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**'OBJECTIVITY VERSUS 'TOXIC PROPAGANDA': THE CASE OF TRANSBORDER
BROADCASTS TO PORTUGAL DURING WORLD WAR II'**

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Abstract

This article describes the role of foreign radio propaganda in Portugal in the years that preceded and the years during World War II. It demonstrates how the BBC became the most effective weapon to counterattack the German propaganda in the country and comments on the strategies used by the British in order to reach the Portuguese public. Among those strategies the most important was the promotion of the objectivity of the broadcasts from London, as opposed to the German transmissions that were known for airing mainly 'toxic propaganda'. Evidence is also presented according to which news bulletins and talks broadcast by the BBC were perceived by the receivers as independent from political interference while the Axis transmissions were mostly considered as airing 'toxic information', demonstrating how during the war British white propaganda became very effective in regards to its impact on the Portuguese public.

KEYWORDS: BBC; broadcasting; objectivity; propaganda; RRG; World War II.

Introduction

The opposition between the concepts of 'propaganda' and 'objectivity', which remains central to journalism to the present day, first appeared after World War I. Following the propagandistic activity that had taken place during the war, propaganda acquired a pejorative connotation that was later reinforced during World War II, leading the concept to remain associated, to the present day, with untruthfulness and the spreading of lies, which has been defined as 'black propaganda' (Jowett and O'Donnell 2012: 18).

During both world wars the Allies made a significant contribution to the emergence of a negative connotation related to the concept of propaganda. Not only did they define the attempts to mould the opinion of the masses by the enemy as propaganda, but they also 'treated it as largely composed of lies, while their own information dissemination was treated as the truth' (Marlin 2002: 16). For this reason, democratic regimes avoided using the word propaganda to refer to their own activities, with the exception of Brendan Bracken, the Minister of Information for Britain during World War II. He considered he was performing 'good propaganda' in order to attack the 'bad propaganda' being provided by the Germans. This explains the reason why Brendan Bracken is one of the few to define propaganda as having a positive potential. In his own definition he recalls the birth of the term back in 1622 when Pope Gregory XV created the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* in order to defend and expand the Catholic faith. Notwithstanding what Bracken considered to be the respectable birth of propaganda, he also acknowledged that the term had a pejorative connotation:

Propaganda [...] is a perfectly respectable name, attached to one of the most profoundly religious institutions in the world. It is really too respectable a veneer to put upon a thing like the Ministry of Information. I do not mind the use of the word 'propaganda'. In fact I welcome it. There is

nothing wrong with the name except that it connotes to certain minds something that they do not really understand.

(Bracken *apud* Marlin 2002: 21)

Propaganda was then perceived by the Allies as a kind of 'toxic information' disseminated by the enemies through the media. Something that in theory democratic regimes refused to do and that had led the British to dismantle their Ministry of Information after World War I. In fact, 'planning the [propaganda] machinery during the pre-war years was made extremely difficult by powerful officials who regarded propaganda as unnecessary and even dangerous in peace time' (Cole 1990: 2) due to the negative connotation of the concept that was then considered as something 'toxic': "Propaganda" was now a dirty word; it was regarded as "un-English", something foreigners did and democracies only resorted to in wartime' (Taylor 1999: 91).

During this period another concept – 'objectivity' – had already been introduced into the journalism discourse and was used to legitimize its procedures and routines. The roots of the concept can be traced back to the nineteenth century in both the United States and Northern Europe where it developed hand in hand with the emergence of a journalistic professional community and the creation of a newspaper market. The ideal of objectivity became central to journalism's 'claims of professionalism, autonomy and authority' (Schultz 1998: 130) and, according to Schudson it 'means that a person's statements about the world can be trusted if they are submitted to established rules deemed legitimate by a professional community' (1978: 7). In fact, it was the emergence of the journalistic community that made possible the advent of the ideal of 'objectivity' that challenged the partisan journalism that existed until then and that openly represented political and economic interests. Nevertheless, as will be discussed below, this new concept that became central to BBC broadcasting during World War II, did not necessarily mean that reporting had become closer to 'reality'. As John Hartley puts it, 'media

objectivity is not about “reality” or “truth”, so much as it is about trust between addresser and addressee’ (Hartley 2002: 167).

