

PORTUGUESE AFRICA THROUGH DANISH EYES AND EARS

Danmarks Radio's (DR) Portrayal of the Portuguese Colonial State,
1961-1974.

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ABSTRACT: This article examines Danmarks Radio's portrayal of the Portuguese colonial state, specifically during the Portuguese colonial war. From the collected archive material, it has been possible to identify three main phases of the reporting. The first phase, from 1961, was uncritical of the conflicts that were erupting in Portuguese African colonies. From the mid-1960's a second phase started to emerge, where analysis and criticism in the reports appeared. By 1970, the coverage of the different wars evolved into a third phase, which was committed anti-colonial.

KEYWORDS: colonial war, Danmarks Radio, Portugal, radio, television



Introduction

Compared to the length and extent of other Cold War conflicts and wars, the Portuguese colonial war has often been overlooked until recent decades. This article's purpose is to add another perspective, a Danish perspective, to this 13-year long conflict. Danmarks Radio (DR) was from the start involved in reporting and portraying the war to its Danish and European viewers and listeners. This article examines how DR portrayed, and how this portrayal changed, throughout the Portuguese colonial state and its war in its African colonies from 1961 to 1974.

Media and colonialism

The portrayal of colonialism in the 20th century by the media was spearheaded by the BBC, which was the biggest and most technologically advanced in this industry. In the interwar period colonial newsreels and films showed the 'natives' as recipients of "colonial peace and European technology and economic initiative." (Austin 2011: 225–26). This was part of a bigger media and popular culture propaganda in the European colonial empires' metropolises (Jansen and Osterhammel 2019: 55; Castelo 2017: 223). In the post-war period up to the 1960's, the development and modernisation projects in Africa were portrayed as joint team effort between the metropole, dominions, and colonies (Austin 2011: 227).

Meanwhile in Denmark, the post-war period up to the 1960's was a time when, radio and television had a growing impact in the mental construction of Denmark as a nation-state, but also in the introduction to the world outside of its borders, informing about and showing images from foreign countries. By 1960 half of all Danish households had a television, which meant that television broadcast in this period increased from 6 hours per week to 40 hours. This meant that not only the national reality, but also the international reality was able to be visualised to an unprecedented level (Bondebjerg 2006: 130–33). Radio and television were used to create a shared and unified Danish perception of the outside world.

DR's news programme *TV-Avisen* did not exist before October 1965. In its stead there were various newsreels programmes during the week, the longest running being *Aktuelt* (1951-1964). These programmes included short stories on both domestic and foreign topics. They were not presented and tied together by a presenter but consisted of filmed segments with voice-over. The stories about foreign topics were mainly about political and social conditions but were characterised by the lack of any analysis or discussion (Hjarvard 2006: 105–8). A constant challenge for news production was the technology of film. The speed with which images could be obtained for a current story was quite slow. DR relied heavily on international news agencies and the Eurovision News Exchange cooperation between the national public service television stations in Europe. After 1965, DR's foreign news editorial team could on a daily basis familiarise themselves with image options for international various events. The more independent and extensive reporting on foreign events, however, took place in the foreign affairs magazine *Horisont*, which still exists to this day. Through this programme, the viewers received Danish edited reports from foreign, mainly Anglo-American, news agencies, as well as reports and analyses by their own journalists and correspondents (Hjarvard 2006: 112–13). In general, this period between 1960 and 1975 was characterised by a very traditional enlightenment philosophy of documentary and facts, with very little room for a critical journalistic analysis (Bondebjerg 2006: 181–82).

Primary Sources

All primary sources used in this essay are radio and television programmes produced and broadcasted by DR between 1961 and 1974. I have seen and listened to ca. 140 radio and television programmes of all types and lengths, most being short agency images and other being full 40-minute programmes of various types, *Horisont* being the most common. Most of the short agency images were used for the television news and unfortunately do not have sound, as they were used as background images while the news anchor spoke, therefore their use is restricted. A big part of the radio archive is currently being digitised as well and parts of the television archive has not been digitised, therefore the materials gathered do not offer a full image of DR's coverage of the Portuguese 20th century colonial history in Africa. What it does, is give an idea of how this coverage changed along the years.

In short, the material used is based on a selection of complete digitised programmes of various types and lengths.

