audiences (Marshall 2011).



Figura 1. Poster featuring the flags of the countries assisted by the Marshall Plan (1950-1951).

It is in this context, in an attempt to reproduce and build on the synergistic propaganda achieved in the dissemination of the Marshall Plan, in which the series *The Atlantic Community – Know your Allies* should be understood, as part of other informative and training materials produced for NATO. In fact, featuring in the scant technical records available for each of the episodes it is possible to find directors such as Vittorio Gallo and Ytsen Brusse, and even the photography director Francesco Vitrotti, who had already produced a large number of documentaries for the Marshall Plan.

⁹⁰⁰ For a more precise idea of the use of cinema as a propaganda tool in Portugal, see “The extraordinary adventure of a quart of milk” (Rollo, 2007: 596-598).

The NATO documentaries correspond to a strengthening of defence propaganda in relation to the economic component of the organization. The Marshall Plan documentaries were first produced in the sphere of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) which was replaced at the end of 1951 by the Mutual Security Agency (MSA). This is also why the series reflects the gradually increasing concern with defence at the expense of a first phase in which economic support and food aid had an equally important role.

The series *The Atlantic Community* dedicated each of its episodes to one of the 15 members that made up the Alliance before the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1955. Despite the fact that we only know the production date of the documentary on Canada (1956), it can be supposed that the series as a whole was produced between 1953 and 1957. The period corresponds to the first years of activity of the Committee on Information and Cultural Relations (CICR) formed in 1953 as a successor to the Working Group on Information and Cultural Cooperation (1952-53), in collaboration with the Nato Information Service (NATIS) and NATO Secretariat (NATO 2011). The documentaries do not refer to the Treaty of Paris 1957 that founded the European Economic Community (EEC), let alone the withdrawal of the French Mediterranean Fleet in 1959, although some of the documentaries do mention the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) established in 1951.

The CICR was not only responsible for the identification of activities adapted to cultural cooperation between the organization's member countries but also for the definition of the messages to be transmitted to the different countries and the methods to be employed in each situation (Milloy 2006: 90). Despite the fact that the information programme was allocated a much lower percentage of NATO's total operating value (in 1955 the information budget was US\$300,000 while the defence budget was US\$50 billion [Milloy 2006: 91]), the production of this kind of materials was associated with a comprehensive offer of various products linked to dissemination, military training and the training of civilian teams (Ismay, 1954). They included youth exchange programmes, grants and scholarships, dissemination activities undertaken in collaboration with the press, and the publication of the illustrated book *Atlantic Alliance* in all Community languages, with an initial 250,000 copies destined for schools and travelling exhibitions in the sphere of non-military cooperation, including the so-called *Caravan of Peace* exhibition which was visited by 3 million people in Italy, Greece and Turkey and toured the capitals of the French provinces between 1953 and 1954 (in Rennes in May 1954 it had reached 1 million visitors, while a reduced version visited Portugal in the autumn of 1954). This was followed by other exhibitions up until the 1960s (Risso 2011). The exhibition programme comprised two main sections. The first was dedicated to the so-called "NATO theme", and explained, by means of maps, photographs and 15 and 35 mm films, the importance of the peace and freedom defended by NATO as an "Answer to the Threat" caused by the "acts of Soviet aggression between 1945 and 1950" (NATO 1954). The second part, dedicated to the "national theme", aimed to explain the contribution and position of the host country receiving the exhibition in relation to the Alliance as a whole.

The true number of viewers that saw the series *The Atlantic Community* is not known, but it very probably included the visitors to the travelling exhibitions, the military staff and civilians who had attended the many training activities held, "information officers" and many audiences at education centres (Gheciu 2005: 57-58). The series also contained messages of two different types: the first concerned the general context and propaganda of the organization, while the second were related to the specific characteristics of each country.

3. A comparative analysis

Despite being produced by different directors and dealing with a range of countries, the various episodes were structured around a similar format, meaning that they are easily identifiable as belonging to the same series. The generic opening sequence consists in the projection of the name of each of the fifteen countries superimposed on the image of their respective flags in alphabetic order in English: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The sequence of images and flags fluttering in the wind, accompanied by a military march both vibrant and soothing by turns, is always followed by the NATO flag and the words "NATO presents a New Film Series *The Atlantic Community*", with the 15 flags as a backdrop. The title "Introducing..." followed by the name of the country opens the narration of each episode, voiced off-screen by Robert Beatty (1909-92) in the case of the majority of countries, excepting France and Germany. The same voice, one that was well known to BBC radio listeners, marks the common identity of all the various episodes in the documentary series.

The presentation of each country also follows a particular pattern. In general, the episodes start by exploring some aspects of the history and culture of the country in question, accompanied by maps showing the strategic position of each one. Then, some specific features of the country's agriculture and industry are described. Subsequently, democracy and education are also covered before the episodes end with messages about the country's contribution to the defence capacity of the Alliance as a whole. This order is a general trend although it is not strictly adhered to in all cases. Often, cultural aspects are also referred to in the middle of the narration, and images of progress are alternated with others related to military defence measures. Each episode ends with a "filmic metaphor" which aims to leave viewers with a constructive message summing up the intrinsic character of each people and its contribution to a possible if necessary joint response from the heart of the organization.



Figura 2. The flags shown during the opening sequence of the series *The Atlantic Community*, © Nato Channel TV 2011.

3.1. Common traditions and historical experiences

The documentaries refer to the golden moments of the history of each of the European countries, as well as to their military capability and the historical defence of their territory. Clichés are presented from their glorious pasts as warriors (the Scandinavian countries), explorers (Portugal) or artists (France). Italy, Greece and Turkey are presented as the descendents of millennia-old civilizations. Greece is portrayed as having contributed philosophy, France the modern concept of democracy, and the United Kingdom "a complex social adventure". The images show the numerous museums, art cities and rich cultural heritage that evidence their contribution to Western culture.

While every European country is distinguished for one historical or cultural aspect or another, the United States and Canada are portrayed as nations aware of the "historical debt" they owe to their European cultural origins. In the documentary on Canada, the narrative claims that the country is a "North American nation": "Though Canadians wouldn't thank you to be confused with their neighbours, their understanding of American ways is as friends and relatives instead of strangers". Nevertheless, the narrator states, "Their motto is *je me souviens* ("I remember")".

The United States of America are also presented as a country constructed with the efforts of all European peoples. In the US episode, the 13 European countries are all mentioned, completing the phrase: "To this land they have been coming for over 300 years: peoples of Europe [...] They and their descendents came into wilderness and created one nation, the United States of America".

Beyond the establishment of an "area comprised culturally of the Greek, Roman and Judeo-Christian legacy" (Moreira 2011: 52), the portrayal of the countries of the Alliance is always accompanied by maps that more efficiently explain their geostrategic location and position in relation to the Allies and Soviet countries in a schematic way. In this context, the main messages can be summed up as follows: the Canadian territories of the Arctic form an important flank of the Atlantic Community; Belgium is situated at the crossroads of the European territory; Denmark surveys the Baltic Sea; France is a world power with territories in the South Pacific and Equatorial Africa; Germany is divided by the Iron Curtain; Greece has borders with hostile countries (Albania and Romania); Luxembourg is the only NATO country not to have a coastline; Norway has

a border with Russia; Portugal's Archipelago of the Azores has a strategic position in the Atlantic Ocean; Great Britain is a European and world power; and Turkey controls the Bosphorus, between Asia, Russia, the Middle East and Africa. The map of the United States and Canada clearly shows their territorial superiority in contrast with the other 13 countries of the Alliance.



Figura 3. Millennia-old heritage and modernity in Istanbul, © NATO Channel TV 2011.

3.2. Development, present needs and economic cooperation

In the previous chapter we have seen how each country distinguished itself in an equal measure in the constitution of the Atlantic Community. This equal contribution ends when it comes to the level of economic development. In a similar way to the messages put out by the Marshall Plan, each country is subjected to an implicit selection and classification process in line with North American standards. The enduring image that can be taken away from a viewing of the whole series is that of a breach between the countries of North and South. This division is between countries essentially based on agricultural suffering from considerable backwardness, and those where agriculture and industry had been experiencing significant growth. Despite the fact that images of agricultural mechanization are used in the depiction of all of the countries, in the case of some nations these images are not as common as those showing carts pulled by horses or cattle. This is the case of southern Italy, Portugal and Greece. In fact, Italy is treated as a two-speed country, made up of the agrarian, backward south and the industrialized, developed north, the result of the country's recent constitution from various kingdoms. The documentary on Greece states that "Until new factories can be established using her power sources, much of Greece must remain a farm and a mule economy". Paradoxically, in the episode dedicated to Turkey there are numerous images of tractors, harvesters and enormous silos that contribute to mitigating the image of a "mule economy".

All countries are shown to have constructed new reservoirs, roads and collective living complexes. Nevertheless, the countries of the North occupy high positions in the global rankings of agricultural production, mining and industry. The documentaries point out that six of these countries (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) belong to the European Coal and Steel Community (CECA) created in 1951. As is pointed out in the episode on the Netherlands, of these six countries three – Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg – form the "Benelux Union, this idea of economic cooperation as the model for an Atlantic Community in which trade and travel should be free of national restrictions".

Belgium is notable for its naval repair shipyards and its mines in the Congo, which made it Europe's largest copper manufacturer. Canada is highlighted for its colossal mining resources, important stock exchange, large-scale engineering projects, nuclear research and labour unions which "are built in the American pattern". The pharmaceutical industry and efficient meat and dairy production are Denmark's distinguishing features. The French, apart from their vast industrial capabilities, are hailed as having the fastest trains in the world. Germany is noted for the power and reconstruction force of the Ruhr valley; Iceland has an important fishing industry; Luxembourg is noted for its steel industry and Norway for its aluminium, zinc, nickel and coal industries. Northern Italy produces the best cars and excellent fighter planes. The Dutch are noted as having

the enormous ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, as well as for their planning capacity. The United Kingdom is noted for its coal and nuclear power plants, production, sale, manufacture and export to the rest of the world.

The documentaries tell viewers that USA provides the economic model for the Atlantic Community as a whole, as well as the Marshall Plan: “They send food, supplies and machinery in a national effort to help world recovery”.

In contrast, in the South images of age-old agricultural practices are accompanied by a reference to Portugal as the world’s greatest producer of cork and its importance as a wine and oil producing country. Greece possesses the world’s third largest merchant fleet, but its roads are made of beaten earth. In Southern Italy, young people gripping the railings that prevent them from reaching the docks dream of emigrating to the US. In Turkey, a soldier trained in the army to repair war tanks repairs tractors following his return to civilian life.



Figura 4. In Southern Italy, young people see the boats and dream of emigrating to the USA, © NATO Channel TV 2011.

Scientific research and social security for the elderly and children are also considered development and education criteria, referred to in particular in the case of the countries of Northern Europe. Finally, female emancipation is referred to in the episode on Turkey, where women who do not wear the veil are doctors, teachers and bankers, discussing financial contracts with their male counterparts as equals.

3.3. Personal liberty through Democracy

In relation to the portrayal of conditions of democracy and freedom, it is possible to identify clear differences between the countries, which can be divided into three types: constitutional monarchies, full democratic republics and republics with democratic potential.

Constitutional monarchies such as Canada are depicted through their ruling crown, generally filmed during the parliamentary opening ceremonies – or in the case of Greece, in uniform and in a vigilant pose. Presented as the symbol of a nation as a whole, the monarch is the guarantee of a democratic state along with the constitution. In this group, the reference model is that of Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom. According to the narration, “They guide their people on the path of dignity and independence. The colonization era is over [...] What was once an empire has become a community where both freedom of speech and blood ties coexist [...] The Queen is the leader”⁹⁰¹.

The group of democratic republics comprises the USA and Northern European countries. The image of New York is linked to its status as the home of the United Nations, while France provides one of the European models as the embodiment of European republican feeling: “I do not agree with what you’re saying but I will defend to the death your right to say it. This is the credo of France”.

⁹⁰¹ “Ils guident ses peuples sur le chemin de la dignité et de l’indépendance. L’époque de la colonisation est révolue [...] ce qui était un empire est devenue une communauté où existe au même temps la liberté de parole et le lien du sang [...] la reine en est le chef”. Our translation.

Finally, democracies as yet not fully established are diplomatically portrayed as the necessary result of their own history and a guarantee of economic stability. The documentary on Portugal shows an image of Salazar voting, most likely in the National Assembly elections of 8 November 1953, introducing him as “the man who in 1928 began to steer his country towards its present stable economy”. Turkey’s economic growth is attributed to the reforms initiated by Kamal Atatürk (referenced in the image of the changing of the guard next to his mausoleum in Ankara) and continued in the multi-party system that brought about the change of party in government following 30 years in power. In Italy, images depicting the differences between an insignificant meeting in the rural south and a crowded demonstration in Milan, in the north, speak volumes.

Finally, special reference must be made to the case of Germany. As in the case of Italy, which had also formed part of the Axis forces, the fact that Germany lost the war is never mentioned. Using the ruins of the Reichstag as a backdrop and accompanied by some tragic music, viewers are reminded that “This was where the first German republic came to a tragic end in 1933 after being weakened by repeated political and economic crises and finally brutally overwhelmed by a totalitarian party”⁹⁰².



Figura 5. Salazar voting in Lisbon in 1953, © NATO Channel TV 2011.

3.4. Peace, the cause worth fighting for

The main military message reiterated in different forms throughout the series is that of the need to invest in a vigilant defence as a priority, the only way of securing and guaranteeing peace. In this sense, once more an apparent equality is defended in the films. All the countries are depicted as being useful, indispensable, and it is suggested that all military means that the countries have at their disposal should be accepted.

Nevertheless, the images shown have the power to fix the hierarchy of each country’s military and naval capacities in the minds of viewers. In the case of the great powers of the USA, United Kingdom and France, the differences between the countries are less evident. NATO’s European headquarters were still located in the Chaillot Palace in Paris. However, the USA is the only country able to show an image of the first nuclear-powered submarine, the only one of its kind in the world.

The warring capacities of the countries of the North are cited in the form of Belgian munitions factories, joint airbases in Germany, the inexistence of armed forces in Iceland, and the denomination of Luxembourg as the “Gibraltar of the North” due to its “military preparedness”.

An emphasis is placed on the aeronautical production and “mechanical skill” of the Italians, while audiences are reminded that “as one that has suffered from war as much as most, the Italian soldier knows too well that peace is well worth striking for”. With regard to Portugal, the series underlines the “small but efficient Portuguese navy”. In the case of Turkey and Greece, images of cavalry troops are interspersed with others depicting modern tanks.

⁹⁰² “C’est ici que la première république allemande eut un fin tragique en 1933 déjà affaiblie par des crises politiques et économiques répétées et finalement terrassée brutalement par un partis totalitaire”. Our translation.



Figura 6. The Nautilus atomic submarine, © NATO Channel TV 2011.

4. Conclusions

Understanding the context in which these documentary films, responsible for the creation of globalized film images of the world, were designed and produced is an essential research activity which should be carried out in depth. The association of each country with particular historical figures or events, ethnic or religious characteristics, agricultural or industrial production and – very often – with a specific level of development on a scale defined implicitly in relation to the USA, was consolidated or reconstructed in line with the strategic interests of the time throughout the twentieth century.

The NATO series *The Atlantic Community* is particularly illuminating in this research field, in contrast to other works produced by the Marshall Plan. Apart from summarizing historical and economic characteristics, the series also manages to present an overview of the democratic and defence priorities of the 15 countries that made up the Atlantic Alliance in the 1950s.

Based on this initial analysis, we can conclude that this set of documentaries provides a snapshot of the existing power relationships in Europe at the time, while also expressing the reputation of each country according to North American standards.

It is also interesting to note that the majority of stereotypes set out in these North American productions are the result of pre-existing, preconceived ideas, many of which still persist today on a global level. Among these we can find the distinction between the countries of North and South, and between highly industrialized and peripheral countries. These distinctions are not overtly stated, since the tone of the messages that these historical documents aimed to transmit were above all linked to equality of rights and opportunities in a politically correct discourse which is repeated in our times.

The series *The Atlantic Community* is clear evidence of the desire to construct a European Community in which products and labour might freely circulate as a means of reconstructing a Europe partially destroyed by war. Fifteen countries are presented within a script of freedom and defence, democracy and development at the service of NATO's political strategy, which aimed to demonstrate that Atlanticism was the only road to a united defence that would guarantee peace. It is an exercise in propaganda characterized by a North American vision of the world – and, therefore, of Europe – which Europe has not ceased to adopt as its own ever since.

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Visual Propaganda

From 'oriental quarrel' to 'bloody vengeance!'; British newsreels and war in the Far East, 1937-1942

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This paper explores the ways in which three British newsreels represented warfare in east and south-east Asia between 1937 and 1942. More specifically, it examines the representation of three particular phases; the Japanese assault on Shanghai in 1937 during the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War, the opening of hostilities between Japan and Britain in December 1941, and the collapse of the British colony of Singapore in February 1942. It examines the coverage of *Pathe Gazette*, *Gaumont British News* and *British Movietone News*, and considers both the newsreels' use of imagery and the tone and interpretation of their commentators. It considers differences and similarities in the coverage of these newsreels, and to what degree these changed in response to wartime pressures such as the censorship of the Ministry of Information. Similarly, it considers how these wartime pressures, obliging the newsreels to become a form of government-approved propaganda, conflicted with the newsreels' pre-war function as successful purveyors of highly stylised topical entertainment. This paper emphasises that the newsreel, as an entertainment medium, was fundamentally ill-suited to the reporting of the humiliating military-political catastrophes that followed the outbreak of war with Japan. This paper hopes to offer significant insights into the way in which a major phase of the Second World War was depicted in cinemas.

The study of newsreels has benefitted from, in recent decades, increased academic interest and widened access via new technology. The British Universities Film and Video Council's (BUFVC) *News on Screen* database allows the records of newsreel content to be searched, and access to some primary documents such as commentary scripts and shotlists.⁹⁰³ The newsreels themselves were shot, produced and distributed on 35mm black and white film, and continue to be available on film in the major national film archives or via the commercial footage libraries that now own and sell newsreel footage. The newsreel content discussed in this essay was first identified via the *News on Screen* database,⁹⁰⁴ the individual issues or stories viewed via the internet, and then transcribed and annotated. This paper examines Pathe, Gaumont and Movietone partly for reasons of accessibility and also to limit the source material to a manageable quantity. The annotated stories and commentaries were then compared as a basis for analysis. This analysis focuses on a qualitative analysis of visual and verbal content; it has not attempted any kind of statistical analysis.

The Sino-Japanese War broke out following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident on 7 July 1937. The war presented serious problems for Britain. Unable and disinclined to use force, Britain sought to protect its strategically and financially important outposts in China by diplomacy. Britain's domestic media were repeatedly antagonised by events including the machine-gunning of the British ambassador's car by Japanese aircraft on 24 August and the shelling of a Royal Navy gunboat on the Yangtze in December. Within the newsreels' coverage of the Sino-Japanese War, a recurrent theme is the importance of spectacle and spectatorship, with an evident belief that the newsreels possessed an educative, anti-war power. Gaumont and Movietone explicitly emphasise witnessing, even if the conflict itself was thought incomprehensible; Gaumont proffered one story 'so that you may see, even if you cannot guess, what this war means'.⁹⁰⁵ The camera's supposed truthfulness was used to bolster claims of veracity; Pathe's coverage 'truly reported' the war,⁹⁰⁶ while Movietone's captured 'the vivid truth of an eyewitness'.⁹⁰⁷ In another case Movietone claimed its footage should 'stimulate reflection'⁹⁰⁸ and its commentary tended towards the pseudo-philosophical; 'in the midst of

⁹⁰³ See www.bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen Accessed 13 November 2013

⁹⁰⁴ For sake of consistency, newsreel stories are cited by reference to the BUFVC, which is freely accessible and links to rights holders' content that may require a log-in. The newsreels referred to include Pathe Super Sound Gazette, later renamed Pathe Gazette (hereafter PSSG/PG), Gaumont British News (GBN) and British Movietone News (BMN). All BUFVC links were accessed on 13 November 2013.

⁹⁰⁵ GBN (27 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56686>

⁹⁰⁶ PSSG (20 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95171>

⁹⁰⁷ BMN (13 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/7986>

⁹⁰⁸ BMN (14 October 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8104>

the wreckage our camera captures a child...Is it for... the child, or to desolation that our civilised world progresses?'⁹⁰⁹ This attitude also reflected a wider sense that the Sino-Japanese War represented a barbarous affront to civilised modernity; Pathe asked rhetorically: 'need I remind you once again that this is civilisation's twentieth century?'⁹¹⁰ Some of this coverage had considerable impact; footage of the bombing of Shanghai was cited in the House of Commons as evidence of 'all the horrors and brutalities which surround bombing from the air' that 'turned [audiences] sick with horror'.⁹¹¹

The counterpart to this use of spectacle as education or warning, is the clear use of spectacle as sensation; historian Nicholas Pronay has suggested that these images had 'considerable pulling power', drawing audiences to cinemas.⁹¹² Both story titles and commentaries encouraged audiences to enjoy shocking images as excitement; Gaumont trumpeted its 'sensational pictures' of a Japanese bombing raid,⁹¹³ and later titled a story as the 'most amazing machine-gun battle ever filmed'.⁹¹⁴ Pathe urged its viewers to 'watch close...you can actually see the bombs twisting down!'⁹¹⁵ and Movietone claimed a scoop with 'these first authentic pictures, the actual scene in Shanghai'.⁹¹⁶ The editors appear not to have seen any contradiction between education and entertainment; Gaumont commented ironically on 'this year of grace 1937' in the same story that it crowed over 'sensational pictures'. Adding an extra layer of excitement, commentators hailed the cameraman as a swashbuckling derring-doer; '[gambling] his life by day and night',⁹¹⁷ with 'their cameras rocked by the concussion of the guns'.⁹¹⁸

A striking point of commonality among these reels is the dearth of footage showing Chinese forces in action, and a reliance on footage either from Japanese sources or shot in company with Japanese forces. This highlights a fundamental problem in the newsreels' ability to cover international stories and presented an insuperable problem for the editors; while commentators regarded the Japanese as illegitimate aggressors, the total visual absence of Chinese resistance gives the impression that the Japanese were either superior, or meeting no resistance. This impression is bolstered by the dramatic quality of the footage; Japanese troops appear aggressive and visually exciting. This implied Japanese superiority was occasionally reinforced by the commentators themselves, albeit perhaps unintentionally; approving references were made to the 'deadly efficient soldiers of the Far East'⁹¹⁹ who were 'trained, disciplined and equipped like Western troops'.⁹²⁰ Movietone in particular occasionally lapsed into admiration for the Japanese Army.⁹²¹ Among these newsreels, Pathe made the most effort to praise China, in one issue describing Chinese resistance both in combat and by expatriates subscribing to a defence fund.⁹²² All used images of Chinese refugees and casualties to balance footage of Japanese troops. Some of these shots are distressingly effective; a shot of a wounded baby at a Shanghai railway station remains a haunting image of innocence and terror. However, the general dichotomy between Japanese soldiers and Chinese civilians, between active perpetrators and passive victims, largely rendered the Chinese people as an unresisting mass.

The international settlement, an extraterritorial colonial concession to foreign powers in China, was key to the way the newsreels constructed a vision of the war. Gaumont, which was the most emotional, described it as an 'oasis of peace' bounded by the 'gates of mercy'.⁹²³ There is a sense that this European enclave became the audience's vantage point for the war in China, often furthered through evocative imagery; such as a French flag

⁹⁰⁹ *BMN* (27 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8033>

⁹¹⁰ *PSSG* (9 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95127>

⁹¹¹ Labour MP Manny Shinwell, recorded in Hansard HC Deb 02 February 1938 vol 331 cc342. Hansard 1803-2005 http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1938/feb/02/bombing-of-civilians#S5CV0331P0_19380202_HOC_380 accessed 29 February 2012

⁹¹² Pronay, Nicholas 'British newsreels in the 1930s: Their Policies and Impact' in McKernan, Luke ed. (2002) p. 154.

⁹¹³ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁴ *BMN* (25 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8224>

⁹¹⁵ *PSSG* (15 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95380>

⁹¹⁶ *BMN* (13 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/7986>

⁹¹⁷ *GBN* (1 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56862>

⁹¹⁸ *PSSG* (16 December 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95499>

⁹¹⁹ *GBN* (26 August 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56560>

⁹²⁰ *BMN* (19 August 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/7906>

⁹²¹ *BMN* (1 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8157>

⁹²² *PSSG* (20 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95171>

PSSG (6 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95123>

⁹²³ *GBN* (25 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56977>

BMN (25 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8224>

flying amid flames,⁹²⁴ or a British flag apparently pierced by gunfire.⁹²⁵ Such images still create a powerful sense of the international settlement as a Western outpost threatened by the violation of an 'oriental' war.

Cultural critic Edward Said has defined Orientalism as a wide-ranging and hegemonic cultural project that facilitated the incorporation of the Orient into Western consciousness.⁹²⁶ The newsreels appear to have formed part of that 'project', and presented a view of the Orient consistent with existing depictions in popular culture. Gaumont and Movietone referred to the Japanese army as the 'Mikado's men', a term presumably familiar to audiences from the enduring success of Gilbert and Sullivan's 1885 comic opera *The Mikado*,⁹²⁷ and implied a medieval kingly leadership of armies in battle that detached Japan's military and state from civilianised modernity. The use of British material culture as points of familiarity is also seen in a Gaumont description of 'the peaceful scene of a willow-pattern plate' becoming a battlefield.⁹²⁸ Movietone twice referred to an 'oriental quarrel', implying the conflict was both trivial and reflected some facet of the 'oriental' character. Despite its sympathy for China, Pathe made strikingly Orientalist references, evoking Kipling's 'strange things happen East of Suez'⁹²⁹ and claiming that stay-behind Chinese snipers could be found 'meeting death with an oriental smile'.⁹³⁰ The effect of these references was to establish the Far East as an alien environment where 'the war gods [could] only be appeased with blood'⁹³¹ and to construct a view of the Orient that was entirely consistent with earlier renderings in popular literature, applied art, and musical theatre, and assumed a huge moral and cultural divide between modern Europe and oriental Asia.

The early coverage of the Sino-Japanese War displayed several general characteristics. While the degree of commentary support for China varied, there was a consensus that Japan bore responsibility for the outbreak of the conflict and for atrocities committed against civilians. Newsreels saw no contradiction in presenting carnage as both education and entertainment. Likewise, they viewed the war over the shoulder of advancing Japanese troops and from the rooftops and streets of the international settlement. Although one-sided and patronising to the Chinese population it seems likely that these stories, nestled among endless peacetime coverage of American beauty contests, sporting fixtures, and movements of royalty or politicians, provided their audiences with a carefully calibrated mix of public concern for British populations overseas ('where white men and women live beneath a cross of fire'),⁹³² with dramatic and exciting war footage, and a voyeuristic thrill of carnage playing out in a safely alien country.

The war in China witnessed years of atrocious Japanese aggression while British diplomacy proved itself impotent. By December 1941, Japan had occupied French Indo-China and been stung by the imposition of an American oil embargo. Gambling on forming an autarkic economic bloc bounded by a strategic defence perimeter, Japan attacked western possessions in south-east Asia and the western Pacific. This development came at a time of acute anxiety in Britain; at war against Nazi Germany since 1939, German and Italian forces remained a serious threat, while the failure of Hitler's invasion of Russia was not yet apparent. For Britain, American co-belligerency came as a relief, but did not remove the risk of a catastrophic overstretch of military resources. Catastrophe ensued in the Far East, as superior Japanese forces relentlessly exposed and exploited the many weaknesses of the Far Eastern garrison.

Like hapless British forces in the Far East, the Ministry of Information had a catastrophic start to its war. Hamstrung by a lack of both high-level leadership and support in Cabinet, the Ministry became a laughing-stock, ordering absurdities such as the confiscation of London newspapers from the hands of startled commuters. By December 1941, however, the Ministry had reached a certain maturity; from the latter half of 1941 it was applying censorship only on the most necessary grounds of security and had largely abandoned

⁹²⁴ *BMN* (16 December 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8301>

⁹²⁵ *PSSG* (20 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95171>

⁹²⁶ Said, Edward (1995) *Orientalism* (London: Penguin) p.6

⁹²⁷ *GBN* (11 October 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56777>

BMN (12 August 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/7885>

⁹²⁸ 'Willow pattern' plates were a form of mass-produced crockery depicting an entirely fictionalised 'Chinese' story which nonetheless achieved lasting commercial success for English potteries. *GBN* (11 October 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56777>

⁹²⁹ *PSSG* (16 December 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95499>

⁹³⁰ *PSSG* (15 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95380>

⁹³¹ *PSSG* (4 November 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/95344>

⁹³² *GBN* (27 Sep 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56686>

heavy-handed exhortation.⁹³³ While the newsreels had not previously been formally censored in the same way as feature films, the Ministry exercised a rigorous control of news and the newsreels. Firstly the news agency wire services, upon which the news media depended, were controlled by the Ministry, which enabled it to shape the general parameters of news reaching the public. Newsreels were subjected to close scrutiny; their raw film, commentary and final edit were all liable to Ministry-ordered alterations, and a cut could throw a company's distribution schedule into costly disarray. Despite this cumbersome imposition, the wartime situation for the newsreels could have been much worse; Gerald Sanger, editor of *British Movietone News*, feared that 'the Ministry...might close down all independent commercial newsreels and issue instead its own propaganda reel, which all theatres would be compelled to exhibit'.⁹³⁴ Instead, the Ministry allowed all five companies to continue to present their reels, within the bounds of censorship, with their own choice of stories and emphasis. Paradoxically, if the 1937 newsreels were strikingly homogenous, the censored wartime reels offered a surprising range of interpretations of the war against Japan. By then, the Ministry was under the 'uniquely successful' leadership of Brendan Bracken,⁹³⁵ a figure who succeeded in running the Ministry with a confidence that had eluded previous incumbents.

War with Japan came at a time when the global military situation was dangerously marginal but the propaganda situation was beginning to improve. By looking at the same three newsreel companies' coverage, we can see how the industry was able to maintain a marked degree of editorial independence. Although the newsreels could no longer construct imaginary barriers between detached British spectatorship and the reality of a powerful, aggressive and hostile Japanese war machine, newsreel viewers would have been familiar with the notion of the Far East as a dangerously warlike region, albeit hitherto characterised by quarrelsome oriental infighting. To negotiate the transition from a regionally limited 'oriental quarrel' to aggressive war against Western powers, the newsreels had to interpret the Japanese decision for war. Pathe, Gaumont and Movietone all issued a reel on 11 December 1941 and though not explicitly stated, they implied that Japanese aggression arose from a cultural propensity to treacherous violence, in contrast with an Anglo-American democratic and liberal aversion to war. The depiction of Japan as an oriental 'other' grew in intensity and vehemence; Pathe painted this difference in shamelessly racist biological or pathological terms, while Gaumont and Movietone emphasised it as moral and political. Pathe Gazette adopted the most hysterical tone, concluding that Japan was an 'ant-heap' of 'yellow termites' to be 'purged' by democracy.⁹³⁶ Consistently referring to Japan as deceitful and treacherous, Pathe's first reference to Japan depicted the nation unmasking itself, a craven 'willing victim...infect[ed by] treachery and greed'. A brief shot of a man dressed as a samurai warrior, sloppily swinging a sword towards a superimposed map of the Kra isthmus, was used to re-emphasise Japan's supposedly medieval backwardness and illustrate imagined strategic ambitions.

While Pathe made hyperbolic claims about an invasion threat to the American west coast, it, surprisingly, completely ignored the war in China. Gaumont adopted an entirely different editorial approach; its opening words rooted the outbreak in 'ten years...of aggression and plunder'.⁹³⁷ Gaumont's story catalogued Japanese outrages in China, and the editor clearly expected his audience to remember such events as the colonisation of Manchuria and Japan's departure from the League of Nations, the bombing of Shanghai, the sinking of the American gunboat USS Panay and the shelling of HMS Ladybird. This catalogue moved from descriptions of the Japanese in China, which emphasised both Japanese avarice and brutality ('[China] fell easy prey to the greedy little men who made...a profit out of bloodshed'),⁹³⁸ to establish Britain's self-restraining moral superiority in the face of alleged Japanese diplomatic insults ('our wish to avoid war persuaded us to pocket that kind of insult').⁹³⁹ While Gaumont eschewed a Pathe-esque invective racism, it instead depicted Japanese duplicity by visual juxtaposition. Envoy Kurusu, in Western dress, was shown speaking fluent English while addressing journalists about the difficulty of his peace mission. Cutting to a shot of sumo wrestlers grappling,

⁹³³ McLaine, Ian (1979) *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: Allen and Unwin) p.240

⁹³⁴ Sanger, Gerald (1946) 'We lived in the presence of history: The story of British Movietone News in the War Years' in McKernan, Luke ed. (2002) p.163

⁹³⁵ Tones, Jason (May 2008) 'Bracken, Brendan Rendall, Viscount Bracken (1901–1958)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

⁹³⁶ PG (11 December 1941) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/99187>

⁹³⁷ GBN (11 December 1941) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/62323>

⁹³⁸ Ibid.

⁹³⁹ Ibid.

the commentator intoned 'Yes, Japan always hides its warlike intentions behind a smiling face'.⁹⁴⁰ The sequence rendered Kurusu as a symbol of Japan's recognisably Western persona, deceptive and treacherous, while the wrestlers revealed the alien savage beneath.

Movietone's coverage was unique in that it identified the Japanese people as a motive force behind their country's aggression, accused them in two references. The first stated 'From the Japanese emperor downwards, the Japanese people by their treacherous attack on America and on Britain have marked a day that will live in infamy'.⁹⁴¹ This opening sentence identified the whole of Japanese society as treacherous, while the quotation from Roosevelt, without attribution, identified the newsreel with the President's statement. Continuing its indictment of the Japanese people, Movietone accused Japan's populace of 'support[ing] the suicidal ambitions of their militaristic leaders'. While lacking the visceral tone of Pathe's story, Movietone's attitude was nonetheless strongly exhortatory; its opening paragraphs used the imperative: 'Japan [has] got to be broken...aggression...has got to be stamped out'. Unlike Pathe and Gaumont, Movietone was also marked in comparing Japan and Germany. The most pointed of these, in which Japan was expected to 'fight with all the ruthlessness of the Hun himself', linked Japan with historical eastern barbarism, and, more emotively, to German brutality in Belgium during the First World War.⁹⁴²

These three editions demonstrate highly individual depictions of Japan. Pathe's hysterics contrasted sharply with Gaumont's sobriety, while only Movietone blamed the Japanese people. All three ignored Japan's strategic motivations, instead portraying Japan as hot-tempered and irrational, and in unmistakably Orientalist ways; Pathe's unconvincing samurai suggested a Japanese preference for the sword, while Gaumont's violent and brutish sumo wrestlers are 'revealed' as somehow more authentically Japanese than a cheerful-looking, English-speaking diplomat in western dress.

These newsreels all refer to Japan's late declaration of war as evidence of its rejection of civilised politics. Gaumont described the Japanese as a nation of malevolently influential 'military families' and the misguided devotees of a weak Emperor, later showing civilians and servicemen arriving at Downing Street for discussions with Churchill. The editing here showed civilian politicians arriving before the military men, suggesting civilian primacy in government, while a shot of Churchill emerging from No. 10 reemphasised his status as a civilian Prime Minister. By cutting to show Roosevelt's address to Congress, Gaumont signified united Anglo-American democratic resolve. Roosevelt also featured prominently in Movietone's coverage, even having the issue's last word. Over a sequence of otherwise silent shots of American warships on manoeuvres, Roosevelt's oratory performed a similar function to Gaumont's Cabinet sequence, asserting his position as a civilian military supremo and voicing the (self-)righteous determination of a democracy at war. It also formed a democratic opposite to the alleged treachery of the Japanese Emperor and people. At Roosevelt's final words, the on-screen battleships open fire; Movietone's sequence thus fused democratic legitimacy with avenging naval power. These images of naval strength also form a point of similarity; the newsreels all expected swift victory at sea. However, these confident pronouncements, having passed censorship and been recorded some days previously, must have rung hollow on 11 December 1941, the same day that the sinking of HMS Prince of Wales and Repulse made excruciating headlines in British newspapers.⁹⁴³

By 15 February 1942, Japanese forces had advanced south through the Malay Peninsula, invaded Singapore, and forced the capitulation of tens of thousands of British troops. It was an unparalleled catastrophe and one that proved utterly indigestible for the newsreels. Their reactions to it demonstrated a very wide degree of divergence. Gaumont's response, entitled 'Closing chapter in Singapore', is remarkable in utilising the surrender as a opportunity for moral renewal.⁹⁴⁴ The commentary divided itself into two parts, the first looking back to rue the loss of Singapore, the second looking forward, claiming that the disaster offered a chance for the Commonwealth to prove its worth. The piece functions in interesting ways; it begins with such words as 'bitterness', 'unrest' and 'heavy-heartedness', but moves on to speak in terms of a 'light shining to

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁴¹ BMN (11 December 1941) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/12069>

⁹⁴² Pronay, N 'Defeated Germany in British Newsreels: 1944-45' in Short, K R M & Dolezel, S (1988) *Hitler's Fall: The Newsreel Witness* (London: Croom Helm), pp. 34-35.

⁹⁴³ Naval correspondent (11 December 1941) 'Fanatical Japanese tactics – Aircraft flung at ships' *The Times*, p. 4.

⁹⁴⁴ GBN (26 February 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/62524>

guide', surely evoking a romanticised Churchillian belief in a 'finest hour'.⁹⁴⁵ In a similar vein, Gaumont's 2 March issue used the loss of the Malayan tin mines as motivation for greater economy on the home front.⁹⁴⁶

By contrast Movietone's story 'Singapore's last days' hardly acknowledged the surrender, Showing European women and children calmly boarding a ship for evacuation so calmly that the commentator felt obliged to point out that 'the departure of such a ship must have been a more poignant event in the lives of these people than you would think from the picture itself'.⁹⁴⁷ Pathe related the fall of Singapore by showing the arrival of refugees in Britain.⁹⁴⁸ By showing only the return of women and children to 'the sympathy and help [of] the Motherland', and showing nothing of Singapore, Pathe's version sought to establish a safe distance between the viewer's domestic safety and disagreeable faraway defeats. It also striking in its subdued, even mournful, tone; a reference to 'the Japanese advance' seems almost respectful when its 15 January coverage had preferred to speak of the 'Japs' as an infectious 'yellow plague' carried by 'scurrying...monkeys'.⁹⁴⁹ Having established this sense of distance between Britain and the war in the Far East, a few days later Pathe's coverage made an astonishing change of tack, instructing its audience to:

Look carefully at this man. He is the Emperor of Japan, whose forces have committed the appalling atrocities against British, Empire and Chinese troops and civilians, men and women, in Hong Kong. These are the swine who bound and bayoneted our helpless soldiers in their hands. If these pictures serve to kindle a flame of vengeance throughout the civilised world, they will have served their purpose. Let the cry be vengeance! Bloody vengeance!⁹⁵⁰

This extraordinarily hysterical invective, shown alongside tedious stock footage, seems utterly impotent. Possibly sparked by reports of a massacre at Hong Kong's St Stephen's College, it reaches a shrillness of tone unmatched by any other story, the editor perceiving no contradiction in 'the civilised world' exacting 'bloody vengeance'. For a newsreel that directed the basest kind of dehumanising propaganda towards Japan, this outburst seems a humiliated and frustrated coda to Pathe's earlier bombast.