In the following section the transmissions to Portugal will be used as an example to demonstrate how the opposition between ‘propaganda’ and ‘objectivity’ was used by the BBC to increase its audience and to promote its image as a credible source that listeners could trust as opposed to the German broadcasts that were said to mainly air ‘toxic information’.

German Propaganda and British Response

Due to the negative connotation of propaganda, that had led the British to dismantle their Ministry of Information after 1918, in the period that preceded the outbreak of World War II the Germans were way ahead of the British in terms of their propaganda, which was also visible in Portugal. Besides regular contacts with official bodies of the Portuguese government, the German Legation in Lisbon produced literature for several targets. The aim was to promote the Third Reich and its ideology and to increase the Portuguese knowledge on German culture, political and economic organization.

In which concerned radio broadcasting, Germany had started its broadcasts in Portuguese language in 1936 during the Olympic Games that took place in Berlin in 1936. Following the end of the Games, the transmission of news bulletins in Portuguese was resumed in 1937 (Balfour 1979: 37) and, besides reaching mainland Portugal, it could also be tuned into in the African colonies.

By the beginning of 1939, the schedules for shortwave broadcasts published in the specialized press mention a daily German news bulletin aired during the evening which was of great concern for the British Ambassador in Lisbon, Sir Walford

Selby. On several occasions he expressed his disappointment that the British had not yet started their own broadcasts to Portugal that could compete with the Germans'. Moreover, the Axis powers' shortwave broadcasts were not limited to those produced by the Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft (RRG). The Italians had been broadcasting a news bulletin in Portuguese since January 1938. Radio Roma, which was devised for broadcast to Latin America, had a nightly programming schedule that included a news bulletin in Portuguese that could be tuned into in Portugal. Nevertheless, the number of listeners was low and would remain so throughout the war. The same was true for the two broadcasts in Portuguese made by the Vichy government during the period of Nazi occupation.

The German's lead in the field of shortwave broadcasting was a clear reality in the years that preceded the war and it was in accordance to Goebbels's vision that foresaw radio as the 'spiritual weapon of the authoritarian state' (Zeman 1964: 48). Used both internally and for foreign propaganda, the new medium revealed a high potential for reaching the masses and disseminating the national socialist ideology. In fact, it was in order to counterattack the potential of the Axis propaganda, perceived as 'toxic information', that the BBC also initiated its broadcasts in foreign languages, starting with the Arabic Service in January 1938.

This Service was created as a response to Radio Bari (Winston 2005: 286), a station operated by the Italians that, besides promoting the fascist ideology, frequently reported events that had not taken place. The BBC, on the other hand, promoted itself by opposing such policies as the airing of false news and in its first Arabic newscast it reported the execution of a Palestinian Arab on the orders of a British military court, after the man was found guilty of carrying a revolver (Briggs 1985: 142–43).

The need to counter the anti-British propaganda that was being disseminated in Latin America by the Germans led the BBC to also start broadcasting in Spanish and Portuguese in March 1938. Nevertheless, despite the existence of three hours

of daily programmes to Latin America, only the news was broadcast in the two languages mentioned above, while most of the talks were transmitted in English (Whitton and Herz 1942: 34). Later on, during the Munich crises, Chamberlain's speech was broadcast on 27 September 1938 in French, German and Italian (Salt 1942: 39). 'The BBC for the first time directly addressed Germans and Italians' (Whitton and Herz 1942: 40) and from that date onwards broadcasts to Europe became regular and the Corporation finally established its European Service.

In which concerns the Portuguese Service targeted to Portugal, it started to operate on 4 June 1939 aiming to counter the National Socialist propaganda that was then well established in the country. Indeed, the Germans had a strong network that was responsible for the production and distribution of several types of propaganda content to different audiences: from the working class to intellectuals.

Broadcasting to Portugal: The BBC's late start

During World War II Portugal was ruled by a dictatorship led by Oliveira Salazar. The regime, which was known as Estado Novo (New State), exercised a strict control on all the information that reached the public mainly through censorship, which had been established in 1926. Furthermore, in September 1939 Salazar took advantage of the war to exercise greater control over the local radio stations. The new legislation limited private broadcasting to those stations holding special authorization from the government, and compelled such stations to 'bear the costs of having a Government inspector permanently on their premises'.¹ The dissemination of information received from foreign broadcasts was likewise prohibited.