The First and the Last: Portugal in Africa (1945-1961)

Domestic and International Context

Portugal had since 1933 been an authoritarian dictatorship called *Estado Novo* (New State), which was led by prime minister António de Oliveira Salazar. Nationalism, corporatism, and traditional values were the core of this regime. The colonial empire was an integral part of the regime's nationalism – the Portuguese state and empire were for all purposes synonymous, except constitutionally. Any questioning of Portugal's colonial empire was quickly and severely contested both domestically and internationally, causing Portugal to become more internationally isolated along the years after the Second World War (Garcia et al. 2017: 12–14).

Abroad, the end of the Second World War sparked a wave of worldwide decolonisation process in the following three decades. At that time, most colonial experts thought that European rule in Africa would last. This would prove to be very miscalculated. Most of the European colonies in Africa became new independent nation-states between 1957 and 1965, if they weren't already independent (Jansen and Osterhammel 2019: 4, 63, 71).

Influencing this process was the overarching Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. Their struggle for influence and power did not exempt the European colonies. Although the Soviet Union did not have policy of world revolution, most communist or anticolonial movements around the world did receive to a greater or lesser extent support from the Soviet Union and other communist countries (Jansen and Osterhammel 2019: 139–44). To counter this, the United States used European colonialism to contain the spread of communism. In this way colonial conflicts became proxy conflicts between American and Soviet backed movements (Jansen and Osterhammel 2019: 148–50).

The Isolation in the United Nations

International opinion became a big factor in the post Second World War world. It had a great impact on the colonial powers during this period. In 1951 the Portuguese government acted on the international anticolonial criticism and anticipated a possible entry into the UN, after being vetoed by the Soviet Union in 1946. The constitutional change of 1951 integrated the Colonial Act of 1930, which was the colonial constitution, into the Portuguese constitution. Thereby there were no longer two different constitutions, one for the metropole and another for the empire, and therefore the Portuguese colonial empire ceased to exist, at least constitutionally. The former colonies became overseas provinces (Monteiro 2023: 53–54).

From 1956 to 1960 the international support for Portugal dwindled. The decolonisation in Africa and Asia led to many former European colonies becoming members of the UN, thereby forming a majority against colonial states. The Brazilian and American support would disappear in late 1960 after presidential elections in each country respectively elected Jânio Quadros and John F. Kennedy, which further isolated Portugal in the UN (Cervelló 2020c: 54–55).

Another criticism the Portuguese government received was about the Portuguese forced labour laws called the *indigenato*, Native Labour Code and Colonial Act of 1930. These laws essentially made a distinction between a normal Portuguese citizen and ‘native’. More than 95% of the African colonies’ population were labelled as ‘natives’ and subordinate to these laws. All had to have a ‘native’ identity card, where contracts, labour obligations and movements were written down. Portuguese officials could then sanction the individual if any of these were violated and send them to a penal work or prison. These laws were first abolished in 1962 (Monteiro 2023: 1–5).

On the 14th December 1960 an important step was made. The General Assembly of the United Nations passed Resolution 1514 “Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples”. 89 countries voted in favour of the resolution, including Denmark, while Portugal abstained along with eight other countries (United Nations General Assembly 1960a). The next day, the resolution of “Transmission of information under Article 73e of the Charter” was passed, which was a direct resolution by the UN towards Portugal, for the Portuguese government

give all of its colonial territories in Africa and Asia self-determination. (United Nations General Assembly 1960b). This meant granting independence, which was of course impossible for the Portuguese government as it saw its colonial possessions as core Portuguese provinces, which were overseas provinces. (Cervelló 2020b: 58–60).

Portuguese Colonial War (1961-1974)

Before going on, a clarification is needed as to the Portuguese Colonial War. The name itself is a Eurocentric umbrella term for three different colonial/independence wars in the Portuguese African colonies: Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. Each war had its own historical context, nuances and were fought with different methods. For the sake of simplicity, the term of the Portuguese Colonial War will be used about the three wars, as this was the perspective of DR as well. With the quick and simplified resumés of the wars, many nuances will be omitted. A common thread running through all three wars was the horrific violence and destruction, the high number of civilian casualties, the huge number of refugees, and the deep scars it left in all societies. The fighting and struggle through the years were constant, even though they might not be mentioned.