These newsreels demonstrate strikingly diverse responses. Movietone exhibited little in the way of obvious emotion. Gaumont, strikingly, used Singapore as a way to talk about what Britain should aspire to be, while Pathe allowed itself a self-indulgent outrage. Although it is tempting to imagine that Gaumont's positive response to the defeat was the most effective propaganda, it certainly seems possible that a desire for retribution might have been widespread. This problem of assessing impact aside, studying the depiction of war in the Far East demonstrates some broader themes. The 1937 coverage, while using the Sino-Japanese war as both entertaining spectacle and grave moral warning, was clearly mindful both of the existing reality of war in Spain and the risk of a general war in Europe, while seeking to present that risk without provoking anxiety in their audiences. Movietone's 1937 Review of the Year unfortunately chose to 'prophesy...that there will be no great war in 1938',⁹⁵¹ while Gaumont used a parade of middle-aged First World War veterans of the American Legion in New York City as counterweight to the threatening militarism of the Rome-Berlin Axis.⁹⁵²

The period between December 1941 and February 1942 demonstrates how the war impacted upon the newsreels. It is worth reemphasising that Gerald Sanger's fear, of a monolithic state newsreel foisted upon exhibitors by the Ministry, never came to pass. The strikingly different depictions of the outbreak of war with Japan would seem to show that editors did indeed retain their right to individuality in presentation. The same individuality of presentation is evident in the reaction to the fall of Singapore; Gaumont seems to have taken pains to show every setback as a moral lesson and to mitigate obvious disasters by suggesting reassuring

⁹⁴⁵ We might also note the use of 'British Empire' in the backward-looking section, and the use of 'Commonwealth of Nations' when looking forward. Given the closeness with which commentary was edited, this distinction must be deliberate, but the author hesitates to offer an analysis of it.

⁹⁴⁶ GBN (2 March 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/62538>

⁹⁴⁷ BMN (26 February 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/12157>

⁹⁴⁸ PG (2 March 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/99300>

⁹⁴⁹ PG (15 January 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/99231>

⁹⁵⁰ Italics added to reflect the commentator's vocal emphasis. PG (12 March 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/99315>

⁹⁵¹ BMN (30 December 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/8354>

⁹⁵² GBN (30 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56725>
GBN (30 September 1937) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/56726>

comparisons, describing the aftermath of the Pearl Harbor attack as 'the Dunkirk days of the Far East, but Dunkirk wasn't the end of the war and this isn't either'.⁹⁵³ Movietone and Pathe's initially restrained tone in relating the fall of Singapore seems to have masked an underlying outrage; Movietone later demonstrated a marked hostility to the Indian nationalist movement and, in particular, Gandhi.

We should not, however, allow these apparent demonstrations of individuality to make us forget the Ministry's underpinning bedrock of censorship. The responses to the fall of Singapore reflect a variously mournful or outraged incomprehension, without any criticism of government policy or military strategy. The individuality of presentation must be set against strong commonalities of interpretation; this is mostly clearly seen in the chorus denouncing Japanese treachery in December 1941, a narrative in which honourable Britain was betrayed by untrustworthy Orientals. The uniformity of this portrayal suggests that this position might have been obligatory under censorship. The newsreels make no suggestion whatsoever that Japan's success was facilitated by an utter failure of British diplomacy, strategy and intelligence. It seems that the Ministry was able to firmly set the parameters of the newsreels' stories, within which they were allowed a relative freedom of expression. Likewise, none of the coverage of the fall of Singapore acknowledges the scale of the catastrophe. Even Gaumont's 'motivational' interpretation may not have been effective propaganda; its lofty tones smack of the Ministry of Information's earlier (and notably ineffective) poster campaigns that urged people to 'keep calm and carry on'. In fact, Gaumont's loftiness reveals a fundamental weakness in the newsreels' interpretation; if Singapore was to act as 'a warning beacon', then the reasons for the loss would need to be discussed and debated by the public. Being unable to offer reasons for the loss of Singapore, the newsreels could offer only a beacon that could neither heard nor seen.

Events in the Far East posed a daunting propaganda challenge in which the unavoidable reality of defeat undermined and then demolished the newsreels' Orientalist outlook. This Orientalism was originally a reassuring narrative device, distancing and insulating Far Eastern war at a time of profound concern about war in Europe. It then became a means of psychological self-defence, belittling an underestimated enemy. In this, it proved first ineffective and finally counter-productive. The newsreels had evolved in the 1930s to become a highly entertaining form, offering escapism and entertainment through sport, travel, royalty, celebrity, novelty and the occasional spectacular horror of faraway wars fought by and among foreigners. The newsreels conformed to the cultural norms of their age in their abhorrence of (and fascination with) modern war, their Orientalism, and their safely conservative imperialism. All of these characteristics play out in the 1937 coverage, and while European war from 1939 introduced a censorship that forced a modification of usual practices, these characteristics are still discernible in December 1941. The fall of Singapore, however, undermined all of these norms to a degree that rendered them irrelevant; it is striking that a limited survey of subsequent newsreel commentaries shows an emphasis on how British forces in the Far East overcame challenges of climate, terrain and disease, rather than continuing to denigrate and dehumanise the Japanese. The newsreels had never sought to challenge the thinking of their audience, nor to undermine their sense of inviolable national sovereignty. The fall of Singapore was thus inexplicable in the standard terms of imperial, military and naval grandeur in which the newsreels had previously functioned. That the fall of Singapore prompted a scatter-gun of different responses seems to underline how difficult it was for the newsreels to digest and represent such a sudden and appalling shock. The newsreels spent the 1930s assiduously presenting the world in terms that evaded the role of bearer of bad news; the disasters in the Far East made it unavoidable.

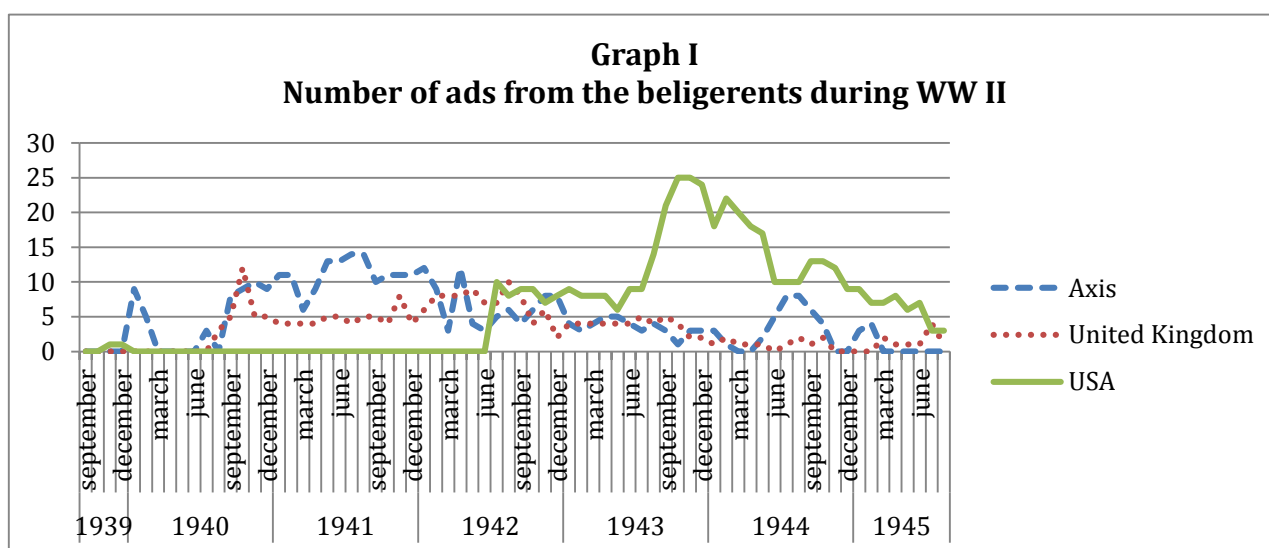
⁹⁵³ GBN (19 February 1942) <http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/story/62505>

Advertising as propaganda during the Second World War

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1-Portugal and the war

Portugal, contrary to what happened during the Great War, did not participate in the second conflict, assuming from the beginning a position of neutrality, in spite of the secular alliance that kept with the United Kingdom. Apparently the country would follow the war from a secure distance, because it was geographically far from the front and did not have the immediate strategic and military importance to attract the attention of any of the contending parties. However, the tactical/military scenario evolved and this resulted in the appearance of propaganda coming from various nations at war, namely: United Kingdom, Germany, Italy,



Japan and the United States of America.

The power of propaganda was well-known, especially given the recent experience provided by the Great War. British and Americans took that moment to create the organisms⁹⁵⁴ responsible for the preparation, publication and dissemination of numerous pamphlets, newspapers and reports, either in allied nations, attempting to mobilizing people, or in neutral countries, seeking to obtain the sympathy and perhaps the future collaboration in the conflict. The relevance of propaganda was very present within the Germans since they identified her, more precisely the lack of her⁹⁵⁵, as one of the causes of their defeat in 1918. It was during the postwar period, during the growth of the U.S. economy, that propaganda got new means for its dissemination such as radio, cinema and advertising. This last one was becoming the ideal channel to broadcast a message to a wide audience in an almost imperceptible transforming itself in a “seller of dreams”⁹⁵⁶.

The work that is presented here was based on the analysis of ads published by the belligerents during the period of the war, in the newspaper "Diário de Lisboa". In the study I found over 1000 announcements of those countries, 353 belonged to the Axis nations (Germany, Italy and Japan), while the remaining were from the Allies (British and Americans with 237 and 441 respectively). These last ones were separated due to the magnitude of their numbers and to allow a more comprehensive analysis, argument that wasn't valid for the few Italian and Japanese ads that joined the German ones.

⁹⁵⁴ Taylor, Philip M. "Munitions of the mind – a History of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day", Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, p.183 e 187.

⁹⁵⁵ Jowett, Garth S. e O'Donnell, Victoria "Propaganda and persuasion", II Ed., Sage Publicatons, Newbury Park, 1992, p.164.

⁹⁵⁶ *Idem*, p.121.

Through a first observation of the graph, and before we proceed to a more detailed analysis, it appears that the belligerents, in this case Germany and the UK, only began publishing ads regularly from June 1940. This fact must be connected with the German offensive to Western Europe, which resulted in the invasion of Netherlands, Belgium and France. These military movements gave significance to the territory and to the Portuguese population, one that compelled the daily publication of their ads almost until the end of the war. The Americans ads only appeared definitely in the newspaper in June 1942, nearly seven months after Pearl Harbor. The delay must be connected with the creation of the United States Office of War Information⁹⁵⁷ in that same period of 1942, the agency that would coordinate the propagandistic effort of Washington. The chart also shows that the arrival of the Americans resulted in a gradual reduction of the British ads, a sign of a probable coordination between the Allied propaganda machine. There are more two key moments that are displayed in this representation, namely July of 1943 and May/June of 1944. The first points the beginning of a spectacular and sustained growth of the number of U.S. ads, an increase that matched with the first Allied offensive on European soil, the landing in Sicily and in the invasion of Italy. The other date marked the decrease in the American ads, again connected with military operations, this time with the landing on the Normandy beaches. These indications, like the one registered initially, confirm the importance of propaganda, precious ally of military machines, whose goal for Portugal would be to gain the sympathy and support from the population for the nations and causes that were in war.

A more detailed analysis showed that 1939 did not bring new significant propaganda in the Portuguese front, somewhat similar to what happened with the military conflict. The exception was the presence of a couple of ads from Radio Corporation of America in the first months. The American company created by General Electric worked in the telecommunications field (radio; telephone) and owned the NBC (National Broadcasting Company). Another part of their business was connected with the production of home appliances such as radios and phonographs. In the 40s and 50s shifted the attention to television and electronics.

The RCA announcement that appeared in late 1939 (RCA - 1) regarded the launch of new radios for the following year, reminding the public of the "superiority of American industry". According to the message in the ad the company had the necessary materials and technicians and also could devote herself to the production of those goods, reality that couldn't be assured by the European companies.

The second year of the war, 1940, would impel a new rhythm to the military conflict, which resulted in the appearance of several announcements of the belligerents. Germany made its entrance in the "Diário de Lisboa" with "A book of sensation!" written by one Adolf Hitler (KAMPF - 1). The months of May and June were characterized by the Nazi offensive to the west which culminated in the occupation of Belgium, Netherlands and France, a proof of the superiority of the German army to all Europeans. Fully aware of the German victory, August was the month that brought the announcements of the British Overseas Airways, where was a clear appeal to the maintenance of the old Anglo-Portuguese alliance with the following slogan: "The old friends are the best" (BOA - 1). The reader could still read in the body of the ad that Portugal "was the oldest ally of Britain", a reason to the maintenance of its air routes through the country, even during "the greatest war in history" because it was important to keep "the bonds that always united these nations." The connection with the UK would be strengthened in September of 1940 with the presence of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in the newspaper ads. The first announcements had a simple composition, only informing the reader of the news schedules and frequency of the emissions (BBC - 1). Interestingly, the initial ad of the German radio station appeared in the following day, reminding the readers in bold letters that "Germany speaks" (FUNK - 1). The announcement was very similar containing information on the schedules and frequencies, adding only that the emissions were in Portuguese and French. Such information didn't go unnoticed and lead to a new ad from the BBC topped by the slogan "La voix de Londres" (BBC - 2), in which the message almost the same as the first published, only with the difference that all the text was in French.

As mentioned before we believe that there was a link between the advertising/propaganda and the events that unfolded in the military scenario. This relationship was strengthened with the ads of the spring and summer of 1941 that coincided with the operation Barbarossa.

The magazine "Der Adler" was a publication of the *Luftwaffe* published between 1939 and 1944. However, her ads only appeared in the Portuguese newspaper during the of the Axis offensive on the Soviet Union. Initially and since the attack took place only at the end of June, the announcements of April and May only called the reader's attention to the technical achievements of German aviation, like the use of oxygen by its pilots that allowed them to achieve greater heights in the stratosphere (ADLER - 1). In June the attention was on the her weapons capabilities, presenting the reader with the "violence of the blows inflicted in Greece" and "secrets ... from the other side of the Channel" (ADLER - 4), challenging the reader to be informed of the "new operations of the aerial German gun" (ADLER - 5). In July the magazine focused on the British, talking about the German attack in the port of Tobruk (Africa), and of the success in bombing Her Majesty's ships that

⁹⁵⁷ Taylor, Philip M., *op. cit.*, p.226.

forced "The American pavilion to go away little by little of the Union Jack! " (Adler- 6). To clear all the doubts there was a figure of a British plane engulfed in flames accompanying the text.

The power of the German army would be praised again in July, when the Adler's announcement prompted the reader's attention to a number "305", the time that would "be remembered by history", because it was the beginning of Operation *Barbarossa*. The advance to East got again the spotlight of the magazine ads in 1941, in July and December, describing the apparent success of the military offensive, explicit by the images of a burning plane and train (ADLER- 9,10), both Soviet's, and by the *Luftwaffe* message saying that she "wasn't let them take a breath." The Axis propaganda offensive would be boosted with the radio ads that appeared in May 1941, with this slogan "Germany speaks and the world listens!" (FUNK - 2). The message was very clear and got the support of the Italian broadcaster ads, which urged the readers to take notice to Rome (ROME - 1). The BBC contested the Axis radio ads, specially the German ones, with new announcement that questioned the message from the III *Reich*, implying their lack of credibility because "The voice of London speaks and the world believes!" (BBC- 3). The German response was very feeble, since it only announced in her next ads the transmission of Portuguese music concerts in June and July (FUNK - 3).

The reports of the initial success of the offensive Axis eastward and the continuous bombing on Britain were certainly known, causing the demoralization of the population and forcing it to ponder the defeat. The propaganda, often used to criticize and scorn the enemy, had now to take an active role in convincing and mobilizing for victory, message that was very perceptible in ads that filled the pages of the "Diário de Lisboa". August was the month chosen by BBC to inform the readers that Britain still resisted, as could be seen by several images of the famous buildings of its capital. The first choice was the London Tower Bridge, accompanied by the usual message of the radio station (BBC - 4). Others followed in September, namely the Big Ben with the Palace of Westminster (BBC - 5), the BBC headquarters (Broadcasting House) and the famous Saint Paul's cathedral (BBC - 8), the building that had become a symbol of resistance during the London Blitz.

The change in the BBC's ads gave her a new role, the leader of the British's courage. In October BBC assumed formally that part by publishing an ad with the Union Jack in the background. The change was also accompanied by Germany, whose radio announcements brought the imperial eagle and the swastika (Funk- 4), till the appearance of a Berlin's icon in November and December of 1941, the Brandenburg Gate (FUNK - 5). In the use of symbols we highlight the presence of the journalist *Fernando Pessa* in some of the BBC ads (BBC - 10) a figure that gathered some popularity among the Portuguese population and that had shown up before in the newspaper, but to advertise the brand the Philips appliances.

2-America arrives in Europe

Seldom a war that has multiple fronts is won or lost in a single battle. However, the end of the year 1941 was decisive in the outcome of the conflict, with the Japanese decision to attack the Pearl Harbor. The new front of the war dragged the U.S., the most powerful nation, with her economic and military power and assumed once more the reins of the war, has it happened in 1917.

The first months of 1942 didn't brought significant changes in content and in the layout of the ads published in the "Diário de Lisboa". The fight between the German and British radio continued with the use of emblematic buildings of its capital, revealing the BBC some slight cosmetic changes. Meanwhile the magazine "Der Adler", reported again the victories of the Japanese ally in the Pacific (ADLER - 11).

The globalization of the conflict brought back the announcements of the Italian radio, but this time they made a clearly and directed appeal "Listen Rome", that was followed with an map of the Iberian Peninsula with the airwaves spreading from Italy to Spain and Portugal (ROME - 2). In a time of uncertainty about the future of the Axis that change was certainly intended to mobilize and thus appeal to the solidarity of that two nations that were also fascists but remained largely out of the conflict. In the meantime the BBC, maybe moved by the new appeal of the Italian rival, presented a new ad (BBC -17) which showed an image where the reader could see that their transmissions had a worldwide reach.

The U.S. made its reappearance in the ads of the "Diário de Lisboa", almost half a year after its official entry into the war, publishing the schedule and frequency of the American radio station (USA - 1). The announcement also had a picture of a typical American city with its skyscrapers and a slogan in bold letters indicating the disposition of the Land of the Free to "Listen to the Voice of America on the march." The arrival of U.S. propaganda would transform the publicity of the journal due to the high frequency of her ads, but especially with the content, since her messages wanted most of the time to propagandize American ideals. If the first American radio announcement showed the wealth and development of their cities, the one that followed (USA - 2), had in the background the iconic Statue of Liberty, reminding the readers on whose side was the free world. Messages in American radio became a constant, overlapping the British ads, which went

into decline with the entry of the propaganda machine in Washington. The Germans were still leading the Axis announcements, occasionally joined by some Italians. Notwithstanding we highlight the brief presence of the Tokyo Central Broadcaster Radio (NIPON - 1), with a simple ad in December of 1942, which had the particularity of broadcasting news in eight different languages (Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, German, Italian, Japanese and Russian).

January of 1943 was the moment chosen by the Axis to release new radio ads from Rome and Berlin respectively. The Italian wanted the readers to remember the link between the Fascist Italy with the Roman Empire, showing in their ads one of the many triumphal arches that existed in the capital (ROMA- 3) and the image of the *Lupa Capitolina* (ROMA- 4) a representation that shows the Romulus and Remus feeding from the wolf. Meanwhile the German broadcaster strengthened its ties with the Portuguese by publishing an announcement which was established a direct link between the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin and the Triumphal Arch of Augusta Street in Lisbon (FUNK - 6). The image would convey the idea that her emissions would be heard by the Portuguese, particularly by their rulers because several government ministries were located in that specific square, "Praça do Comércio".

In the other side of the Atlantic the American ads would bring a new transformation during the summer, coinciding with the military operations that led to the Allied landing in Sicily. The message came in the radio ads that brought more symbols of freedom and the American democratic system. The building chosen was the Capitol, specifically its dome (USA - 3). That was the site of the legislative power and the house of the Senate and Congress. To emphasize the American military power in one of the ads the readers could see the Capitol dome being overflowed by numerous aircrafts.

In August of 1943 marked a new stage of the advertising / propaganda in the "Diário de Lisboa" since it was the arrival of the American companies and their products. The first one to draw attention of the minds and stomachs of the Portuguese was the corn flour "Maizena" (CORN- 1), which demanded the collaboration of the public to make a "A Brave New World", recalling that the uncertainty of the future could be tackled more easily if people trusted "in the old friends." The American corn flour wasn't alone in the paper since the American radio published new ads where there was an association of old elements already presented, such as the Statue of Liberty and the skyscrapers, with new symbols that included the "Star and Stripes" and the figure of Abraham Lincoln (USA -7). The representation of the former president was made through the image of his memorial, reminding readers the American hero and martyr who fought and died to give better living conditions to the population.

Albeit no one could predict the outcome of the conflict in 1943, the American propaganda machine began the preparations for the post-war period, informing the Portuguese public of the power of its economy and the lifestyle that it provided to the Americans. The contact with that reality began with "Budd", a firm that made trains, airplanes and cars, some of them visible in the picture that accompanied the announcement, although it explained the readers that in that moment all the production was going to the war effort (BUDD -1). The future was the main concern and was well expressed again by the corn flour "Maizena", talking about the time "When peace comes" (CORN- 2), or by the United States Steel that informed potential buyers of its global presence and experience, that would allow to give the materials to "improve the conditions of life and to build a better world" (STEEL- 1). Even the aviation industry namely "Glenn L. Martin", that would have very few direct clients in the newspaper readers, advertised itself as the facilitators of "trade and travel between friendly nations" (MARTIN - 1). The purpose of the ads wasn't to encourage the purchase, but to seduce the minds of the audience with to the "American Way of Life" that the U.S. could provide its allies.

Some more attainable goods also emerged with the ads of the Diamond T Motor Car Company that promised to provide the best vehicle for peace time (TRUCK- 1). Ford also started publishing ads where the advertised product wasn't cars but the U.S. power and scientific development. The first announcement of the Detroit's company answered to the wishes of a 10 years old kid (FORD - 1) ensuring him that they were already "sighting the peace" and could assure him that the technological advances would allow a quick recovery from the war, "even before you grown up." That was also the motto of the second ad, which pledged to put the scientific advances originated by the war "to the service of mankind." The same idea was conveyed by United States Steel, compromising to put their steel and their scientists in the service of "Future Peace" (STEEL- 3), particularly in the construction of skyscrapers (STEEL- 2), pipelines (STEEL- 5) and in ordinary products such as pins and thimbles (STEEL- 4).

According to the American ads the post-war was just about around the corner, so that readers were advised by the corn flour "Maizena" to get a space in the stockroom (CORN- 3) and start planning the "peacetime menu" (CORN-5). Ford Motor Company also told the readers to be looking to the future and promised them a world with "a standard of living far beyond what any other thought possible until now" (FORD - 3). They guaranteed the "best cars, faster air travels and better house conditions" (FORD - 5) all thanks to the advances gained with the war effort.

The beginning of 1944 brought back the RCA, whose ads intensified the propaganda of American lifestyle among the Portuguese population. Through seven new ads published during the first half of the year, the

readers were informed of the close connection between the developments of the war effort and with the emergence of numerous appliances for the peacetime world. There were several applications, from the sewing without needle that had facilitated the manufacture of the fabric of the parachute, to the electric iron that accelerated the construction of airplanes or even the improvement of the microscope, television and radio receivers and even in the area of the recording sound and video (RCA-2,3,4,5,6,7). The link between the military operations and the flow of ads was again noticeable, this time during the Allied disembark in Normandy (June 1944). In that same month began a significant fall in the number of U.S. ads, probably related by the strong physical presence that the allies started having in Europe and made the propaganda effort less necessary. On the other hand, that same reason should be at the origin of an outbreak of ads, between July and October, of one of the well-known companies of the Third Reich, "Bayer". The pharmaceutical company was always a steady presence throughout the period, but her announcements had a very simple message, showing only the brand and the product (BAYER - 1). The changes only began in July, after D-Day, and presented substantial differences. For the first time "Bayer" identified herself with the "German Science" (BAYER - 2) and reminded that its logo was the cross. These radical modifications ought to be made with the sense to establish the connection between Christianity and Germany, maybe promoting some of those religion principles such as peace, mercy or clemency with the populations of the enemy countries that were mainly Christians. The company published another ad where it said clearly that those drugs were "from Germany" (BAYER - 3) and permitted the fight against numerous diseases, enabling the salvation of "several populations" and even allowed the colonization of inhospitable regions. The appeal of pharmaceutical company marked the death rattle of the German propaganda even though there were some radio ads in the first months of 1945.

Germany was defeated, at least in the newspaper, but the U.S. and UK maintained their presence and modus operandi in the newspaper, despite the reduction in the number of their ads. The British continued their announcements with BBC, although they went back to the initial simple form and message, providing only information about schedules and frequencies, leaving the field completely open to the Americans that continued the preparation of the postwar, keeping the reader's attention on the technological advances of their industries, particularly in the steel and automotive industries.

The last months of the war would be used by "Republic Steel", easily identified by the bald eagle (REPUBLIC- 1) to remind readers of the numerous applications gained with the war effort. Now, that material, whose excellence and superiority were praised in the ads, presented himself as essential to the recovery of economies since it was used in agriculture and shipbuilding, the canning industry and construction of buildings (REPUBLIC-2,3,5,6). The same versatility was also the main argument of the "International Harvester Company" that defended an easy adaptation of their trucks and tractors, old machinery of war, in the works of reconstruction (IHC - 1, 2). Again the concern of American advertising was more focused on the postwar world even before the conflict ended. Such determination was shielded in its strong military power, but especially on its prosperous economy, which faced the war not as a struggle for new territories but for new markets.

3-Conclusions

From the analysis of the announcements published in the "Diário de Lisboa" we found that during the II World War the belligerents used advertising to spread their message in Portugal and thus seek the sympathy and support from the people to their causes and values. This was confirmed by global dynamics established between the ads and the military operations, which determined the flow and content, becoming good storytellers of the armed conflict.

A more precise assessment shows that in the initial phase of the war the Axis countries ads especially Germany, dominated the number of advertisements. This behavior reflected the military superiority at that time, as well as some friendliness and openness of the Portuguese population, especially their rulers, for this set of countries. The British always assumed a secondary position, although being old allies of Portugal, certainly conditioned by the military events that were consuming their precious resources. This became clear since the arrival of the U.S. ads led to a substantial reduction in the number of British announcements even though their presence continued throughout the period.

The appearance of the American propaganda machine, even if late, transformed the advertising because of the strength of its numbers, but especially by the mobilization of its companies to participate in the fight. Surely the private companies' activities would be conditioned by the state during the war, but since the public was not always aware of what happened behind the curtains, the advertising that came from that source would have a better chance of being well received. Meanwhile the UK and the Axis, despite the latest ads of "Bayer", showed that they didn't master this important aspect of advertising because almost all of their ads were from a small group of companies strongly identified with the sovereign state. This practice would also determine the

content of the advertising message, accentuating a more negative propaganda in order to manipulate the mind, instead of the more efficient suggestion and persuasion which was conveyed by the Americans announcements. Thus, we can say that the propaganda war was won not with the use of military power or the moral superiority or even the political and religious similarities, but by selling the dream to transform Portugal in America.




Appendix

RCA-1 22/11/1939

a
THOMSON GENERAL ELECTRIC
apresenta
A SUA NOVA SÉRIE DE RADIO 1940

A superioridade da indústria americana em E. E. F. é indiscutível, sobretudo neste momento em que ela pode entregar os melhores e mais modernos produtos a quem sabe de verdade, visto dispor dos melhores especialistas de técnicas e operações especializadas apoiadas por um material de primeira qualidade.

A nova série de 1940 compreende um modelo simples e acessível especialmente para Portugal, em homenagem ao 10.º aniversário, apresenta principalmente como principais vantagens melhoramentos na sintonização e recepção das ondas curtas.

VENDE E EXPOSIÇÃO
5 Rua de Norte (Próximo Comércio) e em outras localidades

THOMSON GENERAL ELECTRIC
5 Rua de Norte, 5 Grupo de Comércio

KAMPF-1 9/1/1940

UM LIVRO DE SENSACÃO!
ADOLFO HITLER
E O SEU LIVRO
MEIN KAMPF
(A MINHA LUTA)

A Mensagem de Adolfo Hitler acompanhada da transcrição das principais capitulos da Minha Luta, com legendas comentadas por René P. Liechtenberg.

SENÃO CONN'CE MEIN KAMPF NÃO DEIXE DE LER ESTE LIVRO

1. Vol. de 320 - EXPLICAÇÃO DA LINGUAGEM A GOSTAR

A' venda em todas as livrarias

PEDIDOS A' EDITORIAL PROGRESSO, L. DA
185-A - RUA DA PALMA - 185-B

BOA-1 9/8/1940

OS VELHOS AMIGOS SÃO OS MELHORES



A Portugal — o mais antigo aliado da Grã Bretanha — a Grã Bretanha oferece os meios de transporte mais modernos. É natural que a Grã Bretanha continue a prestar os serviços para Portugal e vice-versa durante esta a maior guerra na história, estreitando desta'arte os laços que sempre uniram estas duas nações. A viagem de Lisboa a Londres leva somente poucas horas. Transportam-se passageiros, malas e fretes.

Viagem de avião — é rápida, confortável e conveniente — e reflete a importância do U.S. e do seu negócio.

BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS

BRITISH AIRWAYS

As principais rotas e de 2000 milhas. Serviços diários de Londres para Lisboa e vice-versa. Serviços de Lisboa para o Brasil e vice-versa. Serviços de Lisboa para o Brasil e vice-versa. Serviços de Lisboa para o Brasil e vice-versa.

BBC-1 1/9/1940

NOTÍCIAS DE LONDRES

O horário (hora de verão) e as ondas curtas em que podem ser ouvidos os interessantes e apreciados noticiários da B. B. C. de Londres, em língua portuguesa, são os seguintes:

às 13.15-49.10 m. 25.38 m. 19.76 m.
 às 22.00-49.10 m. 31.55 m.
 às 01.00-49.59 m. 41.94 m. 31.55 m. 30.96 m.

Esta última emissão também pode ser ouvida nas ondas médias de: 373.1 m. e 261.1 m.

FUNK-1 2/9/1940

A Alemanha fala!

As estações alemãs de ondas curtas transmitem as suas notícias radiofônicas em LINGUA PORTUGUESA diariamente.

das 18.45 às 19 horas e das 21.45 às 22 horas
 pelos postos DJC 6020 Kcs. 49.83 m. e DJD 11729 Kcs. 25.49 m. e também das 0.00 às 0.15 horas e das 2.00 às 2.15 horas
 pelos postos DJP 11845 Kcs. 25.31 m. e DJQu 15280 Kcs. 19.83 m.

Actualidades em LINGUA PORTUGUESA são emitidas todos os dias até às 23.30 e 2.15 horas pelos postos DJP 11845 Kcs. 25.31 m. e DJQu 15280 Kcs. 19.83 m.

O noticiário em LINGUA FRANCESA é transmitido em onda média diariamente das 22.30 às 22.45 horas, das 23.30 às 23.45 horas e das 0.31 às 0.45 horas pelos postos Stuttgart 574 Kcs. 522.6 m. e Bruxelas H 932 Kcs. 371.9 m.

BBC-2 27/9/1940

LA VOIX DE LONDRES

EMISSIONS EN LANGUE FRANÇAISE

Les émissions en langue française s'effectuent chaque jour aux heures suivantes:

Temps (Greenwich)	Ondes Moyennes	Ondes Courtes
Às 5.15 ...	373,1 m.	49,59 m. 41,49 m. e 30,96 m.
Às 11.15 ...	373,1 m.	41,49 m. e 25,29 m.
Às 17.15 ...	373,1 m.	49,59 m. 41,49 m. e 30,96 m.
Às 19.15 ...	373,1 m. e 261,1 m.	49,59 m. 41,49 m. e 30,96 m.
Às 21.00 ...	261,1 m.	49,59 m. 30,96 m. e 31,55 m.
Às 23.45 ...	373,1 m. e 261,1 m.	49,59 m. 41,49 m. e 30,96 m.

ADLER-1 25/4/1941



Oxigênio — o elemento indispensável para o piloto-aviador que voador a grandes alturas. Os aviadores alemães na Itália e sobre os aeródromos búlgaros. As mais emocionantes reportagens da arma aérea no teatro da guerra.

Chama-se a atenção de todos os que seguem dia a dia as fases da luta que se está desenvolvendo para

o n.º 7 e seguintes

da grande revista ilustrada alemã de aviação

Der Adler

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Informações dê-se a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd. Rua de S. Nicolau 179, Lisboa

ADLER-4 3/6/1941



Querem fazer uma ideia da violência dos golpes inflingidos pela arma aérea alemã na Grécia? Querem saber como uma câmara com uma teleobjectiva revela os segredos do outro lado da Mancha? O ovo serviu de modelo para a construção de aviões? Querem conhecer a aventura dum piloto dum stukka? — Enão leiam a grande revista ilustrada alemã de aviação

Der Adler

Preço Esc. 1.50

Informações dê-se a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd. Rua de S. Nicolau 179, Lisboa



Todos os dias comunicam-se novas operações da arma aérea alemã. As reportagens gráficas, únicas no seu género, com descrições sobre os combates e vitórias obtidas, e também assuntos sobre a técnica e o desenvolvimento da arma aérea alemã, tudo isto trás a conhecida revista da Aviação militar alemã

Der Adler

Preço Esc. 1.50

Informações dá-as a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd, Rua de S. Nicolau 119, Lisboa

Acaba de aparecer o último número!




Como é que se contam os derubamentos de aviões? I Tobruk sob uma chuva de bombas! Atenção! Balões de barragem à vista! Um ataque contra a frota britânica O pavilhão americano vai afastando a pouco e pouco o «Union Jack»! É possível voar-se mais depressa que o som? E mais temas interessantes aparecerão no próximo número da Grande Revista da Aviação Alemã

Der Adler

Preço Esc. 1.50

Informações dá-as a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd, Rua de S. Nicolau 119, Lisboa



O que há com a arma aérea soviética? A revista DER ADLER publica pela primeira vez pormenores sobre esta arma de ataque dos soviets, há tantos anos misteriosamente camuflada. Além disso, a par de valiosos relatos documentados com fotografias da frente oriental, traz um artigo interessante sobre a música étnica da URSS. Todo o mundo sabe, que aviões podem voar; porque eles voam, é relatado numa dissertação interessantíssima. Deve merecer atenção particular também uma fotografia inédita de Alexandria. Tudo isto e muitas outras coisas mais mostra e relata no seu próximo número a grande revista ilustrada da Arma Aérea alemã

Der Adler

Preço Esc. 1.50

Informações dá-as a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd, Rua de S. Nicolau 119, Lisboa



Como um turbilhão, em voo rasado, os "stukas" alemães passam sobre as regiões da retaguarda inimiga na frente oriental, desbaratando a rede de viação para o reforço, as colunas, transportes e instalações ferroviárias e não deixam os soviets tomar fôlego. Os relatos ilustrados mais actuais da acção da Luftwaffe no oriente são publicados no número mais novo da grande revista ilustrada da Arma Aérea alemã, "DER ADLER". Além de outras colaborações, é particularmente sugestivo o relato sobre o heróico voo dum sargento alemão

Der Adler

A grande revista ilustrada da Arma Aérea alemã

Preço Esc. 1.50

Informações dá-as a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd, Rua de S. Nicolau 119, Lisboa

ROMA-1 6/5/1941

ESCUTAI ROMA!

(Centro Rádio Imperial da «RAI») - NOTICIÁRIO EM LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA
TODOS OS DIAS

Horas de Portugal

Horas de Portugal	Postos	Ondas curtas
12.00 - 12.25	2 RO 8 m 19.81 (kcs 15300) 2 RO 8 m 16.84 (kcs 17820)	
13.05 - 13.15	2 RO 8 m 18.84 (kcs 17820) 2 RO 4 m 25.40 (kcs 11810)	
22.50 - 23.00	2 RO 4 m 25.40 (kcs 11810) 2 RO 3 m 31.15 (kcs 9830) 2 RO 11 m 41.35 (kcs 7220)	
00.00 - 00.10	2 RO 4 m 25.40 (kcs 11810) 2 RO 3 m 31.15 (kcs 9830)	
TERÇA QUINTA - SÁBADO		
15.40 - 15.55	2 RO 14 m 18.70 (kcs 15230)	
1.15 - 1.30	2 RO 4 m 25.40 (kcs 11810) 2 RO 3 m 31.15 (kcs 9830)	

* Comunicações do Quartel General Italiano, em português

BBC-3 7/5/1941

FUNK-2 6/5/1941

A ALEMANHA FALA

E O MUNDO OUVE!

Noticiário em língua portuguesa (Todos os dias)

HORAS	POSTOS	METROS	KGS
16.15 às 16.30	DZH DZE DXS	20,75 24,73 19,79	14,460 12,130 15,160
18.45 às 19.00	DJD DJC	25,49 49,83	11,770 6,020
20.30 às 20.45	DIQ	19,62	15,280
21.30 às 21.46	DIQ DZC	19,62 29,16	15,280 10,290
21.45 às 22.00	DJD DJC	25,49 49,83	11,770 6,020
0.00 às 0.15	DIQ DZC	19,62 29,16	15,280 10,290
2.00 às 2.15	DZE DZC	24,73 29,16	12,130 10,290
	DZE	24,73	12,130

Actualidades em língua portuguesa (Todos os dias ultis)

HORAS	POSTOS	METROS	KGS
22.30 às 22.50	DIQ DZC DZE	19,62 29,16 24,73	15,280 10,290 12,130
23.30 às 23.45	DIQ DZC DZE	19,62 29,16 24,73	15,280 10,290 12,130
2.15 às 2.30	DZC DZE	29,16 24,73	10,290 12,130

FUNK-3 10/2/1941

B.B.C. A VOZ DE LONDRES B.B.C.

FALA

E O MUNDO ACREDITA!

NOTICIÁRIO EM LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

Hora de verão	Ondas médias	Ondas curtas
13.15 Noticiário	—	13.86 m. (21,64 mc/s)
13.30 Actualidades	—	19.76 m. (15,18 mc/s)
22.00 Noticiário	285,7 (1,050 kc/s)	(*) 24.92 m. (12,04 mc/s) 31.32 m. (9,58 mc/s)
22.15 Actualidades	285,7 (1,050 kc/s)	31.55 m. (9,51 mc/s)

(*) O comprimento de onda de 24,92 é só audível das 22 às 22,15.
O serviço noticioso da B. B. C. para o Brasil, França e Espanha continua sem alteração, conforme já anunciado.