In practical terms, besides the financial difficulties that they had to overcome on a daily basis, the smaller stations had to deal with the presence of a censor who was in charge of maintaining the broadcasts' political alignment with the official values

of the Estado Novo. After this law entered into force, the censors acquired the power to suspend stations temporarily and frequently made recommendations concerning the content of the broadcasts. As a consequence, and since censorship was also severe in which concerned the press, those who wished to keep up-to-date on the war developments and even on local news had no other option than tuning in to foreign stations. Among those, the BBC was a latecomer since, as mentioned above, it only started to operate a service dedicated to Portugal a few months before the war.

Despite its late start, when compared with the transmissions from Germany, the BBC presented a strong argument that proved decisive for its success: its supposed objectivity that it promoted in opposition to the misinformation or 'toxic information' being aired by the Germans. Broadcasts were presented as being strictly objective and neutral in reporting the news and totally independent from any political interference. In order to disseminate the idea according to which the BBC aired professional journalism, based on an ethic of objectivity, the British authorities invested in advertising that was published in local newspapers and magazines. Pamphlets and brochures which exalted the BBC's independence and objectivity were also distributed in the country. The broadcasts from London were presented as 'The Voice of Truth', an expression that became popular among those who listened daily to the Voice of London.

Objectivity was then a well-established concept in Northern Europe and in the United States where the development of a stratified newspaper market in the nineteenth century had created the need to reach wide audiences. For that to be achieved the papers could not afford to alienate readers that had different political views from those expressed in the paper. This made it crucial for the publications to present 'contending sides [...] with an emphasis on neutrality' (Schultz 1998: 131). But if it is true that Northern Europe entered the twentieth century with a newspaper stratified market, in Portugal this was not the case and the press would continue 'to target an educated elite until the second half of the twentieth century'

(Ribeiro 2011b: 9). Notwithstanding Walter Lippmann had described objectivity as a method of news production in his *Public Opinion* published in 1922, this concept had not been adopted by the Portuguese press since the professionalism of journalism would occur only after the end of the Estado Novo dictatorship in 1974.

Therefore, when thinking about the Portuguese public opinion, the BBC was the first medium to promote its output as being objective and, despite the evidence that demonstrates that the Voice of London followed the directives of the Ministry of Information, adapting its content to the aims determined by the British government (Ribeiro 2011a), those who listened to the broadcasts had the perception that they were being given objective information that was not politically interfered with. A listener from the south of Lisbon commented:

We know the Emissora [Portuguese state broadcaster] isn't going to give the kind of news we like. The kind of news we want comes from the BBC. So why should we bother about news we don't want to hear? It doesn't really matter if we never hear it.

(BBC Written Archives 1943a)

It was common for people to gather and discuss the news they heard on the BBC. This was frequently mentioned by listeners who wrote to the Corporation, namely an Englishman in Lisbon whose letter was received in London in September 1943: 'You have no idea of the number of people (workers and the simplest people imaginable) who listen regularly to the Portuguese broadcasts and discuss them in detail afterwards' (BBC Written Archives 1943b).

These collective discussions took place all over the country not least because a substantial number of those who listened to the broadcasts did so in cafes and shops. The number of receivers, despite suffering a significant increase during the war years, was low in most villages which led to the development of local listening

communities that gathered in public places tuning in to the Voice of London. As will be detailed below, the reliance on the BBC was created in opposition to the discredit of the German broadcasts that were perceived, by the majority of Portuguese radio listeners, as mostly 'toxic information' whose output was based on lies and stories that had no connection to the truth.

The Importance of Credibility

The BBC news bulletins accomplished several goals. First of all they became a vital source of information to the Portuguese. Secondly, through the high regard held for them, the news bulletins made an important contribution to neutralizing and counterattacking the messages that were disseminated by German propaganda. This was only possible because of the credibility that the Portuguese Service rapidly acquired which was based on the ideals of neutrality and objective reporting.

The importance of credibility in Europe was assumed by the Director of the European Service, John Salt, who also considered it to be crucial that editors were able to adapt the news to the cultural background of the different nationalities being reached in the European broadcasts:

Many factors have to be taken into account. In shaping each bulletin the news editor must remember, for instance, the geographical distance of the particular audience from the scene of action, the extent of its familiarity with, or ignorance of, the background of events reported, and the political or economical importance to them of any given piece of news.