On the 15th March, the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA) launched a large bloody attack throughout the northern provinces of Angola. Plantations, farms, factories, government buildings, houses and infrastructure were destroyed (Afonso and Gomes 2020: 82–85). Only on the 13th April did Salazar act, after a failed coup by the Minister of Defence general Botelho Moniz to overthrow Salazar and change the Portuguese colonial policy. On the 1st May a large Portuguese military contingent arrived in Luanda and from there launched a military campaign in the northern provinces which destroyed many villages and killed many civilians, and reports said that napalm was used in these bombings. By August 1961, the Portuguese military had regained control over the region (Afonso and Gomes 2020: 82–95; James 2018: 266; Alves 2017: 14). The UPA and People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) kept on fighting a guerilla war, but no large attacks were made. Eventually the two groups began fighting each other. By 1964 the UPA, now known as the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), suffered an internal divide which went to form the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in 1966 in eastern Angola. By

this time the MPLA was the biggest of the three independence movements and was trying to gain territory from central Angola into the FNLA's northern Angola and UNITA's eastern Angola. The Portuguese military was in control of the situation of Angola until 1974 (Afonso and Gomes 2020: 104–5).

The war in Guinea-Bissau, the bloodiest and most intense of the three theatres of war, started in January 1963, when the communist African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) militants attacked a Portuguese military garrison in Tite with Soviet supplied weapons. This attack escalated quickly to military conflict between the Portuguese military and the PAIGC. The PAIGC had the support of the neighbouring Guinea and Senegal, where they had various bases, therefore the war was conducted mostly on the southwestern part of Guinea-Bissau. By 1965, new fronts were drawn up in the eastern Guinean border and the northern from Senegal and the international support for the PAIGC grew to that point that Cuba sent military doctors, instructors, and technicians. In contrast to the war in Angola, the Portuguese fought a defensive war in Guinea-Bissau, focusing on maintaining footholds in the cities and other strategic places. This gave the PAIGC quite a lot of freedom of movement, which they used to its fullest to recruit and establish a governmental administration their territory (Afonso and Gomes 2020: 20, 133–34; Mendy and Lobban 2013: 404; Gleijeses 1997: 49). By 1973 the Soviet Union started supplying surface-to-air missiles, which challenged the until then unchallenged Portuguese air superiority. This factor changed the war completely, forcing the Portuguese military to rethink operations and medical evacuations. On the 24th September 1973, the PAIGC declared independence from Portugal. The Portuguese remained on the defensive until 1974 (Afonso and Gomes 2020: 135–37, 540–41).

In Mozambique, the war started on the 25th September 1964, when the communist Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) launched an attack in the northern province of Cabo Delgado. From the experiences in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, the Portuguese military positioned forces in strategic locations throughout Mozambique. By December FRELIMO had, like the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, acquired Soviet-made weapons. With this newly gained support, they spread their area of operations throughout the northern provinces and in the western province of Tete (Cervelló 2020a: 146–48; Afonso and Gomes 2020: 153–55). Along the years, FRELIMO's equipment

became stronger and more advanced. In Tete, the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam on the Zambezi River started in 1969. The dam was primarily being built to export of hydroelectric energy to South Africa and was seen by the FRELIMO as a criminal enterprise. By 1970, FRELIMO's highest priority became the impediment of the construction of the dam and advance southwards, while the Portuguese objective was stopping this advance and not letting the FRELIMO cross the Zambezi River. By January 1974, FRELIMO was able to cross the Zambezi and approach on the city of Beira (Afonso and Gomes 2020: 155–60; Darch 2019: 73–74).

The isolated Portuguese government was postponing the inevitable. The wars were unwinnable wars, the geopolitical factors of the Cold War, the UN, public opinion, and the international media, were all factors, which Portugal in the end could not contest. After 13 years of war, a military coup toppled the regime on the 25th of April 1974. The revolution brought a new democratic direction. One of the coup's main objectives was the end of the colonial war and the decolonization of the Portuguese colonies. By November 1975 the Portuguese Empire was no more (Garcia et al. 2017: 15–17).

Portraying Portuguese Africa (1961-1964)

A Conflict in Portuguese Angola

The first report on DR about the UPA attack in northern Angola came on the 14th February 1961. A newsreel from an American news agency showing a funeral of European victims (“Begravelse af de 4 døde fra opstanden” 1961). This was followed by a radio news programme which mentioned the Liberian proposal that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) should consider the situation in the Portuguese colony of Angola under article 34 of the Charter. Liberia's representative stated that basic human rights were being violated in Angola and the UNSC had to take action to achieve freedom for the people of Angola (Riisager 1961: 17:34-18:56).