MUSICA PORTUGUESA

TRANSMITIDA PELA RADIO ALEMÃ

A emissora alemã de ondas curtas, incluiu, no seu programa, sob o título «COMPOSITORES PORTUGUESES», uma série de concertos mensais com musica portuguesa. São executadas obras de Viana da Mota, Ivo Cruz, Luiz de Freitas Branco, Frederico de Freitas, Rui Coelho, Claudio Camello, Alberto João Fernandes, etc.

O quarto concerto realisa-se HOJE, 18 de Fevereiro, das 20.00 às 20.45 (hora portuguesa).

PROGRAMA

Piano

Prelúdio I António Fragoso
Prelúdio II António Fragoso

Canto e piano

De «Melodias Portuguesas» Griselda de Proença-a-Velha
Teresa, serenata
Desalento, elegia

Piano

Prelúdio III António Fragoso
Prelúdio IV António Fragoso
Prelúdio VII António Fragoso

Canto e piano

Balada Griselda de Proença-a-Velha

Piano

Scherzino Armando José Fernandes

Canto e piano

De «Melodias Portuguesas»: As Andorinhas Griselda de Proença-a-Velha

Piano

De «Rainha Santa», legenda mística Rui Coelho
I. Corêpo dos pobres-dinheiros.

Canto e piano

De «Melodias Portuguesas»: Galope Griselda de Proença-a-Velha

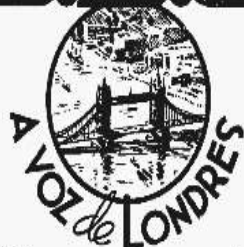
Piano

De «Paginas Portuguesas»: Números 7-12 Oscar da Silva

Interpretes: Sofia del Campo, Soprano, ans Priegnitz, Piano.
Organização do Programa: Richard Klatowsky, Direcção: Walter Jentsch.

Ondas:	19,63 m	25,49 m	31,01 m	49,83 m
Postos:	DJL	DJD	DJX	DJC

BBC-4 24/8/1941

B.B.C.*fala e o mundo acredita***NOTICIÁRIO EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA**

Hora de verão	Estações	Ondas curtas
13,15	Noticiário G R Z 13,86 m. (21,64 mc/s)	
	G S O 19,76 m. (15,18 mc/s)	
13,30	Actualidades G R V 24,92 m. (12,04 mc/s)	
22,00 (*)	Noticiário G S C 31,32 m. (9,58 mc/s)	
	G S B 31,55 m. (9,51 mc/s)	
22,15	Actualidades G R T 41,96 m. (7,15 mc/s)	

(*) Este noticiário ouve-se também em 24,92 metros (12,04 mc/s) em G R V.

Criei o hábito de ler «LONDON CALLING», semanário ilustrado e órgão oficial da B. B. C.

A' venda na Livraria Bertrand, Rua Garrett, 73-75, ao preço de Esc. 1520.

BBC-5 7/9/1941

B.B.C.**NOTICIÁRIO EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA**

Hora de verão	Estações	Ondas curtas
13,15	Noticiário G A Z 13,86 m. (21,64 mc/s)	
	G S O 19,76 m. (15,18 mc/s)	
13,30	Actualidades G R V 24,92 m. (12,04 mc/s)	
22,00 (*)	Noticiário G S C 31,32 m. (9,58 mc/s)	
	G S B 31,55 m. (9,51 mc/s)	
22,15	Actualidades G R T 41,96 m. (7,15 mc/s)	

(*) Este noticiário ouve-se também em 24,92 metros (12,04 mc/s) em G R V.

Criei o hábito de ler «LONDON CALLING», semanário ilustrado e órgão oficial da B. B. C.

A' venda na Livraria Bertrand, Rua Garrett, 73-75, ao preço de Esc. 1520.

BBC-8 28/9/1941

B.B.C.*a voz de Londres***NOTICIÁRIO EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA**

Hora de verão	Estações	Ondas curtas
13,15	Noticiário G R Z 13,86 m. (21,64 mc/s)	
	G S O 19,76 m. (15,18 mc/s)	
13,30	Actualidades G R V 24,92 m. (12,04 mc/s)	
22,00 (*)	Noticiário G S C 31,32 m. (9,58 mc/s)	
	G S B 31,55 m. (9,51 mc/s)	
22,15	Actualidades G R T 41,96 m. (7,15 mc/s)	

(*) Este noticiário ouve-se também em 24,92 metros (12,04 mc/s) em G R V.

Criei o hábito de ler «LONDON CALLING», semanário ilustrado e órgão oficial da B. B. C.

A' venda na Livraria Bertrand, Rua Garrett, 73-75, ao preço de Esc. 1520.

FUNK-4 6/10/1941

**A ALEMANHA FALA!****ACTUALIDADES EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA**

16,15	NOTICIÁRIO	DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
16,45	NOTICIÁRIO	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
21,30	NOTICIÁRIO	DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
		DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
21,45	NOTICIÁRIO	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
22,30	TEMA DO DIA	DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
		DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
6,30	NOTICIÁRIO	DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
		DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
9,15	CONF. POLT.	DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
		DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
2,15	ACTUALIDADES	DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
		DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)

A EMISSORA ALEMÃ DE ONDAS CURTAS DE BERLIM oferece aos seus radiotelevisores portugueses diariamente um programa especial das 8h às 21 horas, e em português para o Brasil até às 5 horas, com notícias portuguesas e outras mais apreciadas.

BBC-10 12/10/1941

**B.B.C. A VOZ DE LONDRES**
fala e o mundo acredita
NOTICIÁRIO EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA

Hora	Estações	Ondas curtas
12,15	Noticiário G R Z 13,86 m. (21,64 mc/s)	
	G S O 19,76 m. (15,18 mc/s)	
12,30	Actualidades G R V 24,92 m. (12,04 mc/s)	
21,00 (*)	Noticiário G S C 31,32 m. (9,58 mc/s)	
	G S B 31,55 m. (9,51 mc/s)	
21,15	Actualidades G R T 41,96 m. (7,15 mc/s)	

(*) Este noticiário ouve-se também em 24,92 metros (12,04 mc/s) em G R V.

Criei o hábito de ler «LONDON CALLING», semanário ilustrado e órgão oficial da B. B. C.

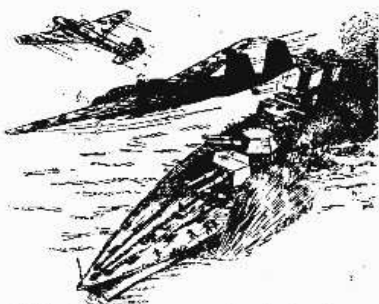
A' venda na Livraria Bertrand, Rua Garrett, 73-75, ao preço de Esc. 1520.

FUNK-5 30/11/1941

**BERLIM A ALEMANHA FALA!****ACTUALIDADES EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA**

Horas	Estações	Ondas curtas
12,15	NOTICIÁRIO	DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
12,45	NOTICIÁRIO	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
19,30	NOTICIÁRIO	DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
		DZE 24,78 m. (12,03 mc/s)
20,15	NOTICIÁRIO	DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
		DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
21,30	NOTICIÁRIO	DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
		DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
22,45	NOTICIÁRIO	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
23,00	NOTICIÁRIO	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
23,15	CONF. POLÍTICA	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
0,00	CONFÉRENCIA	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)
1,15	NOTICIÁRIO	DDE 25,49 m. (11,77 mc/s)
		DQZ 19,63 m. (15,28 mc/s)

A EMISSORA ALEMÃ DE ONDAS CURTAS DE BERLIM oferece aos seus radiotelevisores portugueses diariamente um programa especial das 8h às 21 horas, e em português para o Brasil até às 5 horas, com notícias portuguesas e outras mais apreciadas.



O Japão desfere o golpe! O número mais novo da ADLER publica quadros sugestivos dos vitoriosos ataques das forças armadas japonesas contra a esquadra inimiga. "Samurai, o espírito heróico do Japão" é o título dum outro artigo altamente interessante que é publicado nesta revista com muitos outros relatos actuais que oferecem um retrospectivo sobre o ano de guerra de 1941

Der Adler

A grande revista ilustrada da Arma Aérea alemã

Prêço Esc. 1.50

Informações, de-ar a Agência Internacional de Livraria e Publicações Ltd., Rua de S. Nicolau 119, Lisboa



Centro Rádio Imperial da EIAR
NOVO HORÁRIO
NOTICIÁRIO EM LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

TODOS OS DIAS

HORAS DE PORTUGAL	ESTACÕES	m.	Kcs
8,50	Noticiário (2 RO 6)	m. 19,61	Kcs 15.300
	(2 RO 4)	m. 25,40	" 11.810
12,15	Comunicado de guerra (2 RO 17)	m. 15,31	Kcs 19.590
	(2 RO 7)	m. 19,88	" 17.770
16,30	Noticiário (2 RO 17)	m. 15,31	Kcs 19.590
	(2 RO 7)	m. 19,88	" 17.770
21,10	Noticiário (2 RO 6)	m. 19,61	Kcs 15.300
23,10	(2 RO 22)	m. 11,89	" 11.810
	(2 RO 4)	m. 25,40	" 11.810
	(2 RO 3)	m. 35,40	" 9.630
	(2 RO 11)	m. 31,15	" 7.220
24,--	Noticiário (2 RO 6)	m. 41,55	(ondas médias)
	(2 RO 19)	m. 283,20	
	(2 RO 18)	m. 221,10	
		m. 19,61	Kcs 15.300
		m. 29,04	" 10.330
		m. 30,74	" 9.360

Conversação em Língua portuguesa

(às quartas e domingos)

21,10 (às quartas)	m. 25,70	Kcs 11.895
21,20 (aos domingos)	m. 30,52	Kcs 9.330

Lições da Universidade Radiofónica Italiana

(às terças, quintas e sábados)

13,35	(2 RO 11)	m. 41,55	Kcs 7.220
	(2 RO 22)	m. 25,10	Kcs 11.810



a voz de Londres fala, e o mundo acredita

Noticiário em LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

Horas	Estações	Ondas curtas
13,15	Noticiário.	G R Z 13,86 m. (21,64 mc/s)
		G R U 31,75 m. (9,45 mc/s)
13,30	Actualidades. . .	G R V 24,92 m. (12,04 mc/s)
22,00 (*)	Noticiário.	G R X 30,96 m. (9,69 mc/s)
		G S B 31,55 m. (9,51 mc/s)
22,15 (*)	Actualidades. . .	G R T 41,96 m. (7,15 mc/s)

(*) Este período do Noticiário e Actualidades quere-se também em ondas médias de 261,1 metros (1,149 Mc/s) e ondas compridas de 1.500 metros (200 kc/s).

Orial o hábito de ler o LONDON CALLING, semanário ilustrado e orção oficial da B. B. C.

A venda nas principais tabacarias e na Livraria Bertrand, R. Garrett, 73-75, ao preço de Esc. 1820.



Emissões dos ESTADOS UNIDOS

EM LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

(Recorte esta tabela para referência futura)

Horas *	Dias	Ondas curtas
9,15	Segunda-feira	25,23 m. (11,89 mc/s)
	Terça-feira, Sábado	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
10,30	Segunda-feira	25,23 m. (11,89 mc/s)
	Terça-feira, Sábado	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
20,15	Segunda-feira, Sexta-feira.	25,40 m. (11,79 mc/s)
		30,90 m. (9,70 mc/s)
		49,60 m. (6,04 mc/s)
21,30	Sábado, Domingo	19,56 m. (15,33 mc/s)
		31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
21,45	Sábado, Domingo	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
	Segunda-feira, Sábado	19,56 m. (15,33 mc/s)
23,30	Sábado, Domingo	19,56 m. (15,33 mc/s)

* As horas indicadas são as do meridiano de Greenwich (G. M. T.) isto é, duas horas mais cedo do que a hora de Lisboa.

OIÇA a VOZ da AMERICA em MARCHA



Emissões dos ESTADOS UNIDOS
EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA
(Recorte esta tabela para referência futura)

Horas	Dias	Ondas curtas
9,15	Segunda-feira	25,23 m. (11,89 mc/s)
	Terça-feira, Sábado	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
10,30	Segunda-feira	25,23 m. (11,89 mc/s)
	Terça-feira, Sábado	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
		25,40 m. (11,79 mc/s)
20,15	Segunda-feira, Sexta-feira	30,90 m. (9,70 mc/s)
		49,60 m. (6,04 mc/s)
		19,56 m. (15,33 mc/s)
21,30	Sábado, Domingo	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
	Sábado, Domingo	31,02 m. (9,67 mc/s)
21,45	Segunda-feira, Sábado	19,56 m. (15,33 mc/s)
23,30	Sábado, Domingo	19,56 m. (15,33 mc/s)

OIÇA a VOZ da AMERICA em MARCHA

Horário da Emissora Central de Tokio

POSTOS	KC.	MKS.	HORAS LARGA	PROGRAMAS
J Z J	11.800	25,42	1,00	Noticias em lingua portuguesa
J Z K	15.160	19,78	1,30	Noticias em lingua espanhola
			8,15	MUSICA
J Z I	9.535	31,47	8,20	Noticias em lingua japonesa
			8,30	Noticias em lingua alemã
			8,50	Noticias em lingua italiana
			9,05	Noticias em lingua inglesa
J L G-4	15.105	19,86	9,20	MUSICA
			9,30	Noticias em lingua alemã
			9,45	Noticias em lingua italiana
			10,00	Noticias em lingua inglesa
J V W	7.257	41,34	19,00	Noticias em lingua inglesa
			19,20	Comentarios em lingua inglesa
			19,30	Noticias em lingua alemã
			19,50	Comentarios em lingua alemã
			20,00	Noticias em lingua japonesa
			20,20	Comentarios em lingua japonesa
			20,30	Noticias em lingua italiana
			20,50	Comentarios em lingua italiana
J L G-2	9.505	31,58	21,00	Noticias em lingua francesa
			21,20	Comentarios em lingua francesa
			21,30	MUSICA
			21,40	Noticias em lingua russa
			22,00	Noticias em lingua inglesa
			22,20	Noticias em lingua japonesa



ESCUTAI ROMA
AS ESTAÇÕES EMISSORAS DE ROMA

oferecem todos os dias aos ouvintes portugueses interessantes transmissões de notícias da actualidade acerca dos mais importantes acontecimentos políticos e de guerra.

PROGRAMA do noticiário em lingua portuguesa

HORAS	ONDAS	FREQUENCIAS	ESTAÇÕES
7,30	19,92	15000	2 RO 21
7,50	25,40	11810	2 RO 4
11,20	15,31	10500	2 RO 17
11,40	19,61	15300	2 RO 6
14,10	25,10	11950	2 RO 22
14,10	41,55	7220	2 RO 11
17,00	15,31	10500	2 RO 17
21,50	25,10	11950	2 RO 22
21,50	29,04	10330	2 RO 19
21,50	30,74	9760	2 RO 18
21,50	31,15	9630	2 RO 3
21,50	41,55	7220	2 RO 11
21,50	47,62	6300	2 RO 23
0,00	25,10	11950	2 RO 22
0,00	29,04	10330	2 RO 19
0,00	30,74	9760	2 RO 18

Recorte este anúncio.
Conservar-o perto do vosso aparelho de rádio.

E.I.A.R. CENTRO RADIO IMPERIALE



A Alemanha FALA!

HORAS	POSTOS	ONDAS
12,30		
13,00	"Hora Portuguesa"	DZE 24,73 m
14,00	Noticiário	DZE 24,73 m
17,45	Noticiário	DJC 49,83 m
		DXH 25,51 m
		DXO 19,63 m
20,30	Noticiário	DXU 9 31,28 m
		DXI 41,15 m
20,45	Noticiário	DJC 49,83 m
		DAR 25,51 m
		DZC 29,16 m
21,15	Noticiário e "Tema do dia"	DXU 9 31,28 m
		DXI 41,15 m
		DXQ 19,63 m
22,30	Noticiário e "Fala de dia"	DXU 9 31,28 m
23,45	Noticiário	DXH 49,83 m

A Emissora Alemã de Ondas Curtas de Berlim transmite diariamente actualidades em lingua portuguesa

ROMA-4 10/2/1943

ESCUTAI
ROMA

AS ESTAÇÕES EMISSORAS DE
ROMA

oferecem todos os dias aos ouvintes portugueses interessantes transmissões de notícias da actualidade acerca dos mais importantes acontecimentos políticos e de guerra.

PROGRAMA
do noticiário em língua portuguesa

HORAS	ONDAS m.	FREQUÊNCIAS Kc.s	ESTAÇÕES
7.50	19.92	15060	2 RO 21
7.50	25.40	11810	2 RO 4
11.20	15.31	19590	2 RO 17
14.10	19.61	15300	2 RO 6
14.10	25.10	11850	2 RO 22
14.10	41.55	7220	2 RO 11
17.00	15.31	19590	2 RO 17
21.50	48.25	6220	2 RO 26
21.50	29.04	10330	2 RO 19
21.50	30.74	9760	2 RO 18
21.50	31.15	9630	2 RO 3
21.50	41.55	7220	2 RO 11
21.50	47.62	6300	2 RO 23
0.00	25.10	11850	2 RO 22
0.00	29.04	10330	2 RO 19
0.00	30.74	9760	2 RO 18

Recortai este anúncio.
Conservai-o perto do vosso aparelho de rádio.

E.I.A.R. CENTRO RADIO IMPERIALE

USA-3 6/7/1943

..aqui
AMERICA

EMISSIONES DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA
(Recorte esta tabela para referencia futura)

Horas	Estações	ONDAS curtas	Estações	ONDAS curtas
7,45	WCBC	31,1 m. 9.850 kc/s.	WDJ	30,7 m. 7.585 kc/s.
9,45	WRUV	48,6 m. 6.040 kc/s.	WDJ	30,7 m. 7.585 kc/s.
12,45	WRRX	30,3 m. 9.897 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
13,45	WDL	30,8 m. 9.750 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
14,45	WRRX	30,3 m. 9.897 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
17,45	WGSA	25,3 m. 11.847 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
18,45	WDO	20,7 m. 14.470 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
19,45	WDO	20,7 m. 14.470 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
20,30	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
22,00	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
23,00	WGSA	25,3 m. 11.847 kc/s.	WGO	19,6 m. 15.330 kc/s.
00,45	WDL	30,8 m. 9.750 kc/s.		
01,45	WDJ	30,7 m. 7.585 kc/s.		

EMISSIONES DIARIAS
OIÇA a VOZ da
AMERICA em MARCHA

CORN-1 4/8/1943

V. Ex.^a também ajudará a fazer

UM MUNDO NOVO

VALENTE

A pesar de diferente, o mundo de amanhã não precisa de ser completamente desconhecido. Isto depende de V. Ex.^a. Os velhos amigos lá estarão, se os quiser. Temos a certeza que querera também a **MAIZENA DURYEA**. E por isso que fazemos todos os possíveis para ter disponível uma nova remessa.

Se tem dificuldade em encontrar Maizena Duryea é porque este produto está contribuindo para a alimentação que os Estados Unidos estão fornecendo aos seus aliados combatentes. Mas continue a pedi-la. Na próxima vez, talvez o seu fornecedor tenha recebido uma nova remessa.

Tenha paciência. Lembre-se que a Maizena Duryea fará os molhos, sopas e pudins ricos, macios e deliciosos.

MAIZENA DURYEA

Fabricada nos Estados Unidos da America pela
Corn Products Refining Company, New York.

USA-7 17/8/1943

AQUI
AMERICA!

EMISSIONES DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
EM LINGUA PORTUGUESA
(Recorte esta tabela para referencia futura)

Horas	Estações	ONDAS curtas	Estações	ONDAS curtas
7,45	WCBC	31,1 m. 9.850 kc/s.	WDJ	30,7 m. 7.585 kc/s.
9,45	WRUV	48,6 m. 6.040 kc/s.	WDJ	30,7 m. 7.585 kc/s.
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EMISSIONES DIARIAS
OIÇA A VOZ DA AMERICA EM MARCHA

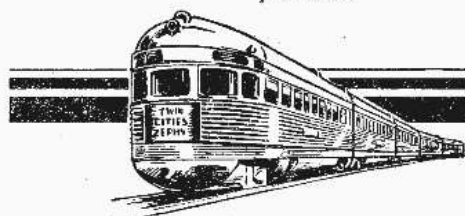
BUDD

Desenhadores e construtores dos famosos comboios em aço leve e inoxidável para Passageiros.

Também fabricantes de aviões, automóveis e estruturas para navios.

EDWARD G. BUDD MANUFACTURING COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA, E. U. A.

Esta importante fábrica está agora inteiramente entregue à produção de material de guerra para as forças armadas das Nações Unidas



PROMESSA DE UM PRAZER DE OUTROS TEMPOS



Quando a Paz vier, muitos alimentos de que sempre gostou contribuirão para o seu prazer. Entre estes - MAIZENA DURYEA - o famoso produto que tanto a ajuda a fazer os pudins, sopas e molhos macios e deliciosos.

Neste momento, produção total da MAIZENA DURYEA é indispensável aos Estados Unidos para ajudar a alimentação dos seus aliados combatentes. Portanto, se quando pedir MAIZENA DURYEA ao seu fornecedor este na ocasião não a tiver, não deixe de a pedir mais uma vez. A todo o instante ele pode receber uma nova promessa.

MAIZENA DURYEA

Fabricada nos Estados Unidos da América
pela Corn Products Refining Company
New York



**40 anos
por todo o mundo**

Ligada aos produtos da UNITED STATES STEEL há uma grande tradição — a tradição dos serviços de exportação que, durante 40 anos, têm levado os produtos «U. S. STEEL» a todas as partes do mundo.

Quando a Paz voltar, a UNITED STATES STEEL EXPORT COMPANY servirá outra vez os países do mundo com goivos e mais finos aços «U. S. STEEL» para melhorar as condições de vida e para construir um mundo melhor.

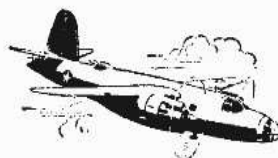
**United States Steel
Export Company**



25 CHURCH ST., NEW YORK, U. S. A.

SERVIMOS O MUNDO

Agentes-Distribuidores em Portugal (Exceção p. Lisboa)
Senhor Mendonça, Ed. — Lisboa e Porto



As grandes fábricas de «The Glenn L. Martin Company», na América, dedicam-se agora exclusivamente à manufactura de aviões de guerra. Mas depois da guerra, essas instalações Martin construirão grandes aviões para carreiras comerciais que transportarão grande número de passageiros e muitas toneladas de carga a longas distâncias. Estes aeroplanos facilitarão comércio e viagens entre nações amigas.

Martin

Construtores de aviões de confiança desde 1909



THE GLENN L. MARTIN CO., BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

TRUCK-1 15/9/1943



DIAMOND T CAMIÕES

Quando os homens puderem comprar e vender como desejarem, muita vez em País como o nosso, DIAMOND T estarão prontos a fornecer-lhes novos camiões, melhores que quaisquer outros conhecidos até agora. Conhecidos por esta famosa marca, que através de 30 anos de serviço, nunca foi colocada num veículo de pouca importância.

*Todos os tipos... todos os tamanhos... de 1 a 30 toneladas...
Mas os Diamond T são os melhores, melhores especialmente para camiões.*



DIAMOND T MOTOR CAR CO. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U. S. A.

FORD-1 16/9/1943



Carta a um rapaz de dez anos

TU, amiguinho, vives hoje num mundo que estremece com o estrépito da Guerra. No entanto, ainda antes de tu seres crescido, um novo poder produtivo fará desaparecer os vestígios das cicatrizes, reconstruirá o mundo e proporcionará tudo o que torna a vida agradável. Nós, da Ford, como tu, podemos entrever a paz. Temos fé que um mundo mais alegre espera por ti no dia de amanhã — dia em que os teus sonhos com imagens boas e nítidas da vida se realizarão.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY



STEEL-2 19/9/1943



Pequeno como um alfinete... Grande como um arranha-céus

Constrói um grandioso arranha-céus ou modela um minúsculo alfinete — eis as tarefas da UNITED STATES STEEL.

Molas de arame finas como teias de aranha para instrumentos de precisão para a guerra ou bobinas de aço forjadas para canhões de 16 polegadas — se fizeres de aço a UNITED STATES STEEL fabrica-as.

Actualmente aço para a guerra. Quando a Paz voltar aços importantes e melhores aços, novos aços para o futuro progresso e bem-estar do mundo de amanhã.



**United States Steel
Export Company**
30 CHURCH ST., NEW YORK, U. S. A.
SERVIMOS O MUNDO

Agentes-Instaladores em Portugal (Exceção do Lisboa)
Santos Mendonça, Lda. — Lisboa e Porto

STEEL-3 26/9/1943



Peritos que sabem o que fazem

Nos 374 laboratórios da UNITED STATES STEEL 1.200 homens de ciência e técnicos dedicam os seus conhecimentos ao constante melhoramento dos aços da U. S. STEEL.

Hoje os seus esforços são dedicados às armas de guerra. A sua tarefa é produzir aços e outros materiais para suportarem todas as exigências da guerra moderna.

Para as necessidades da futura Paz, eles prometem igualmente maravilhosos aços U. S. STEEL. E estes aços serão obtidos através da UNITED STATES STEEL EXPORT COMPANY.



**United States Steel
Export Company**
30 CHURCH ST., NEW YORK, U. S. A.
SERVIMOS O MUNDO

Agentes-Instaladores em Portugal (Exceção do Lisboa)
Santos Mendonça, Lda. — Lisboa e Porto



Este dedal contém milhares de engrenagens

Imaginai engrenagens tão minúsculas que um simples sopro arremessará a distancia! Tão pequenas que é necessária uma lente de aumentar para mostrar a sua perfeição mecânica.

Hoje estas delicadas engrenagens de precisão, feitas de aços especiais da «U. S. STEEL» guiam os pilotos americanos aos seus objectivos distantes.

Quando a Paz voltar — a UNITED STATES STEEL EXPORT COMPANY fornecerá para fins de Paz, aos países do mundo, as mais finas ligas de aço e outros novos tipos de aços aperfeiçoados «U. S. STEEL».

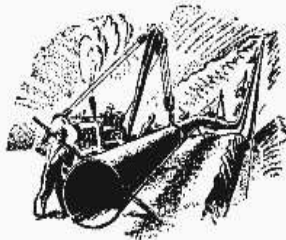


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Export Company**

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SERVIMOS O MUNDO

Agentes-Distribuidores em Portugal (Excepção p.º taboal)
Santos Mendonça, Ld.ª — Lisboa e Porto



Rios subterrâneos de óleo

Uma fábrica da UNITED STATES STEEL produziu em poucos meses centenas de milhas de tubagem para óleo.

Como outros produtos feitos hoje pela UNITED STATES STEEL, esta tubagem foi projectada para o esforço de guerra. O seu material básico — como nos «tanks», nos barcos, nos canhões — é o AÇO.

Quando a Paz voltar, a UNITED STATES STEEL retomará a sua tradição de 40 anos de fornecimentos aos países de todo o mundo, dos superiores aços «U. S. STEEL» — para todos os fins e necessidades do tempo de Paz.



**United States Steel
Export Company**

30 CHURCH ST., NEW YORK, U. S. A.

SERVIMOS O MUNDO

Agentes-Distribuidores em Portugal (Excepção p.º taboal)
Santos Mendonça, Ld.ª — Lisboa e Porto

RESERVE UM ESPAÇO NA SUA DISPENSA PARA MAIZENA



Se não pode obter sempre MAIZENA DURYEA no dia em que a precisa, é porque ela é fabricada por uma das firmas que ajuda os Estados Unidos a alimentar os seus aliados combatentes. Portanto, reserve para ela aquele espaço na sua dispensa. O seu fornecedor pode receber uma nova remessa a todo o momento. E não se esqueça, quando vier a Paz, e a navegação voltar a fazer-se normalmente, MAIZENA DURYEA estará novamente sempre à vossa disposição — para a ajudar a fazer os seus molhos e sopas macias e deliciosas.

**MAIZENA
DURYEA**

FABRICADA NOS ESTADOS UNIDOS
DA AMÉRICA PELA

CORN PRODUCTS REFINING COMPANY NEW YORK



Vamos planear um menu para o tempo de paz



E bem pode fazer tais planos. Porque quando a paz vier, haverá outra vez em abundância muitos dos seus alimentos favoritos. Entre eles, MAIZENA DURYEA, o famoso produto que tanto ajuda a fazer deliciosas sopas e pudins... molhos macios. Apesar de estarmos a fazer todo o possível para manter o seu fornecedor abastecido, pode ser que nem sempre tenha MAIZENA DURYEA por ser um dos alimentos que os Estados Unidos está usando para auxiliar a alimentar os seus aliados combatentes. Mas continue a pedi-la. A todo o momento um carregamento pode chegar.

**MAIZENA
DURYEA**

fabricada nos Estados Unidos
da América, pela Corn Products
Refining Company, New York





Olhai para a frente

PARA homens e nações com fé, a esperança e a inspiração elevam-se mesmo das ruínas de uma guerra.

As necessidades de produção em tempo de guerra exigem que o progresso técnico de anos seja reduzido a meses. Ainda mesmo agora, na Ford, os engenheiros estão adaptando estes formidáveis melhoramentos ao futuro benefício da humanidade.

Os actuais conhecimentos e experiência, quando aplicados em tempo de paz, poderão proporcionar aos povos do mundo um nível de vida muito para além do que qualquer outro julgado possível até hoje.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY



Vastos horizontes

OLHEM para o grande dia de amanhã... e terão uma sensação de inveja da moderna juventude que aproveitará e gozará as coisas que irão de aparecer.

Hoje, os cientistas e mecânicos da «Ford» estão só desenvolvendo materiais de guerra. Mas, ainda mais: estão buscando atalhos e encontrando o caminho que lhes permitirá apresentar o melhor produto em tempo de paz.

Nas mãos de um mundo em paz, a máquina produtiva construída para o esforço de guerra poderá contribuir com um potencial benéfico dedicado ao serviço do homem.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY



Sem limites

DAS cinzas da presente guerra pode surgir um mundo com uma quase ilimitada capacidade para dar à Humanidade tudo quanto ela necessita e deseja.

Por meio dos métodos de produção em massa esboçados sob a pressão da guerra, métodos e materiais melhores aparecerão, e uma maior abundância de artigos do que nunca... melhores carros, transportes aéreos mais rápidos, melhores condições de habitação.

Mesmo agora, enquanto as vastíssimas disponibilidades da «Ford» estão construindo materiais de guerra, os nossos técnicos e mecânicos estão planejando um mundo melhor — um mundo de paz e de abundância.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY



O que há de novo?

RCA APRESENTA:

OUVER SEM AGULHA E SEM LINHA.

Esta nova Máquina Electrónica RCA, de costura, utiliza correntes de ultra-alta-frequência, para unir materiais termoplásticos. Tais como os usados nas capas de borracha, pára-quedas, balões para medidas meteorológicas, e na embalagem de muitos produtos de alimentos e óleos. Actualmente a RCA está 100 % ocupada na produção de guerra das Nações Unidas, mas as suas continuas investigações aperfeiçoam melhores e melhores produtos para o mundo após a guerra.



FERRÃO ELECTRÓNICO? NÃO! COLADOR ELECTRÓNICO INSTANTÂNEO. — O novo Colador Instantâneo RCA oferece a você a concepção electrónica através da qual se consegue o grau de ligação de diversas camadas. Acelera a construção dos aeroplanos de madeira e oferece grandes possibilidades para os trabalhos da carpintaria e indústrias afins.



MILAGRES DE VELOCIDADE E DE CALIBRE. — São obtidos pelas Válvulas Electrónicas RCA. Capazes de ver, ouvir, medir, contar, sentir, saber, recordar e falar, elas estão revolucionando muitos processos de fabrica na produção industrial. Há uma Válvula Electrónica RCA para cada fim.



RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

RCA Victor Division, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

O que há de novo?
RCA APRESENTA:



A 13.600 METROS DE ALTITUDE— Para tornar possível um perfeito estudo das radiocomunicações para aviação, a RCA construiu esta Câmara Altimétrica, capaz de reproduzir pressões atmosféricas correspondentes às que se verificam a altitudes como 13.000 metros.



A CHAVE DAS INOVAÇÕES— Nos receptores para a sua casa, nos aparelhos electrónicos e na televisão—é a Válvula Electrónica RCA. As válvulas do seu receptor são o produto da mesma experiência e técnica que a RCA vem empregando no aperfeiçoamento do Microscópio Electrónico e das radiocomunicações para aviação.

SONDANDO O MUNDO INVISÍVEL— O Microscópio Electrónico RCA, 50 vezes mais potente que o melhor microscópio óptico, aumenta os objectos 100.000 ou mais vezes—traz inalcunáveis benefícios para a saúde e para a indústria.

A R. C. A. servindo actualmente as necessidades das Nações Unidas, antevê já a produção de artigos melhores para um mundo melhor—quando a Paz voltar.

RCA RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
RCA Victor Division, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

O que há de novo?
RCA APRESENTA:

A LAMPADA DE ALADINO DE AMANHÃ— As Válvulas Electrónicas RCA conseguem admiráveis milagres na indústria e na ciência... Na realidade, odem, sentem, cheiram, sabem, contam, nomeam, recordam e julgam. Há uma Válvula Electrónica RCA para cada fim. Usadas actualmente para acelerar a produção das Nações Unidas, ajudarão amanhã a construir para o mundo um melhor tempo de paz.




ISTO PODIA FAZER CAIR A SUA CASA— Esta poderosa máquina vibratória foi fabricada pela RCA para lhe permitir construir e ensaiar em fabricas material de radiocomunicações para acção estruturalmente perfeita e capaz de assegurar um eficaz funcionamento sob a constante vibração das acções em plena coa. O material RCA paraaviado está desempenhando um importante papel na expansão das radiocomunicações.

O ENCANTO TEM SEMPRE NOVIDADE— e o encanto de Dinah Shore, estrela do ecran da Warner Brothers, e o de outras artistas de cinema favoritas é gravado e reproduzido pelos equipamentos RCA Phonophone. A mesma ciência que aperfeiçoou as Válvulas Electrónicas RCA e outros modernos apêndices da rádio, intercala também na gravação e reprodução sonora RCA de filmes.

RCA RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
RCA Victor Division, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

O que há de novo?
RCA APRESENTA:



COM A ENERGIA TERMICA DESENVOLVIDA PELAS CORRENTES DE RADIOFREQUENCIA CONSTRUEM-SE HELICES PARA AVIOES— Os antigos e vagarosos processos de secagem e junção de madeira laminada para a construção das hélices de avião cederam o lugar ao método instantâneo RCA, utilizando a energia termica das ondas de radiofrequência.



CRAVAÇÃO DE REBITES POR EXPLOSÃO— A cravação de rebites faz-se actualmente com cargas explosivas nas suas extremidades que rebentam pela acção da energia termica produzida pelas correntes de radiofrequência.



O «OLHO MAGICO» DA TELEVISÃO— O «siconoscópio» é uma invenção RCA que torna possível a Televisão Electrónica. Como centenas de milhares de células fotoelectricas, este instrumento capta as imagens e transmite-as através do espaço em ondas de radiofrequência. Enquanto que agora toda a produção da RCA se destina às Nações Unidas, esta experiência durante a guerra garante-vos a produção de melhores artigos quando vier a Paz.

AS ULTIMAS NOTICIAS— São ouvidas todas as noites por milhões de rádio ouvintes com receptores RCA. A mesma experiência técnica que está sendo aplicada pela RCA na televisão e nas radiocomunicações para aviação aperfeiçoou também a válvula RCA para o seu receptor.

RCA RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
RCA Victor Division, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

O que há de novo?
RCA APRESENTA:



LUDIBRIANDO O INIMIGO— Por causa dos aparelhos receptores radiarem sinais até 160 ou mais quilómetros de distancia, decodificando a sua localização ao inimigo, a RCA criou o receptor modelo AIT-38 com pouca ou nenhuma radiação, usado hoje pelos exércitos e armadas das Nações Unidas. Quando vier a Paz, a mesma ciência aplicada neste receptor e em muitas outras realizações da RCA no campo das radiocomunicações, será usada para produzir melhores aparelhos para o publico e para a indústria.



O SEGREDO DO VIDRO INVISÍVEL— O revestimento especial RCA para vidros, permite que os atravesses muita luz que de outra maneira seria reflectida. Já usado nas lentes dos projectores, nos instrumentos de aviação e em outros artigos, tanto para a guerra como para a paz, a sua utilização após guerra é perfeitamente ilimitada.



DESDE A EMISSÃO ATÉ A RECEPÇÃO E TUDO RCA— Da mesma maneira que a RCA fornece materiais para estações emissoras em todas as partes do mundo, que asseguram uma boa transmissão, também o material RCA de recepção assegura uma boa, clara e fiel audição, 24 horas por dia.

RCA RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
RCA Victor Division, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

RCA-7 15/4/1944

O que há de novo?
RCA APRESENTA:



Ann Sheridan, a encantadora estrela da Warner Brothers.

NOVAS ESTRELAS, NOVOS FILMES—Os equipamentos R C A de gravação de som e filmagem são usados nas principais estúdios, onde são feitos os melhores filmes.



MÚSICA DURANTE O TRABALHO Usando a aparelhagem R C A para a reprodução do som, muitas Companhias que estão produzindo material de guerra para as Nações Unidas, descobriram que a música levanta o moral dos operários e acelera a produção.



O «CEREBRO MÁGICO» DA T. S. F. é a valvula Electronica R C A aplicada no seu aparelho de telefonia. Na sua construção interveio o resultado das mesmas investigações e conhecimentos na produção, que aperfeiçoaram os processos R C A de gravação e reprodução do som, e outras importantes revelações da R C A.

RCA RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA
R C A Victor Division, Camden, N. J., U. S. A.

BAYER-1 3/1/1944



Feliz e sem dores graças à
Cafiaspirina



BAYER

BAYER-2 24/7/1944





A Cruz Bayer CONTRA a DOR

A história do homem é também a história da Dor. São inconfundíveis os sofrimentos provocados pelas doenças, pelas epidemias e pelas feridas. Hoje, porém, o homem vence a dor! Deve-se este triunfo à moderna Ciência Alemã, cujos preparados não se aplicam, apenas, contra as pequenas dores que nos afligem todos os dias. Sabem-no todos os que, no sono da anestesia, suportaram sem dor as mais difíceis operações. Os medicamentos que vão na vanguarda do combate à dor trazem a cruz «Bayer».

BAYER-3 29/7/1944




A Cruz Bayer CONTRA A DOENÇA

Desde que há homens, representa a Doença na sua história um papel fatídico. Epidemias devastaram povos inteiros e a malária e outras doenças tropicais tornaram insabitáveis extensas regiões. Por isso, tanta mais valiosa são os resultados da Ciência Alemã, na luta contra esses inimigos da humanidade, resultados que encontram a sua expressão nos mundialmente famosos medicamentos «Bayer».

Se, hoje, as grandes epidemias e endemias são acontecimentos quase desconhecidos; se muitas doenças deixaram de existir e se outras, que antigamente custavam número sem conta de seres à morte e à invalidez, são hoje tratadas com segurança e eficácia, isso se deve, em grande parte, aos remédios — originários da Alemanha — com a cruz «Bayer».