(Salt 1942: 40)

This idea expressed by Salt is particularly important since the BBC's concern with how the receivers understood the information they were delivered through the airwaves was also an important contribution towards the Voice of London being considered as an objective source. Moreover, the BBC had a clear strategy designed to create this trust by promoting itself as an objective source of news opposite to the German sources that were known for presenting toxic or untruthful information. Indeed the BBC's objectivity functioned as 'a propaganda weapon – a demonstration of the superiority of democracy over totalitarianism' (Curran and Seaton 1985: 166). The importance of appearing as a credible source, based on the ideals of objectivity and independence, was vital not only on the Home and Empire Services but also in the foreign languages services. For this reason, the image of credibility that the BBC promoted in the United Kingdom was exported to its transmissions in other countries, like Portugal, that received the shortwave broadcasts.

The Corporation was very cautious whenever reporting British victories, avoiding an excess of enthusiasm about the advances of the Allied forces (Wasburn 1992: 18–19) which was intended to increase its objectivity. In Lisbon, the British Embassy invested in propaganda texts that exalted the high quality of the news provided by the Voice of London:

The 'filtering' is meticulously performed by specialised editors that separate truth from rumour, biased information from a fairer view. The policy of impartiality and independence that has marked the B.B.C. for more than 20 years, with all the rigour of British fair-play, has been perfected to the most rigorous and accurate pinnacle; the pictorial, artificial sensationalism and appetizing fantasy are all implacably separated out.

(BBC 1941: 13)

James Curran and Jean Seaton's description of the importance given by the BBC to the credibility of its news bulletins can be proven with reference to the Portuguese Section. As an example, in April 1941, when German propaganda was becoming more visible than ever in Portugal, Colonel Pope, who acted as an 'unofficial Press Attaché in Lisbon', suggested that the BBC should take action in its news service. In a reply to this remark, Pope was informed by the Head of the Portuguese Service that his request could not be satisfied through the news bulletins since its image of objectivity was too important to be sacrificed:

As you are aware it has always been the policy of the BBC that its bulletins should be confined to straight and authenticated news. [...] The replying to German propaganda is more the function of the Talks Department which in the Portuguese Section will be under our Programme Organiser. As soon as we get our Programme Department going I think you will find that we shall parry every German thrust and give them some hard knocks as well.

(Broughton 1941)

As the quote above demonstrates, BBC officials were well aware of the importance of the station's image of credibility which would continue to be highly promoted. Investments in advertising would, however, decrease in the last years of the war which was mainly due to the fact that the BBC's audience was so well established that its potential to grow was considered residual mainly after 1943 (Ribeiro 2011a: 302).

Objectivity versus propaganda

The BBC broadcasts to Portugal became the most visible facet of British action against the supremacy of German propaganda existing at that time. As stated by António Telo, it 'did not take long [for the BBC] to become the most listened to

foreign station', surpassing the RRG (1989: 9). The German broadcasts did not attract the majority of the Portuguese due to its authoritarian style and appeals for revolt against Britain. Transmissions mainly aired blatant propaganda and they insistently repeated the same ideas, thus complying with Hitler's belief that effective propaganda was based on repetition (Hitler 1976: 139). Nevertheless, 'the number of regular listeners was estimated to be small' (Foreign Office Archive 1944), proving that in this specific case, 'German propaganda overseas had relatively little effect' (Briggs 1970: 8). This can be explained with the absence of a long-term plan, the dispute between Goebbels and Joachim von Ribbentrop over the control of foreign propaganda (Bergmeier and Lotz 1997: 178–94) and by the strategy of focusing on propaganda instead of news, which frequently led to the use of threatening language aimed at extorting civilians into taking action, such as the following example aired on 7 March 1941:

You must be united with the European continent. Your pseudo-friend no longer belongs to Europe, which has finally acknowledged that the British Isles are its sole and real enemy. European solidarity is not a word used in vain. Therefore, it is up to you whether Europe considers you a friend or enemy, in other words your progress and well-being or your isolation and complete ruin depend on you.