From March to November 1961 there were around 20 short relevant materials about the events in Angola, all of them only showing images of Portuguese refugees, evacuations, casualties, interviews with politicians and army drills and patrols in northern Angola. Among all these dramatic images

and reports was an agricultural magazine informing about Danish cattle which would be sent to a newly built Danish farm in Angola called Cela, at no point was the unfolding events in Angola mentioned in the magazine (Jørgensen 1961: 21:18-27:18).

Three radio broadcasts stand out during this period. The first being the forementioned Liberian proposal at the UN. The second is a transmission from 8th May, where the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs Franco Nogueira's warns about the Soviet imperialism's infiltration in Asia, Africa, and South America. According to Nogueira, such Soviet infiltration undermined NATO by undermining the position of NATO members. There was an indirectly hint at the Soviet supported movements in Angola. Before the transmission of the speech, journalist Sven Ludvigsen made a resumé of the speech in Danish but did not analyse or comment it (Ludvigsen 1961). The third transmission was Danish Foreign Minister Jens Otto Krag's speech at the UN transmitted on the 28th September of the same year. After discussing the situation between South Africa and South West Africa, Krag showed great concern about the situation in Angola and appealed, without mentioning any names, towards the upholding of the UN charters. This was the first time, from the materials gathered, that DR transmitted a Danish government official's position on the Angolan conflict (Rastén 1961: 03:56-04:24). At this time the conflict was mostly under control and was only located in Angola, so it is safe to say, that the conflict in Angola was not a high priority after June 1961.

Danmarks Radio in Angola

The first large programme made by DR was *Angola 61*. It was a black and white television reportage divided into four approx. 25 minutes programmes. They visited different places in Angola and the Republic of Congo. There is unfortunately no information about when they were in Angola, but it can be estimated that they were in the autumn of 1961. *Angola 61* covers a broad variety of topics. It is difficult to give them all a fair share of attention, but some are repeated more than others. These are the Portuguese narrative of racial harmony in the colonies, the Portuguese modernisation and development plans and the indigenous labour force.

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Throughout the four programmes the DR team, and specifically the journalist Claus Toksvig reported about a racial harmony in Portuguese Angola. According to Toksvig and all the people he interviewed there was no racial divide. Toksvig stated that it:

“... was an irrefutable fact, that the Portuguese did not have the same perception of the relationship between black and white, it was only a man's skills and knowledge that determined how high he could reach in society.” (Carlsen, Toksvig, and Walter 1961: 06:18-08:22).

While ending the whole series, Toksvig emphasized that the Portuguese were not race conscious (Toksvig, Carlsen, and Walter 1961b: 23:55-25:17). The Danes interviewed by Toksvig did have clear racist opinions, some more than others, which when spoken were not questioned or confronted by Toksvig in any way.

Angola 61, a post-war programme, kept true to the interwar period's colonial television. It showed how Danish individuals technologically and economically help Portugal in its modernisation effort in Angola, making the Danes in Angola part of the settler colonialism taking place in Angola. Through the four programmes the expedition spoke with various Danes helping in each their own way the modernisation and development of Angola. In the third programme in the series the DR team travelled to the new settlement of Cela, which had a handful of Danes helping with the development of a dairy industry. In the introduction to the segment, Toksvig described a Portuguese settler colonialist plan to develop and modernise that area:

“In a valley 400 kilometres from Luanda, an area of about 150,000 hectares of good land has been drained and drained, and the government has built 12-13 small villages of this type. These are small farms and in them they have placed farmers from Portugal, the Azores and elsewhere, all white, to cultivate the land and produce agricultural products.” (Toksvig, Carlsen, and Walter 1961a: 07:40-14:40)

The labour laws were never mentioned in the four programmes. The closest it got to, was in the first programme when a Danish director of a cement factory near Luanda was asked if there were opportunities for the skilful local workers, to which Jensen answered: “Yes, there is. A few years ago, there wasn't so much. Today, the door has opened for blacks to enter the labour force.” The forced

labour laws were not mentioned and Toksvig did not enquire into this, but the fact that Jensen admits that the labour force 'door' was restricted for the local population until recently, was a break in the Portuguese racial harmony narrative. (Carlsen, Toksvig, and Walter 1961: 15:38-20:28).