A EMBALAGEM e protecção de conservas alimenticias de fácil deterioração é feita em todo o mundo com a Fôlha de Flandres «Republic». Esta é a preferida pelos conserveiros em tôdas as partes devido à sua uniformidade, maleabilidade e macieza de superfície.



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NAS HERDADES de todos os tamanhos, em tôdas as partes, a produção tem aumentado e o trabalho tem-se tornado mais fácil pelos Aços Agrícolas «Republic» usados nas máquinas e implementos das herdades, nos edifícios das mesmas e nos tapumes divisórios dos campos.



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PARA MELHORES EDIFÍCIOS a «Republic» produz um sortido mais completo e variado de aços de qualidade e produtos para construções de aço do que qualquer outro fabricante.



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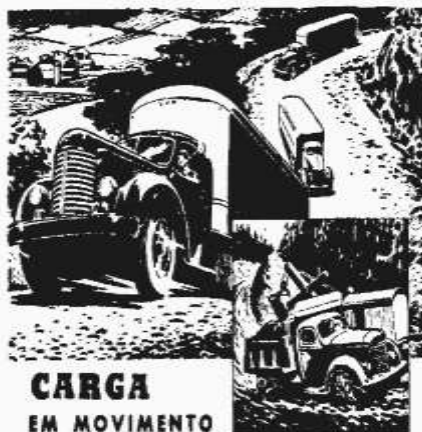
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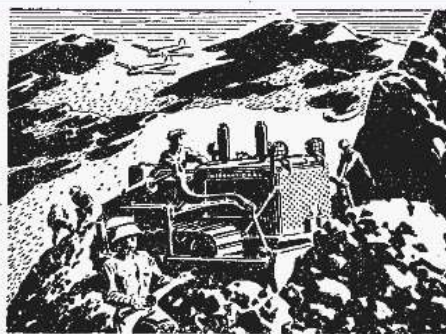
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INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER

Making poster with the other poster: Propaganda and political relations between Brazil and the United States during World War II.⁹⁵⁸

Alexandre Busko Valim,

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Introduction

Although little studied in Brazil, the propaganda posters are subject to a wide area of studies in North America and Europe. Even if its improvement is situated between the 1820s and 1860s, its popularity occurs only from the 1880s through themes (travel, political, sporting, cultural, governmental, commercial, military etc.) and techniques (photo-lithography, self-lithographs, chromo-lithographs, lithograph hand etc.) that varied according to the period and context.

It was from the 1910s, especially during World War I, that the posters entered definitely on the list of most utilized media to 'win hearts and minds'. There were good reasons for the widespread use by both the public and the private initiative: they were cheap, affordable and easy to distribute. Most often with simple slogans and focusing on needs and goals, the posters were a means of communication considered very efficient, informed and persuaded fairs, factories, department stores, government offices, newspapers, magazines and public roads.

In the World War II, they helped to mobilize societies somehow involved with the conflict. In the case of government propaganda, the posters were prominent enough among privileged artists, illustrators, art directors and advertising agencies. The confluence of war, art and propaganda made advertising agencies to begin to make contributions of first order. At that time, it was believed that all the posters could help, but the good posters would work faster and better. Thus, specialists of the period advised that two issues should be made to all of them: 1. This poster appeals to the emotions? 2. This poster is a literal image in photographic detail? In these perspective, no matter how beautiful it was, how they were strident colors and how clear was the idea, if not appealed to human emotions, not cause a deep impression. Abstract designs and symbolism should also be avoided because the representations needed to be closer to the people 'as they are'.

The works produced by historians about the 1930s and 1940s form a large and dense field of study. Often debates on populism, labour legislation, the trajectory of the Brazilian Labour Party - PTB, the challenges faced by the Left, attempts to institutional breakdowns and Brazil's participation in World War II sometimes seem exhausted, it takes a few years have passed for them to be approached from new issues, new keys of interpretation and new sources.

We will try to outline in this chapter some ways that we consider poorly covered and that are, in our opinion, on the periphery of the Vargas historiographical period (1936-1945). To do this, we will take as an

⁹⁵⁸ An expanded version of this paper with cross references and images are being prepared for future publication in article format.

example, propaganda posters and some issues related to diplomacy, but not take them as instances, fonts or objects inseparable from each other.

The impact of advertising is addressed in this text, not as an assumption or premise of research, but as an object of study. Furthermore, it should be noted at the outset that, in part of Brazilian historiography, political propaganda in that period is commonly associated with fascist and Nazi propaganda.

We will try to make some observations about the presence of U.S. propaganda, without prejudice the argument that there were links with other advertising schools.

1. The U.S. propaganda in Brazil

At the end of the 1930s, although in the government there were Axis sympathizers as Francisco Campos and Lourival Fontes, there were attitudes that seek a 'Brazilian solution'. These placements emphasized nationalism and peaceful transformation to address social issues in a reformed State. Roughly speaking, this was the position of those who deny the similarities of the state with New Fascism or Nazism. It was the position, for example, of Azevedo Amaral, Oliveira Vianna and the president, Getulio Vargas.

The meeting between Brazilian and U.S. propaganda comes amid prospects that sometimes approached, sometimes distanced themselves from influences of economic, political or cultural of American or European societies. The meeting takes place through the arrival in Brazil of several U.S. companies at the end of the 1920s and beginning of the next, as: the *J. Walter Thompson* in 1929, whose director James W. Young, who will later be the director of the *Division of Communications* of the *Office of Coordination of Interamerican Affairs*, the *Ayer & Son* in 1931, one of the oldest U.S. agencies, the *Foreign Service Advertising Bureau Inc.* in 1930, the *Standard* in 1933, and *McCann - Erickson* in 1935. These companies are constantly receiving U.S. evidence of advertisements, catalogues, posters, brochures, manuals and technical journals. As a result of this movement, there was an immediate breakthrough in Brazilian advertising. Many entrepreneurs hoped to improve their profits through the Americans 'big shots' who were attending Ford, the Gessy and Chevrolet, among others.

In the 1930s the modernization came of the U.S. - U.S. propaganda contributed to what appeared to be the source of endless progress, science, technology, abundance, rationality, efficiency and scientific management. At that time, new terms have become part of the national advertising market, such as *Media*, *Copy*, and *Layout*. But not only that: they also brought marketing and research, planning and technique. In 1937 came the first two professional organizations in this area: *Brazilian Advertising Association* - BPA and *Paulista Association of Advertising* - APP, which goes from 1940 to be directed by Cassiano Ricardo. They now offer regular conferences and courses as psychology of advertising, Problems and difficulties of propaganda and advertising newsroom.

Then dawn the magazine 'Propaganda' written and edited by industry professionals. In it, the 'Propaganda' teemed not an expense, but as encouragement to progress and wealth of the country. In this favourable context for propaganda, arises in 1936, the 'Day of Propaganda' and several books written by Brazilians on the topic.

Also in 1937, the first advertising agencies in the modern sense began to take shape in the U.S. standards. The largest of these was the *Ayer & Son*. These agencies were in close harmony with the American literature, with authors like Edward Bernays, Harold Laswell and Ellis Freeman. Such authors had composed the most

sophisticated political propaganda in the United States. Are these authors as a basis for discussions about which direction the advertisement should follow after the creation of the *Office of War Information* in 1942: if the path information, or the conviction and persuasion. Through the concept of 'state entrenched', for example, Harold Lasweel indicated the U.S. government how to militarize the country's culture in a way that was not effective and widely questioned. Edward Bernays, the father of modern advertising, argued as early as 1928, Advertising as the scientific manipulation of public opinion to avoid conflict and chaos. The manipulation through the subconscious, he said, was a key element in democratic society. Among its main customers were *Procter & Gamble*, the *American Tobacco Company*, *Cartier Inc.*, *Best Foods*, *CBS*, *General Electric*, *Dodge Motors* and the *United Fruit Company*, the latter would be particularly famous by his role in the coup in Guatemala in 1954.

In 1939, there were 19 agencies in Sao Paulo - 10 directly linked to U.S. agencies or professionals, and in the following year, 56 agencies operating in the country. In the same year, the Director of advertising of the newspaper *A Noite*, Francisco Neto, said: "it is necessary that the announcement go on the same way of the reader, without it to look for. It is necessary for the effectiveness of advertising, that this jump in the public eye." The Infallibility and Rationalization in Advertising - whose example more efficient would be Nazi propaganda - was one of the theses defended by Ellis Freeman on *Conquering the Man in the street*.

An example of how these professionals that was working in Brazil saw Vargas, can be seen in the number 11 of the journal created in 1939 by Licurgo Costa, *Propaganda* : "[...] no other president knew so well how to use propaganda element of national unification guiding public opinion, revealing Brazil for the population and abroad." In fact, there were no major conflicts between these agencies and the *Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda* - DIP, starting in 1939, even as many had as customer the Brazilian state. It was the case of *Ayer & Son*, who made some projects to *Departamento Nacional do Café*.

Literature on the History of Advertising in Brazil indicates that the line was so good that almost all got a lot of money with political propaganda during the war. Accordingly, there is evidence of a broad process of overlap between market forces, government and media interests with the U.S. government, in a phenomenon that Antonio Pedro Tota called 'Americanization of Brazil'. The largest market research developed in Brazil, for example, by the end of World War II was made by *Ayer & Son* for National Coffee Department in 1942. During five months, were interviewed 71,733 consumers in 22 cities of 18 states.

However, if the density of the field of propaganda in the 1930s suggests strong ties with the United States, why such ties with U.S. propaganda appear so little in Brazilian historiography? We hypothesized that the association with the advertisement (not always) democratic and liberal U.S. bothered the authorities of the New State, since often it could be confused with opposition to the regime. Moreover, a major problem for the study of this area is the lack of sources. The poster, the source we focusing this time, presents certain methodological problems when taken as a research resource. Generally have unknown authorship, since they are often not signed nor dated. Furthermore, the reduced amount of posters produced in Brazil during World War II, in comparison with the United States makes them a material of relatively low research.

In the U.S. were made during the war about 2,000 posters, some with a circulation of about 2 million copies. In Brazil, based on our research, we estimate that this number does not exceed two hundred. The reason for this small amount is at least two: the shortage of raw materials caused by difficulties in logging on a large scale in the processing of pulp and character bit mobilizer New State Advertisement. New State

propaganda was directed largely to elites, it impacted the production of posters, as they traditionally had addressed the popular classes and in particular workers.

The orientation propagandistic of New State has not, however, a strong approach to the topics that defined and guided the U.S. propaganda during the same period: people marching, discipline, bravery, loyalty, dexterity, efficiency, endurance, clearing, courage, organization, vigilance, sacrifice and unity. Although these themes were dominant, some posters resorted to good humour, which was discouraged by propaganda specialists.

These traits were already present before the war, and after 1942 became part of the political game/domestic propaganda of the Brazilian government. The work, as emphasized by the New State regime, was in harmony with the American propaganda. Workers were seen as soldiers of production. And, both in Brazil and in the U.S., was careful to warn if the population for possible sabotage. Thus, the confluences of the two propaganda systems still in the 1930s, and especially the entry in World War II in 1942, are among the factors driving the development of propaganda campaigns in Brazil with a pronounced American inspiration.

The impositions of authority to populations reluctant, recalcitrant or sceptical passed often by the School Futurist aesthetic, which was worth of electricity, efficiency and speed as resources imagistic and made them the main themes. What we can see in these signs, plus a standard presentation of the ads - more pronounced as the use of white space as an element of meaning - is still considered modern dwell on topics such as industry, machine, aerodynamics, engineering and functional geometry - all focused on an attempt to create a 'futuristic style'.

Give 'Em Both Barrels is a good example of the effect mechanized images. This poster was designed by artist Jean Carlu based on what was known as war graphics: contemporary designs for military purposes. In it there is a simulation of a forward motion. The efficiency was quite a theme emphasized by both the U.S. propaganda system as the Brazilian. The modern sense of these posters united the theme warmongering rational style with a streamlined aesthetic. This perspective stemmed from the Bauhaus pedagogy, emphasizing industrial design and low cost as part of a democratization of art.

In 1942, even before the entry of Brazil into the war, occur several campaigns across the country - Campaign vitamins for the people; Labour Victory, Victory Gardens - alibis to establish a climate of collective deprivation. Overwhelmingly, these posters were broadcast or encouraged by the offices of the *Office of Interamerican Affairs*. The War was also the backdrop and an alibi. And the poster was at the heart of these concerns.

From 1942, New State advertising started playing with more emphasis campaigns and slogans Americans. Among them, the 'Victory Gardens'. In this sense, the Brazilian Legion of Assistance and Food Service Social Security - SAPS warned that every home should have its garden of victory.

In an article published in the *Official Night* in March 1943, the 'victory gardens' are placed as an urgent issue for Brazilian society. But not only that: in addition to incite the population to grow and consume more vegetables, *Brazilian Legion of Assistance and Food Service Social Security* - SAPS, developed a campaign dogged in favour of 'victory gardens' and for more food in the cities. The effort has already developed and the results obtained have to loom over months, but the goals in view only be attained by the enthusiastic support of the Brazilian families. The food, as much as the number of weapons and fighters, was one of the factors most

sense, we support the fight against Italy and Germany. The housewives of Brazil became a kind of the soldiers 'front'.

The awareness of the obligations of war passed by greenery and also reflects the status of the poster in the period. In March 1943, the *Ayer & Son* sought educate readers of the newspaper *A Noite* on the importance of the poster and the obligations of war:

The National Coffee Department is distributing throughout the country, a series of suggestive 'posters' destined to become even more popular among us the 'war bonds'. Imagination, color and taste, combined with a rare sense of balance and sobriety, make this happy coffee advertising of the most expressive, using even these 'posters' for real gems sensitivity, as shown by the picture above stamped.

Thus, the poster alluded exhorted: "Defend the Earth where the coffee plantations flourish. Buy War Bonds!." It was another poster with slogan "the American way" according to the newspaper *A Noite*. In an article of 7 April 1942, *A Noite* tried to warn against espionage and saboteurs. And the best way would be the poster. According to the report, "The poster has the advantage of expressing the entire image: in the most hidden corners of the earth, he comes to penetrate through graphic suggestion, all understandings, even the uneducated or illiterate."

Although the density of Brazilian advertising based on the U.S. occurred primarily from early 1943 (with the input of Brazil in World War II alongside the Allies in August 1942), it is clear that the alignment with U.S. propagandistic system has begun before the arrival of U.S. subsidiaries of advertising agencies and under the auspices of the Good Neighbour Policy.

2. Making poster with the other poster

The posters were common propaganda pieces in Brazilian big cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. From the beginning of 1942 some exhibitions of posters of war began to be made in Brazil, such as posters made for the Brazilian Legion of Assistance at the National Museum of Fine Arts.

In the United States and Canada, a standard practice was the making of posters for the promotion of competitions and young talents. On April 28, 1942, the newspaper *A Noite* published about the biggest continent poster contest, whose theme was the Union of the Americas, to be coordinated by the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Would be rewarded in cash the 34/1 placed. The themes are: long live of the Americas together, only one America, a single action, united America, the world peace and against a common enemy together." Other contests were seeking young talents interested in the 'union of the Americas'. The designer Nelson Boeira Faedrich, for example, an employee of Brazilian Radio Advertising Prósper, S/A, won fourth place in the contest coordinated by the Museum of Modern Art, and the first and second places a poster competition organized by the League of National Defense of Rio Grande do Sul state, in 1942. It is possible that many designers as Faedrich take knowledge of U.S. billboards through newspapers, catalogues, magazines and exhibitions, such as that organized by the Brazilian Press Association in 1943, where about a hundred posters Americans were exposed as a model campaign for war bonds, saving, production, rubber, victory gardens, among others.

Before the circulation of posters in Brazil, in June 1943 was released by a certain Central Executive Committee a contest for the election of the best poster for National Propaganda of War Bonus. According to the notice, the work presented should be simple and incisive, allowing 'a scam', the presentation of the patriotic purpose of purchasing war bonds, and have words or short phrases that could be made 'slogans' stressing the intention of the poster. The awards would be Cr\$ 10,000.00 for first place, one of Cr\$ 5,000.00 for the second and a Cr\$ 3,000.00 for third, plus five honourable mentions.

In an article published in the newspaper *A Noite* on June 16, 1943, during the selection for the competition, the reader was informed that:

In the United States, the poster has reached an absolute technical perfection. Not only because of the specialized designers and artists, but also because of the large printing presses, equipped with all the features. The poster is there, widely used. Was also employed to mobilize American public opinion on matters of war. And it continues to be used all the time.

In late June, after enrolment of 411 posters coming from states like São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul, 71 were chosen for the grand finale. The next day, the Jury of the Poster Competition for national advertising war bonds concluded its work with a final ranking of competitors. After the vote, it was found by a majority vote, the following result:

The 1st place, poster n.97, under the pseudonym 'Ariedan', the 2nd place, the number of 308, under the pseudonym '9' and 3rd place, the n.2-A, from São Paulo, under the pseudonym 'And you?'. Then the identification was made with the opening of the envelopes that were over the names of competitors, calculating that the prize of ten thousand cruzeiros fell to Mr. Silvio Lira Madeira, author Poster n.97, the five thousand cruzeiros, to Mrs. Paulo and Américo da Rocha Gomide Lani, authors of the poster n. 308, and three thousand cruzeiros to Mr. Carlos Klanke resident in São Paulo, author of the poster n.2-A (...). The Commission also proposes a grant of five thousand cruzeiros to each awarded honourable mentions.

Two days after the contest, a surprise: "In the judgment of the posters: Three plagiarisms at the same time - Was the commission convened to hear the protests of artists' competitors - None of the winners had the original idea - not one, but three plagiarism...".

During the debate on the alleged plagiarism committed by the first place, came the revelation that not only what had been plagiarized off first: the first three posters had plagiarized Americans: "The third, it was said, was a reason that had wide publicity when a pharmaceutical company increased advertising of a drug against headaches", and the second, "plus a poster American who had been exposed to a few days ago at the place where the lecture is developed, was the same as another drug maker had done in their print ads for a restorative lifeguards and the hand of drowning man looking grim hold on to it".

Unfortunately it was not possible to locate the poster that served as inspiration for the "avenge us". Although the paper makes mention of plagiarism posters pharmacists, pharmacists believe that the posters were inspired by American counterparts.

Among the authorities who discussed the thorny event reported in the first edition of the newspaper *A Noite*, on July 03, was Ary Fagundes:

Devoted authored posters and holder of many awards for vowel present. Ary Fagundes spoke about, saying that drawing who devolved the biggest prize was a blatant plagiarism. The claims made by the author - an amateur - an evening continued, were inaccurate, since until the words were the same...

Ary Fagundes had already won several poster competitions, among them one on Accident Prevention, sponsored by the Institute of Pensions of Stowage, another Posters for the Gala of the hall, and a competition sponsored by the Inter-American Posters Ryverside Museum. Moreover, had won the contest to choose the cover of the special issue - in celebration of the Day of Advertising - Magazine Advertising, in November 1941, considered the "synthesis of year Brazilian advertising" and would be distributed in all capitals U.S.

The alleged amateurism on the poster formerly awarded first, was also mentioned by another artist who composed the jury. At that time,

Antonio Breno Junior took the word also talking about plagiarism and saying he did not know the author of the award-winning work in the 1st place, but that the provision of sayings revealed an amateur. This provision, gathered, contradicted the established technique for such work.

Interesting to note that allegations of amateurism by renowned experts emerged only after the outcome of the contest. However, plagiarism was not always a problem. In the second edition of the same day, July 3, just hours after the plagiarism scandal have come to light, the other poster was shown by the same newspaper as an example of civic campaign for war bonds. It was the "Rubber Used Campaign":

The Campaign Rubber Used - No one is unaware of the importance of rubber for the perfect equipment of the forces of democracies fighting against Japanese and Nazi fascism. The campaign which sometimes develops in this direction is of great opportunity. Each Brazilian who contributes to the Campaign Used Rubber will be working for our victory, victory to the United Nations.

At first glance there seems to be something strange, a poster clearly inspired by a U.S. counterpart, something that literally the day before had caused so much confusion? The answer was in a report, published in the same newspaper issue, where Ary Fagundes, the famous designer winner of an honourable mention in the controversial contest, explaining to the reader the difference between coincidence and plagiarism. In the article "Plagiarists today... plagiarisms of tomorrow", Fagundes argues that in poster competitions of war in the United States there would be the slightest problem when a good idea is copied from another poster, what would have been a common practice in the contest held by MoMA, Union of the Americas. Himself would be inspired by a U.S. poster for preparing yours.

Nevertheless, it may be a coincidence that only historians to scour these posters might notice a few decades later. Later that week, on July 09, the controversial tender was cancelled and another was opened and then was chosen another poster. In an article published in the *Jornal da Manhã* on July 27, the posters on the fateful contest plagiarized demonstrate a set of bad qualities, as "the clumsiness of the design, the color of poverty, lack of originality, no imagination in the words and still lacked a synthesis that would quickly arrest so

persuasive and strong, than wanted to express." But maybe that was just the opinion of an aspiring drawing frustrated, even before the U.S. copies, so praised in other situations.

However, as can be noted, did not treat it simply a case of plagiarism. The episode of condemnation, justification, and ultimately legitimizing copy, is a strong indication of how some individuals experienced the intricate interplay of relations between States and certain groups at a time of crisis and social unrest. Also indicates how art, politics and propaganda were imbricated during World War II.

Conclusion

As noted earlier, while the state invested in new campaigns that created mobilization effects, albeit limited, alignment with the United States involved problems for the regime. The United States, as indicated, ostensibly attending this propaganda through the private sector. The relationship that some individuals had with government agencies and private sector suggest less stable and consistent processes and, indeed, profound social and political ambiguities. The intense involvement of the private sector in the field of propaganda, in an area considered highly sensitive by the New State, put into question not only the statement that had absolute control of the state over the media. Also indicated, and in the opposite part of historiography that treats political propaganda Vargas, the effective influence of assumptions and ideals aligned with the United States, even before the entry of Brazil in World War II. If political advertising was one of the pillars that held power in the period, the posters and the organization of Brazilian advertising indicate important influences beyond the German and Italian.

In the period of state expansion that left traces even in the most unlikely recondite social areas, there was a significant impact not only in terms of design, technical and artistic perception and propaganda, but mostly in U.S. and Brazilian social life. These insights, as outlined, went beyond the aesthetics, were the basis of political trends, and socioeconomic materials that have become hegemonic after World War II.

Fiction films and the Algerian war: post-war propaganda and competition of memories

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Introduction

French people have the reputation to be ignorant about how to make movies about their wars, especially about the Algerian War. But it is wrong: in fact, there are around 50 French movies about the Algerian War, less or more famous and successful. The impression of absence is due to the ideological difficulties to speak about this topic. Benjamin Stora explains: « *Each group carrying a specific memory about Algeria expects to see "his" own movie, to find his own desperate and betrayed hopes* »⁹⁵⁹. It's true but it is also true for any war and any memory of wars when some fighters are still alive and can tell what they went through during the conflict. In this case, the Algerian War is not an exception. What is different with the Algerian War is that they always tell the same stories, with the same systems of representations. These are often similar, and movies makers would use the same patterns. Movies about other wars of the French history are diversified with a lot of different way to tell the conflict but the Algerian War seems to offer only one way to moviemakers that has been constructed just after the Evian accords in 1962 and confirmed in the seventies.

Indeed, nearly all movies are constructed around the duality between victims and executioners. In the sixties and seventies, the picture was very simple: victims were those who fought for the Algerian independence, as well as the conscripts because as they had fight in a war they had not chosen. Executioners were French professional soldiers and officers. The movies of those years seem would mean the French soldiers fought for a bad ideal, as they were soldiers without a conscience, without scruple, as they were able to justify and use torture. However, in eighties and nineties, all became victims, even executioners of years before: French militaries, Algerian independence fighters, "pieds noirs", "harkis", and also civilians... All became the victims of a historical chaos. Voluntarily or not, movies play with the competition of memories. Each group asks to be recognized as the most important victim of the war. Each group is like a small community that wants to be a subject for compassion of the nation. In this competition, all movies appear to be arms of propaganda after the end of the conflict: a lot of years latter, each of them defends actions of different fighters. In this case, propaganda is not aimed at representing of national identity in fight. Each national community is divided in several groups.

During the 60's, cinema never shows the war itself. What interests moviemakers is what fighters have done before and after the conflict, but hardly ever during the war. There are only a few exceptions. In all those movies, you can already find all stereotypes that have been kept until now. The first film after the end of the war is *Le petit soldat* by Jean-Luc Godard. It was considered, and it is still considered as an exceptional movie. It is true if we consider the form of the movie. But what the film wants to say is not very original: it doesn't show the war itself but men who became marginal and violent because of it as they torture and they chose illegality.

In the 70's and 80's, representations are not very different. All films are stories of torture, marginality and violence. Bad guys are always French soldiers or "pieds-noirs". Positive heroes are conscripts, independence fighters and Algerian civilians. During the next decades, films did not explore others approaches, becoming maybe less Manichean than years before in the manner they used to describe actors of the war and circumstances of their choices.

In the 90's and 00's, there are two kinds of films. The first keep on on telling about the destiny of the Algerians and the "pieds-noirs" after the end of the conflict and their arrival in France. All the others try to tell war stories. These are rarely epic. Most of the time, war is a pretext to show characters of French soldiers, conscripts, officers that are more complex than in the years before (especially the seventies). Even sometimes they gave way for Algerians who wore the French uniform. These attempts help draw a less caricatural picture of the actors of the war but they do not really renew the artistic way to explore the history.

As a consequence, every time a new film comes out, the defenders of each community's memory go on explaining their unsatisfaction and their frustration. In the newspapers, journalists make the trial of the war one

⁹⁵⁹ Benjamin Stora, *Imaginaires de guerre*, La Découverte, 2004, p. 190.

more time. Every time, everybody, especially those who were involved in the war, accuse these movies to be propaganda films. Propaganda is a crucial question during the war, because it's a revolutionary war. But we are going to see that it goes on being a crucial question after the end of the conflict, as French cinema is one of the media that spread systems of representations of the Algerian war. Can we talk about propaganda like a systematic action supposed to convince the opinion? In the case of cinema, there is a lot of different authors and picture makers and propaganda doesn't rise in a person we can identify. But the systematization of representations leads us to work about this question of propaganda.

When films deliver a message

If we consider in our study that the film director is the author, analysing the author's purpose in a film implies to take into account the relationship between "what to tell" or the meaning - that is a message -, and "what to do" or the making - that is how to build a work -.

This idea that the film director is the author dates from 1949: Astruc, a famous cinema critic published a manifest asking that the film director be recognized as the author of the work even if all the others who take part in the making of the film are not forgotten. The "authors' policy" has been defended by a French review called "Les cahiers du cinema" since the fifties. The reflexion still goes on and the question is to define how a film director can be the author. Jean Collet⁹⁶⁰, a French specialist of cinema, explains that the notion of author cannot amount to the message of an only person or group of persons; it cannot amount to the "what to tell" of the film. The author is the one who succeeds in making a work with several persons. *Les Cahiers du cinema* worked to defend this conception of the author of the film. So, the film director is the author because he carries out a "what to do" and the film is not only a way to deliver a message with pictures. The author can have intentions but the work not depends only on him.

When "what to tell" prevails over "what to do", the film carries a message first, around which artistic creation is oriented. When "what to do" comes first, it means that the film is truly a collective work which is made possible because of one's creative will, able to make it emerge from technical or economic constraints proper to that art.

In the overwhelming majority of French films about the Algerian war, "what to tell" prevails over "what to do", that is the message prevails over the making of a work. There is clearly, every time, a message - that is a will to propagate a point of view over the conflict and to stand in the continuing dispute that occurred during the war, speaking in favour of a view against another.

When film directors are interviewed, they often explain what they wanted to do not with artistic considerations but with historic considerations. The film directors would say: "I wanted to explain..." "I wanted to prove that..." They compare their project with the common conception of Algerian war history of the moment. They also would always compare their film with the others films about the same topic. For example, if a lot of films in those years are about Algerian independence fighters, they would explain they have wanted to explore another way or to nuance the usual storytelling about this theme. Most of the time, the film-directors don't succeed in leaving behind themselves a very hot argument context.

War characters and post-war propaganda

The systematic dimension of representations appears to be particularly accurate when dealing with direct protagonists of the war: French soldiers of any rank, independence fighters, politicians, civilians, harkis, pieds-noirs... All are always presented as actors of a tragedy made of victims and persecutors. Depending on films, victims and persecutors change. In more complex stories, victim and persecutor may meet in the same character. But the opposition between systems of representations remains, in which each category is associated with same features, so that a post-war propaganda is set up. That is the starting point of a new conflict: the competition of memories.

The conscripts, archetypal characters of fighting victims

There are a lot of conscripts in early films about the Algerian war. Film directors are very interested in that kind of characters. At the beginning, the conscripts in those films could be conscripts of all other wars. They

⁹⁶⁰ « Auteur », Jean Collet, in Jean Collet, Michel Marie, Daniel Percheron, Jean-Paul Simon, Marc Vernet Lectures du film, Editions Albatros, 1980, p. 29.

are archetypes of young men who are going to fight. The most important film showing this is *Les Parapluies de Cherbourg* (Jacques Demy, 1964). More than 1,3 million went to see that musical. The central figure is played by Catherine Deneuve, which explains how famous this film is; however a lot of other movies show the same 'conscripts' characters types: a young man has to leave his family, his job and his fiancé; when he comes back, war and military life has changed him. His fiancé may have chosen another man. It is not easy for the young man to find a new job and also to find his place in a society in which people do not want to hear about what he went through. In these films, the conscript can be a conscript of all contemporary wars: the specificity of the Algerian war is not mentioned. The conscripts are no more and no less traumatized than conscripts of other wars before.

From the 70's, this point has changed. In films, the conscripts and the soldiers are fighters of a special war, the Algerian war. In the 70's cinema becomes an actor of the war of memories. In the most militant movies, the conscripts are the total victims; they have to fight but they did not choose it, and more than everything, they have to discover what torture is. Sometimes they do have to torture civilians. In this respect, the two most important films are *Avoir vingt ans dans les Aurès* by René Vautier (1971) and *RAS* by Yves Boisset (1972). When these two films go out a lot of journalists considered that they were quite caricatural. Only 336 000 people went to see *Avoir vingt ans dans les Aurès* but they were more than 1,3 million for *RAS*. In these films, conscripts are the victims of professional militaries and officers; they are definitively traumatized by the Algerian war. In the years after, there are more nuances in the films. But until the 00's, the conscript is always a victim even if he wears the French uniform. Even when a moviemaker wants to show conscripts as heroic fighters who willingly defend the flag of their country, as Pierre Schoendoerffer in *L'honneur d'un capitaine* (1982), the story favours compassion for these young men who had to fight, rather than an epic tonality.

French soldiers: from violence to trauma

In the 70's films, French professional soldiers are most of the time executioners, first executioners to the conscripts since the latter have to fight against their conscience and then executioners to the civilians and the independence fighters. They torture without remorse. Here again, the two most important films are *Avoir vingt ans dans les Aurès* by René Vautier (1971) and *RAS* by Yves Boisset (1972). Torture is the focal point of these films: the conscript who is a victim can become in his turn an executioner because of his chiefs. Some rare movies show the officer as a character who accepts to sacrifice himself. He is also a victim because of politicians who do not want to take their responsibilities. The officer in Pierre Schoendoerffer's *L'Honneur d'un capitaine* is this kind of character.

In the years after, until today, professional French soldiers are more and more often shown as victims of politicians. They are also their own executioners: they hit their enemies but also themselves because of the chaos of history. The stories want to explain how professional soldiers happen to get a taste for war and even for torture. These films are not aimed at justifying; they only try to explain. Then, officers are not presented as executioners any more but as merely men able to think and cry. Florent-Emilio Siri's *L'Ennemi intime* stages this type of character: the chief warrant officer, interpreted by Albert Dupontel is a professional soldier, a good fighter who turned to be an executioner because he was first a victim of politicians when he fought in Indochina before the Algerian war.

So the narratives are less caricatural than before. But they participate in the war of memories by always staging characters that are victims. There are not still epic stories even when the central figures are professional soldiers.

The civilians, between romantic destiny and tragedy

The civilians become central figures in French cinema about the Algerian war in the 70's. In those years, spectators of the tragedy and victims of the war (*Le coup de Sirocco*, Alexandre Arcady, 1979); face others fighting with the FLN for the Algerian independence (*Elise ou la vraie vie*, Michel Drach, 1973) or with partisans of the French Algeria (*Le complot*, René Gainville, 1973).

The first, those who are only spectators of the war are often women and children, which increases the impression of victimization. Their husbands or fathers die because of the war, as in other wars in the history. They are not specifically characters of the Algerian war even if the particular destiny of "pieds-noirs" is often explained. But some of these civilians are not only victims: in the bend of a scenario, a "pied-noir" can be shown beating a Muslim worker. In this case, the film wants to denounce what is presented as a cause of the war: the injustice of the social situation in colonial Algeria.

In other movies, some civilians are really engaged in the war. Heroes are most often on the side of the Algerian independence. They are men or women, and their destinies are mythical. There are very few films that show French Algeria partisans, and in these movies characters are always men and are not really heroes but rather disreputable figures.

From the end of the 80's (*Ici, là-bas*, Dominique Cabrera, 1988, *Des feux mal éteints*, Serge Moati, 1993, *Les roseaux sauvages*, André Téchiné, 1995), several films talk about destinies of civilian populations or about Algerian people who finally came in France after the end of the war and about « pieds-noirs ». Most of the time, the tonality of the scenarios is very emotional. The moviemakers want to show the chaotic destinies of the victims of the war.

The Algerian war, matrix of marginality

The Algerian war, with its particular violence and its ideological context, is also a matrix of marginality. When films show men who became thieves, gangsters, criminals or murderers after their experience of the war in Algeria, they take part in the competition of memories, as they mean that all protagonists are in fact victims. There is a lot of this kind of films since the 60's: *L'Insoumis*, by Alain Cavalier, in 1964 ; *Objectif 500 millions*, by Pierre Schoendoerffer, in 1966 ; *Le paria*, by Claude Carliez, in 1968 ; *Adieu l'ami*, by Jean Herman, in 1968. In these films, the war is the moment that makes men leave the straight way. This kind of representations already exist for others conflicts and it is not a new way to tell the war. What is new is that torture is the favourite moment for a man to fall over. Torture abolishes any moral border more and better than fights do, even when they are especially violent.

How the Algerian war participates to the competition of memories

Can we talk about propaganda since there is no coordination in the diffusion of these representations, while each movie is a work in itself, and in no way a single part of a global communication plan? Yes indeed, if we consider that each of those who started a film situated themselves – consciously or not, willing or not – in any of both sides who had developed an obvious propaganda during the conflict. So propaganda might have continued in peacetime so as to justify in retrospect behaviours of both sides.

This observation can also be done about others conflicts. Although the First World War is the subject of a lot of very different films, the others French wars of the XXth century remain complex topics for the French cinema. We have to precise here that showing the war is not easy for the French cinema as in the origin it comes from theatre and is more intimist than American cinema, which comes from circus and visual arts. So, French film directors often choose an intimist way to show the war; in this aspect, war is not a spectacle in itself but as a particular context to tell individual destinies. But it is also true that the ideology is still crucial: film directors have difficulties in showing the wars that still hurt French memories. It is true for the Second World War, but above all for the Algerian War.

The torture, focal point for the French cameras

In the 60's, torture is nearly totally absent in French films, as if it were a wound impossible to study since it still hurts too much. *Le petit soldat* by Jean-Luc Godard is an exception: the moviemaker chooses to show torture explicitly. Executioners are members of the FLN. There is only one other exception in *Muriel ou le temps d'un retour* by Alain Resnais (1963) : a young man comes back from Algeria where he fought as a conscript. He feels bad and once, at the end of the film, he shows to an old man a short film he had made during the war. There is nothing about the fights, since what is at stake is the relationship between young conscripts: the boy tells about an episode of his war, when other conscripts tortured a young woman called Muriel. He saw her wounded and dead body.

The topic became focal in the 70's. All films about Algerian war talk about torture at a given moment. The question is how to show torture. Some moviemakers choose not to show it, only suggesting it by words and images. This is what Pierre Schoendoerffer does in *L'Honneur d'un capitaine*. All the film talks about torture but torture never appears on the screen. We never see the man who is supposed to die because of torture. In contrast, in *La Question*, by Laurent Heynemann (1977), the audience can see the horror of a tortured body. Between these two examples, all types of representation exist and the question has been asked to all moviemakers since the 70's.

Every time, torture is an important point of the war of memories about the Algerian war because its use disqualifies those who used it. They cannot be pitied if they tortured. Only since a few years, scenarios try to explain and describe figures that are both executioners and victims.

The duality between victims and persecutors

From the 60's to our days, the cinema has evolved: scenarios are less caricatural and manicheist. There are no more good fighters in the camp of the Algerian independence and bad guys under the French uniform. There are no more perfect victims (conscripts, Algerian civilians or Algerian independence fighters) facing persecutors (professional French soldiers, officers...). There is really a will to propose differentiating movies.

But all movies are built on the duality between victims and persecutors even if the moviemakers make an effort to understand destinies and choices made in a very complex context – even if the victims are no more only the conscripts, the Algerian civilians and the Algerian independence fighters, and even if Pierre Schoendoerffer's films are quite different from other movies. The tone of every film about the Algerian war is built around the question of the victims, which participates in making the war of memories go on. Indeed, there is neither epic films about the Algerian war, nor politic films. About other contemporary conflicts, the cinematographic landscape is a quite varied and contrasted. The films talk about a lot of topics, such as political responsibilities or how war can also be an epic adventure. About the Algerian war, all films analyse individual fates with a mostly emotional approach, for actors supposed to be victims.

Conclusion

So, speaking of propaganda might be a little excessive but the repetition of narratives which date from war time or immediate post-war years lead us to use this word of “propaganda” in this particular signification. Representations released by these movies are systematic and raise the issue of a conflict going on in images. The French cinema about the Algerian war suffers from a lack of diversity of points of view and scenarios. It is true that the nature of the conflict contributes to cause emotional narratives. It was really a collective and individual tragedy. When we think of this war, we first feel a deep sadness. The way the end of the war was negotiated, the fates of the populations after the end of the conflict, the fate of Algeria itself since 1962 lead us to a tragic approach. It is also true that the French cinema is more able to talk about emotional narratives than epic narratives. But it could be possible to diversify the cinematographic landscape about the Algerian war, even with a dramatic scenario. A lot of French films deal with politics or international relations, but these topics appear to be totally absent in films about the Algerian war. Maybe the evolution since the beginning of the 21st century announces a change; maybe it will incite moviemakers to look further to understand this war and to help the audience understand it. But they will need boldness, since each new movie initiates a new trial of the war and its different protagonists in the media. It is a fact that such disputes usually do not increase the audience, and cinema is first an industry with obligations of rentability.

The Portuguese Colonial War

THE COUNTER-SPINOLISM of AMÍLCAR CABRAL and the PAIGC: THE WEAPON of PROPAGANDA

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*«I'm just a simple African, doing my duty in my own country,
in the context of our time»*
Amílcar Cabral

*«The only effective way for the definitive achievement of the
aspirations of peoples is through the armed combat»⁹⁶¹*
Idem.