(AOS 1941a)

The German broadcasts frequently flattered Salazar and his government. On the other hand, listeners were incited to start a revolt against the British blockade² that was described as a system 'suitable for application on blacks but not on a nation wishing to be civilised and independent' (AOS 1941a). The blockade was considered the only factor that was responsible for Portugal not getting rich during the war since its neutrality should enable it to 'do business with both sides, earning rivers of money' (AOS 1941b). The RRG frequently made insulting attacks on Great Britain and its prominent personalities, as the following produced as a

comment on measures taken by the British Government to reduce the consumption of paper:

In any case, the shortage of paper in England has generated quite annoying consequences for the English. The many uses of paper, besides that of the press and in trade and industry, if you recall, include its use for hygienic purposes in those little rooms that usually have the initials of the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill – W.C. – painted on the door. And if we combine the lack of paper with the shortage of soap in Britain, then it is sadly our duty to note that shaking the hand of an Englishman must not be a very pleasant experience. For, in addition to the moral disgust, there is now the added factor of physical disgust.

(AOS 1941b)

As mentioned by Colonel Pope in a report addressed to the BBC in May 1941, these insults were 'really having the opposite effect to that hoped for' (Pope 1941). In fact, despite the Germans' lead at the outbreak of the war, the BBC's focus on the news and on 'telling the truth', the pro-British sentiment, and later the presence of a well-known Portuguese announcer, Fernando Pessa, at the BBC, made the Portuguese Service hugely popular, easily surpassing the popularity of the RRG. Moreover, contrary to the RRG transmissions, the BBC always maintained a friendly attitude towards the Portuguese public and even towards the Lisbon regime despite its authoritarian nature.

A report by Michael Winch, editor of the Portuguese Section, who visited Portugal to assess the impact of the broadcasts in the main cities and villages, concluded that the position of the BBC was extraordinary (Winch, 1943). The Voice of London was 'by far the most popular of foreign broadcasting services' (Foreign Office Archive 1944), and although there are no audience figures, its success is confirmed in several documents produced by the Foreign Office and the BBC.

Several reports produced by regular listeners mention how they would 'rock with laughter' while listening to features like 'The Dictator's Calendar' in which Mussolini and Hitler were frequently ridiculed. One of the most emblematic announcers of Portuguese radio who worked in several Lisbon stations during the war also confirms the BBC's huge success:

German broadcasts never had a large audience and had, compared to the BBC, much less influence. [...] The BBC was deemed to be the 'voice of truth'. [...] It had a great deal of credibility. [...] BBC meant 'you can believe it' and the BBC's impact was very different to that of the German broadcaster which, as a matter of fact, was hardly listened to in Portugal.

(Agostinho 9 June 2006 interview)

The Anglophile environment that existed in Portugal and that increased after the Blitz helped to sustain the BBC's reputation of presenting objective and truthful news. This would continue mostly unchanged until the end of the war despite the fact that British support of Russia did have some negative impact on the station's acceptance among regular listeners. Nevertheless, the BBC news bulletins would continue to be the most important source of news concerning international events, and the impact of the British alignment with Russia against Germany was merely circumstantial. 'The BBC's emphasis on "truth" and "consistency" [...] produced long-term dividends as the war continued' (Briggs 1970: 8) and enabled the station to maintain its elevated credibility, as recognized by the Portuguese Ambassador in London in a speech given on the fourth anniversary of the broadcasts to Portugal:

Let's suppose, for an instant, that the BBC did not make itself heard in Portugal and the country, placed between powerful rival forces, was abandoned to the daily barrage of propaganda from one single source. Isn't it true that, in these disturbing and unsettled times that we are

negotiating, the transmission of the BBC supply a precious element, one of precious counterevidence – often just the bare truth – for the just evaluation of circumstances and possibilities?

(Historical-Diplomatic Archive 1943)

The BBC's news bulletins always arouse the greatest interest and merit general credence not only because of the international events reported but also because of national news items which were censored in the national press and radio bulletins. The evening news, besides being widely listened to and discussed, was also usually checked against the morning newspapers. A Lisbon listener wrote:

A few days ago, some papers published the news of the landing of Russian forces in the Crimea and of the Allies in the Cyclades. Very well ... this news had no market because it was not broadcast by you, from which everyone unfortunately concluded that it was not true.

(BBC Written Archives 1943b)

This huge reliance on the BBC news remained almost totally unaltered until 1945, despite the Germans' attempts to undermine the Portuguese Service's credibility through attacks on the newsreaders and on the Corporation itself. The RRG broadcasts as well as the propaganda activities by the German Legation in Lisbon strongly pushed the idea that the British were only interested in using Portugal's neutrality for their own gain and to fulfil this propaganda strategy the BBC was using Portuguese newsreaders that, according to the German propaganda, were betraying their own country. This line of propaganda did not, however, have a broad appeal. Those who enjoyed listening to the broadcasts from London believed in the objectivity of its content and relied on it to create their knowledge on the war and on political developments that were taking place in the international

arena. The BBC's image was then so well-established among the majority of the Portuguese that the German attacks on its reputation had no significant effect.