In the four programs, the DR team did not at any point interview a non-white person in Angola (excluding the merchant of mixed ethnicity who identified himself as white and was very pro-Portugal). The team did not mention this lack of the indigenous Angolan perspective, or that they might have been restricted by the Portuguese government or a third-party. Only when the DR team crossed the border into Congo in the fourth programme did they have a interview with Angolan refugees which was useless – the interview was conducted by a French-speaking Swiss Red Cross employee, who asked the questions to a politically biased Congolese soldier who then translated them to the refugees. A lot of information was lost in translation, if not just changed. The Red Cross employee did not know how to conduct an interview or was just uninterested.

Toksvig and the rest of the team reported on the war, but mostly at the end of segments or programmes as way to balance out the positive opinions about the racial harmony and modernisation plans (Carlsen, Toksvig, and Walter 1961: 20:28-23:22). Toksvig knew there were problems in Angola, but he stayed uncritical of the situation he was surrounded by. This can be attributed to the lack of analysis the programmes of this period had, or that Toksvig and the rest of the DR team did not see any sort racism, due to being shown what the Portuguese authorities wanted to show them, and thereby there was nothing to report.

By the start of January 1963, a news report, although a very short one, where Angolan FNLA volunteers were shown at a training camp in the Republic of Congo. Over the images, a journalist talked about the European and African perspective on decolonisation – “From a European perspective, it may appear that most former African colonial countries have gained independence. From an African perspective, a large part of the continent, over a quarter, is still ruled by a European minority.” (‘Partisaner fra Angola træner i lejr i Congo’ 1963: 19:12-20:11). This might be the first time, apart from Angola 61, where a DR journalist reflects over the situation from different perspectives.

As stated in the previous section, the reports of this period were informative and factual in nature, but there was no further analysis or critical journalism involved. The viewer was presented with mainly news agency images presented by a Danish journalist, and it was there DR's work ended. From there the viewers could take it for what it was or think further about the conflict by themselves and this was the intention in the journalism of that time. *Angola 61*'s portrayal of the colonial state simply confirmed the Portuguese narrative, with some comments about the uncertain future of colonialism, seemingly to balance the opinions.

The Colonial War (1965-1969)

Criticism on *Horisont*

The *Horisont* programme broadcast on 12th January 1965 marked a shift in the DR coverage of the conflict. The last third of the 27-minute programme was used to critically discuss the Portuguese state and its colonial war in Africa. This was the first time, from the materials gathered, that a DR journalist was this critical of the Portuguese state. The segment about Portugal was divided into two parts. First was a reportage with agency images and a voice-over. Images of Portuguese military ceremonies and anti-guerilla exercises ended with the journalist concluding: "This means that the warplanes, naval vessels, and machine guns that NATO countries have supplied to Portugal, in the name of democracy, are now being used to suppress African freedom movements." When talking about the Portuguese dictatorship another criticism of the colonial state:

"... Salazar regularly sends tens of thousands of unschooled farmers down to Lisbon. Here, huge crowds gather to honour Salazar and applaud a foreign and colonial policy whose inner logic few understand. Many Portuguese continue to support Salazar. Some do it out of sincere conviction, some do it because they make their living in the administration and some because they don't know any better." (Danstrup et al. 1965b: 18:46-22:24).

The second part was an interview with six politicians from six different parties. This was due to criticism from the Minister of Foreign Affairs Nogueira about the Danish relation to Greenland. This was the first time Danish parliament members discussed the Portuguese colonial war. They

were mostly in agreement that the relation that Denmark had with Greenland was not of a colonial nature, because of the democratic relation Denmark and Greenland had and that the UN and other international organisations had approved of Greenland being part of Denmark. Compared to this relation, they were all also in agreement that the relation that Portugal had with its colonies was of a colonial nature. Most did not want to comment on the Portuguese relation with its colonies, as they did not know enough about the subject (Danstrup et al. 1965a: 22:24-26:45).

A full 27-minute *Horisont* programme was later made in November 1967 about the Portuguese state, but mainly focusing on the metropolitan situation. A quick summary of the Portuguese colonial empire was made. Angola was presented: “From Angola there is a large export of iron ore and diamonds and one thing the Portuguese can proudly emphasise - there is no racial discrimination.” (Danstrup et al. 1967: 00:00-03:33). This was a very uncritical and naïve portrayal of the war-ridden colonies. To balance this view, the next segment focused briefly on the colonial war. The images shown only show the Portuguese perspective – wounded and refugees are shipped to the metropole, military patrols, and areal images of the destruction.