*«A revolution is dead when it has no friends in the outside
world»⁹⁶²*
Idem.

I - Introduction

According to Manuel Brito-Semedo⁹⁶³, «the Cape Verdean national identity emerged during specific moments of socio-economic and political-ideological crisis»⁹⁶⁴.

The first of those moments appeared as a result of the British Ultimatum. Faced with the greater requirements of an oversized empire, expressed in the constancy of an insufficient colonizing capacity exposed by the humiliation imposed by his Majesty, the King of England, the idea of selling the colonies begins to spread. This consequently caused deep rift and revolt, especially in Cape Verde, which had for some time, been supporting the idea of acquiring a status similar to that of the archipelagos of Madeira and Azores.⁹⁶⁵ It would mean a greater and effective integration with the metropolis.

The second moment was caused by the international economic crisis of 1929-1934, relayed by the *minor* crises «of 1920-1922 and 1947-1949, which brought misery and death. This, in turn mobilized the intellectual elite to defend their land and assert its regional identity as a special case within the Portuguese Empire.»⁹⁶⁶ The

⁹⁶¹ CABRAL, Amílcar; *Guiné-Bissau: nação africana forjada na luta*, Nova Aurora, Textos Amílcar Cabral, Lisboa, 1974, p.7.

⁹⁶² GUINEA (BISSAU); *Guinea (Bissau): the struggle continues: Amilcar Cabral 1925-1973*. - Durham : The Southern Africa Committee(South), 1973.

⁹⁶³ *Cabral no Cruzamento de Épocas*, communications and discourses produced in II International Symposium Amílcar Cabral, Alpha Communications, Cape Verde, 2005. BRITO-SEMEDO, Manuel; *Do nativismo ao Nacionalismo: a construção da identidade nacional*, pp.325-339.

⁹⁶⁴ Idem, p.327.

⁹⁶⁵ Claim that, in fact, found an echo in Portuguese Government. A decade before the Ultimatum, «o Almirante Ferreira do Amaral, então Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar, no Decreto de 24 de Dezembro de 1882, que aprovou a “Organização Administrativa da Província de Cabo Verde”, escrevia: *a muitos se tem afigurado que á província de Cabo Verde se deveria dar uma organização semelhante à dos archipelagos dos Açores e Madeira [...]. Tal desideratum só poderá, porém, obter-se, quando pela diffusão da instrução, tanto agrícola como litteraria, pelo desenvolvimento sucessivo das forças vitais da província, se possa esperar que o que hoje se nos afigura menos pratico, venha a constituir uma aspiração e um objectivo [...] como a consequência de um progresso effectivo que represente um direito e uma realidade.*» Idem, pp.328-329.

⁹⁶⁶ Idem, p.331.

decline of the Porto Grande, which contributed with two-thirds of the total income of the colony, and the inadequacy of measures taken by the Portuguese government, led the Cape Verdean elites to express the order, voiced by Baltazar Lopes in 1989: «we had to intervene.» This intervention basically assumed two forms: a popular revolt (the famous "revolt of Nhô Ambrose", June 7, 1934) and the political, social and civic associations (creation of "Cape Verdean" Regionalist Union, extinguished by Ordinance nº 22: 468, April 11, 1933, which aimed to control the free associations, the publication of the Journal News in Cape Verde and the journal *Claridade - revista de arte e letras*).

The third moment culminated in the theorization of the Guinea Cape Verde unification project and in the formation of the independentist movement – the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) – in 1956. With the once young opponent to the dictatorial regime and the Student's House of the Empire (Casa dos Estudantes do Império – CEI) – Amílcar Cabral (1925-1973) participating decisively. This entity, whose creation fit into the wider plan of Assimilation, but that, according to Adriano Moreira (Overseas Minister between 1961-62) «completely backfired», because «everybody became revolutionaries».⁹⁶⁷

As a logical sequence of the events briefly summarised, the fight for independence in the context of Portuguese overseas territories is also a logical product of the post-war historical conjuncture of 1939-45. The Portuguese persistence in maintaining an imperialist/colonialist model unsustainable and anachronistic for its overseas territories, supported by a dictatorial regime, in international dynamics reportedly antagonistic, characterized by Eurocentric perspective failure and consequent return of Europe to its original geography, would contribute greatly to add complexity and difficulty to a public problem materialized in a long armed conflict.

By structurally following a chronological order, we will start by presenting the fundamentals-challenged basis of the theological and ideological struggle of PAIGC until 1968, uniquely expressed by its charismatic leader – Amílcar Cabral.

In the year of 1968 the then Brigadier António de Spínola (1910-1996) was appointed to the Office of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces (AF). Using the dynamic political action carried out by Spínola (studied in more detail in another text⁹⁶⁸) as a starting point, we will attempt, in the next chapter, to understand the changes in the anti-colonial struggle of PAIGC and to what extent they were influenced by it and vice versa.

II – The thought of Amílcar Cabral and the early years of anti-colonial struggle

«Africa is in crisis»; «Africa is ill». These were the widespread African intelligence diagnoses after the huge independence movement spreading throughout the former European colonies, at a time (1961) in which almost only Portugal still remained on this continent. Frantz Fanon, great reference of the African struggle for independence, in particular for Amílcar Cabral, advances an explanation, in his major work – *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961) – for African's "affliction": «the absence of ideology of their leaders».⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁷ Interview, 05/06/2012.

⁹⁶⁸ BARBOSA, Márcio, *Spínola, Portugal e o Mundo: pensamento e acção política nos anos da Guiné – 1968-73*, in *Revista de História das Ideias*, Vol. 28, FLUC, 2007, pp.391-427.

⁹⁶⁹ In BRAGANÇA, Aquino de; *Amílcar Cabral*, Lisboa, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1976, p.5.

The void left by the disappearance of European and colonial domination, constituted the main concern of African leaders. This was, in fact, initially explored by European powers after the first countries became independent.⁹⁷⁰

Identified as the origin of African's leaders élite, the small-urban bourgeoisie, paradoxically associated with colonialist exploitation, was quickly identified as the source of the post colonialists difficulties, because, after independence, it didn't defend the collective interests of the masses that fed it, but their own specific interests. Fanon has prescribed the immediate need to «neutralize» it, recognizing, however, that the African reality was completely different from the European or Russian reality.

Cabral, for his side, sought to go deeper, to the central question, which was about «who will be able, in the destruction of the colonial power, to take control of the State apparatus?». ⁹⁷¹ Fanon claimed it would be the peasantry, considering that in the former colonies only they were revolutionary. This position would prove itself to be wrong ⁹⁷² and one that Cabral would distance himself from, providing his own explanations, processes of thought and a solid path, but also original and consequent that was being built.

Demarcating himself early from the of the great African ideologies and movements, and questioning their «key concepts» (the so-called *concepts-caoutchouc*) – *blackness*, *African socialism* – considering them an «ideology of imagination», Amílcar himself indicates the origin of the ideological African failure, doing it in the form of warning: «the crisis of the African revolution, far from being a growth crisis, is primarily a crisis of knowledge [...]. In many cases, the practice of liberation struggle and the prospects for the future are not only devoid of theoretical basis, but also detached from the concrete reality of the environment». ⁹⁷³

In the period of time that goes from 1953 to 1961, when the the armed conflict in Angola started, Cabral takes special interest in ⁹⁷⁴ the Guinean and Cape Verdean reality, to firmly identify the problems and build his conceptual building.

Trained as an agricultural engineer, Cabral got a job in colonial administration and in the years 1954-58 he devoted himself to conducting a series of surveys in Guinea that allowed him to know thoroughly the entire Guinean territory. A fact that, obviously, would be of vital importance in the near future and would allow him to understand the importance of the complex and *atomistic* peasant reality of Portuguese Guinea⁹⁷⁵, structurally

⁹⁷⁰ When it comes to the Government in 1961, Adriano Moreira expressed his scepticism about the success of the "African Revolutions", saying that "the political practice has shown more often than to wish that active minorities reached the power could not, in the face of assumptions received the October revolution, nor respect the traditional cultures that said want to defend, nor the secular institutional groups that found themselves obliged to attack and destroy nor maintain easily – when did the appearance of independence – the actual exercise of sovereignty». In *Estudos de Homenagem ao Professor Adriano Moreira*, ISCSP – UTL, Lisboa, 1995, p.37.

⁹⁷¹ Idem, p.7.

⁹⁷² In line with Nygen Nghe, from Vietnam Workers Party, who said that «a peasant revolution cannot be more than an adventure without tomorrow», Renate Zahar stated that «Fanon gives us a properly phenomenological description of neo-colonialism but it turns out that the categories that uses have nothing to do with the analysis of the structure of the classes, I mean, the economic relations of dependence». In ZAHAR, Renate, *L'oeuvre de Frantz Fanon*, Ed. Maspero, 1970, p.105.

⁹⁷³ CABRAL, Amílcar, *Uma crise de conhecimento*, Departamento de Informação do PAIGC, 1961, p.13.

⁹⁷⁴ The ability and the taste for "learning" continuous in is life was a feature very much and which also imposed their party comrades:

«Require party officials engaged seriously to the study, which are interested in the things and problems of life and struggle in its fundamental, essential, and not just in their appearances; We should force each charge to improve day by day, their knowledge, their culture, their political formation, convincing each that nobody can know without learning and that the most ignorant person is one who knows without having learned. Learn in life, learn from our people, learn in books and on the experience of others. Learn always.» In PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDÊNCIA DA GUINÉ E CABO VERDE; *Manual político do PAIGC*, 2ª ed.; S.l., Edições Maria da Fonte, 1974, p.11.

⁹⁷⁵ At the time, the population of Guinea was evaluated in approximately 800,000 inhabitants, with the following "tribal"

characterized by very particular social levels, from «semi feudalist» companies (Fulas, Manjacos) to «stateless societies» (Balanta). A reality that, in fact, only confirmed the criticism addressed to Fanon.

In the process of consolidating his ideas, Amílcar realized that it wasn't only the peasantry that had no conditions to, of their own resources and action, engage in the fight anti-colonialist. In fact, for him, none of the social classes in formation in Guinea was in a position to do so. Not the proletariat, virtually non-existent, due to the fact that the slow and recent urbanization process was not, according to Cabral, accompanied by an industrial development.⁹⁷⁶ This apparently obvious but original finding, lead to the rejection of a so-called «institutionalised Marxism», i.e. a sort of priori and anachronistic «recipe», homogenizing and indifferent or outside reality, proclaiming the universal vocation of the revolutionary proletariat (in this case African) even when this did not exist (the most common).

The analysis made by Adriano Moreira in 1977, in his Chronicle of the revolution, goes in that sense: «within Portuguese reality only one man stood out, by his vigour and personality, this was Amílcar Cabral. He separated Marxism perfectly, as methodology and theory, from Leninism, which is a doctrine for action and implementing soviet ideals. He was the only one who sought to regionalize Marxism, elaborating his thinking out of the African reality».⁹⁷⁷

Excluded paths historically pointed, for his theoretical and practical infeasibility, Guinean nationalist elite (in fact, Cape Verdean) discovers in the urban petty bourgeoisie the social support that it considered indispensable to the survival of the PAIGC (created in 1956) and to the anti-colonialist struggle success, for if he think be the only social category/class with a totalizing vision of the colonial situation and the only «able to drive and to use the instruments that the colonial State served himself against the people».⁹⁷⁸

By an individualized and adapted interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, as no one had done before him⁹⁷⁹, Cabral didn't propose some kind of historic bourgeoisie «rehabilitation». For otherwise, he proposed guide it in the direction of the party reason, exploiting the advantage of its existence in the less developed territory, at all levels, of the Portuguese overseas territories.⁹⁸⁰

According to the Secretary-General of PAIGC, while «in the capitalist countries the bourgeoisie is a layer which serve without that she can change the historical orientation of the country»⁹⁸¹, in the specific case of Guinea and Cape Verde, due to the social and economic characteristic archaism, the situation could be very different if she'd taken the «suicide». In other words, if it were subjected to the popular «control» and barred from ascending to what Cabral called «pseudo-bourgeoisie». In the sense of «revolutionary consciousness» development, as he said, quoting Fidel Castro.⁹⁸²

However, don't think that the question was resolved. To achieve a really national revolution, Cabral knew to be necessary to bring together and coordinate the different classes and ethnicities. Because, as confirmed the

composition: Balantas – 250.000; Manjacos – 140.000; Fulas – 100.000; Mandingas – 80.000; Papéis – 5.000; Bramas – 35.000; Bijagós – 15.000.

⁹⁷⁶ In the years 60, Bissau, the most important city, administrative capital of the province, had about 25,000 inhabitants.

⁹⁷⁷ MOREIRA, Adriano, *O Novíssimo Príncipe: análise da revolução*, Prefácio, Lisboa, 2003 (edição original de 1977), p.61.

⁹⁷⁸ BRAGANÇA, Aquino de; p.8.

⁹⁷⁹ *Cabral no Cruzamento de Épocas*, communications and discourses produced in II International Symposium Amílcar Cabral, Alpha Communications, Cape Verde, 2005, pp.723-739: *Contribuição teórica de Amílcar Cabral*, por Amady Aly Dieng.

⁹⁸⁰ According to the scheme itself advocated the «Portuguese Guinea» was a «colonial factory», no white settlers, a typology absolutely outdated. MOTA, Teixeira da, *Guiné portuguesa*, Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1954)

⁹⁸¹ BRAGANÇA, Aquino de; p.8.

⁹⁸² PARTIDO AFRICANO DA INDEPENDÊNCIA DA GUINÉ E CABO VERDE; *Manual político do PAIGC*, p.20.

recent experiences of the «third world», if it was around and by the action of urban petty bourgeoisie who was formed the core of contestation, there were the peasants who constituted the «army of liberation».

In the first years of life, there was a constant review of the policy guidelines of the party, caused by the difficulties associated to the militancy activity.

In August 3, 1959 happens the "Dockers' strike" on the docks of Pigjiguiti, where the "colonialists" forces shot down several dozen of strikers, in what became known as the «Massacre of the Pigjiguiti». This event was significant in the evolution Cabral's ideas and in the guidance of the party and the fight anti-colonialist. In a hard exercise of self-criticism, Cabral says: «the party had followed a line wrong [...]. The lack of experience made us think that we could fight in cities through strikes and other peaceful actions forgetting the peasants who make up the majority of the people of Guinea-Bissau».⁹⁸³

The indispensable popular mobilization had been insufficient until the tragic event. The same checked on partisan activism and membership of the PAIGC. The recruitment effort, accompanied by a more judicious selection, was substantially increased. For about two years (1960-1962) have been prepared about a thousand "future paintings" in the foyer of the PAIGC in Conakry, party headquarters until the end of the war.

The priority was no longer the relatively peaceful claim⁹⁸⁴, but the conquest and the immediate exercise of power through armed fight⁹⁸⁵, initiated internally, amongst the Balanta, on the night of June 30 to July 1, 1962. Six months later, in January 1963, when PAIGC massively attacks the Portuguese military positions, the military command admitted that the «rebels» had controlled about 15% of the Guinean territory. Between days 13 and February 17 1964 takes place the Congress of Cassacá, where (said Cabral) there was the «courage to create a new life to the party, decide on the creation of a Regular Army (the revolutionary armed forces of the people), of people's militia, of schools, hospitals, to train nurses, etc., and opened a new path for the pilot School, where they started to form young men and women to be useful to the people and to fight».⁹⁸⁶

With a extensive vision of what should be the «liberation fight», Cabral, in these years ranging from «Pigjiguiti» Massacre to the "colonialist" counteroffensive, along with the armed fight, increments its effort to deepen theoretical and conceptual structure, fundamental element of the party and its purpose.

It will be under the great motto – «The Weapon of Theory» – that Cabral will develop its revolutionary theory. He says that «if it is true that a revolution can fail even fuelled by theories perfectly designed, yet no one held a victorious revolution without revolutionary theory».⁹⁸⁷

Without rejecting the “class struggle”, he tried to flexible and relativizedg the concept, both the historic as geographically. «If the class struggle – says Cabral – is the driving force of the story, all is in a given period. This means that before the class struggle – and necessarily after – a factor or factors, was and will be the

⁹⁸³ Idem, p.12.

⁹⁸⁴ «We believed then that only a proper and effective UN intervention in favour of the inalienable rights of our people, would lead the Portuguese Government to respect international legality and moral of our time.»

«As our proposals have not had favourable acceptance, even on the part of the Portuguese Government, nor the UN, patriotic forces of our country began a widespread action against colonial forces in January 1963.» CABRAL, Amílcar; *Textos políticos*, S.I., PAIGC, s.d., 32 p.. Colonialismo e Luta de Libertação dos Povos Africanos, 5, pp.7 e 8 respectivamente.

⁹⁸⁵ «The unique and effective route to the final realization of the aspirations of peoples, i.e. for obtaining the national freedom, is the armed struggle». Idem, p.10.

«No force can prevent the complete liquidation of Portuguese colonialism». Idem, p.6.

⁹⁸⁶ CABRAL, Amílcar, *Evolução e Perspectivas da Luta* (Seminar of frames held from 19 to November 24, 1969), Serviço de Informação do PAIGC, 1969, p.26.

⁹⁸⁷ Idem, p.14. Taken from the speech made by Cabral in the first Conference of solidarity of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, in January 1966, in the city of Havana, Cuba.

engine of history. We easily admit that this factor in the history of each human group is the mode of production – the level of the productive forces and the regime of property – that characterizes this group».⁹⁸⁸

This permanent and distinctive effort to harmonize their main theories and philosophical currents of history with the regional particularities, extended to the imperialist phenomenon against which directly fought and, above all, to the so-called phenomenon of "neo-colonialism".⁹⁸⁹ Defending the end of the first, he says that «the liberation struggle of colonial peoples is the essential characteristic, we would say the main motor, of the March of history in our time». ⁹⁹⁰ In relation to the second point he advises that «the neo-colonialist phenomenon showed us that one cannot doubt the close relationship that exists between our fight and the fight of the working class internationally». ⁹⁹¹

Associating the liberation movements in Africa to «European left» and «international workers movements» through the common bond – "revolution" — he waits for his support. «In Guinea we fight with guns in hand; fight, you also, I'm not saying in which way, because the problem is yours; but we must find the means and the way to fight against the common enemy; will be the best proof of solidarity which you can give us». ⁹⁹²

However, the situation on the ground was favourable to the PAIGC. Cabral says, in 1966, be on move a «progressive reversal of the situation of the two forces in presence». ⁹⁹³

Faced with the growing pessimistic scenario for the Portuguese armed forces, practically conducted to a defensive action (about 60% of regions with 50% of the population find themselves partially or totally controlled in late 1966), begins to hover the spectre of defeat. In 1968, in a last-ditch effort to prevent the collapse, Salazar invites the then Brigadier General António de Spínola to the Office of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces in Guinea.

III – The Counter-spinolism of Cabral and the PAIGC

The arrival of Spínola coincides with the maximum point of tiredness, even exhaustion, of Guinean guerrilla. ⁹⁹⁴ That, of course, greatly contributed to the initial impact of political action of Spínola. That would begin soon, by the reorganization, for example, of the organic framework of the military Cabinet of the Chief Command of Guinea, established by Ordinance No. 23627, September 26, 1968, with particular attention to the «Psychological Operations» and «Sub-section of Broadcasting» in the Information Section.

Wielding at the beginning the Eagles of «multicontinentality», «multiracialism», «multiculturalism»⁹⁹⁵, «Africanism»⁹⁹⁶ and «self-determination»⁹⁹⁷, synthesized in the formula «unity in diversity» widespread during

⁹⁸⁸ Ibidem.

⁹⁸⁹ «We are aware of the fact that our victory will not be easy. We have an organisation which has experience about the nature of our enemy and the particularities that characterize in relation to other forces colonialists. Even though he is isolated, we must not forget that there is also much destruction forces superior to ours and that of open or secret way, is helped and supported by other enemy forces of freedom and progress of the African peoples. So we fight against world imperialism.» Idem, p.18.

⁹⁹⁰ «Guiné e Cabo Verde, face ao colonialismo português», Article published in paragraph 7 of the "Partisans", 1962. Idem, 16.

⁹⁹¹ Ibidem.

⁹⁹² Idem, p.17.

⁹⁹³ BRAGANÇA, Aquino de; p.15.

⁹⁹⁴ PEREIRA, Aristides; *Uma luta, um partido, dois países*, Notícias Editorial, Lisboa, 2002, p.175.

⁹⁹⁵ «The African societies are tribal societies in which the concept of tribe translates our concept of Nation. The European presence in Africa is seen by indigenous mass as a supranational power that establishes the synthesis of various Nations.» SPÍNOLA, António de, *Linha de acção*, Agência-Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1971, p.53.

⁹⁹⁶ As seemed to him to be «pure utopic intends to accomplish lasting work in Africa without the anchoring in solid pillars

Marcelo government (1968-74), in power only a few months after the departure of Spínola to Guinea, the Commander-in-Chief undertook an absolutely revolutionary policy in the Portuguese context, based on the theory (already developed in the main Western military schools) that «to the social subversive revolution must be oppose, cleverly, a progressive social revolution, or, in other terms, a counter-revolution anti-reactionary»⁹⁹⁸. Aware that «the force of arms can perpetuate the problem, but never solves it»⁹⁹⁹, as he has observed in Angola, in the command of the Cavalry Battalion No. 345, its «big policy school».

Spinolist political action aimed at the peaceful conquest of the Guinean population and the positive achievement of international public opinion, at a time when Portugal was heavily criticized and found himself in accelerated political isolation process, in particular at the UN.

The PAIGC's response was, of course, in the same direction.

Externally, the successes of the fight of Cabral had begun in 1960, with public denunciations of Portuguese colonialism, with extensive international projection, by the leader of PAIGC, when in the second half of this year the UN Trusteeship Council defined the Portuguese Government bonds as administrator of «non-autonomous territories» (art. 73°), requiring him to pay information about the conditions of existence and situation of peoples subject to their sovereignty and dominion.¹⁰⁰⁰

In December 14, 1960, at its XV session, the UN General Assembly adopted the 1514 resolution by a large majority¹⁰⁰¹. The PAIGC had achieved international recognition. Always challenged by Portugal, in particular by Spínola, for whom liberation movements have always been «terrorists».

The political-diplomatic work of PAIGC (until 1960) was mainly focussed to win the maximum support possible to the Republic of Guinea, Senegal and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to affirm the party.

Paradoxically, it would be as a result of a serious problem with the Conakry's authorities, the traffic of arms from Morocco to the Republic of Guinea, that this would provide the support that only stated intention.¹⁰⁰² Later, in 1970, Spínola would preciously contribute to deepening its relations with «green sea operation»¹⁰⁰³. In fact, this operation was the height point of the hypothesis, not discarded yet, of a military victory. During 1970 the balance of power has evolved quickly. The military potential of PAIGC, according to information from PIDE/DGS (intelligence policy), allowed him, «at any time, speed up the evolutionary process of war»¹⁰⁰⁴, since they had «each time more material»¹⁰⁰⁵. The operation failure would moralized

of African social traditions.» *Idem, No Caminho do Futuro*, 1972, p.202.

⁹⁹⁷ His «self-determination» concept was basically this: unanimous manifestation of national will, and the people, «the nation's moral reserve», decide on their political organization, «in the light of the principle enshrined in that sovereignty resides in the nation». *Idem, Linha de Acção*, 1971, p.329.

⁹⁹⁸ SPÍNOLA, António de, *Linha de acção*, Agência-Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1971, pp.56-57.

⁹⁹⁹ SPÍNOLA, António de, *Por uma Portugalidade Renovada*, Agência-Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1973, p.287.

¹⁰⁰⁰ DUARTE, Manuel, *Cabo-Verdianidade e Africanidade e Outros Textos*, Spleen Edições, 1999.

¹⁰⁰¹ Resolution 1514 (XV), based on the fundamental principles of human rights and the free determination of peoples, condemned in generic terms all forms of colonialism, stating that «all peoples have the right to free determination; in virtue of this right, freely determine their economic, social and cultural development»; and that, moreover, «the lack of preparation in the political, economic or social domains or in the field of education, should never be taken as a pretext for delaying independence».

¹⁰⁰² PEREIRA, Aristides; *idem*, p.183.

¹⁰⁰³ «The operation may be discussed in some aspects of driving, there are always two or three solutions to a problem. But the one Calvão chose was, in my point of view, entirely correct, I would have done exactly the same, technically his performance was perfect. Today I have no doubt that the responsibility of this failure was entirely by PIDE, all the information provided were false.» Interview to Carlos Fabião. In: <http://www.uc.pt/cd25a/wikka.php?wakka=ecfabiao>.

¹⁰⁰⁴ IAN/TT, Arquivo da PIDE, SC, Pastas Organizadas por Províncias Ultramarinas – Guiné, caixa 2, fls. 1-45. Cit. em

the guerrillas who, in 1971, attacked systematically Bissau and other secondary cities with rockets.¹⁰⁰⁶

One of the diplomatic strategies that Cabral skilfully will use was to proposed tours for the foreign delegations into the territories under PAIGC command. Spínola also would try to do it.

Mandated by the OAU Liberation Committee, a delegation of military experts of the Republic of Guinea, Mauritania and Senegal visited some regions controlled by PAIGC, in August and September 1969. Thanks to initiatives like these ones, the personal prestige of Amílcar Cabral and PAIGC was considerably strengthened.

In response to the propagandised Spínola's policy «By a Better Guinea »¹⁰⁰⁷, that Cabral qualified by being «demagogic» and «last-minute reforms of Portuguese Government», he says that «in the current conditions of the fight, despite the high costs of travel and stay in Western countries, we are determined to allow the sacrifices needed to develop these activities, because, at this stage of the struggle, the intensification of armed action must go in parallel with an intense political action at international level»¹⁰⁰⁸.

In the month of June of the year following the OAU delegation, in 1970, Pope Paul VI receives at the Vatican the leaders of liberation movements – Amílcar Cabral, Agostinho Neto and Marcelino dos Santos. It was another PAIGC hard blow to the Portuguese "Catholic" authorities, in this case accompanied by, showing enormous diplomatic and propagandistic diligence.

In 1972, the (very) expected constitutional review, in which we could highlight the Statute of autonomy for the overseas territories, called «Progressive Autonomy» of Overseas Provinces. Spínola was already rehearsing in Guinea an attempt at administrative decentralization and autonomy, implementing in fact a progressive policy, once the constitutional review, with swiftly and media exploitation.

However, the PAIGC was prepared for the «constitutional gimmick», as he called it. At the first meeting of the Security Council, held in Addis Ababa in February 1972, Cabral deconstructs what it calls Portuguese policies «moves», categorically manifesting the irreversible intention of the party in proclaiming, in due course, the existence of the sovereign State of Guinea.¹⁰⁰⁹

In the following June, in the IX Conference of the OAU, Cabral presents a document¹⁰¹⁰ which explains the steps and the mechanisms leading to the desired proclamation of the Guinean State in order to get the support of the African heads of State.

The best diplomatic/propagandistic coup of Cabral would be the call for UN to visit the zones occupied by the PAIGC. In the report of the special mission led by party between 1 and April 8, 1972, was the recognition of vast areas controlled by PAIGC, which resulted in the establishment of cooperative relationships with some specialized agencies of the United Nations, and, with more international impact, in the adoption by the Security Council, chaired by Jeanne Martin Cisse of Guinea, of the resolution condemning the Portuguese Government.

Before the external pressure and growing internal political difficulties, Spínola increments the

MATEUS, Dalila Cabrita, *A evolução das guerras coloniais na perspectiva dos relatórios de informação*, Revista Portuguesa de História, t.XXXVIII, 2006, pp.155-180.

¹⁰⁰⁵ IAN/TT, Arquivo da PIDE, SC, Pastas Organizadas por Províncias Ultramarinas – Guiné, caixa 4, fls. 313-315. *Idem*.

¹⁰⁰⁶ IAN/TT, Arquivo da PIDE, SC, Pastas Organizadas por Províncias Ultramarinas – Guiné, caixa 8, fls. 227-364. *Idem*.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Vide BIBLIOGRAFIA: SPÍNOLA, António de.

¹⁰⁰⁸ CABRAL, Amílcar, *Discurso do Camarada Secretário-geral na Reunião do Conselho de Segurança em Adis Abeba*, Serviços de Informação do PAIGC, Fevereiro de 1972.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰¹⁰ CABRAL, Amílcar, *Situation de la lute du PAIGC en Janvier 1973 – Rapport à l'intention de l'OUA*, s.d., p.8.

propaganda and dramatizes the discourse: shots harsh criticism to the nation's «rear» and, in the summer of 1972, travels to Lisbon to obtain authorization from the President of the Council to open negotiations with the PAIGC, mediated by the President of Senegal, which could lead to an end of the conflict. Amílcar had not closed the door of negotiations: «if the Government of Portugal wants to discuss or negotiate on the situation in Guinea and Cape Verde, he must and can do it with our combatant Party».¹⁰¹¹ The President of the Council refused. Guinea was not the priority, he «rather a military defeat to negotiate with terrorists». Spínola kept temporarily the revolt and frustration, proportional to their political ambitions.

The successive diplomatic victories achieved by the move would allow to Cabral affirm, representing PAIGC, «that our national liberation fight is not only the most advanced of Africa but also one of the most advanced in the general framework of the fight of the oppressed people against imperialism and colonialism»¹⁰¹².

The General Spínola policy of «smile and blood»¹⁰¹³, according to the guerrillas, wasn't to produce positive results. On the contrary, was being exploited by the PAIGC. In June 1972, when Spínola was preparing to go to Lisbon, says that «the war cannot be won by military means». Cabral takes advantage of the outburst to announce to the international public opinion the military and diplomatic victories of the PAIGC. Consistent with the politic and diplomatic war, the fight for the conquest of the indigenous peoples was fundamental.

With the Portuguese military forces at a critical moment, limited in combat initiative and drive capability, Spínola could in the early years of his term rebalance the conflict, as is unanimously recognized¹⁰¹⁴, essentially by psychological action and the policy for a «Best Guinea».¹⁰¹⁵

Against Spínola's attempt to cause division between Guinea and Cape Verde and consequent dissolution of PAIGC, this one adopted the motto «Unity and Struggle». Appealing directly to the two peoples, Cabral stated: «if we just take Guinea, we see many contradictions within it. In Cape Verde, taking only Cape Verde, there are many contradictions. But taking on the whole, the contradictions decrease.»¹⁰¹⁶ We now know how much this project depended on Amílcar Cabral.

With significant irony, the PAIGC including use in his favour Portuguese colonialism emblematic phrases, such as the following: «Children of Guinea and Cape Verde, you are one under the Portuguese flag»!¹⁰¹⁷ And to combat the intense social and cultural activity of the Governor of the province, Amílcar Cabral truly strives

¹⁰¹¹ Idem, *Mais Pensamento para melhor Agir mais Actividade para melhor Pensar*, mensagem de ano novo, 1972.

¹⁰¹² Idem, *Memorandum a l'intention des Chefs d'Etat ou de Gouvernement d'Afrique*, 9ème Conférence de l'OUA, Rabat, 1972, p. 9.

¹⁰¹³ «les colonialistes portugais, dont le premier représentant en Guinée est un homme qui avait déjà les mains teintées du sang des peuple portugais et angolais». CABRAL, Amílcar; *Dix ans après le massacre de Pidjiguiti: rapport sur la situation de la lutte*, PAIGC, 1970, 25 p.

¹⁰¹⁴ PEREIRA, Aristides; idem, p.190. CARVALHO, Otelio Saraiva de, *Alvorada em Abril*, Bertrand, Lisboa, 1977, p.51 e segs.

¹⁰¹⁵ Characterized by:

- impact on the populations in urban centres;
- simultaneous development of psychosocial and military actions, based on the realization of social works (People's Congress) and infrastructure;
- promotion of divisionism between Guinea and Cape Verde;
- recruitment of Guineans to the war (africanization of war);
- distribution impassioned tradition on the populations under direct influence of PAIGC;
- strengthening of military action to bring about the complete demoralization of the combatants, using preferably helicopter transported actions against "enemy" positions.

¹⁰¹⁶ CABRAL, Amílcar; *Alguns princípios do partido*, Lisboa, Seara Nova, 1974, p.17.

¹⁰¹⁷ Idem, p.35.

in what he designated by «cultural resistance»¹⁰¹⁸, aimed at the settlement of colonial culture, demystifying the historic flag of European settlement – the “civilizing mission” – considering incapable of it «the latest people of Europe», but also the fight against the negative aspects of their own indigenous culture – all that might prevent the economic development and social progress of the people.

Valuing greatly the significance of culture in the fight for independence¹⁰¹⁹ – «the liberation fight is first and foremost an act of culture»¹⁰²⁰ –, says that the «liberation movement should establish accurately the objectives so that the people that represents and directs regain the right to have its own history and to freely dispose of their forces of production, with a view to the further development of a richer culture, deep, national, scientific, and universal»¹⁰²¹.

Although advocate for a revival and revaluation of African cultural matrix, Amílcar recognized the importance of the portuguese language – «is one of the best things that the tucas left us» – and defended their maintenance – «if we want to take forward our people, advancing in science for a long time, we will have to use the Portuguese».¹⁰²²

The constant appeals of «sinister General Spínola»¹⁰²³ to «reconciliation», offering «peace of the brave to everyone who wants a better Guinea under the Portuguese flag», were disarmed by the PAIGC, saying that «our African people know very well that the snake can change your skin, but is always a snake», and that «the story retains only with honour the names of those who, refusing to collaborate with the enemy of our people and Africa, give their valid contribution to the triumph of the fight»¹⁰²⁴.

The permanent «messages» and «reports»¹⁰²⁵ releases were more than simple information. They pretend to conquer and even intimidate populations. The following passage is revealing: «is it true that we put out many of Portuguese military combat and we had to kill some dogs Africans who still serve the colonialists».¹⁰²⁶

In the "material" aspect, spinolist's infrastructures construction, cultural and social promotion and direct support to the population policies through extremely attractive campaigns¹⁰²⁷, could only be fight back when the external direct support arose, especially the humanitarian one. The Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palm, who Amílcar would have great diplomatic and personal relationship, was a precious support. The USSR also provided some support at this level, although he was in the military camp that their help, by Fidel's Cuba, was most noted.

However, it would be in the internal propaganda, main weapon of «psychosocial» Spínola's war¹⁰²⁸, very similar to practice by the Americans in Vietnam¹⁰²⁹, the PAIGC would try to win. In 1969, Cabral warranty the

¹⁰¹⁸ CABRAL, Amílcar; *A resistência cultural: texto escrito, a partir de uma gravação da intervenção em crioulo no Seminário de Quadros do Partido, realizado de 19 a 24 de Novembro*, pelo camarada Amílcar Cabral, Serviços de Informação do PAIGC, 1974.

¹⁰¹⁹ «Develop in each one of us patriotism, love of land, is a major breakthrough of our culture.»; «Culture is to instil the spirit of each certain of our victory.» Idem, pp.4-5.

¹⁰²⁰ CABRAL, Amílcar; *Textos políticos*, PAIGC, s.d., 32 p..

¹⁰²¹ Idem, p. 20.

¹⁰²² Idem, pp.11-12.

¹⁰²³ Idem, *The eighth year of the armed struggle for nacional liberation: report of the situation in the struggle*, s.l., 1971, p.2.

¹⁰²⁴ Idem, *Textos políticos*, p.23.

¹⁰²⁵ View attachments A – 04 and A – 05. For space saving, we select only a few copies of the extensive bibliography and documentation consulted in the April 25 Documentation Centre.

¹⁰²⁶ CABRAL, Amílcar; *Mensagem relatório* of Comrade Amílcar Cabral to frames, fighters and militants of the party, 1969, p.2.

¹⁰²⁷ «In population centers, the "colonialists" said to them: «Bring the rice, we buy, sell, give.» It was humanly impossible not to accept such an offer.» PEREIRA, Aristides, *idem*, p.192.

¹⁰²⁸ View attachments B – 1 e B – 2.

party commitment to «neutralize the enemy liar propaganda», which aimed to «demobilise our people, to create divisions within the nationalist forces»¹⁰³⁰.

The PAIGC's counter-propaganda was carried out by media and used the same means that the Portuguese forces. The first aim was to deconstruct the «specious» messages in Portugal broadcast, just like the «warnings to the population»¹⁰³¹, and attract the people controlled by the "forces of order", mainly concentrated in the urban and greater concentration areas. In what way? Whether using strong slogans such as «is the time of unity and action» or «total and immediate independence»¹⁰³², whether displaying images of Portuguese armed forces deserters, accompanied by extremely discouraging words¹⁰³³, and driving messages in conjunction with the other liberation movements to all indigenous peoples of Portuguese overseas space. All through pamphlets distributed to the population "hand-to-hand" and not through the less effective air, whose means lacked.

The second objective would relate to the "white" population, both resident in the colonies as the metropolitan. Due to the superior education of the "tuga", the requirement of the messages was also higher. Distributing press releases with messages directed at potential opponents of the Portuguese dictatorship, looking to join the struggle for independence, necessarily linked by PAIGC of the struggle for democracy in Portugal: «we are confident that the settlement of the Portuguese colonialism drag the destruction of fascism in Portugal.»

However, the most affected sector by the movement's propaganda were the Portuguese armed forces, exploring, in a wrestle with Spínola, the profound discouragement and demobilization which grew among the soldiers. Closing the year 1972, the delegation of PIDE/DGS present in Guinea confirmed the following: «Unfortunately we are forced to admit that Cabral will have opportunities to achieve their objectives», since the PAIGC, contrary to the "colonialists", continued to receive considerable reinforcements «personnel and light material». ¹⁰³⁴ In the same way, Mai/Jun 1973 reports focus repeatedly the «evident lack of resources» and «clear lack of determination of European troops, including permanent officers»¹⁰³⁵. A few months later, the situation got into the point that PIDE/DGS consider that the «ineptitude of the Portuguese troops is practically total». ¹⁰³⁶

There were well produced and massively circulated pamphlets with messages such as: «prove you're man who refuses to commit crimes and pointlessly dying in a war already lost. Abandon the colonial troops that you will be well received»¹⁰³⁷. After the April's Revolution the intensity does not decrease.¹⁰³⁸

Something that entirely ran out of Spínola's control, despite the warnings to the nation "rear", was the exploitation by the PAIGC, through the Cape Verdean students in the metropolis, of the opposition to the portuguese regime, promoted mainly by the PCP. Examples of it are the successive demonstrations in support of the PAIGC and all movements convened in Lisbon.

¹⁰²⁹ View attachment B – 3.

¹⁰³⁰ CABRAL, Amílcar, *Idem*, p.3.

¹⁰³¹ View attachment B – 1.

¹⁰³² View attachment A – 03.

¹⁰³³ View attachment A – 01.

¹⁰³⁴ IAN/TT, Arquivo da PIDE, SC, Pastas Organizadas por Províncias Ultramarinas – Guiné, caixa 14, f. 450. Cit. em MATEUS, Dalila Cabrita, *idem*, p.176.

¹⁰³⁵ IAN/TT, Arquivo da PIDE, SC, Pastas Organizadas por Províncias Ultramarinas – Guiné, caixa 15, fls. 425, 447/448, 450 e 505. Cit. em MATEUS, Dalila Cabrita, *idem*, p.177.