Conclusion

The need to control the public's perception of the war led governments to use radio as a means of spreading their own point of view during World War II. Broadcasting was at the centre of the agenda of both the Axis powers and the Allies, particularly since, as stated by Biswajit Das, 'radio is not a neutral agency that simply relays the event to the listening audience. It is an active process that alters the relationship between spectator and event' (Das 2005: 250).

The usage of this new medium to disseminate ideological and propaganda messages regardless of their truthfulness or untruthfulness was assumed by the German regime as one of its pillars internally and also in which concerned broadcasting to foreign countries. On the other side, before the war the British were very sceptical about the usage of radio as a weapon of propaganda targeted to foreign countries. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that in 1939 there 'was still a running debate inside and outside the Corporation as to whether propaganda was "a good thing"' (Briggs 1970: 177), the BBC also entered the field of shortwave broadcasts and promoted its content as being 'objective' and 'independent', or in other words, 'the voice of truth'.

The idea of an objective BBC was highly promoted. It was presented as being in opposition to the concept of 'propaganda' that had gained a negative connotation earlier in 1918 and that, therefore, was no longer used in western countries with democratic regimes. Although the difference between news and propaganda is not always very clear, and was not at all clear at the Foreign Office during this period, the BBC asserted that it understood the difference, and used this distinction as an important weapon against the Germans. In other words, the so-called 'objectivity' of the BBC became in itself a strong propaganda weapon due to the divergence

that the 'truth' transmitted by the British station would establish from the 'untruth' or 'toxic information' broadcast by RRG.

In the Portuguese case, the BBC entered into the daily routine of thousands of listeners with its news bulletins and programming features that were clearly perceived as less-propagandistic (or in other words, less toxic) than those from the Axis. This was achieved through the usage of a non-aggressive language, a friendly tone of presentation, and the inclusion of news pieces that were not favourable to the Allies. In several features the Portuguese Service announcers even used a 'light' style of presenting with the inclusion of humour in some talks which created a greater connection with listeners. This tone was in contrast with an aggressive and serious one adopted by the RRG that threatened the Portuguese and struggled to create a climate of fear among those who listened.

Besides becoming the most listened to station in Portugal, the BBC was believed to be objective in its news bulletins and other features like talks and chronicles. Although during the war it was under the scrutiny of the Ministry of Information and its editorial line was politically interfered with (Ribeiro 2011a), this was not the perception of those who listened. On the contrary, while the German broadcasts were considered 'toxic information', the broadcasts from London were perceived as the opposite, i.e. objective information that therefore could be trusted.

The BBC was the first news source to reach the Portuguese public that presented itself as both objective and politically independent: two characteristics that were unknown to the public not least because the national media were partisan and politically interfered with as a consequence of the Estado Novo's media policies. Therefore, the notion of objectivity in news reporting, that had gained visibility after World War I in most democratic countries, was mostly introduced in Portugal by the BBC, and the concept had become 'an axiom of British propaganda' (Balfour 1979: 171) throughout World War II, achieving very positive results.

This represents clear evidence that white propaganda, as defined by Jowett and O'Donnell (2012: 17), was much more effective in Portugal during the war than the more aggressive strategies employed by the Germans. The fact that the control over the BBC was more camouflaged compared to the control exerted on broadcasting by the authoritarian regimes of the time seems to have been one of the main reasons for the Corporation's success. This was a lesson learned by the political elites and applied later on during the military conflicts that followed World War II. It became evidently reasonable for democratic regimes' political powers to interfere in the media's output in wartime. Even for the British, who had entered World War II under the cloud of a colossal discussion concerning the reestablishment of the Ministry of Information, their misgivings were rapidly overcome and broadcasting quickly became part of the country's propaganda strategy. The period during which propaganda was considered as 'toxic information' that no democratic regime should support had clearly past.

Notes

1. Decree-Law 29.937, 21 September 1939.
2. The maritime blockade that established quotas for the imports of goods in order to avoid them being exported to Germany was unilaterally defined by London in January 1941.

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