All the while not being consistent of how to label the independence movements, interchanging between revolutionary forces and rebellions: “The refugees from the areas affected by the African revolution. In Angola the rebellion started in 1961, in Portuguese Guinea in 63 and Mozambique in 64. So far, the fighting has left thousands dead and wounded.” (Danstrup et al. 1967: 03:33-04:59). Only images showing the Portuguese perspective are shown, giving a sense of sympathising with the Portuguese soldiers and refugees.

Mondlane’s Interview in Copenhagen

In late September or early October 1967, Eduardo Mondlane was interviewed while he was in Copenhagen. Mondlane was the president of the FRELIMO and would be assassinated in February 1969 by the Portuguese secret service (PIDE) in Dar es Salaam (Darch 2019, 269–71). In the three-minute interview aired by DR, Mondlane was able to express his view on the unfairness of the European settler minority’s rule and exploitation of the seven million African inhabitants in Mozambique. When talking about his and his family’s experiences of colonial rule, Mondlane’s

description of the in the harsh labour conditions for the African population in the Portuguese colonies:

“... all my brothers were away working for Europeans, either in South Africa in gold mines, or in the cities, in the ports of Mozambique. And they never quite were able to count come back unless they were sick to come and die.”

Dramatized or not, and not directly mentioning the Portuguese forced labour policies, this description was the first time, from the gathered material, that the Danish viewer was confronted with the harsh reality of labour under Portuguese colonial rule ('Glimt fra Mozambique hvor afrikanske frihedskæmpere har sat sig fast i en femtedel af landet' 1967: 01:19-04:03).

Portugal's NATO Membership

The *Horisont* programme's first report was about a subject that would be discussed throughout the rest of the 1960's and up through the 1970's – NATO. Portugal's usage of NATO supplied armament being used against the various African independence movements and suppressing the democratic opposition in the metropole, were causing debates in the member state countries, including in Denmark. In a *Horisont* programme aired in April 1969 the DR journalist is direct in his criticism of the Portuguese government. The journalist accused Portugal of going against NATO's purpose of defending democracy, and even stated that Portugal never had been a democracy, but "... is fighting democratic development both at home and in its colonies." Furthering this criticism, the journalist highlighted that: "The vast majority of Portugal's military capability is not used within the NATO framework but is used to fight the resistance movements in the African possessions." Ending the report, the journalist mentioned Eduardo Mondlane's assassination two months prior, who had repeatedly emphasised that the other NATO countries, because they were Portugal's allies, were helping to fight the African freedom movements (Danstrup et al. 1969: 16:38-18:04). In this *Horisont* report, the journalist portrayed Portugal as an undemocratic colonial state, which was suppressing democratic movements in its metropole and waging a war with NATO supplied weapons against resistance movements in its colonies, which stained the NATO alliance as a pro-colonial organisation. Quite a portrayal in a report with a duration of under two minutes.

In the radio, this debate continued. DR transmitted the Social Democrats' congress in June 1969. Even though it was not DR directly criticising the Portuguese state, it was still transmitted and given quite a lot of transmission time. The former prime minister Jens Otto Krag, who would be elected again in 1971, mentioned the Greek and Portuguese dictatorships as mismatches in the NATO alliance. Again, the Portuguese colonial war was brought up as a contrast to NATO's democratic values. Krag ended stating that Denmark had to demand a halt to all arms aid to the current governments of Greece and Portugal (Koplev and Mathisen 1969a). Two days later, Mogens Lykketoft representing the Social Democrats' youth wing, proposed that "the fascist regimes in Greece and Portugal are excluded from co-operation as long as the current governments are in power." (Koplev and Mathisen 1969b). This was the first time, from the gathered material, that Portugal had been called a fascist regime in DR's transmissions.

From 1965, a new approach to the Portuguese state started to emerge. DR journalists became more active in the analysis of the Portuguese government in the metropole and in the colonies. Danish political debates related to NATO lead the way to Portuguese colonial affairs being brought up in the Danish parliament and political congresses and consequently ending being broadcast by DR in way or another.