¹⁰³⁶ MATEUS, Dalila Cabrita, *idem*, p.178.

¹⁰³⁷ View attachment A – 02.

¹⁰³⁸ View attachment A – 06.

However, in January 1973 Amílcar Cabral dies. The one who «came up with the idea, at the time had reached the military stalemate, to overcome the deadlock using an indirect strategy: diplomacy, with the blow of the three United Nations observers. It was very strong. After all, he was the first who invented the thing.»¹⁰³⁹

In August of that year, the man that had imposed the «military standoff» and inspired the change of strategy definitely returned to the metropolis. The legacy of both men, inseparable, retold and would have its consequences.

The PAIGC was already a well organised and structured party, with a line of action set, whose survival was assured without its charismatic leader, and would achieve its goal of independence in short term. As early as September 24, 1973, in the sector of Madina do Boé, the PAIGC unilaterally declares independence. Definitively confirmed an year later. But not least, «was he Amílcar Cabral, more than Angolans, more than the Mozambicans, who sparked the revolution of 1974 ...».¹⁰⁴⁰

The Spínola's deeps disappointment and frustration would project themselves in the emerging Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas – MFA), born and structured in Guinea. The movement itself had already made progress, partially, in the rebellion shadow of the ambitious general, which General Costa Gomes would later join, at the regime end.

The greatest consequence and meeting point of both men's legacy, as paradoxical as it may seem, it would be precisely the April 25 Revolution.

IV – Attachments



Attachment: B - 1. Portuguese armed forces Propaganda.

¹⁰³⁹ Gérard Chaliand, in PEREIRA, Aristides, idem, p.208.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibidem.



Attachment: B - 2. Portuguese armed forces Propaganda.



VIET CONG BEWARE!

There is nowhere to run...nowhere to hide! The tanks and armored vehicles of the Blackhorse Regiment will find and destroy you! It is too late to fight. Beware Viet Cong, we are everywhere! Rally now under the Chieu Hoi Program; it is your only hope to live!

Attachment: B - 3. American Propaganda (1968-72) in the Vietnam war.

LIVRES! LIVRES DA CRIMINOSA GUERRA COLONIAL! LIVRES!



A satisfação dos fuzileiros navais Pinto, Alfaiate e Sentieiro, fotografados em lugar seguro, após terem abandonado a base fluvial de GANTURÉ

No dia 18 de Fevereiro os três jovens fuzileiros grumetes, com um lenço branco nas mãos e a arma às costas, entregaram-se às nossas forças. Os nossos combatentes e a população civil receberam-nos com amizade e deram-lhes o melhor tratamento.

Levados para local seguro os teus compatriotas foram entrevistados por um jornalista estrangeiro no próprio dia em que a Rádio Bissau comunicou, a mentira vergonhosa, que eles tinham morrido no mato. Enquanto esperam entre nós o dia da sua partida para o país que escolherem, o Pinto, o Alfaiate e o Sentieiro, têm falado na nossa Rádio para todos os soldados portugueses que sofrem na guerra colonial.

Attachment: A - 01. Propaganda of the PAIGC.

— SOLDADO PORTUGUÊS —

Como muitos outros já o fizeram, os ex-fuzileiros ANTONIO JOSE VIEIRA PINTO, N.º 1227-7, JOSE ARMINDO SENTIEIRO, N.º 1225-7 E ILBERTO COSTA ALFAIATE, N.º. 790-8 abandonaram a tropa colonial no dia 18 de Fevereiro.

NA EUROPA, PARA ONDE SEGUIRÃO DENTRO DE BREVES DIAS, OS TEUS COMPATRIOTAS CONTARÃO COMO FORAM RECEBIDOS PELO NOSSO PARTIDO.

E, com os outros que já fizeram o mesmo e estão agora em França ou em qualquer outro país, eles lembrar-se-ão de ti soldado português.

De ti que continuas no exército colonial:

A participar em crimes contra o nosso povo;

A contribuir para ruína do teu país;

A sofrer a tirania dos oficiais;

A correr o risco de seres mutilado ou morto, como muitos milhares de jovens já o foram,

SOMENTE PARA O GOZO DOS RICAÇOS DA TUA TERRA

PROVA QUE ÉS UM HOMEM QUE SE RECUSA A COMETER CRIMES E A MORRER INUTILMENTE NUMA GUERRA JÁ PERDIDA.

**ABANDONA A TROPA COLONIAL
QUE SERAS BEM RECEBIDO**

NÓS NÃO LUTAMOS CONTRA O POVO PORTUGUÊS, CONTRA INDIVÍDUOS PORTUGUESES OU FAMÍLIAS PORTUGUESAS. PEGAMOS EM ARMAS PARA LIQUIDAR NA NOSSA TERRA, A DOMINAÇÃO COLONIAL PORTUGUESA, QUE NUNCA CONFUNDIMOS COM O POVO DE PORTUGAL!

P. A. I. G. C.



Attachment: A - 02. Propaganda of the PAIGC.



TRABALHADORES DE CABO VERDE

A hora é de unidade e acção.

Unamo-nos em torno do nosso grande Partido, o P. A. I. G. C. !

Desmascaremos os inimigos do nosso povo !

Uma so solução : INDEPENDENCIA TOTAL E IMEDIATA !

Viva o P. A. I. G. C.

Attachment: A - 03. Propaganda of the PAIGC



COMMUNIQUE

Au cours des mois de Juin et Juillet, en pleine saison des pluies, les colonialistes portugais ont été forcés de réduire sensiblement les bombardements criminels contre les populations des régions libérées, soit à cause des conditions atmosphériques soit en raison d'une considérable amélioration du tir de nos combattants qui ont abattu récemment un avion et un hélicoptère (voir notre communiqué du 5 Juin). Les colonialistes se préparent cependant activement à utiliser des produits chimiques (toxiques, herbicides et défoliants) dont ils ont fait un grand stock à Bissau et qu'ils emploient déjà en Angola et au Mozambique.

Continuant à intensifier leurs activités, nos combattants ont fait 118 actions principales contre les troupes colonialistes en Juin (56) et Juillet (62). Parmi ces actions on compte 80 attaques contre les positions retranchées de l'ennemi dont les villes de Bissau (le 26 Juin) et Gabu (le 19 Juillet), et 38 embuscades et autres engagements importants. Parmi les garnisons principales, ont été attaquées les suivantes: Kebo (5 fois), Guindaje (4 fois), Lufar, Cebodu, Espada et Xima, au Sud du pays; Guidaje (3 fois), S. Domingos (4 fois), Sagana (2 fois), Suzana (3 fois), Penauha, Cuntima, Enxala et Porto Gale, au Nord; Piche, Pirado et Saré-Bacor (2 fois), à l'Est. A Gabu, nos forces d'infanterie, qui ont réussi à pénétrer au centre même de la ville, ont causé à l'ennemi 7 morts et plusieurs blessés, et détruit un nombre important d'installations militaires et administratives.

Les embuscades les plus meurtrières ont été celles tendues sur les routes de Bialo/Panoso (5 morts), Bombadince/Saltinho (2 camions détruits, 8 morts et plusieurs blessés), Guidaje/Binta (4 camions détruits, 12 morts), toutes au mois de Juin; et sur la route Saltinho/Banquoa (8 morts) et près d'Enxala (7 morts), au mois de Juillet.

Le total des pertes causées à l'ennemi est de 192 morts dénombrés, un nombre élevé de blessés, 16 camions et un grand nombre d'installations militaires détruits.

Le 11 Juin, les colonialistes ont perpétré encore un crime particulièrement sauvage en lançant leurs troupes hélicoptères (12 hélicoptères), contre l'Internat-Ecole "Azealino Cruz", dans le secteur de Cubucará (région libérée du Sud) après un intense bombardement aérien. Nous rappelons que cet Internat avait été visité par le Missionnaire Social des Nations Unies, en Avril dernier. Les mesures de défense civile et la rapide intervention de nos forces armées locales ont évité des pertes en vies humaines, mais les installations de l'Internat ont été presque totalement détruites par les bombes.

Fait le 5 Septembre 1972.

Amílcar CABRAL
Secrétaire Général



Attachment: A - 04. Communiqué of the PAIGC.



LYLE PASCOE

COMMUNIQUE

Tout en se préparant pour développer leur action dans la prochaine saison sèche, nos combattants ont intensifié les attaques contre les positions ennemies sur tous les fronts. Voici quelques données concernant le mois de Septembre :

- 55 actions principales dont 30 contre les camps retranchés. Les villes de Gabu et Balama ont été attaquées le 7 et le 19 Septembre, respectivement, ainsi que les importantes garnisons de Impada (trois fois), Tite, Cacine et Cabadu, au Sud du pays; Mansaba et Sere Bocar (deux fois), au Nord; Tombadju, Buruntuma (trois fois) et le port fluvial de Xime, à l'Est. Au cours des attaques contre les positions ennemies et des 28 embuscades et autres engagements, nos combattants ont causé 122 morts dénombrés et plus d'une centaine de blessés aux troupes colonialistes, et détruit 8 camions militaires et 3 embarcations dont une vedette.

Dans le cadre du développement de notre action à l'arrière de l'ennemi, des bombes ont explosé à Bula, dans la cantine des officiers tuant deux lieutenants et deux sergents, et dans une jeep, tuant un capitaine et le chauffeur; sur l'aérodrome de Bafatá, l'explosion d'une bombe a détruit un avion militaire avec ses trois occupants.

L'action des colonialistes s'est intensifiée contre les infrastructures de l'œuvre à caractère social et culturel que notre Parti développe dans les régions libérées et dont la Mission Spéciale des Nations Unies, qui visita notre pays en Avril dernier, a fait un témoignage irréfutable, ainsi que de la souveraineté de notre peuple. Plusieurs écoles ont été soumises à des bombardements aériens ou à des attaques par les troupes hélicoptères, dont l'Internat "Apoelino Cruz" où la Mission spéciale avait séjourné. Parmi les installations sanitaires, ce sont le poste de M'Hafe (attaqué le 30 Septembre) et l'Hôpital "Guerra Mendes" (bombardé le 10 Octobre par 6 avions Fiat G-91 et attaqué par des troupes transportées dans 12 hélicoptères "Alouette") qui ont subi d'importantes dégâts. Forcés de se retirer avec de lourdes pertes, les soldats portugais ont néanmoins détruit une partie des installations et tué sept personnes dont cinq malades et une infirmière.

Fait le 6 Novembre 1972

Amílcar Cabral
Secrétaire Général



Attachment: A - 05. Communiqué of the PAIGC.



Attachment: A - 06. Message of the PAIGC.

From manifests to «direct action»: propaganda in the Angolan liberation movements (1955/1961)

Anabela Silveira,
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On the February 20th, 1961, Liberia and another thirty four countries of the Afro-Asian bloc proposed the discussion of Angola's political situation. Between March 10th and 15th 1961, the Security Council of the United Nations discussed the Liberian proposal, as Angola was considered as a threat to the international peace and safety. Meanwhile, news came from the north of that territory. On March 15th, colonial administration officials, colonists and their families, as well as many of the contracted workers, had been slaughtered. The climate of terror that followed these events pushed the Portuguese executive to admit the inevitability of war, a war that only ended after that the April Revolution of 1974 overturned Salazar's regime.

Holden Roberto, UPA's¹⁰⁴¹ representative in the discussions held at the United Nations in New York, refused to recognize that his organization had any responsibility for the massacres, arguing they were a consequence of peoples' rebellion against a Portuguese "terrorism" that lasted five hundred years. However, it had been UPA - which recruited militaries among people of ethnic Bakongo - the responsible for the mobilization. By the end of February, UPA handed out a pamphlet that called indigenous people to the "festivities"¹⁰⁴², beginning the March 15th. Using a simple encrypted writing, similar to a missionary sermon, this pamphlet provided in fact organized procedural instructions for the insurgents¹⁰⁴³.

Two other rebellions against the Portuguese colonial power preceded the one of March 15th, i.e. the Uprising of February 4th in Luanda and the rebellion of the cotton workers of Baixa do Cassange, that lasted from January 4th until the middle of March. For this reason, there are a few questions that should be addressed. The first question is how Angolan liberation movements mobilized populations for the fight against Portugal, aiming at autonomy and independence. The second one is focused on the way in which these groups tried to gain international visibility, at a time when not only decolonization was on the agenda, but also the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa constituted a block with renewed emphasis within the UN, contributing to the discussion and to the almost unanimous condemnation of the colonial model. The third question concerns the media used for the propaganda, which first emphasised the ideas of emancipation and denunciation of colonialisms and, later, the inevitability of "direct action", meaning a "liberation" war which had as its main objective to force the Portuguese executive to a negotiation that, in fact, did not happen during the thirteen years of war. From petitions to the UN to pamphlets calling for insurrection, from articles published in newspapers or read at radios microphones to participation in international conferences or

¹⁰⁴¹ União das Populações de Angola / Union of the Peoples of Angola.

¹⁰⁴² Direct translation from "festividades", the word in use on the pamphlets meaning rebellion and slaughters.

¹⁰⁴³ "As from March 15th festivities shall begin in all localities honouring the matrimonial union of the Lord, meaning that each one in its region and its place in all Angola shall proceed this way: 1) Women and children shall abandon their villages and head where festivities will take place; 2) Native's farms or small fields shall be cleared [as well as] State employee's residences, State friends, white man responsible for farms and commercial houses shall be cleaned and whitewashed. State and private vehicles shall be cleaned and painted.; 3) Each must have a well stocked backpack, as well as a rod to help him travel large distances (...); 5) Soldiers and sepoys must go amongst the people during festivities (...) If they do not show by their actions adherence to this will, they can be assured the Lord considers them enemies of the Homeland." / "A partir do 15 de Março deverão começar as festividades em honra da união matrimonial do Senhor em todas as localidades, quer dizer que cada um deverá na sua região e no seu posto em toda a Angola proceder da seguinte maneira: 1) As mulheres e crianças deverão abandonar a sua aldeia e dirigir-se ao posto onde as festividades irão decorrer; 2) As fazendas agrícolas ou as simples lavras dos nativos devem ser limpas [bem como] as residências dos empregados do Estado, os amigos do Estado, os brancos encarregados das fazendas e as casas comerciais devem ser limpas e caídas. As viaturas do Estado e dos particulares devem ser lavadas e pintadas; 3) Cada um deverá ter a mochila bem aprovisionada, bem como uma vara que o ajudará a percorrer grandes distâncias (...) 5) Os soldados e os cipaiois devem ir para o meio do povo durante as festividades (...) Se eles não mostrarem pelos seus actos a sua adesão a estes sentimentos, podem ter a certeza que o Senhor os considera inimigos da Pátria". (Quoted in PÉLISSIER, René, (1978), *La colonie du minotaure, nationalisme et revoltes en Angola (1926-197)*, authors edition of the cultural services of Diamang, Angola, pp. 484/485). The pamphlet drew the uprisings plot, whereby "matrimonial union of the Lord" would be nothing more than the rebellion and the slaughters that followed the massive attack on administration posts, the destruction and arrest of colonists properties and goods, the preparation of rails into the woods to escape aircraft raids, the appeal to the defection of Africans who worked for the white people.

distribution of manifests, the representatives of the Angolan liberation movements undertook multiple activities aiming at the independence of the territory.

Several events took place between the end of the Second World War, when the phenomenon of decolonization increased, and the first months of 1961, when the war in Angola began. On December 15th 1951, a group, self-proclaimed as the leader of the African cause, sent a petition to the UN where it described the situation of the black population, focusing on the work relations between colonizers and colonized, and in particular on the issue concerning the work by contract. After this description, the document demanded the territory to be placed under a protectorate regime¹⁰⁴⁴.

Meanwhile, among the "intellectuals" of Luanda, within a generation that had been educated on the ideals of respect towards the Portuguese culture, a cultural movement emerged. Under the motto *Vamos descobrir Angola*¹⁰⁴⁵ and through the publication of the magazine *Mensagem*, this movement sought to find the ancestral roots of a lost angolanity. Thus, literature was held as an ambiguous and undercover way of fighting the Portuguese colonialism. The poet António Jacinto, that took part in the movement, confessed in an interview with Michel Laban that since 1947 independence was a common topic of conversation and that "through story, through poetry, the concern was political"¹⁰⁴⁶. In 1952, after that the *Mensagem* had shut down, its mentors organized in another movement, MNIA¹⁰⁴⁷, which focused on the "creation and organization of small groups of clandestine political action (...) influenced by leftist thought, mainly Marxist"¹⁰⁴⁸.

In turn, in the Metropolis, Angolan students that gathered around the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (House of Students of the Empire), were not only influenced by the wave of pro-independentist angolanity, but also took part in the movements against the regime, joining the juvenile MUD¹⁰⁴⁹. Some of them, such as Agostinho Neto or Lúcio Lara, would become key figures of the Angolan nationalism by taking prominent places in MPLA¹⁰⁵⁰. In 1952, in the Belgian Congo, a group of Angolan Bakongo wanting to restore the former kingdom of Kongo, came in contact with the consul of the United States of America in Leopoldville, who advised them to chose a king both distant from and unconnected with the Portuguese. The king Pedro VII's death at April 17th 1955, a king that for the Portuguese administration was nothing more than a *soba*¹⁰⁵¹, represented the perfect moment for following the American advice. However, disputes between protestant and catholic Bakongo, as well as the strong role played by the general-governor, Sá Viana Rebelo, made the succession unfeasible.

The end of 1955 was characterized by two events. On the one hand, the Angolan Communist Party was founded in Luanda, proclaiming in its statutes the struggle for independence and the construction of a socialist society. On the other hand, a new petition was brought by the Bakongo restorationist to the UN, requesting the Angolan territory to become a protectorate. The following three years were of intense activity, as the political objectives gained priority and autonomy leading to the formation of several independentist groups in the Angolan capital¹⁰⁵², as well as to the regrouping, in the Belgian Congo, of Bakongo emigrants under the name of UPNA¹⁰⁵³. Following the example of other African colonies that granted autonomy through a negotiation process with the European colonial power, Angolan nationalist leaders aimed at a similar procedure. An objective that they forgot or did not want to acknowledge was that the Portuguese rulers would never accept negotiations, as the "imperial" structure was one of the fundamental bases of the regime. Having no effective

¹⁰⁴⁴ "Thus, the undersigned aboriginal group, leader of the African cause, representing and interpreting the feelings of 4 million aboriginal that inhabit the colony of Angola, in the terms of the 15th and 16th articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, appeal the UN to cease as urgently as possible the Portuguese administration in Angola and Congo, being the government given to the aboriginal that would administer the country as a Protectorate of a Nation chosen by the aboriginal." / "Assim, o grupo de aborígenes abaixo-assinado, líderes da causa Africana, representando e interpretando o sentir de 4 milhões de aborígenes que habitam a colónia de Angola, nos termos dos artigos 15º e 16º da Declaração Universal dos Direitos do Homem, imploram às Nações Unidas para que (...) mandem cessar o mais urgentemente possível a administração de Portugal em Angola e no Congo, devendo o governo ser íntegro aos aborígenes que administrariam o país sob Protectorado de uma Nação que seria indicada pelos aborígenes". *Carta do povo aborígene de Angola à Organização das Nações Unidas*, December 15th 1951, fax-simile in CDHI (2008), *História do MPLA (1946-1966)*, Edited by MPLA, Luanda, Angola, pp. 357/383).

¹⁰⁴⁵ In a direct translation: Let's discover Angola.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Entrevista a António Jacinto* in LABAN, Michel (1991), *Encontro com escritores*, 1st volume, Fundação Eugénio de Almeida, Porto, Portugal, p. 149.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Movimento dos Novos Intelectuais de Angola / Angola's New Intellectual Movement.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Our translation from BITTENCOURT, Marcelo (1999), *Dos jornais às armas, trajetórias da contestação angolana*, Vega Editora, Lisboa, Portugal, p. 126.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Movimento de Unidade Democrática / Movement of Democratic Unity

¹⁰⁵⁰ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola / People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

¹⁰⁵¹ A Soba is a traditional regional authority in Angola.

¹⁰⁵² Later, the majority of these groups will lead to the MPLA [People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola]

¹⁰⁵³ Founded in July 1957, UPNA stands for União das Populações do Norte de Angola / Union of Peoples of Northern Angola.

presence on the ground, PCA almost disappeared. Its place was taken by a new organization, the PLUA¹⁰⁵⁴, which was founded in December 1956 in an attempt to gather those who shared independentist ideas, and even the communist. The *Manifesto de 1956*, the programmatic text of the new "party" (the MPLA) that would characterize part of the Angolan nationalism, was presented as an organization instruction book for the clandestine groups that aimed at national independence.

In December of the same year, a spokesman of the Bakongo restorationist confided to Georges Houser, a member of ACA¹⁰⁵⁵, the importance of the Portuguese retreat from the former kingdom of Kongo so that the Americans could "civilise" it. In June 1957, a new petition handed by this group to the UN revealed more of a tribal facet of those who looked for the seizure of power, than a structured independentist movement. Following the advice of the Americans, who thought that the restoration of the kingdom of Kongo would have been an archaism hard to be accepted by the international community, the group founded the UPNA, which had been already presented as the UPA¹⁰⁵⁶ by Holden Roberto at the Accra Conference, in Ghana, between the December 6th and 13th, 1958.

The *1st All-African Peoples' Conference*, held in Accra, gave Angola an international spotlight. In the opening, Holden Robert distributed to the attendants a demolishing manifest against Salazar's regime, denouncing the characteristics of Portuguese colonialism, including the abuses of human rights, the exploitation of African peoples by white colonists and authorities, forced labour, corporal punishments, land subtraction, imprisoning, torture, and exile. The manifest ended demanding the independence of the Portuguese colony. At the end of the Conference, a resolution was approved, stating that

"considering the material and moral impossibility of African territories of admitting that they are part of Portugal (...); considering that the immediate recognition of the independence is the condition «sine qua non» of a real promotion of the underdeveloped countries to the realization of world peace and fraternal cooperation among peoples; considering that all the abuses are in contradiction with the United Nations Charter that Portugal accepted to ratify. The Conference (...) decides to protest strongly in order for Portugal to cease immediately these abominations that are meant in nature to compromise peace, [and] demands that the nation cited above promotes an effective development in all domains to allow the independence of Angola to be possible"¹⁰⁵⁷.

This was how the Angolan questions accessed the international circuits. During the debates, the charismatic leader of the Argelian National Front, Franz Fanou, took a stand that excelled all other, defending the right of "Positive Action", i.e. the right to act using "violence in self-defence", invoking as example the case of the Portuguese colonies. Thus, the use of armed struggle in national liberation actions was unleashed.

In Luanda, the repression of October 1958 that followed a popular rebellion led many of the insurgents to flee in exile to southern Angola. Subsequently, MIA¹⁰⁵⁸ delivered an extended pamphlet to the population of the neighbourhoods and *musseques* of the capital, entitled *Aos Africanos, o grito da luta pela liberdade* [To the Africans, the scream of the struggle for liberty], in which it summoned the "conscious Angolans" for the fight for total independency.

"Africa", it was argued, "is agitated in its liberation struggles, brothers. And it is funny to think that men, that are at the same time so responsible for, and irresponsible in (...)the government of those black lands, are packed in the illusion that these are passing riots, that in the confidence of their machine-guns and a few tactics of domination, the white men will stand as lords of Africa, as was stated by the demagogue Sá Viana de Rebelo (...)"¹⁰⁵⁹.

In its turn, another movement, MINA¹⁰⁶⁰, in its pamphlet *Ao povo de Angola* [To the people of Angola], addressed specifically to the black people of Angola (blacks and miscegenated)" stressing the need for an union in the fight against "the pernicious, filthy, inhuman and coward enemy", that is, the Portuguese colonial regime.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Partido da Luta Unida dos Africanos de Angola / Party of the United Struggle for Africans in Angola.

¹⁰⁵⁵ American Committee on Africa.

¹⁰⁵⁶ UPA stands for União das Populações de Angola / Union of Peoples of Angola.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Resolução de Acra*, in N'GANGA, João Paulo (2008), *O Pai do nacionalismo angolano- as memórias de Holden Roberto (1923/1974)*, 1st volume, Editora Parma, S. Paulo, Brazil, p. 76.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Movimento para a Independência de Angola / Angola's Movement for Independence.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Our translation from *Aos africanos*, 1958, fac-simile in CDHI (2008), *História do MPLA (1946-1966)*, Edited by MPLA, Luanda, Angola, p. 431.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Movimento para a Independência Nacional de Angola / Movement for the National Independence of Angola, founded December 1959, by occasion of the ILO Conference for África in Luanda.

"The moment we live", it continued, "is of great works and struggles. Let's work united (...) fearless, to achieve our ideal - TOTAL INDEPENDENCE!"¹⁰⁶¹ Let's fight the imperialist yoke and our victory is certain."¹⁰⁶²

In the pamphlet *Aos Angolanos* [To the Angolans], the MLNA¹⁰⁶³, after delivering a heavy attack on Salazar and Américo Tomás, advocated that "we, the sons of Angola, have to fight hard to achieve the INDEPENDENCE OF OUR PRESTIGIOUS ANGOLA"¹⁰⁶⁴. Addressing the conviction of Angolan nationalists that were part of the known "Trial of the Fifty", MLNA issued another pamphlet exhorting to struggle, paying special attention to the young.

"Everywhere in the world, the young have been the heroes of the struggles for liberty. This happened in Cuba, in the African Republics that are now independent, and it will happen in Angola. The conviction of your fathers, uncles, relatives, friends, is no reason for you showing defeated. The independence of Angola is already a reality. The Portuguese colonialists are now showing symptoms that are proper of a madman. Compare them to the French in Algeria, you will see they are behaving likely in many things: massacres against the Freedom fighters (...). Algeria is about to get its independency [and] the Portuguese will be obliged to take identical actions or, as they already demonstrated, resort to bloody fighting [that] will have as denouement the complete annihilation of all Portuguese in Africa. Everything depends on them, is up to them to choose."¹⁰⁶⁵

By the end of 1959, the neighbourhoods and *musseques* of Luanda were on fire. While the propaganda against the Portuguese sovereignty, even if clandestine, became increasingly more aggressive, the colonial model designed by the *Colonial Act* of 1930 remained unchanged. At the same time, Salazar's horizon was far from any autonomy, even if mitigated. In May 1960 in Luanda, Agostinho Neto, talking about his role in the recently constituted MPLA¹⁰⁶⁶, explained that,

"not unaware of the diverse problems faced by the black population (...) he fought the tendency for violent acts and advocated a direction that led the individuals to the legal reivindication of the most human economical and social conditions, as well as the presence next to the Governing Bodies of legitimate representatives of the active population"¹⁰⁶⁷.

At the end of August 1959, Holden Roberto travelled to the United States of America, where he denounced to the 4th UN Committee - the actual Special Political and Decolonization Committee - as he had done in ACRA, the forced labour and human rights abuses in Angola. Representing the UPA, Holden Roberto lobbied against the Portuguese political regime, being received by the then senator John Kennedy, of the Democratic Party¹⁰⁶⁸. On the other hand, in Leopoldville – Belgian Congo – the UPA handed out its manifest *A luta pela independência de Angola* [The struggle for the independence of Angola], also addressed to colonists and the Portuguese state. Beginning by declaring that its purpose was the "immediate independence by peaceful and democratic means", it exhorted the contribution of the "peasants, the unemployed and the forced labourers" to the "liquidation of the Portuguese colonialism in the national territory". Explaining that independent Angola would have "a democratic regime, without distinction of sex, race or colour", the pamphlet ended with the motto "Africa for Africans", while appealing to the

¹⁰⁶¹ Capitals in the original.

¹⁰⁶² Our translation from *Ao Povo de Angola*, s/data, fac-simile in CDHI (2008), *História do MPLA (1946-1966)*, Edited by MPLA, Luanda, Angola, p. 432.

¹⁰⁶³ Movimento para a Libertação Nacional de Angola / Movement for the National Liberation of Angola.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Capitals in the original. Our translation from *Aos Angolanos*, 16/12/1959, fac-simile in CDHI (2008), *História do MPLA (1946-1966)*, Edited by MPLA, Luanda, Angola, p. 433.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Our translation from *Panfleto do MLNA*, 1959, fac-simile in CDHI (2008), *História do MPLA (1946-1966)*, Edited by MPLA, Luanda, Angola, p. 435.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola / People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola

¹⁰⁶⁷ Our translation from *Auto de perguntas a Agostinho Neto*, ANTT, PIDE Archives, Process 88760-1, September 16th 1960, sht. 76/85.

¹⁰⁶⁸ "His office [John Kennedy's] in the senate started to be attended by prominent African nationalists [as] Mboya; Holden Roberto, the Angolan nationalist (...)". Our translation from SCHNEIDMAN, Witney W (2005), *Confronto em África. Washington e a queda do Império Colonial Português*, Tribuna da História, Lisbon, Portugal, p. 45.

"international organizations to pressure Portugal to cease the exploitation regime and the conscientious politics of genocide and that this territory might find its former independency"¹⁰⁶⁹.

Meanwhile, in 1957 in Europe, Angolan, Guinean and Mozambican nationalists founded the MAC¹⁰⁷⁰ and published the *Manifesto do MAC* [MAC Manifest], a long text with a thorough analysis of the Portuguese colonialism.

"The MAC", it recited, "has as its objective the immediate conquer of the National independence of African Countries under the Portuguese colonial domination and the total liquidation of the Portuguese colonialism in Africa".

Following Franz Fanon thesis, it advocated the right to insurrection as a "fundamental right against the colonial oppression [recognized] by International Law"¹⁰⁷¹. Three years before that MPLA declared in London the inevitability of "direct action", armed struggle was not an option for these nationalists. By the end of January 1960, the MAC prepared a text for the 2nd All-African People's Conference, held in Tunis, advocating political, illegal, clandestine, popular and African struggle, the formation of a national front and the adoption of a program common to all Portuguese colonies organizations. It also accused the Lisbon executive of getting ready to war, with the NATO's support and the implementation of other alliances, namely with South Africa¹⁰⁷². However, in disregard of the conference regulations that allowed only for the participation of national political movements, the MAC Angolans presented themselves as spokesmen of the MPLA, thus born officially in Tunisia, and met with Holden Roberto, representing the UPA. In Tunis the MAC became the FRAIN¹⁰⁷³ and the *Declaração de Compromisso* [Declaration of Commitment] was signed by all the Portuguese colonies participants. At the same time, they advanced the decision of "a joint action against the Portuguese colonialism [and the prompt establishment of] a concrete program for action in 1960"¹⁰⁷⁴.

1960, the year of Africa, would be also paradigmatic for the Angolan nationalism. From the Belgian Congo, the UPA performed party work not only with Angolan exiles, but also in the Portuguese colony. They had active cells in the north and northwest of Angola, and in particular among the cotton planters of Baixa do Cassange and in the *musseques* of Luanda and Lobito. In the capital, UPA militaries gathered with other clandestine groups, namely the MPLA¹⁰⁷⁵, which sought to attract militants and form cells in several *musseques* and popular neighbourhoods in Luanda, as well as in the region of Catete. Strongly watched by the political police that, in 1957, had settled in Angola, the MPLA suffered its first setback in June 1960, when a delegation was intercepted by the PIDE at Sanza Pombo, near Congo's frontier. Through the arrest of these militants and the seizure of their documents, it was easy for the political police to cut off the movement leadership in the interior. The arrest of Agostinho Neto by June 8th and its subsequent transfer to Lisbon gave rise to a wave of indignation, namely in the area of Catete, Agostinho Neto's homeland and a region where MPLA already had a large number of militants. The fierce repression that befell the protesters had international repercussions.

"After the arrest of Dr. Agostinho Neto (...) people from Bengo (...) decided to go to this district Office of Catete (...) and demand the release of Dr. Neto. When the district officer came to know about the decision, he called for reinforcements from Luanda, and about 200 soldiers

¹⁰⁶⁹ Our translation from ¹⁰⁶⁹ *Manifesto da UPA de 1959*, in N'GANGA, João Paulo (2008), *O Pai do nacionalismo angolano- as memórias de Holden Roberto (1923/1974)*, 1st volume, Editora Parma, S. Paulo, Brazil, p. 84/85.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Movimento Anti Colonialista.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Movimento Anti Colonialista /Anti-Colonialist Movement

¹⁰⁷¹ Our translation from *Manifesto do MAC*, Mário Soares Foundation, Digital archive of Mário Pinto de Andrade, Pasta 04 357.001.001, p. 15/18.

¹⁰⁷² Cf. *Manifesto do MAC à Conferência de Túnis*, ATD, Lúcio Lara Archive, original in French, 1960, doc.436. On the accusation of an alliance between Portugal and South Africa, cf. AFONSO, Aniceto e GOMES, Carlos Matos (2013), *Alcora, o acordo secreto do Colonialismo*, Terreiro do Paço Editores, Lisbon, Portugal.

¹⁰⁷³ Frente Revolucionária Africana de Independência Nacional dos Povos sob Domínio Português / Revolutionary African Front for the National Independence of the Peoples under Portuguese Domination.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Our translation from *Declaração de compromisso da FRAIN*, (copy of the original text), ATD, Lúcio Lara Archive, 1960, Janeiro 31st, document not numbered.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Os Levantamentos de 4 de Fevereiro de 1961* [The Uprisings of February 4th 1961], in Luanda, prove the connection between militants of both organizations. Cf. MATEUS, Dalila C e Álvaro (2011), *ANGOLA 61 – Guerra Colonial, causas e consequências*, Texto Editores, Lisbon, Portugal, p.73/108 and SILVEIRA, Anabela (2012), *Dos nacionalismos à Guerra: os movimentos de libertação angolanos -1945/1965*, Ph.D thesis, FLUP, Oporto, Portugal, p. 199/207. We must point out that MPLA had at his foundation former militants from MINA, a movement that was extinguished.

with guns that were sent to Catete fired against the crowd without any warning and killed 30 people and injured over 200"¹⁰⁷⁶.

Meanwhile, on July 6th UPA handed out a communication where, once again, inveighed against the executive and the Portuguese colonial policy, defining themselves as "the union of all blacks of Angola that cry for Independence".¹⁰⁷⁷

By the middle of the 1960's, as the independence of Congo was approaching, the anti-Portuguese propaganda spread in northern Angola. Disturbing information arrived to Salazar's office.

"A common saying spread among the indigenous living close to the frontier with Angola, claiming that after June 30th they will mass invade that region of ours to liberate it"¹⁰⁷⁸.

Or news on the

"pamphlets [arriving from Matadi] urging the indigenous Portuguese to follow the Congolese brothers examples, inviting them to all effort in managing Angola's independence [having] enticed 10 natives from S. Salvador to attend a school of turmoil in Ghana"¹⁰⁷⁹.

The previous 's independence of the Belgium colony and the election of Patrice Lumumba as Prime-Minister, a friend of Holden Roberto, provided UPA with a new freedom for action, namely by accessing Congo's National Radio and, from there, broadcasting to northern Angola. The communication broadcasted on August 23rd urged not only for rebellion, but also explained that Angola's condition would rise to higher international instances.

"The Portuguese colonialists have the scrupulous awareness of keeping the most profound silence and an iron curtain around our country. So that nothing sweats out and they can keep rumouring the lie that Angola's inhabitants live in an Eldorado (...) UPA decided to appeal to the superior instance of international opinion [and] once more demand to the Portuguese executive to end its colonial regime"¹⁰⁸⁰.

Adding the interesting remark "Do not collect! Read and hand out", new pamphlets were distributed to the population.

"After five centuries (...) you are still condemned to spend all your strength to enrich Portuguese colonialists. You create the richness and you have no right to enjoy it. (...)The UPA is committed expressly to end so much suffering in Angola. It invites you to contribute to the extinction of the Portuguese colonialism"¹⁰⁸¹.

In turn, the article signed on August 3rd by Holden Roberto and José Manuel Peterson in the newspaper *Congo*, foresaw the UPA's position a year later. While accusing the Portuguese executive of choosing war over negotiation, it summarized the outcomes of the 14th session of The United Nations General Assembly.

"One of the most precious benefits of the Afro-Asian Group in UN", they wrote, "was to impose (...) a debate where the Portuguese colonialism was harshly denounced before the world. As a result of this debate, a committee of six member countries was appointed to study the situation of non-autonomous territories in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter". The article ended with a request. "Starting today, August 3rd, we ask the unification of our efforts to make life impossible for the Portuguese colonialism in Angola (...) Our patience is running out, the

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Comunicado do representante do MPLA em Inglaterra*, ATD, Lúcio Lara Archive, 1960, doc.761.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Our translation from *Comunicado da UPA*, ANTT, PIDE Archive, Process 2126/59, box 1, July 1960, shts. 999/1000

¹⁰⁷⁸ Our translation from *Agitação no norte de Angola*, ANTT, Oliveira Salazar Archive, AOS/CO/UL-32E, May 17th 1960, shts. 33/34

¹⁰⁷⁹ Our translation from *Agitação no norte de Angola*, ANTT, Oliveira Salazar Archive, AOS/CO/UL-32E, July 23rd 1960, shts. 87/88

¹⁰⁸⁰ Our translation from *Comunicado da UPA lido no RNC*, ANTT, PIDE Archive, Process 2126/59, box 1, August 23rd 1960, shts. 959/960.

¹⁰⁸¹ Our translation from *Comunicado da UPA*, ANTT, PIDE Archive, Process 2126/59, box 1, September 21st, shts. 955.

Portuguese colonialism must resign or refuse itself (...) If Salazar has not yet understood what is happening in Africa, he will never understand it"¹⁰⁸².

On January 18th 1961, when the cotton planters of Baixa do Cassange's rebellion was at its peak, the official UPA's media, *A Voz da Nação Angolana* [Angolan Nation's Voice], published an extended article where it transcribed the "Memorando sobre a situação de Angola" [Memorandum on Angola's Situation] presented to the deputies of the 15th United Nations General Assembly, and drew the future of the Portuguese colony.

"If the Portuguese executive expects the uprising of the Angolan people before eventually negotiating more or solidifying its position, we advise caution as it is difficult to negotiate in a hectic situation and further pacify a colonized and angry territory (...) The arrests, executions, deportations of African nationalists (...) are nothing more than a stimulating appeal to their successors [and the Portuguese of Angola] may be at the mercy of the outraged people or perhaps want to suffer sabotage, looting, the strikes, the murders, the humiliation of the owners and bosses as it happens throughout Africa"¹⁰⁸³,

in what can be interpreted as a warning for future actions of upist militants supported by indigenous peoples. The massacres of March 15th and the early months of guerrilla had all these ingredients.

If, on the one hand, the PIDE's attack on the MPLA cut off its recently constituted leadership, which was promoting the organization of the movement in Angolan territory, on the other hand it did not hinder the development of clandestine cells in several capital *musseques*, as it happened in Rangel, from where many of the February 4th rioters came. But the MPLA pursued its struggle against the Portuguese government abroad. In the *1st Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference*, held in Conakry, Ghana, from 11th to 15th April 1960, Viriato da Cruz not only attacked the Portuguese colonialism, but he also asked for the unconditional support by the Afro-Asian block to the Angolan liberation movements, while requesting for a complete cut of the relations with Portugal and soliciting an international campaign against its colonial policy. However, the moment in which the inevitability of an armed struggle became visible happened on December 5th 1960, in the *Press Conference* of London, in the House of Commons. Representing Angola and MPLA, Viriato da Cruz threatened the Portuguese executive with "direct action", claiming that, to do so, they would count on the organization of a national liberation army. The war was then publicly taken as a form of struggle.

During the second half of the 1950's, two liberation movements were founded, movements that upraised against the Portuguese colonial power. With their leaderships outside the territory, they were playing in two trays. In Angola, they sought to raise supporters for the cause, knowing that this was done in very difficult circumstances of secrecy, constant surveillance and harassment by the political police, with arrests and summary trials of indigenous activists. The distribution of pamphlets, articles in newspapers and, in the case of the UPA, radio programs, not to mention the personal contact, present themselves as the preferred way to bring the African population to join armed struggle. But the liberation movements operated otherwise. Using platforms that decolonization opened to them, they not only deliver to the international community complaints about the Portuguese colonial practice, which, in a dictatorship, was maintained in complete secrecy, but they also called for a negotiated autonomy, which Salazar never wanted to hearken. In London the following steps were announced: War. 1961 was just at the door.

¹⁰⁸² Our translation from *Artigo da UPA no jornal «Congo»*, ANTT, PIDE Archive, Process 2126/59, box 1, August 3rd 1960, shts. 973/977.

¹⁰⁸³ Our translation from *A Voz da Nação Angolana*, ANTT, PIDE Archive, Process 2126/59, box 1, January 18th 1961, shts. 942.

“Histórias de Unidade - HU” (Military Units Reports): Another form of propaganda

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After the World War II, in Cold War scenario, the emergence and development of pro-independence organizations in colonial territories under European administration and the anti-colonialist position assumed by two major emerging powers, the U.S. and USSR, led to the questioning of the continued Portuguese presence in Africa.

First, in the political field, through external pressures within international organizations. Then, in a second phase, the diplomatic pressure that the country was subjected was joined by the armed struggle, a subversive-oriented combat by independence movements in the three main Portuguese colonial territories. In Angola in 1961, Guinea-Bissau in 1963, and finally the following year in Mozambique.

A type of armed conflict in which what mattered to both contenders was mainly the conquest of the population to their cause, thus seeking the physical and psychological exhaustion of the opponent in order to force him to give up the fight, propaganda and counter-propaganda played an important role and was widely used by both warring parties. It was used by the liberation movements engaged in raising the necessary support not only of material nature but also political and financial able to sustain and reinforce their war and pro-independence policies. On the other hand, it was also used by the Portuguese government to prevent the spread of internal subversion, strengthen the national cohesion between Mainland and overseas and thus justify the idea that Portugal was a pluricontinental, multiracial and indivisible country. Posters, leaflets, newspapers, films, radio programs, television reports were some of the major media propaganda, with a range as broad as possible.

This communication is focused, however, on a set of restricted documents and therefore much less known, the “Histórias de Unidade – HU” (Military Units Reports), belonging to the collection of the Military Historical Archive (AHM). Designed to report the feats of arms of the military units of the Portuguese Army, these Military Reports (See fig. 1), unlike the examples listed above, had no immediate propagandistic purposes. They were not intended to refute the pro-independence arguments, they were not a tool to tarnish the image of the enemy or captivate the people for the cause of Portugal as a multi-racial country and, above all, these documents were not intended for wide diffusion, which in itself contradicted the essence of propaganda. They rather sought to be a repository of information not only about the Portuguese Army but also on the enemy that was fought and the physical and social environment in which the fight took place.

We will deal, therefore, with another form of propaganda, if this expression is correct, considering its ambiguous nature. In fact, propaganda is not intended to the contemporaries but rather to the forthcoming to emphasize “the memory of the effort, enthusiasm and dedication of the Portuguese Army in defending the homeland” so that they would not be forgotten “in the course of time”. If these words can define the HU as propaganda tools, instructions to its wording give them yet another direction: “a record of simple events, accurate, objective and succinct”; in short, working documents within the campaign service, as if they were simple and trivial reports. But this coldness requested in the description of the facts was not always followed by those who wrote the HU as the reporter was also the protagonist in the events and therefore unable to guarantee the necessary objectivity, devoid of any comments and feelings.

The genesis of HU dates back to November 1962 when, in the Military Region of Angola (RMA), the commanding general instructed to prepare the official record of operational forces of RMA not only by imperatives of campaign services but also for the interest and projection that this record could be for the future. To make this possible, it was necessary that all Commands and Military Units that took part in operations in Northern Intervention Zone (ZIN) draw up their reports. This procedure did not bring anything new, since during the 1st World War narratives had already been written, under the form of monograph, about the Units engaged in combat both in Flanders and in Africa. On the other hand, the *timing* of the request is not surprising. In fact, it occurred a few months before the end of the service commissions of the first Units that

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had been sent to Africa in response to the outbreak of subversion in Northern Angola. Before their return to Mainland, it was important to collect all elements of interest to the History of Campaign lived then. Initially, a model was not required for the narratives but this would happen later. However, some rules were established to form the basis of the narrative as well as the future HU. Units in charge of the draft were duly selected as well as the periodicity of sending data (monthly), the elements to be mentioned (location of the Unit and its activity in the field and in time) and how these should be presented (objective and succinct) ¹⁰⁸⁵.

In the following months (April and May 1963), the experience acquired during the course of the process, upon receipt of the first data sent by the Units, led to the establishment of new and more accurate procedures. To improve the speed and efficiency of gathering elements of statistical, operational and historical nature, it was decided to prepare a Unit Sheet with the precise type of data to be provided and their presentation ¹⁰⁸⁶. It was properly clarified which Units were responsible for sending the data, particularly those under the organic dependence of other Units of upper echelon (platoons and companies under the dependence of battalions or regiments), the periodicity of sending data became quarterly and it was decided that copies to be provided by Units should be delivered “stripped of unnecessary ornaments – such as bindings”. These ornaments could be accepted in other copies (of the Units themselves or for their mobilizing Units) but not in the copies that were sent to Headquarters (QG) of RMA ¹⁰⁸⁷. This alert as a matter of detail is, however, the first sign of a phenomenon that would happen several times: the personalization and individualization of the Unit Report by its reporter, protagonist of events, regardless of the uniformity desired by superiors. Not with a clear intention of subversion and contestation of the rules, but, within the limits, with the purpose of enhancing and beautifying for future memory the achievements and experiences of nearly two years of service far from home and family. With the spread of the war to Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique and the consequent intensification and prolongation of the conflict, the imposition of preparing a history was also extended to the Military Units sent to those territories. In August 1970, when the rules for the drafting were broadcast in Guinea-Bissau, the organizational model of HU ¹⁰⁸⁸ was already defined. From its beginning, this organization has tended to be based on three chapters:

- I) Mobilization, composition and displacement;
- II) Activity in the Theater of Operations (TO);
- III) Losses suffered, punishments, praises and decorations.

Of the three, the one with greater size and greater wealth of information is Chapter II which, in the case of Units of upper echelon like battalions and grouping/operational commands, is, as a rule, an important source of information, with available data and comments on the land (topography, hydrography, flora, fauna, climate, economic resources, roads and settlements) in which the Unit was based and exerted dominance; the Population (historical background, distribution area, ethnicities, beliefs, dialects and ways of life); the Enemy (generalities, organization, location, means and forms of action) and the Unit itself, in a subchapter entitled: “Our Troops” (generalities, device, missions, moral, activity developed, health status and logistics).

As far as the remaining two chapters (I and III) are concerned, the information provided is essentially nominative and administrative, while continuing to receive attention and development, particularly with respect to praise and decorations awarded, often subject to detailed exposition of the achievements that led to their assignment. The standardization imposed on the narration, which was intended to be “methodical, successive in time, impersonal but nevertheless dynamic”, encouraged, however, the existence of reviews seen as useful on any fact or situation exposed in the course of the narrative as well as a “procedure or decision on their positive or negative aspects” ¹⁰⁸⁹. And so it happened sometimes when the HU contained critical opinions and considerations on internal procedures, including acts of high superiors, such as the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces in Guinea-Bissau ¹⁰⁹⁰. Daring attitude but whose impact was limited by the restricted nature of the distribution of HU, either by its reduced number of copies intended to perfectly defined receivers within the military institution, or by the security classification system, at least Reserved, that these documents were subject to, while secrecy was imposed at least during the two years following the end of the service commission to which the Unit concerned.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Cf. PT AHM/DIV/2/2/156/10 – Circular-note n.º 96 302, of November 15, 1962, of RMA/QG/3rd Division.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Please see a copy duly filled up of the Unit Sheet relating to the Company of Artillery n.º 294 of the Battalion of Artillery n.º 346 in PT AHM/DIV/2/2/147/10.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. PT AHM/DIV/2/2/156/10 – Circular n.º 1 424/3, Proc. 347.13, of April 22, 1963 and Note n.º 1786/3, Proc. 347.0, of May 18, 1963, of RMA/QG/3rd Division.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cf. PT AHM/DIV/2/4/260/2 – Circular n.º 2 295/3, Proc. 365, of August 3, 1970, of the Independent Territorial Command of Guinea-Bissau/Headquarters/3rd Division.

¹⁰⁸⁹ PT AHM/DIV/2/4/260/2 – Circular n.º 2 295/3, Proc. 365, of August 3, 1970, of the Independent Territorial Command of Guinea-Bissau/Headquarters/3rd Division, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. PT AHM/DIV/2/4/83/3 – Military Unit Report of the Company of Cavalry n.º 1744”, p. 29.

The objectivity, simplicity and synthesis that were required in the narrative were, as already noted, overturned several times, not with a purpose contrary to the rules, but as a result of the subjectivity and emotion of those who reported the events experienced by themselves, having their own political and ideological convictions thus transferred to the HU. That explains how some HU were prepared. By its form and style, they transform what was intended to be simple working papers in propaganda tools, although there are two distinct directions in the version which intercross sometimes into a single document. One is dominated by the ideological doctrine emanating from the regime and therefore based on patriotic exaltation, actions and sacrifices experienced, expressed in different ways:

- In the words and language used in dedications, prefaces and in the text of the chapters (See fig. 2 e 3);
- The careful selection of quotes from the cantos of the *Lusíadas* by Camões¹⁰⁹¹ or sayings by Mouzinho de Albuquerque¹⁰⁹², thus building a bridge to a glorious past considered as an example to follow, by equating the recent achievements to those made by the ancestors, conveying the ideas of preservation of a sacred heritage and continuity of a heroic deed that should not be interrupted but perpetuated in name of “Eternal Portugal”, a pluricontinental and multiracial country;
- In the photographs that sometimes illustrate the HU, whose choice helps emphasize the activities undertaken, not only strictly military but also civilizational conducted among the population, thus justifying the continuation of the Portuguese presence in Africa. After all, a picture is worth a thousand words;
- Furthermore, the use of refrains¹⁰⁹³, reinforcing and clarifying the message.

The other direction derives from the emotion and creativity of the military that formed the Unit and the logic that prevailed was that of self-praise. It was a period spent away from home and family, lived intensely in the fulfillment of a duty which required heavy sacrifices for a cause that most people did not understand, but in the course of which bonds of friendship and camaraderie were created. And thus was born another family who did not forget, at the end of the service commission, the fellow soldiers who had fallen in the line of duty, paying them a final homage. That was their History and, as such, should be presented with their personal touch, praising their action in the course of events.

Thus, alongside cold stories, devoid of any literary or aesthetic concern and limited to the canons dictated by high superiors, new copies of HU were emerging, completely different from all the others, with the complicity of the Unit commander or even following his guidance. They were distinct in their presentation, more careful, having in some cases the format of a book profusely illustrated with photos or drawings and chronicles written by some of the soldiers who made up the Unit (See fig. 3). They were different too by the touch of humor in certain cases, thus relieving the narration of lived experience (See fig. 4). Distinguished also by the care with which they were created, visible in the ornamental details and the richness of its content, going beyond what was required.

This collective self-praise also contributed to the enhancement of the action of the Unit commander with his superiors, which could help him to get a faster and desired career and explains his attitude in the course of the construction of the narrative.

In a universe of over 2 600 documents (The HU that refer only to grouping commands and operational battalions and independent companies) these HU, distinct from the others, are a minority and do not stand by their number but by their uniqueness and tone of propaganda. This, however, is subtle and ambiguous because there is no use of advertising techniques to spread a message, nor is there a clear purpose to discredit and counter the actions of enemy propaganda.

There is, however, since the genesis of the HU, the desire to preserve for future memory the feats of arms of the past so that they are not forgotten with the passage of time. This is not a propaganda addressed to contemporaries, but essentially to those who are to come. It is a propaganda based on the original meaning of the term derived from the Latin *propagare* referring to the idea of diffusion, planting in agriculture and only later evolved into the act of spreading an idea, opinion or doctrine. More than imposing ideas and ideologies, it is important to narrate facts, although the narrative is sometimes made with a mixture of feelings and considerations by their reporters. These interpretations and personal assessments, however, do not deprive the HU of informative value, as the wealth of information contained therein, which goes far beyond the strictly military nature, helps us to know the true degree of development of the Portuguese African territories and their populations, particularly in the most remote regions and therefore less known. A local reality much worse than the official version propagated by the then-Government.

¹⁰⁹¹ Luís Vaz de Camões was considered the Prince of Portuguese poets and author of the epic *Os Lusíadas*, which tells the story of Portugal in the form of epic, from its foundation until the period of the Discoveries.

¹⁰⁹² Joaquim Augusto Mouzinho de Albuquerque, Army officer and colonial hero who distinguished himself in the Campaign of 1895 in Mozambique, where with a reduced force arrested the powerful tribal king Gungunhana, subjecting him and his people (the Vátuas) to the Portuguese rule.

¹⁰⁹³ Simplified ideas intended to be easily propagated. *Slogans*.

Attachments



Fig. 1 – Military Unit Report of the Battalion of Caçadores n.º 1935.

(PT AHM/DIV/2/7/104/1)



Fig. 2 – To Salazar ...from Salazar Soldiers. (PT AHM/DIV/2/2/118)

A tua obra, dentro da acção do Exército no Ultramar

Este título, só por si, nos atrai a debruçarmo-nos sobre ele.

Porém, logo que se medite bem na sua extensão, sua grandiosidade e sua beleza, se verifica que rios de tinta poderá fazer correr quem o quiser abordar, que ao chegar ao fim, verificará que tanto ainda deixou por dizer!..., pois tão vasta, tão vária e tão bela tem sido, ao longo de tantos séculos a acção do nosso Exército nas Províncias Ultramarinas.

Assim, nestas poucas linhas, que neste livro, dedico a vós Soldados, vou registar apenas alguns exemplos sobre actividades a que no Ultramar se pode canalizar em especial os esforços das Nossas Tropas, tendo em consideração que as actividades de cada Unidade são função directa da Sua Missão, e que as Missões variam de Unidade para Unidade, consoante a área onde se encontra.

Contudo, fiesi bem cientes, de que todas as Missões exigem o maior dos esforços e uma vontade firme de «Querer Cumprir», e que cada Unidade é aquilo que forem os seus elementos, sendo necessário, para a elevar, o esforço de todos.

Tendo em vista que estas linhas não serão apenas lidas por vós militares, mas também por vossos familiares e amigos certamente, e que elas para vós, nada revelam de novo, pois que foram vividas por vós, eu quero deixar registados exemplos de actividade no Campo Operacional, de Recuperação Económica; da Acção Psicológica, do bem estar moral das tropas, para que, para vós, eles sirvam de uma recordação no futuro, e uma afirmação constante da vossa obra no Ultramar e para vossos amigos, um esclarecimento, uma mentalização, do que foi a vossa actividade, um desmentido de falsas ideias que línguas vis, ocultando ideias inconfessáveis, possam ter lançado ao ar, para semear desconfianças, descontentamentos e deturpar verdades.

Assim se regista, que as Nossas Tropas canalizam os seus esforços, em muitas e variadas actividades, entre as quais se poderão apontar:

— Defesa de certos urbanos; busca, eliminação e repressão do Inimigo; recuperação de populações refugiadas; socorro de vidas em perigo; pesquisa de notícias, trabalhando-as em informações; recuperação de vias rodoviárias, abertura de estradas e picadas, reconstrução de pontes, pontões e jangadas; construção de pistas de aviação; escoltas a viaturas que fazem a drenagem de produtos do interior; controle de tráfego ferroviário, rodoviário e de populações; assistência e tratamento de milhares de nativos; construção de escolas; aquisição de material escolar, vestuário, etc.; ensino a crianças africanas; construção de aldeamentos e regedorias; enquadramento de mercados rurais e lavras; construção e melhoramento dos seus próprios aquartelamentos; colaboração em programas culturais, informativos e desportivos; preparação da sua nova vida para um regresso à Metrópole, obtendo exames de Instrução Primária, Secundária e Técnico, condução de veículos, com vista a futuros empregos na Província Ultramarina ou na Metrópole.

Muito mais se poderia apontar, se necessário fosse, e limite de espaço o não impusesse, mas creio que com este apontamento ficará já bem presente que:

O Exército, Escola de Virtudes, continua neste nosso Ultramar a fortalecer os já fortes Homens que vêm da Metrópole, envergando uma farda e que terminam as suas Comissões com a consciência tranquila do Dever Cumprido.

Homens temperados com rija ténpera, neste Ultramar em cumprimento de missões nobres e árduas, patrulhando a pé, dias e dias, sob sol escaldante, comida e arma às costas, essas matas infundas, lutando contra o Inimigo, indiferentes ao risco da própria vida, vigiando dia e noite em vilas e cidades, sem que nunca falte um voluntário para as missões mais difíceis e ainda tendo como lema, que «Descanso não é mais que um trabalho mais leve», dia a dia colaboram dentro das suas profissões civis, construindo, melhorando, transformando, deixando por fim, uma — OBRA — testando aos vindouros para todo o sempre que

— AQUI É PORTUGAL —

A. DE FREITAS LOPES
Cap. de Art.º

Fig. 3 – Your work within the work of the Army in the overseas territories. (PT AHM/DIV/2/2/118/4)



Fig. 4 – A humoristic drawing. (PT AHM/DIV/2/4/94/1)

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War propaganda: Salazar, Caetano and the impossible balance of the public finances

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Introduction

This paper aims at demonstrating that the official financial documents of the territories under Portuguese Administration which underwent the colonial war are not an adequate source to study their respective public finances. In this context, the quantification of the amount of public revenues and expenditures that may not be registered in the official accounts of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique - although indispensable as they should have been to the exercise of the Portuguese sovereignty during the colonial war -, and the correction of the colonies' official financial annual accounts in accordance with the financial flows, which might not have been registered, constitute two stages of a process aiming to demonstrate that, in war time, the public accounting of the Estado Novo will have played a role which is not restricted to the registration of public revenues and expenditures. As a matter of fact, Salazar's government is characterized by an authentic exceptional phenomenon – according to the official accounting documents, throughout the whole period of the Estado Novo and, subsequently, of the Social State, both in the mainland and in each and every one of the seven territories under Portuguese colonial administration, a budgetary deficit had never been registered. Between 1928 and 1973, in spite of the extreme diversity of economic, social and political circumstances, or still the multifariousness of geographical or weather variants to which the different components of the Portuguese colonial Empire were submitted, the revenues cashed by the fiscal administrations of the mainland and those of the overseas territories in every budgetary year would have been superior to the budgetary expenditure.

From a political view point, the constant production of financial balances was far from neutral. A great deal of the national and international prestige attained by both Salazar and the Estado Novo was the result of their capacity to successfully balance the public accounts of the Portuguese Republic. Thus, for the colonial regime, in the second and third quarters of the 20th century, the balances in equilibrium of all budgets, in any circumstance, became a political imperative which did not tolerate the slightest deviation. However, in what concerns economic and financial matters, theoretical and ideological inflexibilities of this nature, in practice, cannot not peacefully coexist with the evolution which generally occurs, without pre-announcement, in the economy, society, politics or natural milieu. Since, by definition, the material reality is not to adapt itself to the public administrations' budgets and that, on the contrary, the budgetary documents are those which must be adjusted to the alteration of the material circumstances in which they are inserted, any production of income surplus over the public expenditure which involves a permanent character cannot but raise perplexity.

Thus, although researchers and other academics dealing with the public finances of the Salazar's or Caetano's epoch, have very seldom put in question the righteousness of the budgetary equilibrium registered in the financial annual accounts, and have never expressed any doubts whatsoever regarding the consistency of the data inscribed in the official financial documents, the great improbability of the permanent and universal equilibrium registered in the public finances being genuine must be considered. The inexistence of deficits in the eight budgetary universes which composed the Portuguese colonial Empire, during a period of 46 consecutive years, despite their dispersal across four continents, of their anchorage in economies with slightly different development levels, and of their integration in widely varied social and political contexts, suggests that the financial annual accounts of the overseas territories must be regarded as records which may not truly mirror the reality of the financial flows which enabled the exercise of the Portuguese sovereignty overseas.

1. Methodological aspects

The hypothesis according to which the financial annual accounts of the overseas territories which underwent a colonial war may not truthfully mirror the volume of revenues and public expenditure which made possible both the government and the colonial administration can only be assessed by dint of the submission of the official financial documents' contents to a set of tests. In fact, the apparent discrepancy between the data supplied by the public accounting and the volume of the colonial administration's real financial activity can have three distinct origins. On the one hand, the official registration model of the revenues and expenditure can mask the structure of the public financial flows, on the other, the official

financial annual accounts may not thoroughly register the resources which have been essential to the government and the colonial public administration, and, at last and in variable degrees, may these two factors intervene in a competitive manner and both contribute to the adulteration of the accounting of the revenues and expenditure of the annual accounts.

The accounting record of the revenues and expenditures adopted in the Portuguese colonies, so-called equilibrium of the ordinary balance sheet, divided the financial flows in four categories: revenues and expenditures, ordinary and extraordinary. Thus, the ordinary flows corresponded to resources and liabilities which repeated themselves in all annual accounts while the extraordinary flows were revenues and expenditures which did not correspond to annual permanent necessities. So, besides being subjective, this classification criterion of the budgetary flows cannot guarantee great transparency of the public accounting. Since, in the accounting system of equilibrium of the ordinary balance sheet, to classify one expense as extraordinary suffices towards enabling it to be financed by means of extraordinary resources such as loans or subsidies, in such a way that the recourse to indebtedness, regardless of the involved amounts, does not affect the formal equilibrium of the budget. This registration model lacks the degree of transparency which permits one to perceive the profound structure of the official public finances.

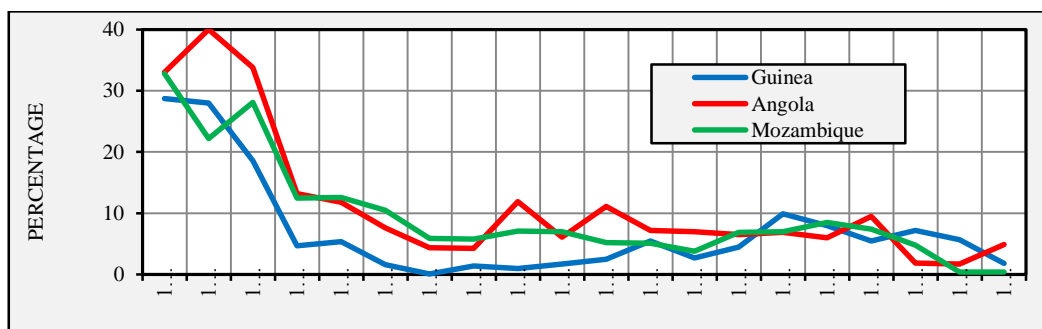
The limits of the official accounting models, and the relatively obscure manner through which the financial balances verified in Angola, Guinea or Mozambique were produced, requires that the data registered in the financial annual accounts be structured in a more transparent way. The accounting registration model, so-called equilibrium of the effective balance, by its simplicity and clarity presents itself as much more adequate to the understanding of the public financial flows' profound structure. Classifying the revenues and expenditures as effective and non-effective, this registration model of the flows focuses its attention on the treasury movements. Thus, if all the revenues increase the treasury assets, only the effective revenues increase its cash assets without, at the same time, increasing its passive. In this perspective, a loan would be a non-effective revenue, since when the resources owned by the treasury increase, the passive is automatically added. Reversely, if all the expenditures reduce the treasury monetary availability, the effective ones have no effect over the passive, while the non-effective reduce the treasury liabilities and, simultaneously, the passive, as in the case of the amortization expenditures of the public debt principal.

It must, however, be noticed that a subsidy is an effective revenue, but it is not a generated revenue. The notion of generated revenue, more than that of effective revenue, is fundamental in the present study, since it highlights the financial sustainability and the real equilibrium of the public finances. Thus, except for the calculation of revenues, dominated by the concept of generated revenue, any time flows regarding Angola, Guinea or Mozambique which have not been registered in the respective financial annual accounts will be corrected according to the criteria which arise from the equilibrium system of the effective balance.

2. Financial equilibrium: official version

According to Angola, Guinea and Mozambique, all the annual accounts were closed with a revenue surplus over the expenditure. Graph 1 displays the balance of the financial year in percentage of the revenue registered in the official accounts. Although the referred colonies had only become theatres of war in 1961, 1963 and 1964 respectively, the presentation of the public finances evolution in the last twenty years of the colonial domination has the intention to clarify the impact of the armed conflict on the financial life of the colonies.

Graph 1: Official accounts: annual accounts balance as a percentage of the total revenue¹⁰⁹⁴

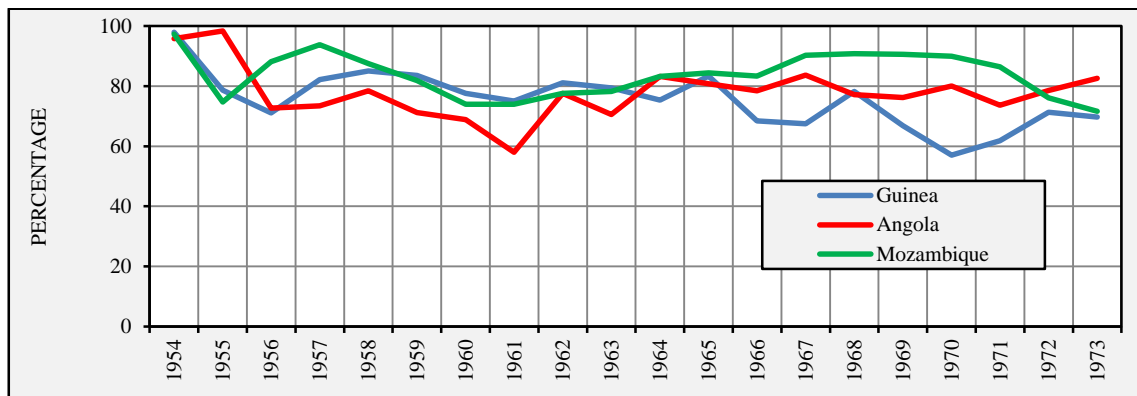


¹⁰⁹⁴ Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Angola (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Moçambique (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício da Guiné (1961-1973).

So, paradoxically, the graphic analysis of the official public accounts of Angola, Guinea and Mozambique reveals that the outbreak of the colonial war has had no influence over the pattern of the budgetary executions. In reality, the fact that the volume of the financial annual accounts' positive balances, in relative terms, in the years 1954-1957, acquired a gross and irrational expression, having become a lot more reasonable between the years 1957-1959, has no relation with the colonial war. Indeed, this strange evolution of the annual accounts' balance reveals the execution difficulties of the first development plan and the slow transformation process of the colonies' 'net public savings' in public investment.

The apparent financial insensitivity of the colonies vis-à-vis the colonial war, which can be observed after the analysis of graph 1, and the consequent maintenance, in the years 1960-70, of the budgetary executions' pattern established at the end of the 50's decade, presents a real enigma which deserves considering. Furthermore, in the model of equilibrium of the ordinary balance sheet, the production of the financial equilibrium is made easy for the fact that it must be declared even if the annual accounts' ordinary revenue – taxes, fees and income from properties – is not sufficient to cover the total expenditure. The covering rate of the annual accounts total amount by the ordinary revenue is a fundamental indicator of the sustainability as well as the financial autonomy and, therefore, of the 'normal' public revenue capacity to secure the payment of the public expenditure.

Graph 2:¹⁰⁹⁵ Coverage rate of the total expenditure by the ordinary revenue, minus the flows of the autonomous services



Graph 2 exhibits the coverage rate of the total expenditure of the annual accounts by the ordinary revenue. In order to enable the comparative analysis of the three colonies, the value of the annual revenues and expenditures of the autonomous services which operated in each colony were deducted from the financial aggregates in which they were integrated. Although the revenues and expenditures of the autonomous services were registered in the financial annual accounts of the colony by means of identical amounts and, therefore, were neutral in what concerns the calculation of the financial balance, their presence in the public revenues and expenditures of the financial annual accounts distorts the evaluations, in relative terms, and hinders comparisons due to the disparity of their volume in each colony.

Although the annual accounts, from a formal view point, according to the patterns in usage in the model of the ordinary balance, were in equilibrium, during the period concerned, the ordinary revenues were always insufficient to secure the payment of the total expenditures. Thus, due to the incapacity of the ordinary revenues to cover the thorough amount of the annual accounts' expenditure (100% in Graph 2), the subsidies of the mainland, the balances of previous years, and the loans constituted public expenditure sources of payment which, though not having the nature of generated revenues, curiously enough, did not determine that the budgetary execution should be declared loss-making.

Since the presence, namely, of subsidies and loans within the revenues of the annual accounts, according to the official accounting model, do not prevent the accounts from being declared in equilibrium, the attempt to have access to the concealed structure of Angola's, Guinea's and Mozambique's public finances imposes that the financial flows registered in the colonies' annual accounts be structured according to a less lenient and less permissive accounting model than the so-called equilibrium of the ordinary balance sheet.

3. An alternative structure

When revealing that, in the annual accounts which are formally in equilibrium, the 'normal' revenues do not cover the total expenditure, Graph 2 demonstrates that the accounting registration system, so-called

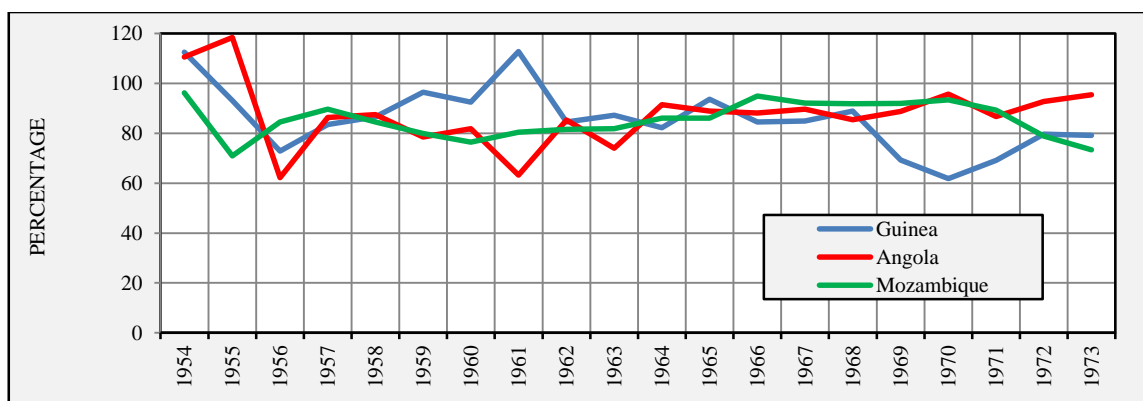
¹⁰⁹⁵ Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Angola (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Moçambique (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício da Guiné (1961-1973).

equilibrium of the ordinary balance sheet, is not adequate to the understanding of Angola's, Guinea's and Mozambique's public finances' profound structure. So, the imperative to have access and to reveal the concealed structure of the public finances of these colonies demands that the data included in the annual accounts be submitted to alternative methods of registration, a procedure which will allow to clarify in a definite manner whether the equilibrium of the official public accounts was a mere consequence of the flows' registration method.

To approach the financial flows, according to the perspective of the equilibrium of the effective finances, due to its transparency, proves to be more adequate than that adopted by the official accounting of the Estado Novo if the profound structure of the public finances is to be disclosed. In fact, the effective equilibrium arises from the capacity of the taxes, fees and financial revenues of the state – excluded other resources, such as loans and previous annual balances – to cover the total amount of expenditure of the annual accounts after the deduction of the principal and loans' amortizations. Graph 3 exhibits the coverage rate of the effective expenditures by the effective revenues.

Considering that, according to the calculation model of the equilibrium underlying the notion of effective finances, unlike the official version presented in Graph 1, in the last twenty years of the colonial domination, only Angola, in 1954 and 1955, and Guinea in 1954 and 1961 would have registered a surplus of effective revenues over the effective expenditure; it is proved that the public accounts of these Portuguese colonies owe their state of equilibrium to the accounting model chosen by the Estado Novo. While not being liable to be replicated with other accounting models of financial flows such as the model of equilibrium of the effective balance, the financial equilibriums produced according to the model of the ordinary balance lose both significance and authority.

Graph 3: Official accounts: coverage rate of the effective expenditure by the effective revenue¹⁰⁹⁶



The demonstration that Salazar's financial miracle was an accounting artefact, the result of the use of a specific model of organizing the public financial flows did not require the questioning of the pertinence or the integrity of the registered data in the official annual accounts of Angola, Guinea or Mozambique. The question of the correspondence between the official accounting registrations and the financial life of the Portuguese colonies is, nonetheless, a central aspect concerning the study of the overseas public finances in war time.

4. The financial equilibrium no matter what

More closely analysed, the data presented in the Graphs 2 and 3 are improbable. According to the registered data in Angola's financial annual accounts, for example, throughout the years of the colonial war, on average, 76, 9% of the annual accounts expenditure would have been covered by revenue cashed by the Angolan government. Since that average percentage coverage, which reaches 86% if one is to adopt the calculation method which arises from the notion of effective balance, does not correspond to the historical reality of the Angolan finances in war times, it is absolutely essential to detect financing sources of colonial expenditures which are not registered in the official annual accounts.

In the cases of Angola and Mozambique there are two major sources of expenditure and revenue which are not registered in the respective annual accounts and that have never been taken into consideration when studying their the public finances.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Angola (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Moçambique (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício da Guiné (1961-1973).

4. 1 The Portuguese economic space

In spite of the nationalistic rhetoric of the Estado Novo which conceived the overseas provinces as integral, inalienable and indivisible component of a multi-continental Portugal, the economic and financial integration of the mainland and its colonies, paradoxically, was very superficial. In fact, until the 60's, the Portuguese colonies, for customs' purposes, were autonomous territories which practiced their own customs rates, their quantitative restrictions and where the circulation of goods and capitals, not to mention the people's movements between the different national territories, depended on the acquisition of previous administrative authorizations.

So, the annexation of the State of India by the Indian Union, in 1960, the outbreak of the Liberation War in the Province of Angola, in 1961, as well as the economic integration process in progress in Europe made the economic relating model in force between the mainland and the overseas provinces obsolete. In this context, in November 1961, the project to create a free commercial zone including all the territories under Portuguese administration was materialized. According to the plan drawn by Lisbon, till the 31st December 1971, all the obstacles to the free circulation of national or nationalized goods should be gradually eliminated from the inter-territorial relations.

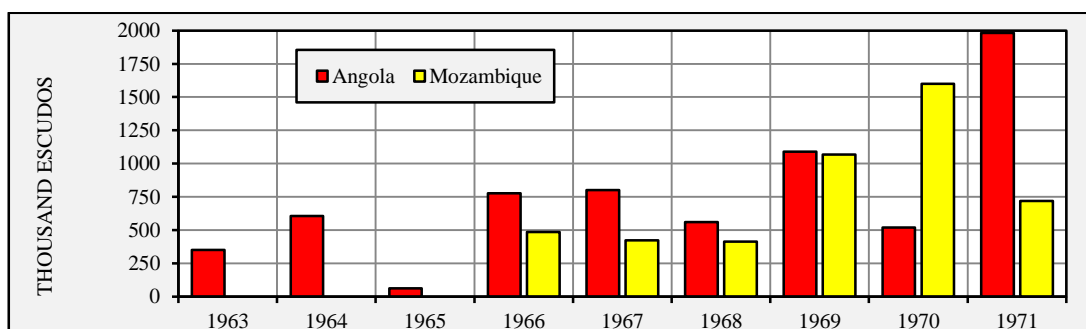
However, the liberalization of the commercial relations did not run the way it had been foreseen. The liberty of commerce did not permit to balance the deficit which characterized the commercial relations of the colonies with the mainland, having even aggravated the commercial deficit of the overseas territories. In Angola, the regime of free circulation of goods exhausted the whole of the currency reserves in the very year of its coming into force; a process which was to be repeated in Mozambique, after four years of free commerce regime.

The consequence of the exhaustion of foreign currency in Angola and Mozambique was the accumulation of debts in mainland escudos to the suppliers located in Continental Portugal and in its Islands. Since Angola and Mozambique had only internal currency, the new liberty to import goods implied that, although the Angolan and Mozambican importers could pay the importations from the mainland in local currency, the Banco Nacional Ultramarino in Mozambique and the Banco de Angola, within the framework of the regular functioning of the inter-territorial payment system, must guarantee the exporters' payment in mainland escudos.

Notwithstanding the fact that the commercial balances of Angola and Mozambique with the rest of the world registered a surplus, the annual currency thus produced was insufficient to cover the deficit arising from the commercial relations with the mainland and, in spite of the various loans in escudos granted by the Escudo Zone Monetary Fund, an accumulation process of debts in escudos was established vis-à-vis the suppliers located in mainland Portugal.

Angola's and Mozambique's problem of overdue payments, apparently, only regards the Continental exporters and the Angolan and Mozambican importers. However, the free commerce zone deficiencies of functioning acquired such a dimension that it led to the collapse of the Portuguese economic space itself, in December 1971. Thus, the suspension of the proceedings which should lead to the creation of a free commerce zone in the Portuguese economic space and the high loans granted by the mainland to Angola and Mozambique towards the solution of the overdue payments discloses the public nature of the issue. In December 1973, the estimated value of Angola's and Mozambique's debt to the continental exporters still amounted to circa 1 547 000 000 and 1 728 600 000 Escudos respectively.

Graph 4 :Charges arising from the inter-territorial payments¹⁰⁹⁷



¹⁰⁹⁷ Banco de Portugal. Sistema de Compensação e de Pagamentos Interterritoriais. Relatório do Agente (1961-1973).

Graph 4 exhibits an estimation of the annual financial burdens resulting from the malfunctioning of the inter-territorial payment system and of the collapse of the free commerce regime designed for the Portuguese economic space.