The Turning Point (1970-1974)

On the 18th July 1973, *Horisont* brought yet again a programme about Portugal, but this time focusing solely on the Portuguese colonial war. It started with informing about the Wiriyamu Massacre committed by Portuguese forces near the Cahora Bassa dam's construction site. The rest of the programme was about the independence movements' perspective in the colonial war. In this programme three different films were shown, each about different colonies' independence movements. In the presentation of the first, an American film about FRELIMO, Dalhoff-Nielsen, did not hide the fact of being biased and admitting that it was in fact indictment of Portugal (Danstrup et al. 1973: 05:57-06:09). The film about PAIGC shows an interview with the leader Amilcar Cabral and follow a PAIGC groups' preparation and execution of an attack on a Portuguese outpost. When the PAIGC soldiers were getting in position for the attack, Dalhoff-Nielsen

reminded the viewer that the Nordic countries support the schools and hospitals of the partisan movements, and this support was politically controversial in Denmark, due to both countries being NATO members (Danstrup et al. 1973, 28:58-29:09). In the last part about Angola, the MPLA's leader, Agostinho Neto was interviewed, and UNITA was shown on Danish television for the first time, with an interview with its leader Jonas Savimbi. This programme clearly showed how aligned DR was with the independence movements in the Portuguese African colonies.

In this period DR kept its anti-colonial stance by broadcasting foreign pro-independence movement reportages on its programmes. This was especially the case in the *Horisont* programmes. From the 1973, DR's covering of the colonial war expanded. Not only more programmes were being made about the unfolding events, but television teams were also being sent to Portugal and Guinea-Bissau, which led to the *Horisont* programme of the 9th of January 1974, the most nuanced programme since the mid-1960's. A television team with *Horisont* journalist Peter Dalhoff-Nielsen, photographer Ole Lytken, sound technician Ove G. Sørensen and translator Peter Harpsøe. The team, travelled to Guinea-Bissau to report from first-hand experience. Starting with an introduction of the Portuguese in Guinea-Bissau and the capital city of Bissau, while a military marching band of 46 indigenous soldiers leads the change of the guard of the governor's palace in the background. By this time the PAIGC had already declared independence (Dalhoff-Nielsen, Lytken, and Sørensen 1974). Dalhoff-Nielsen brings up the much-debated topic of the racial divide in the Portuguese colonial society. He affirms that officially both African and Europeans have the same rights, he maintains the DR status quo that the team while in Guinea-Bissau did not see a single sign of racial discrimination, and if there was one it would be a social divide rather than a racial one (Dalhoff-Nielsen, Lytken, and Sørensen 1974: 09:08-10:28). When visiting the village of Empada, the DR team interviewed three indigenous militiamen, who told the DR team, that they had joined the Portuguese militia, because the PAIGC had indiscriminately killed villagers of Empada (Dalhoff-Nielsen, Lytken, and Sørensen 1974: 26:23-30:28). After all the pro-PAIGC programmes, this was the first-time atrocities committed by the PAIGC were told on a DR programme.

Conclusion

DR's portrayal of the Portuguese colonial state had three phases. The first phase, starting from the essay's start date – 1961, DR had an uncritical stance towards the looming conflicts that would erupt in the Portuguese African colonies. *Angola 61* was an ambitious programme but ended with very mixed results and leaving a narrative which leaned quite heavily on the Portuguese regime's narrative and with a lack of nuance. DR was just not interested in the Angolan conflict until 1963, when a new war started in Guinea-Bissau. Meanwhile, the world situation was evolving as well. The decolonisation of Africa was by the mid-1960's almost complete. With the Portuguese use of NATO supplied weapons in its wars, the colonial war began to be debated in Danish politics in relation to NATO, and subsequently became a more covered topic on the radio and television. With that development, a new second phase started to emerge. DR's journalists became more analytic and critical about the colonial war, colonialism, and the Portuguese state. By around 1970, DR's coverage evolved to a third phase where it was fully committed anti-colonial broadcaster. DR supported the various African independence movements by focusing on giving the independence movements' perspectives more airtime, than the Portuguese perspective, interviewing movement leaders, travelling to the different colonies, and using foreign materials to further its point of view. For this purpose, the program *Horisont* was, since 1965, a key instrument in this portrayal of the Portuguese colonial state. One thing that did not change throughout the whole period, was the narrative of racial harmony in the Portuguese colonial state. Various DR journalist's, throughout the period, held the opinion that the divide was not racial, but social.



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