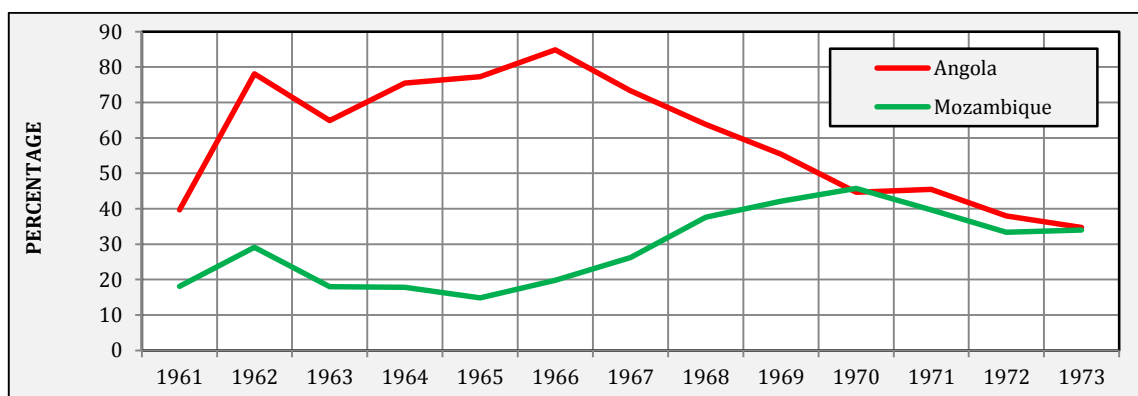
The annual charges with the malfunctioning of the inter-territorial payment system are neither registered in any of the annual accounts of the mainland nor of the colonies. However, the financing of the overdue payments involves the allowance of a real continental subsidy to the inter-territorial commerce which, having initially had a private source, in 1971, was transformed into Angola's and Mozambique's public debt, by means of a loan granted by the mainland. Thus, within the framework of the equilibrium of the effective balance accounting model, it seems legitimate to consider the annual burdens regarding the malfunctioning of the inter-territorial commerce liberalization policy as a subsidy which was due to secure the payment of effective expenditures.

4.2. The colonial war

The outbreak of the colonial war in Angola, in 1961, in Guinea, in 1963, and in Mozambique in 1964, was perhaps the most significant source of public expenditure in the Portuguese Colonial Empire after the Second World War. So, paradoxically, the analysis of the annual accounts official balances evolution proposed in Graph 1, the evaluation of the total expenditure coverage rate of the annual accounts by the ordinary revenues shown in Graph 2, or the appreciation of the effective coverage rate of the public expenditure suggested in Graph 3, do not reveal any sort of impact due to the breaking out of the national liberation armed struggle on the financial life of Angola, Mozambique or Guinea. Hence, the only logical explanation for such a situation is that the annual accounts of the territories which were the theatre of the colonial war did not, partial or totally, register the amount of the flows which provided the funding for the armed conflict.

In fact, the General State Account of the mainland registers a significant amount of financial resources as extraordinary expenditure in a position designated as 'Extraordinary Military Forces Overseas' allocated to the payment of the expenditure arising from the maintenance of the colonial war. In spite of the secrecy which involves the military matters in war time, having determined that the General State Account could only include the total annual amount of the extraordinary expenditure, this research is in the position to suggest a breakdown of that global amount by colony. Thus, admitting that all the revenues and expenditures that enabled the exercise of the Portuguese sovereignty in a certain colony must be taken into consideration when studying its respective public finances, Graph 5 presents, in relative terms, the volume of the public expenditure allocated to the colonies' military defence.

Graph 5: Non-registered military expenditure as a percentage of the colonies' effective official expenditure¹⁰⁹⁸



The financial flows regarding the funding of the colonial war have never been taken into consideration when studying the public finances of Angola, Mozambique or Guinea. However, the volume of those flows is relevant and justifies the correction of the official annual accounts. Throughout the colonial war, the mainland's funding of Angola's defence represented on average 59, 7% of the annual effective expenditures registered in its annual accounts; a value that in Mozambique amounted to 31, 1%. As far as that matter is

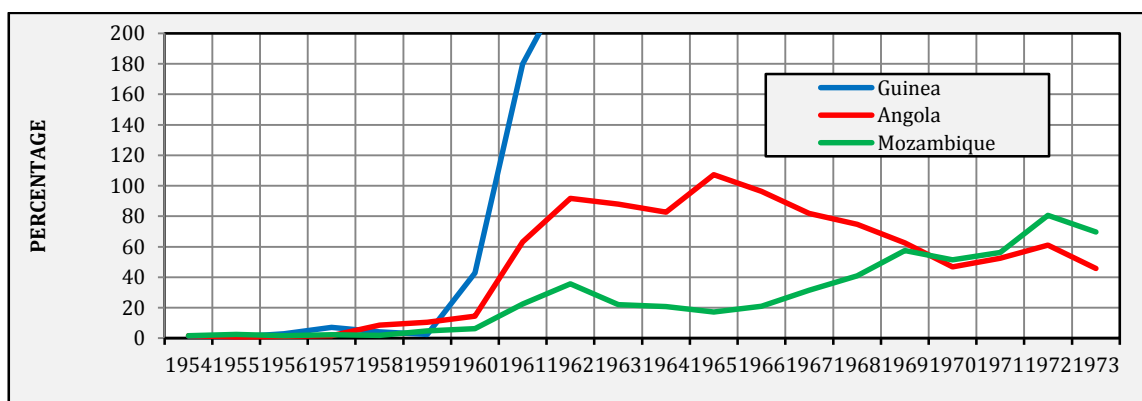
¹⁰⁹⁸ Source : Conta Geral do Estado (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Angola (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Moçambique (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício da Guiné (1961-1973); Conta das Forças Militares Privativas do Ultramar (1961-1973); Conta das Forças Militares Extraordinárias no Ultramar (1961-1973); Ordens de Pagamento do Fundo de Defesa Militar do Ultramar (1961-1973).

concerned, the case of Guinea is of a different dimension. In 1963, the mainland's funding of Guinea's military expenditure represented 280, 8% of the official effective expenditure registered in the annual accounts of the colony; a percentage which subsequently increased and that, in 1973, amounted to 738, 3%. Thus, during the years of war, the annual financial contribution of the mainland for the military defence of Guinea, on average, attained 532, 6% of the total annual effective expenditure registered in the annual accounts of the colony.

5. Correction of the official accounts

Like the financial flows regarding the malfunctioning of the inter-territorial free commerce space, the mainland's financing of the colonies' military defence has all the characteristics of a subsidy, an exogenous revenue, due to the payment of effective public expenditures whose existence thoroughly justifies the corrections of the official revenues and expenditures – it is a public expenditure carried out in the colonial territories, it is at the origin of the economic activity level registered during the war and enabled the exercise of the Portuguese sovereignty in the territory.

Graph 6: Non-registered expenditure as a percentage of the generated revenue¹⁰⁹⁹



Graph 6 exhibits the non-registered financial flows in the colonies' annual accounts as a percentage of their own annual revenues. In the sequence of the outbreak of the liberation armed struggle, in 1963, the financial resources transferred by the mainland which were not registered in Guinea's annual accounts amounted to 354,3% of the revenue collected by the colony's administration. In 1973, the financial resources granted by the mainland to Guinea's military defence represented 1007,7% of the generated revenues of the colony; the annual average of those contributions attained, during the war years, 709,6% of the generated revenues collected each year.

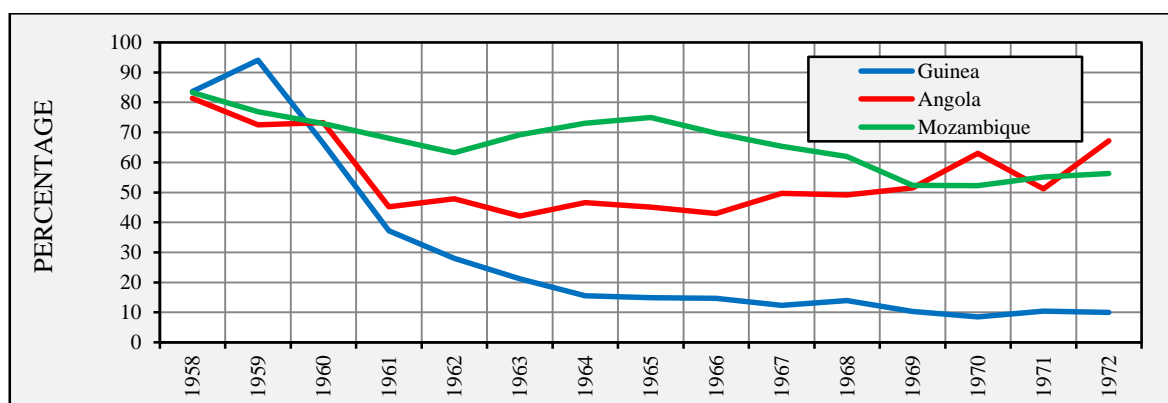
Less spectacular, though, the subsidies granted to Angola and Mozambique are quite significant. During the war years, Angola benefited from various subsidies which, on average, amounted to 73, 4% of its annual generated revenues (42,6% in Mozambique) which reveals an absolute financial dependency on the mainland's budget.

6. The aggravated imbalance

Once the necessary changes to the official accounts of the colonies have been made, the relation between generated revenue and the effective expenditure is presented under a totally different perspective. Graph 7 exhibits the coverage rate of the total corrected effective expenditure by the generated revenue of the colonies during the last twenty years of the Portuguese colonial rule.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Source : Conta Geral do Estado (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Angola (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Moçambique (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício da Guiné (1961-1973); Conta das Forças Militares Privativas do Ultramar (1961-1973); Conta das Forças Militares Extraordinárias no Ultramar (1961-1973); Ordens de Pagamento do Fundo de Defesa Militar do Ultramar (1961-1973); Banco de Portugal. Sistema de Compensação e de Pagamentos Interterritoriais. Relatório do Agente (1961-1973).

Graph 7: Coverage rate of the total effective corrected expenditure by the generated revenues¹¹⁰⁰



In the exact opposite of the public finances' permanent equilibrium, the correction of the official accounts according to the financial flows which, having been absolutely essential to the government and to the colonial administration, are not registered in the colonial accounts reveal a profound imbalance of the public finances. During the war years, on average, Mozambique was incapable of securing the payment of 38% of the annual effective expenditure carried out in its territory, while Angola revealed itself incapable of paying 50% of those burdens and Guinea circa 87% of the financial commitments.

The reality exhibited in Graphs 1 and 7 is clear as regards the propagandistic dimension of the accounting methods carried out in the colonies which underwent a colonial war. The case of Guinea is paradigmatic. Stage of the Portuguese forces' military eminent defeat, although it had only had capacity to secure, on average, the payment of 13% of its annual public expenditure, Guinea enjoys the reputation, supported in its annual accounts as any other Portuguese colony, of having always closed its annual accounts in equilibrium.

Conclusion

In spite of the gross fictional character which involves the equilibrium of the public finances of the Portuguese colonies which underwent the colonial war, and which does not withstand a critical analysis of the flows registered in the official accounts, it is paradoxical that the latter have always been the only source of information used by researchers and other academics dealing with the Portuguese colonial finances. The origin of this strange phenomenon can, however, reside in the Estado Novo's propaganda itself. In a society which lacks freedom of expression, where the alternative sources of information are inexistent, the systematic dissemination of reports and studies, some of them with alleged scientific ambitions, which a-critically reproduced, with no right to adversarial debate, the governmental perspectives about the evolution of the public finances in each colony granted the annual accounts of the colonized territories an artificial and unjustified reliability which, very likely, might have conditioned, till the present days, the research of other funding sources of colonial public expenditure.

One way or other, the official balance of the annual accounts was the result of the application of the official accounting model, so-called equilibrium of the ordinary balance sheet, which proved to be highly permeable to the manipulation of the classification and registration of the financial flows. Submitted to different modalities for the accounting of the public financial flows, the Portuguese colonies' official revenues and expenditures would by no means be in perfect balance.

Furthermore, the annual accounts of the colonies under scrutiny did not register the whole of the financial resources and charges which enabled the exercise of the Portuguese sovereignty. A significant amount of the public revenues and expenditures were not registered in the colonies' accounts but rather in the mainland's General State Account. On the assumption that, regardless any juridical or political arguments, all revenues and expenditures granted to the government and public administration of a colony must be taken into consideration when analysing its public finances; the correction of the official accounts presents itself as a line of work which allows the accounting records to match the financial reality which it is supposed to mirror.

¹¹⁰⁰ Source : Conta Geral do Estado (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Angola (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício de Moçambique (1961-1973); Conta da Gerência e do Exercício da Guiné (1961-1973); Conta das Forças Militares Privativas do Ultramar (1961-1973); Conta das Forças Militares Extraordinárias no Ultramar (1961-1973); Ordens de Pagamento do Fundo de Defesa Militar do Ultramar (1961-1973); Banco de Portugal. Sistema de Compensação e de Pagamentos Interterritoriais. Relatório do Agente (1961-1973).

Thus, Angola's, Mozambique's, and Guinea's annual accounts appear as a powerful and effective instrument of the Estado Novo and its colonial policy image management. When concealing the negative impact of the war on the finances of the territories under Portuguese administration, the colonies' official accounts display piecemeal and fictional financial realities which cover negative aspects of the adopted policies by the Lisbon Government overseas. Under these circumstances, it does not seem excessive to consider that, throughout the colonial war, the annual accounts of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, rather than financial documents, were effective vehicles for war propaganda of the Estado Novo.

Propaganda in the age of digital technology

«War Propaganda in Portugal (1940-1945): Analysis of photographs of the World War II in propaganda press published in Portugal»

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Introduction

Aside from military confrontation and disputes between political ideologies and territories, World War II was also the stage for intense propaganda. Not only did this propaganda take place in countries involved in the war, it also extended in the same manner across the states considered neutral, using messages and representations with the goal of attracting followers to their cause. It is known that, in this conflict, Portugal decided to remain neutral. Regardless of its stand, the country was still a target for the belligerents' propaganda, which transformed the society by dividing it between Anglophiles and Germanophiles. Under the influence of the belligerency, those two factions took positions that were either pro-Allies or pro-Axis.

Among the main means of communication, the images shown by the press were a very important element for strengthening its stand with the people. Given these aspects, the goal of this study is to analyze propaganda magazines that were edited and distributed in Portugal, starting with the observation and interpretation of war propaganda photographs published in Portugal beginning in the year of 1940 – those being *A Esfera* (pro-Axis) and *Mundo Ilustrado* (pro-Allies).

That being said, this work will start out with a context on war propaganda, namely in photography, and in the press, with a characterization of the propaganda and the steps used so that its effect is the desired one. Another goal of this work is to also understand how war propaganda is an effective weapon, hence the focus given it's been given in this introduction.

Portugal's neutrality throughout the conflict will be a central theme in this study. By explaining its geographical importance of a country whose population is small and whose resources are few, a social and geographic context of Portugal will be carried out so as to understand how important the country was in order to be considered a "target" for the belligerents.

There will also be given some prominence to the presence of war propaganda in Portugal, to the groups that were influenced and the ones which influenced the others and what ended with Portugal's collaboration with the belligerents even though its position was assumedly neutral.

Afterwards, specific cases and photographs will be analyzed through the presentation and scrutiny of the propaganda magazines published in Portugal. With central elements such as Germany as a front for the Axis and England as a front for the Allies, a study will be made in a perspective of comparison, a cross between information when it comes to the themes each of the belligerents presented. Two big themes will be examined: the power of the military and the human side of the conflict. With this methodology it will be possible to study the image the two belligerents sought to build and the message they wanted to broadcast to the public.

Wartime Propaganda

Like publicity, the term propaganda implies giving knowledge through ideas so that supporters can be recruited. Those in charge of propaganda seek to create and transform opinions in an informative process. Their main goal is to promote the mutual understanding between the sender and the receiver, transmitting data, sharing ideas and, subsequently, explain and instruct. In terms of access, the chiefs of propaganda need to promote constant communication with their target audience while always keeping their response as a basis.

Hence the need to define another process of communication: persuasion. Persuasion is a communicative process whose key is in the receiver's response. The phenomenon of persuasion is essential for propaganda to be effective. However, to reach success, propaganda needs to act in a complex social media, becoming inherent to a state's organization.

Within the political perspective, war propaganda has identical objectives. Like political propaganda, this type is directed mainly towards civilians, who, in the specific case of armed conflict and along with the military when the need arises, sustains the war effort.

The subject of World War II, with great theoretical preparation, allows to tackle war propaganda with new views. During this conflict, the development of propaganda was enormous, counting with the use of new media, like radio and cinema.

The use of black propaganda – in which the source is altered regardless of falsity or faithfulness of the message – was the most used method. The exaggeration, the minimization or the disfiguration of information allows to pinpoint exactly what truly mattered. As Goebbels stated, “The bigger the lie, the more credible it is.”

Portugal and war propaganda (1940-1945)

During the conflict, the countries at war were dependant of the results of “indirect war” that came from the outsider. The image they let out to different people was a determinant factor in their campaign against and for the enemy.

Even though the country had few resources and its population was small when compared to the great European potencies, Portugal was important in regards of its geographical placement. Portugal was the main route for information and espionage and the belligerents considered Lisbon to be the main point of entrance and exit of agents between Europe and the rest of the world. It was due to these conditions that, in a first phase, Germans and English and, in a second phase, Americans, decided to unleash their actions of propaganda.

The countless refugees and an intense propaganda from the belligerents caused a great impact in a population that had little contact with the exterior, as all the information was filtered through censorship and communication control. With conflict, everything changed. First the Germans, followed by the English and the North Americans, started to spread information around the Portuguese population about the tales of a war people were living, whether in terms of conquests, power and destruction of the enemy, as well as acts of courage and solidarity.

The Portuguese government knew about the importance foreign propaganda carried. However, it was with sheer surprise that Portugal’s ruling body realized its impact. They observed the arrival and expansion of the belligerents’ propaganda with great reservations, regardless of origin or content, and fought the propaganda and its bad influences, keeping Portugal’s neutrality in the war. The main organizations in charge of the control were the Secretariat of National Propaganda and the Censorship Services.

The Censorship Services were in charge of the military, who kept a close eye on the entire press, be it national or regional. All writers intending to publish their books had to go through Censorship, which not only cut their texts, but also supervised publishing deals and made lists of the publications that could reach the Portuguese. By defending and trying to reinforce the idea of neutrality in the country and through the organs of information, Censorship evaded frontal attacks from the belligerents.

Anglophiles and Germanophiles

The actions of propaganda published in the time period covered by this study will be presented in this chapter. Following the chronological context of the war, photographic sources will be analyzed and inserted in the Portuguese reality.

In terms of public opinion, the tendency towards the anglophiles was clear and significant. From the regimen’s point of view, propaganda coming from the two belligerents ended up having an important role in the necessity born out of avoiding tendencies and divisions in society. In 1941, *A Esfera* was regarded as a German magazine and *Mundo Gráfico* as a British one. Both came out in a bi-weekly basis and their headquarters were located in Lisbon. *A Esfera* was distributed on the 5th and 20th of each month. Its first number was published on the 6th of July 1940, and its last edition was on the 20th of April 1945. *Mundo Gráfico* was published on the 15th and the 30th of each month. Its first publication was at a later date than *A Esfera*’s, as its first number was distributed on the 15th of October 1940, and it continued to be released after the conflict, until February 1948.

The *A Esfera* magazine had Álvaro Maia as its first editor, who was in charge of the numbers until November 1940, with Félix Correia assuming his position afterwards. *Mundo Gráfico*’s direction was ran by Artur Portela, and there are no registries that say the magazine changed directors during its Portuguese existence. Both magazines were constantly illustrated with photographic coverage about the war.

Military Power

The propaganda present in both magazines can be divided in three main periods: from June 1940 to June 1941; from June 1941 to the end of 1942; and from October 1942 to May 1945.

A discreet anglophilia (June 1940 to June 1941)

It's possible to see a discreet anglophilia in this time period. Its propaganda was limited to showing the actions of the Allies and reinforce the strength of the British people and between the states belonging to the Allied cause and the British Empire. It also highlighted the power of their Navy and Royal Air Force. Those intentions were well exposed by showing the defensive strength of their ships against the enemy's airplanes. This was achieved by presenting the loading of an anti-aerial Gatling gun with four barrels, with the goal of intimidating the adversary with their weapons, as well as the anglophiles' superior military prowess (Figure 1). This propaganda was also a response to the Germans' very own, as months before a photograph of a German airplane factory was published with the very same objective: intimidation (Figure 2).

English propaganda was very careful. Within certain limits, it was careful enough not to crash with the ideals of the Portuguese regiment so as not to complicate the diplomatic relationship between Portugal and England. It sought to counter the German's propaganda ideas and, in a way, supported itself in the methods and results of the enemy's propaganda.

The ambition towards defeating the enemy was, to the Axis's forces, seen as an objective to free Europe, thus beginning a crusade against bolshevism and fake democracies. It tries to convey the idea of union in the Axis's forces and their supporters in defending their noble cause and, with that, to intimidate the enemy with the unification of their men by showing the troops of other European states such as Italy, who had the same want and ambition (Figure 3).

Once more, as a response, England presents what a patrol of Australian soldiers does to the prisoners belonging to a group of Italian soldiers. With this, England wanted to emphasize the superiority and the dignity of the Allied Forces' military. There's also a theory that claims the enemy surrendered easily, without the Allied Forces needing to resort to violence and armed forces (Figure 4).

The anti-bolshevist crusade (June 1941 to late 1942)

After the summer of 1942, due to the course of the war, there's a visible Germanophile inclination in the regiment's actions. The beginning of the fight against the East front as a goal to conquer the territories under Soviet rule and the addition of the United States of America as England's allies in the conflict, turned the war into a stage for disputes between ideologies and totalitarianism, thus putting to test the survival of the Portuguese authoritarian regimen post-war. The danger of a German invasion was always ever-present in the form of pressure from Hitler's part, in an economic, political and military levels.

However, in the propaganda published by the Axis, anti-bolshevism is highlighted, as well as the fight towards freeing the territories dominated by the enemy. This idea was presented in a pavilion where a big committee met against the bolshevist enemy, shown as a crushing element of photography in a massive billboard with a soviet soldier, ran over and destroying a cross, with the Axis's forces ready to confront the "monster" (Figure 5).

The Axis's supremacy gave the idea that the enemy surrendered without violence by the defeated look of the prisoners. At this point, the successive images of its main ambition began: the destruction of the threat that was bolshevism. In Ukraine, all German troops are gloriously received, walking under a decorative archway built by the villagers (Figure 6). There's an idea of feast and liberation from the enemy's oppression and the soviet threat. It also tries to discreetly pass on that the victory was pacific, with no resort to violence. In Bucharest, the liberation of its territory from bolshevism is celebrated, as well as their joining the German cause (Figure 7).

The English found a way to counter this tendency. By amplifying the still unexpected and still timid resistance that the Red Army began to show in the beginning of 1942. This picture (Figure 8) is supposed to show the courage and resistance of the soviet soldiers regardless of how much they've been attacked by the enemy and despite how far away victory might be, stressing, once more, the supremacy of the Allies — in this case, the allies from USSR. This is the first image that shows an indication of inevitable victory and destruction of the enemy.

However, Salazar did not manifest goodwill towards this situation, and didn't allow England to become a transmission channel for soviet propaganda in Portugal, taking measures to that effect. He had all news about USSR shortened. For contrast, the German news could be published without the Censorship's intervention.

The end of the war (October 1942 to May 1945) – Liberation or “Liberation”

Towards the end of 1942, the war's course began to change, as did its luck, to the side of the Allies, in the Pacific, in Stalingrad and in El-Alamein. With this, the belief in Germany's invincibility is put to the test, and the Allies' conviction of their victory surges, due to the fact that the Allies had been advancing more and more into Northern Africa, Northern Europe and the Eastern front, with Germany as their final destination. The Portuguese regimen's activity shifted and adapted itself to the changes, and so did the German and English purpose in their propaganda.

English propaganda keeps its registry of answering the Axis's propaganda by quoting Goering and a sentence he said in the beginning of the war: “No enemy plane will fly over the Reich territory.” (Figure 9). Once more, the superior military prowess stands out when the English pilot flaunts the number of bombs dropped by his plane in enemy territory like he would a war trophy. It is therefore reinforced the goal of intimidating the enemy, as well as their destruction. Imminent victory for the Allies is also highlighted and, consequently, the defeat and destruction of the enemy (Figure 10).

Even after losing territory to the enemy, German propaganda didn't give up on showcasing their military prowess. This time it was done through unveiling new weapons at the 5th year of war (Figure 11). This was their way of showing the enemy that the Axis's forces wouldn't surrender easily, intimidating the enemy with their powerful weapons.

It was in July 1944 that the Allies displayed their strongest action in terms of propaganda: by presenting their main victory: the battle of the Normandy. The idea of an unwanted war is represented in this image (Figure 12). That no matter the victory, there will always be mourning for those killed in action, whether they're supporters or enemies, as can be seen by the expression of sorrow in the Allied forces when faced with the enormous pyramid of German helmets.

Nevertheless, this photograph has another interpretation: it's a demonstration of power and destruction of the enemy, with a presentation of their weapons and helmets as trophies of war.

The weight of the events that transpired during the conflict was felt in two distinct manners: on one side, the Portuguese regiment was afraid the USSR would expand communism throughout Europe and destroy the Christian culture. In this case, a strong critique to the methods used by the North Americans to establish order with the intention of devaluating democracy brought by the Allies was presented (Figure 13). They anticipated an Europe that was condemned to capitalist oppression and a false idea of liberation.

On the other hand, the Portuguese regiment wanted to collaborate with the remaining Allies and demonstrate that the nationalist ideals lived by the Portuguese were not based on false principles.

This change brought on doubts when it came to the permanency of the Estado Novo in Portugal, all due to the imminent defeat of the Nazi and fascist regimens. Still, the regimen remained, and was an indispensable factor when it came to defending the colonial interests and Europe's stability after the war.

During the entire war period, the Axis supporters defended the anti-bolshevism and that the regimes ruling England and the USA were false democracies. After 1944, when the end of the war approached, those statements were accentuated.

Unlike pro-German propaganda, the Allies' supporters were obligated to now do an anti-fascist campaign due to the fact that the features of the Estado Novo were very much alike to those found in the Nazi regime and Italian fascism.

Therefore, they limited themselves to publishing images about their armada and the conquests made throughout the war period, thus assuming a pacific propaganda. This type of propaganda lasted until the end of 1942, until the conflict was turned around and the propaganda afterwards became more energetic and victory-oriented.

The Human side of the War

Even with all the displays of military prowess that showed men and guns, as well as the conquest and destruction of the enemy, the belligerents' propaganda was also based on an equally important aspect: the human side of the War. Throughout the war period, both publications demonstrated the courage of their people in the face of adversity, the care and dedication to their war mascots, solidarity to the enemy wounded by the violence of the battles and the freedom of the people.

The Courage of the People

These pictures seek to demonstrate the more humane side of the war through the courage of the civilians faced with hardships of the war and the bombings, as well as the protection of the weak, like what happened in an English city, with this lady, who's shielding a child with her own body (Figure 14). In this second picture,

(Figure 15) the human side of the war is more visible, showcasing civilians and their courage before the destruction and the bombings. Wandering through the streets of Berlin, life goes on, even with the aerial terror.

The time in which these pictures were published is to be highlighted. While the British propaganda displays the courage of their people when faced with the war in the beginning of the conflict, the Germans only presented that same theme in 1944, in a period that precedes the end of the war. Nonetheless, the people's reaction to the calamity is identical.

The Mascots

This theme is similarly presented by the two parties, and it's about the displaying the importance of their war mascots. The dedication given to them is visible, as the mascots were the pride of their clutch.

Here resides the idea that the war is more than destruction and that it's also made of episodes of good disposition. (Figures 16/17)

Solidarity to the enemy

Through this title is possible to notice that the conveyed idea is one of unwanted war. Once again, there's the surging of the impression that not everything is destruction.

As for English propaganda, it's shown how England treats her prisoners. A German pilot is wounded and is carefully aided by a soldier and a policewoman, both English (Figure 18).

The Axis' forces demonstrate solidarity to the English pilot rescued from the sea. The soldier's life was in danger and his enemies helped him by giving the Englishman water so he could recover his strength (Figure 19).

Freedom

This theme shows the many ideas of freedom displayed by each belligerent. This title lets out the impression of goodwill and solidarity towards the conquered people, brushing aside the idea of oppression. Its common goal is to clear the idea that war is only comprised of violence and destruction.

Germany's propaganda has the intention of showing the terror lived by the people when the citizens were dominated by their bolshevism enemy, namely hunger. In Lithuanian territory, a German soldier shows an act of kindness by offering food to the young (Figure 20).

In the photograph that illustrates the good intentions of the Allied propaganda, it's clear that the main subject is of celebration and liberation (Figure 21). To this French woman, who's embracing one of the English soldiers who's entered the city, the Allies' victory is the very best of news.

When it comes to presenting the human side of the war, the similarity between both blocks is obvious. Both present dedication to an idea of freedom, to protecting the weak against the enemy and to fight against the opposing forces no matter what.

Both highlight the dedication to their mascots and how they provide the troops with carefree moments before the violence of the war. They reveal the best of intentions by arriving a territory previously held by the enemy, giving away an indication of freedom, as well as dedication and help towards the endangered, wounded enemy.

Conclusion

When the possibility of interpreting photographs of the war in a compared perspective appeared, it was assumed that both themes and objectives would be different. Nevertheless, throughout the research and analysis of the photographs by themes, the conclusion was the opposite of that.

In fact, the two big blocks found in the conflict, centered in Germany and England, cover two main themes: they stress out military prowess and strength, but also, the other side of the war, its more human aspect, attempting to prove that war is not just destruction. When it comes to military prowess, both belligerents tried to highlight their supremacy and show the people that both victory and the enemy's destruction were inevitable. This leads to their pictures displaying superiority when faced with the enemy, who will be easily defeated, in a pacific way without any excessive resort to violence and armed conflict. The dignity of their troops when compared to the enemy's is emphasized, as well as the idea of union between the supporting

countries of each cause, as well as the exhibition of their powerful weapons and conquering war trophies that used to belong to the enemy.

Both blocks in the conflict also state that should the enemy be victorious, Europe will be condemned to oppression, thus giving the impression of false liberation as well as the opinion that a free Europe will only be possible if their forces win the war. It's therefore highlighted that the coming of each party and conquering of the enemy territories is a sign of freedom and the end of the threat and oppression generated by the war. The goal of intimidating the other side with their powerful weapons and war trophies is also present.

The human side of the war also has many similarities when it comes to the opinions it seeks to entice. Acts of solidarity towards the enemy are displayed with the objective of showing that not everything is violence and destruction. The people's courage when faced with adversity and the defending of the weak factor into the idea that the war was unwanted, only existing because the enemy forced and encouraged it. In the same way, the troops' dedication to the war mascots during the conflict is also highlighted, as well as the mascots' importance when it comes to bringing about episodes of great disposition.

For each conquered territory, the idea of celebration and freedom is transmitted. But even with all the joyous celebrations, the mourning for the defeated enemy is also present. Within the conquering of the territories, in order to brush away the idea of oppression, the demonstration of good intentions and solidarity for the subjugated people is also emphasized, as well as denunciation of the terror in which the conquered people lived when dominated by the enemy.

That being said, both belligerents present identical themes with similar goals. There is, however, a small difference when it comes to the time period they were published in, as well as how they differentiated each other through the ideas they attempted to pass onto the people, ideas in favor of the political ideals each belligerent defended.

It can therefore be concluded that each of the belligerents underlines their objectives, which are complete opposites. Still, both are similar when it comes to how they're approached.

Attachments



image 1. MG_1940.11.30_016



Image 2. ESFERA_1940.09.20_004



Image 3. ESFERA_1941.09.20_011



Image 4. MG_1941.02.28_016_017



Image 5. ESFERA_1942.02.05_032



Image 6. ESFERA_1941.07.20_015



Image 7. ESFERA_1941.10.20_022



Image 8. MG_1942.01.30_019



Image 9. MG_1944.05.30_007



Image 10. MG_1944.12.15_012_013



Image 11. ESFERA_1944.07.20_018



Image 12. MG_1944.07.15_007



Image 13. ESFERA_1945.03.05_009



Numa cidade inglêsa. As bombas caem, mas esta mulher defende com o seu corpo uma criancinha

Image 14. MG_1940.12.30_016



Image 15. ESFERA_1944.01.20_017



Image 16. MG_1941.01.30_023



Image 17. ESFERA_1942.07.05_021



Image 18. MG_1940.10.30_008



image 19. ESFERA_1942.03.20_008



Image 20. ESFERA_1941.08.05_026



Image 21. MG_1943.05.15_022

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Spies, Media e Diplomacy: The new challenges for the intelligence agencies

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Since World War I until today, press, radio, television and cinema ended up somehow to serve as propaganda platforms. The massified information and not having an individualized subject of enunciation gains a reach unknown until then. And in this mix propaganda has proved to be, in the following century, as an efficient weapon and many times crueller as those which are handled by soldiers on battlefields.

Technology made this weapon democratic. It positioned it literally at the world's fingertips. This weapon, which can be used by anyone and anywhere allows with a least of knowledge to disseminate any content in every stage and format. For everyone to see.

Over the years there were many changes on the paradigm of worldwide information services, but none as big as today's, silence is the most important.

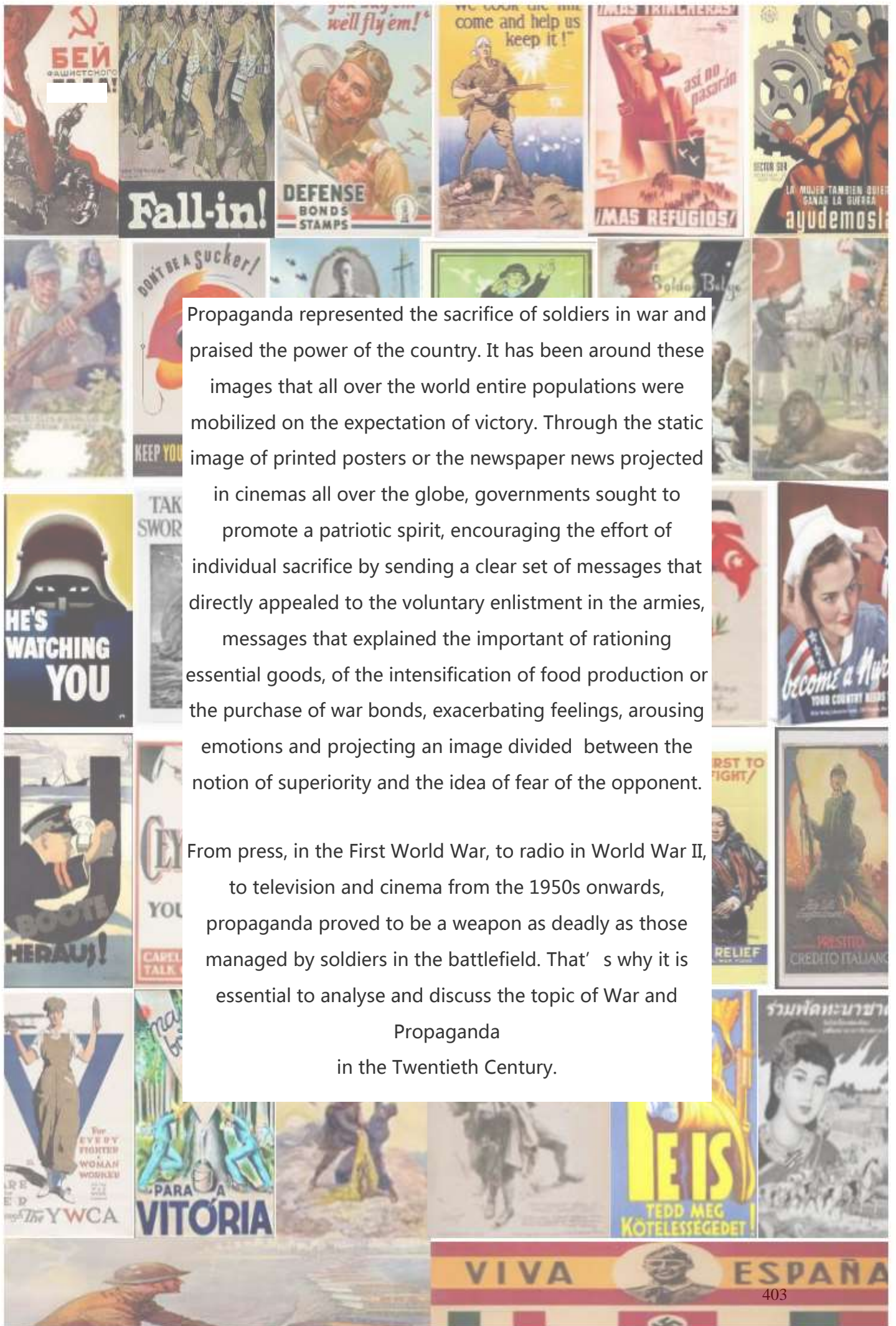
As opposed to most professional activities that very often are appreciated for having echo on public opinion, when it comes to Espionage and Secret Agencies it should be making the opposite, making silence. Whenever the media refers to spies and secret agents we can be sure of one thing: something went wrong. Spies will always report to the boss, never to the newspapers, which also applies to journalist spies. It is nonsense. When ink has actually been spent, it is because someone's life is in danger or great amounts of money are involved.

We went through the essential history of the major Secret Agencies since the beginning of its creation until the end of the XX century so that we can meditate about what might happen in the future. Nowadays, with information technologies development and democratization, the activities that we all connote to classic espionage and with the romantic spies that American cinema helped to popularize, using disguises, micro cameras, have changed forever. Spies are now much more about technologies and less athletic. They know computer programming, calculus and are sociologists; probably they do not even go to the gym.

The more efficient current spies are not dangerous CIA operatives, MI6 or Mossad, nor professional killers, nor elite agents, nor soldiers; they are those who through internet know how to find the paths to dominate the world.

Hackers, men and women who can enter and change supposedly safe computer systems, are now at the recruitment front row for the present secret agencies. Places such as West Point, Sandhurst or Resende the preferred nurseries to find a candidate for secret agent do not exist anymore. The new spies start their activity during the tenderest teenage, going through at their place, in their room, the most obscure paths of the virtual world. They do it hiding from their parents and society, not following any code of honor or moral parameter. Their only goal is being able to discover what is hidden on internet; and the great danger for society is that everything, from each individual, is on the *world wide web*.

In the espionage world relations are guided by one single goal: interest, aim for information. And, it is a practice that comes from long ago. Sun Tzu, the wise Chinese general who lived five centuries before Christ, used to say that what enables the intelligent sovereign to conquer its enemy is the power of prediction, and that this knowledge can only be acquired by men who are well aware of its enemy steps.



Propaganda represented the sacrifice of soldiers in war and praised the power of the country. It has been around these images that all over the world entire populations were mobilized on the expectation of victory. Through the static image of printed posters or the newspaper news projected in cinemas all over the globe, governments sought to promote a patriotic spirit, encouraging the effort of individual sacrifice by sending a clear set of messages that directly appealed to the voluntary enlistment in the armies, messages that explained the important of rationing essential goods, of the intensification of food production or the purchase of war bonds, exacerbating feelings, arousing emotions and projecting an image divided between the notion of superiority and the idea of fear of the opponent.

From press, in the First World War, to radio in World War II, to television and cinema from the 1950s onwards, propaganda proved to be a weapon as deadly as those managed by soldiers in the battlefield. That's why it is essential to analyse and discuss the topic of War and

Propaganda in the Twentieth Century.